MA Dissertation

Refugees' Self-Reliance and Livelihood Strategies: A Comparative Study of Uganda and Germany

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ABSTRACT

While some migrate with choice, others are forced to leave. This master thesis deals with the situation of Eritreans, Ethiopians and Somalis who had to leave their country either because of war, political insecurity or economic problems to seek haven in Uganda and Germany. These two host countries have been the vanguard in welcoming refugees especially when compared with neighbours in their respective continents. Globally, politicians have espoused fascist and nationalist viewpoints in exuding refugees as a burden on host societies rather than individuals who were once free and had both the possibility to move and skills to work for earning their livelihoods.

Time and again, instant relief aid has played a vital role in the lives of refugees but its prolonged usage has also resulted in increased dependency. Therefore, 'refugees need help' is a common rhetoric that diverts attention from 'refugees' ability to help themselves', which lies at the core of this thesis. The conceptual framework of Uganda's refugee management policy of self-reliance and livelihoods understood as refugees' agency and transformation are synthesized with the theoretical framework of Amartya Sen's capability approach. Comparative qualitative content analysis allows for an evaluation of the experiences of six refugees in Nakivale Refugee Settlement (Uganda) and five refugees in the cities of Oldenburg and Bremen (Germany) with a balanced gender ratio of six males and five females.

The findings suggest that older refugees from the Horn of Africa seek refuge in Uganda, whereas younger refugees move further afield to Germany. Refugees' micro-level experiences in Nakivale Refugee Settlement counters expected agricultural inclinations by exposing a new dimension of business proclivities, necessitating a re-allocation of development funds on the macro level. Likewise, refugees' experiences in the cities of Oldenburg and Bremen shows that most find work in the temporary job sectors; nevertheless, they stressed their need to work in the permanent job sectors. Searching for permanent jobs requires enhanced integration of refugees' unique skills and talents within the German labour market, in order to provide them with a sustainable future.

Key words: refuge, international forced migration, self-reliance, and livelihood strategies.

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I dedicate this master thesis to all foreigners who have found a haven in another country far away from home and to those who are striving to make two ends meet by relentlessly searching for opportunities. They have so much to share and teach the world. Thanks to all the people who trusted me and shared their life stories. Heartfelt gratitude to all the interpreters without whom these life stories could neither have been understood nor interpreted.

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The library of the University of Stavanger, Norway provided me with phenomenal knowledge from a vast selection of books and international journals. Special mention to the library of the University of Oldenburg, Germany where I could not only get access to diverse reading materials but also borrow various software like F5 with foot pedal for transcribing my interviews, MAXQDA for colourful coding, writing analytic memos and deducing interactive quote matrices for qualitatively analysing my interviews and EndNote for referencing.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1. AGDM – Age, Gender, Diversity Mainstreaming Exercise
2. ARC – American Refugee Committee
3. BAMF – *Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge* (in German); Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (in English)
4. CRRF – Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
5. DAR – Development Assistance for Refugees
6. DLI – Development through Local Integration
7. DRC – Democratic Republic of Congo
8. EMN – European Migration Network
9. FDP – Food Distribution Point
10. FRC – Finnish Refugee Council
11. G.o.U – Government of Uganda
12. HIJRA – Humanitarian Initiative Just Relief Aid
13. IOM – International Organization for Migration
14. IP – Implementing Partner
15. MUST – Mbarara University of Science and Technology
16. NGO – Non-Governmental Organization
17. OPM – Office of the Prime Minister
18. POC – Person of Concern
19. PSN – Person with Specific Needs
20. QCA – Qualitative Content Analysis
21. REC – Refugee Eligibility Committee
22. ReHOPE – Refugee and Host Population Empowerment Strategy
23. RLP – Refugee Law Project
24. TDA – Targeted Development Assistance
25. UN – United Nations
26. UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
27. WFP – World Food Programme

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. INTRODUCTION

Social and political discourses in migration studies tend to depict refugees as assistance-receivers. However, such discourses fail to showcase the other side of their stories, which portrays them as initiators with diverse skills, who struggle in life to not just survive but also thrive. Therefore, the purpose of this thesis is to understand the narratives on self-development of Eritrean, Ethiopian and Somali refugees who are living in the differing refugee management models of Uganda and Germany.

The unceasing and capricious political climate in the Horn of Africa has resulted in the displacement of large numbers of men, women and, particularly, women with children across East Africa (IOM, 2017, p. 7; Marchand, 2017, p. 12; UNHCR, 2018, p. 6). While many seek refuge in Uganda, others crossed continents to seek haven in Germany. While females tend to be displaced across East Africa, males are more likely to migrate to Central Europe (Strauss, 2018). These gender dimensions are reflected upon in this thesis, as often forced migration has led to transformed gender roles in new spaces, resulting in the emergence of discourses on their agency (Essed, 2005, p. 11).

As most comparative studies have been conducted amongst neighbouring countries[1], this research aims also to interview refugees who have taken longer routes to seek refuge in a country on another continent. According to the list of the top ten host destination countries for refugees, nine of them are located in the Global South, whereas only one lies in the Global North (UNHCR, 2018, p. 21). Considering the erratic waves of outward movement from the Horn of Africa (IOM, 2017, p. 1), Eritrean, Ethiopian and Somalis are chosen for this study. The closest and safest option for them has been to seek refuge in Uganda (Global South); however, many of those who have gone further afield have decided to seek haven in Germany (Global North).

Academic literature has shown that prolonged relief aid inculcates dependency (A. Betts, 2009, p. 10); however, parallel interventions of development through sustainable opportunities result in self-reliance. The concept of self-reliance marks the beginning of this thesis idea and thus forms part of the conceptual framework. Uganda implements the self-reliance strategy as part of its refugee management

[1] A prominent example is the self-reliance settlement policy of Uganda compared with confinement camp policy of Kenya by the renowned Oxford researcher Alexander Betts and his team (A. C. Betts, Imane; Omata, Naohiko; Sterck, Olivier, 2019, p. 294).

policy, providing refugees with a plot of agricultural land[2] for subsistence. Germany implements an asylum system model as part of its refugee management policy, where refugees are provided with integration courses for learning the German language and partake in vocational training that might later help them to find jobs in the labour market. In order to understand the implementation of these distinct policies in practice, Amartya Sen's capability approach was chosen as it posits a flexible and comprehensive theoretical framework, through it's "inclusion of pluralism by acknowledging human diversity and appreciating inter-individual differences" among refugees (Juran, 2016, p. 24).

Comparing and contrasting the experiences of refugees who are living in different refugee management models will help to, firstly, grasp the benefits and drawbacks of each model from a bottom-up approach, i.e. through an analysis of qualitative micro-level experiences of refugees; and secondly, to understand what the two countries offer refugees in terms of self-reliance and livelihood possibilities. This comparative case study is conducted in two countries with differing regulatory environments (restrictive, such as Germany versus open, such as Uganda) (Betts, Bloom, Kaplan, & Omata, 2014, p. 41).

Moreover, both Uganda and Germany are renowned for their welcoming nature towards refugees in their respective continents (BAMF, 2016b, p. 9; G. o. U. UNHCR, Office of the Prime Minister, 2019). Uganda executes a progressive refugee policy through its self-reliance strategy and presently supports around 1.2 million refugees (G. o. U. UNHCR, Office of the Prime Minister, 2019); meanwhile, Germany took in 890,000 refugees during the summer of 2015, the peak of Europe's so-called 'refugee crisis' (BAMF, 2016b, p. 9). Nonetheless, German Chancellor Angela Merkel has been criticised for her actions in 2015 and her verbal commitment, '*Wir schaffen das!*' (German for 'We can do this!'), rather than implementing practical solutions for supporting refugees (Calamur, 2018). Similarly, researchers like Werker (2002), Jallow (2004), Kaiser (2005, 2006), Meyer (2006), and Hovil (2014) have highlighted the disadvantages of Uganda's self-reliance strategy as being narrowly focused on agriculture, settlements and humanitarian assistance programmes (UNHCR, 2016, pp. 74-75).

[2]Agricultural land is provided for cultivating non-perennial crops like onions, tomatoes, passion fruits, avocadoes and others. Refugees can also legally sell their surplus produce to earn an extra income.

The present study fills a research gap in cross-national comparative literature, characterised by a particular dearth of qualitative understanding (Liamputtong, 2010, p. 4). To the best of my knowledge, there is no other study that compares Uganda's self-reliance strategy with Germany's asylum system model by using a bottom-up approach. Hence, the research question of this thesis is as follows:

> In the face of national policies, which livelihood strategies do refugees from Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia adopt to become self-reliant in Nakivale Refugee Settlement in Uganda and how do their opportunities compare to those of refugees living in the cities of Oldenburg and Bremen in Germany?

The three primary objectives of this master thesis are, first, to examine the livelihood strategies of Eritrean, Ethiopian and Somali refugees living in Nakivale Refugee Settlement, Uganda and in the cities of Oldenburg and Bremen, Germany. These experiences are mapped out by conducting qualitative semi-structured interviews. The second objective is to comprehend the degree of refugees' freedom of movement, which may limit or increase their participation in economic activities in the two contexts. The third objective is to compare and contrast their lived experiences in a developed and a developing country.

The data for this study were collected between January to March 2019. Semi-structured interviews with a length of 30 to 60 minutes were conducted with a total of eleven refugees living in Nakivale Refugee Settlement or the cities of Oldenburg and Bremen. The interviewees were selected based on a set of sampling criteria; their interviews were evaluated using qualitative content analysis under both deductive and inductive themes.

This study generates new knowledge in terms of understanding how refugees fend for themselves in different countries, what improvements they would like to see in the existing refugee management models, and what gives them a purpose in life. If policymakers and meso level implementers are informed about how refugees from the Horn of Africa feel about living in Uganda and Germany, government authorities and non-governmental institutions might be able to better grasp the present problems of refugees and become more aware of how they could support them, consequently improving the lives of some refugees, if not all.

This thesis is divided into ten chapters. Chapter Two begins with the politics of being a refugee, and provides an overall historical, socio-political and contextual background to this thesis. In Chapter Three, the focus shifts from historical perspectives to the evolution of conceptual and theoretical frameworks of Uganda's self-reliance and livelihood strategies of agency and transformation and Amartya Sen's capability approach. Chapter Four highlights the present-day situation of refugees in the Global North/South and looks at research gaps and questions. Chapter Five elucidates the qualitative methodology and methods used for conducting semi-structured interviews in the field. Chapter Six highlights thematic analysis of interviewees quotes, research findings and discusses by comparing and contrasting refugees' experiences in Uganda and Germany. Chapter Seven outlines some limitations, evaluation of literature sources and ethical considerations. Chapter Eight provides recommendations. Finally, Chapters Nine and Ten are conclusions and further research possibilities.

2. BACKGROUND

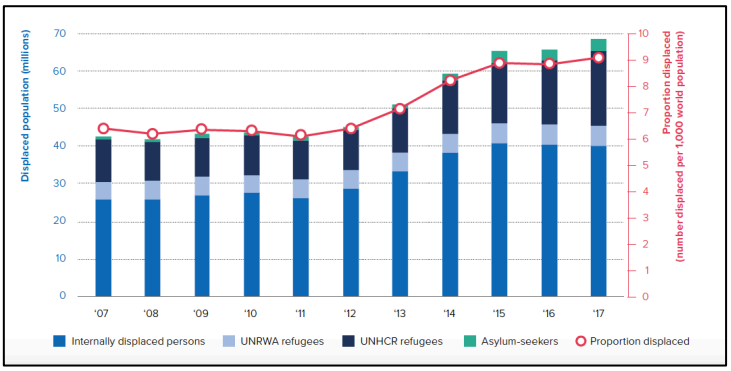
2.1 Politics of Being a Refugee

Ideological discourses on refugee[3] and forced migration are unkemptly knotted with media and politics. Media discourses and right-wing political parties often visualise refugees as a problem, a crisis, a fleet and a hoard of people that need assistance, rather than people who have varied abilities (Bussemer, 2019, p. 6; Holliday, 2007, p. 45). Initial assistance is essential, but only as long as it leaves room for personal agency. Lammers proposes viewing "refugees not as atypical from sedentary society but rather as a normal part of life with a certain level of agency as being part of a dialectical process" (Essed, 2005, p. 3 & 4).

2.2 International Forced Migration

Forced migration is defined as the coerced movement of people owing to natural or human-made causes that threaten one's livelihood (IOM, 2019). There has been an increasing trend in the international forced displacement of people reaching an apex in the past three to five years[4] as presented in Figure 1 (Haas, 2010, p. 227; UNHCR, 2019b).

Figure 1: Trend of global displacement and proportion displaced 2007-2017



Source:(UNHCR, 2018, p. 6)

[3] "A refugee, according to the 1951 Convention, is someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion" (UNHCR, 2010, p. 3).

[4] "Today 1 out of every 110 people in the world is displaced, compared with 1 in 157 a decade ago. Much of this increase has occurred over the last five years (Holliday, 2007, p. 53). The annual rate of change of the population of forcibly displaced on average for the last five years is 9.5%(which is a steep increase as compared to -0.09% in the first five years of the last decade (UNHCR, 2018, p. 4)."

From 2016 to 2018, numbers of people forcefully displaced increased from 65.6 million to 68.5 million people (Skretteberg, 2018; UNHCR, 2018, p. 6). According to Gottwald (2012), forced displacement is both a cause and consequence of conflict. The usual response to it is to build, firstly, a protection system and, then secondly, a solution system. For instance, UNHCR first focuses "on care and maintenance of refugees, which consequentially results in 'warehousing of refugees' in camps, making them dependent on humanitarian aid organizations rather than independent and self-reliant" (Gottwald, 2012, p. 112 & 115). In the 1990s, 100,000 Bhutanese refugees sought asylum in Nepal, but the government had highly restricted their movement and denied them the right to work. After 15 years, when 60% of them were resettled to the US, they became a burden to the local healthcare and social service networks due to their previous dependency on humanitarian aid organisations in Nepal (Gottwald, 2012, p. 115).

Every year the international community pledges to achieve more peace than war. On paper, this political solution looks promising; however, in practice, it requires political will for practical realisation (Skretteberg, 2018). This political will was in fact exhibited when Eritrea and Ethiopia signed a peace agreement in 2018 to re-stabilise the war-torn Horn of Africa (Skretteberg, 2018). These cooperative agreements are a good starting point for inaugurating peace but re-establishing long-lost connections of over 20 years since the 1998-2000 Eritrean-Ethiopian war requires enough healing time, money and resources (Allo, 2018).

2.3 Easternmost Extension of the African Continent: The Horn of Africa

The Horn of Africa comprises of Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia. This easternmost part of the continent is known for its capricious political situation, polarized climatic conditions, droughts, floods, wars, conflicts and terrorism. It is also known as a centre of migratory routes. IOM calls it 'A Region on The Move', with a high percentage of internal rather than international displacement (Gottwald, 2012, p. 109; IOM, 2017, p. 1).

Countries of the Horn of Africa have high levels of social insecurity due to political instability making it difficult to research within the region; as a consequence, this master thesis focuses on the international displacement of Eritreans, Ethiopians

and Somalis to other countries, here Uganda and Germany[5]. Figure 2 shows displacement statistics of refugees from the Horn of Africa in Uganda and Germany (IOM, 2017, p. 6; Marchand, 2017, p. VIII & IX; UNHCR, 2018, p. 6 & 15):

Figure 2: Numbers of refugees from the Horn of Africa present in Uganda and Germany

	Number of refugees[6] (figures published in 2019)	
Countries	**In Uganda (for 2019)**	**In Germany (for 2018)**
From Eritrea	11,247	2,290
From Ethiopia	2,545	1,055 (for 2017)
From Somalia	27, 899	1,920

2.4 Global South and Global North

In a global comparison, Turkey has been the largest host country with 3.5 million refugees for the past four consecutive years (UNHCR, 2018, p. 3). In the Global South, Uganda is the second largest host country with 1.4 million refugees after Turkey, while in the Global North, Germany is the largest host country with 970,000 refugees (UNHCR, 2018, p. 3).

More than 80% of the refugees in the world are hosted in the Global South (A. Betts, 2009, p. 1). Most people tend to flee to neighbouring countries so that they are relatively far away, but also close enough to their home countries (Gottwald, 2012, p. 109; UNHCR, 2018, p. 7). Refugees from the Horn of Africa often take the Southern route via Kenya to reach Uganda located in the East African Great Lakes Region. Hence, Uganda is chosen as one of the two host countries for conducting research. Although none of the Horn of African countries shares borders with Uganda, it has

[5] Djiboutians lie outside the scope of this study, as they are not present in either of the countries in significant numbers. I have chosen to compare three different nationalities, instead of focusing on a single one. Although focusing on a single nationality is less challenging, this thesis aims to explore the livelihood strategies, abilities and capabilities of refugees in general. Yet, some basic level of similarity across the two countries was needed, as this is a comparative study.

[6] **Uganda (for 2019)** - UNHCR, Government of Uganda, Office of the Prime Minister Statistics https://ugandarefugees.org/en/country/uga
Germany (for 2018) - European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE) Statistics - https://www.asylumineurope.org/reports/country/germany/statistics
Ethiopia (for 2017) - World data - https://www.worlddata.info/africa/ethiopia/asylum.php

remained a sanctuary for many in the past six decades when compared with its East African neighbours.

Migration trends show that youngsters move further afield from their home countries in search of better life and opportunities as they have more physical capacities to endure intensive journeys (UNHCR, 2018, p. 18). Refugees from the Horn of Africa take the Northern Mediterranean route to move towards high-income countries in Europe. Figure 3 highlights ten major destination countries in the world for refugees where Germany is the only high-income host country; therefore, it was chosen as the other host destination country in the Global North for conducting research (UNHCR, 2018, pp. 17, 18 & 21).

Figure 3: Map of the world's top 10 refugee host countries

A map of the countries hosting the most refugees.

Source: (UNHCR, 2018, p. 3)

2.5 National Contexts and Refugee Management Policies

Uganda is a landlocked country sharing borders with the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan and Tanzania, as seen in Figure 4. Geographically, Uganda is divided into 111 districts with four regions namely Central, Western, Eastern and Northern. Germany is located in Central Europe, sharing borders with Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Denmark, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Poland and Switzerland, as seen in Figure 5. Geographically, it is divided into 16 federal states with three city-states, namely the cities of Berlin, Hamburg and Bremen.

Figure 4: Map of Uganda

Figure 5: Map of Germany

Figure 4 Source: https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/uganda.html

Figure 5 Source: https://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/maps/germany.html

2.5.1 Nakivale Refugee Settlement in South-Western Uganda

Nakivale Refugee Settlement is located in Isingiro District in the south-western part of Uganda and close to the borders of the DRC and Rwanda. It was officially opened in 1960, which makes it one of the oldest refugee settlements of Uganda and an interesting location to analyse how well the Ugandan refugee management policy has been implemented, how refugees have lived in this settlement for extended periods of time and what they have gained from the self-reliance strategy (A. P. Betts, Collier, 2018, p. 159 & 160). I choose Nakivale over other settlements as that I had worked there and was familiar with the context.

Most refugees come from neighbouring countries and beyond, namely Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, South Sudan, DRC, Rwanda and Burundi. It is a large settlement covering an area of 71.3 km^2 and home for 105,000 registered refugees living in 22,000 households (A. C. Betts, Imane; Omata, Naohiko; Sterck, Olivier, 2019, p. 10; UNHCR, 2016, p. viii). The settlement is divided amongst three major administrative zones that are 10 to 20 km apart from each other: Base Camp[7], Rubondo[8] sub-base camp and Juru[9] sub-base camp. The international body that is responsible for refugee management in Nakivale is United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), which is located at Base Camp. When a person arrives in Uganda either on foot, by car or taxi, they first register at the reception centre in Kabazana village, Base Camp. Upon successful interview with the Refugee Eligibility Committee (REC), they receive refugee status and a plot of land (new dimensions: 20m x12m)[10], agricultural tools for practicing subsistence agriculture and material to build makeshift houses on their own.

Moreover, self-settled refugees living in cities and towns of Uganda namely Kampala and Mbarara were intentionally not chosen for this study because refugees are not provided with humanitarian support and have to manage on their own mostly. Contrarily, in the refugee settlement, refugees are provided with humanitarian support; however, the challenge is to see whether refugees take self-initiative to improve their circumstances of life. Similarly, in Germany, refugees also receive money from the welfare state for their house, food and other amenities until they can support themselves. Thus, the chosen settings allow for a comparison of similar conditions.

[7] **Base Camp** is the heart of the settlement, located deep inside the settlement almost 30 km from the foot edge of Mbarara, the closest township. Entry into the settlement is marked by a brownish-red muddy road. All major offices of different implementing partner (IP) organizations and UNHCR are located in this area.

[8] **Rubondo** is a sub-base camp 20 km away from Base Camp in the opposite direction of the entry to the settlement, i.e. further away from Mbarara. Refugees living in this location are primarily agriculturalists and engage in farming local products like *Matooke* (starchy variety of banana) and Sorghum (cereal food crop). Smaller offices of different IP's are located here.

[9] **Juru** is another sub-base camp located 15 km away from Base Camp in the direction of the entry to the settlement, i.e. closer to Mbarara. Smaller offices of different IP's are located here.

[10] These dimensions were noted from a friend of mine who worked with the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) in Nakivale. We lived together at OPM guesthouse during my field visit for my thesis in January 2019. Due to recent influxes in the refugee population to Nakivale, new dimensions of plots of land are distributed amongst the newly arrived refugees. This requires many old settled refugees to reduce and/or share their plots of land with the newcomers, which according to my friend, sometimes leads to conflicts. Old dimensions of land, i.e. before 2019, were larger 50 m x 50 m until 2013, but later reduced to 20 m x 30 m because of the influx of refugees from Congo and South Sudan (UNHCR, 2016, p. 44).

2.5.2 Cities of Oldenburg and Bremen in Northern Germany

Oldenburg is a city in the state of Lower Saxony, while Bremen is both a city and a federal state. Both cities are located in northern Germany. Once a person arrives in Germany no matter by which means of transport, they are first registered at the reception centre, then either relocated to another reception centre or an apartment in either the same or a different city/town according to Germany's decentralised distribution quota system called EASY. The *Erstverteilung der Asylsuchenden* (EASY) quota system[11] is the initial distribution of asylum-seekers, orientated in line with the '*Königstein Key*' (BAMF, 2016c, pp. 7 - 9).

The states' commissions uses the *'Königstein Key'* to determine the share of asylum-seekers each federal state receives ensuring suitable and fair distribution calculations on criteria like the nationalities of refugees, tax revenues and population of citizens as compared to the population of refugees, available accommodation. In 2018, the state of Lower Saxony received 16,848 refugees (BAMF, 2019, p. 14). The German government finances refugees' accommodation, food, German language courses and other basic needs until they find work through job centres located in each city.

Reception centres manage refugees in the cities of Oldenburg and Bremen either for living within the centre or for finding accommodation in the city. According to BAMF (2016a), Bremen primarily hosts refugees coming from Afghanistan, Egypt, Albania, Eritrea, Iran, Kosovo, Macedonia, the Russian Federation, Serbia, Somalia, Syria and others. Oldenburg hosts refugees primarily from Algeria, Ivory Coast and Mali (BAMF, 2016a).

