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Factors Influencing Refugee Dependence on Humanitarian Aid at Nakivale Settlement South Western Uganda

Abbas Mugisha ^α, Emmanuel Mbacha ^ο & Reguli Mushy ^ρ

Abstract- This study reports the findings of a research carried in Nakivale refugee settlement, south western Uganda. The paper argues that self-reliance for refugees have reduced donors' fatigue and encouraged refugees to engage in different economic activities that have enabled them to be economically independent from donors specifically United Nations High Commissioners for Refugees (UNHCR) and its implementing partners like the World Food Programme (WFP). The study therefore was to examine the factors influencing refugee dependence on handouts/humanitarian aid in Nakivale settlement by identifying how refugees cope up in the settlement. The researcher adopted both quantitative and qualitative research designs in the collecting and analyzing data. Data were analyzed by use of descriptive statistics, multinomial logistic regression and description of themes. The findings revealed that; majority of the households depend on handouts from UNHCR/WFP, and vulnerability to sexual harassment significantly affects refugees' dependency on handouts. The researcher recommended that refugee women need to be empowered through vocational trainings and enabling them access financial support inform of loans to enable them be independent, other than depending on humanitarian aid.

Keywords: refugees, dependence, humanitarian aid, nakivale.

1. INTRODUCTION

International debates over humanitarian intervention have preoccupied NGO discourses and governments. Conflicts is about power, material resources represent buttress and are essential to power. Thus, when NGOs introduce resources such as food, cash and equipment, they become foci of struggle (Anderson, 2001). There have been many debates as to whether humanitarian aid does not actually fuel war. There is also as to what extent to which it contributes to development (De Wall, 1989; Duffield, 2002). At the same time, the benefits to NGOs and the local staff and improvement for the infrastructure of hosting areas have been mentioned (Goyen *et al.*, 1996). However, Anderson (2001) discusses how humanitarian intervention may worsen conflict. She mentions that this can be done through the payments of tariffs and taxes by NGOs, which money is then used to propel the conflict. In addition, she argues that NGO innervation can reinforce and worsen inter-group tensions by

affecting the distribution of resources (e.g. employment of some people and rejecting others); these can spark off jealousies, inequalities and fuel separate group identities. Furthermore, NGOs presence affects wages, prices and profits. Through interaction with some officials they legitimate some actors and delegitimize others. Moreover, NGOs use of horror pictures may serve to dehumanize war perpetrators in the minds of the wider public and reinforce their alienation in peace efforts. The continuation of the war in South Sudan has blamed on several factors, the key being humanitarian aid (Duffield, 1998; Keen, 2000).

Much as the UNHCR has the mandate to offer protection and assistance to refugees, it is not usually the practice that it also implements its projects. It rarely does so, normally only during the emergency phase of a refugee influx while scouting around for implementing partners. The interventions refer to programmes and services, which are rendered to the population in need of survival in the short-term (in disaster and emergency situations) and in longer term as a way of decreasing the vulnerabilities of the communities and building up their capacities (Mulumba, 2005). In refugee situations, such interventions also depend on the refugee policies of hosting countries. Mulumba in her study, gives one example of Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya which has been there for over ten years, however, they are maintained on short-term (yet permanent) humanitarian assistance which include 100 percent food ration while in the Ugandan case which maintains agricultural settlements, refugees are expected to till the land and start living off it in the shortest time possible. Immediately short term humanitarian interventions include the addressing of basic needs; shelter, food, clothing, health, water and sanitation; the long term include, but are not limited to; allocation of land plots, farm implements-hoes, sickles, seeds and education facilities (Mulumba, 2005).

Several factors influence who gets humanitarian aid and who does not. Moreover, in the Ugandan case, there are conditions in space which refugees must satisfy before they can access such aid. First, one has to be cognized refugee by the hosting government and the UNHCR. This spells out certain notions, such as areas of settlement, registered versus none registered. The Uganda refugee policy consists of rural agricultural

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settlements in government gazzatted land (Mulumba, 2005).

a) *Statement of the problem*

Uganda maintains an open refugee policy through SRS which is the focus of this study. Under this approach, refugees in Uganda are integrated in settlements within host communities. They have a right to work, access documentation and social services, are free to move and establish businesses and are even allocated land for shelter and agricultural purposes through generous asylum policy (UN and World Bank, 2017). Despite the wide spread perception that the refugee policies built on the notion of self-reliance have been extremely progressive, there is a conflicting discourse on this view. While on one hand, as highlighted by numerous policy documents from UNHCR, NGOs and other actors that SRS claims to empower refugees, other scholars, i.e. Svedberg, (2014) have indicated gaps in the policy. In any case, there is no doubt that the practices of SRS in Uganda have received a lot of attention by policy makers and scholars. However, research is largely silent on how this approach impacts the largest group of refugees: women and children. As of April, 2020, at least 82 percent of the refugees are women and children (UNHCR, 2020), and women often find themselves as the primary care takers and bread winners of their families (Watera *et al.*, 2017). Thus research on the impact of SRS on displaced people's livelihoods especially women and children are highly needed. Indeed, refugee women are often identified as passive and vulnerable victims of violence in need of support and remain disadvantaged in various social and economic aspects (Krause, 2014). Since one of the central goals of SRS is refugee empowerment, this study will examine the impact of SRS on displaced people's livelihoods, particularly women and children at Nakivale settlement.

b) *Objective of the study*

The objective of this study is to examine the factors influencing refugee dependence on handouts/humanitarian aid.

i. *Research question*

What are the factors influencing refugee dependence on handouts/humanitarian aid?

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

a) *Neoliberal theory*

The study adopted the neoliberal theory which is an updated version of classical political economy developed in the thinking of free-market economists such as Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman in 1930 (Heywood, 2013). The essence of neoliberalism is to 'roll back the frontiers of the welfare state' in the belief that unregulated market capitalism will deliver growth and widespread prosperity with efficiency (Heywood, 2013).

