



Refugee livelihoods

A review of the evidence

By Machtelt De Vriese

EPAU/2006/04
February 2006

Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit

UNHCR's Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit (EPAU) is committed to the systematic examination and assessment of UNHCR policies, programmes, projects and practices. EPAU also promotes rigorous research on issues related to the work of UNHCR and encourages an active exchange of ideas and information between humanitarian practitioners, policymakers and the research community. All of these activities are undertaken with the purpose of strengthening UNHCR's operational effectiveness, thereby enhancing the organization's capacity to fulfil its mandate on behalf of refugees and other displaced people. The work of the unit is guided by the principles of transparency, independence, consultation, relevance and integrity.

Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit
United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
Case Postale 2500
1211 Geneva 2
Switzerland

Tel: (41 22) 739 8249

Fax: (41 22) 739 7344

e-mail: hqep00@unhcr.org

internet: www.unhcr.org/epau

All EPAU evaluation reports are placed in the public domain. Electronic versions are posted on the UNHCR website and hard copies can be obtained by contacting EPAU. They may be quoted, cited and copied, provided that the source is acknowledged. The views expressed in EPAU publications are not necessarily those of UNHCR. The designations and maps used do not imply the expression of any opinion or recognition on the part of UNHCR concerning the legal status of a territory or of its authorities.

Contents

Contents.....	1
Introduction	1
Terminology and definitions.....	1
Historical review	5
Rights-based approach.....	7
Refugee livelihood strategies	11
Seeking international protection and migration as a livelihood strategy	11
Receiving humanitarian assistance.....	12
Relying on social networks and solidarity	14
Rural refugee livelihoods - falling back on subsistence farming.....	15
Urban refugee livelihoods.....	16
Engaging in trade and services	19
Investing in education and skills training	21
Falling back on negative coping strategies.....	21
Adopting new gender roles	22
Local population	25
Phases in the refugee life cycle.....	27
Success factors and limitations.....	29
People at the centre and encouraging participatory approaches	29
Applying a holistic approach	31
Creating opportunities for partnerships	32
A good example.....	33
Conclusions and recommendations	35
Annex 1 Acronyms.....	39
Annex 2 Bibliography	41

Introduction

1. Over the last decade, livelihood approaches have become increasingly common in academic analysis and NGO and development agency practice. The notion of *livelihood* has also entered the discourse of refugee assistance accompanied by a renewed interest in Protracted Refugee Situations (PRS), Self Reliance (SR) and Empowerment. In recent years, there has been a noticeable shift from high-level abstract dimensions of development towards an increased attention to the refugees themselves and how they seek to construct their livelihoods.
2. It has become apparent that a wide range of practitioners and researchers wish to see the issue of livelihoods given much greater prominence in the international discussion on human displacement. Is livelihoods the new fashionable topic or is there a realization that the traditional focus of humanitarian assistance is in effect too limited?
3. The purpose of this synthesis paper is to enhance our understanding of the problems faced by refugees and the solutions created to attain a greater self-reliance. After an overview of livelihood terminology and some relevant definitions, a historical review will provide you with an idea of how the nature of assistance provided to refugees and other people of concern has evolved over the years and where the points of departure with refugee livelihoods are.
4. Traditionally there has been a tendency amongst humanitarian organizations to approach the issue of livelihoods and self-reliance from a technical perspective. The chapter on *Rights-based approach* will link the question of livelihoods with the issues of rights and protection.
5. Understanding refugee livelihood strategies is a prerequisite to improved interventions. Hence, the paper will describe some of the most notable success stories and limitations to the mechanisms and strategies developed by refugees in order to stabilize and enhance their situation.
6. Research related to humanitarian assistance often neglects the local context of development. In *Local population* we will have a closer look at the living conditions of host communities and their relationships with refugees followed by an overview of livelihood issues in the refugee lifecycle.
7. In *Success factors and limitations* an overview will be given of the major difficulties encountered by refugees in recreating and sustaining their livelihoods, what type of interventions offer potential for success or what went wrong with the less effective interventions and what are the factors leading to success/failure of strategies.
8. It is not the intention to develop another set of guidelines, but rather that this document will serve as a basis for UNHCR's discussion on a policy decision concerning further involvement in supporting refugee livelihoods. In the *Conclusions and recommendations*, questions such as "Should humanitarian actors engage in the

promotion of refugee livelihoods?" or "Can relief be more responsive to developmental needs at the same time as it responds to basic needs?" will be addressed followed by some recommendations.

9. This synthesis paper is based on a review of literature and case-studies in distinct refugee situations, including a considerable body of literature from EPAU's work on Protracted Refugee Situations (PRS) and information gathered through the Refugee Livelihood Network¹.

¹ The Refugee Livelihood Network is an e-mail list-serve on livelihoods initiated by UNHCR's Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit. The e-mail list-serve includes a network of practitioners and researchers with a common interest in refugee livelihoods and self-reliance issues. The purpose of the network is to exchange ideas and lessons learned, to keep members abreast of current initiatives and to provide an opportunity for learning and inter-agency co-operation.

Terminology and definitions

10. To date, no clear definition on refugee livelihoods has emerged, illustrating the complexity of the concept. A widely accepted definition of “livelihoods” is given by Chambers and Conway (Chambers and Conway, 1992): “A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. A sustainable livelihood allows to cope with and to recover from stress and shocks, to maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets to provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation. It also contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels and in the long and short term”. Essentially, livelihoods refer to the means used to maintain and sustain life.

11. A livelihood framework is a way of understanding how households² derive their livelihoods. An easy way of thinking within a livelihood framework is using the household triangle of assets, capabilities and activities. Household members use their capabilities and their assets to carry out activities through which they gain their livelihood. Household assets refer to the resources that households own or have access to for gaining a livelihood. Where capabilities are the combined knowledge, skills, state of health and ability to labour or command labour of a household. Household strategies are the ways in which households deploy assets and use their capabilities in order to meet households’ objectives and are often based on past experience.

12. It is evident that livelihood opportunities can be enhanced or limited by factors in the external environment. These factors determine the vulnerability context in which households have to operate. The vulnerability context is the range of factors in the external environment that make people vulnerable. The external environment is an important influencing factor on a refugee’s livelihood. Refugees do not only have to cope with the often traumatic experience of flight and displacement, but also often end up with only limited resources due to loss of assets and capabilities.

13. There are a number of livelihood frameworks predominantly developed by development actors. Examples are the DFID livelihoods framework, the CARE livelihoods framework, the Oxfam livelihood framework, and the UNDP livelihood framework. The frameworks are far from uniform which could make the concept and use of livelihood frameworks difficult to grasp. Although the different frameworks use different terms, they describe similar things. Despite the differences of interpretation and different variations of the livelihood framework, they all build on earlier development theories.

14. As there is a variation of livelihoods frameworks there also exists a variation of tools and methods used to investigate and implement elements of the livelihood

² Different people use the term “household” to mean different things. A household refers to those who live in the same house, who may or may not make up a family. It is an important term in economics and is the base unit in many theories. In many western societies based around the so-called nuclear family, household and family are often erroneously considered as synonymous by pundits and policy-makers. en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Household

framework. These tools and methods will vary, depending on the practitioner and on the situation. There are a number of methodological approaches that can be used to put the livelihood framework into practice. These include aspects of the integrated rural development planning, food security initiatives, rapid and participatory rural appraisal, gender analysis, risk and vulnerability assessment, etc.

15. Many authors advocate that by using a livelihood approach, relief can better prepare displaced people for one of the durable solutions while avoiding the creation of a dependency-syndrome. The dependency-syndrome puts people in a trap that makes it unable for people to break free from reliance on external assistance. This is often caused because by basic rights and essential economic, social and psychological needs remaining unfulfilled after years in exile.

16. However, it is also clear that there are some problems related to the attempts to fulfil developmental goals through humanitarian action. For example, the incompatibility of some development principles such as sustainability, capacity-building and empowerment which are by nature more long-term than the traditional modes of humanitarian action.

17. Notwithstanding the existence of a number of different livelihood approaches and frameworks, the following principles can be distinguished as the common denominator:

- people-centred and participatory,
- a holistic analysis, and
- the importance of partnerships.

18. It is worth noting that none of the livelihood frameworks specifically indicates which approach is most appropriate within the refugee context. However, gathering information on livelihoods provides very basic information on how people live. This basic information is a prerequisite for refugee assistance.

19. For ease of reference, a number of livelihood-related terminologies such as self-reliance, self-sufficiency, vulnerability, and empowerment are defined below:

- Self-reliance is the social and economic ability of an individual, a household or a community to meet essential needs (including food, water, shelter, personal safety, health and education) in a sustainable manner and with dignity – developing and strengthening livelihoods of persons of concern and reducing their vulnerability and long-term reliance on humanitarian assistance (Source: RLSS/DOS/UNHCR).
- With respect to complex emergencies, self-sufficiency is the capacity of a community to either produce, exchange or lay claim to resources necessary to ensure both survival through and resilience against life-threatening stresses (Lautze,1997).
- Resilience is a measure of a household's ability to absorb shocks and stresses. A household with well-diversified assets and livelihood activities

can cope better with shocks and stresses than one with a ore limited asset base and few livelihood resources (de Sargé, 2002).

- Vulnerability is traditionally defined as the lack of ability to cope with stress or shocks and hence the likelihood of being affected by events that threaten livelihoods and security. Situations of displacement provide many stresses and shocks and hence vulnerability is a central issue to tackle (Schafer, 2002).
- Empowerment is a process/phenomenon that allows people to take greater control over the decisions, assets, policies, processes and institutions that affect their lives. (Source: DFID, Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets). Another definition from UNHCR Practical Guide to Empowerment defines empowerment as a process through which women and men in disadvantaged positions increase their access to knowledge, resources and decision-making power, and raise their awareness of participation in their communities, in order to reach a level of control over their own environment.

Historical review

20. This historical review³ describes how the nature of assistance provided to refugees and other people of concern has evolved over the years and where the points of departure with refugee livelihoods are. In the 1950s, UNHCR mainly focused on the provision of legal protection and the organization of resettlement programmes in Europe.

21. In the 1960-70s and the 1980s when a new spate of refugee movements in Africa and other less-developed regions began to take place, UNHCR responded, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, with the establishment of large-scale agricultural settlements on land made available by host governments. The humanitarian community tended to focus on emergency relief, or addressing the immediate needs of displaced persons such as food, water, shelter and health care.

22. In the early 1980s, attempts were made to suggest more durable solutions to humanitarian emergencies. Two international conferences, ICARA I and ICARA II (International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa) were organized. ICARA I was primarily a pledging conference, aimed at mobilising additional resources for refugee programmes in Africa to assist refugee hosting countries to cope with the burden of large numbers of refugees. Unfortunately, ICARA I did not satisfy host states in Africa by failing to meet their expectations for additional resources.

23. Where the focus of ICARA I was mainly on short-term relief, ICARA II stressed the importance of linking humanitarian aid and development. However and despite the renewed interest expressed at ICARA II, the refugee aid and development discourse lost momentum as in the aftermath of ICARA II attempts to attract the required funding failed. According to Betts (Betts, 2004) the cause of failure was primarily a north-south polarization in expectations and interests, and a lack of commitment on the part of both donors and recipient states⁴. Nevertheless, the ICARA conferences signalled a possible shift towards a development approach, and to transitioning from short-term relief to longer-term development.

24. From the mid 1980s onwards, UNHCR's lack of engagement with the issue of livelihoods was reinforced by its growing preoccupation with a series of large-scale repatriation programmes and a spate of new emergencies. It blinded UNHCR to the fact that large numbers of refugees throughout the world were trapped in what have now become known as protracted refugee situations (PRS). PRS often resulted in refugees ending up in a situation of dependency and marginalization⁵.

