

COVID-19's Impact on Food Security Among Refugees in Uganda

Jonas Bork Bosak

Bachelor of Science in Development Studies

Department of Human Geography | Lund University 2021 | SGED10

Supervisor: Karin Lindsjö



Abstract

Uganda's development-based refugee model is widely recognised as the most progressive in the world by the international community. The model has however come under solid pressure owing to the COVID-19 pandemic, and food insecurity among refugees in the country has become a major problem. This study examines how the pandemic has affected urban and settlement-based refugees' food security with a particular focus on the refugees living in the capital city Kampala and in the Bidibidi Refugee Settlement and explores how refugees in the different settings have coped with the lack of food. A qualitative, comparative case-oriented research design is used for this purpose and a conceptual framework based on the four dimensions of food security and the Livelihood and Food Security Framework is used to guide the study. Two main methods of inquiry are employed. Firstly, a systematic literature review is carried out to identify and select the most relevant studies on the topic, and these are analysed and synthesised through a structured thematic synthesis. Secondly, semi-structured interviews with key informants who are present in Kampala and Bidibidi are conducted to gather up-to-date information specifically about the food security situations in the two study sites, and the interviews are transcribed and analysed through a thematic analysis. It is found that the pandemic has changed the lives of the refugees in both Kampala and Bidibidi significantly and that their food security has deteriorated substantially. A considerable proportion of the refugees are acutely malnourished and immediate support is needed if the food insecurity situation is not to deteriorate further. The main cause of the high level of food insecurity in Kampala has been the loss of livelihood due to the lockdown, which have entailed that Kampala-based refugees have not been able to access food even though it has been available on the market all the time. In Bidibidi, the main cause of food insecurity is related to food assistance ration cuts and the lack of available food. While the situation is improving in Kampala since the lockdown has been eased, the situation is still critical in Bidibidi. The refugees in both study sites have generally applied negative coping strategies such as skipping meals and selling productive assets to cope with the COVID-19-induced shortfalls in food for consumption.

Keywords: *Food security, Settlement-Based Refugees, Urban-Based Refugees, Uganda, COVID-19, Bidibidi, Kampala*

Wordcount: 16,497 words

Table of Contents

Abstract	1
Table of Contents	2
List of Figures	3
List of Tables	3
List of Appendices	Fejl! Bogmærke er ikke defineret.
1.0. Introduction	6
1.1. Aim and Research Questions	7
1.2. Delimitations and Justification for Study Site Selection	8
1.3. Scientific Relevance	8
1.4. Structure of the Thesis	9
2.0. Literature Review	9
2.1. Development of the Food Security Concept	10
2.2. Food Security, Refugees and Development	11
2.3. Food Security Among Refugees in Camps and Settlements	13
2.4. Food Security Among Refugees in Urban Areas	13
2.5. COVID-19's Impact on Food Security in Africa	15
3.0. Background	16
3.1. The Refugee Situation in Uganda	16
3.2. The Food Security Situation in Uganda Before the Pandemic	18
3.3. COVID-19, Lockdown Measures and Food Security in Uganda	18
4.0. Conceptual Framework	19
4.1. Food Security Dimensions	19
4.2. The Livelihood and Food Security Conceptual Framework	21
5.0. Methodology	24
5.1. Research Design	24
5.2. Philosophy of Science	24
5.3. Systematic Literature Review	25
5.3.1. Search Phase	25
5.3.2. Structured Screening Phase	26
5.3.3. Thematic Synthesis	27
5.4. Key Informant Interviews	28
5.4.1. Sampling	28
5.4.2. Interview Process	29
5.4.3. Thematic Analysis	29
5.5. Positionality	30

5.6.	Justification of Methodological Choices and Ethical Considerations.....	31
5.7.	Research Limitations	31
6.0.	Analysis and Findings.....	32
6.1.	Findings from the Systematic Literature Review and Thematic Synthesis.....	32
6.1.1.	Descriptive Themes	33
6.1.2.	Interpretative Explanations	36
6.2.	Findings from the Key Informant Interviews and Thematic Analysis	38
7.0.	Discussion.....	43
7.1.	COVID-19's Impacts on Food Security in Kampala and Bidibidi.....	43
7.2.	Refugees' Livelihood and Coping Strategies.....	45
8.0.	Conclusion	47
8.1.	Future Research	49
	Reference List.....	50
	Appendices.....	66
	Appendix A - Key Words and Synonyms by Categories.....	66
	Appendix B - Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria	67
	Appendix C – References for Systematic Literature Review.....	68
	Appendix D - Interview Plan for Interviews with Key Informants.....	70
	Appendix E - <i>A Priori Codes</i> for the Analysis of the Semi-Structured Interviews	75

List of Figures

Figure 3.1:	Location and Population Distribution of Refugees in Uganda	17
Figure 4.1:	The Four Dimensions of Food Security	20
Figure 4.2:	Livelihood Activities, Food Security and Vulnerability Context	22
Figure 5.3.2.	PRISMA Flow Diagram	27
Figure 6.1.	Descriptive Themes Grouped on the Basis of the Different Review Questions	32

List of Tables

Table 5.4.1.	Sample of Key Informants	28
---------------------	--------------------------	----

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AFSUN	African Food Security Urban Network
CFS	The Committee on World Food Security
CDC	Community Development Centre
COVID-19	Novel Coronavirus Disease
CRRF	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
DCA	DanChurchAid
DDG	Danish Demining Group
DRC	Danish Refugee Council
ECHO	European Commission's Directorate-General for European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations
EIU	Economist Intelligence Unit
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FSIN	Food Security Information Network
GFSI	Global Food Security Index
GHI	Global Hunger Index
IFPRI	International Food Policy Research Institute
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
iiid	International Institute for Environment and Development
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IPC	The Integrated Food Security Phase Classification
IRC	International Rescue Committee
IRRI	International Refugee Rights Initiative
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Service
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
ReHoPE	Refugee and Host Population Empowerment
RLOs	Refugee-Led Organisations
SC	Save the Children
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WFC	World Food Conference
WFP	World Food Programme
WFS	World Food Summit
WSFS	World Summit on Food Security
YARID	Young African Refugees for Integral Development

1.0. Introduction

Uganda is the largest refugee-hosting country in Africa, with over 1.4 million refugees from conflict-ridden South Sudan (61.4%), The Democratic Republic of Congo (29.2%), Burundi (3.4%) and Somalia (3.2%). As a consequence, refugees constitute 3.3% of Uganda's total population of 44.3 million citizens (UNHCR 2021a). Despite the magnitude and rapid inflow of refugees, Uganda maintains one of the most progressive refugee-hosting policies globally following the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) (IRRI 2018:10-12). Thus, Uganda is welcoming refugees irrespectively of their nationality and ethnicity, and since most refugees originate from conflict-ridden countries where civil war and instability obstruct possibilities of repatriation, the Ugandan government and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) have chosen an integrated approach to refugee management that promotes refugees' self-reliance and social integration. Consequently, refugees are allowed to access public services such as education and healthcare, they are granted employment rights and they can move freely within the country (Clements et al. 2016:49). Additionally, Uganda is allocating a small plot of land to arriving refugees in one of the country's 13 refugee settlements for residence and agricultural production to support their self-reliance and give them an opportunity to feed and fend for themselves (UNDP 2018:2-4).

Despite improvements in agricultural productivity in Uganda in the past years, food insecurity continues to be a challenge. Previous national food insecurity analyses reveal that 30% of Uganda's total population is facing some level of chronic food insecurity and that refugee households are much more vulnerable to food insecurity than hosting households despite the country's progressive self-reliance initiatives for refugees (IPC 2015:6). A survey conducted in January 2020, just before the Novel Coronavirus Disease (COVID-19) pandemic spread to Africa, reveals that 60% of the refugees in Uganda were facing moderate acute food insecurity while 16% were severely food insecure at the time of the survey (Development Pathways 2020:78). The food security situation is particularly critical in West Nile sub-region¹ in North-western Uganda, where the world's second-largest refugee settlement Bidibidi is located, and refugee households are generally highly dependent on food assistance to meet their needs (FAO 2018:15). Consequently, food assistance made up 65.4% of the Bidibidi refugee population's food consumption in 2018 whereas expenditure made up 14.8% and household production composed only 19.8% despite having usufruct of land to grow food (FAO 2018:16).

¹ West Nile sub-region consist of the following districts: Adjumani, Arua, Koboko, Maracha, Moyo, Nebbi, Yumbe & Zombo. Bidibidi settlement is located in Yumbe District

Most refugees in Uganda are living in settlements, but more and more refugees choose to relocate to urban areas in search of better economic opportunities. Thus, 91,223 refugees are officially settled in the Ugandan capital city Kampala, but the actual number of refugees in Kampala is much higher since many reside there while remaining registered in settlements. Contrary to settlement-based refugees, urban refugees are expected to be self-supporting. Consequently, most international organisations such as UNHCR and the World Food Programme (WFP) are solely operating in settlements, and humanitarian assistance and food aid are generally only distributed to settlement-based refugees (UNHCR 2021a; Lozet & Easton-Calabria 2020:79-80).

The needs and challenges of urban refugees are naturally different from those of settlement-based refugees, but both groups are particularly vulnerable to food insecurity and the situation has exacerbated significantly as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. WFP has been forced to reduce their basic food assistance to Uganda by 40% owing to a funding shortfall with devastating consequences for refugees in settlements, and urban refugees are badly hit by lockdown and movement restrictions that have weakened income-generating opportunities and caused price increases on staple foods (WFP Uganda 2021:1; Lozet & Easton-Calabria 2020:79-80).

1.1. Aim and Research Questions

This study aims to explore the variations in food (in)security between the settlement-based refugees and urban-based refugees in Uganda following the COVID-19 pandemic, and to examine and compare how refugees in the different settings have dealt with the pandemic's impacts on food security.

To do so, the following research questions will be addressed:

- 1. How has the COVID-19 pandemic affected refugees' food security in the Bidibidi Refugee Settlement and in Kampala respectively?*
- 2. How are urban-based refugees in Kampala and settlement-based refugees in Bidibidi coping with COVID-19-induced shortfalls in food for consumption, and what strategies have they adopted to maintain/enhance their level of food security?*

The study is carried out as a qualitative research study with a comparative case-oriented research design to provide a holistic understanding of the key drivers of food insecurity among refugees in the different settings and of their coping strategies following the COVID-19 pandemic (Bryman 2016:64-68, 394-395). To obtain a comprehensive understanding of the research problem, the study uses a combination of primary and secondary sources of data.

1.2. Delimitations and Justification for Study Site Selection

Uganda has been chosen as the area of study owing to the country's open-door approach to refugees and its particular focus on self-reliance. The primary research in this study is delimited so that it focuses solely on the food security situations among refugees in the Bidibidi Refugee Settlement in North-western Uganda and the capital Kampala, located north of Lake Victoria. The findings from these study sites are however compared to findings from the most recent and relevant studies on food security among refugees in other Ugandan contexts and areas through a systematic literature review.

The Bidibidi Settlement has been selected as one of the two contrasting cases in the study since it is the largest settlement in Uganda hosting 236,718 refugees (UNHCR 2021a). What sets Bidibidi apart from traditional refugee camps is that it is specifically designed to host refugees for decades since possibilities of repatriation in the coming years are limited. Thus, refugees in Bidibidi are living in small clay houses instead of temporary tents and their homes are surrounded by farmland where they can grow different types of crops (UNHCR 2017:1). Kampala has been chosen since it is the urban area that hosts most refugees in Uganda. Uganda is among the least urbanized countries in Africa, but Kampala's population has been growing rapidly in recent years. Among other things owing to a rapid influx of refugees to informal settlements within the city (Mukwaya et al. 2010:268-270; Saliba & Silver 2020:41-42). The main focus of attention in this study is the concept of food security. It is therefore out of the scope of the paper to explore the reasons why refugees have fled to Uganda in the first place and to include theories of cross-border refugee migration. Additionally, the study does not distinguish between refugees and asylum seekers.

1.3. Scientific Relevance

Uganda's development-based refugee model has been widely acknowledged by the international community as a best practice case. It has led to better welfare outcomes for refugees and peaceful relations between refugee and host communities (Betts et al. 2019:34-

37). The hard-won achievements are however at risk of eroding and the model has come under pressure owing to the COVID-19 situation. Food insecurity has induced increasing competition over natural resources and services accompanied by humanitarian organisations, and it has become clear that refugees are much more vulnerable to external shocks than their host community neighbours (SFCG 2020:2-4). Existing research on COVID-19's impacts on refugees' food security is generally sparse. Owing to refugees' particular vulnerabilities, it is critical to continue assessing the pandemic's impact to ensure that response programs are appropriate and to avert the pandemic turning into a long-standing food crisis (Action Against Hunger 2020:4; IOM & WFP 2020:13, 20).

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is structured into eight chapters. This introductory chapter is followed by a literature review where existing literature on the concept of food security, its linkages to forced migration and the COVID-19 pandemic's impacts on food security in Africa are presented. The literature review is followed by a background chapter that provides an account of the refugee situation in the country and outlines how the COVID-19 situation has evolved, since the virus spread to Uganda in March 2020. The fourth chapter presents the conceptual framework of the study which draws upon the four dimensions of food security and the Livelihood and Food Security Conceptual Framework. The fifth chapter outlines the methods of data collection and analysis, specifies the ethical considerations, touches on reflections regarding the researcher's positionality and presents the limitations of the study. In chapter six, the findings are presented, and in chapter seven the findings are discussed and contextualized within previous studies and theory. Finally, the eighth chapter provides an overall conclusion, that summarises the main study findings and states the answers to the research questions.

2.0. Literature Review

This chapter reviews existing literature on food security issues, forced displacement and the impacts of COVID-19. Firstly, an account of the main scholarly contributions to the understanding of the food security concept is provided and secondly, the existing literature on food insecurity and the particular vulnerability of refugees is presented. Lastly, the existing literature on COVID-19's impacts on food security in Sub-Saharan Africa is evaluated. In doing so, the underexplored dimensions in the broad literature on the topic are identified, while the specific research gaps in the context of Uganda are identified in the background section.

2.1. Development of the Food Security Concept

The food security concept has evolved over many years. It can be defined in various ways and encompasses many dimensions (Maxwell 1996:155). This study defines food security as existing “when all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life” (WFS 1996: para. 1) based on the Rome Declaration on World Food Security adopted at the World Food Summit (WFS) in 1996. This widely accepted definition embraces the multidimensionality of the concept and the four pillars of availability, access, utilization and stability (WSFS 2009:1). Food security became a central component in development in the aftermath of World War II and aid agencies, non-governmental organisations (NGO’s) and international organisations started to pay attention to the issue. As interest has grown, a large body of academic literature has been published which has entailed increasing complexity and shifts in the level of analysis (Maxwell & Smith 1992:6). Initially, food security was framed as an issue of physical availability at the national level with roots in Malthusian thinking according to which the essential prerequisite of food security is the balance between the food supply in a country and the food demand of its population. Thus, the growth rate of food availability should not be lower than the population growth rate and consequently, food security was seen only as a question of per capita food availability emphasizing the importance of supply-side factors (Malthus 1798:12-17; Sassi 2018:91-92). This view was reflected in the Universal Declaration on the Eradication of Hunger and Malnutrition, adopted in 1974 by the World Food Conference (WFC), stating that “the increasing demand for food is related in particular to the unprecedented population growth, which has doubled the world's population in a single generation” (UN WFC 1975:11) and that “it is the common responsibility of the entire international community to ensure the availability at all times of adequate world supplies of basic food-stuffs by way of appropriate reserves” (UN WFC 1975: 3).

The narrow view of food security only being a matter of availability was challenged by Amartya Sen in the 1980s. Sen’s entitlement approach initiated a paradigm shift in academia and politics, and food insecurity was no longer seen as results of shortages of food only. In Sen’s renowned book ‘Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation’ Sen writes that “Starvation is the characteristic of some people not *having* enough food to eat. It is not the characteristic of there *being* not enough food to eat” (Sen 1981:1) emphasizing that the issues of hunger to a great extent is attributable to the lack of access to food. This view was recognized by the international community, and the analysis of food security moved from

national level to household- and individual level. Consequently, the role of food availability was diminished whereas the role of the access dimension was incorporated in the Food and Agriculture Organization's (FAO) 1983 definition of food security: "...the ultimate objective of world food security should be to ensure that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to the basic food they need." (FAO 1983: para 2).

Initially, the entitlement discourse focussed mainly on the wealth, income and consumption of households, but during the 1980s and in the early 1990s the analysis widened to also include the factors determining households' economic and nutritional status (Burchi & De Muro 2012:17-18; Maxwell 1996:157-158; Maxwell & Smith 1992:10-12). Based on Sen's entitlement approach and capability approach, Sen and Drèze shift focus from "the command over food" (Sen 1981:165) to "the capability to avoid undernourishment" (Drèze & Sen 1989:13) stating that "The focus on entitlements, which is concerned with the command over *commodities*, has to be seen as only instrumentally important, and the concentration has to be, ultimately, on basic of human capabilities" (Drèze & Sen 1989:13). As a result, the utilization dimension becomes incorporated in the analysis of food security (Drèze & Sen 1989:37-42).

In 1991 Robert Chambers and Gordon Conway introduced the sustainable livelihood approach that builds on the scholarly work of Sen and Drèze but adds the factor of vulnerability and the perspective of time in its analysis of food security (Chambers & Conway 1991:10-18). By focussing on vulnerability and by incorporating a time aspect to the discussion of entitlements and capabilities, stability becomes a cross-cutting dimension in the food security debate (Burchi & De Muro 2012:15).

The broader and multidimensional understanding of food security that evolved during the second half of the 20th century is well reflected in the 1996 WFS definition of food security, which this study takes as its starting point in its analysis of food security. The 1996 definition was officially reaffirmed in the 2009 Declaration of the World Summit on Food Security (WSFS) and it is still the most commonly used in academia and politics (CFS 2012:5-6).

2.2. Food Security, Refugees and Development

The issues of food insecurity and forced migration are both major development challenges. To achieve food security is a specific goal in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, and the international community's commitment to support and protect refugees is affirmed in the

Global Compact on Refugees. Both issues are handled by their own specialized agencies; FAO and WFP deal with food security and UNHCR and the International Organization for Migration (IOM) deal with displacement and migration. Likewise, both issues are covered by a comprehensive body of research, but there seems to be a considerable disconnect between the two agendas (Crush 2013:61-62). Consequently, the issue of food security among refugees remains relatively unexplored in scholarly literature.

