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Institutions and Refugee Entrepreneurship

A CASE STUDY OF CONGOLESE REFUGEES IN RWAMWANJA
REFUGEE SETTLEMENT IN UGANDA

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Content

Abbreviations

DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
HDI	Human Development Index
LDC	Least Developed Countries
LMIC	Low and Middle Income Countries
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
RWC	Refugee Welfare Council
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	The UN Refugee Agency (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees)

Acknowledgements

Abstract

In the light of global migration flows and an ever increasing number of refugees in the world, empowering displaced people through promoting entrepreneurship has received growing attention. As such, entrepreneurship has also found its way into refugee policies. However, from an academic point of view, the economic and entrepreneurial life of refugees is currently not well understood and many questions remain. This study has applied a single case design in Rwamwanja refugee settlement in Uganda, which has been praised by the international development community for its progressive, albeit not perfect, refugee policies.

This thesis applied institutional theory to explore the link between institutions and entrepreneurship. As part of this study twenty semi-structured interviews with refugee entrepreneurs and two focus group discussion have been conducted.

The study revealed a strong link between regulative institutions and the early stages of entrepreneurship, if visibly enforced by reliable actors. Contrary, the links to informal institutions are more context dependent and show differing effects.

1 Introduction

An article in the Guardian described *human migration* as the defining issue of the 21st century (Betts, 2015). The increase of the global refugee population by 65 percent over the past five years significantly affect low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) in the Global South, since they host the vast majority of refugees (UNHCR, 2017a). In the light of an unprecedented 22.5 million refugees globally, the ways in which societies treat and cope with forcibly displaced populations is thus truly one of the most pressing issues of our time.

One of the more prominent examples hereof is Uganda, a country that is amongst the 30 least developed countries (LDCs) on the planet (UN, 2017). At the time of writing, Uganda hosted over 1.3 million refugees and asylum seekers[1]. This made Uganda the largest refugee hosting country in Africa and the third largest in the world (UNDP, 2017). Despite its own domestic problems, the country was praised by donors and the media to have one of the most progressive refugee policies within the global community. In Uganda, refugees are generally encamped in open settlements and universally granted a number of rights, which amongst others include the right to start their own businesses.

Given the surge in the number of refugees, measures that promote self-reliance have increasingly become the center of humanitarian interventions (Jacobsen & Fratzke, 2016). Within the existing literature, entrepreneurship has been described as a powerful facilitator to increase bespoken self-reliance amongst refugees (see Jacobsen, 2002 or Betts et al., 2014). However, refugees are faced by several obstacles that hinder entrepreneurship, one of which being the institutional environment. Therefore, the aim of this thesis was to explore how institutions affected entrepreneurship amongst refugees inside a settlement. Through the use of a single case study design, which took place in the Rwamwanja refugee settlement in Uganda, the relationship between different institutional systems and the entrepreneurial process was investigated.

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[1] Asylum seekers are individuals whose request for refuge has not been processed yet.

1.1 Research Field and Knowledge Gap

With the growing focus on entrepreneurs as agents of change and development (Puffer et al., 2010), researchers increasingly study ways in which entrepreneurship can be understood and supported. Looking for the one silver bullet that triggers or hinders entrepreneurship has resulted in a variety of theories and made the field highly eclectic and strongly context dependent. Whilst the traditional entrepreneurship literature is shaped by Western perceptions that are applicable in formalized economies, it fails to capture the realities of entrepreneurs operating in the Global South. Therefore, within the field of development studies, frameworks being able to account for the differences in the entrepreneurs' environment provide a useful tool to understand the context specific dynamics. Institutional theory, as one school of thought in this research area, pays particular attention to the institutional setting in which the entrepreneur, or potential entrepreneur, is placed in. As such, it can offer valuable insights into the qualitative differences that individuals experience in varying institutional contexts.