The 'Nanny State' is seen to breed a culture of dependence and to undermine freedom of choice in the marketplace.

Neoliberalism has provided a kind of operating framework or 'ideological software' for advancing competitive globalization, dismantling the conventional welfare state and to proselytize the virtues of market, privatization and active individualism, which have become underpinnings in contemporary politics (Gledhill, 2007). In such thinking, naturally, the idea of self-reliance becomes an appealing value; former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and American President Ronald Reagan, for example, famously dedicated themselves to promoting a policy of self-reliance that urged people to rely on themselves rather than the state as the principal source of support (Goodin, 1985).

Congruent with broader development assistance, the international refugee regime has increasingly incorporated neoliberal principles into its policymaking, and the active promotion of self-reliance has become a 'mantra' among refugee-supporting agencies and policymakers. This trend can be practically observed through a reduction in free food rations and other forms of gratuitous material assistance for refugees, as well as through the implementation of numerous vocational training or entrepreneurship programmes that aim to enable refugees to participate in labor markets through acquired skills. Black, (1994). This has led to a declining emphasis on collectively attained self-reliance in agricultural settlements and has coincided with a larger neoliberal shift in development from addressing structural factors of poverty and inequality to focusing on individuals' ability to navigate adversities alone.

The focus on refugee self-reliance can also be observed discursively, as the conceptualization of refugees as 'responsible economic and market actors' represents a dramatic shift from refugees as 'vulnerable victims' (Black, 1994). Indeed, refugees' very 'helplessness' previously justified their status as recipients of benevolent international support and protection (Stein, 1981), humanitarian agencies have regularly utilized such images for fundraising. Currently, however, in promoting refugees' self-reliance, relief organizations attempt to refashion refugees from helpless aid recipients to 'prudent autonomous and entrepreneurial subjects' (Welsh, 2014) who are resilient and responsible for their own welfare and futures (Ilcan, 2015).

Nevertheless, it remains questionable whether the current conceptualization of self-reliance based on neoliberal principles is a feasible approach to refugees' economic empowerment and subsequent attainment of self-reliance. As non-citizens of their host country, refugees in developing regions face a number of challenges in often inhospitable environments. These

include constraints on their right to work, such as lack of access to work permits and restrictions on freedom of movement (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2016).

While the promotion of self-reliance embraces refugees' entrepreneurship, refugees in the South are usually excluded from official financial institutions providing credit and loans for refugees (Easton-Calabria and Omata, 2016). Upon completing a livelihoods training programme, refugees struggle to find the capital with which to start up small businesses, as well as find markets in which to sell their goods and services. Given these constraints, the promotion of self-reliance based on neoliberal tenets such as minimal state intervention, unregulated markets and individualism as a viable solution for refugees deserves scrutiny.

b) Factors influencing refugee dependence on handouts/humanitarian aid.

International debates over humanitarian intervention have preoccupied NGO discourses and governments. Conflicts is about power, material resources represent buttress and are essential to power. Thus, when NGOs introduce resources such as food, cash and equipment, they become foci of struggle (Anderson, 2001). There have been many debates as to whether humanitarian aid does not actually fuel war. There is also as to what extent to which it contributes to development (De Wall, 1989; Duffield, 2002). At the same time, the benefits to NGOs and the local staff and improvement for the infrastructure of hosting areas have been mentioned (Goyen *et al.*, 1996). Several factors influence who gets humanitarian aid and who does not. Moreover, in the Ugandan case, there are conditions in space which refugees must satisfy before they can access such aid. First, one has to be cognized refugee by the hosting government and the UNHCR. This spells out certain notions, such as areas of settlement, registered versus none registered. The Uganda refugee policy consists of rural agricultural settlements in government gazzatted land (Mulumba, 2005).

Absorbing displaced people in urban settings: Crawford *et al.*, (2015) high lightened the challenges of urbanization generally and the presence in cities of large numbers of long-term displaced people. A number of interventions, ranging from small scale informal arrangements to large urban municipality projects, suggest that solutions around the livelihoods of the urban displaced, which often include improvements in housing tenure, can be pursued successfully in different policy environments.

Integrated income generation, employment and skills programmes: Crawford *et al.*, (2015), argues that vocational training and income generation schemes supported thru grants or loans are probably the programmes most immediately associated with self-reliance and livelihood support to displaced people. Hill, (2006) and Jacobsen, (2006) point to a pattern of failure

behind many of these schemes; failure to consider the market viability of either skill being taught or the product being produced; failure to consider the competing needs of participants as well as the educational, social and psychosocial barriers they are facing; and lack of experience within the agencies or NGOs providing lending or grants schemes and failure to link those schemes with more complete financial services that might allow them to grow or achieve sustainability.

Predictable safety nets and basic social services: Crawford *et al.*, (2015), asserts that in situation where opportunities for direct support for income generating activities are extremely limited, for example, isolated, closed camp situations or where security threats are severe, programmes that support education, nutrition and food security play a crucial, indirect role in building self-reliance and livelihoods.

According to International Rescue Committee (2014), the impact of education can be equally great. Among Syrian refugee girls, the failure to offer safe access to education is contributing to sexual exploitation and harassment, domestic violence and significant rise in early forced marriages. Watkins and Zyck (2014) argues that besides the human rights imperative to act, girls' education in the Syria refugee context is a priority for security, social stability and economic recovery, allowing girls and young women to develop the social networks crucial for livelihoods in the long term.

Integrated regional and country development approaches: The World Bank's Global Program on Forced Displacement (GPDFD), whose objective is to improve the contribution of development actors to situations of forced migration (World Bank, 2014), played potentially important role in bringing comprehensive regional approaches to bear on complex and protracted displacement crises. The GPDFD (2014) study on IDPs and refugees in the Sahel, (World Bank, 2014), though only proposed policy framework at this point, seems to have digested many of the lessons of the past piecemeal and humanitarian focused interventions to support self-reliance and livelihoods.

