

# REFUGEE AND HOST COMMUNITIES IN CHAD: DYNAMICS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INCLUSION

## REPORT OF QUALITATIVE RESEARCH FINDINGS



**Carol Watson, Emmanuel Dnalbaye and Blandine Nan-guer**  
**Consultants for the World Bank**

**May 2018**

## Contents

<b>List of acronyms and abbreviations .....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>Glossary of local terms .....</b>	<b>vi</b>
<b>Acknowledgements .....</b>	<b>vii</b>
<b>Executive Summary .....</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>A. INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1. Overview of refugees and displaced populations in Chad .....	1
2. The importance of including host populations in assistance programs.....	1
3. A qualitative study to support programming around refugees and host populations .....	2
4. Structure of the report .....	3
<b>B. FINDINGS FROM RESEARCH IN THE SOUTH.....</b>	<b>4</b>
1. Background and context .....	4
1.1 Overview of the zone and area of research .....	4
2. Key findings from field work.....	6
2.1 Béлом refugee camp .....	6
2.2 Local communities visited: Villages and sedentarized feriks .....	23
2.3 Maïngama installation site for Chadian returnees from CAR.....	32
3. Reflections on potential program implications .....	34
4. Visual record, research in the South .....	37
<b>C. FINDINGS FROM RESEARCH IN LAC REGION.....</b>	<b>40</b>
1. Background and context .....	40
1.1 Overview of the zone and areas of research.....	40
2. Key findings from field work.....	44
2.1 Dar es Salaam refugee camp .....	44
2.2 A variety of sites for the displaced and returnees .....	54
2.3. The Kanembou village of Goumacharon .....	61
3. Reflections on potential program implications .....	64
4. Visual record of research in Lac .....	68
<b>D. FINDINGS FROM RESEARCH IN THE EAST .....</b>	<b>74</b>
1. Background and context .....	74
1.1 Overview of the zone and cantons of research.....	74
1.2 Overview of refugees, assistance and host population relations in the zone .....	78
2. Key findings from field work.....	81
2.1 Bredjing refugee camp .....	81
2.2 The villages visited: Chalingo and Loumba Massalit .....	95
2.3 A joint refugee/host community gardening project: Wadi Tiré .....	107
3. Reflections on potential program implications .....	110

4. Visual record of research in the East .....	115
<b>E. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PROGRAMMING.....</b>	<b>121</b>
1. Overview of the study .....	121
2. Key findings.....	121
2.1 The local contexts .....	121
2.2 Refugee experiences .....	123
2.3 Local perceptions and relations between refugees and host communities .....	126
2.4 Gender-specific vulnerabilities and opportunities .....	128
3. Implications for programming .....	131
3.1 Conceptualizing the field of refugee and ‘host population’ interaction.....	131
3.1 Providing safety nets.....	132
3.2 Strengthening and expanding social services.....	133
3.3 Providing economic support and promoting livelihoods .....	133
3.4 Supporting environmental protection and promotion .....	134
3.5 Addressing gender-specific vulnerabilities and potential .....	134
<b>ANNEXES .....</b>	<b>137</b>
1. Overview of field research methodology .....	137
2. Overview of research exercises and study population in each locality.....	138
3. References.....	141
4. Key indicators on each study region .....	143

### List of tables

Table 1. Refugee community timeline, Béлом .....	10
Table 2. Gender difference in daily activities of young refugees, Béлом.....	17
Table 3. Refugee perceptions of major issues around economic and social inclusion, Béлом.....	22
Table 4. A history of shocks: Community timeline in the villages of Paris Sara and Ndinaba .....	23
Table 5. Gender differences in daily activities of young women and young men, Paris Sara .....	30
Table 6. Comparative social indicators: host communities and IDPs, Bagasola sub-prefecture .....	43
Table 7. Reflections on conditions before and after flight, refugees in Dar es Salam.....	46
Table 8. Gender differences in daily activities of young men and women refugees, Dar es Salam .....	52
Table 9. A moving landscape: itineraries of displacement in Lac region .....	54
Table 10. Daily activities of settled and displaced girls, Lac.....	60
Table 11. Historical timeline in Molou and Bardé Cantons (Ouaddaï) .....	76
Table 12. Key impact and performance indicators, Bredjing refugee camp.....	82
Table 13. Community timeline, refugees in Bredjing camp .....	84
Table 14. A comparison of the daily activities of male and female refugee youth.....	94
Table 15. Young women’s daily round: Chalingo and Loumba Massalit .....	101

## List of figures

Figure 1. Map of study areas and localization of refugees and displaced populations in Chad.....	2
Figure 2. Map of Moyen Chari region .....	4
Figure 3. Map of Bélom refugee camp, Maro.....	7
Figure 4. Life-cycle vulnerabilities in Bélom refugee camp.....	12
Figure 5. Points of encounter between refugees and local populations* .....	14
Figure 6. Life-cycle vulnerabilities in the village: Paris Sara .....	26
Figure 7. Map of Lac region .....	40
Figure 8. Life-cycle vulnerabilities of displaced populations, Lac region.....	60
Figure 9. Lifecycle vulnerabilities in the village of Goumacharon, Lac region .....	62
Figure 10. Map of Ouaddaï region.....	74
Figure 11. Life-cycle vulnerabilities for refugees in Bredjing camp .....	87
Figure 12. Life-cycle vulnerabilities in Chalingo, Loumba Massalit and surrounding villages .....	103

## List of boxes

Box 1. Evolving approaches and lessons learned from livelihood programming, Bélom .....	8
Box 2. Refugee reflections flight, exile and current conditions: Bélom .....	9
Box 3. Two men, two outcomes: the struggle to recover from socio-economic shock, Bélom.....	13
Box 4. A refugee woman retailer in Bélom market .....	18
Box 5. A refugee woman struggling to make ends meet in Bélom.....	18
Box 6. A refugee woman working as a day laborer on village lands, Ndinaba .....	19
Box 7. Settled but unsettled: a refugee woman married into the village of Ndinaba.....	20
Box 8. Torn between children in camp and village: a married refugee woman in Paris Sara .....	20
Box 9. No looking back: New beginnings for a married refugee woman in Paris Sara .....	21
Box 10. High degree of wealth differentiation among rural populations of Lac region .....	41
Box 11. Traumatic experiences of flight, refugees in Dar es Salaam .....	45
Box 12. Case studies of two refugee men in the face of economic shock, Dar es Salam .....	47
Box 13. Perceived effects of Boko Haram and the displacement crisis in a settled village, Lac.....	63
Box 14. Overview of cantonal and sub-prefecture educational conditions.....	77
Box 15. Overview of district and cantonal health service indicators.....	77
Box 16. Testimonies of refugees with chronic illnesses .....	86
Box 17. Refugee experiences in group gardening projects, Bredjing .....	88
Box 18. Against all odds: a refugee girl dreams of higher education .....	93
Box 19. Health and education at a minimum in Chalingo and Loumba Massalit village clusters.....	98
Box 20. Village woman participant, joint refugee/villager rain-fed agricultural project, Chalingo ..	106
Box 21. One refugee woman's experience of the joint gardening project at Wadi Tiré.....	108

**Cover photos (Research team):** *Clockwise from left:* 1. Central Africa refugees in Bélom Camp (Moyen Chari) mapping refugee and host population interactions; 2. Sudanese refugees in Bredjing Camp, (Ouaddaï) identifying life-cycle vulnerabilities; 3) Nigerian refugees in Dar es Salam camp (Lac). All photos in report from field research team.

## List of acronyms and abbreviations

ADES	Association for Economic and Social Development
ANADER	National Rural Development Agency
APLFT	Association for the Promotion of Fundamental Liberties
ARV	Anti-Retro-Viral
CAR	Central African Republic
CEG	College of General Education
CERF	Central Emergency Response Fund (UN)
CNARR	National Commission for the Reception and Reinsertion of Refugees and Returnees
CRT	Chadian Red Cross
DTM	Displacement Tracking Monitor
FCFA	Franc of the African Financial Community <sup>1</sup>
FEWSNET	Famine Early Warning System Network
FLM/LWF	Lutheran World Federation
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GAM	Global Acute Malnutrition
HEA	Household Economy Analysis
HIAS	Hebrew International Assistance Service
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDA	International Development Association
IDI	In-Depth Individual Interview
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IOM	International Office for Migration
IRC	International Rescue Committee
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Service
KII	Key Informant Interview
MSF	Médecins sans Frontières (Doctors without Borders)
NGO	Non-Governmental organization
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
PAD	Program Appraisal Document
PARSEC	Savings and Credit Association
PDL	Local Development Plan
RET	Refugee Education Trust
SAM	Severe Acute Malnutrition
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
SISAPP	Sustainable Food Security and Early Warning Information System
SODELAC	Society for Lake Development
TB	Tuberculosis
UNCHR	United Nations Refugee Agency
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Hygiene
WHO	World Health Organization
WFP	World Food Program (PAM in French)

---

<sup>1</sup> 1 US dollar = 548.33 CFA francs (Oanda, May 2018 )

## **Glossary of local terms**

Aguid Alkhel	Traditional horsemen charged with pursuing animal thefts, Ouaddaï
Amchouie	Traditional women's organization, Ouaddaï
Boulama	Traditional chief derived from Kanuri usage
Bouillie	Porridge
Boule	A cereal-based dough served with sauce as a staple in Chad
Dambara	Respected person who guards against crop infestation, Ouaddaï
Daya	Traditional birth attendant
Diguedji	Assistant village chief in Lac region
Dr. Choukrou	Untrained 'bush doctor' dispensing medicines and treatment
Duédé	Locally-made spaghetti
Ferik	A nomadic camp or settlement
Janjaweed	Arab militia active in Sudan, particularly in the Darfur region
Karité	Shea nuts
Khalifat	Administrative entity under the leadership of an Islamic steward
Koro	A bowl-shaped receptacle used as unit of measure. One koro of sugar is about 2 kg
Maï	Cantonal chief in Lac region
Mbang	Traditional spiritual leader among the Sara, linked to the cult of the earth and control of land
Moukhamas	A unit of land measure equal to 0.56 hectares commonly used in eastern Chad
Paré	A form of tontine involving an 'invitation' and/or obligation to contribute to
Pirogue	Traditional dug-out canoe
Taabine	Arabic for 'poor', 'weak', suffering' or 'tired'
Tontine	An informal rotating savings and credit association common among women
Wadi	A seasonal water course
Warnang	Traditional youth organization, Ouaddaï

## **Acknowledgements**

This study would not have been possible without the encouragement and support of Giuseppe Zampaglione, World Bank Task Team Leader for the Refugees and Host Community project in Chad, who initiated the research and supported it throughout the process. The team would like to thank him especially for his interest in and commitment to qualitative research as an input into program planning.

The team would also like to express its appreciation for the ongoing support and encouragement provided by World Bank staff in-country, including Djekombe Rony Mba Minko, Operations Analyst, and Mona Luisa Niebuhr, Program Officer in the Global Program on Forced Displacement in the World Bank's Fragility, Conflict and Violence Group as well as all of the administrative staff who assisted with logistics and administration of the study.

The team is highly indebted to country staff of the UN refugee Agency (UNHCR), without whose precious collaboration and support field work would not have been possible. In this regard, our special gratitude is extended to Papa Moussa Ndoeye, Senior Livelihoods Officer in N'Djamena who helped the team identify the field study sites and connected us up with the UNHCR sub-offices for support in each region. In the UNHCR sub-offices, the team would like to thank in particular: Belty Hem-ah and Nderoh Noumnaibei Patrick in Maro; Patrick Fode Baba Conde and Koussoumbi Docteur in Bagasola; Mariam Moukhtar Adoum, and Desoula Aline Mbailo in Farchana; and Urbain Maihoudjim in Hadjer Hadid. These UNHCR staff and their colleagues spared no efforts in their support of the study in the field.

And finally, the team would like to express its heartfelt appreciation and gratitude to all study participants encountered in the field – the government officials, humanitarian actors and development partners, refugees, internally displaced persons, returnees and villagers who freely gave of their time to provide information and insights on their experiences. We hope that we have done justice to their experiences and hope that this report will effectively contribute to action on their behalf.

## Executive Summary

### *Background and study overview*

**A qualitative study was undertaken to support preparation of an IDA-financed project for refugees and host communities in Chad.** The objectives of the qualitative study were 1) to understand how different groups and individuals conceptualize and experience forced displacement in the three areas targeted by the project (refugee camps and neighboring communities in the East, South and Lake Chad area; 2) to identify key opportunities and major constraints to social and economic inclusion of refugee populations into local communities, including access to social services and support/assistance, as well as economic opportunities, land and other productive resources; and 3) to understand how the gender dimension plays into both perceptions and experiences and opportunities and constraints.

**This report presents findings from the qualitative research undertaken in all three zones.** In the South, field work was conducted in Bélom refugee camp in Maro (Moyen Chari region) and in surrounding communities including settled villages, sedentarized feriks (pastoral encampments) and the Maïngama site for Chadian returnees. In the Lac region, field work was conducted in Dar es Salam refugee camp in Bagasola and in surrounding villages, sites for internally displaced populations, and sites for Chadian returnees. In the East, field work was conducted in Bredjing refugee camp in Ouaddaï region and in surrounding communities as well as a joint refugee/host population gardening project site.

**Research followed a qualitative methodology.** In each locality, field research consisted of a number of interviews (either individual or group) with key informants at different levels (local authorities, humanitarian and development partners, camp managers, village notables, project managers) followed by focus group discussions, individual interviews and participatory exercises with refugees (and in the South and Lac, returnees and/or internally displaced) and villagers (grouped by age, gender and characteristics of vulnerability). Field research was complemented with detailed literature reviews of available information on each zone and key informant interviews in N'Djamena. Altogether, research included some 1,220 (636 male participants and 586 female participants) in the three study zones and an additional 62 key informants in N'Djamena (42 male/20 female).

### *Key findings from the research*

**The three study zones are marked by distinct and dynamic socio-cultural features and processes.** *In the South*, the study area around Maro, in Moyen Chari, is peopled largely by Sara ethnic sub-groups and predominantly Christian, though recent history has seen an influx of more Muslims and different ethnic groups into the area, including sedentarized Arab pastoral groups and others. *Lac region* was historically part of the powerful Muslim Kanembou-Bornu empire whose current inhabitants are predominantly Muslim and remain marked by a hierarchical social structure including a caste system as well as by considerable ethnic diversity due to a history of migrations into and within the region, though Kanembou and Boudouma are the dominant groups in the region today. *Ouaddaï in the East* was once part of the historical Sultanate of Ouaddaï which based its power on trans-Saharan trade: today the region of Ouaddaï is multi-ethnic and retains its Islamic identity, with the main ethnic groups in our cantons of research the Massalit and Assanghourî, with other smaller groups as well.

**Economic features and productive activities are also diverse and local populations experience significant livelihood constraints and poverty.**

- *In the South*, the largely agricultural region of Moyen Chari is characterized by relatively high rainfall but only moderately fertile soil, with agricultural livelihoods threatened by both flooding and poor rainy seasons in one out of every five years; other constraints include lack of access to the means of production (particularly animal traction) and growing conflicts between farmers and herders. Farmers strive to combine some kind of livestock as well, though this is often only successful for wealthier households. Available wealth category analyses indicate that the poor and very poor make up 42% of the overall population; the middle 39%; and the better off 19%.



- ***In Lac region***, households combine agriculture (rain-fed cultivation of millet on the dunes and gardening in the polders and *wadis* - seasonal water courses) with livestock herding (primarily of Kouri cattle and small ruminants) and fishing to varying degrees. Livelihoods have been severely affected by climate change and the shrinking of the lake by around half over the past thirty years (although there are some reports that this trend may be reversing). According to available wealth group analyses, almost two thirds of the rural population of the region (63%) can be classified as poor or very poor, with key factors of differentiation including land and animal ownership.
- ***In Ouaddaï***, households depend on rain-fed cereal crop production and off-season market gardening along the extensive system of *wadis* which traverse the area, with most household attempting to maintain some animals as well. As a combined result of rainfall deficits, crop pests, animal diseases, over-grazing and environmental degradation, the zone is considered food deficient in two years out of three and food security also varies by household wealth. According to available wealth group analyses, poor and very poor households make up 45% of the population; households in the middle constitute 40%, while the well-off make up 24%. Per capita, the better-off cultivate about 50% more land than middle households and possess around three times as many animals.

**The study localities are marked by extremely limited access to social service infrastructure and provision.** All localities are characterized by a dearth of public investment in social services of all sorts, with refugees in camps often better off in terms of access to services than local communities. Schools and health centers are scattered, poorly equipped, and insufficiently staffed, with the quality of services minimal. In the absence of adequate health service structures, much of the population turns most frequently to untrained ‘bush doctors’ (called *Dr. Choukrou*). In villages where schools actually exist, many villagers report problems in maintaining these as they are staffed largely (or solely) by community teachers who rely on parental payments for support. In other villages, parents report that long distances to school are a serious impediment. Access to water – for consumption as well as production - is also limited, particularly in the East, but to some extent in all zones.

**The three study zones have experienced a diversity of displacement dynamics.** The dynamics of refugee flows and displacement are highly distinct. Two – in the South and in the East – are of a protracted nature of over 15 years; the third, in Lac, is more recent, since 2014.

- ***Regions in the South*** have been profoundly affected by the politico-military crisis in Central African Republic (CAR) which since 2003 has sent over 75,000 refugees across the border where they are now housed in six camps and several villages. Since 2013 over 45,000 Chadian returnees from CAR have also been settled in five temporary sites as well as host villages and N’Djamena. In Moyen Chari, Bélong refugee camp near Maro houses over 20,000 CAR refugees, while the nearby Maïngama installation houses over 17,000 Chadian returnees. The villages visited for field research have not only been affected by such influxes of newcomers into the zone, they have themselves have also experienced flight and exile when political turmoil and conflict in the 1980s forced them from their homes to seek refuge in CAR as their villages were razed to the ground. An additional element of movement into the region that adds complexity has been the increasing sedentarization of pastoral nomads from the north in search of pasture and agricultural lands.
- ***The Lac region*** of Chad has been severely impacted by the crisis caused by Boko Haram from Nigeria which has created massive displacement and insecurity in the countries bordering Lake Chad. Since 2014/15, some 9,000 refugees have sought refuge in Chad (7,000 from Nigeria and 2,000 from Niger), with 6,118 installed in the refugee camp of Dar es Salaam and the rest scattered in host communities. While Hausa make up over half of the Nigerian refugees – who are mostly from the northern state of Borno - multiple other ethnic groups are also present, including Kanuri, Fulani and other minorities. Refugees from Niger in the camp come primarily from Nguigmi prefecture and are mostly Boudouma. But refugees are far outnumbered in this region by the over 135,000 internally displaced people who live in temporary settlement sites and scattered in villages within the region. There are additionally nearly 25,000 Chadian returnees from the bordering countries affected by Boko Haram, also divided between temporary settlement sites and villages.

Settlement patterns for the different displaced groups are often organized on an ethnic basis. The region as a whole has suffered from the closure of borders with Nigeria and from restrictions on movements caused by insecurity.

- ***In the East of the country***, over 300,000 Sudanese refugees fleeing conflict in Darfur since 2003 are installed in 12 refugee camps as well as one installation site and several villages in the regions of along the border with Sudan. The Bredjing camp near Hadjer Hamis is now the largest camp in Chad and reportedly the third largest in Africa, housing over 45,000 Sudanese refugees of primarily Massalit ethnicity. A recent tripartite agreement has set the basis for voluntary return, but currently few have taken this up, as conditions of insecurity in Darfur continue to send additional refugees across the border, and it appears therefore that most will remain in Chad for the foreseeable future. In this semi-arid Sahelian zone where agro-pastoral livelihoods are already precarious and dependent on climatic conditions, the additional strain on natural resources brought by such massive numbers of refugees remains acute.

**Refugees in all study zones remain deeply traumatized by their experiences of flight and exile.** All recount horrifying acts of violence and recall their desperate treks in search of safety, with many suffering losses not only of homes and property but of families and loved ones. Such memories remain vivid, no matter how long ago flight has occurred. ***Central African refugees in Bélom camp in the south*** speak of rebels invading their villages, killing the menfolk and others, and destroying property and goods in ‘*war that has left wounds.*’ They compare their current situation of hardship and uncertainty with the relative well-being they enjoyed at home and note that ‘*the fall has been brutal and without any foreseen happy ending.*’ ***Refugees in Dar es Salam in Lac*** recall Boko Haram raids on their villages in the middle of the night where they were startled out of sleep to find rampant killing in the streets as armed men slit throats indiscriminately. Many fled for their lives by pirogue, arriving in disarray Chad, as one put it, ‘*naked, with no mother/no father*’. ***Sudanese refugees in Bredjing in the east*** evoke a dual attack by government forces coming in armed vehicles and bombarding villages by plane, while armed militias (the Janjaweed) came into the village on horseback. The attacks would often come in the middle of the night or around four am, when everyone was asleep: ‘*They had a system*’ explained one. ‘*First they killed the people; then they stole our goods; then they burned our villages.*’ Men were killed or taken away. Women too were raped, killed and taken away: ‘*Still today, we do not know how many died, without being buried, their bodies left to be eaten by dogs*’.

**Assistance provided in the refugee camps is greatly appreciated by the refugees; however, many point to hardships that continue to mark their lives.** There is no doubt that the material support, social services and safety nets provided in the camps have been a lifeline that have enabled refugees to survive and to begin to pick up the pieces of lives shattered by flight and exile. For some, access to social services such as schools for their children and health care as well as safe water supply is a new experience and is allowing them to invest in social capital development to an extent unknown in their home countries. Nevertheless, there were complaints about the quality of both health and education services (over-crowded conditions, lack of personnel or supplies, and moves towards partial cost-recovery measures making access more difficult). Most refugees also compared their current housing situations unfavorably to those in home countries. Social safety nets in the form of ration assistance varied from camp to camp and were also evolving, provoking various reactions from the refugees:

- ***In Bélom camp in the South***, the recent transition from universal food distribution to targeted cash assistance limited to poor and very poor households, coupled with the reduction in amount from 6,000 CFA to 3,000 per person, has not been fully understood or accepted by the refugees— many of whom, such as those with disabilities or women heads of large households, report that they do not have sufficient capacity for income generation on their own and are suffering as a result.
- ***In Dar es Salaam camp in Lac***, universal food distributions were provided up until the end of 2016, after which food ration coupons were provided for exchange for food with designated merchants. Some refugees were reported to prefer the coupon to cash assistance both because of security concerns with cash and also because Bagasola market is some distance and the designated

merchants come monthly to the camp. Others, however, particularly some of the women, said they would prefer to continue receiving the food directly. The coupon is for a value of 6,000 FCFA per person, but with a cap of seven people per household, which some refugees say is not enough to make ends meet.

- ***In Bredjing camp in the East***, rations had been reduced from earlier universal distribution, and more recently had been replaced with a system of coupons for a value of FCFA 3,000 per head, with no cap in household members. Most refugees reported that the amount is not enough to enable households to make ends meet – lasting on average between 15-25 days, depending on the size of the family and other factors. Some also say they would prefer money in lieu of coupons, as the coupons can only be exchanged for specified food-stuffs.

**Most refugees experience significant difficulty in re-establishing livelihoods.** All refugees - even those living in camps in the East and South for over 15 years – have reported such difficulties. Most lost the majority – if not all – of their productive assets (both agro-pastoral and trades-related) in the precipitous flight to safety and, in spite of programs of assistance over the years, have for the most part not been able to achieve self-sufficiency. Key obstacles include the following:

- ***For refugees in Béлом in the South***, where households are provided with plots of land surrounding the camp, some of the constraints are common to all producers in the zone. But others are specific to refugees, including their lack of access to larger or more fertile plots of land than those allotted by HCR or additional land for grazing and lack of access to credit from the local micro-finance institution, which refuses to lend to refugees. This latter issue was a critical factor in the failure of an animal traction project which had called for refugees to reimburse part of the amount of purchase. The vocational and technical training center in Maro establishes an annual quota of 70% of places reserved for refugees; these are helping some, but further investment is needed to help with start-up costs of micro-enterprise. As one refugee put it: *‘The main challenge for us here remains the lack of means. In spite of all of our efforts, we are not able to become self-sufficient, because of the lack of means. The ration brings some relief, but neither rations nor cash transfers are sufficient.’*
- ***For refugees in Dar es Salam in Lac***, where livelihood support activities have just started up, there is a patent frustration with the lack of economic opportunities. Refugees overwhelmingly highlight their readiness to work and eagerly cite the skills they have to offer – in farming, fishing, animal husbandry, commerce, trades – but bemoan the lack of productive activities or employment options available to them. *‘We are suffering here – just surviving. That is our position,’* they state. They compare the quality of soil in the fields surrounding the camp unfavorably to that in their home communities, noting that they cannot produce the same volume or variety of products as they are used to. They also note that not everyone has had access to land allocations, which – as with other camp resources – have been organized through the camp’s bloc chiefs in processes that some see as biased. A fishing group has been established with external support and equipped with pirogue and nets, but this activity is too recent to assess.
- ***For refugees in Bredjing in Ouaddaï***, issues of land loom large due to the arid terrain and lack of sufficient arable land. Unlike refugees in the South, they have not been allotted parcels to cultivate around the camp; those not participating in joint agricultural or gardening projects must negotiate access to land on their own – often at some distance from camp, and often through share-cropping arrangements through which they must from one third to one half of the harvest to the land-owner (though the government is trying to promote free access to land). The current arrangements have led to a seasonal migration of refugees out of the camp to fields across cantons up to 50 or 70 km away that will receive them during the high cultivation period.

**Relations between refugees and host populations are evolving over time, with both positive and negative perceptions and experiences.** Host communities have for the most part greeted refugee arrivals with remarkable generosity and hospitality. Many, in all zones, provided at least some degree of initial direct assistance before humanitarian actors arrived, and most evoke notions of common

humanity and ‘brotherhood’. Almost all study participants, however, point to the negative impacts of massive influxes of newcomers on land, the environment and shared natural resources. The destruction of trees for firewood – the primary source of energy for cooking for both local communities and refugees – is particularly dramatic. At the same time, local populations have observed that refugee flows bring with them a plethora of humanitarian actors providing social services and support to meet increased demand. While much of this is seen to primarily benefit refugees, with some resentment expressed by villagers about this, some assistance has also benefited local communities – particularly those living closest to the camps. This is especially so in the case of health centers and schools in the refugee camps, which are open to all, though there some reports of camp services favoring refugees and many reports of over-crowded conditions in both schools and health centers. Other social services have been provided directly to local communities (rehabilitation of schools and health centers and support for personnel) and joint refugee/village programs have been developed. Communities recognize this and therefore welcome refugees as potential conduits for external assistance as well as exposure to new ideas.

**Mixed committees have been established to handle conflicts between refugees and host communities and to work towards peaceful cohabitation.** These serve as important structures for dialogue and conflict resolution and have strong government support. Issues that they have dealt with include overall security in the zones of influx, specific aggressions against women seeking firewood and the bush, questions of local land attribution and access for refugees, and – in the East – recent concerns arising from local youth entering into the camps and creating problems. The committees are also important partners in processes and structures for the establishment and management of joint host community/refugee development programs.

**Economic interactions between refugees and host populations are multiple and varied and take place at diverse points of encounter.** The stimulation of markets seems to be one positive socio-economic impact of the arrival of refugees. Economic interactions between local populations and refugees are very lively and productive in the markets in refugee camps visited in the South and the East, which are well-established and – from observations – larger than most nearby village markets. Some refugees have been able to establish retail arrangements with wholesalers in the market in Bélom and both refugees and villagers buy and sell in the markets, which are poles of integration. Other economic interactions are in the fields where refugees work or provide labor and around joint livelihood programs that have been established in each locality (for agriculture/gardening in all zones and fishing in Lac). Some of these programs are reported to be working well while others have experienced constraints: it does not appear, however, that constraints are due primarily to refugee/villager tensions, but rather to design features and questions of sustainability.

**Social interactions also take place in a variety of contexts.** Relations are reported to be positive among refugee and local students attending schools in the camps in the South and Lac, which thus serve as potent integration points. There was less information about this in the East, presumably because until recently the camp schools followed the Sudanese curriculum and therefore had few if any local Chadian students, though this is likely to change now that the schools in the camps have been ‘officialized’. A key informant in the South, however, noted that at middle (college) and high school levels in Maro, where schools accommodate both local children and residents, conflicts sometimes arise over who gets to sit at the limited number of desks, constructed by local carpenters: local children sometimes say to the others that *‘Our parents are the ones who contributed for these desks, so you refugees, you sit on the ground’*. With the exception of gender-based violence (see below), young people report mostly positive experiences; boys in particular get together for leisure activities such as football. Adults report attending each other’s ceremonial events, a mark of integration. Most initial fears and suspicion harbored against ‘the other’ seem to have dissipated over time: As one woman refugee in Bredjing put it: *‘We thought at first that the Chadians were going to eat us, while the Chadians thought that the refugees were going to eat them!’* And it was only after some time of peaceful cohabitation, that trust was build up *‘because we saw that no one was actually eating anyone else!’* In a further mark of integration, in both the South and the East, there have been numerous intermarriages between refugees and local community members – mostly with refugee girls marrying into local families.

**Both refugee and local women and girls experience a number of gender-specific disadvantages, but also demonstrate a number of strengths.** While there are distinct locality-specific dimensions, the following summarize some of the key points arising from the analysis of gender dynamics.

- ***Livelihoods and income generation:*** Women in all zones perform a significant amount of labor on a variety of livelihood activities: agro-pastoral production and gardening, handicraft production, and petty commerce (preparation and sale of foodstuffs, garden produce, firewood, retail work from wholesalers) as well as wage labor (principally on local fields and – for refugees – as domestic workers for villagers. Many women in both refugee and village communities are either de jure or de facto heads of household (through widowhood, divorce and abandonment, or – in the East - male out-migration for long periods of time) and thus assume sole responsibility for others in their care. General livelihood constraints are often intensified due to the gendered nature of productive relations such that women have less ownership or direct control over resources (land, animals and other assets, including credit). Women are also less able to negotiate terms of payment for wage labor and - due to historical limitations – lack essential education and skills-training. Women do have experience with traditional savings and credit associations – such as *tontines* and *parés*, but there are some indications that impoverishment (among both village women and refugees) is eroding their ability to participate in such processes.
- ***Household roles and responsibilities:*** With the exception of widows and women who have been divorced or abandoned, women live in households headed by men. As girls, they live under the control of their fathers, and as women under the control of husbands, with limited autonomy or control over decision-making. Prevailing gender norms also assign to women and children most of the daily tasks of household maintenance: these include the arduous search for water and firewood (the latter at ever greater distances from home); preparation of all meals (which includes grinding the grain); cleaning and maintaining the house (including, among refugee women in Bredjing, making bricks for house construction); and caring for children and other dependent members, such as the chronically ill or the aged. Such tasks are accomplished without the technology that would reduce both the physical and time burden on women and girls, leading to considerable over-work and ‘time poverty’ among girls and women.
- ***Girls’ education:*** Among both refugees and villagers in all three localities, girls’ education has been neglected relative to that of boys due to a variety of factors common in other contexts as well. These include: 1) social norms devaluing the importance of education of girls; 2) parental attitudes and poverty limiting both inclination and means to send and maintain daughters in school; 3) participation in household chores leaving little time for school and raising the opportunity costs of sending them to school for parents – particularly mothers; 4) early marriage and pregnancy, causing girls to drop out as they advance along the educational cycle; and 5) gender-insensitive learning and teaching environments that are not conducive to girls’ education. Refugee girls in the camps are relatively better off than village girls both because schools are available in close proximity, and because humanitarian actors and camp organizers have led sensitization campaigns such that some girls are now going to school for the first time. But obstacles remain even for refugees, and opportunities for higher education remain limited.
- ***Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV):*** SGBV is widespread among both refugees and local populations and takes a variety of forms. Domestic violence is common, fueled by a combination of male dominance and models of masculinity emphasizing force; widespread polygamy which adds to tensions; the frustrations of poverty; and – in many instances – alcohol consumption. Among refugees, domestic violence has intensified through the refugee experience when, as women in Dar es Salam explain, ‘*For nothing at all, the situation can get out of hand and men become violent*’. In Bredjing, a rise in domestic violence has also been linked to the earlier restriction on rations: ‘*When there is but one koro per person and a man finds that his many wives, and children are making too many demands on him, violence breaks out.*’ Physical aggression and rape of young women and girls are also frequently reported threats, with risks particularly in the bush when women are engaged in gathering of fire-wood (reported in all localities). In the case of refugees in

Dar es Salam – it is also perpetrated by soldiers from the nearby military base. In the East, it has become so dangerous that village chiefs have instituted a rule that girls may not go out unaccompanied. Reports of transactional or ‘survival’ sex were found in all zones as girls (particularly refugee girls, but also villagers) seek out economic support from boys or men in exchange for sex. In Dar es Salam, refugee women told us that ‘*Girls engage in sex for small things – even cloth wraps*’; pregnancies that arise from such encounters are highly problematic. Early marriage (considered to be a form of gender-based violence) is a key issue in all localities, posing not only physical risks of pregnancy and childbirth to girls who have not yet fully matured, but contributing to school drop-outs among girls. There were also reports that female genital cutting continues among CAR refugees in Bélom as part of their cultural initiation processes.

- **Reproductive health:** Reproductive health and maternity care are provided in the refugee camps, with referrals to district hospitals in case of complications; it was reported in Bredjing that most refugee women now give birth in the center and in fact have been forbidden to give birth at home. Problems remain, however, in all three camps in terms of the quality of care provided, the conditions for delivery, the number of health staff and in particular trained midwives, timely transport for referrals, and pre- and post-natal care, with some refugee women in Bélom reporting that ‘*We lose many sisters along the way*’. While village women in closest proximity to the camps have access to care and delivery at the refugee camp health centers, findings from the villages visited in each region were that in the absence of quality services closer at hand, many women in fact continue to give birth at home, assisted by untrained traditional birth attendants (*dayas*) with arduous travel to centers in case of complications by donkey cart (in the East) or other means elsewhere.
- **Community and leadership roles:** Although female autonomy vis-à-vis male heads of household remains limited, women leaders play significant roles and serve as an organizing feature around many aspects of community life in both villages and camps. Refugee women leaders include bloc chiefs, presidents of women’s committees and community outreach workers; village leaders include heads of women’s associations, *daya* and others. Over the course of the study, women’s leadership roles were most evident among the refugee women who were most clearly organized and articulate about their roles and priorities; this is perhaps due to the support and encouragement they receive from humanitarian assistance actors as well as to the training they have received. This is a clearly positive development that contributes to women’s empowerment. While women were also said to be members of the joint refugee/host population mixed committee for peaceful cohabitation, a full sense of their specific roles or responsibilities did not emerge from our research.

### ***Implications for programming***

**The complexity of local settings argues for a nuanced and context-specific approach to programming.** Field research has brought to the fore both the multiple dimensions of displacement characterizing the different regions as well as the complexities of interactions that arise among refugees, local communities and other displaced populations and specific groups such as transhumant or sedentarizing pastoralists who either people or move through these areas. This multiplicity calls into question a simplistic ‘refugee’/‘host population’ dichotomy in favor of more nuanced views specific to each zone. Delimiting the geographic bounds of ‘refugee/host population’ interactions and calibrating program responses to take into account the different needs and sociocultural and economic dynamics of the different population groups in question will be complex and will undoubtedly require more detailed and careful site studies to determine the best approach in each context.

**The planned provision of targeted safety nets to the both refugees and host communities will be complex and will need to take into consideration a number of issues.** For refugee populations, the transition from universal distribution (as per humanitarian needs and principles) to targeted assistance (as called for due to diminishing resources and the move towards sustainable development) will be a fraught one and is likely to be contested by the refugees themselves. This was seen in the South, where targeted assistance has just been initiated. Findings suggest that 1) planning for the transition should draw in community participation; 2) targeting should consider both economic and social criteria of

poverty and vulnerability, as well as its gender dimensions; 3) program planning and implementation will need to be accompanied by careful and ongoing communications; and 4) intensified livelihood support programs will be critical, particularly to household cut off from safety nets. Close coordination with current and planned humanitarian assistance efforts will also be crucial. For ‘host populations’ who have not generally been beneficiaries of previous safety nets in these zones (aside, perhaps, from some of the seasonal safety nets that are linked to food security in Sahelian regions), in addition to the definitional issues around definition and geographic or administrative delineation of ‘host populations’ key concerns would be to take into account the multiplicity of different livelihood characteristics and settlement patterns in the criteria used to define and identify poverty and vulnerability. Lessons learned from the current national social safety net project will no doubt be of critical importance here.

**Strengthening and expanding social services for all will fulfill a critical gap for both refugees and local populations.** Beyond crucial support for local infrastructural development for education and health, strategies are needed to 1) address long-term staffing challenges (trained health workers; teachers); 2) ensure appropriate provisioning (medical equipment, cold chains, medicines; school furniture and appropriate teaching/learning materials); 3) meet operational costs and provision of essentials such as water and power sources; and 4) strengthen government planning and supervision capacity. Continued support to such services in refugee camps will also be crucial as a means of covering the needs of both refugees and local populations living closest to the camps. Water is a third priority service that needs support in all localities and includes safe water for household consumption; water supplies for schools and health centers; and water provision and management for agricultural activities and gardening as well as pastoral water points. Considerable investment, technical expertise, and strong partnerships with the appropriate government and development actors will undoubtedly be needed to address these priorities, many of which may go beyond the scope of the project per se.

**Support is critically needed to expand economic opportunities and strengthen livelihoods for both refugees and local populations.** Considerable efforts are already s to promote and expand livelihood options for both refugees and host populations. These need to be strengthened and expanded, in collaboration with development partners and with a central role for government, with interventions tailored to each locality. Cross-cutting issues call for consideration of: 1) appropriate measures for land allocation and use for both refugees and poor villagers; 2) technical enhancement of water supply and management for both rain-fed and off-season cultivation; 3) provisions for means of production for different livelihood activities; 4) measures to enhance pasture, fodder products and veterinary services for livestock, to develop pastoral water points and transhumance corridors, and to strengthen structures for conflict resolution between farmers and herders; 5) adaptation of interventions to the seasonal dimensions of rural life and livelihoods; 6) decisions on whether groups or individual household approaches are most appropriate in different socio-economic contexts and determination of the types and levels of support needed for each; and 7) mainstreaming gender approaches in all livelihood support. Commercial activities and trades of various sorts should also be supported through 1) provision of rolling start-up funds or access to credit; 2) provision of appropriate tools, technology and equipment; and 3) expansion of technical training opportunities and follow-up support for entrepreneurial activities.

**Environmental concerns should be integrated into program approaches and specific measures included to preserve, protect and promote the environment.** Efforts are underway in some localities to introduce more fuel-efficient cook stoves in order to cut down on the need for wood; however these remain limited and need further expansion. Alternative fuel sources should also be explored such as bio-energy, solar power or other options, perhaps initially on a trial scale. At the same time environmental management and preservation activities such as tree-planting, live hedging, etc. should be built into development programs linked to livelihoods and expanded from a broad community development framework.

**Gender-specific vulnerabilities and potential should be addressed through appropriate interventions and a gender-perspective mainstreamed through the project.** The following are some of the key priorities:

- ***Strengthening women's livelihood activities:*** The key would be to approach support for all livelihood activities from a gender perspective to ensure that, on the one hand, women's roles and skills are supported and, on the other hand, additional tasks do not add to their already heavy workload. Existing skills (in areas such as agriculture and gardening, care for small ruminants, food preparation and transformation, sewing, tailoring and handicrafts, and commerce) should be strengthened and new skills introduced (for example, in literacy, group management, environmental protection). Women's productive roles could be enhanced through appropriate tools and technology, specific training and outreach, and support for women's associations and collective activity. In addition to productive livelihood grants, building on women's experiences with informal rotating credit and savings associations would be one way of providing credit for income generating activities. Also critical would be to identify particularly vulnerable categories of women for whom livelihood support may not be an option and provision of social assistance instead.
- ***Lightening women's workloads:*** While long-term efforts should be set in place to advocate for more gender-equitable sharing in daily household chores, shorter and medium term efforts are needed to supply services and appropriate technology that lighten the burden of such chores. These would include, among other things: establishment of boreholes with hand-pumps in rural villages; promotion of fuel efficient cook-stoves to not only conserve firewood, but reduce the frequency of long treks in search of firewood; provision of donkey carts or other means of transport of logs and other products gathered from the bush; and provision of appropriate food transformation technologies (grinding mills and the like).
- ***Promoting girls' education:*** As an integral part of the social service support component, appropriate measures should be taken to address both supply and demand side obstacles to girls' education. On the supply side, this would include investments to ensure that all schools and teaching/learning environments are 'gender-friendly' (schools close to the communities; more female teachers; appropriate sanitary facilities and sanitary hygiene training and materials; SGBV prevention and protection in schools; establishment of girls' clubs and mentoring). On the demand side, important measures would include awareness raising among parents and community on the importance of girls' education; culturally sensitive campaigns and community dialogue to stem early marriage for girls; role models of successful educated women; and – where schools exist - incentives to parents to send their daughters to school and maintain them there (e.g. cash transfers linked to girls' attendance or take-home rations for girls).
- ***Protecting women and girls against SGBV:*** This requires a multi-pronged effort and community mobilization and dialogue. Measures have been established in refugee camps to both protect against such violence (through sensitization campaigns and enhanced security) as well as to care for victims (through health services and psycho-social support). These need to be supported and expanded and similar efforts are critically needed in rural villages. Such initiatives should be set within wider efforts to ensure overall security in the different localities.
- ***Expanding access to quality sexual and reproductive health care and information:*** This is a critical priority for all women and should be built into health service strengthening for both village and refugee camps. It should include both pre- and post-natal care, safe delivery, and access to appropriate information and means of family planning services. Further support for women's community outreach workers would be important; in the villages, depending on national policies, traditional birth attendants could be trained and encouraged to play such an outreach role.
- ***Strengthening and expanding women's community and leadership roles:*** Existing women's associations and organizations should serve as an entry point for all program support for women and girls and members should be included in consultations for broader social and economic service delivery in both refugee camps and villages. Women's roles on joint refugee/village committees should be highlighted as essential to ensuring peaceful cohabitation and separate mixed committees for women should be established around all joint programs.



## **A. INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT**

### **1. Overview of refugees and displaced populations in Chad**

Chad, one of the poorest countries of the world, is host to over 450,000 refugees (as of April 2018), making up some 3% of the population, placing it 12<sup>th</sup> among host countries in the world, and 6<sup>th</sup> in Africa (WB PAD 2018, based on UNHCR statistics). To this are added an additional 101,905 internally displaced populations (IDPs) and around 70,588 Chadian refugee returnees, adding to the burden on already fragile ecological systems and weak social infrastructure (OCHA 2017b). The main parts of the country that have been affected are in the South, the Lake Chad region, and the East.

#### ***Situation in the South***

Regions in southern Chad have been profoundly affected by the politico-military crisis in Central African Republic (CAR) which since 2003 has sent 76,129 Central African refugees and since 2013 an additional 45,907 Chadian returnees across the border in search of safety. This has become a protracted crisis and perspectives for return rest minimal due to the ongoing conflicts in CAR and significant instability in the north of the country. The Central African refugees are currently housed in 6 camps and several villages in the regions of Logone Orientale, Logone Occidental and Moyen Chari, while the Chadian returnees are settled in five temporary sites as well as host villages and N'Djamena. The combined weight of this influx of population are severely straining the environment and putting pressure on livelihoods in this primarily agricultural zone (OCHA 2017b).

#### ***Situation in Lac region***

The Lac region of Chad has been severely impacted by long-term under-investment in development and by the more recent crisis caused by Boko Haram which has created massive displacement and insecurity in the countries bordering Lake Chad – including Chad, along with Nigeria, Cameroon and Niger. Since 2014/15, some 9,000 refugees have sought refuge in Chad (7,000 from Nigeria and 2,000 from Niger), with 6,118 installed in the refugee camp of Dar es Salam and the rest scattered in host communities. These refugees are far outnumbered in this region by the 137,030 internally displaced who live in temporary settlement sites and scattered in villages. There are additionally 24,681 Chadian returnees from the bordering countries affected by Boko Haram, also divided between temporary settlement sites and villages. The region as a whole has suffered from the closure of borders with Nigeria and from restrictions on movements caused by insecurity (OCHA 2017b).

#### ***Situation in the East***

In the east of the country, some 322,914 Sudanese refugees fleeing conflict in Darfur since 2003 are installed in 12 refugee camps as well as one installation site and several villages in the regions of Ennedi Est, Wadi Fira, Ouaddaï, Sila and Salamat on the border with Sudan. A tripartite agreement signed in 2017 between the governments of Chad and Sudan and UNHCR has set the basis for voluntary return, but currently few have taken this up, as conditions of insecurity in Darfur continue to send additional refugees across the border, and it appears therefore that most will remain in Chad for the foreseeable future. In this semi-arid Sahelian zone where agro-pastoral livelihoods are already precarious and dependent on climatic conditions, the additional strain on natural resources brought by such massive numbers of refugees remains acute (OCHA 2017).

### **2. The importance of including host populations in assistance programs**

There has been consistent, albeit insufficient financial support to refugees in Chad and for regional security initiatives, but resources continue to diminish and key humanitarian actors are down-sizing their programs. Moreover, while both refugees and host communities have considerable unmet needs, most humanitarian assistance has targeted refugees, leaving already poor host populations with lower access to basic services such as health, education, water and improved livelihoods than refugees. The international community is aware that there are limits to the long-term sustainability of humanitarian interventions and that approaches aimed at building resilience and promoting integration with host communities are increasingly necessary. (WB PAD 2018)

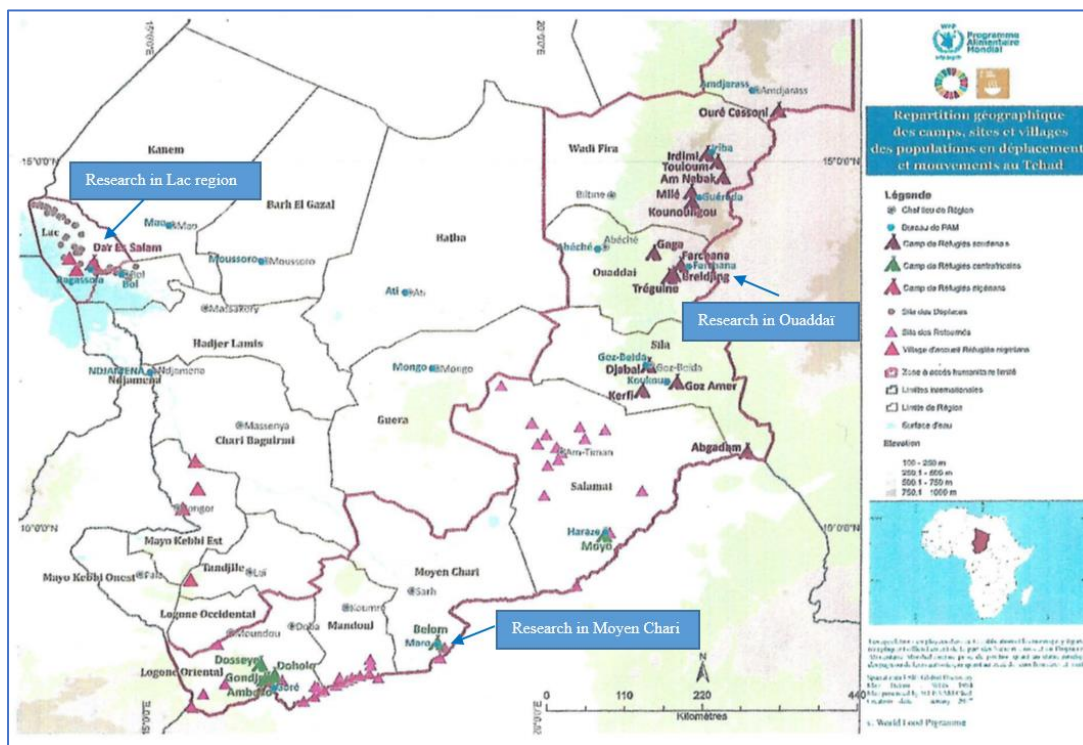
It is in this context that the Government of Chad, with support from the World Bank, has launched the preparation of a new IDA-financed project in support of refugees and host communities in Chad. The project aims to improve access of refugees and host communities to basic services, livelihoods and safety nets and to strengthen country systems to manage refugees. It will be implemented in the East, South and Lake Chad regions and will benefit both refugees and host communities in selected areas. It is designed around principles of sustainability, taking a phased approach, mitigating pressure on the environment, enhancing women’s participation and protection, fostering social cohesion, and establishing transparent communications. (WB PAD 2018)

### 3. A qualitative study to support programming around refugees and host populations

As part of the preparatory activities for the development of the World Bank project, a qualitative study is being undertaken as one of a number of research and analytical exercises supporting program preparation.

The objectives of the qualitative study are 1) to understand how different groups and individuals conceptualize and experience forced displacement in the three areas targeted by the project (refugee camps and neighboring villages in the East, South and Lake Chad area; 2) to identify key opportunities and major constraints to social and economic inclusion of refugee populations into local communities, including access to social services and support/assistance, economic opportunities and to land and other productive resources such as animals; and 3) to understand how the gender dimension plays into perceptions and experiences on the one hand and opportunities and constraints on the other hand.

Figure 1. Map of study areas and localization of refugees and displaced populations in Chad



Source: WFP 2017

This report presents findings from the qualitative research undertaken in all three zones: 1) in the South around the Bélom refugee camp in Maro, in the Moyen Chari region (from 15-22 February 2018); 2) in the Lac region around the Dar es Salam refugee camp in Bagasola (from 23 February to 2 March 2018); and 3) in the region of Ouaddaï in the East around the Bredjing refugee camp and Farchana (from 9-16 April 2018). (See figure 1 for a map of the study areas). The research team was made up of one international and two national research consultants.

In each locality, the research methodology consisted of a number of interviews (either individual or group) with key informants at different levels (local authorities, humanitarian and development partners, camp managers, village notables, project managers) followed by focus group discussions and individual interviews with refugees (and in the South and Lac, returnees and/or internally displaced) and villagers (grouped by age and gender), accompanied by a number of participatory exercises to collectively identify key trends and aid in discernment of key issues. Field research was complemented with detailed literature reviews of available information on each zone and key informant interviews in N'Djamena. Altogether, research included some 1,220 (636 male participants and 586 female participants) in the three study zones and an additional 62 key informants in N'Djamena (42 male/20 female). (*For full details on study methodology and coverage, see [Annexes 1 and 2](#)*)

#### **4. Structure of the report**

The report is structured as follows: After this introductory chapter, chapters B, C and D present the results of research in the South, the Lac region and the East, combining these with the review and analysis of available literature on each of the zones and adding in a pictorial reportage. The final chapter F presents overall conclusions based on the research, summarizing key findings and identifying some cross-cutting implications for programming.

A series of annexes completes the report, including 1) an overview of the field research methodology; 2) an overview of the research exercises and study population covered in each zone; 3) a list of references; and 4) a compilation of key socio-economic and gender indicators for each region of study.

## B. FINDINGS FROM RESEARCH IN THE SOUTH

### 1. Background and context

Field research in the South centered around the camp for Central African refugees at Bélom, in the Grande Sido department of the Moyen Chari region. Field work encompassed the camp itself, two neighboring villages, two sedentarized Arab ‘feriks’<sup>2</sup>, and Maïngama installation site for Chadian returnees. In all, some 458 people participated in the research in this region (236 male and 224 female) (See *Annex 2* for full details of research activities undertaken and population covered at each site).

#### 1.1 Overview of the zone and area of research

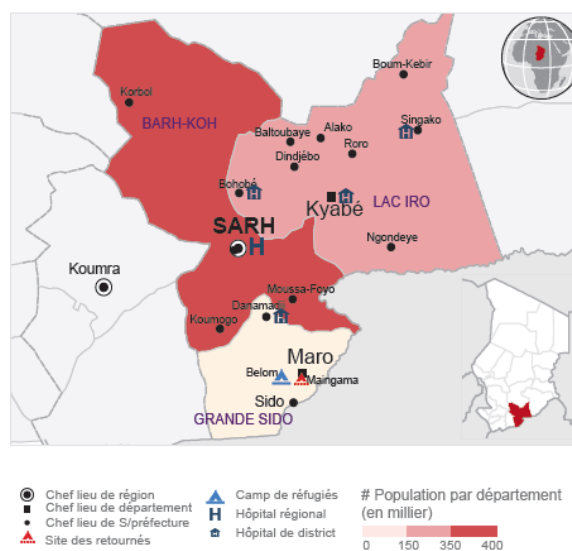
##### 1.1.1 Characteristics of the livelihood zone

The region of Moyen Chari (see map, *figure 2*) falls into the FEWS NET-defined livelihood zone characterized as ‘southern staple and cash crop, with relatively high rainfall but only moderately fertile soil, and agricultural livelihoods threatened by both flooding and poor rainy seasons in every one out of five years. Staple cereal crops – primarily rain-fed – include sorghum, millet and maize, with inter-cropping of cowpeas and separate cultivation of ground nuts and cotton as cash crops. Households frequently cultivate small plots of sweet potatoes and cassava in addition to their cereals as well as some yams and taro. Tree crops for both consumption and income are also significant and varied. Until recently, with the influx of cattle herders into the zone (see below) the main types of animals raised as livestock have been goats and sheep, along with some cattle, with poultry also important especially as income for poorer households who may possess very few other animals. For those who can maintain them, oxen are important for providing plough-traction, although those without simply use the hoe (FEWS NET 2011).

Depending on the crops, harvests occur from September through December. Between April and June, before the first big rains, grazing becomes scarce and those who can afford to buy groundnut and cowpea fodder for their small ruminants. June to October are the busiest agricultural months and this is the time when poorer households are able to find employment working for their wealthier neighbors. The lean season in July and August, when household cereal stocks are generally low to non-existent, is the time when most animals are sold to purchase food until the next harvest (FEWS NET 2011).

Household wealth category analysis indicates that the poor and very poor make up 42% of the overall population; the middle 39%; and the better off 19%. The deep divide between rich and poor in this livelihood zone hinges not so much on the possession of land but on the means to successfully exploit it: possession of draft oxen and ploughs, capacity to pay for inputs such as fertilizers and hired labor. Wealthier households get significantly higher yields of cereals and are able to grow more cash crops – the latter in particular requiring more inputs for success. The most acute divide between poorer and wealthier, however, is seen in the possession of livestock. Lack of chickens or small ruminants for ready cash, oxen for animal traction and portage, and cows for milk represents a significant livelihood disadvantage for the poor (FEWS NET 2011).

Figure 2. Map of Moyen Chari region



Source: OCHA 2016b

<sup>2</sup> A ferik is a mobile encampment of a small group of nomads

Poor households typically manage to obtain only about one-third of their annual consumption from their own harvest, and nearly another third from direct payments in grain for labor, which together limit their recourse to the market. Nevertheless there are two to three hard months before the beginning of the harvest in September when household grain stocks have long run out, in-kind payments can cover only part of the staples requirement to keep the household going, and a gap has to be filled from a market where prices are at their annual peak. For the very poor, the sales of collected firewood, collected wild items (shea nuts, nééré seeds and jojoba), and craft items made from local natural materials (straw mats and clay pots) as well as brick-making, add up to a little over half of their annual cash income, with the other big item being paid work, almost all done as local agricultural labor or odd-jobbing rather than in local towns or on work migration. The middle class and wealthy, on the other hand, obtain between 40% and 50% of their income from the sale of agricultural crops (FEWS NET 2011).

### **1.1.2 Region and canton**

With an estimated 728,099 inhabitants (OCHA 2016), the Moyen Chari region is made up of three prefectures – Bahr Koh, Lac Iro, and Grande Sido, where our research took place. Ethnically, most inhabitants are from the Sara group, which has many sub-groups (Guibert and Kakiang 2011). Most Sara are Christian, but recent history has seen an influx of more Muslims into the area as well. An evaluation of development potential in the region identifies significant potential - particularly for agriculture - but also points to key constraints including lack of rural development structures, poor social service infrastructure and weak marketing systems as well as growing conflicts over the use of land and natural resources (Guibert and Kakiang 2011).

The humanitarian profile for the Moyen Chari region indicates that some 127,489 people (18% of the population) are food insecure (with a phase 2 designation of ‘under pressure’); the rate of global acute malnutrition is 6.4% (emergency threshold of 15%) (OCHA 2016b) and according to the latest national nutritional survey (SMART 2017), the rate of severe acute malnutrition is 1.4% (emergency threshold of 2%) (OCHA 2017). With some 731 schools in the region, student teacher ratios rise to 159 and only half of primary students complete their studies. There is estimated to be just one doctor for 38,321 regional inhabitants (compared to WHO norms of 1/10,000), and of the 66 health centers, 11% are non-functional (OCHA 2016b).

The canton of Maro, where the Bélong refugee camp is set, is one of eleven cantons in the Moyen Chari Region, with a population of around 60,000 in 43 villages and feriks. Maro town – capital of the Department of Grande Sido - numbers some 5,120 people in 1,300 households and occupies 45 km<sup>2</sup>; it is the site of the only public health center in the canton. In the absence of health service structures, much of the population turns most frequently to untrained ‘bush doctors’ (called *Dr. Choukrou*). The canton as a whole has 34 primary schools (14 of which are community schools) with 15 trained teachers and 58 community teachers; there are also two government secondary schools and one community school at this level. Most of the population lacks proper sanitation and existing boreholes are often non-functioning with traditional wells filling the gap (PDL Maro 2014-2018).

According to authorities in Maro, the cantonal population is 95% rural, engaged primarily in agriculture, animal husbandry and gardening, along with other activities such as commerce. Key constraints for agriculture include 1) lack of means of production (particularly draught oxen) meaning that many households continue to farm the land by hand; 2) limited access to or ability to afford key inputs such as fertilizer and improved seeds; 3) climate change bringing irregular rainfalls incurring both dry spells and floods; and 4) devastation of fields by animal herds – especially it seems in the case of manioc production. Key constraints for herders include lack of adequate pasture and access to veterinary services. Socio-economic development has been further limited by overall lack of investment in socio-economic service structure – particularly health services and schools as well as roads and communication infrastructure (*KIIs, local authorities*).

Government officials also point to problems of quality and quantity in both health and education services in the canton. For the first, they say that since 2011 Maro has been elevated to the status of sanitary district in name only, with only three government service personnel, assisted by 12 community workers at the health center in town. *‘There is no technical platform, no equipment, no observation*

*room – patience are lying on the ground, which is pitiful*’ (KII, local authorities, Maro). They add that the health center in the camp is better equipped and staffed than the district health center and draws in all of the aides for employment there, leaving the district center abandoned (KII, local authorities, Maro). Schools, meanwhile, lack qualified government personnel, staffed largely by community teachers or temporary staff. At middle (college) and high school levels, where schools in Maro accommodate children of both local residents and refugees and returnees, conflicts sometimes arise over who gets to sit at the limited number of desks, constructed by local carpenters: local children sometimes say to the others that *‘Our parents are the ones who contributed for these desks, so you refugees, you sit on the ground’* (KII local authorities, Maro).

### **1.1.3 The perceived impact of refugees**

Growing demographic pressure on the land and common natural resources is by all accounts taking its toll, and while the welcome and hospitality displayed by local residents in the face of the massive influx of refugees and returnees has been genuine, clear problems are arising, exasperated by local perceptions that external assistance benefitting refugees and returnees is not always bringing clear benefits to host populations (KIIs local authorities, Maro).

The influx of refugees and returnees into the zone, along with the sedentarization of former nomadic or transhumant pastoralists now practicing agro-pastoralism is creating intense pressure on (and conflict around) shared resources and is having overall widespread negative environmental impacts (leading to increasing scarcity particularly of firewood and important gathered products such as karité, reeds for building, and niébé). One key informant regrets that customary – and particularly spiritual authorities such as the *Mbang* have not been adequately included as participants in resettlement and development processes and decision-making. Authorities agree that a greater balance is needed in development efforts to benefit both refugees and host populations and other population groups within a context of growing scarcity and limited opportunity (KIIs local authorities, Maro).

## **2. Key findings from field work**

### **2.1 Béлом refugee camp**

#### **2.1.1 Overview of the camp and services**

##### **Refugee camp and population**

Béлом refugee camp (situated 3 km from the HCR field office in Maro, and some 28 km from the border with the CAR). Béлом covers 5003 hectares, of which 375 hectares of habitation (organized in 18 blocks) and 4628 hectares of agricultural land (*see map, figure 3*) (UNHCR Maro, 2017).

The camp houses some 20,175 refugees living in 4,978 households: over half of the refugees (56%) are children under 18 and women make up over half (58%) of the adult population which is multi-ethnic (major groups include Ngama, Mbaye, Daba, Rito, Mandja, Arab, Fulani and others.) The refugees fled CAR in successive waves from 2003 through 2017, and were originally settled in two camps nearby (Moula and Yaroungou), but transferred to Béлом in 2012 after successive years of flooding in the original camps made living conditions untenable (UNHCR Maro, 2017). Most refugees we spoke to were among the original arrivals in 2003.