Oldenburg is not part of the list of big cities in Germany like Berlin, Bremen or Hamburg. Its inhabitants earn a median level household income[12] per annum, unlike in many cities in West Germany characterized by high-income levels or cities in East Germany where people tend to have lower-income levels. Choosing a city with median household income levels provides for a functional analysis of 'middle-of-the-road' plausibilities for refugees to avail of economic opportunities. Bremen is a city-state and hence a relatively big city; however, since household incomes are still

[11] In English – Initial Distribution of Asylum-Seekers (EASY) distribution quota system.

[12] The household income comparison was conducted in 2016. Reported on German news television network *Tagesschau* on 20th November 2018, it indicated Western Germany with highest household income levels of Germans, i.e. above 22,000 euros per annum (p.a.), and Eastern Germany with lowest household income levels, i.e. below 20,000 euros p.a. Some parts of Northern Germany including Oldenburg were reported to have median household income levels, i.e. between 20,000-22,000 euros p.a. https://drive.google.com/file/d/1_6-j6HHcCRpz91a_4BEWGooqIt2Rlsu9/view?usp=sharing

at a median level, it was chosen for this study. Another reason is that my experience of working in Oldenburg and Bremen allowed for a holistic understanding of the context.

2.6 Criticism of Refugee Management Policies

This project cannot be devoid of politics as human mobility has been politicised. Similarly, both Ugandan and German refugee management policies have received backlash from their respective host populations and right-wing politicians for their welcoming nature towards refugees. Large numbers of refugees are viewed as a burden, which is not only a western phenomenon but also started to ripple in the African context, chiefly due to limited resources (Jacobsen, 2002 p. 579).

In Uganda, innumerable corruption and money laundering scandals have been revealed to date, with humanitarian aid funds received from northern countries (A. Betts, 2009, p. 8). The Guardian states that "millions of dollars in aid [are] believed to have been lost as a result [of stealing relief items meant for refugees and submission of exaggerated figures of food to WFP and UNHCR]" (Okiror, 2018). There exists only a thin line between benevolent interests of the state distributing land to refugees under the garb of humanitarian aid. Instead, some may view this aid as development aid, which is a continuous source of money to fill the pockets of politicians and/or help in the development of the country itself (Jacobsen, 2002, p. 594).

Meanwhile, German Chancellor Angela Merkel has been criticized for her decision to allow refugees to enter the country in the course of the so-called '2015 refugee crisis'. Merkel has been criticised for suspending the Dublin procedure[13] and not putting her words into action (Calamur, 2018). Infrastructures and budgets set in place were insufficient to support refugees[14].

[13] Dublin regulation is where refugees who claimed asylum in one of the EU countries at first have to stay in that country only and not move on to another country (Calamur, 2018). This rule of course puts a lot of pressure on the EU countries located near the coast of the Mediterranean Sea and also the ones bordering Turkey. Presently, Dublin regulation has been revised and does not hold only countries bordering EU responsible for the refugees. (Affairs, 2019; Jamal, 2003, p. 6)

[14] Conversation with the Yahlla! Art Exhibition organizer Ramona Herring held in Berlin during the 2nd week of May 2019.

3. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

3.1 Researcher's Positionality

From 2016 to 2017, I was an intercultural coordinator amongst German youth and young refugees in Hettstedt, Saxony-Anhalt. During that time, I visited three different reception centres in different parts of Germany. In December 2017, I conducted interviews with refugees in German in Oldenburg for a pseudo-research proposal. Most of their stories were about the restriction of movement, idleness and having no purpose in life due to low chances of finding jobs in Oldenburg.

From August to September 2018, I interned at Humanitarian Initiative Just Relief Aid (HIJRA) in the Community Services Department at Nakivale Refugee Settlement. My work involved distributing agricultural tools, non-food items like jerry cans to fill water, plastic sheeting for house roofs, utensils, sanitary pads, soap bars, blankets and materials for building houses. I observed that many refugees were talented but did not have the platforms to achieve their potential; furthermore, they had similar issues of feeling idleness and having no purpose in life.

Against the background of my personal experiences in Uganda and Germany, reading academic and non-academic discourses surrounding migrant issues nationally and internationally gave me an insight into practical and micro level experiences of refugees living in contexts of macro level refugee management policies. My internships in Uganda and Germany also allowed me to get an insight into the working methodologies of humanitarian organizations in these two different contexts and allowed me to develop the backbone of this thesis, namely the conceptual framework of self-reliance and livelihood strategies (Miles, 2014, p. 14).

3.2 Self-Reliance and Livelihood Strategies

The UNHCR handbook on self-reliance defines it as "developing and strengthening livelihoods of people of concern[15] by addressing or preventing their long-term dependence on humanitarian assistance" (UNHCR, 2005, p. xi). There are two types of self-reliance. The first one is economic self-reliance, which is about managing

[15] According to UNHCR, a person of concern is someone who has been forced to flee like refugees, returnees and stateless people. https://www.unhcr.org/ph/persons-concern-unhcr

one's resources and assets; and the second is social self-reliance, which refers to the concurrent development of the community through engagement (UNHCR, 2005, p. 2). Livelihood strategies are "means by which individuals and households acquire food and income e.g. fishing, farming, employment and trading. It is an essential way of promoting self-reliance" (UNHCR, 2005, p. Appendix 1:16).

As Uganda's refugee management policy is about self-reliance and livelihood strategies of refugees, it is used as part of the conceptual framework. While I conducted my interviews, agency and transformation of refugees were mentioned quite often, thus more literature was reviewed and later on added under livelihoods.

3.2.1 Uganda's Refugee Management Policy

The Control of Alien Refugees Act of Uganda was repealed in 2006. A new act was enacted on 4th August 2006 under Act no. 21[16] as the Ugandan Refugee Act (Refworld, 2006, p. 3 & 37). The drastic change in the new act was the component of gender-based persecution during the assessment of granting the refugee status[17] and its progressive approach in the treatment of refugees in mass-influx situations (UNHCR, 2008, p. 155).

Uganda's refugee model is unique because refugees have the freedom to work and to decide their place of residence, they are given a piece of land which they can use to grow their food, they are allowed to sell their produce, and there is an emerging focus on integration into the local community (A. C. Betts, Imane; Omata, Naohiko; Sterck, Olivier, 2019, p. 4). Betts et. Al. (2019) compared refugees' experiences in Kenya and Uganda and discovered that employment was better in Nairobi, Kenya than in Kampala, Uganda because of higher net wages; however, in camps like Kakuma in Kenya, employment was lower than in settlements like Nakivale[18] (A. C. Betts, Imane; Omata, Naohiko; Sterck, Olivier, 2019, p. 5).

Despite the attractiveness of Uganda's refugee policy, the self-reliance strategy has also been criticised, for example by Hunter (2009) who states that, "one

[16] This act is divided into six parts with introduction, determination of refugee status, administrative matters relating to refugees, application of refugee status and related matters, rights and obligations of refugees and miscellaneous. The introduction section has a part on interpretation, which clearly outlines the definitions of important terms like 'alien', 'asylum seekers', 'eligibility committee', 'Organization of the African Unity (OAU)', 'persecution' etc. (Refworld, 2006, pp. 1-2).

[17] "The government of Uganda has the sovereign right to grant or deny asylum or refugee status to any person" (Refworld, 2006, p. 7).

[18] In Kakuma, refugees mostly find employment with NGOs as incentive workers, whilst in Nakivale, refugees have the possibility to cultivate and also engage in other economic activities (A. C. Betts, Imane; Omata, Naohiko; Sterck, Olivier, 2019, p. 5).

size fits all policies like self-reliance strategy in a different context is not possible anywhere in the world and the focus of self-reliance being heavily dependent upon agricultural production is poised for failure" (Hunter, 2009, p. 30).

3.2.2 Livelihoods: Agency and Transformation

When looking at the possibilities of livelihoods of refugees in a camp or a city setting, two factors, i.e. agency and transformation, gain utmost importance as these notions discern the impact of migration on refugees' identities (Essed, Frerks, & Schrijvers, 2005, p. 1). According to Long (2001) as stated in Essed (2005), "the notion of agency centralizes people, conceptualized as social actors who process their own experiences and those of others" (Essed, 2005, p. 2). This thesis aims to evaluate their experiences through cultural, socio-political and environmental factors as it deals with coping mechanisms and other demographic characteristics like gender, age, religious or regional differences that exude agency variedly (Essed, 2005, p. 2).

Refugees feel more liberated than restrained after the perilous journeys and experiences they have had, which eventually gives them a sense of 'invulnerability', as observed by Keller (Kibreab, 2005, p. 22). Cultural Anthropologist, Rajasingham-Senanayake, as cited in Essed (2005) extended the argument of agency and transformation connected with self-reliance. She speaks about 'ambivalent empowerment' to refer to abject poverty forcing people to be creative and adaptive in their new circumstances (Essed, 2005, p. 12; Kibreab, 2005, pp. 23-24).

Subulwa presents a contrary view to agency and transformation of refugees by positing a new dimension of exploring the 'utility of geographic approaches in refugee research' that is by acknowledging the importance of surrounding factors like land, resources, government structure and money (Subulwa, 2012, p. 1). It means that when looking at the refugees' agency through the lens of self-reliance, it is also essential to understand their contingency, i.e. the possibilities and capabilities they have and can manifest while living in a global structure. Haas (2010) also suggests suggesting that a conceptual framework of agency promote naive ideas of 'self-help' development 'from below' but rather believes that structures allow migration to happen (Haas, 2010) .

Self-reliance and livelihood strategies of refugees are only possible with the contingency of host states, in terms of how much freedom of movement and work they provide refugees as part of their policies. Amartya Sen's capability approach

with the two normative claims of functionings and capabilities explains both the aspects i.e. refugees' agency (self-reliance and livelihood strategies) and state's contingency (freedom of movement and work), respectively (Holliday, 2007, p. 48).

3.3 Amartya Sen's Capability Approach

Although this approach was foreshadowed by, among others, Aristotle, Adam Smith and Karl Marx, the economist-philosopher Amartya Sen developed it in 1985 (Essed, 2005, p. 2; Robeyns, 2005, p. 99; 2016). This approach provides a suitable theoretical framework for this thesis to understand the well-being, livelihoods of people without imposing researcher's notions about the expectations of a good life and adds the aspects of contingency (Essed, 2005, p. 2; Robeyns, 2005, p. 99; 2016). The capability approach allows for the integration of different academic disciplines that address international migration from demographic, sociological, geographic and economic perspectives by drawing linkages across diverse academic and non-academic disciplines (Juran, 2016, p. 24).

'Well-being' refers to what people can be and do, in other words, the kind of life people are able to lead (Robeyns, 2005, p. 94 & 96). The capability approach provides a framework for assessing an individual's well-being, evaluating social arrangements and designing policies and proposals about social change in society (Robeyns, 2016). According to Sen (1992), as cited in Robeyns (2016), the capability approach has two core normative claims that offers people a reason to value their life: firstly, functionings, i.e. well-being achievements (beings and doings); and secondly, capabilities, i.e. well-being freedom (real opportunities) (Robeyns, 2016).

3.3.1 Functionings

The term 'functionings' (beings and doings) refers to what a person can do and be. 'Beings' examples are refugees being healthy, literate, illiterate, satisfied or unsatisfied. 'Doings' examples are refugees doing business, working in jobs or practising agriculture. This illustrates that functioning is a part of a person's being. An evaluation of well-being needs to address both the constitutive elements, i.e. beings and doings. The first normative claim highlights that people are living beings rather than objects, making the lives of human beings both alive and human. Human functionings are evaluated using resource-based metrics, as most initial inputs are

resources (Robeyns, 2005, p. 95). In this thesis, 'functionings' refers to refugees being regarded as agents by analysing their livelihood strategies in different contexts. Livelihood strategies signify resource-based metrics as working in a full-time job, e.g. in the meat industry, or running a grocery business or cultivating agricultural land.

3.3.2 Capabilities

The term 'capabilities' (freedom and real opportunities) refers to a person's freedom or opportunity to achieve those beings and doings (functionings) (Robeyns, 2005, p. 100; 2016). For example, refugees having the opportunity to set up a business or having access to agricultural land are real opportunities (capabilities), while the work itself is their doings (functionings). Critics have highlighted that Sen's work labels capabilities as freedom, which raises the question of what kind of freedom capabilities are (Robeyns, 2005, p. 95). A careful reading of Sen's work elucidates that capabilities are freedoms conceived as real opportunities open to a person (Robeyns, 2016). Alexander Kaufman (2006), as mentioned in Robeyns (2016) shows that understanding capability as an opportunity concept of freedom rather than any freedom responds to the mistaken critiques of Sen's work.

Since Uganda and Germany implement freedom of movement and work as part of their refugee management policies, I argue that these freedoms play a crucial role in accessing real opportunities in both contexts for refugees. To be clear, Sen uses capabilities as freedom and opportunity to refer to the 'free market', whereby he does not refer to capability as a person's own physical ability to work, but rather the opportunity one has that allows them to work in a particular context, which is available to the agent and possible officially or legally (Robeyns, 2016). For instance, in Uganda, refugees are provided with agricultural land for cultivation and in Germany, refugees can work according to the law.

3.3.3 Means-Ends distinction

Sen's capability approach highlights that means are functionings and ends are capabilities. Ends are the ultimate determining factors that matter the most (Robeyns, 2016). In comparative contexts, ends play a crucial role as, for instance, the implementations of policies on ground like freedom of movement and freedom to work. As people need a suitable environment to be able to use their means to succeed in life, each person's means to succeed would be different as individuals work

differently. One of the strengths of this theoretical framework is the inclusion of inter-individual differences, which is carried out using 'conversion factors'.

3.3.4 Conversion Factors

A conversion factor is a degree to which a person can transform a resource into a functioning. There are several different types of conversion factors, often categorised into three groups (Robeyns, 2005, p. 95; 2016). Personal conversion factors are internal to an individual, e.g. physical condition, any medical issues, educational background or work experience in the home country. Social conversion factors are circumstances of the society in which one lives, for instance public policies, social norms, societal hierarchies and power relations related to class and gender. Environmental conversion factors emerge from the physical or built environment in which a person lives, for example geographical location, climate, pollution, proneness to earthquakes, stability of buildings, roads and bridges, and the means of transportation and communication.

Sen uses 'capability' not to refer to a person's abilities or other internal powers but to refer to an opportunity made feasible which is usually constrained by both internal (personal) and external (social and environmental) conversion factors (Crocker 2008, Robeyns 2005).

3.3.5 Appraisals and Critiques

The capability approach has resulted in a novel and highly valued paradigm in development studies, the 'human development approach' (Robeyns, 2005, p. 99; 2016). In the literature, the terms 'capability approach' and 'capabilities approach' are used interchangeably. Often, scholars argue for an understanding of the capability approach as one that offers a multi-purpose framework rather than a precise theory. Conversely, Robeyns (2016) argues that the capabilities approach is a normative theory, the objective of which is not to explain notions like poverty, inequality or well-being but rather to conceptualise them (Robeyns, 2016). According to Robeyns the "capability approach is clearly a theory within the liberal school of thought in political philosophy, although arguably of a critical strand" (Robeyns, 2005, p. 94).

Nussbaum is one of several scholars across the humanities and social sciences who have criticised and extended the capability approach in varied ways (Robeyns, 2005, p. 95). Nussbaum extends the approach to the theory of social justice with ten

principles to understand social issues. The legitimacy of Nussbaum's extension has seen heavy criticism from scholars and even Sen himself, who disregarded the principles as too narrow to cover human diversity issues.

Furthermore, Sen criticises welfare theorists of ignoring non-utility information. According to him, for instance, welfare theorists would exclude persons with special needs, as these people do not fall in line with theorists measurements, i.e. inherently counter-intuitive (Robeyns, 2016). As the Ugandan and German comparative studies of this thesis are situated in the social sciences and development studies discipline, Sen's capability approach is a suitable theoretical framework.

Two major critiques to Sen's capability approach professed by different scholars are that it is, firstly, too individualistic and, secondly, it does not pay sufficient attention to groups (Robeyns, 2005, pp. 96-97). Robyens denies both claims by explaining the importance of ontological individualism, which is that the capability approach accounts for social relations and constraints by focusing on capabilities or real opportunities and the ends being the ultimate determinant of the means, stressing that "social structures and institutions have an important effect on people's capability sets" (Robeyns, 2005, pp. 107-109). The claim of insufficient attention paid to groups is false because comparisons can be made on average capabilities of a group to be compared with another, for example, women and men or people from different nationalities or people with and without special needs (Robeyns, 2005, p. 110).

3.4 Synthesis of Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

For more clarity, it was deemed useful to combine the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of this thesis. The first normative claim of the theoretical framework is functioning that can be understood using the conceptual framework of livelihood strategies of agency and transformation. However, as we learnt from critics like Haas (2010) and Subulwa (2012), the agency is incomplete without looking at contingency (Haas, 2010; Subulwa, 2012). Therefore, the second normative claim of capabilities can be understood as using the conceptual framework of self-reliance because of different opportunities and freedom of movement and work possibilities in Uganda and Germany. A synthesis of theoretical and conceptual frameworks proves to be indispensable in establishing operational links between migration and development (Juran, 2016, p. 26).

For refugees this means that the normative claims of functionings, i.e. their accomplishments in their host countries, rely on their capabilities, i.e. their freedom and real opportunities. This is analysed in two ways namely agency of the individual, which refers to their self-initiatives for supporting livelihood strategies, and contingency, which refers to personal and socio-environmental conversion factors like mobility options and work possibilities (Juran, 2016, p. 24).

4. STATE OF THE ART

4.1 Historical Background of the Term Self-Reliance

In 1968, Ewing was the first to use the expression 'Self-Reliance in Africa' to refer to the development of the African continent through initiatives of the African people, abrogating dependency on foreign aid (Ewing, 1968, p. 362). This necessitated the expansion of indigenous industries; hitherto, however, achieving independency on a full scale has been a challenge due to low emphasis on building local machinery (Ewing, 1968, p. 364). Ewing's argumentation is even-handed as he does not limit his attention to the development of local industries for achieving genuine self-reliance in Africa, but also visualises contemporaneous augmentation in education, workforce planning and different training sectors (Ewing, 1968, p. 370).

Analytically speaking, it is possible to map some parallels with how the term 'self-reliance' is commonly used by researchers today, referring to the refugee management policy of Uganda. Not surprisingly, even in the refugee context, 'self-reliance' organically took place in the 1960s, but was only tagged as such much later on. In the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, intra-African refugee influxes led to the emergence of settlements where people began to settle in rural areas more by default than by design. For example, in 1966, Angola was in the midst of a liberation struggle that forced 63,000 people to seek refuge in the Western Provinces of Zambia, settling along border areas and utilising available land for agricultural production in their capacity (A. Betts, 2009, p. 6 & 18; Subulwa, 2012, p. 6). History attests that when Angolans repatriated back[19], agricultural productivity in Zambia declined, resulting in the host population lamenting Angolans' departure (A. Betts, 2009, p. 8). Correspondingly, in 1972, Burundians had fled and sought refuge in Tanzania where they spontaneously settled in rural areas and started cultivating crops (Gottwald, 2012, p. 120). Similarly, since 2013 onwards South Sudanese have sought refuge in Uganda and benefitted from Uganda's agricultural self-reliance policy (UNHCR, 2014, 2016, 2019a).

UNHCR noticed this pattern of how refugees started spontaneously settling in rural settlements and cultivating on their own, which they termed as 'self-reliance' in

[19] Around 74,000 Angolans repatriated back from Zambia between 2003 and 2007 (Refworld, 2006, pp. 4-6).

the 1980s as part of their ambit. A handbook on self-reliance was published in 2005 (UNHCR, 2005). Conversations about self-reliance started long ago in the African continent, but it was only formalised, recognised and titled as such in the 1980s. Therefore, emphasis should be given to the idea of self-reliance having its roots in the African continent. While interning, I learnt that self-reliance was an ideal concept in theory; however, in practice, it also required some form of initial capital, money or humanitarian aid to support the development of refugees' new life in their host country.

4.2 Tracing the Historical Trajectory of Relief Aid and Development

Linking relief with development aid is not a new phenomenon as UNHCR has handled it since the 1960s and decisively implemented in many African states in the 1980s (A. Betts, 2009, p. 7). In 1981, UNHCR summoned 'The International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa (ICARA I), followed by another ICARA II in 1984 for raising funds due to famine and hunger crises in East Africa[20] (A. Betts, 2009, p. 7). United Nations High Commissioner Jean-Pierre Hocke built a stronger connection between refugee and development aid to apply it in the International Conference on Refugees in Central America (CIREFCA) (A. Betts, 2009, p. 1). Hocke emphasises that relief and development were two sides of the same coin. Bond summarizes that humanitarian aid needs to be regularly improved by examining the situation on ground (Bond, 1986). Hence, it is not about stopping aid to make refugees self-reliant, but rather about undertaking an evaluation of access to relief by the majority of the refugees (Bond, 1986, p. ix). In the early 1990s, the Targeted Development Assistance (TDA) approach was applied in Central America to meet refugees' rights with demands of donors and hosts, in turn to achieve self-reliance and local integration (A. Betts, 2009, p. 1 & 2).

Once again, in the 2000s, United Nations High Commissioner Ruud Lubbers associated the donor funds as Targeted Development Assistance (TDA), which UNHCR tweaked to suit the Ugandan context and applied it in 2003 by conceiving

[20] The first conference was poorly managed, thus did not reap fruitful results. Nonetheless, the second conference was better organised and changed the focus from humanitarian aid to development aid for attracting the donor community; however, it gained only little success (Fink, 2014).

the idea of ‘Development Assistance for Refugees (DAR)’ to promote self-reliance and also Development through Local Integration (DLI) with significant funds from Denmark (A. Betts, 2009, pp. 4, 6, 8 & 19). During my time in Nakivale, I saw many offices that had been constructed by the Danish Refugee Council. However, one might criticise media narratives about how Denmark is leading the way for TDA in other countries while it is conservative and does not show that much support for refugees in Denmark itself. Although this is in contrast with Germany's approach towards refugees, the reason for Germany’s benevolence towards refugees could be the increase in their aging population, which means that they need younger workforce provided by refugees.

The line between humanitarian assistance and development aid is thin. Jacobsen (2002) remarks that it is better for this distinction not to be further investigated in everyone’s interest (Jacobsen, 2002, p. 583). Reading this, one may wonder whether host states are oblivious to the transition from relief to development. According to Jamal, on a macro policy level, states are conscious about the advantages of the self-reliance strategy and its developmental effects; however, two major drawbacks are generalised poverty and imperfections in the international responsibility sharing system (Jamal, 2003, p. 6).