Vulnerability to sexual harassment: According to the UNHCR (2013), more than 51 million persons were displaced because of conflict and violence in the world, and the majority of the world's forced migrants, that is, refugees and IDPs were in protracted situations, with little chance that their displacement will end any time.

In their study on IDPs livelihoods and self-reliance interventions in Darfur, Gebruet *et al.*, (2013); Jaspars and O'Callaghan, (2010), found out that self-reliance programmes have taken various forms and approaches over the years. Some aimed to make people less vulnerable by supporting their protection and increasing their livelihood assets. Interventions such as replenishing livestock, and the provision of food aid, fuel-efficient stoves, seeds, tools and veterinary

services, were intended to reduce IDPs exposure to the risk of attacks and exploitation in their search for food and livelihoods.

Other interventions to reduce the amount of money IDPs spent on basic services by providing free health care and education, while the provision of additional food rations for them to sell, and vocational training in skills such as carpentry and tailoring, were intended to boost their ability to generate an income (Jaspars and O'Callaghan, 2010; Young, 2007).

Some of the previous literature on refugee women's empowerment includes a study by Krause (2014) which explores the idea of how refugeeism can have an empowering experience for women. According to the study conducted in Rhino Camp Settlement in Uganda, displacement can give women the opportunity to create or negotiate new and different gender roles in refugee camps and settlements. Women can be provided with new possibilities as a majority of them escape more patriarchal structures in neighboring countries such as South Sudan. Similar implications have been reflected on in the reports by UNHCR, as it is assumed that the gendered process of forcible displacement and settlement in a country of asylum could have both positive and negative effects for individuals and therefore be an empowering or a disempowering experience for women (Krause, 2014). Hence, refugee women in the settlements can experience a potentially positive impact as they can acquire new skills and economic opportunities. For instance, WRC reveals how women in a refugee settlement can gain educational and vocational training that allows them to follow trades that pays more than traditional female trades and thus empower refugee women (Women's Refugee Commission, 2013).

III. METHODOLOGY

To gain an in-depth understanding of the topic, this study was carried out using the triangulation designs. This is a mixed method design which is the combination of qualitative and quantitative (QUAL+QUAN) approach to collect and analyze data (Creswell & Tashallori, 2007). In recent years, integrating qualitative and quantitative methods has become common in research (Bryman, 2006) because mixed method design can provide detailed and comprehensive data in order to achieve the research objectives and answer the research questions. According to Mertler and Charles (2008), in this method, both quantitative and qualitative data are collected and given equal emphasis, which allows the researcher to combine the strengths of each form of data.

a) Study population

The primary respondents were women refugees who have stayed for more than five years in Nakivale

refugee settlement. These women refugees helped to show the impact of self-reliance on their livelihoods since the impact depends on how much time the refugees have spent in a settlement. The study also targeted Settlement commandants, Refugee welfare committee, UNHCR and its implementing partners, school going children and some of their teachers.

b) Sample size and sampling techniques

Nakivale settlement has a total population of 121,348 (as of January, 2020), distributed in 79 villages and 32,768 households where 420 households has members who have stayed at Nakivale for more than five years. This study used both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection.

For the qualitative data, it is not easy to determine how many respondents are needed in qualitative research. As Sarantakos (1998) puts it, "in qualitative studies, theoretical sampling does not resort to numerical boundaries to determine the size of sample; instead, subject selection will cease after saturation has been reached. Similarly, when purposive sampling procedures are used, it is left up to the researcher to decide when a number of respondents is considered sufficient, since actual numbers are not of primary importance for the study"

This part of qualitative method was guided by Sarantakos' views on determining sample size in qualitative research. The sample size for qualitative sample consisted of 104 respondents. This number included thirteen Focus Group Discussions (nine with women refugees and four with school going children refugees): each group consisted of eight refugees making a total of 104 respondents. These 104 women and children refugees were purposively selected and interviewed. 03 refugee leaders (Members of Refugee Welfare Councils) were purposively selected. Furthermore, Key informants were selected using Purposive sampling as follows: Office of the Prime Minister 03, Humanitarian agencies 04, and school teachers 04.

For quantitative data, the research sampled according to the size of the village where by in every village, the researcher took all the women that had spent more than five years in the settlement. The researcher went to every household where there were eligible women refugees according to the years spent in the settlement, i.e. five years. Using the multi-stage sampling (the taking of samples in stages using smaller and smaller sampling units at each stage) the researcher took all the three zones; Base camp, Rubondo and Juru, where in each zone, he randomly sampled 20 villages that were in proportion related to the size of the population. Out of the 20 villages taken, the researcher took 82 households out of 420 households of women who have been in the settlement for more than five years.

i. *Sample size determination*

The sample of this research was calculated using Taro Yamane (Yamane, 1973) formular with 95% confidence level and 10% precision. The total population of refugees' household who have stayed at Nakivale settlement for more than five years were obtained from UNHCR (2020) fact sheet, and the population is 420. Therefore using the formula

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N(e)^2}$$

From the formula n = sample size

N = Total population

e = level of precision (0.1)

Therefore

$$n = \frac{420}{1 + 420(0.1)^2}$$

$$\frac{420}{1 + 420 * 0.01}$$

$$\frac{420}{1 + 4.2}$$

$$\frac{420}{5.2}$$

$$= 80$$

Based on the calculation above the sample size will be equal to eighty refugee households (80) Students.

Table 1: Household dependence on others for daily support

Dependence on others	No. of households	Percentage
No	17	20.7
Yes	65	79.3
Total	82	100.0

The daily support was either self-support or external support including; parents, UNHCR and WFP. Households that did not receive any external support were 20.7% while 4.9%, 24.4% and 19.5% exclusively depended on Parents, UNHCR and WFP respectively.

b) *Possible activities for cash grant*

During the qualitative study, it was found out in focus group discussion that there were possible activities for the cash grant given out instead of food (maize, beans and oil). It was revealed that there are refugees who receive cash for food. This cash for food replaces the food. Cash for food is a food assistance which is either cash or food. This is given out to those who are first verified following the same procedures as those who get food. World Food Programme (WFP) is the only authorized body by the UNHCR to give cash in collaboration with Equity bank where cash is credited on each beneficiary's account every month. WFP helps in

c) *Data Analysis*

The researcher used both quantitative and qualitative data analysis. Qualitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics and multinomial logistic regression to assess factors that influence refugee dependence on handouts/humanitarian aid whereas qualitative data was analyzed using themes and sub themes to examine possible activities for cash grants.