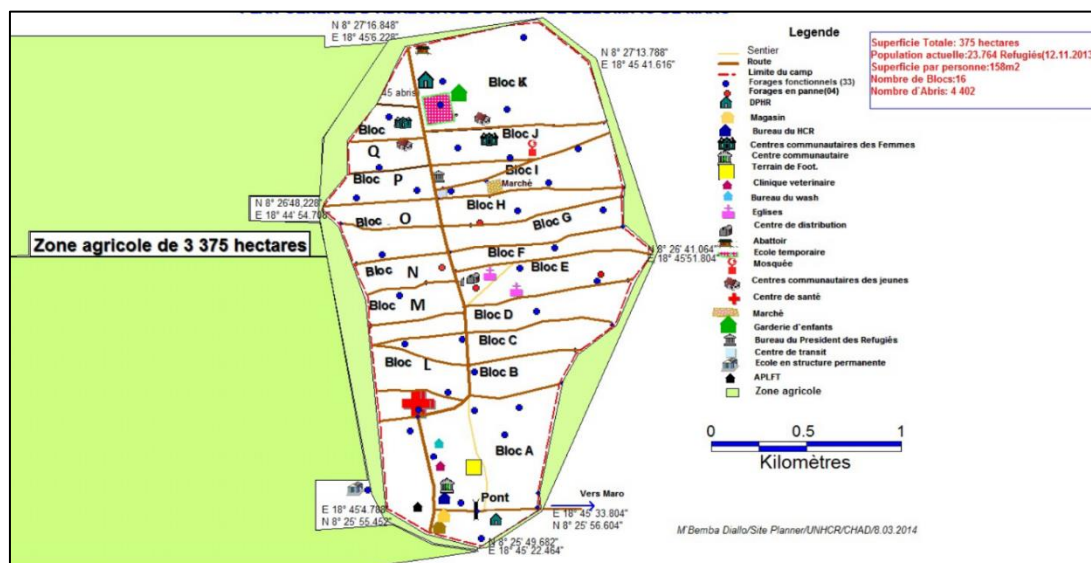
An early Household Economy Analysis (HEA) in Béлом camp (UNHCR/CARE/OXFAM 2013) classified 62% of refugees in the camp as poor (30%) or very poor (32%), with the middle accounting for 20% and the better off for 18%.<sup>3</sup> At household level, given differences in household size, the poor and very poor made up 75% of all households in the camp. In the initial analysis, amount of land cultivated, coupled with possession of livestock was the key factor in wealth differentiation, with wealthier households more able to engage in petty trade, crop sales and sale of products, while the poor were engaged mostly in paid labor, self-employment (especially cutting and selling of firewood and fodder grasses, brick-making) and sales of collected wild products. The gap in cash income between

---

<sup>3</sup> The results of a more recent profiling were not yet available at the time of reporting.

the wealthier and poorer households was high: in 2012/13 (when refugees were settled in Bélom after severe livelihood losses from floods in their previous location), better off households could earn 4-5 times as much as the poorer households. Food aid for that year allowed the very poor to just meet their food calorie requirements, when added to food obtained through own crops, foraging, payment in kind or purchase. Food aid provided to the other groups allowed them to surpass their food requirements. Recommendations at the time suggested providing assistance to the poorer refugees to acquire more land and farm inputs as well as livestock and the organization of the poorer households into collective groups to strengthen their chances of access to investment credit for more profitable activities that could diversify their livelihoods.

Figure 3. Map of Bélom refugee camp, Maro



Source: UNHCR Maro

### Services and support

Universal food rations to refugees in the camp were provided up until 2015; this has now been discontinued, based on the results of the 2013 HEA exercise which classified the refugees into four categories: color-coded cards distinguish amongst the very poor (white); the poor (blue); the middle (yellow); and the well-off (red). Currently, only the bottom two categories are eligible for ration support which they receive in the form of coupons. This shift (coupled with the reduction in amount from 6,000 CFA to 3,000 per person) has caused considerable consternation on the part of categories left out (*see section below*). In 2018, a 6-month CERF-funded project is also providing additional cash assistance to the lower two categories (KII HCR Maro).

A primary health center in the camp includes reproductive health services as well as HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment and a nutritional center co-financed by WFP, UNICEF and HCR. Refugee children in Bélom have significantly higher rates of chronic malnutrition than the average for the region of Moyen Chari as a whole: global chronic malnutrition rate of 37.4% in Bélom compared to 15.4% in the region; and severe chronic malnutrition of 13.6% in Bélom compared to 4.6% in the region (UNHCR/PAM 2016 joint assessment). Health service cost recovery mechanisms introduced in 2017 include a 200 FCFA charge for adults and 100 FCFA for children, in addition to the health card of 100 FCFA. While refugees in the camp are overall satisfied with health services, they also point to periodic medicine stock-outs, a lack of specialized health personnel, less than optimal treatment and services, and lack of beds (UNHCR/PAM 2016 joint assessment).

The camp has a pre-school, 2 primary schools and a 'college'. For the 2017/2018 school year, camp statistics for refugee children show gross enrolment rates of 15% at preschool level; 83% at primary level (81% for girls/85% for boys); and 20% at secondary level (12% for girls/ 28% boys). Some 22

students are being supported for tertiary education (UNHCR Maro 2017; KIIs HCR Maro). While initially free, parents are now asked to contribute to expenses.

There are 48 boreholes or wells in operation in the camp, organized by bloc, with a system of cost recovery introduced in 2015 to ensure maintenance (monthly contributions of 100/household, according to refugee key informants). Support is given for the construction of family latrines. Environmental activities have also been promoted, with annual activities in both camp and surrounding villages, including establishment of village nurseries – including Paris Sara; reforestation; and distribution of seedlings to host communities. (UNHCR Maro, nd Note Succinct).

Significant support has been provided for the development of livelihood activities: UNHCR's global livelihoods strategy for 2014-2018 seeks to support economic self-sufficiency for refugees in their care and to permit them to both maintain and protect their livelihoods and satisfy their immediate consumption needs (UNHCR 2014). In Bélom, this includes support for agriculture (draught animals and plough, farm inputs, training); gardening (including mixed sites for refugees and villagers); income-generating activities (through micro-finance to support primarily petty commerce); and animal husbandry (limited support for veterinary services). All of these activities are carried out in collaboration with decentralized state services (ONDR/ANADER; Forest Inspection Unit; Herding Sector). (UNHCR Maro, nd Note Succinct).

The accent has increasingly been on integrating livelihood initiatives for refugees and host populations. To this end, HCR reserves a percentage of their assistance package to benefit local populations, with the percentage varying by project (in agriculture, for example, 20-25% of assistance is provided for local participants and the rest for refugees (UNHCR Maro 2017; KIIs HCR Maro). Support for technical training opportunities at the Technical Training Center in Maro include a 30% quota reserved for locals, with all trainees provided with start-up kits thereafter for work such as carpentry, sewing/tailoring/dyeing, and welding in workshops in Maro, Sarh and Danamadji. (UNHCR Maro, nd Note Succinct)

As approaches to livelihood support have evolved, useful lessons have been learned for future programming in this area (UNHCR Goré SO 2016; KII, HCR Maro) (*see box 1*).

### ***Box 1. Evolving approaches and lessons learned from livelihood programming, Bélom***

- ***Agriculture:*** Refugees have received plots of land (about 1 hectare) in areas around the camp for agriculture and there have been additional efforts to support production. An early approach was the introduction of animal traction and ploughs. Mixed groups were established numbering 10 producers each, composed of both refugees (selected among the better off in the camp who could afford to invest in this activity) and villagers (making up between 10-25% of the total). HCR put up 60% of the total costs for a pair of draught oxen and plough to each producer group on the agreement that they contribute the remaining 40%. However this approach proved unworkable partly because the refugees could not get loans needed for their share of the costs: PARCEC, the local micro-credit has refused to lend to refugees without a UNHCR guarantee. It also proved difficult to share out oxen in timely manner to allow each producer to prepare land for the planting season. Recognizing this, the communal approach for this activity was dropped in 2015. (KII, HCR Maro; UNHCR Maro 2017). At the same time, improved seed varieties have been given out to groups of 30 producers (both refugees and villagers), along with fertilizers to enhance productivity; this approach is continuing, but since 2016, it is targeted to the poor and very poor only. HCR provides some support to buy the seeds that are produced for sale at a farm input store created in the camp, which is managed by a group of 10 refugees (of whom 4 women) and where the poor and very poor can use their vouchers (KII, HCR Maro).
- ***Gardening;*** There are two gardening sites for refugees at the camp (of 9 and 10 hectares each) and one mixed site for refugees and host populations (of 2.5 hectares), with technical supervision provide by ANADER. Garden products are produced both for consumption and for sale at the market in Bélom or in Maro, and the larger market of Danamadji. (KII, HCR Maro). Most refugees we interviewed who participated in these activities report on their positive benefits (*see next section*) and gardening in general is an important livelihood activity to promote in this zone. One key informant at government level, however, deplored what he saw as the unilateral planning that when into this project, which was established without consultation with local and



traditional authorities, and which from his perspective is also contributing to soil and water depletion (KII, prefect Grande Sido, Maro).

- **Animal husbandry:** A census found that 10,380 animals are owned by refugees in the camp (all species together – from cattle to chickens). Vaccination has been supported for animals within a 15 km radius of the camp (KII, HCR Maro) – the distance defined on the basis of epidemiological transmission of disease vectors; however, due to the weakness of vaccination services, coverage remains spotty. Support is provided for the production of fodder crops for animal feed (a means of combating environmental degradation and conflicts between herders and farmers) and small ruminants and chickens are distributed to poor and very poor refugees as well as vulnerable host population households (though there is no specific system for the moment by which these latter are selected as beneficiaries). An MOU has been established with the Herding Department for technical support and training (KII, HCR Maro).
- **Income generation through ‘Economic Interest Groups’:** There was an initial effort to promote micro-credit projects for groups of 10 refugees, who were provided with a start-up interest-free loan of 400,000 FCFA per group for income generation activities. Reimbursement, however, proved difficult, and the approach ended in 2016. The local micro-finance institution – PARSEC, which charges a 12% interest on loans – also refuses to lend to refugees without an upfront funded guarantee from HCR, based on earlier difficulties in reimbursements when such activities were set up in the earlier camp at Yaroungou. The current thrust is therefore to establish community-based savings and loans associations made up particularly of women (mostly refugee women from Bélom, but also a few villagers from Paris Sara), based on a successful model developed by CARE, which provided initial training for this that was continued by the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) from 2017. There are now 26 such groups operating in the camp, with loans used primarily to support petty commerce (KII, HCR Maro). Other efforts have gone into the creation of cooperatives for small and medium enterprise development such as sale of food stuffs and the like, including an effort to establish a system of ‘warrantage’ (the stocking of food crops based on credit guarantees); however, while successful elsewhere, a lack of local technical expertise in such systems has delayed implementation of this approach in Bélom (KII, HCR Maro).

### **2.1.2 Refugee experiences and perceptions**

In addition to our key informants, we spoke in all to eight groups of refugees (camp leaders, men, women, male youth, female youth, women and girls who were victims of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), the chronically ill, and the poor and vulnerable). We also spoke to a number of individuals for more in-depth discussions (the camp president; president of the women’s committee; a newly arrived widow having difficulty maintaining her children in school; a single mother excluded from assistance; and a man experiencing difficulty in recovering from economic shock. The following are some of the critical themes that arose in discussions.

#### **Experiences of flight and exile**

While most refugees we spoke to had been living in the camp for some 15 years, they still vividly recall the dramatic and tragic circumstances which forced them to flee their homes and provide eloquent testimony on how their lives have changed – comparing current conditions to the conditions they enjoyed back home in CAR. (see *box 2*)

#### **Box 2. Refugee reflections flight, exile and current conditions: Bélom**

- It was war that pushed our families to flee, as there was so much killing. We traveled for kilometers through the bush (as we had to avoid the roads for fear that we would be found and killed). Our feet were swollen by walking, we had burns on the inside of our thighs, and we went for long periods without water and up to 2 or 3 days without food. Now we live in earthen or straw huts whereas before our houses were of baked brick with tin roofs. Here we travel for kilometers in search of firewood which we have to transport on our heads, whereas before we had shorter distances to travel and carts for transport so it was not so tiring. Here we eat what we can produce and it is the same thing all the time; it is difficult to find enough food depending on the season. Before, we had a variety of foods (manioc and manioc leaves, fruits, bush meat) at all periods of the year and it was cheaper. Back home, the schools were of better quality than here: if we had not had to leave we would probably already have our Bacs and some of us, perhaps, be pursuing higher education, but here many of us have dropped out because we got pregnant and are ashamed to continue in school; we also now have so many chores at home and in the fields to support our children. (FGD, young refugee women, Bélom)

- We come from agro-pastoral villages of rich agricultural lands and had diversified economic activities including commerce. In spite of the financial burden, most parents sent their children to school – economizing and participating in tontines to make ends meet. Here, after a period of flight where we saw cadavers along the way, we live in this camp in huts of straw, walking kilometers into the bush to collect firewood, which is very tiring, and trying to make do with the food we find here, which is not enough (particularly in the months of April, May and June) and not as varied as the food we had back home. Our children therefore eat poorly and lack vitamins, leading to cases of anemia and malnutrition that are treated at the health center. We find that the education was better back home, especially for girls who were more likely to continue with school. And while we appreciate the free health care here, we find that the quality of care was better back home. (FGD, vulnerable refugee women, Bélom)
- In CAR, we had many things: commerce worked well and there was lots of solidarity. We had aluminum-roofed houses and we could cultivate lots of produce. There was vegetation all around. We had family around to help us. Here we live and sleep in conditions you could not imagine and we have no family to help us. (FGD refugee women, Bélom)
- We left because of the war and it was a war that caused the loss of our loved ones under horrible circumstances. This has left wounds. Here we have no choice – we just accept whatever is given to us – what to do? We cannot go back home. (FGD refugee women, Bélom)
- In CAR we slept on mattresses and beds: here we only have mats and sleep on the ground. (KII, refugee management committee, Bélom)
- We cannot return home as long as war is raging and our existence depends now on our capacity to develop ourselves, but we have so few resources. Some of us have plots of land, but without the means of production to work them. The challenge is to overcome our state of dependence. (KII, refugee management committee, Bélom)
- I was 8 years in 2003 and our family lived by farming. But the war caused us to flee and brought us untold misery. My family has become totally unstable and we have been unable to get back on our feet either socially or psychologically. We have no regular schooling or follow-up of children. (FGD, young refugee men, Bélom)
- My family and I fled CAR in 2003 when I was 4 years old. My father was a farmer who worked the rich soil there which produced abundantly. Here in Bélom, not only is the soil poor, but the cost of living is high. I must say that we were much more fortunate there than we are here. (FGD, young refugee men, Bélom)
- In CAR I was a farmer, producing a lot. I also sold cakes in the market and had a little restaurant which I operated from home. Business was good. My husband had a small shop in the village. But the rebels came, invading the village and killing the men, including my husband. Women and children were obliged to flee. Here in the camp I at first benefited from the food rations but no longer, as I do not have the ‘white’ card [i.e. classification as poor for targeted assistance] .....Here in the camp, my fellow villagers, with whom I fled, have not maintained solidarity, and our village chief has grown old and blind and can do nothing for us. (IDI, refugee woman, Bélom)

Source: Paraphrased from FGDs, IDIs and KIIs with refugees in Bélom camp

### *Community timeline*

Key informants and refugee men were asked to reconstitute a timeline of critical events since the arrival of refugees from CAR: the results are summarized in *table 1*.

*Table 1. Refugee community timeline, Bélom*

	2003/2005	2008/10	2012	2013/14	2015/2016	2017/18
<b>Political/military</b>	Crisis and upheaval in CAR; enforcement of border closure in 2014					
<b>Refugee situation</b>	First refugee arrivals – Maro and then Yarougou camp (+/- 11,000)	New arrivals in Moula camp (+/- 5,000)	Transfer of refugees to Bélom camp (+/- 16,000)	New wave of refugees (+/- 5,000 and Chadian returnees)	Biometric identification: 16,000 refugees	202 new arrivals in 2017
<b>Economic livelihoods</b>	Difficulties in establishing livelihoods	Huge losses caused by heavy			Frequent theft of cattle	

	before official assistance	rains and flooding in camps			
	Recurring conflicts between farmers and herders				
	Animal disease epidemics decimate small ruminants and poultry				
Assistance policies/ap proaches	Universal food distribution, WFP			WFP targeted food coupons to poor and very poor based on i 4 wealth-group categories	
		Distribution (2010) of oxen pair and plough to well-off producer groups of 10 on cost-sharing basis, discontinued in 2015	Distribution of seeds and inputs to groups of 30 producers, targeting the poor	7-month CERF-funded pilot cash transfer Re-profiling of refugees for targeted assistance	
	Establishment of gardening groups (2 for refugees, 1 mixed refugees/locals, and support for rice production				
	Micro-credit projects to groups of 10 but reimbursement problematic			Creation and training of 26 Village savings and loans groups – mostly women	

Source: Composite from research exercises in Maro and Bélom

### Conditions of life and social services in the camp

- **Experiences of targeted assistance**

At the time of our visit, the key concern of many of the refugees interviewed was the recent targeting of ration support based on classification through HEA and the reduction in amount from 6,000 CFA to 3,000 per person). This has caused considerable consternation on the part of categories left out; in a discussion with a group of refugees with special needs, including those with disabilities, one man, paralyzed from the waist down and in a wheel chair who is unable to work but is classified as ‘red’ and thus cut off from assistance, proclaimed that ‘*God gave me this handicap in childhood, and now they are adding to my suffering*’ (FGD vulnerable refugees, Bélom).

One NGO worker in the camp said that even with an overall transition from ‘emergency’ to ‘development’, refugees with disabilities remain vulnerable and in need of assistance (KII, Bélom). Others also are clearly vulnerable. A woman, whose path we crossed, balancing a load of firewood on her head, explained that since this categorization, her only recourse for income is the arduous search and sale of increasingly diminishing stocks of firewood, which takes her all day to find up to 15 km from camp (*transect walk, Bélom*).

Another widow, mother of 8 children, whose husband was killed by the Seleka in CAR<sup>4</sup>, reported that she had to withdraw 6 of her children from school so that they can contribute to the household, The sons she withdrew from school are now angry at her, faulting her for falling into the ‘wrong’ category, and acting up as a consequence. She wanted to know if she could divide her refugee card into two so that her children at least could be placed in a different category to receive assistance (IDI, woman refugee, Bélom).

One refugee categorized as ‘poor’ and therefore receiving assistance, said that the others now look at her meanly, saying ‘*You - go stay with the poor!*’ Refugee youth confirmed that this categorization has brought conflicts and serious strife into the refugee camp, with many young people cut off from support for further education or even appropriate food, while the cost of living remains high and merchants speculate, considering all refugees to be cash beneficiaries, which is not the case (FGD male youth, Bélom). A group of chronically ill refugees explained that ‘*Without assistance, we can pay neither for education nor for health care*’ (FGD, chronically ill men and women, Bélom). Some refugees noted

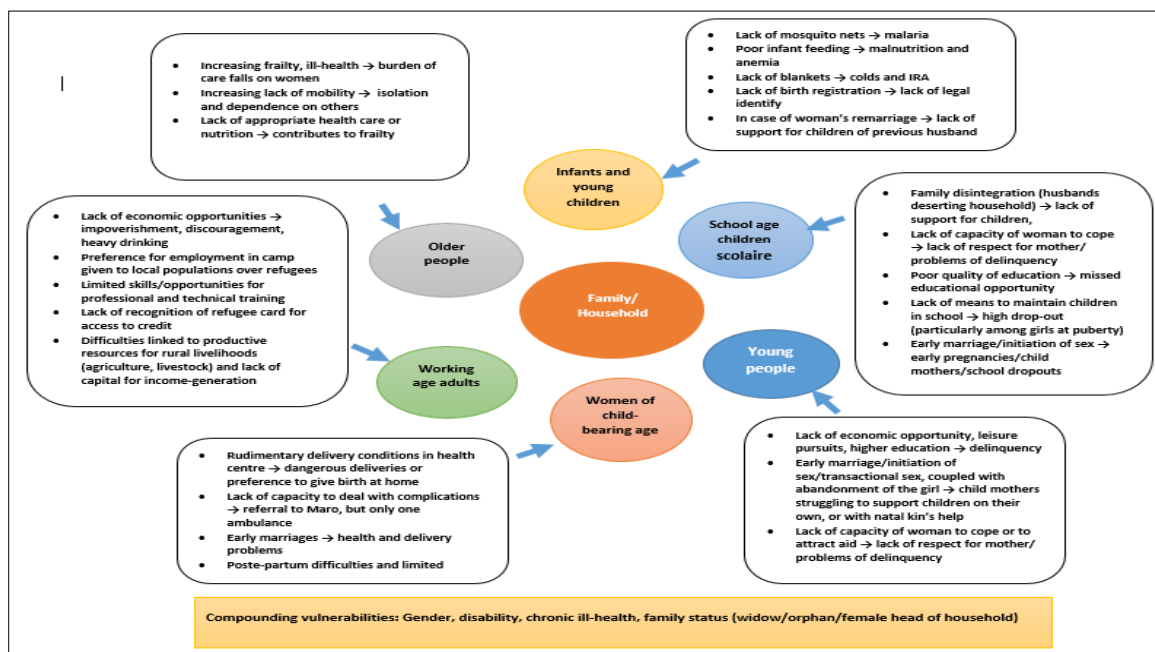
<sup>4</sup> The alliance of rebel militia factions and terrorist group that overthrew the CAR government in 2013

that the worst time for them was over the lean months of April, May and June when food stocks were low and there was limited cash available to tide them over (FGD, vulnerable female refugees, Bélom).

### • Life-cycle vulnerabilities

Women were asked to identify any particular vulnerabilities refugees in the camp face by age group (FGD, women refugees, Bredjing): the results are summarized in *figure 4*.

Figure 4. Life-cycle vulnerabilities in Bélom refugee camp



Source: FGD women refugees, Bélom refugee camp

### • Social services

Many refugees report over-crowded conditions at the health center and lack of trained personnel (FGD refugee men, Bélom) as well as lack of appropriate medication (FGD male refugee youth, Bélom). Refugee women note the lack of electricity and report 'If you give birth there at night, you have to bring your own flashlight or lantern' (FGD refugee women, Bélom - see below). Older refugees report that younger patients are given priority and they are told to use bush doctors' (Doctor Choukrou) (FGD chronically ill refugees, Bélom)

Refugees reported irregular provisioning of ARVs for HIV positive refugees – with a gap of some 8 months in 2017 and a reportedly high death rate among them. Mental illnesses are also inadequately treated. Chronically ill people now do not automatically qualify for assistance, if they are categorized, for example, as 'red'; sick people therefore have to work in spite of their frailty (FGD chronically ill refugees, Bélom).

Refugee parents explain that school in the camp used to be free, but that since 2012/13, parents have been asked to contribute – 1,200 FCFA for primary and 6,000 FCFA for college – fees for the lycée in Maro are even higher – at around 15,000 FCFA (KII Bélom Camp committees). Absences and drop-outs are common, particularly among girls as they advance in age towards puberty, and the quality of education offered largely by community teachers with variable training has been questioned. Some success stories, however, provide hope, as with the following:

*I was five years old when I arrived in Chad with my parents in January 2002 – one of the first contingent of refugees to do so. We were forced to flee from CAR because of the cruelties arising from the civil war. I have had all my schooling in Chad and obtained the Bac in Maro. I've been a student at the university in Doba for two years now, studying history. The relations between young refugees like myself and local*

*students has always been very good – some of us have now gone through all levels of education together. We also enjoy the same leisure time activities and sports.’ (FGD, young refugee men, Bélom)*

### **Livelihood activities and constraints**

Most refugees highlight in particular the difficulties they face in recovering livelihoods and making ends meet. Speaking for households overall, the president of the women’s committee puts it this way:

*‘The main challenge for us here remains the lack of means. In spite of all of our efforts, we are not able to become self-sufficient, because of the lack of means. The ration brings some relief, but neither rations nor cash transfers can be sufficient. If we continue like this, we will always remain dependent. Strength resides in production – in agriculture (manioc, ground nuts) on a large scale. And for that we would need animal traction and larger fields where everyone could work and where we could together defend ourselves against invasion by animal herds. I’ve already forgotten CAR – for myself and my family, the future is here. We could also envision collective fields where refugees and local populations could work together’ (KII, president of women’s refugee committee, Bélom)*

Refugees appreciate the livelihood support they receive, but many face challenges in either sustaining or bringing to scale the economic activities they engage in. Some of the constraints are common to all producers in the zone, for example: small plots and declining soil fertility (FGD young refugee men); lack of animal traction (FGDs, refugee men and women, Bélom); animal herds destroying crops with impunity and particularly hindering manioc production (which used to be the key to livelihoods for many refugees from CAR (FGD, refugee men, Bélom); limited capital to invest in commercial activities (KII, management committee, Bélom). But some are specific to refugees, including their lack of access to credit (KII, HCR Maro) and lack of access to larger plots of land than those allotted by HCR (FGD, refugee men, Bélom).

Particular problems encountered in the livelihood support offered through provision of animal traction and ploughs for mixed groups of refugee and village producers are voiced by members of the camp management committee, and echo the lessons learned on this by project organizers:

*‘If the group is organized around shared land, it is not a problem. But if you are organized around the means of production – the oxen – that is when the problems start. Because not everyone will be able to use the animals at the same time, but a farmer must be ready to prepare his fields when the moment is ripe, depending on the rains, which are variable. So in the group, the president will say that he should be the first one to use the oxen, the secretary comes next, and so on and so not everyone will have a chance to work their fields when they need to. It would be much better if individual households had their own means of animal traction.’ (KII management committee, Bélom)*

Individual testimonies from two refugee men attest to the challenges as well as to the potential for success in recovering from the economic shocks of refugee existence and attempting to re-establish livelihoods (see **Box 3**).

### **Box 3. Two men, two outcomes: the struggle to recover from socio-economic shock, Bélom**

Jacques (not his real name) is 45, with 17 children that he is responsible for. He explains how he has not been able to get back on his feet after fleeing his country.

*The civil war led to the destruction of all of my property and goods. My second wife was also a victim of this war and left me with a young orphan to raise. In CAR, I was a farmer of moderate means, but happy, with an annual revenue of around 250,000 FCFA. I produced a variety of crops – cereals, peas, beans, manioc....I was able to rent the use of oxen for a rapid extension of fields for cultivation. At the same time, I led commercial activities – particularly the collection and sale of honey, and with such substantial capital, was able to buy a plough.*

*Here, however, the fall has been brutal and without any foreseen happy ending. I now cultivate a field of 1 square hectare, provided by HCR, but the soils are not the same, I do not have any animal traction and cannot plant my preferred crop of manioc. I sell my products in Sido market and also sell pleated reeds to raise by standard of living, though this brings in only 1,000 FCFA per meter and demands an enormous amount of work under hazardous conditions as I am regularly menaced from herders with whom I am in competition for these materials. In the recent categorization of refugees, I have the yellow card, and my first wife has the red one: we*

are both, therefore, excluded from assistance for the 18 people in my household. But my annual income now hardly passes 60,000 FCFA. I suffer, and my family with me.

(IDI refugee man, Bélom)

Martin (not his real name), age 52, is married with 5 children and reports on the benefits he has derived from participating in the credit assistance program:

*It was an ordinary day when the militia came to my village and in the clash with their enemies turned their war against us as innocent villagers, accusing us of complicity in the rebellion. The result: fire and blood in the village, which was totally destroyed. This is the reason I am here today after a shock both psychological and economic. I had been a farmer there, with an annual revenue of about 600,000 FCFA. Here, thanks to assistance received – including credit allowing me to purchase a pair of oxen and plough, I have been steadily able to improve my standard of living and now estimate that my revenue has reached around 300,000 FCFA.*

(IDI refugee man, Bélom)

### 2.1.3 Refugee / host-population interactions

Refugees were overall thankful for the initial welcome given to them by local populations on their first frantic arrival in Chad, before international assistance kicked in, and most describe relations as cordial for the most part. Some say ‘we are of one mother/one father’ to accentuate the solidarity that they still feel, saying that ‘refugees and locals have become the same family’ (IDI women refugee president, Bélom). Others say, ‘We cohabit without problem, however, some tensions do arise from time to time’ (FGD vulnerable refugee women, Bélom).

A key informant from the refugee camp provided an excellent overview and mapping of existing points of contact between refugees and local populations (see [figure 5](#)).

**Figure 5. Points of encounter between refugees and local populations\***



**Source: Cartography exercises, male refugee, Bélom Camp (\*Key: red stars denote points of encounter)**

As seen on the figure, key places for encounters include - in the camp - the health center and school (to which locals have access); the daily market; many houses of worship (including churches and mosques); and the football field (where mostly male youth and boys congregate). Outside the camp sites include gardens for joint gardening efforts, a vocational training center in Maro, churches, restaurants and bars in town and – occasionally - the offices of PARSEC, the local micro-finance institution. Refugees also perform odd jobs in town, ply petty trades, or work in the fields of surrounding villages as daily laborers

at peak agricultural times of land preparation, planting and harvesting. Interactions – both social and economic - are said to be facilitated by a shared language (often Ngama or Sangho) and refugees and locals often participate in the same festivals and ceremonies. This informant estimates that contacts with local villagers extend up to 25 km from camp, providing a list of villages concerned (KII male refugee, Bélom).

Refugees we interviewed – both men and women - described their work in the fields of local villagers; some men noting that the daily pay varies between 1,500 and 2,000 FCFA, and some women mentioning 500 FCFA, which they recognize as exploitative, but note they have few alternatives (FGD refugee men and FGD vulnerable female refugees, Bélom). One woman noted that field work was at times difficult to obtain, as villagers consider that all refugees are assisted by external agencies, so they say: *'It is useless for you to come looking for work on our fields'* (IDI young woman refugee, Bélom). Women additionally reported working as housemaids in Maro, or washing clothes, while many were equally involved in petty commerce, including the sale of produce from their joint gardens. One woman petty trader reported good relations with a wholesaler who has set up shop in the market in Bélom, explaining how she obtains a small advance from them to buy cereals which she then sells retail in small quantities in the market, repaying the advance at the end of each day, and earning from 1,500 to 2,000 from her sales (*see case study below*).

There has been intermarriage between the refugees and host populations: two young women refugees we interviewed - both divorced from or abandoned by their former refugee husbands – were now married and settled in the village of Paris Sara (though problems remained regarding the status of the children from their previous marriages, who remained in the refugee camp with family members, since commonly in Chad, men resist caring for offspring that is not theirs (IDI refugee women married into Paris Sara village). A young woman refugee married into the village of Ndinaba but who maintains her refugee status within Bélom reported an additional problem with claiming her cash support, explaining that her ex-husband, still in the refugee camp, pursues her when she comes to pick it up to the extent that she turned to CNARR for guarantees of security on payment days (IDI refugee woman married into Ndinaba village). This in turn highlights the precarious nature of women's position within patriarchal social structures and the 'double vulnerability' that arises from being a woman and a refugee (*see below*).

#### ***2.1.4 Gender-specific vulnerabilities and potential***

Adult refugee women in the focus group we encountered in Bélom were of diverse ethnic backgrounds, with the highest proportion (28%) Ngama, but a host of other smaller groups represented as well. The majority were Christian (91%) and predominantly Catholic (82%). The rest (9%) were Muslim. The women ranged in age from 25 to 65, with the median age of 38. As a group, they had high levels of divorce/ abandonment (41%) and widowhood (23%), which means that almost two thirds (64%) were single heads of household. The rest (36%) were married and lived in households headed by their husbands. Households ranged in size from 4-15 people, with the average size of 6.2. They had between 2 and 9 children each, with an average of 6 (though it was not always clear whether these were all their own children or included as well the children of others whom they cared for). Nearly two thirds (64%) of the women had no formal education (some of the Muslim women had Koranic school only); most the rest (around 32%) had some level of primary education, but usually quite low, and only 4% had some secondary schooling.

Other women with whom we spoke included those in mixed groups of camp leaders and poor and vulnerable refugees; as well as focus groups with women victims of violence and younger women and a number of individuals, including the president of the women refugee committee in the camp.

The president of the women's committee identified the following major problems for women and girls in the camp: (KII president of women's committee, Bélom)

- ***Gender-based violence against girls and early sexual initiation leading to pregnancies***, after which the girl is left on her own to care for the child, with little means to do so. This not only creates tension within families, but inhibits girls' opportunities for education and contributes to a cycle of poverty.

- **Domestic violence within families:** This can stem, among other things, from husbands attempting to take transfer money to go out drinking or to use as dowry to marry another woman – both of which create tremendous problems in the household, with conflicts sometimes needing intervention from authorities.
- **Socio-cultural traditions** that continue to favor genital cutting for girls as part of their initiation rites into adulthood, in spite of efforts underway to raise awareness about the negative consequences of such practices.
- **Early and forced marriages:** These stem from parents who are motivated not only by dowry but by concern to see their daughters in the care of men who can support them, particularly when the family itself has limited means to provide for the needs of its growing children.
- **Difficulties in pursuing livelihoods:** Lack of means to enhance livelihoods and support families affects all refugees – men and women alike. Some women, however, such as female heads of households, face particular difficulties in making ends meet.

Discussions with other refugee women detailed these and other problems faced by refugee women and girls.

### **Family instability**

Women and girls commonly report that men are either neglecting or abusing their roles as heads of household; fathering children whom they consequently abandon (along with the mother); failing to provide for the family. *‘Men here are not serious – not responsible. They say nice things, you get pregnant, and the man takes off, leaving you alone with the children’* (FGD women refugees, Béлом). Marital or relational instability seems to be extreme – sometimes as a result of polygamy (which some women refuse to accept), sometimes as a result of alcohol abuse (which leaves women to abandon abusive or non-productive husbands).

Women feel that these tendencies have intensified through the refugee experience which has both impoverished households and rendered them more vulnerable to rupture. As noted above, of the older women in our focus group, 41% report being divorced or abandoned by their husbands and another 23% widows, leading to three quarters (64%) as heads of household (FGD women refugees, Béлом). Of a group of younger girls, aged 16-25, half were already divorced or abandoned by their men, with children to raise. Some of the younger women suggest that young men and boys their age are increasingly adopting negative gendered behaviors within the new context in which they find themselves – imitating what they see around them (FGD young women refugees, Béлом).

### **SGBV**

A group of vulnerable women in the camp state that *‘We suffer physical assault from our husbands who also take our goods to sell in order to buy alcohol. Our daughters are also molested by boys – they cannot go to fetch firewood in security’* (FGD vulnerable female refugees, Béлом). Adolescent girls – coerced into sex by their peers – often thereafter become single mothers struggling to raise a child on their own; it is then not uncommon to resort to transactional sex to try to survive (FGD vulnerable female refugees, Béлом).

Many report that gender-based violence has been exacerbated through the refugee situation where men in particular feel helpless and limited in economic opportunities and therefore turn their anger on women (FGD vulnerable female refugees, Béлом). *‘It was not like this in CAR’* reported the president of women refugees in Béлом, *‘Everything started once we became refugees, largely because of the widespread poverty we face.’* Victims of sexual violence receive treatment at the health center in the camp and a local NGO attempts to intervene and provide protective services while special committees have been established to run awareness training.

### **Reproductive health**

As refugee women pointed out in their identification of life cycle vulnerabilities, women lack access to appropriate reproductive health services. Rudimentary delivery conditions in the health center leads some to a preference to deliver at home. They note the lack of electricity and report that *‘If you give birth there at night, you have to bring your own flashlight or lantern’*. Referrals to Maro in the case of



complications are hindered by the presence of only one ambulance and care of post-partum delivery problems is minimal (FGD refugee women, Bélom).

### **Girls' education**

Early pregnancy and motherhood (both inside and outside of marriage) is cited as a key factor leading to refugee girls' drop out from school. One refugee reports that a man who paid 100,000 FCFA in bride price for a young bride thereafter refused that she continue with her studies and at one point almost cut her arm off with an axe: she is currently in the hospital in Danamadji while he is in prison in Sarh (FGD vulnerable female refugees, Bélom). Girls in Bélom also report fears stemming from lack of security from physical violence and even rape, in spite of a system guards that has been established in the camp (FGD, young women, Bélom).

### **Gendered norms and practices**

While our research did not attempt to establish a statistically representative sample of the camp population for participation in the study, a comparison of demographic information collected on the male and female study participants is, nevertheless, indicative of the gender discrimination that marks everyday life and opportunities, including in unequal access to education. Of our study sample of adult refugees, for example, 64% of the men had some secondary education while the same proportion of women had no formal schooling at all. This seems to be changing among the younger generation in our sample (average age 20) as both nearly equal proportions of the young men and young women we spoke to had some secondary education (at 69% and 67% respectively).

However, a comparison of the daily activities reported by the young men and women shows clearly how an unequal gendered division of labor within the household plays out. As seen on [table 2](#) below, the activities of the young women revolve around the home, the borehole, the bush and the market as they perform their daily rounds of housework, child care and economic activities, with no mention of continuing school, and no time for leisure except for afternoons visiting with neighbors and parents. In contrast, young men range farther afield and report not only school, but professional training. They have time for reading and study, as well as for playing football and meeting with friends and family, in addition to economic activities.

**Table 2. Gender difference in daily activities of young refugees, Bélom**

	Young women		Young men	
	activity	spaces	activity	space
<b>morning</b>	Sweep the house; fetch water; wash dishes; prepare porridge or tea; search for firewood; sell firewood	Home; camp borehole; bush; market	School; professional training; work in the fields; market business	Maro, Bélom, Yaroungou
<b>afternoon</b>	Prepare meal; wash children; visit; fetch water	Home; neighbors/parents and sometimes Maro; camp borehole	School; sports; search for firewood; reading	School in Maro or Bélom; Bélom sports field; bush; home
<b>Evening/night</b>	Eat; fetch water; wash; sleep	Home, camp borehole	Market business; meeting friends; family life; sleep	Bélom market; home

*Source: FGDs young refugee women and men, Bélom camp*

### **Livelihoods**

Women's contributions to household livelihoods include agriculture and gardening (on family plots as well as on village lands for wages); petty commerce (including retail and sales of garden production, as well as sale of firewood); day labor on villagers' farms (as described above); and washing clothes or doing housework for families in town in Maro or in local villages.

Some women also made mention of their participation in ‘tontines’ (informal revolving savings and lending groups) that help them finance different activities or stock food stuffs (FGD vulnerable female refugees, Bélom). However, these informal groups – reportedly strong back in CAR - seem to have lost intensity through the refugee experience which both destroyed social ties and networks and led to impoverishment such that many refugee women can no longer afford to participate in these without formal assistance from NGOs or others. The situation is aggravated by their lack of access to formal credit (FGD, refugee women, Bélom). As women refugee leaders explained: ‘*Here we can only engage in petty commerce. In CAR, even a poor person could invest up to a million FCFA in commercial activities, but here a woman with capital limited to 10,000 to 15,000 FCFA gets very little profit.*’ (KII refugee management committee, Bélom). Support for women’s associations for food transformation and storage and the like – something which some women refugees had experiences with in CAR - are also seen to be lacking in the camp (KII president women’s committee, Bélom).

The three short case studies below (*boxes 4, 5, and 6*) illustrate the challenges facing women as they seek to secure livelihoods to support themselves and their families. They also show how intertwined in reality are the social and economic aspects of women’s lives and how social vulnerabilities, such as marital break-up or fear of violence, impinge on economic conditions and opportunities.

#### ***Box 4. A refugee woman retailer in Bélom market***

Julia (*not her real name*), age 37, is a farmer from Sido who grew manioc, beans and corn which she was able to market. She was forced to flee CAR in 2003 with her husband and first child, and has been installed since in the camps – first Yaroungou and now Bélom. She has since been abandoned by her husband who decided to return to Sido from the camp with another woman, leaving her with three children to raise as head of household. She herself left school after CE II, and while her two youngest children now attend the primary school in the camp, her oldest daughter has also dropped out because of pregnancy. She and her family have access to free health services at the camp, with referrals to the district health center at Maro, if needed, but she reports that the quality of services is deficient, noting that - in particular - women with labor complications are often referred quite late and that last year she lost a cousin in childbirth.

Julia was a beneficiary of HCR’s program of support for women’s income generation, part of a group of 20 women who received 200,000 in start-up costs for economic activities. This assistance enabled her to start up work in retail sales of grain at the market. She also participates in a tontine of 10 women who contribute 500 FCFA per week that allows her to continue buying stocks of grain. She feels she is lucky to have this, as she is not currently targeted for monthly support from HCR – she doesn’t know why.

She operates with a small advance from external wholesalers in the market with whom she has established a very good relationship; they provide her with three sacks of grain a day, which she then sells by the *koro* at the market and at the end of the day returns the proceeds to the wholesalers, keeping a benefit of from 1,500 to 2,000 FCFA on each sack. She says that the system works well and that even if she is a bit short at the end of the day and unable to return all of their money, they allow her to continue the next day so that she can pay them back. It is important, however, not to get too far behind in repayments, as you risk spoiling the relationship of trust with the wholesalers. This happened to another refugee that she knows, who can now no longer work in retail.

Her dream is to become a wholesaler herself, but for this she would need significant financial assistance. She also feels it would be important to further invest in gardening activities, but with proper transport equipment such as a cart in order to take the produce to market. For her children, she hopes that they can have access to technical training, such as tailoring or mechanics; the latter in particular for her son so that he could become one of the repair man for the camp’s boreholes when they break down.

IDI, refugee woman, Bélom

#### ***Box 5. A refugee woman struggling to make ends meet in Bélom***

Marie (*not her real name*) is 26, a refugee since 2003 when her family was forced to flee from their home in a small village in the mountains where they lived primarily on agriculture and the raising of small ruminants. She attended primary school in her village and continued in the camp, but had to abandon school when her parents could no longer support her. Her father forced her to marry in the camp, but after a time her husband left her with two children aged 1 and 11 for whom she is now responsible.

As a woman alone, she feels insecure in camp, especially at night when she fears to walk alone in the dark (the camp has no electricity). She also fears sleeping outside of her hut with her children when the weather is so hot that it is unbearable inside. She says that when she tries, young people throw stones at her.

She reports that the health center offers little more than paracetamol for ailments such as upset stomachs, without performing an exam. So most frequently she consults bush doctors (Doctor Choukrou) when she or her children are sick. She is particularly disappointed with delivery care where she says women are not given injections against infection.

To support her children, she has established a small business making cakes and selling them in the market. She uses some 1-2 *koros* of flour every three days, which brings in from 250 to 500 FCFA in profit. She also farms a hectares of land, allotted to her by HCR, but says that the soil is not as fertile as back home, and after working the same plot now for three years, it has become depleted: in any case, she says, one hectare cannot bring in much profit. At harvest time, she also looks for day labor on villagers' farms, but says that she and others are sometimes told to go away – *'You are refugees and get a lot of assistance, so you don't need to come around looking for work.'* She at times encounters similar treatment while carrying firewood: if you come across the wrong person, they might take it all from you.

She wants to find a good job that could change her life and help her support her children, and wonders if she could become a health assistant, with HCR's support. But for the moment, she is not too sure about what the future holds for her.

IDI, refugee woman, Bélom

#### **Box 6. A refugee woman working as a day laborer on village lands, Ndinaba**

Elizabeth (*not her real name*) is a 40-year old refugee from Sido in CAR, married with 5 children ages 5-19.

*I was a farmer in Sido, growing manioc, beans and corn and selling produce on the market, which – together with participation in a tontine – enabled me to maintain my children in school. But one day, I had gone to the field with my husband when all of a sudden a bomb dropped. Two of our cattle were killed, but we grabbed the other two and ran into the forest. It was very difficult because I was without my children and could only think about them but we could not return to the village. We walked for kilometers through the bush – people died along the way due to lack of food and water. We saw corpses of people but could not stop to mourn their deaths. Luckily for me, when I got to the Chadian border, my co-wife was there with the children and I was thus able to recover them.*

*We stayed at first Yaroungou, then in Bélom camp but there was no land for cultivation for us there and then they cut our rations, so I decided to come to Ndinaba instead to work in the villagers' fields. I knew villagers from here from the time we were in Yaroungou and even from before when they themselves were refugees in CAR. We are all Ngama, so communicate and get along easily together. When I received food rations in the camp, I used to sell some to them at the market in Bélom at a very low price.*

*In seeking work, I go from field to field and discuss with the owner at the outset the type of payment – which is either 500 FCFA or one koro of maize, beans or millet for 20 strides. I work all day from Monday to Friday and half a day on Saturday, when I would the afternoon to rest. I sleep here in a grass hut.*

*The only thing I deplore is that sometimes a villager of bad faith will not honor their engagement and I can be out from 500 to 2000 FCFA without them settling their debt. I cannot complain, however, and just leave them in the hands of God. Imagine working like this and on land that is very painful. Things were much better back home in Sido. I had my own land and knew how to work it.*

*Luckily this year I have a portion of land in the gardening sites that HCR has established and can now grow my own vegetables, assisted with seeds, material and equipment by HCR. I sell these vegetables in the market in Bélom.*

*My younger children go to the school here in Ndinaba, but those at secondary level to Maro, but we do not receive assistance from HCR and the fees are expensive. I still have access to the health center at Bélom, with referrals from there to Maro. But the health center in Bélom is really lacking in medications, laboratory analysis, operating tables and health workers and for deliveries in particular, we lose lots of sisters there.*

(IDI, refugee woman in Ndinaba village)

### ***Particular cases of refugee women who have married into neighboring villages***

Women refugees who marry villagers and move into their husband's village to establish households there epitomize both the opportunities and challenges involved in 'integration' into the host community and thus represent, in microcosm, an example of some of the complexities in gendered dynamics of social inclusion. We sought three of these women out, and present their stories below. The first (**box 7**) illustrates some of the difficulties of integration and the continuing insecurities of 'the newcomer'; the second (**box 8**) highlights some of the social complexities around care children from a previous refugee marriage and the uncertain status of such children as new husbands do not generally accept as their charge the offspring of previous unions; and the third (**box 9**) show how – despite the complexities of caring for family still in the camp – requiring frequent trips back and forth – remarriage to a villager has been a welcome turning point from the violence and abuse from a previous refugee marriage.

#### ***Box 7. Settled but unsettled: a refugee woman married into the village of Ndinaba***

Felicia (*not her real name*) is a 23 year old refugee from Kabo who fled in 2003 with her parents and family of 12, settling first in Yaroungou and then in Bélom. Her father forced her to marry, causing her to drop out of school, and she had two children with her husband. She left him when he started taking up with other women, and then married a villager from Ndinaba, moving into the village in 2016. She works on both her husband's field to support household production and on the fields of others to earn income or a few *koros* of maize or beans.

She maintains her status as refugee in the camp in Bélom, where she still qualifies for assistance, but suffers aggression from her ex-husband when she goes to collect this. *'For example, in January I received 50,000 and went to buy clothes for my children, but my ex-husband followed me to the market and took the money away. I informed CNARR who assured me that they would provide security at the next payment.'*

Integration has not been easy. *'I am sometimes bothered by other women here who are jealous that one of their brothers married a refugee woman from Bélom when there are women here as well.'* Others, however, are nice to her and neighbors give her a little food at times when she is hungry. Nevertheless, she feels insecure a lot of the time here – particularly at night. *'Last night, someone came and tried to force open my door, but when I screamed, the neighbors came and he went away.'* She fears for her daughters' safety but knows of no protective measures that are taken in the village.

She does not think she can return to CAR, not only because peace has not yet returned, but because now she is married in the village. She is hoping to be able to benefit from training and financial support for income generating activities.

IDI, young refugee woman, Ndinaba

#### ***Box 8. Torn between children in camp and village: a married refugee woman in Paris Sara***

Betty (*not her real name*), age 27, comes from Ndabala, near Cabo in CAR, where her family made a modest living through agriculture. She fled with her parents from the violence of rebel activities in 2003 and remembers running through one forest after another, sometimes carried on her parents' back. When they first arrived in Maro, they camped outside for about 2 weeks before they received assistance, and were first installed in the camp in Yaroungou before being transferred to Bélom in 2012 after flooding destroyed all of their crops in the first camp.

While at Yaroungou, she married another refugee in the camp and had three children, one of whom died. But after they moved to Bélom, her husband started to drink a lot and also to take drugs and soon became violent, beating both her and her mother, with whom they lived. On top of that, he took up with another woman. So they separated but her in-laws, who were still settled near the old site of Yaroungou, took her first born – a seven year old son to keep with them there; she would go to visit him around once a week.

She met her current husband, a farmer from Paris Sara, at the market in Bélom where their stands were side by side. She is Ngama, and he is Ndaye, but they communicate together in Ngama. As they got to know each other, he said to her: *'Look, we are both suffering here in the market – why not pool our forces together?'* And so now they have been married for 2 years. She had had such a difficult experience with her first husband that she made him wait a year before coming to live with him in the village, in order to judge his character and behavior. But things were so hard for her in the camp – her father dead and her mother suffering from mental illness – leaving

her feeling very exposed. So she came to join her husband in Paris Sara, leaving her young daughter in the camp with her mother and older son, who had come back from her in-laws to stay in the camp.

While there had at first been some problems with integration into the village – with some villagers mocking her and calling her ‘refugee’, she is now well settled and gets on well with her new in-laws, particularly her husband’s sister whom she had also known from the market in Bélom. They have in fact become so close that she now has forgotten her earlier friends in the camp. She continues to go to the camp 2 or 3 times a week, both to frequent the market and to visit her mother and children who go to school there now (she notes that this is good, as the school in Bélom is better than the one in the village which, in any case is closed now because of the strike. She and her new husband have not yet had a child.

She continues to worry – both about her two children and her mother, and although she is well settled in the village, the distance from camp makes it more difficult for her to look after them. She feels the pressure of having to look after everyone and needs assistance to do so. If she could be sure that the rebels in CAR were gone, she would prefer to go back to her country, and would do her best to convince her Chadian husband to accompany her.

(IDI, refugee woman, Paris Sara)

### ***Box 9. No looking back: New beginnings for a married refugee woman in Paris Sara***

Martha (*not her real name*) is 19, from the Mandja ethnic group from Kabo, in CAR, and was also forced to flee as a child with her parents in 2003. But while running through the forest, her mother was killed by a gunshot and she was taken in by her maternal uncle. On arrival in Maro, they stayed for two weeks under the mango trees and were then transferred to Yamagourou where they were assisted for 6 months; but then the rations stopped and her uncle engaged in commercial activities to survive.

While living in the camp she was married to another refugee (as per the customary marriage processes, they had made the formal introductions between the two families, but no dowry was exchanged at the time). She had her first child and lived with her husband and in-laws. They were thereafter transferred to Bélom, where she had 2 more children. But her husband began to drink a lot and physically abuse her, so she left to live with her maternal uncle – also now installed in Bélom. She was able to keep her youngest child – a daughter age 4 – with her, but the older two (9 and 5) were kept by her husband and in-laws. Her husband has since left the camp to live in Sido, but her in-laws still refuse to let her see her children – chasing her away when she tries.

She met her current husband, a villager from Paris Sari, in the market in Bélom where they both sold potatoes. They were married three years ago and she came to live with him in the village, leaving her four year old daughter with her maternal uncle in the camp. She feels much better here and has found peace in her heart. Her first husband (also a Mandja) had not respected her – he was a drunkard who beat her, but her current husband, an Ngama (with whom she communicates in Sangho and Ngama), is a good man and they now have a child together of a year and a half. She gets along well with her in-laws, and feels well integrated into the village now – though at first there were taunts of ‘refugee!’ and people mocking her and the other refugee women who had married into the village as ‘*those women fleeing famine to settle here*’.

She visits Bélom camp from time to time to see her daughter, but she no longer frequents the Bélom market, selling instead small condiments and the like at the small provisional market in town. Her husband continues to cultivate his fields (she helps out at harvest time) and they work together in the garden during gardening season: she works there in the mornings from 6-10, baby on her back, and then sets out her products in the small market in the afternoon. She does not at all wish to return to CAR and the only thing that now troubles her is the worry of having enough to support her children.

(IDI, refugee woman, Paris Sara)

### ***2.1.3 Overall priorities for the future***

Refugees were asked to identify some of the major issues around their economic and social inclusion in the area of settlement and to identify priorities. These are summarized in [table 3](#).

**Table 3. Refugee perceptions of major issues around economic and social inclusion, Bélom**

Constraints	Advantages	Priorities
<b><i>Productive activities and livelihoods</i></b>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Insufficient land for all and/or land of poor quality</li> <li>• Lack of means of production (animal traction; agricultural inputs)</li> <li>• Late distribution of seeds</li> <li>• Limited means of transformation /preservation of garden products</li> <li>• Animal epidemics; small ruminants poorly adapted to local conditions; lack of veterinary services</li> <li>• Lack of appropriately marked transhumance corridors leading devastation of fields by animals</li> <li>• Thefts of animals</li> <li>• Environmental degradation</li> <li>• Lack of access to credit: non-recognition of refugee card by banks</li> <li>• Limited access to technical and professional training</li> <li>• Unequal pay for refugees and locals employed in the camp</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agricultural know-how and background</li> <li>• Extensive marketing experience</li> <li>• Women’s experience with and practice of tontines</li> <li>• Benefits and skills from current and previous livelihood programs</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Land attribution to all</li> <li>• Animal traction for more extensive cultivation (oxen pair plough) and wagons for transport (of products, wood)</li> <li>• Appropriate technology and training for food transformation (rice husking machines, tomato and mango preservation, karité butter...)</li> <li>• Delimitation and enforcement of transhumance corridors</li> <li>• Appropriate breeds of small ruminants and accompanying veterinary services</li> <li>• Fuel-efficient cook-stoves – and why not solar power?</li> <li>• Enforcement of laws recognizing refugee cards</li> <li>• Expanded access to technical and professional training</li> <li>• Equal pay scales for refugees and locals employed in the camp</li> <li>• Access to credit and/or rolling funds for income-generating activities</li> </ul>
<b><i>Access to social services</i></b>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Poor quality of teaching/learning in camp schools</li> <li>• High drop out among girls at puberty</li> <li>• High cost of and long distance to secondary school</li> <li>• Lack of access to higher studies</li> <li>• Lack of computer training and facilities</li> <li>• Not enough adult education opportunities</li> <li>• Not always optimal health care</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Availability of primary and middle schools in the camp</li> <li>• Availability of health center accessible to all with adjoining nutritional center</li> <li>• Experience with health mutual in previous camp</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Enhanced teacher training for both government and community teachers</li> <li>• Support for higher education</li> <li>• Support for girls’ education at post-primary level</li> <li>• Employment in camp of refugee girls with Bac to provide both economic opportunities and role models</li> <li>• Introduction of computers into educational system</li> <li>• Construction of larger, better equipped and more highly staffed health center for both refugees and host populations</li> </ul>

Source: KII refugee management committee; and FGDs refugees, Bélom camp

As seen on the table, challenges to livelihoods for the most part mirror closely those described for the zone as a whole (land, environmental degradation, lack of means of production, conflicts between herders and farmers, animal diseases, limited opportunities for technical or vocational training and the like). Some challenges, however, are particular to them as refugees (lack of access to credit, specific issues around access to land of high productivity, non-recognition of the refugee card for employment, differential payment scales for refugees and non-refugees.) They point to the advantages they bring in terms of agricultural know-how, marketing experiences and women’s specific experience and practice of tontines. (KII, refugee management committee, Bélom camp and FGDs, refugees).

As priorities, they identify land attribution for all, animal traction to expand cultivation, appropriate technology and training for food transformation, delimitation and enforcement of transhumance corridors, and improved breeds of small ruminants accompanied by veterinary services. They also call for enforcement of laws recognizing refugee cards, equal pay scales for refugees and locals employed in the camp, Access to credit and/or rolling funds for income-generating activities, and expanded access

to technical and professional training (KII refugee management committee and FGDs refugees, Bélom camp).

In terms of social services, most challenges are also common to the zone as a whole in terms of access and quality, with priorities as follows: enhanced teacher training for both government and community teachers and quality enhancement in schools, including introduction of computers; support for girls' education at post-primary level and employment in camp of refugee girls with the; expansion of opportunities for higher education; and the construction of larger, better equipped and more highly staffed health center for both refugees and host populations (KII refugee management committee and FGDs refugees, Bélom camp).

## **2.2 Local communities visited: Villages and sedentarized feriks**

### **2.2.1 The villages of Paris Sara and Ndinaba**

#### **Overview**

The team visited two local villages – one (Paris Sara) situated directly adjacent to the Bélom refugee camp (and part of whose land – a privately-owned cotton field) was attributed to the authorities for installation of the camp) and another (Ndinaba) not far from the camp, but more closely situated adjacent to the Maïngama site for installation of returned Chadians (*see section below*). Both are sizable villages: Paris Sara with 2,017 inhabitants divided primarily between Ndaye and Ngama; and Ndinaba with 1,350 inhabitants in 238 households, mostly Ngama. Villagers are predominantly Christian (both Catholic and Protestant or Evangelist) though with a few Muslims, and engaged primarily in agriculture (cereal crops such as sorghum and maize, groundnuts, beans, peas, sesame and some cotton and rice). They maintain as well small ruminants and cultivate gardens and fruit trees; only the very few better off households can maintain draught oxen.

Both villages had been caught up in political turmoil and displacement during the Chadian civil war of 1984 which swept through the region: villages were razed, houses were burned to the ground, and inhabitants forced to flee en masse to CAR where they lived as refugees for four years. On their return, they found nothing but desolation and had to rebuild from scratch (*KIIs, village notables, Paris Sara and Ndinaba*). An elder from Paris Sara recalls an even earlier period of violence against the Ndaye, reporting that *'We are marked in our veins by misery, by a history of refugees and returnees* (KII, male elder, Paris Sara). As the villagers explain:

*We are the sons and grandsons of the Ndaye, who came here from Bouma in the vicinity of Moïssala, following the persecution of our forefathers there in 1924. It was the colonizers who established this village – similar to the villages of Baliba, Kotgoro, and other Ndaye to install the Ndaye here. We are also all refugees who fled from here to CAR during the civil war of 1984. All of us, with the exception of those 20 years and under bear the indelible mark of that war and of the warm welcome and solidarity extended by our brothers in Central African Republic* (FGD, adult men, Paris Sara)

A community timeline constructed in both villages highlights the successive shocks experienced in these communities over the past 35 years (see [table 4](#))

**Table 4. A history of shocks: Community timeline in the villages of Paris Sara and Ndinaba**

<b>1980s</b>	<b>1990s</b>	<b>2000-2010</b>	<b>2010-current</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Food security crisis</li> <li>• Chadian civil war (1984) leading to flight to CAR</li> <li>• Return in 1987 to destroyed homes and social infrastructures; lump sum for resettlement but</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attempts to reestablish village and livelihoods</li> <li>• Increasing presence of Arab agro-pastoralists in the region</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic crisis in 2002</li> <li>• Outbreak of meningitis and dysentery 2002/2003)</li> <li>• Arrival of refugees in Maro (2003) and later transfer to Yaroungou camp</li> <li>• Animal epidemics (small ruminants, poultry)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Transfer of refugees to Bélom (2012)</li> <li>• Arrival of returnees in Maïngama (2014)</li> <li>• Drought and law 14 on environment (outlawing wood-cutting)</li> <li>• Recurrent conflicts, herders/farmers</li> <li>• Animal epidemics</li> </ul>

severe food shortages and poverty and high mortality	since the late 1980s)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recurrent conflicts herders/farmers</li> <li>• Increasing environmental degradation</li> <li>• Fires destroy homes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Intensified thefts of cattle/oxen (draught animals)</li> <li>• Non-payment of teacher salaries – current strike</li> </ul>
--	-----------------------	--	---

Source: FGDs men and women, Paris Sara and Ndinaba

### Livelihood constraints

Key livelihood constraints are similar in both villages: climate change-induced irregularity and unpredictability of rainfall; soil impoverishment; lack of means of production (particularly animal traction, but also seeds, fertilizers and other farm inputs); lack of water (boreholes either too view or not working and traditional wells dried up by March); repeated devastation of field crops by pastoralists' herds (due to lack of clear delineation of transhumant corridors and in spite of committees established to regulate conflicts, with villagers who try to guard the fields at night threatened with violence; the herds have even destroyed the produce from a mixed garden of refugees and villagers); and environmental degradation (hastened in particular by the massive arrival of refugees and returnees in the zone) (KIIs village notables, Paris Sara and Ndinaba; IDI male elder, Paris Sara). The average farmer cultivates just 1-2 hectares of land without means to cultivate more (FGD adult men, Ndinaba); however, wealth differentials may be significant, leading to particular livelihood shortfalls for the poor:

*'Our main livelihood is based on agriculture, particularly groundnuts, cereal crops, beans, rice, gardening, peas and fruit trees. But there are many constraints (lack of means of production – particularly animal traction for ploughing, tractors, pumps, plant protection products and other inputs; and decreasing soil fertility). The annual produce from a field of a middle farmer – without animal traction - is about 2 sacks of millet – the equivalent of 20,000 FCFA. His neighbor, wealthier, who can afford animal traction would have an annual take of 300,000 to 600,000 FCFA.'* (FGD, adult men, Paris Sara)

There have been some development programs supported by different NGOs, but most are short-term and are reported to have limited coverage. (FGD, adult men, Paris Sara). Limited follow-up and support – particularly for poorer households – has also limited effectiveness:

*LWF distributed calves, most of which have died, and another NGO distributed small ruminants, but this was also unsuccessful. But for the past 2-3 years, there have not been any organizations working with us.... In any case, one needs to have the means to make an economic activity profitable.'* (FGD, adult women, Paris Sara).