Food insecurity is most widespread in the Global South and particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa that account for 54% of the world's total number of people classified in crisis or worse (FSIN 2020:20-21). At the same time, 85% of the world's refugees are hosted in the Global South and more than 7.3 million refugees are residing across Sub-Saharan Africa (IOM 2020b:18). Despite this combination of circumstance, most existing studies have only been carried out in a small number of areas and oftentimes in the Global North (Nunnery & Dharod 2017; Anderson et al. 2014; McKay & Dunn 2015; Nunnery et al. 2015). A limited number of studies have been conducted in Africa in recent years, but most of them are carried out in South Africa which at the national level is the most food-secure country in Africa (Statistics South Africa 2017:24). Despite different geographical locations and different levels of food security at the national level, the existing studies indicate that refugees generally are more food insecure compared to their respective local non-refugee counterparts (Singh et al. 2015:728-730; Napier et al. 2018:5-6; Nawrotzki et al. 2014:289-294; Nunnery & Dharod 2017:164-165). For example, a study by Napier et al. (2018) finds that the prevalence of food insecurity among female refugees in Durban, South Africa is 92% which is significantly higher than the average prevalence of 26.6% (Napier et al. 2018:5). This particular study stands out from the majority of studies conducted in the Global South since it examines food security among urban-based refugees.

There is generally a paucity of information about urban refugees' food security. The lives and livelihoods of refugees living in camps in the Global South have almost exclusively captured the attention of researchers and humanitarian organizations, whereas the situations and lives of refugees in urban areas have not been investigated systematically although more and more refugees seek refuge in urban areas (Iied 2020:1-2; Crea et al. 2015:320-321). According to the 2018 World Refugee Council report, more than 60% of the world's refugees live in urban areas whereas only 30% live in rural refugee camps (Muggah & Abdenur 2018:1). Similarly, there seems to be an anti-urban bias in terms of food security in policy and research since it is chiefly

perceived as a rural issue (Battersby 2012:141-143; Battersby 2013:453; Crush 2014:543; Crush 2013:62). Consequently, little is known about the different impacts camp and urban-based environments have on refugees' food security and livelihoods (Iied 2020:2).

2.3. Food Security Among Refugees in Camps and Settlements

At the World Food Summit in 1996, it was declared that “major refugee movements can cause food-security problems both among the refugees themselves and in the receiving areas” (FAO 1996, as cited in UNHCR 2020b:2). However, since refugee camps and settlements have been seen as transient and temporary spaces, there is little scholarly literature that analyses food security issues specifically for camp-based refugees. For many years, the response by the international community has been to allocate food assistance to the refugee camps and their neighbouring host communities (Bakewell 2014:134-135). Nevertheless, since many refugee crises have turned out to be protracted situations where camps and settlements have become more and more permanent, the international community has started to respond differently to address the new reality of forced displacement. Thus, UNHCR and WFP have implemented a range of strategies to improve refugees' contributions to their own food consumption and reduce their reliance on aid (UNHCR 2020b:3-4; Bakewell 2014:135). The aim is to replace short-sighted emergency assistance responses with durable solutions, and “to turn humanitarian challenges into sustainable opportunities” (Betts et al. 2014:6). The application of development approaches to refugee assistance has however, turned out to be challenging for several reasons including limited funding from humanitarian actors and political opposition from host governments (ibid:6). Uganda stands out as a success story and its progressive model has been regarded as exemplary both by the international community and academic researchers (Bohnet & Schmitz-Pranghe 2019; Betts et al. 2019; Ruaudel & Morrison-Métois 2017; World Bank 2016; UNDP 2018). Yet, the majority of refugees in Ugandan settlements remain dependent on food aid (FAO 2018:15-16; USAID 2020:1).

2.4. Food Security Among Refugees in Urban Areas

The Global South and particularly Sub-Saharan Africa is becoming increasingly urban. Rural to urban internal migration and natural population growth are the greatest drivers of the urban expansion in the South, but refugee influxes are also an important cause in some cities (Kyed 2017: para. 1). Most refugees migrate to cities to avoid camp settings and to find economic opportunities, but many find poverty, informal housing in slums and lack of access to basic necessities. Generally, urban refugees face all of the same problems as poor urban dwellers,

but in addition, they are also facing specific problems related to their refugee status including lack of legal recognition which in consequence, force them to work in the informal sector under insecure conditions (Buckley & Kallergis 2014:177; IRC 2012:1). It is found by Crush (2013:68-69) that the food security of urban refugees and the urban poor generally is sorely conditional on their ability to have a regular income owing to the important role of food purchases in urban areas. Brown (2015:6) adds that the reliance on the cash economy makes urban dwellers particularly vulnerable to food price volatility compared to those dwelling in rural areas where the physical presence of food often is the most critical component of food security.

As previously stated, there are very few studies on food security in urban areas that focus exclusively on refugees, but a growing body of literature that examines the food security of internal and international migrants, who have resettled in urban areas voluntarily, has appeared in recent years. Despite different rights, legal status and levels of vulnerability, migrants and refugees are often facing similar challenges in an urban context and accordingly, much of the literature on migrants is applicable to the study of refugees to some degree (Landau, n.d.:2). An example of such a study is a case study of the food security situation among Zimbabwean migrants in Cape Town, South Africa, that finds that “migrants are a great deal more vulnerable to food insecurity than their local counterparts in the poorer areas of these cities” (Crush & Tawodzera 2016:16) since they are excluded from the formal economy and thus are exposed to unfair wages and insecure working conditions in the informal sector (ibid:9-13).

As suggested by Crush (2013:68), Brown (2015:4), Chikanda et al. (2020:10) and Hunter-Adams (2017:82-83) accessibility and affordability are the most vital concerns among urban refugees. This argument is in line with the wider literature on so-called urban food deserts that can be characterised as “economically-disadvantaged areas of cities where there is relatively poor access to healthy and affordable food” (Crush & Battersby 2016:11). The fast urban growth rates in Africa have induced significant transformations of food retail systems with the rapid growth of supermarkets in cities. Supermarkets have improved the availability of nutritious foods in cities substantially and ensured stability, but they are generally targeting the middle and upper-income clientele (Crush & Battersby 2016:12; Battersby 2012:147; Crush 2014:551-552). Consequently, most supermarkets are located in the more economically advantaged areas in the cities, but the majority of urban refugees and urban poor are residing

in geographic food deserts, and their spatial and economic access to food from supermarkets is therefore still very limited (Crush & Battersby 2016:12-13).

2.5. COVID-19's Impact on Food Security in Africa

The COVID-19 pandemic is a global crisis of unparalleled proportions. Consequently, the whole world has imposed anti-COVID-19 measures including extensive lockdowns and movement restrictions. While necessary to contain the spread of the virus, the restrictions have also had major socio-economic implications and adverse effects on food security and livelihoods (IOM & WFP 2020:8-9; Action Against Hunger 2020:13-14). According to Ayanlade and Radeny (2020), Sub-Saharan Africa is the most vulnerable region to the secondary impacts of COVID-19 since the continent has the highest rate of malnourished people globally and accounts for more than half of the world's people living in extreme poverty. While the pandemic per se is not necessarily causing food insecurity, it is exacerbating and escalating pre-existing conditions caused by conflicts, extreme weather etc. with devastating impacts on vulnerable people and communities who were already exposed to food shortages and hunger (FAO 2021:1). Thus, refugees are at particular risk of facing acute hardship owing to COVID-19.

According to Moseley and Battersby (2020), COVID-19 has predominantly affected the food security of urban populations in Sub-Saharan Africa. The majority of African urban dwellers source their food from the market so their access to food relies mainly on their income and the food prices. As a result of the COVID-19 pandemic and the enforced response measures, economic access to food has been reduced substantially in Africa. A research study conducted in five informal settlements in Nairobi in April 2020 found that 36% of the slum dwellers had experienced a complete loss of income in consequence of lockdown restrictions and that 45% had experienced a partial loss. In addition, the study found that 78% of the surveyed people had experienced increased cost of food and consequently, as many as 87% of the respondents reported that they had skipped meals to cope with the reduced economic access to food (UNECA 2020:3). Physical access to food has also been reduced significantly in both rural and urban areas since most African countries have shut down informal markets and criminalized street vendors with major impacts for particularly the poor groups of society (Moseley & Battersby 2020:454).

3.0. Background

This chapter is firstly providing background information about the refugee situation in Uganda with a specific focus on Bidibidi and Kampala. Secondly, the food security situation in Uganda before the pandemic is described and lastly, it is outlined how the COVID-19 situation has evolved since the virus reached the country in March 2020. By presenting the current state of knowledge on the topic, the study is contextualised, and its relevance is explained.

3.1. The Refugee Situation in Uganda

Uganda has established settlements and welcomed refugees since the country gained independence in 1962. As a host state, Uganda has received several mass influxes of refugees following terrible conflicts in its neighbouring countries including the Rwandan genocide in 1994 and the civil wars in DR Congo in 1996-1997 and 1998-2003 (Nabuguzi 1993:1-2; Murahashi 2021:256). Thus, Uganda has always hosted hundreds of thousands of refugees, but the largest influx occurred in 2016-2017 where more than a million South Sudanese sought safety from the multi-sided civil war in South Sudan and fled to Uganda (UNHCR 2017:1). Bidibidi Settlement was established in response to the urgent refugee crisis in August 2016 and four months later, the settlement reached its maximum capacity of 285,000 residents, hence being the largest refugee settlement in the world at the time (DRC et al. 2018:8). Bidibidi and the 12 other refugee settlements in Uganda stand out from traditional refugee camps because they are constructed to offer semi-permanent shelter contrary to temporary refugee tent camps. Additionally, refugees in Uganda are not legally restricted to remain in the settlements which means that they can move around freely and seek employment (ibid:8-9). As described by an Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) officer, “[Settlements] are not camps; they are like a normal village setting. They are spacious and we put services there: schools, education. We give [refugees] food; we give them land for farming. They are able to work, farm and do business, and actualize themselves” (Ilean et al. 2015:2-3).

The rights of refugees to choose where to reside and work were formalised in policy with Uganda’s Refugee Act of 2006 and the Refugee and Host Population Empowerment (ReHOPE) strategy from 2016 as part of UNHCR’s CRRF. Thus, refugees can opt for self-settlement in cities like Kampala if they give up access to official assistance (Betts et al. 2019:6-7). Despite the right of choosing a residence, the vast majority of refugees in Uganda remain in designated settlements and less than 10% settle in urban areas, including Kampala. Thus, Kampala’s refugee population of 91,223 officially registered refugees composes only 6.2% of

the country's total number of refugees (UNHCR 2021a). Figure 3.1 shows how the refugee population in Uganda is distributed in settlements and urban areas around the country, and the number of refugees residing in the respective locations.

Kampala is home to 1,709,900 inhabitants which correspond to 31% of Uganda's total urban population and the city is growing rapidly, having the fourth-highest urban growth rate in Africa (Richmond et al. 2018: 3). The growth occurs predominantly in Kampala's informal areas where about 60% of the city's population lives (IRC 2018:19; Richmond et al. 2018:3). The vast majority of Kampala's refugees live in such informal settings. As can be seen in figure 3.1, Kampala is hosting refugees from a wide range of countries. The majority originate from Somalia (33.6%) and DR Congo (30.9%).

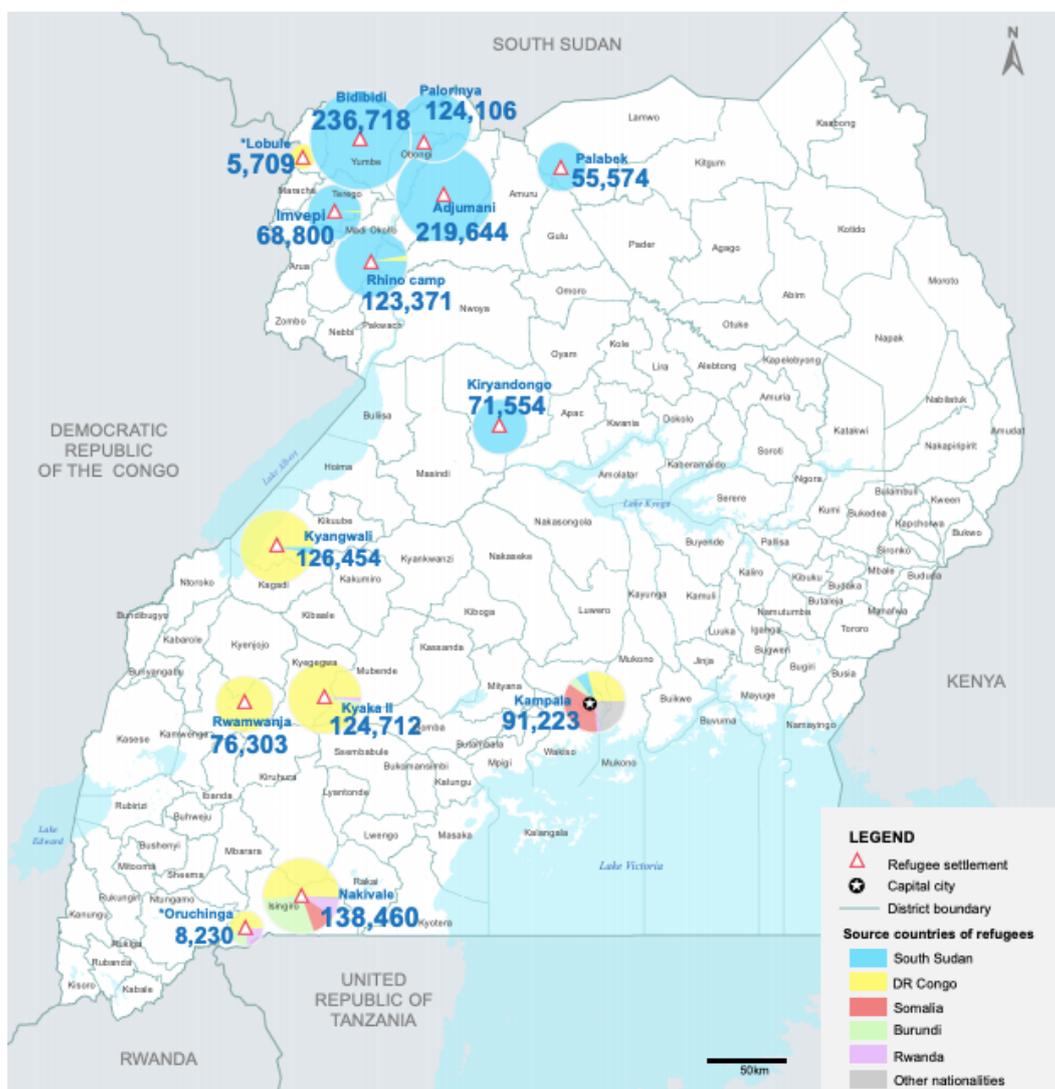


Figure 3.1: Location and Population Distribution of Refugees in Uganda (UNHCR 2021b).

3.2. The Food Security Situation in Uganda Before the Pandemic

Even before the occurrence of COVID-19, Uganda had serious problems of food insecurity. In 2019, the country was ranked 98 out of 113 countries in the Global Food Security Index and 104 out of 117 countries in the Global Hunger Index (EIU 2020:31; WFP 2020:7). More than 68% of the total population in Uganda and 38% of its refugee population gain their livelihoods through farming. Uganda is however, among the most vulnerable countries to climate change, and extreme weather events such as drought and flooding that have devastating impacts on food security (Concern Worldwide & Welthungerhilfe 2019:7; WFP 2020:7). The population in West Nile sub-region, where the refugee settlements Bidibidi, Lobule, Rhino Camp, Imvepi, Palorinya and Adjumani are located, is particularly food insecure and although refugee households have been given access to land for agriculture, the majority depends on regular food assistance from WFP. Accordingly, in 2019 WFP distributed 172,409 metric tonnes of food and US\$35,719,482 in cash transfers to 1,780,308 refugees and host community inhabitants in the worst affected areas in Uganda in 2019 (ibid:3-4).

3.3. COVID-19, Lockdown Measures and Food Security in Uganda

COVID-19 spread to Uganda on the 21st of March 2020. In response to the pandemic, a wide range of immediate measures were imposed to prevent the spread. On the 31st of March 2020, a national stringent lockdown was promulgated. All borders were closed, an extensive overnight curfew was enforced, most businesses were shut, and all public transport was put on hold (Tumwesigye et al. 2021:6-8). The strict lockdown contained the first wave of the outbreak, but the protective measures had significant socio-economic impacts and disrupted the livelihoods of both Ugandans and refugees.

The lockdown was lifted in June 2020, and some restrictions have gradually been eased since then, but social distancing measures and the nationwide curfew from 2100h to 0600h is still in effect (Tumwesigye et al. 2021:9). Till now, Uganda has successfully kept down the death rate with ‘only’ 334 known COVID-19 deaths in total. This is partly attributable to Uganda’s fast implementation of effective restrictions, but also due to the country’s demographic characteristics with 68.5% of the population being under 25 years of age (The Republic of Uganda 2018:21). However, in a country where the informal sector is the main source of employment, accounting for 95% of Uganda’s non-agriculture jobs, it is clear that the restrictions have had devastating impacts for particularly the poor and vulnerable population groups (The Republic of Uganda 2017:4; Lozet & Easton-Calabria 2020:79-80). Due to the

effects of the lockdown measures and COVID-19's impacts on food supply chains, food insecurity has increased significantly. According to the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC) in Uganda from June to August 2020, 17% of Kampala's population was facing high levels of acute food insecurity and 32% of the refugees living in settlements were found to be in either crisis or emergency level of food insecurity (IPC 2020:1-3). The pandemic's impacts on refugees' food security and livelihoods are further expounded in a thematic synthesis of findings from the most recent and relevant studies on the issue, identified and selected through a systematic literature review.

4.0. Conceptual Framework

This chapter presents the conceptual framework that guides the data collection, analysis and interpretation of findings. The first paragraph expands on the concept of food security, as discussed in the literature review, by describing each of the four components that form the basis of the WFS 1996 definition. Subsequently, the Livelihood and Food Security Conceptual Framework is presented, and it is outlined how it is used to guide the study.

4.1. Food Security Dimensions

As accounted for, there are four different components in the WFS 1996 definition of food security, which forms the underlying basis of this study's conceptual framework. The four components are availability, access, utilization and stability. As can be seen in figure 4.1 the components are interlinked so that food access is partly determined by food availability while food utilization is partly determined by food access. The fourth component food stability is a cross-cutting component (Burchi et al. 2011:359-360; Woller et al. 2012:4-5).

Food availability refers to the supply side of food security, whether from households' own production or through trade, imports or food aid (Woller et al. 2012:4). It is defined by FAO as "the availability of sufficient quantities of food of appropriate quality, supplied through domestic production or imports (including food aid)" (FAO 2006:1). Having access to food depends on its physical existence, but also on the assets and income that is required by a household to produce or purchase appropriate foods. This component is defined as "Access by individuals to adequate resources (entitlements) for acquiring appropriate foods for a nutritious diet" (FAO 2006:1). The utilization component has both a socio-economic and biological dimension. The socio-economic dimension is commonly understood as the way food is

consumed. This is influenced by intra-household dynamics, food preparation and storage methods. The biological dimension refers to the way the body transforms food into energy. It is thus a question of the quality and nutritional value of the food, but also a question of the body's ability to absorb nutrients (Woller et al. 2012:4-5). The last component, food stability, refers to the period over which food security is being considered. There is food stability when food availability, access and utilization remain constant in the long term (FAO 2006:1).

