

Refugee Economies Programme

Activities and Impact 2016-2021





Host and refugee traders exchange goods outside of Buramino camp



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Front cover photo: A Somali woman sits at her shop in the 'old market' in Bokolmanyo camp, Dollo Ado © RSC/Raphael Bradenbrink

Back cover photo: The 'old market' in Bokolmanyo camp, Dollo Ado © RSC/Raphael Bradenbrink



FOREWORD

Refugees – like all human beings – have skills, talents, and aspirations. They have the potential to contribute to their host societies, economically, socially, and culturally. And yet around the world, they are frequently treated as a burden by receiving countries, excluded and stigmatised. Research can help change this because evidence has the potential to reshape narratives and influence both politics and policy.

The Refugee Economies Programme undertakes research on the economic lives of refugees, and their impact on host communities. Through this research, we aim to support the socio-economic inclusion of refugees by highlighting the conditions under which refugees can achieve better welfare outcomes and be welcomed by receiving communities.

During the last five years, our research has focused on three countries in East Africa – Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda – which between them host around the same number of refugees as the whole of the European Union combined. These countries have very different approaches to hosting refugees, but each of them has implemented innovative policies and practices, from which the rest of the world can learn.

We have undertaken inter-disciplinary research in refugee camps and cities, and with both refugees and the host community. One significant outcome has been to create the Refugee Economies Dataset, based on responses from more than 16,000 refugees and host community members, and which includes panel data. Drawing upon our data, we have been able to better understand the factors and policy interventions that may contribute to better outcomes for both refugees and host communities.

All of our research has been collaborative. Most importantly, it has relied upon the work and commitment of 290 research assistants and enumerators drawn from the refugee and host communities in which we have worked. Without their contribution, none of this research would have been possible. We have asked each of them for their consent to acknowledge their contribution at the back of this report.

In this publication, we offer an accessible summary of the Refugee Economies Programme's research and impact during the period of 2016-2021. We share it with you so that it will enable you to navigate the research that we have undertaken, and in the hope that it will inspire you to work towards the economic inclusion of refugees, in all regions of the world.

Alexander Betts

Principle Investigator, Refugee Economies Programme
Professor of Forced Migration and International Affairs





ABOUT THE PROGRAMME

Refugees and forced displacement are among the defining issues of our time. Every year, conflict and persecution cause millions of people to flee their homes and communities. In the context of climate change and the economic legacy of COVID-19, numbers will increase. Meanwhile, the willingness of countries – rich and poor – to receive refugees is threatened by rising populist nationalism. This creates a major policy challenge: how to create sustainable forms of refugee protection, which can enable a growing number of displaced people to access their full range of human rights.

Our starting point is the recognition that refugees have skills, talents, and aspirations. Although many have vulnerabilities, they also have capabilities. Refugee-hosting areas, whether camps or cities, are often vibrant economies, in which refugees consume, produce, buy, sell, borrow, and lend in both the formal and informal sectors. In doing so, they frequently help themselves while contributing to their host societies. In this context, our goal has been to understand the conditions under which refugees can be recognised as a benefit to receiving societies. Research in this area matters because it has the potential to change narratives and policies.

Supported by the IKEA Foundation, the Refugee Economies Programme has spent the last five years undertaking research on the economic lives of refugees and their impact on host communities. The aim has been to make an evidence-based contribution to the ways in which governments, international organisations, NGOs, and businesses support the socio-economic inclusion of refugees. Our focus has been on three countries in East Africa – Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda – which between them host a similar number of refugees to the whole of the European Union. These countries are especially interesting because they have divergent approaches to hosting refugees: Uganda lets them work and move freely, Kenya does not, and Ethiopia is gradually introducing more progressive refugee legislation and policies.

The centrepiece of our research has been the creation of the Refugee Economies Dataset, which is based on survey interviews with more than 16,000 refugees and host community members. Our data collection has had a series of distinguishing

features: it has focused on urban and camp contexts, refugees and the host community, and has included longitudinal data collection to create what social scientists call ‘panel data’. The survey has been wide-ranging, including modules on income, expenditure, assets, subjective well-being, physical and mental health, education, aspirations, migration and mobility, refugee-host community interactions, attitudes, and demography, enabling us to explore a whole series of correlations. This work has been complemented with in-depth qualitative research.

We have been able to draw upon the resulting dataset to explore a whole series of research questions, including:

1. What explains variation in socio-economic outcomes for refugees?
2. What explains social cohesion between refugees and the host community?
3. What explains refugees’ mobility, migration, and residency choices?

Drawing upon the Dataset, we have been able to explore a series of themes including the role of intergroup interaction in shaping social cohesion, the role of development indicators in influencing refugees’ mobility choices, the determinants of variation in refugees’ income levels, the role of remittances in shaping refugee employment, and the role of agricultural participation in food security. It has also allowed us to theorise a broader set of questions such as what is economically distinctive about refugees. The full Dataset will be made available through our website in 2022 for use by other researchers and practitioners.

In addition to the Refugee Economies Dataset, we have engaged in collaborative impact evaluations aimed at learning more about what works in practice. In these, we have focused on assessing the impact of ‘innovative’ market-based approaches to refugee assistance.

First, in collaboration with the World Food Programme (WFP), we have explored the impact of a newly designed refugee settlement in Kenya called the Kalobeyi settlement, aimed at promoting refugee self-reliance and improved cohesion between refugees and the host community. As part of this research, we have undertaken evaluations on the impact of specific types of cash-based assistance programmes.

Second, in collaboration with the IKEA Foundation, we have evaluated the impact of the joint UNHCR-IKEA Foundation livelihood programmes in the Dollo Ado refugee camps in Ethiopia, which have pioneered a model of ‘cooperatives’ – membership-based income-generating groups in areas such as agriculture, livestock, energy and the environment, and microfinance.

A defining feature of our research has been its attempt to engage in participatory research methods. Across all of this research, we have recruited and trained 290 research assistants and enumerators from both the refugee and host communities in which we have collected data. This has significantly improved the quality of our research, including by improving our access and understanding. In order to deepen the extent of research co-design involved in our future research, the Programme has also piloted a small Nairobi-based Hub for refugee-led research in collaboration with the British Institute in Eastern Africa (BIEA) and developed a ‘Refugee and Forced Migration Studies’ digital course in collaboration with Southern New Hampshire University (SNHU).

During the course of our research, we have also undertaken additional qualitative research to explore related themes. These themes include understanding the politics and political economy underlying refugees’ access to socio-economic rights (funded by the British Academy) and understanding the role of refugee-led organisations in the provision of social protection (funded by the ESRC and AHRC). Throughout our research we have tried to engage with policy-makers and practitioners, collaborating with a range of organisations including UNHCR and the World Bank, and have advised a range of governments interested in supporting the economic inclusion of refugees.

We have published preliminary research findings on a rolling basis, in order to make them accessible to policy-makers, practitioners, and to the communities with whom we have worked. In order to ensure early and impactful publication, we created the Refugee Economies policy papers series, which combines quantitative and qualitative data, in order to integrate data and human stories, and published a series of short policy briefs. We have also begun to publish our research findings through peer-reviewed publications including in academic journal articles such as the *Journal of Development Economics*, the *Journal of Refugee Studies*, the *Journal of Development Studies*, *World Development*, *African Affairs*, and the *Review of International Studies*, which can be accessed through our Programme website.



Our Five Main Outputs:

1. Created the Refugee Economies Dataset, based on more than 16,000 refugee and host community responses in camps and cities.
2. Recruited and trained 290 refugee and host community members as research assistants and enumerators.
3. Produced more than 25 publications, including books, journal articles, reports, and policy briefs.
4. Undertook two major impact evaluations in the Dollo Ado refugee camps in Ethiopia and the Kalobeyi settlement in Kenya.
5. Supported the development of refugee research capacity through a pilot refugee-led research Hub based in Nairobi, with an initial cohort of seven trainee researchers.



Map of our main research sites. Map taken from *The Wealth of Refugees: How Displaced People Can Build Economies*, 2021 (Oxford University Press)

Ten Interesting Research Findings*:

- 1. POVERTY TRAP.** Refugees may face a poverty trap because of their status: they are generally worse off in terms of income, assets, food security, subjective wellbeing, and physical and mental health than nearby members of the host community. Across our research sites, the only notable exception to this is Turkana County in Kenya.
- 2. SOCIAL COHESION.** Increased levels of inter-group interaction between refugees and the host community are associated with more positive host community attitudes towards refugees. Economic interactions such as employment and exchange relationships seem to make the greatest difference.
- 3. RIGHT TO WORK.** Uganda's 'self-reliance model' allows refugees the right to work and freedom of movement. Controlling for other variables, this approach is associated with 16% higher incomes (at purchasing power parity) for refugees, when compared to the Kenyan context in which refugees lack the right to work and freedom of movement.
- 4. MIGRATION AND MOBILITY.** Refugees are highly mobile, with up to 8% of those in Kenya changing their residency in a given year, but the proportion actually moving onwards from African host countries to rich countries is small – in Kenya 0.1% of refugees move onwards to Europe in any given year.
- 5. REMITTANCES.** Transnational money transfer is an important part of refugees' survival strategies, but receiving remittances is correlated with lower levels of employment, controlling for other variables.
- 6. CASH-BASED ASSISTANCE.** Switching from in-kind to cash-based assistance generally makes refugees better off, but its benefits can be undermined by household debt. In one refugee camp in Kenya, 89% of households are in debt, owing an average amount equivalent to half their annual expenditure.
- 7. SELF-RELIANCE.** Attempts to support refugee 'self-reliance' often struggle because they rely upon circulating aid money rather than creating new productive capacity. Two years after the Kalobeyi settlement was created to promote self-reliance, just 6% of South Sudanese refugees had an independent income generating activity.
- 8. CITIES VS. CAMPS.** Refugees in cities appear to have higher incomes, assets levels, and employment rates than those in camps. However, they generally have lower subjective wellbeing and worse physical and mental health than those in camps.
- 9. INCOME LEVELS.** The most important variables explaining differences in refugees' income levels include: employment, education, access to networks, gender, nationality, and the host country in which they are resident.
- 10. COOPERATIVES.** In the Dollo Ado camps in Ethiopia, an innovative 'cooperatives' model developed by the IKEA Foundation and UNHCR has improved income levels for refugees, and led to improved relations between refugees and the host community.

