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Food and Livelihoods in the Bidibidi Refugee Settlement of
Northwestern Uganda

A research paper

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MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major: Agrarian Food and Environmental Studies

(AFES)

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November 2021

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Acknowledgment

First, I want to my express my sincere gratitude to my research supervisor Dr. Julien-Francois Gerber who has helped, supported, and coached me throughout this research period. He guided, advised, and motivated me to go further and beyond the information I had gathered. It was a great privilege and honor to conduct this research under your supervision and I'm extremely grateful for this guidance.

I'm grateful to my parents, for the love, prayers, and sacrifices they made to give me the education I needed and prepare me for the future. I'm thankful to my fiancée and daughters for the love, understanding, and support they gave me during the time I was writing this research paper. It has been a big struggle for all of us and I'm thankful for the support that I've received from them.

Furthermore, I want to thank my best friend and brother Donovan who's making sure that I feel comfortable being far away from home to complete this master. I know I can always count on him and I'm very grateful for this.

Last, but not least I want to thank my parents-in-law for the support and interest that they showed during this period. I'm very grateful that you were there to take care of Amber during the hectic times we had at home.

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List of Acronyms

(I)NGOs	(International) Non-Governmental Organizations
CEFORD	Community Empowerment for Rural Development
DFID	Department for International Development
FAO	The Food and Agricultural Organization
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IDS	Institute for Development Studies
ISS	International Institute for Social Studies
KI	Key Informants
KII	Key Informant Interviews
LC1	Local Council 1
LG	Local Government
O Level	Ordinary Level
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
RWC	Refugee Welfare Committee/Council
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SLA	Sustainable Livelihood Approach
SPLM IO	South Sudan People's Liberation Movement in Opposition
SPLM	South Sudan People's Liberation Movement
SRL	Sustainable Rural Livelihood
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDESA	United Nations Department for Economic Affairs
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNRF II	Uganda National Rescue Front
VSLA	Village Savings and Loans Association
WFP	World Food Programme
WFS	World Food Summit
WNBF	West Nile Bank Front

Abstract

Food security in rural refugee, migrant, or internally displaced person's livelihoods continue to challenge every effort to achieve sustainable livelihood. Over the years, scholars have developed different frameworks to analyze the resources necessary, that influence livelihood outcomes, for example, the assets, strategies, and institutions which can later be used to design and implement appropriate programme interventions. Others mention that livelihood approaches emerge out of food security perspectives but are based on the fact that food is only one important basic need among many, and availability of sufficient food does not justify a livelihood. This paper used the Sustainable Rural Livelihood as an analytical framework, by focusing on understanding the assets that the poor and vulnerable people can use or should employ strategies they employ on making a living, focusing on the requirements of livelihoods but it also includes the question of sustainability within a particular setting, for example, a refugee settlement. The analysis shows (1) an understanding of the food system within the settlement and analyzes the major barriers to of food security and sustainable livelihoods of the refugees in Bidibidi settlement and (2) it assesses the different strategies in place to achieve sustainable livelihood among the refugees and the host communities without interfering with the livelihood resources (natural, human, economic or financial and social capital). The study informs that a food system can only make sense if it is sustainable, guarantees food security while taking into consideration the sustainability of the livelihood resources. It is from this that the concept of food security became the dominant point of discussion and immediately linked with a sustainable livelihood.

Relevance to Development studies

This paper is situated within the current and timely debate on sustainable development, sustainable livelihood, food security, poverty, and conflicts. Access to sustainable livelihoods is an on ongoing discussion and more relevant than ever during the COVID-19 crisis the world is facing at the moment. It shows that populations are still facing challenges when shocks and stresses occur. Lack of coordination and reliable information about specific areas like Bidibidi are reasons that interventions and policies are not always successful. This study provides more insight in the situation of refugees in Bidibidi and provides necessary information about the sustainability of their livelihoods and food security.

Keywords

Food system, Food security, Livelihood, Sustainable rural livelihood, Refugees, Bidibidi.

Chapter 1: Introduction

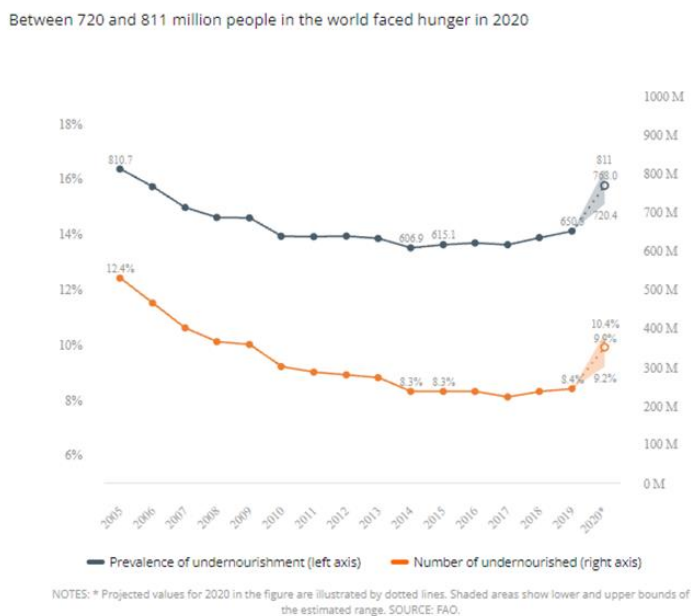
1.1 Introduction

The current study focuses on the food and livelihood of refugees and the host community in Uganda, specifically the Bidibidi refugee settlement. In 2015, the United Nations' Sustainable Development adopted the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). At the heart of it, was the call for transformation in agriculture and food systems to end hunger, reduce poverty, achieve food security, and improve nutrition by 2030 (FAO, 2018a). To achieve this goal, the global food system needs to be remodeled to include and play together with the poor and marginalized populations; it should be resilient, productive as well as environmentally sustainable to achieve healthy and nutritious diets for all (FAO, 2018a). However, these being complex and systemic processes that need a combined effort at all levels, it should be right from local, national, regional, and global levels for the food system to work. It should be considered in the different contexts of globalization, the fast increasing population, the changing consumption pattern, urbanization, climate change as well as the depletion of natural resources (FAO, 2018a). FAO defined food system as one that *"encompass the entire range of actors and their interlinked activities, value-adding activities involved in the production, processing, aggregation, distribution consumption and disposal of food products that originate from agriculture, forestry or fisheries and parts of the broader economic, societal and natural environments in which they are embedded"* (FAO, 2018a). Food being one important aspect of human life for survival, it is strongly linked to health and sustainable development. The SDG 2 zero hunger, does not only put access to food at the center of focus of the SDGs 2030, but also relates it to several other goals, targets, and indicators (Steiner, Geissler, Schernhammer, 2019). Moreover, in a space where people lack food or ideal diets, malnutrition becomes a common sight, and yet it is malnutrition that links food insecurity as a complex sustainable development issue to health, economic development, and trade (Capone et al. 2014). Leslie et al. (2015) believe that the

central problem that the world (humanity) is experiencing right now is more of how to realize sustainable results that benefit both people and nature without interfering with the other.

Over the past few decades, issues of nutritious and healthy foods have continuously been blamed on unsustainable food systems (De Schutter, 2017). Indeed, with the loss of biodiversity, different indigenous crop species are gradually disappearing because they are being replaced with unsustainable crops which have had impacts on the sustainability of livelihoods (Jacobsen et al., 2013). Currently, the world is believed to be producing sufficient food to feed the global population and is expected to continue for the next century to come (Islam, 1995). Food production has over the years increased faster than the world population (Clover 2003). Despite such an abundance, over 811 million people in the world go every night to bed hungry, with 690 million undernourished (FAO, 2020). The year 2019 to 2020 saw the number of undernourished people grow by 161 million people. This is happening everywhere in the world with some regions like Sub-Saharan Africa dominating. See figure 1 below shows the number of people who experienced hunger between 2019 and 2020.

Figure 1: Population experienced hunger in the world in 2020. Source FAO 2020

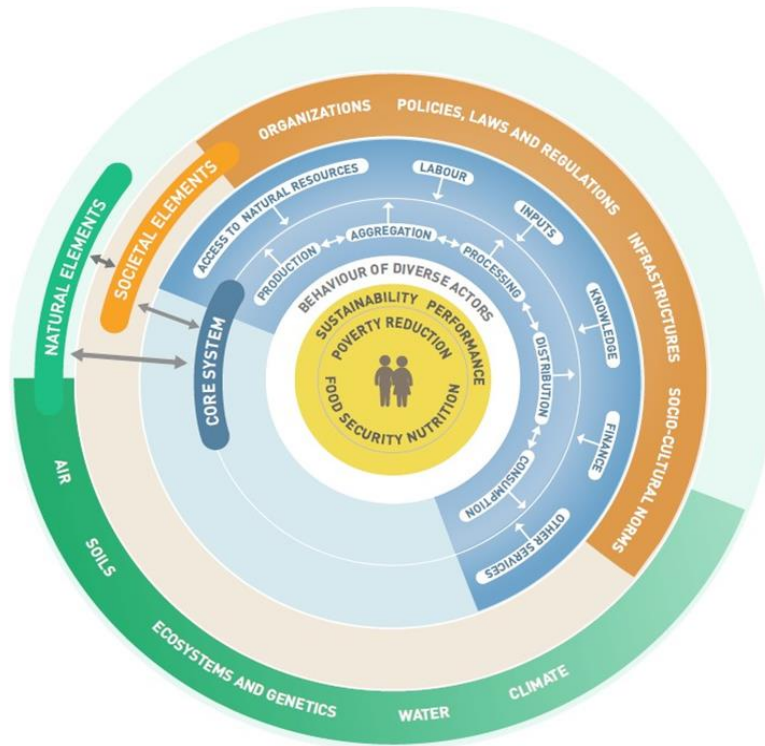


Source: FAO, 2020

According to FAO (2020), although the number of people experiencing severe food insecurity is reducing in other parts of the world, it keeps increasing in Sub-Saharan Africa which shows how dire the need for food nutrition security and sustainable livelihood call for a sustainable food system. FAO (2018a), *“defined a sustainable food system as a system that delivers food security and nutrition for all in such a way that the economic, social and environmental bases to generate food security and nutrition for future generations are not compromised, meaning that it is economically, socially and environmentally sustainable”*. In other words, *“a sustainable food system as a system that supports food security, makes optimal use of natural resources and human resources, is culturally acceptable and accessible, environmentally sound and economically fair and viable and provides the consumer with nutritionally adequate, safe, healthy and affordable food for present and future generations”* (Capone et al., 2014).

According to Capone et al. (2014, p. 13), the challenge of feeding the growing population that is also faced with difficult situations of conflicts, displacement, hard economic shocks, and the climate crisis will need new strategies that are embedded with both “multicultural and multisectoral approaches”. Approaches capable of coming up with new forms of dialogue at different levels that will lead to the realization of sustainable use of the natural and human resources (Scoones, 1998; 2015; FAO, 2018a), see figure 2, showing the food system wheel. These ideas were recently backed by a UNHCR (2021) report during the World Food Day that, to address the issue of food insecurity, reduce poverty, hunger and achieve nutrition, there is a need for a holistic food system approach and scaled-up investment in the local food system. The critical approach will ensure food security and nutrition for all (UNHCR, 2021)

Figure 2: The food system wheel. From, Sustainable food system, concept, and framework by FAO (2018).