Considering the global migration flows, the UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) as well as donors are increasingly pushing for solutions revolving around self-reliance and sustained livelihood strategies for refugees (World Bank, 2016; Jacobsen & Fratzke, 2016). By placing the focus on moving refugees away from aid dependency, approaches that put the economic life of the refugee at the center are increasingly sought after (Jacobsen & Fratzke, 2016, p. 4). As such, fostering entrepreneurship as part of a wider capacity building initiative is regarded by the international development community as one of the central aspects to empower refugees. Furthermore, through greater economic independence the agency hopes to achieve greater economic integration and ultimately local integration, as a way to provide sustainable solutions for displaced people. Given the increasing number of refugees living in protracted situations, the aspect of local integration becomes inevitable to address the needs of the refugees as well as the host community.

However, from an academic point of view not much research regarding the economic life of refugees has taken place. Since the field is still young, Jacobsen and Fratzke (2016, p. 1) attest that it *"must work through a number of growing pains and implementation challenges before it can live up to its potential"*. As such, Verwimp and Maystadt (2015, p.2) critique that within the existing literature the refugee dynamics as well as the wider economic impact on the host community are currently not well understood. This perception is shared by Betts et al. (2014) who conclude that the ongoing debate falls short in recognizing the varied nature of economic activities that refugees undertake, as well as the environment they operate in.

Looking at the context in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), the specific environment of refugees is mainly shaped in the form of organized camps. In particular in East Africa, over 75 percent of all refugees are encamped (Verwimp & Maystadt, 2015), highlighting the need to understand the dynamics that refugees experience within these unique locations. In the Ugandan context, refugee camps are referred to as settlements by the government as well as UN agencies, since they do not comprise fenced areas and are supposed to resemble a typical East African village.

Here this study takes its point of departure. Given the limited research and the lack of data available, this thesis aims to provide qualitative insights into the economic lives of refugees. As part of the research, special attention is devoted to the fact that an increasing number of refugees reside in camps. Since the camps characterize the economic realities of the refugees through their a unique institutional environment, understanding the effects these institutions have on the level of entrepreneurial activity can offer interesting insights and add to knowledge about the economic lives of refugees. Thus, using institutional theory to understand the link between entrepreneurs and the institutional environment is useful framework to understand bespoken effect (Lang et al., 2014; Welter & Smallbone, 2011; Jennings et al., 2013). In order to account for the study location and target population an institutional theory that encompassed the social, political as well as the cultural dimensions in which entrepreneurs operate in was chosen. The institutional theory put forward by Scott

(1995), who divided institutional systems into three 'pillars', namely regulatory, normative and cognitive, was selected because it incorporated both the informal as well formal dimension of institutions. In order to analyze the effects of institutions on entrepreneurship, Kristiansen (2002) model of the entrepreneurial process composed of three distinct stages was used.

1.2 Research Question

Given the potentially positive aspects and with most refugees in Uganda residing inside settlements, this thesis aimed to gain further insights into the lives of refugee entrepreneurs and how institutions affected them. This master thesis will therefore investigate the following research question:

What are the linkages between regulatory, normative and cognitive institutions and the stages of the entrepreneurship process among refugees?

This research was a *case study of Congolese refugee entrepreneurs in Rwamwanja Refugee Settlement in Uganda.* The study took its point of departure in the understanding that there were a variety of institutional determinants, which could potentially affect a refugee's entrepreneurial activity. As such, both formal as well as informal institutional systems were regarded as influential and important dimensions to be considered. Furthermore, entrepreneurship was defined as a process with distinct stages that could potentially be affected differently by the three institutional systems.

This thesis therefore sought to determine how institutions, as the independent variable, affect the dependent variable, which was entrepreneurship. In order to answer the research question set out, three sub-questions have been formulated. The first two divided institutions into two categories, namely formal and informal. As such, the first sub-question dealt with regulative institutions, whilst the second considered normative and cognitive dimensions as part of the informal institutions. Since the businesses engaged differently with their

environment, the third question looked at how the institutions affected different types of businesses.

The questions are as follows:

Sub-question 1:   How did formal institutions affect entrepreneurship inside the settlement?

Sub-question 2:   How did informal institutions affect entrepreneurship inside the settlement?

Sub-question 3:   How did the effect of institutional systems depend on the entrepreneur's type of business?