Self-reliance and development give refugees agency to transform their lives upon their return to their countries of origin. For instance, when Eritrean refugees returned to Eritrea in the 1990s they referred to their displacement as ‘difficult experiences’ and a ‘school’; this can be linked to the observation that “displacement is a ‘taxing’ but at the same time a ‘rewarding experience’” (Kibreab, 2005, p. 29). They recalled that hardship and challenges had taught them new ways of living and that exile had opened their eyes, e.g. regarding new cultivation technologies that they had learnt during exile (Kibreab, 2005, p. 27). Upon their return; they were back in their country, they did not want to stick to only their old methods but rather integrate their new capacities to move forward (Kibreab, 2005, p. 27).

Relief and development should not be implemented successively but simultaneously as could be observed at Rwamanja Settlement in Uganda in 2013 (A. P. Betts, Collier, 2018; Essed, 2005, p. 3). There had been an influx of refugees from Congo. The quick response from the government was to settle them together in a new settlement, as Nakivale settlement was over-capacitated. Although, they were permitted the construction of new houses, they soon started selling WFP food to build

initial capital and buy cassava and plantations from other neighbours and started selling them. Slowly, pockets of markets organically grew in Rawamaja and showed the government that they need not wait for the emergency to stop but rather start with the self-reliance strategy immediately (A. P. Betts, Collier, 2018, p. 165). On a micro-level, Jamal summarizes the perceptions of refugees and states that

> "to an individual it is not relevant whether a particular intervention should be considered relief or development as long as it works and enables him or her to develop skills and exploit opportunities useful both in exile and upon the attainment of a durable solution" (Bond, 1986, p. 4; Jamal, 2003).

4.3 Gender and Forced Migration

Gender, age and religion are important determinants of how refugees cope up with their new host societies (Essed, 2005, p. 11; Gottwald, 2012, p. 102). Essed states that "it is essential to understand agency in a gender-specific way because the perception of gender and gendered identities change in the process of being displaced or living in exile" (Essed, 2005, p. 10). While men usually feel an inevitable loss of political identity, women become more resilient and try to adapt to their role in the new environment (Essed, 2005, p. 2).

4.4 Proposed Solutions to the Refugee Problem

Solutions should not be looked upon as an end to a goal, instead they should be viewed as a process as it is not only about the persecution but also about addressing the underlying causes of human rights violations like poverty, discrimination and exclusion (Gottwald, 2012, p. 104). Jacobsen says that refugees' resources and potential are usually lost in the convenient rhetoric of them being categorised as a burden to the state due to an increase in insecurity, demand for resources crunch and environmental liabilities (Jacobsen, 2002, p. 580). Lamentably, security problems diminish all other benefits and resources refugees come with, resulting in an antagonistic host attitude towards refugees (Jacobsen, 2002, p. 580). Jacobsen (2002) provokes a new perspective of looking at refugees as people who develop new markets i.e. by consuming products produced by the host economy and at the same time contributing skills learned in their home countries to the host community; this

may result in fusion ideas. Jacobsen (2002) argues that refugees' potential benefits to the state surpass the burdens they impose (Jacobsen, 2002, p. 591).

4.5 Research Gaps and Questions

Scholars in the past have said that "northern states are donor states and southern states are host states" (A. Betts, 2009, p. 19; Essed, 2005, p. 6). Although this could be the reality of the past; today, however, northern states are no longer only donor states but also host states. The usual discourse about most refugees being in the south usually undermines the positionality of refugees in the north (A. Betts, 2009, p. 9). Furthermore, the self-reliance strategy has worked in Uganda "irrespective of the context of national security, making it a good model for other countries to follow" (Jacobsen, 2002, p. 593). On a meta-level the moral and ethical principles of Uganda's self-reliance strategy are laudable and seem to be missing in Germany despite its progressive refugee policy compared to the rest of the EU. There is a need to understand how refugees' self-reliance, which has worked in Uganda for over six decades, can be reversed and reciprocated in Germany, considering that northern states are also host states. This first research gap requires an analysis of the stories of people who are living in these two different systems. In other words, this raises an urgent need for conducting cross-country qualitative and also quantitative research for understanding how countries in the Global North and the Global South deal with diverse refugee populations.

The review of the literature highlights that in order to have a spatial sense, research needs to be conducted both in rural and urban settings because displaced people also settle in urban conglomerations (Essed, Frerks, & Schrijvers, 2005, p. 16). Therefore, I investigate the rural setting of the Nakivale refugee settlement and urban settings of Oldenburg and Bremen[21]. Although the comparison of cities with rural areas does not constitute at the core of this thesis, it does augment the understanding of how migration and integration dynamics vary between them. Such studies help in evaluating whether strategies developed in Uganda can be generalised or whether they are instances of Ugandan exceptionalism. (Bloemraad, 2013, p. 554 & 562) In order

[21] The prospect of studying the urban against the rural setting was appealing for two reasons; firstly, in our globalized world of the 21st century, people not only move to neighbouring countries/rural settings to seek refuge but also to explore and expand their limits by moving to countries/urban settings located farther away; secondly, it is important to avoid falling into the trap of a one-sided view of refugees' experiences in a single refugee management model, but rather strive to build a holistic view of understanding refugees' experiences of living in different refugee management models (Holliday, 2007, p. 46).

to fill this second research gap, this thesis aims to understand whether the self-reliance strategy developed in the Global South is applicable or not in the Global North.

The objective of this thesis is to conduct exploratory research by comprehensively evaluating self-reliance and livelihood strategies of refugees in two different contexts, namely Nakivale and Oldenburg/Bremen. A field study using a bottom-up approach will help to understand, firstly, how Uganda and Germany deal with their refugee populations, and secondly, whether the self-reliance strategy with its roots in the Global South (Ewing, 1968) could be reciprocated in the Global North, specifically in Germany by bearing in mind contextual analysis and implementation.

Overall, this master thesis picked up momentum by drawing from the aforementioned research gaps and conclusions of other studies conducted in the field of international forced migration by Ewing (1968), Bond (1986), Essed (2005), Haas (2010), Subulwa (2012) and A. P. Betts, Collier (2018), among others. The principal research question underlying this research project is:

> In the face of national policies, which livelihood strategies do refugees from Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia adopt to become self-reliant in Nakivale Refugee Settlement in Uganda and how do their opportunities compare to those of refugees living in the cities of Oldenburg and Bremen in Germany?

Sub-research questions are as follows:

1. In how far can the micro experiences of Eritrean, Ethiopian and Somali refugees in the two different refugee management models be compared?
2. To what extent do Eritrean, Ethiopian and Somali refugees in Uganda and Germany have freedom of movement and freedom to work? How do these freedoms affect their capacities to become self-reliant?

5. METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

5.1 Methodological Process

A qualitative approach suits both the purpose of my study and my strengths in intercultural communication. Furthermore, scholars have pointed out that although migration is a dynamic process where numbers enumerate the bigger picture; however, on-site interaction with people living in refugee communities tackles the real picture (Essed, 2005, p. 13; Rogge, 1989, p. 184). In November 2018, I conducted three in-depth semi-structured interviews and two focus group discussions. This pilot study helped me prepare for my thesis interviews, which I conducted from January to March 2019. In my thesis interviews, I paid attention to using simple expressions, so that people coming from diverse academic backgrounds would understand my questions.

Keeping the importance of time of the interviewee in mind, I divided questions into different thematic groups and avoided redundant questions and repetitions, which allowed for more time for following up on salient issues raised by the interviewee. To this end, I used different prompts and probes. Arranging interviewees had more advantages than looking for interviewees' impromptu for conducting this type of qualitative research. Planned interviews gave the interviewee enough time for preparing themselves mentally for 30 to 60 minutes extended interviews. The interviewees knew what was expected of them. Furthermore, I learnt that in-depth interviews were more advantageous than focus group discussions, especially in precarious settings. Interviewees were more open and willing to share their stories on a one-on-one interview than in a group interview because they were more cautious about expressing themselves in front of people who lived in the same community. Nonetheless, the presence of the interpreter still had some bearings on the responses of the interviewees. The preliminary interviews and drawing from Gillham's methodological tips (Gillham, 2005, pp. 18, 19, 21 & 23) certainly helped in revising both the broad research question and specific interview questions.

I went to Uganda in January 2019 for conducting final interviews[22]. For this, I reviewed literature, made an attempt to put myself mentally in the position of

[22] Please check Appendix 2 for interview questions.

refugees and conducted semi-structured, in-depth qualitative interviews with them at their houses. For gaining a holistic perspective, I also conducted semi-structured interviews with meso level implementing partners such as UNHCR, HIJRA Community Services, the Finnish Refugee Council, the American Refugee Committee (ARC) and Nzamizi Livelihood Partners. Only interviews with refugees were transcribed; however, interviews with implementing organisations provided a foundation and background to this thesis topic. For safeguarding the interviewees, pseudonyms[23] are used throughout this thesis.

Insights gained during preliminary interviews were quite valuable in the planning and execution phase of my final interviews. Some of my interviewees could neither read nor write, so in order for the process to be the same for everyone, I decided not to show my questions to interviewees in advance. I also tried to keep cultural sensitivity: while formulating my interview questions, for instance, I asked my interviewees for permission and if they were comfortable talking about their nuclear family or not; accordingly, I posed the questions.

At the end of the interview, I gave my interviewees room to ask me questions and give me their suggestions for improvements and/or anything else they would like to talk about that I might have missed. Their feedback and suggestions aided in pruning, revising and adding some more questions to my questionnaire. I gave small gifts to my interviewees and interpreters like bananas, sugar, towels, chocolates or tiffin boxes. I paid a small sum of 20,000 UGX (4.80 €) to my interpreters for working with me in the field, but I did not pay my interviewees. After each interview, I wrote down participatory observations, which were beneficial during the analysis of my data.

Personal security was an issue as I was initially scared of living and walking alone within the refugee settlement and conducting interviews. Later on, however, I realised that living in a refugee settlement was much safer than living in cities because I was considered ‘white’ and had more power and authority. The latter was not in my control.

I went to Germany in February 2019 in order to conduct the rest of the interviews and for the writing period. Bearing in mind that I worked only for short periods in the two settings, I found it imperative to start the interviews with key

[23] Pseudonyms were randomly selected by doing a quick Google search on names of boys and girls from the chosen nationality.

questions and then allow the discussion to flow and probe further when required. Contrary to my experiences in Nakivale where refugees were eager to talk with me, in Oldenburg, refugees were not interested in being interviewed either because of bad experiences with researchers in the past, because they did not want to reopen old wounds, were scared of deportations, or did not want to share their life stories with a stranger. I overcame these struggles by meeting them in public places like African grocery stores, barbershops, language cafés and IBIS Intercultural Organization[24] to build trust. I explained in detail the purpose and aims of my research, stressing that I was a student and neither a police officer nor any other kind of investigator who wanted to deport them.

Although I was able to conduct semi-structured interviews in Oldenburg, I had to expand my scope to Bremen to look for more Somali and Ethiopian refugees, as their population was much larger there. As a token of appreciation, I gave small gifts to my interviewees like croissants, or hand-made purses or Eritrean coffee that I had bought from my interviewees in Nakivale to support their businesses.

Similarly, I conducted interviews with German meso level implementing partners, namely *Fliegerhorst* reception centre and *Deutsches Rotes Kreuz* (German Red Cross) in Oldenburg. It was also more difficult to conduct interviews with meso level partners in Oldenburg than in Nakivale due to many rules and exhausting bureaucratic chains. Only interviews with refugees were transcribed; nonetheless, interviews with implementing partner organisations provided a foundation and background to this thesis topic. In Germany, I conducted interviews in English, in my interviewees' first language with the help of an interpreter or in German. For the latter, I translated all the interview questions into German and then transcribed the interviews first in German and then in English.

5.2 Sampling Strategies

Nationality, age, gender, length of stay in the country of asylum and economic engagements were used as criteria for sampling.

The first sampling strategy was to choose interviewees based on nationality. As this is comparative qualitative research, I chose Eritrean, Ethiopian and Somalis

[24] IBIS helps refugees in Oldenburg with language courses, holding intercultural workshops and attending to any of their problems. https://ibis-ev.de

who had either fled to Uganda or had found ways to migrate to Germany. The similarities amongst Eritreans, Ethiopians and Somalis were that they all came from the Horn of Africa, spoke different languages other than those of the host countries, and had had to cross multiple borders in order to reach their respective destinations.

The second sampling strategy was age. As this research project investigates the livelihood strategies of refugees to become self-reliant, it made sense to choose people who were between 20 to 60 years old. The presumption was that they would be in the process of looking for means of supporting their livelihoods.

The third sampling strategy was refugee status. I interviewed only those people who had received refugee status. The fourth sampling strategy was gender. War affects everyone irrespective of one's gender. For this study, men and women with or without families were chosen. This allowed for a varied view of the agency of both genders. Families differed considerably in size, which gave insight into different dimensions and added value to this qualitative research.

The fifth sampling strategy was the length of stay in the host country. Interviewees had lived in the host country for a minimum of three years. This amount of time had allowed them to get accustomed to their new environment, to understand the workings of governmental and non-governmental structures, to digest the immediate shock and to deal with the aftermath of war or other issues because of which they had fled their home countries. Consequently, they had recovered enough to start looking for avenues to support themselves.

The sixth sampling strategy was the refugees' self-initiatives and economic engagement. Interviewees were selected depending upon self-engagement in an economic activity like agriculture, businesses or working in jobs for understanding their livelihood strategies. This sampling strategy was not used very strictly in comparison to the ones mentioned above in order to incorporate a diverse pool of interviewees.

5.3 Semi-Structured Interviews

I accessed refugees in Nakivale with the help of different gatekeepers. Some of whom also became my interpreters later on. Gatekeepers were my HIJRA Community Services Head, Eritrean and Ethiopian chairpersons, and Somali interpreter working at HIJRA. The reactions of my interpreters to my sampling criteria were insightful.

When I told them that I would like to interview refugees who are working in Nakivale, some were shocked about this positive direction that I took. As usually from their previous experiences with working with other researchers, they told me that usually researchers come to Nakivale and look for the problems of refugees and interview them. However, there is a dearth of researchers who capture refugees' abilities and think of how refugees' help themselves. In other words, there is more need of researchers who place refugees' on an agency echelon rather than always keeping in an aid receiver position.

As part of my methods of sampling in Oldenburg, I approached the caretaker of *Fliegerhorst* reception centre again but she could not get permission from her boss, and directed me to the German Red Cross from where I proceeded to the organizations Refugees Welcome and IBIS where I was told I would be more likely to find refugees from East African countries.

Although I could not establish any contact with people working for Refugees Welcome, IBIS helped me to get in touch with the Eritrean community. Other gatekeepers for the different national communities were my Ethiopian EMMIR colleague and a young Somali man I met on the train to Bremen.

Each interview was between 30 and 60 minutes long. I conducted interviews with two males and two females from each nationality in Uganda and whomever I could access in Germany from those nationalities. As I had enough interview samples to choose from, I chose the ones that fit the selection criteria best using theoretical sampling technique (Flick, 2011, p. 318). For this sampling technique, a certain level of researcher subjectivity is required. The best interviews were those where the sound was clear, the interviewees' answers were direct and straightforward, and interpreters did not play a significant role. As this is a master thesis and my resources were limited, I also had to limit the number of interviews. I chose to interview one male and one female from each nationality in Uganda and Germany. Unfortunately, it was challenging to find Ethiopian women in Germany, which is why I have only eleven interviews instead of twelve.

All the selected eleven interviews were audio recorded. Their consent was taken on informed consent forms (please check Appendix 1) concerning taking part in the interview, using pseudonyms and possible future publication of this thesis.

5.4 Transcription Process

I transcribed using F5 software, which is used with a foot pedal. For which, I installed a licensed version of MAXQDA[25] software on my computer and created a project, inserted all my transcripts with audio files from F5 software onto its interface. The good part was to be able to retain the timestamps made while transcribing, which could be easily incorporated into the MAXQDA software. Thus, while coding[26], when I needed to hear any part from the audio again, it was just a click away.

5.5 Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA)

Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) is used for analysing the semi-structured interview transcripts by summarising and categorising the original text. Deductive codes were applied to the transcripts from both conceptual and theoretical frameworks i.e. refugees' 'self-reliance' and 'livelihood strategies' and Amartya Sen's capability approach of 'functioning' and 'capabilities'.

The process of coding involved, firstly, decoding of the material by reflecting on a passage of data to decipher its core meaning and, secondly, encoding by determining an appropriate code to label and link it (Saldaña, 2013, p. 4). Afterward, I used process codes to capture the action with short words or phrases, simultaneous codes to highlight two or more codes to the same text and descriptive codes to describe an action in a word or short phrase (Saldaña, 2013, pp. 5-7). I also used the in-vivo coding technique quite often by sifting direct codes from my data. Decoding and encoding were done in a three-step coding procedure on MAXQDA software (Flick, 2011, p. 306).

Open coding was the first step that allowed me to assign deductive codes drawn from the research question and theoretical and conceptual frameworks to the data. Simultaneously, striking information was labelled with inductive codes (Neuman, 2014, p. 481). In order to be flexible and not stay at a descriptive level, I did not specifically only code using my theoretical and conceptual frameworks but

[25] MAXQDA - It is a result of more than 30 years of continuous development that began with MAX for DOS in 1989 for conducting qualitative content analysis. https://www.maxqda.com/help-max18/welcome

[26] Each transcription of 45 minutes took approximately 3 hours to transcribe. I transcribed by listening at 65% at first while typing but later on needed to increase my speed so listened at 75%. The spool time used was 2.2 seconds, so when I made a pause with the foot pedal and started again, it began from a little bit behind so that I had enough time to type the rest of the sentence.

also generated different codes that originated from the data itself (Neuman, 2014, p. 482)

Axial coding was the second step. At this stage, I clearly defined each code, merged similar codes and sorted similar codes under different categories (Neuman, 2014, p. 482). MAXQDA allowed me to develop categories in the form of document sets, which were useful for analysing and comparing my interviews.

Selective coding was the third stage where I reviewed all codes and categories. While reviewing, I saw new patterns and themes emerge (Neuman, 2014, p. 481). I also used the creative coding tool on MAXQDA software to form connections amongst the open codes and formulated connections within different categories in a deductive and an inductive way. After forming categories, I removed repetitive codes and redundant categories, and verbalised themes that best captured the meaning of both similar categories and codes. Codes and categories can be found in Appendix 3. For analysing the data, I generated an Interactive Quote Matrix. I saved the quote matrices as excel files on my laptop. As part of analytic memo writing, I collected any new thoughts and insights on findings and patterns that I had while coding. These memos were later beneficial for the analysis, results and discussion sections.

6. ANALYSIS, FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter examines the data from the interviews conducted. Presentation styles include visual tools like a table (Figure 6), a smart art (Figure 8), interactive quote matrices and quotes of the interviewees[27] (spread throughout).

The collated data aids in answering the research question of this dissertation about comprehending the livelihood strategies undertaken by Eritrean, Ethiopian and Somali refugees in Nakivale (Uganda) and Oldenburg and Bremen (Germany) to become self-reliant. Qualitative content analysis technique facilitated in evaluating participants' life experiences resulting in three main thematic findings:

- Theme 1: Refuge
- Theme 2: Achievements and Opportunities
- Theme 3: Self-reliance means freedom

The research question and the synthesis of theoretical and conceptual frameworks are used to filter the first and second themes deductively. The third theme was an insight gained from the interview data, whereby many participants conferred about achieving freedom through self-reliance in distinctive ways. These themes are then discussed by referring to literature when necessary and reflected upon through personal experiences in the two settings.

6.1 Theme 1: Refuge

This theme illustrates the year refugees fled their home countries, which international borders they crossed, their reasons for fleeing and how were they received upon arrival in the host countries. Firstly, it is crucial to ascertain some demographic characteristics of the participants in order to establish an overview.

[27] As I am focusing on the content of what my interviewees said, I choose to correct their English at some points for example, if someone said, "he go", I may write, " he go[es]" or he [went]", depending on what the person wanted to say. I would do that with very obvious mistakes. It is important to use [] to show that this is something I added.

Figure 6: Overview of participants

Interviews (Nakivale) Uganda	Sex	Ages	Country of origin	Family Background (presently living with)	Year of forced displacement	Non-linear trajectories
Sada	M	49	Eritrea	Married	2008	via Sudan
Atifa	F	57		Widow, two children and one grandchild	2012	via Sudan-South Sudan
Dani	M	49	Ethiopia	Divorced, one child	2008	via Kenya
Halima	F	38		Divorced, four children	2007	via Kenya
Asad	M	35	Somalia	Single but taking care of his brother's wife and their five children	2009	via Kenya
Hani	F	40		Divorced, five children	2013	via Kenya
Interviews in Germany						
Samuel (Oldenburg)	M	22	Eritrea	Single	2014	via Sudan-Libya-Italy
Fatima (Bremen)	F	26		Married; living with husband and child	2016	via Sudan-Libya-Italy
Aman (Bremen)	M	40	Ethiopia	Divorced; living alone	2017	via Sudan-Eritrea-Italy-France
Burhaan (Bremen)	M	22	Somalia	Married; living with wife and two children	2011	via Libya-Italy-Denmark
Jamilah (Bremen)	F	21		Single	2013	Did not disclose

6.1.1 Demographic Characteristics

6.1.1.1 Sex

As can be observed from Figure 6, one male, and one female from Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia were interviewed in both Uganda and Germany. The only exception was

in Germany no interview was conducted with a female participant from Ethiopia. This was because it was difficult to find Ethiopian nationals in Oldenburg or Bremen considering that many presents themselves as Eritreans, who receive refugee status on a prima facie basis in Germany unlike Ethiopians. This finding is in sync with literature stating that Ethiopian asylum seekers receive more rejections worldwide than their Eritrean counterparts (WorldData, n.d.). Even the Eritrean woman who was interviewed in Bremen contradicted her responses at various points. After analysis, I would deduce that she might have been an Ethiopian by nationality but presented herself as an Eritrean to take advantage of prima facie refugee status in Germany.

I observed a stark contrast in the responses of male and female participants in Germany and Uganda. In Germany, I witnessed that female participants frequently refrained from being interviewed, possibly because they were worried about their safety. Being a female researcher improved my possibilities of convincing and interacting with other females but unfortunately, not in the Ethiopian community.

Contrarily, men behaved differently to my request of interviewing them. They were more open to talk to me and ready to be interviewed. While approaching them, I sensed neither any fearful feeling nor personal insecurity from their side. Nonetheless, they were also concerned about how I would be processing their interviews. It is possible that men felt in the position of power and were not afraid of talking with a female researcher, thereby re-establishing the traditional behavioural characteristics of men being superior and women being inferior. Nevertheless, the two females who agreed to be interviewed in Germany moved beyond these traditional roles and portrayed, to a certain extent, non-conformity with conventional societal rules.

Meanwhile in Uganda, both male and female participants were ready to be interviewed by me, a female researcher. They did not portray any fear in talking with me; on the contrary, were happy to share their life stories with me. They told me that my interviews provided them with a healing process of coming to terms with their past and having someone to share their problems with.