³ Based on Crisp (2003).

⁴ For an overview of similarities and differences between the ICARA process and UNHCR's Convention Plus Initiative please see Betts (2004).

⁵ For more detailed information on PRS please refer to UNHCR's Standing Committee, 30th Meeting, EC/54/SC/CRP.14, 10 June 2004.

25. To the extent that UNHCR was concerned with livelihood issues during the 1990s, its interest and involvement was very much focused on the reintegration of returnees in their countries of origin rather than self-reliance amongst refugees in countries of asylum. The focus was mainly on small scale Quick Impact Projects (QIPs) to facilitate reintegration.

26. In contrast, the first years of the new millennium have shown a renewed interest in protracted refugee situations, refugee livelihoods and self-reliance. There is a tendency to place greater emphasis on a livelihood approach to enhance the productivity of forced migrants, promote greater self-reliance, and help people to either regain sources of living lost during displacement or cultivate new ones.

27. In this respect, refugee livelihoods already acquired a prominent place in UNHCR's Convention Plus initiative and in the Agenda for Protection. This Agenda contains goals and objectives that could be relied upon to promote refugee livelihoods inter alia:

- Goal 3 "Sharing burdens and responsibilities more equitably and building capacities to receive and protect refugees." Objective 4: "Refugee communities empowered to meet their own protection needs."
- Goal 5: "Redoubling the search for durable solutions", Objective 7: "Achievement of Self-Reliance for Refugees".

Rights-based approach

28. There has traditionally been a tendency amongst humanitarian organizations to approach the issue of livelihoods and self-reliance from a technical perspective, focusing on the effective design and implementation of initiatives such as income-generating projects, micro-credit programmes, agriculture, and vocational training programmes. While this technical perspective is important – as is the question of financial resources – there is also a need to link the question of livelihoods with the issues of rights and protection (Crisp, 2003).

29. This philosophy is also reflected in the UN Secretary General's report "In Larger Freedom". The SG has given this title to his report not only to stress the enduring relevance of the Charter of the UN and to emphasise that its purposes must be advanced in the lives of individual men and women, but also to encapsulate the idea that development, security and human rights go hand in hand (UN General Assembly, A/59/2005, par 14). As stated in the OHCHR Draft Guidelines, *A Human Rights Approach to Poverty Reduction Strategies*, most of the salient features of the human rights normative framework can contribute to the empowerment of the poor. These features include the notion of accountability, the principles of universality, non-discrimination and equality, the principle of participatory decision-making processes, and recognition of the interdependence of rights (OHCHR, 2002).

30. Should refugee protection be seen in minimalist terms? In other words, should refugees just enjoy physical security and provision in their basic material needs, or should refugee protection also include access to a basic livelihood? The answer to this question can't be other than: "Yes". Indeed, right-based⁶ and livelihood approaches can be seen as complementary: respect for refugee rights can improve the establishment of livelihoods.

31. However, research (Jacobsen, 2002) has shown that many refugees cannot establish or maintain their livelihoods because they cannot exercise the rights to which they are entitled under international human rights, humanitarian law, and/or refugee law. Often, refugees suffer from the absence of civil, social and economic rights including freedom of movement and residence, freedom of speech and assembly, fair trial, property rights, the right to engage in wage labour, self-employment and the conclusion of valid contracts, access to school education, access to credit; protection against physical and sexual abuse, harassment, unlawful detention and deportation.

32. As argued by Durieux and McAdam (2004), there is no doubt that a large number of states – no matter how good their intentions – lack the resources to immediately grant the full range of the 1951 Refugee Convention⁷ rights to sudden large influxes of refugees. It is a sad but common feature of mass influx situations that refugees are denied many of the economic and social protections stipulated by

⁶ A rights-based approach is normatively based on international human-rights standards and operationally directed to promoting and protecting human rights.

⁷ "Convention relating to the Status of Refugees" (28 July 1951)

the Convention. Nevertheless, Durieux and McAdam continue by stating that while some rights restrictions may be justifiable during the initial emergency phase of a mass influx, protection should, in the spirit of the Convention, improve over time rather than stagnate or deteriorate.

33. A number of examples are given below which illustrate both the negative impact of restrictions and the positive impact of respect for refugees' rights on refugees and their ability to rebuild their livelihoods.

34. In his study of refugees in Cairo, Sperl (2001) argues that solid post-primary and training programmes must be a matter of priority as it is the only way to enable refugees to maximize their potential so they can compete adequately in the labour market, build a more secure future wherever they may go and compensate for the disadvantages their status usually entails. By depriving refugees from access to education⁸, refugees will lack the means to a better life for their children in any future durable solution. Education is a way to prevent the recurrence of violence and to create economic opportunities that allow refugees to become self-reliant, both in their situation as refugees and in the event of a durable solution.

35. An example of a success story in promoting refugee livelihoods is the Uganda Self Reliance Strategy (SRS). This strategy drawn up by the Government of Uganda and UNHCR has as its overall goal to improve the standard of living of the people of refugee hosting districts, including the refugees. In this regard, the Government of Uganda has among others, provided refugees with agricultural land with the objective of making them self-sufficient pending a durable solution. According to an RLSS/DOS mission report (No. 03/11) as a result refugees in the refugee hosting districts have progressively become productive members of their communities and have to some extent contributed to the overall development and poverty alleviation of host districts. Moreover, the SRS has also contributed to a change in attitude among refugees and the host communities from free handouts to self help and capacity building, and peaceful co-existence between the two communities. The provision of land and opportunities to refugees in the refugee hosting areas under the right of use for the time refugees are in exile, is seen as instrumental in the refugees' progress towards self-reliance and the improvement of their livelihoods. More recent research in Uganda (Sebba, 2005), confirms that access to land and the right to use it is essential for the livelihoods of rural communities

36. The situation of urban refugees living in Uganda's capital Kampala is less conducive. According to Macchiavello (2003), an estimated 15,000 refugees live in Kampala but are unable to fully use their skills for the benefit of their families or the Ugandan economy. This is mainly caused by the failure of Ugandan law to give refugees legal rights to work⁹. It is hoped that the Ugandan Government's new refugee policy which is aimed at finding durable solutions to refugee problems by addressing refugee issues within the broader framework of government policies, will tackle some of the limitations to refugee livelihoods outlined in Macchiavello's research.

37. Key elements in Uganda's new policy and practice regarding refugees include (High Commissioner's Forum, FORUM/2005/3, p. 13):

⁸ Art 22 (1), "Access to primary education" 1951 Refugee Convention

⁹ Art 17 (wage-earning employment) and Art 18 (self-employment) of the 1951 Refugee Convention

- the introduction in parliament in February 2004 of a bill addressing issues related to employment, freedom of movement, integration of services and self-reliance for refugees as well as development of host communities
- the adoption of the Poverty Eradication Plan (2004-2009) as the national planning framework, which provides additional entry points for incorporating refugee issues in development planning and
- Uganda's ambitious decentralization policy which creates systems and structures that should encourage participatory decision-making within and amongst refugee and national communities.

38. Research inside Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps (Kenya) (Jamal, 2000) reveals that refugees enjoy neither basic freedoms available to nationals nor the rights enshrined in the 1951 Convention. Their right to asylum in Kenya is premised upon complying with certain restrictive conditions. Refugees have limited freedom of movement, difficulty getting permission to work, no access to land for agricultural production, and no access to the credit or saving sector. Essentially, the refugees are confined to the camp areas. Further research by Horst (2001), on the situation of Somali refugees in Dadaab, states that the search for a livelihood is mainly complicated by the following two factors. First, Somali refugees are forced into the "informal sector" because their economic activities are considered illegal given the fact that they are not granted work permits. Second, the location of the Dadaab refugee camp further complicates attempts to secure a livelihood because the camp is located in an ecologically marginal area where refugees can hardly fall back on available natural resources.

39. In contrast, the ability of Liberian refugees in Ghana to exercise the rights of freedom of movement, access to employment and public education has contributed to their relative success to become self-reliant (Dick, 2002). It must also be said that even though a refugee may benefit from the rights he/she is entitled to, no success is guaranteed. For example, in Ghana where a Liberian refugee can work legally if he or she applies for a work permit, jobs are unfortunately rarely available.

40. According to Ecuadorian law, asylum-seekers are not permitted to work until their legal status is resolved. The waiting period, which can be as long as one year, is full of fear and anxiety and is more stressful because of the refugees' inability to legally engage in formal employment, the lack of labour opportunities and discrimination. Consequently, Colombian refugees must sustain illegal livelihoods during the asylum application process. Lo (2005) argues that removing the restriction on asylum-seekers will reduce the fear associated with working illegally, but will not help Colombians find work.

41. Apart from economic limitations, other factors may limit the pursuit of refugee livelihoods. For example, although the refugee certificate issued by the Government of Gabon implies the right to engage in income-generating activities similar in all ways to that of a Gabonese national, refugees encounter considerable difficulties or are not allowed to carry out economic activities due to restrictions imposed by the local authorities and employers. The refugee certificate issued by the national government does not seem to be recognised by all arms of the government services leading to harassment at barriers and check-points. (Stone and De Vriese, 2004).

42. The above-mentioned studies illustrate that consideration should not solely be given to the lifting of legal barriers. Due attention should equally be paid to non-legal barriers including limited access to the job-market because of poor economic conditions, remoteness of refugee settlements, and restrictions imposed by local authorities but also language differences, lack of skills, lack of tools or start-capital, and xenophobia towards refugees.

Refugee livelihood strategies

43. It is important to understand the efforts that people are already making themselves to stabilize and enhance their situation. As explained above, household strategies are the ways in which households deploy assets and use their capabilities in order to meet their objectives and are often based on past experience. Coping mechanisms are special kinds of strategies employed during difficult times. This chapter will be looking into the livelihood /coping strategies developed by refugee households to access and mobilize resources. Even though every refugee population and situation is different, an attempt has been made to determine general trends such as seeking international protection, receiving humanitarian assistance, relying on social networks and solidarity, engaging in agriculture or trade and services provision, falling back on negative coping strategies, and adopting new gender roles.

44. Refugee households are not that different from other households in a sense that given the opportunity, refugee households will manage their resources and exercise their options in an optimal manner. Thus the most effective responses should build on existing strategies and work towards creating opportunities that enable refugees to channel their own energies towards solutions. In this regard, each livelihood strategy developed by refugees will be followed by the answer of UNHCR and UNHCR's implementing partners to enhance refugee livelihoods.

45. It is worth noting that the categorizing of refugee strategies is rather superficial, especially given that most households do not limit themselves to one activity. On the contrary, many authors have found that diversification is often used as a livelihood strategy. By carrying out different income-generating activities, refugees try to make the most of the opportunities available to them. The strategies are not just limited to diversification of activities but also of location. As illustrated by Levron (2006) Liberian and Sierra Leonean refugee households in Guinea strategised their settlement to diversify their resources. They placed some household members in camps to access resources there, and other members in urban areas where a different set of resources could be targeted.

Seeking international protection and migration as a livelihood strategy

46. In the first instance, fleeing from one's country to find safety and to protect any remaining assets can be regarded as a livelihood strategy. However, upon settlement in their first country of asylum (often a neighbouring country), many refugees find it difficult to build up a decent livelihood and yearn for a better life elsewhere. For example, one of the reasons why many Somali refugees dream about resettlement or to migrate beyond the refugee camps is related to the poor conditions of their life in the camps as well as the slim chances that they will be able to return to their country of origin in the foreseeable future. Horst (2001) was told how over the years the dream for resettlement has increased since the situation in the Dadaab refugee camps in Kenya is getting worse and a solution to the war in Somalia seems far.