1.3 Context Justification

Given the limited research in the field of refugee economics and entrepreneurship inside settlements, Uganda, as the largest refugee hosting nation on the African continent, was deemed a particularly suitable study location for knowledge building and opening up the field for future investigation.

First, the country's progressive refugee policies, which grant protection and freedoms to refugees, including freedom of movement, access to health services and the right to work, created a favorable environment, in which the regulating authorities encouraged research and were open to the idea of academic inquiry.

Furthermore, the fact that refugees had the *legal* right to start their own enterprise or engage in gainful business ensured that entrepreneurship took place in the open and could therefore be observed. As such, both access to field and the relevant actors was facilitated.

However, the choice for Uganda was also a pragmatic one. With English being one of the official languages, communication with the relevant authorities in the field as well as in the ministries could be ensured throughout the study. Finally, due the limited time at hand,

previous existing personal networks in Uganda also helped in speeding up the study and provided local knowledge, which otherwise could have not been obtained in such a short amount of time. It needs to be stressed that these personal contacts solely acted as facilitators and at no point interfered with the study.

1.4 Scope and Delimitation

This thesis employed an intensive single case study design, which studied the effects of institutional systems on entrepreneurs living in Rwamwanja refugee settlement, Uganda, at a micro level. As such, the unit of analysis was based on the experiences of individual entrepreneurs who operated a business inside the settlement. With the focus on the entrepreneur, this thesis was delimited to discuss the macroeconomic environment in a Ugandan or the East African context.

Because the period in which the study was allowed to take place was limited by the Ugandan government's Commissioner for Refugees, certain delimitations had to be made. As such, this study was delimited from engaging refugees who had no enterprise or started a business and then stopped. Albeit these individuals could have provided interesting insights, in particular regarding negative or restrictive institutional systems that stopped their entrepreneurial drive, it would have forced the study to consider a significantly larger sample size. In addition, customers or external suppliers to the business were also not included in the formal data collection. However, in order to get a better understanding of the camp dynamics, informal conversations with refugees and Ugandan nationals as part of the field observations were taken in and considered during the analysis of the data.

For ethical reasons, only participants older than 18 years were eligible to participate in the research. Although some adolescents were observed engaging in gainful business, they presented a particularly vulnerable group amongst the refugees and were therefore not included.

Lastly, although entrepreneurship was regarded an effective practice to foster self-reliance and create sustainable livelihoods for refugees (Jacobsen & Fratzke, 2016), this thesis did not engage in a wider debate about the link between entrepreneurship and livelihoods or evaluate the effectiveness of humanitarian interventions.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into seven chapter. The foregoing chapter provided an introduction to the research and highlighted what the thesis has set out to do. In the following chapter the literature around the economic life of refugees as well as the two main variables of the study, namely institutions and entrepreneurship, will be reviewed. The chapter concludes with the presentation of the analytical framework in which the variables are combined. The third chapter is in regard to the methodology used and highlights the choices made during the data collection. The following chapter will present the case and provide some background about the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). The fifth chapter will present the findings made during the research and forms the foundation for the discussion in chapter six. The final chapter of the thesis is the conclusion, followed by the bibliography and the appendices.

2 Literature Review

The following chapter will provide a literature review for this study. The first section provides a general introduction into the literature around the life of refugee and the following sections will then concentrate on the two variables of this study, namely entrepreneurship and institutions.

2.1 The Economic Lives of Refugees

Within the academic literature, the topic of *immigrant* entrepreneurship is not new, however scientific interest in *refugee* entrepreneurship has been limited. In general, the academic debate predominately revolved around refugees as part of a bigger immigrant population and fell short to acknowledge the regulatory and cultural constraints, which refugees have to face (Wauters & Lambrecht, 2008, Betts et al., 2014). Although these displaced populations also achieve their livelihoods through a variety of activities, ranging from agricultural production, wage labor, humanitarian rations and entrepreneurship (Werker, 2007), the environment in which these activities take place is unique to refugees and thus justifies a closer examination in academia. For example, when looking at the global refugee development, an increasing number of people find themselves in protracted refugee situations, meaning that people of the same nationality have been in exile for over five years. According to the U.S. Department of State (2016), nearly two-thirds of the global refugee population lived in protracted refugee situations. Under these circumstances the refugees' *"lives may not be at risk, but their basic rights and essential economic, social and psychological needs remain unfulfilled after years in exile."* (UNHCR, 2004, p.1). In these protracted situations, refugees often spend years living in border zones or camps, secluded from the public and constrained by the regulatory environment (Brees, 2008; Betts et al., 2014).