6.1.1.2 Ages

Figure 8 represents the respective ages of my participants, which highlight that refugees older than 35 years fled to Uganda, whereas those younger than 27 years fled to Germany. The only exception to younger refugees fleeing to Germany was an Ethiopian man who was 40 years old. This observation is in line with prior studies

underlining that more than 80% of refugees remain in the Global South and that those who move further afield to the Global North tend to be younger(A. Betts, 2009, p. 1).

6.1.1.3 Family Background (Presently living with)

As can be seen from Figure 6, four refugees were divorced and three were married; living with their nuclear families, three were single and one was a widow. On the one hand, the inclusion of diverse family structures was deemed essential for documentation and analysis. On the other hand, varied family backgrounds also meant that there would be differences in the livelihood strategies of these households. Essed (2005) re-instates the above finding by stating that in the milieu of war and peace "refugees have diverse coping mechanisms, which are interdependent upon their demographic characteristics like gender, age, family backgrounds" as they exude agency differently (Essed, 2005, p. 2).

The diverse family structures posited a new dimension of men professing the caring role of their children rather than this being the traditional role of women. This exception is apparent with regards to Dani taking care of his daughter as the father, who recently got divorced. He told me that his daughter had come from his ex-wife's house only twenty days before the interview and that now he would be taking care of his daughter permanently. Despite my probing, he did not want to reveal the reasons as to why his wife was not having the custody of the child.

6.1.2 Year of Forced Displacement

Figure 8 shows that my interviewees had been displaced from their home countries within a span of the past ten years from 2007 to 2017. This is in line with the increasing number of people being globally displaced in this time period (Haas, 2010, p. 227) (see Figure 1).

6.1.3 Non-Linear Trajectories

Figures 6 and 7 illustrate the migration trajectories of my interviewees. Eritreans had passed via Sudan and South Sudan whereas Ethiopians and Somalis pass via Kenya to reach Uganda. This is mostly referred to as the Southern route in the literature (Marchand, 2017, p. IX & X). People of all three nationalities had taken the North Mediterranean route from Libya via Italy to reach Germany as also attested in the literature (Marchand, 2017, p. IX & X). The varied migration trajectories of people from the Horn of Africa makes it a 'A Region On The Move' (IOM, 2017, p. 1).

Figure 7: Main Migration Routes from the East and Horn of Africa

Source: (IOM, 2017)

Participants shared their en-route experiences during interviews. Atifa told me that smugglers in Khartoum, Sudan had harassed her. She spoke quite a lot and also simultaneously with the interpreter, which suggested that she had high stress levels. She seemed stressed because of what she had gone through since she left Asmara until today e.g. loss of family members under the military dictatorship in Eritrea. She even lost her daughter in Libya who had wanted to cross over to Europe. I still remember the uncomfortable silence when Atifa just responded with one word, 'Libya' to my question about the whereabouts of her daughter. The name of the country was enough to generate a stream of troubling emotions for me, the interpreter and for Atifa, who started sobbing.

Atifa: ***R:*** *The daughter is in Eritrea?*
Translator: *No, passed away*

I: *Noooo noooo Libya Libya Sahara* (Sobbing)
R: *Ohhh….Sorry. Are you okay Mumma[28]?*

Analogously, Halima shared her reasons of not staying in Kenya but continuing her journey to Uganda.

Halima: ***R:*** *Why did you change from Kenya to Uganda?*
I: *Now the election came in Kenya. When the election came of 2007. There was a big fight maybe you have heard that story. And the next one after it comes to 2012. I fear because I am with children. There is some politics there.*

Halima had been afraid of living near the Kakuma Refugee camp in Kenya due to the 2008 elections. These elections in Kenya resulted in discrimination and exclusion due to a tug of war between opposing ethnic clans[29]. Therefore, the elections had not allowed Halima to stay in Ethiopia; instead she had continued her journey to seek refuge in Uganda.

Similarly, Samuel, Aman and Burhaan shared their challenges of using the North Mediterranean route by crossing the Sahara Desert and the Mediterranean Sea. Samuel told me that he had battled with the arid desert, tumultuous waves and a nightmare in the Libyan prison, where he had stayed for six months and contracted a sickness.

Samuel: ***R:*** *So far are you facing any problems in any area of your life? Anything you want to change?*
I: *Ah… 2014 as I was in Sudan, two years long, there is no freedom that's why, as I want to leave Sudan - the government catch me then I had to go the prison. You know prison? I stay six months. That life is very bad in Sudan. I was sick that is why as I come to Italy then I say I have to go to Germany because I want to be not sick.*

Aman shared his experience on the Mediterranean Sea.

Aman: ***R:*** *How much time on the Mediterranean Sea?*
I: *It was very difficult. We were three [boats]. Two of them [had sunk] already and we survived. [I was] among the survivors.*

[28] Mumma is a way of calling an old lady respectfully in the southern cultures, so I used it while talking with Atifa.
[29] Tensions led to the death of 1000 people and 500,000 civilians fled the country. The situation came under control when the international community stepped in with Kofi Annan heading the African Union Panel. He conducted peace talks and negotiations with the involved parties, who found a resolution of representing both ethnic clans in parliament. Mwai Kibai from the Party of National Unity (PNU) became president, while Raila Odinga from the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) became the prime minister (ICRtoP).

Burhaan was shuffled back and forth because of Dublin procedures (Affairs, 2019; Calamur, 2018; Jamal, 2003, p. 6) between Denmark and Italy where his fingerprints were first taken.

Burhaan: ***R:*** *Why did you choose Germany and did not go to any other country or did not continue your stay in Denmark?*
I: *When I came back, I must fly then I just chose to arrive in Germany. Different country, fingerprint means, when one registered an application there, this is why it is very complicated. This Dublin, Dublin Law, that one must fly to the country where they registered their application first. I had problems in Denmark because of this fingerprint issue so I took a train from there to Hamburg and came to Germany.*

The Dublin Regulation puts much pressure on the EU countries located at the coast of the Mediterranean Sea and also the ones bordering Turkey. In order to share the burden of migrants equally, Germany suspended this rule in 2015, which made migrants march en-route to Germany for seeking a haven (Calamur, 2018). Using outcroppings[30] rule (Neuman, 2014, p. 486), I could comprehend Burhaan's decision of choosing Germany as his destination host country over other European countries because Germany had suspended the Dublin Regulation around the same time, as he had been forced out of Denmark to go back to Italy. The theoretical framework of Amartya Sen's capability approach further extends the understanding of Germany's act of suspending of Dublin Regulation. Not only did Germany take a step towards the responsibility of distributing refugees amongst European states, the country also enhanced real opportunities on ground for refugees to make their decisions of coming to Germany.

[30] "An aspect of qualitative data analysis that recognizes some event or feature as representing deeper structural relations (Neuman, 2014, p. 486)." It is a way to see what lies beneath the surface by understanding not just surface level reality but also the deeper structures and forces that may lie unseen hidden below the carpet like social class, power and hierarchy.

6.1.4 Reasons for Fleeing

Figure 8: Refugees' reasons for fleeing

The literature highlights that people's reasons for fleeing are typically linked to war, political violence and insecurity. The erratic political climate in the Horn of Africa is well-documented in the literature (IOM, 2017, p. 11) and resonates with the reasons explicated by the interviewees for leaving their countries of origin. On the one hand, Sada and Samuel left Eritrea because of political insecurity from the dictatorial government.

Sada: ***R:*** *Why did you leave Eritrea?*
I: *Insecurity from the government. It's there because there is no freedom of speech, no freedom of press, no freedom of religion, we cannot worship anyhow only but from Catholic Orthodox and there are Muslims. Then, there is no Constitution, we have a dictator government. There is no just chance of work as you want. Now if you see people are striking [then] they arrest them. Tomorrow it [can be] you, so I have decided to come here [to Uganda].*

Samuel: ***R:*** *Why did you leave Eritrea?*
I: *Because as I want to close my 12th grade. I have to [go to] military school. At that time I was 17 years old. That was very, very, very difficult. That was very difficult. I want only to go to my school but because the government says [if] we want to work [after] school then we have to (go to) military school that's why I think that I (go) to other country, for example Ethiopia, Sudan. I lived in Sudan two years. Then I am coming to Europa (Europe).*

On the other hand, Aman left Ethiopia because of the economic problem.

Aman: ***R:*** *Why did you leave Ethiopia?*
Translator: *It's economic problem.*
R: *Okay. Which countries did you go to after Ethiopia?*
Translator: *Yeah, because of uncertain, insecurities. He also come*

because of insecurity because some of his parents are Eritreans and some of them are Ethiopians so he is living as well in the border so there are some conflicts and insecurity.

Aman's first spontaneous response questions the definition and politics of who is a refugee (Bond, 1986, pp. 12-13; Bussemer, 2019, p. 6; Essed, 2005, pp. 3-4; Holliday, 2007, p. 45; Jacobsen, 2002, p. 593; UNHCR, 2010, p. 3). He felt uneasy with his first honest answer because he did not want to be seen as an economic migrant, considering the worldwide image of a refugee as someone who needs help and assistance to save one's life from war and political insecurity. Ergo, Aman tried to cover up his initial truth by talking about insecurity.

This raises the question of what is wrong with seeking economic opportunities as a refugee. Saunders (2017) states that "anyone seeking refuge from conflict, is, naturally, also an economic migrant: They need to find a place with employment and an economy to provide stability for their families" (Saunders, 2017). However, Betts (2018) counters Saunders by saying that "refugees are fleeing danger, whilst migrants are lured by hopes and are looking for honeypots" (A. P. Betts, Collier, 2018, p. 30). The typical rhetoric used by host communities against refugees is them being economic migrants, which generates ambivalent emotions. This begs the next question of whether not all of us want to have a better life, opportunities, freedom and welfare for our families?

People who put allegations on refugees being economic migrants tend to forget the long historical trajectory of their colonial past or the present discourse of endless stealing of natural wealth from Congo, land grabbing in Sudan, and buying oil mines in Ghana that destroys their local economies. As western countries destroy their economies in their home countries, they have no choice but to come to Europe in order to find jobs and have a better life[31].

Narratives from Somalis frequently highlighted the loss of family members bullets, shots and continuous warfare as reasons for fleeing.

Asad: ***R:*** *Why did you leave Somalia?*
Translator: *The life [had] become difficult. [His] father was [admitted in] private hospital and [he] died [there] and his brother and sisters*

[31] Conversation with the organizer of Yahlla! Art Exhibition Miss Ramona Herring held in Berlin during the 2nd week of May 2019.

[died] in that same hospital. Then, they also [shot] bullet[s] [at him], bullet cutted his legs [while] he was running…

Hani: ***R:*** *Why did you leave Somalia?*
Translator: *Somalia, there is a lot of bullet, all the time hearing, all the time you can't go outside. You [don't] have freedom, the one of the children, she got some bullet of that time [in her body].*

Asad had been shot and had had his leg amputated. Hani's eldest daughter also had been shot with a bullet and was, at the time of the interview, in Kenya seeking treatment as the Ugandan doctors refused to do the operation due to its high-intensity level. This shows that medical support for refugees in Uganda is limited and needs improvement.

Overall, the literature views insecurity and war at one side of the spectrum while economic problems on the other side, and so do the micro level experiences of the participants. The majority of the responses in terms of reasons for fleeing from the interviewees were in sync with the political insecurity and war side of the debate spectrum; Aman's story, however, lies on the economic side of the debate spectrum. When discussing this point from a humanistic perspective, I support Saunders' argument of refugees fleeing danger in their home country, but at the same time they are looking for a better and secure future economically for themselves and their families.

The latter part is precisely the central topic of this thesis, i.e. about refugees' self-reliance and their livelihood strategies to understand how they develop themselves in the two host countries. Aman's honest response about coming to Germany because of economic problems in Ethiopia re-instates the importance of economic self-reliance (UNHCR, 2005, p. 2). It refers to refugees making a living, supporting themselves financially in order not to be dependent on financial assistance. Economic problems play a crucial part in all our lives and more so in the lives of those who are striving to not just survive but also thrive.

6.1.5 Why Uganda for Refuge?

Eritreans, Ethiopians and Somalis in this study sought refuge in Uganda primarily from 2008 to 2013. During interviews, I asked participants to explain their reasons for choosing Uganda as their destination country.

Atifa: ***R:*** *Why did you come to Uganda and not go to any other country?*
Translator: *She doesn't know any other country. She decide[d] to come to Uganda and her daughter was also pregnant. So, she had to deliver [in] the near country, which is Uganda. In Kampala, she deliver her. That's why she came direct from South Sudan [to] Uganda.*

The literature shows that a high number of pregnant women and women with children are displaced during the war making it difficult for adequate interventions (UNHCR, 2018, p. 6). Atifa's experiences of coming to Uganda in 2012 were in sync with the aforementioned literature, as her daughter was pregnant in South Sudan; however, as the daughter wanted to deliver her baby in a nearby country that was safer, they decided to come to Uganda. Atifa and Hani added that they felt welcome in Uganda:

Atifa: ***I:…****Kampala…OPM…welcome…welcome.*
Translator: *So, they registered her as an asylum seeker and after eight months, they guaranteed her. They welcomed her and after welcoming here to OPM, the[y] give here some small items like foodstuffs like maize, oils.*

Hani: ***Translator:*** *When she went for the office, they normally helped her. She said it is good for the government of Uganda.*

Atifa and Hani had come to Uganda in 2012 and 2013, respectively. Overall, both of them praised the implementation of the Ugandan refugee management policy on ground. Their experiences corroborate the execution of Uganda's progressive refugee policy through its self-reliance strategy, presently supporting around 1.2 million refugees (G. o. U. UNHCR, Office of the Prime Minister, 2019). However, Atifa also raised an issue when she arrived in Nakivale.

Atifa: ***Translator:*** *She came to Nakivale. No one was welcoming her. So, she had to sleep [with] her children outside for two days.*

Initially, Atifa had some negative experiences; however, subsequently, she received support.

UNHCR reports state that refugees usually flee to neighbouring countries, i.e. Kenya in the case of Ethiopians and Somalis (UNHCR, 2018, p. 7). My interviewees had decided to seek refuge in Uganda, which they explained when asked about their reasons for crossing multiple borders and not continuing their stay in the first arrival country.

Halima: ***R:*** *Where did you stay in Kenya?*
I: *Because I even fear to go to the camp [as it] is near to the Ethiopian border. The camp of Refugee of Kenya: Kakuma. Now, I just scare because I am alone with the children. I just came to stay in the small village with some people there, with some Ethiopians there who are working there and even the house rent is high. In Kenya, you are paying the house, you are paying the power. In that election, even I fear for my life. I fled to Uganda.*

Halima had first fled from Ethiopia to Kenya but due to the reasons mentioned above she had decided to seek refuge in Uganda in 2007. Dani, Hani and Asad shared their reasons for choosing Uganda as their host country:

Dani: ***R:*** *Why did you choose to come to Uganda and not to go to another country?*
Translator: *Just to get peace because in Kenya, the security is not very tight like that because you know that Ethiopians are living there. That is why he came this side.*

Hani: ***I:*** *Yes, Kenya. It's strict*
Translator: *All from ID, National ID for Kenya. If you don't have, they can arrest you. [Also] she said in Kenya, refugees are very hot [because of the sun] and she has a blood pressure that's why she choose Uganda. Uganda, it is very cold place that's why she choose to come [here].*

Asad: ***Translator:*** *He said they are looking for the peace, that's why they choose to [come to] Uganda itself. Very peace. Kenya, he said, they ask passport. You cannot live in good [in Kenya] but Uganda, it's a good place and [they] will not ask you any, any, any passport.*

As can be seen from the interviews of Ethiopians and Somali, Kenya had not been their first choice as a host destination because, firstly, both countries of origin border Kenya, meaning higher insecurity for their nationality; and, secondly, Kenya implements a more restrictive refugee policy than Uganda. Betts et al. show that refugees in Uganda can open businesses, have more sustainable job opportunities in Nakivale than in Kakuma due to freedom of movement and work (A. C. Betts, Imane; Omata, Naohiko; Sterck, Olivier, 2019, pp. 4-5). Nonetheless, the positive aspects of living in Uganda should not overshadow the problems that refugees face due to its inadequacies as recounted by Dani.

Dani: ***R:*** *Do you have any question for me?*
Translator: *We are living here as a refugee. We are depending on UNHCR with this food only and there is no other help from UNHCR or government. They are not coming even to just make someone be strong. Nothing like that.*

This shows that not all refugees get equal amounts of support from humanitarian organisations. This could be due to the vastness of the settlement in terms of land size and the ever-increasing refugee population. All in all, this sub-theme finding validates the welcoming nature of Uganda towards refugees, which is reiterated through refugees' micro level experiences.

6.1.6 Why Germany for Refuge?

Eritreans, Ethiopians and Somalis in this study had sought refuge in Germany from 2011 to 2017.

Samuel: ***R:*** *When did you leave Eritrea?*
I: *I only need to rest because I was in Sudan, in the prison like six months long. I was sick that is why as I come to Italy then I say I have to go to Germany, go to the clinic because I want to be not sick, that's why I [came] to Germany.*

Aman: ***R:*** *Why did you come to Germany and not go to any other country?*
I: *My plan was to go to England but unfortunately, I [got] stuck here. I am really happy because [I] was ill, they cured [me] here and [I] stayed here. I like their reception and they did good things for us. They [gave] [me] the freedom. They are very good, very good.*

Both Samuel and Aman had received good medical support upon arrival in Germany, which had influenced their decisions to stay in Germany in 2014 and 2017, respectively. This highlights the welcoming nature of Germany towards refugees.

Burhaan: **I:** *I just chose to arrive in Germany.*

Fatima: ***I:*** *Germany is good.*

Jamilah: ***I:*** *It was a coincidence. I just happened to arrive here.*

Burhaan, Fatima and Jamilah, gave emotive and vague answers when asked about their reasons for choosing Germany as their host destination. However, Fatima and Jamilah did not want to disclose a lot about their past probably because they did not

trust the researcher enough. In Fatima's case, as explained above, she was likely an Eritrean on paper although she was probably Ethiopian by nationality.

Overall, interviewees in Germany validated its welcoming nature, which depicts its progressive refugee policy in the European Union. Germany's forthcoming nature was specifically noticed during the summer of 2015, the so-called 'refugee crisis' and taking the first step in suspending the Dublin procedure for shared responsibility towards refugees (BAMF, 2016b, p. 9). The participants highlight a different point to what Betts (2009) had said in the past that Northern states were mostly donor states (A. Betts, 2009, p. 9; Essed, 2005). Participants suggested that there was an increasing trend of Northern states also being host states. This sub-theme finding of refugees moving further afield to the Global North fills the research gap of refugees not only seeking refuge in the Global South but also in the Global North.

6.1.7 Refugee Status and Registration

This sub-theme shows how the registration procedure to obtain refugee status works. In Uganda, refugees were interviewed by OPM either in Kampala or in Nakivale, depending on their point of arrival, and as per Uganda's refugee management policy (UNHCR, 2016, pp. 15-16). Similarly, in Germany, refugees were registered and interviewed at foreign offices in different parts of the country depending on their point of arrival. The experiences coincide with Germany's refugee management asylum system model where POC's live in reception centres until they are registered as asylum seekers or refugees and then settled in a city or town as per the instructions of the German state authorities (BAMF, 2016c, p. 8 & 9). There was also much talk about the refugee status permit validity in Germany, which refugees said was for three years after which they would have to renew it.

6.1.8 Arrival in Nakivale, Oldenburg or Bremen

Almost all refugees interviewed for this thesis had directly arrived either in Nakivale, Oldenburg or Bremen not long after they had been displaced. Sada and Dani were exceptions as after arriving in Uganda, they had lived in Kampala for more than five years to earn money and improve their livelihoods. After five years, they had returned to live in Nakivale because Sada had wanted to be present in the settlement as he had been in the process of resettlement and thought it would be easier to push for his resettlement case while he was in Nakivale. Dani had wanted to earn more money and

be self-employed, which was why he had moved to Nakivale and become engaged in different activities linked to agriculture, hiving bees, constructing houses or changing a dumping yard to cultivable land. This sub-theme highlights the importance of money and economics as part of refugees' livelihood strategies.

6.1.9 Concluding Thematic Discussion: Refuge

This theme of 'refuge' elucidates refugees' migration trajectories, reasons for fleeing and the welcoming nature of Uganda and Germany. This theme helps in visualising the interviewees through their demographic characteristics.

The gender dimension highlights that women usually undertook the role of the caregiver. In terms of age, older refugees tended to seek refuge in Uganda, while younger moved further afield to Germany. Interviewees with diverse family structures were deemed important to be documented and analysed, as families in situations of war are more dynamic than the traditional family size of four, i.e. mother, father and two children. Participants had been forcefully displaced within a span of ten years between 2007-2017. As for migration trajectories, refugees from the Horn of Africa had generally taken the southern route to reach Uganda via Kenya, or the northern route to reach Germany via Libya. Reasons for fleeing were in sync with previous studies, i.e. political insecurity, warfare and economic problems.

After crossing various international borders and overcoming thorny challenges on their routes, interviewees reminisced about the welcoming nature of both the host countries towards refugees. Lastly, I deduced from the transcripts that Uganda and Germany provided better options for refugees rather than them facing harsh realities of living in other neighbouring countries like Kenya, Denmark or Italy.

6.2 Theme 2: Achievements and Opportunities

Achievements and opportunities form the core of my research findings deduced specifically from the synthesis of theoretical and conceptual frameworks. The theoretical framework of Amartya Sen's capability approach has two normative claims. The first normative claim is 'functioning', which are beings and doings, understood as refugees' livelihood strategies to become self-reliant. These are their achievements in life, earned with sweat and hard work, which provides them with a certain level of agency. When 'functionings' was applied to the interview material, the term 'achievements' was deduced and ascertained that describe interviewees' life scenarios best.

The second normative claim is 'capabilities', which are freedoms and real opportunities understood as freedom of movement and work. This correlates to refugees' agency of supporting their livelihoods, only when allowed by the contingency of the host countries. When 'capabilities' was applied to the interview material, the term 'opportunities' was deduced and ascertained that describe interviewees' life scenarios best.

Collyer and Haas (2010) have generally criticised dichotomous categorisations (like achievements-opportunities) as limiting one's perception and placing new names on archaic concepts. However, their counterarguments posit the importance of having new categories that allow researchers to express new ideas, which originated in different contexts and gained more awareness and significance during their research process. New terminology serves an expedient function in political discourse and helps rational beings to come to terms with complex migration nexus (Collyer & Haas, 2010, p. 469).

This theme is sub-divided into refugees' past and present livelihood strategies on the one hand, and freedom of movement and work on the other hand. In other words, the former highlights refugees' agency, while the latter shows the host state's contingency.

6.2.1 Past and Present Livelihood Strategies

Livelihood strategies are ways individuals acquire food and income (UNHCR, 2005, p. Appendix 1:16). Past livelihood strategies refer to refugees' previous occupation, whereas present livelihood strategies refer to their current occupation(s). The former

could either be assumed in the home or host countries, depending on the length of time they spent in their host countries. This sub-theme illustrates vital information about how refugees support and develop themselves, which primarily highlights their 'achievements' hitherto.