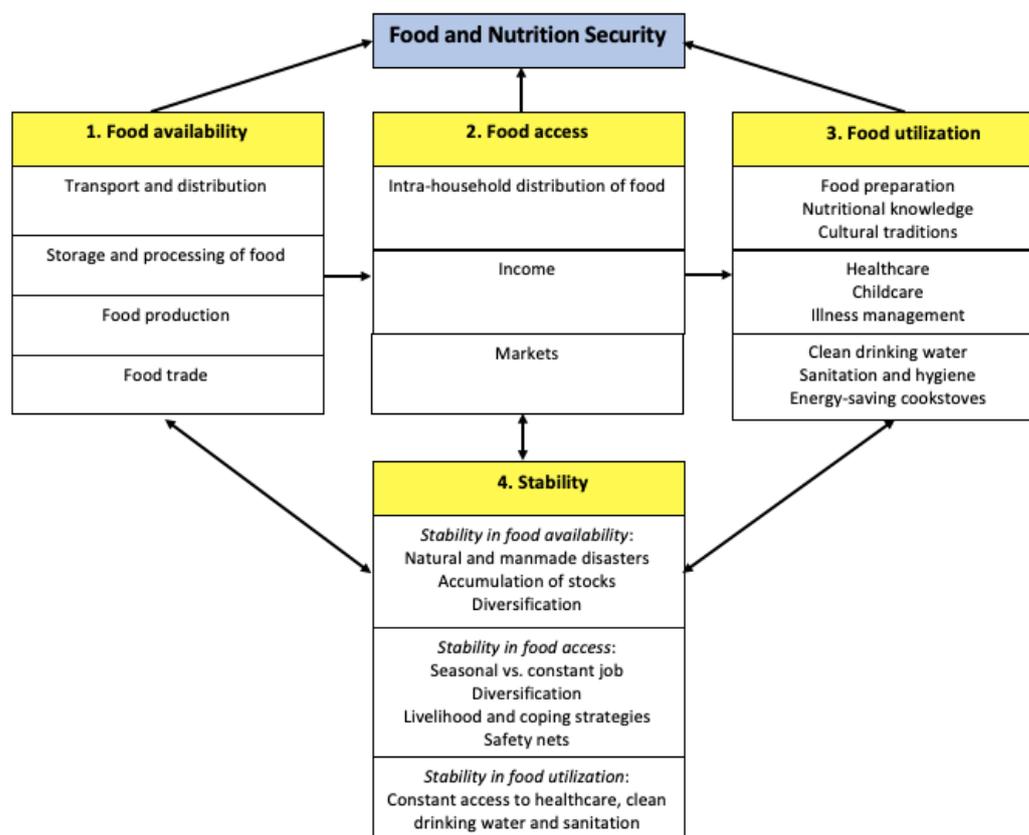


Figure 4.1: The Four Dimensions of Food Security (Source: Burchi et al. 2011:360).

Owing to the complexity and multidimensionality of food security, the concept cannot be explained by one single theory. The concept can be attributed to several academic fields of study including social science and health science disciplines, so an interdisciplinary approach is required to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the issue (Mokari Yamchi et al. 2019:135-137). To facilitate more conceptual simplicity and delimit the study, this study is leaving out of account the nutritional dimension of food security. Furthermore, since the study is not interviewing refugee households themselves, it is difficult to explore in-depth how foodstuffs are handled, cooked and stored. The study seeks to examine how the refugees' food

consumption patterns have changed, but aside from that little attention is paid to the utilization component. Instead, particular emphasis is given to the availability and access dimensions that according to existing studies of COVID-19's impacts on food security are regarded as the most significant (Moseley & Battersby 2020:454; UNECA 2020:3). In addition to establishing the conceptual realm of understanding in this study, the division of the components of food security makes it possible to determine how decisive different factors are as causes of food insecurity in Uganda. More specifically, the different dimensions are directing the study by forming the basis of the questions in the interview guide, and they are used as keywords in the systematic search of literature for the systematic literature review.

4.2. The Livelihood and Food Security Conceptual Framework

In addition to applying a multidimensional perspective on food security as accounted for, the Livelihood and Food Security Conceptual Framework, as established by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), is used to direct the study. This framework ties together the concepts of food security and livelihoods framed within a vulnerability context and identifies their relationships to each other (Woller et al. 2012:3). As opposed to a fixed theory, it is a conceptual frame of reference that allows for flexibility and contextual examination (ibid:3) Consequently, the framework is not slavishly followed, but it provides a realm of thinking about the issue and makes conceptual distinctions that are relevant to the analysis of food security in the context of refugees in Uganda.

The understanding of livelihoods takes as its point of departure Chambers and Conway's definition of sustainable livelihoods: "A Livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims, and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the short and long term" (Chambers & Conway 1991:6). As accounted for in the literature review, the sustainable livelihoods approach has had a great impact on the WFS 1996 conceptualisation and definition of food security, emphasising the mutual relationship between livelihood security and food security (Burchi & De Muro 2012:14-17; Woller et al. 2012:8). Livelihood security and food security are related reciprocally since the consumption of food affects the ability to generate an income and take part in livelihood activities. Hence, a nutritionally deficient diet is reducing the ability to work and likewise, the ability to generate income is vital

to food security in that economic resources are necessary for acquiring appropriate foods and agricultural inputs (Woller et al. 2012:8). According to the Livelihood and Food Security Conceptual Framework, it is therefore important to examine households' asset endowments and livelihood activities to obtain an understanding of their food security situation. Six types of assets are commonly recognized; human capital, financial capital, natural capital, physical capital, social capital and political capital, and it is the size and diversity of these assets that shape livelihood opportunities (ibid:10). The ability of a household or community to make use of its assets to pursue sustainable livelihood activities is conditional on its vulnerability context, and accordingly, a vulnerability analytical lens is central in the conceptual framework. There is, however, no universal definition of vulnerability, but in this regard, vulnerability is understood as susceptibility to shocks, crises and stresses that hampers the ability to generate adequate income to make a sustainable living and access nutritious and sufficient food (ibid:11; WFP 2009:27-28). The relationship between food security, livelihood activities and the vulnerability context is illustrated in figure 4.2 and described further below.

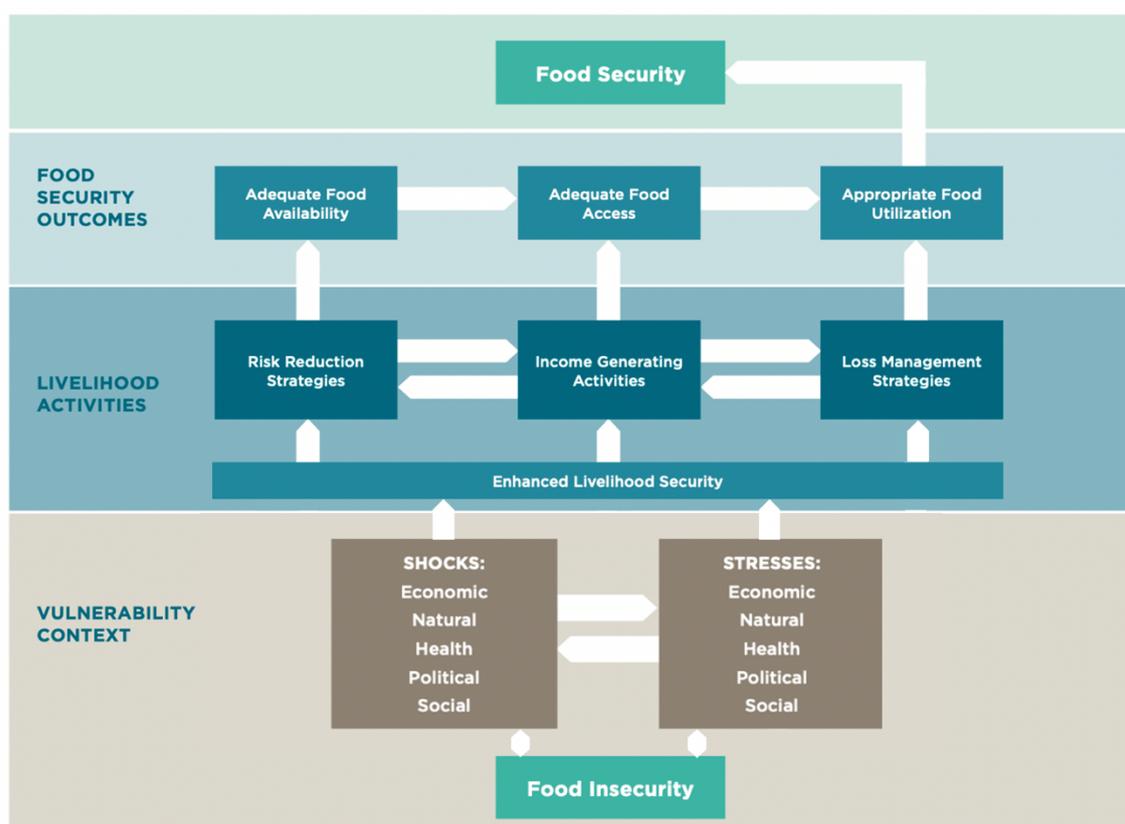


Figure 4.2: Livelihood Activities, Food Security and Vulnerability Context (Source: Woller et al. 2012:13) – Note: The figure has been adjusted by the author to make it more concise

As can be seen in the model, there are three overall livelihood activities that each are directly linked to the dimensions of food security and interlinked to each other. Income-generating activities are decisive for households' economic access to food and determine what types of risk reduction strategies and loss management strategies the households can pursue. With higher incomes, households can access both higher quantities of food and food of higher quality and nutritional value, which generally entails improved food security. Similarly, better-off households are generally more resilient and thus to a greater extent able to apply 'non-erosive' risk mitigation strategies and loss management strategies such as diversifying their income and crop production and setting aside some resources for potential future losses. Worse-off households, whose incomes often are derived from more uncertain income streams such as remittances and day labour, are generally more likely to engage in 'erosive' strategies such as selling or exchanging productive assets with major implications for their long-term ability to maintain a sustainable livelihood and remain food secure (Woller et al. 2012:8-15). Households who are not able to apply risk reduction strategies activities are thus more vulnerable to shocks and stresses. Households that pursue high-risk farming are for instance in a poor position if their crops fail and they are thus more at risk of suffering from inadequate food availability (ibid 2012:11). Likewise, households who are utilising erosive coping strategies such as skipping meals, eating less diverse diets and deprioritising healthcare and food safety are very likely to suffer from the nutritional consequences of food insecurity which again may affect their livelihood opportunities (ibid 2012:14-15).

By linking the core pillars of food security; availability, access, utilization and stability to households' asset endowments, livelihoods strategies and vulnerability, the Livelihood and Food Security Conceptual Framework makes it possible to obtain a holistic and multidimensional understanding of food security, which is very applicable when analysing the degree and causes of food insecurity, and the factors that underlie the chosen coping strategies of food-insecure refugees in Uganda. In addition to providing a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between the key concepts, the conceptual framework directs the study by forming the basis of the structured search protocol in the systematic literature review and of the questions in the interview plan for the semi-structured interviews.

5.0. Methodology

This chapter outlines the research strategy and research methods of this study. Firstly, the research design and the philosophical standpoint are presented and secondly, the sampling strategy and the applied methods of data collection are described in detail. Next, it is presented how the analysis of data has been carried out, and the methodological choices are evaluated and justified. Lastly, the ethical considerations, the researcher's positionality and the limitations of the study are discussed.

5.1. Research Design

A qualitative research strategy with a comparative case-oriented design was applied in this study to answer the research questions. This design was identified as the most appropriate since the study aims to gather deep explanations and a holistic understanding of the drivers of food security among settlement-based and urban-based refugees respectively and of their applied coping strategies in consequence of the COVID-19 pandemic (Bryman 2016:64-68, 394-395). Structurally a general-to-specific approach has been used. In this way, a systematic literature review has firstly been conducted to identify and select existing literature on COVID-19's impacts on refugees' food security in Uganda. This part distinguishes between the experiences of settlement-based and urban-based refugees in Uganda on a general level. Subsequently, semi-structured interviews that focus entirely on the situations faced by refugees in Kampala and Bidibidi have been conducted with key informants who are present in the two study sites. Accordingly, the study has made use of both secondary data and generated new primary data.

5.2. Philosophy of Science

The study takes a pragmatist standpoint, which holds that knowledge and reality are socially constructed. In pragmatism, the substantive research problem is seen as more important than methodological and paradigmatic concerns so the methods of inquiry should therefore always be determined on the basis of the research questions. This entails, that the researcher has a lot of freedom to choose between methods and procedures from different fields of study and do not have to commit oneself to a particular research approach. Multiple methods and techniques are therefore often used by pragmatist researchers (Creswell & Creswell 2018:10-11; Punch 2014:304-305). The pragmatist standpoint in this study implies that the research process has been problem-centred and that the research questions above all have determined the research design and methods of inquiry.

5.3. Systematic Literature Review

As far as the researcher is aware, this is the first study to examine and compare how the COVID-19 pandemic has impacted refugees' food security in Bidibidi and Kampala specifically, and accordingly, the literature for these particular sites is limited. A growing number of studies have, however, examined the pandemic's effects on refugee communities' livelihoods and food security at the country level and for other refugee settlements and cities in Uganda. A systematic literature review of such studies has therefore been conducted to complement the overall insights from the background section by providing a systematic presentation and synthesis of the current evidence on the topic.

The method originates from evidence-based practices in health-related disciplines, but it has slowly gained acceptance in other social science disciplines as well (Bamberger et al. 2016:28-29, 166-170). The systematic literature review in this study followed the methodological roadmap provided by Sara Efrat Efron and Ruth Ravid (2019), which entails that the review should be guided by a preformulated review question and follow a clearly defined review plan with a set of inclusion and exclusion criteria to identify and select the most relevant literature (Efrat Efron & Ravid 2019:18-20). Due to the stricter methodology and transparent process, the systematic literature review is generally regarded as less subjected to bias (Robinson & Lowe 2015:103; Bryman 2016:596-598).

The review questions in this study are based on the research questions but are not context-specific to Bidibidi and Kampala, since the review aims to compare settlement-based and urban-based refugees in Uganda on a general level. The applied review questions are:

1. *How has the COVID-19 pandemic affected settlement-based and urban-based refugees' food security in Uganda?*
2. *How are urban-based refugees and settlement-based refugees in Uganda coping with COVID-19-induced shortfalls in food for consumption, and what strategies have they adopted to maintain/enhance their level of food security?*

5.3.1. Search Phase

To collect existing evidence systematically is a major task, so to delimit the review, this study has only used the academic databases of LUBsearch, JSTOR, Google Scholar and

ScienceDirect in its search for potentially relevant academic publications. A structured search protocol was developed to identify potentially relevant studies for the review questions. 86 keywords were formulated within six categories: The food security context (12), the refugee context (11), the geographical context (6), the COVID-19 context (12), the vulnerability context (16) and the livelihood context (29) based on the concepts outlined in the conceptual framework. By combining the keywords, search strings were generated. Owing to different search interfaces in the databases, the search strings were adjusted to fit the functions of the different databases. A full list of keywords and examples of applied search strings is included in Appendix A. The search in the four databases generated 882 hits.

Additionally, five regular Google searches using concise search strings such as “food security, Uganda, COVID-19, refugee” were conducted to gather relevant non-academic publications and grey literature. For the sake of convenience, only the first ten hits of each search were reviewed. Accordingly, a total number of 932 hits were initially identified, but when duplicates were removed, the number was reduced to 578.

5.3.2. Structured Screening Phase

The initially identified articles were screened and appraised for relevance by use of a screening form with inclusion and exclusion criteria to secure an impartial and transparent selection (Efrat Efron & Ravid 2019:76-77). The screening form contains criteria regarding the language of the article, the focus of the article and the period in which the article was written among others. The screening form with a full list of inclusion and exclusion criteria is included in Appendix B. After duplicates were removed, the remaining 578 studies and articles' titles and subheadings were assessed based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria and the studies that were considered irrelevant for the review questions were excluded. Consequently, the number of studies was pruned down to 83 in the first screening round, and these were further assessed based on their abstracts. The articles and studies that did not meet the inclusion criteria based on the information provided in their abstracts were excluded in the second screening round and a total number of 41 articles were selected for full-text assessment. Similarly, it was assessed whether the full texts of the 41 articles and studies met the inclusion criteria. 29 articles did not meet the criteria, so a total number of 12 studies were considered relevant and finally selected for analysis. The stepwise identification and selection process of relevant studies is illustrated in Figure 5.2.1. and the references of the selected studies are included in Appendix C and marked with a * in the bibliography.