Despite the described circumstances of hardship and exclusion, refugee communities *can* be vibrant economic systems that engage in production, consumption, exchange,

entrepreneurship, and the development of financial and capital markets (Betts et al., 2014, p. 4). In contrast to previous studies, which looked at the effects when refugees self-settled amongst the host community *outside* the camps (see Hovil, 2007; Jacobsen, 2002 or Bakewell, 2000), this thesis put its focus on self-employment and new business creation *inside* a refugee camp.

Within the, albeit limited, literature around refugee entrepreneurship and economics, the camps have received increasing attention, since a significant percentage of refugees live within them. In contrast to the previous conception that encamped refugees form a secluded socio-economic block, recent research has found that refugees actively engage in trade with their host community or may even have links to markets in their home country (Betts et al., 2014; Brees, 2008; Werker 2007). These activities indicated an active local economy in which a variety of businesses operated. A recent study by Betts et al. (2014) confirmed the observation by Werker (2007) and described a multiplicity of income generating activities that demonstrated the diverse heterogeneous economic lives of refugees. Similar to other low-income settings, the authors described that refugees also operate several businesses simultaneously, as a strategy that ensures the spreading of entrepreneurial risk. Rosa et al. (2006, p.2) described this as *pluri-activity*, which is predominantly found amongst farming populations who depend on the seasonality of their produce.

With an increasing focus to promote self-reliance amongst refugees, fostering entrepreneurship has the potential to positively contribute to self-reliance and empowerment (Jacobsen & Fratzke, 2016). However, the literature suggests that the extent to which entrepreneurs can start business was greatly dependent on the perception of and changes within the surrounding environment (Werker, 2007; Betts et al, 2014). To better understand the links between entrepreneurship and institutions the following sections provide further insights into these topics.

2.2 Entrepreneurship

Within the extant literature on entrepreneurship, it has been widely discussed and accepted that new businesses significantly contribute to economic growth (Morris et al., 2015; Anokhin et al., 2008; Acs et al., 2012). Furthermore, entrepreneurship can reduce unemployment (Thurik et al. 2005) and plays an important aspect in creating social change and value (Steyaert & Katz, 2004; Chell, 2007). It is due to these implications that governments and policy makers increasingly aim to shape and provide the required institutional and social frames to facilitate new business creation (Minniti, 2008, World Bank, 2005).

The research of entrepreneurship dates back to the 18th century, when Richard Cantillon (circa 1680-1734) and Jean Baptsite Say (1767-1832) introduced the concept in economic science (Landström, 2004). According to Landström (2004, p.16), these authors were the first who *"gave meaning to the concept of entrepreneurship [and] also defined the role of the entrepreneur in economic development"'*. It was, however, not until the mid-19th century before entrepreneurship research expanded. Amongst the pioneers was Carl Menger (1840-1921), whose subjectivist view of the economy offered new insights, which are still relevant today (see Foss et al., 2008) and laid the foundation for the Austrian school (O'Driscoll, 1985; Landström, 2004). As the decades passed by, research on entrepreneurship was affected by the ongoing structural change of the economy and societal development.

It has to be acknowledged that the academic debate surrounding entrepreneurship was and to an extend still is heavily influenced by Western perceptions, which derived theories from high-income countries with advanced formal economies (Shane, 1997). Yet, the degree of economic development of a country is an important determinant for entrepreneurship, which needs to be considered when applying entrepreneurship theory (Chell, 2007). Chell (2007, p.6) furthermore attested that the bulk of early entrepreneurship theory development used positivist methodologies, which failed to withstand rigorous empirical testing due to their complexity. Another problem such functionalistic paradigms were exposed to was that reliable data was scarce, especially in the case of developing economies. This was largely due