6.2.1.1 Eritreans in Uganda and Germany

As part of Uganda's refugee management policy, Sada should have been allotted a plot of agricultural land for supporting his livelihood.

Sada: ***R:*** *Did you receive land?*
I: *I have never got any land. Before, they distribute land. Me, I went back to Kampala. So, I didn't get any land but they give to other communities. Even me, I would have got. It is me.*

He missed his plot allocation time, so bought a piece of land in the centre of the settlement where he did not pay the owner directly but put the money on his land in terms of constructing his house. His flexibility to choose his place of residence in Nakivale makes the implementation of Ugandan refugee management policy unique as compared to other countries (A. C. Betts, Imane; Omata, Naohiko; Sterck, Olivier, 2019, p. 4).

Sada's past livelihood experience in Kampala, helped him to kick-start his present livelihood strategy in Nakivale.

Sada: ***R:*** *What did you do in Kampala?*
I: *I was a manager in [a bar in] Kampala. I worked there for six years and then came [to Nakivale] to open my own business.*

His past livelihood strategy of working in a bar in Kampala led to his decision of opening a similar business to support his present livelihood in Nakivale.

Sada: ***R:*** *Where did you get this idea of starting this business here in Nakivale?*
I: *This is Refugee Law Project. I studied it* (referring to basic accounting course) *here from Uganda. All in all, these are the things, which makes me to be a businessperson, cause you have asked me. How I got that interest? Who advised me or what? To say, it is through Education.*

Past livelihood strategy of working in a bar in Kampala and studying basic accounting course helped Sada with running a bar business in Nakivale.

Sada: ***R:*** *Did any organization help you with your business?*

I: *No. No one*

This shows Sada's intrinsic motivation to start an initiative entirely on his own. Sada's achievements, however, were not limited to his bar business as he had other occupations.

Sada: ***R:*** *Do you have another employment or job?*
I: *Yeah. I am an interpreter at HIJRA as well as at UNHCR. I [am] a chairperson also, here for the Eritrean community. I have two workers [at the bar]. They come at 6 am. One is a cashier and he is in the counter. He doesn't go out. The other one is the waiter. He is the one serving.*

Sada's achievements included him being economically self-reliant because of his bar business and also due to his interpretation jobs at HIJRA and UNHCR. Him being the chairman of the Eritrean community also put him in a position of power. Additionally, he professed social self-reliance by employing other members from the community at his business, thereby also supporting community development through engagement. Previous studies corroborate refugees employing others as a sustainable part of self-reliance (A. C. Betts, Imane; Omata, Naohiko; Sterck, Olivier, 2019, p. 5; UNHCR, 2005, p. 2). All businesses may at some point face difficulties, and Sada's was no exception:

Sada: ***R:*** *Do you make profits?*
I: *Yeah. I cannot survive without making a profit. You would have found it closed bar. (Laughs) [But income has] not increased that much cause the[re] are some people, they take credits, they run away, they don't pay you back. The customers, so the credit is challenge here and some losses also. When the workers, also balancing, they do, loses. Of course, we deduct it from their salary, we choke it and there are some also expired, we get expired things* (referring to drinks). *So, you cannot know also whether it is flat or expired. You open. Now, they cannot exchange for you. So, it is a loss. Losses and debts, credits, it cannot increase as you want the profits.*

Sada made losses when customers got drunk and broke bottles, when he received bad quality drinks from distributers from Mbarara[32], or when people borrowed money from him and did not pay him back. Apart from these losses, there was a new dimension of his business bridging the link between refugee and host communities, as he received drinks from the host community, Mbarara and sold them to other refugees

[32] Closest town to Nakivale around 70kms away.

in the settlement. Sada's business was expanding the host community's outreach, resulting in new markets and more customers (Jacobsen, 2002, p. 577).

Sada: ***R:*** *How many customers do you have in a day?*
I: *In a day, average, so from 15 to 25 then average 75 divided by 2 … ahhh 35. Around 35 average a day. 35-40 Average. Cause some days there are 70-75, some days 25 or something. So, average from 45-50. [My customers] are refugees and staff from UN [and] HIJRA.*

Sada's calculative response reflected his educational background in basic accounting course that he took in Kampala, which results in the longevity of his business as he had the required tools and skills for running it. My participatory observations of seeing sugar for coffee (indexical of higher standards in Nakivale as many refugees cannot afford sugar), chairs, tables, a flat screen TV, and a porch in front of his house indicated the success of his business.

While Sada came from a village, his wife came from the capital city of Asmara (Eritrea). Her dressing style of wearing jeans and a loose top in contrast to her sister, who wore a long Kaftan with a headscarf, made Sada's wife look modern. His wife's good level of English, as well as her being in charge of financial matters and quite often instructing her husband with tasks put her in a position of power in the household. This highlights that women may also assume a non-conforming role of not being passive but active partakers in household decision-making processes.

Similar to Sada's case, Atifa should have also received a plot of land to sustain her livelihoods.

Atifa: ***R:*** *Did you receive land from the government?*
Translator: *So, she didn't get any land but the former chairperson gave her this house. This is for some other people. So, the people have been here, went for resettlement to Canada.*

As Atifa was too old to construct her own house or to do agriculture, her children were not old enough to do it for her and she was a single mother with children and a grandchild, she was not allocated a plot of land but rather a house which had been abandoned by those who were resettled to Canada. This shows that not all refugees receive a plot of land in practice as outlined in the Ugandan refugee management policy.

Contrary to Sada's past livelihood experiences of working in a bar in Kampala, which was beneficial for setting up his bar business, Atifa's past livelihood

experiences in Asmara did not directly support her in her present occupation in Nakivale.

Atifa: **I:** *Small, small shop, small coffee, small… chai, onion, tomato…*
Translator: *In base camp 4, especially where she is working here* (referring to her grocery shop).

R: *Where did you learn to do this [grocery] business, Mumma?*
Translator: *So, now she is saying. Even, when she was in Asmara. She was cleaning, moping houses, washing clothes. So, the way she is also started this [grocery business] is on her own. No one advised her. She didn't have any idea. She didn't get any lesson. Just it's on her, her own.*

Atifa being in her late fifties shows a high degree of achievements by starting a grocery business 'on her own' in Nakivale. She supported herself, her two children and one grandchild. Just like Sada, she had not received any support from aid organisations for setting up her business. This highlights her ability to help herself and not depend on organisations.

When I interviewed ARC, Nzamizi and FRC livelihood organisations in Nakivale, I informed them about the need for more business trainings and support for the refugees, as my interviewees had reported. The livelihood officers, however, responded that there were a lot more refugees than the calculated development budget for Nakivale.

Atifa's achievements were not limited to only her grocery shop but also extended to her employing another woman for cleaning. Therefore, Atifa also showed both economic and social self-reliance (A. C. Betts, Imane; Omata, Naohiko; Sterck, Olivier, 2019, p. 5; UNHCR, 2005, p. 2). As far as the success of her grocery shop business was concerned, she said it was moderate.

Atifa: ***R:*** *How many customers do you have in day?*
Translator*: They are few. So, Injera, the food had [good] profit but the challenge was customers. They take credits. For these ones, she doesn't have profits* (referring to her current products like chai, Ambasha (Eritrean bread), fruits and vegetables). *So, in average she didn't tell me the exact figure [of customers] but they are few. They just eat and they don't pay her. Take credits, debts.*

Although Atifa claimed to incur losses, my participatory observations did not match with her answers. I visited the shop on different days and saw a good number of customers. On the interview day there were a lot of customers who came for having

breakfast but she sent them away and told them to come after she had finished the interview with me although I told her that I could pause the interview. Nonetheless, she was facing problems with her customers who took credits, did not pay her or sometimes even stole food from her shop when she was working in her kitchen. She complained about not having done any business training, which also led her to incur losses.

As part of the German asylum system model, Samuel earned more than the minimum wage, so he did not receive any aid from the government.

Samuel: ***R:*** *Do you receive money from the government now?*
I: *I don't receive because if you go to work [and] get above 8, 800€ then [I] don't have to get money from the government.*

Samuel being financially independent shows that he is self-reliant. Similar to Atifa, Samuel's past livelihood experience of working in Oldenburg (Germany) did not directly support his present livelihood.

Samuel: ***R:*** *What work did you do at the refugee camp [before]?*
I: *At that time, I translate from German to my mother language - Tigrinya.*

R: *So, where are you working now?*
I: *I am working with a company with meat from the hen. The other job is Reifen* (tyres) *from the car. You know reifen* (tyres)*?*

Samuel had interpreted before, but at the time of the interview he was working in two jobs; one in the meat industry (full-time) and the other at a car repair company (part-time), respectively, to support himself in Oldenburg and his family in Eritrea. His past livelihood did not have a direct impact on his present occupations. The indirect impact was of using the German language, formally while translating and now while working in two jobs, where he could converse with his colleagues. Due to high living standards in Germany one job proved to be insufficient to sustain Samuel's livelihood. There were two more reasons for working in two jobs.

Samuel: ***R:*** *Which one do you get more money with the government [or when you work on your own]?*
I: *Normally, if I go to the work. I get more money.*

Apart from the factor of high standards of living in Germany, which required Samuel to work in two jobs, the first reason was earning more money, while working. The second reason was possible to infer from his interview using negative case analysis

(Neuman, 2014, p. 500). Working and being self-reliant would possibly enhance his future chances for extending his refugee permit in Germany. Indeed, Samuel's achievements included his instinct to work that also implied his desires of increasing his standard of living, which reunites this thesis with the humanistic perspective, whereby all human beings fend for themselves and hope for increasing their standard of living. Analogously, Saunders (2017) highlights that refugees are people who need protection but also strive for developmental growth. Another essential point is about Samuel being part of forced labor work, which is discussed in the concluding dissection section below.

Fatima's case was quite different from other Eritreans as she was on maternity leave at the time of the interview. Consequently, her husband was supporting the livelihood of the household by interning at an automotive company. Fatima's interview brought in different gender dimensions (Essed, 2005, p. 11). It is traditionally the role of the woman to sacrifice her career to profess the caring role. However, Fatima had studied German in the past and had plans for her future livelihood.

Fatima: ***R:*** *Are you going to school now?*
I: *Integrationskurs* (Integration course)
Translator: *She was taking [the German class] until she gave birth.*

R: *When do you intend to start working?*
Translator: *After 3 years. After my child has [grown].*

As Fatima was on maternity leave, she received financial support from the government and did not have achievements of her own as she was dependent on her husband.

Fatima: ***R:*** *As a refugee, what did you receive from the government?*
Translator: *She is saying that until you start working, everything will be covered by the government. So, she [is] still not working, so everything is [being] cover[ed] [by the] government.*

R: *Do you have enough money to support yourself?*
Translator: *(laughs) Yeah. It is enough because the government also believe that it is enough, of course it is enough.*

As per the German asylum system model, a refugee receives financial support as long as they are jobless. Despite the government paying enough money, refugees still showed the motivation to work in order not to continue to depend on financial

assistance. Actually, when refugees do not receive assistance, then they work harder to earn daily bread themselves like in the case of Samuel.

6.2.1.2 Ethiopians in Uganda and Germany

As per the Ugandan refugee management policy, Dani should have been allotted a plot of land for cultivation but just like Sada, he missed his chance as he had shifted to Kampala. In his interview, he described his reasons for buying the land in the centre of the settlement.

Dani: ***R:*** *Whom did you buy this land from?*
Translator: *He is a[n] Ethiopian man. He is owning a big land before and he cut for him like this. He sell for him. Yes.*
R: *Because what I know is that they don't sell land here or they sell land?*
Translator*: Not officially. Now, if you want to ask land to OPM. They can't give you nearby here* (referring to Base camp)*. It is very far maybe, Kabazana there. That is why [Dani] asked [another Ethiopian man] to cut for him a small place.*

This reiterates the findings of other scholars that refugees have a certain level of agency to choose their own place of residence in Nakivale (A. C. Betts, Imane; Omata, Naohiko; Sterck, Olivier, 2019, p. 4).

Some of Dani's past livelihood experiences supported him in his present-day endeavours.

Dani: ***Translator:*** *He says, [he is a] refugee. When [he] work[s] [at] someone's hotel in [Kampala]. The money is small. He used to rent the house and something to eat only and nothing else. Now, he came to the office of refugee. He complain [at the] office. Problem. He is saying that. Me, give me the resettlement or give me the repatriation, otherwise, I am unable to stay here. They send him to Nakivale.*

Dani had lived in Kampala for a couple of years before shifting to Nakivale because he had not been satisfied with his low wages in Kampala. His comment "I am a refugee… the money is small" showed that refugees might be part of an exploitative labour chain in the city. Consequently, he had sought support in Kampala offices and had been transferred to live in Nakivale. After he had bought land from another Ethiopian man, he started cultivating different crops to support his livelihoods.

Dani: ***Translator****: When he was still in his place, in home country. He learnt about the agricultural management there. The small money [he] saved* before (referring to Kampala) *[he] used to buy this place* (land in

Nakivale*) and even there the site* (referring to his farm that he showed us at first before sitting at his house)*, it was just that one left like that, just dumping the dustbin there. And [he] asked the chairman. [He] make this place and start some work on it. [He] started planting some different kinds of crops.*

***R:** Which crops do you grow?*
***Translator:** Now, [he is] planting sweet potato, maatoke[33], cassava, papaya, passion fruits and other things. [He] made just an idea [by himself]. There is plastic [in the garbage]. [He used] that plastic bottle and put water in it [for planting trees]*. (Dani used empty plastic used bottles for growing small plants)

In Nakivale, Dani's achievements included his agricultural management degree that helped him to develop new and innovative business development models on his own, for instance using old plastic bottles to grow plants. He did not limit himself to looking for jobs in Nakivale as per his previous livelihood strategy of working in a hotel in Kampala. Instead, he used all the available surrounding resources to develop himself, e.g. changing the dumping yard to cultivable land for growing bamboo trees to construct roofs. One point of contention between him and the host community, however, could be that he was growing maatoke which is also grown by the host community, which may lead to strained relationship in the future (A. C. Betts, Imane; Omata, Naohiko; Sterck, Olivier, 2019, p. 5).

Dani: ***Translator:** When [he] was young, his grandfather [was] using beehives in the farm. Now, here when [Dani] came, [he] miss something to do [or] when, [he is] stressed. [He] remember[s] this [beehive] thing [so he] started doing.*

Although Dani was not using his past livelihood skills of working in a restaurant in Kampala presently in Nakivale, he was using his previous knowledge of beehives that he had acquired in his home country while working in the garden with his grandfather. Dani was multi-talented and smartly used his previous knowledge and skills to improve his present livelihood to be self-reliant.

Dani: ***R:** Did you get the seeds from any organization?*
***Translator:** Before, he was asking Nzamizi [for] seeds. But, [until now] they have not given [it to] him.*

[33] Maatoke is starchy banana – local staple food of the south-western Uganda region.

As Dani did not receive seeds from Nzamizi livelihood organisation, he thought of ideas of how to get access to them on his own. This resonates with Rajasingham-Senanayake's observation that "poverty forces people to be creative and adaptive to new situations" (Essed, 2005, p. 12; Kibreab, 2005, pp. 23-24). Similarly, as Nzamizi did not help Dani, he found other creative ways of helping himself.

Practicing agriculture in Nakivale was reported to have more disadvantages than advantages. One of the major disadvantages was the sporadic weather condition.

Dani: ***R:*** *How does the weather affect your crops?*
Translator: *When there is no rain, the sun, when it shines, it shines very badly. It make[s] all the crops dry.*

Harvest was bad if there was too little rain or too much sun. This was supported by the UNHCR Officer, the meso level interviewee, who elucidated the problem of weather being unreliable, which required adequate educational intervention. Considering that Dani had obtained a degree in agriculture management, he could be made a trainer for other refugees in the settlement to raise awareness about new strategies of how to cultivate when there is too much sun or too little rain.

Critics like Werker (2002) have repeatedly talked about the degrading productivity of land, soil and ever-changing weather patterns (Hunter, 2009, p. 31; UNHCR, 2016, pp. 74 - 75). Therefore, agriculture is no longer a reliable strand of self-reliance strategy in Nakivale. Critics also state that agricultural production is dependent on climatic conditions of the area, which determine when produce can be sent to markets to make economic gains (Hunter, 2009, p. 31). There needs to be a shift in focus from this narrow perspective of self-reliance to other avenues like refugees' business ventures that had organically developed in the settlement.

Dani: ***R:*** *So, you want to also develop the community with you?*
Translator: *Yes. He says [he] like them to be developed.*

Dani did not want to keep his knowledge to himself but wished to share it with his neighbouring community just like Eritreans: Sada and Atifa did. Dani was also doing community development through engagement by teaching his neighbours how to grow crops and hive bees. Thus, he also exhibited both economic and social self-reliance (UNHCR, 2005, p. 2).

Self-reliance gave refugees agency and boosted their confidence to be in a

position to talk and express their ideas.

Dani: ***R:*** *[What is your technique of extracting honey?]*
Translator: *At night, [he] make[s] a fire. [The] smoke make[s] [bees] run away. Do you understand? [He] make a fire of wood. [Then at that] time you can take out [the honey]. [Later on, bees] will come back [with smell].*

Dani was enthusiastic to talk about his success with his beehives. Expressing himself freely and explaining the process of honey extraction to me boosted his confidence and made him elated. This is in congruence with previous studies, which emphasize the importance of refugees having a platform to discuss their ideas and think of solutions themselves to resolve their community problems, in turn providing them with agency (Gottwald, 2012, p. 107) and promoting self-reliance.

As part of the Ugandan refugee management policy, Halima shared similar experiences with receiving a plot of land.

Halima: ***R:*** *Did you receive land?*
I: *Land. I didn't ask because for someone who will they gave. Because I didn't ask. I don't have any money to build a house. I was given even this one, this place and UNHCR build for me. Even before, when I was staying there behind. I was given by the chairman.*

She was a single mother with four children, hence she did not have the capacity to construct a house on her own. This again underlines that the implementation of the Ugandan refugee management policy is not being the same for all refugees, but that the assessment is rather done on a case-by-case basis. Halima's previous livelihood experience allowed her to support her present livelihood needs.

Halima: ***I:*** *I am [an interpreter at] HIJRA. Before I was working in ARC for our community because, each and every community has a day to [go to] office and explain their problem. Now, for Ethiopia[ns], it is Monday. Every Monday, I go [to HIJRA] and I [interpret]. I get 12,000UGX there per day. Not everyday [but per] day only.*

Halima had initially been working at ARC as an interpreter and then at HIJRA only four days a month. The monthly income was not enough to support the entire household, thus she was desperately searching for more job opportunities. Her livelihood strategy was only a partial achievement because she was looking for opportunities that were not for short-term but more long-term projects.

She had tried to start a business with the help of the Finnish Refugee Council

(FRC) Livelihoods support.

Halima: ***I:*** *I tried two years ago from FRC another project [where] they give us small charcoal, tomato, banana like that. They buy, the amount [and give you but] they can't give you the money directly. They gave charcoal like two sack[s] and tomato like that kilo. Now the [customers left me], they go [to New Congo Market] because there [shopkeepers sell] 100 shilling [cheaper]. [My business] failed. I left it.*

Halima described how her previous attempt of starting a small grocery shop had failed due to competition in the market. This shows that refugees' do not only need capital to start businesses as part of the Ugandan refugee management policy but also trainings for long-term sustenance of their businesses.

Halima shared her challenges of not being able to work in the past because she had to cook for her children.

Halima: ***I:*** *Before I was cooking for them* (referring to her children) *when they are in Primary. At 1pm they come at home. I don't want them to miss food at least. Now, they finish the primary. It's [now that] I have free time. The problem is the eye now because of this pressure, [I can]not see very well. [This] health centre, when you go there, just they are making you go to and fro. They are not helping you directly, as you want.*

Nourishment after school was essential because of the hot sun and sometimes heavy rains in Nakivale. Halima had been professing her motherly role of caring for her children; however, now that her children were older, she intended to look for more job opportunities. Yet, her options were limited due to issues with her eyes, blood pressure and diabetes. She emphasized that the medical facilities in Nakivale were not very efficient.

Halima: ***R:*** *Do your children go to school?*
I: *[My eldest son] is thinking for [my other three] children because he is now our elder like our elder. He went to Kampala, like a waiter working there, with small money. He is not studying, he stop in primary.*

Contrary to Sada's wife and Atifa's role being heads of their households, Halima, who was divorced, reinstated her eldest son in the traditional position of men as being the head of the household.

Another challenge that Halima faced was mistreatment from her ex-husband.

Halima: ***I:*** *It is very difficult because my husband followed me up to Uganda. He form a group because me and him, we were not the same tribe. He form his tribe to attack me every time and sometimes to steal my children from me. Up to the court, we went together but the court say if you want to help the children, leave them [with] the lady because the first time, when he came. I reported to the Police. One day Police called all of us together. He say I don't want her. I need only my children. Later on, they changed the mission. I change even my religion. I see that, maybe it become easy for me to stay. Even he will leave me, when I change the missi-nee nee the religion. After I changed the religion. The things become worse to me. I was staying there behind.*

This elucidates a high level of insecurity in the settlement. My research is in congruence with previous studies about how after displacement, people need to change their age, religion or sometimes even gender to suit their new settings (Essed, 2005, p. 3). This is unfortunate, to say the least.

Halima had similar educational experiences as Aman.

Halima: ***R:*** *Did you go to school before?*
I: *Up to Primary 8 in Kenya. [I and my children] [were] staying in Idilola place. It is on the border. Now I cross the border because the education is very bad in Ethiopia. While, I have one family in Kenya, I studied there, near the border up to Primary 8 and then I went to marry Ethiopian man. Again there and stayed in Ethiopia, Idilola.*

Aman: ***R:*** *Did you go to school in Ethiopia?*
Translator: *[He] completed grade 8 in Eritrea.*

Both Ethiopians had to cross borders to attend school as the schools near their houses were not well equipped.

Aman's case was quite different from the other Ethiopians because he was unemployed and looking for a job. Nonetheless, his past livelihood strategy did not support him in his present job search.

Aman*:* ***Translator****: He is saying that [he does not] have a job.*
R: *And for this room, who pays for this room?*
Translator: *He like to depend on himself, rely on himself. He don't have any permanent job. He is working part-time. So, if he get a job for example, for the thirty days consecutively. He will pay [rent] by himself but if he don't they* (government) *will support him. So, that's why they are paying for this house. This is a camp.*

R: *In which field would you like [to work]?*
Translator: *Every, any kind of work.*
R: *What is your preference?*
Translator: *Labour work*

As Aman was not currently working, he did not have any achievements of his own as he received financial support from the government as part of Germany's asylum system model. When asked if he would be able to do the same work as in his home country, he reported that since he had been a soldier, he could only work in manual labour jobs.