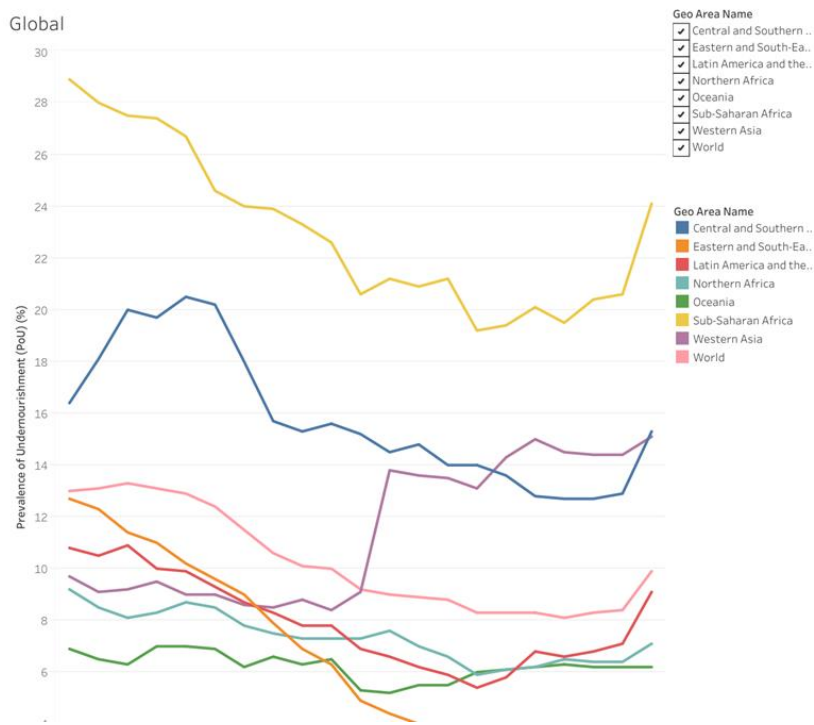


Source: FAO, 2018

UNHCR (2021) further reported that currently, the most vulnerable populations are the refugees and internally displaced people whose lives have been affected by conflicts and climate change among others. This problem drags along and extends to the refugee host communities who find themselves competing for the available resources. In a situation where access to food and other resources becomes problematic, hunger and its underlying problems dominate the livelihood. Children in many cases dominate the population of these groups and are always the most affected by food nutrition insecurity (Smith, El Obeid & Jensen, 2000). Although in some parts of the world, inadequate food consumption is causing malnutrition, most of it is believed to be due to limited supply and access. Sen (1998, P.195) in his analysis argues that the focus should be on peoples' "entitlement" and the dynamics of income and purchasing power because lack of micronutrients which he refers to as the "hidden hunger" is the major cause of malnutrition and, he related to lack of income to poverty that restrains people from accessing nutrient sufficient foods (Maye, 2011)

Poverty as a bigger picture frame all the discussions around the subject of food insecurity and yet it is complicated to measure (Scoones, 2015). However, it has continued to be used to make decisions about food security, with studies showing that lack of access to food and land due to poverty may partly be the cause of food insecurity in many developing countries. Many other scholars in their works have argued that, even though that may be true, the cause of food insecurity in developing countries is long and multifaceted with “Political instability, war, and civil strife, macroeconomic imbalances, and trade dislocation to environmental degradation, poverty, population growth, gender inequality, inadequate education, and poor health” among others (Foster, 1992; Von Braun et al., 1992; Alexandratos, 1995; Maxwell 1996). Smith, El Obeid, and Jensen (2000, P.200). However, they all relate to the two natural causes, that is; “insufficient national food availability and insufficient access to food by household and individuals” (Smith, El Obeid, and Jensen, 2000)

Figure 3: Showing the Percentage of undernourished people by region in 2000 and 2020



Source: FAO, 2020

The recent report by FAO (2020) shows how different regions of the world have been grappling with the issues of undernourishment, see figure 3. Sub-Saharan Africa still experiences the highest rate of undernourishment compared to the rest of the regions at 24.2 percent prevalence. With the demand for sustainably produced, and healthy food on the increase every single day and the global population also expected to reach 10 billion by 2050, this demand seems to be unavoidably on the rise. More children are expected to be born and, the highest number is projected to be born in Sub-Saharan Africa while the remaining 30 percent is shared between South and Southeast Asia (United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs, 2019). Already as Smith, El Obeid, and Jensen (2000) presented forward as the long and multifaceted causes of food insecurity. Other studies have also indicated that an increase in production may not have any impact on people's access to food and neither does it consider the quality of food consumed or accessed (Burchi, Frizon, and Fanzo, 2011). In this aspect, 'access' to food is seen as key to food security. However, this access can also be limited to social groups. Therefore, it depends on which social group one belongs to. As per (Thomson, 2001), "any food security strategy should keep in mind that food insecurity originates from lack of access to food rather than international or national food shortage". "Poverty is one of the major drivers of food insecurity, making food security become an aspect of poverty or failure of entitlement instead of being about inadequate food production" (Thomson, 2001).

According to FAO, (2019), and Smith El Obeid and Jensen (2000), although some of the causes of food insecurity in Sub-Saharan Africa may be from the worsening environmental conditions, climate variability among others. These problems are all exacerbated by other conditions like drought and floods but continuous violent conflicts, generalized violence, persecution, terrorist activities which have since forced many people into IDPs and others in seeking refuge, have been the major causes. This has over the years seen many people lose their livelihoods but also interfere with their wellbeing, capabilities leading to increased undernourishment. "The outbreak of covid19 was also seen as a threat to peace, security and food security hence prompting African Union to call for an inclusive measure for refugees and other

vulnerable groups.” (UN General Assembly, 2020). The UN general assembly (2020) further reported that currently, SSA hosts about 43 percent of the world's refugee and internally displaced persons (IDP's) population. With over 18.5 million people internally displaced; 6.3 million refugees, 529,600 asylum seekers, and 975,000 stateless persons. “South Sudan saw over 2.2 million flee the country by the end of 2019, the highest number in the whole continent with countries like Uganda being host to the majority (1.4 million).” (UN General Assembly, 2020). The conflict and the critical humanitarian situations have since seen about 2.2 million refugees in exile and 1.7 million IDPs (UN General Assembly, 2020)

In this study, the focus continues to be on this specific population of refugees, refugees coming from South Sudan whose majority population has since been settled in the Bidibidi refugee settlement.

1.2 Statement of the problem

According to Martiniello (2015), for many years, Uganda has been known as the potential food basket of East Africa because of its fertile soils, being rich in natural resources, and very favorable climatic conditions which allow a huge variety of crops to grow and yield well. At the same time, it is one of the most generous countries in the East African region, it has been very welcoming to a variety of refugees and asylum seekers dating way back since the 1940s, when it hosted Polish refugees, since then it has continued to be host to many from its neighboring countries who have experienced violent conflicts (Mulumba, 2011). The most recent from South Sudan, who majority have been settled in the Bidibidi refugee settlement. This new group of refugees according to recent reports, have been faced with many challenges, from food security to internal conflicts both among them and the host community, increased cases of undernourishment, increasing poverty rate, and allegations of ecological mismanagement. Bidibidi is currently home to an ethnically diverse population of refugees who since 2016 when the war began in South Sudan have been settled in this part of Uganda.

1.3 Overview of Research study

This paper focuses on food and sustainable livelihood, specifically in the Bidibidi refugee settlement in Yumbe district, Uganda. This case study is particularly relevant when considering issues of food security, poverty, and hunger among others in rural livelihoods. Bidibidi is a rural refugee settlement that hosts people (migrants) categorized as marginalized, vulnerable as well as people who are food insecure, with hunger and malnutrition as part of their main challenges. Addressing the issues of hunger, poverty, and rural development through food security and a sustainable rural livelihood approach is particularly important for this study.

1.4 Research question and objective

The first objective of this paper is to understand the food system within the settlement and analyze the major barriers to food security and sustainable livelihoods of the refugees.

The second objective is to assess the different strategies in place to achieve sustainable livelihood among the refugees and the host communities without interfering with the livelihood resources. My main research question is: ***“How are food and land allocated in and around the Bidibidi refugee settlement, and with what consequences on livelihood, and social and ecological sustainability?”***

The following sub-questions guide the paper to achieving the objectives and responding to the question:

- 1. How have refugees been able to access food and to what extent has it been possible or difficult to maintain a food secure livelihood within the settlement?*
- 2. How do refugees access land, and under what system of ownership?*
- 3. What are the main conflicting points in and around refugee settlement?*
- 4. What are some of the major challenges refugees have experienced in trying to achieve a sustainable food system?*
- 5. How far are we from sustainable livelihood for all refugees, and the host community, and what still needs to be done?*

1.5 Methodology

Taking on a qualitative approach was necessary to explore the research questions. Qualitative approach has been appreciated for its usefulness in, analyzing and reporting findings (O' Leary 2010; Elliot, 2008). This type of research is based on in-site field work. Using secondary data from the different bodies of literature consulted also form part of this paper. My primary data were collected within and around the Bidibidi refugee settlement, focusing on the 3 zones (2,3,4). This was all possible through a research assistant who carried out data collection in my absence but under my guidance.

Methods used include in-depth qualitative interviews, where semi-structured questions were asked to the participants. The interviews were done through (1) Key Informant Interview (KII) and (2) Focus Group Discussions (FGD). The participants of the FGD and KII were selected through a purposeful sampling method, whereby the researcher chooses specific samples to respond to the semi-structured questions (Marshall, 1996). Third, (3) a survey was carried out through a questionnaire issued to the sampled group with closed-ended questions.

Table 1: Shows the number of participants targeted and the number achieved

Method		Age	Female	Male	Target
Key Informant Interviews (KII)		N/A	N/A	N/A	15
Focus Group Discussions (FGD)	Refugee	18-65	12	12	24
	Host community	18-65	12	12	24
Questionnaire survey		18-65	50	50	100

Source: Researcher's own composition

1.6 Working with a Research Assistant

During this Covid19 period, many countries including Uganda enforced travel and other restrictions to combat the spread of the virus. Some of the tough restrictions would not allow me to travel and meet me within the planned time frame. I, therefore, enlisted the services of a Research Assistant with whom we have worked together at some point in the settlement. The research Assistant currently works with Mercy Corps Uganda as a Senior Monitoring and Evaluation Officer. I have worked with him previously on a project and he is a result-oriented individual who pays attention to detail. Over the years, he has also built a rapport with the different stakeholders within and around the settlement and because of this, he was able to reach all our participants to seek consent and their availability as well as introduce the research objectives and topic. I developed the semi-structured interview guide and planned together with the Research Assistant for the interviews. He indeed took up my role to mobilize, supervise and interview the participants and ensure that we accessed all the right data needed and directly transferred the outcome on a shared Google Doc page which I was able to access instantly. The research Assistant being a resident in the area of study made it easier since the government of Uganda enforced curfew and banned inter-district movements. It would have been very difficult to collect data if it wasn't for this reason. The research Assistant also took up the role of employing data collectors for the questionnaire survey. I entrusted him with this responsibility because, since he works within the study area, he knows who we could employ more especially with the dynamics of the settlement.

1.7 Profile of the survey data collectors

Through the Research Assistant, data collectors were employed to help in the process of collecting data using a questionnaire. A digital mobile app (KoboToolBox) was used to collect the data. Using this tool, it was easy to keep track of the data collection and the quality of the data and report back to the field team directly whenever it was necessary. Important to note is that the data collectors didn't have access to the data to protect against manipulation if at all it would happen. The majority of the population in Bidibidi speaks Arabic, therefore it was necessary to employ data

collectors from within the refugee population to allow for faster and better-quality data collection. This survey was carried by 4 well-informed refugees with who I engaged directly to express how important the data was to me. In a way, this was also a contribution to their income. The target sample of the survey was 100 participants out of the large population of Bidibidi, with a 50% gender distribution. We managed to achieve the target because we were very specific with who we wanted to interview for example age and gender was important (targeted age was 18- above)

1.8 Key Informant Interviews

Key Informants (KI) were selected for these interviews from well-defined categories of actors and stakeholders. With each category having key persons to respond to the semi-structured questions, I categorized them into (1) livelihood organizations, (2) local governments, and (3) administrators. Interviews were carried out on appointments, where phone calls were made or emails were sent before the meeting to confirm their availability. Sometimes key informants recommended other contacts and at some point, we ended up using snowballing sampling. The following categories were selected

1. ***Administrators:*** the settlement is under the control of the government of Uganda through its ministry under the Office of the Prime minister (OPM) who works together with humanitarian organizations like the World Food Programme (WFP), and a global refugee agency like UNHCR and Refugee Welfare Committee (RWC). At the settlement, they work in coordination with each other to ensure food, security, allocation of resources, and the protection of refugees' rights.
2. ***Livelihood project implementing organizations.*** Within the settlement, there are both local and international organizations implementing livelihood projects to provide humanitarian support to both the refugees and the host communities through the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM). The implementing organizations are many but I managed to reach 15 of them (See Annex). Different humanitarian aid is still being provided, with organizations

involved in education for skills, environmental management, WASH (water, sanitation, and hygiene), among others.

3. **Local government (LG):** the local government includes the area Local Council one (LC1) of the areas, and the district production or agricultural officer who at the district level is in charge of all the data about the area concerning food and agricultural practices are in place.

According to Odell (2001), through in-depth interviews, one can explore different views and case realities within the study area. Through this method, it was better to understand the views from the different key informants and how it is like to live or work within such a diverse and large settlement.