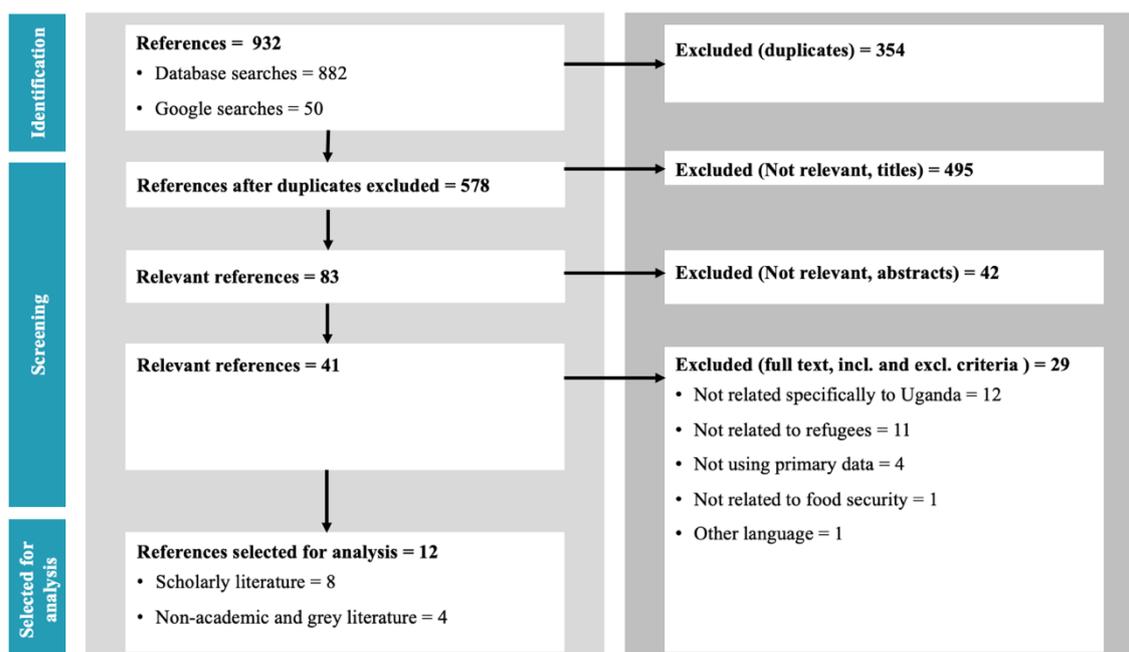


Figure 5.3.2. PRISMA Flow Diagram (Source: Own diagram)

5.3.3. Thematic Synthesis

A thematic synthesis approach was used to compare and synthesise the findings across the selected studies in order to enhance the understanding of the issue and explore clear connections between the studies that were not apparent before (Efrat Efron & Ravid 2019:190-191; Thomas & Harden 2008:4). The analysis followed a convergent qualitative design presented by Sara Efrat Efron and Ruth Ravid (2019:198-201) which entails that the reviewer through constant comparison of the selected studies in a qualitative interpretive process examines the patterns and themes that emerge across the studies and articles. The result sections of the selected studies were coded inductively in three rounds per study. Firstly, the studies were line-by-line coded so that all words, phrases, sentences and paragraphs of relevance to the review questions were labelled with descriptive codes to summarize the essence of the different sections. In the second round, the studies were reread, and additional codes were added and some of the initial codes were either split or merged with other codes. In the third round, the descriptive codes were pulled together into higher order pattern codes. The pattern codes were reciprocally translated between the selected studies and subsequently compared against the initial codes. Afterwards, the pattern codes were organized into smaller groups based on differences and similarities, and descriptive themes were developed to capture the essence of these groups. Following this step, the descriptive themes were rearranged and examined for recurring explanations. Based on these, interpretative explanations going beyond the descriptive explanations in the original studies, articles and reports were generated to form

an integrated and synthesized account of how COVID-19 has impacted refugees food security in Ugandan settlements and cities (Thomas & Harden 2008:4-7; Punch 2014:173-174). The themes are presented in the Analysis and Findings chapter.

5.4. Key Informant Interviews

Semi-structured interviews with seven key informants were conducted to gather primary data about the situations faced by refugees in Kampala and Bidibidi specifically. Owing to the COVID-19 pandemic and the consequent travel restrictions all interviews were facilitated remotely by use of the online communication platform Zoom (Bryman 2016:490-491).

5.4.1. Sampling

The researcher strived to interview key informants representing diverse backgrounds and perspectives who because of their position and responsibilities have a good understanding of the issue of food insecurity among refugees in Kampala and Bidibidi (Scheyvens 2014:105-107). Accordingly, a purposive sampling strategy was used to identify and select key informants of relevance to the research questions (Bryman 2016:408-410). Snowball sampling was used to complement the purposive sample of informants as the researcher of this study contacted other researchers currently working in the field to draw on their network of contacts in Uganda. The characteristics of the key informants in the sample are illustrated in Table 5.4.1.

Table 5.4.1. Sample of Key Informants

Interviewee:	Organisation:	Role in Organisation:	Placed In:	Sex:
Informant 1	Community Development Centre (CDC)	Development Program Manager	Bidibidi	M
Informant 2	Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS)	Project Director	Kampala	M
Informant 3	DanChurchAid (DCA)	Program Management Specialist	Bidibidi	F
Informant 4	International Rescue Committee (IRC)	Collaboration Manager & Programme Officer	Kampala & Bidibidi	F
Informant 5	International Rescue Committee (IRC)	Economic Recovery and Development Manager	Kampala	M
Informant 6	Hope for Refugees in Action (H.R.A.)	Managing Director	Bidibidi	M
Informant 7	Young African Refugees for Integral Development (YARID)	Protection Officer	Kampala	F

(Source: Own table)

5.4.2. Interview Process

An interview plan with a set of predefined open-ended questions was developed based on prior reading, the established concepts in the conceptual framework and the patterns identified in the thematic synthesis. The interview plan is included in Appendix D. The interview plan served as a checklist to ensure that the researcher did not forget to ask questions about important issues, and at the same time it ensured a certain degree of focus and structure in the interviews. In this way, the plan was used flexibly, and the questions were adapted to the topics and points raised by the interviewees (Silverman 2020:77-80; IFRC 2006:29-31). All interviews started with an introduction of the research project and the purpose of the interview, and interviewees were informed about the confidential nature of the interviews. It was emphasised that the interviews were voluntary and that the participants could always choose not to answer specific questions or withdraw from the interviews (Bryman 2016:497). Afterwards, the interviewees were asked about their expertise, their field of knowledge and their organisation's work in Bidibidi/Kampala. Based on their response, the pre-prepared questions were adjusted to suit the context. The researcher was responsive to the participants answers throughout the interviews and ensured to follow up by asking clarifying and supplementary questions to interesting points raised by the interviewees (ibid:483-484). At the end of the interviews, the interviewees were asked if they had any additional points or comments of relevance (ibid:473-475). All interviews were recorded with the permission of the interviewees. Note-taking was kept to a minimum during the interviews since the researcher found it more important to maintain eye contact and actively show interest in what the interviewees were recounting owing to the digital format of the interviews. Immediately after the interviews, the researcher noted down important information from the interviews in addition to the researcher's reflections. The notes helped the researcher keeping track of the different interviews and remembering the non-verbal aspects that were not picked up in the audio recordings (Punch 2014:151). All interviews lasted between 40 to 60 minutes and they were all conducted in English.

5.4.3. Thematic Analysis

The audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed word by word to get a written record of the interviews. Microsoft 365's transcription feature was used for this to save time, but the transcripts were reviewed in person against the original audio recordings for accuracy to minimise transcription errors. A thematic analysis method was used to analyse the transcribed interviews and sort the data into broad themes (Bryman 2016:586-588). The qualitative analysis software Atlas.ti was used for this purpose. The transcripts were each coded in three

rounds. Firstly, initial codes were assigned to the data to organise the different sections and identify common patterns and concepts (Punch 2014:173-176). The initial codes were generated deductively based on the conceptual framework and the researcher's existing knowledge from the literature review and systematic literature review. Accordingly, the generation of codes was based on the researcher's judgement, so to increase rigour, transparency and consistency, a codebook with a priori codes was developed before the analysis to guide the coding process (Mackieson et al. 2018:973). The codebook with a priori codes is included in Appendix E. After the initial deductive coding process, words, sentences and paragraphs of relevance to the research questions that emerged in the transcripts were coded inductively and re-occurring codes and patterns were combined into higher-order pattern codes. The pattern codes were reciprocally translated between the transcripts and compared to the initial codes and subsequently, organized into groups. By grouping and examining the interconnections between the pattern codes, themes were generated (Bryman 2016:588; Mihas 2019:6-7). Next, the identified themes were reviewed against the transcripts and initial codes and lastly, the themes were named and explained. A total of five themes were generated in the analysis. Each of them is addresses and explained in turn in the Analysis and Findings chapter.

5.5. Positionality

The researcher of this study acknowledges that his positionality influences the research process and his interpretation of the collected data in several ways. Therefore, it has been essential for the researcher to use a reflexive approach and be open and transparent about how his personal position might have impacted the study (Holmes 2020:1-3). The researcher has visited Uganda on earlier occasions and lived in Uganda's neighbouring country Tanzania in 2017. This has incontestably influenced the researcher's worldview and formed the basis of his interest in the topic and the particular study site. In addition, the researcher has worked as an intern in the Danish NGO DanChurchAid (DCA) where he among other things was engaged in projects related to food security in East African countries including Uganda. The researcher has made use of his affiliation to DCA in the sampling process for relevant key informants by drawing on their network of relevant contacts in Uganda. Purposive sampling is always prone to researcher bias and exposed to sampling errors by the researcher, so to enhance the level of reliability, the researcher reached out to experts and informants with a wide range of backgrounds in addition to those identified by DCA (Bryman 2016:408-410). Throughout the study, the researcher kept a reflective diary which ensured continuous self-reflection and

helped the researcher to identify his personality and locate his views and beliefs in relation to the study context (Scheyvens 2014:60-62).

5.6. Justification of Methodological Choices and Ethical Considerations

In traditional food security assessments, it is common that researchers' go to the field to collect data directly from the affected households (IFRC 2006:30-31). When studying refugees there are however several ethical issues which should always be considered and kept in mind. According to Joan E. Sieber who is a specialist in scientific ethics "[r]esearch on refugee populations poses some of the most difficult ethical and methodological challenges in the field of human research" (Sieber 2009:2). This is due to their particular vulnerability and often traumatic antecedents. COVID-19 has further exacerbated their vulnerability, so the researcher did not find it ethically justifiable to undertake fieldwork in Uganda. Consequently, the study adapted to remote work to minimise the spread of COVID-19. Getting in contact with a representative sample of refugee households in Uganda through online means is a difficult task that is out of the scope of this thesis. Therefore, online interviews with key informants, who are already present in Uganda, were found suitable since they rendered possible valuable explanations and descriptions of relevance to the research questions without compromising on the safety of the refugees. Since it can be difficult to select a diverse and representative sample of key informants, the researcher found it important to use methodological triangulation to reduce biases and improve the validity of the study. The systematic literature review was therefore chosen to complement the primary data collection, since it by synthesising the findings from the most relevant studies on the topic was found to be particularly beneficial in providing a comprehensive understanding of the issue (IFRC 2006:25-26). It would also be relevant to apply quantitative methods to the study of refugees' food security in Uganda. They were however opted out of this study due to the lack of available secondary quantitative data and since the researcher deemed it too difficult to gather primary quantitative data remotely.

5.7. Research Limitations

A general limitation of this study is that the comparative case study design and specific focus on Kampala and Bidibidi in the primary data collection diminish the ability to generate insights beyond these two cases. Consequently, the overall generalizability and external validity of the study is considered low, and the conclusions cannot be applied to other countries and contexts (Bryman 2016:67, 399). Another limitation is that the study included only a limited number of key informants owing to a low response rate. A larger and more diverse sample size would be

preferable to ensure more accurate and less biased results (ibid:417-418). Moreover, since the affected refugee households and communities were not interviewed, it is not possible to say anything about how they perceive the issue of food insecurity themselves, so the findings of this study are exclusively based on general tendencies. Lastly, it is important to keep in mind that food security is affected by a range of factors aside from COVID-19. The impacts of COVID-19 on food security should therefore not be seen in isolation. This study presumes that COVID-19 is exacerbating and intensifying existing vulnerable situations, but the direct impacts of weather shocks, conflicts etc. on food security are not examined as such.

6.0. Analysis and Findings

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section, the identified themes and synthesized findings from the systematic literature review and thematic synthesis are presented and explained, and in the second section, the themes and main findings from the thematic analysis of the key informant interviews are outlined and explained. The similarities and differences in the findings from the different analyses are discussed in the Discussion chapter.

6.1. Findings from the Systematic Literature Review and Thematic Synthesis

During the thematic synthesis, the descriptive themes were grouped based on the two review questions. The themes are illustrated in Figure 6.1.

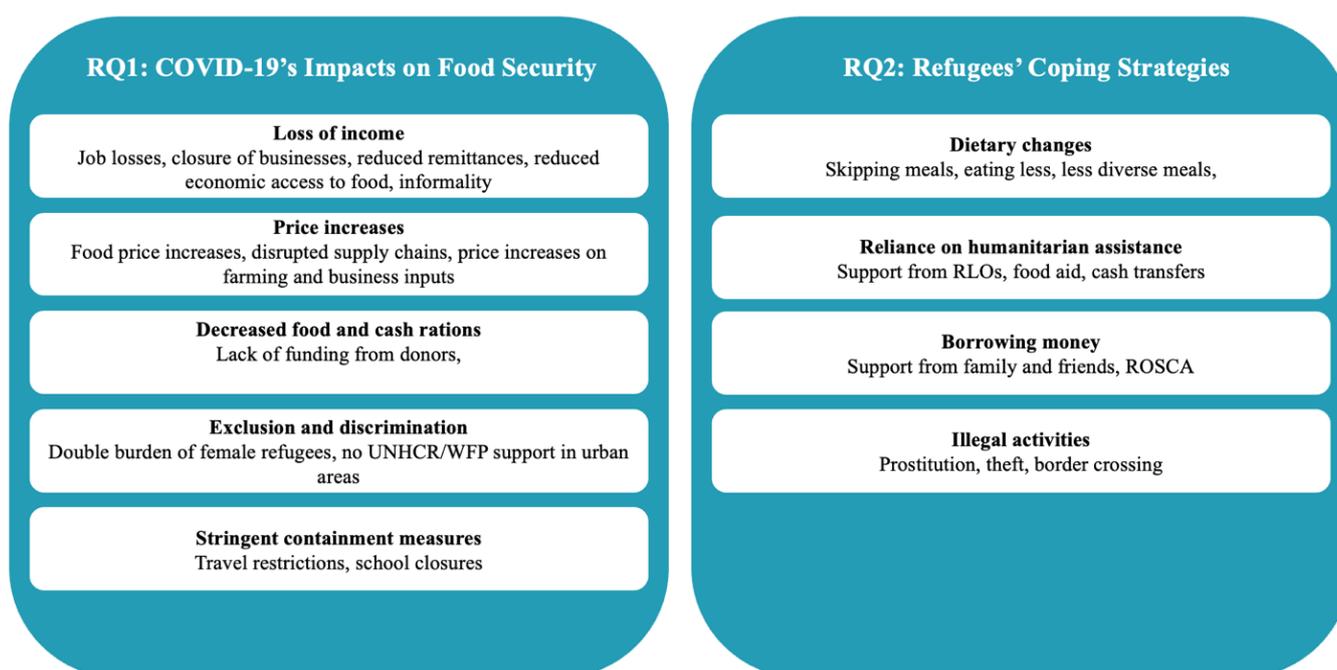


Figure 6.1. Descriptive Themes Grouped on the Basis of the Different Review Questions

As can be seen, many of the descriptive themes are interconnected. A brief account of each theme is provided in the following paragraphs and subsequently, the interpretative explanations that go beyond findings in the original studies are presented.

6.1.1. Descriptive Themes

Loss of Income

The loss of income among refugees was highlighted in the selected studies as a major cause of food insecurity because it adversely affects refugees' ability to purchase food. The main reason for this was the enforced lockdown from March to June 2020 that resulted in job losses and business closures, but even after the lockdown measures were eased, it has been reported that refugees' incomes are substantially lower compared to pre-pandemic times. For example, it has been found in a World Bank study that the share of refugee households in Uganda who during a 30-day study period ran out of food as a result of lack of income has increased from 61% in 2018 to 85% at the end of 2020 (Atamanov et al. 2021:12).

Urban-based refugees appear to be the worst-affected in terms of losing income during the lockdown. Among other things, because they to a greater extent are engaged in the service sector, which has been among the hardest-hit sectors in the country, as opposed to refugees in settlements where the majority are engaged in the less affected agricultural sector (Atamanov et al. 2021:7-8; UNHCR 2020d:2; NRC 2020:20). Urban refugees have thus to a greater extent been hit by reduced working hours, temporary cessations of work and job losses. Moreover, most urban refugees are dependent on remittances from relatives outside Uganda, but since COVID-19 has impacted livelihood activities in all parts of the world, the flow of remittances to Uganda has declined substantially (Bukuluki et al. 2020:3).

Price Increases

Rising prices on food and agricultural inputs are among the most recurring themes across the studies and articles. In a household survey from Kiryandongo Settlement 97% of the respondents report significant increases in food prices, and in a World Bank study from Kampala, West Nile sub-region and South West Uganda, it is found that price increases of food items have been the most common shock among refugee households (World Bank 2021:8, Stein et al. 2020a:20).

Decreased Food and Cash Rations

The theme of aid cuts recurs in all the studies covering Ugandan refugee settlements. Since COVID-19 is a global pandemic, donor countries have also been hit hard and consequently, it has been difficult for UNHCR and WFP to get funding to support refugees. Consequently, WFP has been forced to cut food assistance by 40% and basic food rations and cash assistance for food purchases are now only distributed every second month (Babirye 2021: para. 4; Betts et al. 2020:4; Stein et al. 2020b:20). Settlement-based refugees who were already vulnerable to food insecurity before the pandemic are thus much more dependent on their own farming activities and sources of livelihood.

Exclusion and Discrimination

While the cuts in food rations have had major impacts on refugees' food security in settlements, it is noteworthy that urban refugees are expected to be completely self-reliant, and thus are excluded from all WFP and UNHCR humanitarian assistance programs. Likewise, refugees in urban areas are generally excluded from food distributions by the government of Uganda and the local authorities (Betts et al. 2020:1). Another recurrent issue highlighted in the texts is that female-headed refugee households generally have been hit harder than male-headed refugee household by the loss of livelihoods due to a general gender gap in educational attainment which entails that women and particularly single mothers are more dependent on insecure informal employment opportunities than their male counterparts (World Bank 2021:8; NRC 2020:19).

Stringent Containment Measures

Although the complete lockdown of Uganda was eased in June 2020, many coronavirus restrictions are still in place. Many schools are still closed and consequently, both Ugandan and refugee children cannot access free in-school meals with malnutrition and further pressure on their families as a result (Stein et al. 2020b:6; Atamanov et al. 2021:17). Movement restrictions and public transport closures have also affected refugees particularly hard. Among other things because many casual labour activities cannot operate. For instance, all boda boda² drivers have been out of work from March to October 2020, and today the boda boda industry is still regulated with stringent requirements that many refugees cannot meet. The drivers are for example only allowed to carry one passenger at a time and they are required to take the

² Boda bodas are motorcycle taxis that are widely used as means of public transport in Uganda

passenger's temperature, but a thermometer is expensive and not affordable by all drivers who have not earned an income for several months (Stein et al. 2020c:2; Gato 2020: para. 2).

Dietary Changes

The most cited coping strategy among refugees in both urban areas and settlements is dietary change by reducing meal sizes, eating less diverse diets and skipping meals (Kansiime et al. 2021:6). In a study from Kiryandongo Settlement, it is for instance reported that 43% of the adults in the surveyed refugee households were having one or more days in each week without eating any food (Stein et al. 2020c:7). Clearly, this is very unhealthy and may cause severe undernourishment which makes the refugees more vulnerable to serious diseases and death.

Reliance on Humanitarian Assistance

Since the livelihood activities of the majority of refugees in Uganda have been affected severely by the pandemic, more and more refugee households have become completely reliant on humanitarian assistance for their survival. While WFP and UNHCR are the largest providers of aid in refugee settlements, smaller refugee-led organisations (RLOs) and local NGOs have raised their cash assistance and food distribution to refugees in urban areas significantly to accommodate their acute needs (Betts et al. 2020:1, 4).