to the high amount of self-employment in the informal economy, which characterizes the business activity in low-income countries (Gough et al., 2014, p. 298). In addition, positivist approaches often lacked the context, which would explain how the surrounding structure and the individual's agency influence entrepreneurship (Willmott, 2011; Leca & Naccache, 2006). As a result, new paradigms, such as social constructionism, emerged and offered novice theoretical constructs to research the influence the social and structural environment had on the entrepreneur (Chell, 2007). In the case of low-income countries, entrepreneurship can make *"a fundamental contribution to development"* (Naudé, 2010; p.11) and it was therefore that Naudé called for a closer integration between the field of entrepreneurship and development economics (p. 5).

As it can be seen, entrepreneurship theory has been widely adopted and found its way into numerous schools, making it a highly eclectic field with low convergence (Landström, 2004). It is due to the various beliefs and approaches to entrepreneurship that there is no common definition. In an attempt to create a conceptual framework for entrepreneurship as a field of research Shane and Venkataraman (2000, p. 218) identified that there had to be a nexus between lucrative opportunities and an enterprising individual. Stemming from this notion, two groups of research have received the most attention within the study of entrepreneurship (Dheer, 2017). The first group had the individual-level determinants at its center and thus looked at the intrinsic personality traits, such as attitude towards risk taking, experience or proactiveness (Verheul et al., 2002). The other group looked at external determinants that shape the context in which entrepreneurship takes place (Gohmann, 2012). These macro-level factors determine how opportunities are identified, created or exploited and the evidence suggests that these factors have a higher impact on entrepreneurship (Acs et al., 2008, Dheer, 2017).

To account for the low-income location of this study, this paper, similar to Gough et al. (2014), followed the recommendation by Spring and McDade (2005) to apply an inclusive definition of entrepreneurship. In this regard, the definition put forward by Low (2001, p. 21) provided

a suitable point of departure, since the author described entrepreneurship as the *"process of identifying, valuing and capturing opportunity [...] driven by individual initiative".* Hereby Low (2001) points towards two aspects of entrepreneurship.

Firstly, the author captured the wide scale of potential entrepreneurial activities that individuals might engage in, ranging from small-scale trade in the informal economy to large businesses run by the elites. By acknowledging the variety of entrepreneurial activities present, one can effectively move away from the common Western perceptions and definitions of entrepreneurship, which generally emphasized the heroic and innovative nature of entrepreneurs (Deakins & Freel, 2009; Shane, 1997). Since the lives of people in the global South are significantly characterized through their daily economic engagement in the informal sector, Steyaert and Katz (2004) also argued in favor of a broader and inclusive definition of entrepreneurship. Their argument stressed that the realities of entrepreneurship in the global South, which are often characterized through a hostile economic climate towards entrepreneurs, are better exemplified through the use of a wide-ranging definition.

Secondly, Low (2001) defined entrepreneurship as a process. This notion is also supported by Steyaert and Katz (2004), who put forward the term entrepreneuring in order to capture the wider societal implications and the process of entrepreneurial activities. According to Steyaert (2007, p.453) entrepreneuring "*points at the inherent processual character of entrepreneurship*", which has received increasing attention in academia (e.g. Moroz & Hindle, 2012; Hjorth et al., 2015) and offered better understanding of the field (Bygrave, 2006).

Having briefly elaborated on the arguments in favor of adopting a longitudinal approach to entrepreneurship, a suitable process model needed to be determined. As Moroz and Hindle (2012) have demonstrated, there is a variety of models that one can choose from. Given the low income setting with persistent small-scale entrepreneurship, this study followed the stage process proposed by Kristiansen (2002). Based on the works of Bhave (1994), who researched entrepreneurial venture creation in the US, Kristiansen (2002) put forward a