Men cite in particular the destruction caused by animals devastating their fields, reporting that the so-called conflict resolution committees are completely ineffective and that the herder always wins out. They also report frequent thefts of animals, chickens, bicycles and other goods which are also never resolved (FGD adult men, Paris Sara). There have additionally been numerous animal epidemics – cattle plague, bird flu: *'It all seems as if veterinarians vaccinate animals with highly toxic products'* (IDI older man, Paris Sara).

### Lack of access to social services

Social infrastructure is minimal and of poor quality in both villages.

**In Paris Sara,** There is a primary school with 532 pupils for 7 community teachers and 2 government teachers – currently on strike; no health center (so villagers use the center in Bélom); and only a scanty market (so villagers go to both Bélom and Maro as well as Danamadji) (KII notables, Paris Sara). Parents are seen to lack both the means and the motivation to maintain children in school and pay the community teachers (2,500 at primary level) (FGDs young men and women, Paris Sara). There is also apparently a secondary school in the vicinity (7,500 FCFA per student) (FGD young women, Paris Sara), but we did not observe this. Household poverty has knock-on effects for community service provides, as in this testimony from a community teacher:

*'I am a community teacher, without salary, and it is difficult because often the Student Parents' Association is not able to pay me because the parents are too poor. And I do not have enough time to devote to agriculture as my work as a teacher in preparation lessons, reading and the like takes up all of my time. I wanted to sign up for a health mutual, but my candidacy was rejected because of my financial situation*



*and because my employer – the Student Parents’ Association is known to be a poor payer. So in the end my situation is similar to that of others – a daily struggle to make ends meet – physical laborer, collection of straw or firewood, hunting game or rodents....’* (FGD young men, community teacher, Paris Sara)

Key health problems include malaria, diarrhea, anemia, typhoid, respiratory ailments, TB, HIV, dysentery, paralysis. The water from traditional wells contributes to numerous health problems (IDI older man, Paris Sara). There is no health center in town. Health services include those in Béлом (2 km) and referrals to Maro (7 km) and Danamadji (50 km) FGD, adult men, Paris Sara). But these are often difficult to access, so most people turn to traditional medicine (IDI older man, Paris Sara).

**In Ndinaba**, the primary school has 218 pupils taught by six community teachers and one government teacher. To pursue secondary education students must go to either Maro or to the returnee installation in Maïngama. Villagers report that 37 refugee children attend Ndinaba primary school while their parents camp nearby to work in the fields. There is no health center, so villages primarily use services – in order of frequency - Maïngama, Béлом, or Maro (KII notables, Ndinaba). In Maïngama, however, some women report that returnees are now being given preference (FGD women, Ndinaba). Of the 3 boreholes constructed by an NGO, one works only with difficulty; otherwise they draw water from traditional wells which dry up easily.

There is only one primary school and there are not enough desks – children often have to sit on the ground (FGD young women, Ndinaba). In the past, cultivation of cotton and groundnuts produced income which allowed families to pay community teachers – but now this is no longer the case. The school had initially be built by the parents as a hut. UNICEF and ACCRA came later to help build a permanent structure and provide furniture and equipment. There are 6 community teachers for 218 pupils – no college (middle school). There is more and more an abandon of education by children whose parents who cannot or will not pay the community teachers: around 10% of school children are not in school – *‘jeopardizing their future and the future of the village’* (FGD men, Ndinaba).

Water is a problem – only one of the three boreholes is functioning; water from the 12 traditional wells in the village is not of good quality and the wells dry up quickly (FGD men, Ndinaba). With no health center in the village, the big problem is transport to centers in Béлом, Maïngama or Maro (if not the district hospital in Danamadji, 60 km away).

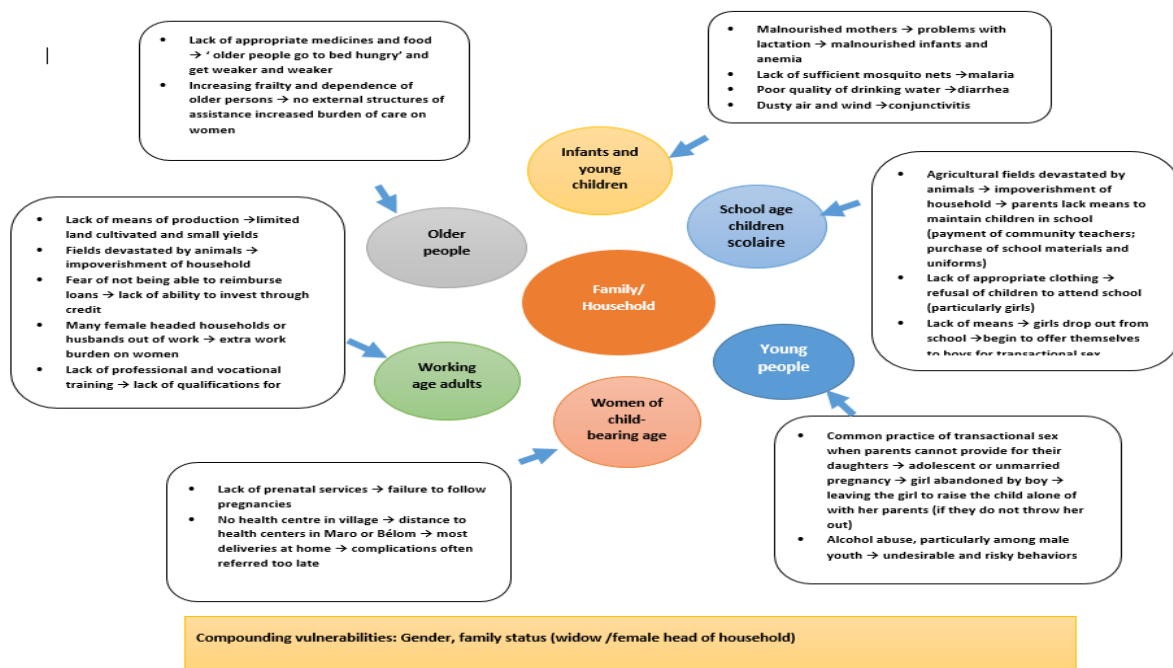
### ***Life-cycle vulnerabilities***

Village women were asked to detail the major risks and vulnerabilities facing villagers through the life course (see [figure 6](#)). They highlight the interconnected nature of poverty and lack of social services manifesting themselves through characteristic vulnerabilities affecting different age groups.

One aspect that emerges from the life cycle analysis is that care giving for elders or family members who are sick is strictly up to the family – that is the women. Other institutions – such as the church – do not intervene. *‘It is our duty to look after those who have given us birth or members of the family who have grown weak or disabled’* (FGD women Ndinaba). But families are not always intact or in a position to provide such support. A personal testimony from an older man highlights the extreme vulnerability created in such a situation.

*I’ am an old man – probably 74 years old. I live apart from my first wife, with three of my daughters who are also separated from their husbands. My oldest son, who was my only support, has just died so I am now without assistance. I have tuberculosis and am no longer strong enough to work the land which demands labor from morning to night. I used to have small ruminants and chickens and ducks (courtesy of support from FAO and LWF), but these were all stolen when I was hospitalized in Danamadji. So now, without resource, life is very hard and I sometimes go for two or three days without eating. I am not able to go to the market because I am so weak. My daughters can provide me no support.’* (IDI, older man, village of Paris Sara)

Figure 6. Life-cycle vulnerabilities in the village: Paris Sara



Source: FGD, village women, Paris Sara

### Perceptions of and interactions with refugees

Villagers in both villages claim that in general they maintain good relations with the refugees and returnees: with refugees they can communicate primarily in Ngama, a common language, and key places of encounter include the market, the health center, and schools (in both camp or returnee installation and village, where there are a mixture of children in attendance). Paris Sara allocated some of its land for the Bèlom refugee camp, while Ndinaba allocated land both to refugees (at their initial camp in Yaroungou) and to returnees at Maingama (KIIs, village notables, Paris Sara and Ndinaba). Some villagers explain that they have had ties to some of the Central African refugees since they themselves (the villagers) were refugees in CAR! (IDI, woman refugee encountered in Ndinaba).

In Paris Sara, seven or eight refugee women (of whom we interviewed two, *see testimonies below*) are reported to have married into the community, while somewhat more surprisingly, perhaps, about 15 village girls have married refugees; some villagers themselves had come back with Central African wives from their own time as refugees in CAR. As previous refugees themselves, villagers in both localities, recognize and appreciate the importance of offering welcome to others fleeing strife and speak of their respect for an approach of 'solidarity, exchange, sharing, and cohabitation' (FGDs men and young men, Paris Sara). Intermarriage has also occurred in Ndinaba where 25 women refugees are reported to have married villagers (one of whom we interviewed, *see also below*) and an equal number of village women have married refugees (FGD men, Ndinaba).

Villagers complain, however, about the hardships wrought by the environmental devastation caused by the massive influx of both refugees and returnees into the zone, which has had serious repercussions on the availability of firewood and of gathered products (such as niébé, karité), thatch for roofs and other housing materials such as bamboo (KIIs and FGDs, Paris Sara and Ndinaba). This has affected both material and social life: 'Before, we used to welcome visitors with karité oil, but now this has become rare, so we can no longer provide hospitality as we should' (FGD women, Ndinaba). Government Water and Forest service personnel now enact harsh measures against those found taking wood illegally – whether villagers, refugees or returnees (KII village notables, Ndinaba). Refugees are also said to pick fruit from the fruit trees before it has ripened, depriving villagers of the ability to plant new trees (KII village notables, Paris Sara). Young villagers in Ndinaba explain:

*'We had a good quality of life before the refugees and returnees arrived: agricultural production was good; nature was generous, we had trees, plants, roots and also fish and wild animals, as well as birds. After the arrival of refugees and returnees, housing construction materials became rare. There is an overpopulation in the zone and enormous pressure on resources – food has gotten rare, fruit trees and other plants and animals are destroyed.'* (FGD young men, Ndinaba village)

In Paris Sara, the farmer whose cotton field was attributed to HCR for incorporation into the Béliom camp claims he has not received the compensation promised (KII notables, Paris Sara); and one man whose land was also taken says that he has now abandoned agriculture altogether and lives from daily labor as a brick-maker/mason and other odd jobs such as the sale of straw for housing (FGD young men, Paris Sara). Villagers in Ndinaba explain that they at first welcomed refugees and returnees with open arms, and that food was early on shared amongst them from the rations and from local village production. As numbers have risen, however, food has gotten increasingly scarce and sharing has grown more difficult (KII village notables, Ndinaba).

Nevertheless, living nearby to refugee or returnee installations has brought some development benefits to the villages: the schools in both localities, for example, were constructed as solid structures by NGOs after the arrival of refugees in Béliom first brought humanitarian actors into the region and the arrival of returnees in Maïngama brought additional support including joint development projects. Villagers in Paris Sara explain: *'The arrival of the refugees here has been positive for us because we have received assistance through the development of gardening activities and the provision of materials for this, as well as the construction of our school'* (FGD young village women, Paris Sara). Villagers in Paris Sara also benefit from the health center in Béliom, which is far cheaper than the health center in Maro which they previously used, although they complain that the Béliom center is very crowded and tends to privilege refugees:

*'Refugees are given preferential treatment at Béliom health center, and many villagers, having gone there for consultations, return with no treatment. So most turn to traditional medicine, which I myself offer, usually for free, treating rich and poor alike.'* (IDI older man, Paris Sara)

Villagers in Ndinaba, meanwhile, can use the health center in Maïngama. But some villagers feel that the refugees, though extremely vulnerable when they first arrived, are now relatively well-off: *'They are actually better off than us because they have a health center, sufficient boreholes, schools and food rations'* (FGD young women, Paris Sara). According to villagers in Ndinaba: *'We don't have refugee cards so we never benefit from any assistance'* (KII village notables, Ndinaba) and *'From the point of view of health, refugees and returnees are better served than host populations'* (FGD men, Ndinaba).

The stimulation of markets seems to be one positive socio-economic impact of the arrival of refugees and returnees – the markets in Béliom and Maïngama are frequented by residents of all surrounding villages and are very lively places, in spite of the closure of borders with CAR. As women in Paris Sara explains: *'Most of what we eat comes from our family production of corn and means, but that is insufficient because our household is so big. We therefore stock up at the market in the refugee camp where refugees sell rations for other foodstuffs'* (FGD young village women, Paris Sara). Refugees also buy much produce from villagers at the market (IDI older man villager, Paris Sara).

Women villagers in Ndinaba astutely vary the products they sell to refugees in Béliom (who as Central Africans are seen to prefer manioc leaves, corn and squash) and to returnees in Maïngama (who as Muslim are seen to prefer manioc or sorghum). The village women say they feel closest culturally to the Central African refugees (with whom they speak the same languages), but also get along well with returnees in Maïngama (FGD women, Ndinaba).

Villagers and refugees work together on gardens established for them by humanitarian actors; women from Ndinaba report that working relations are fine, except when there are limited tools or equipment such as watering cans, when conflicts can arise (FGD women, Ndinaba).

*'Some of us work with refugees in the mixed gardening group established by LWF. Last year we cleared and planted the gardens together with the refugees but at the end, the cattle of the herders came and destroyed everything, and LWF told us there was nothing they could do. Another problem with gardening is that we have to draw the water by hand, but our traditional wells dry up quickly so that we do not have*

*sufficient water for the plants. Working together with the refugees goes well, except when there are not enough watering cans to go around, which causes problems amongst us.* (FGD women, Ndinaba)

Refugees also commonly supply labor on villagers' fields. While villagers often present this as a sort of 'favor' they grant to refugees in solidarity with their need to make ends meet, it also works to their own advantage, as compensation is minimal:

*Refugees are engaged as paid labor on our fields as a form of informal solidarity that allows them to make ends meet when their food distributions are late. They are paid by day and according to their individual production. The cost of labor is determined by the number of meter-long paces for a square meter – 200 to 250 FCFA per pace. This comes to something like 1,500 FCFA for a day.* (FGD adult village men, Paris Sara)

Young women in Ndinaba reported that the additional field labor supplied by refugees was one of the positive aspects of their presence, attributing this to their willingness to work hard for very little: *'They work hard and are ready to accept a koro of cereal in compensation'* (FGD young women Ndinaba). In Ndinaba it was also reported that refugees and returnees actually camp out nearby the fields during peak agricultural periods and to guard the fields against incursions from animal herds, which normally come at night (KII, notables and FGD men, Ndinaba). One woman refugee encountered in the Ndinaba explained that she had begun to work in the fields since the WFP ration was reduced and negotiates in advance the payment - either 500 FCFA or 1 koro of corn, beans and millet for 20 paces, but notes that payment is sometimes not immediately forthcoming and currently she is owed up to 2,000 FCFA: *'But I cannot complain...I leave things in the hand of God'* (IDI woman refugee, Ndinaba)

#### ***Gender-specific vulnerabilities and potential***

The 17 adult women we spoke to in the primarily Ndaye village of **Paris Sara** had a median age of 45. Some 44% were married, another 44% widowed and 12% divorced or abandoned. They had an average of 6 children each, living in households ranging in size from 1-15 members. For married women, the husband was the head of household; for the others, household headship rested with the woman. The majority (89%) of women had some primary education; the rest had no formal schooling. All were Christian – over half (53% Catholic) and the rest Protestant and Evangelical (FGD adult women, Paris Sara). The 12 younger women in our focus group in Paris Sara were aged between 19 and 26, with an average age of 24. Two thirds were already divorced or abandoned – the others were married, with an average of 2.3 children each. Most marriages (67%) were polygamous and household size ranges from 5-20 people, with 10.5 on average. Five girls (42%) were themselves heads of household, while the others lived in households headed by their husbands (33%) or fathers (25%). Over two thirds (67%) had some primary education; and 33% some secondary, with one continuing at this level (FGD young women, Paris Sara).

The 34 adult women we spoke to in the primarily Ngama village of **Ndinaba** ranged in age from 28-65, with the average age of 47. Almost two thirds were Catholic, on third Protestant and of the remaining two, one was Muslim (an Arabic woman living in the village) and one professed no religion. Over two thirds (66%) had no formal education; the rest had reached primary, but mostly incomplete. Almost two thirds (64%) were married, a third (34%) were widows and 2% were divorced or abandoned. They had between 1-9 children, with on average 6 and lived in households of between 2-15 people, with on average 7.6. Two thirds reported themselves as heads of household; for the rest, the husband was the head. (FGD adult women, Ndinaba) Of the 15 younger women in our focus group in this village – all Ngama - were aged between 12 and 21, with an average age of 18. All were Christian - 60% Catholic and 40% Protestant. Nearly half (47%) had some level of primary (with 2 of the girls still attending); and 47% had some secondary education (with 2 still attending); only 6 % had no formal education. Three quarters of the young women (73%) were married and living with their husbands (55% in monogamous unions and 45% in polygamous unions); 7% were divorced; and 20% were still single living with their parents. Women with children had between 1 and 6. Household size ranged from 3-9 persons, with an average of 6 persons per household (FGD young women, Ndinaba).

The following key issues emerged from our field research around gender dynamics, discrimination and challenges for women and girls in these two villages.

- **High rates of widowhood increasing vulnerability for women** (among those we spoke to). This is due partly, it would seem, to the significant age difference between husbands and wives. This means that older men are taking younger women as brides (and perhaps - in the context of polygamy - as 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> wives) (FGD women, Paris Sara).
- **Household instability, conflict and domestic violence.** This is brought about - according to women - by men's irresponsibility, drunkenness or abandonment of the family, including refusal to pay school fees, leading to significant dropouts (FGD women, Ndinaba) and - according to men - by poverty, with women making unreasonable demands on their husbands and '*poisoning the atmosphere*' (FGD men, Ndinaba). Men contend that most domestic violence stems from poverty and conflicts arising from the man's failure to provide for women's needs, such as cosmetics. But they say that gender-based violence is diminishing thanks to awareness-raising through the church and humanitarians. They say that CARE has launched awareness campaigns around the importance of contraception, including implants or injections (FGD adult men, Paris Sara).
- **Lack of access to reproductive health care:** This is linked to the lack of health services in the villages themselves and the distances to the nearest hospital in cases of emergency. Women in Paris Sara note that prenatal care is lacking, meaning that pregnancies are not followed (FGD women, Paris Sara). Men in Ndinaba explain that '*We have no vehicles to transport our children or our pregnant women to the hospital- poor road conditions makes transport by bike or motor bike impractical*' (FGD men, Ndinaba village). In Ndinaba, where most women give birth at home, there are some traditional birth attendants in the village who have received some training and neighbors also often help prepare for the birth, as the husbands often leave women their own. Lactation also appears to be a problem, so often the women have to give their babies porridge before their milk comes in, or turn to another woman for her milk (FGD women, Ndinaba)
- **High rates of girls' drop-out from school:** This is due to parental poverty, social norms devaluing education for girls, early marriage or pregnancy (followed by either husband or parental refusal to continue paying for school fees, now considered 'useless'), and general notions of 'shame' as girls attain puberty (KII village notables, Paris Sara; FGDs women/men/young women/young men, Paris Sara). The president of the women's association in Ndinaba noted sadly that '*I have 3 daughters, two of whom dropped out of school because they got pregnant and the third who abandoned her studies - so education for them has been a lost cause and there are few opportunities for technical or professional training*' (FGD women, Ndinaba). Young women in Ndinaba explain that they are at a disadvantage compared to boys: '*We drop out for many reasons....Boys can continue on longer through secondary, even after they have deceived us and gotten us pregnant, forcing us to drop out*' (FGD young women, Ndinaba).
- **Reported SGBV:** Young women complain of being aggressed in the bush when they go off in search of firewood - often up to 7 km away. This is said to be done by transhumant herders. (FGDs young women, Paris Sara and Ndinaba). In Ndinaba, young women report that their chief has advised them to go to look for firewood in groups and to yell if there is danger (FGD young women, Ndinaba).
- **Significant livelihood constraints:** Young women in Paris Sara put it as follows:

*Our principle difficulty is lack of food and economic opportunities - It is difficult to find a productive activity in the village. Some of us have participated in income-generation activities through the creation of groups: this has been beneficial, as it has allowed us to enroll our children in school, afford health care when they are sick, provide food and clothing....We additionally need training in food processing techniques and in activities such as sewing and knitting.'* (FGD young village women, Paris Sara)

In the context of conflicts between herders and farmers, village women describe how they have become virtual '*prisoners*' of their fields, having to camp out there all night to guard against animal incursions, returning in the morning for daily household chores, and then repeating the cycle again. Having to spend

so much time in the fields – including overnight – to guard against encroachment by animal herds means that the village itself is virtually deserted – and the women say they have no time to clean around their own houses or in public spaces (FGD women, Ndinaba village)

When their fields are destroyed by animals, there is no recourse: *The herder/farmer conflict management committees are in word only and these words do not go far* (KII village notables, Ndinaba). So women say that the only thing they can do is hire themselves out for labor on someone else’s field in order to earn money to buy food: *‘Sometimes we work in the fields of others in exchange for money or grain. We have to do 20 strides up and across (a stride is approximately a meter, so 20 square meters) in exchange for a koro of grain, or 500 FCFA* (FGD young women, Ndinaba). But they often have to combine this with work on their own fields, leading to an endless cycle of back-breaking work:

*‘To live, we must cultivate, but we lack means of production. We work for 2-3 days to clear the fields, but then we must stop to provide labor on other fields in order to earn money, and when we return to our own fields, the weeds have already started to grow and we have to start all over again. We spread seeds ‘in the wild’ without turning over the dirt because so few households have draught oxen and ploughs. We have only small parcels that produce form 1-2 sacks and that is not enough to nourish a family.’* (FGD women, Ndinaba)

- **Lack of opportunities for income generation and professional or vocational training:** Those who have participated in groups or associations for income generation – supported by various NGOs – have found them beneficial (FGD young women, Paris Sara). However, these are short-term and women do not have the means of continuing when the projects end.
- **Lack of means of transport or appropriate technologies to lighten women’s workloads:** Village women report that even pregnant women are forced to walk long distances in the sun in search of firewood which they then carry on their heads (FGD women, Ndinaba).
- **Lack of capacity to keep traditional ‘tontines’ in operation:** Some women in Paris Sara practice ‘paré’ in which they contribute to buy a big sack of groundnuts to make oil or cakes plus peanuts for sale. Other than that, they do not practice tontines on a large scale (FGD adult women, Paris Sara). In Ndinaba, there are no informal tontines in the village : *‘We have too much hunger here and cannot wait our turn for the tontine’* There had been a women’s credit and savings group in the village, and they had received training at Danamadji, but the money that went into the chest disappeared: this negative experience with groups makes them hesitant to try again without the proper management and support: the women’s president, however, insists that women must organize themselves in groups or associations, as that is the only way to move forward, and it can also attract support (FGD women, Ndinaba).
- **Social norms and practices around the gendered division of labor:** These underpin many of the difficulties women face in their daily lives and illustrate the limitations that relative time poverty can place on their ability to take-up opportunities for their own advancement. As seen in the comparison of daily activities performed by young women and men in Paris Sara (*table 5*), while both work hard, young men manage to find time for school, sports, drinking and cabarets, while young women are engaged in an endless round of household chores that leave little time for leisure (outside of a few who mentioned Church choir practice).

*Table 5. Gender differences in daily activities of young women and young men, Paris Sara*

	Young women		Young men	
	activity	spaces	activity	spaces
<b>Morning</b>	Sweep house; light the fire; heat water for washing; prepare tea or porridge; wash dishes; go to the market; fetch water and firewood	Home, market, bush	Gardening; day labor; brick-making, search for straw/secko; reading and revising lessons; sports (football); petty commerce	Gardens (in bottom lands); village; bush; home; sports-field or road; market

<b>Noon/ afternoon</b>	Prepare food; sell firewood; visit with each other or with refugees; choir practice	Home, market, Bélom, Church	Sleep/rest ; accompany/pick-up children at school	Home; school
<b>Evening/ night</b>	Sit with children to give them instructions/ advice; eat supper; prepare mats for sleeping; sleep	Home	Sport (football); sale of straw; revision of course; watering of gardens; drinking, visiting with family/ friends, sleep	Sports field or road; market; home; fields; cabaret; home

*Source: FGDs young women and men, Paris Sara*

### **2.2.2 Settled feriks**

Because they are such a key feature of the landscape in this region, the team visited two ‘feriks’ of Arab former pastoral nomads (the feriks of Riad and Ridina) who have now settled down and have adopted a more agro-pastoral lifestyle. From the information received, we understand that these are Arabs of the Hawasne tribal group whose ancestors practiced transhumant herding around Adré and Abéché but who have over time moved progressively southwards in search of pasture, and for some 6 – 10 years or so have sedentarized around Maro (KII ferik notables).

Discussions reveal that while these groups still maintain herds of cattle, the numbers have diminished, particularly since 2014, as a combined result of drought/lack of pasture and outbreaks of animal disease that they attribute both to the new environment and to the arrival of unvaccinated herds from returnees from CAR who have settled in nearby Maïngama. Because of lack of year-round pasture, they are forced to buy animal feed and currently their cows produce little milk (whereas once it was sold and formed a significant part of women’s income) (KII ferik notables).

They admit that their herds sometimes escape from the supervision of the young boys who guard them and enter into farmers’ fields, but they note that there are conflict resolution mechanisms that have been established to deal with such problems and to compensate farmers for their losses. The problem has been compounded, however, with the ever larger presence of different groups with animals in the zone – including those whose previous transhumance patterns into CAR have been cut off as a result of the border closing (KII ferik notables).

The Arab groups have more and more turned to agriculture as livelihood and also engage in trading (those from the ferik of Riad frequent the market in Bélom, while those in Ridina generally go to Maïngama). Access to arable land has become more difficult; in Ridina, this is particularly since the installation of Maïngama for the returnees, which has taken up part of the lands that they previously used for both farming and herding; nevertheless, notables from the ferik say that they are all ‘brothers’ and any problems that arise are dealt with amicably (KII ferik notables).

They all state a marked preference for a sedentary existence, citing in particular the greater access to schooling this opens up for their children (each ferik has a small primary school built with the support of NGOs); the ferik of Ridina, closest to Maïngama, shares a facility as well with the returnees and also accesses the health center there (KII notables).

Women in particular were adamant about the advantages of settled life: *‘Before we Arab women knew nothing – only milk!’*; now they wish for support in expanding their petty trade (already plied in nearby markets, including Maïngama) and for food transformation (such as peanut grinders) (KII ferik women).

They feel in general that refugees, returnees and villagers benefit more from external assistance than they do; and that the current policy of integrated programming for refugees and host populations often leave them out. Among their priorities for development are the reinforcement of water sources, support for animal traction, and animal health, and schools and health centers (KII ferik notables and women).

## **2.3 Maïngama installation site for Chadian returnees from CAR**

### **2.3.1 Overview**

The Maingama installation site for Chadian returnees from CAR was established in 2014, with a total population of returnees of 17,162. Since 2013, the department of Grande Sido in the Moyen Chari region has received a total of 34,496 Chadian returnees from CAR. Many Chadians had been living in CAR as students or merchants; others had taken refuge there during the events of 1990, and still others were living there to be near their families. At one point in the CAR civil war, Chadians and particularly Muslims were being targeted, which led to the Chadian government decision to request International Office of Migration (IOM) assistance in evacuating them in 2013 by both convoy and air. The returnees were at first housed in different public structures (schools, training centers, etc.) and then settled in temporary sites and villages in the border regions (ICC 2017).

Emergency assistance was provided by a number of different actors, but some of the government engagements for a more durable solution were not always respected (return to localities of origin, access to civil documentation and access to land). In the meantime, because of lack of resources, the number of humanitarian actors offering assistance has dropped in the zone of Grande Sido has dropped by more than half (from 57 in 2015 to 24 in 2017) and most projects have a duration of just 6 months. Emergency housing structures built in 2014 are dilapidated and returnees have no access to other building materials. The border closure with CAR has affected the entire region, cutting essential economic exchanges of benefit to both local populations and the returnees and blocking returns to CAR for those who might wish to return (ICC 2017).

### **2.3.2 Current situation**

The research team met with an ethnically diverse group of male and female key informants from Maingama who were responsible for various aspects of site management and organization. Because of limitations in time, we did not have time for separate focus group discussions or individual interviews (KII site committee members, Maingama).

What emerged from our discussion is that many (though not all) of the so-called 'returnees' do not identify themselves as Chadian as all, but as Central African and thus feel they are refugees. While all have distant ancestral roots in various parts of Chad (Am Timam, Arada, Biltine), many were in fact born and raised in CAR and have not maintained ties with relatives in the villages of grand-parents or great-great grandparents. Most have no identify papers – either Chadian or Central African and so they are somewhat in limbo (KII site committee members, Maingama).

They have diverse backgrounds as traders, herders, farmers (including large scale cash cropping), carpenters, mechanics, diamond traders, truckers... and some have been government employees. Now they are settled in rough conditions in this installation, trying to make ends meet. They have benefited from WFP rations, recently converted into cash assistance of 200 FCFA/person/month which they find is a better system. The returnees we spoke to report that they have been provided with arable land and receive assistance from NGOs; they also practice gardening and work as laborers on village fields or collect firewood for sale (KII site committee members, Maingama).

According to a recent multi-sectoral evaluation off the situation of Chadian returnees from Central Africa in 4 localities in the South, land of 40km<sup>2</sup> has been allocated to returnees at the installation in Maingama but its exploitation remains problematic both because of lack of work capacity among the returnees since the land has been vacant for a long time and an important work of land preparation would be necessary (ICC 2017).

Ration coupons are irregularly distributed and - 100 FCFA per person per day - allow for only half of the kcal/person/day – 1050/kcal/person/day compared to the recommended level of 2100/kcal/person/day) (ICC 2017).

There are two functioning health centers in Maingama, supported by IRC and Turkish assistance; but problems with lack of a cold chain, ruptures of stock of certain antigens, lack of an ambulance for emergency referrals, and lack of PEP kits for post-rape treatment: the roofing of the health center is also in need of repair. Nutritional services are also very weak due to ruptures in stock, lack of management



tools and weak capacity of assistance. Some 26/54 boreholes are functional with a ratio of 748 persons per motor pump (compared to SPHERE standards of 500/pump) (ICC 2017).

Maïngama has a complete cycle of primary education, with 4 qualified teachers and 8 community teachers for 1958 pupils (773 girls and 1185 boys, 2016); this is far from the total of school-aged population in Maïngama. Parent associations ask for 500 FCFA per child to support community teachers, but it is difficult for many parents to honor this. The general strike since the beginning of the 2016/17 school year has discouraged parents from sending their children to school as they assume classes have all been suspended (ICC 2017).

### **2.3.3 Priorities for the future in Maïngama**

The returnees we spoke to highlighted the following priorities for development: agricultural development (particularly animal traction); vocational, professional and technical training for young people; facilitation of education at lycée level, including construction of a lycée on site; support for expansion of commercial activities; enhanced health care facilities; and improved housing conditions so that they will no longer have to sleep under UNHCR tarpaulins (KII site committee members, Maïngama).

The multi-sectoral evaluation noted that – overall - minimum standards of coverage of basic needs are not being met in most sectors returnees in Grand Sido as a whole and that conditions threaten to deteriorate unless sufficient resources are raised. Among the evaluation’s key recommendations for all installation sites in the south (and Maïngama in particular) are the following (ICC 2017):

- **Food security:** Recommendations are to reinstate regular monthly rations; facilitate access to means of production and farm inputs for both returnees and host communities; distribute seeds to both returnees and local populations for both rain-fed agriculture and gardening and facilitate access to water for gardening in Maïngama; and reinforce policies for allocation and management of agricultural lands for Maïngama site.
- **Hygiene and sanitation:** This poses challenges and the durability of WASH installations is in question. Recommendations include accelerating water source rehabilitation and construction and reinforce management capacity for sustainability; and ensure that all schools and health centers have latrines.
- **Health services** are at a minimum, with frequent ruptures in stock and the absence of cold chains and reference system: the installations at the health center in Maïngama in particular are of tarpaulin and need upgrading. Key recommendations include reinforcing the cold chain, ensure ambulance service for referrals; advocate for free health service for returnees; reinforce nutritional activities in Maïngama (provision of stocks, capacity development, community organization for prevention activities); and make PEP kits available for rape victims; and in the long term, construct a permanent health center
- **Education** is suffering as a result of the reduction in assistance (particularly food assistance), the lack of equipment, material, and qualified teachers as well as the effects of the current general strike. Recommendations arising from the assessment are to rehabilitate schools and/or construct more temporary learning spaces; advocate for assignment of more qualified state teachers in the Grande Sido Department; distribute learning and teaching materials to pupils and teachers; encourage and support community-based school feeding; and support engagement of community teachers
- **Protection** needs to be reinforced: Many protection cases have been reported, including abuses due to lack of civil documentation, survival sex by women and girls seeking financial or material support, early marriage propelled by parents who find it difficult to support children (particularly girls) as they age, and child labor, with parents often sending children out to beg to support the household. Recommendations include establishment of security committees within the sites and

establishment of safe spaces for girls as part of overall enhanced prevention measures against GBV; awareness raising on human rights and dignity among security forces, humanitarian actors and local populations; advocacy for provision of proper identity papers, including the National ID card for returnees and determination of the status of asylum seekers (400 households on the list submitted to HCR in Maro); advocacy for opening the border with CAR to allow freedom of movement; schooling support and income-generation activities for poor households with school-age children and establishment of vocational training centers; and efforts to strengthen peaceful cohabitation in order to reduce conflicts – particularly between herders and farmers due to competition over scarce resources – and to reduce stigmatization of returnees.

### **3. Reflections on potential program implications**

Along with the priorities already highlighted above, analysis of discussions with key informants, review of external documentation, and findings from the localities visited bring to the fore the following issues for consideration in program planning in this locality.

#### ***Transitioning refugees to targeted safety nets***

The transition from universal food distribution to targeted cash assistance limited to poor and very poor households, coupled with the reduction in amount from 6,000 CFA to 3,000 per person, has not been fully understood or accepted by the refugees in Béлом – many of whom, such as those with disabilities or women heads of large households, do not have sufficient capacity for income generation on their own. Implications may be that gender and vulnerability criteria could usefully be considered, along with asset-based measures of poverty, in plans for ongoing assistance programs and safety nets. Livelihood support must also be stepped up to enable refugees no longer receiving assistance to meet their basic needs.

#### ***Taking into account diverse characteristics of ‘host populations’***

Field work in this zone showed clearly that ‘host populations’ in the geographic vicinity of the refugee camp are not homogeneous: communities we visited included both settled villages (albeit with a history of displacement); recently settled pastoralist groups (with distinct ethnic, religious, as well as livelihood characteristics that are different from and often in conflict with local populations); and an installation site for Chadian returnees from CAR (from various backgrounds, many of whom consider themselves more Central African than Chadian). Conceptualizing and implementing safety nets as well as integrated approaches to development and service provision for such diverse groups will be challenging and will need to be preceded by more detailed site studies and needs assessment in each case.

#### ***Strengthening social services and infrastructure***

While the influx of refugees has been credited with bringing additional social services in the form of schools and health centers in Béлом camp, to which local populations had access (as well as to some improvements to surrounding facilities, such as the hospital in Maro); this is clearly not enough in the face of massive shortfalls in social service infrastructure in the region and localities visited. Significant government investment is clearly needed; however the current national crisis, leading to the prolonged strike of government workers, has left existing facilities un- or understaffed and – in the case of local schools – kept afloat only with difficulty through expectations of parental payment of community teachers (which place additional burdens on poor parents).

It is clear that continuing external investment will be required in the short to medium term. The policy of extending integrated services to refugees/displaced populations and host populations should be continued and strengthened, along with the strengthening of service provision in host communities, including not only construction or rehabilitation of structures, but the enhancement in number and quality of service providers. This should be done in close collaboration with national, regional and district authorities, ensuring that service provision is guided by national policies and plans.

#### ***Supporting livelihoods and income generation***

This is a clear priority for refugees, host populations, settled pastoralists and Chadian returnees alike and was also highlighted by key informants. All study participants stressed this as a clear development priority – not only for the long term, but in the short and medium terms as well, reinforcing current policy thrusts in transitioning between relief and development efforts. But support needs to be carefully calibrated to livelihood profiles, needs and potential, and will obviously take different forms depending on the situation. Working with government agencies such as ANADER will moreover be essential to ensure national capacity for uptake and follow-through. Among some of the issues arising in priority areas of focus are the following:

- ***Agriculture/gardening:*** Some of the current programming around support for agricultural livelihoods seems to have proceeded on the basis of trial and error and has faced numerous constraints: an early initiative, for example, in Bélom of distributing a pair of oxen and plough for animal traction for mixed refugee and village groups of 10-15 people failing because individuals need the oxen at time-sensitive periods in the agricultural calendar and not all can have access at once. Questions of access to arable land for refugees and the negotiation of conditions for its exploitation remain thorny and context-specific, requiring much ongoing discussion with local and traditional authorities as well as all other key stakeholders. Within such discussions, the issues of women's access to land should also figure as a clear priority (see also below). Support for provision of appropriate agricultural inputs and means of production will also be critical.
- ***Animal husbandry:*** Conflicts between farmers and herders in this zone are acute and intensifying and call for significantly strengthened efforts to demarcate and enforce pastoral transhumance routes as well as to enhance fairness and transparency in conflict resolution. Agro-pastoralists also, meanwhile, need further support for animal husbandry. Some attempts have been made to introduce small ruminants to refugee households and to support animal health initiatives, but some projects have suffered due to the lack of adaptability of the animal breeds to local conditions (for example the epidemic of avian flu that ravaged poultry). Considerable technical expertise is needed to determine the best approaches, taking into consideration such issues as: environmental conditions (availability of pasture and water); mobility patterns (transhumance corridors); pastoral/sedentary relations and balance of power; the gendered division of labor and responsibility for different types of animals; and animal health, among other things.
- ***Commerce, trades and income generation:*** Beyond purely agro-pastoral activities, refugees and rural dwellers in general engage and possess a variety of skills in a host of different trades and commerce. These could all be usefully supported through such measures as 1) provision of rolling start-up funds or support for access to credit either through existing micro-finance institutions (which in Maro would require further negotiations to allow access to refugees) or through community-based savings and loan associations (which for women in particular could be based on traditional tontines (see below); 2) provision of appropriate technology, tools equipment; and 3) technical training and support for entrepreneurial activities.

#### ***Strengthening and expanding opportunities for vocational and technical training***

Linked partly to the above, but also in recognition of 1) the serious dearth of vocational and technical training opportunities available to either refugees or host populations; and 2) the lack of opportunities for post-primary education and for young people in general, this would be a useful component to consider in any integrated development approach program. In Maro, support is already being provided to support the participation of refugees and villagers alike in courses offered at the existing technical training institute. No doubt, further consideration to boosting the capacity of such institutions would be useful. At the same time, care should be taken that the type of skills-training on offer include those suitable to young women as well as young men, and to ensure that women have equal opportunities for their professional development.

### ***Balancing environmental safeguards with real needs for environmental resources***

Most study participants emphasized the negative effects on an already fragile environment of the influx of refugees into the area, leading both to shortage and/or heightened conflict over agricultural and grazing lands and to increasingly scarce foraged materials such as firewood and wild fruits and nuts. The firewood dilemma is particularly acute, as it is practically the sole source of fuel for cooking and it falls upon women and children to gather this at increasing distances from home, incurring potential reprimands or physical aggression. So far, the government response seems to be primarily one of repression (outlawing the sale of firewood, for example) without offering alternative options for fuel sources, and without seeking alternative livelihood measures for poor households who rely on the sale of firewood for much of their income. Key priorities should include: 1) the introduction and wide dissemination of improved cook-stoves to conserve energy; 2) pilot initiatives to identify and test alternative energy sources; and 3) environmental management and preservation activities (such tree-planting, live hedging, and the like) built into livelihood development programs.

### ***Addressing gender-specific vulnerabilities and potential***

Key priorities would include actions to address the following (both refugee-specific and more general for women in the surrounding populations)

- ***Gender inequality in household roles, status and responsibilities:*** Here, the work should be of a dual focus: one primarily focused primarily on sensitization campaigns aimed at men and boys and focused on gender equality and promotion, including combating child marriage, and the like; the second on intensified program support for appropriate technology (to lighten household tasks) and specific support for female heads of household. This latter should include recognition of the specific vulnerabilities and needs of widows, the divorced and the abandoned, who often have large families to care for, as well as of the especially poignant situation of ‘filles meres’ – young girls who are already mothers but either unmarried or abandoned, often forced to drop out of school and limited in the economic activities in which they can engage.
- ***Sexual and gender-based violence:*** Findings from our research found rather stark evidence of domestic violence (widespread among both refugees and villagers) and more limited reports of external aggression (for example in relation to young women searching for firewood in the bush), as well as reports of transactional sex – or ‘sex for survival’ whose root causes stem from lack of income and – for single women or heads of households - lack of male support for the family and household. Both preventive and treatment services need strengthening, along with sensitization campaigns and community dialogues on the issue.
- ***Sexual and reproductive health care and information:*** Refugees are, in many senses, better off than village women in their closer access to health services in the camp, but heightened efforts to strengthen maternity care are needed for both. Issues of family planning information and services seem to be widely ignored, but would be essential, including for adolescent girls and young women. Support for female health outreach extension workers would also be critical, as would expanded transport options for hospital referral in the case of complicated deliveries.
- ***Girls’ education:*** Factors related to early marriage or adolescent pregnancy were cited by refugees and villagers alike as primary causes for girls’ drop-out from school; this is coupled with prevailing social and parental attitudes and norms investing girls’ education with less importance than the education of boys. Sensitization and awareness campaigns, coupled with care to create gender sensitive teaching and learning environments (including more female teachers, separate latrines, hygienic materials and the like) and promotion of girls’ clubs and extracurricular activities to develop girls’ leadership skills should all be priorities. Provision of take-home rations to school girls could be a potent stimulus to parental agreement to send and retain girls in school, while cash-transfers conditioned on girls’ education have had positive effects in other countries where they have been applied.

- **Technical training/education/literacy aimed at women:** The technical training we were told was available in Maro concerned primarily male-oriented activities (welding, for example, or carpentry). Women, however, are clamoring for other sorts of training and support.
- **Access to credit:** Both women and men lacked access to credit, and refugees had particularly disadvantages in this regard (refusal of banks in Maro to lend to refugees, for example). As noted above under livelihoods, expanding access to credit for women could usefully consider building on women's traditional 'tontines' to establish community-based saving and lending associations that could support women in their social and economic roles. Those who have participated in groups or associations for income generation – supported by various NGOs – have found them beneficial. However, these have been short-term and women need to be empowered to continue when the projects end.
- **Women's leadership and community roles:** A clearly positive development observed in the camp in Bélom was the nurturing of women's leadership roles through the women's refugee management committee and its related wings. In many senses, the degree of organization among women and participation in community affairs seemed to be stronger among refugees than it was in the surrounding villages – primarily as a result of humanitarian actions structuring such assistance within the camp. Women leaders, however, were also present in the villages visited, working as heads of women's associations and the like. These need to be further strengthened through sustained support to both refugees and village women.
- **Appropriate technology:** This should be considered for both in relation to women's domestic roles and responsibilities as well as for income generation. The list could include, for example, donkey carts to transport wood, straw, and other materials gathered from the surroundings (to replace head portage); improved cook-stoves (as above); machines for the transformation of food stuffs; sewing machines and the like.

#### 4. Visual record, research in the South

*Entrance to Bélom refugee camp*



*Discussions with Bélom camp managers*



*Refugee children outside Bélom camp schoolyard*



*Refugee mother and child, Bélom camp*



*Village notables, Paris Sara*



*Refugee women married into the village of Paris Sara*



*With the village elder, Paris Sara*



*Constructing a community timeline, Ndinaba village*



*Focus group discussions, Ndinaba*



*Firewood outside of house, Ndinaba*



*Arab men and women in a sedentarized ferik, Moyen Chari*



*View of Maingama installation site for Chadian returnees*



*Discussions with Chadian returnees, Maingama*



*Children in school, Maingama*



## C. FINDINGS FROM RESEARCH IN LAC REGION

### 1. Background and context

Research in the Lac region centered around the refugee camp of Dar es Salam in Bagasola sub-prefecture and encompassed the camp itself; two neighboring villages; several sites for the internally displaced; one site for returnees; and one site where final classification of the population had not yet been fully established as refugee or returnee. In all, some 398 people participated in the research in this region (221 male and 177 female). (See [annex 2](#) for full details of research activities undertaken and population covered at each site.)

#### 1.1 Overview of the zone and areas of research

##### 1.1.1 Livelihoods and constraints

The Lac region (see map, [figure 7](#)) falls into the FEWS NET categorization as an ‘agro pastoral and fishing’ zone. The environment is characterized as semi-desert, except along the fertile edges and islands of Lake Chad. Households combine agriculture (rain-fed cultivation of millet on the dunes and gardening in the polders and *wadis* (seasonal water courses) where wheat, maize, and beans are also cultivated as off-season crops along with garden produce) with livestock herding (primarily of Kouri cattle and small ruminants) and fishing to varying degrees.

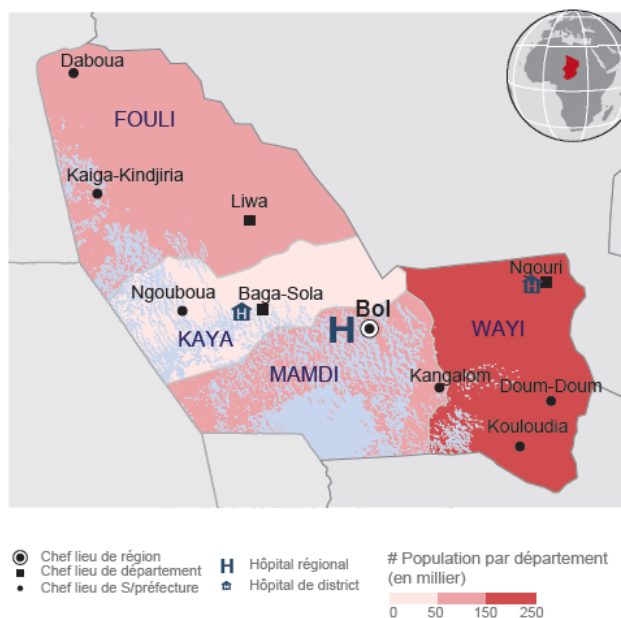
The zone is unique in allowing two to three harvests a year: the first of rain-fed crops cultivated between June and October; the second of off-season crops in the cool months of October to March and the third of off-season garden crops in the hot months of March to June. Manioc is also planted year-round in small parcels along the lake shores, taking 8 months to mature) (FEWS NET 2011).

Cultivation in the polders is done in two different ways: 1) traditional agriculture in which crops are planted as flood-retreat areas, after the rains have left and high waters have retreated, or 2) irrigated grounds from the developed irrigation management scheme, managed by the SODELAC – Society for Lake Development. Fishing is slightly more important for people living close to the lake or to the polders, while further away, livestock are more important, though most people combine different sorts of livelihoods (FEWS NET 2011).

Settlement is often spoken of in two categories: that on ‘terra firma’ (ie the dryer zones and lake sides) and that on the islands, with migration often occurring back and forth. The islands provide important pastures for animal herds during the dry season but with the rains, animals are moved back to the mainland ‘terra firma’ in order to avoid horseflies and tse tse flies. Livelihoods have been severely affected by climate change and the shrinking of the lack by around half over the past thirty years (SISAAP/HEA Sahel 2014).

There is a high degree of wealth differentiation among rural populations in the region (see [box 10](#)).

Figure 7. Map of Lac region



Source: OCHA 2016a



**Box 10. High degree of wealth differentiation among rural populations of Lac region**

Despite its rich potential for agriculture, livestock-raising and fishing, almost two thirds (63%) of the population in this zone is classified as poor or very poor. Key factors of socio-economic differentiation include the amount of land held and cultivated, the number and type of animals owned, and household size.

Average household size for the poorest two groups is from 7-9, with weak productive capacity (farming between 0,44 and 1,2 hectares of land and possessing very few animals – mostly a few small ruminants and perhaps a donkey or two). Middle income and wealthy groups, who form just over a quarter of the population (27%), can cultivate between 3,4 and 6 hectares of land and have herds of both cattle and small ruminants, as well as donkeys, horses, and a few camels.

Fishing is an important activity for all socio-economic groups the better-off households normally do not themselves fish but rather provide fishing materials for the poorer households to use based on different sorts of contract (either a 50/50 share of the catch, or the catch is purchased by the wealthier, providing the money needed for the poorer to buy them the fishing equipment).

While the better off groups produce from 78% to 102% of their annual food needs, the poorer groups can meet only about half (between 41 and 52%). Laboring on the field of others is a key livelihood strategy for the poor and very poor, particularly during the maize harvest when 2 to 3 members of poorer households normally work in exchange for about 10-12.5 kg (4-5 koros) of maize or its equivalent per day. In economic terms, the different wealth groups show high interdependence: the wealthier relying on poor households for labor on their fields to maximize production and the poorer relying on the wealthier for payment of labor in cash or kind.

All groups buy over 30% of their food from the market, but for the richer groups, this represents a diversification from the staple diets stemming from their own production, while for the poorer groups, it represents high dependency on the market for the satisfaction of basic food needs. Animal products (milk and meat) make up between 15 and 19% of the diet of the better off groups but less than 2% for the poor.

Principal sources of revenue come from sales of livestock, crops and fish coupled with paid or self-employment and petty commerce. Average annual income of the wealthiest group (3,991,095 FCFA) is 10 times higher than that of the very poor (740 FCFA), 6.3 times higher than that of the poor (623 910) and 2 times higher than that of middle income group (2,190,182 FCFA). The majority of households (poor and very poor) have very limited purchasing power, earning less than half a dollar a day on average. This severely limits their ability to invest in both productive activities and human capital development (health, education). Aside from labor on others' fields, income for the poor derives essentially from insecure and highly unreliable activities such as brick-making, sale of wood or straw, and handicrafts.

Source: SISAAP/HEA Sahel 2014

**1.1.2 Socio-political characteristics**

Administratively the region is made up of four departments: Foulï, Kaya, Mamdi and Wayi. It is densely populated, and has historically served as an important commercial hub and integrated economy. Its territory was previously incorporated into the powerful Muslim Kanembou-Bornu empire, which covered the lake regions of the northern Nigeria and Cameroun, south eastern Niger and Western Chad, reaching its peak in the late 16<sup>th</sup> to early 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Its current inhabitants are predominantly Muslim and remain marked by a hierarchical social structure including a caste system as well as by considerable ethnic diversity due to a history of migrations into and within the region. The main ethnic groups in the region are Kanembou (agro-pastoralists and originators of the Kanem Empire) and Boudouma (mostly transhumant pastoralists exploiting the islands and lake shores for pasture), with others as well such as Arabs, Kouri, and the caste group of Haddads (traditionally blacksmiths who also practice other livelihoods). A history of inter-communal conflict predates the current period, as does a history of militarization in a region that has been traversed by trade routes and trafficking of all sorts, with the Lake considered a 'zone of refuge' for armed groups from neighboring countries where the reach of the State has been minimal (Hiribarren, 2016 and OCHA 2016d).

Customary law continues to play an important role in social interaction in the region, particularly around the management of natural resources and groups that exploit these, including through the attribution of lands for usage; regulation of payments or taxes on the land; and conflict resolution. Administrative

divisions are not always recognized by traditional authorities in this region. Critical actors in these areas and others related to customary law include the cantonal chief (or *Mai*) (who in addition to conflict resolution and security has a religious role in the Islamic obligation for charity and hospitality); wadi, village and polder chieftains (who are in charge of land distribution among families); and the assistant village chief (or *diguedji*) who has a double role as ceremonial chief and determiner of the limits of cultivation (OCHA 2016d).

### ***1.1.3 Current situation of displacement***

The Lac region has been severely affected by the sub-regional Lake Chad crisis. Key informants we spoke to highlight the complexities of the current situation which, according to the OCHA representative, is dominated by three crises: displacement of populations caused by the Boko Haram conflict; growing food insecurity; and a sanitary crisis. Displacement is both cross-border (Nigerian and Nigerien refugees and Chadian returnees, primarily from Niger) and internal (Chadians displaced from the border region and the islands by the Chadian authorities in their security drive). Since 2015, some 178,000 people have been displaced – all categories combined. This includes some 9,031 refugees - 6,412 (71%) living in the camp at Dar es Salam and the others outside of camps; 99,983 internally displaced people (IDPs) and 20,596 returnees and (KII OCHA Bagasola, and UNHCR Bagasola 2017a).

Excluding the refugees, the latest displacement tracking monitor reports a total of 137,138 displaced people in Lake Region as of 18 January 2018. These include 121,325 internally displaced (88% of the total); 15,131 returnees (11% of the total); and 680 third country nationals classified as international migrants (1% of the total). Some 39 % of these categories of the displaced are found in the department of Kaya, where Bagasola and the Dar es Salam refugee camp are located). Overall, just over half of the displaced populations in the region are women (53%) and nearly two thirds (65%) are children aged 0-18. Three quarters of the identified people (73%) are living in camps or spontaneous installation sites, while the remaining quarter are living in host communities. Over half of all sites for the displaced have received assistance with non-food items (63%) and WASH (53%) while nearly half (48%) have received food distributions and a little under a third (30%) have received tarpaulins for shelter. Smaller proportions have received assistance with health (15%); education (13); and economic activities (11%). (OIM DTM 2018).

### ***1.1.4 Key social indicators***

The Lake region overall is one of the most vulnerable and underdeveloped in Chad, with a human development index of 0,288 compared to the national index of 0,377 in 2014 (Human Development Report 2015, cited in PAM et al. 2016). Social indicators of all sorts point to fragile conditions.

Food insecurity is widespread in the region as a whole (affecting 222,356 people overall by the end of 2016), with the classification of phase three in some areas affecting some 81,438 individuals and threatening to rise still further (OCHA 2016a). The most recent evaluation of food security for the 2017/18 agricultural season found that in Lac, *'limited harvests coupled with declining income from fishing and sale of animals as well as the pressure exerted on limited resources by displaced populations and refugees have reduced the food consumption for some households.'* In spite of new harvests, the slow-down in trade with Nigeria and the drop in the price of cattle is depressing revenues and thus reducing access to food. Grain prices are also dropping as a result of weak demand (FEWS NET 2017).

Global acute malnutrition (GAM) has reached rates of 18.1%, surpassing the emergency threshold of 15%) and severe acute malnutrition (SAM) hovers at the emergency threshold of 2% (KII OCHA, Bagasola, and OCHA 2017a).

As a result of cumulative underinvestment in the region, access to basic services remains extremely limited: there are only 10 doctors in the region as a whole and only 37% of primary aged school children were in school in 2015/16 (OCHA 2016a). Net schooling rates are just 14.3% and under a tenth (8.6%) of the adult population is literate (compared to 27% at national level) (PAM et al. 2016). Education officials point to critical problems in both infrastructure and staffing of schools, noting that at primary level there are 135 pupils per class (compared to the standard of 45) and that numbers have risen with the influx of displaced people into the zone. Health officials note that they lack equipment, personnel

and supervisory capacity as well as health service infrastructure (KII decentralized government service providers, Bagasola).

A recent field evaluation of humanitarian needs among host communities and the displaced in Bagasola sub-prefecture (the site of our research) found extensive gaps in service provision for both, as shown on *table 6*.

*Table 6. Comparative social indicators: host communities and IDPs, Bagasola sub-prefecture*

<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Host communities</b>	<b>Displaced populations</b>
<b>Housing</b>	72% in straw huts; 21% in concessions	65% in straw huts; 20% in plastic tents
<b>Livelihood</b>	Agriculture (88%); livestock (55%); fishing (54%)	Agriculture (71%); fishing (50%); livestock (46%)
<b>Food sources</b>	Sources: 76% own production; 69% gifts from family; 60% purchases on the market	Sources: 58% food distributions; 54% own production; 50% purchase on the market
<b>Difficulties in obtaining food</b>	High prices; (67%); lack of resources (57%); (34%)	lack of access or fear of going to markets
<b>Health problems</b>	Fever/malaria (85%); contagious diseases (31%); diarrhoea (30%)	Fever/malaria (79%); diarrhoea (38%); malnutrition (21%)
<b>Difficulties in accessing health services</b>	Costs (38%); lack of transport; (37%); lack of staff/medicines (25%)	Lack of staff/medicines (25%); non-functioning structures (21%); costs (21%)
<b>Sources of water</b>	Wells with pump (47%); non-protected wells (26%); boreholes (20%)	Wells with pumps (60%); unprotected wells (25%); boreholes (15%)
<b>Type of latrine</b>	No latrine (97%); uncovered latrine (3%)	No latrine (85%); toilet with septic tank (15%)
<b>Reasons for not going to school</b>	Lack of teachers (36%); work (31%); distance (31%)	Lack of teachers (37%); lack of material (30%); distance (24%)

*Source: REACH 2016 Sous prefecture de Bagasola, based on responses from key informants*

The burden of service provision has fallen largely on humanitarian actors (IRC, for example, has been central in boosting health sector services; MSF has been keeping the Hospital of Bagasola afloat; and UNICEF and others have been supporting schools). Humanitarians overall make up the bulk of external assistance in the region, with only about 10% provided by development actors. But conditions of insecurity prevail and there remain areas of limited access by humanitarian actors; gaps in humanitarian funding also loom large (only 39% of resources called for in 2017 were received) (KII OCHA, Bagasola and others).

Livelihoods have been affected by both insecurity (including theft, destruction and displacement and the closing of transhumant routes and trade borders with Nigeria) and climate change, as well as a fragilization of the environment due to the influx of people into the zone and historical trends of drying up of the Lake (though some recent analyses suggest this may be reversing). Since 2017, with the adoption of a pluri-annual planning process, external assistance is aimed more and more at building the resilience of the populations so as to reduce dependence on aid (KII OCHA, Bagasola and others).

As the military pacification operation in the border areas and islands gains ground and troops are withdrawn, government authorities expect that Chadians among the displaced populations will be able to progressively return to their homes. Thereafter, they feel that development assistance would be able to focus on reinforcing the significant productive potential of the zone (development of polders around Lake Chad; improvement of transport infrastructure for communications and commercial activities; development of water resources, etc. (KIIs prefect and SG Mayor, Bagasola).

Others, however, are not so sanguine about the imminent return of displaced populations, citing both continuing security concerns as well as now-found access to services that – in the case of island dwellers in particular – they would be loath to leave to return to their previous isolation (KII OCHA, Bagasola). In any case, development will remain challenging if lack of government resourcing continues: the agency responsible for rural development, ANADER, notes that investment in polder development has

been halted since 2005 and there is a real problem in rural outreach (KII decentralized government service providers, Bagasola).

## **2. Key findings from field work**

### **2.1 Dar es Salam refugee camp**

#### **2.1.1 Overview of the camp and services**

Dar es Salam refugee camp was established in January 2015 and hosts some 6,412 refugees in 2,070 households. The majority of refugees (94%) are from Nigeria – mostly from the state of Borno and the towns of Kukuwa and Maiduguri. While Hausa make up over half of the Nigerian refugees, multiple other ethnic groups are also present, including Kanuri, Fulani and other minorities. Refugees from Niger in the camp come primarily from Nguigmi prefecture and are mostly Boudouma. Children under 18 make up nearly 60% of the refugee population in the camp and women make up over half (51%) of the adult population (UNHCR Bagasola 2017a,b). A livelihoods profile revealed that around 35% have farming backgrounds and expertise, 35% fishing, and the remaining 30% were traders, herders, or exercised small trades such as blacksmiths and the like – though most also combine a variety of productive activities (KII HCR, Bagasola).

The camp is set out on an expanse of flat, sandy ground and organized in 13 blocks of 100 tents per bloc, with a borehole for each bloc (KII HCR, Bagasola). Housing is primarily HCR tents, some in very poor condition; latrines have also been built with assistance from HCR (FGD young women, Dar es Salam).

There is a health center (staffed by ten government health workers and additional community health assistants recruited by IRC and paid for by HCR (KII HCR, Bagasola). It works under the direction of the District Health Service and includes curative consultations, reproductive health, nutrition, vaccination, and mental health services. In 2017, the health center registered 21,064 people (10,899 refugees and 10,167 villagers and displaced persons) – demand that is by far overstretching supply and lack of adequate budget to keep needed stocks of medicine (KII, Dar es Salam Health Center).

The camp also has two primary schools (with school lunch provided by WFP), as well as a community center and open meeting hall. In 2017, primary school enrolment reached 1,824 pupils, with a ratio of 65 pupils per teacher (UNHCR Bagasola 2017a,b). While both host community and refugee children attend the school for free, one of the schools – Espoir 2 – seems to cater mostly to refugees (KII Espoir 2 school, Dar es Salam).