IV. RESULTS

a) *Refugees' dependence*

This paper intends to answer the following research question: what are the factors influencing refugee dependence on handout/humanitarian aid? To answer this question, the researcher used descriptive statistics and multinomial logistic regression were used to assess factors that influence refugee dependence on handouts/humanitarian aid. Household dependence on external daily support represented dependence on hand outs such that households that depended on others for daily support were 79.3% as indicated in *table 5.1* below.

all the process involved (Interview with World Food Program- Field office).

During the survey, it was found that much as most refugees' livelihoods were depending on the handouts from UNHCR and WFP, results found out that there were those getting food from other sources. The rest of the households depended on double and triple support as shown in *table 5.2* below.

Table 2: Daily support relied on

Daily source of Support	Number of households	Percentage
None/Self	17	20.7
UNHCR,WFP	1	1.2
Parent	4	4.9
Parent, UNHCR,WFP	1	1.2
Parent, WFP	5	6.1
UNHCR	20	24.4
UNHCR,WFP	18	22.0
WFP	16	19.5
Total	82	100.0

The number of households that depend on different sources of support can be easily depicted from the bar chart (figure 1) below.

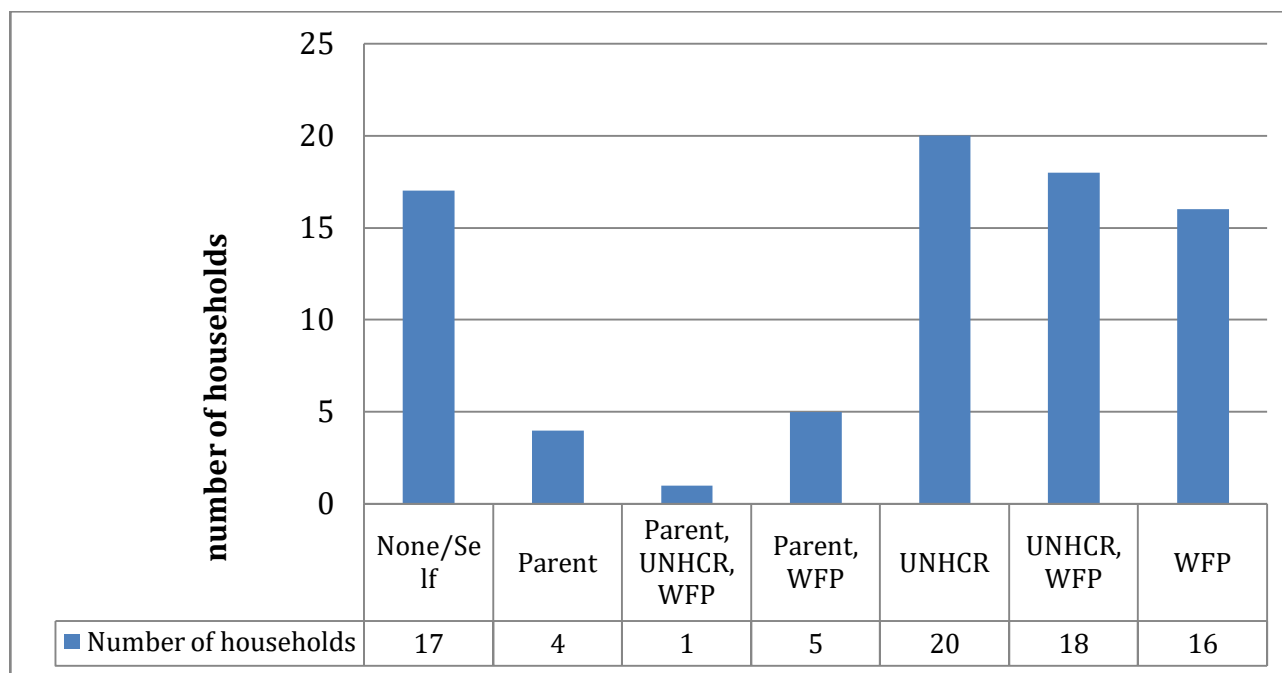


Figure 1: Bar chart of number of households that depend on different sources of support.

c) Cash programs

The researcher was interested to know whether cash program contributes to better outcomes than other kinds of aid. The study found that money given out is much better than the maize and beans given out. The following quotes demonstrates respondents' feelings about cash for food and the real food;

"Money is much better as long as there is an understanding between a wife and a husband. When we used to get food, we would even get rotten which wouldn't be grinded for one to eat, we would sell. You would rather sell and buy other maize but when you sell, you would get loses since it was rotten, they would not buy on market price. The money got from selling these food stuffs would not take you for even a month as it is supposed to be" (Woman refugee, Nyakagando village, Rubondo, 25/01/2020)

It was also observed that the food given out is the same food grown by the refugees and they are only given specific food stuffs, i.e. maize and beans which

are majorly grown in the settlement. Respondents expressed need for other items needed at home like salt, sugar, soap and charcoal. So they will still sell off the food to raise money for school fees and other scholastic materials. It was therefore found that money was much better than the maize and beans given out. Another advantage of money over food was that, money can be used for medication when you are referred for further treatment.

It was also revealed that with money received instead of food can be used to hire land from the host for cultivation and save some in the VSLAs so as to qualify for a loan in future.