Borrowing Money

Another significant coping strategy among both urban-based refugees and settlement-based refugees has been to borrow money from either family members or saving groups and loan associations. In Kampala, as much as 88% of the borrowers have reported that their main reason for borrowing money has been to buy food. In settlements, the occurrence of borrowing money is lower due to the WFP food rations, but nonetheless, 38% of the refugees in settlements in West Nile sub-region have borrowed money to cope (World Bank 2021:21).

Illegal Activities

Engaging in illegal activities is not among the most cited themes in the studies and articles, but there are a few specific activities that recur. Firstly, it is highlighted that the level of prostitution has increased in both settlements and urban areas, which could indicate that both Ugandans and refugees have turned to sex work amid the COVID-19 crisis to earn an income and access food (Babirye 2021: para. 3). The other illegal coping strategy that is emphasised is that some settlement-based refugees break with movement restrictions and cross the borders to South

Sudan and DR Congo at night to steal food. Aside from being illegal, it is also a potentially fatal activity and a source of conflict (ibid: para. 6).

6.1.2. Interpretative Explanations

To generate analytical and interpretative explanations that go beyond the original findings in the selected studies and articles, the descriptive themes were analysed and interpreted on the basis of the realm of understanding of food security provided in the conceptual framework, and the descriptive themes were rearranged based on an urban-settlement comparison. Three main synthesised findings emerged in this process:

Food Insecurity is Worse in Urban Areas

None of the selected studies are making the urban-settlement comparison in terms of the impacts of COVID-19 on food security. However, by synthesising the original findings from the different studies and articles, it seems clear that refugees in urban areas generally are the most food insecure and worst-affected in terms of livelihood losses for a number of reasons. First and foremost, because the urban-based refugees are not receiving any official food and cash assistance from WFP and UNHCR like their settlement-based counterparts and secondly, because they to a greater extent are engaged with informal service sector jobs, which have been more severely affected by the restrictions put in place by the government of Uganda, than jobs in the agricultural sector. In addition, the costs of living are generally much higher in urban areas than in settlements since urban refugee households have to pay rents, medical costs etc. (Gato 2020: para. 2). In settlements, on the other hand, most refugees have access to free housing and a small plot of land for subsistence agriculture, and UNHCR support programs offer access to health care services. Consequently, it has been more challenging for urban refugees to meet basic needs during the pandemic, and many have been pushed into extreme poverty and into acute food insecurity (Atamanov et al. 2021:12). Generally, COVID-19 has exposed that urban refugees are not as self-reliant as they are expected to be by the government of Uganda and UNHCR.

Lack of Access to Food

Secondly, it was found in the thematic synthesis that the main cause of acute food insecurity for both urban and settlement-based refugees in Uganda, since the advent of COVID-19 in March 2020, is the lack of economic access to food. The combined loss of livelihood income and price increases on food and other basic necessities has had devastating impacts on refugees'

ability to access food. The majority of refugees in Uganda were already before the pandemic living from hand to mouth being dependent on informal employment as daily wage workers. Thus, very few refugees have any savings to draw on (Kansiime et al. 2021:9). Accordingly, it is found that food insecurity during the pandemic mainly has been caused by refugees' inability to access sufficient food due to poverty and livelihood losses. This is particularly valid for refugees in urban areas, as accounted for above, where the availability of food on the market has been affected minimally. The availability aspect of food security has, however, played a larger part in the settlements since they, due to their remote locations, generally are more vulnerable to COVID-19-induced shortages of food as a result of disruptions in food supply chains and food aid flows (Kansiime et al. 2021:2).

Refugees' physical access to food has also been affected substantially due to movement restrictions, curfews and closures of public transportation including boda bodas. In urban areas, for instance, where many refugees are living in informal settlements on the outskirts of the cities, it has not been possible for all refugees to access markets or get to the food distribution sites operated by RLOs and NGOs (Atamanov et al. 2021:16). Similarly, some settlement-based refugee households who own or lease land outside the settlements have not been able to access their crops due to the restrictions on movements in and out of the settlements³.

Alarming Use of Negative Coping Strategies

As many refugee households have lost their jobs, experienced significantly reduced incomes and been pushed into acute food insecurity, many have been forced to turn to crisis-level coping strategies to maintain a minimum food intake to survive. It is a clear tendency in both urban areas and settlements that refugees have been resorting to severe food-based coping strategies with major consequences for their health and nutritional status. In the most severe cases, refugees are having several days a week without eating anything. Other widely applied coping strategies such as relying on debt or selling livestock also have major long-term implications for the future lives of the refugees. By selling or pawning productive assets such as motorcycles, sewing machines, bicycles etc. refugees lose their means of income and they are left even more exposed to potential future negative shocks and crises (Kansiime et al. 2021:6).

It is generally clear from the studies and articles, that refugees in both urban settings and

³ Some refugee households share land areas for agriculture outside the settlement with the locals from the host community through informal land sharing agreements

settlements fear hunger more than getting infected by COVID-19 and that they increasingly have turned to more desperate actions to ensure their survival.

6.2. Findings from the Key Informant Interviews and Thematic Analysis

The findings from the thematic analysis of the key informant interviews are summarized in the following themes: Self-Reliance and Dependency, Access and Affordability, Mobility and Food Security, Refugees and Host Communities, and Intra-Household Dynamics and Gendered Outcomes. For each theme, the contexts of Bidibidi and Kampala are compared, and essential new information is highlighted. Extracted quotations from the interviews are used to support the findings and ensure transparency in the analytical process.

Self-Reliance and Dependency

Firstly, it has been found that refugees in both Kampala and Bidibidi despite the country's progressive self-reliance model generally are far from being self-sufficient in terms of food and livelihoods. In Bidibidi, where refugee households have been given a small plot of land for subsistence farming, it is highlighted that refugees were far from being able to fend for themselves already before the pandemic:

“The refugees are only given a 30-metre-square plot of land, which is only enough for a small shelter and a few types of vegetables. It is not enough to feed the households, that on average are comprised of six members” (Informant 4).

Accordingly, the Bidibidi-based refugees were already highly dependent on food assistance for their survival before the pandemic, so when food rations were cut by 40% it had devastating impacts on the refugees' already vulnerable food security situations. A CDC development program manager in Bidibidi explains:

“Now food is only distributed every second month, but sometimes the rations last only for two weeks. We see many refugee families who don't have any food at all, and people are getting more and more desperate” (Informant 1).

Thus, the availability of food stocks in the settlement has been very low since March 2020 and the situation has not got better since WFP still lacks the necessary funds (Informant 3).

In Kampala, where self-settled refugees are expected to be able to take care of themselves, most refugees were able to maintain a livelihood from manual jobs in factories and jobs in the informal service sector before COVID-19, but during the lockdown, where almost all non-food sectors of society were shut, the refugees were severely affected. Most refugees did not have any savings and the flow of remittances decreased considerably, so although the Kampala-based refugees generally were more self-sufficient than the Bidi-Bidi based refugees before the lockdown, the majority became completely dependent on assistance from RLOs and NGOs when they were not able to earn an income as a result of the lockdown (Informant 2 and 5). A project director from JRS Uganda explains:

“As I see it, the dependency on aid among refugees in Kampala has increased significantly. In JRS we assisted 41,000 refugees in Kampala during the lockdown. That is half of the city’s refugee population and four times as many as we usually serve in a year. The assistance was however still inadequate to meet the needs of the refugees” (Informant 2).

Access and Affordability

Whereas low availability of food items has been a major problem in Bidibidi since WFP cut their rations, it has not been an important issue in Kampala:

“Being in Kampala, being in an urban area, food is available and physically accessible on the market. The issue is that it is not affordable for the refugees and vulnerable groups of society.” (Informant 4)

As highlighted, the main food security issue in Kampala is related to the refugees’ substantially reduced household purchasing power and thus limited access to food. As in the systematic literature review and thematic synthesis, it is found that the refugees’ lack of income due to job losses in combination with increased prices on food and other basic necessities are the main reasons for this. During the first weeks of the lockdown, prices on basic food staple commodities including maize, rice and beans increased by more than 20%, but since then the prices have slowly stabilised although they remain higher than average pre-pandemic prices (Informant 2). As a result of reduced purchasing power, most refugees had to prioritise buying cheaper and less nutritious food and they were forced to skip meals. YARID’s Protection Officer explains:

“During the lockdown, the refugees didn’t care about what kind of food they ate – the only important thing was to get something to eat. It was about survival” (Informant 7).

The food security situation among Kampala-based refugees is better today owing to the reopening of society, but many are still unemployed, and most businesses are struggling since the purchasing power is still low. The statement is however still very valid for the refugees in Bidibidi. Even before the pandemic, about 80% of the refugees in the settlement were living below the international poverty line of US\$ 1.90 per person per day and the main source of income was to sell part of their food rations to buy essential non-food items and other types of food such as vegetables and fruits (Informant 3 and 4). Accordingly, since their rations have been cut and their opportunities of earning an additional income have been limited by the lockdown and restrictions, more and more households in the settlement are suffering from extreme famine in addition to extreme poverty (Informant 6). The severity of the situation is highlighted by a DCA’s Program Management Specialist in the settlement:

“Many refugees have sold their productive assets to get money – For example, one of our beneficiaries had a hair salon, but when the shop was shut down, he had to sell his electric razor to afford food and support his family. In the worst cases, people have committed suicide. In DCA we have had two cases of our beneficiaries who committed suicide during the pandemic because of frustrations” (Informant 3).

Mobility and Food Security

Freedom of movement is one of the things that set Uganda’s refugee strategy apart from others. Public and private transport was however prohibited during the lockdown and today, there are still social distancing requirements that result in significantly increased prices on public transportation. This has had major impacts on refugees in both Bidibidi and Kampala. In Bidibidi, it is found that many unemployed refugees before the pandemic were crossing in and out of South Sudan to harvest crops in the fields, they left behind to earn a small income on the market and to supplement the food distributed to them (Informant 1, 3 and 6). Aside from being outlawed with the imposed cross-border and movement restrictions, it has also been very difficult to continue this practice due to the suspension of boda bodas and private vehicles. The border has not opened yet, but some refugees have managed to go there at night, but the journey is not without risks (Informant 1 and 3). Additionally, refugees who worked as street vendors,

boda boda drivers etc. in nearby villages have been out of work for several months, since it was not possible to leave the settlement.

In Kampala, the issue of limited mobility has naturally also affected refugees' possibilities of working. The most interesting finding is however that many Kampala-based refugees used to go back to settlements when food rations were distributed before the pandemic, but that has not been possible during the lockdown (Informant 5 and 7):

“Some urban refugees have found a loophole in the refugee policy, so they live in Kampala, but are officially registered in a settlement so that they can come back and get food rations. The tracking system is not so strict. It has however not been possible for them during the lockdown, so that has affected some refugee households' food security as well” (Informant 5).

This further indicates that self-settled urban refugees already before the pandemic were not as independent and self-sufficient as they were expected to be.

Refugees and Host Communities

A recurring theme in the interviews with the key informants who possessed knowledge about Bidibidi was how the social relationships between refugees and host communities have been affected by low food security (Informant 1, 4 and 6). Uganda's ReHOPE strategy has generally proved successful, but it has been challenged during the pandemic and tensions have in many cases increased between refugees internally, but also between refugees and locals. Here it should be noted that Bidibidi covers an area of 250 km² which is about ten times the size of Lund Municipality, so it is clear that the situations differ from zone to zone, but there are still some general tendencies. For instance, it has been found that many vulnerable groups of the neighbouring host communities also suffer from shortages of food and have expressed deep resentment over not receiving the same kind of food support as the refugees (Informant 6). The Managing Director of the RLO Hope for Refugees in Action explains:

“Normally at least 30% of our refugee programs and interventions target the needs of the host communities. That is a general principle followed by UNHCR and the humanitarian organisations here. It does however not apply to food assistance, so many

locals who can no longer afford to buy food are frustrated and some are even denying the refugees access to their allocated land outside the settlement” (Informant 6).

The refugees and locals live in the same environments and share the same natural resources, but during the pandemic, many locals have denied the refugees to go to the bush and forests to look for firewood and food since they want the refugees to buy their products instead of exploiting their land. This has caused many conflicts and fights and both refugees and locals have been beaten and killed as a result (Informant 1, 3 and 6). There are however also many refugees and locals who have established good relations, and some refugee households have been given temporary access to land for farming by host community landlords (Informant 1 and 6).

Another major issue raised by informant 3, 4 and 6 is that of early and forced marriages. This is not a new phenomenon in Bidibidi and Uganda, but the rates have increased substantially during the pandemic. Many underage refugee girls who are out of school due to the pandemic have been forced into marriage with more socioeconomically advantaged locals to ease the refugee families’ food insecurity challenges.

“Some of the young refugee ladies are getting married to people from the host communities so that there are fewer mouths to feed in the refugee households and so that they can earn a little income” (Informant 3).

Whether this also applies to young refugee girls in Kampala has not been ascertained. The theme of social relationships between refugees and locals is generally less frequent described by the key informants who are based in- and possess knowledge about Kampala. This indicates that the refugees and locals to a greater extent live and coexist side by side peacefully in Kampala.

Intra-Household Dynamics and Gendered Outcomes

In Kampala, it is found that female refugees and young children generally have suffered more than men from food insecurity (Informant 2 and 7). Among other things because of imbalanced intra-household allocations of food. Most refugee households in the city are run by males and in some of them, it is common that the man is given priority in terms of food since he is often the main income earner in the family:

“Uganda is a patriarchal society, so the main responsibilities lie with the man. Therefore, at household level, if there is limited food, the man is generally eating first, and the wives and the children get the leftovers. Therefore, it has been a major problem that children have not been able to go to school and get school meals” (Informant 7).

In Bidibidi this food allocation pattern is similar in male-led households, but it should be noted that more than 85% of the refugees in the settlement are women and children and consequently, most households are female-headed (Informant 4). Whether this entails a more equal distribution of food between the family members is however unknown.

7.0. Discussion

In this chapter, the findings are discussed and put into relation with the literature review and conceptual framework. The first part of the chapter deals with the first research question and discusses the main similarities and differences of COVID-19’s impact on food security on refugees in Kampala and Bidibidi, whereas the second part focuses on the second research question and discusses the findings of the applied coping strategies in the different settings. The foundation of the discussion is the findings specifically about the refugees in Kampala and Bidibidi, but the results that differ from the general tendencies in Ugandan cities and settlements as identified through the thematic synthesis are highlighted and discussed.

7.1. COVID-19’s Impacts on Food Security in Kampala and Bidibidi

Whether refugees in Bidibidi or refugees in Kampala have been affected the hardest in terms of food insecurity by the pandemic is hard to determine accurately based on the interviews with the key informants. Clearly, both groups have been affected severely by food insecurity as a result of the pandemic, but the underlying causes differ in several ways. By using the pillars of food security as a framework to disentangle the main causes, it is clear from the interviews that the main issue in Bidibidi is the lack of sufficient quantities of food since the refugees generally are not able to produce enough food for themselves and have been extremely affected by the reduced food assistance. The main cause is thus related to supply-side factors and the availability dimension of food security, although the physical- and economic access dimensions also come into play. In the thematic synthesis, it is found that the economic access dimension is more important than the availability dimension in settlements (Kansiime et al. 2021:2). The different findings can be due to Bidibidi’s very remote location far from any large

commercial centres, whereas settlements such as Rhino Camp and Nakivale are located close to Arua city and Mbarara city respectively. Thus, it is likely that refugees in these settlements to a greater extent are engaged with informal trade activities that were severely affected during the lockdown, whereas most Bidibidi-based refugees generally are earning their livelihood within the settlement. Moreover, it is worth noting that the land in settlements such as Kyangwali is better suited for agricultural production than land in West Nile sub-region. The area where Bidibidi is located was for instance not used by the locals before the settlement was established since they considered it unsuitable for agriculture (Wageningen University & Research 2019:4). Additionally, the plot sizes vary between the different settlements in Uganda, and Bidibidi is the settlement with the smallest plots per household due to its large population. Therefore, it may be assumed that refugees in settlements outside West Nile sub-region to a greater extent have been able to supplement their limited WFP food rations by their own farm-produced crops, which means that the availability dimension has been less important compared to the access dimension in these settlements (Development Pathways 2020:48-59).

In Kampala, food has been available throughout the pandemic and the supply was only minimally affected at the beginning of the lockdown. The food insecurity in Kampala is thus above all an issue of not having economic access to the available food. Accordingly, the findings of this study confirm Crush (2013:68), Brown (2015:4), and Hunter-Adams' (2017:82-83) assertion that accessibility and affordability are the most vital concerns among urban refugees. As highlighted by the key informants, the situation was particularly critical in Kampala during the lockdown in 2020 and access to food was a matter of survival for many urban refugees. Yet, little support was given to the Kampala-based refugees by UNHCR and WFP. This comes, however, as no surprise owing to the general neglect of urban refugees in both academia, policy and practice as described in the literature review (Iied 2020:1-2; Crea et al. 2015:320-321, Battersby 2012:141-143; Crush 2014:543). Instead, it has mainly been local RLO's and NGO's who have taken on the responsibility of protecting and supporting the most vulnerable refugees in Kampala.

In the thematic synthesis of studies selected through the systematic literature review, it was found that refugees in urban areas generally have been the worst affected in terms of livelihood losses and food insecurity during the pandemic. It is however very hard to determine based on the interviews, whether that is also valid for Kampala when compared to the Bidibidi settlement since the main causes of food insecurity differ significantly between the two study sites.

Moreover, there is also a time perspective that should be included in such an assessment. For instance, the situation in Kampala has improved more rapidly than the situation in Bidibidi since most sectors of society have reopened and accordingly, most refugees are once again able to earn an income and buy food. It should however be noted that although the food security and livelihood situation in Kampala is better than during the lockdown, it is still worse than before the pandemic. In Bidibidi, on the other hand, the food security situation has not improved appreciably since the refugees still have to make do with only 60% of their basic relief cash or food rations (UNHCR 2021c: para. 1).

As highlighted in the literature review, Uganda's refugee-hosting policies and self-reliance models have generally been praised as exemplary by the international community (Betts et al. 2019:34-37). It is however clear from this study that refugees in Kampala are not as self-sufficient as they are expected to be by the Ugandan government and UNHCR, and likewise, it has become clear that refugees in Bidibidi are far from being able to fend for themselves, since they do not have enough land and since it is ill-suited for cultivation of food crops. Moreover, both Kampala- and Bidibidi-based refugees are dependent on external support in the form of remittances from family members or food assistance and cash transfers from international organisations and local NGOs. COVID-19 has deteriorated these issues substantially, but it is clear that the issues of food inadequacy and limited income-generating opportunities were already widespread before the pandemic. It is thus relevant to question and examine further how sustainable and viable Uganda's refugee self-reliance model is in reality.