WFP provided universal food distribution at the camp up until November 2016, after which it switched to food ration coupons which can be exchanged for food with designated merchants. Refugees are reported to prefer the coupon to cash assistance both because of security concerns with cash and also because Bagasola market (where they would need to go to buy food) is some distance and the designated merchants come monthly to the camp. The coupon is for a value of 6,000 FCFA per person within a household, but with a cap of 7 people per household (KII WFP, Bagasola).

At the same time, HCR, working with partners – particularly the Chadian Red Cross (CRT), implements a livelihoods resilience program to support productive activities and income generation through which refugees can complete their food rations: since 2017 this targets both refugees and host communities and displaced populations alike, with at least 20% of assistance set aside for these latter two groups.

The program includes support for agriculture (in *wadis* and rain-fed fields and with plans - not yet realized -for polder development); gardening (in *wadis*, with inputs including borehole and pump as well as permaculture around huts); fishing (with material support in the form of nets, pirogues and other things for groups of ten); and income generating activities particularly for mixed women's groups (refugees, villagers and the displaced) around fishing activities (preparation and sale of foodstuffs at fishing sites) and gardening. An environmental energy component has also been recently introduced for

the production of improved cook-stoves by local blacksmiths as a means of reducing consumption of ever scarcer firewood (KII HCR, Bagasola)

According to HCR staff, however, significant challenges have arisen in the planning and implementation of all of these activities. Negotiations around land allocations for refugees present one set of challenges; others include the poor quality of some of the land so allocated, the costs of polder development (currently estimated at around 800 million FCFA) and garden crop devastation by wild animals – particularly elephants. Processes for the selection of beneficiaries of livelihoods support – which pass through the camp block chiefs, or ‘*boulama*’ have also been problematic (KIIs HCR Bagasola).

### *2.1.2 Refugee experiences and perceptions*

#### *Experiences of flight and exile*

Refugees testify to the atrocities experienced or witnessed as they fled their country and recount the losses they suffered (*box 11*).

#### *Box 11. Traumatic experiences of flight, refugees in Dar es Salam*

- It was a Saturday when Boko Haram entered into our neighborhood. We saw people being killed. I fled with my children. Boko Haram chased us but we hid in the bush and then took a pirogue to Chad where we first stayed at Ngoubwa for 5 days before coming here. My husband was elsewhere at the time of the attack and fled separately later on, joining us here. (FGD adult refugee women, Dar es Salam)
- It was night and we were sleeping when our parents came to wake us up and tell us we had to leave our village. We were so scared that Boko Haram was going to slit our throats and kill us. We were not able to prepare for the voyage, but just fled like that – some by pirogue, others on foot. (FGD young refugee women, Dar es Salam)
- It was a Wednesday – everyone was sleeping. I went out of the house and saw soldiers in the streets, I woke everyone up to warn them – including the neighbors, and we all fled, but many were killed while fleeing. A woman in front of me who had one child by the hand and another on her back was felled by a bullet; I stopped to unwrap the baby from her back and took the two children along with me and later handed them to CNARR to be reunited with the rest of their family. (KII president of refugee women’s committee, Dar es Salam)
- We fled by pirogue, throwing our possessions into the water in order to lighten the load to go faster as Boko Haram was chasing us. But they caught my husband and slit his throat. I was pregnant at the time and lost consciousness. We later went back to bury my husband, and after 3 days we went to Ngoubwa. But Boko Haram attacked again and burned the whole neighborhood, so we ran into the bush to hide and then they brought us here (FGD adult refugee women, Dar es Salam)
- When we woke up, we saw people being killed before our eyes so we ran out of our houses practically naked and without stopping to gather any possessions. It was God alone who guided us here, after 2 weeks in Ngoubwa. (FGD vulnerable adult refugees, Dar es Salam)
- We fled because of the exactions of Boko Haram who committed crimes of every sort – hostage-taking, massacres. My family and I fled by pirogue, with soldiers here in Chad ensuring our safety along with the Chadian Red Cross until we reached Bagasola. (IDI adult refugee man, Dar es Salam)
- We arrived by pirogue at night. Boko Haram was killing people indiscriminately. Boko Haram has taken itself out of the law and become a sect. (FGD adult refugee men, Dar es Salam)

The refugee experience brought both trauma and impoverishment as refugees fled the violence perpetrated by Boko Haram. Refugees reflect on the changes in their lives since they were forced to flee their homes and communities (*table 7*).

Table 7. Reflections on conditions before and after flight, refugees in Dar es Salam

Aspect	Before	Just after	Now
<b>Community</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>We lived by the side of the water</li> <li>Our houses were well made – whether of bamboo shoots or cement</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>They were killing people in front of our eyes</li> <li>My husband had his throat slit</li> <li>They burned the whole neighborhood</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Here is suffering : there is not enough food, limited covers, only tattered mats and we don't have enough money</li> <li>Here there are no economic opportunities – we are mostly without any economic activity and have become impoverished – and yet we know how to work</li> </ul>
<b>Family</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>We had our families around us and our parents</li> <li>We ate well – many vegetables ; our children were well nourished</li> <li>For those of us living in towns, our children went to school, but not those living in smaller villages or the bush</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>While running away, I badly insured my foot</li> <li>We threw all of our things in the water to lighten the load of our pirogue</li> <li>We were terrified when someone entered our house with a rifle</li> <li>We lost all of our possessions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Look at us here, living on sand</li> <li>The houses are so hot they give us headaches; we are crowded in together – so much noise, no furniture – we've transformed the sand into mattresses</li> <li>Many times illnesses are caused by worries, tensions and other troubles for which the available treatments are not sufficient; the elderly are especially weak in the face of shocks</li> </ul>
<b>Livelihoods</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Our menfolk were tailors, farmers, fishermen, herders; merchants</li> <li>We women sold vegetables or prepared foodstuffs in the market</li> <li>Some of us women sold cloth wraps</li> <li>We were able to earn money to invest, and so were well off</li> <li>Women in our communities were never without something to do – we are resourceful</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>My flourishing herds were all taken by Boko haram</li> <li>We arrived naked, with no mother/no father</li> <li>We spent 3 or 4 days crossing the lake, without eating</li> <li>When I first got to the camp, there were seven in my household – 7 unaccompanied children along with my own</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Me, I have only one boubou [Nigerian wrap] and I have been here for 3 years]</li> <li>There are lots of illnesses among our children – particularly diarrhea; we also suffer from malaria and head aches</li> <li>But here our children can at least go to school, though classes are very crowded</li> <li>We live on the promises of support from humanitarian actors, but have little to show for ourselves; hence permanent anguish, worry and stress</li> <li>We women do not want to remain dependent here like this</li> </ul>

Sources: Compiled from FGDs, IDIs and KIIs with refugees, Dar es Salam

### Conditions of life and social services in the camp

Most refugees with whom we spoke were very thankful for the assistance they received and acknowledged benefits from – for example – free health and educational services in the camp; but many expressed frustration with both living conditions (particularly housing; it is said to be very hot under the tarpaulins) and with the lack of economic opportunities available in the context of diminishing food ration support (the seven person per household limit). Some refugees – particularly among the women – say that they preferred the earlier food distributions to the current coupon system as they could sell what they did not use in exchange for other products; now, they say, the money is not enough (KII, Camp management committee; FGD refugee women, Dar es Salam). Many explain that they do not eat as well as they used to – both in quantity and in the variety that they used to grow or procure at home. Others looked out at the desolate desert landscape and said, 'Look at us living here in the sand – we who used to live next to the water' (FGD vulnerable refugees, Dar es Salam).

Refugees noted that primary education was available at the camp and that for some, this was the first time their children were able to attend school. 'We had no idea about schools in our villages' said one

group of girls *'The essential thing for us was to learn how to live close to Allah'* (FGD young women refugees, Dar es Salam). Now, while they value the opportunity for schooling, some noted that the classrooms were over-filled (80 pupils per class) and there was a further need for a college and secondary education as well as more professional training (FGD refugee men, Dar es Salam). Both women and men were also concerned that the schools be fenced off to protect the pupils (KII, camp management committee, and FGD refugee men, Dar es Salam).

In terms of health services, some refugees spoke of frequent ruptures in medicines and long waits to be treated as well as some communications difficulties due to language barriers (FGD refugee men, Dar es Salam); some were given medicines that they say were ineffective and have no idea what they are or what their affliction is as the health care providers have not explained it to them (FGD vulnerable refugees, Dar es Salam). The president of the management committee joked that this was equally true at Bagasola District Hospital where they would ask you a question that you did not understand *'And in the end they, just end up vaccinating you'* (KII, camp management committee, Dar es Salam). Community outreach workers confirm that sometimes the wait for treatment was too long in the hot sun at the health center, and this was particularly difficult for the old and the vulnerable (FGD, women refugee outreach workers, Dar es Salam).

Refugees not yet registered and living outside of the camp are said to be generally worse off than camp-dwellers, as they lack access to services and assistance (though some agencies such as UNICEF are assisting with community schools and others with mobile clinics). At the same time, some refugees are reported to prefer living off-camp, near the fertile areas of Ngoubwa, and they complain of feeling *'imprisoned'* in camp (KII CRT, Dar es Salam)

### *Struggling to reconstitute livelihoods*

Most refugees are deeply troubled about the processes of impoverishment that have accompanied the refugee experience and frustrated about the lack of economic opportunities they have in their current situation. One refugee from Niger, a former herder, explained that when he fled, Boko Haram stole all of his herds – his only economic resource - and now he is reduced to idleness and poverty: he noted, however, that there is solidarity among the refugees of Niger, who form a small minority, and that rations are shared amongst them (IDI refugee man, Dar es Salam). A male tailor from Nigeria who said that back home he could easily earn 1,200,000 FCFA per month from his trade (in addition to the 1,000,000 FCFA brought in by his two seamstress wives), said that as a refugee he had been *'reduced to nothing - empty-handed with my family'* as he had fled without his sewing machine. In a remarkable sign of resilience, however, he lent his sewing skills to a local tailor and with the money earned bought himself a second hand sewing machine on which he sews clothes for refugees in the camp (IDI refugee man, Dar es Salam).(See case studies [box 12](#)).

### *Box 12. Case studies of two refugee men in the face of economic shock, Dar es Salam*

#### *A herder without herds*

X is a Muslim Boudouma herder from a village in Nguigmi in Niger. Aged 33, he is married with one child and now lives with his wife and child in Dar es Salam camp. In Niger he had 100 head of cattle – 70 cows and 30 bulls, which he kept along with small ruminants, both goats and sheep. Sale of bull in animal in the market could bring in 250,000 FCFA; depending on the circumstances, he would normally sell 3-4 bulls per year. Sale of a goat or sheep could bring in 20,000 FCFA each, and he would normally sell for about 100,000 FCFA annually to support household needs. Milk from the cows was both for family consumption and for sale in the market by his wife; sales could bring in 20,000 FCFA per day. His family was therefore relatively well off, eating 3 meals a day and with an annual income of around 1,500,000 FCFA. Neither he nor his wife have any formal education, and his only son, aged 10, went to Koranic school only, as the nearest primary school was some distance away. There was, however, a health center in his village and he also had easy access to water from a borehole.

Now, his situation is completely changed. He is without any economic activity for 3 years; his animals – which were his family's sole economic resource – were all stolen by Boko Haram. *'We are now suffering here – my family and relatives – because we don't have any work'*. They receive rations, but they are insufficient; only by strict household management and sharing amongst families when the rations give out do they manage to eat twice a day. His wife, also without work, is forced to go off into the bush far away from camp in search of

firewood that she sells for a modicum of some 5,000 FCFA a month. Their hut – constructed of HCR tarpaulins – is very hot – ‘a real heatwave in the desert’. His son attends the camp school, along with other refugees and villagers.

He foresees that he and his family will now have to remain in Chad, but he feels that the only way forward for him is to reconstitute his herds, with a start-up of 10 heads – male and female, cattle and small ruminants combined. ‘*The rest*’ he says, will follow, ‘*because I am a herder.*’

(IDI adult man, Dar es Salam refugee camp)

#### ***A tailor without a sewing machine***

Y, age 45, is a Hausa tailor from Maiduguri, the capital of Borno state in Nigeria and his two wives are seamstresses; he has seven children in all and they all live together. In Maiduguri, he owned a tailoring workshop employing 6 people, with an average monthly revenue of 1,200,000 FCFA. His two wives could bring in 1,000,000 additional FCFA to their annual income. He and his family lived in a comfortably appointed house of permanent construction and enjoyed a comfortable lifestyle. His children went to school and they had easy access to health care in the city.

In Chad – there is no comparison with his earlier life. ‘*I came here without my principal working tool – my sewing machine. Without this I am nothing – my hands empty with my family*’. In order to alleviate his suffering in some small measure, he offered his services to a tailor in Bagasola, and through the income earned was able to buy another sewing machine. Since then, he has worked sewing clothes for refugees in the camp which, he says ‘*is better than nothing*’ and can bring in between 500-1,000 FCFA maximum by day, or up to 50,000 FCFA a year. His children are still able to attend school, which is free. Health care is also free.

Nevertheless, he bemoans his reduced circumstances, and regrets that his wives have no work. ‘*We are here – my wives and I – empty-handed, without professional activities. Our potential, our expertise and know-how are eroding. It is hard. We are at a dead-end, without activity.*’ They eat only twice a day, with the food deficient in both quantity and quality: they manage to get by through loans or gifts of food among households within the refugee community. They live under a tarpaulin, in extreme heat, with no furniture.

He has no intention of returning to Nigeria, but has now set his sights on reestablishing himself in the tailoring business in Bagasola. He has established good relations with others there, who share a similar language, a religion, and customs grounded in a common historical heritage. But ‘*It will be difficult for me to forget this traumatic stress, these unforgettable sufferings, the loss of all my resources*’.

(IDI adult man, Dar es Salam refugee camp)

Refugees overwhelmingly highlighted their readiness to work and eagerly cite the skills they have to offer – in farming, fishing, animal husbandry, commerce, trades – but bemoan the lack of employment opportunities available to them (KII camp management committee; FGDs refugee men and women, Dar es Salam). ‘*We are suffering here – just surviving. That is our position*’ stated the president of the camp management committee, Dar es Salam.

They compare the quality of soil in the fields surrounding the camp unfavorably to that in their home communities, noting that they cannot produce the same volume or variety of products as they are used to (KII camp management committee; FGD refugee women, Dar es Salam). They also note that not everyone has had access to land allocations, which – as with other camp resources - were organized through the bloc chiefs in processes that some saw as biased (FGD refugee women, Dar es Salam). The fishing group noted that their activity was working well, but others are not: skilled tradesmen (such as carpenters, elders and the like) said they cannot find jobs – partly because they do not have certificates or at least not ones that are recognized here (KII camp management committee, Dar es Salam).

Laboring on the agricultural fields of host populations is a key economic outlet for some – both men and women; men explained that they earned between 1,000 and 1,500 by day (compared to what they posited as a norm of around 3,000/4,000) (KII, camp management committee, Dar es Salam); young women said they only earned 500/day, perhaps for a shorter length of time (FGD young women refugees, Dar es Salam, see also section below). But some categories of people – the old, infirm or disabled – cannot work and are dependent on others for support (FGD, vulnerable refugees, Dar es Salam).



The lack of opportunity is leading to a situation of constant stress and anxiety, according to some (FGD refugee men, Dar es Salam). This is coupled with the still present trauma of the brutality of Boko Haram that is still fresh in the minds of all and apparent in the harrowing tales they tell of flight from their homes.

Young people, as everywhere, also feel keenly the lack of economic self-sufficiency: *'Our biggest problem here is the lack of work. Back home, we were engaged in petty commerce through which we could earn money to buy our own clothes; but here we cannot: look at us now in these torn rags'* (FGD young women refugees, Dar es Salam). Others also bemoan their lack of ability to invest in the material improvement of their homes (repair of tarpaulins or their replacement with reeds which would be cooler) or home equipment (mats, casseroles and the like) as well as clothes and food for the family. Most arrived *'bodies bare, without mother or father'* (FGD refugee women, Dar es Salam); they have been completely dependent, therefore on assistance. *'Look at me'* said one older woman, *'I have been here for 3 years and have just this one boubou (Nigerian dress). There are 12 people in my household yet I only receive 4 koros of rice per month (purchased with her food coupons) which is not at all sufficient and only lasts two weeks.'* (FGD vulnerable refugees, Dar es Salam)

Most refugees professed skepticism that the security situation in their home country would improve any time soon: some who had tried to return, or who went too close to the border to work the land were reported to have been menaced or even killed (FGD refugee women, Dar es Salam). Most were thus resigned to seeking ways to improve their conditions in camp. In any case, said one refugee, *'If someone is poor, he has no real country: there where you are welcomed and find health, safety, and food – that place becomes your country'* (FGD refugee men, Dar es Salam).

### **2.1.3 Interactions among refugees, host populations and the displaced**

'Peaceful cohabitation' is very much the order of the day and the clear political priority in this volatile region – so much so that questions about the nature of relations between refugees and others were invariably met at the outset with quick assurances that peaceful cohabitation was indeed a reality and that awareness-raising activities were reinforcing this reality. Particular challenges or constraints were only identified through follow-up discussions.

One key informant, for example, noted the potential for intercommunal conflicts arising from different socio-ethnic identities as well as conflicts arising over rising pressure on shared natural resources (KII OCHA, Bagasola). Another reported that there was initially a sort of rejection of the refugees by the local population, who accused them of bringing Boko Haram into their midst but that this had since attenuated and relations were now generally good (KII, CRT Dar es Salam). There remains a marked ethnic dimension to settlement patterns in the region: displaced populations were more or less organized on sites on the basis of ethnicity (Arabs in Dar el Kheir; Fulani in Dar al Amni and Tal; Kanembou in Dar el Naim 4), and even within the camp, the refugees from Niger (for the most part Boudouma) were settled in one bloc apart from the others.

Refugees report that some conflicts with neighboring groups –both host populations and the displaced – have arisen around firewood collection: refugee children provoking conflict with neighboring Kanembou villagers after taking wood from their fenced enclosures or being threatened by knife-wielding Arabs when they foraged too close to their settlements (KIIs camp management committee and CRT, Dar es Salam). Other conflicts have arisen when local populations have tried to claim refugee sheep or goats as their own (FGD, refugee men, Dar es Salam); and still others when refugee children have been found begging in the streets of Bagasola or when local populations feel excluded from assistance targeting refugees only (KII CRT, Dar es Salam).

One key informant noted that initial attempts to distribute assistance to the internally displaced living in host communities was stopped after the host populations (particularly the women) objected that they were not receiving to the same extent ; the prefect had to intervene to address the problem, and this led to more reflection on integrated assistance (KII WFP, Bagasola). Others confirm that integrated approaches are important, undergirded by conscious efforts to ensure that host populations who may be as vulnerable as others do not experience discrimination in assistance programs (KII OCHA, Bagasola).

Refugees and others encounter each other at the health center in Dar es Salam Camp, which is open to all, (refugees, villagers, displaced populations, returnees and even the military at the nearby base). The district health official noted that 23 villages around the camp have access to the free health care and to referral services at the district hospital (KIIs decentralized government service providers, Bagasola). At the same time, capacity is stretched to the limit – affecting the quality of care (KII HCR, Bagasola) and there is some feeling expressed among local populations and the displaced that the center favors treatment of refugees (FGDs refugees, Dar es Salam).

Both refugee and village children attend the camp's schools and young people report generally good relations with young villagers: boys and men report playing football together (FGD young men refugees, Dar es Salam) while girls report meeting up at school, playing together during break, and sharing the WFP ration provided as school lunch: *'We are from different ethnic groups but we can communicate easily. While we do not visit each other's houses, these young people are no different from us and since we have been here, there have been no conflicts'* (FGD young women refugees, Dar es Salam).

Positive benefits of the massive influx of refugees and displaced people were seen to include the boost in humanitarian assistance, which is not only building up needed infrastructure but is creating jobs and stimulating the economy (KII ANADER, Bagasola). Refugees are employed as field hands by local farmers – particularly in the extensive agricultural fields in Ngoubwa and Tchoukouli - are prized for their hard work (KII HCR, Bagasola). The refugees themselves are seen by some as potential conduits for the transfer of technologies, particularly around gardening and the spirit of innovation, which Nigerians are said to be expert in (KII ANADER, Bagasola). It is recognized that humanitarian interventions have also contributed greatly to the reinforcement of local health and education services: with CERF funding, for example, in coordination with the Regional Education Delegation, 185 classrooms have been constructed and 300 teachers recruited (KII UNICEF, Bagasola)

Negative impacts relate to the deterioration in an already fragile environmental eco-system, linked in particular to extensive collection of firewood (KII Waters and Forest Department, Bagasola)

As summed up by one key informant:

*'Refugees, returnees and displaced have been greeted with open arms by the host populations and have especially benefited from land and assistance for gardening: but by the same token, host populations are suffering from the current crisis to the same degree as the refugees/returnees and yet they are not always taken into consideration within humanitarian assistance programs.'* (KII ANADER Bagasola)

#### **2.1.4 Gender-specific vulnerabilities and opportunities**

##### **Demographic characteristics**

The 18 adult women we spoke to in our focus group discussion were aged between 20 and 45, with an average age of 53 and all had been refugees for three years – since 2014. They came from diverse locales in Nigeria and represented a mixture of ethnic groups including Fulani, Hausa, Muchika, Kanuri and smaller proportions of Boudouma, Kapiski, Margi and Mali. The majority (94%) were Muslima Muslim and only one (6%) Christian (Catholic). Most (89%) had had no formal schooling, or had only some Koranic school; only 2 (11%) had attained some level of primary school). Almost three quarters (72%) were married, with the others either widows (17%) or abandoned (11%). They lived in households ranging in size between 3 and 12 members, with the average size of seven. The man was reported to be the head of household head except in cases of divorce or widowhood when the wife reports that she is the head. Women reported between 2-11 children, with an average of 5.6, though it is not clear if this refers to their own children only or to other children under their care (FGD, women refugees, Dar es Salam).

The 11 younger women we spoke to represented a mixed group of refugees from Nigeria (two thirds) and Niger (one third) from different localities. All were Muslim, from a variety of different ethnic groups, including Hausa, Fulani, Boudouma, Kanuri, Mitika. Some 88% had some level of primary education and were currently going to school in the camp; the remaining 11% had no formal education. All were still single, without children, living in households of from 3-14 people (average 8) headed by

fathers or older brothers. Other refugee women we spoke to include the community outreach workers employed by CRT in the camp.

### **SGBV**

Sexual and gender-based violence is recognized as a key protection issue and encompasses everything from early or forced marriages, rape, and physical or psychological violence. In 2017, there were some 578 reported cases of sexual and gender based violence overall in the locality, with 44 cases in the camp (KII humanitarian partners, Bagasola; UNHCR 2017b).

Domestic violence within the camp is a key problem, said to be aggravated by the refugee situation which is marked by tension and lack of work such that *'For nothing at all, the situation can get out of hand and men become violent'* (FGD women refugee community outreach workers, Dar es Salam). Some women note that such violence was also prevalent in some of their home communities, particularly when households faced economic difficulties: *'For some of us there were no problems in our family life – if there is money, the family is peaceful; but for others, there were lots of problems and some husbands beat their wives'* (FGD women refugees, Dar es Salam). With the current deterioration in household well-being, tensions rise exponentially.

Women complain that it is the menfolk who are at fault – for failing to provide for them or for taking another wife and bringing conflict into the household. Men put the onus on women whom they complain create tensions and conflict when they blow out of proportion the inability of men to provide for them: *'Women go for 4 months without their toiletries (soap, body oil and the like) and accuse us of not fulfilling our obligations as heads of household – provoking a crisis that quickly gets out of hand'* (FGD refugee men, Dar es Salam).

The problem is particularly acute for women refugees who now live cut off from their maternal kin, who in their home communities could provide at least some measure of prevention and/or protection. Much of the violence goes unreported, as it is felt to be shameful to air private problems in public; women also fear repercussions from their husbands if they bring the violence to light. There is a system of alert and counseling that has been established, and victims are brought in for treatment at the center or referred to the district hospital in Bagasola and CNARR is called in case of prosecution (FGD women refugee community outreach workers; and KIIs CRT, Dar es Salam).

Outside of the camp, a problem that came to light concerned the nearby military base, where women go to work and then are either followed home and aggressed by soldiers or enticed into transactional sex (sex for survival) in exchange for favors. *'Girls engage in sex for small things – even cloth wraps. The last case was of a girl who was promised just 500 naira (750 FCFA) and was not paid until the third time they had relations'* (KII CRT, Dar es Salam).

The situation has reported to have gotten worse since the reduction in rations (FGD women refugee community outreach workers, Dar es Salam). The openness of the camp, and lack of a protective wall was reported to add to the problem of military aggression within the camp (KII CRT, Dar es Salam). Some women reported that they were also subject to aggression by soldiers at the market in Bagasola – with one woman recently suffering a broken arm in an incident (FGD women refugees, Dar es Salam).

### **Early marriage**

It was difficult to obtain information on early or forced marriage in the camp or any trends in this since the arrival of the refugees. Some maintain that girls themselves seek early marriage (FGD refugee women community outreach workers, Dar es Salam); others note that parents sometimes take girls as young as 13 or 14 for marriage outside of the camp, bringing them back once they are pregnant for care at the health center. Traditions are normally for the young bride to live in the household of the in-laws: this can in turn cause problems for her in cases, as have been reported, where the mother-in-law is very strict or mean (KII CRT, Dar es Salam). Despite some awareness-raising on the issue, the attitudes of young men expressed below would suggest that early marriage a commonly accepted phenomenon:

*'Back home, early marriage shocks no one – it is even authorized in our country, so we do not understand the reasons CNARR has outlawed it here [In Chad, a 2014 law has established 18 as the minimum age of marriage]. In Nigeria, early marriage remains the norm: outlawing it favors the rise of prostitution. And*

*prostitution is the favored conduit for the AIDs epidemic, so why suppress early marriage? The Koran does not forbid it. In my marriage, I would not be prosecuted for first raping then marrying my wife. In any case, in forbidding early marriage the crime of rape will rise.*’ (FGD young refugee men, Dar es Salam)

### Girls’ education

Linked to the tendency for early marriage, but also as a result of household poverty and prevailing norms, girls’ education beyond puberty is limited. Camp management officials explain that ‘*From age 14-15 or so girls are bothered by the boys and they do not have the proper clothes, nor hygienic materials so they are ashamed and do not want to continue with school*’ (KII Camp management committee, Dar es Salam). The household division of labor, in which girls perform most of the onerous chores such as searching for firewood, bringing in water, preparing meals and caring for younger siblings also cuts into the perceived value of (let alone time for) attending school and also cuts into time for leisure and recreation (FGDs young men and women refugees, Dar es Salam). (See [table 8](#))

**Table 8. Gender differences in daily activities of young men and women refugees, Dar es Salam**

	Young women refugees		Young men refugees	
	activity	space	activity	space
<b>Morning</b>	Sweep the house; light the fire; wash dishes; go to school	Home and school	School	Camp school
<b>Noon/afternoon</b>	Prepare the meal, wash	Home	Collection and sale of firewood	The bush, Bagasola market
<b>Evening/night</b>	Play amongst ourselves, sleep	Home	Sports (football) and studying Visits with friends	Sports field in camp; neighborhood bloc in camp

*Source: FGDs young men and women refugees, Dar es Salam*

At the same time, refugee girls **were** in fact attending school in the camp – often for the first time, thus denoting a change for the better in their access to education. The emphasis on education in the camp may therefore be initiating positive changes in social norms and attitudes around gender:

*Most of us discovered school for the first time here and we find it is a good thing to be able to read and write. In our villages, it is a misunderstanding about school that prevents us from getting and education. At first here, for the school, it was a bit difficult for some of the girls, but the CRT gave some awareness-raising talks and told us that even married girls can go to school, so it has become easier* (FGD young women refugees, Dar es Salam)

Gender-specific vulnerabilities for boys and men seem to be linked primarily to drugs and smoking, said to be widespread and contributing to mental problems (KII, CRT, Dar es Salam)

### Livelihood activities

As noted above, refugee women commonly work in the fields of neighboring villagers. Community outreach workers in the camp explained that some work on agricultural lands around polders could bring in 20,000 to 30,000 FCFA a month (compared to what she estimated would be the normal rate of 70,000 (FGD, women refugee outreach workers, Dar es Salam). Women also collect and sell firewood, with the help of their children, with one man reporting that his wife earns them a mere 5,000 FCFA through this back-breaking work (IDI refugee man, Dar es Salam). Other women perform housekeeping tasks/clothes washing and the like at the nearby military base (Joint Task Force) situated near the camp (FGDs refugee men and women, Dar es Salam). Young women reported receiving 5000 FCFA a month working at the base (FGD, young women refugees, Dar es Salam).

Home country traditions of tontines or ‘parés’ [revolving savings and credit associations] are often not possible for refugee women who lack the money to contribute into the pool: this then deprives them of yet another source of capital to invest in income-generation or the purchase of household necessities (FGD, women refugee community outreach workers, Dar es Salam).

However, women refugees have diverse skill sets (farming, gardening, petty commerce, sewing, hairdressing, food preparation) that they are already trying to engage in. For them, the priority would be support to allow them to take these activities to scale (KII, CRT)

### ***Particularly vulnerable women***

Female heads of households (widows, the divorced) are particularly vulnerable economically as they have only themselves or their adult children to rely on for income-generation:

*'Female heads of households cannot make ends meet as they have no man to seek work to bring in money to support the family. They themselves must go out and look for work, including those who labor in the fields, or at the base, or go to make nets for fishing (zegeu).'* (FGD refugee women, Dar es Salam).

Even important women are not immune from such problems: the president of the women's committee in the camp, for example, explained that after their harrowing flight from Boko Haram and installation in the camp, her husband had returned to Maiduguri for the funeral of his brother and there – without consultation with her - took another wife. Unable to accept this, she asked for a divorce, which was granted. Thereafter, however, the *boulama* (her bloc chief in the camp) advised her that it was not good for a woman in her position to live alone, so a second marriage was arranged: she says that this one seems to be working out as her new husband has employment with NGOs and thus brings money into the household (KII president of refugee women's committee, Dar es Salam).

Households themselves are also composites of nuclear or polygamous families, with orphans, nieces and nephews which can add to the burden of care (KII CRT, Dar es Salam).

### ***2.1.5 Overall priorities for the future***

#### ***Livelihood promotion***

For refugees – men and women, who do not see a possibility for return to their home countries in the immediate future, the priorities are clear. Chief among them is support for livelihoods and income generation so that they do not need to remain dependent on external assistance and can make use of the skills and know-how they have brought with them. For many, this is particularly critical in view of the capping of the food coupon ration to 7 per household, which is insufficient for some of the larger households.

This will entail further negotiations with local populations to enable access to arable lands under more favorable conditions – including polders, wadis and dunes, as well as more support for fishing and animal husbandry, including appropriate measures to encourage and sustain small ruminants and negotiated access to pastures and fodder produce as well as veterinary services. Materials and support for start-up costs for tailors, mechanics, and other tradesmen would be important to enable refugees to exercise skills they have brought with them, while further opportunities for vocational and technical training would allow young people to access needed skills and employment possibilities.

#### ***Strengthening of social services***

Further strengthening of social services in the camps – education, health and water – will be necessary to deal with current problems of over-crowding. Attention to the requirements for adapted habitats is needed to provide appropriate shelter from the elements, and protection issues remain priorities for all. Particularly vulnerable groups of refugees, such as orphans, the elderly, refugees with disabilities and the chronically ill will require ongoing support and assistance both for basic subsistence and to enhance access to appropriate social services.

#### ***Gender-specific priorities***

Women refugees in particular seek assistance for appropriate income-generating activities. As the president of the women's refugee committee put it: *'Back home, we were never without something to do – we are 'debrouillards' [go-getters] and we do not want to remain dependent here'* (KII, president women's committee, Dar es Salam). They suggest support for activities such as tailoring/embroidery, food preparation and transformation (machines for local spaghetti, or *duédé*; peanut paste and oil presses) and start-up funds for petty commerce. Specific assistance for women heads of households is critical to enable them to support their children in the absence of support from husbands. Distribution

of improved cook-stoves would not only cut down on their back-breaking search for firewood – and the dangers this exposes them to - but would also contribute to slowing environmental degradation.

Support for girls’ education in the camp is already showing positive signs – with some refugee girls accessing school for the first time; this will need to be promoted and sustained, particularly in the face of socio-cultural norms and practices favoring early marriage. Educational opportunities for adult women – such as literacy classes – are also seen as an important avenue to female empowerment.

SGBV in all of its forms remains a serious issue, with further measures needed to raise awareness and strengthen prevention. Domestic violence in particular will require concerted attention, with programs targeting both men and women.

Continued support for women’s leadership roles and responsibilities will be critical in carrying forward such programs and enhancing opportunities for gender equality and empowerment. The positive effects of investment in women’s management committees and the recruitment of female community outreach workers in the camp are already in evidence and should be expanded.

## 2.2 A variety of sites for the displaced and returnees

The team visited a variety of different displaced populations in the immediate vicinity of the refugee camp who, like the refugees themselves, had been severely affected and uprooted by the Boko Haram crisis. **Table 9** summarizes key information about the groups visited, putting into perspective the most recent displacements against the backdrop of earlier histories and patterns of migration, and outlining key challenges in their current situation. Subsequent sections provide more details from each site.

**Table 9. A moving landscape: itineraries of displacement in Lac region**

Earlier movements (from 1984 or before) linked to climate change/livelihoods and/or political instability	Most recent displacements (from 2015) caused by Boko Haram	Current livelihoods and living conditions
<b>3 different scenarios among the Fulani, originally herders from Rig Rig (Kanem region, Chad)</b>		
Initially moved south in search of pasture in 1984: some settling in Dar es Salam village and adopting agro-pastoralism; others moving on to the islands of Ngoubwa (Lake region, Chad) in search of better pasture	Internally displaced from Ngoubwa as a result of insecurity and massive destruction, returning to settle around <b>Dar es Salam</b> village, initially with Turkish assistance	Have very few cattle or goats left and now do their best at cultivation – including rain-fed millet around the village and the collection and sale of firewood, but this latter is more difficult now because of government restrictions.  Some are also engaged in gardening
Also moved south in search of better pastures in 1984, but settling in Nguigmi, in Niger	Forced to flee Nguigmi after Boko Haram attacks and now considered Chadian returnees, settled in <b>Dar el Amni</b> – a site near Dar es Salam village	Women who used to be active in commerce and sale of milk, now have very few activities; some are able to engage in petty commerce and some (in Dar al Amni, closest to the military camp) do housekeeping at the camp
Moving from Rig Rig, they established a small village of Tal (Lake region Chad) around 2000, with most moving thereafter to Ngoubwa in search of pasture, leaving a few behind in Tal	Internally displaced from Ngoubwa and now settled in a site around <b>Tal</b> village	Those in Dar es Salam village do not receive food assistance, but those in Tal and Dar al Amni do (the same as refugees)  Free access to the health center in the refugee camp at Dar es Salam, and their children have access to the school there, but it is quite far for those in Tal
<b>An ambiguous status for the Arabs in Dar el Kheir</b>		
Pastoralist ancestors left Ati (Batha region of Chad) in successive waves, the first in search of pasture, the last in 1984 as a result of political	Forced to flee Niger after a third round of Boko Haram attacks in 2017, they declared themselves refugees in Chad, settling	Some had brought animals with them (of those not stolen by Boko Haram, but have slowly been selling them off to survive

<p>turmoil, moving to different areas in Niger (Nguigmi, Diffa, and elsewhere) where they were engaged in a variety of economic activities: most now consider themselves Nigerien</p>	<p>in the site of <i>Dar el Kheir</i>; however they are not recognized as Nigerien by the government of Niger, and their current status remains ambiguous</p>	<p>Some engage in day labor on surrounding fields at harvest time in the wadis of the military officers nearby; children used to collect and sell firewood, but this is now restricted.</p> <p>The women have little to no work; some try to sell firewood</p> <p>Receive food ration coupons the same as refugees; access free health care at the refugee camp and children can go to school there (but they say the camp is far – a 40 minute walk), so some go to school in Dar el Naim; girls do not generally go to school, especially older girls</p>
<p><b><i>Internally displaced Kanembou in Dar al Naim 4</i></b></p>		
<p>Ancestral villages in Bagasola, Bol and Liwa (Chad), with migration over the years to the Lake Chad islands of Tetawa, Blagui and coastal Ngoubwa (all in Chad) where they settled on and moved seasonally between lands belonging mostly to the Boudouma. They were engaged primarily in fishing, agriculture, gardening livestock raising and commerce (including sale of milk and prepared foods in the market by the women)</p>	<p>Forced to flee from Boko Haram in 2015 (Tetawa) and 2016 (Blagui and Ngoubwa); they are now settled in one sector of the larger Dar al Naim site which is mostly made up of Arab returnees from Niger.</p>	<p>Some work as manual laborers (portage) in Bagasola; some cut wood for sale or make charcoal; women sell wicker work handicrafts, prepared food items and condiments; some have a few goats maintained from before; others try to return to lands in Ngoubwa to plant, despite the insecurity</p> <p>Registered households (reported to be half of all settled at the site) receive food ration coupons the same as refugees</p> <p>Children attend free school at the site of Dar el Naim 3; health services are either at the refugee camp in Dar es Salam or in mobile clinics</p>

*Sources: FGDs and KIIs at the different sites*

### ***2.2.1 A mixed Fulani community: settled villagers, internally displaced, and returnees***

#### ***Overview***

In what was intended to be a visit to the host community village of Dar es Salam, directly across from the camp, we found on our arrival that a mixed group had been called together to meet with us. These included: 1) residents of Dar es Salam village itself (established in 1985 with a population 325 in 65 households); 2) residents of neighboring Tal village (established in 2000 with a population of 477 but significantly expanded since 2014 with a displaced persons site and currently a reported 3,900 people in all); and 3) residents of the nearby Dar al Amni site for returned Chadians (established since July 2018, with 1,960 people in 387 households). All of these sites are clustered near each other and inhabited primarily by Fulani groups who were originally pastoralists from Rig Rig in Kanem, Chad. As climate change and drought pushed them further south in search of pasture, the Dar al Amni returnees had thereafter migrated to N’Guigmi in Niger, while the Tal internally displaced had moved to areas near Ngoubwa, Chad (KII Fulani notables).

Forcibly displaced by the violence and insecurity caused by Boko Haram, both the internally displaced and the returnees from Niger were welcomed by the chiefs of Dar es Salam and Tal and established themselves in desolate resettlement sites on the lands surrounding these villages. Unlike the villagers in Dar es Salam, the displaced and villagers in Tal and the returnees in Dar al Amni benefit from WFP distributions (6,000 in coupons) but there is undoubtedly sharing of resources amongst these three groups, and – as OCHA key informants note – considerable ‘infiltration’ onto the assistance rolls by the host communities, who share an ethnic heritage and social ties. All three groups are able to access free health and education services in Dar es Salam refugee camp (though some complain of the distance to camp for small children) and make use of boreholes in Dar es Salam and Tal as well as – for the

internally displaced in Dar al Amni - the borehole at the military base which is closest to their site (KII Fulani notables).

### ***Livelihoods***

While of a pastoralist background and orientation, huge herd losses have induced most to combine limited animal keeping (particularly small ruminants) with agriculture (of millet in the fields around their settlements): harvests are also reportedly shared. Some engage in transport activities with donkeys; others work as guards at the schools of health centers. They now see agriculture and commerce as their future: *'We can no longer go following after our herds and Boko Haram has taken over the good pastures and lands next to the lake, so we prefer to stay here'*: they seek support in attaining access to suitable lands for large-scale agriculture, which will allow them to rebuild resources to engage as well in commerce (including of animals) (KII Fulani notables).

### ***Relations with refugees and villagers***

Residents in these communities report that interactions with refugees in Dar es Salam camp are peaceful; the men often meet each other in the Friday mosque at Dar es Salam village (KII Fulani notables). Some from the village of Dar es Salam note that the arrival of the refugees has brought about a reduction in their lands as some was attributed to the camp for construction (FGD girls). But they recognize the benefits brought by the newfound access of villagers to school and health care.

Their children get along well together at school and they meet refugees at the health center in the camp; however, some of the women note that the waiting time for consultation is very long and there are often no real medicines: for serious problems they are referred to Bagasola (FGD women). Some report that the refugees take priority at the health center; and while recognizing that the refugees have suffered a lot at the hands of Boko Haram, some feel that they are now better off than they are, as they receive lots of assistance (FGD girls).

### ***Gender-specific vulnerabilities and potential***

The 15 adult women we spoke to in our focus group discussions were all Fulani, aged between 40 and 70, with an average age 54. All Muslim women without formal education, 60% were married and 40% were widows, living in households ranging in size from 2-10, with the average of 7. The majority of marriages are polygamous. Children ranged in number from 4 to 11, with an average of 7. With the exception of widows, all heads of households are the husbands (FGD adult Fulani women).

Of the 8 younger women we spoke to, all were Fulani aged 15-26, with the average age 21. Three quarters (75%) had no formal education and the rest (25%) were currently attending primary school. Three quarters (75%) were already married (two thirds in monogamous marriage and one third in polygamous marriage, with from 1-5 children each; the rest (25 %) were still single. Household size ranged from 2-10, with an average of 4.5, with the husband or the father the head of household, depending on marital stats (FGD young Fulani women)

Women and children currently engage in the collection and sale of firewood (KII Fulani notables) – often as far away as 9 km (FGD girls) as well as petty commerce (resale of small quantities of sugar, salt, condiments purchased at the market in Bagasola). They also work in millet cultivation, sharing the harvests with those who have been displaced, and some perform housekeeping tasks (clothes washing) at the military base (FGD women). Previously they were active in commerce, sale and transformation of milk products, handicrafts and other activities (FGD men) and also gardening (production of gumbo and the like). Most also owned goats but most of these were either stolen by Boko Haram or sold for money to survive (FGD women).

Girls report that one of their biggest concerns is that parents force them into early marriages – often as the second or third wife of an older man and they say they suffer in their households because of this and do not have a voice in decision-making (FGD girls).

Most of the displaced or returnees express the desire to stay here – both because of the services available (health and education – particularly for girls, which was not available for them before (FGD girls) but also because *'We have a very bad memory of those places'* (FGD women)



### **2.2.2 Dar al Naim 4: a Kanembou site for the internally displaced**

#### **Overview**

Dar el Naim is a site for both returnees from Niger (mostly Arab, in Dar el Naim 1-3) and the internally displaced (Kanembou in Dar el Naim 4). Key informants in Bagasola noted that for Dar el Naim as a whole, there has been much ‘infiltration’ by the local population, with figures at the outset reported to be 7,000 inhabitants, falling to 1,000, and most recently, according to an evaluation by ACF, numbered at around 1,600 in 325 households (KII OCHA, Bagasola). We visited Dar el Naim 4, which was reported to host 940 households for a total of 5,425 people coming from three main localities: 1) Tetawa and the islands; 2) Blagui and the islands (a total of 650 households); and 3) Ngoubwa and the islands (350 households). Those originating from Tetawa were the first to arrive – in 2015 – following brutal Boko Haram attacks in their village. They at first settled around the refugee camp of Dar es Salam, but encountered resistance to their presence from both the refugees and local populations, so they thereafter relocated to the current site. The others followed thereafter, having suffered from the same violent attacks from Boko Haram (KII notables, Dar el Naim 4).

Most traced their ancestry to villages and settlements lying between Bol, Bagasola and Liwa, with migration to the Lake border region occurring between 70-100 years ago propelled by the search for better livelihoods. These were based- to varying degrees –on fishing/fish selling (primarily to Nigeria); livestock rearing (of Kouri cattle, typical of the Lake region); and agriculture/gardening along the well-watered lake shores (KII notables, Dar el Naim 4). Women were active in the transformation and sale of milk products, gardening (not agriculture, which was left to the men), handicrafts, and petty commerce, including the sale of cooked foods such as *beignets* (doughnuts) and *bouillie* (porridge) in village markets (FGD women, Dar el Naim 4).

#### **Livelihoods**

They now receive assistance from WFP in the form of food coupons of 6,000 per person per 7 in a household (the same as for refugees) but only for registered households, which they claim represent less than half of the population; thus the food is reportedly not sufficient (KII notables; FGDs men, women and young women, Dar el Naim 4). To complete the rations, some work in Bagasola in physical labor (for example portage of goods); those who have managed to retain some of their small stock (goats) engage in the animal trade; some collect and sell firewood (KII notables; FGD men, Dar el Naim 4).

The men claim they do not have access to land for cultivation (FGD men, Dar el Naim 4). Some have tried to return to home areas (particularly Ngoubwa) to plant in the rainy season: ‘*When someone is hungry, they cannot just sit there,*’ they say; but this carries risks, as Boko Haram comes for the fields. Land on the islands was moreover said to belong to the Boudouma, whom we were informed made up most of Boko Haram (an estimated 90%), so there is significant fear and distrust now between the two groups (KII notables, Dar el Naim 4).

#### **Social services and assistance**

There is a school in Dar el Naim 3 (in the Arab quarter) which their young children can attend - most for the first time, as there were no schools in their home localities (KII notables, Dar el Naim 4); the men estimate that about 30% of their school age children are now attending school (FGD men, Dar el Naim 4). They do not send their children to the school in Dar es Salam camp because they say it is too far for them to walk (5 km); Kanembou and Arab children get along well at the school in Dar el Naim (FGD women, Dar el Naim 4). There is a football field for children and young people in Dar el Naim, and women say that young people prefer life here, as there is more occasion for socializing and they are less isolated than back on the islands. The younger children, on the other hand, are said to prefer their previous lives of freedom to run about, following animals and fishing whereas here they say they feel like ‘*prisoners*’ (FGD women, Dar el Naim 4).

Dar el Naim has no health center of its own – only a mobile clinic, so they often go for health care to the health center in Dar es Salam camp, a 40 minute walk, or consult local bush doctors (*Doctor Choukrou*) (FGD men, Dar el Naim 4). While they find the care at Dar es Salam good, they say there

is sometimes a lack of medicines and often large crowds: *'Sometimes you have to wait 3 days before being treated'* (FGD women, Dar el Naim 4). Moreover, *'If a refugee from Dar es Salam is there, you have to wait'* (KII notables, Dar el Naim 4). There are boreholes established in the Arab sectors of Dar el Naim where they take their water; their own forages, constructed by NGOs, have apparently fallen into disrepair (KII notables, Dar el Naim 4).

### ***Relations with villagers and refugees***

They report generally good relations with local villagers (many also Kanembou) whom they may meet in the market, with their Arab neighbors in Dar el Naim, and with the refugees (with whom they can communicate in both Kanembou and Hausa) (FGD men, Dar el Naim 4). Most are doubtful whether the security situation will allow them to return home anytime soon; many remain fearful because Boudouma remain in control of the lands there (FGD young women, Dar el Naim 4). Some say in any case, perhaps, only the economically active members might return, leaving others here where services are more available (FGD women, Dar el Naim 4).

### ***Gender-specific vulnerabilities and potential***

The 13 adult women we spoke to were aged between 35 and 60, with an average age 47. All were Kanembou and Muslim, without formal education. All but one who is widowed (7%) are married (93%), with children ranging in number from 6-10 children (average 7.2). Households ranged in size between 8 and 12 people, with an average of 10 and all, with the exception of the widow's, are headed by the husband. (FGD, IDP women, Dar el Naim)

Of the 11 younger women we spoke to, all were Kanembou aged between 14 and 20, with the average age of 16. All were Muslims without education, originally from the islands of Lake Chad. All were currently single, living in households of from 5 to 14 people (average 9) headed by their fathers. (FGD, IDP young women, Dar el Naim)

The women produce handicrafts (woven mats and the like) for sale at the market in Bagasola, along with cooked goods and – before it was forbidden, charcoal (FGD women). Young women say that while they are continuing to do some of the same economic activities as before, on the islands, it is on a much smaller scale and goes mostly to buy food, leaving little left over for other necessities such as household goods, clothes, and toiletries, which they regret (FGD IDP young women, Dar el Naim).

Older women reflect with regret on the differences between their lives back home and here:

*'Back home, we were calm and peaceful, going about our lives, not needing assistance. There were activities in the market and men, women and children could go about freely. But here all we can do is wait for assistance.'* (FGD, women IDPs, Dar el Naim).

## ***2.2.3 Dar el Kheir: An ambiguous situation for Arabs returning from Niger***

### ***Overview***

Dar el Kheir is a site for returnees populated by Arabs of the Ouled Rachid sub-grouping whose ancestors were originally pastoral nomads and agro-pastoralists from Ati (in Batha region of Chad) but who left in the 1980s for localities around Diffa, Chercheri and Nguigmi in Niger, where previous members of the group were already settled, following the political turmoil of the time in Chad. They now consider themselves Nigerien and when they first entered Chad, after attacks by Boko Haram in Niger, they announced themselves as refugees, with CNARR registering them as such. However, they are not recognized as Nigerien by the government of Niger, and most do not have identification papers of any sort, leaving them in a sort of limbo which leaves them open to statelessness and blocks the coordination and programming of assistance (KII OCHA, Bagasola and KII notables, Dar el Kheir).

Further discussions reveal that the sheikh of the group had actually initially come as a displaced person, staying at the Dar al Naim site for the internally displaced with other Arabs from the same group, but that after consideration of the situation, he judged that refugee status brought greater advantages in terms of assistance, so that when the time came that other members of his group were forced to flee Niger, he counselled them to declare themselves as refugees, along with himself as leader and they relocated to the current site (KII HCR, Bagasola).

### ***Livelihoods and assistance***

In Niger, they practiced a number of different activities: some were pastoral nomads following the herds on their seasonal transhumance, but others were settled village dwellers engaged in commerce (including of cattle to Nigeria) agriculture and gardening, trades and even government service. When Boko Haram attacked, they took over their pastures and lands, stole their animals, and killed and kidnapped their people and the situation turned for the worst when the Nigerien army deserted their posts (KII notables, Dar el Kheir).

On arrival in Chad, they received ration cards (and receive the same 6,000 value vouchers per person as the other groups, but they do not have refugee status or identification cards. They have access to the health center and schools in Dar es Salam camp, as do other displaced populations, returnees and host populations: some note however that the school is too far away for the youngest children (40 minute walk), that many girls do not go to school for fear of being bothered by boys; and that waiting times are very long at the health center (FGDs men, women, young men, Dar el Kheir). Recent arrivals (60 households) have not yet been registered as the status is in flux and therefore do not receive assistance (KII notables Dar el Kheir). Some work in fields in the wadis of military officers from the nearby base for the harvest of millet and maize (paid 1,000 FCFA for a day’s work) (KII notables, Dar el Kheir).

### ***Gender-specific vulnerabilities and potential***

We met with a total of 31 adult women, collecting demographic statistics on 15 of them. These were aged between 30 and 60, with an average age of 47; all were Arab and Muslim, with no education. Three quarters (76%) were married; 16% divorced; and 8% widows. Children ranged in number from 2 to 10 children, with an average of 6. Households ranged in size between 5 and 17 people, with average of 10. For married women, husbands were the heads of household; for the divorced/widowed, either the woman herself, or the older brother assumed headship.

Of the 11 younger women we met with, ages ranged from 12 to 18, with an average age 16. Like their mothers, all were Arab and Muslim, without formal schooling. Half (54%) were already married, living with husbands and children (81% in monogamous unions); the rest were single. Households ranged in size from 3 to 8 people, with an average of 8.4. For married girls, the husbands were heads of household; the unmarried girls lived in households headed by their fathers.

Girls are married young, depending on their physical maturity, which some achieve as early as 12 or 13. They understand that Chadian law prohibits marriage under the age of 18 but do not say whether they observe it or not (FGD men, Dar el Kheir). Of the 11 young women participating in focus group discussion (average age 15), six were married: none had any formal schooling.

In Niger, women had a number of activities, including sewing and handicrafts, as well as petty commerce, farming, gardening and the raising of small ruminants – with those from more pastoral groups also involved in the sale of milk (FGD women, Dar el Kheir). Here, however, they say, ‘*We have nothing to do – we are just here*’ (FGD women, Dar el Kheir). Some collect and sell firewood (though the government has recently outlawed this, restricting the collection of firewood to own use) (FGDs men, women). But some are afraid to go out of the site – either to market or to the health center, and certain explain this as part of their tradition of girls/women not leaving the home; as a result, they have very little contact with the host population or others in the vicinity (FGD girls, Dar el Kheir).

Many are also afraid to think about going home, as Boko Haram is still active in the area, and there have been cases of violence and death for those who have tried to return (FGD women, Dar el Kheir).

For young displaced women, daily household chores are more or less identical to those of their more settled neighbors, suggesting that the patterns governing the gendered division of labor are strongly rooted and resistant to change (see [table 10](#)).

***Table 10. Daily activities of settled and displaced girls, Lac***

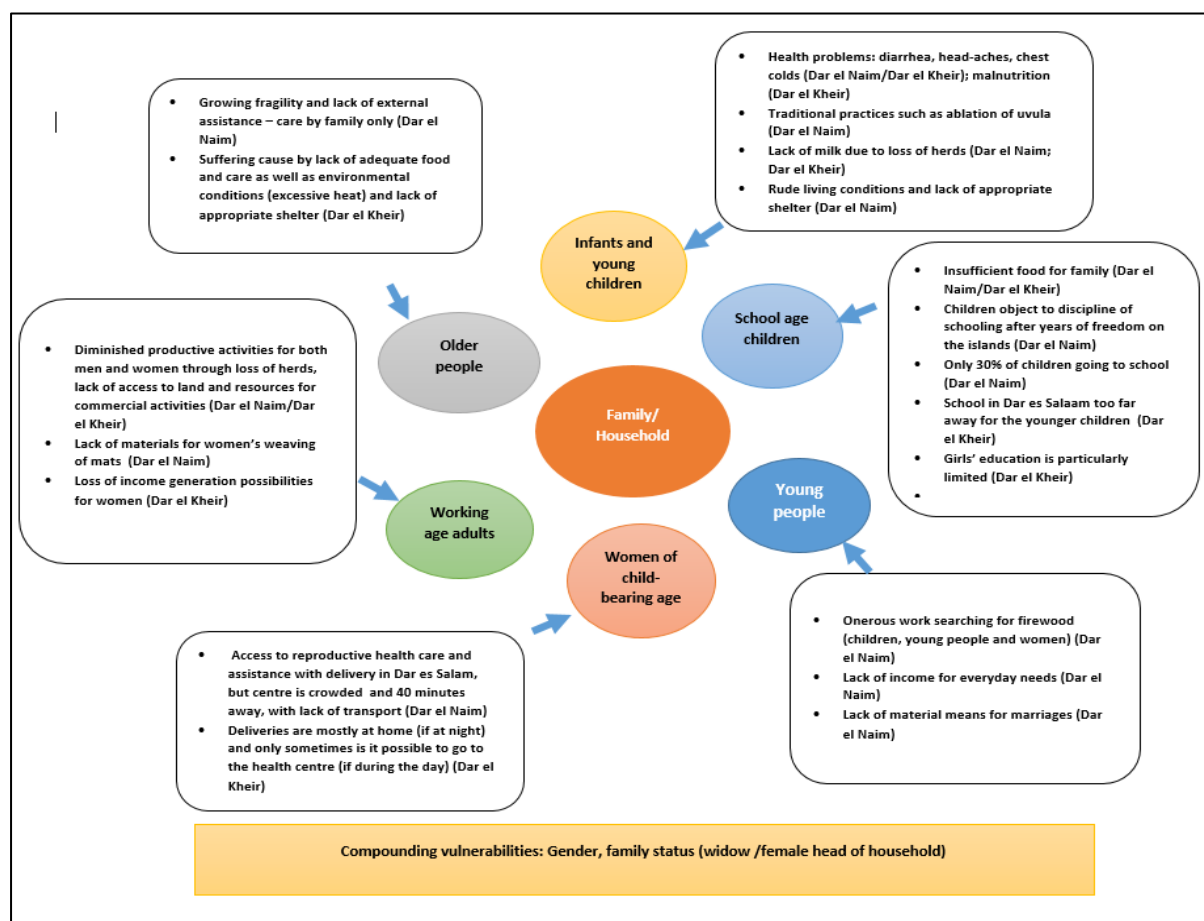
	Dar es Salam	Dar el Kheir
--	--------------	--------------

	activity	space	activity	space
<b>morning</b>	Sweep the courtyard, prepare breakfast, wash dishes, fetch water, search for firewood; visit amongst ourselves and the refugees	House, bush	Sweep the courtyard; wash dishes; prepare breakfast; look for firewood; wash clothes, bathe the children; buy vegetables	House, bush, in the gardens
<b>Noon/afternoon</b>	Housekeeping; prepare meal, if there is any food; bathe the children; bathe ourselves	House, Dar es Salam refugee camp	Prepare food, sweep the courtyard, wash dishes, bathe children and ourselves	House
<b>Evening/night</b>	Prepare bedding for ourselves and the children; put the dishes away; sleep	House	Prepare bedding; sleep	House

Sources: FGDs young women from the village of Dar es Salam; and young displaced women, Dar el Kheir

Figure 8 shows a composite of life-cycle vulnerabilities linked to displacement as identified by study participants in Dar el Naim and Dar el Kheir

Figure 8. Life-cycle vulnerabilities of displaced populations, Lac region



Source: KIIs and FGDs, Dar el Naim and Dar el Kheir

#### **2.2.4 Overall priorities for displaced populations**

The situation of the different categories of displaced populations varies from group to group, as does their potential – or willingness – to eventually return to their localities of origin. These differences need to be taken into consideration in programs of assistance or support. Ethnic affiliation and livelihood characteristics also influence dynamics of social and economic integration. For the particular case of the Arabs in Dar el Kheir, determination of their status (refugees or IDPs) will also be essential. For the most part, in the short and medium terms, the following priorities were identified during our discussions:

##### ***Improved habitat and social service provision***

The desolate conditions in which most of the forcibly displaced are living – in make-shift shelters spread out over large and empty expanses of desert – speak to the urgent need to continue to improve habitat (more permanent housing, construction of water points, latrines and the like) while reinforcing access to social services. Continued support for ration assistance was also highlighted. Many of the displaced note that while access to refugee health and education services in the Dar es Salam camp is open and available to them, some of these are at some distance and are often over-crowded – unequipped to deal with the additional burden of population – and that local social service structures remain minimal or too costly to access. Provision of mobile clinics was – in this sense – greatly appreciated, but more thought would also be needed to expanding access to education. Young people also highlighted the need for opportunities for technical and vocational training.

##### ***Livelihood support***

Echoing the priorities voiced by refugees, most IDPs and returnees stressed the importance of support to recover lost livelihoods and overcome obstacles to economic well-being. As a notable from Dar el Kheir put it: *‘While someone may be assisting you today, tomorrow they may stop, so we need to find work of our own.’*<sup>5</sup> (KII IDP notables, Dar el Kheir). Priorities centered around access to agricultural lands (on dunes and *wadis* as well as polders); fishing (for those groups with expertise), including provision of *pirogues* (boats) and equipment; animal husbandry (particularly small ruminants, as many see that opportunities for broader pastoralism may be increasingly limited); and commerce.

##### ***Gender-specific priorities***

Women’s priorities mirrored those voiced above, with specifics on what they saw as most needed for the home (equipment of all sorts) and additional requests for support for group gardening activities; distribution and care of small-stock; credit and materials for food transformation (through appropriate technology such as ground-nut presses and spaghetti-making machines), sewing, tailoring and handicrafts (such as weaving of mats), and petty commerce (including retail trade of sugar, salt and condiments). The health and education of their children was also uppermost in their minds. Specific measures to promote girls’ education would be important to overcome traditional social norms that limit access, and awareness-raising around early marriage would also be critical. Women also voiced a need for literacy courses and training for themselves.

### **2.3. The Kanembou village of Goumacharon**

#### ***2.3.1 Overview: livelihoods and social services***

The Kanembou village of Goumacharon, situated along a branch of the lake, was established some 200 years ago and currently counts just under a thousand inhabitants in 300 households living in mudbrick houses with thatched roofs, complemented by structures in straw. Drinking water derives from a borehole; firewood as fuel is gathered at some 3-5 km distance.