However, some respondents were not comfortable with money because they felt that it not enough to take them for the month and prepares them to live without aid in future. Some respondents were of the view that if the can be empowered to be self-reliant will help them to live without depending on handouts.



d) *Opportunities for self-reliance through humanitarian support*

During FGDs it was observed that the food given out is not enough for a month. It was revealed that the food given can only take them for only two weeks. The following quotes illustrates refugees' frustrations;

"If there is no longer aid, that will be the end of us because the land they used to give us for cultivation is being given away to new arrivals" (Woman refugee, Nyakagando village, Rubondo).

".....There is nothing we do, we only depend on aid for food, and we have no skills other than this tangible aid" (Woman refugee, Kisura B village, Rubondo).

"It will be better if these humanitarian organizations offer different skills to us so that they can help us in future instead of giving us these tangible aid that cannot last for long" (Woman refugee, Kisura B, village, Rubondo).

The researcher observed fear among refugee's women because they think if humanitarian aid stop, then they will suffer. Furthermore, some respondents had mixes reactions because they believe that it will be difficult for them to survive without land to cultivate on so as to supplement the support given by the humanitarian agencies. However, with those who receive cash for food were hopeful because they think with that money, the can save and buy some animals and birds to rare. With these animals, they think life may go on normally without aid. They observed that there was a need for them to be empowered instead of depending on handouts. During an interview with the Settlement Commandant, he affirmed how refugees are expected to produce food so as to sustain themselves because they cannot entirely depend on handouts.

e) *Economic activities engaged in by refugees at Nakivale settlement*

Nakivale settlement being a multinational settlement with over ten nationalities who have overstayed in the settlement with some since 2000, have tried to embrace self-reliance strategies, and with time, they have tried to engage in different economic activities depending on the ability, skills and availability of capital in an effort to become self-reliant and obtain better sustainable livelihoods even in the absence of humanitarian aid. The study observed that 80.5% of the households in the settlement were actively involved in different economic activities as indicated in *table 5.3*.

Table 3: Households involved in Self-reliance economic activities.

Involvement in Self Reliance Economic Activities	No. of households	Percentage
No	16	19.5
Yes	66	80.5
Total	82	100.0

Other than farming, some refugees revealed that there is no other activity. However they showed concern of inadequate land. This was confirmed during an interview with the Project Manager of Alight (formerly known as American Refugee Committee) who revealed that land is not adequate enough to support livelihood activities. So much as refugees would want to engage themselves in agriculture, they had no land. It was further observed that for those who are actively involved in farming, they are growing different crops like ocular, cabbages, maize and beans. For those who are not in crop production are engaged in small businesses like selling tomatoes and other small items. There are also those who offer casual laborers in the gardens. However, since Base camp is as semi urban, most of the refugees there are involved in business as one woman refugee noted;

"At Base camp, the only activity we are involved in is small businesses. We go to markets and buy some small items which we sell and get little money to buy things like soap, oil and shoes for the children. However with small profit margin" (Woman refugee, New Hope, Base Camp, 01/2/2020).

Another woman expressed willingness to do business but she has no money;

"Most of us don't have capital to invest in something, but in case we can get capital, we would do a lot of activities that any woman would engage in" (Woman refugee, Kashojwa B, village, Base camp, 01/02/2020).

There are other women who confessed that they were staying home doing domestic work because they also had no capital, she noted that;

".....Staying home seated doesn't mean that we don't have skills, most of us have business skills, we have been trained in tailoring, studied business and finance, but we have no opportunities and no capital. That is the reason why we stay home doing nothing" (Woman refugee, New Sangano, Base camp, 01/02/2020).

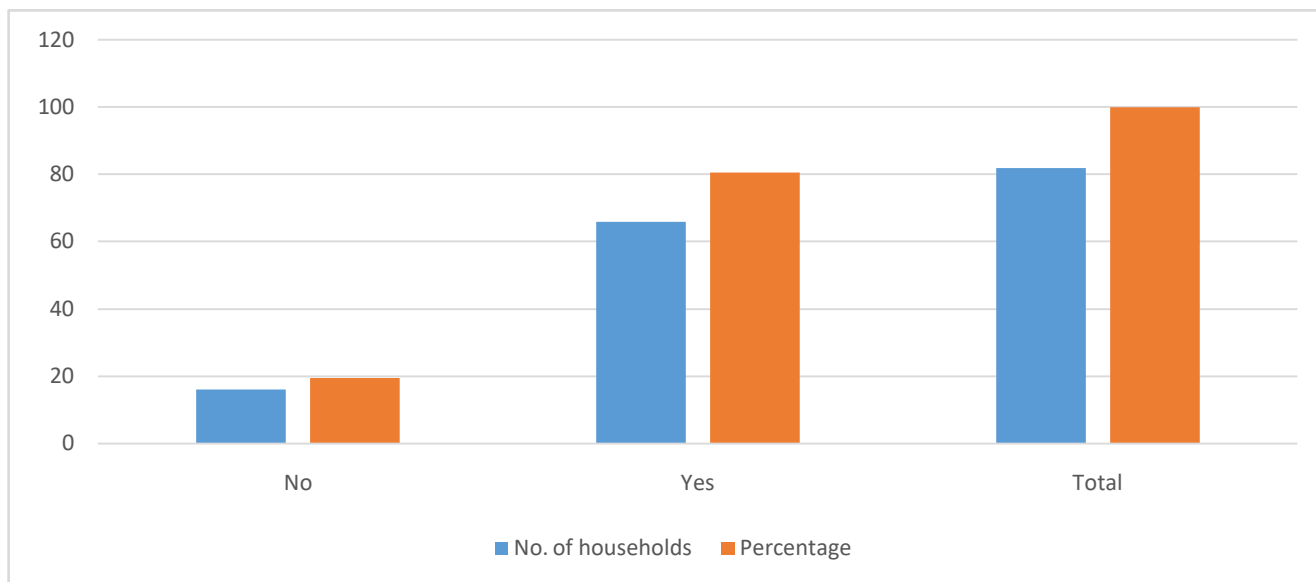


Figure 3: Households involved in self-reliance activities.