Aman: ***R:*** *So, who is helping? Is there any organisation which is helping you here?*
Translator: *Because I am German (laughs) so the government helps me. Because the government consider like it's own citizens so the government help us. If we didn't find a job. They will give us money and they will cover the rent and other things.*

Aman's response is very interesting as he considered himself to be German because the government was taking care of his financial needs just like the way it would for a German citizen. This is an appreciation of how the asylum system model of Germany is working on site and illustrates its welcoming nature towards refugees. At the time of the interview, Aman was looking for a job on his own to circumvent job-searching agencies, so that he could find a permanent job. However, looking for permanent jobs is not easy in Germany; news reports suggest that asylum seekers find it hard to look for work and receive work permits, which continues their dependency on state aid (Bierbach, 2017). Nonetheless, Aman also showed agency and self-motivation by saying that he preferred to work on his own and did not want to depend on the support of other people, as this was against his culture:

Aman: ***Translator:*** *[It] is not in our culture to depend on any assistance always, so I need to work, to help myself.*

6.2.1.3 Somalis in Uganda and Germany

Asad's past livelihood strategy and UN support helped him in his present livelihood strategy.

Asad: ***I:*** *My name is Asad. My nationality [is] Somali. I am [a] disabled person. I am [a tailor]. [I am living with] 5 children and [wife of my] brother, [who] [left to] Libya.*

R: *But UN gave him the sewing machine?*
Translator: *Yes*

R: *Okay. Where did you learn [tailoring]?*

Translator: *Somalia. Ahhh…his brother is the one [who] taught him [how to stitch], the one who [left to Libya].*

Asad introduced himself as a disabled person at the beginning of the interview because he had an amputated leg. Nonetheless, he displayed that disability is not an inability as his achievements included him using one leg for stitching clothes with his sewing machine. The literature highlights that welfare theorists would generally not consider a special needs person in their sampling measurements, specifically in the context of the capability approach theoretical framework (Robeyns, 2005, pp. 96-97). However, Sen heavily criticises these theorists to stress the importance of capturing both inter-individual differences and diverse abilities of people. Therefore, the flexibility of the capability approach allows for an analysis of Asad's interview.

His achievements of stitching clothes knowledge were gained while he was still in Somalia. Asad had received his first sewing machine from UN, therefore this kind of aid allowed him to become self-reliant. It can be noted here that Asad received appropriate intervention, keeping his special needs requirement in mind from humanitarian actors (Essed, 2005, p. 2). It would be more idealistic rather than a practical solution to provide sewing machines to the entire settlement. One option might be to install an industry in Nakivale just like in Zataari camp in Jordan. Betts and Collier (2018), for example, discovered that near Zaatari camp, there was an economic zone with a few factories in the King Hussein bin Talal Development Area (KHBTDA). They gave the UN the idea of allowing Syrian refugees to work in this industry, which led to an increment in job opportunities for them and simultaneously, benefited Jordan's economic growth and developed solutions for post-conflict recovery in Syria (A. P. Betts, Collier, 2018, pp. 171-172).

I further inquired about Asad's educational background.

Asad: ***R:*** *Did you go to school before?*
Translator: *He said that time for he want to do training, they start for studies from Refugee law project. He tried to go for two days. After two days, he skipped it because he ha[d] a lot of customers [to stitch clothes for].*

Asad was running a booming tailoring business in Nakivale with a high demand for his services, which eventually hindered his educational goals, which shows that earning money for sustaining his livelihood was a priority.

Asad did not have any connection with host community.

Asad: ***R:*** *Do you have Ugandan friends?*
Translator: *No. Just he knows them, just hi to hi because he doesn't know the language of them.*

As he could not speak Kiswahili, it was difficult for him to communicate; another factor was that the host community lived far away from the settlement. Intriguingly, this reiterates the importance of knowing the language of the host country. Moreover, Meyer (2006) and Werker (2002) are major critics of the settlement policy of Uganda due to long distances between Nakivale and the closest town which was 70km away, hindering refugees' chance to mingle with the host community (UNHCR, 2016, p. 74).

Similarly, Hani's previous livelihood strategies supported her in her present endeavours.

Hani: ***R:*** *Do you have a business?*
Translator: *First one, she was having [a] shop. Second one, she was selling original clothes [which she] carr[ied] [on] her shoulders [with] dresses and she is moving one place to another. After that third one then she was selling also charcoal. All those shops are now stopped because of no money, now she is selling only second-hand clothes [since] six years.*

At the time of the interview, she was running a thriving business, with high demand for her clothes. Hani had not received any support to start her business. Just like Sada, Atifa and Dani, even Hani's achievement shows how she had developed herself and earned her daily bread on her own. When asked if Hani would like to help others in her community, she said

Hani: ***Translator:*** *that family are dying then she went [to] that family [and] talk[ed] [with] that mama. I have good ideas [for you]. We go together to sell clothes. Then, that woman, she also followed [Hani].*

Just like Sada, Atifa and Dani, Hani also motivated others in her community to join her in selling second-hand[34] clothes, as there was a good market for it in Nakivale. Therefore, she professed both economic and social self-reliance (UNHCR, 2005, p. 2).

[34] Second-hand clothes trading raises ethical questions about the exploitation of people and Western countries dumping their discarded clothes in Southern countries. While this is true when people do not have that many clothes to wear, then it does not really make sense to look at the ethicality of selling second-hand clothes but the possibility to be able to afford something.

Similarly, Burhaan's past livelihood strategy supported his present livelihood.

Burhaan: ***R:*** *Did you study [in] Somalia?*
I: *Yeah. I studied till 10th class in Somalia and then I did vocational training as laboratory assistant in the Chemistry department at the University of Bremen.*

R: *Currently, where are you working?*
I: *I am working with a coffee production company in the quality management department as laboratory assistant. I must oversee everything, if everything is running well.*

As per Germany's asylum system model, Burhaan received help from humanitarian aid organisations as long as he was jobless.

Burhaan: ***R:*** *Did you receive any help from humanitarian aid organisations?*
I: *Not really. But an NGO helped [me] with looking for a house, for a phone because when you do not speak German, you are like a child who just started everything new. You cannot call a doctor and say that you need an appointment, you always need help.*

Burhaan emphasized the importance of learning the language of the host country in order to communicate with the local citizens. Learning the German language was re-emphasized by all interviewees in Oldenburg and Bremen in one way or another.

Negative Case Analysis (Neuman, 2014, p. 500) allowed me to unlearn my preconceptions of thinking that refugees in Germany were facing socio-economic problems.

Burhaan: ***R:*** *Would you like to live in Bremen or would you like to shift to another city in Germany?*
I: *No. I find it comfortable here. I find Bremen like my own city now also because I was warmly welcomed in Bremen. That's why I am very satisfied here.*

Just like Aman, Burhaan also felt welcomed in Germany. During the interviews, I realised that refugees had money to support themselves and their families. They were generally happy and had higher chances of extending their residence permits when they worked on their own and were not dependent on financial assistance. Although they did not explicitly mention the connection between self-reliance and their residence permit, it was possible to conclude this by using negative case analysis technique.

Jamilah's past livelihood strategy did not directly support her present endeavours.

Jamilah: ***R:*** *Do you want to do an internship?*
I: *I have already done a lot of internships.*
R: *Oh okay. Where did you do them?*
I: *While I was in school, I had with Caritas centre [and] in retail like Rewe, Edeka, Aldi or Lidl* (German supermarket chains).

R: *Where do you work [now]?*
I: *[I am an interpreter at] public service offices in Bremen. [It is work-on-call]*.

Jamilah's achievement was to be working as an interpreter at social assistance offices in Bremen and was partially self-reliant. She was only partially self-reliant because some part of the rent was still being paid by the state as her income was not enough from this work-on-call job. She also pointed out that people with a migrant background had more difficulties in finding a job in Bremen.

Jamilah: ***I:*** *I was still experiencing difficulties with finding a vocational training centre, because I am [a] migrant. In fact, I cannot wear a headscarf.*
R: *Sorry what?*
I: *I wear headscarf that's why.*
R: *That is not good or what?*
I: *No that is good for me but there are also some employers [who] say, with headscarf or not. These problems also are possible because of my headscarf or because I have a migrant background, also there are a lot of people who are eager to work, they have capability to work but nobody wants to employ them. [Because] no idea! [why] [Maybe because of] language or [because they are just] migrants or because of colour, because no idea [because of] headscarf and all that.*

She expressed some of the problems migrants face in Bremen in finding jobs either because they were migrants who had a different skin colour, spoke a different language or wore a headscarf. She herself had had a problem during an interview with a company who did not accept her due to her headscarf. Using the personal conversion factor of the capability approach, it was possible to analyse and appreciate Jamilah's courage to stand firm on her position of wearing her headscarf and rebuttal with the company to hire her only with her headscarf. These are some of the many challenges that hinder migrants' progress socially and economically.

6.2.2 Opportunities: Freedom of Movement and Work

According to Amartya Sen's capability approach, the second normative claim of 'capabilities' refers to freedoms and opportunities. In the contexts of this thesis, capabilities are understood as freedom of movement and work.

6.2.2.1 Eritreans in Uganda and Germany

Sada had freedom of movement within and outside of Nakivale.

Sada: ***R:*** *Can you move freely in Nakivale?*
I: *Very free.*
R: *Can you move outside of Nakivale?*
I: *Yeah. Very free.*
R: *Do you need permission to go outside Nakivale?*
I: *No. To go to Kampala? It depends. It's according to you. If you want to ask permission [then] they give you a permission. If you want to go without permission [then] it's up to you. But, no one will ask you.*

Refugees needed to be vigilant while moving within the perimeter of the settlement due to high insecurity level. As Sada reported one might request for permission to go outside the settlement although it was not mandatory. This research finding diverges from what Norris (2013) emphasised with regard to the absolute requirement of seeking movement permits in Nakivale (UNHCR, 2016, p. 74). Even from my personal experiences of living in the settlement for three months at different time periods (2018 and 2019), I did not sense the importance of having movement permits. Furthermore, Sada mentioned about the continuous movement of trucks between Mbarara and Nakivale, which deliver drinks for his bar business.

Sada: ***I:*** *We have distributers [for the drinks]. They come from Mbarara. So, the truck come up to our home and they give us what they wanted.*

He did not report having any problems linked to distance although it appeared that he may not have a say about the kind of drinks he received from the distributers. It is likely that there were inter-personal challenges between Sada and his distributers, but he did not mention issues with freedom of movement specifically. This finding also counters critics like Werker (2002) and Meyer (2006) who opine that refugees face difficulties in trading as they are living in the settlements which are located further away from towns (UNHCR, 2016, p. 74). Settlements are indeed situated farther away from towns, which has its share of disadvantages; however, due to improvement in

transportation services, this gap of trading is now overcome as seen in Sada's example.

It is possible to take boda boda (motorbike taxis) or car taxis to commute to and fro between Nakivale and other nearby towns. I witnessed different companies coming to the settlement for promoting their brands like MTN mobile network, juice and cold drink companies. On the one hand, it is not wholly wrong to say that Nakivale is isolated; however, on the other hand, there is connectivity through transport. Moreover, in the previous achievements section, Sada and Dani had self-settled in Kampala and lived there for almost six years before they decided to come back to Nakivale. This confirms that mobility restrictions of receiving movement permit from the OPM Commander is mostly on paper and not in practice. Thus, there is freedom of movement that aids refugees to search for job opportunities both inside and outside the settlement.

Sada: ***R:*** *Are there enough jobs in Nakivale?*
I: *They are not enough jobs. Unless you have capital, but you have to do it [on your] own. There are no jobs.*

Sada had been working in Kampala and when he shifted to Nakivale, he started a business of his own. This shows that he was free to work both inside and outside the settlement. According to the Ugandan refugee management policy of self-reliance strategy, refugees have the freedom and possibility on a personal and social level to begin self-initiatives (UNHCR, 2008, p. 155). Hitherto, these business initiatives are not supported by the government financially on a large scale but at least allowed to set up. In other words, for the agency of refugees, there is some level of contingency present in Nakivale, especially when it comes to freedom of movement and work (Agency, 2019; Haas, 2010; Subulwa, 2012).

Sada: ***R:*** *What are your work timings?*
I: *The whole day and night until the customers leave.*
R: *Is there freedom to work in Nakivale?*
I: *Yeah. No payment. No tax. You can sell anytime up to anytime.*

Sada did not have a closing time for his bar. He and his wife were working hard to earn money, which was good for business but bad for their personal health. Sada had freedom to move inside and outside of Nakivale settlement and, similarly, was free to

work up to anytime he liked. The latter was possible due to the lax implementation of rules by the Ugandan government.

Similarly, Atifa felt free to move in Nakivale as well.

Atifa: **R*:*** *Mumma can you move freely in Nakivale?*
Translator: *So, I move. No one stops me from moving. But, I enter my home early. I don't go far at night. Just, I enter my room.*

Atifa felt free to move although she was always suspicious and looked behind herself to ensure that nobody was following her. From the gender dimension, women usually have more issues in moving out at night than men, even in Nakivale. Moreover, Atifa had had a lot of traumatic experiences and required psychological support. Her stories touched me deeply. The interpreter informed me that there was a case for her at the Child Protection Office, where she was receiving psychological help and support.

Similarly, Samuel could also move freely in Oldenburg.

Samuel: ***R:*** *Can you move freely in Oldenburg?*
I: *Yeah. I can move.*
R: *Okay. Can you move outside of Oldenburg?*
I: *Yeah. I can move. For example to Hannover, Frankfurt, Berlin, Bayern, München* (Munich)*. I can move when I have money. (giggles and laughs) I don't need permission because I also work this time but if I [were] under the government then, I need[ed] [to take] permission from the government.*

Samuel stressed the importance of having money which is essential for mobility. Freedom of movement allowed him to find work in Oldenburg. He then talked about finding work in the temporary jobs sector where he had to do forced manual labour jobs that were exploitative in nature.

Samuel: ***I:*** *As I [do] not direct[ly] work [with a company.] I have to work 2 jobs because if I [had job] directly, then I can get enough money.*

R: *What is direct work?*
I: *I work above one company then they have to pay me only 9.50€ but if the company says we need him then they take me. [When] I work directly, I have to get 13, 14€. We cannot go direct in the work. We have to first go to the company like time partner. They, send me in places, arbeits (work) places in Oldenburg in Germany. We have to register us and we have to wait. Then if the company find one platz (place) for [me] then [I] can go to work. I work this time above one company [not direct].*

He was working in the meat industry where many of his colleagues were also migrants. I realised during informal conversations with my friends in Oldenburg that many migrants worked in menial job sectors. The working hours were always changing so migrants were mostly hired for these jobs, especially refugees who provided cheap labour and agreed to work just for the bare minimum wage. Typically, as it was manual labour, there was no language proficiency required. This was why Samuel was looking for a permanent job where he could earn a better salary and also communicate in German with his colleagues.

In Germany, there was a lot more social and financial support available to refugees in comparison to Uganda. This suggests that refugees in Germany are more likely to achieve their full potential; however, this research shows that they were mostly succumbing to manual labour jobs and had not been able to work in their area of expertise yet. The question, however, is whether refugees really want to do this job or whether they are just filling the labour shortages of the German society? Moreover, in a society where local citizens are eager for education, it is possible that refugees provide low cost labour to work in rigorous manual labour jobs which do not require the brain but rather the body.

Using negative case method analysis technique (Neuman, 2014, p. 499), I was able to decipher that refugees were filling labour shortages and succumbing to exploitative jobs; however, they even did not realise the way government, rules and regulations were using selfish tactics to make them work in areas where local citizens might not want to work. Here, I, being the researcher, was able to unearth issues that participants in the setting were unaware of.

Fatima also expressed freedom of movement in Bremen.

Fatima: ***R:*** *Can you move freely in Bremen?*
Translator: *Yeah. We can move freely.*
R: *Can you move outside of Bremen?*
Translator*: Yeah. [We] can go everywhere we want.*

Freedom of movement was intertwined with finding jobs in the German labour market; however, Fatima wanted to restrict herself.

Fatima: ***R:*** *Are there jobs in Bremen?*
Translator: *Yeah. If you are willing to work. There are a lot of jobs. She want[s] to learn vocational training and she want to [cook food].(laughs*

loudly)
R: *Injera? Do you want to cook Injera?*
Translator: *No, because she is supposed to work for Germans. So, Germans may not eat.*
R: *But in an Ethiopian Restaurant, you can cook Injera and I am sure, Germans would like that.*
Translator: *She want to cook the native food [because of the customer]. Local food.*

Fatima's attitude towards her future work seemed quite lopsided as her opportunities were restricted to learning how to cook German food because her customers would be Germans. However, the microscopic view needs to be expanded by understanding the capacities of refugees and giving them a chance to combine their expertise with the opportunities in Germany. The Molti-Volti Restaurant[35] in Palermo, Italy, for example serves a mixture of Afghani and Italian cuisine, which could be an example of best practice. Similarly, Fatima could try to combine Eritrean and German cuisines. This could be a way through which she might be able to circumvent low wage menial jobs and look for avenues to enhance her skills in her area of expertise.

Although her instant negative response of not wanting to cook her specialty, as she would be serving Germans poses the question of whether learning German cooking is a sign of integration or assimilation. Job centres in Germany should support refugees in looking for jobs where refugees can reach their full potential. This may also extend the definition of self-reliance to understand it not just as procuring livelihoods but also reaching one's potential.

6.2.2.2 Ethiopians in Uganda and Germany

Dani and Halima both reported that there was freedom of movement in Nakivale (Uganda).

Dani: ***R:*** *Can you move outside of Nakivale?*
Translator: *Yeah*
R: *Do you need permission to go out of Nakivale?*
Translator: *No. Never.*

Halima: ***R:*** *Do you have freedom of movement?*
I: *Because now I don't have any need to go there. If I leave my children. They are alone. I can't leave them alone.*

Halima did not feel the need to move although she had the possibility. However, in the previous section on achievements, Halima spoke about her eldest son living in

[35] Molti-Volti restaurant - http://moltivolti.org

Kampala, working as a waiter and sending her back some money. This is a good example of how freedom of movement results in split-family strategies whereby the family is living in Nakivale to benefit from the free services provided by humanitarian organizations like food and accommodation, whereas one member of the family lives in Kampala to earn money (A. C. Betts, Imane; Omata, Naohiko; Sterck, Olivier, 2019, p. 13). Using Sen's capability approach, it is possible to analyse that freedom of movement increases refugees' capabilities to look for job opportunities.

Dani: ***R:*** *Are there jobs in Nakivale?*
Translator: *No job.*

Halima: ***R:*** *Are there jobs in Nakivale?*
I: *Jobs? Now like there is no job working in somewhere else but if you have money, you [can] start small business like hotel like the other mother there* (refers to the restaurant run by Ethiopian woman and her husband) *or a shop.*

Dani and Halima said that there were no job opportunities as such in Nakivale unless one had money. Although there was freedom of movement and work, what is lacking was start-up capital. This could be a gap filled by humanitarian organisations by partially shifting the focus of self-reliance strategy from distributing plots of land to supporting refugees with their business initiatives and investments.

Similarly, Aman had freedom to move in Bremen.

Aman: ***R:*** *Can you move freely in Bremen and outside of Bremen?*
Translator: *Yeah. It is possible to go anywhere.*

Contrary to Dani and Halima's experiences in Nakivale, Aman reported that there were job possibilities in Bremen.

Aman: ***R:*** *Are there jobs in Bremen?*
Translator: *Yeah comparing with other places. In Bremen, there are a lot of refugees so most of the times; there is a difficulty to get a job.*

Although there were jobs in Bremen, there was also high competition with local citizens and other refugees.

6.2.2.3 Somalis in Uganda and Germany

Asad and Hani reported that they could move with their ID and refugee attestation for their security.

Asad: ***R:*** *Can you move freely in Nakivale?*
Translator: *He normally move[s] with his ID.*

Hani: ***R:*** *Is there freedom to move in Nakivale?*
Translator: *She normally goes with her attestation.*

Asad and Hani shared contrasting opinions about job opportunities in Nakivale.

Asad: ***R:*** *Is there freedom to work in Nakivale?*
Translator: *Sometimes, he faced some problems.*

Hani: ***R:*** *Are there jobs in Nakivale?*
Translator: *Yes.*
R: *Like which ones?*
Translator: *The shop, you can sell food, you can sell even sodas. You can get a restaurant, you can cook for tea, food. You can sell vegetables. You can also make sambusa, mandasi, eggs [and] chips - those ones in the evening.*

Asad claimed that he faced some challenges to find work but did not elaborate on them during the interview. Hani gave quite a few suggestions of job opportunities in Nakivale, which contrasted with the responses of all the other interviewees in the settlement. She believed that one needed to have innovative ideas to start a business with money or capital.

Burhaan and Jamilah also said that they were free to move in Bremen.

Burhaan: ***R:*** *Do you have freedom to move in Bremen?*
I: *Yes. I can. Also, when one has time then one can travel. With my permit now, I was in Sweden and there is no problem at all. I have a refugee passport. I go anywhere in Europe and in Africa. You need permission only when you are dependent on the state but when you are self-reliant, I must only take holidays from my company.*

Jamilah: ***R:*** *Do you have freedom of movement in Bremen?*
I: *A lot*

Burhaan and Jamilah said that there was freedom to work in Bremen, which to a certain extent helped them to find jobs.

Burhaan: ***R:*** *Is there freedom to work in Bremen?*
I: *It is very difficult in Bremen to look for work even for the citizens themselves there is a competition. It is difficult because I must have [previous work] experience. A lot of people and not enough seats for jobs. I wrote 23 applications.*

Jamilah: ***R:*** *Do you think there is freedom to work in Bremen?*
I: *Yeah a lot of possibilities.*

Burhaan and Jamilah said that there were quite a few job possibilities in Bremen and freedom to work but what was required was hard work and willingness to find a job.

6.2.2.4 Concluding Thematic Discussion: Achievements and Opportunities

The thematic finding of 'Achievements and Opportunities'[36] highlights that refugees are not a homogenous group of people; rather, they have diverse skills. With the right chances and opportunities, they can help themselves and not depend on aid. Moreover, they are intrinsically motivated to succeed in life by not only surviving but also thriving in their host countries.

My interviewees' report about their livelihood strategies, underline the different ways they developed on their own to support themselves and their families in the two host countries. In Nakivale, Sada was running a bar business, he was an interpreter at HIJRA and UNHCR and also a chairperson for the Eritrean community; Atifa had a grocery shop business; Dani had a variety of occupations from agriculture to constructing houses and beekeeping; Halima was an interpreter for the Ethiopian community at HIJRA; Asad had a tailoring business; and Hani was selling second-hands clothes.

In Oldenburg and Bremen, Samuel was working in the meat industry and at a car repair company; Fatima was on maternity leave, so her husband was taking care of the family's livelihood; Aman was in the process of looking for a permanent job; Burhaan was working as a laboratory assistant at a coffee production company; and Jamilah was working as an interpreter at the social assistance office.