The village has a mixed primary school, attended their children and those of three or four smaller villages in the vicinity – all Kanembou - but not by the displaced or refugees (KII notables; FGD women, Goumacharon). Community teachers are paid through 500 FCFA inscription fees and contributions (KII notables; FGD men, Goumacharon). There is no health center in the village, so villagers seek treatment in Bagasola, where they pay 200 FCFA for a health booklet and 2,000 FCFA consultation fees. As

---

<sup>5</sup> Another notable from the Dar el Naim 1 group of Arab returnees put it this way: *‘Mother’s milk is good for a time when we are babies, but afterwards, we have to eat on our own’* (KII notable, Dar el Naim 1)

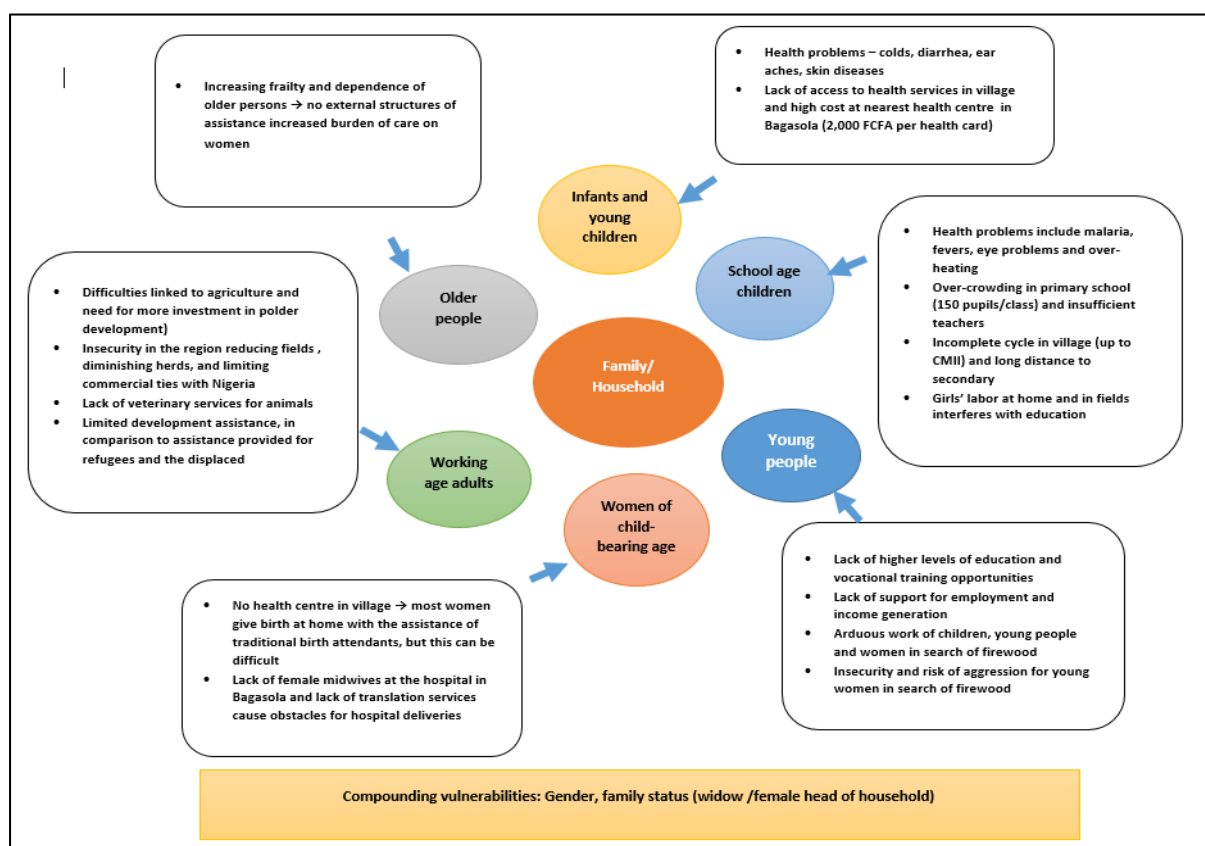
women report, 'If you have money, you are well-served; if not – if you lack even 200 FCFA, they send you away' Otherwise they consult traditional healers (FGD women, Goumacharon).

Agro-pastoral livelihoods center around farming (corn, rain-fed millet); wheat and water-recession garden produce in the village's two polders; animal husbandry (cows, sheep and goats); commerce (of animals as well as merchandise; and also some fishing (though fishing is largely reserved for special groups – often casted groups known as Haddads – while others in the community engage more in commercialization of the catch) (KII notables, Goumacharon),.

Among the development priorities identified by the men are further work on the polders, one of which requires installation of a dike to manage the waters; veterinary services for their animals; vocational and technical training; assistance with long-distance trade through Niger (now that the borders with Nigeria are closed); water (installation of another borehole in the village) (KII notables; FGD men, Goumacharon).

Figure 9 presents some of the life-cycle vulnerabilities identified by the villagers.

Figure 9. Lifecycle vulnerabilities in the village of Goumacharon, Lac region



Source: KII village notables and FGDs men and women, Goumacharon

### 2.3.2 Perceptions of refugees and displaced populations

The village has been affected by Boko Haram, with some of its agricultural and pasture lands- towards Ngoubwa – occupied by Boko Haram since 2015, limiting therefore production capacity (KII notables, Goumacharon). Before the refugees and the displaced fleeing Boko Haram were installed in camps and settlement sites, they were welcomed in the village, where food and shelter were shared for 3 or 4 days. Now, however, villagers see that 'The refugees and displaced receive humanitarian assistance – they are well-treated, whereas we who cannot work as before, do not receive such assistance' (KII notables, Goumacharon). At the same time it was noted that a few NGOs have brought at some short-term assistance since 2016, including agricultural support (seeds, farm inputs); fishing equipment; income

generating activities for women; and one food distribution (most likely when they were housing the displaced) (FGD men, Goumacharon).

Negative impacts of the new arrivals are seen in the degradation of the environment – particularly in terms of the collection of firewood, which is becoming rarer; women also report that the gathering of wild fruits is becoming more difficult (FGD women, Goumacharon). Nevertheless, the villagers maintain good contacts with some of the displaced, particularly with the Kanembou groups settled in the closest site of Kaffia, adjacent to HCR headquarters; some of these displaced work on the maize and millet fields in the village and they also attend some of the same ceremonies and share food (KII notables; FGD women, Goumacharon). Children of displaced households come into their gardens and polders to take their fruits and other products, which they allow, as they know they are in need (KII notables, Goumacharon). Younger women mention that they suffer physical aggression at the hands of displaced persons, but somewhat contradictorily suggest that the displaced should be registered as part of their village so that villagers too will benefit from assistance (FGD young women, Goumacharon). (See *box 13*).

***Box 13. Perceived effects of Boko Haram and the displacement crisis in a settled village, Lac***

- Before, life was better: we could cultivate everywhere and frequent any of the surrounding markets. Now, the agricultural lands and pastures around Ngoubwa have been occupied by Boko Haram for 3 years now and we have no access. (KI, village notables; FGD village men, Goumacharon)
- We too are victims of Boko Haram – we had animals (goats and cattle) in the zones attacked by Boko Haram that we had to evacuate, but we lost both animals and other goods. (KII village notables, Goumacharon)
- There are insufficient veterinary services, including for questions of insecurity. (FGD village men, Goumacharon)
- With the border to Nigeria closed, commerce must pass through Niger, which is more difficult. (KII village notables Goumacharon)
- Refugees and displaced persons receive assistance – they are well treated, but we, the native villagers are not assisted, even though we cannot work as before and even though we welcomed the refugees when they first arrived (KII village notables, Goumacharon) Compared to us, refugees and the displaced are better off now, as they receive food rations. (FGD young women villagers, Goumacharon)
- At harvest time, refugee children come onto our polders and take our fruits and vegetables – but what can we do? We know them and so let them do it (KII village notables, Goumacharon)
- Refugees and the displaced are using up all of the firewood in the bush surrounding our village. (KII village notables, Goumacharon)
- We can no longer collect wood or wild fruits as easily as before. (FGD village women, Goumacharon)
- But the displaced now also provide labor on our fields, whereas before there were other migrants. (KII village notables, Goumacharon)

***2.3.3 Gender-specific vulnerabilities and opportunities***

Of the 25 adult women participating in our focus group discussion, we collected demographic information on 11. Those surveyed were aged between 22 and 70, with an average age of 45. All were Kanembou and Muslim, no formal education. Nearly three quarters (73%) were married; the rest (27%) were widows, living in households of from 5-20 people, with on average 11. The man was the head of the household for all married women. The number of children ranged from 3 to 6 children, with an average of 5.7. The 12 younger women we met with were aged between 15 and 20, with an average age of 17. All were also Kanembou and Muslim. Over half (58%) had no formal education; the rest (42%) had some primary education, and one was still in school. One young woman was married, living with her husband in a polygamous marriage; another was separated/divorced from a polygamous marriage; the rest (83%) were single and living with their fathers. Those with children had an average of 1.5. Household size ranged from 5-11, with an average of 7 people.

***Education and health***

Women in the village report that they were not able to obtain an education as there was no school in their time, but that now they send both daughters and sons to school (FGD women, Goumacharon).

Adolescent girls, however, report that they do not go to school, but ‘prefer’ to work in the fields or in petty commerce (FGD young women, Goumacharon). Women complain that when they go to the hospital in Bagasola for delivery, there is not always a midwife on hand and they objected to being ‘tortured’ by the male doctor, so many prefer to deliver at home, attended to by traditional birth attendants in the village (FGD women, Goumacharon).

#### ***Insecurity and risks of SGBV***

Young women report that the level of insecurity has risen in their locality, attributing this to the influx of displaced populations: *‘Sometimes, we are physically assaulted by the displaced, who come to our fields and the arrival of refugees and displaced in the zone has raised the level of thefts here – especially on our agricultural lands* (FGD young village women, Goumacharon).

#### ***Livelihoods***

Women engage in petty commerce: food stuffs (including local spaghetti –duédé- and peanut oil which they produce); garden products (tomatoes, beans and cucumbers); condiments; and handicrafts (such as woven mats and food covers). *‘All Kanembou women know how to make these handicrafts – in fact all women in this region’* they say offhandedly, bringing out their products for inspection (FGD women, Goumacharon).

### ***2.3.4 Overall priorities for villagers***

#### ***Livelihoods***

With the sense that assistance programs seem to be favoring refugees and the displaced, villagers call in particular for livelihood support in the form of polder development; animal husbandry (forage and veterinary services for their animals, including cattle evacuated from pasture areas now under control of Boko Haram); and commerce (to overcome difficulties in maintaining their long-distance trade with Nigeria).

#### ***Social services***

Priorities include a health center in the village or assistance with transport to the nearest center in Bagasola; assistance with construction of an additional borehole in the village; expansions of educational opportunities and access to technical and vocational training for young people.

#### ***Environmental protection***

Villagers see clearly the negative impacts on the environment of the influx of refugees and displaced populations in the region, including the depletion of firewood, reeds for mats, and forage for animals. Measures to reverse such depletion and regenerate resources are clearly needed, including introduction of improved cook stoves to conserve energy as well as reduce the burden of work needed in search of wood.

#### ***Gender-specific priorities***

Priorities voiced by women include livelihood support in the provision of garden equipment, food transformation technology (spaghetti making machines, oil presses), start-up capital or credit for petty commerce (since the downturn brought about by Boko Haram they are no longer able to practice their traditional form of *paré* – savings/credit association); assistance in obtaining materials for handicrafts (the special fronds used grow very far away); and support for the raising of small ruminants. Improved access to reproductive health services (through a health center in the village or more midwives at the center in Bagasola) is also a priority, along with introduction of adult learning and literacy. Young women in particular also stress the need for heightened protection against SGBV.

### ***3. Reflections on potential program implications***

Along with the priorities already highlighted above, analysis of discussions with key informants, review of external documentation, and findings from the localities visited bring to the fore the following issues for consideration in program planning in this locality.



### ***Addressing multiple situations of displacement***

Field work in this region, even more than the others, drives home the importance of conceptualizing ‘host’ or ‘affected’ population to include not only the settled villages in the vicinity of the refugee camp, but also other forms of settlement, including sites for the internally displaced as well as returnees from countries affected by Boko Haram. Refugees are, in fact, outnumbered in Lac region by these other displaced groups, each of which has a distinct place in humanitarian assistance, and each of which should be considered in overall support and development approaches. Calibrating program responses to take into account the different needs and sociocultural and economic dynamics of these different groups requires detailed and careful site studies to determine the best approach in each context.

### ***Building on the cluster approach***

Integrated programs to cover all of the different groups might usefully build on the ‘cluster approach’ to humanitarian assistance which provides an ideal model for integrated attention to all key domains of human well-being (from health and education, to habitat and protection). The inter-sectoral coordination structures established for the emergency response could be strengthened and their life span extended into the transitional period, with greater emphasis on the role of government, including the regional and local action committees. Food security institutions and actors and the existing frameworks for their activities should also be considered as important framing documents, based as they are on clear assessment of livelihood characteristics and limitations (to which profiles such as those produced by FEWS NET and from HEA analyses contribute). In all such efforts, local governments should be lead actors in activities on the ground, and their capacities strengthened to enable them to fulfill their responsibilities.

### ***Strengthening social services and infrastructure***

The influx of refugees has been credited with bringing additional social services in the form of schools and a health center in the camp, to which local populations and other displaced groups have access and has contributed as well to construction of or improvements in surrounding facilities. This, however, is clearly not enough in localities that have been starved of investment in social service infrastructure such as those in Lac that are currently facing such a massive influx of new populations. Extensive government investment is clearly needed; however the current national crisis, leading to the prolonged strike of government workers, has left existing facilities un- or understaffed, kept afloat if at all by external assistance. It is clear that continuing external investment will be required in the short to medium terms.

The policy of extending integrated services within the camp to refugees/displaced populations and host populations should be continued and strengthened, along with the strengthening of service provision in host communities and displacement sites themselves (both construction/rehabilitation and staffing and equipment). This should be done in close collaboration with national, regional and district authorities, ensuring that service provision is guided by national policies and plans and not conducted as stand-alone humanitarian activities. In the health sector, further investment in community outreach personnel, mobile clinics, and training and supervision of – for example – traditional birth attendants could be considered as well, as these approaches seem well suited to priorities for quickly expanding services to dispersed populations: the policy implications of such approaches should, however, first be explored.

### ***Supporting livelihoods and income generation***

All study participants – refugees, returnees, displaced populations, villagers and key informants alike – emphasized the need to strengthen and – in some cases – rebuild livelihoods and productive capacity and all stressed this as a clear development priority – not only for the long term, but in the short and medium terms as well. This finding, of course, reinforces current policy thrusts in connecting up relief and development efforts and avoiding situations of long-term dependency. NGO actors, commissioned by larger agencies, seem to be taking the lead in many of these activities and serve as a rich source of experience and know-how; while actions are usually coordinated with local agents of ANADER, government capacity in this area seems very weak and therefore needs to be strengthened. Among some of the issues arising in priority areas of focus in Lac region are the following:

- **Agriculture/gardening:** Some of the current programming around support for agricultural livelihoods seems to have proceeded on the basis of trial and error and has faced numerous constraints. Negotiations around land allocations for refugees remain critical, particularly for high quality land in the *wadis* or along polders: the costs of polder development, however, remain substantial and would require considerable investment by both government and development actors, with SODELAC as the key partner. In all such activities, women's access to suitable land needs to be taken into account – particularly for women heads of household who have no male partners to negotiate access on their behalf. Processes for the selection of refugee beneficiaries of livelihood support – which currently pass through the camp block chiefs, or '*boulama*' will also need to be reviewed, and integrated approaches (with local populations and other displaced groups) pursued.
- **Animal husbandry:** The Lac region is a zone of agro-pastoralism; hence a sole focus on agriculture would be mistaken here. While refugees themselves may not have predominantly herding backgrounds or possess large herds, local populations and the displaced both count animal husbandry as a key part of their livelihood repertory, and small ruminants in particular are important features in most rural households. Considerable technical expertise is needed to determine the best approach to support for animal husbandry, taking into consideration such issues as: environmental conditions (availability of pasture and water); mobility patterns (transhumance corridors); pastoral/sedentary relations and balance of power; the gendered division of labor and responsibility for different types of animals; and animal health, among other things.
- **Fishing:** This is a priority productive activity in Lac region where support is currently being given to groups of refugees through provision of fishing kits (pirogue, nets and the like) and technical assistance. In the short space of time in the field, the team was not able to fully comprehend the complex socio-ethnic dynamics around fishing and its commercialization in this region, but this is clearly an area that needs further exploration to understand better the chain of value and who is situated where along it, as well as potential risks in this area. Women's role in the overall fishing industry (drying of fish? Any commercialization? Preparation of foods at fish landing sites and ports?), as well as overall gender dynamics among fishing folk, who are often highly mobile populations would all need to be further understood.
- **Commerce, trades and income generation:** Beyond purely agro-pastoral and fishing activities, refugees, displaced populations and rural dwellers in general engage in a host of activities and possess a variety of skills in such areas as – for the men: masonry, mechanics, blacksmithing, carpentry, tailoring as well as trade and commerce; and for the women: food transformation; handicrafts; hair-dressing; mat weaving; tailoring and embroidery. These could all be usefully supported through such measures as 1) provision of rolling start-up funds or support for access to credit either through existing micro-finance institutions (if any) or through the establishment community-based savings and loan associations (which for women in particular could be based on principles of traditional tontines or '*paré*'); 2) provision of appropriate technology and equipment (tools, sewing machines, spaghetti-making machines, oil presses and the like; and 3) technical training and support for entrepreneurial activities.

#### ***Strengthening and expanding opportunities for vocational and technical training***

Linked partly to the above, but also in recognition of 1) the serious dearth of vocational and technical training opportunities available to either refugees or host populations in the localities visited; and 2) the lack of opportunities for post-primary education and for young people in general, this would be a useful component to consider in any integrated development program. Further explorations would be needed of vocational training opportunities available in Bagasola that might be usefully boosted to include refugees and displaced populations along with members of local communities. In such an efforts, care should be taken to ensure that women have equal opportunities for their professional development through appropriate training models, timing of lessons and types of skills conveyed.

#### ***Balancing environmental safeguards with real needs for environmental resources***

Most study participants emphasized the negative effects on an already fragile environments of the influx of refugees and other displaced population into this zone, leading both to shortage and/or heightened conflict over agricultural and grazing lands and to increasingly scarce foraged materials such as firewood, wild fruits and nuts, and reeds for housing and mats. The firewood dilemma is particularly acute, as firewood is the sole source of fuel for cooking and it falls upon women and children to gather this at increasing distances from home, incurring potential reprimands or physical aggression. So far, the government response seems to be primarily one of repression (outlawing the sale of firewood, for example) without offering alternative options for fuel sources. Some initial attempts to supply more fuel-efficient cook-stoves in Bagasola are capitalizing on the expertise of refugee blacksmiths (for metal stoves), but these appear still to be in the testing stage and much wider efforts are needed. Alternative fuel sources should also be explored (bio-energy? solar power? other?) perhaps initially on a trial scale. At the same time environmental management and preservation activities (tree-planting, live hedging, etc.) should be built into development programs linked to livelihoods and expanded.

#### *Addressing gender-specific vulnerabilities and opportunities*

Key priorities would include actions to address the following (both refugee-specific and more general for women in the surrounding populations both displaced and settled):

- ***Gender inequality in household roles, status and responsibilities:*** Here, the work should be of a dual focus: one primarily focused primarily on sensitization campaigns aimed at men and boys and focused on gender equality and promotion, including combating child marriage and the like; the second on intensified program support for appropriate technology (to lighten household tasks) and specific support for female heads of household. This latter should include recognition of the specific vulnerabilities and needs of widows, the divorced and the abandoned, who often have large families to care for.
- ***Sexual and gender-based violence:*** Findings from our research found rather stark evidence of domestic violence (reportedly exasperated through the refugee experience) and more limited examples of external aggression (for example in relation to the military base next to Dar es Salam in Bagasola) as well as reports of transactional sex – or ‘sex for survival’ whose root causes stem from lack of income and – for single women or heads of households - lack of male support for the family and household (again, this was seen to be particularly linked to the military base in Bagasola). Both preventive and treatment services need strengthening, along with sensitization campaigns and community dialogues on the issue.
- ***Reproductive health:*** Improved access to reproductive health services is a priority for all, but particularly, perhaps for village women and the displaced living farthest from health centers; strengthening of services at the health center in the Dar es Salam camp is also important, as is improvement of transport to hospital in case of complications in delivery.
- ***Girls’ education:*** In the Lac region, early marriage is the norm among many groups, and within the historical trajectory of limited take-up of schooling, girls’ education is particularly under-valued. The positive effects of making school available for all and promoting girls’ education specifically among parents are already bearing fruit among refugee girls in Dar es Salam as well as among the displaced populations – many of whom are attending school for the first time. Continued sensitization and awareness campaigns, coupled with care to create gender sensitive teaching and learning environments (including more female teachers, separate latrines, hygienic materials and the like) and promotion of girls’ clubs and extracurricular activities to develop girls’ leadership skills should all be priorities. Provision of take-home rations to school girls can also be a potent stimulus to parental agreement to retain girls in school, while cash-transfers conditioned on girls’ education have had positive effects in other countries where they have been applied.
- ***Livelihood support and technical training:*** Priorities voiced by women include provision of land and garden equipment; distribution of appropriate food transformation technology (spaghetti-making machines; oil presses; material for making karité butter); start-up capital or credit for petty

commerce (since the experience of exile and displacement as well as the downturn brought about by Boko Haram many are no longer able to practice their traditional form of savings/credit association – *paré* - which could thus be usefully revived); assistance in obtaining materials for handicrafts (such as fronds of weaving of mats and housing materials) as well as tailoring, embroidering, or hair-dressing; and support for the raising of small ruminants.

- **Technical training/education/literacy aimed at women:** Most women in the localities of our study have been left out of formal education and have few opportunities for technical training. Both refugee women as well as villagers and the displaced are clamoring for training and support for their income generation activities. They have also eagerly requested literacy training as they begin to see the value of education for their daughters.
- **Women’s leadership and community roles:** A clearly positive development observed in the refugee camp at Dar es Salam was the nurturing of women’s leadership roles through the appointment of women block chiefs and establishment of a women’s camp management committees as well as the recruitment by CRT of female community outreach workers who have gained productive employment and status in the camp. Support for women’s leadership and community roles in all settings (refugee camp, displacement site, village) should be strengthened and sustained.

#### 4. Visual record of research in Lac

*Camp managers, Dar es Salam refugee camp*



*Scenes from Dar es Salam refugee camp*



*Women refugee community outreach workers, Dar es Salam refugee camp*



*President of women’s refugee committee, Dar es Salam camp*



*Male notables (villagers and IDPs), Fulani communities around Dar es Salam village*



*Fulani IDP settlement, Dar el Amni*

*Women from the Fulani communities – villagers and IDPs*



*Fulani children outside of Tal, village and IDP site*



*Men and women of displaced Arab group from Niger, Dar el Kheir*



*Woman and family, Dar el Kheir*



*Rudimentary shelter in, Dar el Kheir*



*Young girl, Dar el Kheir*



*Male Kanembou notables, Dar el Naim IDP site*



*Kanembou women and children, Dar el Naim IDP site*



*Kanembou woman, Dar el Naim IDP site*



*Rudimentary shelter in Dar el Naim IDP site*



*Sheltering from the sun, Dar el Naim IDP site*



*Male Kanembou notables, Goumacharon village*



*Dwellings in Goumacharon village*



*Kanembou women with handicrafts, Goumacharon village*



*Returning home from market day, Bagasola*





*The ever-present search for firewood, Bagasola*



*Shipments at Bagasola market*



*Pirogues at port, Bagasola market*



*A polder outside of Bagasola*



## D. FINDINGS FROM RESEARCH IN THE EAST

### 1. Background and context

Research in the region of Ouaddaï in the East was conducted from UNHCR bases in Farchana and Hadjer Hamis, in the Assoungaha department (Molou and Bardé cantons). Field work encompassed the Bredjing camp for Sudanese refugees; the villages of Chalingo and Loumba Massalit; and the site of Wadi Tiré where refugees and villagers are being supported on a joint gardening project. In all, some 364 people participated in the research in this region (179 male and 185 female). *Annex 1* shows the full details of research activities undertaken and population covered at each site.

#### 1.1 Overview of the zone and cantons of research

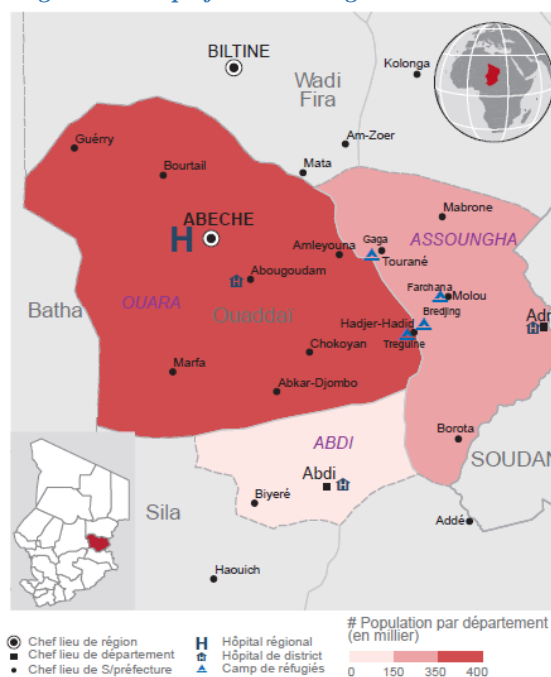
##### 1.1.1 Socio-demographic context

Historically the Sultanate of Ouaddaï was a 17<sup>th</sup> century empire arising as a counterpart to the Kingdom of Baguirmi to the west and the Sultanate of Darfur to the east; it profited from its strategic position along the main trans-Saharan trade routes and adopted Islam early in the century. Today the region of Ouaddaï as a whole is multi-ethnic and retains its Islamic identity. The main ethnic groups in our cantons of research include Massalit (the majority in the canton of Bardé as well as in the refugee camp of Bredjing); Assanghouris (about half of the population in the canton of Molou) and other groups such as the Maba, Mimi, Tama as well as Zaghawa, Arab and Goran. In the midst of such cantonal diversity, villages themselves are largely ethnically homogeneous (PDLs Molou and Bardé, 2014). Molou canton is made up of 72 villages (KII FLM, Farchana) while Bardé canton is made up of 112 (PDL Bardé, 2014).

Administratively, Ouaddaï region is divided into three departments (Ouara, Abdi, and Assoungaha). Departments are further divided into sub-prefectures (*see map, figure 10*). In the traditional political structure, the two cantons in the department of Assoungaha where our research took place are headed by cantonal chiefs; each canton is divided into ‘*khalifats*’ which contain clusters of villages; village chiefs are under the authority of the *khalifats* which, in turn, answer to the cantonal chief. Religious authority based on Islam is in the hand of imams. Other social structures include ‘*warnangs*’ (youth organizations) and *chouchiés* or *amchouchiés* (women’s organizations) which represent the interest of their members, organize ceremonies and hospitality, and mobilize support for each other including – in the case of youth – collective agricultural work and construction of grain siloes (PDLs, Cantons Molou and Bardé, 2014). In Bardé, additional traditional social structures include the *aguid alkhel* (a group of men charged with pursuing animal thefts and organizing horse-back riding festivals) and *Dambara* (respected persons who guard against crop infestation) (PDL Canton Bardé, 2014).

Polygamy is the norm in this society, and family size is large. Inheritance is patrilineal, passing from father to son; women may also inherit land (from their husbands). Customary law holds that land belongs to the first to occupy it: village chiefs are responsible for settling land disputes and maintaining customs and rites that aim to preserve the fertility of the soil (PDL Canton Bardé). According to the

Figure 10. Map of Ouaddaï region



Source: OCHA 2016c

governor of Ouaddaï, attribution of lands passes through the traditional authorities – the cantonal and village chiefs (KII governor, Ouaddaï).

### **1.1.2 Local livelihoods**

The region of Ouaddaï falls into the FEWS NET- defined livelihood zone characterized as ‘eastern rain-fed cereals and market gardening’, with most household also maintaining some animals. The zone encompasses a gradation from Sahelian to Sudano-Sahelian ecology, with steppe-type vegetation in the north, bush-scrub in the center and more wooded and grassy cover towards the south. Rocky mountains, especially in the central-eastern part, drain onto the wide plains areas via numerous seasonal watercourses (*wadis*), providing the possibility of substantial off-season cultivation using some irrigation as well as simply soil moisture retained in the *wadi* bottoms as the surface water fades. In a good year, the combination of rain-fed and off-season grain production coupled with off-season garden production along the *wadis* has potential to fulfill most food requirements. However, as a combined result of rainfall deficits, crop pests, animal disease outbreaks, over-grazing and environmental degradation, and sale of food stuffs to regions in the north, the zone as a whole is considered food deficient in two years out of three (FEWSNET 2011).

Information from local government development plans in the two cantons where our research took place indicate that agriculture is the primary activity for 80% of the population. Rain-fed agriculture is practiced between June and September (planting starting with the first rains in May and continuing through August), with the principal crops cultivated being millet (the staple food crop), groundnuts and sorghum, along with niébé, sesame, and cowpeas. Grain crops are both for household consumption and animal feed and alcohol production. Ground nuts are particularly important as they can be transformed into peanut oil and the residue used for animal feed. They thus generate an important source of household income and subsistence. Garden production along *wadi* lands in the off season takes place between October and May, with main produce including garlic, tomato, pepper, gumbo, squash, carrots, lettuce, parsley, melon and watermelon. Garden activity has developed particularly over the past ten years, in the face of uncertain rains for rain-fed agriculture; women are particularly active in this activity. Fruit production, also along the *wadis*, includes guava, lemon, bananas and mango. Gathering activities – particularly during the dry season – are also important, and conducted principally by women and children (PDLs Bardé and Molou, 2014).

Livestock holding is essentially of the sedentary kind, although the zone also provides important passage-ways for the herds of the transhumant zone in the north that are taken south for grazing. This promotes economic exchange between herders and the local farmers, but also provokes conflicts arising from crop damage by the transhumant herds (FEWS NET 2011). In the cantons where our research was sited, households strive to maintain at least a small stock of animals (cows and/or small ruminants), with animals led out to nearby pastures and returning at night; they are fed dried grasses and crop residue during the dry season. For households that can afford them, animals represent a stock of capital that can be sold in answer to household needs for cash (for health, education, or other necessities) (PDL Molou, 2014). Most animals are small ruminants (sheep and goats) as well as cattle. Very few local households maintain camels, which belong rather to the Goran, Zaghawa and Arab groups (KII partners and decentralized government services, Farchana).

According to local development plans, an average household in Molou has about 1-1.5 *moukhamas* (0.56 hectare) of land with an average yield of 400-600 kg per hectare in a good year, while households in Bardé cultivate on average 1.5 -2 hectares of land per year, for an average production of 800 to 1,200 kg/an/household (PDLs Molou and Bardé, 2014). In Bardé, households with gardens will have on average 3,000 to 5,000 m<sup>2</sup>; most of the produce is for sale – either fresh or dried and turned into powder. Average revenue for such households can be from 150,000 to 250,000 for a season (PDL Bardé, 2014). However, there are considerable wealth differentials. Wealth group analysis for this livelihood zone as a whole indicates that very poor households make up 10% of the total and the poor another 35%; households in the middle constitute 40%, while the well-off make up 24%. As is typical of rural economies with a major cash crop (in this case especially garden produce), there is a particularly high skewing of assets in land and of livestock ownership towards the better-off who cultivate about 50% more land than middle households per capita and possess around three times as many animals per capita.

The poorer groups have low livestock holdings and also little land - in particular the valuable wadi land (FEWS NET 2011). Key informants in Farchana note that food insecurity is a real threat, with poor households unable to meet the food needs through their own production (KII, partners and decentralized government services)

Key constraints to agriculture include: loss of soil fertility and lack of fertilizer, crop pests, population pressure on the land, including through the influx of refugees in the zone, loss of land through erosion by wadis, destruction of crops by animals, irregular and poorly timed rains; and post-harvest losses. Most cultivation is done with rudimentary instruments – primarily the hoe, which further limits productivity; tractor use (promoted through the rural development agency ANADER) remains rare. Water retention activities to enhance agricultural potential have included installation of weirs (*seuils d'appendage*) and dams; but these have so far had limited coverage. Moreover, investments are substantial (between 30,000,000 and 100.000.000 FCFA for a weir and 500,000,000 and 800,000,000 FCFA for a dam (KII HCR, Hadjer Hadid)

Key constraints to animal husbandry include lack of sufficient pasture, lack of pastoral water points, lack of veterinary services in the face of animal disease outbreaks and insufficient technical support, including for transformation and marketing of animal products. Animal theft and insecurity also pose big problems, along with the lack of clearly marked corridors for transhumance, which contributes to conflicts with farmers (PDLs Molou and Bardé, 2014; KII ANADER, Hadjer Hadid)

A network of weekly markets are established throughout the region. However, in all economic domains, marketing is rendered difficult due to long distances to market; lack of transportation; lack of rural road upkeep; and isolation during the rainy season. Petty commerce and income generating activities are also hindered by the lack of micro-finance infrastructure in the zone and limited support for producer groups (PDL Molou, 2014; KII partners and decentralized government services, Farchana).

Employment opportunities in the region are very limited, leading to rural exodus and the departure of men and boys who go off to Sudan for labor or to the north in search of gold, leaving women, children and families behind and thus accentuating vulnerability (KIIs, Farchana and Hadjer Hadid).

Historical timelines constructed for cantonal development plans note a series of shocks that have also left their traces on the livelihoods and well beings of inhabitants (*see table 11*).

**Table 11. Historical timeline in Molou and Bardé Cantons (Ouaddaï)**

Time period	Major Shocks
1970s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Important in-migration of Zaghawa and Mimi groups fleeing drought-induced famine in the north (particularly in Bardé canton)</li> </ul>
1980s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1983 rinderpest epidemic in 1983, decimating animal herds and agro-pastoral livelihoods</li> <li>• 1984 famine due to drought, pushing much of the population of Molou east toward Sudan</li> </ul>
1990s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Arrival of Sudanese refugees in border villages due to Arab/Massalit conflict in Darfur (Molou Canton)</li> </ul>
2000-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 2003: Massive arrival of refugees from Sudan fleeing conflict in Darfur and installed in camps in Farchana (Molu Canton), Bredjing and Treguine (Bardé Canton)</li> <li>• 2005: Intercommunal conflict on the border leading to an influx of 18,000 IDPs from canton Kado (Bardé canton)</li> <li>• 2010: Return of most IDPs, with integration of some into canton Bardé; but arrival of Chadian returnees from Libya (1,382 enumerated in 2011)</li> </ul>

Source: PDLs Molou and Bardé 2014

### 1.1.3 Social service infrastructure

Basic social service coverage for the Ouaddaï region as a whole is very weak: out of a total of 722 schools, 9% are non-functional and the student-teacher ratio is 159, with a primary school achievement rate of just over a quarter (26.8%). Only 2 out of the existing 3 hospitals are reported as functioning and 11% of the 65 health centers are non-functional: there is only 1 doctor per 78,856 inhabitants in the region (compared to WHO norms of 1 for 10,000 inhabitants. Only 27% of the population has access to safe drinking water (compared to WHO norms of 88%) and 13.7% has access to sanitation. Food insecurity affects over a quarter (29%) of the population (255,375 individuals), with 39,822 severely

food-deprived (phase 3 of the harmonized framework). Acute global malnutrition are also high at 18%, with severe acute malnutrition rates of 4.1%: these rates surpass the emergency thresholds of 15% and 2% respectively (OCHA 2016).

Key informants in our areas of research and cantonal development plans confirm that educational infrastructure and service provision is very weak. Starved of state investment, most school are either constructed by partners or built and maintained by parents. Trained teaching personnel is severely limited as are teaching and learning materials; it is no surprise, therefore that overall educational attainment remains low (*see box 14*).

#### **Box 14. Overview of cantonal and sub-prefecture educational conditions**

- *In the sub-prefecture of Farchana*, there are only 46 government primary schools and 1 CEG, along with 4 primary schools, 1 CEG and a lycée in Farchana refugee camp – the only lycée in the sub-prefecture. Other community schools (3/5 of the total) are built as rough, semi-permanent structures and maintained by parents, and most schools of all sorts are staffed by community teachers (since there are only 11 government teachers in the sub-prefecture). All schools have problems with attendance – particularly as there are no school meal programs to serve as an incentive, and during harvest season children are helping their parents in the fields, delaying the start-up of school from October to December (KII partners and decentralized services, Farchana).
- *In the sub-prefecture of Hadjer Hadid*, the primary school inspector does not even have an office or a desk, let alone a means of transport to inspect the 75 functioning schools in his district ‘*I sometimes have to travel to distant villages by donkey*’ he says. For the district as a whole, there are only 8 trained government teachers – the rest are community teachers (85) who must be supported by parents. ‘*Before*’, he explains, ‘*the World Bank helped pay for these community teachers, but not for the past 3 years*’: he now sometimes has to go with village chiefs house-to-house to get parents to contribute some of their harvests in payment of their teachers. Girls’ education remains a critical challenge, particularly since WFP stopped its school meal program which saw attendance shoot up. The suppression of school meals has also affected community teachers, who received part of their payment through this. Schools also lack sources of water, which further discourages attendance. ‘*For 5-6 years now*’, he says, ‘*the government has done nothing, and our schools are not working.*’ (KII primary school inspector, Hadjer Hadid)
- *In the canton of Bardé*, 2/3 teachers in the canton are reported to be non-qualified and around 60% of schools are built of non-durable materials and no school has a water source; there are high drop-outs and low achievement rates, fueling rural exodus and juvenile delinquency. (PDL Bardé, 2014).
- *In the canton of Molou*, most schools function only 6 out of 9 months; teaching materials are insufficient and proper equipment missing or in poor condition, while some 40% of schools are built of straw reeds or other provisional materials and most schools lack access to water. The teaching quality is overall low, and most Parents Association groups are not active, with low parental income contributing to difficulties in maintaining children in school. (PDL Molou, 2014)
- *In both Bardé and Molou*, education for girls is particularly limited due to early marriage (about 20% of school age girls) and child labor. (PDL Bardé and Molou 2014)

Key informants and cantonal development plans in our areas of research also confirm the extreme weakness of health service infrastructure and provision (*box 15*).

#### **Box 15. Overview of district and cantonal health service indicators**

- *In the Sanitary District of Hadjer Hadid* (which covers 65 villages and a total population of 26,457 people) there is only 1 government health center (and 2 health centers in the two refugee camps in the district). While all offer the standard 5 services (maternal care, nutrition, laboratory, immunization, and pharmacy - with surgery performed by a doctor in Adré), the government health center has only two qualified government staff; the head of the center and a midwife. The rest of the staff are assistants. The arrival of refugees in the zone has brought some benefits in the form of HCR and NGO assistance to the health center. IRC supports maternal health; Première Urgence and UNICEF support nutrition; but the center still suffers severely from lack of personnel, logistical means – including a working ambulance for referrals - and infrastructure, as well

as ruptures of medicinal stock. There are also challenges in implementing cost-recovery policies (KII Health Center, Hadjer Hadid)

- *In the canton of Molou, few pregnant women have access to health services – some villages are up to 40 km away from a health center, means of transportation are limited, health centers in any case have few midwives to assist in labor and the cost of medicines is high. Moreover, due lack of safe drinking water, many households resort to wadi water for consumption, leading to widespread diarrheal disease and other health problems. Combined, this leads to high levels of infant and maternal morbidity and mortality. Malnutrition among children is also a problem, caused by poor infant-feeding practices and closely-spaced births (PDL Molou, 2014)*

Water remains a key challenge in the region as a whole – both water for drinking and for agro-pastoral activities and gardening. Drilling for water in the area is risky, with failure rates of 75% (KII partners and decentralized government services, Hadjer Hadid). Lack of safe drinking water contributes to ill health, poor school attendance, and significant labor burden for women and children who must daily go off in search of their household supply. Lack of appropriate water technology also impedes agricultural and gardening production. And domestic energy is equally challenging, with the burden again falling on women and children to go off in search of firewood for household food preparation (KII partners and decentralized government services, Hadjer Hadid).

Legal services, civil registration services, and access to justice in general are extremely limited: ‘*Justice is not within reach of citizens who need it*’ states a key informant. Transport to the nearest court in Adré (70 km distant) is difficult and justice is very slow in coming to those who need it, such as victims of domestic violence and other forms of SGBV as well as victims of thefts (KII partners and decentralized government services, Hadjer Hadid)

## **1.2 Overview of refugees, assistance and host population relations in the zone**

### **1.2.1 Overview**

The 2016 humanitarian profile for the region of Ouaddaï reports that refugees (numbering 116,687) make up 6.5% of the total regional population of 892,981 (OCHA 2016). They are installed in four camps: the first one opened in 2004 is Farchana (area of 1,720,000 m<sup>2</sup>, with a population of 28,552 refugees, the majority Massalit (95%) in 6,814 households); the second, our study camp, is Bredjing (population 45,558, see details below); the third Treguine (area 1,270,000 m<sup>2</sup>, with a population of 24,471, also majority Massalit (98%) in 5,810 households; and the fourth is Gaga, opened in 2005, and the only one still accommodating incoming refugees, with a current population of 24,857, 85% Massalit, along with Zaghawa (4%) and Fur (4%) in 5,792 households (UNHCR Farchana, 2018).

### **1.2.2 Services for refugees**

As the results of economic profiling within the refugee camps have not yet been established, universal food distribution is still the norm, but at much reduced rations (rations were cut in 2013); in Bredjing, the in-kind food distribution has been changed to a system of coupons for a value of 3,000 FCFA per person per month (*see details below*) (KII HCR, Farchana).

IRC is the key partner working on health issues for refugees and has worked to establish, equip and run a health center in each refugee camp, where free health services are provided. Refugees whose public health training in Abéché has been supported by HCR are engaged as health aids in refugee camp health centers; however, since the law of asylum has not been signed, they cannot be taken on as government health workers and so are given just token remuneration as ‘encouragement’ to work (for example at 60,000 FCFA/month compared to an average government salary of 210,000 FCFA); this has, understandably created problems, particularly in the Farchana refugee camp where refugee health workers have resigned en masse, leading to critical shortages of midwives in particular. Actions are underway to integrate refugee health services into the government system, but many challenges remain. Stock ruptures are frequent (particularly for vaccines); the cold chain needs improvement, and capacity needs to be expanded; problems with ambulance for referrals are also acute (KIIs HCR and IRC, Farchana).

The community services program, supported by HIAS, directs support to refugees with specific needs including those with disabilities, children at risk (unaccompanied minors, children in conflict with the law, those at risk of dropping out of school), older people, people with chronic illnesses, female heads of household, and victims of sexual or gender-based violence (including domestic violence, early or forced marriage, rape). Some 2,400 refugees in the camps have been identified as those in need of special assistance. Activities include sensitization and awareness-raising, support for women's groups and child protection committees, case management and follow-up, as well as a small program of cash transfers for income generation (only 50 beneficiaries this year). Considerable constraints derive particularly from limited funding to cover all of the needs and – for the chronically ill, lack of effective treatment, even with referrals (KII HCR, Hadjer Hadid).

The current livelihood support program, initiated in 2016, building on earlier initiatives since 2012 supports agriculture (provision of inputs and seeds, and negotiation with ANADER to allot tractors to joint refugee/host projects); animal husbandry (veterinary services for refugees and distribution of small ruminants and chickens to vulnerable households); income-generating activities (micro-finance through village savings and loans associations); and vocational training (at the vocational training center initially established in Bredjing, but moved in 2012 to Hadjer Hadid). The livelihood program as a whole covers some 25% of the target population of refugees aged 18-59. (KII HCR, Hadjer Hadid) It is estimated that less than 18% of the refugee population has enough capital to sustain themselves economically (KII HCR, Hadjer Hadid).

### **1.2.3 Refugee/host population relations**

#### **Overall good relations**

The governor of Ouaddaï notes that there is a general perception that refugees are now better off than local inhabitants: *'they eat better, their children go to school and have football fields to play in'*, underscoring in his mind the importance of suitable measures such that local villagers do not feel left out and to ensure peaceful coexistence. He stressed that overall relations between refugees and local populations are good on the whole, with factors such as the legendary hospitality of the Ouaddaï people and common ethnic and linguistic ties favoring such positive relations, and campaigns run by HCR and its partner HIAS reinforcing the importance of solidarity. (KII governor, Abéché). A local official highlighted the shared Islamic tradition of charitable giving or *Zakat* as another positive factor (KII sub-prefect, Hadjer Hadid), while others highlighted shared language, religion and culture and well as cooperation in agricultural production (KII partners and decentralized government services, Farchana). At the same time, pressure on the land is intense and agricultural extension is limited by the nature of the terrain, leading to potential for conflict (KII governor, Abéché).

HCR staff note that interventions to benefit host populations in the region have been underway since 2005, through an initial program known as 'Projets à impacts rapides' (rapid impact projects) for which 2-5% of the refugee support budget was allocated and which was run through local authorities. The results of this program, however, have been limited and resources were not always directly targeted to areas with the highest concentration of refugees, leading HCR to redefine such programming in 2014/15 to focus on 'villages of opportunity' where villages agree to share their lands with refugees and where there are therefore high concentrations of refugees engaged in agriculture or gardening (KIIs HCR, Farchana and Hadjer Hadid). Their main partner in these efforts is FLM which intervenes in 29 such villages of opportunity, financed by three donors and offering support for agricultural and gardening development (group creation, training, supply of inputs), animal husbandry (animal health, distribution of small ruminants) and environment (tree-planting, alternative fuel sources) (KII FLM, Farchana).

At the same time, the social service infrastructure in refugee camps is open to villagers living nearby: statistics at the health center in Farchana show that 35% of service users are local villagers; for Bredjing it is between 17% et 20%. HCR, through its partner IRC, also continues to support the district hospital in Adré, where most referrals from camps are directed, and which also serves the surrounding population, as well as the health center in Hadjer Hadid (KII HCR, Hadjer Hadid). In education, since schools in the camps have switched from the Sudanese curriculum to the Chadian one, these schools

have become ‘officialized’, with teachers affected to camp schools which are now overseen by the government, opening up possibilities for local children to attend along with the refugees (KIIs school inspector Hadjer Hadid, and HCR Farchana). Other points of encounter include the vocational training center in Hadjer Hadid, where 60% of training opportunities are reserved for refugees and 40% for villagers (KIIs FLM, Farchana and HCR, Hadjer Hadid) and the markets – both local and camp (KII, sub-prefecture Farchana). Ties between refugees and host populations have been solidified through marriage, with mixed couples in both the camp and villages (KII FLM, Farchana).

‘Mixed committees’ of refugees and villagers have been established to sensitize the two communities on the importance of peaceful cohabitation and to address potential problems that arise; these are supported at sub-prefecture level (KIIs sub-prefecture, partners, and decentralized government services, Farchana). According to HCR, most such problems arise over land or natural resources, particularly firewood, and there are occasionally instances of violence (KIIs HCR, Farchana). Partners add that such violence may occur against women when they go into the bush to hunt for firewood (KII partners and decentralized government services, Farchana).

### *Perceived negative impacts of refugees*

The impacts of the refugee influx into the zone have been quite significant, particularly on the environment, where both human activity (firewood and bush collection) and animal concentrations have degraded fields and pastureland (KII HCR, Hadjer Hadid).

Figures cited in the local development plan for the canton of Bardé (where both Bredjing and Treguine refugee camps are located) indicate that refugees represent more than half of the cantonal population, and possess significant livestock, with the concentration of people and animals contributing to severe ecological destruction, particularly in villages around the camp. Daily needs for firewood in the two camps of Bredjing and Treguine are estimated at 363 T 294 – that is, 10,898 T 820 per month. Refugees also need wood for construction, leading to serious environmental degradation. Actions such as tree-planting and the introduction of improved cook-stoves have so far not kept pace (PDL, Bardé 2014).

### *Issues of land*

Issues of land attribution are at the forefront of efforts to ensure viable livelihoods for refugees and shared access to natural resources. One problem stems from the lack of available arable land, particularly around the refugee camps, with refugees therefore obliged to travel up to 50 or 70 kms or more to villages with available land – camping out there with their families during the raining season cultivation period (KIIs HCR, partners and decentralized government services Farchana). As an HCR staff member put it, ‘*During the rainy season, the camps are empty of refugees*’ (KII HCR, Hadjer Hadid). A second problem stems from the means of obtaining access to such land. A survey conducted by FLM in 2014 found four main modalities for acquiring use of land for agricultural production (cited in PDL Bardé, 2014, and confirmed by KIIs in Farchana and Hadjer Hadid):

- Rental of land for the growing season, with the price a function of soil fertility and proximity to camp and varying between 15,000 and 40,000 per 0,54 hectare (an option open only to wealthier refugees)
- A system of sharecropping through which the refugee remits 50% of the harvest to the landowner
- Day labor
- Free access

Government officials are clear in their promotion of granting free access to land for refugee cultivation; as one said, ‘*It is not normal that someone who has labored on a field for three months can only keep 3 of the 6 sacks of grain produced while the owner who has rested comfortably all this time takes the rest from him*’ (KII sub-prefect, Hadjer Hamid); and while this may be beginning to change, field work revealed that various sharecropping arrangements persist (see testimonies below). As key informants in Farchana put it: ‘*If you want to cultivate rocky land you can have it for free; if you want fertile land, you sharecrop*’ (KII partners and decentralized government services, Hadjer Hadid). The head of the HCR sub-office in Hadjer Hadid suggests that humanitarian assistance may even have contributed to the problem, as they negotiated access to land on behalf of refugees and local populations saw this as a



means of profiting from the refugees who otherwise had previously been granted free access (KII HCR, Hadjer Hadid)

#### **1.2.4 Continuing challenges**

Diminished funding for humanitarian activities is identified as one of the key constraints facing refugee and host community support, according to local HCR staff, along with problems of coordination, lack of viable statistics, and some continuing problems of protection. One staff member highlighted issues arising from decreased rationing for refugees which, among other things, has aggravated household conflicts and left women more vulnerable to divorce, which is common among these polygamous groups (KIIs HCR, Farchana and Hadjer Hadid)

Transitioning refugees from a dependency on external assistance to increased economic autonomy has also been a challenge, particularly in view of limited employment opportunities and the challenges of agriculture in a Sahelian environment marked by rocky and hilly terrain which limits agricultural land (KIIs HCR, Farchana). One HCR staff member also explained that ‘ *Unlike in Bagasola, where HCR has tried from the outset to integrate livelihood support into its programs of assistance, here in the East we – and other humanitarian organizations - have just given, given, and given, which makes it hard to withdraw such direct assistance now*’ (KII HCR, Hadjer Hadid). The head of the HCR sub-office in Hadjer Hadid puts it this way:

*‘As a humanitarian response to the influx of refugees, we had to furnish everything – food distribution, primary health care, water and sanitation, education. Then, we had to innovate and put in place accompanying support for agriculture, animal husbandry, and income-generating activities through provision of credit. Little by little as we evolved, we at times became prisoners of this system and local populations complained because they were not benefiting.’* (KII HCR, Hadjer Hadid)

## **2. Key findings from field work**

### **2.1 Bredjing refugee camp**

#### **2.1.1 Overview of the camp and services**






Bredjing was opened in May 2004 to accommodate refugees from Sudan fleeing the crisis in Darfur in early 2003, taking in the overflow from the initial camp established in Farchana. Bredjing is now the largest camp in Chad and reportedly the third largest in Africa, covering an area of 1,930,000 m<sup>2</sup> and housing 45,585 refugees in 10,866 households, the overwhelming majority of Massalit ethnicity (98%), with small minorities such as Fur, Zaghawa and Tama. The refugee population in Bredjing accounts for 36% of all refugees covered by the UNHCR sub-office in Farchana. The camp is located six km from the town of Hadjer Hadid; 20 km from the town of Farchana; and 72 km from the Sudanese border (UNHCR Farchana, 2018; KII camp leaders, Bredjing).

Camp statistics indicate that over half of the refugees in Bredjing are female (53%); adult women aged 18-59 make up over a quarter (27%) of all refugees compared to just 20% among men in the same age group. Key HCR partners in the camp include CNARR (camp management, registration and monitoring); ADES (health referral mechanisms); AIRD (logistics and supply); APLFT (legal assistance and SGBV); HIAS (community mobilization, people with special needs, distribution of food and non-food items); IRC (health, HIV, nutrition, water, hygiene and sanitation); JRS (education and child protection); FLM/LWF (livelihoods, energy, environment, shelters and infrastructure); and RET (secondary and higher education). (UNHCR Farchana, 2018 and KIIs HCR and partners, Hadjer Hadid). **Table 12** (next page) shows some key impact and performance indicators.

The health center infrastructure in the camp consists of seven buildings, four hangers and two latrines. The buildings house a pharmacy, a consultation room, and nutrition wing, maternity facilities, prenatal consultation room, an observation room and laboratory, and an isolation room while the hangers serve for immunizations, dental service, and triage for general treatment and maternity care. Health personnel include one doctor (who serves the two camps of Bredjing and Treguine); five trained nurses; four health assistants (three refugees and one national); two midwives, one immunization supervisor and one non-certified assistant pharmacist (KII IRC. Bredjing).

The center offers the minimum packet of primary health care including: preventive and curative consultations; pre-and post-natal consultations; normal deliveries; prevention and treatment of malnutrition; expanded program of immunization; family health and promotion of condom use; mental health consultations; community health; pharmacy and a referral system to hospitals in Adré and Abéché. Surgery is not conducted at the center. Key health problems that are treated include acute respiratory infections, malaria, lower back and joint pain, wounds, skin infections, intestinal parasites, malnutrition and sexually-transmitted diseases. (KII IRC, Bredjing).

*Table 12. Key impact and performance indicators, Bredjing refugee camp*

 <b>Protection</b>	 <b>Livelihood</b>	 <b>Public Health</b>	 <b>Education</b>	 <b>WASH</b>
# Resettlement Departures 2018 <b>00</b>	# of PoC receiving production kits or inputs <b>1044</b>	Under 5 Mortality Rates <b>0.24%</b>	#children are enrolled in Primary School <b>5868</b>	Water Liters/Per(s)/Day <b>11.8</b>
% Refugees with Valid ID Docs <b>81</b>	# of PoC receiving loans <b>391</b>	Crude mortality rate <b>0.10%</b> per 1000 population/month	youths are in Secondary School (lower and upper) <b>953</b>	% refugees living 200m from tap <b>94.2</b>
% of Birth Certificates <b>00</b>	# students enrolled in vocational training centre <b>26</b>	Acute Malnutrition (6 to 59 Months) <b>5.4%</b>	% of teachers who are female <b>43</b>	# Person(s)/Water Tap <b>235</b>
% Female Camp Leaders <b>50</b>	# Vocational training center <b>1</b>	% Assisted Births <b>100</b>	# of children per teacher <b>70</b>	% Family with Latrine <b>41</b>

*Source: UNHCR Farchana, 2018*

According to our IRC informant, key challenges and constraints include the dilapidated nature of the structures which do not conform to accepted health standards and the lack of trained personnel (1 medical doctor for 45,575 refugees in Bredjing alone, along with villages who come for consultation and treatment, which is far from WHO norms of 1 doctor / 10,000 inhabitants). Under-staffing affects the quality of care that can be offered, with staff seeing from 30-60 people a day. There are also ruptures in the supply of medicines as well as lack of a cold chain for vaccines (KII IRC, Bredjing). The situation of refugee health assistants remains problematic in terms of payment (based on a daily stipend of 2,000/day) and training (initial training only in 2012, with no refresher training). (KII refugee health assistant, Bredjing).

There are ten schools in the camp – eight primary schools and one CEG (college of general education) managed by JRS and a lycée managed by RET. There are 7,353 primary level pupils (of whom 20 are local village children) and 1,000 secondary level students (of whom only 2 are local children). Teaching staff in the primary schools (98) and CEG (19) has been composed entirely of refugees, with HCR supporting all school personnel salaries (55,000 FCFA/month for inspectors; 54,000 FCFA/month for directors; and 53,000 FCFA for teachers). Teacher/student ratio in primary is 1/130; and 1/220 in secondary compared to HCR norms of 1/40. In line with the ‘Chadianization’ of the refugee camp schools, the government affected one teacher to teach French in the schools (where the language of instruction is Arabic); however the national teacher strike prevented him from working, so another teacher has been trained as a master teacher for training of the existing Sudanese teachers. The curricula, initially Sudanese, is now fully aligned with Chadian national curricula. (KII camp school, Bredjing)

While schooling was initially offered for free, a change towards cost recovery was instituted in 2015, with parents now obliged to pay monthly fees of 200 FCFA for primary; 250 for college; and 500 for lycée, in line with Chadian national education standards. The curricula, initially Sudanese, is now fully aligned with Chadian national curricula (KII camp school, Bredjing).

UNICEF and NGOs have supported material and equipment for the schools. Each school is equipped with two latrines and seven out of the nine schools have at least one water source installed by IRC. There is no program for provision of school meals in any of the schools (KII camp school, Bredjing).

Key challenges and constraints identified by our key informant include the limited number of teachers to cater to such a large student population and the absence of regular in-service training opportunities; an insufficient number of classrooms and desk sets for pupils; and lack of fencing around the schools to prevent the presence of animals (KII camp school, Bredjing).

### ***2.1.2 Refugee experiences and perceptions***

In addition to our key informants, we spoke in all to eight groups of refugees (camp leaders, men, women, male youth, female youth, women and girls who were victims of SGBV, and mixed groups (men and women) of refugees with special needs and poor refugees) as well as to a number of individuals (the camp president, president of the women's committee; a male member of a mixed group refugees/villagers; a woman married to a villager but abandoned by her husband; and a girl with the Bac who is unable to continue with higher education. The following are some of the critical themes that arose in discussions:

#### ***Characteristics of life in Sudan***

Most refugees have come from agro-pastoral backgrounds (combining rain-fed agriculture with off-season gardening and animal-raising – cattle, small ruminants, some camels) and were also engaged in commerce (including animal trading for the men and petty commerce of garden produce and food stuffs for women as well as sugar and salt). Men noted there was limited to no presence of development programs in their localities but there were certain local mechanisms for collective intra-group assistance, particularly in the case of those who were ill or unable to work (FGD refugee men, Bredjing). Women noted an abundance of milk back home from their animals and also spoke longingly of the fruit trees they possessed (FGD women refugees, Bredjing).

Refugees from larger villages had some access to education and health services, but those from smaller villages did not (KII refugee camp managers, Bredjing). Often one school was intended to serve a cluster of villages – some more distant than others, making access difficult; security was also a concern (FGD young refugee men, Bredjing). Men noted that education was not free in Sudan and that only a small proportion of children attended school since most were destined to a life as agro-pastoralists in the rural economy; schooling for girls was particularly limited. (FGD refugee men, Bredjing) Young women confirmed that girls' education was very restricted as a combined result of early marriages and lack of parental importance on education for girls (FGD young women refugees, Bredjing).

Women and girls were responsible for all domestic chores (searching for water, preparing meals, caring for children, maintaining the house; boys were in charge of taking animals to pasture and watering points (FGD young women refugees, Bredjing). Boys and girls also collected fodder for animals in the bush (FGD young refugee men, Bredjing). Marriages were arranged through a bride-price system, with the required amount, goods and animals given in advance to reserve the girl for the time she matured (FGD young men refugees, Bredjing). Men were 'of course' heads of household in their society and in the context of polygamy, which was and remains the norm, domestic conflict was common, particularly if men failed to treat their wives equally and jealousy arose. Or a man could fail to provide his wife with enough food or clothing and conflict arises. Commonly, in such cases, *'Men resort to the stick'*. (FGDs refugee men and young men, Bredjing) The younger men admit that women work more than men: *'The wife works right alongside of her husband in the fields, and then coming home also prepares the meals, takes care of children and everything else'* (FGD young men refugees, Bredjing).

#### ***Experiences and circumstances of flight***

The refugees recount vivid and traumatic experiences of displacement caused by the combined government and ‘Janjaweed’ assault and atrocities against specific ethnic groups in Darfur (particularly the Massalit, Fur and Zaghawa, but also others). The government came in armed vehicles and bombarded villages from the air, while the Janjaweed came on horseback. The attacks would often come in the middle of the night or around 4 am, when everyone was asleep, and ‘*They had a system: first they killed the people; then they stole our goods; then they burned our villages.*’ At times they would throw children into the burning huts – wrenching them from the arms of their mothers; at times they would also throw Korans into the fire. Many men were killed, but some were bound and led-off, never to be heard from again. ‘*Still today, we do not know how many died, without being buried, their bodies left to be eaten by dogs.*’ Women too were raped, killed and taken away. (KII refugee camp managers, Bredjing). Older people who had been left behind because they were unable to flee were also slaughtered (FGD young refugee men, Bredjing). According to some accounts, the cries of the Janjaweed were ‘*Kill the blacks! Kill the blacks!*’ As one man recounted:

*In November 2003, my village was attacked on the first day of Ramadan. They came on horseback, pillaged the village and destroyed our houses. The second attack came 18 days later in December when very early in the morning the village was surrounded by 500 horsemen who attacked, leaving 43 dead.*’ (FGD refugee men, Bredjing)

Those who could, fled into the bush – some ending up in IDP camps within Sudan, others, like them, crossing over into Chad as refugees (KII refugee camp managers, Bredjing), and still others going south towards CAR (FGD refugee men, Bredjing). One woman recounted the hardships along the way – with days of walking or riding on donkeys before they arrived in Chad, recalling that: ‘*I saw families leave children who had grown too weak to walk by the wayside with a small bottle of water as the rest of the family moved on*’ (FGD women refugees, Bredjing).

The Government of Chad opened its borders to them and NGOs provided assistance – for that they will be eternally grateful: ‘*There were even Chadian soldiers who lost their lives for us in their efforts to ensure security at the border*’ (KII, refugee camp managers, Bredjing). Sometimes families who had fled separately were reunited at the border – other times no. Some at first settled close to the border, but because of the prevailing insecurity were later resettled in camp here (FGD refugee men, Bredjing).