To examine the extent to which the involvement in the self-reliance activities would help in reduction of refugee dependence on external support, a multinomial regression model was adopted. Dependence on handouts was used as the dependent/response variable and self-reliance strategy was used as one of the independent variables and it was represented by any household member being involved in at least one economic activity. Involvement in self-reliance strategy and other co-factors were regressed against dependence on hand outs and the results obtained were as shown in table 3.

f) *Factors Affecting Refugee Dependence on Handouts*

i. *Age of household head*

Age of household had a positive significant effect on dependence on hand outs. This implied that increasing the age of household head by one year increases the log likelihood of depending on handouts by 0.142 than decreasing age. This was because as household heads become of age, they are less active and hardworking such that the only way of survival is depending on humanitarian aid.

ii. *Household head being male*

Household head being male showed a negative significant effect such that if the household is male, there is a decrease in the log likelihood of the household dependence on humanitarian aid by 2.116 than if a household head is female. This observation was attributed to the fact that male household heads can easily engage economic activities that can support the household rather than dependence on hand outs as observed in the focus group discussions, as one respondent states;

“Not only should we depend on NGOs, we also look at our husbands.....” (FGD, Nyakaagando village, Rubondo, 25/01/2020)

iii. *Engagement in economic activity*

Non-engagement in economic activity although not significant, it had a positive effect dependence on hand outs. A household not being engaged in economic activity increased the log likelihood of depending on hand outs by 1.714 than being engaged in economic activity. This was explained in the focus group discussions that if at least a member of the household is not engaged in economic activity, the overall household income is minimal thus increasing the chances of waiting on to humanitarian aid.

iv. *Marital status*

Marital Status of one being married showed a negative but non-significant effect on dependence on hand outs. Results show that a household head being married reduced the log likelihood of dependence on hand outs by 2.083 than being single, widowed or separated. This was explained by the fact that married couples can plan and strategies for better economic opportunities which increases their income and reduces dependence on hand outs in the long run.

Table 4: Results of multinomial Logistic Regression showing factors affecting refugee dependence on handouts

Rely on others for daily support(Dependent/response variable) ^a	B	Std. Error	Sig.
Intercept	-36.741	6580.11	0.996
House hold size	0.054	0.247	0.827
Age	0.142	0.074	0.055
[Any member engaged in economic activity=0 (No)]	1.714	1.681	0.308
[Any member engaged in economic activity=1(Yes)]	0 ^b	0	0
[Marital status=1(Married)]	-2.083	2.351	0.376
[Marital status=2(Single)]	-0.149	3.445	0.965
[Marital status=3(Separated)]	-0.237	3.053	0.938
[Marital status=4 (widowed)]	0 ^b	0	0
[Household head=1(Male)]	-2.116	1.220	0.083
[Household head=2(Female)]	-2.185	0.000	0.991
[Household head=3(Child)]	0 ^b	0	0
[Education level=0(None)]	-5.914	6226.00	0.999
[Education level=1(Primary)]	-4.427	6226.00	0.999
[Education level=2(Secondary)]	-23.889	6620.40	0.997
[Education level=3(Tertiary)]	13.699	0.000	0.999
[Vulnerable people in the household=0(No)]	19.337	3061.03	0.995
[Vulnerable people in the household=1(Yes)]	-3.365	5838.91	1.000
[Productive assets the Household owns=0 (None)]	-.055	1.982	0.978
[Productive assets the Household owns=1(bicycle)]	1.214	2.918	0.677
[Productive assets the Household owns=1,2(Bicycle &livestock)]	-.926	2.281	0.685
[Productive assets the Household owns=2(Livestock)]	-.551	1.991	0.782
[Productive assets the Household owns=2,3(livestock & motorcycle)]	-18.037	3598.15	0.996
[Productive assets the Household owns=3(motorcycle)]	0 ^b	0	0
[Knows about self-reliance strategy=0(No)]	1.965	1.822	0.281
[Knows about self-reliance strategy=1(Yes)]	0 ^b	0	0
[Average earning from the economic activity=0(< 150,000sh. per month)]	16.804	2854.94	0.995
[Average earning from the economic activity=1(> 150,000sh. per month)]	-5.045	5268.89	0.999
[Average earning from the economic activity=3(> 250,000sh per month)]	0 ^b	0	0
[Aware of financial services in the community=0 (No)]	0.810	1.064	0.447
[Aware of financial services in the community=1(Yes)]	0 ^b	0	0

a. The reference category is: Yes.

b. This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant/has very few responses compared to other co-factors

Age and Household head being male turned out to have a significant effect while other factors that had an effect on dependence on handouts although non-significant were engagement in economic activity/self-reliance activity, awareness of financial services in the community, knowledge about self-reliance strategy and marital status of being married.

g) *Vulnerability to sexual harassment and refugees' dependence on handouts.*

i. *Security of women and girls in Nakivale settlement*

To assess how refugee vulnerability to sexual harassment influences refugees' dependence on

handouts, Descriptive statistics and Multinomial Logistic Regression were used as well. Self-reliance strategy was proposed to have a negative significant effect on vulnerability to sexual harassment. Results of descriptive statistics indicate that 53.7% of the girls and women in households were not safe as shown in the table below.

Table 5: Safety of women and girls in the household.

Response to not being safe	No. of household	Percentage
No	38	46.3
Yes	44	53.7
Total	82	100.0

ii. *Causes of women and girls' insecurity at Nakivale settlement*

a. *Early marriages*

From the focus group discussions, some girls were found not be safe because of fear of being forced into early marriages. It was revealed that most girls get married as early as 17 years old either voluntarily or being forced by parents so as to get quick money/returns. Some girls are unable to go to school because of lack of school fees and thus are easily persuaded with money by young boys and end up being sexually harassed. One of the respondents had this to say;

"Some girls get married at 14 years because some families are unable to take care or pay school fees for them. Some boys persuade them using money and deceiving them that they are about to be resettled in Europe or America" (Learner at, Bright International School, Base Camp, 11/02/2020).