*Note: all of these findings are specific to the contexts in which the research has been undertaken, and cannot be generalised. Some of these findings are preliminary.



Cooperative members work on plots of land in the Kobe irrigation site, Dollo Ado



Photos, top row, from left to right: Members of the refugee and host communities in Buramino harvest vegetables grown through the IKEA Foundation-funded irrigation scheme; A host community member loads firewood onto a bicycle in Kakuma | Middle row, from left to right: A South Sudanese refugee carries a bucket of water to her kitchen garden in Kalobeyei; A refugee validates her ATM card using her fingerprint at a shop in Kalobeyei | Bottom: Refugee-owned grocery shop in Kashojwa village, Nakivale



UGANDA

Since gaining independence, Uganda has adopted a self-reliance model which provides refugees with significant socio-economic freedoms, including the right to work and freedom to move. This model has become an exemplar for development-based approaches to refugees.

Uganda's model comprises of three core elements:

- **A regulatory framework:** refugees can generally choose where they live and are allowed to work.
- **An assistance model:** wherever possible, refugees are allocated plots of land to cultivate in rural settlements.
- **Opportunities for refugee-host interaction:** integrated service provision and market access in settlements and cities.

However, there is a need to go beyond a romanticised view of the Ugandan model, and identify the conditions under which its self-reliance policies lead to improved socio-economic outcomes.

Between 2013 and 2015, we conducted a pilot study in Uganda. This research pioneered our participatory approach through training refugees as peer researchers and enumerators and building relationships of trust with refugee communities.

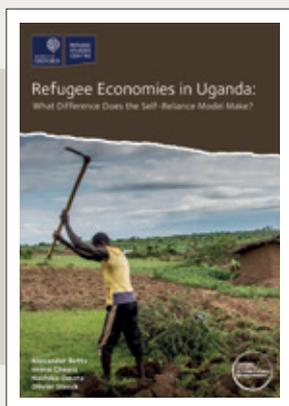
In 2018, we returned to Uganda to undertake follow-up research in Kampala (an urban context) and Nakivale (a protracted refugee camp). Using both qualitative and quantitative data from our fieldwork, including a survey of over 8,000 refugees and host community members in Uganda and Kenya, our research has explored the difference that providing refugees with the right to work and freedom to move makes.



A Congolese refugee tailor in Nakivale



Enumerator training in Kampala



Refugee Economies in Uganda: What Difference Does the Self-Reliance Model Make?

Alexander Betts, Imane Chaara, Naohiko Omata, and Olivier Sterck

This report aimed to explore which aspects of Uganda's self-reliance model work, for whom, and under what conditions, and develop an evidence-based understanding of the conditions under which self-reliance policies lead to enhanced welfare outcomes, improved community relations, and higher levels of mobility.

In order to compare welfare outcomes for refugees and hosts within and outside of the model, we have focussed our research on Uganda and Kenya. Comparing countries with contrasting legal and policy frameworks relating to refugees in the same region, and with similar refugee populations, can help answer questions such as 'what difference does the right to work actually make?'

Findings:

The data revealed that refugees in Uganda enjoy greater mobility, higher incomes (at purchasing power parity), lower transaction costs for economic activity, and more sustainable sources of employment than those in Kenya. However, we also found some qualifiers to the success, including:

1. Inadequate access to education in settlements due to barriers, distance, and cost.
2. Lower levels of employment. However, there is evidence that employment is more sustainable in Nakivale as it comes from self-employment in agriculture and market-based sources, rather than 'incentive work' for international organisations.
3. Higher incomes as a result of engagement in commercial activities, especially among Somali refugees. However, Congolese refugees in Nakivale were more likely to be worse off as they were mainly engaged with subsistence farming.
4. Higher levels of mobility and lower transaction costs. This allowed refugees in Uganda to adopt economic strategies that would otherwise not be possible.
5. Similar levels of assistance, meaning that Uganda's better welfare outcomes may be the result of the regulatory environment, rather than the assistance model. However, due to the ineffectiveness of urban programmes, refugee-led organisations (RLOs) represent an important source of social protection.

While we found that land allocation leads to better dietary diversity, food security, and calorie intake, the allocation of plots of land does not benefit all communities, as Somali refugees, for example, refrain from involvement. Further, there is insufficient land for newly arrived refugees, and although there is evidence that those who can access land have better food security outcomes, subsistence agriculture is limited as a pathway to high income levels.

Host communities have positive perceptions of refugees in Uganda. Their presence brings a positive economic contribution through employment and economic competition. This positive outlook resulted in less concerns over security of living in close proximity to refugee settlements. However, there have been some disputes, for example over land ownership.

Recommendations:

This report is only a starting point for assessing what difference Uganda's self-reliance model makes to refugees and host communities. While our research in Uganda endorses the value of an integrated development approach that improves welfare outcomes for both refugees and the host community, we offer insights into areas where reflection is needed. This includes:

- **Revisiting land allocation:** Agriculture should be promoted alongside a range of other pathways to self-reliance.
- **Enhancing access to education:** International support is needed to overcome practical barriers to education.
- **Strengthening urban assistance:** There is a need to revisit the presumption that refugees who choose to settle in urban areas are able to support themselves. UNHCR should consider partners in Kampala, including deeper collaboration with refugee-led organisations.
- **Considering incentive work:** While this may be less sustainable than other sources of employment, it offers stable and secure employment for refugees.
- **Funding refugee-led social protection:** International donors should consider piloting direct funding to RLOs and offer more opportunities for them to be implementing and operating partners.

Uganda has frequently served as a source of inspiration and best practice for global refugee policy. Although our findings are context specific and cannot be generalised beyond the sites in which we work, our research has several wider implications beyond Uganda. These recommendations for global policy can be found in the full report. Our findings are also summarised in a policy brief entitled 'Uganda's Self-Reliance Model: Does it Work?'



KENYA

Since the influx of Somali refugees in the early 1990's, Kenya has restricted socio-economic freedoms for refugees by denying them the right to work and move outside of camps. Kenya currently hosts 490,000 refugees from Somalia, South Sudan, Ethiopia, Sudan, and the Great Lakes Region. Refugees in Kenya are concentrated in three main locations: Dadaab, Kakuma, and Nairobi. Kenya's regulatory framework is similar to that adopted by many other major refugee-hosting countries in the developing world. Thus, Kenya represents an interesting context in which to examine the economic lives of refugees and their interactions with host communities within a seemingly constrained regulatory environment.

Over the last five years, we have collected data in Nairobi and the Kakuma refugee camps, surveying both refugees and host community members. Kenya was the first country in which we collected data from both refugees and the host communities. Within both communities we undertook participatory, mixed methods research, and used a range of community mapping techniques to develop innovative approaches to sampling. The resulting data enabled us to draw upon the research to explore what difference it makes – in economic terms – to be a refugee.

We returned to Nairobi two years later and Kakuma three years later in order to collect a second wave of data from the same respondent populations. This enabled us to explore changes in socio-economic outcomes over time, including migration, mobility, and residency choices.

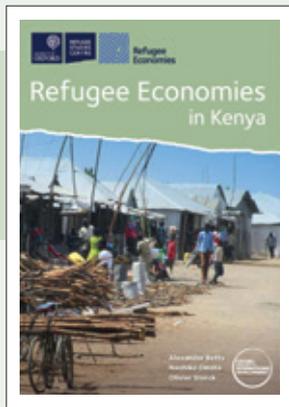
Complementing this research, and in collaboration with the World Food Programme (WFP), we have undertaken a three-year study in Turkana County to explore the difference in outcomes between the Kakuma refugee camps and the recently built Kalobeyei settlement (opened in 2016). The development of the Kalobeyei settlement is guided by the Kalobeyei Integrated Socio-Economic Development Programme (KISEDPP), and was designed to offer integrated, market-based opportunities to both refugees and the host community. Our aim was to examine what difference the new settlement design makes to refugee self-reliance and food security, and assess the impact of several innovative cash-based assistance models for both households and businesses.



Team in Kakuma during training with Humanity & Inclusion on how to approach respondents with disabilities



South Sudanese enumerators practicing interviews during training in Kakuma, from left to right: Moses Lujang Francis and Kuany Bol



Refugee Economies in Kenya

Alexander Betts, Naohiko Omata, and Olivier Sterck

Like many host countries around the world, Kenya limits refugees' right to work and freedom of movement.

This report represented the

first systematic comparison of economic outcomes for refugees and host communities. Our research aimed to explore the following questions: 1) what difference does it make to be a refugee?, 2) what do restrictions on refugees' socio-economic activities mean for their economic outcomes?, and 3) what effect do these differences have on the economic interaction of refugees and host nationals?

Using a participatory, mixed methods approach, this research compares and explains refugee and host outcomes across three dimensions: livelihoods, living standards, and subjective well-being.

Findings:

The report's central finding is that, even in constrained regulatory environments, refugees engage in economic activities, and have significant but complex economic interactions with host communities. We found that in Kakuma, 62% of Congolese, 38% of Somali, and 19% of South Sudanese refugees have an economic activity, compared with 48% of the local Turkana. Over half of the Congolese and Somalis employed, are employed by UNHCR. In Nairobi, refugees are less likely to have an economic activity than Kenyan nationals and instead rely on social networks. We note that the host community generally have positive perceptions of refugees in economic terms. However, these findings require some nuance as relationships differ depending on the context.

We found that Congolese and Somali refugees in Kakuma are better off than the Turkana hosts based on meals per day and dietary diversity, among other things. This is largely due to food rations and aid. In Nairobi, living standards are higher in general, with Somali refugees having comparable living standards to the host community. In both contexts, the host communities reported higher subjective well-being.

Outcomes for refugees are affected by the distinctive regulatory environment. In Kakuma, refugees are not allowed to own livestock, are disproportionately likely to incur 'business tax', are not allowed to work or easily move outside the camps, and face restrictions to formal banking. In Nairobi, formal restrictions on rights to work mean that refugees also risk police harassment.

Our regression analysis shows how regulation, networks, capital, and identity affect economic outcomes:

- **Regulation:** property rights, the right to work, mobility rights, and business constraints may influence economic activities and outcomes.