### **Community timeline**

Refugee men were asked to reconstitute a timeline of critical events since their flight from Sudan (FGD refugee men, Bredjing and additional inputs): the results are summarized in [table 13](#).

**Table 13. Community timeline, refugees in Bredjing camp**

<b>Type of shock</b>	<b>2003/4</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2013</b>	<b>2017/18</b>
<b>Socio-political insecurity and violence</b>	Attacks by the Janjaweed and Sudanese government		Aggressions against women; rapes in the bush; SGBV in camp; establishment of guard system	Robberies in camp
<b>Environmental conditions/habitat</b>	Destruction of homes, property, fields	Environmental degradation around camps and surrounding areas	Restriction on cutting of firewood; authorization only for use of dead wood	
<b>Food security</b>	Hunger, lack of means of production, reliance on HCR and NGOs	Distribution limited to 1 koro/person		
<b>Response strategy</b>	International humanitarian assistance	Increasing cultivation of agricultural lands through sharecropping system and other IGAs	Seasonal migrations to rainy season cultivation areas	

*Source: FGD men, Bredjing refugee camp*

### **Conditions of life and social services in camp**

At first, all of the needs of the refugees were taken care of; now, however, rations have been cut and they have problems making ends meet. According to camp leaders, rations were initially enough for 50 kg of sorghum (equivalent to about 3,500 to 4,000 FCFA) for 4 persons, but five years ago this was cut to about 1 *koro*<sup>6</sup> per person (equivalent to 150 FCFA). For the past four months, however, a new system has been established of coupons of 3,000 FCFA/person (with no limit to the number of people within a household; hence 10 people = 30,000 FCFA). These coupons can be exchanged for various food items that merchants bring to the camp (KII refugee camp managers, Bredjing).

While the coupon system works well, camp leaders note that the amount is not enough to enable households to make ends meet (and compare this to what they say are coupons worth 6,000 per person in refugee camps in Goz Beida). Refugees we spoke to indicate that rations bought with the coupons can last a household between 15 and 25 days, depending on the size of the family and other factors. Some say they would prefer money in lieu of coupons. (KII refugee camp managers, Bredjing). Men point out that the coupons only serve in exchange for staples like millet, maize, beans, pasta, rice, oil, salt and groundnuts. *'But no meat, no fish, no sardines, no chicken. With 3,000 FCFA how to get through the month when a chicken in the market costs 3,000 FCFA? How to access these other foodstuffs?'* Meals therefore consist primarily of boule (FGD refugee men, Bredjing): *'We eat boule twice a day, morning and night – and some people only once a day'* (FGD young men refugees, Bredjing).

There are reportedly significant wealth differentials among refugees in the camp: as one poor refugee reported: *'Me, I have only one donkey and am poor: others have a number of assets such as boutiques'* (FGD mixed group poor refugees, Bredjing)

Refugee families were allotted small parcels for their homes – some 6 x 6 meters (FGD young refugee men, Bredjing). Temporary shelters were first provided for them; since then they have been able to build more permanent mud-brick houses and today the camp has the appearance of a large and densely packed village. Some complain that houses are too close together – in urban style – which is very different from the more spacious village settings they are used to (FGDs refugee men and women, Bredjing). There is a water tower and water points have been provided, though some say these are insufficient; only some sections of the camp have water faucets (FGDs young women and men refugees, Bredjing). Firewood for household use is also difficult to find: this used to be provided for them, but now the women have to go out to search for it up to 4-5 km from the camp, transporting it home on the back of donkeys (FGDs, refugee men and young refugee girls, Bredjing). (see details on risks involved below).

Refugees express appreciation for the health center in the camp, but note that since 2014/15 or so there has been a reduction in personnel, due, they say, to budgetary reductions, which has led to a deterioration in the type and quality of services. There is sometimes also a lack of medicines. (KII, refugee camp managers, Bredjing; FGDs refugee men, and refugee women victims of violence, Bredjing). Young women note that they now wait a longer time for treatment and often get discouraged, taking recourse instead to informal *'Dr. Choukrou'* (untrained 'bush doctors') to obtain medicines not available to them at the health center and observe that these are expensive (FGD young women refugees, Bredjing).

Common health problems reported include malaria, ARI, diarrheal diseases and even typhoid (FGD women refugee victims of violence, Bredjing). Families who leave the camp for the long months of the rainy season have no access to health care in the villages surrounding these distant fields, leaving them vulnerable (KII president, women refugee's committee, Bredjing). Problems can also arise with referrals to Adré or Abéché where, say some, they often have to wait 2-3 days for treatment and feel that local people are sometimes given preference. Care and treatment for the chronically ill at the center is particularly unsatisfactory, including HIV/AIDS, cancer, diabetes (KII refugee camp managers, Bredjing; FGD refugee men, Bredjing). As one group put it, *'Those with chronic illnesses hang around*

---

<sup>6</sup> A koro is a local measure using a bowl-shaped receptacle: 1 koro sugar = around 2 kg

for too long without treatment’ (FGD mixed group poor refugees, Bredjing). The president of the camp concurs: ‘Our chronically ill cannot continue to be put on stand-by’ (KII, camp president, Bredjing) (See [box 16](#) for examples). The younger men also complain that HCR does not facilitate medical evacuations for refugees who have received prescriptions for such evacuations (FGD young refugee men, Bredjing).

**Box 16. Testimonies of refugees with chronic illnesses**

- One man, aged 57 suffers from diabetes and has not been able to get appropriate treatment for this. ‘If you have money’, he says ‘Maybe you can be treated, but if not, it is difficult’. He came to the interview with a list of 18 other names of diabetes sufferers in in camp bloc, saying none of them have been able to get treatment for their illness.
- Two women (aged 42 and 57) also suffer from diabetes. The first, twice widowed, with 6 children and one child killed while out herding animals here, has for the past 2-3 years had pain all over her body, especially in her feet and legs and now walks only with difficulty with a cane. She has been given a variety of pills (she showed us the different packets) but nothing seems to work. The second, married with 5 children, says both she, her husband, as well as one of their adult children all suffer from diabetes with its debilitating effects that prevent them from working in the fields. She says she receives injections and pills from the health center but this does not improve her condition and because both she and her husband are unable to work, she now no longer has enough money to engage in petty commerce in the market.
- A widow with 5 children (her husband killed by one of her co-wives) suffers from a wound she had received 14 years ago when she was beaten with a log while fleeing her village. She has been referred 4 times to the hospital in Abéché, for tests, scans and the like but has only been given pills (perhaps for pain management?) which she takes, but which upset her stomach and do not seem to have an effect. Her pain prevents her from working in the fields or performing heavy labor.
- A woman aged 28, married for 9 years to a butcher in the camp and with 3 children has been affected for 8 years by a paralyzed leg which causes pain and allows her to walk only with difficulty and the use of a cane. She has been referred 4 times to Adré and 4 times to Abéché, but there has been no explanation given for the affliction and there has been no change – she receives medication for the pain. She noted the presence of other mobility-restricted refugees in the camp and suggested that distribution of bike-carts would be beneficial for them.
- A 35-year-old woman with no children and divorced from her husband lives alone in the camp and suffers from a pelvic infection contracted during her marriage, accompanied by the growth of a mass in her pelvis. She has been referred to Abéché 4 times and received some treatment, but there has been no change in her condition, so she lives in constant pain, unable to do any work except petty commerce in the market.
- A woman aged 43 suffers from long-term goiter, with a huge swelling on her neck. She says she receives pills at the health center, but these do not have any effect. She relies on her husband to support the household.

Source: FGD chronically ill refugees, Bredjing

The schools in the camp are appreciated, and it is noted that access to education is easier here than it had been back home in Sudan (FGD refugee men, Bredjing). Nevertheless, many refugees note that the cost-recovery measures recently established make it difficult for some parents to maintain their children in school. This is especially difficult for parents with large families: ‘If you don’t pay, they send your child home from school; we have to sell our rations to support all the costs of schooling – both fees and clothes, soap and the like’. (FGD, mixed group poor refugees, Bredjing) One man with five children noted that he must pay to send them both to Koranic school (at 500 FCFA per child per month) and to public school (at 200 FCFA per child per month) meaning that he has to come up with 3,500 FCFA per month and worries that if he does not pay this, ‘my children will abandon school and become bandits’ (FGD, mixed group poor refugees, Bredjing). Some also mentioned an apparently new policy of asking refugees to pay for new school construction – at 750/household, which some find too much on top of everything else (KII president women refugees’ committee, Bredjing).

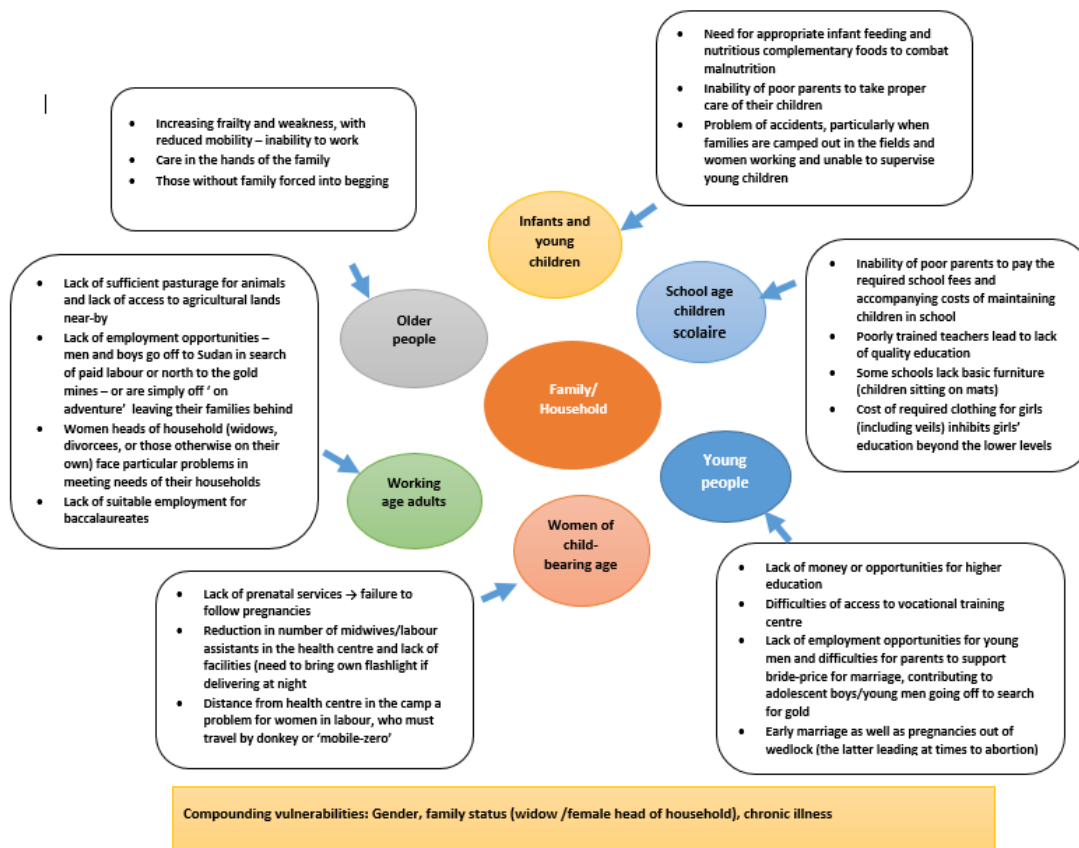
Parents point to the importance to education of raising the amounts of the food ration for families: this would allow them both to: i) better feed their children so that they are ready to learn and ii) sell part of their rations to meet school fees (FGD mixed group poor refugees, Bredjing). Children without parents to support them, such as orphans, are particularly vulnerable (FGD mixed group poor refugees, Bredjing).

Conditions in the schools are also in need of attention: some buildings need repair and there are not enough class rooms for all of the students and some take their classes outside under a tree. Low teacher pay leads to teacher absenteeism of abandonment and lack of teachers leads to teacher student ratios of 1/100. Frustration is high as well around the shortage of opportunities for the pursuit of higher education – we were told that for the 2016/17 school year, out of 155 baccalaureates in the camp only four were given places and support for study in Abéché. Lack of such opportunities for refugee youth is an important push factor for male youth to travel north in search of gold or, according to the younger men, to attempt to migrate to Europe for a better life, with some dying on the way (KII, refugee camp managers; FGDs refugee men, young men, and mixed group poor refugees, Bredjing).

Some note that security in the camp has deteriorated recently as the number of security guards has been reduced to three; this has resulted in a rise of incidents of violent thefts of motor bikes, animals and household goods (FGDs refugee men, and young refugee women, Bredjing)

Women were asked to identify any particular vulnerabilities refugees in the camp face by age group (FGD women refugees, Bredjing): the results are summarized in *figure 11*.

*Figure 11. Life-cycle vulnerabilities for refugees in Bredjing camp*



Source: FGD adult women, Bredjing refugee camp

### Livelihood activities and constraints

*'Back home, our spirits were calm: we had our land, our fields, our animals, our families, and we lived spread out in our villages. Here we are all concentrated together, without land, without stocks. We are not independent: we are always worried about making ends meet and are always counting the days of our rations.'* (FGD, mixed group poor refugees, Bredjing)

Unlike conditions in Bélom in the south, where agricultural lands demarcated around the camp were allotted to refugees for cultivation, refugees in Bredjing have to seek access to land from private land-owners. According to camp leaders, use of such land can be acquired under varying conditions: 1) sharecropping arrangements through which either a third or a half of the harvest is given to the land-owner (and some refugees insisting that this can rise to up to 2/3 of the harvest); or 2) rental of land for those who have means (1/2 hectare for 50,000 FCFA according to some; ¼ hectare for 10,000 FCFA according to others). Such land is usually some distance from the camp – 20-25 km and beyond, requiring households to move to those areas during the rainy season of cultivation. (KII refugee camp managers and FGD women refugee victims of violence, Bredjing). Some refugees report that they also work on land as laborers for pay; the younger men state that they earn 3,000 FCFA for 3 days of work on a plot of 30 x20 meters (FGD young refugee men, Bredjing) while others say that the pay can range between 1,000 – 1,500 per day or negotiated according to the dimensions (FGD mixed group poor refugees, Bredjing).

Interestingly (or revealingly) the refugees we spoke to in the camp did not mention the third option set out by key informants, of villagers granting access to land for free. As young women put it: *‘The local populations really exploit us. Imagine, you are the one doing all of the work right up through harvest time, but you have to split the harvest in half – one half for the landowner and one half only for you. It’s really painful’* (FGD young women refugees, Bredjing). The president of the camp concurs that the current system is unfair: *‘Villagers have land they are not cultivating. A refugee comes in, clears it and cultivates and the next year the villager takes it back, without having done any of the work’* (KII, camp president, Bredjing).

Some refugees – both men and women - also participate in the mixed gardening groups (refugees/villagers) supported by FLM around *wadis*, with 20-30 people in a group and groups sharing a well and technical assistance provided by FLM. One man said that around 20% of his current income comes from his work in a gardening group (IDI male refugee, Bredjing). But a number of these we spoke to pointed to significant problems with such projects (see [box 17](#)).

#### ***Box 17. Refugee experiences in group gardening projects, Bredjing***

- In one group, while a motor pump had been supplied, this had broken down, so now they need to dig for water in the *wadis*, with women transporting this to the gardens on their heads. The president of the women refugees’ committee noted that her group had not yet received the motor pump promised by FLM so they still need to dig for water manually. (KII refugee camp managers, Bredjing)
- One refugee involved in a gardening project for the past two years said that with promises of support, *‘They [the NGO] encourage us to join, but then they abandon us’* and groups end up producing a single sack of groundnuts to be split among 15 members; another confirmed that her group was also not successful, noting problems with the quality of the land. (FGD, mixed group poor refugees, Bredjing)
- Still others report problems with the conservation of their produce and transport to market. (FGD women refugee victims of violence, Bredjing)

A large market in the camp serves both refugees and surrounding villagers. Sale of firewood, brick-making, brewing alcohol, house work are common income-generating activities for women (see below) while men may work as masons, carpenters or other laborers, or seek fodder for sale in the bush. KII, refugee camp managers and FGDs refugee men and young men, Bredjing).

The majority of places (60%) at the vocational training center are reserved for refugees; however, it is more difficult for refugees to access this since the center was moved to Hadjer Hadid (KII refugee camp managers and FGD refugee men, Bredjing). Some refugees made mention of various forms of support they had received for income generating activities (distribution of small ruminants; creation of groups around a peanut grinding machine, credit groups) but from some accounts, these were either of limited coverage, or short duration, or of uncertain outcome. Moreover, refugees were not always clear on the criteria or processes of selection for participation in such initiatives. Some, for example, said they had all indicated interest in an FLM-supported credit program, *‘But the list had already been established*



when we came to sign up' and they do not know why they were excluded (FGD mixed group poor refugees, Bredjing).

One young refugee man said that he had participated in a mixed group of male and female refugees in a project with a rolling fund of 300,000 FCFA, out of which after three months they were able to make a profit of 150,000 which they then used to help with agricultural production. He also noted that this year, FLM had distributed small ruminants to selected beneficiaries in the camp, with the apparent objective of allowing the animals to reproduce - leaving recipients with the offspring and thereafter recycling the initial animals to others; the time allowed for reproduction, however, was apparently too short (FGD mixed group poor refugees, Bredjing).

### **2.1.3 Refugee-host community relations and interactions**

#### **Evolution over time**

Relations seem to have evolved over time. Women recalled somewhat ruefully how at first both communities had distrusted each other. A one put it: *'We thought that the Chadians were going to eat us, while the Chadians thought that the refugees were going to eat them!'* And it was only after some time of peaceful cohabitation, that trust was build up *'because we saw that no one was actually eating anyone else!'* Some women noted that the neighboring village of Bredjing (primarily Massalit) was more receptive to the refugees (also Massalit) than the other neighboring village of Lira (mostly other Ouaddaïn ethnic groups) (FGD refugee women, Bredjing).

Men also explain that relations have developed over time and that refugees and villagers now encounter each other frequently in the market, in the mosque, at the health center, in the fields and on the occasion of marriages (mostly marriages of refugee women with village men – not the other way around) (FGD refugee men, Bredjing).

#### **Relations among women**

Young women said that they knew many village women from time spent together at the market, both in the camp and in neighboring villages, explaining that there is not much difference between them and they can communicate easily in Massalit and Arabic. They also meet each other at the health center in camp and say that there has never been any conflict between them (FGD young refugee women, Bredjing). Young men meet up with villagers at the market, school, mosque, cine-club, and football field, and also say that communication (in Massalit and Arabic) is easy and that they get along together well, though there are sometimes tensions and conflicts with villagers who are not from the immediate surroundings and come to the camp to steal and commit crimes (FGD young refugee men, Bredjing).

Refugee women said that they got along well with village women in the mixed gardening groups they participate in: *'These work 100%'*, claimed the president of the refugee women's committee (KII refugee camp managers, Bredjing). Other women who have participated in a mixed refugee/villager group for income generation around a grinding mill also said they all get along well and have become friends – helping each other out and participating in ceremonies together (FGD women refugees, Bredjing).

#### **A mixed committee for refugees and host populations**

A mixed committee - of which the president of the camp is vice-president since 2014 – has been established to address issues related to refugee-host relations, meeting once a month with the government and NGOs in Hadjer Hadid. Other members of the committee include the brother of the cantonal chief (president), the former president of Treguine refugee camp (secretary), a village chief (vice secretary), the president of the women's association of Hadjer Hadid (treasurer) and a woman refugee bloc chief (vice treasurer). There are also 4 counselors – 2 refugees and 2 from the local community (KII camp president, Bredjing). There are delegates to the committee in each village who form part of a volunteer network to keep an eye on things, report problems, and help in sensitization campaigns (KII camp president, Bredjing).

The committee was instituted in response problems early on including aggressions against refugee women in the surrounding bush, which provoked a reaction among refugees to close of the camps from the local population. Now, however, there have been numerous campaigns around peaceful cohabitation as well as more joint projects and collaboration between refugees and villagers in agricultural and commercial activities, for example. Refugees who work on village lands outside of the camp, in other cantons, can turn to the chiefs of the villages for assistance in time of need. One issue the committee has been working on has been that of land attribution to the refugees, trying to replace the sharecropper arrangements with guarantees of free attribution of land to refugees. Other issues that have arisen have been thefts of day wages paid to refugees working as laborers on these lands by highway robbers who attack them on the way home, knowing they have money in their pockets (KII refugee camp president, Bredjing).

### *Some problems with youth*

Another issue that has arisen recently involves the youth: *'Here we adults respect each other; the problems between refugees and villagers arise particularly among the youth'*. Young villagers are said to come into the camp on motorbikes, causing accidents and disturbing the peace (KII camp managers, Bredjing). This happens a lot, say others, *'And we can do nothing about it – we cannot forbid them to come into the camp'* (FGD mixed group poor refugees Bredjing). *'These young villagers come here in search of girls'*, explained one male refugee *'And even outside the camp, it is they who aggress our girls when they go off to search for fire wood.'* (IDI male refugee, Bredjing). Elsewhere villagers harassing refugees drawing water from wadi beds and filling their wells up with sand (KII camp managers, Bredjing).

When asked about any ethnic tensions between the refugees and local populations, the camp president said that this is not the case, as many share a common heritage as Massalit or similar groups; there are, however, certain ethnic groups which both local populations and refugees have conflicts with, including the Zaghawa, Arabs and Goran (KII camp president, Bredjing).

### *Inter-marriage*

The president of the camp holds that – with the exception of problems with youth, and thanks in part to the work of the mixed committee, relations between refugees and villagers are currently generally good. One mark of this, he says, may be the number of marriages that take place between village men and refugee women: such marriages do not normally take place the other way around, partly because of the bride price issue: bride price for village girls (cattle, goats, jewelry, cloth and other goods) is much higher than bride price for refugee girls (150,000 and a sack of sugar) and therefore out of range for refugee men (KII refugee camp president, Bredjing).

As with all marriages, however, those between refugees and villagers can be highly unstable: one 31-year-old woman refugee married to a man from a nearby village has since been abandoned by him and now lives in the camp with her 3 children trying, like everyone else, to make ends meet. Her problems came about when she discovered that he was a thief and she objected to the stolen good he brought into the house: this led to the split, and relations with her former in-laws in the neighboring village have disintegrated as they blame her for ruining their son's marriage: *'I wish I had never married a villager'* she sighs, *'And I would not have, had I only know what would happen'* (IDI, woman refugee, Bredjing).

#### *2.1.4 Gender-specific vulnerabilities and potential*

Women in the focus group we encountered were roughly equally split between married women (45%) and widows (45% - the majority of whom were widowed during the attacks in Sudan), with the remainder (10%) divorced. Most marital unions (80%) were polygamous. In the group, with an average age of 40, women had an average of 5.6 children, with numbers ranging from 1-9; average household size was also very large at 6.5 – ranging from 2-10. In all cases of married women, the husband was considered the head (even if traveling and absent from the household for a long time); only in cases of widowhood or divorce did women assume headship. Most women were either without education (44%)

or with primary level only (FGD, women refugees, Bredjing). Other women with whom we spoke included those in mixed groups of camp leaders and poor and chronically ill refugees; as well as focus groups with women victims of violence and younger women and a number of individuals, including the president of the women refugee committee in the camp.

### ***Economic activities and livelihoods***

Women labor alongside men on agricultural lands during the rainy season; for women refugee heads of household, access to such land is more complicated than for men and must be mediated through a male ‘tutor’ to help them negotiate with land owners (FGD mixed group poor refugees, Bredjing). Women also make up a large portion of those involved in gardening projects (KII camp managers, Bredjing). Women report that their menfolk prefer to go off in the off-season in search of other employment opportunities in urban areas or to search for gold in the north, leaving women as the majority to work in gardens (FGD women refugee victims of violence, Bredjing). The president of the women refugees committee confirms that overwork is a key problem for women, whose men are either off ‘on adventure’ – off looking for gold for years at a time, sending nothing home to support their families - or sitting in the shade doing nothing: this was not the case, she claims, in Sudan, where households had land and animals and men had clearly defined tasks and responsibilities (KII president of refugee women’s association, Bredjing).

Some of the women we spoke to have participated in income-generating projects involving credit, but we were not able to gain precise details on these. According to the president of the women’s committee, these are run by FLM and involve credits for groups to engage in petty commerce (garden produce, retail sales of peanut oil, for example, from local wholesalers) as well as food transformation (peanut paste) and preparation (beignets) (KII president of women refugees’ committee, Bredjing). Some groups were apparently mixed (male/female) and others just women; some women note that they prefer to work in single gender groups because ‘*If men are involved in these groups, they ‘eat’ everything*’. (FGD, refugee women). Or they simply take everything ‘*by force*’ (KII, president of women refugees’ committee, Bredjing).

Some said that they used to participate in local women’s savings and credit associations (tontines or Pare) back home in Sudan but not now since they have become refugees (FGDs, refugee women, and women refugees victims of violence, Bredjing). Others said they had continued such tontines in the camp (groups of 12 or so contributing 100 FCFA each week and distributing the proceeds to one member each month; while this apparently worked well for a time, there were eventually too many movements of members – including for the rainy season cultivation period, so eventually the group dissolved (FGD mixed group poor refugees, Bredjing). One woman says that she hesitates to participate in such groups for fear her money will ‘*be eaten*’ (IDI woman refugee, Bredjing).

The president of the women’s refugee committee notes that for both groups supported by FLM and local ‘parés’ a key challenge is that social needs for the earnings from these groups are high (to support children’s education, for example education) leaving women who participate in such groups with little left over from the proceeds to invest back into productive activities (KII president of women refugees’ committee, Bredjing).

Some women (along with men) have been able to find employment with NGOs operating in the camp (as health assistance, community outreach workers and the like. One woman, who works for HIAS as a community mobilizer and outreach worker for refugees with special needs notes that there are 40 such workers in the camp, each earning 25,000 per month (FGD vulnerable refugees, Bredjing).

Women also engage in other income generating activities such as brick-making for sale for construction [insert picture], housework or clothes-washing in Hadjer Hadid, or day labor on the gardens of others – particularly in watering plants (KII, refugee camp managers, Bredjing). Many engage in petty commerce in the market (sale of groundnuts or oil, vegetables, perfume or go off to the bush to gather animal fodder for sale or to gather other natural products (savonnier, jujubier). One woman with whom we spoke had undergone technical training for the manufacture of doors and windows and has now set

up a little workshop in her home where she takes jobs. Asked whether this was considered unusual for a woman, she replied *'I don't really care what others say, as this is something that brings in good money'* (FGD refugee women, Bredjing). Other young women spoke of washing clothes for villagers in Hadjer Hadid (at 500 to 1,000 FCFA per day) or performing housework for them (at 10,000 to 12,500 for a full day's work) (FGD young women refugees, Bredjing).

### **Firewood and fodder**

In terms of making ends meet, women note that *'For those of us who have husbands to help out in the household, things are ok, but for the others, who are either widowed or abandoned, life is very hard'* (KII camp managers, Bredjing). In the past, women would go into the bush to collect firewood for sale as a means of income-generation, but this has now been outlawed, though some refugees continue the practice by cover of night. By day or night, the search for firewood can be risky. Women's responsibilities for gathering firewood and fodder in the bush expose them to violence and aggression (FGD young refugee men, Bredjing). Women speak of both the tiring nature of this hunt for firewood and the problems they encounter in the bush where, they say *'Agents of the Water and Forestry Department seize even dead wood from us out of pure meanness'* (FGD women refugee victims of violence, Bredjing).

One woman from the camp lost a tooth when her firewood was violently taken from her outside the camp (KII camp managers, Bredjing). Such violence can even befall men who engage in these same tasks, with reports of *'masked bandits'* on the prowl who *'grab everything from you – even your hoe'*: one older man vividly recounts being attacked by such bandits, disguised as Water and Forestry department agents and actually taken *'hostage'* until his adult sons came to pay a *'ransom'* (FGD mixed group of poor refugees, Bredjing).

### **Violence against women**

The president of the women's association highlights violence against women as a key problem. This is of two types: rape, particularly when women are off in the bush looking for firewood and fodder (with about 3 or 4 a year, occurring particularly in the rainy season, and a number of pregnancies resulting from this); and domestic violence at the hands of husbands. This latter is seen to have risen during the time that rations were cut: *'When there is but one koro per person and a man finds that his many wives and children are making too many demands on him, violence breaks out.'* (KII president of refugee women's committee, Bredjing)

A group of women victims of SGBV report that they suffer from general problems of domestic violence from their husbands as well as problems when their husband aggressively attempt to grab any income they make from their productive activities or when they refuse to allow their wives to frequent the health center in case of illness. The women attribute such violence primarily to alcohol consumption and poverty; they complain that their husbands just sit around all day without either exercising or seeking any economic activity and then take their anger out on their wives. They note that the situation has improved somewhat since the NGO HIAS has led SGBV sensitization and awareness-raising campaigns in the camp: the NGO APLFT also intervenes in this domain, providing legal support, attempting reconciliation and – if all else fails – referring the cases to CNARR which may transfer the complaint to the local brigade and humanitarian police detachment. (FGD refugee women victims of violence, Bredjing).

Women injured from cases of violence are referred to the health center and victims are also supported through an HIAS credit program to allow them to invest in income generation (marketing of cereals, beignets, food condiments). Initially, the women report, HIAS gave 110,000 in credits by woman, but since the budget cuts, this has been reduced and in 2018 HIAS is assisting 25 women per trimester with 50,000 a piece that women say they use to help maintain their children in school (FGD refugee women victims of violence, Bredjing).

### **Reproductive health**

Women face particular problems in relation to reproductive health, particularly as the number of midwives and assistants working at the center has diminished and prenatal care and attention has dropped: ‘*Before, we used to get vitamins and treatment for malaria, but now we only get paracetamol*’ say some. Others note that in the past for pregnant women ‘*They even used to come to our homes to seek us out, but no more.*’ Conditions for labor and delivery are not optimal: ‘*If you go into labor at night, you must bring your own flashlight for the delivery*’ say some (KII camp managers, Bredjing). It is reported that women have been forbidden by health center personnel from delivering at home; in this case, more midwives and better conditions are needed at the health center to deal with the demand (FGD mixed group poor refugees, Bredjing). Women with complications in delivery are referred to the hospital in Adré or Abéché, but often so late that, according to one group of women ‘*we lose many of our sisters here in camp*’ (FGD, women refugee victims of violence, Bredjing).

### ***Transactional sex, early marriage and early pregnancy***

The president of the refugee women’s committee notes that transactional sex is common among adolescent girls who turn to boys or men to fulfill economic needs that they feel are not being taken care of by their parents. This often results in pregnancies. Early marriage is still the social norm, and preferred by parents who see it at least partly as a means of guarding against such sexual activity and offspring outside of marriage, which brings shame to the family and – in addition – produces another mouth to feed. Since the law in Chad outlawing marriage under 18, the practice has diminished somewhat, but people still do it under cover and also feel justified since there is no such law in Sudan. Bride-price here is between 150,000 and 200,000 FCFA; while this is already much lower than was customary in Sudan, they as a community are seeking ways to reduce this farther given their reduced circumstances (KIIs president refugee women’s committee, and camp president, Bredjing).

### ***Girls’ education***

Young refugee women we spoke to attest that efforts by NGOs to sensitize parents on the importance of girls’ education has led to an increase in uptake of schooling by girls and that this situation is overall better than in their home villages in Sudan (FGD young women refugees, Bredjing). Mothers, however, complain of the costs involved in maintaining children in school, particularly girls, for whom special clothes including costly veils are obligatory and note that both boys and girls may refuse to go to school if they feel they are not properly dressed (FGD women refugees, Bredjing). Women themselves also report that early marriage is a key reason for girls to drop out from school (FGD women refugee victims of violence, Bredjing), and other family considerations also enter into the equation (see case study, ***box 18***).

### ***Box 18. Against all odds: a refugee girl dreams of higher education***

One young women, 24 and married with 2 children, explained that thanks to the sensitization efforts of NGOs on the importance of girls’ education her widowed mother had supported her in her education, allowing her to continue up through the baccalaureate, which she received in 2017.

However, she could not continue thereafter as she was married and her husband could not support higher education for both himself and her. So he went off to Abéché to university, while she stayed behind in the camp with the children, where she now sells onions, tomatoes and beignets in the market. She also works as a community assistant teacher in a primary school in the camp, paid 15,000/month (but irregularly) by the parents’ association. One of her children suffers from a chronic eye conditions for which she has been seeking treatment in vain.

She still holds out hope one day to be able to pursue her higher education; in the meantime she would like to receive credit to support and expand her marketing activities.

Source: IDI woman refugee, Breda

### ***Gendered norms and practices***

The gendered division of time and space is still strong and starts at a young age, as a comparison in the daily activities of male and female youth indicates (***table 14***).

Table 14. A comparison of the daily activities of male and female refugee youth

time	Young women		Young men	
	activity	space	activity	space
<b>Morning</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sweep and clean the house</li> <li>Prepare breakfast (if there is any)</li> <li>Go to school (for those not yet married)</li> </ul>	Home; school	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>School</li> <li>Purchase of food stuffs from villagers for resale in the market (cereals, fruits, animals)</li> <li>Brick-making, construction</li> </ul>	School; market; wadis around the camp (for brick-making)
<b>Midday</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Go to Koranic school</li> <li>Go to market for petty commerce</li> <li>Wash clothes</li> <li>Go out to make bricks</li> <li>Visit friends (in camp and villages)</li> </ul>	Marabout's home; home; market; wadis (for brick-making); neighborhoods and villages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Koranic school</li> <li>Adult learning (literacy, French)</li> </ul>	Marabout's home; youth center in camp;
<b>Evening/night</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Study (for those in school)</li> <li>Go out to fetch water</li> <li>Iron school clothes</li> <li>Visit with those who are ill</li> <li>Read the Koran and study</li> <li>Prepare the meal and eat</li> <li>Visit with neighbors</li> <li>Prepare the sleeping mats and sleep</li> </ul>	Home; water point in camp or wadi; health center; camp neighborhoods; marabout's home	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Sports (football) together with villagers</li> <li>Visit with friends/cine-club</li> <li>Evening meal</li> </ul>	Sports field in camp, or in the streets; home

Source: FGDs young men and women, Bredjing refugee camp

### Priorities for women

The camp president notes that women make up the majority of refugees, and many of them are vulnerable and in need of specific assistance (KII camp president, Bredjing). Among the priorities women have mentioned include: expanded access to credit for women-only groups; expanded opportunities for technical training, such as in tailoring; appropriate technology for food transformation (particularly machines for making local spaghetti (duédé) and peanut butter) (FGD, women refugees, Bredjing). The president of the women refugees' committee highlights the need to open up more opportunities for women's technical training, and then provide follow-up support for their entrepreneurial activities. She also suggests that the search for alternative energy sources or the promotion of improved cook-stoves would be critical to address both environmental issues, household need for fuel, and women's work loads. For gardening activities, she states that '*Women of Darfur are experts in gardening, but here they find very few possibilities: women should be provided with suitable land for this and women-only groups should be promoted.*' NGOs should also continue to negotiate with villagers for more favorable terms of access to agricultural lands (KII president women refugees' committee, Bredjing).

### 2.1.4 Overall priorities for the future

Most refugees we spoke to express a desire to return to their homes in Sudan, but could not do so yet as security conditions are still not assured. Some made references to news of eight more villages burned in April of this year, and one said '*We have been here almost 14 years receiving assistance from NGOs and others, but now this assistance is diminishing and what is the future? We await assurances of security from the UN and assistance with return if security is guaranteed*' (KII, refugee camp managers, Bredjing). They also note that they would need assurances that they could recuperate the lands they were pushed off of (FGD mixed group poor refugees, Bredjing). Others, particularly younger people, expressed a hope for relocation to a third country where they may be able to continue their studies and have access to a good job (FGD young women, Bredjing). The camp president summed up their three options: 1) return; 2) resettlement; and 3) continued presence here and cohabitation with the local community (KII camp president, Bredjing.)

Since the third option is the most likely, priorities to improve their current situation include 1) an increase in the food coupon ration (some suggest to at least 5,000 FCFA; 2) strengthened health and educational services, (including for the latter more opportunities for higher level study, technical training and adult education/literacy); 3) enhanced support for livelihoods (including easier access to arable land for cultivation) and income generation (including through access to credit); and 4) expanded employment opportunities and wage hikes for refugee workers with NGOs in the camp; 4) (KII refugee camp managers; and FGDs refugee men, young refugee women, Bredjing). The president of the camp points to the need to deal with problems of youth education, employment and livelihoods so not to have a wasted generation and to stem the tide of young men going off in search of gold or employment elsewhere, where they often encounter problems (KII president of refugee camp, Bredjing).

On livelihood support, some mentioned in particular the need for workshops for skilled workers such as carpenters and masons. Others – both men and women – emphasized the need for greater access to credit (FGD mixed group poor refugees, Bredjing).

The president of the camp also recommends that the mixed committee receive more support to enable it to carry out its important role in promoting peaceful cohabitation, and also to enable it to turn into an income-generating association so that it could raise funds to support vulnerable groups (KII president of refugee camp, Bredjing).

## **2.2 The villages visited: Chalingo and Loumba Massalit**

### **2.2.1 Overview**

The team visited two rural villages selected by UNHCR sub-office staff, both of which served as sites for discussion with representatives of a number of different village clusters or hamlets surrounding the main village. These villages have been identified by UNHCR as a ‘villages of opportunity’ or ‘villages of economic empowerment’ which are villages where large groups of refugees have come to work on village lands during the rainy season and – where wadi lands are available – on mixed gardening groups during the off season. UNHCR through its partner FLM offers support for agriculture and gardening activities through provision of seeds, negotiation of the use of tractors through ANADER, technical training, construction of seed granaries and the like (KII HCR Hadjer Hadid).

**Chalingo** is situated in the canton Bardé about 22km from Hadjer Hadid, 25 km from the refugee camp of Treguine and 30 km from the refugee camp in Bredjing (KII, male notables Chalingo). (Representatives from nine villages/hamlets surrounding Chalingo participated in our key informant and focus group discussions; most are of the ethnic group Maba (one of the principal Ouaddaï ethnic groups), with some Massalit and a few Zaghawa who have more recently moved into the area. Some of these villages date back over 600 years with the first village of Tounjoung established by the Sultan of Ouaddaï, but ‘*this history is known only by those who are already dead*’ (KII male notables, Chalingo). The number of households in these villages range from 155-708.

**Loumba Massalit** is situated in the canton of Molou in the vicinity of Farchana town and the Farchana refugee camp (15 km away) and close to a wadi where a joint refugee/village gardening program is being supported. Representatives from 8 different villages/hamlets surrounding Loumba Massalit participated in our key informant and focus group discussions in the village; most are of the Massalit ethnic group as well as some Assounghour. Villages range in size from 80 to 800 households (the largest being Trilanga) and most have been established for about 200 years.

### **2.2.2 Rural livelihoods and constraints**

In both village clusters, agro-pastoral livelihoods prevail. These include: 1) rainy season cultivation (millet, ground-nuts, sorghum, beans and gumbo); 2) animal husbandry for some (including poultry, some cattle but more sheep and goats as well as donkeys and horses, with some households only with a few camels): it is noted that only the rich have large herds and carts which they lend out) and 3) some garden cultivation along the *wadis* (onions, garlic, gumbo, tomatoes, pepper, watermelon, cucumber), though not everyone has access to wadi lands of their own which are often, therefore, rented from land

owners. Gardening seems to be a more important activity in Loumba Massalit due to proximity to a wadi, though even here not everyone has access (FGDs, Loumba Massalit). The average size of rain-fed agricultural land for a typical household in Chalingo is about 2 hectares, on which all of the household needs for grain must be produced (KIIs male and female notables and FGD adult men, Chalingo). The average land size cited for Loumba Massalit was between 1.5 and 2 hectares or – in local measurements – four ‘*mukhamas*’ and is also the basis for household survival (FGD adult women, Loumba Massalit).

Many villagers also engage in petty commerce of field and garden produce, condiments and the like (KII female notables, Chalingo). There is a network of small weekly markets as well as the larger markets at Hadjer Hadid and in the refugee camps of Treguine and Bredjing) and (KII male notables, Chalingo).

Men in these two localities engage in significant out-migration for labor and income: to Sudan, Abéché or even N’Djamena for wage labor, to Kouri in the north for gold mining and elsewhere (KIIs and FGDs, Chalingo and Loumba Massalit).

Key livelihood constraints in the villages are identified as follows:

#### *Rain-fed agriculture*

- Intermittent, poorly timed, or insufficient rains, making the agricultural livelihoods in these zones highly contingent and risky: in a good year, grain stocks can last through the next harvest, but in a bad year they barely cover half of the household’s yearly food needs (KIIs male and female notables Chalingo). Most households can only manage to eat twice a day, and always the same thing (FGD, adult men, Chalingo). In a bad year, this can be reduced to one meal a day. In bad years as well, parents are forced to withdraw their children from school as ‘*It is with our rain-fed agriculture – groundnuts, millet – that we live and through which we pay school fees*’ (KII male notables, Loumba Massalit). Some contend that it has now become the norm to have only two months of rainfall in a year (KIIs female notables, Loumba Massalit). ‘*We have no food security here*’ state categorically the men of Loumba Massalit, ‘*We eat just 2 times a day*’ (FGD adult men, Loumba Massalit).
- Scarcity of good quality arable land (KII female notables, Chalingo; FGD women, Loumba Massalit) and declining productivity of fields (FGD young women, Chalingo).
- Rudimentary farming tools and lack of access to modern means of production such as tractors (KII, female notables Chalingo). There is a sense among villagers that they have not evolved with the times – which should mark a progression from hoe, to animal traction, to tractor: ‘*But we are still working our land with the hoe!*’ (KII male notables, Loumba Massalit).
- Infestation of crops by pests, such as locusts, worms, and lack of pesticides (KII male notables, Loumba Massalit).
- Conflicts between mostly transhumant herders (principally Zaghawa and Goran) and local farmers, particularly in the rainy season when the herds descend from the north in search of pastures for their cattle, sheep and camels starting in October – before the harvests are in - and devastate fields (KII, male notables Chalingo; KII male and female notables Loumba Massalit). Local farmers have little recourse to justice in such cases: ‘*If you seize an animal and try to seek amends, you are told “That belongs to the authorities”; if you catch a shepherd in the act, you are told “He is the relative of so-and-so”*’ (KII male notables, Loumba Massalit).
- Post-harvest losses due to lack of appropriate crop-storage facilities (KII male notables, Loumba Massalit).

#### *Animal husbandry*



- Loss of animals (particularly in villages clustered around Loumba Massalit) from armed raids by ‘bandits’ which were particularly intense up through 2006 and which were reported to have caused the deaths of some 480 people in canton Molou, where Loumba Massalit is located. This has also disturbed the balance and complementarity between agricultural and pastoral contributions to the household economy, leaving households more reliant on agriculture for most of their needs: *‘Before, in a bad year, you could sell an animal or two in the market when household needs arose: now we depend on our millets and groundnuts for everything’* (KII male notables, Loumba Massalit). Animal theft is still widespread in certain localities (KII female notables, Loumba Massalit).
- Lack of sufficient pasture for household animal stocks – dry season reserves are made from dried grasses and agricultural remains, but these are not always enough. Animal disease and lack of veterinary services are also cited as key problems (KII male and female notables Chalingo; KII male notables and FGD adult men, Loumba Massalit) as is the lack of pastoral water sources (KII male notables, Loumba Massalit and KII female notables, Chalingo): *‘Our animals suffer severely from lack of water’* (KII female notables Chalingo). There is also a high incidence of animal thefts (KII female notables Chalingo).

### **Gardening**

- Constraints in gardening production, for those who have wadi lands, with problems ranging of lack of motor pumps for watering, infestation by worms and insects, lack of fencing to keep animals out (KII male notables, Chalingo; KII female notables, Loumba Massalit; FGD adult women, Loumba Massalit). *‘We lack even the materials to make fences, since felling of trees has been forbidden and if the Water and Forest agents catch you, you have to pay a penalty’* (KII male notables, Loumba Massalit).
- Long distances to markets with limited means of transport of goods, and lack of markets in some villages (KII female notables, Chalingo). Women in Loumba Massalit complain of both the cost and distance of transporting their garden produce to Farchana market: this takes about an hour and a half and costs between 1,000 - 1,500 or even 5,000 FCFA to rent a donkey or donkey cart for the day (FGD adult women, Loumba Massalit). The situation of generalized insecurity also makes marketing risky due to the presence of highway robbers against whom there is little recourse: *‘You bring them to the authorities, but then they are released, and they come back to seek revenge’* (KII male notables, Loumba Massalit).
- Lack of appropriate technology to transform food stuffs, such as oil presses for ground nuts (KII female notables, Chalingo; KII female notables, Loumba Massalit).

### **2.2.3 Social service infrastructure**

Social service infrastructure is extremely limited. Of the cluster of villages around Chalingo, only three – including Chalingo – have schools and only one (again Chalingo) has a health facility, though this is a private center established by one individual and consists of a single hut with medicines that are provided on a cost-recovery basis (KII, male notables Chalingo). The situation is similar for Loumba Massalit where only two villages have community primary schools and there were no reported health centers (KII male and female notables, Loumba Massalit; FGD adult men and women, Loumba Massalit). (See [box 19](#) for details)

### **Education**

Schools – which serve a number of surrounding villages and are only at primary level - are characterized by lack of suitable classroom space (some constructed out of local materials, with children meeting in a hanger); lack of trained teachers (most teachers are community teachers dependent on uncertain payment by parents through the Parents’ Associations; lack of sufficient didactic materials; lack of water or school meals (KII notables and FGDs adult men and women, Chalingo; KII male notables Loumba Massalit). Parents contend that schooling used to be provided by the state and was free; now

there is a charge and for parents with large families, this poses a big burden (KII male notables, Loumba Massalit). In Loumba Massalit, due to its proximity to Farchana, some parents send their children for higher level education in the camp (FGD young men, Loumba Massalit); in Chalingo, however, this was not mentioned – presumably because the refugee camps there (Bredjing and Treguine) are farther away from the villages.

**Box 19. Health and education at a minimum in Chalingo and Loumba Massalit village clusters**

**Education**

- **Tounjoung village (Chalingo):** There is one school under a hanger (i.e. not constructed with durable materials) with 235 pupils (141 girls/94 boys) from surrounding villages and hamlets – some from quite a distance: girls outnumber boys because boys are often off guarding herds. Pupils are seated on mats as there are not desk sets. Nor is there a water source in the school; by 10 or 11 in the morning, children are thirsty, so the teacher collects money from parents and appoints two children daily to go off and fetch water for their class. The teacher we spoke to is a community teacher who is supposed to be paid 60,000 FCFA a month by the Parents' Association; his two assistant teachers' salaries are 50,000 FCFA/month: however, they often have to wait several months, after the harvest, to receive payment; 2 teachers have already quit – never to return. Parents are charged a monthly fee of 500 FCFA per child, which is supposed to go towards the teachers' salaries, but many have difficulty coming up with this amount. There is a severe lack of teaching materials such that the teacher often has to buy these himself. There is no school meals program. The only post-primary options are in Hadjer Hadid, or sometimes in Abéché, but very few children go on to school beyond primary. (KII male notables, Chalingo; school teacher from Tounjoung; and KII female notables, Chalingo)
- **Loumba Massalit village:** One community school teacher, in his first year, is charged with teaching 140 pupils from Loumba Massalit and surrounding villages, but only 104 show up with any regularity and of these only 38 girls. The school only goes up to the first cycle of primary. The teacher is supposed to be paid 45,000 monthly from the Parents' Association, however some parents are unable to contribute. There is also a severe lack of teaching materials, particularly in French. Student attendance also dwindles when there are no school lunches provided. (KII male notables, Loumba Massalit, and community teacher).
- **Trilanga village (Loumba Massalit)** A second community school teacher of Arabic in Trilanga, reports 380 pupils (80 girls) in a bilingual school established since 2003 with only two teachers – one in Arabic and the other in French. They again face severe problems in school construction (students meeting under hangers), equipment (students sitting on the floor), and teaching materials; there is no school meal program and parents are so poor that the teacher says he no longer even asks for payment (KII male notables Loumba Massalit, community teacher Trilanga).

**Health**

- **Chalingo village:** A former nurse's aid from Hadjer Hadid has moved to Chalingo and established a private health clinic in the village, dispensing treatment on a cost recovery basis. He came to the village on the request of villagers who were 'suffering' (*taabine*) and in need of health care. He now lives in the village where he owns 80 hectares of land (KII, focal point village health provider and FLM project focal point). His clinic consists of a single-roomed straw construction, without a water source. He and two assistants (also private) dispense care to the villagers who can also go to the health center in either of the two refugee camps, but these are very far. He has addressed a request to the Ministry of health for integration into the government system and establishment of a public health center here – he is still waiting for a response. (KII, male notables, Chalingo, private health provider Chalingo). Other villages in the cluster have no health center at all and have to travel far (for example to Hadjer Hadid) for health care (KII, female notables, Chalingo)

**Health**

The nearest health care facilities for people in the villages around Chalingo are in Hadjer Hadid (22 km away); critical cases are referred from there to Adré (FGD adult men, Chalingo). But transport is both difficult and expensive: from 75,000 to 100,000 for transport by vehicle. Otherwise, one must travel by foot or on donkey (FGD adult men, Chalingo). Consultations can also take place at the health center at Treguine refugee camp (FGD young women, Chalingo). Key health problems cited by our study participants in Chalingo include: malaria, meningitis, measles, respiratory infections, colds, gastrointestinal disorders and diarrheal diseases (KII female notables, Chalingo). A similar situation prevails

in the cluster of villages around Loumba Massalit where village health centers are non-existent and in case of illness or delivery complications they go to Farchana or are referred to Adré which, they say, are quite crowded (KIIs male and female notables and FGD adult men, Loumba Massalit); moreover, transport is by donkey. Key health problems reported here include malaria, anemia, hyper-tension and diarrheal diseases as well as malnutrition (KIIs female notables, Loumba Massalit).

Water supply is a critical problem in these localities: very few villages have hand-pumps for drinking water, as is the case for Chalingo – so most rely on water from shallow wells (around 3 meters) in the wadi beds which is torpid and foul-smelling (FGD, adult men, Chalingo). In the village cluster around Loumba Massalit, only two villages have hand pumps, so most villagers drink from the wadis, which brings health problems to the fore (KII male notables Loumba Massalit). Men report that wadis are at about an hour's distance from the villages (FGD adult men, Loumba Massalit).

#### **2.2.4 Gender-specific vulnerabilities and opportunities**

*'We are tired! We have no resources. Work in the gardens is difficult, particularly because of lack of water, and they produce nothing, We transport fire wood, fodder, water – we do not have grinding mills or oil presses – no tractors either; we lack good pasture land. We also lack medical care. What to do?'*  
(FGD adult women, Chalingo)

The adult women we spoke to from the primarily Maba villages around **Chalingo** were aged between 30 and 60, with an average age of 42. Three quarters (72%) were married – the majority (60%) in monogamous unions; a fifth (21%) were divorced; and 7% widows. They had on average 5 children (numbers ranging from 2-7) and lived in households numbering from 3 to 9 members, with the average size of 6.2. The majority were Maba (86%) and the rest Zaghawa. None of them have had any formal education (FGD, adult women, Chalingo). The younger women we spoke to were aged between 14 and 25, with an average age of 17: a third (33%) were married, only 1 in a polygamous union. Household size ranged from 3 to 15, with an average of 8: the households of married girls were headed by their husbands and unmarried girls by their fathers. None of the girls had any education aside from Koranic school (FGD young women, Loumba Massalit).

The adult women we spoke to from the primarily Massalit villages around **Loumba Massalit** were aged from 21-63, with the average age of 47. All were married, with three quarters (75%) in polygamous unions: some women stated that they considered themselves still married, even though their husbands had been living away from the village for some time. They had on average 6.6 children, with numbers ranging from 2-10; average household size was 9.5, ranging from 4-12 and the husband is always head of the household. The majority (63%) were Massalit; the rest (37%) Assounghour. Most (63%) have had no formal schooling – only Koranic school; the rest (37%) had had some level of primary (FGD, adult women, Loumba Massalit). The younger women we spoke to ranged in age from 17 to 25, with an average age of 21: the majority (87%) were already married – most (69%) – in monogamous unions, suggesting that polygamy may be a function of the age of the marriage. The younger women lived in households averaging 5-6 members, headed for the most part by their husbands (except for the unmarried women who lived in their fathers' households). None of the girls had any formal education outside of Koranic school (FGD young women, Loumba Massalit).

#### **Livelihood activities**

- **Chalingo:** *'It is we women who do all the work here'* said the women from the cluster of villages around Chalingo. *'The men are always off on voyages'* (FGD adult women, Chalingo). This seems to be the case particularly for those who have gardens to work on- women engaged in everything from digging the wells, to planting, watering, weeding. Some of their rain-fed agricultural fields are some distance from their villages (2-3 hours by foot or donkey) so they, like the refugees often spend the rainy season camped out near the fields, taking their children with them. (FGD adult women, Chalingo). For those who have no land of their own, they must rent from others (at 7,500-10,000 FCFA for a half hectare) (FGD young women, Chalingo).

For those who have animals, it is the women and children who water the animals along the wadis and also collect fodder for them in the bush and pick up the stalks remaining from harvest to store on rooftops for animal feed over the dry season. They do not have enough animals to engage in the sale of milk or milk products. Among the Zaghawa only, some households have camels, and in these cases, it is the men who look after them. Many men in this villages are off seeking gold, working in Sudan and soldiers in the army; they do not necessarily send back regular remittances (FGD adult women, Chalingo).

- **Loumba Massalit:** As in Chalingo, women are actively engaged in all livelihood activities. Some, in this highly polygamous society, have their own plots of land that they cultivate separately from the land of their co-wives or husband; others cultivate as a household unit (FGD adult women, Loumba Massalit). Men are generally responsible for preparing the land (by hoe or by animal traction) while women and children follow behind planting the seeds; thereafter women and children do the weeding and help with the harvests and the woman is also responsible for preparing meals and bringing these to the fields during the peak cultivation period. (FGD adult women, Loumba Massalit). Gardening is equally arduous and involves clearing the land, digging wells, planting, weeding and watering the plants – all made even more difficult due to the lack of sufficient equipment and the lack of a motor-pump for water (FGD adult women, Chalingo).

Men’s frequent absences from the household increase the burden of women for the woman and – according to some – do not pay off in terms of additional resources or remittances to the household: *‘Even if our menfolk find work in Sudan or gold in Kouri, they use their earnings to procure another wife, so this does not work to our advantage’* (FGD adult women, Loumba Massalit).

### **Challenges of daily living**

- **Chalingo:** Women and children are responsible for fetching water two or three times a day; few villages have boreholes (with the exception of Chalingo which has a manual pumped well), so water is taken for the most part from shallow hand wells along the wadis which are around 6 km from the villages (FGD young women, Chalingo ). Theirs is also the daily task of searching for firewood in the bush: this used to be plentiful, but has gotten scarcer since the arrival of refugees in the area. Young women say they now have to go some 7 km from their villages to find this (FGD young women, Chalingo). Preparation of daily meals is a time-consuming task grinding grain on the mortar to prepare boule, and adding sauces of dried gumbo with – on market days – an occasional chicken. Sometimes their own production covers household consumption needs, but in a bad year (such as last year) it does not so those who have animals are obliged to sell a sheep to buy food or – if not – they can labor on the fields of others (for 1,000 FCFA per day) (FGD adult women, Chalingo).
- **Loumba Massalit:** As in Chalingo, women and children are responsible for all household tasks such as searching for water and firewood (from 3-6 km away), collecting grasses for fodder, preparing the meals, making mats for the home, taking care of children. Said one: *‘I do not see the shade all day – I am out always in the hot sun’* (FGD adult women, Loumba Massalit). Their men sympathize with them: *‘Women are responsible for collecting all the firewood which is found on the hillsides about 3 hours walk from our villages. The women cut the wood and haul it back to the village on their heads’* (FGD adult men, Loumba Massalit). The search water – in the wadis 5 km away, is also a time-consuming task (FGD, young women, Loumba Massalit). But as much as men may understand the burdens such household tasks impose on women, they do not help out at home: *‘We do not have any work at home’* say the young men, *‘In the rainy season we have our field crops and in the dry season we are off looking for work’* (FGD young men, Loumba Massalit).

**Table 15. Young women’s daily round: Chalingo and Loumba Massalit**

<b>Time</b>	<b>Activities</b>	<b>Spaces</b>
Morning	Pray; prepare breakfast; sweep house and courtyard; prepare breakfast or tea; go out to fetch water; go out to fetch firewood; go to the grinding mill (in Treguine refugee camp for Chalingo women); go to Koranic school (Loumba Massalit women)	Home, wadis, bush, Treguine refugee camp (Chalingo women); marabout’s home (Loumba Massalit women)

Midday	Wash clothes; grind millet; go out to find rope to attach our bundles of straw (for building); go to the market; visit people in ill health; grind millet; prepare meal	Bush, home, market in Hadjer Hadid or Treguine (Chalingo women); local market or Farchana (Loumba Massalit women)
Evening/night	Prepare dinner; wash the dishes; read the Koran/go to Koranic school; pray; chat with friends prepare the sleeping mats; sleep	Home; marabout's home for Koranic school (Loumba Massalit women)

*Source: Composite results of FGDs with young women, Chalingo and Loumba Massalit*

### **Traditional solidarity mechanisms**

- **Chalingo:** There is apparently not much of a tradition of tontines or *parés* among women in the village, but they do contribute regularly to each other at significant life course events such as baptisms, marriages, funerals (FGDs adult women and men, Chalingo). Other than that there seem to be more general solidarity mechanisms around house construction and of rich supporting the poor (FGD adult men, Chalingo).
- **Loumba Massalit:** The women of Loumba Massalit reported contributing 100 francs a week in an informal 'tontine' or *paré*, but also said that it was FLM which gave them a money chest for this to help in income generation, so it is not clear whether the savings/credit group was an externally-induced initiative or something indigenous to the society (FGD adult women, Loumba Massalit).

### **Maternal health**

- **Chalingo:** There are no health centers offering maternal health or assistance with delivery in the Chalingo village cluster (KII female notables, Chalingo). Most women therefore give birth at home, assisted by untrained traditional birth attendants or *daya*. The nearest hospitals in case of complications are Hadjer Hadid or the refugee camps (though the latter were mentioned less often): in any case, both of these are at a distance and not easily reached, with women transported by donkey cart (FGD adult women, Chalingo).
- **Loumba Massalit:** Most women also deliver at home with the aid of traditional birth attendants, or *daya* but it is very difficult in the case of complications during delivery, as the nearest health center is 15 km away in the refugee camp in Farchana and transport is by donkey or donkey cart. The *dayas* exist in all villages by are in need of training (KII female notables, Loumba Massalit).

### **Female autonomy**

This is extremely limited in both village clusters. The man is considered the head of household and all decisions rest with him (FGD adult men, Chalingo). As women in Loumba Massalit put it: *'The woman follows the man'* (FGD adult women, Loumba Massalit). They confirm that all household decisions, including how produce from harvests are to be used, are the prerogative of men, who own most of the land (FGD adult women, Loumba Massalit).

### **SGBV**

- **Chalingo:** Domestic violence - wife beating - is by some accounts quite common and is explained by conditions of poverty that lead to frustration and the inability of the husband to provide for the needs of his wife/wives and children (KII female notables and FGD adult men, Chalingo).
- **Loumba Massalit:** Men in Loumba Massalit explain conflicts in the household as a function of women's demands for money that the husband cannot supply: some men report that in-laws get involved in some of these disputes, further poisoning the atmosphere (FGD adult men, Loumba Massalit).
- **Chalingo:** The risk of rape occurs when girls go out into the bush to gather fire wood or fodder, as well as during ceremonies, when boys 'trick' girls and impregnate them (KII female notables, Chalingo). *'For us girls and young women, as soon as night falls, none of us will step foot outside our homes for fear of aggression and rape. Our village chiefs warn us not to tarry outside. We live in fear. The situation has worsened over the past 3 years but we do not know why'* (FGD young women, Chalingo).

- **Loumba Massalit:** Women in Loumba Massalit also report risks of rape for girls out in the bush and specify that this is mostly by Zaghawa or Goran youth; as in Chalingo, girls must now always travel in groups and be accompanied by an adult when they go out to search for firewood or grasses (KII, female notables, Loumba Massalit; FGD young men, Loumba Massalit). Men describe how women risk aggression and rape by ‘unknown persons’ as well as by pastoralists settled around our villages when they go off to collect firewood in the bush (FGD adult men, Loumba Massalit). Young women confirm that there is great insecurity in their villages and that they fear in particular the Zaghawa, reporting ‘*recurrent rapes*’ in the bush around their villages (FGD young women, Loumba Massalit).