7.2. Refugees' Livelihood and Coping Strategies

It is found that refugee households in both Kampala and Bidibidi generally have applied negative coping strategies, that threaten their future livelihoods, to cope with food hardships induced directly and indirectly by the pandemic. Especially food-based coping strategies such as reducing the number of meals and eating less diverse diets and erosive strategies such as selling productive assets have been widely used by the refugees in both study sites. This is no surprise, since the refugees belong to a particularly vulnerable group of society, and thus have low levels of resilience and lack the capacity to reduce disaster risks and manage losses sustainably (Woller et al. 2012:12-15; Chambers & Conway 1991:9-11). As found in this study, child marriages, curfew violations and non-compliance with travel restrictions have also been applied in especially Bidibidi-based refugee households as livelihood and food security coping

strategies, but these have generally received little attention in the existing literature on refugees' food security following the COVID-19 pandemic's advent in Uganda.

A surprising finding in the study is the significance of refugees' multi-dimensional mobility within and across borders in terms of securing livelihoods and ensuring food and nutrition security. The fact that refugees generally are profiting by their granted freedom to move around in the country and leave their designated settlements, which is one of the most central and exceptional aspects of Uganda's progressive Refugee Act, comes as no surprise, but it is noteworthy that Bidibidi-based refugees travel back and forth between the settlement and the fields they left behind in South Sudan to harvest their crops although the South Sudanese borderland is still very unsafe (Clements et al. 2016:49). The fact that many men are staying in South Sudan to protect their land and assets is well-known since there is a significant overrepresentation of women and female-led households in Bidibidi and other settlements in West Nile sub-region, but the significance of cross-border movements as a source of livelihoods and food security for the refugees in the settlement has generally not captured researchers' attention and the phenomenon is therefore relatively undescribed in the existing literature. During the pandemic, it has been much more difficult and riskier to leave the settlement and cross the border to South Sudan, but the findings indicate that many refugees have continued the practice and crossed the border at unofficial border crossing points to maintain their livelihoods and cope with the reductions in food assistance.

The mobility restrictions have also affected the refugees in Kampala. As opposed to the refugees in Bidibidi, they have not been able to cope by sneaking out at night and go back to either their originally designated settlements to collect food rations or to their countries of origin. The Kampala-based refugees have however been affected in a shorter period compared to the Bidibidi-based refugees since it is now possible to move around in non-border districts and thus travel back and forth to many settlements, whereas movement restrictions remain partly in place in border districts including Yumbe, where Bidibidi is located. Furthermore, the official border crossing points between Uganda and its neighbouring countries remain closed for people who do not have a negative COVID-19 test certificate, which is expensive and generally not achievable by refugees, so Bidibidi-based refugees are to a greater extent obliged to cross the border illegally and engage in risky activities to cope with food insecurity and livelihood losses (UNHCR 2021d:1).

The significance of the multi-dimensional mobility among refugees in Uganda highlights the complexity and pluriformity of refugees' livelihood and coping strategies, and it is clear from the study that both Kampala and Bidibidi-based refugees before the pandemic relied on multiple livelihood activities to earn an income and access food, and after the pandemic have combined a wide range of coping strategies simply to survive.

Lastly, it should be noted that the existing studies and articles, as identified through the systematic literature review, generally are paying little attention to the intra-household dynamics in terms of food distribution and decision-making processes regarding how to cope. This study has not been able to add much to the existing knowledge base in this regard, since it has neither been possible nor justifiable to interview refugees themselves, but it is emphasised by informant 2 and 5 that women and children in Kampala especially, have been the worst affected by food insecurity during COVID-19, which is consistent with the general perception that women and children are more vulnerable to food insecurity than men (Oxfam 2019:8).

It is clear from the study that refugees in especially Bidibidi still are experiencing extreme levels of food insecurity and it is evident that a considerable proportion of the refugees are acutely malnourished. Uganda is not able to handle the situation by itself, since their refugee model even before the pandemic was highly dependent on foreign aid. Immediate support from the international community is therefore needed if the food insecurity situation among refugees in Uganda is not to deteriorate further. Moreover, it is clear that many of the country's hard-won development and welfare outcomes which the Ugandan refugee model has led to are eroding due to the pandemic. It is for instance clear that tensions between refugees and locals have increased considerably and there is a genuine risk that the refugee-hosting areas in Uganda will become more unstable if the situation is not improving soon since both hungry refugees and locals are getting more and more desperate.

8.0. Conclusion

This study has examined COVID-19's impacts on food security for urban and settlement-based refugees with a specific focus on the situations in Kampala and Bidibidi and explored how refugees in the different contexts have coped with the lack of food. It has been found that COVID-19 has changed the lives of the refugees in both Kampala and Bidibidi significantly and that their food security has deteriorated substantially. Whether Kampala-based refugees or

Bidibidi-based refugees have been affected the hardest is hard to assess since the indirect impacts of the pandemic differ between the different setting, but it is clear that the Kampala-based refugees to a greater extent have been able to return to their usual lives compared to the Bidibidi-based refugees that still are facing extreme levels of acute food insecurity to this day.

Kampala-based refugees were affected severely by the lockdown between March and June 2020 and were hit hard by reduced working hours, temporary cessations of work and job losses. The loss of income is thus found to be the most significant cause of food insecurity among refugees in Kampala since it directly affected their possibilities of accessing food although food generally has been available on the market since the pandemic reached the country. Moreover, Kampala-based refugees have not received any official assistance from the government of Uganda, UNHCR and WFP and they have thus to a great extent been forced to fend for themselves. Refugees in Bidibidi have also been affected by the lockdown and concurrent deteriorated income-generating opportunities, but in comparison to the Kampala-based refugees, this factor has been less important. The main cause of the increased food insecurity during the pandemic in Bidibidi is instead found to be the food assistance ration cuts, which the refugees have suffered severely from.

Since the refugees in Bidibidi still have received some food assistance, as opposed to the refugees in Kampala, it is fair to think that settlement-based refugees generally have been in a better food security position compared to urban refugees as indicated by the existing studies on food security among refugees in Uganda as a result of COVID-19. This study has, however, not been able to determine for certain if that is also the case when comparing refugees in Kampala and Bidibidi specifically. Among other things because the income-generating opportunities in Bidibidi are far worse than in Kampala. The Bidibidi-based refugees were therefore already before the pandemic highly dependent on food assistance to meet their dietary needs, and it is clear that the reduced rations are not sufficient to cover their dietary needs. Moreover, since refugees in Bidibidi generally are not able to produce enough food for themselves on their allocated land, there is a significant lack of available food in the settlement. Consequently, the main causes of food insecurity in Bidibidi are related to the availability dimension of food security whereas the access dimension is the most significant in Kampala.

Both Kampala-based and Bidibidi-based refugees have applied negative coping strategies to deal with the crisis. The most commonly used are food-based coping strategies that have

serious implications for the refugees' health and nutritional status. Additionally, many refugee households have been forced to sell productive assets and some have engaged in criminal activities. Many young refugee girls have been forced into early and arranged marriages so that there are fewer mouths to feed in the refugee households and in Bidibidi, some refugees have left the settlement and crossed the border to South Sudan to steal food or go back to the land they left to gather food. Besides, there are generally no major differences between how the Kampala-based and Bidibidi-based refugees have coped with the COVID-19-induced shortfalls in food.

8.1. Future Research

A suggestion for future research could be to conduct a quantitative food security assessment through a household survey with refugee families as participants to get a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of their situation and eventually to complement it with interviews or focus group discussions to hear how they perceive the situation themselves. This should however be done with great caution due to their particular vulnerability. Furthermore, it would be interesting to compare the food security situation among refugees in Bidibidi to the situation faced by refugees in a traditional refugee camp in another country such as the Mahama Camp in Rwanda to assess Uganda's self-reliance model and its impact on refugees' livelihoods and food security during a crisis.

Wordcount: 16,497 words

Reference List⁴

Actions Against Hunger, (2020), *COVID-19 Impact: The Seeds of a Future Hunger Pandemic?*, New York City, United States of America, Available at: <https://www.actionagainsthunger.org/publication/2020/07/covid-19-impact-seeds-future-hunger-pandemic>, [Accessed March 31]

Anderson, Laura, Hadzibegovic, Diana S., Moseley, Jeanne. M., Sellen, Daniel W., (2014). Household food insecurity shows associations with food intake, social support utilization and dietary change among refugee adult caregivers resettled in the United States, *Ecology of Food and Nutrition*, Vol. 53, No. 3, pp. 312–332

*Atamanov, Aziz., Yoshida, Nobuo., Beltramo, Theresa Parrish., Rios Rivera, Laura Abril., Sarr, Ibrahima., Waita, Peter., Yoshimura, Kazusa (2021), Monitoring Social and Economic Impacts of COVID-19 on Refugees in Uganda: Results from the High-Frequency Phone Survey - First Round, *MPRA Paper*, No. 106425, pp. 1-25, World Bank, Washington DC, United States of America, Available at: <https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/106425/>, [Accessed April 14]

Ayanlade, Ayansina., Radeny, Maren (2020), COVID-19 and food security in Sub-Saharan Africa: Implications of lockdown during agricultural planting seasons, *npj Science of Food*, Vol. 4, No. 13, pp. 1-6

*Babirye, Joyce., (2021), *Effects of COVID-19 on Refugee Communities in Uganda*, Office of the Prime Minister, Kampala, Uganda, Retrieved from: <https://opm.go.ug/2020/08/21/effects-of-covid-19-on-refugee-communities-in-uganda/>, [Accessed April 14]

Bakewell, Oliver., (2014), Encampment and Self-Settlement, in Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Elena., Loescher, Gil., Long, Katy., Sigona, Nando., *The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, United Kingdom

⁴ References marked with a * have been used in the systematic literature review

Bamberger, Michael., Vaessen, Jos., Raimondo, Estelle., (2016), *Dealing with Complexity in Development Evaluation – A Practical Approach*, Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, United States of America

Battersby, Jane., (2012), Beyond the Food Desert: Finding Ways to Speak About Urban Food Security in South Africa, *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography*, Vol. 94, No. 2, pp.141–159

Battersby, Jane., (2013), Hungry Cities: A Critical Review of Urban Food Security Research in Sub-Saharan African Cities, *Geography Compass*, Vol. 7, No. 7 pp. 452–463

Betts, Alexander., Bloom, Louise., Kaplan, Josiah., Omata, Naohiko., (2014), *Refugee Economies: Rethinking Popular Assumptions*, Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford, Oxford, United Kingdom, Retrieved from: <https://www.rsc.ox.ac.uk/files/files-1/refugee-economies-2014.pdf>, [Accessed April 7]

Betts, Alexander., Chaara, Imane., Omata, Naohiko., Sterck, Olivier., (2019), *Refugee Economies in Uganda: What Difference Does the Self-Reliance Model Make?*, Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford, Oxford, United Kingdom, Available at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/uganda/refugee-economies-uganda-what-difference-does-self-reliance-model-make>, [Accessed March 31]

*Betts, Alexander., Easton-Calabria, Evan., Pincock, Kate., (2021), Localising Public Health: Refugee-led organisations as first and last responders in COVID-19, *World Development*, Vol. 139, No. 105311, pp. 1-6

Bohnet, Heidrun., Schmitz-Pranghe, Clara., (2019), *Uganda: a role model for refugee integration?*, Bonn International Center for Conversion Working Paper, No. 2, Bonn, Germany, Available at: <https://www.ssoar.info/ssoar/handle/document/62871>, [Accessed April 7]

Brown, Andrea M., (2015), Sustaining African Cities: Urban Hunger and Sustainable Development in East Africa, *The International Journal of Environmental, Cultural, Economic, and Social Sustainability: Annual Review*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 1-12

Bryman, Alan., (2016), *Social Research Methods*, 5th edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford, United Kingdom

Buckley, Robert., Kallergis, Achilles., (2014), in in Parnell, Susan., Oldfield, Sophie (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South*, pp. 173-190, Routledge, Abingdon, United Kingdom

*Bukuluki, Paul., Mwenyango, Hadijah., Katongole, Simon Peter., Sidhva, Dina., Palattiyil, George., (2020), The socio-economic and psychosocial impact of Covid-19 pandemic on urban refugees in Uganda, *Social Sciences & Humanities Open*, Vol. 2, No. 100045, pp. 1-5

Burchi, Francesco., Fanzo, Jessica., Frison, Emile., (2011), The Role of Food and Nutrition System Approaches in Tackling Hidden Hunger, *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 358-373

Burchi, Francesco., De Muro, Pasquale., (2012), *A Human Development and Capability Approach to Food Security: Conceptual Framework and Informational Basis*, Working Paper 2012-009, United Nations Development Programme, Regional Bureau for Africa, New York, United States of America, Available at:

<https://www.undp.org/content/dam/rba/docs/Working%20Papers/Capability%20Approach%20Food%20Security.pdf>, [Accessed April 4]

CFS, Committee on World Food Security., (2012), *Coming to Terms with Terminology: Food Security, Nutrition Security, Food Security and Nutrition, Food and Nutrition Security*, Rome, Italy, Retrieved from: <http://www.fao.org/3/MD776E/MD776E.pdf>, [Accessed April 4]

Chambers, Robert., Conway, Gordon R., (1991), Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: Practical Concepts for the 21st Century, *IDS Discussion Paper*, Vol. 296, pp. 1-33, Brighton, United Kingdom, Available from: <https://www.ids.ac.uk/publications/sustainable-rural-livelihoods-practical-concepts-for-the-21st-century/#:~:text=Discussion%20Paper%3B296-,Sustainable%20Rural%20Livelihoods%3A%20Practical%20Concepts%20for%20the%2021st%20Century,the%20concept%20of%20sustainable%20livelihoods>, [Accessed April 4]

Chikanda, Abel., Crush, Jonathan., Tawodzera, Godfrey., (2020), Migration and Food Security in Cities of the Global South, *Hungry Cities Partnership Discussion Paper*, No. 41, Waterloo, Canada, Cape Town, South Africa, Available at:

<https://hungrycities.net/publication/hcp-discussion-paper-no-41-migration-food-security-cities-global-south/>, [Accessed April 8]

Clements, Kelly T., Shoffner, Timothy., Zamore, Leah., (2016), Uganda's approach to refugee self-reliance, *Forced Migration Review*, Vol. 52, pp. 49-51

Concern Worldwide, Welthungerhilfe., (2019), Global Hunger Index: *Uganda - A Closer Look at Hunger and Undernutrition*, Dublin, Ireland, Bonn, Germany, Retrieved from: <https://www.globalhungerindex.org/case-studies/2018-uganda.html>, [Accessed April 11]

Crea, Thomas M., Calvo, Rocío., Loughry, Maryanne., (2015), Refugee Health and Wellbeing: Differences between Urban and Camp-Based Environments in Sub-Saharan Africa, *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 319-330

Creswell, John W., Creswell, J. David., (2018), *Research Design – Qualitative, Quantitative & Mixed Methods Approaches*, 5th edition, Sage Publishing, London, United Kingdom

Crush, Jonathan., (2013), Linking Food Security, Migration and Development, *International Migration*, Vol. 51, No. 5, pp. 61-75

Crush, Jonathan., (2014), Approaching food security in cities of the global south, in Parnell, Susan., Oldfield, Sophie (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook on Cities of the Global South*, pp. 543-555, Routledge, Abingdon, United Kingdom

Crush, Jonathan., Tawodzera, Godfrey., (2016), Migration and Food Security: Zimbabwean Migrants in Urban South Africa, *Urban Food Security Series*, No. 23, pp. 1-54, African Food Security Urban Network (AFSUN), Cape Town, South Africa, Retrieved from:

<https://scholars.wlu.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1022&context=afsun>, [Accessed April 7]

Crush, Jonathan., Battersby, Jane., (2016), *Rapid Urbanisation, Urban Food Deserts and Food Security in Africa*, Springer International Publishing, Waterloo, Canada, Cape Town, South Africa

Development Pathways, (2020), *Analysis of Refugee Vulnerability in Uganda – 2020*, London, United Kingdom, Retrieved from: https://www.developmentpathways.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/WFP_DP-Analysis-Uganda-Refugees.pdf, [Accessed March 28]

DRC, Danish Refugee Council., DDG, Danish Demining Group., ECHO, European Commission's Directorate-General for European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations., SC, Save the Children., ZOA., (2018), *Contested Refuge: The political economy and conflict dynamics in Uganda's Bidi Bidi refugee Settlement*, Copenhagen, Denmark, Brussels, Belgium, London, United Kingdom, Apeldoorn, The Netherlands, Available at: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/66344>, [Accessed April 11]

Drèze Jean., Sen, Amartya., (1989), *Hunger and Public Action*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, United Kingdom

Efrat Efron, Sara., Ravid, Ruth., (2019), *Writing the Literature Review: A Practical Guide*, Guilford Press, New York City, United States of America

EIU, The Economist Intelligence Unit, (2020), *Global Food Security Index 2019 - Strengthening food systems and the environment through innovation and investment*, London, United Kingdom, Available at: <https://foodsecurityindex.eiu.com/Resources>, [Accessed April 11]

FAO, Food and Agriculture Organization, (1983), *World Food Security: A Reappraisal of the Concepts and Approaches - Director General's Report*, Rome, Italy, Available at: <https://agris.fao.org/agris-search/search.do?recordID=XF8333115>, [Accessed April 3]

FAO, Food and Agriculture Organization, (2006), *Food Security, FAO Policy Brief, No. 2*, Rome, Italy, Retrieved from: http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/faoitally/documents/pdf/pdf_Food_Security_Coecept_Note.pdf, [Accessed April 12]

FAO, Food and Agriculture Organization, (2018), *Food security, resilience and well-being analysis of refugees and host communities in northern Uganda*, Rome, Italy, Retrieved from: <http://www.fao.org/3/i9708en/I9708EN.pdf>, [Accessed March 28]

FAO, Food and Agriculture Organization, (2021), *Crop Prospects and Food Situation - Quarterly Global Report No. 1*, Rome, Italy, Retrieved from: <http://www.fao.org/3/cb3672en/cb3672en.pdf>, [Accessed April 10]

FSIN, Food Security Information Network, (2020), *2020 Global report on food crises - Joint analysis for better decisions*, Rome, Italy & Washington DC, United States of America, Retrieved from: https://www.fsinplatform.org/sites/default/files/resources/files/GRFC_2020_ONLINE_200420.pdf, [Accessed April 4]

*Gato, Joshua., (2020), The effects of COVID-19 Lockdown on Urban Refugees in Kampala, *Der FluchtforschungsBlog*, Kampala, Uganda, Retrieved from: <https://blog.fluchtforschung.net/covid-19-lockdown-on-urban-refugees-in-kampala/>, [Accessed April 14]