1.9 Focus Group Discussion

Focus Group Discussions (FGD) allow the researcher to collect important facts concerning a specific topic of interest with a group of people of the same or similar background. This allows the participants to express their experiences and opinions as a group and in a case where differences exist, a consensus is sought through different processes for it to be reached (Cronin, 2002). Therefore, the FGD was insightful as the participants responded to the open-ended questions.

The participants of the FGD were selected from both the host community and the refugees' population. This allowed us to understand from the two sides, the host community and the refugees because they experience different challenges. To narrow the scope for easy accessibility since Bidibidi settlement covers a wide area, it was decided to focus on 3 zones (2, 3, 4) out of 5 zones. These 3 zones inhabit the majority of the people and are surrounded by the host community homesteads. It was important to come up with an age limit of 18 and above so that we don't find ourselves breaking some of the ethical procedures during this process. Uganda is one country that is very strict on child policy and if one is found guilty can easily serve a minimum of 7 years in prison.

Six (6) FGD sessions were carried out; 3 sessions with the refugees and the other 3 with the host community breaking it down into 1 session each with females only,

another session with only men, and then finally a mixed session with both male and female.

Gender was also part of the priority areas hence a 50/50 focus. This session was carried in a gender-sensitive approach because the research location (Yumbe district) is a Muslim-dominated population with strict rules that prohibit women from sharing out information without the consent of their husbands. It was, therefore, necessary to seek consent from their husbands but most importantly to allow them to speak freely. Each session lasted for about 2 hours to receive a conclusive deliberation where all the participants involved have a common understanding of the questions and respond accordingly. The discussions were not restricted to English but a translator was hired to help in the process and to translate from Arabic to English since the common language used in the settlement is Arabic.

1.10 Questionnaire survey

Based on the objective of the research, a closed-ended questionnaire was issued to capture data on access to resources, food, consumption, gender, age, levels of education as these are some of the key parameters that define a livelihood. Questionnaires can offer the researcher a quick and efficient way of acquiring a large quantity of information from a large population.

1.11 Positionality

As I am a Ugandan who comes from within the refugee hosting region, my positionality in this aspect of the research is shaped by my identity. The fact that I belong to the category of the host community although I don't come from the settlement area puts me in a certain position of power, especially in the light of the refugees' situation. I have worked in the settlement at the peak of the resettlement and at the time when things became normal. This gives me a strong grip on the issues being researched. During my time in the settlement, it was still at the peak when the influx was happening and I was able to interact and witness firsthand facts right from when the refugees arrived at the settlement. I noticed how vulnerable people become when they lose their livelihoods in times of conflict and have to rely on another

person to survive or live for another day. It was a traumatic experience for the refugees but also for me and my colleagues too. I worked with an International Non-Governmental Organization as a 'Project Officer' implementing a livelihood project focusing on agricultural skills development (horticulture). In the beginning, it was fascinating to see how the skills they acquire can contribute to their livelihood. Four years later I re-visit the settlement and noticed the people were still doing the same things and in fact, other organizations joined to train them on the same activities. What I identified is that their livelihood does not change but rather worsens with cases of food shortage dominating my discussion with one of my former project beneficiaries. This left me questioning how easy or hard it is for the refugees and the host community to survive in terms of access to all the basic needs, resources and how some of their activities carried out in the area affect the environment among other reasons.

1.12 Research ethics

During this time of the pandemic, the data collection process wasn't going to be the same but the ethical principles of research had still to be followed. "The do good and do no harm principles" were fully employed. Consent to collect data in the field was issued by the ISS and consent from the research participants was also sought to minimize the risk of harm, protect their identity and confidentiality. The names used in this research are all pseudonyms to protect the participants, and at all costs, this research has tried to avoid the use of deceptive practices. The participants were given full rights to withdraw whenever they didn't want to continue.

Chapter 2: Analytical framework

2.1 Sustainable Rural Livelihoods (SRL) as an integrating concept

This chapter offers a conceptual framework for analyzing the food system, food security, sustainable livelihood, and how this intersects with a refugee settlement as a case study. Scoones' (1998; 2015) work and other related works guide the discussion of SRL as the main analytical framework. Although the livelihood approach has been mainly used in a way of thinking to reduce poverty in more secure circumstances, I have decided to apply it within refugee settlements and host communities since they fall within a category of people who are subject to new forms of risk that burden their pursuit of livelihood as per Jacobsen (2002).

In the study of livelihood, much has been written in the different disciplines of economics and anthropology, and in development studies (Jacobsen, 2002; Ellis, 1998). Jacobsen (2002), defines "livelihood" as "the means used to maintain and sustain life" and "means" implies the "resources including household assets, capital, social institutions and networks (kin, village authority structures) and the strategies available to people through their local and transnational communities" (Jacobsen, 2002; Scoones, 2015).

Over the years, scholars have developed different frameworks to analyze factors that can influence livelihood outcomes, for example, the assets, strategies, and institutions which can later be used to design and implement appropriate programme interventions (Jacobsen 2002; DFID, 2000; Scoones, 1998; Kibreb, 2001; Lassailly-Jacob, 1996). According to Catherine and Maxwell (2009), livelihood approaches emerge out of food security perspectives but are based on the fact that food is only one important basic need among many, and availability of sufficient food does not justify a livelihood.

Taking it from Ian Scoones' agrarian change gaze, the concepts of "livelihood" and "vulnerabilities" have over the last decades been widely accepted into the development paradigm for discussions concerning rural development. Livelihood

perspectives have emerged to be at the center stage of every discussion concerning rural development (Scoones, 1998, 2015). This well-coordinated and linked “holistic bottom-up perspective” according to Scoones (2015) is intended to highlight the diverse social context and circumstances under which people make a living, especially what they do, which has been at the center of rural development ideology for long. Scoones believes that by analyzing livelihood we are finding a way of “integrating sectoral concerns and rooting endeavors in the specific local settings”. He associates it with today’s livelihood thinking that has become the way forward to tackle the current challenges of climate change adaptation, social protection, reducing disasters, conflicts, crises, food insecurity, and more (Scoones, 2015). Sustainable livelihood being a composite of ideas and interests has brought together several different strands in development debate (Scoones, 1998). The SRL as an analytical framework, by focusing on understanding the assets that the poor and vulnerable people use and the strategies they employ on making a living, focuses on the requirements of livelihoods but it also includes the question of sustainability within a particular setting, for example, a refugee settlement.

Livelihood and sustainable livelihood discussions have evolved through the works of different scholars. It starts in the nineteenth century with the works of William Cobbett (see Cobbett, 1885) and Karl Marx with his “critical methods of political economy” (Marx, 1973) among others (Scoones, 2015). Such perspectives were not able to dominate the development thinking because theories of modernization already were taking control of the development discourse. “Policy advice was influenced more by professional economists than by rural development generalists and field-based administrators of the past” (Scoones, 2015, p. 3).

However, the interest in livelihoods thinking emerged from the latter half of the 1980s with efforts to link the three words of Sustainable, Rural, and Livelihood during a discussion of the *Food 2000* report for the Brundtland Commission in 1986. The report focused on a people-oriented development and centered it on the realities of the rural poor (Scoones, 2015; Swaminathan et al, 1987). Livelihood became a strong theme in many scholars’ writing including Robert Chambers and many others.

The year following the release of the Brundtland report of 1987 (World Commission on Environment and Development) defined the concept of “Sustainability” and immediately the concept became a dominant policy concern after the UN Conference on Environment and Development hosted in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (Scoones, 2007, 2015). Sustainable development agenda has over the years tried to include livelihood concerns while focusing on the rural people, which is at the heart of Agenda 21, and the concerns of the world with environmental issues among others (Scoones, 2015; Folke et al.2002; Gunderson and Holling 2002; Clarke and Dickson 2003; Walker and Salt 2006). These strands and variants produced different insights into how complex, rural livelihoods intersect with political, economic, and environmental processes. According to Scoones (2015), in 1992 when Chambers and Conway produced the working paper for the “Institute of Development Studies”, the paper did not only hit the last nail to strengthen the idea of sustainable livelihood but also came up with one of the most used definition that has since been adopted to define the latter and it states;

“A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources), and activities for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base” (Chambers and Conway, 1992).

After this paper came out, it later came to be considered as the foundation of the “sustainable livelihood approach” (Scoones, 2015). Although it drew a lot of attention, the livelihood approach did not immediately have a great impact on the mainstream development ideology and remained at the margins even after the discussion reemerged in the 1995 World Summit for Social Development. But the development community saw some aspects of it like “local participation argument for local involvement, and livelihoods focus” become part of a “neoliberal paradigm”, but, at the same time also, a narrative of state and demand-oriented policy began to be re-explored (Scoones, 2015). Critiques saw this as a new kind of policy tyranny (Scoones, 2015; Cooke and Kothari 2001). With sustainability debates also taking the same

path, it became an essential instrument of “market-oriented solutions and top-down tool for global environmental governance” (Scoones, 2015) since the main concerns of the complex livelihood, environmental dynamics and poverty gazed development were not included (Berkhout et al, 2001in Scoones, 2015).

As the neoliberal paradigm came under increasing criticism, a new understanding of sustainable livelihood emerged in the late 1990s (Scoones, 2015). This was the beginning of something new in development. It was out of a well-coordinated social debate led by global social movements around the world, and the different academic debates that arose from popular economists like Amartya Sen among others, and states whose economies failed to recover under the neoliberal reform challenged the narrative. Countries like the UK who was already trying to change course through an SRL approach which later saw a “White Paper” presented, focusing its approach on eliminating poverty but more so delving on the poor. This would be through implementing policies that create a sustainable livelihood for the poor, promote human development, and conserve the environment that according to Scoones “drew substantially on parallel grounds with the works of IDS on “environmental entitlements.” That was all linked to the classical works of the renowned economist Amartya Sen (1981), (Scoones, 2015). In this aspect of the latter the focus is on mediating the role of institutions in defining access to resources for everyone, not necessarily production and abundance (Leach et al, 1999 in Scoones, 2015). Both approaches of “Environmental entitlements” and “Sustainable Livelihood” frameworks, categorically make a point of remunerative aspects of livelihood as mediated by social-institutional processes. The SL framework links inputs “(capital, assets, or resources) and outputs (livelihood strategy) to produce policy outcomes that are target-oriented (poverty lines and employment levels) with a bigger framing of (wellbeing and sustainability) (follow down for broader explanation)”. According to Scoones (2015), all these are mediated by social, institutional, and organizational processes.

To clearly understand livelihood, Scoones (2015) warns that it should be noted that livelihoods in any setting are exceedingly complex, with various aspects. It expands

beyond farming and agriculture to a range of different activities. Chambers (1995) referred to it as a “complex repertoire” because it combines different “elements between people, and across time and space” (p. 201).

By choosing Scoone's (1998) framework, the purpose is to guide and enable this paper to present understandable trajectories and unique features of refugees' livelihood to inform policy and practice. But I also seek to respond to the question that O'laughlin (2004 in Scoones, 2015) asks: “what livelihood are we talking about, what do people do all day, explore whose livelihoods, where are livelihoods being carved out, explore the temporal dimensions, and why certain livelihoods are possible and others are not?” This will give us a better understanding of the main cause of impoverishment, disempowerment, and disadvantages. These questions may not be straight forward but, they persuasively relate to the main authors in the agrarian political economy like Lenin, Marx, and Kautsky who explored to understand the classic questions of “how agrarian classes emerge” and “how diverse political-economic conditions impact people's lives and how interactions between groups affect them” (Bernstein, 2010).

While this paper intends to analyze livelihood, it is important to note that the target is to investigate sustainability concerning refugees and the host community. This being said, Jacobsen (2002) asserts, most communities that live in conflict environments experience challenges pursuing their livelihood and it is different from those in peaceful environments. However, being part of the community does not justify their access to resources making them more vulnerable. Jacobsen (2002), further informs that the sustainable livelihood strategy must be utilized to stress the vulnerability of those who have been subjected to violence and displacement. In crisis zones, refugees and internally displaced persons are exposed to additional types of danger, making it difficult for them to pursue their livelihoods since displacement tends to exacerbate existing vulnerabilities while also introducing new ones. However, Scoones (2015) suggests that to understand any livelihood outcomes, we must first understand what people gain from their many and diversified livelihood activities, how these outcomes are distributed, and how people construct their needs,

wants, and desires. Therefore, to comprehend all of this, we must examine it from the perspectives of poverty, well-being, and capability since the main concern of any livelihood analysis is being able to know who is poor and who is better off and why within a given space (Scoones, 2015). Poverty as one of the determinants of livelihood has remained rural and localized in particular parts of the world, and yet the patterns of disparity in livelihood opportunities are practically universal (Picketty, 2014).