#### **Generalized insecurity and violence**

- **Chalingo:** The zone around Chalingo is considered one of insecurity, with armed thieves and others out and about: recently a woman who was out with her children was killed by gunshot and her children gravely wounded: since then, it is forbidden for girls to go out into the bush alone (KII female notables, Chalingo; FGD young women, Chalingo). Theft of animals is also common and, as reported by some of our study participants, experienced on a daily basis (FGD, young women, Chalingo). As men put it, ‘*There is no security here*’ (FGD adult men, Chalingo).
- **Loumba Massalit:** The zone around Loumba Massalit has also known extensive insecurity, particularly through the thefts of animals by bands of armed ‘bandits’; according to notables, this has been reduced since the mixed committee of refugees and villagers was established in 2006, but it still takes place ‘in secret’ (KII, male notables Loumba Massalit). Market days are particularly perilous as armed bandits on motor cycles will swoop down on homeward-bound villagers with money in their pockets. The tensions between herders and farmers also escalate into violence, particularly since the herders are armed (FGD young men, Loumba Massalit)

#### **Early marriage and girls’ education**

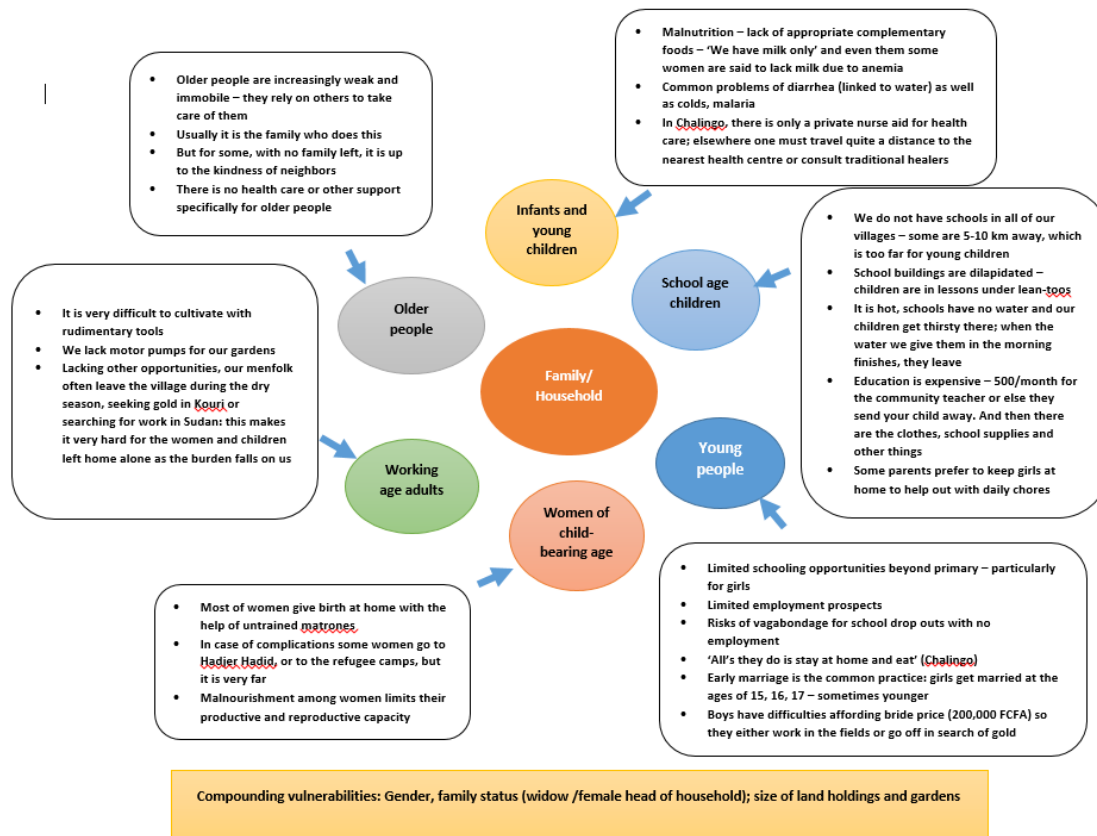
- **Chalingo:** While girls outnumber boys in the primary school statistics that were reported, few, if any, have the opportunity to go on to higher levels, as a) this would require traveling outside the village to a nearby town; and b) girls marry by the age of 15, 16 or 17. As the men in Chalingo put it: ‘*It is marriage that is important to us – not school*’ (FGD, adult men, Chalingo).
- **Loumba Massalit:** Here, in our focus groups with young people, none of the young women had any level of education compared to two thirds of the young men who had some degree of schooling (FGD, young men and women, Loumba Massalit). Girls were also far out-numbered by boys in the two community primary school in the cluster. The community teacher in Loumba Massalit posits that religious beliefs and customs militate both against girls’ education: ‘*People believe that girls are for marriage, not education*’, he says, and against too much education for boys as well: ‘*This, they think, will lead for a non-respect of the Koran*’ (KII male notables, Loumba Massalit). The community teacher in Trilanga posits that girls’ attendance is minimum because parents cannot pay their costs, whereas boys can engage in income generating activities to pay their own fees (KII male notables Loumba Massalit).

Parents confirm that early marriage is the cultural norm, beginning at 15 or 16 – and some as early as 13. Any later than that, they say, there is a growing risk of unwanted pregnancies outside of marriage: in these cases there is either a fine to pay or forced marriage (FGD adult women, Loumba Massalit.) Young women cite parents’ inability to pay school fees, the refusal of parents to allow daughters to go to school, and the heavy load of daily household chores as factors militating against girls’ education (FGD young women, Loumba Massalit).

#### **Life cycle vulnerabilities**

Women in both Chalingo and Loumba Massalit clusters were very clear on the different types of life cycle vulnerabilities experienced in their villages, which were similar in each cluster (see [figure 12](#))

Figure 12. Life-cycle vulnerabilities in Chalingo, Loumba Massalit and surrounding villages



Source: Composite results of FGDs with adult women, Chalingo and Loumba Massalit

## 2.2.5 Perception of refugees and relations between villagers and refugees

### Evolution of relations over time

The density of contacts and relations with refugees in the zone have evolved over time. The two refugee camps in the locality of Chalingo are Bredjing (25 km away) and Treguine (30 km away). (Most villages in the Chalingo cluster seem to have most contact with the camp in Treguine). Loumba Massalit is 15 km from the refugee camp of Farchana, which is the point of contact for most villagers in this zone.

At first, we were told, most refugees remained in the camps: the authorities had apparently limited their seeking of land to a radius of 5 -25 km around the camp (KII male notables, Loumba Massalit; KII member of mixed committee) and only a few ventured out in search of lands for cultivation. Now, however, many do so and, according to the villagers, problems are arising. These include: lack of grazing areas for animals as more and more land is taken up for cultivation; increasing lack of firewood in the surrounding bush and other natural resources such as grasses for fodder : 'We give refugees land to work and they then take back everything – even the grasses' (KII male notables, Chalingo). This leads to environmental degradation; reduction of water in the wadi beds as more and more refugees draw on this for themselves and their animals; and problems arising of shortage of land for cultivation: 'If you give land to refugees to cultivate, you have less for your own needs' (KII male notables Chalingo). Women speak of loss of land for both agriculture and pasture: 'Before the refugees came, we had vast lands; now we lack land for crops as well as animals' (FGD adult women, Chalingo). Some attribute such land shortages to both refugees and pastoralists: 'Land is becoming insufficient: herds occupy some with their animals, and we also give land to the refugees' (FGD women, Loumba Massalit). Young men in Loumba Massalit comment particularly on the loss of pasture (FGD young men, Loumba Massalit). And elders in Loumba Massalit also lament the diminishing of their

agricultural lands due to the increasing numbers of refugees to whom land is given for cultivation as well as the longer time it takes women to search for firewood because, according to the men, ‘ *This means that dinner is often late!*’ (KII male notables Loumba Massalit).

Elders in Loumba Massalit also report that with increased demand, prices in the market have risen: tomatoes which used to sell for 100 FCFA are now going at 250 FCFA; a goat that used to sell for 6,000 FCFA is now 20,000 FCFA; and the cost of a sheep has risen from 15,000-20,000 FCFA to 50,000 to 75,000 FCFA: with so many people in the markets, ‘ *You have to go buy quickly or everything will be gone.*’ (KII male notables, Loumba Massalit)

There is some perception that refugees are better off than villagers, as they receive monthly rations and have access to services and a market in their camps (KII female notables Chalingo); they also have water points in the camp (FGD young women, Loumba Massalit). Some point out, for example, that ‘ *We are told we have to live together peaceably, and we do, but why do the refugees get rations and we do not?*’ (FGD adult women, Loumba Massalit). And some report problems between refugee and village boys who both herd animals and sometimes come into conflict, while several years back there were problems among young people at village festivals ‘ *where there was total disorder*’: the president of the refugee camp had to come to intervene and warned that refugees would not be given land in this village if their young people continued to act up (KII village health provider and FLM program focal point, Chalingo)

Nevertheless, most villagers state that relations between themselves and refugees in the area are now generally good and that refugees and villagers are now like ‘ *the sauce and the boule [a cereal-based staple]*’ (Chalingo) or as others put it ‘ *the milk with the boule*’ (Loumba Massalit). In Chalingo, there are ethnic difference between the refugees (Massalit) and villagers (primarily Maba) and some of the customs are not the same, but they can communicate in Massalit or Arabic (FGD young women, Chalingo). They have formed relationships, participate in the same ceremonies and go to each other to offer condolences in times of loss: ‘ *They are our neighbors and guests – we cannot neglect them*’ (FGD adult women, Chalingo). In Loumba Massalit, there is more ethnic convergence among Massalit in both camps and villages, though a significant number of villagers are also Assounhour); nevertheless, ‘ *They are all our brothers,*’ assert village elders, ‘ *We are obligated to give them some of our lands. And we meet up with them in the market, in the fields, at marriage ceremonies and in the mosque where we share the same prayers*’ (KII male notables, Loumba Massalit). Villagers around Loumba Massalit – particularly women – also encounter refugees other at the health center in Farchana where, they say, everyone is treated equally (FGD young women, Loumba Massalit).

There are intermarriages in both zones (of village men with refugee women, who have a lower bride-price than village women). A dozen young men in the Loumba Massalit area in particular were said to have taken refugee wives and such marriages ‘ *have transformed these refugees into brothers*’ (KIIs Chalingo and Loumba Massalit; FGD adult women Loumba Massalit). The member of the mixed committee in Loumba Massalit is himself married to a refugee woman ‘ *The fact that they give us their daughters and sisters in marriage is a sign of good relations*’ he says (KII member of mixed committee, Loumba Massalit).

Improved relations are partly, it seems, the fruit of joint programming, described below, but also may be a function of the spontaneous land arrangements for cultivation by which refugees come to stay in the area during the rainy season months to cultivate fields (KII female notables Chalingo); it is now often the same refugees who come to the same spots each year (FGD adult women Loumba Massalit). Some villager clearly stated that having refugees near their villages was a plus as ‘ *Two is better than one!*’ (IDI male notables, Chalingo), and particularly as it brings as well the promise of external assistance through such mechanisms as the joint program supported by HCR and FLM and the promise of social service infrastructure (FGD adult women, Chalingo; KII, village health provider and focal point of FLM program): it has also enlarged their circle of relations (FGD young women, Loumba Massalit). Some, particularly in Loumba Massalit, which is closest to Farchana refugee center, also credited the arrival of refugees with access to better health services in the camp which can be consulted



by villagers, though it is noted that these are still some distance from the villages themselves (FGDs adult and young women, Loumba Massalit).

Villagers also see in refugees a cheap labor force for field work (KII village health provider and focal point of FLM program) as well as herding: the president of the women's association in Chalingo employs a young refugee boy to guard her animals, paying him with a goat; she notes that there are many refugee boys so employed (IDI women's president, Chalingo).

The market in Farchana is seen to have brought an economic boost to the area, and the mixed committee member from Loumba Massalit cites in general the stimulation to the economy brought about by the flurry of construction and employment offered by the humanitarian NGOs that have flocked to the area. He also sees the effect of new ideas – on hygiene, girls' education, and other issues that are transmitted to refugees by NGOs such that *'Villagers see that refugees are 'more civilized' than they are now, and it gives them an example to emulate'*. All in all, the presence of refugees in the zone has *'broken the isolation'* of villagers with the arrival of new ideas and of new people: *'Before'*, he said with a smile *'People like you and your team would only pass by this area by airplane, but now you have come amongst us!'* (KII mixed committee member, Loumba Massalit)

### **Land attribution**

According to the villagers in Chalingo, land was initially allotted to refugees for free *'because they are our brothers and they were poor'* (KII male notables, Chalingo). After three or four years, however, others saw that their fellow refugees had access to land, so they came to the villagers offering something so that they too could benefit; *'so the refugees are the ones who started the system of payment for the use of land!'* they said with a chuckle (KII male notables, Chalingo).

Now there are apparently four modalities of land attribution operative in the two zones, though the research team was not able to determine exactly how decisions were made on these (KII male notables and FGD adult men, Chalingo; KII female notables Loumba Massalit):

- The harvest is divided into three parts – two parts for the refugees and one part for the land owner (this is the most common in Chalingo)
- The harvest is divided in half – 50/50 for refugee and land owner, and (in Chalingo) the owner might even supply the seeds
- The refugee rents a piece of land – half a hectare for around 10,000 - 15,000 FCFA (Chalingo); a quarter of a hectare for 7,500 (KII female notables, Loumba Massalit)
- The refugee receives a piece of land to work for free

Plots allotted to refugees vary in size – from a quarter or half a hectare to up to four, according to some reports (FGD adult women, Loumba Massalit). One woman in Loumba Massalit noted that the land they give to refugees to cultivate may once have been cultivated by village children who are no longer around, having gone off to Sudan or in search of gold in Kouri, so that rather than having it lie fallow, it is better to have the refugees (FGD women, Loumba Massalit)

For *wadi* lands, which not all villagers themselves have access to, both refugees and villagers access in the same ways, through division into three parts or rental (50,000 FCFA per hectare) (KII male notables, Chalingo).

### **Joint programs**

According to the notables of Chalingo, the joint refugee/villager livelihoods program has been supported by UNHCR and its technical partner FLM for the past six years, with the partners supplying inputs such as seeds, use of tractors and technical support for rain-fed production of ground nuts, millet and gumbo. At harvest time, the production is divided into two: one half is stocked in a communal grain store for later sale, use, and/or social assistance; the other half is either shared out or sold on the market (KII, male notables Chalingo and FGD adult men, Chalingo). There are currently some 22 groups of

15-16 per group, divided between refugees and villagers, with 3 hectares per group, and three groups (from the villages of Tounjour and Attital only) for the gardening project (KII male notables, Chalingo). The rain-fed project works well, except that there is only one tractor for all of the groups to use, and some gain access to it too late for optimal timing of planting (KII male notables, Chalingo).

Women explain that beneficiaries were selected for participation in the rain-fed agricultural program on the basis of vulnerability (women heads of household, very poor households and the like). Benefits have included an increase in agricultural production, training in agricultural techniques, and the construction of village grain silos (KII female notables, Chalingo). The focal point for the program in Chalingo also highlights the benefits of the agricultural program (KII village health provider and FLM program focal point), as does one of the participants (*box 20*).<sup>7</sup>

***Box 20. Village woman participant, joint refugee/villager rain-fed agricultural project, Chalingo***

M, a young Zaghawa woman with three small children, from the village of Chalingo, has been a participant for two years now in the joint refugee/villager program for rain-fed agriculture promoted by FLM. The group is made up of 58 people – refugees and villagers – the majority women. They work on land provided by a villager, growing primarily millet. FLM provided seeds and agricultural equipment. On joining the group, each made a contribution (women 1,000 and men 2,000) toward the purchase of sugar, tea, lamb and condiments to support them when they go off to the field for work.

Group members divide the proceeds from the sale of the harvest, and M. says that this has allowed her to meet some of her household's needs.

The group has also allowed her to form friendships with three young refugee women from the Treguine refugee camp with whom she communicates in Arabic. They now invite each other for various ceremonies both in the camp and in the village. She credits the presence of refugees with the external assistance currently provided by FLM – even though she also notes that since they have arrived in the vicinity, she has to go farther and farther in search of firewood for her household needs.

IDI, young woman participant in the joint project, Chalingo

### ***2.2.6 Priorities for the future***

- **Livelihood support:** For rain-fed agriculture (in the form of tractors that will stay behind and not be taken away after the planting season, as well as other assistance including community granaries to store produced and guard against post-harvest losses and technical training on cropping techniques); for gardening (motor pumps for water; seed provision; fencing to guard against animals); and for income generation (access to credit for activities such as transformation of groundnuts into oil for sale and appropriate technology such as peanut huskers and oil presses for this; tools and support for specialized groups such as blacksmiths so that they can furnish high-quality agricultural and gardening tools) (KIIs male and female notables; FGDs adult women, men and young women; and KII village health provider and FLM program focal point, Chalingo; KII, male and female notables, Loumba Massalit).
- **Social services:** Construction of additional schools and health centers and improvement of existing ones and the services offered (rehabilitation of structures, supply of materials; affectation of trained personnel) (KII, male and female notables; FGDs adult women and men, Chalingo); expansion of educational infrastructure and opportunities beyond primary (FGD young men, Loumba Massalit); distribution of mosquito nets (FGD young women, Chalingo); a system of transport for patients to hospitals in the form of an ambulance (KII male and female notables, Loumba Massalit); more mid-wives in health centers and training for traditional birth attendants in villages (FGD adult women, Loumba Massalit).

---

<sup>7</sup> For details on the gardening project, see the next section

- **Water:** Provision water sources with hand pumps in villages (KIIs male and female notables and FGDs adult women and men, Chalingo).
- **Environmental protection:** Support for interventions such as tree-planting and other measures to counter-act the effects of over-grazing and over-exploitation of natural resources such as firewood and wild grasses (KIIs male and female notables, Chalingo; KII male notables, Loumba Massalit).
- **Transportation and communications infrastructure:** An improved road system (KIIs male notables and FGD young men, Loumba Massalit).
- **Enhanced security:** Enhanced security is essential for both agricultural production and livestock (KII male notables, Loumba Massalit); security from SGBV is a particular priority for women and girls (FGD young women, Loumba Massalit). It would therefore be important to have permanent security officers posted in these localities (FGD young men, Loumba Massalit).

### **2.3 A joint refugee/host community gardening project: Wadi Tiré**

#### **2.3.1 Introduction and context**

The team visited the site of a joint refugee/host community gardening project on the banks of Wadi Tiré, not far from Loumba Massalit village cluster and Farchana refugee camp. We spoke to both key informants in charge of the project as well as male and female beneficiaries, both refugees and villagers, and some members of the mixed management groups.

The project is supported by UNHCR through its technical partner FLM. According to the FLM project manager the joint program aims to stimulate gardening production as well as train refugees and villagers in gardening techniques and various trades as a means of promoting economic empowerment and peaceful cohabitation. Work has been underway in a number of gardens where mixed groups of refugees and villagers are created and provided with seeds, agricultural tools and motor-pumps. The project at Wadi Tiré is now into its 3<sup>rd</sup> year of operation (KII FLM, Farchana; KII HCR, Hadjer Hadid).

Activities are initiated only after a period of consultation and sensitization with local leaders and communities, particularly in the ‘villages of opportunity’ where villagers agree to share lands with refugees. Once this is done, both refugee and village leaders sign a document stating the terms of the project. For Loumba Massalit, in the project at Wadi Tiré, wadi lands have been put at the disposition of the project for 5 years. Refugees and villagers are selected for their participation in the project on the basis of ‘physical capacity to work’, with a target of 60% refugees and 40% villagers (KII FLM, Farchana). WFP also provides complementary support to the program, including through cash for work (KII WFP, Wadi Tiré)

While progress has been made, there have also been a number of constraints. Chief among these, perhaps, is the problem of access to water: not all of the motor-pumps attributed to the groups are functioning, and some groups are thus obliged to resort to manually drawing water from hand-dug wells to sustain the gardens (KII HCR, Hadjer Hadid). Marketing of produce has also proved problematic, given the long distances to markets over very rough roads and tracks and the lack of transport for the produce (KII FLM, Farchana).

Nevertheless, it is felt that such joint programs (along with the rain-fed agricultural projects) are the surest way to promote and sustain social and economic insertion of refugees into the local economy and fabric of local life, with the recommendation that they be further supported and expanded, especially to women, who form the bulk of the workers (KII HCR, Hadjer Hadid).

#### **2.3.2 Experiences of refugee and village project participants**

##### **Women’s perceptions and experiences**

Women participants – both refugees and villagers – express appreciation for the project but also highlight some of its challenges. They note that there used to be 25 groups, but now there are only 13,

each composed of around 13-15 participants with roughly equal representation by refugees and villagers. Women outnumber men as participants because ‘*Men do not want to work – they just sleep in the shade*’ (FGD women project participants). When men do participate ‘*They just come to control things or to start up the motor pump*’ (FGD women project participants, Wadi Tiré). Some men also come to help out with the watering, or to chase animals away.

The women say beneficiaries were selected during a big meeting in Loumba Massalit where FLM explained that the gardening project would be similar to the mixed group agricultural project already underway. At the second meeting, here in Wadi Tiré, participants were organized into 25 mixed groups of 15 refugees and villagers until all the places were filled. Those not chosen were ‘*unlucky*’. Villagers were mixed from one group to the other such that no one necessarily knew each other at the outset ; ‘*It is in working together that we have become like family*’ (FGD women project participants, Wadi Tiré).

Each group works a parcel of roughly 1.4 hectare (16 canal blocks), with one motor-pump for every 3-4 groups to share. Land is cleared and prepared between December and February followed by planting. Work is also needed to create fencing and – when the motor pumps do not work – to dig wells. Those who live closest to the gardens can come every day – others further away perhaps every three days. The intensity of work also depends on the time period and growing requirements Products that are grown include gumbo, tomatoes, courgettes, carrots, onions, beet root, salads and water melons (FGD women project participants, Wadi Tiré).

Proceeds are divided among members for both sale and consumption; a certain amount from the sales is also destined for the group fund; however, it was reported that last year, for example, one group was able to accumulate 34,000 FCFA in their fund but were not able to distribute it because the group members had all dispersed. Transport of produce to market has also been difficult (FGD women project participants, Wadi Tiré).

Many challenges have arisen such that some participants – particularly among the refugees (presumably because they live farther away) have dropped out altogether who say that results were so poor the first two years that they decided not to remain. The main problem has been with water provision: the motor pumps provided are said to be insufficient; some of them have broken down and not been repaired; and for others it is difficult to maintain in operation due to lack of fuel (FGD, women project participants) One woman said that she herself bought 7 bottles of fuel in an attempt to keep the pump going. In lieu of pumped water, ‘*We dig wells and water plants by hand, which is very tiring and the wells dry up quickly*’ (FGD women project participants, Wadi Tiré).

#### ***Box 21. One refugee woman’s experience of the joint gardening project at Wadi Tiré***

M. is a refugee woman participating in the joint refugee-villager gardening project from its inception.

*My group has 15 members (8 refugees and 7 villagers. There is only one refugee man in the group, and his sole responsibility is to start up the motor-pump, maintain it in good condition, and control the level of water. You don’t see too many men at work in the gardens as they do like gardening very much and prefer to travel elsewhere in search of money.*

*The NGO who is supporting this project organized us into groups; we then came to prepare the land and the NGO fenced in the site. The parcels for each group are bordered by canals with 10 by 5 meters for each parcel.*

*I cannot say that this project has been a success. For the first year it was actually a total failure. For 15 onions planted, we harvested just one sack which we sold for 15,000 FCFA which the management committee decided to keep in the group fund. The gumbo we planted yielded hardly anything, so we decided to divide this up amongst ourselves for our own household consumption.*

*The second year was almost the same: We grew watermelons, which brought in 25,000 FCFA, which we left in the group fund, and courgettes which brought in so little that when we sold them and divided the proceed, we each got 2,000 FCFA.*

*We are now in the third year of the project and we are again moving toward failure because of the lack of water in the site. We do not have enough wells and the water that we get from them is drying up fast. To that we must add the lack of tubing to draw the water into the parcels.*

*In working together with villagers on this project I can say that there are no real problems between refugees and villagers except sometimes over the question of water, where conflict can become heated.*

*As recommendations, the main suggestions would be to ensure that there are sufficient motor-pumps and that they are supplied with fuel; to construct more wells at the site; and to continue to provide gardening inputs and material to all of the groups.*

IDI refugee woman project participant, Wadi Tiré

A few problems have also arisen between refugees and villagers. Some refugees say, for example, that there is a certain segregation on the part of villagers and that villagers always want to take the lead. Some villagers, on the other hand, complain that *'Refugees come here, they take our land and our grasses...'* and then insult villagers saying things like *'You are all people without education'*. Villagers also complain that *'refugees are not patient in dealing with problems'*. Others, however, try to smooth out such differences, saying that there are always conflicts in any group *'even in families'*; villagers also attest that *'we have gone out of our way to welcome refugees here'* and that now, refugees and villagers are like *'milk and boule'* (FGD women project participants, Wadi Tiré).

Women refugees in particular said that they had been very interested in this project at the outset as women in Darfur are expert gardeners: *'Whole truckloads of produce are produced in our gardens'*, said one (FGD women project participants, Wadi Tiré). But after the first year, and then the second with little to show for their efforts, many had dropped out as *'We suffer for nothing'* (FGD women project participants, Wadi Tiré).

As priorities for moving forward, women identify the following: 1) solar panels for the motor pump (as certain of the refugees have seen in Sudan and as per a pilot project underway by FLM to test the feasibility; 2) enough fuel to keep the motor-pumps working unless or until alternate energy sources are found; 3) fencing for the gardens; and 4) groups closer to villages/camps (FGD women project participants, Wadi Tiré).

### ***Men's perceptions and experiences***

The village men reported that the total area under gardening through this project at 50 hectares, with land provided by 24 land-owners. They note that *'The land belonged to our grandfathers who cleared it with axes and bequeathed it to our fathers who in turn bequeathed it to us who continued its upkeep.'* They cultivated gardens here on our own before the joint project was established. It was FLM who came to them to say that if they agreed to share with refugees, they would in return receive technical support and inputs. Now they say they have from 700-1,000 participants in all (FGD village men project participants, Wadi Tiré)

Refugee participants explained that some of them had already established individual arrangements with wadi landowners to exploit gardens here. In 2016, FLM called a meeting of refugees and villagers explaining that there was decreasing rations for refugees such that they would need to intensify productive activities in order to attain economic self-sufficiency; hence this project. The village chief agreed to allow the land along the wadis to be used for gardening during the off season, as long as it reverted to rain-fed fields for millet during the rainy season (FGD refugee men project participants, Wadi Tiré).

The men report that there were no particular criteria established for participation in the project (except that the groups be made up of both refugees and villagers; they agree that it is mostly women who work in the groups. They feel that the relations between refugees and villagers around the project have been good. As with the women, results of the project, according to the men, remain somewhat mitigated, with only partial fulfilment of the production that was sought and no training provided. The main constraint has been provision of water. (FGD refugee men project participants, Wadi Tiré). One man, however, who is a member of the mixed management committee, notes that production in his group has been good – five sacks of onions, five sacks of garlic – which has brought him 125,000 FCFA – more than when he individually exploited his gardens (IDI member mixed management committee, Loumba Massalit).

The member of the mixed committee of refugees and villagers from Loumba Massalit noted that the wadi lands under cultivation prior to the project were not extensive, and that the project has enabled these to be expanded, but he acknowledges that technical questions related to water need to be resolved as this can sometimes lead to violent conflict. He also noted the rise of some tensions between refugees and villagers since the initiation of the WFP cash-for-work program component which everyone wants to participate in and which has therefore spiked competition (KII member mixed committee, Loumba Massalit).

As priorities for moving forward, the men identify solar power for water provision, increased security around the wadis, and support for transport of produce to market (FGD refugee men project participants, Wadi Tiré; KII member of mixed committee, Loumba Massalit; IDI, member of mixed management committee, Loumba Massalit).

### **3. Reflections on potential program implications**

Along with the priorities already highlighted above, analysis of discussions with key informants, review of external documentation, and findings from the localities visited bring to the fore the following issues for consideration in program planning in this locality.

#### ***Transitioning refugees to targeted assistance and conceptualizing safety nets***

The refugees in Bredjing camp are still receiving universal distribution (of coupons) but at reduced rations: these are slightly higher than the drastic cuts effected throughout the camps in the East over previous years, but some refugee households are struggling to provide for their families and make ends meet. The phasing in of greatly enhanced support for economic empowerment and income-generation will be vital to ensure the well-being of refugee households; however, particularly vulnerable groups (such as the chronically ill or disabled, some female heads of household, and others) will need continued support in the form of safety nets. Targeting will undoubtedly need to take into consideration various criteria linked to vulnerability as well as poverty levels, and safety net programs will need to be coordinated among the different actors intervening in the sector.

#### ***Conceptualizing, framing and coordinating integrated approaches refugee and host population development***

The dynamics of spontaneous refugee installation around villages granting access to agricultural lands that are not necessarily contiguous to the refugee camps but at some distance – even cutting across cantons – provides both challenges and opportunities for integrated approaches to refugee/host population support and development. For one thing, they call into question a purely ‘geographic’ targeting and definition of ‘host population’ limited to villages in closest proximity to camps; and for another thing, they highlight the importance of seasonal dimensions of life in this region. For in fact, many refugee households report (and are reported to) leave the camps for the entire duration of the rainy season in order to camp out in provisional shelters around the villages which have granted them access to lands for cultivation.

This has been recognized by UNHCR and partners, and programs of support to ‘villages of opportunity’ currently target these areas – encouraging land-owners to continue to grant lands to refugees against the promise of support for agricultural activities and investment in social service infrastructure to support both refugees and host populations. This seems a good model to investigate further in order to map out more clearly 1) the specific areas where refugees are clustered in the rainy season, with a careful enumeration and analysis of socio-economic needs in the concerned villages; along with 2) ongoing attention to the needs of villages surrounding the refugee camps themselves.

#### ***Strengthening social services and infrastructure***

Social service provision in the camp is supported by external assistance, though there is a move – in both health and education – to transition to government control and oversight. The curriculum in the schools for refugees have been ‘Chadianized’, which opens up more opportunities for local children in the immediate vicinity to attend, and teachers are being affected to camp schools by the Ministry of Education. Health centers in the camps already have a significant proportion of clientele drawn from the host populations and plans in the health sector are underway to integrate camp health centers more

fully into the sanitary district. However, there were indications during our visit that resources constraints has led to a reduction in the quality of services offered (fewer midwives in the health centers coupled by lack of appropriate medicines and long waits for treatment; overcrowded classrooms and cost-recovery mechanisms for parents' associations that lead to difficulties in maintaining children in school, along with limited options for higher education for refugee baccalaureates.

Meanwhile, one of the most observable features of rural village settings in this region is the complete lack of investment by the state in social service infrastructure and provisioning. Aside from the refugee camps where those living closest can access health care, health services are available only in the larger towns which are of significant distance from most villages and even there they are struggling with challenges of all sorts – from infrastructure to medical personnel to logistics and medicine supply. Schools in the rural areas we visited are mostly community schools dependent on support parent associations for support, but poor rural parents are often unable (and sometimes unwilling) to pay the fees needed to support community teachers' salaries and sustain education for their children. The schools are few and far between and starved for resources of all sorts to maintain appropriate teaching/learning conditions: buildings are rudimentary or in disrepair, equipment is scanty, materials are lacking; water is absent and there are no school meal programs, and children must often travel long distances to attend.

It is clear that considerable investment will be needed to 1) sustain and expand services in the refugee camps and – in the case of education - make these available to surrounding populations; and 2) provide such services in the rural areas. Investments in the latter in particular need to go beyond construction of infrastructure to address critical issues of support and expansion of a qualified teaching force and health professionals, provision of appropriate equipment and materials, and – in the case of education – development of accompanying measures to provide incentives for attendance – particularly for girls. For sustainability of social service provisioning, government involvement and commitment will be essential.

In addition to health and education, priority attention is also required for water provision, particularly in the rural villages, most of which lack convenient sources of safe drinking water and therefore have recourse to water from shallow wells near the wadis at some distance from the villages. Not only does this have negative effects on health; it adds to a considerable burden on women and children who are responsible for water collection. Water provision should also be made a standard feature of any schools or health centers that are built.

#### ***Supporting livelihoods and income generation***

Considerable efforts are underway by UNHCR and its partners – particularly FLM – to promote and expand livelihood options for both refugees and host populations – including through the designation of 'villages of opportunity' for joint program support around agriculture and gardening and other support for income generating activities and credit provision for selected groups in both camps and villages. Given the vastness of the region and the considerable economic and livelihood constraints that are characteristic in this largely arid Sahelian zone of agro-pastoralists, it is clear that interventions by other development partners will also be critical. Among some of the issues arising in priority areas of focus are the following (*see also below on measures specific to women*):

- **Rain-fed agriculture:** Rain-fed agriculture (primarily of millet, ground-nuts and sorghum) is the mainstay of rural households in this region but faces considerable constraints. These include: the limited extent of arable lands; uncertain and scant rains; rudimentary cultivation techniques (primarily the hoe); crop infestations and limited access to pesticides; declining soil fertility reported in some places; devastation of fields by transhumant animals; and post-harvest losses stemming from inadequate storage facilities. Efforts are underway – through ANADER and FLM – to facilitate the use of tractors for cultivation, to provide seeds and other inputs, and to build community grain stores. These should be supported and expanded, along with efforts to demarcate pastoral transhumance corridors and settle conflicts between farmers and herders. Land allocation practices for refugee cultivation during the rainy season will also need to be further studied and appropriate measures supported: while government and partners are promoting free access to land

for refugees, and enticing land-owners to do so with promises of technical support and service provision, both refugees and villagers themselves indicate that both share-cropping arrangements and rental of land are practiced.

- **Off-season gardening:** This is done both on private plots of land for village households who possess these and through project-supported joint groups of refugees and villagers on lands lying along the seasonal river beds or wadis which are dry in the off-season but which have low-lying water tables that can be tapped for water. During the rainy season, when the wadis are full, the land reverts to agricultural land. Current efforts to promote joint gardening activities by mixed groups of refugees and villagers are underway by FLM and partners (through the creation and structuring of groups, provision of inputs, and provision of motor-pumps) but these efforts seem to be experiencing a number of constraints linked primarily to the issue of water provision (pumps insufficient in number, broken down or out of fuel). Challenges in the marketing of produce have also arisen due to the distance from markets, lack of transport, insecurity along the roads, and lack of appropriate crop transformation and preservation technology. For refugees in particular, distances of the wadis from their camps serves as another obstacle such that many – discouraged – seem to have dropped out of the program. All of these issues would need further study and deliberation as well as enhanced support to ensure positive outcomes for both villagers and refugees.
- **Animal husbandry:** Livestock-keeping (cattle, goats and sheep, donkeys and horses) is a complementary feature of rural household economies in this region, though the ability to maintain herds seems to vary significantly from family to family and many of our study participants have reported that significant livestock losses through theft over the past decade or so have never been overcome. For those who do have stock, they serve as an essential reserve of capital to meet household expenses and are particularly crucial in this arid region where rain-fed agriculture is so variable. Key constraints for animal husbandry include: lack of pasture (due both to the encroachment of agricultural lands by both villagers and refugees and overcrowding by transhumant herds coming into the zone from the north); lack of pastoral water points; insecurity (with violent thefts of animals by armed ‘bandits’ reported to be a common occurrence); and animal disease coupled with lack of access to veterinary services. While some efforts have been made to provide animal vaccinations and to distribute small ruminants to vulnerable groups as an income generating activity, more investment would be needed in this sector to allow households – both refugees and villagers – to follow the most rational and effective balance of agricultural and livestock livelihood strategies.

#### *Strengthening and expanding opportunities for vocational and technical training*

A vocational training center, designed to meet the needs of both refugees and local populations on a 60/40 basis has been established in Hadjer Hadid (transferred there from its earlier location in the Bredjing refugee camp); this has benefited a number of individuals and should be enhanced and strengthened, including post-training support and start-up kits and/or credit for the establishment of workshops. Considerations of distance, however, limit the potential of both refugees and more remote rural villagers to attend, so further thought and support should be given to expanding such opportunities in refugee camps themselves as well as in the more remote rural villages through an appropriate formula that would need to be determined. More attention to professional and vocational training needs of women would also be important (see below).

#### *Balancing environmental safeguards with real needs for environmental resources*

As in our other areas of study, most study participants have emphasized the negative effects on an already fragile environment of the influx of refugees into the zone which – coupled with the migratory movements of transhumant populations from the north - is leading both to shortage and/or heightened conflict over agricultural and grazing lands and to increasingly scarce foraged materials such as firewood and fodder. The firewood dilemma is particularly acute, as firewood is the sole source of fuel for cooking and it falls upon women and children to gather this at increasing distances from home, incurring potential reprimands and fines as well as physical aggression. So far, the government response



seems to be primarily one of repression (outlawing the sale of firewood, for example) without offering alternative options for fuel sources. Promotion of fuel-efficient stoves, along with exploration of alternative fuel sources (bio-energy? Solar power? Other?) should be pursued - perhaps initially on a trial scale. At the same time environmental management and preservation activities (tree-planting, live hedging, etc.) should be built into development programs linked to livelihoods and expanded in all zones.

#### ***Addressing gender –specific vulnerabilities and opportunities***

Women in this region – both refugees and villagers have both unique strengths and potential and unique vulnerabilities – both of which require specific program responses. Key priorities would include actions to address the following:

- **Livelihood activities:** Many of the women in both refugee and village communities are either de jure or de facto heads of household through either widowhood (most common among the refugees) or extensive male outmigration for significant periods of time, leaving women and children alone. Almost all study participants emphasized that women in this region do most of the work which – combined with household chores (*see below*) leads to considerable strain and ‘time poverty’. Women are the primary participants, in particular, in gardening activities but are in need of significant support (as discussed above) to make such activities profitable and to reduce the burden – for example – of digging for water, watering by hand and the like as well as to enhance the marketing of produce. Women’s role in animal husbandry could also be supported through distribution of small ruminants and support for their care as well as enhanced security measures for fodder collection and training in techniques such as fabrication of feed-cakes. The key would be to approach support for all livelihood activities from a gender perspective to ensure, on the one hand, that women’s roles are supported and, on the other hand, that additional tasks do not add to their already heavy work-load. Also critical would be to identify particularly vulnerable categories of women for whom livelihood support may not be an option and for whom other forms of social assistance and safety net provision would take priority.
- **Daily household chores:** These are so clearly intertwined with productive activities that it is sometimes hard to disentangle but include in particular responsibilities for the following: fetching water; collecting firewood; grinding grain; preparing meals; caring for children and other family members. Such chores, when combined with the livelihood activities outlined above, contribute to women’s time poverty and some (such as gathering fodder in the bush) also expose them to significant risks. While long-term efforts should be set in place to advocate for more gender-equitable sharing in daily household chores, shorter and medium term efforts are needed to supply services and appropriate technology that lighten the burden of such chores. These would include, among other things: establishment of boreholes with hand-pumps in rural villages; promotion of fuel efficient cook-stoves to reduce the need for firewood; provision of donkey carts for transport of logs and other products gathered from the bush; and provision of appropriate food transformation technologies (grinding mills and the like).
- **Income-generation:** Women in this zone seem to have less of a tradition than elsewhere (in the South, for example) of local savings and credit groups (tontines or parés) though some mentioned some experience with these. Some external support has also been provided for the creation of such groups around income-generating activities such as grinding mills, food transformation and the like. The research team was told that an evaluation is underway of these assisted women’s savings and credit groups to identify constraints and opportunities for further programing; it would be useful to seek the report of this evaluation, when completed, as a basis upon which to plan potential support. Food transformation technologies (such as grinding mills, ground-nut presses, local spaghetti makers (duédé) and the like would undoubtedly continue to be significant investments for such women’s groups. It would also be critical to ensure that appropriate vocational training opportunities are available for women and that women are supported with start-up kits and management skills to initiate and guide their enterprises.

- **Sexual and reproductive health:** Reproductive health and maternity care are provided in the refugee camp, with referrals to district hospitals in case of complications; it was reported that most refugee women now give birth in the center and in fact we were told that refugees have been forbidden to give birth at home. Problems remain, however, in the quality of care provided, the reduced number of health staff and in particular trained midwives, and timely transport for referrals. We did not obtain information on the percentage of deliveries in the camp that pertain to local women: our investigations in two rural villages indicate that most women there give birth at home, assisted by untrained traditional birth attendants (*dayas*) with arduous travel to centers in case of complications by donkey cart. Strengthening access to quality sexual and reproductive health care for all women is a critical priority and should include both pre- and post-natal care, safe delivery, and access to appropriate information and means of family planning services (this last undoubtedly a sensitive issue in this region).
- **Sexual and gender-based violence:** As reported by study participants, this takes a variety of forms and includes both domestic violence (reported to be quite common) and physical aggression and rape (particularly in the bush when engaged in gathering of fire-wood). Measures have been established in the refugee camps to both protect against such violence (through sensitization campaigns and enhanced security) as well as to care for victims (through health services and psycho-social support). These need to be supported and expanded and similar efforts are critically needed in rural villages where such needs are currently not being met.
- **Early marriage / pregnancy:** These remain issues for both refugee and village girls. While the official age at first marriage in Chad has been established as 18, marriages prior to that continue to take place – both ‘in secret’ among refugees (who have been sensitized around the law) and quite openly among villagers who maintain, among other things, that early marriages are in fact an important protective factor against teenage pregnancy outside of wedlock. In both cases, in spite of early marriages, unwanted teen pregnancies do occur, with all of the social stigma and risk that these entail. In the refugee camp, teen pregnancies were sometimes the result of transactional sex by which girls seek out economic support from boys or men in exchange for sex. Priorities would include both sensitization campaigns as well as appropriate sexual and reproductive health information and services for adolescent girls.
- **Girls’ education:** Thanks to the provision of convenient and accessible schooling opportunities in the camps coupled with sensitization efforts on the importance of girls’ education led by humanitarian actors, this seems to be less of a problem for refugees than for girls in rural villages. For refugee girls in the camps, the main issues seem to be linked to limited opportunities for higher education, though remaining problems of parental attitudes, early marriage, and higher costs of maintaining girls in school due to the expense of required dress and veils are still problems to be addressed, as are the overall challenges of maintaining and extending high quality educational opportunities in camp schools for both refugees and immediately surrounding villagers.

In rural areas, however, challenges are acute: schools are rare to non-existent and what schools exist are poorly equipped and staffed; parents are unable (or unwilling) to pay the required school fees for support of community teachers; there has been limited sensitization on the importance of girls’ education; girls are required at home to help out with household chores; and early marriages remain common (from 14, 15 or 16). Parental attitudes on education overall and on girls’ education in particular are also factors. Priorities would therefore be to address both supply and demand side issues: including investment in schools, teachers (including female teachers) and equipment on the one hand, and on awareness-raising coupled with additional incentives for girls’ attendance where schools are available (to consider, for example, school meals coupled with take-home rations for girls; conditional cash transfers contingent on girls’ remaining in school and the like).

- **Women’s leadership:** Although female autonomy vis-à-vis male heads of household remains limited, in both villages and camp, women leaders (presidents of women’s associations; head village women and the like) play significant roles and serve as an organizing feature around many

aspects of women's community life. Such roles should be strengthened and supported; existing women's associations and organizations should serve as an entry point for all program support for women and girls and should be included in consultations for broader social and economic service delivery and support in both refugee camps and villages.

***Enhancing overall security and access to justice***

Study participants emphasized prevailing conditions of generalized insecurity in the rural zones of study, with common occurrences including highway robbery; violent theft of animals; conflicts over shared natural resources; and gender-based violence. Moreover, recourse to justice seems limited at best. Such conditions of insecurity need to be addressed primarily by government, but partners could also assist in strengthening access to justice.

***Strengthening and promoting peaceful cohabitation between refugees and host populations***

A mixed committee has been established to address issues related to refugee-host relations, meeting once a month with the government and humanitarian partners and with networks of village committees throughout the zone defined as host community. There are delegates to the committee in each village who form part of a volunteer network to keep an eye on things, report problems, and help in sensitization campaigns on the importance of peaceful cohabitation. This committee has dealt with such issues as gender-based violence against refugee women in the bush; land attribution to refugees; payment standards for refugee workers; conflicts over natural resources; and youth issues. This committee also seems to serve as the backdrop for the organization of joint project management committees in villages or wadi areas that are the sites of joint refugee/villager empowerment programs. With both refugees and villagers, men and women represented on this committee and its network, this structure merits ongoing support and implication in any joint programming effort.

**4. Visual record of research in the East**

*President of women's refugee committee, Bredjing*



*Refugee children, Bredjing*



*Discussion with camp management committee, Bredjing*



*Elderly refugee man, Bredjing*



*Market scene, Bredjing refugee camp*



*Water collection, Bredjing refugee camp*



*Typical street, Bredjing refugee camp*



*Young refugee woman making bricks outside of Bredjing*



*Women of Chalingo village*



*Male notables, Chalingo village*



*Woman carrying water, Chalingo village*



*Makeshift private health center, Chalingo village*



*Individual interview with young woman, Chalingo village*



*Villagers of Massalit Loumba cluster awaiting the team's arrival*



*Male notables, Massalit Loumba*



*Mother and child, Massalit Loumba*



*Women, Massalit Loumba*



*Mixed gardening group, women refugees and villagers, Wadi Tiré*



*Irrigation system, Wadi Tiré*



*Hand-dug well, drying up, Wadi Tiré*



*Resting in the shade, Wadi Tiré*



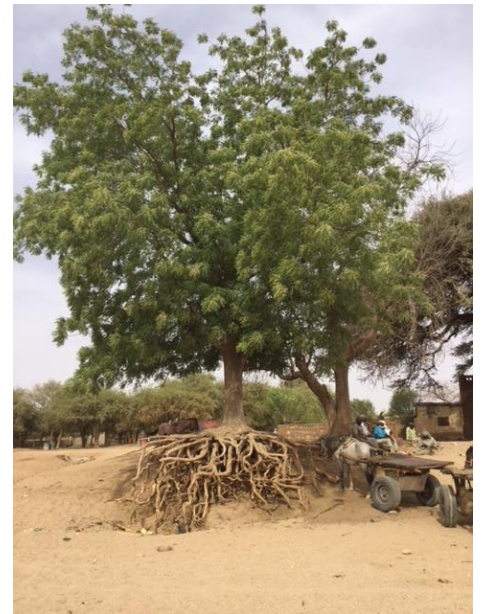
*Common scene: herds in search of water outside Farchana*



*Transporting water and firewood in the countryside outside Farchana*



*Erosion along the banks of the wadi outside Farchana*



*Shallow wells bring water from the dry wadi bed outside of Farchana*





## **E. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR PROGRAMMING**

### **1. Overview of the study**

This report has presented findings from the qualitative study of the dynamics of social and economic inclusion for refugees and host populations in Chad. Field work focused on a selected refugee camp and surrounding communities in three areas of the country where refugee flows have been most significant. These include: the *Moyen Chari region of the South around the Béлом refugee camp in Maro*; the *Lac region around the Dar es Salam refugee camp in Bagasola*; and *Ouaddaï region in the East around the Bredjing refugee camp and Farchana*.

Through discussions and participatory research exercises with key informants, refugees and displaced populations and community members – male and female, young and old, over 1,000 in all – the study attempted to understand how different groups and individuals conceptualize and experience forced displacement; to identify key opportunities and major constraints to social and economic inclusion of refugee populations into local communities, including access to social services and assistance as well as economic and livelihood opportunities; and to analyze how the gender dimension influenced both perceptions and experiences as well opportunities and constraints. Field study was complemented with an extensive literature review and discussions with key informants in N'Djamena.

The study was commissioned by the World Bank as part of the analytical exercises underway in preparation of a project in support of refugees and host communities in Chad. The project aims to improve access of refugees and host communities to basic services, livelihoods and safety nets and to strengthen country systems to manage refugees. It will be implemented in the East, South and Lac regions and will benefit both refugees and host communities in selected areas, in recognition of the need to support promote cohesive and durable social and economic development prospects for all.

### **2. Key findings**

Our key findings are grouped below according to major themes emerging from the research. They draw on and attempt to synthesize the more specific findings reported in the body of the report on each region.

#### **2.1 The local contexts**

##### *Distinct and dynamic local socio-cultural contexts*

The three regions selected for study represent highly distinct socio-cultural heritages and identities which help pattern social life and relations. Our study area around *Maro, in Moyen Chari in the South*, is peopled largely by Sara ethnic sub-groups and predominantly Christian, though recent history has seen an influx of more Muslims and different ethnic groups into the area, including sedentarized Arab pastoral groups and others. *Lac region* was historically part of the powerful Muslim Kanembou-Bornu empire whose current inhabitants are predominantly Muslim and remain marked by a hierarchical social structure including a caste system as well as by considerable ethnic diversity due to a history of migrations into and within the region, though Kanembou and Boudouma are the dominant groups in the region today. *Ouaddaï in the East* was once part of the historical Sultanate of Ouaddaï which based its power on trans-Saharan trade: today the region of Ouaddaï is multi-ethnic and retains its Islamic identity, with the main ethnic groups in our cantons of research the Massalit and Assanghour, with other smaller groups as well.

##### *Significant livelihood constraints and poverty*

Each of the study regions falls into a different livelihood zone, as characterized by FEWS NET; populations thus face different livelihood constraints.

- *The region of Moyen Chari* is the ‘southern staple and cash crop zone’, with relatively high rainfall but only moderately fertile soil, and agricultural livelihoods threatened by both flooding and poor rainy seasons in one out of every five years. Staple cereal crops – primarily rain-fed –

include sorghum, millet and maize, with inter-cropping of cowpeas and separate cultivation of ground nuts and cotton as cash crops. Farmers strive to combine some kind of livestock as well, though this is often only successful for wealthier households and animal ownership is in fact one of the key wealth differentials in the region. Available wealth category analyses indicate that the poor and very poor make up 42% of the overall population; the middle 39%; and the better off 19%.

Key livelihood constraints in our study locality include 1) lack of means of production (particularly draught oxen) meaning that many households continue to farm the land with rudimentary instruments by hand; 2) limited access to or ability to afford key inputs such as fertilizer and improved seeds; 3) climate change bringing irregular rainfalls incurring both dry spells and floods; and 4) devastation of fields by animal herds of either transhumant or sedentarized pastoralists in the region. Key constraints for animal husbandry include lack of adequate pasture and access to veterinary services. Along with lack of agricultural inputs, lack of chickens or small ruminants for ready cash, oxen for animal traction and portage, and cows for milk represent significant livelihood disadvantages for the poor.

- **The Lac region** is an ‘agro pastoral and fishing’ zone. The environment is characterized as semi-desert, except along the fertile edges and islands of Lake Chad. Households combine agriculture (rain-fed cultivation of millet on the dunes and gardening in the polders and *wadis* (seasonal water courses) where wheat, maize, and beans are also cultivated as off-season crops along with garden produce) with livestock herding (primarily of Kouri cattle and small ruminants) and fishing to varying degrees. The zone is unique in allowing two to three harvests a year, with rain-fed crops grown from June and October, off-season crops from October to March, and off-season garden crops from June. Manioc is also planted year-round in small parcels along the lake shores. Settlement patterns are of two categories: that on ‘terra firma’ (ie the dryer zones and lake sides) and that on the islands, with migration often occurring back and forth. The islands provide important pastures for animal herds during the dry season but with the rains, animals are moved back to the mainland ‘terra firma’ in order to avoid insects.

Livelihoods have been severely affected by climate change and the shrinking of the lake by around half over the past thirty years (although there are some reports that this trend may be reversing). According to available wealth group analyses, almost two thirds of the rural population of the region (63%) can be classified as poor or very poor, with key factors of differentiation including land and animal ownership. While the better off groups produce from 78% to 102% of their annual food needs, the poorer groups can meet only about half (between 41 and 52%): laboring on the field of others is thus a key livelihood strategy for the poorer households.

- **The region of Ouaddai** falls into the ‘eastern rain-fed cereals and market gardening’ livelihood zone, with most household also maintaining some animals. The zone encompasses a gradation from Sahelian to Sudano-Sahelian ecology, with steppe-type vegetation in the north, bush-scrub in the center and more wooded and grassy cover towards the south. Mountains drain onto the wide plains areas via numerous *wadis*, providing the possibility of substantial off-season cultivation using some irrigation as well as simply soil moisture retained in the wadi bottoms as the surface water fades.

In a good year, the combination of rain-fed and off-season grain production coupled with off-season garden production along the *wadis* has potential to fulfill most food requirements. However, as a combined result of rainfall deficits, crop pests, animal disease outbreaks, over-grazing and environmental degradation, as well as sale of food stuffs to regions in the north, the zone as a whole is considered food deficient in two years out of three and food security also varies by household wealth. According to available wealth group analyses, poor and very poor households make up 45% of the population; households in the middle constitute 40%, while the well-off make up 24%. Per capita, the better-off cultivate about 50% more land than middle households and

possess around three times as many animals. The poorer groups have low livestock holdings and also little land - in particular the valuable *wadi* land and land along the polders.

### ***Extremely limited access to quality social services***

All study localities were characterized by a dearth of public investment in social services of all sorts, with refugees in camps often better off in terms of access to services than local communities. Schools and health centers are scattered, poorly equipped, and insufficiently staffed, with the quality of services minimal.

- ***In Moyen Chari***, there is estimated to be just one doctor for 38,321 regional inhabitants (compared to norms of 1/10,000), and of the 66 health centers, 11% are non-functional. With some 731 schools in the region as a whole, student teacher ratios rise to 159 and only half of primary students complete their studies.
- ***In Lac***, there are only ten doctors in the region: health officials note that they lack equipment, personnel and supervisory capacity as well as health service infrastructure. Only 37% of primary aged school children were in school in 2015/16; net schooling rates are just 14.3% and under a tenth (8.6%) of the adult population is literate (compared to 27% at national level). Education officials point to critical problems in both infrastructure and staffing of schools, with an average of 135 pupils per class at primary level (compared to the standard of 45)
- ***In Ouaddaï***, with only one doctor per 78,856 inhabitants, only two of the existing three hospitals are reported as functioning and over a tenth of the 65 health centers are non-functional. Out of a total of 722 schools, 9% are non-functional and the student-teacher ratio is 159, with a primary school achievement rate of just over a quarter (26.8%).

In ***all of our study localities***, in the absence of adequate health service structures, much of the population turns most frequently to untrained ‘bush doctors’ (called *Dr. Choukrou*). In villages where schools actually exist, many villagers report problems in maintaining these as they are staffed largely (or solely) by community teachers who rely on parental payments for support. In other villages, parents report that long distances to school are a serious impediment; lack of water supply at the schools and the need for children’s participation in agro-pastoral activities are also obstacles to attendance and retention.

## **2.2 Refugee experiences**

### ***A diversity of displacement dynamics***

The dynamics of refugee flows and displacement are highly distinct. Two – in the South and in the East – are of a protracted nature of over 15 years; the third, in Lac, is more recent, since 2014.

- ***Regions in the South*** have been profoundly affected by the politico-military crisis in Central African Republic which since 2003 has sent over 75,000 refugees across the border where they are now housed in six camps and several villages. Since 2013 over 45,000 Chadian returnees from CAR have also sought safety across the border where they are settled in five temporary sites as well as host villages and N’Djamena. This has become a protracted crisis and perspectives for return rest minimal due to the ongoing conflicts in CAR and significant instability in the north of the country. In Moyen Chari, ***Béлом refugee camp*** near Maro houses over 20,000 Central African refugees, while the nearby Maïngama installation houses over 17,000 Chadian returnees. The villages we visited for our research have not only been affected by such influxes of newcomers into the zone, they have themselves have also experienced flight and exile when political turmoil and conflict in the 1980s forced them from their homes to seek refuge in CAR as their villages were razed to the ground. An additional element of movement into the region that adds additional complexity has been the increasing sedentarization of pastoral nomads from the north in search of pasture and agricultural lands.
- ***The Lac region*** of Chad has been severely impacted by the crisis caused by Boko Haram from Nigeria which has created massive displacement and insecurity in the countries bordering Lake Chad. Since 2014/15, some 9,000 refugees have sought refuge in Chad (7,000 from Nigeria and

2,000 from Niger), with 6,118 installed in *the refugee camp of Dar es Salam* and the rest scattered in host communities. While Hausa make up over half of the Nigerian refugees – who are mostly from the northern state of Borno - multiple other ethnic groups are also present, including Kanuri, Fulani and other minorities. Refugees from Niger in the camp come primarily from Nguigmi prefecture and are mostly Boudouma. But refugees are far outnumbered in this region by the over 135,000 internally displaced people who live in temporary settlement sites and scattered in villages within the region. There are additionally nearly 25,000 Chadian returnees from the bordering countries affected by Boko Haram, also divided between temporary settlement sites and villages. Settlement patterns for the different displaced groups are often organized on an ethnic basis. The region as a whole has suffered from the closure of borders with Nigeria and from restrictions on movements caused by insecurity.

- ***In the East of the country***, over 300,000 Sudanese refugees fleeing conflict in Darfur since 2003 are installed in 12 refugee camps as well as one installation site and several villages in the regions of along the border with Sudan. The ***Bredjing camp*** near Hadjer Hamis that was included in our study is now the largest camp in Chad and reportedly the third largest in Africa, housing over 45,000 refugees of primarily Massalit ethnicity. A tripartite agreement signed in 2017 between the governments of Chad and Sudan and UNHCR has set the basis for voluntary return, but currently few have taken this up, as conditions of insecurity in Darfur continue to send additional refugees across the border, and it appears therefore that most will remain in Chad for the foreseeable future. In this semi-arid Sahelian zone where agro-pastoral livelihoods are already precarious and dependent on climatic conditions, the additional strain on natural resources brought by such massive numbers of refugees remains acute.

#### *Deeply traumatic experiences of flight and exile*

All refugees in all zones – no matter how long ago flight may have occurred – remain deeply traumatized by their experience, yet show remarkable resilience in the face of the hardships and losses suffered. All recount horrifying acts of violence and recall their desperate treks in search of safety, with many suffering losses not only of homes and property but of families and loved ones.

- ***Central African refugees in Béлом camp in the south*** speak of rebels invading their villages, killing the menfolk and others, and destroying property and goods in ‘*war that has left wounds*’ As one explains, ‘*We left because of the war and it was war that caused the loss of our loved ones under horrible circumstances. Here we have no choice – we just accept whatever is given to us – what to do? We cannot go back home*’. They recount desperate treks on foot through the bush, hiding from armed groups and suffering hunger and thirst along the way to safety. They compare their current situation of hardship and uncertainty with the relative well-being they enjoyed at home. As one notes, ‘*the fall has been brutal and without any foreseen happy ending*.’
- ***Refugees in Dar es Salam in Lac*** recall Boko Haram raids on their villages in the middle of the night where they were startled out of sleep to find rampant killing in the streets as armed men slit throats indiscriminately. Many fled for their lives by pirogue, arriving in disarray Chad, as one put it, ‘*naked, with no mother/no father*’. One woman recounts how in fleeing, she stopped to take a baby off the back of another woman who was felled before her eyes, adding the new baby to the children she was already caring for. Comparing their current lives to their past, they say: ‘*Here there is suffering*’; ‘*There are no economic opportunities*’; ‘*We live on the promises of support from humanitarian actors, but have little to show for ourselves; hence permanent anguish, worry and stress*’
- ***Sudanese refugees in Bredjing*** evoke a dual attack by government forces coming in armed vehicles and bombarding villages by plane, while armed militias (the *janjaweed*) came into the village on horseback. The attacks would often come in the middle of the night or around four am, when everyone was asleep: ‘*They had a system*’ explained one. ‘*First they killed the people; then they stole our goods; then they burned our villages*.’ Men were killed or taken away. Women too were raped, killed and taken away: ‘*Still today, we do not know how many died, without being buried*,

*their bodies left to be eaten by dogs*'. Older people who had been left behind because they were unable to flee were also slaughtered. According to some accounts, the cries of the Janjaweed were *'Kill the blacks! Kill the blacks!'* Those who could fled into the bush – some ending up in IDP camps within Sudan, others, like them, crossing over into Chad as refugees after days of walking or riding on donkeys – the trek also taking its toll: *'I saw families leave children who had grown too weak to walk by the wayside with a small bottle of water as the rest of the family moved on.'* Once in Chad, the Government opened its borders to them and NGOs provided assistance – for that, they say, they will be eternally grateful.

#### ***Variable conditions of life in the camps***

Assistance provided in the refugee camps was appreciated by all refugees we spoke to – particularly in relation to the provision of health and education services in the camp, as well as of water provision. In the case of education – particularly for ***refugees in the east and in Lac region*** – this was often the first time children had such access to schools. Nevertheless, there were some complaints about the quality of both health and education services (over-crowded conditions, lack of personnel and moves towards partial cost-recovery measures). Refugees also complained about housing conditions. ***In the South***, refugees decried their lack of ability to improve their living conditions and of the crowded nature of the camp where privacy was minimal. ***In Lac***, where the uprootedness was most recent, refugees spoke of the inadequacy of the tents and impromptu-shelters where many were still living and spoke longingly of their earlier homes next to the water: *'Look at us now'*, they said, *'Living like this in the sand'*. ***In the East***, some refugees compared their crowded semi-urban-type existence with their more spacious habitats at home.