three-stage model of entrepreneurship. Hereby the distinctive feature was that Kristiansen applied the foundation provided by Bhave (1994) to a developing economy. The context in which these three stages are placed are namely 'values and needs', 'opportunities' and 'bureaucracy' (Kristiansen, 2002). The first stage can be described the idea stage, in which the entrepreneur develops a business idea and finds the courage to pursued it. The second stage is concerned with how the entrepreneur collected the needed resources, such as machines, products or finances, to start the business. The last stage looked at how the entrepreneur was dealing with bureaucracy and other obstacles whilst running the business. Although entrepreneurship in low-income countries is characterized through the persistence of informality (Gough et al., 2014), Kristiansen's notion of bureaucratic influences in the final stage offered a relevant dimension for entrepreneurship in a Ugandan refugee settlement, since they are all governed by the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM). In addition, there was an over proportional presence of state actors, namely police and OPM, as well as international donor agencies and NGOs. Through the increased presence of regulative organizations, in this case the police and OPM, the settlement presented a special case in which regulative organizations were more likely to affect entrepreneurship than they would outside a camp.

Since this study has set out to explore how formal and informal institutions affect entrepreneurship, breaking down the entrepreneurial process allowed for an investigation of the effects different institutions have throughout the entrepreneurship process.

However, the effect of regulations, policies, and institutional frameworks imposed by these organizations *"cannot be truly understood without taking into consideration the cultural framework of a society"* (Dheer, 2017, p. 814). Thus, it becomes eminent to consider the prevalent norms and values in order to grasp the institutional effect on entrepreneurship. As such, the next section will provide further insights into institutions and institutional theory.

2.3 Institutions

The term 'institutions' broadly refers to the formal and informal rule sets (North, 1990) that govern interactions within a society. In the formal category fall regulatory structures, such as governmental agencies, laws or bureaucratic and administrative procedures, whilst the informal category is made up of taken for- granted assumptions, less formal shared societal and cultural practices (Bruton et al., 2010), as well as norms and values in a society (Sine & David, 2010). Therefore, institutions exert conformance pressures (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991) as they "*define […] what is appropriate in an objective sense*" (Bruton et al., 2010, p. 422) and provide the individual with an internalized logic that makes laws, rules or taken for granted behavioral expectations appear natural and abiding (Zucker, 1977; Bruton et al., 2010).

Since the institutional environment is one of the key differences that distinguishes a 'developing' country from a 'developed' one (Puffer et al., 2010), a theory which focused on the impact of institutions added significant value to this study of refugee entrepreneurship in Uganda. Here, one of the underlying assumptions of taking an institutional approach was that institutions are more than extraneous background conditions - in the words of North (1990, p.3), and in line with the argument presented by Scott (1995), "*institutions matter*". In the case of new business creation, it meant that the perception of engaging in entrepreneurship is shaped by the context in which people live (Dheer, 2017).

Traditionally institutional theory largely focused on the formal setting and conformity to institutional norms (Matthews, 1986) and neglected the role of informal systems. However, this view has been challenged because institutional determinants encompass the social, political as well as the cultural framework of a society in which entrepreneurs operate in and therefore have to be considered (see Dheer, 2017 or Tracey & Phillips, 2011). In line with this argument is the understanding that, since norms and values shape the perceptions and expectations of individuals, they also influence the motivation and attitude towards entrepreneurship in a society. This lead to the conclusion that despite the conceptual distinctiveness of formal and informal institutions, the two sides work in conjunction with

each other (Dheer, 2017, p. 816). Hence, in order to find the means, which affect entrepreneurial activity, one has to take the rules and regulations, as well as norms and values, in which *entrepreneuring* takes place into consideration. Dheer (2017) expanded this argument and reasoned that although a process might be governed and structured in a formal way, the people who observe the process interpret the ongoing development do so based on their cultural understanding. Therefore, the cultural framework of a society and of the individual determined the effectiveness of policies and measures of formal institutions.

The described interdependency, which highlighted the potential influence of informal systems, led to the emergence of neo-institutionalism. Amine and Staub (2009, p.195) described neo-institutional theory as taking "*a sociological view of reciprocal interactions between institutions (such as business entities) and society*". Mair and Marti (2009) saw an advantage in applying neo-institutionalism, as the theory allows to research how institutions either enable or constrain the existence, participation and functioning of markets; opening the discourse to new issues, such as the role of gender on entrepreneurship. It is therefore that the neo-institutional theory, considering both the formal as well as informal settings, was used in this paper.