Holmes, Andrew Gary Darwin., (2020), Researcher Positionality - A Consideration of Its Influence and Place in Qualitative Research - A New Researcher Guide, *International Journal of Education*, Vol. 8, No. 4, pp. 1-10

Hunter-Adams, Jo, (2017), Exploring Perceptions of the Food Environment Amongst Congolese, Somalis and Zimbabweans Living in Cape Town, *International Migration*, Vol. 55, No. 4, pp. 78-87

IIED, International Institute for Environment and Development, (2020), *Realigning responses to protracted displacement in an urban world*, London, United Kingdom, Retrieved from: <https://pubs.iied.org/sites/default/files/pdfs/migrate/10887IIED.pdf>, [Accessed April 6]

IFRC, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, (2006), *How to Conduct a Food Security Assessment*, 2nd edition, Geneva, Switzerland, Retrieved from:

https://www.ifrc.org/Global/Publications/disasters/food_security/fs-assessment.pdf,

[Accessed April 22]

Iican, Suzan., Oliver, Marcia., Connoy, Laura., (2015), Humanitarian assistance and the politics of self-reliance: Uganda's Nakivale refugee settlement, *CIGI Papers*, No. 86, CIGI, Centre for International Governance Innovation, Waterloo, Canada, Retrieved from:

https://www.cigionline.org/sites/default/files/cigi_paper_no.86.pdf, [Accessed April 11]

IOM, International Organization for Migration, WFP, World Food Programme, (2020), *Populations at risk: Implications of COVID-19 for hunger, migration and displacement - An analysis of food security trends in major migration hotspots*, Grand-Saconnex, Switzerland, Retrieved from:

https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/populations_at_risk_-_implications_of_covid-19_for_hunger_migration_and_displacement.pdf, [Accessed March 31]

IOM, International Organization for Migration, (2020), *Africa Migration Report: Challenging the Narrative*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Retrieved from:

<https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/africa-migration-report.pdf>, [Accessed April 5]

IPC, The Integrated Food Security Phase Classification, (2015), *Report of the Integrated Food Security Phase Classification – Chronic Analysis for Uganda*, Nairobi, Kenya, Retrieved from:

http://www.ipcinfo.org/fileadmin/user_upload/ipcinfo/docs/IPC_Uganda_ChronicFI_Situation_Feb2015-2018.pdf, [Accessed March 28]

IPC, The Integrated Food Security Phase Classification, (2020), *Overview of the IPC Acute Food Insecurity and Acute Malnutrition analyses of Karamoja area, urban areas, refugee settlements and host community districts*, Nairobi, Kenya, Retrieved from:

https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/IPC_Uganda_AcuteFoodInsec_AcuteMalnutrition_2020June2021Jan.pdf, [Accessed April 12]

IRC, International Rescue Committee, (2012), *International Rescue Committee Urban Refugees - The city is the new refugee camp*, New York, United States of America, Retrieved

from: <https://www.rescue-uk.org/sites/default/files/document/986/201112urbanrefsforechoadvocacyevent0.pdf>,
[Accessed April 7]

IRC, International Rescue Committee, (2018), *Urban Refuge How Cities Are Building Inclusive Communities*, New York, United States of America, Retrieved from:
<https://www.rescue.org/sites/default/files/document/3273/ircurbanrefugereportlaandkampalahighspreads.pdf>, [Accessed April 11]

IRRI, International Refugee Rights Initiative, (2018), *Uganda's refugee policies: The history, the politics, the way forward*, Kampala, Uganda, Available from:
<https://reliefweb.int/report/uganda/rights-exile-policy-paper-ugandas-refugee-policies-history-politics-way-forward>, [Accessed March 27]

*Kansiime, Monica K., Tambo, Justice A., Mugambi, Idah., Bundi, Mary., Kara, Augustine., Owuor Charles., (2021), COVID-19 implications on household income and food security in Kenya and Uganda: Findings from a rapid assessment, *World Development*, Vol. 137, No. 105199, pp. 1-10

Kyed, Helene Maria., (2017), *Migrants and insecurity in urban slums*, DIIS, Danish Institute for International Studies, Copenhagen, Denmark, Retrieved from:
<https://www.diis.dk/en/research/migrants-and-insecurity-in-urban-slums>, [Accessed April 7]

Landau, Loren B., (n.d.), *FMO Research Guide: Urban Refugees*, Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford, Johannesburg, South Africa, Retrieved from:
<https://www.alnap.org/system/files/content/resource/files/main/fmo024.pdf>, [Accessed April 7]

Lozet, Florence., Easton-Calabria, Evan, (2020), Counting urban refugees during COVID-19, *Forced Migration Review - Climate crisis and local communities*, Vol. 64, pp. 79-89

Mackieson, Penny., Shlonsky, Aron., Connolly, Marie., (2018), Increasing rigor and reducing bias in qualitative research: A document analysis of parliamentary debates using applied thematic analysis, *Qualitative Social Work*, Vol. 18, No. 6, pp. 965–980

Malthus, Thomas Robert., (1798), *An Essay on the Principle of Population, as it Affects the Future Improvement of Society*, J. Johnson, London, United Kingdom

Maxwell, Simon., (1996), Food security: a post-modern perspective, *Food Policy*, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 155-170

McKay, Fiona H., Dunn, Matthew., (2015), Food security among asylum seekers in Melbourne, *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 39, No. 4, pp. 344-349

Mihos, Paul., (2019), Learn to Build a Codebook for a Generic Qualitative Study, *SAGE Research Methods Datasets*, Vol. 2, pp. 1-35, Chapel Hill, United States of America

Mokari Yamchi, Amin., Alizadeh-Sani, Mahmood., Khezerlou, Arezou., Zolfaghari Firouzsalar, Nasim., Akbari, Zahra., Ehsani, Ali., (2019), Resolving Food Security Problem with an Interdisciplinary Approach, *Journal of Nutrition, Fasting and Health*, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 132-138

Moseley, William G., Battersby, Jane., (2020), The Vulnerability and Resilience of African Food Systems, Food Security, and Nutrition in the Context of the COVID-19 Pandemic, *African Studies Review*, Vol. 63, No. 3, pp. 449-461

Muggah, Robert., Abdenur, Adriana Erthal., (2018), Refugees and the City - The Twenty-first-century Front Line, *World Refugee Council Research Paper*, No. 2, World Refugee Council, Centre for International Governance Innovation, Waterloo, Canada, Retrieved from: <https://www.cigionline.org/sites/default/files/documents/WRC%20Research%20Paper%20no.2.pdf>, [Accessed April 6]

Mukwaya, Paul Isolo., Sengendo, Hannington., Lwasa, Shuaib., (2010), Urban Development Transitions and Their Implications for Poverty Reduction and Policy Planning in Uganda, *Urban Forum*, Vol. 21, pp. 267–28

Murahashi, Isao., (2021), *Conflict-induced migration and local development: The socio-economic dynamics of a refugee-hosting area in Uganda*, Tokyo, Japan, Retrieved from: http://www.tufs.ac.jp/asc/ASC-TUFS_WP_01_253-272murahashi_web.pdf, [Accessed April 11]

Nabuguzi, Emmanuel., (1993), *Refugees and Politics in Uganda*, Kampala, Uganda, Retrieved from: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/29136427.pdf>, [Accessed April 11]

Napier, Carin., Oldewage-Theron, Wilna., Makhaye, Beryl., (2018), Predictors of food insecurity and coping strategies of women asylum seekers and refugees in Durban, South Africa, *Agriculture & Food Security*, Vol. 7, No. 67, pp. 1-9

Nawrotzki, Raphael J., Robson, Kristin., Gutilla, Margaret J., Hunter, Lori M., Twine, Wayne., Norlund, Petra., (2014), Exploring the impact of the 2008 global food crisis on food security among vulnerable households in rural South Africa, *Food Security*, Vol. 6, pp. 283–297

*NRC, Norwegian Refugee Council, (2020), *Downward Spiral: The economic impact of Covid-19 on refugees and displaced people*, Oslo, Norway, Retrieved from: https://www.nrc.no/globalassets/pdf/reports/nrc_downward-spiral_covid-19_report.pdf, [Accessed April 14]

Nunnery, Danielle L., Dharod, Jigna M., (2017), Potential determinants of food security among refugees in the U.S.: an examination of pre- and post- resettlement factors, *Food Security*, Vol. 9, pp. 163-179

Nunnery, Danielle L., Haldeman, Lauren., Morrison, Sharon., Dharod, Jigna M., (2015), Food insecurity and budgeting among Liberians in the US: how are they related to socio-demographic and pre-resettlement characteristics, *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, Vol. 17, No. 2, pp. 506-512

Oxfam, (2019), *Gender Inequalities and Food Insecurity: Ten years after the food price crisis, why are women farmers still food-insecure?*, Paris, France, Available at:

<https://reliefweb.int/report/world/gender-inequalities-and-food-insecurity-ten-years-after-food-price-crisis-why-are-women>, [Accessed May 15]

Punch, Keith., (2014), *Introduction to Social Research: Quantitative & Qualitative Approaches*, 3rd edition, Sage Publications, London, United Kingdom

Richmond, Amy., Myers, Ian., Namuli, Hafisa., (2018), Urban Informality and Vulnerability: A Case Study in Kampala, Uganda, *Urban Science*, Vol. 2. No. 22, pp. 1-13

Robinson, Priscilla., Lowe, John., (2015), Literature reviews vs systematic reviews, *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health*, Vol. 39, No. 2, pp. 103

Ruadel, Héloïse., Morrison-Métois, Susanna., (2017), *Responding to Refugee Crises: Lessons from evaluations in Ethiopia and Uganda as countries of destination*, OECD Development Co-operation Working Papers, No. 38, OECD Publishing, Paris, France, Available from: <https://doi.org/10.1787/8346fc6f-en>, [Accessed April 7]

Saliba, Samer., Silver, Innocent., (2020), Cities as partners: the case of Kampala, *Forced Migration Review - Cities and Town*, Vol. 63, pp. 41-43

Sassi, Maria, (2018), *Understanding Food Insecurity - Key Features, Indicators, and Response Design*, Springer, Pavia, Italy

Scheyvens, Regina., (2014), *Development Fieldwork a Practical Guide*, SAGE Publications, London, United Kingdom

Sen, Amartya., (1981), *Poverty and Famines: An Essay on Entitlement and Deprivation*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, United Kingdom

SFGC, Search for Common Ground, (2020), *Uganda Conflict Snapshot*, Washington, D.C., United States, Retrieved from: https://www.sfcg.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/SFCG_Uganda_Conflict_Snapshot_Report_Dec_2020.pdf, [Accessed March 31]

Sieber, Joan, E., (2009), Refugee Research: Strangers in a Strange Land (editorial), *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics*, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 1-2

Silverman, David., (2020), *Interpreting Qualitative Data*, 6th edition, SAGE Publications, London, United Kingdom

Singh, Kamal P., Bhoopathy, Sankara Varum., Worth, Heather., Seale, Holly., Richmond, Robyn., (2015), Nutrition among men and household food security in an internally displaced persons camp in Kenya, *Public Health Nutrition*, Vol. 19, No. 4, pp. 723-731

Statistics South Africa, (2017), *Towards measuring the extent of food security in South Africa: An examination of hunger and food inadequacy*, Pretoria, South Africa, Retrieved from: <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/03-00-14/03-00-142017.pdf>, [Accessed April 5]

*Stein, Daniel., Lanthorn, Heather., Kimani, Emma., Bergemann, Rico., (2020a), *Cash transfers and COVID-19: Experiences from Kiryandongo, Uganda: Mini-report – Round 1 of 3*, Nairobi, Kenya & Lusaka, Zambia, Retrieved from: <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5b7cc54eec4eb7d25f7af2be/t/5f591b6c2c45f514a506612d/1599675246598/Cash+and+COVID-19+-+Experiences+from+Kiryandongo-+Round+1+of+3.pdf>, [Accessed April 14]

*Stein, Daniel., Lanthorn, Heather., Kimani, Emma., Bergemann, Rico., (2020b), *Cash transfers and COVID-19: Experiences from Kiryandongo, Uganda: Mini-report – Round 2 of 3*, Nairobi, Kenya & Lusaka, Zambia, Retrieved from: https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5b7cc54eec4eb7d25f7af2be/t/5f90e50cc0b5d418d9d80e13/1603331347239/Cash+and+COVID-19+-+experiences+from+kiryandongo-+Round+2+report_SHARED.pdf, [Accessed April 14]

*Stein, Daniel., Lanthorn, Heather., Kimani, Emma., Bergemann, Rico., (2020c), *Cash transfers and COVID-19: Experiences from Kiryandongo, Uganda: Mini-report – Round 3 of 3*, Nairobi, Kenya & Lusaka, Zambia, Retrieved from: <https://www.idinsight.org/reports-2/cash-and-covid-19-experiences-from-kiryandongo-3/3?rq=cash%20and%20covid>, [Accessed April 14]

The Republic of Uganda, (2017), *The National Strategy for Private Sector Development - Boosting Investor Confidence for Enterprise Development and Industrialisation*, Kampala, Uganda, Retrieved from:

https://www.finance.go.ug/sites/default/files/Publications/NSPSD%20BOOK%20WEB_0.pdf, [Accessed April 12]

The Republic of Uganda, (2018), *The State of Uganda Population Report 2018 - Good Governance; A prerequisite to harness the Demographic Dividend for Sustainable Development*, Kampala, Uganda, Retrieved from: <http://npcsec.go.ug/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/SUPRE-2018-.pdf>, [Accessed April 12]

Thomas, James., Harden, Angela., (2008), Methods for the thematic synthesis of qualitative research in systematic reviews, *BMC Medical Research Methodology*, Vol. 8, No. 45

Tumwesigye, Nazarius Mbona., Denis, Okethwangu., Kaakyo, Mary., Biribawa, Claire., (2021), *Center for Global Development Working Paper 571*, Kampala, Uganda, Retrieved from: <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/WP571-Effects-of-COVID-19-Pandemic-and-mitigation-measures-in-Uganda.pdf>, [Accessed April 11]

UN WFC, United Nations World Food Conference, (1975), *Report on the World Food Conference – Rome 5-16 November 1974*, New York, United States of America, Available at: <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/701143?ln=en>, [Accessed April 2]

UNDP, United Nations Development Programme, (2018), *Understanding Land Dynamics and Livelihood in Refugee Hosting Districts of Northern Uganda*, Kampala, Uganda, Available at: <https://www.africa.undp.org/content/rba/en/home/library/reports/understanding-land-dynamics-and-livelihoods-in-refugee-hosting-d.html>, [Accessed March 27]

UNECA, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (2020), *COVID-19: Lockdown exit strategies for Africa*, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, Available at: <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3863276?ln=en>, [Accessed April 10]

UNHCR, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (2017a), *Uganda Refugee Response Monitoring - Settlement Fact Sheet Bidi Bidi*, Kampala, Uganda, Retrieved from: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/download/64966>, [Accessed March 30]

UNHCR, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (2020a), *Global Trends 2019: Forced Displacement in 2019*, Geneva, Switzerland, Retrieved from: <https://www.unhcr.org/be/wp-content/uploads/sites/46/2020/07/Global-Trends-Report-2019.pdf>, [Accessed April 5]

UNHCR, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (2020b), *Ensuring Food Security in Refugee Camps*, Atlanta, United States of America, Retrieved from: <https://pasmun.org/assets/files/UNHCR.pdf>, [Accessed April 7]

UNHCR, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (2020c), *Uganda - Refugee Statistics October 2020*, Kampala, Uganda, Available at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/uganda/uganda-refugee-statistics-october-2020>, [Accessed April 11]

*UNHCR, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (2020d), *Urban refugees face hunger in Uganda coronavirus lockdown*, Kampala, Uganda, Retrieved from: <https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/2020/5/5eeced184/urban-refugees-face-hunger-uganda-coronavirus-lockdown.html>, [Accessed April 14]

UNHCR, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (2021a), *Uganda Comprehensive Refugee Response Portal*, [electronic dataset], Kampala, Uganda, Retrieved from: <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/country/uga>, [Accessed March 29]

UNHCR, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (2021b), *Refugees and Asylum-Seekers in Uganda*, Kampala, Uganda, Retrieved from: <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Refugees%20and%20asylum%20seekers%20-%20Uganda%20as%20of%2030%20April%202021.pdf>, [Accessed April 11]

UNHCR, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (2021c), *WFP, UNHCR appeal for funding for over 3 million refugees hit by ration cuts in Eastern Africa*, Nairobi, Kenya,

Retrieved from: <https://www.unhcr.org/news/press/2021/3/603dec5f4/wfp-unhcr-appeal-funding-3-million-refugees-hit-ration-cuts-eastern-africa.html>, [Accessed May 12]

UNHCR, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (2021d), *Uganda: Operation Update*, Kampala, Uganda, Retrieved from: https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/UNHCR%20UGA_Monthly%20operational%20update_February%202021.pdf, [Accessed May 15]

USAID, United States Agency for International Development, (2020), *Food Assistance Fact Sheet Uganda*, Washington, D.C., United States of America, Retrieved from: https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1866/FFP_Uganda_Fact_Sheet.pdf, [Accessed April 7]

Wageningen University & Research, (2019), *Factsheets Uganda: Circular Refugee Camps 2019*, Wageningen, Netherlands, Available at: <https://www.wur.nl/en/show/Factsheet-Uganda-Circular-refugee-camps.htm>, [Accessed May 12]

WFP, World Food Programme, (2009), *Comprehensive Food Security & Vulnerability Analysis Guidelines*, Rome, Italy, Retrieved from: https://documents.wfp.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/manual_guide_proced/wfp203208.pdf, [Accessed April 14]

WFP, World Food Programme, (2020), *Uganda Annual Country Report 2019 - Country Strategic Plan 2018-2022*, Kampala, Uganda, Available at: <https://www.wfp.org/operations/ug01-uganda-country-strategic-plan-2018-2022>, [Accessed April 11]

WFP Uganda, World Food Programme Uganda, (2021), *WFP Uganda Country Brief - January 2021*, Kampala, Uganda, Retrieved from: <https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/WFP%20Uganda%20Country%20Brief%20C%20January%202021.pdf>, [Accessed March 29]

WFS, World Food Summit, (1996), *World Food Summit Plan of Action*, Rome, Italy, Retrieved from: http://www.fao.org/wfs/index_en.htm, [Accessed April 1]

Woller, Gary., Wolfe, Jason., Brand, Margie., Fowler, Ben., Parrot, Lisa., Thompson, Jill., Dempsey, Jim., Berkowitz, Lead., van Haeften, Bobbie., (2012), *Livelihood and Food Security Conceptual Framework*, Washington D.C., United States of America, Retrieved from:

https://www.marketlinks.org/sites/default/files/resource/files/LIFT%20ES%20Framework_8%2017%202011.pdf, [Accessed April 12]