47. Another important factor making people dream about a better life elsewhere is the need for peace and security. For example during the peace negotiations in Djibouti, Horst found how this yearning for resettlement was reduced since the Somali refugees were hoping for peace in their home country.

48. Refugees do not only want to migrate in order to leave their harsh living conditions behind but also because they anticipate certain opportunities and conditions elsewhere. When asked many refugees say that the ultimate solution to their plight is for most to settle in an industrialised country. This yearning could be stimulated by the global communication revolution and the expansion of mass media and global mass marketing which shows images of a life that is easier, safer and that provides more opportunities.

49. However, refugees often have unrealistic expectations about their chances to be resettled. Only one out of 650 people¹⁰ are eventually resettled. Many others try to find their way through other channels. And even though these persons often become prey to human smugglers and traffickers, migration is still seen as the ultimate solution to rebuild their livelihoods and the livelihoods of many other people they leave behind.

50. As illustrated by research done in Egypt (Al-Sharmani, 2004), refugees expressed a sense of frustration. The discontentment rather stemmed from a discrepancy between the policies of UNHCR and the understanding of the refugees on their entitlements to be recognised and resettled. Hence the importance for UNHCR and its partners to thoroughly inform refugees on the eligibility criteria, probability, consequences, advantages and disadvantages of each of the durable solutions, so that people can make informed but above all realistic decisions. If it becomes clear to refugees that resettlement is not always realistic they could be more incited to invest in rebuilding their livelihoods where they are.

Receiving humanitarian assistance

51. On first arriving in a country of asylum, an input of material resources is required to ensure that refugees are able to meet their basic needs. In this regard refugee camps can play an important role as safety nets. As argued by Jamal in his article on *Camps and Freedoms* in FMR 16, camps may indeed serve as an important emergency protection function. Camps provide a safety net by enabling the rapid and efficient disbursement of assistance in emergencies. Also some refugees may venture out knowing that their family members left behind in the camp will be cared for and that if they fail to make ends meet outside the camp, they themselves may return. Jamal continues that even though camps may supply protection and security, they are not designed to enhance freedoms. He concludes that camps may provide security from persecution but if - in the long run - refugees are to prosper, and prove less of a burden, refugees must be given the freedom to make their own choices and to lead productive lives.

52. Throughout the studies it was noticed that refugees feel discomfort and fear to reveal their individual and collective efforts to sustain and plan for themselves. They

¹⁰ In 2003 out of a population of 16,081,852 only 25,881 were resettled. UNHCR Statistical Yearbook 2003.

believe that by their resourcefulness and hard work to survive, they will not be eligible anymore for UNHCR's assistance. As became evident in the studies, it appeared that a number of refugees had developed a dependency on receiving humanitarian assistance. But does this not rather illustrate that humanitarian assistance has become part of the livelihood strategies developed by refugees? Hence, humanitarian aid becomes a component of a refugee's livelihood strategy.

53. In this regard it is worth noting that there is a growing body of research¹¹ that rejects the idea of the dependency syndrome and sees the observed behaviour as a greater reflection on the aid agencies than on the refugees. When faced with a set of external interventions that can provide them with benefits, refugees will present themselves as needy and will try to receive what they can. Some refugees will even try to maximise the assistance to better support themselves and their households by ration card fraud or splitting households into smaller groups. What can be learned of this is that if provision is based on need, people will present themselves as needy. But wouldn't it be more useful if humanitarian assistance is provided in a way that promotes refugees' own positive and independent livelihood-strengthening strategies?

54. However, humanitarian sources of funding are largely geared towards short-term projects characterized by physical delivery of inputs (delivery-driven) and formulaic approaches to sectors. UNHCR's programmes are often predicated on refugees and other beneficiaries functioning as recipients of assistance and not as decision makers and evaluators of the effectiveness of aid. Mechanisms rarely exist in such programmes for refugees to become involved in any meaningful way in discussions about the best use of resources, or about effective modes of assistance delivery.

55. But resources from international assistance can provide basic needs as well as opportunities for livelihoods-strengthening. First, relief interventions target many parts of the livelihood system, ranging from food, water, shelter and health. Humanitarian aid and assistance in kind are often translated into commodities for trade often creating new regional economies. For example, it is common for some part of the UNHCR/WFP food package to be bartered or sold to obtain access to essential or desired items of food available locally in the host community. Second, aid agencies implement formal livelihood support programmes, such as income generating activities. Third, livelihood opportunities are indirect economic stimuli to the local economy.

56. A good example of humanitarian assistance geared towards support to livelihoods is the WFP-UNHCR Memorandum of Understanding, most recently updated in September 2002 which highlights the importance of efforts to support asset-building activities and encourage self-reliance of beneficiaries.

57. There are multiple forms of food interventions in situations of forced displacement to protect or rebuild livelihoods, such as *Food for Work* (FFW) or *Food for Training* (FFT). FFW or FFT can be introduced to support agricultural production, restore productive, social or transport infrastructure.

¹¹ See for example Bakewell (2003) and Kaiser (2001).

58. However, according to Guarnieri (2004), food aid is not always the most appropriate resource when seeking to preserve assets or support livelihoods. She warns that livelihood interventions must be based upon careful analysis of the current availability and accessibility of food, the impact that the crisis has had on family assets and livelihood strategies, and the role that food aid could play in both preserving assets and meeting households' consumption needs. It is also important to take account of the impact that food aid would have on the policies, institutions and processes that influence livelihood strategies, particularly markets. For example where food is available on the market and people simply do not have the means to gain access to it without depleting essential assets, cash interventions may be a preferred mode of response.

Relying on social networks and solidarity

59. According to Jacobsen (2002), there is growing evidence that communication and ties with relatives and friends living abroad has helped refugees survive the harsh conditions of their displacement. Assistance from family and friends abroad can include financial resources, such as remittances, as well as the social capital that comes with refugee networks which increase information flows and enable trade and relocation. These trans-national resources often complement assistance provided by humanitarian agencies and the host government.

60. For instance, four out of ten refugees interviewed in Banjul Gambia said to rely on remittances sent to them by family members living in the United States, Canada, United Kingdom and other countries (Conway, 2004) while Horst (2005) estimated that at least ten to fifteen percent of the population in the Dadaab camps benefited directly from remittances. Whereas, according to Al-Sharmani (2004), for the Somali refugees in Cairo and their family members and close friends in other host societies, mobility and establishing trans-national families had become part of a process of resisting marginalization and achieving varying degrees of participation and acceptance in several host societies rather than the elusive goal of adequate integration in one host society.

61. Remittances are not solely to be considered as a form of social security, the money can also serve as investment in business, to assist others, or for education purposes and hence support or help rebuild livelihoods.

62. Apart from social networks abroad, refugees also turn to social networks in the host country. As most of developing countries have no functional social welfare system for the refugees, they often try to fall back on solidarity. Research in South Africa (Golooba-Mutebi, 2004) for instance, revealed that some Mozambican refugees joined their fellow countrymen who had formerly migrated to South Africa for economic reasons. These networks allowed them to more rapidly improve their livelihoods as opposed to other refugees.

63. Another important strategy a number of refugees have readily adopted is the development of inter-household economic and social networks. These networks, based on solidarity, provide a safety net built on mutual aid in coping with limited income-generating opportunities and social insecurity. As illustrated by case-studies in Egypt and Ecuador (Al-Sharmani, 2004; Lo, 2005), refugees frequently share small

apartments. This pooling of resources contributes to economic survival and securing livelihoods.

Rural refugee livelihoods - falling back on subsistence farming

64. A number of refugees turn to subsistence farming as a coping mechanism. However, the development of rural livelihoods such as agriculture and pastoralism depends on the availability of and access to land and natural resources.

65. When insufficient land is available, many refugees may still engage in agriculture by encroaching on land which they have no right to use. Or because refugees hope for a quick return, they could resort to unsustainable farming practices such as for example indiscriminate land clearance. As has become clear from several reports produced by UNHCR's Engineering and Environmental Services Section (EESS), agricultural activities and pastoralism can take a toll on the environment by causing inter alia: deforestation, water pollution, and overuse of arable and grazing land. For example, in Guinea, the indiscriminate extraction of palm oil by refugees for the production of palm wine led to the destruction of large numbers of palm trees. The diminution of income for both refugees and the local population inevitably led to tensions between these parties (De Vriese, 2002). In this regard it is also worth mentioning Kibreab's research (1996) on the environmental impact of Eritrean refugees on a region of the Sudan. Kibreab argues against the notion that refugees will always degrade the environment in which they live and states that their likelihood to contribute to environmental degradation is directly linked to the level of rights they are granted.

66. A useful reference document, *A Handbook for Promoting Sound Agricultural Practices* has been developed by UNHCR. The handbook is intended to help develop an understanding of what needs to be considered when dealing with agriculture in a refugee or returnee operation, presents options and approaches for crop production, explores opportunities for minimising environmental impacts and provides guidelines for developing locally appropriate initiatives.

67. Conditions allowing - such as access to farmland, irrigation water, liberty of movement, etc - humanitarian agencies provide refugees with seeds, tools and sometimes technical support. In many cases, agriculture could indeed allow refugees to develop sustainable livelihoods. However, in order to further develop agriculture as a reliable livelihood option for refugees, humanitarian agencies could encourage refugees to diversify their activities and provide for the accession to markets. Case studies in Gabon and Senegal (De Vriese and Stone, 2004) have revealed that export crop-production is limited due to the remoteness and transport and infrastructure limitations to bring harvest to the markets. Furthermore, unchecked and unaided production can lead towards saturation of already limited markets.

68. A good example of supporting rural refugee livelihoods is the Zambia Initiative. In late 2000 the Government of Zambia approached the international donor community to propose an initiative which is based on the understanding that, as refugees bring human and material assets and resources, they can become productive members of a host society and can play a positive role in alleviating poverty (High Commissioner's Forum, FORUM/2005/3, p. 14). The aim of the ZI is to achieve local development and in the process to find durable solutions for

refugees hosted in Western Zambia. The programme stimulates refugee and host communities to work together on agriculture, livestock, education and health projects. The ZI has made firm progress towards achieving economic and social empowerment of refugees, poverty reduction and enhanced food security among the local host communities.

69. According to a Statement of Good Practice on Targeting Development Assistance for Durable Solutions to Forced Displacement (High Commissioner's Forum, FORUM/2005/3, p. 14), after only one year of implementation, the refugee hosting areas reached the target for food self-reliance for the first time in 36 years. Refugees have among other measures taken by the Government of Zambia, benefited from the past two consecutive agricultural campaigns (2003-2004 and 2004-2005) in form of subsidised agricultural inputs and implements through the national "Fertilizers/Inputs Support Programme" of the Ministry of Agriculture and Cooperatives (High Commissioner's Forum, FORUM/2005/3, p. 15).

70. Non-agricultural activities such as wood collection and non-farm labour are also essential to household livelihood strategies. It is therefore important for UNHCR to realize that supporting rural refugee livelihoods is not identical to supporting subsistence farming. For example (Pain, 2002), despite the fact that returned Afghan households live in a rural context, the role of agriculture in their livelihoods is very variable and for many not a major or even significant component of their livelihood strategies.

71. While agricultural programmes could have the added value of promoting food security and stabilising population movements to urban areas, humanitarian agencies should also recognise that not every refugee is a farmer and that a large number of refugees could have better opportunities to improve their livelihood in urban areas.