Over the years, debates have continued to come up with different ways through which poverty and wellbeing can be assessed but most ended up with accepting livelihood as a diverse, varied and multidimensional aspect (Scoones, 2015). In 2009, the “Sarkozy Commission”, along with the world's leading economists, presented their arguments that non-income approaches would be essential with a focus on human development, happiness, and wellbeing. This was challenged by Sabina Alkire and colleagues' work, who developed a multidimensional poverty index based on Amartya Sen's capabilities approach (Alkire and Foster, 2011; Alkire and Santos, 2014 in Scoones, 2015). With others suggesting that to understand real people's lives, we must delve further into intra-household dynamics, particularly gender issues, as well as broader questions of distribution, access, and voice (Guyer and Peters 1987 in Scoones, 2015). With equality, empowerment, and acknowledgment being significant traits in this perspective. Adherents argue for a sense of belonging, freedom from violence, security, community engagement, and political voice are wellbeing's most important characteristics (Scoones, 2015, 1998; Duflo, 2012).

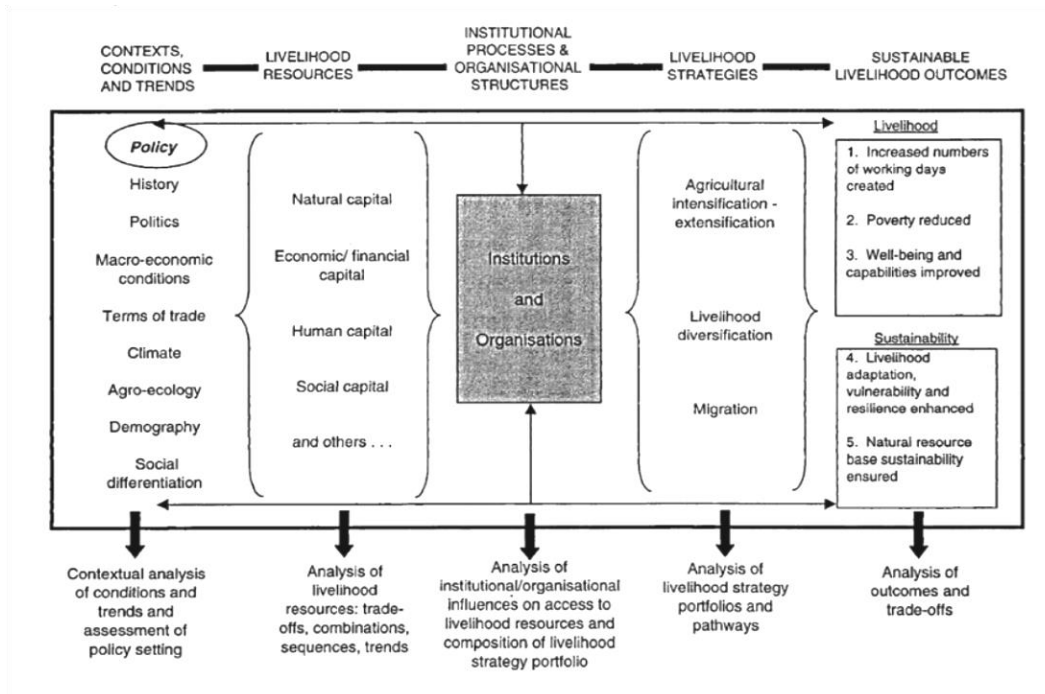
Scoones (1998) also believes that to assess livelihood in any setting, we must be able to determine the level of poverty. Therefore, looking at consumption and income levels to develop an absolute poverty line is important (Ravallion, 1992; Bauch, 1996). Greeley (1994), suggests that in another way, inequality and relative poverty could also be assessed through the Gini “index” where the income is distributed across a population to clarify economic inequality through measuring income distribution. But warns that it could be challenging to measure as there are pros and cons for each measure (Greeley, 1994). But they are all measures to conceptualize poverty, well-being, and livelihood (Scoones, 2015). Scoones suggests that in this case

focus be put on material factors to highlight “income, expenditure, and asset holding” with a wider perspective focused on capabilities (Sen, 1999) which expands the formation.

Furthermore, according to Scoones (1998) in an environment where people can access jobs, regardless of the type of job, be it off-farm, part-time, or whichever kind of job as long as one gets an income is important. Therefore, the combination of the different livelihood strategies deployed should be able to create beneficial employment at least for a specific period of time since employment plays a substantial role in determining a livelihood. This argument is backed by the works of Amartya Sen (1975), who notes three important aspects of employment that is; recognition, production, and income. According to Sen (1975, p. 45), first of all, employment leads to recognition of being engaged in “something worthwhile”, employment yields a consumable output, and employment will earn the employed an income. Although various target level suggestions have been made as for the aspects of income and production, the minimum number of working days a year has been set at 200 as the standard to achieve a livelihood. However, this also depends on the willingness to work (Lipton, 1991,1995).

Scoones (1998, 2015) brings forward the two notions of well-being (Chambers, 1997) and capabilities (Sen, 1987) and argues that when interlinked with livelihood, they become central concepts for a development agenda based on equity and sustainability as principles (Chambers, 1997 p.1747). According to Sen (1987) capabilities are “what people can do or be with their entitlements”. It is not necessarily only about food intake or income to achieve a livelihood but rather the valued elements of capabilities which is backed by (Chambers, 1997) argument that such a “well-being approach to poverty and livelihood analysis” gives people the power to define their important criteria leading to a sustainable livelihood. The two scholars also believe that other diverse factors like “self-esteem, security, happiness, stress, vulnerability, power,” play key roles in achieving livelihood because they bestow a broader rationale to the livelihood perspective (Scoones, 1998).

Figure 4: Sustainable Rural Livelihood: Framework for Analysis



Source: Scoones (1998)

According to Scoones (2015), livelihoods as multifaceted, temporally and spatially diverse, and socially differentiated. They are influenced by a variety of elements, ranging from local conditions to regional structural, political, and economic dynamics. This makes them complicated to deal with. However, a broader framework can simplify the process of understanding the complexity and how to analyze them. Fig. 4 This framework offers a hypothesis on how the elements are interconnected and describes what happens between them, more so being a guide to reasoning than a description. Over the years, so many frameworks were developed to discuss the concept of sustainable livelihood but with a lot of confusion, the latter part of the 1990s saw a group of researchers produce a framework with well-linked sets of questions that have since been used by the Department for International Development (DfID) (Scoones, 1998). This framework in a particular context, links livelihood resources as the foundation of livelihoods, to strategies and outcomes, while keeping the focus on the institutional processes and structures that mediate

between the assets deployed, strategies pursued and the outcomes achieved for different people to make a livelihood (Scoones, 1998, 2015).

Although many questions have been asked in the study of livelihood, Ian Scoones now believes what matters more in the discussions to understand livelihoods is neither what people do nor the things that limit or allow them to do. However, the long-running arguments in livelihood studies between two categories of scholars; those who advocated for a focus on individual agency while identifying a set of adaptive techniques that are both flexible and adaptive, and those that concentrated on particular larger systemic political-economic issues that impact what is possible and not (Scoones, 2015). With the rich diversity of livelihoods and resourcefulness of assets, the poor people can create a livelihood for themselves even in difficult settings using the available resources. The argument came to rest with the former taking priority space as most livelihood studies in the 1980s and 1990s all focused on now the latter (Scoones, 2015). With remarkable works from scholars like ‘Susanna Davies’ (1996) which critically analyzed how farmers adapted and survived under difficult conditions.

2.2 The SRL framework analysis

As the concept of SRL keeps becoming more popular and central to discussions about rural development, poverty reduction, and environmental management, this paper is deterministic to the livelihood of refugees and the host community of Bidibidi as a rural population. Using the IDS framework to analyze this rare undertaking is important for this study. Scoones (1998) suggests it can be deployed at all levels from “individual, to household cluster, extended kin grouping, to village, region or even nation” while keeping the context of the study. I look into some of the guiding questions for this framework;

“How can you assess who achieves a sustainable livelihood and who doesn’t? in other words: what are the relevant outcome indicators?”, “What are the livelihood resources, institutional processes and livelihood strategies which are important in enabling or constraining the achievement of sustainable livelihoods for different

groups of people?”, “What are the practical operational and policy implication of adopting a sustainable livelihood?”

The paper has focused on evaluating the sphere of these questions to clarify the conceptual and analytical approaches as well as investigating a variety of the methodological apparatus, empirical and the working outcome of SLA (Scoones, 1998). However, according to Scoones (1998), to establish the indicators of outcomes, one specific question is still needed to be answered to digest the now popular subject: “What is sustainable livelihood?” Although different pieces of literature have come out to explain the context, it is not particularly clear on the question since there are often different objectives embedded in the same definition. The term Sustainable livelihood relates to a broader set of issues that surround much of the wider debate on the relationship between poverty and the environment. Yet of the many works of literature, not so much has been done to clarify how contradictions and trade-offs are assessed (Scoones, 1998). Therefore, by breaking down the definition into different indicators, the decisions become more specifically allowing for mediation between the outcome opportunities as a portion of any policy development, planning as well as the execution process that has SL at its core, (Scoones, 1998) as discussed below

Scoones (1998) framework is structured and well guided on the premise that in regards to a particular “context”, “of policy setting, politics, history, agro ecology, and socio-economic conditions” what mix of “livelihood resources” (see figure 4) which he refers to the different types of capital like natural, economic or financial, human, social among others to answer the question of what mix of “livelihood strategies” like agricultural extensification/intensification, livelihood diversification, and migration can lead to the expected outcomes.

2.2.1 Livelihood resources

The effort to clarify and understand livelihood assets or resources as “capital” has seen vibrant debates arise (Scoones, 2015). This is believed to have started when DfID presented its framework and listed an “asset pentagon” with five capitals. The intense debate arose with critiques objecting to calling it capital because they believed

livelihood as a complex process would be narrowed to an economic unit and others disagreeing that listing only five capitals would be limiting the scope leaving out other resources like cultural, political capital among others. This debate continued with other members denying the term capital, more so natural capital asserting that this would be a path to failing a “complex nature into a particular asset which are at the same levels with other capitals hence doing away with power” (Wilshusen, 2014 in Scoones). As the arguments continued, social capital was believed to be confusing with many works of literature in the 1990s contradicting the context. During this same time different frameworks were being developed, a wider view of the asset was also being pushed forward (Scoones, 2015). With views from “Tony Bebbington” who saw assets as a niche for making a living meaningful and an emancipatory action that challenges the structure under which one makes a living” (Scoones 2015). Thus,

“An individual holding resources such as land will not only value it as a means of making a living but because they mean a lot to the person’s world. Therefore, they are resources that one uses to build a livelihood. The same assets give the person “capability to be and to act.” Hence, they shouldn’t be understood only as things that sanction survival, adaptation, and elimination of poverty, but also the basis of agents’ power to act and to reproduce, challenge or change the rules that govern the control, use, and transformation of resources” (Bebbington, 1999)

Being able to pursue various livelihood strategies relies more on the “material and social”, physical and non-physical fundamental assets that people possess (Scoones, 1998). Through an economic analogy, Scoones asserts that such livelihood resources can easily be identified as a capital base from which different product streams are derived and livelihood constructed (Scoones, 1998). In the framework, Scoones presented four types of capitals but emphasized there could be more. This paper tries to explore the four types, that is economic, natural, human, and social capitals. The four capitals if are accessible in any context, sustainability is possible. Scoones’s argument is backed by Jacobsen’s (2002) analysis of livelihood in conflict, Jacobsen asserts that, if refugees have access to all the resources or assets including household assets, social institutions, and networks (Kin, Village and authority structures),

achieving sustainability would be simplified. However, he also makes a strong allegation that most refugees are denied or do not have access to the resources that the host community can access, like land, legal employment among others (Jacobsen, 2002).

2.3 Food system

2.3.1 What is food (in) security?

Food security has existed in international development literature for a long time and in many aspects, it has been analyzed at different levels; local, national, regional, and global levels. The definition has evolved to include changes in official policy thinking (Heidheus et al, 2004; Clay 2002). During the World Food summit (1974), through deliberation, it came up with a definition of food security which focused on the supply of food and price stability at both international and local national levels.

“the availability at all times of adequate world food supplies of basic foodstuffs to sustain a steady expansion of food consumption and to offset fluctuations in production and prices” United Nations (1974).