To analyze the effect of institutions on entrepreneurship, this thesis applied a framework put forward by Scott (1995). The author identified three systems or 'pillars' that support and constrain social institutions, namely the regulatory, normative and cultural-cognitive system. The latter two fall into the category of informal institutions whilst the first is part of the formal. In the regulatory pillar, policies and rules are set and legitimized through legal systems. By monitoring and enforcing given rules, the formal institutions actively regulate an individual's behavior within the legal framework of a society. The informal institutions on the other hand make up the cultural framework of a society. For example, the cultural-cognitive system is made up of values and beliefs, which are "*the shared conceptions that constitute the nature of social reality and the frames through which meaning is made*" (Scott, 2001, p. 57). Last is the normative pillar, which revolves around moral and ethical systems that

determine an individual's felt obligations and responsibilities.   For the informal elements, one can say that the normative pillar emphasizes the moral bases for assessing legitimacy, whilst the cognitive element is concerned with taking on a shared mindset that gives cultural legitimacy (Palthe, 2014, p. 61).

Looking at this framework it can be said that whilst the formal elements, such as rules or administrative procedures, can be easily identified, informal institutions are less clear because they function on a tacit level by imparting structure to the cultural framework of a society (Dheer, 2017, p. 815-816). Amine and Staub (2009) saw an advantage in applying Scott`s sociological view of institutions, as it includes consideration of conditions prevailing in the market environment, making it well suited for the study of entrepreneurship.

These prevailing aspects could be religion, tribal conflicts or the role of gender, in institutions and consequently in the entrepreneurship process as well. When researching entrepreneurship, the literature usually applies a gender-neutral perspective (Carter et al., 2009), hence this *"lack of theoretical grounding may account for the failure of research to explain factors that specifically influence women's entrepreneurship"* (Pathak, 2013, p. 479). By opting for a neo-institutional theory, this thesis is able to appreciate the effects the formal as well as informal systems have on women. According to Minniti (2009, p. 4) findings in comparative studies have shown that there are more similarities than differences between male and female entrepreneurs when considering factors such as traits, motivations or success rates. However, research by Amine and Staub (2009, p.207) demonstrated women entrepreneurship is heavily influenced by gendered institutions in SSA and involved complex concerns of social legitimacy. In their study, Amine and Staub (p.192) describe how the link between gender and environment determined the success or failure of women as entrepreneurs. However, the environment is not only determined by cultural and socio-economic conditions, it was also shaped by the women's perceptions of given business environment Minniti (2009, p. 5). Given those insights about prevailing aspects and their potential influence, this thesis aimed to achieve a balance of in terms of gender or religion.

Furthermore, through the arguments presented in relation to institutional systems and entrepreneurship, it can be argued that neo-institutional theory, following Scott's framework, provided an appropriate approach to investigate the effects of institutions on entrepreneurship in the settlement.

However, institutions, in particular the informal ones, could also be affected by the new and unfamiliar environment in which refugees find themselves after their displacement. To explore this possibility Bizri (2017) proposed to use a concept, which was applied in immigrant entrepreneurship. Although the field of immigrant entrepreneurship is different, the author sees the possibility of convergence in some aspects.

Drawing on the work of Watson (2009), who proposed the concept of identity-work, Bizri (2017) saw potential areas of conversion. Watson (2009, p. 257) conceptualized identity-work as *"the mutually constitutive processes whereby people strive to shape a relatively coherent and distinctive notion of personal self-identity and […] social identities that emerge in relationship to others in the various milieu in which they live their lives".* According to Bizri (2017), this concept is relevant for refugee entrepreneurship because these processes occur predominantly when individuals were confronted with an individual or collective crisis in which their struggle became existential. As a result, individuals might redefine who they are and who they want to be, which could be relative to their self-image or in their relation to others. In addition, it goes along with other sentiments, such as a feeling of belongingness or individuals' social identification, which describe the extent to which individuals feel their fate is connected to a specific group (Bizri, 2017, p. 3). Applying the identity-work concept to this study's context one could assume that, given the extreme situation of displacement, the refugees also experienced a shift in their normative or cultural-cognitive understanding and thus their relationship to others.