72. Refugees should not be considered as a homogenous group having little or no difficulty in adapting to rural conditions. As illustrated in a number of studies, rural areas constitute an inappropriate solution for those skilled individuals, mostly of urban background, who are unable to survive by farming and where they cannot fall back on existing skills and experiences which are more oriented towards life in the city (Conway, 2004; Macchiavello, 2003; Levron 2006).

Urban refugee livelihoods

73. Often, insufficient attention is being paid to urban refugee livelihoods. This chapter will be devoted to some issues that should be taken into consideration when aiming at improving the particular situation of urban refugee livelihoods.

74. Host governments and the international community are hardly addressing the issue of urban displacement arguing that this is opening Pandora's box: substantial additional resources would be required and assisting displaced populations in urban settings could act as a pull-factor and thus attract hordes of refugees to the cities, an environment that is more difficult to control and manage compared with rural areas. Urban refugees can be difficult to identify and/or reach. They are living amongst locals and other foreigners and very often in hiding.

75. One finds not only refugees from urban origins in urban areas. An increasing number of refugees with rural backgrounds tend to settle in urban areas as well. This group often perceives urban areas as havens of modernity and democratic and economic prosperity. They hope to find safety and anonymity and better conditions allowing them to improve their livelihoods.

76. With regard to return operations it is worth noting that it is also common for refugees to become “urbanised” by the experience of living in camps. Thus, on return they do not want to fall back on their former rural livelihoods, but prefer to support themselves in urban areas or even in settlements designed specifically to accommodate returnees, as long as the market prospects are good¹².

77. Overall, refugees are drawn to the city by opportunities to trade and use their skills to offer services to better-off city residents, the presence of hospitals and private medical services, accommodation, schooling and vocational training, internet access to maintain contacts with relatives, transfer money and explore business opportunities, recreational and intellectual activities.

78. Refugees in urban areas are economically, politically and culturally tied to the larger urban community, therefore their livelihoods are inextricably interdependent upon local relationships and processes. Urban settings present specific opportunities and constraints for refugees seeking to improve their livelihoods.

79. Urban refugees face similar challenges as the urban poor such as growing slum areas, rising unemployment rates, insecure housing access, increased pressure on state and community resources, compounded with barriers such as xenophobia and insecure legal status what makes them more vulnerable to exploitation and marginalization. The situation of Columbian refugees in Ecuador (Lo, 2005) illustrates this rather sharply: unlike the urban poor with whom they share many hardships, Columbians face the additional strains of severe discrimination, problems regarding legal status. They also lack the community and family networks that most Ecuadorians depend upon for daily survival and in times of crisis.

80. Although the formal and informal sectors of the urban economy offer a wide variety of employment and business opportunities, livelihoods pursued on the margins of urban society present the risk of exploitation and serious protection problems. Women in particular are susceptible to the dangers of working in the streets without protection against theft, rape, sexual abuse, exploitation or unhealthy physical environments.

81. The most common livelihood strategy amongst refugee men in urban areas is to perform day jobs. To get informed on job opportunities, they have to rely on a good information network and need access to the labour market. Hence, it becomes difficult for men to earn a stable and regular living, notably for those who formerly worked in agriculture and who uneasily adapt to the specifics of urban jobs. Women find it easier to earn a living, as they have the possibility to sell items on the market or to find work in the domestic sector, restaurants and hotels.

¹² For more information regarding refugees becoming urbanised please see Hammond, Laura, *This place will become home. Refugee Repatriation to Ethiopia*. Cornell University Press, 2004.

82. Research (Lo, 2005; Levron, 2006; Al Sharmani, 2004; Sperl, 2001) indicates that a lot of refugees in urban settings are part of trans-national networks including refugees in camps as well as relatives in urban centres in Europe, Australia and North America and that remittances from abroad are often vital to their survival.

83. A prerequisite for any successful programme is the legal recognition of urban refugees. In absence of a recognised legal status, access to employment is obstructed and “self-reliance” becomes difficult to reach. As stated in a workshop report: the lack of documents for many of the refugees living in Moscow obstruct access to social services, basic medical care, education and employment (Furley, Obi and Crisp, 2002). A similar problem is outlined in a case-study on Afghan urban refugees in New Delhi where it is stated that because of India’s unwillingness to accede to the 1951 UN Refugee Convention and India’s failure to establish any domestic refugee legislation, the Afghan refugees have suffered from a precarious legal status and have not been accorded the formal right to work or establish businesses in India (Obi and Crisp, 2000). While Sperl (2001) in his study undertaken in Cairo came to the conclusion that despite the fact that Egypt has acceded to the 1951 Convention, refugees are not allowed to work and can only secure an income through illegal employment in the informal sector of the economy.

84. Like other people, urban refugees possess skills which, under the right conditions, would lead them to become self-sufficient. Urban refugees should not be regarded as helpless people or as people with needs for others to fill but as people with a number of assets for the refugee community as well as the host community. For instance (Macchiavello, 2003), urban refugees in Kampala have overcome many of the constraints hindering their efforts to secure a livelihood by favouring self-employment, learning English or using intermediaries to penetrate the market, supplying education and vocational training, living in small fraternal groups, setting up a business, etc.

85. Current programmes involving urban refugees are not necessarily considering the best interests of both the refugees and their country of asylum. The refugees’ qualities and best abilities to survive should be taken into consideration, as should the positive effects for the country of asylum.

86. Just as for refugees living in rural areas, self-reliance programmes for urban refugees should be developed based on careful planning and preparation, as well as a detailed knowledge of the refugee population concerned. These programmes should draw on the expertise of organizations with an understanding of the local market and experience in the promotion of small-scale enterprises. Furthermore, assisting urban refugees with developing their managerial and entrepreneurial skills could enhance their efforts and empower them against exploitation. For example, as women are often the most effective bread-winners, a study on urban refugees in Cairo (Sperl, 2001) recommends to maximize the existing earning potential of the refugees in that city by providing targeted support for women and working mothers

87. As different case-studies have shown the availability of physical and legal protection as well as access to the labour market are also prerequisites for building up a livelihood in urban settings. In this regard, UNHCR’s policy on refugees in urban areas could place greater emphasis on the means whereby UNHCR can encourage and assist urban refugees to establish sustainable livelihoods.

Engaging in trade and services

88. As part of their livelihood strategy, refugees engage in petty trading, such as buying and selling goods (firewood, charcoal, vegetables, prepared food, cigarettes, sweets, etc) or in providing services (hair dressing, mechanics, food preparation, construction, telephone booths, language tutoring or interpreting, money transfers, etc).

89. In some cases, cooperatives can increase purchasing power with economies of scale in the purchase of materials and also reduce marketing costs. But cooperative bodies may not be successful in all situations. As shown by research in Gabon (Stone, De Vriese, 2004) for cooperatives to be successful their needs to be a climate of trust, sharing and willingness to engage in group activities. The Congolese refugees in Gabon said not to trust each other in business and described themselves as too individualistic to engage in cooperatives.

90. The example of Liberian refugees in Ghana (Dick, 2002) can be given as an illustration of refugees' entrepreneurship. The Liberians trade what they have in order to get what they need. Culturally inappropriate maize rations received from UNHCR were sold to the Ghanaians to buy rice. Also, men and women are running successful tailoring, clothing, shoe, carpentry and electronic goods repair shops and beauty salons as well as selling clean water and cooked food and offering IT and typing training. The sudden growth in telephone enterprises furthermore enables Liberians to keep in touch with relatives and to receive remittances.

91. Refugees often work at below market rates or under exploitative conditions. For example in Egypt, refugees still work for minimal rewards, whether for members of the local population, for more prosperous refugees or for aid organizations (Al-Sharmani, 2004). Humanitarian agencies and host governments have an important role to play by putting mechanisms into place allowing refugees to engage in trade and services and avoid exploitative employment.

92. Grants and micro-credits are often used to help refugees set up a small business or other income generating activities. Grants are not to be confounded with micro-credit lending. Most people considered to be vulnerable need grants rather than loans. Only those who have the skills and experience to conduct a viable and quickly sustainable business should be given loans. Grants can be given under the form of cash, capital, equipment and raw materials and are provided for free. It is only once people have generated income from their productive activities, that they may be in a better position to benefit from and more easily repay loans.

93. Grant programmes quickly infuse capital to the entrepreneur without a repayment burden and require only moderate institutional capacity among implementing organizations. As investigated by Tucker (2004) grants entail lower financial and security risk than loans since no periodic repayments are required, hyperinflation may reduce the value of loans and increase the cost of repayment whereas grants are made at the prevailing exchange rate. Grants can be made to a family-run micro-enterprise whereas microfinance programmes require group guarantees of loans. However, they serve a limited number of people and can negatively impact the credit culture if relied upon too extensively. In the immediate

aftermath of an emergency, grant programmes may in many cases be more appropriate. However, as the situation stabilizes and the general economic status of the population improves the emphasis should change from grants to loans.

94. A micro-credit is a line of credit or a loan provided to beneficiaries to start a small business. When introduced and administered correctly it can improve the welfare and well-being of refugees. One should stay cautious because micro-credits can represent an easy way for people to divert money received for productive activities to more immediate support needs, commonly to pay for rent and medical services or to repay debts they have already incurred. In Gabon, the two systems - grants and micro-credits - were introduced immediately one after the other, which caused confusion and misunderstanding amongst refugees about repayment (De Vriese, Stone, 2004). The majority of the benefiting refugees considered the micro-credit as being a grant and used the money for buying consumption goods, paying of other loans, school fees or rent instead of investing the money in activities that could create revenue.

95. The purpose of micro-credits is very well described by Jacobsen (November 2002). Micro-credits are intended to provide financial support to qualified people seeking to set up or expand a viable and possibly sustainable livelihood, with the hope and expectation that down the road these livelihoods will sustain and rejuvenate the community by providing goods and services, increase the fiscal base, and provide employment.

96. Micro-credits require certain conditions to operate such as minimum stability, a minimum cash economy, a demand for financial services and sufficient economic activities. A prerequisite for the implementation of micro-credits is the presence of an organization with proven skills and expertise and a clear separation from social welfare activities. Basic, focused training should be provided for all those engaged in credit-related businesses to enable them to become "independent" as quickly as possible.

97. For short and long term micro-credit schemes to be viable, rigorous screening of beneficiaries, training and regular monitoring are essential. Still, a degree of flexibility is necessary, especially in the scheduling of repayments.

98. Provision of micro-credits is applied quite often when aiming at improving livelihoods of people who do not that easily have access to other systems of money lending. A number of success factors can be identified. Based on successful micro-credit projects for IDPs in Azerbaijan (Flowers, 2003; Kvernrod, 2004) and refugees in Guinea and Sierra Leone (Nourse, 2003) some success factors can be identified:

- programmes are adapted to refugee context and conducted by appropriate staff, good monitoring and management by an organization with proven skills and expertise in micro-finance schemes
- credibility is established in the community before issuing micro-credits
- meetings are held with community elders and leaders to make sure loan terms and conditions are known to all potential borrowers

- a range of labour-intensive economic opportunities are available in areas nearby
- there is access to productive resources and markets,
- a good credit culture has been established, underpinned by the commitment of the host government
- micro-credits are combined with other development activities such as education, training, primary health care, and business development services
- good relationship of the microfinance institution with the community and regular communication and follow-up visits
- good timing of the intervention: microfinance is likely to be a more appropriate intervention once the situation has stabilized.
- donor and microfinance institutions are committed to sustainable - read longer term - service delivery

Investing in education and skills training

99. Skills training and education are no luxuries. A society's level of economic growth and prosperity is intimately linked to the quality of education and training. Education and training should not be seen as ancillary but vital, primary and no less important than the provision of food and health care.