- **Networks:** Outcomes are shaped by networks, both pre-existing and new, national and transnational, that emerge through displacement and exile. Networks are used for remittances and social protection, for example.

- **Capital:** Access to financial and human capital is an important source of variation in economic outcomes.

- **Identity:** Gender, ethnicity, and religion shape access to social protection, education, and employment.

Recommendations:

Our research and analysis highlights a need for increased economic participation, the integration of refugees into national development plans, and improved relationships between refugees and host communities.

- **Working under constraints:** International public policy-makers need to find ways to support refugees' economic participation that can be reconciled with political sensitivities and legal barriers.

- **Recognising legal pluralism:** Regulation on refugees' economic participation may be interpreted and implemented differently in different local contexts. Therefore, there is a need to look beyond national level policy and recognise sub-national variation in practice.

- **Leveraging better outcomes:** Use data to identify the mechanisms through which particular interventions may lead to particular outcomes.

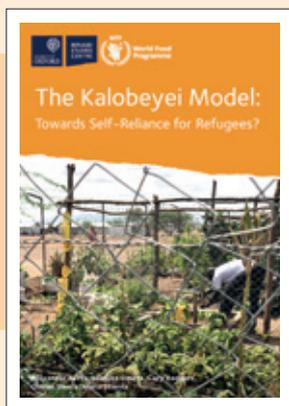
- **Understanding social protection:** Refugee agencies and policy-makers should undertake systematic mapping of refugee-led organisations in order to identify opportunities for collaboration, funding, and inclusion in formal partnership structures.

- **Disaggregating host communities:** Policy-makers need to view host communities as diverse and differentiated, and take into account the distributive consequences of refugees' economic participation.

- **Reconceiving the development gap:** There is a need to understand the different development outcomes refugees experience as a result of differences in regulation, networks, capital, and identity.

- **Reimagining refugee data:** Participatory methods should be used in a comparable way across countries to enable meaningful comparative analysis.

- **Improving economic governance:** Every major refugee-hosting context should have an economic policy and strategy specifically for refugees and the host community, based on robust analysis and consultation.



The Kalobeyei Model: Towards Self-Reliance for Refugees?

Alexander Betts, Naohiko Omata, Cory Rodgers, Olivier Sterck,
and Maria Flinder Stierna

In this study, we compared outcomes for newly arrived South Sudanese refugees in both Kakuma and Kalobeyei. Following baseline data collected in 2017 (results published in *Self-Reliance in Kalobeyei? Socio-Economic Outcomes for Refugees in North-West Kenya*), this report covers two waves of data collection with the same randomly sampled respondent population. The overall study had three main aims: 1) to create baseline indicators for monitoring refugees' self-reliance and socio-economic conditions in Kalobeyei, 2) to assess changes over time in those indicators, and 3) to compare the trajectory of change with a comparable cohort of recently arrived refugees in Kakuma.

Findings:

The baseline data had revealed that refugees in both Kalobeyei and Kakuma were far from self-reliant. Our second-wave findings revealed that while indicators for South Sudanese refugees in Kalobeyei were slightly better, refugees across both settlements experience poor food security and low dietary diversity. The Bamba Chakula (BC) model in Kalobeyei, which provided restricted cash assistance instead of in-kind food assistance, has increased income and consumption. South Sudanese refugees in Kalobeyei also experience higher median incomes than those in Kakuma, however as the markets in Kalobeyei are underdeveloped, the labour market is almost non-existent. Consequently, most refugees who do work, work as 'incentive workers' for NGOs. Furthermore, although refugees enjoy better access to healthcare and education in Kakuma, the majority of refugees consider their access to services and resources (such as water and electricity) as inadequate. We found out that the physical planning and design of the settlement catered for subsistence agriculture and established designated business areas. While agriculture is essential to ensure self-reliance, this sector cannot be expanded until there is an adequate supply of water and land. Overall, the lack of economic activities across both camps suggests there is a long way to go to reach self-reliance.

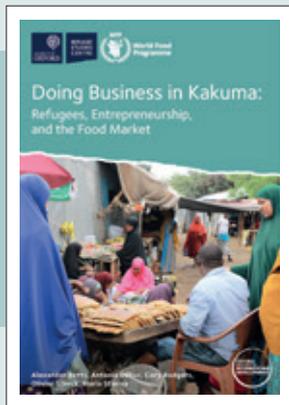
When compared, we noticed that in the longer-term, the self-reliance model adopted by Kalobeyei may be better for income, food security, and consumption – which correlated with the provision of kitchen gardens and BC – while the aid model in Kakuma is better for asset accumulation and participation in community activities. While enabling factors for self-reliance are currently too weak to offer a realistic prospect for refugee self-reliance in the short run, there have been some encouraging patterns in the improvement of subjective well-being, social cohesion, education, perceived water access, and

refugee-host interactions since the first wave of data collection across both contexts. Improvements in Kalobeyei also included an increase in the number of households engaged in agriculture and increased animal ownership following a livestock distribution programme.

Recommendations:

The self-reliance model in Kalobeyei offers an opportunity to learn. At this stage, we suggest that it is not reasonable to reduce food assistance to refugees as it is extremely challenging to achieve self-reliance. Instead, the aim should be more realistic, for example 'increasing self-reliance to the greatest possible extent'. To achieve this, we recommend:

- **Sequencing self-reliance:** In the short-term, assistance should not be cut, but instead redirected towards market-based activities such as unrestricted cash assistance, training activities, and incentive structures.
- **Adapting food-assistance strategies for self-reliance:** Increased support for kitchen gardens (tools and seeds) will improve nutrition, dietary diversity, and food security. However, to improve self-reliance there should be an investment in irrigation, soil and water management, and climatic information, alongside community-based adaption schemes.
- **Designing settlements for market formation:** Measures to improve market formation include investing in entrepreneurship, providing public goods, shifting to cash assistance, improving access to finance and banking, diversifying supply chains, and minimising market concentration.
- **Enhancing social cohesion:** Increasing engagements with host populations would prevent frustration and threats to refugee-host community relationships. This could include integrated farming schemes, socio-economic programmes that include local Turkana, and inclusion of hosts within the BC scheme as supplement distributors.
- **Transitioning to cash assistance:** Cash assistance is likely to represent a significant efficiency gain and lead to an overall welfare improvement, as recipients will not have to sell food rations in order to buy other goods. However, it will need to be managed and monitored in terms of how cash is spent, the effects on within-household dynamics, and the impact on wider market dynamics.
- **Monitoring changes in baseline data for self-reliance:** Impact evaluations should be systematically undertaken for all major Kalobeyei programmes and should be integrated within programmes to ensure impact is identified.



Doing Business in Kakuma: Refugees, Entrepreneurship, and the Food Market

Alexander Betts, Antonia Delius, Cory Rodgers, Olivier Sterck, and Maria Flinder Stierna

The food market is a significant part of economic life in refugee camps, and is heavily shaped by the modalities of food assistance available. In this report, we focus particularly on the role that Bamba Chakula (BC) has played in shaping the food market. BC provides an alternative to in-kind food assistance. By providing refugees with mobile currency supplied through Safaricom, it allows recipients to choose food items, with some restrictions on alcohol and tobacco, redeemable only from retailers with licenses to accept the BC payments. At the time of data collection, refugees in Kalobeyei received almost all their food through BC, compared with 30% in Kakuma. Our survey was based on 730 responses from the following three groups of retailers: successful BC applicants, unsuccessful BC applicants, and food retailers who haven't applied for a license.

Findings:

Our findings revealed that Somali and Ethiopian refugees are disproportionately more likely to be involved in business, while South Sudanese refugees are underrepresented. We also found that refugee men are more likely to own shops than refugee women, however, the opposite pattern is found for Kenyans. The profile of those entrepreneurs applying to be BC traders differs from those that never applied in terms of nationality, gender, education, training, and experience. Food retailers can be divided into three types of traders: BC traders, unsuccessful BC applicants, and non-applicants. Being a BC trader offers significant advantages in terms of providing protected access to a significant part of the camp and settlement food market.

Kalobeyei-based BC traders do better than those in Kakuma in terms of profits and sales. This is because, while there are fewer BC retailers in Kalobeyei, the volume of aid distributed through BC is the same across both contexts. Furthermore, there is a high concentration of market power, as a relatively small number of mainly Kenyan wholesalers supply the many small retailers. While nationality plays a role in the hiring of employees and customers choosing which shop to purchase goods from, it is less important in the purchasing of goods from wholesalers. In addition, WFP provides price guidelines to wholesalers and retailers, meaning that prices do not vary much across traders.

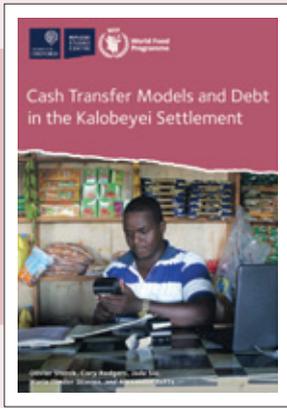
Credit-based purchases are common and credit flows exist between both wholesalers and retailers, and retailers and customers. Many shopkeepers retain the refugees' BC SIM card as collateral, and in return distribute products on credit if BC transfers are delayed. WFP has also introduced the Kenya Retail

Engagement Initiative (KREI), which is a holistic approach to support and develop the local economic systems involved in the broader transition from in-kind aid to cash-based assistance. In addition to activities for supply chain development, KREI includes business training. Our research found that access to business training is correlated with improved business performance and is associated with a 20% higher level of sales and profit.

Recommendations:

Understanding the experience of using BC in Kalobeyei and Kakuma offers insights of wider relevance into how markets emerge and develop in refugee camps and settlements, the process of transition from in-kind to cash-based assistance, and what determines entrepreneurial success.