Eritrean, Ethiopian and Somali refugees were all working to support their livelihoods in Uganda and Germany, which shows their self-motivation and capacity to work hard for being self-reliant and not dependent on assistance. Exceptions were Fatima, who was on maternity leave but would have liked to start working once her child was older, and Aman, who was not working at the time of the interview but was searching for a permanent job. The research findings also emphasise that refugees have freedom of movement and work to varying degrees in both host countries, which enhanced their chances of finding job possibilities and provided them with a certain level of agency in the context of their respective host state's contingencies. These

[36] For a tabular view of the summary of livelihood strategies, freedom of movement and work, checkAppendix 4.

livelihood strategies of refugees to become self-reliant answers the research question of this master thesis that refugees do not only need help but also have the capacity to help themselves.

The personal conversion factor (Robeyns, 2005, p. 99; 2016) of Sen's capability approach demonstrates that refugees' prior background and knowledge gained in their home or host country, strengthened and encouraged them to work and support their present livelihoods. Supporting one's livelihood elucidates economic self-reliance as defined by UNHCR (UNHCR, 2005, p. 2).

Refugees' varied educational backgrounds highlight the majority of them were literate, which is often ignored. This research posits that the tag of 'refugee' (Bond, 1986, pp. 12-13; Bussemer, 2019, p. 6; Essed, 2005, pp. 3-4; Holliday, 2007, p. 45; Jacobsen, 2002, p. 593; UNHCR, 2010, p. 3) has no link in determining their level of intellectual capacity, as the latter is more dependent on the opportunities one has had access to. This tag often creates a delusional picture of someone who only receives assistance (Bond, 1986, p. 12; Holliday, 2007, p. 45); however, when given an opportunity, refugees can outshine others, through their willingness to work hard.

Business initiatives and work options were characterised by a high degree of diversity. In Nakivale, all refugees should have received agricultural land for supporting their livelihoods; however, none of them had received it due to the reasons outlined above. Without agricultural land, refugees had ventured into other avenues like opening small businesses for earning their daily bread. None of the refugees (except Asad) had received any support from aid organisations for starting their businesses, which reiterates their agency and capability of helping themselves. Uganda's contingency as analysed under 'opportunities', i.e. freedom to work, allowed refugees to set up businesses on their own, in essence underscoring a new dimension of the self-reliance strategy. However, not all refugees were proficient in agriculture; thus, it is high time that the Ugandan government does not have a microscopic focus on agricultural land as part of the self-reliance strategy. Similarly, Hunter states that Uganda's approach is narrowly focused on agriculture without understanding whether refugees have an agricultural background or not (Hunter, 2009, p. 30). Hence, the Ugandan government needs to widen its horizon by understanding that refugees are not a homogenous group; especially those from the Horn of Africa are not heavily inclined in agriculture, but more proficient in doing varied businesses. There is a need for a partial shift in the development budget from

distribution of agricultural land to supporting refugees' business initiatives by providing start-up capital and trainings for the longevity and sustenance of these ventures. The theoretical framework of Sen's capability approach also factors in this pluralism and harped on these inter-individual differences of people.

On a side note, considering the numerous disadvantages of practicing agriculture in Nakviale, as illustrated in my research or in the literature, adequate educational interventions are necessary to augment better agricultural tactics for the massive population in Nakivale, who still practices agriculture, especially Rwandans, Congolese and Burundians. One of the possibilities is to employ individuals like Dani as trainers. Considering that Dani already has a degree in agricultural management, he can provide fundamental tips on adequate agricultural interventions to be adhered to for different weather conditions. In other words, a refugee can best understand the pleas of another fellow refugee.

Another major issue in Nakivale was the dearth of job opportunities; thus, the reviewed literature brought up the idea of installing an industry in Nakivale that would provide refugees with job opportunities. This type of industrial revolution idea was implemented in Jordan at Zaatari camp as explained above (A. P. Betts, Collier, 2018, pp. 171 - 172). As far as freedom of movement is concerned, many scholars have criticized the long distances between the closest towns and the settlement (UNHCR, 2016, p. 74). Settling 105,000 refugees in towns and cities in Uganda would put much pressure and increase demand for already scarce water, food and other resources. Although I do not mean to suggest that refugee settlements are the best solution in Uganda for refugees, they are a better alternative than refugee camps in Kenya or other neighbouring countries (Jacobsen, 2002, p. 593).

In Oldenburg and Bremen, refugees receive financial assistance as long as they are jobless, once they start earning the minimum wage, however, the government no longer pays them. The research findings suggest that this is also implemented on site. Refugees appreciate Germany's asylum system model because of the aid that they receive from the government as long as they are jobless. Comparatively speaking, as much as refugees in Nakivale can start their initiatives, refugees in Oldenburg and Bremen have to succumb to working in mediocre or menial jobs where they are often economically exploited. Thus, more job possibilities, especially in the permanent job sector, should be made available for refugees. For example, job-searching agencies should support refugees' diverse skills and talents, e.g. with regard to bringing

different cuisines together. The integration of skills and talents would allow refugees to reach their full potential, hone their skills in the area of expertise and, in turn, lead to sustainable development for both themselves and the host economy.

The research findings of this thesis support the bottom-up approaches of both the Ugandan and the German refugee management policies as refugees are not spoon-fed tasks. Instead, the state's contingency allows refugees to have a certain level of agency to support themselves through starting businesses or jobs (Essed, 2005, p. 3). In the Ugandan case, self-reliance can be understood as starting one's own initiative, while in the German case, self-reliance refers to having 8-hour shifts or longer.

With regard to refugees' motivations to help themselves, I found out that in Nakivale there was a shortage of resources and, thus, adversity led many refugees to make the most of the means that were available around them, even to go beyond by being creative and adaptive to new situations. These findings are in sync with the reviewed literature (Essed, 2005, p. 12; Kibreab, 2005, pp. 23-24).

Contrariwise, in Oldenburg and Bremen, there was no adversity, but instead there were high standards of living. Refugees also received enough money from the government. This raises the question of why they did not continue to be dependent on assistance, and what encouraged them to work. Using negative case analysis method (Neuman, 2014, pp. 499 - 500), it was possible to understand the four primary structural reasons for working to become self-reliant. Firstly, wages are higher than what one receives as financial assistance. Secondly, there are high standards of living in Germany, thus many have to work in two different jobs to make two ends meet. Thirdly, people have an instinctive desire to improve their standards of living, which requires more earnings. Fourthly, self-reliance means increasing one's chances for extending one's refugee permit in the future, so that one can continue to live in Germany.

The environmental conversion factor of Sen's capability approach deals with freedom of movement and work, which is integrated throughout in this concluding discussion. Nonetheless, in Nakivale, more needs to be done to reduce the high level insecurity, whereas in Oldenburg and Bremen, negative preconceived notions about migrants' different language, clothing style or skin colour should not deter employers from employing them, which requires a re-evaluation of the link between host and refugee communities.

Economic and social self-reliance makes refugees agents of change. The

reviewed literature suggests that forced migration makes "men feel a certain loss of political identity as they are not able to provide for the family" (Essed, 2005, pp. 10-11). Conversely, the research finding of this thesis counters this proposition by arguing that the sole purpose of the self-reliance strategy in Nakivale and work initiatives of refugees in Oldenburg and Bremen is to allow them to be agents of change by developing their own initiatives, livelihood strategies and solutions to problems in their communities. This gave them a sense of purpose in life and boosted their confidence through which they experienced a certain level of agency that allowed them to be in control of their lives. The diverse job opportunities in combination with freedom of movement provided refugees with varied platforms to access work in both countries.

The social conversion factor (Robeyns, 2005, p. 99; 2016) of Sen's capability approach focuses on how refugees work together in their communities. Sada and Atifa employed other people from the Eritrean community. Sada was even the chairman in his community and an interpreter, which put Sada in the position of power as well. Dani was also engaged in his community by teaching others his agricultural practices and techniques of beekeeping. Hani helped others in her community by giving them ideas of selling second-hand clothes in the market. This type of social self-reliance (UNHCR, 2005, p. 2) was not observed in Germany with any of the interviewees. All interviewees in Germany were only focused on economic self-reliance probably because of the individualistic nature of the German society in comparison to the more collectivistic nature of the Ugandan society. Overall, Sada, Atifa, Dani and Hani's social conversion factors counter the proposition that self-reliance and the capability approach are too individualistic because they were not just helping themselves but were also agents of change in their communities through engagement (Robeyns, 2005, pp. 107-108).

Some interesting observations could be made with regard to gender. Women took control of their lives and their families predominantly in Nakivale (Uganda), which is in congruence with the literature (Essed, 2005, p. 11). For instance, Atifa was a widow with two children and one grandchild and Hani was a single mother with five children and both supported their families on their own. This highlights women's strength to be able to run a business on their own and at the same time to take on the role of the head of the household (Essed, 2005, pp. 10-11). Some exceptions to this were Halima, who reinstated her eldest son as the head of the household. She also had

to change her religion to safeguard herself from the mistreatment of her husband in Nakivale (Essed, 2005, p. 3). In Bremen, Fatima had taken on the caring role for her child by taking a maternity leave at the cost of her career.

Finally, this thematic discussion of achievements and opportunities concludes that Eritrean, Ethiopian and Somali refugees undertake diverse livelihood strategies in Uganda and Germany to become self-reliant. They have the ability to help themselves and are not only dependent on aid or humanitarian organisations. On the one hand, the Ugandan refugee management policy needs to shift its focus from solely agricultural self-reliance to also promoting business-oriented self-reliance, the latter positing a new dimension to this entire discourse. On the other hand, the German refugee management policy needs to shift its focus from solely providing refugees access to menial job sector to also other platforms where they can reach their full potential with benefits for both them and the host economy. Refugees have diverse motivations to help themselves but they are also agents of change in their community. Forced migration and displacement have different effects on refugees distinctly depending on their age, gender, religion and other demographics. All in all, the research findings of this thesis would allow the host community to change its perspective from looking at refugees as a burden to people who bring sustainable opportunities with them.

6.3 Theme 3: Self-Reliance Means Freedom

Most interviewees in this research linked self-reliance with freedom, independence and development, thus this theme was inductively developed from the transcripts. They understood freedom in terms of making their own decisions and being independent of dependency on the state. For instance, Jamilah talked about how learning the language of the host country and having the possibility to work made her feel free and independent.

Jamilah: ***R:*** *How do you find [your life] now [that] you can speak German?*
I: *I find freedom. You can now [do] what you feel like doing, you can say what you feel like saying.*

R: *Do you think that your income has increased since you started working?*
I: *Of course, it is high. That is freedom and you work, you earn your own, not that you are dependent on Job Centre or anyone else. That is seriously very good work.*

Captivatingly, in order to become self-reliant in the host country, learning the language of that country becomes indispensable for refugees. Once refugees learn the language of the host country, social and economic integration becomes easier. This eventually allows them to find jobs and to become self-reliant. Likewise, when refugees are self-reliant, they link it to having freedom, self-development and independence.

Not having language competency of the host society can be agonising, as explained by Jamilah.

Jamilah: ***I:*** *You want to say something but you just cannot because you do not know the language. That hurts a lot.*

According to Jamilah not being able to speak the language was painful. She had a sense of freedom after she had learnt to speak German. As she already spoke German very well, she had been able to find an interpretation job at a social assistance office, which paid well enough. Her example illustrates how knowing the language made her self-reliant and eventually resulted in a higher degree of freedom.

Samuel's experiences were similar to Jamilah's.

Samuel: ***I:*** *There is a company in Oldenburg. We can also work without a language, like a [deaf] (giggles). If I cannot speak, then I am like deaf. But we have to speak or we have to hear or we have to understand the language. I tried to make Practice* (means internship) *but because of the language I can't (laughs). That's why as I come in Germany, I [told myself that] I must force for the language, that's why in six months I can speak German.*

The media often flash only the flowery images of western countries but not the thorny challenges in terms of language, integration problems and antagonistic attitudes of some members of the host society. Samuel's experiences were similar to Jamilah's and also those of other interviewees; Aman, for instance had difficulties speaking the language, although he could understand most of it. Burhaan said that in his home country, Somalia, he knew his mother tongue very well, so he could quickly get a job but in Germany, however, he had to first learn the language to work and also be able to do even trivial things such as asking for water or booking a doctor's appointment and telling them, exactly where he feels the pain. Their experiences recap that

language learning is an essential factor to be considered in becoming self-reliant, which eventually leads to freedom, development and independence.

Refugees in other parts of the world like in Uganda have to learn English in order to communicate, get a job, and to be mobile. Similarly, Hani needed to learn Kiswahili for attracting customers to her second-hand clothing shop. Contrariwise, Atifa suggested that intelligence was more important than learning the language.

Atifa: ***R:*** *Was it difficult to adjust in the village because of the language?* ***Translator:*** *Because [of] the language barrier, she didn't get any problem. You cannot lack or you don't have any scars as long as you are clever and as long as you are active. Language doesn't matter.*

Although, Atifa countered the generalized notion of learning the language of the host country, she lived and sold her items in the Eritrean neighbourhood, so she did not have that much interaction with other native speakers. Using the environmental conversion factor from Sen's capability approach, I was able to situate her experience in the context she lives in. She did not need to be proficient in the Kiswahili language as her target customers were mostly Eritreans and Ethiopians. Critically speaking, Atifa's point of view presents the other side of the story, whereby the importance of language learning depends upon the surrounding context.

Other interviewee responses take a step further by understanding self-reliance not only as freedom but also as something that helps in reducing stress and gives them a purpose in life:

Asad: ***R:*** *How easy or hard was it to start your business?*
Translator: *It's very hard. When you are starting. It's very hard. It's not easy, the life.*

Fatima: ***R:*** *What is the motivation to work?*
Translator: *It's good for health. It is good for CV or to get [more] money by working yourself and not depending on the government.*

Asad indicated that if one knows that they have to take a thousand stairs to reach their destination, they need to take the first step to become successful in any direction of their life. Analogously, Fatima explained that self-reliance did not only refer to the attainment of freedom but also as a method for reducing stress. Through work, one could keep them busy and have a purpose in life.

In conclusion, this theme of 'self-reliance means freedom' highlights refugees' freedom of choices, independent thinking and having personal satisfaction through reduced stress and a purpose in life. This inductive theme protrudes the possibility of considering self-reliance as a fourth durable solution of UNHCR that entails the creation of job opportunities in Uganda and Germany. UNHCR's three durable solutions are voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement. Self-reliance as a fourth durable solution would allow refugees to dream of a brighter future in their respective host countries, especially in Uganda where many refugees hope for resettlement only in search of better jobs for having a better life. The ground reality is that only a fraction of the refugees receive resettlement. One may argue that Uganda already implements the self-reliance strategy. However, I counter that proposition as Uganda's self-reliance strategy is heavily focused on agriculture which is quite unreliable as I have outlined above. Consequently, implementing of self-reliance as a fourth durable solution here means that donors make investments in refugees' business ventures in Uganda and create more job opportunities in the permanent job sector for refugees in Germany, which would lead to long-term sustainable development as part of their respective future governance plans. Finally, this inductive theme highlights the importance of learning the language of the host country, which leads to both social and economic integration of refugees and promoting self-reliance as UNHCR's fourth durable solution.

7. LIMITATIONS AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Cross-national comparative research involves challenges of intercultural communication, cognisance of different cultural etiquettes, and swift adaptability for working with different interpreters. This comparative research across two different geographical locations necessitated another variable to remain unaltered for creating some necessary grounds of similarity, which were the chosen nationalities of my interviewees. While I conducted interviews in Uganda, it was indeed a challenge to foresee accessibility to institutions and entry into the varied ethnic communities in Germany. I tackled these inhibitions by continuously reviewing literature, trusting my gut, being up-to-date with news and building contacts in both countries.

Although interpreters from the Eritrean, Ethiopian and Somali communities played a vital role, their presence sometimes influenced my interviewees' responses. Occasionally, I noticed hierarchical differences amongst my interviewees and the interpreters, the latter being in the position of power. Furthermore, I often questioned my positionality as a student researcher, who heard people's stories in different vulnerable contexts but could not offer direct short-term support.

In interactions with interpreters, I had to be accommodative and flexible. Thesis journey taught me that life is dynamic and sometimes people have other important commitments. For instance, a few times, interpreters were tired from the night before and presumably may have missed in interpreting some essential points. Another limitation is that data analysis might have been affected by my own and the interpreters' preconceptions and biases. Some things might have been lost in translation, or not grasp due to my relative inexperience.

In Germany, I faced challenges linked to finding interviewees. It was also particularly difficult to find female refugees. As two of my interviewees did not want an interpreter to be present, I had to resort to conducting two interviews in German, i.e. in a language I am not a native speaker of. The location of the interview also mattered; for instance, interviews in Oldenburg and Bremen were easier to conduct, as it was possible to choose a quiet surrounding. In Nakivale, on the other hand, interviews were more challenging to conduct due to the obtrusive surrounding of my interviewees' houses where my presence naturally attracted the attention of non-interviewees, who wanted to talk with me and sometimes inadvertently interrupted the interviews. There was also a lot of surrounding background noise like rain, customers

walking in and out of the shops, motorbikes honking, and commotion; furthermore the hot weather made my interviewees tired.

As I come from India, I did not belong to either of the countries I researched on. On the one hand, being an outsider proved to be advantageous as I did not have an insider bias and interviewees felt safe in sharing their issues without having the inhibition of someone from the same nationality was listening to their issues. In this sense, cultural barriers proved to be useful. On the other hand, at times being an outsider was disadvantageous, as I may have overlooked some hidden or even explicit nuances because of my own limited knowledge about distinct socio-cultural contexts.

Apart from the limitations in the field, I also encountered some challenges while reading academic literature. I realised that researchers coming from the Global North authored most of the literature that is easily accessible[37]. Although this was not surprising as most researchers come from the North, this study would have certainly benefitted from the perspective of more researchers from the Global South.

Comparative qualitative researches require the researcher to be abreast with different ethical guidelines, rules and regulations of the countries where research is conducted. In order to enter the refugee settlement in Uganda and the reception centre in Germany I needed to have security clearance. In the case of Uganda, this was arduous and expensive. In Oldenburg, I was denied access. The lack of support of formal institutions did not deter me from conducting research. Consequently, in both countries, making personal contacts, building trust and using networking strategies proved to be indispensable for conducting interviews. These perplexing experiences of overcoming institutional barriers made me reflect about ethical issues that justify the research, which may sometimes even involve circumventing formal procedures.

There was ethical ambivalence about how considerable conducting research in precarious and vulnerable environments is. How ethically justifiable are short visits of researchers in these locations? How would an interview with a refugee help them in the short-term? I pondered on these questions mostly while I was researching in Nakivale. Even though this master thesis may not directly help my interviewees, publishing this research might aid in sharing their pleas and bringing their situation into the limelight. Sharing refugees' stories with the world would allow civil society

[37] Most researchers coming from the Global North is linked to sources of funding. Although I come from the Global South, the funding agency behind me is one from the Global North. Accumulation of funds in the Global North also has its fair share of history, dealing with colonization.

actors and other social workers to understand their experiences and find remedies to their situations. Hopefully, this would result in elevating the status of refugees, upon the implementation of political will with appropriate actions and interventions.

While conducting interviews in Nakviale and also in Oldenburg and Bremen, some interviewees had a hard time expressing themselves in front of interpreters. Keeping in mind that the interpreters came from the same communities as the interviewees and that they would continue to be in touch with them, it was only natural that interviewees placed their future safety first before responding in the best interest of research.

The vulnerable situation of Ethiopians in Germany representing themselves as Eritreans for receiving prima facie refugee status raises ethical issues of shifting from my researcher role to performing an investigator's role. It is essential to understand the reasons and circumstances behind different choices that people (in this case, Ethiopians) make in life. Sometimes we have to say things which we may not want, but we have to in order to ensure our safety.

8. RECOMMENDATIONS

A qualitative research study reveals a variety of new dimensions comprehended from people's life stories. It is fascinating how insights on a micro level demonstrate to be indispensable in ascertaining problems of refugees and proffer improvements at meso and macro levels. The analysis of interviews, transcripts and personal experiences has resulted in some contextual and standard recommendations to be implemented in both countries.

8.1 Recommendations for Uganda

On a meso level, humanitarian actors have implemented agricultural self-reliance as part of their refugee management policy. Nonetheless, the majority of the agricultural populations living in Rubondo and Juru sub-base camps suffer significant losses due to uncontrollable factors like sporadic weather conditions, degradation of soil quality and the limited size of land. Thus, there is an urgent need for agricultural experts, who can provide educational interventions to the farming community for developing new strategies through which refugees can improve their harvest. Dani's case presents an excellent example to show how NGOs could promote refugees' previously learned skills. During my research visit, I met a lot of similarly talented people, who can also be good examples to others.

On a macro level, Nakivale is the oldest refugee settlement. 61 years after its establishment in 1958, it is not in a state of emergency but still in need of development. As previous studies have highlighted, relief aid and development are two sides of the same coin, and thus are better implemented concurrently than successively (Essed, 2005, p. 6). Uganda's agricultural self-reliance strategy is dependent on uncontrollable factors but refugees originating from the Horn of Africa have started diverse business self-initiatives which are dependent on controllable market economy functions. Therefore, this thesis recommends a partial shift in this macro policy focus from solely agricultural self-reliance to supporting business ventures. This thesis does not suggest a total shift from agriculture to business self-reliance because the majority of the population living in Nakivale still practices agriculture. Nonetheless, a fractional shift of development aid to support business models of refugees from the Horn of Africa posits a unique dimension of self-reliance, which in turn changes the perspective of viewing refugees not as a

homogenous group but as a diverse group of people with distinct skills, capacities and backgrounds. Furthermore, livelihood organisations in Nakivale need to put more emphasis on business training to explain to refugees how to sustain and improve the longevity of their business.

An additional advantage of investing development aid into business enterprises initiated by refugees is the creation of more job opportunities. Another option could be to set up an industry in Nakivale just like in Jordan's Zaatari camp that indeed proved to be successful for Syrian refugees to find jobs and eventually improve their livelihoods (A. P. Betts, Collier, 2018, pp. 171-172). This recommendation would require further in-depth research about which industry would be the most useful bearing in mind refugees' diverse ethnic and national backgrounds. On the whole, this recommendation of supporting refugee-led businesses and the creation of new job opportunities means that refugees could seek a better life close to their home country.

Lastly, health centres in Nakivale need to be improved to address the specific needs of refugees. According to my interviewees, health centres are in an unsatisfying condition and need to work more to help the refugee communities.

8.2 Recommendations for Germany

On a meso level, there is a need to establish a common platform and transparent communication channel through interactions between refugee and host communities. Holding community dialogues would provide a good starting point for addressing problems by allowing both parties to develop community solutions and negotiate standard terms for living cohesively. Although a pre-emptive challenge could be a language barrier for deciding the best mode of communication, this could be resolved with the help of interpreters. Recommendations such as these have been iterated in literature as well, whereby it is vital to understand the exact problems refugees are facing and to ask them for their opinions to collectively resolve their issues (Gottwald, 2012, p. 107). In turn, this would result in refugees having the agency to discuss and think of new ways for handling their situations within the state's contingency of the host state.