100. According to research among refugees in Guinea (Kaiser, 2001), refugees regard education and training as anti-conflict strategies, and as the principal means of making capital out of their exile and perceive education as a key to escape poverty. This is also illustrated by Kuhlman (2002) who states that Liberians refugees in Côte d'Ivoire have gone to great lengths and made considerable sacrifices to ensure that their children could go to school.

101. Providing skills training for youth should be a key component in promoting livelihoods for refugees. It is important for young people to develop the practical, intellectual and social skills that will serve them throughout their lives. However, concrete possibilities for putting education and skills training to income-generating - be it in the field of farming or trade and services - must be assessed realistically. According to Sesnan, Wood, Anselme and Avery (2004), the rule should be simple: no market demand, no training. Vocational training schemes should be oriented towards the local labour market of the host country or towards employment opportunities in the country of origin in case of impending repatriation.

Falling back on negative coping strategies

102. Nearly every study on refugee livelihoods has observed negative coping strategies. These strategies become more frequent when few other options are available: some see themselves forced to sell off vital assets such as domestic items, clothes, part of the food ration, etc. Many find themselves obliged to resort to crime,

violence, loans that they are not able to repay, or to reduce the intake of food and selling of food rations in order to cover the need of non-food items not extended in the assistance package. Other negative coping strategies range from illegal collection of natural resources such as firewood, theft of crops, cattle and other assets, to selling sexual services as a means of making a living.

103. As an illustration, one of the most frequent means for refugees to survive in a protracted situation is by means of exploitative sexual relationships, either by commercial prostitution (Conway, 2004; Levron, 2006) or through relationships in which a woman or girl receives goods and gifts from a regular sexual partner (Dick, 2002). Research in Guinea (Kaiser, 2001) revealed a consensus among women and youth that selling sexual favours whether formally for cash or on the basis of a kind of patronage, is a function of poverty and an absence of alternative income generating and attractive livelihood strategies.

104. Desperate people will look to any source to get access to the resources they need. Nevertheless, cracking down on negative or illicit coping strategies without offering alternatives denies people access to basic resources and undermines their strategies for survival.

Adopting new gender roles

105. Refugee women and men's experiences in creating and maintaining livelihoods are different. A number of studies illustrate that they face different constraints and insecurities. Moreover, due to flight and experience in exile, changes have occurred in gender roles and socio-economic status. Old authorities are losing grip and a new authority – humanitarian organizations – is perceived as having control over resources and ideological formations.

106. According to Turner (1999), the UNHCR's policy of equality between men and women can challenge older hierarchies of authority and be a factor that influences refugees' room for manoeuvre and coping strategies. Turner explains that as a consequence of international relief, men especially are affected in their roles as fathers, husbands, protectors and providers. Displacement tends to hurt men especially in their political identity, the loss of formal power networks and their institutionalized participation in society.

107. The gendered division of labour, including income and basic needs provision as well as care tasks may have changed. It seems that in many refugee situations, women are assuming the primary role of breadwinner. According to Leben (2005), women have taken greater responsibility for their families often because men are absent, disabled or unwilling to do the lower status and lower paid jobs that are available.

108. Faced with several hindrances in their attempts to establish a livelihood, refugee women try to build up their social capital¹³ for example by forming groups through which they harness their joint labour (Sebba, 2005). Social capital helps to increase women's productivity, improves their access to income generating activities

¹³ In the DFID and Oxfam livelihood frameworks, social assets are "social resources which people draw upon in pursuit of their livelihood objectives", social networks and organizations.

and facilitates knowledge sharing. Often, women do not earn cash income but exchange their labour for food or housing that contributes to their household's survival.

109. In their attempts to establish a livelihood, women and girls face particular risks. For instance, girls are the first to be pulled out of schools or face early marriage when household livelihoods are on the brink, and women may even risk sexual abuse or enter into prostitution to protect their families' lives and livelihoods. Refugee women are particularly susceptible to dependency on relationships with men as a way to sustain themselves and their families financially. As a result, teenage pregnancy is common, giving many young women the added burden of providing for a child and thus perpetuating the need to be dependent on a boyfriend.

110. Many families are also obliged to make their children work. They often combine begging with paid activities such as selling water and food, mending bicycles, etc..

111. Women face particular risk from negative coping strategies. They are more likely to bear the brunt of food shortages, affecting their health as well as the health and long-term potential for their unborn or young children.

112. There is a difference between the strategies adopted and the risks faced by men and women. It is important to document the livelihood strategies that men and women are pursuing, the assets that they rely on for their livelihoods, the policies, institutions and processes that influence their ability to pursue livelihood strategies.

Local population

113. Research related to humanitarian assistance often disregards the local context of development. In order to have a balanced analysis it is also necessary to look at the living conditions of host communities and their relationships with refugees. It is crucial to understand whether the quality of life faced by refugees are solely linked to their situation of displacement or are also felt by the local population.

114. Frequently, displaced populations face challenging environments, and often impose economic, environmental and security burdens on their hosts. For instance (Lo, 2005), the economic crisis in Ecuador has resulted in high levels of discrimination against Columbians as they compete with Ecuadorians for resources and scarce employment opportunities.

115. On the other hand, the multiple ways in which refugees pursue their livelihoods may also bring vital contributions to the local economy. An illustration of the productive relationships that can exist in situations where there are mutual benefits to both refugees and host populations is the case of Angolan refugees in Zambia (Bakewell, 2002). Here, the majority of refugees share the same livelihoods based on subsistence farming with their Zambian neighbours. They live as neighbours in the same villages and their children go to the same schools. While the Zambian villagers have welcomed the Angolans and offered them protection and land, the Angolans have brought additional labour for agricultural production plus access to some of Angola's natural resources.

116. In contrast, in South Western Uganda's Nakivale refugee settlement both the refugees and the host populations have the same main economic activity of animal rearing and agriculture. But unlike their hosts, refugees have access to adequate social services provided by UNHCR. This in itself has been a cause of xenophobia vis-à-vis the refugees who are seen as privileged by the local population. Also, according to Sebba (2005), the degree of enjoyment of the land resource has become a point of contention between host populations and refugees. At first, refugees were settled in sparsely populated areas and enjoyed good relations with the host populations. However, population increase and the advent of a cash economy increased the value of land, leading to strained social relations between refugees and local populations.

117. Research amongst host communities in western Tanzania (Whitaker, 1999) focused on changing opportunities faced by host communities. The study concludes that the influx of refugees created a new context in which hosts devised strategies to gain access to incoming resources and to maintain access to their own resources. Differing strategies and structures allowed some hosts to benefit while others became worse off. The broad pattern which emerged out of this study was that hosts who already had access to resources or power were better poised to exploit the refugee situation. While hosts who were already disadvantaged in the local socio-economic structure, struggled to maintain access to even the most basic resources and thus became further marginalized.

118. A livelihood approach to assessing opportunities for programming can reveal areas where hosts are willing or unwilling, able or unable to share resources with the displaced, as well as how the local population perceives the presence of refugees (and the attendant assistance programmes) into their own livelihood strategies. Such information can also be used to establish standards of self-sufficiency, integration, or well-being of both the displaced and hosts if the displacement becomes protracted.

119. According to Hammond, Anderson, Holt and Chinogwenya, (2005), providing livelihood support to host populations can help mitigate tensions between the displaced and the local communities, and may also enable host populations to share their resources more readily with the displaced. Indeed, often livelihood activities can help re-create and maintain social and economic inter-dependence within and between communities (Jacobsen, 2002).

120. Factors that positively influence the relation with the host community are: a shared ethnic background, existing economic interactions before the influx, and sharing cultural and linguistic attributes. These factors are an asset for peaceful co-existence and/or local integration. Research in Senegal (Stone et al., 2005) and South Africa (Golooba-Mutebi, 2004) illustrates that, depending on the particular circumstances of their arrival and insertion into the host community, refugees are able to forge productive relationships with members of the host community and enrich their communities socially, culturally, and economically. These two studies also reveal that, when left alone to use their talents and different forms of capital (economic, social and physical) they possess, refugees are capable of rebuilding their lives based on multiple livelihood strategies and need not be a drain on national resources. Sometimes refugees do thrive without assistance, but certainly this process can be expedited by providing assistance that helps to facilitate their efforts. This is the essential thrust of livelihoods work: to find people's areas of resilience and strengths and to help them maximise these qualities.

Phases in the refugee life cycle

121. When looking into refugee livelihoods, one should consider the dynamics of the contexts affecting people's capacities to achieve their livelihood goals. Supporting and promoting refugee livelihoods is not limited to certain phases in the refugee lifecycle, but is applicable from the outbreak of an emergency until and even beyond the phase where a durable solution has been found. It is important to understand that depending on the phase of an operation, the livelihood goals will also be different.

122. An emergency situation is usually limited to providing life-saving essentials such as security, food, water and shelter. However, using a livelihood approach from the outset would not only allow saving lives but also allow refugee households to preserve their assets. For example, refugees with marketable trades such as tailors, bakers and blacksmiths could be provided with assistance early in the emergency to keep their business going so that they cannot only preserve their own productive assets, but continue to provide essential services to the displaced community.

123. There is a tendency to perceive refugee crises as short-term phenomena that can quickly be resolved. Unfortunately, this is in many cases a perception which has proved unfounded. The world has seen the appearance of Protracted Refugee Situations. In protracted refugee situations (PRS), refugees find themselves trapped in a state of limbo: they cannot go home (repatriation), they cannot settle permanently in their country of asylum (local integration), and they do not have the option of moving to a country which has agreed to receive them (resettlement). In the "Protracted Refugee Situations" presented at the 30th meeting of UNHCR's Standing Committee, a protracted refugee situation is described as: "*A situation in which refugees find themselves in a long-lasting and intractable state of limbo. Their lives may not be at risk, but their basic rights and essential economic, social and psychosocial needs remain unfulfilled after years in exile. A refugee in this situation is often unable to break away from enforced reliance on external assistance.*"¹⁴

124. Protracted Refugee Situations tend to break down people's resilience so that they are less able to provide for themselves, not even once a durable solution has become possible. While they may creatively use assistance provided to them by host governments and the international community, livelihoods tend to shift from an initial attempt to maintain self-sufficiency to the expectation that assistance will be provided indefinitely. Assistance risks to take the place of productivity. In this regard support to livelihoods could be the solution for refugees to break away from enforced reliance on external assistance.

125. Support to and promotion of livelihoods includes but should also go beyond the time people spend in asylum. This is also echoed in UNHCR's "*Framework for Durable Solutions for refugees and people of concern*" which puts increasing emphasis on

¹⁴ Protracted Refugee Situations. Standing Committee, 30th Meeting, EC/54/SC/CRP.14, 10 June 2004, p. 1.

the importance of self-reliance and livelihoods for refugees as a way to improve the quality of asylum but also to better prepare them for durable solutions.

Success factors and limitations

126. Research has shown that the success of any livelihood intervention highly depends on a sound legal framework, the right design and the correct implementation of programmes, and on working with implementing partners demonstrating appropriate technical expertise in supporting livelihoods.

127. In this section an overview will be given of the major difficulties encountered by refugees in recreating and sustaining their livelihoods, what type of interventions offer potential for success or what went wrong with the less effective interventions and what are the factors leading to success/failure of strategies.

People at the centre and encouraging participatory approaches

128. When embarking on livelihood supporting activities a bottom-up approach is the preferred option. One of the most crucial elements is ensuring and incorporating refugee voice and participation. UNHCR's success in Guatemala (Cheng and Chudoba, 2003) can be largely contributed to the fact that the agency was able to rely on the vast leadership and knowledge potential within the refugee population. Amongst those Guatemalan refugees that UNHCR assisted, the most successful refugee communities were those where refugees had been given choices: to live where they wanted, with whom they wanted, and to support themselves the way they wanted.