- **Manage the transition to cash:** The move to unrestricted cash seems desirable if the transition is managed carefully. Four sets of transition arrangements are likely to be needed: 1) mitigating tensions due to BC traders' loss of entitlement, 2) ensuring adequate food supply to meet increased demand, 3) managing the entry of wholesalers into the retail market, and 4) supporting responsible household spending.
- **Extend BC as an interim measure where food assistance is currently provided in-kind:** Access to BC is associated with significantly better outcomes for both traders (sales/profits) and consumers (food security). WFP should consider expanding BC more widely within Kakuma, as well as other contexts, as an interim step prior to full cash-based assistance. However, a better option of implementation could be to stagger BC transfers throughout the month. The role of credit should also be considered.
- **Adapt the scope of the KREI:** Enhancing the capacity of BC traders could offer a means to improve self-reliance opportunities for traders and ensure better service delivery to consumers. Furthermore, efforts to grow the supply chain beyond the current wholesalers need to be expanded; barriers to competition need to be removed; the supply chain should be diversified; and legal and physical barriers that prevent the development of the retail sector need to be removed. Together, this will improve the efficiency of the market in Kakuma.
- **Mainstream business surveys within data collection:** Future market-based interventions relating to BC and the Retail Engagement Initiative should be evidence-generating. Including intervention-based research methods within programme design and implementation is likely to lead to more efficient and rigorous learning.



Cash Transfer Models and Debt in the Kalobeyei Settlement

Olivier Sterck, Cory Rodgers, Jade Siu, Maria Flinder Stierna, and Alexander Betts

The use of cash transfer programmes in humanitarian contexts is growing. Cash transfers are widely praised for enhancing autonomy, reducing costs, and boosting local markets, however, there is limited evidence on the best modality for providing cash transfers, especially with respect to the type of transfer to use: restricted or non-restricted.

In 2019, Bamba Chakula (BC) transfers were replaced by unrestricted cash transfers, paid directly into the bank accounts for about 1,050 households in Kalobeyei Village 3. We use first-hand data from 896 refugee households living in Kalobeyei to study the relative effects of restricted versus unrestricted cash transfers to refugees.

Findings:

To assess the impact of the new, unrestricted modality of food assistance, we exploit the fact that the allocation of refugees within Village 3 was quasi-random, effectively creating a 'natural experiment', in order to compare households living in neighbourhoods 1 to 27 with households living elsewhere in Village 3.

Our third wave of data collection in Kalobeyei reveals that the switch to unrestricted cash transfers had robustly positive effects on household asset accumulation and subjective well-being. Recipients were also less likely to resell food in order to access non-food items. However, only a limited number reported benefitting from the switch, with the majority of refugees highlighting that indebtedness meant these benefits had gone unrealised.

Refugees who said they preferred unrestricted cash transfers reported that 1) they can use their assistance on non-food necessities, such as charcoal, preventing them from having to sell food rations at below market values, 2) unrestricted cash offers recipients a broader market of retailers to buy from: BC can only be used with a limited number of retailers, and 3) recipients can benefit from cash-in-hand discounts.

However, our research shows that both unrestricted and restricted cash transfers are associated with a huge problem of indebtedness: 89% of sampled households were indebted towards their retailers. As employment rates in Kalobeyei are relatively low and remittances are rare, food assistance is the only source of livelihood for most households. In the absence

of social safety nets, refugees are often forced to take food on credit. In exchange, retailers keep their BC SIM card or ATM card as a form of collateral. Indebted households have low negotiating power, face high prices, are more likely to be food insecure, and are less likely to have savings. Debt also subjects women to the coercive strategies of some male shop owners, putting them at risk of gender-based violence.

Recommendations:

Recognising the role of credit and debt in consumer-retailer relationships in Kalobeyei has implications for future cash assistance programmes.

- **Debt relief:** In order for refugees to realise many of the benefits of unrestricted cash transfers, the staggering levels of indebtedness must first be reduced. However, to reduce reliance, policies should be adopted simultaneously to prevent households going into debt in the future.
- **Debt management:** A ration-based distribution system should be introduced until debt is paid back. This would reduce household dependency on credit and build capacity for greater financial autonomy in the long-term. This could be voluntary.
- **Supporting community safety nets:** To reduce reliance on credit, humanitarian agencies could implement a formal safety net in the form of an emergency fund for households affected by temporary shocks, for example as a gift or loan. As households become free from debt, they are better able to provide informal support within their social networks.
- **Streamlining cash transfer programmes:** Cash transfers could be spread over the entire month. A more distributed pattern of cash transfers will limit the amount of cash needed in the local economy.
- **Increasing purchasing power:** Humanitarian agencies should continue to invest in self-reliance programming, as improving livelihoods is the best way to increase purchasing power in the long run. However, in the short run, humanitarian agencies should consider increasing the monthly value of cash transfers and broadening their scope.
- **Monitoring and research:** Rigorous research is needed to evaluate the impact of any policies implemented to tackle indebtedness.

Complementing the full report, we also published a policy brief which summarises our main findings.



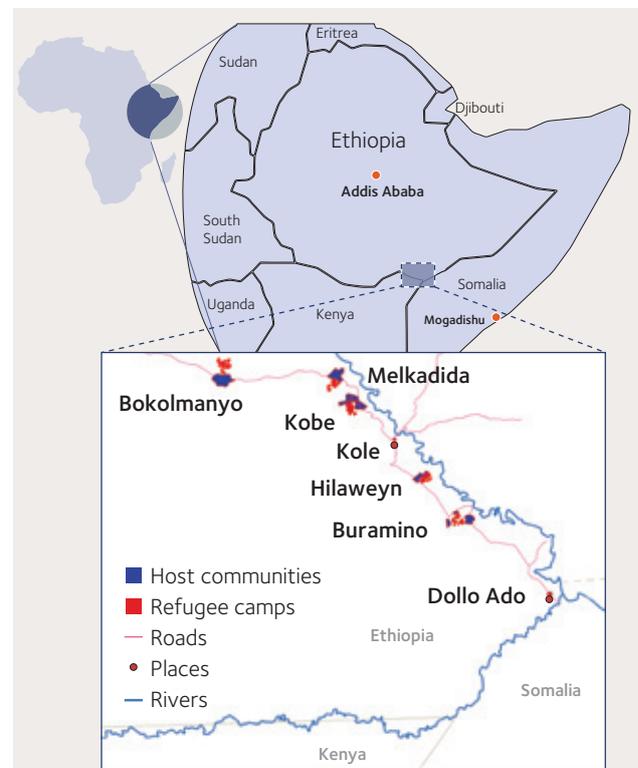
ETHIOPIA

Ethiopia currently hosts 800,000 refugees, making it the second largest host country in Africa. While Ethiopia has an open-door policy towards refugees, it has for a long time operated an encampment policy towards refugees, requiring them to reside in designated areas. The policy also restricted socio-economic rights, meaning that refugees have been unable to access formal employment, obtain business licences, own property, or easily open a bank account. More recently, Ethiopia has committed to change its refugee policies to allow for greater opportunities of socio-economic inclusion. This includes taking gradual steps towards providing refugees with the right to work, however, the country has yet to fully implement those rights.

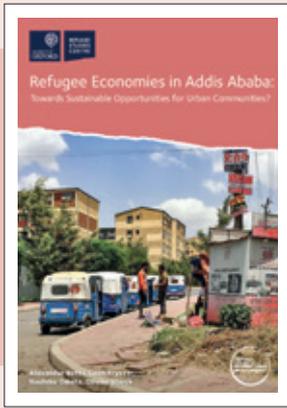
In 2018, we undertook initial data collection in the capital city, Addis Ababa, and the five Dollo Ado camps in the Somali region of Ethiopia: Bokolmanyo, Melkadida, Kobe, Hilaweyn, and Buramino.

Currently, Addis Ababa hosts 22,000 registered refugees comprising of two main groups: 17,000 Eritreans who are on the Out-of-Camp Policy (OCP) based on their capacity to be self-reliant, and 5,000 Somali refugees who are mainly on the Urban Assistance Programme (UAP) because their specific vulnerabilities cannot be met in camps. At the time our research was conducted, refugees were not allowed to work or register businesses.

The five Dollo Ado camps were created between 2009 and 2011 in the Somali region of Ethiopia, and host around 200,000 refugees. The camps benefited significantly from the IKEA Foundation's \$100 million USD investment between 2012 and 2018. In addition to our core research, in 2019 we undertook a retrospective evaluation of the impact of the livelihoods programmes supported by the IKEA Foundation in Dollo Ado.



Location of the five Dollo Ado camps in Ethiopia. Map taken from *Building Refugee Economies: An evaluation of the IKEA Foundation's programmes in Dollo Ado*, 2020 (RSC)



Refugee Economies in Addis Ababa: Towards Sustainable Opportunities for Urban Communities?

Alexander Betts, Leon Fryszler, Naohiko Omata, and Olivier Sterck

In this report, we draw upon data collected from 2,441 refugees and host community members living in Addis Ababa to consider the prospects for a sustainable urban response in the context of Ethiopia's adoption of the new Refugee Proclamation in 2019, which appears to provide refugees with the right to work and freedom of movement.

Supported with qualitative data, our aim was to examine the economic lives of refugee communities and their interactions with the host community, and explore the challenges faced by urban refugees, and the informal adaption strategies they adopt in response.

Findings:

Throughout our research in Addis Ababa, we show that although Eritrean refugees have several significant advantages compared with Somali refugees, including higher levels of education and community integration, both populations experience extreme socio-economic challenges when compared with the host community. This includes low incomes and high unemployment levels, as the majority of Eritrean and Somali refugees are unemployed, and the majority of refugees who were employed or self-employed had low incomes and were generally employed informally.

Both groups face precarity due to their reliance on the informal sector, and thus are vulnerable to exploitation. Pending implementation of the new legal framework, refugees are not able to formally work, causing welfare levels to be much lower than the host community: the lack of economic opportunity has had a detrimental effect on refugees' mental and physical health and life satisfaction. As a result of this, an overwhelming majority aspire to migrate onwards or access resettlement, with a significant focus on Europe and the USA.

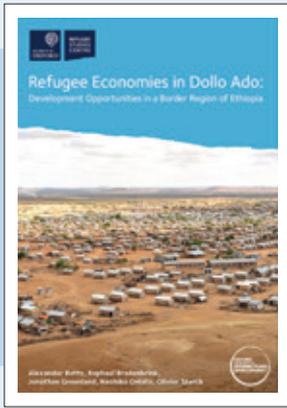
Furthermore, we found that refugees rely upon three sets of social networks. Firstly, with hosts: relationships were generally positive, although welfare of refugees is generally lower. Informal connections with the host community create a source of employment opportunities and an ability to obtain business licences. Secondly, with refugees: not all refugees have access to transnational networks or remittances. Instead, they rely on fellow refugees, especially Eritrean refugee populations, to build networks for accommodation, access to employment, and emergency funds. Finally transnationally: remittances sent by relatives abroad are crucial to subsidise the cost of living in Addis Ababa. Somali and Eritrean refugees on average have at least one sibling in another country. Women are more likely to receive remittances.