However, the definition was believed to have left out key components that were observed within specific population groups and a particular part of the society as they struggled with food access, stability, availability, and utilization hence later prompting for an inclusive definition. FAO in 1983, in its effort to emerge with a definition that balances the equation between demand and supply, focused its analysis on access which later adopted the definition of food security as;

“Ensuring that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to the basic food security they need” (FAO, 1983)

This definition would later also be revised to include the individual and household levels. According to Clay (2002), the 1986 World Bank report on poverty and hunger which focused on “temporal dynamics of food insecurity”, differentiated between chronic food insecurity and related it to problems of unending, structural poverty and low incomes and temporary food insecurity that can be a result of conflicts, natural

disasters, and economic failures. This position is shared and complemented by Sen's works of (1981) 'theory of famine' which put forward the effect of personal entitlement on access to food. Sen's work gave a leeway. It continued to evolve further until 1996 during the World Food Summit to one that has since included food access, availability, food use, and stability as a wide dimension of food security, thus;

"Food security exists when all people at all times have physical, social, and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life" (World Food Summit 1996)

This accepted definition has been directed to the four dimensions of food security (Food availability, food access, utilization, and stability) that the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO, 1996) has since adopted. However, only two dimensions have been widely used in the many literature on food security to demystify the latter; "food availability and food access". While food availability has in many aspects been linked with the supply-side of food security, food access has been linked with the demand side (Barrett, 2010).

2.3.2 How food security is measured and the dimensional analysis

Calorie counts can be used to measure food availability, which was initially the focus of food security" (FAO 2003). The calorie has become a standard unit of measurement in nutrition research since its first mention in the late 1870s, making food and diet more "accessible." The Green Revolution (from the 1930s to the late 1960s) is a good example, as it is regarded as successful in terms of caloric output (Carolan, 2016). However, this was far from sufficient. This is due to the fact that no matter how successfully agricultural output is produced, it will not be sufficient to feed the world."

Food access is more difficult to quantify because it is linked to personal well-being." Amartya Sen's seminal paper had a significant influence on this point of view (1981). Access is a complex and perplexing concept (Barrett 2010). FAO estimates the number of undernourished people around the world in their annual report¹² rather than measuring access. The number of food-insecure households is determined using country's food capital reserves, nationally representative household surveys, and

official demographic data (FAO 2014); however, the figure is heavily influenced by international politics. Since the FAO revised some of the assumptions about malnutrition.

Chapter 3: Case study

3.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the background of the settlement and brings forward the history of the migration. It is important to note that this case study is being referred to as a settlement, not a camp because of Uganda's refugee policy. Uganda has been praised to have a favorable refugee policy that allows refugees to have access to land, do businesses, have access to education and health care as well as free movements. (Uganda Refugee Act, 2006)

3.1.2 The refugee settlement

Bidibidi refugee settlement is located in the Yumbe district of the West Nile region in Uganda. The name Bidibidi was nowhere popular, it was just like any other village in Uganda but in a matter of days, the narrative changed. It became home to over 280,000 refugees who fled violence and upheaval in South Sudan in 2016 and instantly became the biggest refugee settlement in the world until 2017 when the Rohingya crisis made Kutupalong Bangladesh become the biggest. Nevertheless, being the second-largest settlement in the world, currently, Bidibidi hosts about 233,959 refugees (Reliefweb, 2021).

When the civil war in South Sudan intensified, it displaced and pushed close to a million refugees into Uganda. According to UNHCR (2018a), it was during this time in 2016 that UNHCR, the government of Uganda, and the local community of Yumbe including other key stakeholders negotiated and concluded to have refugees hosted in Bidibidi. The area being a vastly open and unoccupied land, it was land that the local people never fully utilized and mostly used for farming and grazing their livestock as it is composed of low rolling hills and for the most part rocky (Boswell, 2018).

Yumbe is one of the many rural districts of Uganda that also experienced high-level rural-urban migration, especially within the district. People were migrating to the more developed districts in the region like Arua, Koboko, with others moving as far

as Kampala, the capital city, to seek better opportunities and services. Other people also migrated because of attacks from the two rebel groups like Uganda National Rescue Front (UNRF II) and West Nile Bank Front (WNBF) that terrorized the area, but later ended with a peace agreement signed with the government of Uganda (Dawa, 2019). This vast 2,393 square kilometers underpopulated area with 657,700 indigenous populations (Data. ug, 2020) was seen as a better choice to resettle the refugees, being also close to the border of South Sudan. (see Fig. 5 and 6). However, the majority of the land in the district and specifically the Bidibidi land is communally owned by the Aringa people who are governed by their customary laws and are headed by local chiefs who speak on behalf of the community. Negotiations had to involve every stakeholder and when a consensus was reached, the Uganda government took control and agreed to host the refugees and it also offered to protect as well as preserve their rights. Other stakeholders like the UNHCR, WFP, the host communities, NGOs, INGOs, OPM, Civil society Organizations also came together to support the refugees in different forms. This influx which saw about 280,000 refugees settle in Bidibidi also opened up negotiations for other settlements to be established since Bidibidi could not accommodate all hence settlements like Rhino camp, Adjumani, Imvepi, Omugo, Moyo (Palorinya) opened up to host the rest of the population.

Figure 6: Map of Uganda showing of refugees in Bidibidi and other refugee settlements in Uganda. Source, UNHCR, 2021

Figure 6: A map of Uganda showing the location of Bidibidi refugee settlement. Source, Researchgate.net

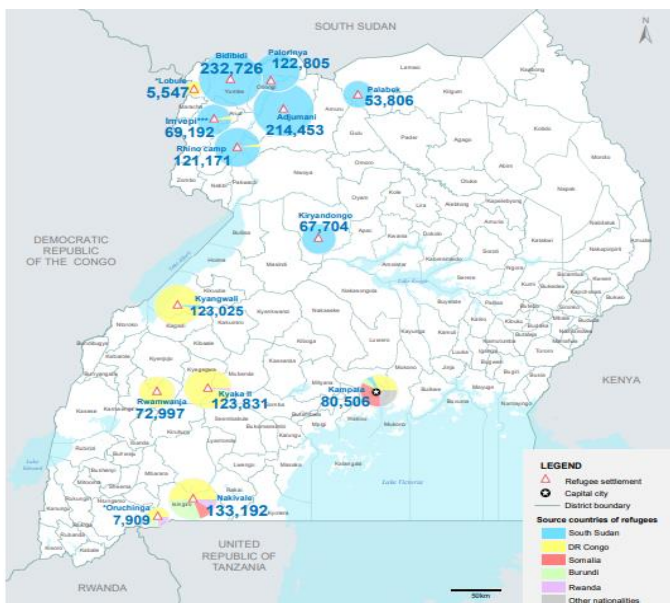
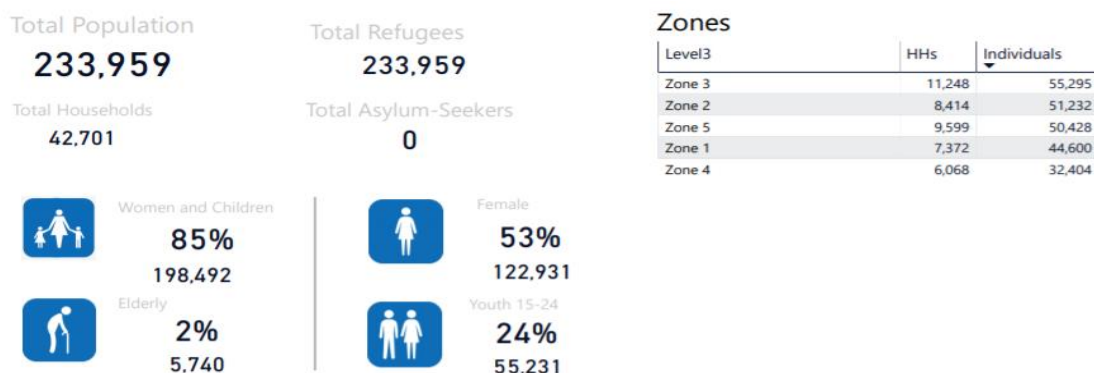


Figure 7: Uganda - Refugee Statistics January 2021 - Bidibidi: Source. Reliefweb.int



Source: Reliefweb.int, 2021

Today according to UNHCR (2019), Bidibidi occupies a land area of about 234.097km square which is subdivided into 5 zones (1,2,3,4,5), with each zone divided into clusters which then are further divided into individual villages. These five zones have been set up with power structures which are decentralized from the central management body in charge of the settlement (The commandant) to the lower levels of the Refugee Welfare Committee who are empowered (RWC) to solve issues among refugees and enforce policies. This leadership structure is made in line with Uganda's own system of governance which ascends from the local council at the village levels. In the same way, there are a Refugee Welfare Council one at the village level, a Refugee Welfare Council two at the cluster, and a Refugee Welfare Council three at the zonal level which is duly elected and the election overseen by OPM.

The population in Bidibidi is predominantly women and children, with adult women outnumbering men by 3:2 ratios (Boswell, 2018). Most households are women-headed and in some instances child-headed due to loss of parents in the conflict or parents especially fathers choosing to pursue means of livelihood for the family out of the settlement (see Fig. 7). Whereas the population in Bidibidi is ethnically diverse, a bigger number is the Bari-speaking groups who came from central Equatoria. The group which includes the Bari, Kuku, Nyagwara, Mundari, Kakwa, and the Pojulu. It is identified that many other groups like the Acholi and the Ma'di came from the rest of

Equatoria and more so the eastern part. The two major tribes Dinka and Nuer of South Sudan and most notably the conflicting tribes hold the smallest number in Bidibidi settlement.

It is important to note that in 2006, Uganda passed a refugee policy that World Bank and UNHCR credited the land-locked country for and regarded it as a model for the rest of Africa. This policy allows refugees in the country to work, own land, freedom of movement and gave them rights to live in settlements rather than in camps (World Bank, 2019; UNHCR, 2009). Bidibidi refugee settlement is one of the many and the biggest in the country and Africa has over the years evolved and transitioned into what recently 'National Geographic' channel on a documentary referred to as a "camp transforming into a permanent city". With support from the government of Uganda reigning as the caretaker in collaboration with UNHCR, WFP, (I)NGOs, and CBOs who implement funded projects have been able to set up different livelihood structures.

At the beginning of this crisis, there were about 30 (I) NGOs operating in Bidibidi. See figure However, the numbers have since reduced as some have moved on to other crisis-hit areas while others have ended their operations due to different specific reasons of limited funds, end of the project life cycle among others. During this time schools were constructed, health centers were built, the struggle to avail clean water has led to the drilling of underground water and so many social services set up.

Figure 8: Shows (I)NGOs operating in Bidibidi



Source: Researcher's field picture

3.2 Historical background of the migration

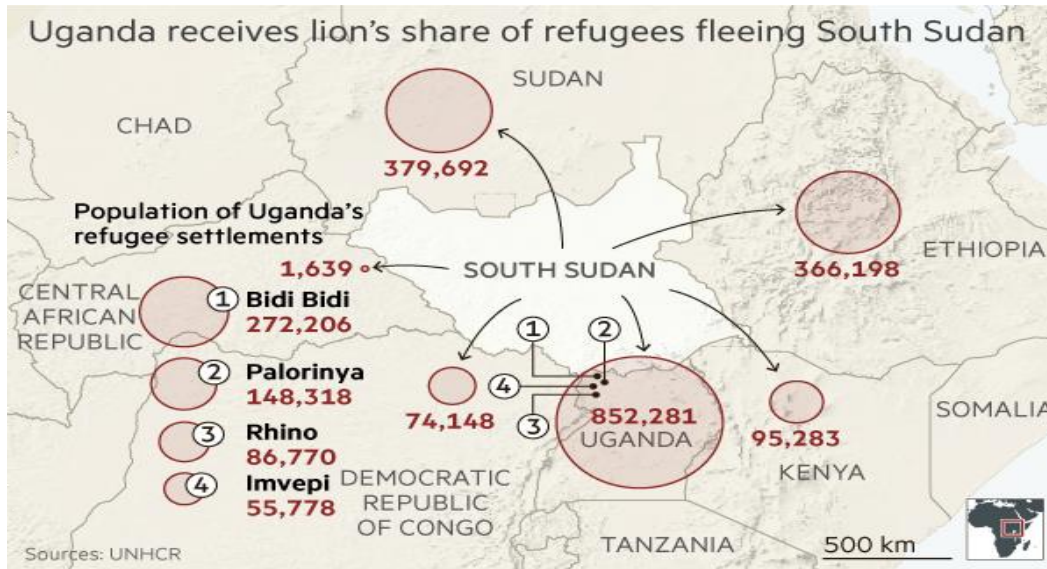
After many years of civil war, South Sudan became the world's youngest nation on the 9th of July 2011. With a very promising future in this new oil-rich country, everything seemed to progress well. However, internal power struggle inside the ruling party of South Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) between the current President of South Sudan Salva Kiir and his First Vice President Dr. Riek Machar escalated throughout 2013 until clashes broke out at the end of that year (Boswell, 2018). This led to a bitter split between the once-close allies hence the beginning of a civil war that quickly morphed into ethnically targeted killings of the Nuer, the ethnic group of Riek Machar who later fled into hiding. He then formed a rebellion against Salva Kiir's ethnic group, the Dinka. According to Boswell (2018), civilians and civil structures became deliberately targeted which led to a large-scale displacement of people.