World Bank Group, (2016), *An Assessment of Uganda's Progressive Approach to Refugee Management*, Washington D.C., United States of America, Retrieved from:

<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/24736/An0assessment00o0refugee0management.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>, [Accessed April 7]

*World Bank, (2020), *Monitoring Social and Economic Impacts of COVID-19 on Refugees in Uganda: Results from the High-Frequency Phone Survey- Second Round*, Washington DC, United States of America, Available at:

<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/35382>, [Accessed April 14]

WSFS, World Summit on Food Security, (2009), *Declaration of the world summit on food security*, Rome, Italy, Retrieved from:

http://www.fao.org/fileadmin/templates/wsfs/Summit/Docs/Final_Declaration/WSFS09_Declaration.pdf, [Accessed April 1]

Appendices

Appendix A - Key Words and Synonyms by Categories

Categories	Key Words and Synonyms
Food security Context	Food security; food insecurity; food safety; nutrition security; nutrition insecurity; food sufficiency; food availability; food access, food utilization; food stability; hunger; malnutrition
Refugee Context	Refugee; refugees; forced migration; migration; migrant; migrants; forced migrant; displaced person; displaced persons; asylum seeker; asylum seekers
Geographical Context:	Uganda; urban; settlement; refugee settlement; camp; refugee camp
COVID-19 Context:	COVID-19; coronavirus; SARS-CoV-2; coronavirus disease 2019; severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2; pandemic; epidemic; lockdown; lockdown measures; coronavirus regulations; coronavirus restrictions; curfews
Vulnerability Context:	Vulnerability; vulnerabilities; vulnerable; resilience; resilient; sensibility; sensible; shock; shocks; stress; stresses; crisis; crises; exposure; defenselessness; fragility
Livelihood Context:	Livelihood; livelihoods; income; incomes; income generating activity; income generating activities; livelihood assets; asset; assets; asset endowment; human capital; social capital; physical capital; natural capital; financial capital; livelihood activity; livelihood activities; mitigation strategy; mitigation strategies; coping; coping mechanism; coping mechanisms; coping strategy; coping strategies; risk reduction strategy; risk reduction strategies; loss management strategy; loss management strategies

Search String Example

((((Food security OR food insecurity OR food safety) AND (Refugee OR refugees OR forced migration OR displaced person)) AND (Uganda)) AND (COVID-19 OR coronavirus OR SARS-CoV-2))

Appendix B - Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Inclusion Criteria	Studies/articles/reports must focus on the issue of food security and take into account at least one of the four different dimensions of food security; food availability, food access, food utilization and food stability.
	Studies/articles/reports must bring into focus the particular vulnerabilities faced by either urban-based refugees or settlement/camp-based refugees or both.
	Studies/articles/reports must be restricted to the specific geographical context of Uganda.
	Studies/articles/reports must include a COVID-19 dimension and assess its implications on either food security or livelihoods
	Studies/articles/reports must be written in either English, Danish, Swedish or Norwegian
	Studies/articles/reports must have been published after the advent of COVID-19 in Uganda (21 st of March 2020)
	Academic studies/articles/reports must either be in the form of peer-reviewed journals, books or book chapters, and grey literature must either be in the form of newspaper articles, reports and press releases from the Ugandan government, or reports, working papers and press releases from NGOs and international organisations.
	Academic studies must be wholly or partly based on primary data
	Academic studies can be either qualitative, quantitative or a mix of both
Exclusion Criteria	Studies/articles/reports that are published before the 21 st of March 2020
	Academic studies that only uses secondary data
	Studies/articles/reports that are not published in English, Danish, Swedish or Norwegian
	Academic studies/articles/reports that are not peer-reviewed (e.g., student papers, dissertations, summaries of other's work)
	Studies/articles/reports that are not using appropriate referencing

Appendix C – References for Systematic Literature Review

Atamanov, Aziz., Yoshida, Nobuo., Beltramo, Theresa Parrish., Rios Rivera, Laura Abril., Sarr, Ibrahima., Waita, Peter., Yoshimura, Kazusa (2021), Monitoring Social and Economic Impacts of COVID-19 on Refugees in Uganda: Results from the High-Frequency Phone Survey - First Round, *MPRA Paper*, No. 106425, pp. 1-25, World Bank, Washington DC, United States of America, Available at: <https://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/106425/>, [Accessed April 14]

Babirye, Joyce., (2021), *Effects of COVID-19 on Refugee Communities in Uganda*, Office of the Prime Minister, Kampala, Uganda, Retrieved from: <https://opm.go.ug/2020/08/21/effects-of-covid-19-on-refugee-communities-in-uganda/>, [Accessed April 14]

Betts, Alexander., Easton-Calabria, Evan., Pincock, Kate., (2021), Localising Public Health: Refugee-led organisations as first and last responders in COVID-19, *World Development*, Vol. 139, No. 105311, pp. 1-6, Oxford, United Kingdom

Bukuluki, Paul., Mwenyango, Hadijah., Katongole, Simon Peter., Sidhva, Dina., Palattiyil, George., (2020), The socio-economic and psychosocial impact of Covid-19 pandemic on urban refugees in Uganda, *Social Sciences & Humanities Open*, Vol. 2, No. 100045, pp. 1-5, Kampala, Uganda

Gato, Joshua., (2020), The effects of COVID-19 Lockdown on Urban Refugees in Kampala, *Der FluchtforschungsBlog*, Kampala, Uganda, Retrieved from: <https://blog.fluchtforschung.net/covid-19-lockdown-on-urban-refugees-in-kampala/>, [Accessed April 14]

Kansiime, Monica K., Tambo, Justice A., Mugambi, Idah., Bundi, Mary., Kara, Augustine., Owuor Charles., (2021), COVID-19 implications on household income and food security in Kenya and Uganda: Findings from a rapid assessment, *World Development*, Vol. 137, No. 105199, pp. 1-10, Nairobi, Kenya & Kampala, Uganda

NRC, Norwegian Refugee Council, (2020), *Downward Spiral: The economic impact of Covid-19 on refugees and displaced people*, Oslo, Norway, Retrieved from:

https://www.nrc.no/globalassets/pdf/reports/nrc_downward-spiral_covid-19_report.pdf,

[Accessed April 14]

Stein, Daniel., Lanthorn, Heather., Kimani, Emma., Bergemann, Rico., (2020a), *Cash transfers and COVID-19: Experiences from Kiryandongo, Uganda: Mini-report – Round 1 of 3*, Nairobi, Kenya & Lusaka, Zambia, Retrieved from:

<https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5b7cc54eec4eb7d25f7af2be/t/5f591b6c2c45f514a506612d/1599675246598/Cash+and+COVID-19+-+Experiences+from+Kiryandongo-+Round+1+of+3.pdf>, [Accessed April 14]

Stein, Daniel., Lanthorn, Heather., Kimani, Emma., Bergemann, Rico., (2020b), *Cash transfers and COVID-19: Experiences from Kiryandongo, Uganda: Mini-report – Round 2 of 3*, Nairobi, Kenya & Lusaka, Zambia, Retrieved from:

https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5b7cc54eec4eb7d25f7af2be/t/5f90e50cc0b5d418d9d80e13/1603331347239/Cash+and+COVID-19+-+experiences+from+kiryandongo-+Round+2+report_SHARED.pdf, [Accessed April 14]

Stein, Daniel., Lanthorn, Heather., Kimani, Emma., Bergemann, Rico., (2020c), *Cash transfers and COVID-19: Experiences from Kiryandongo, Uganda: Mini-report – Round 3 of 3*, Nairobi, Kenya & Lusaka, Zambia, Retrieved from: <https://www.idinsight.org/reports-2/cash-and-covid-19-experiences-from-kiryandongo-3/3?rq=cash%20and%20covid>,

[Accessed April 14]

UNHCR, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, (2020d), *Urban refugees face hunger in Uganda coronavirus lockdown*, Kampala, Uganda, Retrieved from:

<https://www.unhcr.org/news/stories/2020/5/5eeced184/urban-refugees-face-hunger-uganda-coronavirus-lockdown.html>, [Accessed April 14]

World Bank, (2020), *Monitoring Social and Economic Impacts of COVID-19 on Refugees in Uganda: Results from the High-Frequency Phone Survey- Second Round*, Washington DC, United States of America, Available at:

<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/35382>, [Accessed April 14]

Appendix D - Interview Plan for Interviews with Key Informants

In general, and normal years:

Topic	Main question	Additional questions	Clarifying questions
Food security before the pandemic generally	Can you tell me something about how you perceived the food security situation among refugees in Kampala/Bidibidi before the pandemic?	Is it your impression that many refugee households were already suffering from hunger and malnutrition back then?	Why is that?
			How many refugee households do you think were food insecure as a percentage of the total number of refugee households?
	How is the availability and price of essential goods, including food normally?	Any examples?	
	How are the normal food consumption patterns in refugee households?	Are there differences between men, women and children?	-
		How many meals are they normally eating per day?	-
Self-reliance	How self-reliant were Kampala-based refugees generally before the pandemic?	How did they generally obtain their food?	Which food sources were most important? (purchase, aid, own production etc.)
	How self-reliant were Bidibidi-based refugees generally before the pandemic?	How important is the refugees' own cultivation of crops for their level of food security?	How much land is available per refugee household? What is the quality of the soil?
Food assistance	How much food assistance were the refugee households receiving before the pandemic?	Bidibidi: How often was WFP food assistance distributed and how long did it usually last?	What types of food was distributed? How much?
		Kampala: Were refugees generally receiving food assistance from RLO's/NGO's or	What types of food was distributed? How often? How much?

		other organisations before the pandemic?	How many profited by such distributions?
Livelihoods	How were the refugees generally earning an income before the pandemic?	What kind of livelihood activities were the refugees generally engaged with? - What type of jobs? - Which sectors?	Bidibidi: Livelihood activities within or outside the camp? Both? Kampala: Livelihood activities within or outside the city? Both?
	What kind of labour opportunities are there?	What are the salaries?	-
		Are children and women working?	-
	What are the different livelihood groups?	What kind of assets and savings are owned by the different livelihood groups?	-
	What were the main costs for the refugees before the pandemic?	What expenditure categories? Food, transport, rent, household items, taxes etc.	-
	What types of assets did the refugees own before the pandemic?	-	-
Vulnerability	How resilient were the refugees before the pandemic?	What risk reduction strategies, if any, did the refugees adopt to mitigate with potential disaster impacts?	-
	How are refugee households normally coping with food shortages?	What are the households' preferred loss management strategies?	-

During the lockdown:

Topic	Main question	Additional questions	Clarifying questions
Food security		How has the pandemic affected the different sources of food?	-

during the lockdown	Can you describe how COVID-19 has impacted the refugees' food security?	How has the pandemic affected the availability of food, the market access and the prices of food and other essential goods?	What has been affected the most – availability or access? → Economic access or physical access?
	How has the food security of the locals (host society) been affected by the pandemic compared to the refugees' food security?	How has this affected the relations between the refugees and the locals?	-
	How have the consumption patterns in refugee households changed?	Did the intra-household food allocation patterns change during the lockdown? How?	-
		How many meals were they generally eating per day during the lockdown?	
Food assistance	Bidibibi: How did the ration cuts affect the refugees' food security?	How often was WFP food assistance distributed, how much were they given and how long did it generally last?	What types of food was distributed?
		Did the host community receive any food assistance during the lockdown?	If yes, did they receive the same supplies as the refugees?
	Kampala: How did UNHCR, WFP and the Ugandan government respond to the food needs of the Kampala-based refugees during the lockdown?	What types of food (if any) was distributed? How often? How much?	-
		How many profited by such distributions?	-
	Kampala: How did RLO's and NGO's respond to the food needs of the Kampala-based refugees during the lockdown?	What types of food (if any) was distributed? How often? How much?	-
		How many profited by such distributions?	-
Livelihoods	How were refugees' livelihoods and income-generating activities generally	Were the refugees able to maintain their jobs?	The types of jobs/which sectors were hit the hardest?

	affected by the complete lockdown?		
	Has it been possible for refugees to earn an income from other sources?	If yes, what types of jobs/income-generating activities	→ How much have they been able to work? (full time, part time etc.) and what did they earn from it? (money, goods, services?)
Coping strategies	Can you say something about what refugees generally has done to cope with shortages of food during the pandemic?	Any specific strategies to ‘get food on the table’?	-
		Any specific strategies to earn an extra income?	-
	Is it your impression that the refugees’ asset bases have changed during the lockdown?	Have they been forced to/chosen to sell assets?	If yes, what type of assets? Do they have any physical assets left?

The situation today:

Topic	Main question	Additional questions	Clarifying questions
Food security after the lockdown was eased (today)	How did the food security situation change when the lockdown was eased in the summer 2020?	How have food prices changed?	Are prices of basic food stuffs below or above usual prices on basic food stuffs (before the pandemic)?
		How has the availability of food changed?	-
	How is the food security situation among the refugees today?	Is it better/worse today than during the lockdown?	Why?
		Is it better/worse today than before the lockdown?	Why?
	How are the food consumption patterns in the refugee households today?	How many meals are the refugees generally eating?	Are the family members having the same number of meals?
Food assistance	Bidibibi: How has the WFP food assistance changed since the lockdown was eased?	-	-
	Kampala: How are Kampala-based refugees supported by RLOs, NGOs, UNHCR, WFP	Has aid dependency become a problem in Kampala?	-

	etc. today? – Do they receive any food assistance?		
Livelihoods	Are the refugees able to work again and earn an income?	How has the unemployment rate among refugees changed since the lockdown was eased?	Any differences between men and women?
	Are there any sectors or types of jobs that are still affected by restrictions?	If yes, how are they affected?	-
	Is it possible for refugee children to go to school again?	-	-
	How have refugees been affected by eventual selloffs of productive assets?	-	-
Coping strategies			

Concluding questions:

Topic	Main question	Additional questions	Clarifying questions
Main problem	What do you perceive as the main problem(s) for the refugee community?	In terms of COVID-19?	-
		In terms of food security?	-
General	Are there anything you would like to add?	-	-

Sources of inspiration: IFRC 2006:37-40

Appendix E - *A Priori Codes* for the Analysis of the Semi-Structured Interviews

Code	Description	Importance	Subcodes		Origin
People	The <i>people</i> code was not applied to the transcripts in itself, but it was used to organize related subcodes.	Coding for <i>people</i> allows the researcher to compare the food security situation between the different groups of interest and assess who is affected the most	Subcode	Description	<i>A priori</i>
			Kampala-based refugees	Refugees living in Kampala	
			Bidibidi-based refugees	Refugees living in Bidibidi	
			Locals in Kampala	The host community in Kampala	
			Locals in Bidibidi	The host community in Bidibidi	

Code	Description	Importance	Subcodes		Origin
Location	The <i>location</i> code was not applied to the transcripts in itself, but it was used to organize related subcodes.	Coding for <i>location</i> allows the researcher to assess and compare the role of the environments in which the refugees live.	Subcode	Description	<i>A priori</i>
			Kampala	-	
			Bidibidi	-	
			South Sudan	-	

Code	Description	Importance	Subcodes		Origin
Time	The <i>time</i> code was not applied to the transcripts in itself, but it was used to organize related subcodes.	Coding for <i>time</i> allows the researcher to compare and assess how the situation has evolved	Subcode	Description	<i>A priori</i>
			Before the pandemic	The situation as it is normally when there is no pandemic	
			During the lockdown	The situation in the period between March 2020 – June 2020	
			After the lockdown	The situation in the period of time since the lockdown was eased	
			Today	The situation today	

Code	Description	Importance	Subcodes		Origin
Livelihood	The <i>livelihood</i> code was used as an umbrella code to organize more specific subcodes that are related to the concept.	Coding for <i>livelihoods</i> allows the researcher to obtain a holistic understanding of different factors of importance to food security as outlined in the conceptual framework	Subcode	Description	<i>A priori</i> – Based on Livelihood and Food Security Conceptual Framework
			Sources of income / income generating activities	Set wages, remittances, cash transfers etc.	
			Livelihood assets	Productive assets, protective assets etc.	<i>A priori</i> – Based on Livelihood and Food Security Conceptual Framework

			Risk reduction strategies	Income diversification, building protective assets etc.	<i>A priori</i> – Based on Livelihood and Food Security Conceptual Framework
			Coping strategies / loss management strategies	Erosive vs. non-erosive, food-based coping etc.	<i>A priori</i> – Based on Livelihood and Food Security Conceptual Framework

Code	Description	Importance	Subcodes		Origin
Vulnerability	The <i>vulnerability</i> code was used as an umbrella code to organize related subcodes.	Coding for <i>vulnerability</i> allows the researcher to assess how exposed the refugees are to crises	Subcode	Description	<i>A priori</i> – Based on Livelihood and Food Security Conceptual Framework
			Resilience	The households' adaptive capacity	
			Sensitivity	The degree to which the household is affected by the pandemic	

Code	Description	Importance	Subcodes		Origin
COVID-19	The <i>COVID-19</i> code was used as an umbrella code to organize related subcodes.	Coding for <i>COVID-19</i> allows the researcher to assess the direct and indirect impacts of the pandemic	Subcode	Description	<i>A priori</i> – Based on background and systematic literature review
			Direct impacts	Business closures due to disease etc.	
			Indirect impacts	Restrictions, preventive measures, curfews, food supply interruption, border closures etc.	

Code	Description	Importance	Subcodes		Origin
Food security outcomes	The <i>food security outcomes</i> code was used as an umbrella	Coding for <i>food security outcomes</i> allows the researcher to assess the nutritional	Subcode	Description	<i>A priori</i> – Based on the four pillars of food security,
			Dietary intake	How many meals, what type of food, how often, quality of food etc.	

	code to organize related subcodes.	vulnerability of refugees and examine the impacts of their coping strategies			conceptual framework
			Food access	How are the refugee households accessing the food	<i>A priori</i> – Based on the four pillars of food security, conceptual framework
			Food availability	What food is available and how much? What types?	<i>A priori</i> – Based on the four pillars of food security, conceptual framework
			Food utilization	Intra-household distribution of food, food safety and hygiene, preparation, food storage and cooking	<i>A priori</i> – Based on the four pillars of food security, conceptual framework

Code	Description	Importance	Subcodes		Origin
			Subcode	Description	
Food production	The <i>food production</i> code was used as an umbrella code to organize related subcodes.	Coding for <i>food production</i> allows the researcher to assess how much and what types of food refugees are able to produce themselves	Household production	How much and what types of food the household is producing	<i>A priori</i> – Based on background and systematic literature review
			Agroecological conditions	Soil fertility, plot size etc.	<i>A priori</i> – Based on background and systematic literature review