These networks are insufficient to sustain an adequate level of welfare. However, Somali refugees still saw this as a preferred option when compared to camps.

Recommendations:

The new provision of socio-economic rights, announced in 2019, is exceptionally progressive, and has been welcomed by the international community. However, it will still require a series of implementation laws and it remains unclear what, if any, restrictions may be added. And yet, irrespective of how the proclamation is implemented, two things are likely: an increase in the refugee population choosing to live in Addis Ababa, and a need to create greater opportunities to work for both refugees and the host community. With this in mind, we offer a series of recommendations:

- **Provide opportunities as well as rights:** There is a need to provide refugees with legal rights and the opportunity to work in Addis Ababa, and encourage job creation for both refugees and the host community.
- **Build upon what already exists:** Many refugees rely on remittances, host community relationships, and mutual self-help in relation to work and other opportunities. These socio-economic strategies need to be understood as the basis for designing urban interventions.
- **Create an area-based urban programme:** Programmes should include both refugees and the host community, and should work with the municipal authorities to focus on high refugee concentration areas.
- **Invest in urban job creation:** There are low employment levels among both refugees and the proximate host community. Strategies to encourage job creation include investing in start-up finance, fighting corruption, improving infrastructure in high refugee concentration areas, and providing vocational training.
- **Strengthen opportunities outside Addis Ababa:** Socio-economic opportunities, including job creation, should be made available in other areas of Ethiopia, such as in border regions, secondary cities, and industrial zones.
- **Consider alternative migration pathways:** Our data shows that most refugees would prefer legal pathways for onward migration in the absence of socio-economic opportunities. While not an adequate solution alone, expanding opportunities for resettlement and migration could complement a primary focus on solutions within Ethiopia.



Refugee Economies in Dollo Ado: Development Opportunities in a Border Region of Ethiopia

Alexander Betts, Raphael Bradenbrink, Jonathan Greenland, Naohiko Omata, and Olivier Sterck

The economy in the Dollo Ado area is based on two interrelated elements: aid and the cross border economy. Refugees benefit from food and occasional non-food assistance, education and health services, and sources of employment from the international humanitarian presence in the camps. However, Dollo Ado town also serves as an economic lifeline, connecting the camps to the economy of Somalia.

In 2018, we surveyed 5,643 refugees and host community members living in the five Dollo Ado camps. Our aim was to explore the ways that refugees strategically use both the cross-border economy and international aid, and how the host community benefits from the presence of refugees.

Findings:

Our research found that most refugees in Dollo Ado remain poor and depend on food aid. In the camps, only 21% of refugees have an income-generating activity, compared with 29% of hosts, and the largest source of employment for both groups is as incentive workers for international organisations. Among those who do work, incomes are low: 800 ETB (about \$20 USD) for refugees and 3,000 ETB (about \$75 USD) for hosts.

International assistance has focused on developing livelihoods opportunities in agriculture, livestock, and commerce. Despite this, few refugee households derive their primary income from these activities. Cultural and environmental reasons such as the arid climate, lack of interest in agriculture by Somali refugees, and seasonal flooding risks explain the lack of engagement. Retail commerce is more sort after, with 28% of refugees with an income noting they are self-employed in this sector.

13% of refugees had travelled to Dollo Ado town at least once in the previous year. Dollo Ado town acts as a communications gateway, a commercial hub, and a place for employment, education, and socialising. Although cross-border movement is prohibited, an estimated 200 refugees cross the border bridge to Somalia every day. Movement happens more regularly before and after the distribution of food rations. However, we found that some refugees sold their rations for cash. These were often sold below market value. Rations were also found to be sold to community brokers, who sell them on to businesses such as pasta factories, who then serve as pasta wholesalers in the camps.

The camps also represent an important source of social protection. Refugees take advantage of split family strategies so the young and elderly can receive access to assistance and services in the camps, while working age men divide their time between the camps and Somalia. Unlike hosts, refugees identify NGOs and UNHCR as a source of protection if they face an emergency, food shortages, or unemployment. The Refugee Central Committee (RCC) is the official camp leadership across all five camps and their role is to assist refugees and mediate between camp residents and external authorities. While some refugees reported that RCC members are trusted and respected, there were reports of corruption, nepotism, and issues with power dynamics as a result of disproportionate representation of some clans.

Refugee-host relationships within the Dollo Ado region are positive as both refugees and host community members share a common 'Somali' identity, culture, language, and religion. Most refugee-host interactions are transactional, including collaborating on economic activities such as through cooperatives and other agricultural activities.

Recommendations:

The challenge is to build on the IKEA Foundation's legacy in order to ensure sustainable economic opportunities for both refugees and the host community by creating growth and development within the border economy. This will require building on the legacy of the IKEA Foundation's investment and extending its benefits across the community; recognising and building upon the realities of the cross-border economy; improving infrastructure and transportation; catalysing growth in the digital economy; creating viable capital markets; developing a formal labour market; moving from a camp to a settlement model; and introducing cash-based assistance.

With an aim to make our research accessible to the refugee and host communities with whom we work we published a Somali-language version of *Refugee Economies in Dollo Ado* in 2019. The report was made available in all five of the camps, and copies were shared with refugees and host community members at a series of outreach events organised with the Refugee Central Committee.

The report was translated by Maimuna Mohamud, a PhD student at Cambridge University.



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Photos, from top: Somali refugee women collect firewood near the Prosopis Firewood Processing and Charcoal Briquette Production Scheme centre in Melkadida camp | Middle row: Dissemination of the Somali-language version of report in Dollo Ado; Food distribution in Buramino camp | Bottom row: Cooperative members stand on an irrigation canal at Melkadida farming site; Refugees' homes seen from a hill in Melkadida camp



Building Refugee Economies: An Evaluation of the IKEA Foundation's Programmes in Dollo Ado

Alexander Betts, Andonis Marden, Raphael Bradenbrink,
and Jonas Kaufmann

The IKEA Foundation's \$100m USD investment in the camps is the largest ever private sector investment made in a particular refugee setting. Its goal was to pilot a new and more sustainable model for refugee response that might ultimately be replicated on a larger scale elsewhere.

In 2019, we conducted an evaluation of the investment to understand how the funding has impacted refugee and host communities in this borderland area, and better inform future programming in Dollo Ado, throughout Ethiopia, and globally.

Findings:

The main livelihoods projects have focused on agriculture, livestock, energy, the environment, and microfinance loans, and have generally functioned through a cooperative model. The model has been facilitated by national and local implementing partners. In 2018, the model had created income-generating activities for over 2,050 refugees and host community members, causing a positive impact on welfare outcomes.

Cooperative success is linked with market integration, with those associated with the livestock value chain being the most successful. Many of the cooperatives were at an early stage in their implementation, and were therefore not fully operational. Although their potential is yet to be realised, we did note some positive impacts, including: self-reported increase in income and consumption, improved refugee-host relations, creation of gender-sensitive livelihoods opportunities, and the expansion of markets, among others. However, we did find evidence for ongoing dependency on external inputs from UNHCR, inadequate market linkages to ensure long-term sustainability, and a significant inconsistency in performance across camps.

The lack of a clear conception framework for how to build a sustainable economy in a remote refugee-hosting region has meant that decision-making has been based on intuition rather than evidence, philanthropic rather than market-based justifications, and iterative learning rather than strategic planning. The lessons learned from the programmes have wider policy implications for building economies in other remote refugee-hosting borderlands. We draw upon these lessons to provide a framework for how to support the creation of sustainable economies that include refugees. The elements of the framework are: political will, infrastructure, cultural relevance, comparative advantage, and external inputs.

The investment has helped to build trust between the international community and local authorities. By including

the host community as programme beneficiaries, the IKEA Foundation helped demonstrate that refugees can make a contribution to the Dollo Ado region. The impact of the IKEA Foundation's investment has also contributed to organisational change within UNHCR, and demonstrated the potential contribution of the private sector in the international refugee system. Despite positive impacts, we need to learn from successes and failures of the approach, and seek to adapt for other contexts.

Recommendations:

The Dollo Ado experience offers an extraordinary opportunity to learn. One of the biggest returns on investment is the knowledge and insights it offers for Ethiopia and the wider world. Recommendations for the Ethiopian context are noted below. Global implications can be found in the full report.

- A significant limitation has been the absence of baseline data. All future programming by UNHCR and the IKEA Foundation should be evidence-based or evidence-generating.
- Future cooperative success is dependent upon the following conditions: following market-based design principles, building upon pre-existing economic activities within the community, adopting clear principles of within-cooperative coordination, ensuring complementary infrastructure, and designing sustainability plans to help achieve independence.
- UNHCR and ARRA need to support continued expansion of the Foundation's investments in Dollo Ado, especially in relation to economic developments in agriculture, livestock, and retail commerce.
- The IKEA Foundation, UNHCR, and the Government of Ethiopia need to develop a clear strategic plan to build a sustainable economy in this region, and a series of dialogues should be conceived to identify ways in which the insights from Dollo Ado can inform Ethiopia's refugee policies.

Complementing the full report, we published two policy briefs entitled 'Building economies in refugee-hosting regions: Lessons from Dollo Ado' and 'The IKEA Foundation and livelihoods in Dollo Ado: Lessons from the cooperatives model'. We also produced a short documentary film that highlights the key findings of the evaluation, and makes them accessible to a wider audience.



ACADEMIC PUBLICATIONS

In addition to our Refugee Economies policy papers series, we also publish our findings through peer reviewed books and journal articles.

Alexander Betts (2021) *The Wealth of Refugees: How Displaced People Can Build Economies*. Oxford University Press.