129. The case of Guatemala also shows that attempts to assist refugees rebuild their livelihood should be based on building on existing efforts, skills and capacities, supporting assets, reducing constraints and maximizing the use of all their resources and where appropriate link these to income generating activities. Another success story was UNHCR's agriculture programme in Côte d'Ivoire (Kuhlman, 2002), that focused on assisting an activity which local people were already undertaking and supported solutions found by refugees themselves, rather than designing new ones for them.

130. Studies revealed that a common strategy for dealing with all kinds of risks is to diversify livelihood activities. It is therefore important to recognize the diverse asset bases and variable income portfolios i.e. that households have a range of income sources many of which have a seasonal dimension and not to simply support people's livelihoods but also to provide as much choice and livelihood options as possible.

131. As there is even diversification within a household's livelihood strategy, activities tend to be more successful when taking gender/household particularities into account. For instance, by assisting women to help maximize the effectiveness of their livelihood strategies, and men to create employment opportunities so that they both can better contribute to the welfare of the household. Even where women may offer the most promising opportunities for success, men should not be excluded. By identifying innovative roles women and men play in the formal and informal sector,

one can build on the successful strategies and try to counteract the negative strategies by proposing alternatives.

132. However, a recent study on UNHCR's organizational culture (Wigley, 2005) shows that UNHCR's systems and management structure do not facilitate the participation of refugees. The study reveals that the secondary tasks UNHCR staff must attend to in the service of the wider organizational goals have a tendency to gain precedence over the actual primary task and take significant time and energy away from the core work of safeguarding the rights and well being of refugees. The study also flags the complex relationship between UNHCR workers and refugees which can cause workers without adequate training and support to defend themselves against the very people they are there to assist. Supporting or promoting refugee livelihoods exactly requires close interaction with the people of concern.

133. It is evident that no amount of funding will help refugees rebuild their livelihoods if UNHCR and its implementing partners do not use participatory, empowering and sustainable planning. It is worth mentioning that the call for using participatory based approaches is not new in UNHCR. Already in the evaluation of the community services function (CASA consulting, 2003), it was stated that numerous UNHCR documents highlight the importance of refugee community involvement, mobilization and participatory processes. But that in practice UNHCR staff is increasingly distanced from the field by the demands from higher levels within the organization – a finding that is also confirmed in the more recent study on UNHCR's organizational culture.

134. The independent evaluation of the community services function in UNHCR recommends that as a step along the way to a fully fledged community development approach, UNHCR should routinely employ situation analysis as an assessment tool for planning and monitoring. Situation analysis can be distinguished from other assessment methodologies by its focus on analyzing the situation at the level of the individual, the refugee community and the wider social and political context of the host society and country of origin. Moreover, it explicitly investigates the refugees' capacities and resources rather than positioning them exclusively as needy figures that are at the source of their own problems. Note that the principles applied for a situational analysis is very much in line with the principles of a livelihood approach.

135. It must be said that a number of the principles various livelihood approaches and frameworks have in common, seems already to be present in a number of UNHCR's policies, some of which have found their way into initiatives such as the Kosovo Women's Initiative and the more recently field-tested Gender and Age Mainstreaming Pilot Project. Another tool worth mentioning is the recently developed *Community Environmental Action Planning*. This resource book of participatory approaches to environmental planning and monitoring in refugee-related operations, builds on the recognition that the establishment of refugee camps and settlements can have a significant impact on the surrounding environment as well as on the social and economic structures of a given region and seeks to find a solution by involving refugee and host community in planning and implementation of environment-related projects.

136. This discourse illustrates that the debate that aims at putting people at the centre and that stresses the importance of using participatory approaches is not new

for the Refugee Agency but also that UNHCR still has a long way to go if it wants to engage in a dialogue with the people of concern to the Agency.

Applying a holistic approach

137. Livelihoods are by nature influenced by a range of economic, social, political and environmental factors. It is therefore essential to apply a comprehensive and holistic approach to the design and implementation of programmes supporting refugee livelihoods.

138. A successful programme is one that takes into account a plethora of issues like physical location, availability of food and natural resources, access to markets, etc. In order to have a balanced analysis it is also necessary to look at the living conditions of the host community. As already mentioned above, it is crucial to understand whether the problems faced by refugees are solely linked to their refugee situation or are also felt by the local population and what kind of relationship there exists between refugees and the host population.

139. The physical location of refugee hosting areas must be favourable for the promotion of livelihoods. In many cases refugees are living in areas where violence and instability are not conducive to the pursuit of economic activities. Security constraints can hinder refugees from fending for themselves and constitute a serious obstacle to their attempts to find productive ways to earn a living. Physical security is directly linked to UNHCR's core spheres such as non-refoulement and ensuring a safe asylum environment.

140. Livelihoods can be further hindered by placing refugees in remote and unfamiliar environments. For example closed camps may not be the ideal places to promote refugee livelihoods and more success could be booked if refugees were to have access to markets and employment opportunities.

141. Apart from economic opportunities, the physical location, and the security situation, refugee livelihoods can also be influenced by political decisions. For example, when host governments do not allow refugees to settle amongst host communities or do not recognize diplomas or certificates, refugees' access to the labour market may in fact be impeded. The host country's asylum policy is indeed a defining factor in inhibiting or facilitating the ability of refugees to establish and secure their livelihoods.

142. With regard to a holistic approach the link between protection and programming cannot be sufficiently stressed. The success of a livelihood supporting programme highly depends on having a sound legal framework in place (also see *infra Right-based approaches and livelihood approaches as complements*). For example access to land and right to use land are key factors to be taken into account when developing plans for livelihood projects for rural communities.

143. Another limitation to a holistic approach could be UNHCR's style of operation (Wigley, 2005), which is drawn on many levels to crisis and short-term modes of operation that could lead to a lack of effective reflection. Equally detrimental is that decisions are often based on cost and convenience rather than considering future livelihoods needs of beneficiaries.

Creating opportunities for partnerships

144. Planning and development of activities supporting refugee livelihoods require proven experience and coordination, bringing together relevant humanitarian agencies, government authorities (local and national), development actors, national and international NGOs, Community Based Organizations, donors as well as beneficiaries.

145. The success of a programme highly depends on partnerships with organizations that understand the needs of communities and are open to livelihood approaches. It is crucial to work with the right implementing partner and to find a sound local implementation capacity. Moreover, there is a need for sufficient staff that have knowledge of programming within the livelihood framework. For example, microfinance can be an appropriate intervention to promote refugee livelihoods. However, the intervention must be designed according to sound technical principles, account for the specific characteristics of refugee situations and conducted by appropriate staff with proven skills and expertise in micro-credit schemes.

146. Working within a livelihood framework started in the development world and given its more long term nature the involvement of development partners in the promotion of refugee livelihoods could be of added value. The promotion of livelihoods requires a specific technical expertise which more closely resembles the expertise of development agencies. In this regard, reference can be made to the technical cooperation between UNHCR and the International Labour Organization (ILO)¹⁵.

147. Partnership requirement is also recognized in the Agenda for Protection which calls on UNHCR to encourage multilateral and bilateral partners to extend support for initiatives aimed at achieving durable solutions, notably to make voluntary repatriation sustainable and to underpin self-reliance and local integration (High Commissioner's Forum, FORUM/2005/3, par. 1).

148. Using a livelihoods approach fits within the category of tools that could be used to achieve improved durable solutions or in the absence of it or awaiting durable solutions allows refugees to live better lives in dignity.

149. As applying a livelihood approach requires flexibility, a concerted effort by all is necessary. For example, activities are often funded piecemeal and donors are not always responsive in a timely manner to changes in workplans and budget. Funding disruptions can be especially disastrous when establishing a conducive environment to promoting refugee livelihoods. In this regard, the Agenda for Protection also encourages states to consider allocating development funds to programmes simultaneously benefiting refugees and the local population in host countries, and

¹⁵ In November 2004, the High Commissioner for Refugees and the ILO Director-General signed a Joint Statement aimed at establishing a closer partnership to support countries' efforts to achieve the MDGs and targets. ILO and UNHCR aim at implementing strategies to achieve sustainable livelihoods and poverty reduction for refugees, returnees and internally displaced persons. A joint ILO-UNHCR global programme for the socio-economic integration of refugees, returnees and internally displaced persons was launched. The programme focuses on strategies that bring together employment-intensive reconstruction, enterprise development, microfinance, skills development, women's economic empowerment, social protection, local economic development and capacity building.

the latter to consider including refugee-hosting areas in their national development plans to achieve the broad goal of sharing burdens and responsibilities more equitably and building capacities to receive and protect refugees (High Commissioner's Forum, FORUM/2005/3, par. 1).

A good example

150. A good example of combining the principles of a livelihood approach - people at the center, holistic approach and the importance of partnerships - is the Zambia Initiative. This summary is based on an update on the Zambia Initiative¹⁶.

151. In recognition of the positive role refugees can play to alleviate poverty in refugee hosting areas, and to create an environment conducive for refugees to become productive members of the host community, the Zambian Government embarked on the Zambia Initiative.

152. UNHCR has been active in supporting the efforts of the Government to conceive and implement the Zambia Initiative. It is a long-term process envisaging the involvement of partners to improve the quality of life of local host communities and refugees.

153. The aim of the Zambia Initiative is to contribute towards a more development-oriented rural programme for the local population and refugees who are not likely to repatriate in view of their high degree of integration in Zambia.

154. The sectors that are targeted through community development processes are: agriculture, health, education, and infrastructure. The Zambia Initiative aims to contribute to enhancing food security in the province through the introduction of new; simple agricultural techniques and provision of inputs as well as bringing development to the refugee hosting areas by way of improving the health, education and vocational training sectors through local development committees.

155. To effectively implement the programme, the Zambia Initiative uses the strategy of involving the local and refugee communities, organised as local development committees.

156. Whilst the voluntary repatriation of Angolan refugees is progressing, the Zambia Initiative is providing opportunities and creating grounds for local integration for those refugees who will remain in Zambia. The programme is also preparing refugees who wish to return acquire enough skills to rehabilitate and rebuild their societies and hence facilitating for a quick reintegration in their societies.

157. The ZI not only illustrates the protection angle (looking for durable solutions, good relationships with host community), but also illustrates the interaction/involvement of all functions within UNHCR (fundraising, technical

¹⁶ UNHCR, 2004. The Zambia Initiative. In pursuit of sustainable solutions for Refugees in Zambia. Update as of May 2004.

support, strategic planning and programming, public relations and advocacy), the commitment and active participation of host government and the support of donors.

Conclusions and recommendations

158. People look for opportunities to improve their lives. This synthesis paper illustrates that refugees are no idle people but willing to rebuild their livelihoods if given a chance. Livelihood analysis provides valuable information on how people manage risk and gives insight into how existing coping and livelihood strategies can be strengthened. To understand and analyse livelihoods is to be better equipped, creative and efficient in the delivery of aid programmes.

159. Whilst it makes a lot of sense for refugees to be provided with humanitarian assistance, it seems to be extremely useful, for purposes of long term planning and given that any particular refugee situation can potentially become protracted, to supplement this support by proactively encouraging efforts towards self-reliance. It is crucial to start early and to plan for sustainable livelihoods and self-reliance right from the onset of the emergency phase. Ideally, the basic conditions should already be put into place before the initial phase of sympathetic welcome and charity is losing momentum and the host communities' capacity for philanthropy gets exhausted.