Although the first two years of the conflict were mainly in the Greater Upper Nile area bordering Sudan and Ethiopia who became host to the majority of the refugees fleeing the war, the war was showing signs of expansion to other parts of the country. In the year 2015, the two conflicting parties signed a peace deal for a unity government that saw Riek Machar being reinstated as the First Vice President with the hope that it would mark the end of the conflict, but it never lasted. Tension developed in early 2016 especially with the mobilization of local Equatorian South Sudan's People Liberation Army -In Opposition (SPLM-IO) militias led by Riek Machar. This was believed to catalyze the already insecure SPLM prompting heavy deployment which included the deployment of a paramilitary ethnic Dinka government force, 'Mathiang Nyoor', that later led to a clash between SPLM and SPLM-IO due to the breakdown of the loose ceasefire. It is believed to have been the major cause of the second phase of the war which quickly resulted in insecurity in urban areas and a strong retaliation in the rural areas that became the major displacement factor all over the country (Boswell, 2018).

The tension continued to expand and reached the other areas especially "the southern Equatoria region which borders the Central African Republic to the west, the Democratic Republic of Congo to the southwest, Uganda to the south, Kenya to the

southeast and Ethiopia to the East” (Boswell, 2018, p. 8; see Fig. 8). This expanded and renewed conflict led to a large-scale exodus of refugees into Uganda, mainly the equatorians and the inhabitants of Juba as well where the clashes began. It is believed that more than a million South Sudanese were estimated to have been made refugees ever since the war reignited.

Figure 9: Shows the estimated number of refugees in 2013 in every country received.



Source: Financial times

This war which started in 2013 has since then seen many attempts by African Union leadership try to resolve the conflict to bring peace to the young African nation but all have been in vain. The failed peace deal indeed saw a surge in insecurity and indiscriminate killings that spread all over targeting the civilian population led to food insecurity and a decrease in social services such as the closure of schools and shops, health facilities which forced many people to seek refuge in Uganda.

Chapter 4: Findings and Analysis

4.1 Introduction

Having discussed (sustainable) food systems and sustainable livelihood concepts in the context of rural development and focusing on refugees for this study, this chapter further presents and analyses the experiences of the refugees, the host community, and the other key actors like Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), the Government of Uganda (OPM), WFP and UNHCR, in their effort and struggles to achieve a sustainable livelihood and food system. With this analysis, the objective is to try to present the findings and relate them to the research objectives. During this analysis, Ian Scoones's Sustainable Rural Livelihood framework (1998) is used.

4.2 Applying the SRL framework

Although there has not been any recognized framework developed specifically to analyze a refugee's livelihood before, my starting point is to assume that Scoones' (1998) framework will be useful to structure the findings in this section of the paper. These findings will then shape the arguments on livelihood sustainability within and around the Bidibidi refugee settlement. Food security is fundamentally linked to livelihood questions, and if it does not exist, it is difficult to achieve the other livelihood outcome, hence making it an essential part of this framework. Much of Bidibidi is a refugee settlement, but I would argue that it still falls within Scoones' framework because it maintains a strong rural character with its low density of houses, unpaved roads, and decentralized nature.

The SRL framework explores the different combinations of livelihood resources necessary to work with a combination of livelihood strategies that deliver outcomes while being embedded in institutional processes (Scoones, 1998). At the end of it all, my objective will be to try and respond to the main and the sub-questions.

“Livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources), and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its

capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base” (Scoones, 1998)

4.2.1 Livelihood resources

Scoones (1998), in his analysis, asserts that individuals’ or the household’s attempts to pursue different “livelihood strategies” are dependent on the basic materials, physical and nonphysical, social, and other assets that they have at hand which is seen as the capital base from which productive streams and livelihoods are achieved (See figure 4).

Natural capital

Seeing Bidibidi from a natural capital perspective, as this framework entails, leads the focus on the natural resource stocks and the environmental services as bases (Scoones, 1998). What Martiniello (2015) said about Uganda as being the food basket of East Africa does not necessarily apply to that part of Yumbe where Bidibidi is located. From the background track of Bidibidi, the rocky soil has been partly the key reason the host community never cultivated the land. This soil does not only make it difficult to cultivate food crops; it also impacts its fertility, and the dry seasons in Yumbe reach extreme temperatures, to a point that crops cannot be cultivated. It is therefore not rare to experience drought in this season and yet most rural livelihoods rely on natural resources like land and rain (Scoones1998). As we have seen, according to UNHCR (2018), the major problem that Bidibidi residents and the host community face are access to livelihood opportunities and especially access to bigger and fertile land that would allow them to cultivate and harvest enough quantity of food for their household. In a follow-up interview with Ken (Agricultural Officer with CEFORD, 13.08.2021), he said,

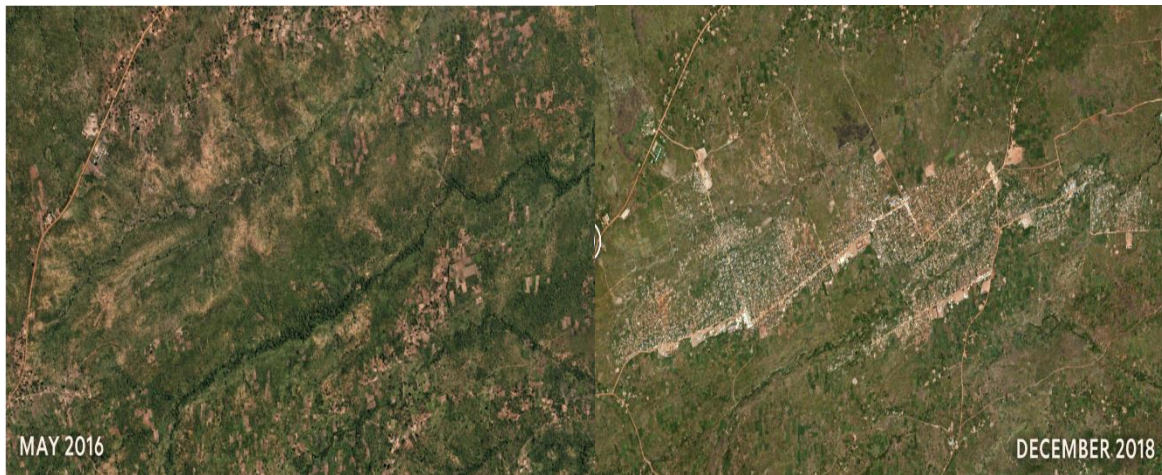
“Many of these people are willing to cultivate but they don’t have access to land and if they do, lands are expensive to rent. Besides that, the soil is not fertile enough to yield a good harvest, but in our recent NGO forum meeting, we resolved to supply improved seeds that are adaptable to the harsh conditions.

Ken confirms the existence of these two important problems that the refugees are facing: on one hand, the land is expensive to rent if people do not possess any plot; on the other hand, it is not fertile. But he also suggests a way out: to rely on the findings of biotechnology, namely improved seeds resistant to dry conditions. This is all good, but new problems may arise. For example: who will pay for these seeds once the NGO will be gone? And what about the possible ecological problems associated with newly introduced seeds that have nothing to do with local ecosystems? While I can see here the possibility of a solution, key questions will still need to be answered.

However, all that does not mean that Bidibidi completely does not have other natural resource capitals. Natural capital does exist or at least has existed. Cultivable land exists but access for the refugees is still a challenge. Efforts are being made to replant trees, which has seen over two hundred trees planted so far as a mitigation approach. More water sources are being created by livelihood implementing partners like “Water Mission” to have water throughout the year so that at least horticultural crops can be grown even in the dry seasons as a strategy to set up a stronger sustainable system in place. In a UNHCR (2019) report on Bidibidi, we can read that the current land area was fully covered with vegetation, but the report blamed it on the poor livelihood strategies deployed and the techniques of agriculture used by the residents which partly contributed to the land and soil degradation. The residents use slash and burn as a means of preparing land for planting which has a bad impact on the environment leading to deforestation of natural forests among others (see Figure 10). In an FGD with the male host community residents, it was mentioned that one of the reasons for burning land on their part was hunting for bushmeat for food and also burning charcoal for sale. They however mentioned that they have since stopped with the practice but now the challenge is with the refugees who they blame for cutting down trees for cooking and construction. Through an FGD, with a mixed group of refugees, I was able to establish that, refugees have indeed been using wood fuel for cooking because they cannot afford to use sustainable sources of energy since they do not earn any income. These are signs of the system’s inability to pursue a livelihood

in difficult times, which leads to the destruction of natural resources (Scoones, 1998; Conway, 1985; Holling, 1995).

Figure 10: Show satellite image, two years apart May 2016 and December 2018 how vegetation has been cleared

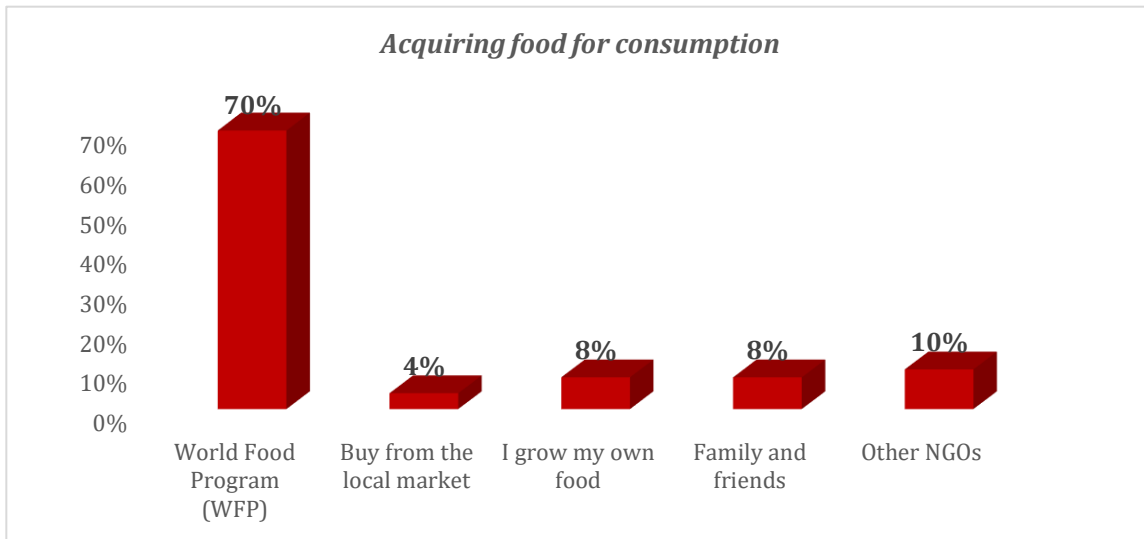


Source: National Geographic. com

As noted in chapter 1, the appropriate definition of a sustainable food system is “a system that supports food security, makes optimal use of natural resources and human resources, is culturally acceptable and accessible, environmentally sound and economically fair and viable and provides the consumer with nutritionally adequate, safe, healthy and affordable food for present and future generations” (Capone *et al.*, 2014). By breaking down this definition, I was able to find out more and relate them to the research question.

Considering food availability and accessibility in this context means looking at the quantity and quality of food that a household or an individual or cluster can have at their disposal. I look here at the means of production and how the research participants manage to meet their daily food consumption. This study surveyed to determine the sources of food that is consumed within the settlement. Figure 11, based on 100 respondents, shows that Bidibidi residents rely much more on food donations from both WFP and other NGOs support. Their production is low, their ability to buy food is minimal.