On a macro level, the German refugee management can adopt the terminology of 'self-reliance' from Uganda's refugee management policy. Nonetheless, Germany

should not adopt the same principles of Uganda because of the focus of the self-reliance strategy, on agricultural self-reliance and the inadequacies mentioned in the previous section. However, the idea is that Germany should use the term 'self-reliance' by implementing different methodologies that suit its context. In the refugee context of Germany, the notion 'self-reliance' would promote refugees to reach their full potential by finding jobs in the permanent job sector where they can refine previously learned skills while working in the area of their expertise.

Additionally, refugees' diverse capacities would result in changing right-wing parties' and the host community's views from considering them as a burden to people who play a crucial role in the sustainable development of the host country. In other words, this would change the outlook of "refugees from a humanitarian issue to one of development" (A. C. Betts, Imane; Omata, Naohiko; Sterck, Olivier, 2019, p. 144). Utilisation of new terminologies and labels not only serves an expedient function in political discourse that helps rational beings to come to terms with complex migration nexus (Collyer & Haas, 2010, p. 469), but also makes a difference cognitively in perceiving a situation, which would eventually lead to its on-site implementation.

8.3 Common Recommendations for Uganda and Germany

On a macro level, information dissemination is essential for refugees in Uganda and Germany to inform them of the opportunities around them. During fieldwork, I could often observe that refugees living in both contexts were not aware of the different possibilities that surrounded them. As Bond says, "the first and foremost method of empowerment for the poor is their access to correct information" (Bond, 1986, p. 4).

In the short term, refugees find resettlement to be the most viable option for seeking a better life and job opportunities as most of the resources are invested in it rather than paying equal attention to the other two durable solutions, that being local integration and voluntary repatriation (Gottwald, 2012, p. 116). Moreover, the findings of this thesis extend beyond the existing three durable solutions and recommend that UNCHR implement self-reliance as its fourth durable solution.

In the context of Nakivale, refugees often dream of resettling abroad; however, self-reliance as a fourth durable solution could change this perspective. A focus on business innovation, would allow refugees' agency to develop creative solutions for resolving their problems in their immediate vicinity. This would allow them to seek

opportunities around them rather than encouraging them to run behind the American (or European) Dream. Although one may argue that Uganda already implements the self-reliance strategy as part of its refugee management policy, it should be noted that it is mostly focused on agricultural self-reliance and has not yet explored other avenues like supporting business ventures of refugees.

In the context of Oldenburg and Bremen, self-reliance as a durable solution would make refugees more pro-active in taking decisions for themselves and also for the welfare of their communities. This durable solution would also result in several advantages not only for refugees but also for the host community, e.g. when the host community benefits from the expertise of refugees' diverse capacities and knowledge. This may foster sustainable development in the host country. Overall, this thesis suggests self-reliance as a process to achieve solutions but not as a solution in itself (Gottwald, 2012, p. 104 & 108).

9. CONCLUSION

This master dissertation is about Eritreans, Ethiopians and Somalis who fled war, political violence, and economic problems in their home countries and sought haven in Uganda and Germany. In emergencies, the instantaneous response is to provide humanitarian aid that has proved to be vital hitherto. However, when relief aid becomes protracted, it inadvertently indoctrinates dependency in refugees. In order to avoid viewing refugees as people who only need assistance, this thesis beseeches to widen the horizon by understanding refugees as a heterogeneous group with diverse talents and skills and as people who may bring sustainable development to their host countries. In other words, there is a need for a divergence in socio-political discourses from 'refugees need help' to 'how they help themselves' which underlines the importance of self-reliance.

The background chapter highlights the socio-political and environmental reasons for coerced movements of refugees from the Horn of Africa, who have sought refuge in countries in the Global South and the Global North, such as Uganda and Germany. Statistics have revealed an augmented trend in global displacement over the past ten years. Predominantly, a high number of pregnant women and women with children have fled the war-torn Horn of Africa, which has resulted in distinct gender dimensions within the complex migration-development nexus. On the receiving end, Uganda and Germany have displayed a welcoming nature towards refugees. Nonetheless, these countries have also faced backlash from their respective host populations and right-wing political parties.

The demographics of Eritreans, Ethiopians and Somali refugees in Nakivale show that most of them were older and had studied either up to the primary level or received a degree and diploma in their home countries. Typically, they had smaller chances of receiving educational support in the refugee settlement and were mostly divorced. Generally, the demographics of Eritreans, Ethiopians and Somali refugees in Oldenburg and Bremen showed that they were younger than 27 years and had obtained both primary and secondary education. They had higher chances of receiving educational support in Germany. All of them had to learn German; most were single or married rather than divorced. Refugees' experiences support the view that language learning is an important factor to be considered in becoming self-reliant in host countries, which eventually leads to freedom and development.

The two primary tenets that formed the conceptual framework of this thesis are self-reliance and livelihood strategies. On the one hand, Uganda's refugee management policy of the self-reliance strategy allows for an understanding of how refugees help themselves within their available means. On the other hand, refugees' livelihood strategies in Uganda and Germany portray their intrinsic motivations, willingness to work hard and diverse skills to be self-reliant. The intentional focus of this thesis on refugees' abilities instead of their problems is to do a different kind of research. Many researchers tend to focus on problems, while only a few view refugees from the agency perspective and ask them what their capabilities and achievements in life are (Liamputtong, 2010, p. 3).

Comparative qualitative content analysis was used to understand the livelihood strategies of Eritrean, Ethiopian and Somali refugees. Between January and March 2019, a total of eleven refugees were interviewed for this thesis, six living in Nakivale and five in Oldenburg and Bremen. The experiences of the six men living in Uganda and Germany highlight their diverse occupations to support their livelihoods. They had started businesses in Nakivale, while others were either working in part- or full-time jobs in Oldenburg and Bremen. Contrarily, the five women interviewed in Uganda and Germany portrayed their capacity to not only take on the traditional caring role of a mother, but also be proactive in starting businesses or working in jobs to be self-reliant in Uganda and Germany.

Amartya Sen's Capability Approach lays the solid groundwork, and thus, formed the theoretical framework that aided in thematically analysing refugees' achievements deduced from its first normative claim, i.e. 'functionings', and opportunities deduced from its second normative claim, i.e. 'capabilities'. These claims complement each other to understand better refugees' agency of establishing small businesses in Nakivale and working in permanent jobs in Oldenburg and Bremen, in the context of the host state's contingency provided through freedom of movement and work.

Thematic analysis using the deductive themes of 'Refuge', 'Achievements and Opportunities' and the inductive theme of 'Self-Reliance Means Freedom' allowed me to answer the research question formulated in Chapter 1 and repeated here:

> In the face of national policies, which livelihood strategies do refugees from Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia adopt to become self-reliant in Nakivale Refugee Settlement in Uganda and how do their opportunities compare to those of refugees living in the cities of Oldenburg and Bremen in Germany?

The research findings highlight that the Ugandan refugee management policy has been heavily focused on providing agricultural land to refugees as part of its self-reliance strategy; however, qualitative interviews with Eritrean, Ethiopian and Somali refugees in Nakivale showed that most of them had started small businesses. Therefore, commencing businesses on a micro level by refugees themselves is firstly, a unique dimension of the self-reliance strategy; and secondly, welcomes a new area of research in migration studies, which is apprehending diverse livelihood strategies enacted by refugees themselves to be self-reliant. This self-development shows refugees' agency to succeed within the contingencies of the Ugandan state which is provided in terms of freedom of movement and work. Therefore, it is recommended that in order for the Ugandan refugee management policy to be practiced more efficiently on site, there needs to be a shift from solely focusing on agricultural practices to also promoting business development initiatives. In essence, this requires a revision of the allocation of development budget and possibly setting up an industry in the settlement for increasing job opportunities.

As far as the German refugee management policy of the asylum system model is concerned, it was observed that job agencies majorly focused on promoting menial and temporary jobs to refugees. Research findings suggest that refugees have agency within the state's contingency provided in terms of freedom of movement and work. However, job possibilities are so far constrained to fields that refugees may not want to work in. The interviews highlighted refugees' desire to find work in the permanent job sector for reaching their full potential. This would allow them to have a chance to work in their area of expertise by refining their skills and utilising their talents, which may lead to sustainable development and benefits for both them and the host society. Recommendations include refugees standing a fair chance in the German labour market of not only filling labour shortages but also having access to permanent jobs. Furthermore, interviewees also revealed that they were prompted by the state to be self-reliant; however, there was no direct mention of the term 'self-reliance' in the German refugee management policy. Therefore, this research postulates the inclusion

of the term ‘self-reliance’ explicitly in Germany’s refugee management policy; moreover, even UNHCR should implement it as the fourth durable solution. This would make self-reliance not only part of the implementation but would also have a cognitive effect that would help the host community change its perspectives from viewing refugees as a burden to people who bring sustainable opportunities with them.

Finally, self-reliance provides refugees with agency, a purpose in life and freedom. Migration journeys make refugees resilient, augments their endurance and willingness to work hard for making ends meet in their host countries not just to survive but also thrive. Some refugees have lived in taxing and life-threatening conditions, which has given them courage and strength to rebuild their lives. Refugees are much more powerful than the world perceives them to be and it is essential for host societies to acknowledge and harness their skills for sustainable development. I intend to take my work back to the communities by dedicating more time in the field, publishing and presenting my research to different state and non-state actors. The aim of my contribution is neither to elevate refugee voices nor to replace or validate them, but rather to provide a new space where refugees’ achievements, agency can be discussed, resulting in new reflections on the need for context-based opportunities and durable solutions for sustainable development.

10. FURTHER RESEARCH

This field study has sparks several possibilities for further research. The next best step would be to conduct this cross-national study in other host countries with other nationalities on the same parameters. The expectation of this kind of study in different countries might reveal some new insights and dimensions. Nonetheless, when this study is replicated, the application and implementation of this comparative research should also be done in a critical manner to produce relevant results.

As mentioned in Chapter 8, more in-depth research about which industry should be installed in Nakivale would prove to be indispensable. The idea is to find out the occupation that would be most useful and suitable in their context. The execution of a mixed methodology i.e. qualitative and quantitative research would be ideal for this kind of research and bearing in mind refugees' diversity of national and ethnic backgrounds.

In Uganda and Germany, semi-structured interviews with meso level implementing partners would help in understanding to what extent they view refugees as skilled or unskilled. Their responses would aid in evaluating their interventions hitherto and how it could be improved in the future. Further investigation would allow for an analysis of the extent to which meso level partners are promoting refugees' dependency or independency. Consequently, this would lead to fascinating insights into how sustainable is the support provided by meso level implementers to refugees.

This thesis focuses explicitly on analysing self-reliance and livelihood strategies of refugees, which provides only the story of the refugees; however, in both countries, their relationships with host communities must be documented and analysed. There is a need to strike a balance in terms of addressing both communities' needs and desires. Therefore, conducting semi-structured interviews with Ugandan and German host populations for understanding their perspectives about refugees would result in insightful findings.

When refugees are displaced, they experience both material and non-material losses[38] (Kibreab, 2005). The discernible impact that remains to be analysed is refugees' adaptability to their new environments. This could be a part of the developmental perspective like in terms of their capacity, rehabilitation stage, and accessibility to resources. Further research is required to understand differences in

[38] Non-material losses have a significant impact on refugees' social life and relationships, which include loss of national citizenship, kinship ties, social, cultural and economic moorings, friends and neighbourhood networks.

refugee-host citizenship and integration relationships across Uganda and Germany, as these form the skeletal base of refugee policies that have to be taken into account from a structural constitutional point of view (Bloemraad, 2013, p. 557 &562).

Another direction that a follow-up study could take is to research with refugees who have been self-reliant in Uganda and Germany for longer than the participants of the present study in order to understand their intentions of returning home one day when their country would be safe. Responses would help in understanding the importance of self-reliance strategies in the host country and how it would or would not help them in rebuilding their lives once they go back home.

Lastly, further research is required in understanding the lives and decision-making processes of those refugees who find marry in their host countries. In my study, this focus might have been interesting in the case of Burhaan, who had found his spouse in Bremen and is now married with two children. As a laboratory assistant at a coffee production company, he was self-reliant. It would be interesting to find out about his prospects of living in the host country or eventually going back home in order to analyse the long-term impact of self-reliance.

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APPENDICES

1. Interview Consent Form

Research project title: Understanding Refugees' Livelihood Strategies to Become Self-Sufficient. A Comparative Case Study of Uganda and Germany.

Research investigator: Sanjana Rastogi

Research Interviewee's name:

This thesis focuses on how refugees find ways for becoming self-sufficient and you have been chosen as an interviewee for this research project. The interview will take 45-60mins. There are no anticipated risks associated with your participation, but you have the right to stop the interview or withdraw from the research at any time.

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed as part of the above research project. Ethical procedures for academic research undertaken from my university require that interviewee explicitly agrees for being interviewed and understand how the information contained in their interview will be used. This consent form is necessary to ensure that you understand the purpose of your involvement and that you agree to the conditions of your participation. Please initial next to any of the statements that you agree with:

	I give permission to be audio recorded by Sanjana Rastogi, the research investigator. The actual recording will be kept for any future research purposes.
	All or parts of your interview will either be formed into transcripts and/ or your words may be quoted directly. I agree to be quoted directly if my name is not published and a made-up name (pseudonym) is used.
	I agree that the researcher may publish documents in academic journals/ other outlets that contain quotations by me.

Please note: Any summary interview content, or direct quotations from your interview will be anonymized so that you cannot be identified, and care will be taken to ensure that other information in the interview that could identify yourself is not revealed.

By signing this form I agree that:

1. I am voluntarily taking part in this project. I understand that I do not have to take part, and I can stop the interview at any time.
2. The transcribed interview or extracts may be used as described above.
3. I don't expect to receive any benefit or payment for my participation.
4. I have been able to ask any questions I might have, and I understand that I am free to contact the researcher with any questions I may have in the future.

_____

Interviewee's Printed Name (in capital letters)

_____ _____

Interviewee's Signature Date

(dd/mm/yyyy)

_____ _____

Researcher's Signature Date

(dd/mm/yyyy)

*If the interviewee is unable to read/write then this form will be explained to the interviewee either by the researcher and/or by the interpreter and the researcher will fill the form on behalf of the interviewee. The interviewee may either sign this form and/or use a finger stamp.

2. Interview Questions

Semi-Structured Interviews with Refugees in Nakivale Refugee Settlement, Isingiro District Uganda

Name of the interviewee: _____ Starting time: _____

Location of he Interview: _____ Age: _____

Nationality: _____ Gender: _____

Family

1. **Background:** Do you have a family?
    a. How many children do you have?
    b. How old are your children?
    c. Where is your house?
    d. Do your children go to school?
    e. Do you pay school fees for them?
    f. What does your spouse do?
    g. Where does your spouse come from?

Past

2. **Interviewee's Background:** Which village do you come from in your home country?
    h. When did you leave your country?
    i. Why did you leave your country?
    j. Which countries did you go to?
    k. When did you come to Uganda?
    l. Why did you come to Uganda and not go to another country?
    m. When did you come to Nakivale?
    n. How did you come to Nakivale?
    o. Did you face problems when you came to Nakivale? Which ones?
    p. Was it easy or difficult to settle in the village?
    q. Do you speak Kiswahili?
        i. Was it difficult to adjust because you do not speak Kiswahili?

2. **Registration:** How did you register as a refugee?

a. When did you get your refugee status?

3. **Community Development Approach:** As a refugee, what did you receive from the government? Land? Is it useful?

Present

4. **Agricultural Land:** In which village is your land?
    a. Is your land fertile?
    b. Do you grow crops there?
    c. Which crops do you grow?
    d. Who gives you the seeds?
    e. How long do the crops take to grow?
    f. Do you sell them?
    g. Where do you sell them?
    h. How much do you sell them for?
    i. Do you make some profits?
    j. Does the weather affect your crops?
    k. Is there a storage room for your crops during bad weather?

5. **Education:** Did you go to school before?
    a. Where did you go to school?
    b. What did you study?
    c. Until which class did you study

6. **Business Set up:** Do you have a business?
    a. How many businesses do you have?
    b. Where did you get this idea of starting this business?
    c. Where did you learn how to do this business?
        i. Did you receive any business training?
    d. On which days is your business open?
    e. What are your work timings?
    f. Do you have another employment as well?
    g. Where is your business located?
    h. When did you start your business?
    i. How did you find money to start this business?

i. Did you sell your land to start your business?
ii. Did you receive a loan from the bank to start your business?

j. How easy or hard was it to start your business?
k. What do you sell?
l. How many customers do you have in a day?
m. Do you have customers outside of Nakivale?
n. Do you make profits?
o. Where do you buy the goods for your business?
p. Did any organization help you with your business?
q. Do you run the business alone or with your friends?
r. Is there freedom to work in Nakivale?
s. Did you need to take permission to open your business?
t. Do you pay rent for your business (shop)?
u. Why did you start a business on your own and not continue with agriculture?

7. **Livelihood support:** Did you receive any support from Nzamizi Livelihood organization? From others?
    a. Do you have meetings with Nzamizi?
    b. Do you know about the different programs run by Nzamizi?
    c. Do you know about vocational training school in Kabahinda?
    d. Would you like to go to vocational training school?
        i. Why?

8. **Income:** Has your income increased because of business?
    a. Could you make the same amount of money during agriculture?
    b. Do you like working in this business?
    c. Can you make savings?
    d. Do you have a bank account?

9. **Freedom of movement:** Can you move freely in Nakivale?
    a. Can you move outside Nakivale?
    b. Have you gone outside Nakivale?
    c. Do you need permission to go outside Nakivale?

d. Can you freely move out of Nakivale to go to other markets?
e. **How much does it cost?**

10. **Self-reliant:** Do you have enough money to support yourself and your family?
    a. Do you think you can live in Nakivale without UNHCR?
        i. Why?
    b. Is the food from World food Programme enough for your family?
    c. Are there jobs in Nakivale?

11. **Local Community: What kind of interactions do you have with Ugandans?** Do you have Ugandan friends? **Enemies?**

Future

12. **Expansion of business:** Do you want to increase your business in the future?
    a. Do you have ideas of how to increase your business?
    b. Would you close your business for resettlement?

Ending Time: _____ **Total time: _____**

3. Code System

1 Deductive Themes	0
1.1 Theme 1: Living Situation	0
1.1.1 Age	10
1.1.2 Home country - origin	11
1.1.3 Home country: Educational Background	12
1.1.4 Host country: Education	7
1.1.5 Family	13
1.2 Theme 2: Refuge	0
1.2.1 Year of forced displacement	11
1.2.1.1 Non-linear migration trajectory	11
1.2.1.1.1 Problems en-route	7
1.2.2 Reason for fleeing	11
1.2.2.1 Why Germany for refuge?	5
1.2.2.1.1 Year of arrival in Bremen	4
1.2.2.1.2 Year of arrival in Oldenburg	1
1.2.2.2 Why Uganda for refuge?	6
1.2.2.2.1 Year of arrival in Uganda	6
1.2.2.2.2 Year of arrival in Nakivale	6
1.2.3 Refugee Status and registeration	11
1.2.3.1 Refugee permit validity	6
1.3 Theme 3:Achievements	0
1.3.1 Past Livelihood Strategies	11
1.3.2 Present Livelihood Strategies	29
1.3.3 Motivations & Self-initiatives	33
1.3.4 Successes	19
1.3.5 Challenges	28
1.3.6 Contradiction	3
1.3.7 Connection with host community	11
1.3.8 Future plans for work	16
1.3.9 Expansion	10

1.3.10 Income	10
1.3.10.1 Contradictions	10
1.3.10.2 Budget & Capital	3
1.4 Theme 4: Opportunities	6
1.4.1 Aid to support livelihoods	28
1.4.2 Freedom of Movement	13
1.4.3 Freedom to work	11
1.4.4 Jobs	9
2 Inductive Themes	0
2.1 Theme 1: Work gives purpose in life	2
2.1.1 Community developtment through engagement	3
2.1.2 Disability is not inability	1
2.1.3 Hard work	6
2.1.4 Livelhood is intertwined with agency	1
2.1.5 Eldest son takes the role as the head of household	1
2.1.6 Working reduces stress	4
2.1.7 Vocational Training	5
2.2 Theme 2: Work is intertwined with language	0
2.2.1 Language is important in host countries	10
2.2.2 Language is not important in host countries	1
2.2.3 Information is key	2
2.2.4 Learn language of the host country	11
2.3 Theme 3: Social and Institutional Barriers	0
2.3.1 Bad quality health centers	1
2.3.2 Certificate and Identity papers	4
2.3.3 Government pays only if jobless	2
2.3.4 Medical support	1
2.3.5 Not allowed to sell land	1
2.3.6 Temporary vs. Permanent jobs issue in Germany	4
2.3.7 Too much paper work in Germany	1
3 Extra codes	0

3.1 Insecurity in Nakivale	4
3.2 Settling in Nakivale	6
3.3 Settling in Bremen	3
3.4 Location of the Interview	11
3.4.1 Chased away customers	5
3.4.2 Further probing questions	12
3.4.3 Interpreter's understanding of the subject	8
3.4.4 Refugees asked for my help!	4
3.4.5 Welcoming nature of refugees towards me	3
3.5 Medical problem	2
3.6 Talent	2
3.7 Self-doubt	1
3.8 When did they start work?	3
3.9 In short!	2

4. Summary Table for Livelihood Strategies and Freedom of Movement and Work

Interviewees in Uganda	Sex	Origin Country	Livelihood strategies	Freedom of movement	Freedom to work
Sada	M	Eritrea	Bar business, chairman and interpreter at HIJRA	Yes; permission can be taken but not necessary	Capital is important
Atifa	F		Grocery business	Yes; but enter home early	Not asked
Dani	M	Ethiopia	Farmer and community worker	Yes; never required a permission to move	No jobs
Halima	F		Interpreter at HIJRA	Does not need to go anywhere as she cannot leave her children	Money is required to start small business
Asad	M	Somalia	Tailor	Always moves with ID	Not asked
Hani	F		Second hands clothes business	Yes; she knows that permission can be sought from Commander	Yes; many possibilities like sell food, drinks, vegetables, clothes etc.
Interviewees in Germany	**Sex**	**Origin Country**	**Livelihood strategies**	**Freedom of movement**	**Job availability**
Samuel	M	Eritrea	Works at meat and car repair companies	Yes; mobility costs money	Yes
Fatima	F		None; maternity leave	Yes; freely	Yes; a lot
Aman	M	Ethiopia	None; looking for jobs	Yes; possible to go anywhere	Yes; many but competition
Burhaan	M	Somalia	Lab assistant at coffee production company	Yes; when one has time, then one can travel	Yes; many people but lower number of jobs
Jamilah	F		Interpreter at Social Assistance state office of Bremen	Yes, of course; go anywhere	Yes

5. Declaration of Authenticity

I hereby declare that the dissertation submitted is my own and that all passages and ideas that are not mine have been fully and properly acknowledged. I am aware that I will fail the entire dissertation should I include passages and ideas from other sources and present them as if they were my own.

Name: Sanjana Rastogi

Date: 30th June 2019

Place: Carl-von-Ossietzky University Oldenburg, Lower Saxony, Germany

Signature: Sanjana Rastogi