This book draws upon the research of the Refugee Economies Programme, situates it within a broader global context, and aims to make it accessible to a wider public audience. Its starting point is that we live in ‘an age of displacement’, faced with rising numbers of displaced people yet declining political willingness to assist and protect refugees. This trend will be exacerbated by climate change and the legacy of COVID-19. Sustainable forms of refugee protection are therefore urgently needed to reconcile rights, politics, and the need to deliver at scale. In order to identify evidence-based solutions, the book explores ethics, economics, politics, and policy. It identifies approaches that can be effective in improving the welfare of refugees, increasing social cohesion between refugees and host communities, and reducing the need for onward migration. The book argues that the key lies in unlocking the potential contributions of refugees themselves. Refugees bring skills, talents, and aspirations and can be a benefit rather than a burden to receiving societies. Realising this potential relies upon moving beyond a purely humanitarian focus to fully include refugees in host-country economies, build economic opportunities in refugee-hosting regions, and navigate the ambiguous politics of refugee protection.

Claire MacPherson and Olivier Sterck (2021) ‘Empowering refugees through cash and agriculture: A regression discontinuity design’, *Journal of Development Economics*, Vol. 149.

Assistance to refugees is shifting from a humanitarian model, which focuses on protection, emergency relief, and shelter, to a development model promoting refugee self-reliance through

income-generating activities, market development, and cash transfers. Evidence on the effects of this paradigm shift is limited. Exploiting a regression discontinuity design, this paper tests whether the adoption of a development approach to refugee assistance in a new settlement in Kenya has a positive impact. We find that refugees benefiting from the new approach have better diets and perceive themselves as happier and more independent from humanitarian aid. We find no effect on assets and employment. These effects appear to be driven by the switch from food rations to cash transfers and by the wider promotion of small-scale agriculture. Our findings argue in favour of the development approach to refugee assistance, which is cheaper and leads to better outcomes.

Naohiko Omata (2020) ‘Refugee livelihoods: a comparative analysis of Nairobi and Kakuma camp in Kenya’, *Disasters*.

While the literature on refugee livelihoods is growing, there remain a lack of comparative studies examining livelihood strategies in relation to their host communities and their living locations. Drawing upon fieldwork in the Kakuma camps and Nairobi in Kenya, this article therefore provides a comparative analysis of the economic activities employed by refugees living in different contexts and highlights some of the institutional factors that distinguish the economic lives of refugees from those of their host populations. The findings suggest that while some Kenyan hosts are encumbered by challenges that are comparable to those faced by refugees, the myriad political, legal, and policy factors that characterise refugeehood are nonetheless particular in the ways that they influence livelihoods. By highlighting the multiple actors and factors that shape refugees’ economic strategies, the article provides insight into the political economy within which refugee livelihoods are embedded.

Alexander Betts, Evan Easton-Calabria, and Kate Pincock (2020) 'Localising Public Health: Refugee-led organisations as first and last responders in COVID-19', *World Development*, Vol. 139.

The COVID-19 pandemic and ensuing socio-economic impact on already marginalised refugee communities demonstrate both the need for, and lack of, localisation in humanitarian and development responses. Our research with organisations founded and led by refugees, termed here refugee-led organisations (RLOs), in camps and cities in Kenya and Uganda shows their potential to be an asset in the response to COVID-19 and in contributing to more effective and participatory forms of humanitarian assistance. In this research we draw on pre-pandemic research with around 80 RLOs and follow-up research with 15 in Uganda and Kenya who are actively responding to the pandemic and its effects. We identify five key areas in which refugees are or could be involved as responders to COVID-19 and other pandemics: providing public information, supplementing capacity gaps, healthcare delivery, shaping social norms, and virus tracking and contact tracing. Our research during COVID-19 shows how RLOs have pivoted their existing service provision to fill assistance gaps, including in areas directly related to public health. As the humanitarian system searches for ways to implement remote and participatory approaches to refugee assistance, RLOs offer great potential, if mechanisms can be found to identify those that are effective, provide them with funding, and build their capacities.

Kate Pincock, Alexander Betts, and Evan Easton-Calabria (2020) 'The Rhetoric and Reality of Localisation: Refugee-Led Organisations in Humanitarian Governance', *Journal of Development Studies*, 57(5), 719-734.

When refugees flee war and persecution, protection and assistance are usually provided by United Nations organisations and their NGO implementing partners. In parallel is a largely



The Wakati Foundation employ refugees to sew masks in Uganda

neglected story: refugees themselves frequently mobilise to provide protection and assistance to other refugees. At a global level, there has been a shift in international policy rhetoric towards 'localisation' and inclusion of refugees, which potentially provides an opportunity to engage with refugee-led community organisations (RLOs). However, RLOs rarely receive access to international recognition or funding despite often being regarded by refugees as an important source of assistance. In this article, we draw upon ethnographic research on the interactions between international institutions and RLOs in Kampala, Uganda, to explore how 'localisation' unfolds in practice within humanitarian governance. In the absence of a clear policy framework for localisation at the global level, national level representatives have considerable discretion in whether and how they partner with RLOs, leading largely to their exclusion – and the development of alternative support strategies by RLOs. We suggest that an effective localisation agenda will require much more attention to the role of power and interests at the local level if RLOs are to be engaged as meaningful actors in humanitarian assistance.

Alexander Betts, Naohiko Omata, and Olivier Sterck (2021) 'Transnational Blindness: International Institutions and Refugees' Cross-Border Strategies', *Review of International Studies*.

The Dollo Ado refugee camps, located close to the Ethiopian-Somali border, have been a major focus for the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR)'s attempts to build livelihoods for refugees and the host community. The context presents an analytical puzzle: despite the importance of cross-border activity to refugees' socio-economic lives, such transnational activity has been institutionally invisible to the international agencies seeking to assist them. The article explores how and why refugees' cross-border activities have been neglected by international institutions. As a theoretical starting point, it draws upon the post-development literature, and notably the work of James Ferguson, which explores how international institutions frequently misunderstand the agency and strategies of their subject populations. However, *contra* Ferguson's predominantly Foucauldian methodological and epistemologically approach, the article adopts a mixed methods approach, and emphasises the agency of aid workers, bureaucratic politics, and political economy in its account of the disjuncture between international institutions' state-centric livelihoods programmes and refugees' own cross-border economic strategies.

Alexander Betts (2021) 'Refugees and Patronage: A Political History of Uganda's "Progressive" Refugee Policies', *African Affairs*, 120(479), 243-276.

Uganda's self-reliance policy for refugees has been recognized as among the most progressive refugee policies in the world. In contrast to many refugee-hosting countries, it allows refugees the right to work and freedom of movement. It has been widely praised as a model for other countries to emulate. However, there has been little research on the politics that underlie Uganda's approach. Why has Uganda maintained

these policies despite hosting more refugees than any country in Africa? Based on archival research and elite interviews, this article provides a political history of Uganda's self-reliance policies from independence to the present. It reveals that Uganda's self-reliance policies are not 'new' but have significant continuity since independence in 1962. Furthermore, there has been significant continuity in the politics underlying Uganda's exceptionalist policies. Refugee policy has been used by Ugandan leaders at particular junctures of history to strengthen patronage and assert political authority within strategically important refugee-hosting hinterlands. International donors have sometimes abetted domestic illiberalism in order to sustain a liberal internationalist success story. For policy-makers seeking to replicate or emulate Uganda's self-reliance policies, it is important to understand the broader political context within which its progressive refugee policies have emerged.

Alexander Betts, Naohiko Omata, and Olivier Sterck (2020) 'Self-reliance and Social Networks: Explaining Refugees' Reluctance to Relocate from Kakuma to Kalobeyei', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 33(1), 62-85.

In 2016, refugees in the Kakuma camps in Kenya were offered the opportunity to relocate to the new Kalobeyei settlement, which ostensibly offered a better set of opportunities. While it was portrayed by the international community as objectively better for refugees' autonomy and socio-economic prospects, most refugees in Kakuma viewed the opportunity differently. Less than 16 per cent of refugees who heard about Kalobeyei were willing to be resettled there if land were provided. For refugees, the main justifications for the reluctance to move were linked to the likely disruption to existing social networks. This example of 'relocation for self-reliance' has wider implications for how we conceptualize self-reliance. Although the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)'s definition of refugee self-reliance recognizes that it applies to the community level as well as the individual level, self-reliance programmes that exclusively target individuals risk rejection by communities unless they also take into account the importance of social networks.

Alexander Betts, Naohiko Omata, and Olivier Sterck (2020) 'The Kalobeyei Settlement: A Self-reliance Model for Refugees?', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 33(1), 189-223.

In 2016, the Kalobeyei refugee settlement was created, just 3.5 kilometres from the Kakuma camps in Kenya. In a departure from Kenya's policy of not allowing refugees to work, its aim was to provide self-reliance to refugees and greater refugee-host interaction. But are refugee policies and programmes in Kalobeyei really different from those in Kakuma? If so, what are the differences? And do these differences actually translate into different self-reliance outcomes for refugees? Drawing upon a

mixed-methods approach, we compare aid models, self-reliance enabling factors and self-reliance outcomes between Kalobeyei and Kakuma. After just 15 months, we find that self-reliance-enabling factors – such the environment, assets, networks, markets and public goods – remain similar across both sites and, in some cases, are better in Kakuma. The major differences between the sites are in the aid model: Kalobeyei's cash-assistance and agricultural programmes. We find improved nutritional outcomes and a greater perception of autonomy in Kalobeyei, both of which may be attributable to differences in the aid models. These findings have implications for how we conceptualize the institutional design of self-reliance in Kalobeyei and elsewhere.

Antonia Delius and Olivier Sterck (2020) 'Cash Transfers and Micro-Enterprise Performance: Theory and Quasi-Experimental Evidence from Kenya', CSAE Working Paper WPS/2020-09.

Theoretically, the effect of household cash transfers depends on how businesses respond to the demand shock and on the resulting effect on prices. Such market effects have been largely overlooked in the literature, which mostly focuses on direct impacts on households. We study the impact of a household cash transfer program on retail businesses operating in two refugee sites in Kenya. Refugees receive a monthly mobile money transfer that can only be spent at licensed businesses. We compare licensed and unlicensed businesses, using matching methods to control for all variables considered in the licensing process. We show that licensed businesses have much higher revenues and profits and charge higher prices than unlicensed businesses. In line with theory, the cash transfer program created a parallel retail market in which a limited number of businesses enjoy high market power. We identify a series of market imperfections explaining the results.