Figure 11: Shows source of food and the ability to access food (n=100)



Source: The research sample survey using Kobo survey tool. (n=100)

As we can see in Figure 11, the WFP is by far the most important provider of food for Bidibidi refugees. Together with other NGOs, we can see that 80% of the food comes from donor organizations. This indicates a heavy dependency on donor agencies and it is a source of worry for the future. Is it sustainable over the long term? What would happen if the WFP was to stop its activities? It would probably cause a massive famine in the refugee settlement. The Figure also shows that only 8% of the respondents can cultivate their food. This typically takes place in small gardens, most of the time without formal property titles or renting agreements. Also, the dependence on food from WFP which is limited to a few types of food has since created a demand for other foods. This increasing demand, together with the different cash-based interventions, has seen the development of markets within the settlement. These may be low-value markets but at the moment they serve the basic needs of a portion of the population, yet we can see that only 4% of the sample can afford to buy food on the market. From a sustainable livelihood perspective, this is where policy action should take place. As we will see next, it is also the opinion of some of my respondents.

I had an informal discussion with Peter (9.08.2021, 46 years old father of 5), one of the residents in zone 2 'Bidibidi' who has about 10 people in his household. He

mentions that *“although we keep getting food monthly, we needed to have other means to grow and have food at all times if only the government could open up more land for us to use. We rely on food from the WFP and we are given food in ration depending on the size of the family every month. However, recently, the food ration reduced by 30%”*.

To justify what my previous respondent insinuated, I also interviewed a focal person from WFP (Field Associate James, 10.08.2021); he said: *“WFP with other organizations have been supporting refugees with food since the settlement was established, the basic foods beans, posho (corn flour) and cooking oil depending on the family size. Other partners have provided cash incentives. The problem right now is that WFP has seen a drop-in funds donation hence the supply of food also dropped by 30%. We have engaged the government of Uganda to provide more land such that there is more production locally.*

Both Peter and James mention the lack of agricultural land as a major problem. For them, to have access to land would be a way of ensuring some autonomy from donors and some security with respect to food. Interestingly, both Peter and James are very much aware that the WFP is not a sustainable option in the long term and that they are already reducing their supplies, by “30%” they both say. My two respondents estimate that it is the government’s task to help provide land for the refugees. James even implies that the government’s development model should include the distribution of land for greater rural development. However, much as the government of Uganda’s policy allows refugees access to all the resources available, in the context of Bidibidi, almost all the land in the area is locally owned. Therefore, they can either rent or buy them from the host community and so if one does not have an income or is incapable, it becomes a setback to the efforts of achieving food security and sustainable livelihood.

Human capital

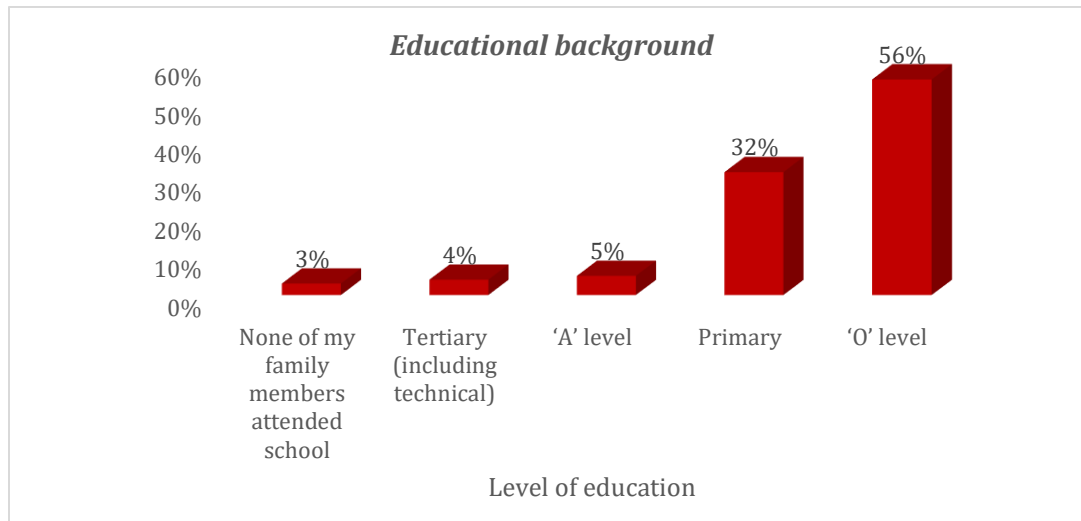
Let us now turn to human capital. To successfully pursue livelihoods strategies, one ought to have some skills, ability, and knowledge to work, good health, and physical capabilities (Scoones, 1998). Bidibidi being such a dynamic and complex

environment means the strategies deployed must be flexible enough to adapt to new things. The effort here was to assess the resilience and the ability of such a vulnerable livelihood to adapt, cope and recover from stresses and shocks with what impact on the environment per se. The skills levels, access to information, the complexity of the environment among others are key to achieving a livelihood (Scoones, 1998). This in mind, Uganda is considered a country with the youngest population in the world with 78% of the national population under the age of 30 (Visual capitalist.com). The current unemployment of young Ugandans stands at 13.3% and the national rate is at 11.1%, these are quite high according to the Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2017). The country has a high literacy rate of 76.53% compared to South Sudan's 34.52% (Macrotrends.net). Since the Bidibidi refugees come from South Sudan, their literacy rates will likely be lower than the Ugandan average. And this was confirmed by my survey of 100 respondents (see Figure 12).

Besides access to land, other factors that influence access to food are of course employment, and employment heavily relies on education. Looking at education levels of the population from the survey data reveals that at least in every household someone has attended school but the level of education remains generally low. The education level is important in the job market especially with competition from the host population. Figure 12 gives a preliminary indication of the level of education within the refugees of Bidibidi. As we can see, more than half (56%) of our sample reached the 'O' level. However, this level of education is not of much value as they have to compete with higher educated university graduates from the host community who are also struggling to get a job due to the high level of unemployment in Uganda. This means that the chances of getting a job for refugees are relatively low. This has since seen livelihood organizations try to enroll both refugees and some host community youth (female and male) into vocational skills training. To learn skills like bricklaying, saloon and hairdressing, tailoring among, welding and metal fabrication, motor vehicle repairs others. These pieces of training focused on turning around the unemployment situation among the youth to be job creators rather than job seekers see figure 13. They are also provided with startup capital to effectively make use of

their skills, but the question is, how sustainable is it? can they earn an income that can improve their livelihoods? To understand more, I decided to interview a focal person from the UNHCR.

Figure 12: Shows the education levels of the sampled group within the settlement (n=100)



Source: Generated from Kobo survey tool (n=100)

An interview with Max, a focal person from the UNHCR (14.08.2021), revealed that the high level of unemployment is seen as a major issue by the United Nations personnel in the settlement. Max said that *“employment for the refugees is a challenge since most of them are not educated for the jobs available, but some are being employed by the NGOs. However, efforts are being made to link the willing ones to attend skills training and startup capital is given for them, to begin with, but it is a long-term goal because of the market differences, for example, the hosts prefer to buy from their fellows. We need to change people’s perception”*. Max refers here to various capacity-building programs for refugees interested in undertaking entrepreneurial and life skills activities in the settlement. But he also notes that it is not always easy to maintain a business in Bidibidi because locals (the ‘hosts’, that is, people living outside the settlement) have their own preferential, closed markets that are not always easy to penetrate. There have been microcredit initiatives in the settlement, as Max indicates, but most have been unsuccessful because of the difficulty in the market. All in all, the

high levels of unemployment in the settlement contribute to undermining efforts to achieve food security and sustainability.

Figure 13: Refugee youth taking part in an informal skills training and working during apprenticeship



Source: Global impact refugees, 2020

To follow up on my discussion with Max, I engaged a former employee of one of the organizations implementing livelihood projects focusing on skilling the youth through the informal skills training programmes as we can see in figure 13. For ethical consideration I agreed not to disclose the identity but here is what the respondent said *“The skills training that the youth receive is important for livelihood sustainability because it is focused on a daily income strategy. However, the focus needs to be directed to the willingness, motivation, and demand of the knowledge. Many refugees after*

receiving this training are not interested in pursuing the skills further because they are either comfortable with their lives or it was chosen for them. Some projects are designed to deliver donor demands, for example, much as issues of gender is important, it is challenging for females to breakthrough in a male-dominated trade, carpentry, and joinery for example, because of perception among the population”.

To further comprehend this, in a FGD with a mixed group of 8 refugee youth (male and females). My finding is that the lack of market for the skills, high competition from the host population, inadequate skills to compete and inferiority complex among the refugees are still some of the barriers.

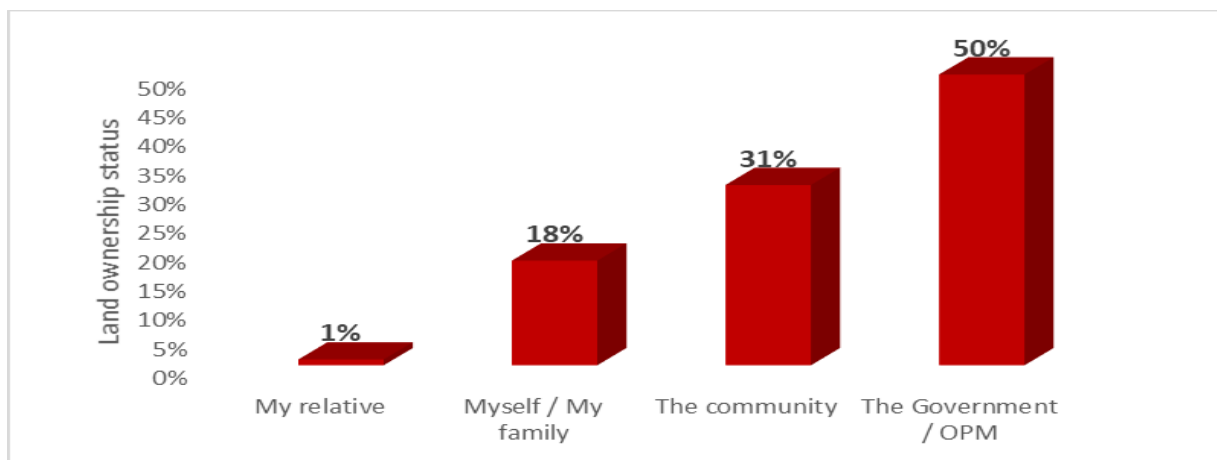
My desire to find out more drove me further to explore the situation both within and around the settlement. Indeed, one could argue that much has been done for the two communities – the refugees and the host populations – by the government of Uganda, the UNHCR, and other project implementing partners. They have for example constructed water sources and health facilities within and around the settlement. However, the population using these facilities is so large that it makes it almost impossible to realize the impact of these facilities. During a FGD session with the two female groups from both the host and the refugee participants, it was further becoming more clear that the whole area of Yumbe district has only one major hospital in place which cannot contain the large population of the area. As a result, most people resort to self-medication, sometimes using traditional medicine or medicinal plants. Although in almost every zone, there is a health center, they only offer basic treatments. Another finding is that Bidibidi, being ethnically diverse with different groups living together, still registers a lot of tribal rifts that emanate from two tribes of Dinka and Nuer. Both groups, who until now are believed to be at loggerhead with one another, do not easily accept to work together. They seem to reproduce in Bidibidi old conflictive dynamics that existed in South Sudan, including at the state level. And for the rest of the population of Bidibidi, many also see the two tribes to be the reason behind the conflict that started and which has transformed the settlement into an insecure space. With efforts from World Vision, social activities like sports have been created to bring peace to the settlement. But overall, these

events create an uncomfortable atmosphere and can further undermine efforts to create a strong community facing problems collectively.

Economic or Financial capital

Scoones (1998) looked at economic or financial capital as the main capital base or means through which any livelihood strategy can be pursued. We already mentioned above the question of employment, and so I will focus here on how the refugees of Bidibidi embrace financial capital. My focus here is not to dwell on land again since already a lot has been said but, land as a liquid asset plays an important role in an individual or household's access to financial services in terms of collateral (Scoones, 1998; DfID 1999). Much as Bidibidi is a settlement, individual or household assets differ I have looked at the land as an appreciating asset in the context of Uganda because people use it as a form of saving but also to access loans. The aspect of land ownership in Bidibidi is also a sign of wealth and a means through which livelihood can be sustained through the production of more food. Other aspects are the remittances that refugees receive from relatives abroad, ability to purchase food, access to credits as well as Through a sample survey deployed, an assessment was done based on the financial ability of individuals or households which was issued to 100 people see figure 15.