160. Programmes aimed at improving economic security present more challenges than care and maintenance programmes but better respect refugees' dignity and improve preparation for durable solutions.

161. That this may be demanding and time-consuming does not mean that it should not be attempted. Promoting refugee livelihoods and hence creating more self-reliance is not without cost and will in first instance require more input in terms of financial and human resources. One should, however be aware that this approach will be more cost-effective in the longer run. The return on this investment is likely to be higher than pure needs-based assistance that doesn't promote self-reliance.

162. A livelihood approach cannot be planned based on providing the minimum level of support for the shortest possible time but will in the first instance rather require maximum assistance over a longer-term. Promoting livelihoods does not happen overnight and in order to allow UNHCR to take a more pro-active and long term approach, a firm commitment is required from host governments, other agencies/organizations and donors.

163. The likely practical implication, if the livelihood understanding is carried through, is that a more complex and more contingent programme of interventions would be necessary.

164. The notion of securing or even enhancing livelihoods is not a new concept in refugee-related operations. Although seldom programmed explicitly within a livelihood framework, a great number of UNHCR's ongoing activities can contribute to the improvement of current and future livelihoods. Unfortunately, these activities are implemented in isolation and are not linked to a comprehensive livelihood approach.

165. Adopting a livelihood approach needs not to be conceived as a huge, costly one-off event. Instead, it can be integrated into ongoing work. The approach encourages organizations to develop long-term relations with communities and to develop simple, routine, participatory ways of improving practices.

166. The design of programmes should be flexible and responsive to local needs and specific conditions. The type of assistance or the way UNHCR can promote refugee livelihoods will depend on the specific context. Solely promoting livelihoods will not succeed without political backing at higher level. In many refugee situations self-sufficiency let alone self-reliance or building up a sustainable livelihood might not even be possible without large-scale politico-economic changes.

167. Using a livelihood approach means that a population shouldn't be treated as a homogenous group. Different groups of refugees might benefit from and thrive with different types of assistance. Hence the importance of detailed registration; knowing your target population 's educational level, skills, occupational background and capacity, allows to make informed decisions and opens up possibilities in terms of skills training and offering information about job opportunities, etc. However, one should be aware not to over-privilege the information contained in registration exercises. The conditions in the areas of asylum or return should equally be duly considered.

168. To be effective, a sound livelihoods approach requires a high degree of concerted effort by all functions of UNHCR, and consensus and coordination between the agency, host governments, donors, NGOs and refugee groups. There is an important role to play for community services staff, as they generally have a better understanding of beneficiary needs, community structures and coping strategies.

169. The emphasis on holistic approach does not exclude a sectoral focus. It can help people who undertake sectoral projects to understand and build links with other sectors. The livelihood approach helps to create insight into how sectoral initiatives have an impact on people's livelihoods, and into how people respond to sectoral initiatives.

170. The advantage of using a livelihood approach as a basis for analysis is that it can provide structured thinking and a sound analytical basis on which to ground interventions and identify opportunities for improved assistance. Better understanding of livelihoods could lead to enhanced analysis and programme design that is more responsive to opportunities and more focused on addressing actual vulnerabilities and threats faced by communities.

171. The promotion of livelihoods requires a specific technical expertise which resembles more to the expertise of development agencies. A livelihood approach could serve as a bridge for closer collaboration with development actors in the search for durable solutions. The livelihood approach can serve as the basis for an overall analysis on which all parties agree and thus can facilitate mutually beneficial partnerships.

172. There is a need for a policy decision to help refugees become productive members of society by adopting a livelihood approach. UNHCR should elaborate a

vision on how to make support to or the promotion of refugee livelihoods part of its policy.

173. More input is needed to develop a sound methodology to assess, monitor and evaluate refugee livelihoods. There are many tried and tested methodologies, for example the Household Economy Analysis, which is widely used by Save the Children.

174. UNHCR is to take on a more strategic approach towards disseminating the core concepts of a livelihood approach, for example through trained and experienced staff in the matter and strategic involvement of partners and external consultants. The approach should be introduced into the organization and country programmes with the support of an expert in participatory approaches. For instance, a facilitator can accompany staff in the field to assist in the ad hoc development of participatory skills. This learning technique is often more effective than a workshop event. However, staff can also benefit from training that clarifies the livelihood framework and highlights tools and approaches that can be used to put it into practice. Another important tool in disseminating lessons learned and to keep people abreast of livelihood initiatives is the Refugee Livelihood Network (see footnote 1).

175. The introduction of a livelihood approach should not be seen as a HQ-driven initiative. Resistance towards a new approach could be diminished by clarifying the benefits of a livelihood approach and by using a framework that is seen to be inclusive of other approaches and that focuses on core programming principles. Programmes can still have a sectoral identity but the objectives should not as much reflect sectoral achievements but rather livelihood outcomes. UNHCR should link the livelihood framework to the project planning cycle. In this regard, UNHCR could talk to ICRC who has successfully integrated a livelihood approach into all of its Economic Security programmes.

176. UNHCR needs to create the right environment and has an important role to play at the political level (advocacy for protection of refugee rights including the productive/economic rights) and fundraising (more or additional funds shall initially be needed, though this should be regarded as an investment in durable solutions instead of solely sponsoring of survival and life-sustaining activities).

177. It could be useful to look for alternative funding possibilities. It can be worth looking into special funds that have been set up by the EU and some of the Nordic countries to bridge the gap between relief and development. UNHCR may simultaneously undertake alternative fund-raising that will not directly flow to its annual budget but to specialised NGO's who will work in partnership with UNHCR.

Annex 1 Acronyms

CBO	Community-based organization
DAR	Development assistance for refugees
DfID	Department for International Development (UK Government)
DLI	Development through local integration
DOS	Department of Operational Support (UNHCR)
EESS	Engineering and Environmental Services Section (UNHCR)
EPAU	Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit (UNHCR)
EU	European Union
FFW	Food for work
FFT	Food for training
FMR	Forced Migration Review
ICARA	International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
IDP	Internally displaced people
NGO	Non-governmental organization
PRS	Protracted refugee situation
RBM	Results-based management
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
QIPs	Quick impact projects
RLSS	Reintegration and Local Settlement Section (UNHCR)
SG	Secretary General (UN)
SR	Self reliance
SRS	Self reliance strategy (Uganda)
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WFP	World Food Programme
ZI	Zambia Initiative
4Rs	Repatriation, reintegration, reconstruction and rehabilitation

Annex 2 Bibliography

Al-Sharmani, Mulki, 2004. *Refugee Livelihoods. Livelihood and diasporic identity constructions of Somali refugees in Cairo*. New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper no. 104, UNHCR, Geneva, 2004.

Anselme, Marina, Avery Ann, Sesnan Barry, Wood, Graham, 2004. *Skills training for youth*. Forced Migration Review 20, Sustainable livelihoods: seeds of success? Oxford, 2004.

Banki, Susan, 2004. *Refugee integration in the intermediate term: a study of Nepal, Pakistan and Kenya*. New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper no. 108, UNHCR, Geneva, 2004.

Baker, Jock, Haug, Hilde, 2002. *The Kosovo Women's Initiative. An independent evaluation*. UNHCR, EPAU/2002/12, Geneva, 2002.

Bakewell, Oliver, 2003. *Community services in refugee aid programmes: a critical analysis*. New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper no. 82, UNHCR, Geneva, 2003.

Bakewell, Oliver, 2002. *Review of CORD community Services for Angolan Refugees in Western Province, Zambia*. UNHCR, EPAU/2002/14, Geneva, 2002.

Bartsch, Dominik, 2004. *Microfinance and refugees*. Forced Migration Review 20, Sustainable livelihoods: seeds of success? Oxford, 2004.

Betts Alexander, 2004., *International cooperation and the targeting of development assistance for refugee solutions: lessons from the 1980s*, New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper no. 107, UNHCR, Geneva, 2004.

CASA Consulting, 2003. *The community services function in UNHCR. An independent evaluation*. UNHCR, EPAU/2003/02, Geneva, 2003.

Chambers, Robert, Conway, Gordon, 1991. *Sustainable rural livelihoods - practical concepts for the 21st century*, IDS Discussion Paper 296, Brighton, 1991.

Cheng, Christine, Chudoba, Johannes, 2003. *Moving beyond long-term refugee situations: the case of Guatemala*. New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper no. 86, UNHCR, Geneva, 2003.

Conway, Carrie, 2004. *Refugee Livelihoods. A case study of the Gambia*. UNHCR, EPAU/2004/11, Geneva, 2004.

Crisp, Jeffrey, 2003. *A new asylum paradigm? Globalization, migration and the uncertain future of the international refugee regime*, New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper no. 100, UNHCR, Geneva, 2003.

Crisp, Jeffrey, 2004. *The local integration and local settlement of refugees: a conceptual and historical analysis*, New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper no. 102, UNHCR, Geneva, 2004.

Crisp, Jeffrey, 2003. *No solutions in sight: the problem of protracted refugee situations in Africa*. New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper no. 75, UNHCR, Geneva, 2003.

Crisp, Jeffrey, 2003. *UNHCR, refugee livelihoods and self-reliance: a brief history*, 22 October 2003. A paper presented at UNHCR's Executive Committee meeting held in Geneva in September 2003 on the evolution of the organization's approach towards refugee livelihoods and self-reliance over the past 50 years.

de Satgé, Rick, Holloway, Ailsa, Mullins, Dan, Nchabaleng, Leah, Ward, Penny, 2002. *Learning about Livelihoods. Insights from southern Africa*. Oxfam UK, 2002.

De Vriese, Machtelt, 2002. *Guinée. Evaluation de la Situation Environnementale Actuelle. 25 Janvier- 3 Février 2002*. Rapport de Mission, UNHCR, EESS 02/02, Geneva, 2002.

De Vriese, Machtelt, Stone, David, 2004. *Refugee Livelihoods. Livelihood strategies and options for Congolese refugees in Gabon. A case study for possible local integration*. UNHCR, EPAU/2004/09, Geneva, 2004.

Dick, Shelly, 2002. *Liberians in Ghana: living without humanitarian assistance*. New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper no. 57, UNHCR, Geneva, 2002.

Dick, Shelly, 2002. *Responding to protracted refugee situations. A case study of Liberian refugees in Ghana*, UNHCR, EPAU/2002/06, Geneva, 2002.

Dick, Shelly, 2002. *Review of CORD community services for Congolese refugees in Tanzania*. UNHCR, EPAU/2002/13, Geneva, 2002.

Durieux Jean-François, McAdam Jane, 2004. *Non-Refoulement through Time: The Case for a Derogation Clause to the Refugee Convention in Mass Influx Emergencies*. International Journal Refugee Law 2004 16: 4-24; doi:10.1093/ijrl/16.1.4

Dryden-Peterson, Sarah, Hovil, Lucy, 2003. *Local integration as a durable solution: refugees, host populations and education in Uganda*. New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper no. 93, UNHCR, Geneva, 2003.

Flowers Jeff, 2003. *Microfinance and Internally Displaced Persons in Azerbaijan*. Article published in UNHCR/EPAU Refugee Livelihoods Newsletter, November 2003.

Francisco, Esmerelda, Merckx, Josef, 2003. *Evaluation of UNHCR's programme for internally displaced people in Colombia*. UNHCR, EPAU/2003/03, Geneva, 2003.

Furley, Kemlin, Obi, Naoko, Crisp, Jeff, 2002. *Evaluation of UNHCR's policy on refugees in urban areas. Report of a workshop, Moscow, March 2002*. EPAU/2002/11, UNHCR, Geneva, 2002.