A woman using Bamba Chakula to buy goods in Kakuma



REFUGEE-LED ORGANISATIONS

Refugees often provide sources of assistance that are valued by the community and yet find themselves locked-out of formal recognition or funding from the international humanitarian system. We have therefore undertaken research to explore the role of refugee-led organisations (RLOs) as providers of social protection – whether through the provision of informal education, health-related services, food assistance, psycho-social support, or youth engagement activities, for example.

Our research in this area has been divided into two phases. First, between 2017 and 2019, we received a Global Challenges Research Fund (GCRF) grant from the ESRC and AHRC to explore the role of RLOs in providing social protection in Kenya and Uganda. We explored three main questions:

1. **Constraints:** what is the institutional context within which RLOs operate?
2. **Activities:** what does the landscape of RLOs look like?
3. **Interactions:** what kinds of interactions take place between formal governance and RLOs?

We found that RLOs are an important and valued source of assistance within their communities. However, RLOs face significant barriers and are often excluded from recognition of funding by donors due to being seen as unable to meet vetting and compliance standards. Based on these observations, we made a series of recommendations for how donors and international organisations can meet their commitments to the localisation agenda, while improving the effectiveness, efficiency, and legitimacy of international assistance.

Based on these findings, we proposed that international organisations should adopt a global policy framework relating to RLOs, focusing on the following areas:

- **Mapping and recognition.** Mapping is needed for awareness. Understanding what exists is the first step towards being able to make sensible policy decisions about whether and how to partner with RLOs.
- **Capacity-building.** Basic skills such as management, accounting, auditing, strategy, and coaching could improve community leaders' ability to lead and manage viable partner organisations.

- **Direct funding.** Donors have much to gain from piloting direct funding for RLOs. If given support, RLOs represent a much more cost-effective way to allocate resources than working through multi-layered processes of delegation. While risks may be higher, piloting, learning, and innovating about different financing schemes for RLOs would be worthwhile.
- **Partnership and process.** RLOs have the potential to fill important niches in key areas. Rather than working outside of the humanitarian system, opportunities should exist for RLOs to serve as formal implementing or operating partners.

Kate Pincock, Evan Easton-Calabria, and Alexander Betts produced a series of publications, including a book entitled, *The Global Governed? Refugees as Providers of Protection and Assistance* (Cambridge University Press, 2020), articles in the *Journal of Development Studies* and *World Development*, and a policy brief, which was launched at a collaborative event with RLOs in Kampala.

Second, in follow-up, we have continued to build upon this research in the context of COVID-19. Based on the recognition that RLOs have filled important assistance gaps during the pandemic, we have continued to map out the ways in which RLOs have fulfilled important functions in cities and camps during lockdown, whether related to health, food assistance, or other areas of support. We have embarked on a collaborative study of RLOs in the context of COVID-19, working with Carleton University's Local Engagement Refugee Research Network (LERRN), the Open Society Foundations (OSF), the Bosch Foundation, and the Global Whole Being Fund. The study is designed to be refugee-led, based on collaboration between researchers in our Nairobi refugee-led research Hub and LERRN's refugee research team in the Dadaab camps. It focuses comparatively on Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, and Ethiopia.



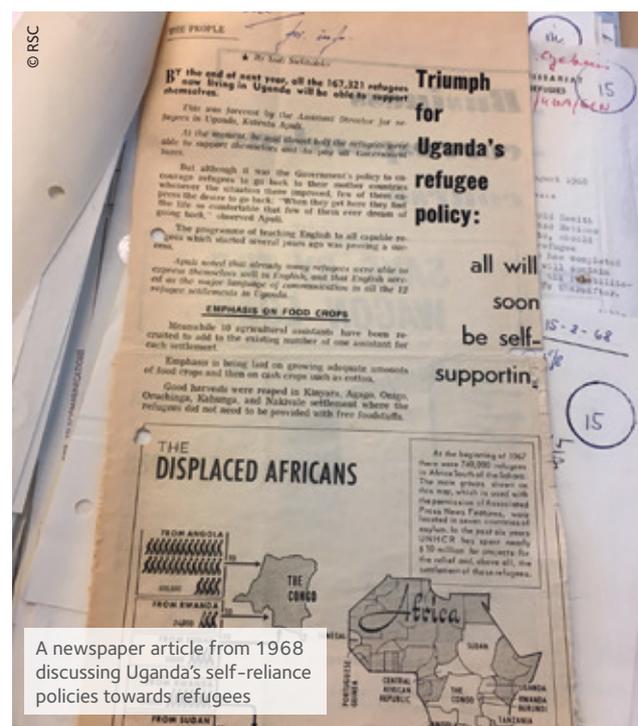
POLITICS AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

The economic inclusion of refugees is shaped by politics. Throughout our research, we have tried to understand that politics. We are interested in why some countries adopt relatively more liberal or restrictive policies towards socio-economic rights, such as the right to work, and how the role of power and interests across international, national, and local levels shape these socio-economic rights. We have undertaken research on this theme in the Middle East (funded by the Swiss FDFA) and East Africa (funded by the British Academy).

In the Middle East, Alexander Betts, Ali Ali, and Fulya Memişoğlu explored the local politics of the Syrian refugee crisis, focusing on how local politics and the political economy shape responses to Syrian refugees in Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan. They found that, while there are commonalities in the trajectories of the three countries' national policies, there is variation at the sub-national level. This is due to a variation in interests (e.g. elites benefiting from representing Syrian refugees as either a threat or opportunity) and identity (e.g. political parties in Turkey or confessionalism in Lebanon). The work led to two main publications: a policy paper entitled 'The Local Politics of the Syrian Refugee Crisis' and an article in the *Journal of Refugee Studies* entitled 'What difference do mayors make? The role of municipal authorities in Turkey and Lebanon's response to Syrian refugees'.

During 2018-19, Alexander Betts received a British Academy mid-career fellowship to explore the political economy of refugee self-reliance in East Africa. With a focus on Uganda, Kenya, and Ethiopia, the research explored the question, why do some countries give refugees the right to work and other socio-economic rights, while others do not? The regional context is especially interesting because of variation across the countries: Uganda offers the right to work, Kenya does not, and Ethiopia has gradually shifted from highly restrictive to increasingly more liberal. The research aimed to understand the international, national, and local politics that underlie this. Methodologically, the work has drawn upon both archival research and elite interviews in the three focus countries. Some of the findings have been published in *The Wealth of Refugees: How Displaced People Can Build Economies* (Oxford

University Press, 2021), and an article in *African Affairs* on the political history of Uganda's refugee policies. Olivier Sterck and Alexander Betts are also undertaking complementary quantitative research to explore the determinants of the right to work and other socio-economic rights for refugees through a global database based on coding and data provided by a number of humanitarian organisations.



A newspaper article from 1968 discussing Uganda's self-reliance policies towards refugees



PARTICIPATORY RESEARCH

A key principle of our work is that it is based on participatory research methods, including participatory livelihood mapping and survey implementation by refugee and host community enumerators. Over the last five years, we have hired and trained over 290 refugees and host community members as coordinators, enumerators, and research assistants. This has helped build trust, facilitate access, and allowed surveys to be translated into local languages.

We have also tried to make our research accessible to the refugee and host communities with whom we work. For example, we published a Somali-language version of our *Refugee Economies in Dollo Ado* report, and held a series of launch events and discussion groups relating to the report in each of the five Dollo Ado camps, held in collaboration with the Refugee Central Committees of the camps.

We recognise, however, that there is more to participatory research than recruiting and training research assistants and enumerators. Gradually, we have tried to pilot approaches based on a greater degree of participation, including research

co-design. A significant step forwards in that regard has been the creation of the pilot Nairobi-based refugee-led research hub. Based at the British Institute in Eastern Africa (BIEA), the Nairobi Hub aims to provide training, mentorship, and research opportunities to refugees interested in developing social science research careers. In 2020-21, the Hub has provided seven refugees with traineeship opportunities, giving them the chance to work on a series of projects including the next phase of our research on refugee-led organisations (RLOs) and the design of our new 'Refugee Studies and Forced Migration' online course aimed at refugee learners around the world.



Enumerators with certificates in Bokolmanyo camp



Somali women at a training in Nairobi, from left to right: Ayan Abdi Abdille, Kaltum Awil Hussein, and Ridwa Ahmed Yussuf



COLLABORATION FOR IMPACT

Through our research, we aim to have wider impact, whether by working collaboratively with non-academic organisations, through knowledge exchange activities with policy-makers and practitioners, or through public engagement. Some examples of impact and outreach activities include...

World Economic Forum

In 2018, we collaborated with the World Economic Forum (WEF) to organise a mission to the Kakuma refugee camps for World Economic Forum Young Global Leaders. This provided an opportunity for leaders from business, politics, and academia to explore ways in which public-private partnership could support the economic inclusion of refugees. A year later, in July and August 2019, this led to the design and delivery of an Executive Leadership Education Programme, jointly delivered by the University of Oxford, the World Economic Forum, UNHCR, and the Aliko Dangote Foundation, involving a 9-day course and 12-week follow-up mentorship programme. The course was the first ever Executive Leadership course held in a refugee camp, and was delivered to 30 refugee and nearby host community entrepreneurs, selected from an applicant pool of 280. Refugee Economies Programme research was delivered as part of the course. We also undertook an impact evaluation of the course with funding from the WEF, finding that it had a measurable impact on participants' business decision-making and aspirations.

The Government of Colombia

In February 2019, Alexander Betts was invited to visit Colombia at the request of the Office of the President and with funding from USAID. The purpose of the mission was to explore what insights the Refugee Economies Programme's research in East Africa and elsewhere could offer to the Colombian response to the influx of – at the time – around 1.2 million Venezuelan refugees and migrants. The mission involved field visits to the Venezuelan border regions, including in La Guajira and Norte de Santander, and meetings with government ministries, international organisations, NGOs, and Venezuelan migrant and diaspora organisations. Following these meetings,



Alexander Betts and Felipe Muñoz at the Paraguachón border between Colombia and Venezuela

Alexander had a series of briefings including to the Office of President, the US Embassy, the Canadian Embassy, and the European Union. This was followed by a series of interviews in the Colombian media, a policy brief, an article in the *New Humanitarian*, and an article in *Foreign Affairs*. In all of these meetings, Betts stressed three key messages: the benefits of a development-based approach focused on refugees and the host community, the importance of recognising Venezuelans as being in need of international protection, and the potential for Colombia to convene an international solidarity summit to elicit business and donor investment in refugee-hosting regions.