Figure 14: Shows refugees means of access to land (n=100)



Source: Researchers own source

Bidibidi land is communally owned by the host community and is headed by local chiefs. When the influx of refugees from South Sudan started an agreement was made between the host community and the government that the government (OPM) would take control of it. This means that refugees have no right to use this land as collateral since it is not officially theirs (OPM zonal commandant Bidibidi zone 3, Ben 13. 08. 2021). The government encourages those who can afford to acquire their own. I conducted a short interview with a focal person of an organization working to improve the financial capacity of refugees and the host community.

Through this interview with Loki, Program Officer Seed effect, (14.08.2021), I was able to discover that as much as the refugee policy gives refugees the freedom to access many things, access to credit and other financial services remain strikingly limited. Institutions apply some bureaucratic procedures that rule out refugees from accessing certain services like loans. Loki said, *"Efforts are being made to have these people access these services but there seem to be issues of trust. however, currently, our project focuses on training refugees and the host communities with VSLA skills for them to have access to startup capital. We are experiencing some challenges as these people have really low income, they don't save enough money to run successful income-generating activities (IGAs), access to loans would have been made life easier for them. But the loan processes are complicated and many times banks ask for valuable assets like land, academic documents, permanent houses to stand as collateral in case of failure to pay, the assets can either be sold or will compel the borrower to repay the loan"*

Loki explains that tangible assets are one of the key resources that one can use to access a loan, and this does not only apply to the refugees but the general population as well. From Figure 12 above, we can see that 50% of the land that the refugees have access to is controlled by the government. Therefore, they don't have control over it hence it can't be used to acquire a loan. The 31% is land they rent from the host community on a seasonal basis through informal agreements; 18% is what some refugee households have managed to acquire from the host community; and only 1% use land from relatives. However, the UNHCR and its implementing agencies like Seed Effect have been training them on financial literacy and Village Savings and Loans

(VSLA) arrangements to improve their financial capability. I also discovered that refugees often receive remittances from relatives in South Sudan and others living as refugees abroad. This was revealed to me during our interaction with David in zone 2 RWC (10.08.2021). Other organizations like Mercy Crops through a cash voucher approach are extending support to the refugees. Informed of seed capital and to get insight into this approach, I engage Arnold (14.08.2021) who is a senior program manager in this project. He indeed explains that the intention is not to directly give them money because previous projects that offered financial support never had major impacts on the livelihood of the refugees. *“These people do not know how to save, even when you give them a lot of money”*, he said condescendingly. He further said that cash transfers can contribute to domestic violence as some men chose to drink some of it and in a few days it was over and the household is back to its struggling again. Therefore, a cash voucher approach is meant to deal with such events by linking the seller to the buyer directly, without handing them cash. However, for me, this seems like a temporary approach that will only work as long as the project is still running.

Social capital

By looking at social capital, my interest was to get involved in the livelihood of a refugee, how they live, and understand what things are important for them. To interpret from the context of SRL (Scoones, 1998), I understand that it is the social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives to successfully pursue the different livelihood strategies. They are the social resources necessary to build well-coordinated actions, for example, social claims, associations, affiliations, etc. Therefore, a network well established with shared norms, values, and understanding to facilitate co-operation within or among groups is important.

Much as earlier I mentioned that Bidibidi is ethnically diverse, it is also socially rich with different religious denominations, farmer's groups, gender-focused groups, business groups, art and culture, sports among others. Through a focus group discussion, we agreed that one member from the mixed group of refugees would lead

the session. During the FGD it was becoming clearer that power relations do exist based on the cultural norms and different social practices that guide the groups. Just like in any other setting, they go to church or mosque, which helps them, they believe, keep a connection with God or Allah. Different sports and dance groups also exist to promote peace. Sport has witnessed the two conflicting tribes brought together in various competitions. To understand better from a policy point of view, I talked with a focal person from World Vision since its focus has been on social capital development within the settlement. In my interview with Albert (Livelihood Officer 10.08.2021), he told me this program came because we understand conflict dynamics: people came here traumatized due to loss of relatives, properties and at the beginning, it was difficult to relate with people, but through social activities, things are getting better. We have also partnered with other organizations like Seed effect to provide training in some of those activities like VSLA. Through this approach, they form a financial pool where a group of people comes together to save their money based on trust to help them solve emergencies. *“The environment of Bidibidi would not look like this if we didn’t have environmental groups. They have planted trees and once in a while clean litters in the settlement”*, he added.

To understand further the relationship that the refugees have within the settlement and outside, during my interview with David in zone 2 RWC (10.08.2021), he said, *“earlier refugees conflicted with the host because of tree cutting for firewood and construction but since the program to reclaim the lost vegetation begun, there have low incidences of attacks on the refugees because now they believe we are not destructive”*.

4.3 Livelihood strategies in Bidibidi

In a vulnerable environment like Bidibidi and its surrounding, I have paid more attention to the different strategies being deployed in combination with available livelihood resources and the processes to achieve sustainability, increase food security and improve well-being. The events of Bidibidi are dynamic and complex because of the many factors that surround its narrative. It is home to refugees, infertile soil, little access to natural resources, ethnically diverse among others. But

what is being done or planned to achieve sustainability? This question is a driver to unearth more details.

Through an interview with UNHCR focal person Max (14.08.2021), he revealed that one of the strategies is that, knowing Bidibidi is not naturally resourceful, the approach to deliver food security and sustainability has been focused on combining the different forms of capital like social capital and agricultural extensification as well as diversification, with a focus on the production of more food and creation of income. Different social groups have been created like Farmer groups, VSLA, Youth groups, all with intention of creating a peaceful environment as well as a productive one. In a FGD with the 3 different refugee groups I was able to discover that, within the farmer groups, different households work together in cycles especially for those with access to land. They come together to provide labour for a specific household, and it goes around for all the group members. In this way, they have managed the cost of labour and they have saved more. The strategy with social capital seems to flourish. This also applies to the other groups like VSLA, for example, where funds are collected together in a pool and given to the most needed household or individual with interest as little as 5%.

While youth skilling seems not to pay off as an approach, it is a strategy deployed focusing on every household to equip the population with skills to be ready and flexible to fit into the job market but more importantly to reach self-reliance. However, this also depends on the willingness of participants. This approach has been focused on allowing the youth to diversify within the different income-earning activities within or in other areas accessible for better well-being.

Sustainable use of the natural resources and reclamation of the degraded spaces is another topic of consideration. This approach, according to Max (14.08.2021), is more focused on reducing the pressure on the natural resources by implementing policies that allow time recovery to be possible. Initiatives to plant more trees are being considered to play a part in the issues of soil degradation.

4.4 The Institutions and organizations

Bidibidi as an environment that encompass a diverse population of people was established and built on the existence of already existing institutions that govern the livelihoods of the different groups. Much as the people migrated from their natural environments, they have continued to replicate or practice their cultures and norms as well their shared beliefs. This is the picture of Bidibidi someone builds the moment you set foot in the area. During my working days in the settlement, I know it was very common to see people greeting each other happily almost everywhere even in that complex environment. For me this is what the social institutions have created. The feeling of togetherness. During our FGD sessions, it was intriguing to see how everybody treated one another, with well-deserved respect. For example where an older person was getting services faster than the rest. It was common to see the young people giving space for the older persons to sit first and the older person also allowed a young person to serve food first. These events define the nature of livelihood and chances of sustainability to ensure. These are the kinds of roles that institutions perform both formally and informally. Having noticed those happenings, it was important to ask a question about this and the answer was just like expected. This is a response from (Jane a 45-year-old single mother of 3 kids, 12.08.2021)

“The older you get, the more responsible you become. You get to realize that a young person feels hungrier than you and if my sons and daughters leave a seat for me to sit first, I know it’s a sign of respect and they receive blessings by doing that”

These kinds of gestures allow peace to prevail within such a community and when there is peace, chances of achieving sustainability are high. With this you already understand the kinds of social institutions that are in place but the question is still what roles the organizations are playing? For me to understand the roles of the different organizations, it was necessary to interview at least one faith based organizations implementing projects within the settlement. I get to interview (Charlie, focal person Dan Church Aid 11.08.2021). Charlie informs me that their work is more of making sure that people stay together and retain their beliefs because it is much easier to achieve peace when people are connected with each another. He

also mentioned there were moments when things got complicated because some organizations gave money to the refugees and men who in this case are the household heads resorted to spend it on buying alcohol. This resulted in an increase in rape cases, low social order, violation of culture, gender base violence (GBV). Through organizations working together with the existing institutions like the Catholic church, Anglican, Muslim, cultural leaders and the government, things have normalized. Organizations in the settlement engage churches and cultural leaders more to get advice about programme interventions and the target group they should focus on. The leaders are well aware of the situation in the community and know which families are struggling in their livelihoods. They advise organizations like NGO's what the needs are and link them to the targeted families.

4.5 Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, I am convinced that, the objective of the paper has been achieved and the research question answered. By deploying the SRL as an analytical framework in the context of a refugee livelihood to assess livelihood sustainability and food security as part of the many works of literature intended to contribute to the wider bodies of works on rural livelihood and food security studies.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In this paper, I have applied the SLA theory into practice. However, focusing more on Ian Scoones SRL framework for analysis to analyze the complex livelihood of refugees in attaining food security and sustainable livelihood. The 4 capitals (natural, human economic and social capital) of SRL by Scoones were all discussed in reference to the case study location (Bidibidi). I have tried to investigate further the current hindrances to food security and some of the dragging points to achieving sustainable livelihood within and around Bidibidi.

The research began by introducing food system and reviewing its background then metamorphosed into a sustainable food system that later demystified food security as a concept and its causes more especially in Sub-Saharan Africa within the context of refugees, displacement, and migration. The discussion of the food system further transformed to inform that; food system can only make sense if it is sustainable, guarantees food security while taking into consideration the sustainability of the livelihood resources. It is from this that the concept of food security became the dominant point of discussion and immediately linked it with a sustainable livelihood.

An in-depth literature review was conducted and linked food security to the framework to try and compare the current events and advise accordingly. It offered a conceptual framework for analyzing food system, food security, sustainable livelihood, and how this intersects with a refugee settlement. The background of the Bidibidi refugee settlement and history of the migration from South Sudan to Uganda was well presented as the cause is said to have been the civil war. The war that did not only impose poverty as on many people to become part of their lives but also contributed to their current situation. Until now close a million live in Uganda in different refugee settlements without knowing when they shall ever regain their lives

The Sustainable Rural Livelihood (SRL) framework by Ian Scoones is used to structure the findings of the case study. Digesting the framework to analyze the livelihood resources, strategies in place, the roles of organizations and institution in the effort of achieving the outcomes. The findings further exposed some of the

challenges and steps being taken to reach the goal of sustainability. With interviews, questionnaire survey and FGD. The paper presents a rich finding that can be used to inform any rural livelihood.

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Annex

Table 2: Shows the structure of the data collection process and the NGOs reached

Method 1	Participant	Activity	Responsible person	Age	Gender		Target	Target Achieved
					F	M		
KII	Administrators							
	WFP	Distribution and supply of food	Livelihood Officer				1	1
	UNHCR	Wellbeing and protection of refugee rights	Field Associate Officer				1	1
	OPM	Control and allocation of resources	Zonal Commandants 2,3 and 4				3	3
	RWC Zone 2,3, and 4	Welfare team	RWC Officer				3	3
Livelihood organizations								
	DCA	Livelihood implementing organization	Livelihood Officer				1	1
	Welt Hunger Hilfe	Livelihood implementing partner- Agricultural skill	Program manager				1	1
	NRC	Livelihood implementing partner- business skills	Project Officer production				1	1
	World Vision	Livelihood implementing partner-Food sustainability	Livelihood officer				1	1
	CEFORD	Livelihood implementing partner-Environment	Livelihood Officer				1	1
	Water Mission	Livelihood implementing partner-Health	Project Officer				1	1
	Mercy Corps	Livelihood implementing partner- Agriculture	Senior Program manager				1	1
	Seed Effect	Livelihood implementing partner- Income generating activities	Program officer livelihood				1	1
Local government								
	LC 1 Zone 2, 3 and 4	Government Representatives	Village Chairpersons				3	3
	District production Officer	Government representative- Agriculture	Agriculture Officer				1	1

Method 2	Participant	Activity	Responsible person	Age	Gender		Target	Target Achieved
					F	M		
FGD	Refugees	Discussion	Research Assistant	18-65	12	12	24	24
	Host community	Discussion	Research Assistant	18-65	12	12	24	24
Method 3	Participant	Activity	Responsible person	Age	Gender		Target	Target Achieved
Questionnaire survey	Refugees	Closed ended Survey questions	Data collectors	18-70	50	50	100	105

Source: Developed by researcher