It was further revealed that some parents are always harsh to their children and as a result, they escape home and end up getting married while still young. It was also noted that young girls are at times forced and some voluntarily get married while still young. One learner at Kashojwa primary school was quoted, thus;

"It will depend on how you behave at home, if you behave badly, your parents will force you to go and get married, and what you own at home, if there if poverty at home, the parents will not remain with you at home because they don't have food to feed you" (Learner at, at Kashojwa primary school, Base camp, 11/02/2020)

It was also observed that in some religious cultures, girls are forced to marriage at early ages. The Somalis culture allows girls to be married off at the age of 13 years. This was confessed by a Somali student at Nakivale secondary school, thus;

".....In our Somalis culture, parents always urge that religion allows girls to get married at an early age. In our community, they will abuse you and send you a way to go and get married since you have grown up to have your own family. This is especially when you are just home idle doing nothing and your parents cannot afford school fees....."

(Student, at Nakivale secondary school, Kabahinda, Juru. 11/02/2020).

Family size was also identified as one of the reasons as to why girls are married off while still young. If a family has many children whom they cannot look after, and once the elder child is a girl, this girl will be a victim to early marriage. In some tribes like among the Bamyamulenge, when a girl is 20 years old, you will be looked at as a very old woman who has fail to get a man. Such inferiority will also force one to get married voluntarily. Early pregnancies were also identified to be a reason as to why girls get married at an early age.

b. *Lack of essential services*

It was observed that women become victims of sexual abuses as they move out to collect firewood or fetch water at the lake. On this note, it was revealed that women are given briskets that can be used as an alternative source for cooking instead of women going out of the settlement to collect fire wood which exposes them to sexual harassment.

".....we have also brought water in the settlement to prevent women and children from moving long distances which expose them sexual abuses like rape and defilement " (Livelihood officer, Nsamizi, Nakivale settlement, 22/01/2020).

Lack of enough water points has also been identified as a source of insecurity of girls and women at Nakavale settlement. Women and girls always move out to the swamp to fetch water. This is because there are no enough water taps in the settlement. Some respondents also reported incidences of harassment and intimidation from the host community, thus;

"As women and children here at base camp, we don't have any security. When we offer labour for farming in host communities, they tend to turn against us. They will beat you and at times rape you. You cannot report them because by reporting such cases, you end up losing your dignity and respect in the community" (Woman refugee, New Hope, Base camp, 01/02/2020).



Photo 1: Brisket made at Nakivale refugee settlement

iii. *Factors affecting safety of women and girls*

Following the engagement in self-reliance activities, the multinomial logistic regression was used to assess among other covariates the importance of self-reliance activities/strategy in reduction of sexual harassment amongst the women and girls in the refugee settlement. Women and girls not being safe in the

household was used as a proxy variable to represent vulnerability to sexual harassment. *Table 2* summarizes the results of the regression model such that if other factors were held constant, i.e. if there are no any cofactors, women and girls are more likely to be unsafe and thus sexually harassed by 31.8%, which is represented by the value of the intercept/constant.

Table 6: Multinomial Logistic Regression Results of factors affecting safety of women and girls.

Women and Girls in the house are not safe ^a	Beta (Coefficient)	Std. Error	Sig. (p<0.05)
Intercept	31.839	5464.406	0.995
House hold size	-0.233	0.104	0.025
Age	0.010	0.027	0.704
[None engagement in economic activity]	0.950	0.815	0.244
[Marital status=1(Married)]	1.717	1.259	0.173
[Marital status=2(Single)]	-14.927	3777.485	0.997
[Marital status=3(Separated)]	0.569	1.572	0.717
[Marital status=4(Widowed)]	0 ^b	0	0
[Household head=1(Male)]	-17.518	0.589	0.000
[Household head=2(Female)]	-17.689	0.000	0
[Household head=3(Child)]	0 ^b	0	0
[Education level=0(None)]	-16.129	5464.406	0.998
[Education level=1(Primary)]	-16.694	5464.406	0.998
[Education level=2(Secondary)]	-33.207	5866.603	0.995
[Education level=3(Tertiary)]	17.453	8601.677	0.998
[Feel safe in the community=0(No)]	2.043	0.731	0.005
[Feel safe in the community=1(Yes)]	0 ^b	0	0

a. *The reference category is: Yes.*

b. *This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant/has very few responses compared to the alternative reference category and other co-factors*

However with the presence of many factors, vulnerability to sexual harassment is as a result of these factors with different specific effects. Household size, household head and feeling unsafe showed significant effect on vulnerability to sexual harassment while engagement in an economic activity, marital status and educational level though not significant, they had some impact on vulnerability to sexual harassment.

a. *Household size*

House hold size showed a negative significant effect on the vulnerability to sexual harassment. Increasing the household size by one person would reduce the log likelihood of vulnerability to sexual harassment by 0.233 than if the house hold is reduced by one member. It was urged in the focus group discussions that a household has more security if it has more members than if it had less members.

b. *Household head*

House head had a negative and very significant ($P=0.000$) effect on vulnerability to sexual harassment. Household head being male reduced the log likelihood of sexual harassment by 17.518 than if a household is female or child headed. It was urged that male heads provide maximum security over females in the

household by direct intimidation of any potential threat to sexual harassment. It was found that male heads always equip themselves with assets like panga, axe, hoes and spears such that members in the community always fear encroaching in the premises of male headed households.

c. *Feeling unsafe in the community*

Feeling unsafe in the community was described as living in fear of being assassinated and it turned out to have a positive significant effect on vulnerability to sexual harassment. If the female member felt unsafe, it increased the log likelihood of vulnerability to sexual harassment by 2.043 than if one felt safe. This is because feeling unsafe its self makes one become psychologically insecure such that in case any threat arise, that person is readily a victim. The focus group discussions reveal that some insecurity and thus sexual harassment occurs among children especially the girl children who normally go to fetch water. It was noted that at the water points, there is always segregation according to nationality especially among Banyarwanda and Banayamulenge (Congolese). It was of concern that the Banyarwanda intimidate the Congolese claiming that the Banyamulenge are the source of problems in the

settlement especially in Sanagani village. It was revealed during the focus group discussions that some families in the settlement are not safe due to the insecurity in their home countries. A case in point is a refugee girl from South Sudan who revealed that her family is always threatened in the settlement;