World Bank–UNHCR–DFID

In October 2020, the Refugee Economies Programme was commissioned by these three organisations to prepare a policy paper on ‘The Role of Inter-Group Interaction in Refugee-Host Community Social Cohesion: An Instrumental Variable Approach’. The paper is part of a broader body of research being supported and funded through these organisations to better understand social cohesion in the context of forced displacement. The paper will draw upon the Refugee Economies Dataset, and particularly the aspects of the data focusing on host community attitudes towards refugees and vice versa, and the quality and quantity of interactions between refugees and hosts.

Refugee-Led Organisations

In all of our research on refugee-led organisations (RLOs), we have worked collaboratively with RLOs. This includes co-authoring publications with RLO leaders and co-convening a launch event for a policy brief at an RLO organisation, YARID’s premises, in Kampala in 2018. In 2020, we launched the #ByRefugees public seminar series, which explored the role of refugee-led organisations in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. The series convened in collaboration with the Global Refugee-Led Network (GRN), and the majority of speakers in the six seminars were refugees, including many leaders of RLOs. Other panellists included staff from international organisations, NGOs, and philanthropic foundations. The series had a combined total of 2,000 registered participants. As a direct outcome of the series, we began a collaboration with the Open Society Foundations (OSF), the Bosch Foundation, and Carleton University’s Local Engagement Refugee Research Network (LERRN) to develop a refugee-led research project exploring the role and impact of RLOs in the context of COVID-19 in Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, and Tanzania.

The Gapminder Foundation

An important goal of our research is narrative change. In 2019, Alexander Betts and Ola Rosling collaborated on developing an ‘ignorance test’ based on the Gapminder methodology to test public understanding relating to a series of refugee-related fact-based questions. Using Google Survey, the test was rolled-out across a range of countries and target populations. The results of the test were presented alongside a presentation of an alternative fact-based narrative, drawing upon our research, at a side event at UNHCR’s Global Refugee Forum in December 2019. In follow-up, Betts and Rosling were hosted by the IKEA Foundation for an *Ask an Expert* on ‘What (almost) everybody gets wrong about refugees’ targeting the general public.

Social Media and Media Coverage:

In 2020 the Refugee Economies website (www.refugee-economies.org) was redesigned. The site includes an overview of the programme, access to all our major publications, videos and links to talks, and a searchable library of other research relating to the economic lives of refugees. Furthermore, since the beginning of the project, our social media following has continued to grow. We can be followed on **Twitter** (@RefugeeEcon) and we have a range of videos available on the RSC **YouTube** channel.

Our research has also been highlighted in the media, including in the *Guardian*, the *Economist*, *Foreign Policy* magazine, *Foreign Affairs*, the *Conversation*, the *New Humanitarian*, and on Al Jazeera English, CNN, and BBC Radio 4, for example.

European Governments

We have shared the key findings of our research through a range of collaborative events with European governments. This has included working collaboratively with or making presentations to senior civil servants or Government Ministers from Denmark, Norway, Austria, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, as well as working directly with the European Commission and the European Migration Network (EMN) in order to share and disseminate the findings of our research.

In addition to these structured activities, we have also delivered talks and lectures, drawing upon the Refugee Economies Programme research, to a wide range of audiences, including to UNHCR, WFP, DFID, Save the Children, Amnesty International, the Annual Meeting of the World Economic Forum in Davos, the World Refugee and Migration Council (WRMC), Goldman Sachs, J.P. Morgan, Spark’s Ignite Conference, the Business Refugee Action Network, and in major public lectures, such as the annual Chr. Michelsen Lecture in Bergen and the Bhutto-Ispahani Lecture at La Verne University.



Per Hegggenes and Alexander Betts at the IKEA Foundation spotlight session at the Global Refugee Forum



TOWARDS THE FUTURE

Our research has mainly focused on East Africa. Its findings are specific to the contexts in which we have worked. Even within those contexts, they are specific to the populations on which we have focused. Nevertheless, the research has been pioneering in a number of regards: focusing comparatively across countries, focusing on both refugees and host communities, focusing on camps and cities, and including an element of longitudinal research.

The research has had a series of defining features. It has been interdisciplinary, encompassing economics, politics, anthropology, and history. It has used mixed methods, including ethnographic methods, interviews, surveys, and impact evaluation methods. It has been participatory, involving refugees and the host community. It has been collaborative, working with a range of partner organisations to support access, improve the research, and identify pathways to impact.

Our research does not provide all the answers. But we hope that some of the insights and methodological innovations of the Programme can inspire further research on the economic lives and contributions of refugees, not only in East Africa but around the world.

More generally, we offer five broad recommendations, based on what we have learned:

Valuing Research

Since we began our programme, there has been a growth in interest in research and data relating to the socio-economic lives and impact of refugees. The World Bank and UNHCR, for example, have launched a Joint Data Center to enable more evidence-based quantitative research on forced displacement. Reflecting the growth in research in this area, we have created a searchable research library on our website. Our experiences suggest that research can make a difference to policy and practice, by shaping narratives and agendas, and by highlighting the conditions under which particular interventions are likely to lead to particular outcomes.

Research in this area needs to be diverse and embrace a range of approaches – qualitative and quantitative. Critical and policy-oriented research also have complementary roles to play. A

whole range of themes have emerged through our research that require further exploration, including the role of mobility and borders in refugees' livelihood strategies, the impact of shocks such as aid cuts, and the role of networks within refugees' economic lives. Methodologically, an important shift that needs to take place within research design is to include intervention-based studies and rigorous impact evaluation methods that can gradually build a clear picture of 'what works'. Programmatic interventions should be systematically designed to incorporate impact evaluations from the outset.

Recognising Politics

Politics and political economy are central to improving the economic lives of refugees. Refugees' socio-economic rights, including the right to work, the right to move freely, and the right to own property, for example, are shaped by the political choices of political elites within the host countries. Legislation and policies are in turn the outcome of particular configurations of power, interests, and ideas. If socio-economic entitlements and opportunities are to be expanded, advocacy alone will probably be insufficient.

There is a need for more systematic understanding of the political conditions under which refugee rights emerge. Our research reveals that much of this politics is extremely ambiguous, and even sometimes murky. The countries that provide the right to work for large numbers of refugees are rarely perfect substantive democracies, and frequently do so for reasons unrelated to human rights per se. But, in order for international organisations and NGOs to promote progressive policy change, they at least need to understand the political context within which refugee policies are forged.

Including Refugees

A key principle of our research has been to use participatory research methods. However, we also recognise that simply working with refugees as research assistants and enumerators is not enough. For that reason, we have begun to pilot a range of other participatory and collaborative approaches to research. For example, we have piloted a Nairobi-based refugee-led research hub in order to build capacity among refugee researchers and provide opportunities for research co-design, independent refugee-led research, and direct authorship of research by refugees. The ultimate aim needs to be to provide refugees with the opportunity to become world-class social scientists and researchers.

Including refugees in research is one part of a broader agenda for refugee inclusion. Our research also highlights the important role of refugees' agency in shaping their own lives and those of their communities, and draws attention to the important role of refugee-led organisations and the role of entrepreneurship within refugee communities. It begins to demonstrate the potential for refugees to participate more greatly in the governance of refugee settlements, and within the governance of the international refugee regime more broadly, whether at a local, national, or international level.

Building Economies

A key finding of our work is that the concepts of 'self-reliance' and 'livelihoods' are inadequate to understand the complexity of refugees' economic lives. Self-reliance has become a ubiquitous objective of the international refugee system, but is usually advanced without recourse to evidence or measurable performance indicators. Our research reveals that self-reliance outcomes are often extremely elusive even in contexts or programmes in which self-reliance is a stated objective. The main difficulty is that it is extremely challenging for refugees to live independently of aid in remote border regions, in which the economies are based mainly on the circulation of aid money.

Building refugee economies in cities and in remote border regions are fundamentally different activities. The former is mainly about breaking down barriers to full socio-economic



Enumerator training in Kakuma, by research assistant Maria Flinder Stierna

inclusion within an existing economy – the right to work, financial inclusion, access to education and vocational training, and social protection. The latter requires the economic transformation of remote border regions, which have often historically lacked basic infrastructure. If self-reliance is to be viable within remote border regions, a shift has to take place from purely focusing on micro-economic interventions towards macro-economic planning to support regional development for entire refugee-hosting regions.

Working Together

Finally, through our research, we have learned to appreciate the value of collaboration. As a research organisation, we cannot have impact by ourselves. We rely upon other organisations with operational roles to adopt and implement recommendations derived from our research. Gradually, we have begun to build an approach that we call 'collaborating for impact', trying to work with organisations in order to create viable pathways to impact. We have built collaborations with a diverse range of stakeholders – governments, international organisations, businesses, foundations, NGOs, and refugee-led community-based organisations.



Refugee and host community livestock traders sell goats in Bokolmanyo camp



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Our research would not have been possible without the contribution from refugee and host community researchers in **Uganda**, **Kenya**, and **Ethiopia**. They contributed to our programme in a range of ways, including as research assistants, coordinators, and enumerators. We share the names of the contributors where permission was received, and include only their single name where requested. We also thank those who wished to remain anonymous.

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In Ethiopia: The Administration for Refugees and Returnee Affairs (ARRA), Danish Refugee Council (DRC), Government of Ethiopia, IOM, NRC, Plan International, the Relief Society of Tigray, UNHCR, WFP, the Women and Pastoralist Youth Development Organisation (WaPYDO), the Woreda offices in Dollo Ado, and ZOA.

Photos opposite, top row, left to right: A Burundian refugee, who was a student nurse in Burundi, has used their experience to open a small pharmacy in Kashojwa village, Nakivale; Two members of a cooperative fill prosopis bark into a briquette production barrel in the Prosopis Processing Centre in Buramino camp | Centre: A Turkana host community woman poses with her friend from South Sudan at the Horticulture Farm in Kalobeyei | Bottom row, left to right: Burundian refugees in Kashojwa village, Nakivale, set up New Bujumbura's local bakery; A Burundian refugee and a Kenyan artisan polish brass jewellery at the Bawa Hope workshop in Nairobi



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