Golooba-Mutebi, Frederick, 2004. *Refugee livelihoods. Confronting uncertainty and responding to adversity: Mozambican war refugees in Limpopo Province, South Africa*. New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper no. 105, UNHCR, Geneva, 2004.

Groves, Leslie, 2005. *UNHCR's age and gender mainstreaming pilot project 2004. Synthesis Report*. EPAU/2005/03, UNHCR, Geneva, 2005.

Guarnieri, Valerie, 2004. *Food aid and livelihoods: challenges and opportunities in complex emergencies*. Forced Migration Review 20, Sustainable livelihoods: seeds of success? Oxford, 2004.

Hammond, Laura, Anderson Stephen, Holt Julius, Chinogwenya Waddington. 2005. *Conflict and Livelihoods: An Agenda for Action*. Unpublished paper written for USAID Office of Conflict Management and Mitigation, Washington, 2005.

Hammond, Laura, 2004. *This place will become home. Refugee Repatriation to Ethiopia*. Cornell University Press, 2004.

Horst, Cindy, 2001. *Vital links in social security: Somali refugees in the Dadaab Camps, Kenya*. New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper no. 38, UNHCR, Geneva, 2001

Horst, Cindy, 2005. *Connected Lives: Somalis in Minneapolis dealing with family responsibilities and the migration dreams of relatives*. Paper submitted for the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration Conference held in Sao Paulo Brazil 9-13 January 2005.

Hussein, K., Seddon, D, 2002. *The Consequences of Conflict: Livelihoods and Development in Nepal*. Working Paper 185, 2002, Overseas Development Institute, London, UK.

Jacobsen Karen, 2002. *Livelihoods in conflict: the pursuit of livelihoods by refugees and the impact on the human security of host communities*. Expert Working Paper, February 2002, prepared for the Center for Development Research study: Migration-Development Links: Evidence and Policy Options, pp. 26.

Jacobsen, Karen, 2002. *Supporting Displaced Livelihoods: the Economic Impact of Protracted Conflict and Displacement, and Lessons Learned from Four Microenterprise Interventions*. November 2002.

Jamal, Arafat, 2003. *Camps and freedoms: long-term refugee situations in Africa*. Forced Migration Review 16, January 2003.

Jamal, Arafat, 2000. *Minimum standards and essential needs in a protracted refugee situation. A review of the UNHCR programme in Kakuma, Kenya*, EPAU Evaluation Report EPAU/2000/05, UNHCR, Geneva, 2000.

Kaiser, Tania, 2001. *A beneficiary-based evaluation of UNHCR's programme in Guinea, West Africa*. UNHCR, EPAU/2001/02, Geneva, 2001.

Kerr-Wilson Alice and Pain Adam, 2003. *Three villages in Alingar, Laghman: a case study of rural livelihoods*, Afghanistan Research and Evaluation Unit, November 2003, pp 35.

Kibreab, Gaim, 1996. *People on the Edge in the Horn*. Asmara, Red Sea Press, 1996.

Kibreab, Gaim, 2001. *Displaced Communities and the Reconstruction of Livelihoods in Eritrea*. United Nations University, WIDER, Discussion Paper No. 2001/23, June 2001.

- Kuhlman, Tom, 2002. *Responding to protracted refugee situations. A case study of Liberian refugees in Côte d'Ivoire*. UNHCR, EPAU/2002/07, Geneva, 2002.
- Kvernrod, Merethe, 2004. *Microcredit – an 'oxygen infusion for a better life'*. Forced Migration Review 20, Sustainable livelihoods: seeds of success? Oxford, 2004.
- Lautze, Sue, 1997. *Saving Lives and Livelihoods: The Fundamentals of a Livelihood Strategy*, Medford, MA: Feinstein International Famine Center, Tufts University.
- Levron, Eric, 2006. *Modes de subsistance des réfugiés en milieu urbain. Note de synthèse*. UNHCR, EPAU/2006/03-1.
- Levron, Eric, 2006. *Modes de subsistance des réfugiés en milieu urbain. Etude de cas Kaboul, Afghanistan*. UNHCR, EPAU/2006/03-2.
- Levron, Eric, 2006. *Modes de subsistance des réfugiés en milieu urbain. Etude de cas Angola*. UNHCR, EPAU/2006/03-3.
- Levron, Eric, 2006. *Modes de subsistance des réfugiés en milieu urbain. Etude de cas Bogota, Colombie*. UNHCR, EPAU/2006/03-4.
- Levron, Eric, 2006. *Modes de subsistance des réfugiés en milieu urbain. Etude de cas Guinée*. UNHCR, EPAU/2006/03-5.
- Lo Kathryn, 2005. *The impact of forced displacement on urban livelihood strategies: perspectives from Colombian households in Quito, Ecuador*. Paper submitted for the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration Conference held in Sao Paulo Brazil 9-13 January 2005.
- Macchiavello Michela, 2003. *Forced migrants as an under-utilized asset: refuge skills, livelihoods, and achievements in Kampala, Uganda*, New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper no. 95, UNHCR, Geneva, 2003.
- Macrae, Joanna, 1999. *Aiding peace...and war: UNHCR, returnee reintegration, and the relief-development debate*. New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper no. 14, UNHCR, Geneva, 1999.
- McLean, Calum, Narbeth, Simon, 2003. *Livelihoods and Protection. Displacement and Vulnerable Communities in Kismaayo, Southern Somalia*. HPN Network Paper N° 44, Dec 2003.
- Nelson Moro, Leben, 2004. *Livelihood opportunities for Sudanese refugees*. Forced Migration Review 20, Sustainable livelihoods: seeds of success? Oxford, 2004.
- Nourse Timothy, 2003. *Microfinance for Refugees. Emerging Principles for Effective Implementation*. UNHCR/EPAU Refugee Livelihood Newsletter, November 2003.
- Obi, Naoko, Crisp, Jeff, 2000. *Evaluation of UNHCR's policy on refugees in urban areas. A case study of New Delhi*. EPAU/2000/04, UNHCR, Geneva, 2000.
- Obi, Naoko, Crisp, Jeff, 2002. *UNHCR policy on refugees in urban areas. Report of a UNHCR/NGO workshop*. EPAU/2002/09, UNHCR, Geneva, 2002.

OHCHR, 2002. *Draft Guidelines: A Human Rights Approach to Poverty Reduction Strategies*. Geneva, OHCHR, March 2002.

Pain Adam, 2002. *Understanding and monitoring livelihoods under conditions of chronic conflict: lessons from Afghanistan*. Overseas Development Institute, Working Paper 187, December 2002, London, pp 30.

Phillips, Jason, 2004. *Challenges to the effective implementation of microfinance programmes in refugee settings*. Forced Migration Review 20, Sustainable livelihoods: seeds of success? Oxford, 2004.

Schafer Jessica, 2002. *Supporting Livelihoods in Situations of Chronic Conflict and Political Instability: Overview of Conceptual Issues*. Working Paper 183, December 2002, Overseas Development Institute, London, UK, pp. 52.

Sebba Kalyango Ronald, 2005. *Land conflicts and their impact on refugee Women's livelihood in Uganda*, Department of Women and Gender Studies, Makerere University, Paper submitted for the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration Conference held in Sao Paulo Brazil 9-13 January 2005.

Sperl, Stefan, 2001. *Evaluation of UNHCR's policy on refugees in urban areas. A case study review of Cairo*. EPAU/2001/07, Geneva, 2001.

Stone, David, Ibrahim Thiandoum, Yoro Tall, Papa Kysma Sylla, 2005. *Enhancing Livelihood Security among Mauritanian Refugees, Northern Senegal: a case study*. EPAU/2005/11, Geneva, 2005

Tucker, John, et al, 2004. *Recapitalising Liberia: principles for providing grants and loans for microenterprise development*. Forced Migration Review 20, Sustainable livelihoods: seeds of success? Oxford, 2004.

Turner Simon, 1999. *Angry young men in camps: gender, age and class relations among Burundian refugees in Tanzania*. UNHCR/EPAU, New Issues in refugee Research, Working Paper no. 9, June 1999.

Van Riet Marinke, 2003. *Of Refugees, IDPs and Returnees: the trickle up experience*, Article published in UNHCR/EPAU Refugee Livelihoods Newsletter, November 2003.

Whitaker, Beth Elise, 1999. *Changing opportunities: refugees and host communities in western Tanzania*. New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper no. 11, UNHCR, Geneva, 1999.

Wigley, Barbara, 2005. *The state of UNHCR's organisational culture*. EPAU/2005/08, UNHCR, Geneva, 2005.

Uehling, Greta, 2004. *Livelihoods of former deportees in Ukraine*. Forced Migration Review 20, Sustainable livelihoods: seeds of success? Oxford, 2004.

Executive Committee of the High Commissioners Programme, 2004. *Protracted Refugee Situations*, Standing Committee, 30th Meeting, EC/54/SC/CRP.14, 10 June 2004.

High Commissioner's Forum, 2005. *Statement of Good Practice on Targeting Development Assistance for Durable Solutions to Forced Displacement*. FORUM/2005/3, 2 May 2005.

RLSS/DOS, 2003. *Development Assistance for Refugees (DAR) for Uganda Self Reliance Strategy. Way Forward*. RLSS/DOS Mission Report 03/11, September 2003.

UN, Report Secretary General, 2005. *In Larger Freedom: towards development, security and human rights for all*. A/59/2005, UN General Assembly, March 2005.

UNHCR, 2001. *A Practical Guide to Empowerment. UNHCR Good Practices on Gender Equality Mainstreaming*. Geneva, June 2001.

UNHCR, Care International, Overseas Development Group/University of East Anglia, *Community Environmental Action Planning. A Resource Book of Participatory Approaches to Environmental Planning and Monitoring in Refugee-Related Operations*. UNHCR, Geneva, 2005. **Still in draft format.**

UNHCR, *Framework for Durable Solutions*, May 2003.

UNHCR, 1997. *Framework for UNHCR involvement in Self-Reliance, Employment and Microfinance. Operational Guidelines for Developing a Self-Reliance Strategy in Refugee and Returnee Situations*. Provisional Version, December 1997.

UNHCR, 2002. *Livelihood Options in Refugee Situations. A Handbook for Promoting Sound Agricultural Practices*. December 2002.

UNHCR, 2004. *The Zambia Initiative. In pursuit of sustainable solutions for Refugees in Zambia*. Update as of May 2004.

Websites

DFID, IDS, id21 Society and Economy, University of Oxford, Refugee Studies Centre, *Locking away potential: What host countries lose when they keep refugees in camps*.

DFID, IDS, id21 Insights, Oliver Bakewell, *Refugees and local hosts. A livelihood approach to local integration and repatriation*.

DFID, IDS, id21 Society and Economy, Shelly Dick, *Living on charity: all that a refugee desires?*

RLN Newsletters

UNHCR, Refugee Livelihood Network (RLN), Newsletter December 2004

UNHCR, Refugee Livelihood Network (RLN), Newsletter November 2004

UNHCR, Refugee Livelihood Network (RLN), Newsletter July 2003

UNHCR, Refugee Livelihood Network (RLN), Newsletter October 2003

UNHCR, Refugee Livelihood Network (RLN), Newsletter Urban Refugee Livelihoods, 2004

UNHCR, Refugee Livelihood Network (RLN), May '04 Newsletter, The role of remittances.

UNHCR, Refugee Livelihood Network (RLN), Newsletter October 2004 Edition, Gender and Refugee Livelihoods

UNHCR, Refugee Livelihood Network (RLN), Newsletter Refugee Livelihoods and Natural resources, 2004