"There are many threats within the settlement. I and my family are here because of insecurity in South Sudan. My father was in government but since he joined the opposition he had to leave his country because of fear of our lives. When we fled in 2018, in December, 2019, people came from South Sudan and entered the settlement. We used to stay at the Reception at Kabazana, our father disappeared and since that time we have never seen him..... our mom one night was attacked and beaten badly....." (Student refugee, Nakivale Secondary school, Juru Sub Camp, 11/02/2020).

d. Engagement in economic activities

If a household is not engaged in an economic activity, the log likelihood of vulnerability to sexual harassment is increased by 0.95 more than if a household is engaged in an economic activity, though the effect was observed not to be very significant. It was revealed in the focus group discussion that if girls and women are normally busy with economic activities, they are less idle and therefore less vulnerable to sexual harassment. On the other hand, not being involved in economic activity may expose the women and girls to the threats of sexual harassment which explains why the negative effect was not very significant.

V. DISCUSSION

The study findings confirm the relevance of Neoliberal theory in the promotion of refugee self-reliance strategy. Neoliberal theory in the promotion of refugee self-reliance argues that the idea of self-reliance becomes an appealing value and people are urged to rely on themselves rather than the state as the principal source of support (Goodin, 1985). The study found that refugees were engaging in some economic activities for self-reliance rather than humanitarian aid. The government under the office of the prime minister allocates land for cultivation and settlement and refugees are argued to engage in agricultural activities to supplement what is given by UNHCR.

Furthermore, the primacy of markets, another key tenet of neoliberalism is individual responsibility and independence, which are also the basis of the contemporary self-reliance model in Western society. Godfrey underscores the moral aspect of self-reliance vis-à-vis responsibility and self-efficacy when he writes, Self-reliance entails the deeply rooted moral belief that individuals have a duty to provide for their own support and that active and hard work defines our humanity and enables our growth (Godfrey, 2013). These views are relevant especially for the refugees who were found not engaging in any economic activity had a significant positive effect on dependence on handouts.

On the other hand, Ager and Strang (2008) claims that the livelihood of refugee families can be associated with how successfully families are integrated into the host society. The authors developed a middle-range theory based on the experience of refugees (Smit, 2015). Ager and Strang (2008) identify three indicators for achieving integration into the host community. The first set of indicators is referred to as "markers and means of achieving integration where refugees have limited access to housing, quality education, health care and regular income as central in the achievement of successful integration" (Ager and Strang, 2008:169). The second set of indicators includes the ability of refugees to speak the main language and housing cultural knowledge of the host society; having legal rights as refugees; and feeling safe in their environment (Ager and Strang, 2008). The third set of indicators of this theory is related to the process of social connection (Ager and Strang, 2008).

In essence, this theory calls for refugees to be integrated into the host communities. These views are relevant because as refugees come to the settlement, they allocated a piece of land to cultivate and construct, they have freedom of movement, right to work establish a business and can enjoy any privilege as enjoyed by the local community. This is according to the 2006 Refugee Act and the 2010 Regulations.

Theories of change for self-reliance and livelihood interventions are also relevant to this study because according to theory of change 2: partial integration, the aim is to reduce direct aid costs by promoting self-reliance and reducing dependence on humanitarian aid (Al Abed, 2004; Jacobsen, 2005). This is in agreement with the study findings during interviews where it was revealed how refugees are allocated plots of land for agriculture and to some who were hiring land. This study explored the factors affecting factors affecting refugee dependence on Handouts in Nakivale settlement. It was noted that the majority of households in Nakivale depend on handouts specifically from the UNHCR and WFP. Nakivale settlement has refugees who came in the settlement as early as 2000 so these cannot be assessed the same as those who came ten years later so the factors would be different. The country of origin in the most cases also affected the factors for refugee dependence.

The study found that there were refugees who received cash instead of food. In Nakivale settlement, the commonest food stuffs given out to refugees include; maize (12kg); beans (1.5kg), and cooking oil (1litre). However, this is per head in the family, so the household receives according to how many members are in the family. For cash for food, the beneficiaries are first verified following the same procedures as those who receive food and WFP is the only authorized body by UNHCR to payout cash in collaboration with Equity bank where money is credited.

The study further found that the money given out instead of food was much better than the food itself because some food given is grown in the settlement, i.e. maize and beans. So receiving money was much better because money is used to buy other items they don't receive like sugar, salt, charcoal, and others use the same money for their children's school fees.

However, it was observed that the food given is not enough to sustain these refugees and prepare them to live on their own in future. It was therefore felt that if aid would stop, they would suffer because they are not well prepared to live without aid. For those who receive cash instead were hopeful because some save and pay school fees for their children, have bought animals to rare, i.e. cows, goats, piggery ducks chicken which can prepare them to be self-sufficient.

The paper finally examined the factors affecting refugees' dependence on handouts and these were found out to be; age of household members, household head being a male; engagement of an economic activity and the marital status. All these were found to affect refugees' dependence on handouts in different ways. Theories of change, especially theory of change 2: states that partial integration aims at reducing direct aid by promoting self-reliance (Al Abed, 2004; Jacobsen, 2005), thus reducing dependence on humanitarian aid which was a major concern of this study.

VI. CONCLUSION

Nakivale settlement being a multinational settlement with over ten nationalities with some who have stayed since 2000 try to embrace self-reliance strategy, and have engaged in different economic activities, however on the ability, skills and availability of capital. The study found that the majority of refugees, i.e. over 80 percent of the households were actively involved in different economic activities. However, other than farming, there were no other activities and the fact that land is inadequate, had affected them.

The paper recommends that refugee women need to be empowered through vocational trainings and enabling them access financial support inform of loans to enable them be independent, other than depending on humanitarian aid.

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