Ration assistance varied from camp to camp:

- In ***Béлом camp in the South***, the recent transition from universal food distribution to targeted cash assistance limited to poor and very poor households, coupled with the reduction in amount from 6,000 CFA to 3,000 per person, has not been fully understood or accepted by the refugees – many of whom, such as those with disabilities or women heads of large households, report that they do not have sufficient capacity for income generation on their own and are suffering as a result.
- In ***Dar es Salam camp in Lac***, universal food distributions were provided up until the end of 2016, after which food ration coupons were provided for exchange for food with designated merchants. Some refugees were reported to prefer the coupon to cash assistance both because of security concerns with cash and also because Bagasola market is some distance and the designated merchants come monthly to the camp. Others, however, particularly some of the women we spoke to, said they would prefer to continue receiving the food directly. The coupon is for a value of 6,000 FCFA per person, but with a cap of 7 people per household, which some refugees say is not enough to make ends meet.
- In ***Bredjing camp in the East***, rations had been reduced from earlier universal distribution, but more recently had been replaced with a system of coupons for a value of FCFA 3,000 per head, with no cap in household members. Most refugees we spoke to reported that the amount is not enough to enable households to make ends meet – lasting on average between 15-25 days, depending on the size of the family and other factors. Some also say they would prefer money in lieu of coupons, as the coupons can only be exchanged for specified food-stuffs.

#### ***Difficulties in re-establishing livelihoods***

All refugees - even those living in camps in the East and South for over 15 years – have reported difficulties in re-establishing their livelihoods. Most lost the majority – if not all – of their productive assets (both agro-pastoral and trades-related) in the precipitous flight to safety and, in spite of programs of assistance over the years, have for the most part not been able to achieve self-sufficiency. Key obstacles show both similarities and differences depending on the zone.

- For refugees in ***Béлом in the South***, where households are provided with plots of land surrounding the camp, some of the constraints are common to all producers in the zone: small plots and declining soil fertility; lack of animal traction; animal herds destroying crops with impunity and particularly hindering manioc production (which used to be the key to livelihoods for many refugees from CAR); limited capital to invest in commercial activities. But some are specific to refugees, including their lack of access to larger or more fertile plots of land than those allotted by HCR or additional land for grazing and lack of access to credit from the local micro-finance institution, which refuses to lend to refugees. This latter issue was a critical factor in the failure of an animal traction project which had called for refugees to reimburse part of the amount of purchase. The vocational and technical training center in Maro establishes an annual quota of 70% of places reserved for refugees; these are helping some, but further investment is needed to help with start-up costs of micro-enterprise. As one refugee put it: *'The main challenge for us here remains the lack of means. In spite of all of our efforts, we are not able to become self-sufficient, because of the lack of means. The ration brings some relief, but neither rations nor cash transfers are sufficient.'*
- For refugees in ***Dar es Salam in Lac***, where livelihood support activities have just started up, there is a patent frustration with the lack of economic opportunities. Refugees overwhelmingly highlight their readiness to work and eagerly cite the skills they have to offer – in farming, fishing, animal husbandry, commerce, trades – but bemoan the lack of productive activities or employment options available to them: *'We are suffering here – just surviving. That is our position'* they state. They compare the quality of soil in the fields surrounding the camp unfavorably to that in their home communities, noting that they cannot produce the same volume or variety of products as they are used to. They also note that not everyone has had access to land allocations, which – as with other camp resources – have been organized through the camp's bloc chiefs in processes that some see as biased. A fishing group has been established with external support and equipped with pirogue and nets, but this activity is too recent to assess.
- For refugees ***in Bredjing in Ouaddai***, issues of land loom large, due to the arid terrain and lack of sufficient arable land. Unlike refugees in the South, they have not been allotted parcels to cultivate around the camp; those not participating in joint agricultural or gardening projects must negotiate access to land on their own – often at some distance from camp, and often through share-cropping arrangements through which they must from one third to one half of the harvest to the land-owner (though the government is trying to promote free access to land). The current arrangements have led to a seasonal migration of refugees out of the camp to fields across cantons up to 50 or 70 km away that will receive them during the high cultivation period (*see below*).

### 2.3 Local perceptions and relations between refugees and host communities

#### *A sense of 'brotherhood' felt and expressed*

Host communities have for the most part greeted refugee arrivals with remarkable generosity and hospitality. Many, in all zones, provided at least some degree of initial direct assistance before humanitarian actors arrived on the scene, and most evoke notions of common humanity and 'brotherhood'. As villagers ***in the East*** put it, villagers and refugees are now like *'the sauce and the boule'*. Common ethnic ties in some localities have helped, particularly ***in the South***, where Ngama and Sangho were commonly shared languages, or ***in the East***, where Massalit refugees in the Bredjing camp found other Massalit in surrounding villages. Shared religion also plays a role ***in the East*** where the shared Islamic tradition of charitable giving or Zakat was highlighted as a positive factor for integration. Local villagers we spoke to ***in the South*** also feel a special bond with Central African refugees, given their own experience as refugees in CAR back in the 1980s.

Sometimes, however, refugees and the internally displaced were met with suspicion, as ***in Lac*** where some villagers reportedly blamed them for bringing Boko Haram to Chad, particularly if they were of the ethnic group which was said to be predominant in the ranks of Boko Haram.

### ***Negative impact on the environment and shared natural resources***

Almost all study participants point to the negative impacts of massive influxes of newcomers (refugees as well as displaced populations and others such as settled or transhumant pastoralists) on land, the environment and shared natural resources. Land issues are particularly critical for rural populations who depend upon it for their livelihoods and pressure on the land for both agriculture and pasturage is felt to different degrees in the different zones. The destruction of trees for firewood – the primary source of energy for cooking – is also especially dramatic, with both refugees and villagers noting that they have to travel further and further into the bush to find dead wood to haul home, facing as they do so harassment by both agents of the government's Water and Forestry department and – in the case of women – gender based violence (see below). Other natural products are becoming ever scarcer: these include reeds for building materials and mats; wild nuts, fruits and berries essential for both food preparation and traditional medicines, as well as for traditional hospitality (such as the offering of karité butter to guests in the south). Competition over resources can be the source of conflicts between refugees and host populations and was reported as such in the different zones.

### ***Expanded access to social services***

On the other hand, local populations have observed that refugee flows bring with them a plethora of humanitarian actors providing social services and support to meet increased demand. While much of this is seen to primarily benefit refugees, with some resentment expressed by villagers about this, some assistance has also benefited local communities – particularly those living closest to the camps. This is especially so in the case of health centers and schools in the refugee camps, which are open to all, though there some reports of camp services favoring refugees and many reports of over-crowded conditions in both schools and health centers. Other social services have been provided directly to local communities (rehabilitation of schools and health centers and support for personnel) and joint refugee/village programs have been developed in the interest of integrated development and peaceful cohabitation. Communities recognize this and therefore welcome refugees as potential conduits for external assistance as well as exposure to new ideas. As one village leader in Ouaddaï commented, the presence of refugees in the zone has 'broken the isolation' and previous neglect of villagers by development actors of all sorts: 'Before', he said with a smile 'People like you and your team would only pass by this area by airplane, but now you have come amongst us!'

### ***Evolving relations around land***

Access to land seems easiest *in the South*, where, as noted above, the relative availability of land has enabled refugee households to be provided with small plots around the camp. Nevertheless, a significant number of refugees in Bélom still seek labor on the lands of others – negotiating a daily wage of around 1,500 to 2,000 FCFA a day (500 FCFA a day reported by women). Villagers who can afford this thus find a ready supply of labor for their fields, allowing them to expand production; each cites this as of mutual benefit. *In Lac*, where not all of the refugees have been allotted access to plots, laboring on the agricultural fields of host populations is a key economic outlet for some – both men and women; men explained that they earned between 1,000 and 1,500 FCFA by day (compared to what they posited as a norm of around 3,000/4,000); young women here as well said they only earned 500 FCFA /day, although this was perhaps for a shorter length of time. In *Ouaddaï*, the sharecropping arrangements described above have brought refugees into close relations with land-owners and to entire villages, as refugees camp out with their families for the entire growing season, leading to an intensification of contacts. This has been recognized by UNHCR and partners, and programs of support to 'villages of opportunity' currently target these areas – encouraging land-owners to continue to grant lands to refugees against the promise of support for agricultural activities and investment in social service infrastructure to support both refugees and host populations.

### ***Other social and economic interactions***

The stimulation of markets seems to be one positive socio-economic impact of the arrival of refugees. Economic interactions between local populations and refugees are very lively and productive in the markets in refugee camps visited *in the South and the East*, which are well-established and – from observations – larger than most nearby village markets. Some refugees have been able to establish retail arrangements with wholesalers in the market in Bélom and both refugees and villagers buy and sell in the markets, which are poles of integration. *In Lac*, where no market has yet been established in Dar es

Salam camp, refugees and local populations meet up in the market in near-by Bagasola. Other economic interactions are around joint livelihood programs that have been established in each locality (for agriculture/gardening in all zones and fishing in Lac. Some of these programs are reported to be working well while others have experienced constraints: it does not appear, however, that constraints are due primarily to refugee/villager tensions, but rather to design features and questions of sustainability.

Social interactions are reported to be positive among refugee and local students attending schools in the ***camps in the South and Lac***, which thus serve as potent integration points. There was less information about this ***in the East***, presumably because until recently the camp schools followed the Sudanese curriculum and therefore had few if any local Chadian students, though this is likely to change now that the schools in the camps have been ‘officialized’. A key informant ***in the South***, however, noted that at middle (college) and high school levels in Maro, where schools accommodate both local children and residents, conflicts sometimes arise over who gets to sit at the limited number of desks, constructed by local carpenters: local children sometimes say to the others that ‘*Our parents are the ones who contributed for these desks, so you refugees, you sit on the ground*’.

Some gender-based violence against refugee girls has been reported (see below) and is a critical issue that needs to be addressed. But other young people report mostly positive experiences; boys in particular get together for leisure activities such as football, and adults report attending each other’s ceremonial events, a mark of integration. Most initial fears and suspicion harbored against ‘the other’ seem to have dissipated over time: As one woman refugee ***in Bredjing*** put it: ‘*We thought at first that the Chadians were going to eat us, while the Chadians thought that the refugees were going to eat them!*’ And it was only after some time of peaceful cohabitation, that trust was build up ‘*because we saw that no one was actually eating anyone else!*’ In a further mark of integration, ***in both the South and the East***, there have been numerous intermarriages between refugees and local community members – mostly with refugee girls marrying into local families (see below).

#### ***Management of conflicts and host population/refugee relations***

Mixed committees have been established to handle conflicts between refugees and host communities and to work towards peaceful cohabitation. ***In Lac***, the prefect takes a strong role in this and considers peaceful cohabitation to be a political priority, given the volatile nature of conflict and displacement in the region. ***In the East***, the committee meets once a month, bringing together representatives from government, humanitarian actors, and refugees, with village delegates and a local network in each village to keep an eye on things, report problems, and help in sensitization campaigns around peaceful cohabitation. The committee was instituted in response problems early on including aggressions against refugee women in the surrounding bush, which provoked a reaction among refugees to close of the camps from the local population. One issue the committee has been working on more recently is that of land attribution to the refugees, trying to replace the sharecropper arrangements with guarantees of free attribution of land to refugees. Other issues that have arisen have been thefts of day wages paid to refugees working as laborers on these lands by highway robbers who attack them on the way home, knowing they have money in their pockets, and problems occasions by local youths who are said to come into the camp on their motorbikes, causing accidents and disturbing the peace.

## **2.4 Gender-specific vulnerabilities and opportunities**

Both refugee and local women and girls experience a number of gender-specific disadvantages in economic opportunities, social relations, and overall well-being, but also demonstrate a number of strengths that should be recognized. The following summarize some of the key points arising from the analysis of gender dynamics in each zone that are presented in more detail in the body of the report.

#### ***Livelihoods and income generation***

Women in ***all zones*** perform a significant amount of labor on a variety of livelihood activities: these include agro-pastoral production and gardening, handicraft production, and petty commerce (preparation and sale of foodstuffs, garden produce, firewood, retail work from wholesalers) as well as wage labor: for refugee women, this is principally on local fields and as domestic workers for villagers. Many perform these tasks in contribution to the household economy, but many also work as the sole



breadwinners for their families. Many of the women in both refugee and village communities are either de jure or de facto heads of household, or will be at some point in their lives (either through widowhood, or divorce and abandonment by husbands) and thus assume sole responsibility for others in their care - both children and older people. **Married women in the East**, in particular, also suffer the strain of long absences from home of their menfolk who migrate in search of work or gold and stay away for long periods of time, often without remittances to support their families back home: *'It is we women who do all the work here'* said village women in the East. *'The men are always off on voyages'* and *'Even if they find work in Sudan or gold in Kouri, they use their earnings to procure another wife, so this does not work to our advantage.'*

For the most part, women experience the same livelihood constraints as described above for both local communities and refugees. However some constraints are intensified due to the gendered nature of productive relations such that women have less ownership or direct control over resources such as land, animals and other assets, including credit. Inheritance in most of the social settings we studied passes down the male line, making it difficult for village women to build up productive assets. For refugee women, the situation may be even worse: **refugee women from Sudan**, for example, could not access land for cultivation from villagers without the intermediation of a male 'sponsor'. Women are also less able to negotiate terms such as payment (see the differentials in wage payments for daily field work recorded for refugee women above). Furthermore, due to historical limitations, women in all three of our study localities have had less access to education and fewer opportunities for skills-specific training.

A particular asset that women bring to income-generation (to greater or lesser extent, depending on the zone) is experience with local forms of savings and credit associations (*tontines or parés*). They also participate regularly in ceremonies and events at critical life stages such as births, marriages, deaths – bringing – in reciprocal fashion - both social and material support to others in time of need. This is a form of social capital that strengthens women's to contribute to the socio-economic well-being of their households. But there are some indications that impoverishment (among both village women and refugees) is eroding their ability to participate in such processes.

### ***Household roles and responsibilities***

With the exception of widows and women who have been divorced or abandoned, women live in households headed by men. As girls, they live under the control of their fathers, and as women under the control of husbands, with limited autonomy or control over decision-making of all sorts. Moreover, prevailing gender norms assign to women and children most of the daily tasks of household maintenance: these include the arduous search for water and firewood (the latter at ever greater distances from home); preparation of all meals (which includes of course grinding the grain); cleaning and maintaining the house (including, among refugee women in Bredjing, making bricks for house construction); and caring for children and other dependent members, such as the chronically ill or the aged. Such tasks are accomplished, for the most part, without the technology that would reduce both the physical and time burden on women and girls. This leads to considerable over-work and 'time poverty' among girls and women, leaving them little opportunity for other pursuits.

### ***Girls' education***

Among the refugees and village women in **all three local contexts**, girls' education has been neglected relative to that of boys due to a variety of factors that are common in other countries as well. Key among them are: 1) social norms devaluing the importance of education of girls; 2) parental attitudes and poverty limiting both inclination and means to send and maintain daughters in school; 3) participation in household chores leaving little time for school and raising the opportunity costs of sending them to school for parents – particularly mothers; 4) early marriage and pregnancy, causing girls to drop out as they advance along the educational cycle; 5) gender-insensitive learning and teaching environments that are not conducive to girls' education (distances of schools from home adding to security concerns for girls; mostly male teachers; lack of latrines or sanitary hygiene facilities that would allow girls to feel comfortable at school, particularly as they reach puberty); and 6) the real threat of sexual aggression of girls within schools (by both classmates and teachers).

In terms of education, refugee girls in the camps are relatively better off than village girls both because schools are available to them and in close proximity, and because humanitarian actors and camp

organizers have led sensitization campaigns around the importance of education for girls. This has led to positive results – even over a short time in the case of **refugees in Dar es Salam** in Lac, where one group of girls said, ‘*We had no idea about schools in our villages. The essential thing for us was to learn how to live close to Allah*’. But even for refugees, the struggle remains, and beyond the primary or intermediate levels that may be offered in the camps, opportunities for higher education are more limited.

### **Sexual and gender-based violence**

As reported by study participants, this takes a variety of forms. Domestic violence is reported to be common among both villagers and refugees, fueled by a combination of male dominance and models of masculinity emphasizing force; widespread polygamy which adds to tensions; the frustrations of poverty; and – in many instances – alcohol consumption. Among refugees, this form of violence is reported to be intensified by the refugee experience when, as refugee women **in Dar es Salam** explain, ‘*For nothing at all, the situation can get out of hand and men become violent*’. In **Bredjing**, a rise in domestic violence has been linked to the earlier restriction on rations: ‘*When there is but one koro per person and a man finds that his many wives, and children are making too many demands on him, violence breaks out.*’

Physical aggression and rape of young women and girls are also frequently reported, with risks particularly in the bush when women are engaged in gathering of fire-wood (reported in all localities). In the case of refugees in **Dar es Salam** – it is also perpetrated by soldiers from the nearby military base. Said **women refugees in Bélom**: ‘*We suffer physical assault from our husbands who also take our goods to sell in order to buy alcohol. Our daughters are also molested by boys – they cannot go to fetch firewood in security.*’ **Village women in the East** explain that it has become so dangerous for young girls to go out alone that the village chief has instituted a rule that girls must only now travel in groups or be accompanied by an adult.

Reports of transactional or ‘survival’ sex were also found in all zones as girls (particularly refugee girls, but also villagers) seek out economic support from boys or men in exchange for sex. In **Dar es Salam**, refugee women told us that ‘*Girls engage in sex for small things – even cloth wraps*’; pregnancies that arise from such encounters are highly problematic.

There were reports that female genital cutting continues among **CAR refugees in Bélom** as part of their cultural initiation processes, along with early and forced marriage (considered to be a form of gender-based violence). Early marriage is a key issue in all localities, posing not only physical risks of pregnancy and childbirth to girls who have not yet fully matured, but contributing to school drop-outs among girls.

### **Sexual and reproductive health**

Reproductive health and maternity care are provided in the refugee camps, with referrals to district hospitals in case of complications; it was reported in Bredjing that most refugee women now give birth in the center and in fact we were told that refugees there have been forbidden to give birth at home. Problems remain, however, in all three camps in terms of the quality of care provided, the conditions for delivery, the number of health staff and in particular trained midwives, timely transport for referrals, and pre- and post-natal care, with some **refugee women in Bélom** reporting that ‘*We lose many sisters along the way*’. While village women in closest proximity to the camps have access to care and delivery at the refugee camp health centers, our findings from the villages visited in each region were that in the absence of quality services closer at hand, many women in fact continue to give birth at home, assisted by untrained traditional birth attendants (*dayas*) with arduous travel to centers in case of complications by donkey cart (**in the East**) or other means elsewhere. In the Kanembou village visited **in Lac region**, village women complained about the lack of female health workers or midwife at the district hospital in Bagasola - stating their preference in that case for giving birth at home. In all localities, family planning information and services seem conspicuously lacking.

### **Community and leadership roles**

Although female autonomy vis-à-vis male heads of household remains limited, in both villages and camp, women leaders play significant roles and serve as an organizing feature around many aspects of women's community life. In the refugee camps, such leaders include bloc chiefs, presidents of women's committees and community outreach workers; in the villages, notable women include heads of women's associations, *daya* and others. In our study, women's leadership roles were most evident among the refugee women who were most clearly organized and articulate about their roles and priorities; this is perhaps due to the support and encouragement they receive from humanitarian assistance actors as well as some of the training that has been provided to them. This is a clearly positive development that contributes to women's empowerment. While women were also said to be members of the joint refugee/host population mixed committee for peaceful cohabitation, a full sense of their specific roles or responsibilities did not emerge from our research.

### *Intermarriages between women refugees and villagers*

As noted above, there has been intermarriage between the refugees and host populations reported in both *the South* and *the East*. It is usually the case of refugee women marrying into the villages rather than vice-versa: in the East we were told that this was largely because of the difference in bride-price, which is much lower for refugees than for villagers, hence a refugee boy or man cannot hope to amass the required bride-price for a villager, while a villager man sees refugee women as within reach.

In any case, such intermarriages are a sign of a measure of social and economic inclusion that would not be possible had the two groups not achieved a certain level of trust. On the other hand, it is not without problems for the women involved:

- The three women refugees from *Béлом camp in the South*, all divorced from previous refugee husbands who abused them and now living with their new husbands in the neighboring villages, are currently juggling care for their new households with care for children or other relatives left back in the camp (as second husbands rarely agree to take on responsibility for offspring from previous marriages) and one continues to face violence from her ex-husband when she goes into the camp to pick up her cash support.
- Another woman in *Bredjing camp in the East* married a man from a nearby village but has since been abandoned by him and now lives back in the camp with her three children trying, like everyone else, to make ends meet, but now with additional conflict to contend with from her former in-laws who blame her for ruining their son's marriage: '*I wish I had never married a villager*' she sighs, '*And I would not have, had I only know what would happen*'.

Such cases in turn highlight the precarious nature of women's position within patriarchal social structures on both sides and the 'double vulnerability' that arises from being a woman and a refugee.

## **3. Implications for programming**

The following points, again summarized from the more detailed recommendations for each zone, are organized thematically according to some of the key thrusts of the planned project, attempting to highlight some of the issues that would need to be taken into consideration under each component. Reflections on broader conceptual issues and targeting are also provided.

### **3.1 Conceptualizing the field of refugee and 'host population' interaction**

Our research in all three zones has brought to the fore both the multiple dimensions of displacement that characterize the different regions as well as the complexities of interactions that arise among refugees, local communities and other displaced populations as well as with specific groups such as transhumant or sedentarizing pastoralists who either people or move through these areas. This multiplicity calls into question a simplistic 'refugee'/'host population' dichotomy in favor of more nuanced views specific to each zone.

- *In the South*, field work showed clearly that 'host populations' in the geographic vicinity of the refugee camp are not homogeneous: communities we visited included both settled villages (albeit

with a history of displacement); recently settled pastoralist groups (with distinct ethnic, religious, as well as livelihood characteristics that are different from and often in conflict with local populations); and an installation site for Chadian returnees from CAR (from various backgrounds, many of whom consider themselves more Central African than Chadian).

- ***In Lac region***, to an even higher degree than elsewhere, field work drives home the importance of conceptualizing ‘host’ or ‘affected’ population to include not only the settled villages in the vicinity of the refugee camp, but also other forms of settlement, including sites for the internally displaced as well as returnees from countries affected by Boko Haram. Refugees are, in fact, outnumbered in Lac region by these other displaced groups, each of which has a distinct place in humanitarian assistance, and each of which should be considered in overall support and development approaches.
- ***In the East***, the dynamics of spontaneous seasonal refugee installation around villages granting access to agricultural lands that are not necessarily geographically contiguous to the refugee camps but at some distance – even cutting across cantons – provides both challenges and opportunities for integrated approaches to refugee/host population support and development. For one thing, it calls into question a purely ‘geographic’ targeting and definition of ‘host population’ limited to villages in closest proximity to camps; and for another thing, it highlights the importance of seasonal dimensions of life in this region, as indeed in others.

Delimiting the geographic bounds of ‘refugee/host population’ interactions and calibrating program responses to take into account the different needs and sociocultural and economic dynamics of the different population groups in question will be complex and will undoubtedly require more detailed and careful site studies to determine the best approach in each context.

### **3.1 Providing safety nets**

Our study findings suggest that the planned provision of targeted safety nets to the both refugees and host communities will be complex and will need to take into consideration the following key issues (among others).

First of all, for refugee populations, the transition from universal distribution (as per humanitarian needs and principles) to targeted assistance (as called for due to diminishing resources and the move towards sustainable development) will be a fraught one and is likely to be contested by the refugees themselves. This was seen in the South, where targeted assistance has just been initiated. Findings suggest that 1) planning for the transition should draw in community participation; 2) targeting will need to take into account both economic and social criteria of poverty and vulnerability, as well as its gender aspects; 3) program planning and implementation will need to be accompanied by careful and ongoing communications; and 4) intensified livelihood support programs will be critical, particularly to household cut off from safety nets. Close coordination with current and planned humanitarian assistance efforts will also be crucial.

For ‘host populations’ who have not generally been beneficiaries of previous safety nets in these zones (aside, perhaps, from some of the seasonal safety nets that are linked to food security in Sahelian regions), a number of issues come to the fore. In addition to the definitional issues raised above (about who is to be considered part of the ‘host population’ and within what geographic or administrative radius), key concerns would be to take into account the multiplicity of different livelihood characteristics and settlement patterns in the criteria used to define and identify poverty and vulnerability. Lessons learned from the current national social safety net project will no doubt be of critical importance here.

### **3.2 Strengthening and expanding social services**

This is a clear and pressing priority in all of the zones of study which suffer from a complete lack of public investment in establishing and maintaining health structures and schools in sufficient number and quality to meet the needs and demands of local communities.

### **Education and health**

In line with national policy priorities and based on district development plans, support is needed for both the rehabilitation of existing structure and construction of additional ones, but beyond physical structures per se, strategies are needed to address long-term staffing challenges in both sectors (trained health workers; teachers); to ensure appropriate supplies and provisioning (medical equipment, cold chains, medicines; school furniture and appropriate teaching/learning materials for both teachers and students); to meet operational costs ; to ensure adequate provision of essentials such as electricity or other power source (for health centers) and safe water supply (for both).

- In health, further support is needed to strengthen referral services – including transportation and support for district health centers and hospitals. Thought could also be given to the establishment of mobile clinics (as in Lac) and creation and support for community health outreach workers, particularly for women and children’s health issues.
- In education, expanding access to post-primary levels (particularly college and lycée) and for appropriate technical and vocational training is also of critical importance and one of the clearest ways to contributing to breaking the inter-generational cycle of poverty. In both sectors, support for planning and supervisory capacity would also be essential.

Given reports of over-crowding and some quality concerns with schools and health centers in refugee camps, and in line with practices of providing access to such services to local communities, support is also needed for their further strengthening and expansion, as well as their full integration into national sectoral plans and policies.

### **Water**

Water provision is the third priority service that needs critical strengthening in all zones of study. Safe water for household consumption and other household needs; appropriate water supplies for schools and health centers; and water provision and management for agricultural activities and gardening as well as pastoral water points are all vital concerns of communities and critically needed for socio-economic development and well-being. Considerable investment, technical expertise, and strong partnerships with the appropriate government and development actors would be needed to address such concerns.

### **3.3 Providing economic support and promoting livelihoods**

All study participants – refugees, returnees, displaced populations, villagers and key informants alike – emphasized the need to strengthen and – in some cases – rebuild livelihoods and productive capacity and all stressed this as a clear development priority – not only for the long term, but in the short and medium terms as well. Considerable efforts are already underway by humanitarian actors and partners to promote and expand livelihood options for both refugees and host populations. These include, among others, joint refugee/host population gardening and agricultural projects (including promotion of draught agriculture in the south and provision of tractors through ANADER in the East); distribution of small ruminants and support for animal vaccination (in all zones); support for technical and vocational training opportunities at vocational training centers (observed particularly in the South and the East); support for fishing groups (in Lac); and other support for income generating activities and credit provision for selected groups in both camps and villages.

Given the vastness of demand and the considerable economic and livelihood constraints faced by rural households in all study localities, as well as issues around the mandates and resource limitations of humanitarian actors, it is clear that interventions by other development partners will be critical, as will further strengthening of national government structures such as ANADER. Moreover, given the

difference in livelihood profiles, constraints and opportunities in each zone, it is essential that interventions be designed that are most appropriate to each locality (as described in the full report).

Among some of the cross-cutting issues arising in priority areas of focus are the following:

- issues of land allocation and use for both refugees and poor villagers (many of whom may not actually own land or have only small plots);
- technical matters concerning water supply and management for both rain-fed and off-season cultivation;
- provision of the appropriate means of production for different livelihood activities and ensuring the sustainability of such approaches;
- consideration for appropriate pasture, fodder products and veterinary services for livestock as well as for pastoral water points, transhumance corridors, and support for structures of conflict resolution between farmers and herders ;
- adaptation of interventions to the seasonal dimensions of rural life and livelihoods;
- decisions on whether groups or individual household approaches are most appropriate in different socio-economic contexts, and the consequent types and levels of support needed for each; and
- structuring in the gender dimensions of productive activities (*see below*).

Beyond purely agro-pastoral and fishing activities, refugees, displaced populations and rural dwellers in general engage in a host of activities and possess a variety of skills in such areas as commerce and trades. These could all be usefully supported through such measures as 1) provision of rolling start-up funds or support for access to credit either through existing micro-finance institutions (if any) or through the establishment community-based savings and loan associations (see below for women); 2) provision of appropriate tools, technology and equipment for such activities; and 3) strengthening and expansion of technical training opportunities and follow-up support for entrepreneurial activities.

### **3.4 Supporting environmental protection and promotion**

As seen above, most study participants emphasized the negative effects on an already fragile environments of the influx of refugees and other displaced population into this zone, leading both to shortage and/or heightened conflict over shared resources. The firewood dilemma is particularly acute and was highlighted by all study participants. So far, the government response seems to be primarily one of repression (outlawing the sale of firewood, for example) without offering alternative options for fuel sources. Some initial attempts to supply more fuel-efficient cook-stoves (*in Lac*) are capitalizing on the expertise of refugee blacksmiths (for metal stoves), but these appear still to be in the testing stage and much wider efforts are needed. Alternative fuel sources should also be explored such as bio-energy, solar power or other options, perhaps initially on a trial scale. At the same time environmental management and preservation activities such as tree-planting, live hedging, etc. should be built into development programs linked to livelihoods and expanded from a broad community development framework.

### **3.5 Addressing gender-specific vulnerabilities and potential**

Based on the analysis of gender-specific vulnerabilities and potential outlined above, key program priorities would include the following:

#### ***Supporting women's livelihood and income-generating activities***

Livelihood potential and constraints are specific to each zone, as are women's role within them: it is thus critical to carefully assess the situation prior to the planning or implementation of activities. The key would be to approach support for all livelihood activities from a gender perspective to ensure that, on the one hand, women's roles and skills are supported and, on the other hand, additional tasks do not add to their already heavy work-load. Existing skills (in areas such as agriculture and gardening, care for small ruminants, food preparation and transformation, sewing, tailoring and handicrafts, and commerce) should be strengthened and new skills introduced (for example, in literacy, group management, environmental protection).

All women's work should be supported by appropriate tools and technology, as well as training and outreach. Women's work groups and associations should be supported and expanded. In addition to productive livelihood grants, building on women's experiences with informal rotating credit and savings associations such as tontines and parés would be one way of providing credit for income generating activities. Also critical would be to identify particularly vulnerable categories of women for whom livelihood support may not be an option and for whom other forms of social assistance and safety net provision would take priority.

#### ***Lightening the burden of daily household chores***

While long-term efforts should be set in place to advocate for more gender-equitable sharing in daily household chores, shorter and medium term efforts are needed to supply services and appropriate technology that lighten the burden of such chores. These would include, among other things: establishment of boreholes with hand-pumps in rural villages; promotion of fuel efficient cook-stoves to not only conserve firewood, but reduce the frequency of long treks in search of firewood; provision of donkey carts or other means of transport of logs and other products gathered from the bush; and provision of appropriate food transformation technologies (grinding mills and the like).

#### ***Promoting girls' education***

As an integral part of the social service support component, appropriate measures should be taken to address both supply and demand side obstacles to girls' education. On the supply side, this would include investments to ensure that all schools and teaching/learning environments are 'gender-friendly' through measures such as: building schools close to the communities they serve; recruiting and supporting more female teachers; constructing appropriate sanitary facilities and providing sanitary hygiene training and materials; sensitizing the school community against SGBV in schools and establishing protection committees for girls; providing support for girls' clubs and mentoring. On the demand side, important measures would include awareness raising among parents and the community at large on the importance of girls' education; culturally sensitive campaigns and community dialogue to stem early marriage for girls; promotion of role models of successful educated women; and – where schools exist - incentives to parents to send their daughters to school and maintain them there (such as cash transfers linked to girls' attendance in school or school meals accompanied by take-home rations for girls).

#### ***Protecting women and girls against sexual and gender-based violence and abuse***

Measures have been established in the refugee camps to both protect against such violence (through sensitization campaigns and enhanced security) as well as to care for victims (through health services and psycho-social support). These need to be supported and expanded and similar efforts are critically needed in rural villages where such needs are currently not being met. Such initiatives should be set within wider efforts to ensure overall security in the different localities.

#### ***Expanding access to quality sexual and reproductive health care and information***

This is a critical priority for all women and should be built into the health service strengthening component as an integral part in both village and refugee camp health centers. It should include both pre- and post-natal care, safe delivery, and access to appropriate information and means of family planning services (this last an apparently neglected element). In the refugee camps, further support for women's community outreach workers (as observed in Bagasola) would be important. And in the villages, depending on national policies, consideration could be given to training traditional birth attendants (*dayas*) in particularly vital areas for women's health, and to supporting them in a community health outreach role that could help provide a link between village and health center.

#### ***Strengthening women's leadership and community roles***

Such roles should be strengthened, supported, and expanded. Existing women's associations and organizations should serve as an entry point for all program support for women and girls and members should be included in consultations for broader social and economic service delivery in both refugee camps and villages. Women's roles on joint refugee/village committees should be highlighted as essential to ensuring peaceful cohabitation and separate mixed committees for women should be established around all joint programs.



## ANNEXES

### 1. Overview of field research methodology<sup>8</sup>

Instrument	At what level and with whom	Objectives
<b>Key informant interviews (KIIs)</b>  (individual and group)	1. <b>National level:</b> Government representatives and humanitarian and development partners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To gain an overview of key socio-economic, cultural and administrative characteristics and features of the zone or locality</li> <li>To gain an understanding of key issues affecting refugees and host populations as well as the nature of their relations and any changes over time</li> </ul>
	2. <b>Regional, sub-regional level:</b> Regional and local government representatives and deconcentrated service administrators; humanitarian and development partners and program implementers	
	3. <b>Locality level:</b> Traditional authorities; village chiefs; local service providers; refugee camp managers; IDP/returnee spokespersons; and other notables (male and female)	
<b>Focus group discussions (FGDs)</b>	1. <b>Refugees in camps:</b> <u>By gender and age:</u> Adult men; adult women; young men; young women; <u>and by category:</u> <u>Vulnerable groups</u> (chronically ill, destitute, victims of SGBV, others)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To gain an understanding of key dimensions of lived experiences of in terms of livelihoods, access to services, critical challenges faced and gender-specific vulnerabilities</li> <li>To understand the nature of relations between refugees and surrounding populations as well as their perceptions of each other</li> <li>To identify challenges and opportunities in programs of support for refugees and villagers</li> </ul>
	2. <b>Villagers in village:</b> <u>By gender and age:</u> Adult men; adult women; young men; young women	
	3. <b>IDPs and/or returnees in settlements</b> (Lac region) <u>By gender and age:</u> Adult men; adult women; young men; young women	
	4. <b>Joint project site:</b> Refugee and village beneficiaries, male and female separately	
<b>In-depth individual interviews (IDIs)</b>	1. <b>Refugees in camps:</b> Selected participants from the FGDs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To explore in more detail individual perceptions and experiences through a case study approach</li> <li>To gain a more in-depth understanding of critical issues affecting the individual lives of refugees and villagers</li> </ul>
	2. <b>Villagers/populations in settlements:</b> Selected participants from the FGDs	
	3. <b>Joint project beneficiaries:</b> Selected participants from the FGDs	
<b>Visual and participatory exercises</b>	1. <b>Transect walk in camps, villages, and project sites:</b> With selected key informants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To link observations to reported conditions in camp, village and project sites</li> <li>To gain historical depth in the understanding of key social, economic, environmental and military or security crises affecting study localities over time</li> <li>To identify key risks and vulnerabilities over the life cycle – from birth and early childhood to old age</li> <li>To gain more understanding of how young people spend their time and where</li> <li>To identify any gendered temporal and spatial differences in the</li> </ul>
	2. <b>Community timeline and chronology of shocks:</b> With male notables in village and camp	
	3. <b>Lifecycle risk and vulnerability analysis:</b> With adult women in camps and villages	
	4. <b>Daily activities and where they are conducted:</b> With young men and women in camps and villages	

<sup>8</sup> Detailed question guides and technical guidelines were prepared for each instrument

		experiences of young men and women
	5. <b>Before, just after and now:</b> With refugees as time permits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To assist in collective recollections of the time before flight/exile; the time just after arriving in Chad; and the current time</li> </ul>
	6. <b>Perceptions of obstacles and opportunities for socio-economic inclusion:</b> As time permits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>To gain insights on study participants' own perceptions and analysis of our main research theme</li> </ul>

## 2. Overview of research exercises and study population in each locality

### 2.1 Key informant interviews in N'Djamena

Type	organisations	Key informants		
		men	women	total
<b>Government</b>	3	6	1	7
<b>United Nations</b>	7	16	7	23
<b>Bilateral</b>	6	6	4	10
<b>NGO</b>	12	14	8	22
<b>Total</b>	28	42	20	62

### 2.2 Field research in the South

Type of exercise	Locality	Persons concerned	Men/young men	Women/young women	Total
<b>KII</b> (Key informant interviews)	Sarh	authorities	2	0	2
	Maro	authorities	20	2	22
		CNARR/Camp	1	0	1
		HCR et partners	8	0	8
		Béлом refugee camp	Refugee camp management committees	11	11
	Paris Sara village	Village notables	11	2	13
	Ndinaba village	Village notables	21	15	36
	Maïngama Chadian returnee installation site	Management committees, returnee installation site	10	9	19
Riad et Ridina sedentarized <i>feriks</i>	Notables from the sedentarized <i>feriks</i>	25	15	40	
<b>Sub-total KII</b>			109	54	161
<b>FGD</b> (Focus group discussions)	Béлом refugee camp	Refugees	36	84	120
	Paris Sara village	Villagers	34	29	63
	Ndinaba village	Villagers	54	49	103
<b>Sub-total FGD</b>			124	162	286
<b>IDI</b> (In-depth interviews)	Béлом refugee camp	Refugees	2	8*	10
	Paris Sara village	Villagers	1	0	1
	Ndinaba village	Villagers	0	0	0
<b>Sub-total IDI</b>			3	8	11
<b>Total</b>			236	224	458

### 2.3 Field research in Lac

Type of exercise	Locality	Persons concerned	Men/young men	Women/young women	Total
<b>KII</b>  <i>(Key informant interviews)</i>	Bagasola	Local authorities	4	0	4
		Government technical service staff	9	0	9
		Partners in group discussion	23	3	26
		Individual partners	5	0	5
		HCR	2	0	2
	Dar es Salam Refugee Camp	'Boulamas' et management committees	23	10	33
		Personnel CRT	0	2	2
		Women refugee community liaison workers (relais communautaires)	0	11	11
		Head of women refugees	0	1	1
		Health center personnel	1	0	1
		School personnel	1	0	1
	Dar es Salam village ; Tal village et IDPs ; Dar el Amni IDPs	Notables from villages and displacement sites	26	0	26
	Dar el Kheir (refugees/returnees)	Notables from refugee/returnee site	6	0	6
Dar el Naim 4 (IDPs)	Notables from IDP site	8	0	8	
Village Goumacharon	Village notables	6	0	6	
<b>Sub-total KII</b>			<b>114</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>141</b>
<b>FGD/IDI</b>  <i>(focus group discussion/in-depth interview)</i>	Dar es Salam refugee camp	Refugees	36	46	82
	(Dar es Salam village ; Tal village et IDP site ; Dar el Amni IDP site)	Villagers and IDPs	25	23	48
	Dar el Kheir (refugees/returnees)	Refugees/returnees	25	24	49
	Dar el Naim 4 (IDP site)	IDPs	8	25	33
	Village Goumacharon	Villagers	13	32	45
<b>Sub-total FGD/IDI</b>			<b>107</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>257</b>
<b>Total</b>			<b>221</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>398</b>

## 2.4 Field research in the East

Type of exercise	Locality	Persons concerned	Men / young men	Women/ young women	Total
<b>KII</b> <i>(Key informant interview)</i>	Abéché	Authorities	2	0	2
	Farchana town	Authorities	3	0	3
		CNARR	1	0	1
		HCR and partners	10	1	11
	Loumba Massalit village (and surrounding villages/hamlets)	Village notables	22	15	37
		Focal point, mixed committee	1	0	1
	Hadjer Hadid town	Authorities	1	0	1
		HCR/partners and representatives decentralized government services	13	2	15
		HCR	4	1	5
	Bredjing refugee camp	Refugee camp leaders	9	23	32
		Camp education and health personnel	3	0	3
		Camp president and focal point for mixed committee	1	0	1
		President of refugee women's committee	0	1	0
Chalingo village (and surrounding villages/hamlets)	Village notables	12	8	20	
<b>Sub-total KII</b>			81	51	132
<b>FGD</b> <i>(Focus group discussions)</i>	Bredjing Refugee Camp	Refugees	35	45	80
	Loumba Massalit village (and surrounding villages/hamlets)	Villagers	31	34	65
	Chalingo village (and surrounding villages/hamlets)	Villagers	17	29	46
	Wadi Tire gardening project site, Loumba Massalit	Refugees and villagers	13	22	35
<b>Sub-total FGD</b>			96	130	226
<b>IDI</b> <i>(In-depth individual interviews)</i>	Bredjing Refugee Camp	Refugees	1	2	3
	Chalingo village (and surrounding villages/hamlets)	Villagers	0	1	1
	Wadi Tine gardening project site (Loumba Massalit)	Refugees and villagers	1	1	2
<b>Sub-total IDI</b>			2	4	6
<b>Total</b>			179	185	364

### 3. References

- Camp coordination and management (2014) « Maïngama » (Profil au 19.10 2014) (Document provided by UNHCR Maro)
- FEWSNET (2011) 'Chad Rapid livelihood zone profiles : A special report by the Famine Early Warning Systems Network (August)
- FEWSNET (2017) 'Tchad mise à jour sur la sécurité alimentaire (Décembre)
- GIZ (nd) 'Rapport sur l'état de l'écosystème du bassin du lac Tchad'
- Hiribarren, V. (2016) 'Kanem-Bornu Empire' in *The Encyclopedia of Empire*, ed. J.M. MacKenzie. London: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.
- Institut National de la Statistique, des Etudes Economiques et Démographiques (INSEED) (2013) 'Profil de pauvreté au Tchad en 2011 : Troisième enquête sur la consommation et le secteur informel au Tchad (ECOSIT 3 2011) Rapport final'. N'Djamena : Ministère de l'Economie, du Plan et de la Coopération Internationale.
- Institut National de la Statistique, des Etudes Economiques et Démographiques (INSEED), Ministère de la Santé Publique, et ICF International (2016) 'Enquête démographique et de santé et à indicateurs multiples (EDS-MICS 2014-2015). Rockville, Maryland, USA.
- Inter-Cluster Committee (ICC) Tchad (2017) 'Evaluation Multisectorielle des besoins des retournés tchadiens venus de la République Centrafricaine hébergés dans le Département de la Grande Sido, Région du Moyen Chari. De 08 au 11 Mai 2017
- Ministère de l'Administration du Territoire et de la Décentralisation, Région du Ouaddaï, Département d'Assounga, Sous-Préfecture de Molou (2014) 'Plan de Développement du Canton Molou, 2014-2017
- Ministère de l'Administration du Territoire et de la Décentralisation, Région du Ouaddaï, Département d'Assounga, Sous-Préfecture de Hadjer Hadid (2014) ' Plan de Développement du Canton Bardé, 2014-2017'
- Ministère de l'Administration du Territoire et de la Décentralisation, Région du Moyen Chari, Département de la Grande Sido, Sous-Préfecture de Maro, Canton Maro (2014) 'Plan de Développement du Canton Maro Aout 2014-Juillet 2018'
- Ministère de la Santé Publique (2017) 'Note de présentation synthétique des résultats anthropométriques et de mortalité rétrospective de 1 ; enquête nationale de nutrition chez les enfants de 0 à 59 mois : période juillet-aout, 2017' (Enquête SMART 2017). N'Djamena: Direction de la Nutrition et de Technologie Alimentaire, MSP.
- OCHA (2014) Tchad: Retournées de la RCA Rapport de situation no 07 (31/08/2014)
- OCHA (2016a) 'Tchad : Profil humanitaire de la région du Lac' (décembre 2016)
- OCHA (2016b) 'Tchad : Profil humanitaire de la région du Moyen Chari' (novembre 2016)
- OCHA (2016c) 'Tchad : Profil humanitaire de la région du Ouaddaï' (aout 2016)
- OCHA (2016d) 'Note d'analyse: éléments sur le contexte d'intervention dans la région du Lac au Tchad' (5 février 2016)
- OCHA (2017a) 'Bulletin humanitaire Tchad' Numéro 09, octobre-novembre 2017
- OCHA (2017b) 'Aperçu des besoins humanitaires 2018 : Tchad' (décembre 2017)
- OIM (2018) 'Tchad: Région du Lac. Matrice de suivi du déplacement (DTM) Rapport 2' (février 2018)
- PAM et al. (2016) 'Rapport de l'atelier sur la 'Programmation Saisonnière basée sur les Moyens d'Existence (PSME) : Tchad – Région du Lac (Bol du 25-29 avril 2016) PAM, UNICEF, FAO, Ministère du Plan et de la Prospective, Ministère de l'Agriculture et de l'Irrigation, Ministère de la Santé Publique) (et poster)
- REACH (2016) 'Sous-préfecture de Bagasola – Région du Lac, Tchad : Résultats clés par secteur, mois de septembre) (avec PPT)
- REACH (2017) 'Evaluation multisectorielle dans la région du Lac Tchad : Tchad, Rapport d'enquête (Octobre) (avec PPT)
- République du Tchad (2016) 'Résumé exécutif de l'enquête nationale de sécurité alimentaire (ENSA 2016), octobre 2016.

- SISAAP/HEA Sahel (2014) 'Profil de référence de l'économie des ménages ruraux de la zone Agro-Pastorale et Pêche Lac Tchad'
- UNCHR Bagasola (2017a) 'Camp de Dar es Salam'
- UNCHR Bagasola (2017b) 'Population enregistrée dans la région du Lac Tchad'
- UNHCR (2014) 'Stratégie globale pour les moyens de subsistance: une stratégie du HCR pour 2014-2018'
- UNHCR (2017) 'Cartographie de la population de réfugiés et demandeurs d'asile par le HCR au Tchad (30/11/2017)'
- UNHCR (nd) 'Operations Plan 2018 - Chad: Population Group Sudanese refugees in the East' (from sub-office Farchana)
- UNHCR Farchana (2018) 'Bredjing Camp Profile'
- UNHCR Farchana (nd) 'Projets d'appui aux villages autochtones en 2015-2016 : projets réalisés dans le Ouaddaï en 2015'
- UNHCR Farchana (nd) 'Stratégie de mise en œuvre des projets à impact rapide (PIRS) dans les départements d'Assoungha et de Ouarra: Rapport (16/08/14)'
- UNHCR Maro (2016) Développement Economique et autonomisation des populations (refugiés et population Hôtes) Plan de mise en œuvre (2016-2020)
- UNHCR Maro (2017) 'Briefing sur les opérations de l'UNHCR au FO Maro' (Décembre 2017)
- UNHCR Maro (nd) 'Note succincte sur l'assistance en faveur de la communauté hôte de la Sous-préfecture de Maro' (Document shared by HCR Maro)
- UNHCR, SO Goré (2016) 'Développement économique et autonomisation des populations (refugiés et population hôtes) Plan de mise en œuvre (2016-2020)'
- UNHCR/CARE/OXFAM (2013) 'Consolidated report on the household economy analysis studies of the refugee populations at the Béлом Camp (Grande-Sido / Moyen-Chari) and the Goz Amir Camp (Kimiti / Sila) in Chad, September and November 2013'
- UNHCR/PAM (2016) 'Mission d'évaluation conjointe HCR/PAM de la situation des réfugiés Centrafricains et Soudanais au Tchad (Données collectées en avril-mai 2016)'
- UNHCR/PAM (2017) 'Profilage socioéconomique des réfugiés Soudanais, Centrafricains et Nigériens : Note de synthèse des principaux résultats provisoires (Septembre 2017)'
- WFP/UNHCR/UNICEF (2017) 'Profil socioéconomique et professionnel des réfugiées et des retournées: principaux résultats de l'analyse' (PPT, novembre 2017)
- World Bank (2018 – draft) 'International Development Association project appraisal document ... to the Republic of Chad for a refugees and host communities support project' Report No: PAD2809, Draft May 15.

#### 4. Key indicators on each study region

##### Population and poverty rates (ECOSIT 3, 2011)

Regions/departments	Local Population	Poverty incidence (headcount rate)	Poverty depth (ave. distance of the poor from poverty line)	Poverty severity	Inequality (ratio ave. household expenditure by quintile (Q5/Q1))
<b>Moyen Chari</b>	473 553	61,4	36,2	22,8	4,0
<b>Lac</b>	351 393	46,3	23,9	13,2	2,8
<b>Ouaddaï</b>	649 584	34,8	17,9	10	4,8
<b>National</b>	10 015 591	46,7	26,3	15,9	5,0

##### Economic activity and decision-making (EDS/MICS 2014/14)

Regions/departments	Employment (% aged 15-49) who did not work in past 12 months		Major occupation		Who decides use of women's earnings (women's responses)			Women's earnings vis-à-vis men's earnings			Who decides on man's earning (women's response)		
	male	female	male	female	woman	Woman with husband/partner	Husband/partner	more	less	same	woman	Woman with husband/partner	Husband/partner
<b>Moyen Chari</b>	19,8	36,3	agriculture (48,5); Service and sales (26,3%)	Service/ sales (76%); agriculture (19,4)	73,5	9,8	15,0	8,1	65,8	0,9	12,3	10,8	76,7
<b>Lac</b>	10,7	80	agriculture (78,3%) sales/ services (10,6%);	Service /sales (39,9); qualified manual labor (39,9%)	48,3	20,3	23,8	2,8	43,8	9,8	2,2	8,9	88,6
<b>Ouaddaï</b>	9,2	49,3	agriculture (65,3); qualified manual labor (12,7) Service	agriculture (76,7); service/ sales (22,5%)	61,4	16,5	18,2	2,2	70,2	2,0	7,4	10,7	80,9

			/sales (12,5%)										
<b>National</b>	12,5	48,9	agriculture (60,9%); Service/ sales (13,4); qualified manual labor (10,9)	Service/ sales (62,4%); agriculture (29%)	71,0	11,8	15,0	4,8	74,0	3,5	6,2	11,0	82,2

**Women's asset possession and financial inclusion (EDS/MICS 2014/15); ECOSIT 2011)**

Regions/departments	Women's ownership of house (%15-49)/ EDS/MICS)				Women's ownership of land (% 15-49) (EDS/MICS)				microcredit sources / programs (ECOSIT)		% women 15-49 with bank account (ECOSIT)
	alone	With some one else	Alone and with someone else	Does not own	alone	With some one else	Alone and with someone else	Does not own	% women with knowledge of these	% women who have taken a loan for their IGAs	
<b>Moyen Chari</b>	6.7	11,5	4,9	76,9	9,6	11,6	3,4	75,3	20,8	9,4	15,6
<b>Lac</b>	7,9	16,4	5,4	70,4	9,0	14,4	5,3	70,7	10,0	1,3	9,5
<b>Ouaddai</b>	10,9	22,9	7,4	58,4	12,6	21,1	9,0	56,7	10,7	13,4	11,9
<b>National</b>	8,2	23,2	4,7	63,6	13,6	19,1	4,5	62,3	19,7	11,8	15,5

**Women's decision-making (EDS/MICS 2015/15) and ECOSIT 2011**

Regions/departments	% women in union 15-49 with decision- making ability (EDS/MICS)					% women deciding on education of daughters (ECOSIT)		% women deciding on working for money (ECOSIT)		% women on contracting or paying back debts (ECOSIT)	
	Own health care	Hous ehold pur chases	Visits to family	All 3	None of the 3	Total	Poor women	Total	Poor women	Total	Poor women
<b>Moyen Chari</b>	33,2	55,0	55,7	21,9	26,2	48,1	45,4	35,9	36,4	32,2	28,5
<b>Lac</b>	13,0	25,0	26,5	7,0	55,4	38,2	34,6	22,1	21,0	23,2	19,5
<b>Ouaddai</b>	26,3	31,5	41,6	17,4	49,1			28,6	18,3	27,2	18,3
<b>National</b>	24,9	39,8	47,2	17,4	38,7	42,3	40,5	26,0	23,1	24,3	21,2

**Education and child labor/work (EDS/MICS 2014/15)**



Regions/departments	Educational status / adults aged 15-49				Net attendance rates / children of school age						Child labor/ outside home (ages 5-17 at or above age-specific threshold of hours in week before survey)	Child work within home (ages 5-17 at our above age-specific threshold of hours in week before survey)	Children 5-17 exposed to dangerous work in week before survey	Child labor (5-17) overall in week before survey
	No ed.		Literacy		Primary (age 6-11)			Secondary (age 12-18)						
	m	f	m	f	m	f	GPI*	m	f	GPI*				
<b>Moyen Chari</b>	19,4	39,2	71,5	35,8	73,3	71,1	0,97	32,6	27,5	0,84	24,3	8,5	31,7	44,4
<b>Lac</b>	86,8	96,2	13,2	1,7	15,8	13,1	0,83	4,7	0,9	0,18	35,0	10,4	44,9	54,7
<b>Ouadaï</b>	65,3	93,1	33,8	5,5	23,8	21,2	0,91	12,1	5,5	0,45	46,4	16,8	54,4	61,8
<b>National</b>	36,2	62,4	54,0	22,1	53,8	47,8	0,89	24,5	14,6	0,59	31,9	8,5	41,3	51,5

\*Gender parity index

**Food security/nutrition: ENSA 2016 (October) and SMART 2017 (July/August)**

Regions/departments	Malnutrition aigue globale (MAG) (SMART) (weight for height)*		Malnutrition chronique (SMART) (height per age)**		Underweight (SMART) (weight for age)***	Global household food insecurity **** (ENSA)
	2016	2017	2016	2017	2017	2016
<b>Moyen Chari</b>		7,3%		29%	18,3%	8,8% (weak)
<b>Lac</b>		18,1		40,0%	37,5%	21,7% (precarious)
<b>Ouadaï</b>		14,2%		44,2%	30,5%	24,7% (precarious)
<b>National</b>		13,9%	26,2%	32,4%	27,4% (20,0% in 2016)	18,5% (precarious)

\*MAG of 15% and over is considered critical by WHO

\*\*Chronic malnutrition of 40% and over considered critical by WHO

\*\*\*Underweight of 30% and over considered critical by WHO

\*\*\*\*Food insecurity: Under 15% = weak; 15-29,9%; = precarious; 30-49,9% = moderate; over 50% = severe

**Social service infrastructure/expenditures (ECOSIT 2011)**

Regions/departments	Average time to drinking water source (ECOSIT) (time in minutes)		Average time to nearest health center (minutes) (ECOSIT)	% health expenditure as total household expenditure ECOSIT		Average time to nearest primary school (minutes) ECOSIT	% education expenditure as total household expenditure (ECOSIT)	
	Rainy season	Dry season		poor	total		Poor	total
<b>Moyen Chari</b>	17,9	24,0	120	3,9	3,7	46	2,8	2,5
<b>Lac</b>	14,2	17,5	94	4,3	3,4	16	0,5	0,4
<b>Ouaddaï</b>	44,6	64,3	107	0,7	2,2	15	0,5	1,0
<b>National</b>	27,4	37,2	87	3,1	3,5	43	1,6	1,6

**Women, household and gender equality indicators (EDS/MICS 2014/15) (maternal mortality – national 860/100,000 - not given by region)**

Regions/departments	Ave household size (not listed by region in EDS/MICS)	% marriages polygamous (women 15-49)	Average age at first union (women 20-49)	Average age at first sex (women 20-49)	Total fertility rate (women 15-49)	Age at first birth (women 20-49)	Adolescent fertility (%women 15-19 already pregnant or mothers)	Utilisation of any form of contraceptive (traditional or modern) % women in union aged 15-49)	In-depth knowledge HIV (women 15-49)	HIV prevalence (adults 15-49)	
										m	f
<b>Moyen Chari</b>		38,8	17	16,8	5,5	18,2	36,8	12,5	8,8	1,6	4,3
<b>Lac</b>		36,7	15,5	15,6	5,4	17,7	23,6	0,1	4,2	2,8	1,5
<b>Ouaddaï</b>		49,4	16,3	16,3	6,1	18,9	27,9	1,9	4,6	2,0	0,1
<b>National</b>		37,9	16,2	16,3	6,4	18,1	35,9	5,7	10,9	1,3	1,8

**Women, continued, Reproductive health (EDS/MICS 2014/15)**

Regions/departments	No prenatal health at last pregnancy (% femmes 15-49)	Tetanus vaccine for last pregnancy (% femmes 15-49)	Delivery at home (% births in last five years)	Delivery assisted by trained caregiver (% births in last five years)	No postnatal care (% women 15-49 with live birth in last two years)	No postnatal care for newborn (% naissances)	Problem in accessing health care (% women 15-49)	Main problems in accessing health care			
								Difficulty getting permission	Lack of money	distance	Not wanting to go alone

<b>Moyen Chari</b>	19,3	59,1	70,9	32,8	72,5	90,4	26,3	12,1	22,8	21,7	13,9
<b>Lac</b>	64,8	26,5	96,0	3,9	94,4	94,6	29,4	20,9	26,7	27,3	24,4
<b>Ouaddaï</b>	63,9	26,1	87,6	12,3	86,3	94,9	30,4	14,5	26,5	25,1	15,1
<b>National</b>	35,3	50,2	77,4	24,3	77,6	93,6	29,3	15,5	26,5	22,4	15,5

**Vulnerabilities, violence / women and children (EDS/MICS 2014/15)**

Regions/departments	Prevalence disability (all)	Excision* (% women 15-49 excised)*	Violence** (% women 15-49 ever having experienced violence since age 15)	Sexual violence*** (% women 15-49 ever having experienced sexual violence since age 15)	Domestic violence prevalence*** (% women in union 15-49 having experience any type of domestic violence (emotional, physical, sexual))	Domestic violence attitudes (% women 15-49 feeling domestic violence may be justified under certain conditions)	Domestic violence attitudes (% men 15-49 feeling domestic violence may be justified under certain conditions)	Violent discipline of children (% aged 1-14)	Pre-school attendance (ages 36-59 months)	Early child development index (psycho/social and learning) % children 35-59 with good score
<b>Moyen Chari</b>	3,5	53,5	33,8	6,7	40,0	77,4	45,5	65,3	2,1	38,7
<b>Lac</b>	2,5	0,7	8,2	13,8	13,0	59,1	41,4	70,7	0,5	31,7
<b>Ouaddai</b>	4,1	82,0	19,0	5,3	25,3	62,8	23,2	54,5	2,7	34,3
<b>National</b>	3,5	38,4	29	11,6	34,8	73,5	50,5	71,1	2,8	32,6

\*Ethnic groups with highest FGM prevalence (75% plus): Arabe (85,4); Dadajo/Kibet/Mourou (92,4); Ouadai/Mama/Massalit/Mimi (78,8);

Bidjo/Migami/Kenga/Dangleat (83,0); Mesmedjé/Massalat/Kadjaksé (75,4)

\*\* Ethnic groups with highest violence against women prevalence (50% plus): Toupouri/Kera (56,1); Gabri/Kabalaye/Nangtché/ Soumraye (53,9);

Marba/Lélé/Mesmé (61,7)

\*\*\*Ethnic groups with highest rates of sexual violence (25% plus): Boulala/Médégo/Kouka (30%); Karo/Zimé/Pévé (29,3%)

\*\*\*\*Ethnic groups with highest rates of domestic violence (40% Plus): Moundang (40,4); Massa/Mousseye/Mousgoume (50,3); Toupouri/Kéra (51,6); Sara (Ngambaye/Sara Madjin-Gaye/Mbaye) (44,0); Marba/Lélé/Mesmé (66,6); Karo/Zimé/Pévé (55,1); Autre ethnique du Tchad (Ahit/Banda/Kim) (41,6)

**Child Health, Nutrition and vulnerability indicators (EDS/MICS 2014/15)**

Regions/departments	Low birth weight	% children 12-23 months with full basic vaccinations (not including yellow fever)	Stunting (low height for age)		Underweight (low weight for age)		Wasting (low weight for height)		Neonatal mortality (death before 1 month per 1,000 live births)	Infant mortality (death before 1 year per 1,000 live births)	Child mortality (Death before 5 years per 1,000 live births)	Birth registration (% of children <5)	Orphans (% children <18 with one or both parents deceased)
			mod	sev	mod	sev	mod	sev					
<b>Moyen Chari</b>	8,2	30,4	27,0	13,8	6,7	2,4	15,6	3,7	33	78	163	17,7	9,8
<b>Ouaddai</b>	nd	12,4	57,2	38,6	24,8	7,6	53,3	25,6	30	55	104	2,8	6,1
<b>Lac</b>	(6,6)	5,7	43,0	23,8	20,9	8,4	37,2	15,0	40	60	99	12,1	6,3
<b>National</b>	7,2	25,3	39,9	21,8	13,0	4,2	28,8	11,1	34	72	133	12	7,5