Coming to a conclusion, this section laid the theoretical foundation for the thesis by providing insights into the academic debate around entrepreneurship, institutions and refugees. For the purpose of this study, two variables have been selected and their theoretical framework

were explained. By applying Scott's (2001) institutional pillars to Kristiansen's (2002) process model of entrepreneurship, the potentially varying institutional effects on entrepreneurship can be studied and analyzed. It needs to be acknowledged that there is a variety of potentially interdependent variables that influence entrepreneurship inside the settlement. However, by taking an institutional approach this paper aimed to use a theory that can account for the unique circumstances of entrepreneurship inside a refugee camp.

2. 4 Analytical Framework

The following section will take its point of departure in the theoretical framework set out in the previous section. It serves to illustrate the different variables used and their dependencies. An illustration of the analytical framework used in this paper is shown in following figure:
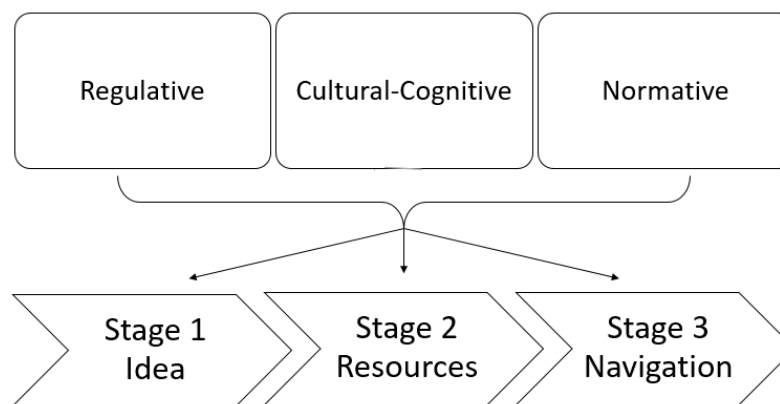
Figure 1 – Analytical Framework

The study used two variables, namely institutional systems and entrepreneurship stages, of which the latter are the dependent and the former the independent variable. Institutional factors were defined after Scott's (2001) three institutional pillars, which divided formal and informal institutions into regulative, cultural-cognitive and normative institutions. These form the institutional environment and are found at the top of the framework.

The dependent variable, entrepreneurship, was seen as a process and as such Kristiansen's (2002) three-stage model of entrepreneurship in a developing country was deemed suitable.

The three stages are found at the bottom of the framework. Due to the processual nature of Kristiansen's model, the framework shows the stages move from one to the other in one direction.

Since all three institutional dimensions could influence the individual stages of entrepreneurship differently they needed to be looked at separately. This meant that during the interviews, first the *idea* stage and the institutions which affected the refugee therein were investigated. Hereafter, the *resource* stage and the institutional links were considered, before the interview moved to the final stage and looked at the influence institutions had on *navigating the business*. In doing so, a body of data which showed the institutional effects at the respective stages was compiled.

This framework had two key advantages. First, by defining institutions as a mix of forces driven by individuals, culture, the host society's rules and laws, the many dimensions of institutions were holistically pictured. Therefore, the unique institutional environment of the refugee settlement could be better presented and understood. Second, by breaking entrepreneurship down into distinct stages this study was able to research the institutional effects at varying points in time and determine if the influence changed during the process. Furthermore, breaking down the process into distinguishable stages also facilitated a better understanding of the process by the refugees when the model was explained.

3 Methodology

The following chapter will present the methodology used in this paper, highlighting the approach to the research, its design, as well as the methodological choices made that led to the analysis.

3.1 Purpose

This master thesis aimed to shed light on the under-researched area of institutional factors and their effect on entrepreneurship amongst refugees inside settlements. As such, the target population of this study was formed by entrepreneurs inside Rwamwanja refugee settlement, located in Western Uganda. Through the extended exposure in the field this thesis provided a rich case that could make a significant contribution to knowledge. Due to the unique setting and abstinence of similar research, this thesis fulfilled an exploratory purpose by shedding light on a little researched subject.

My personal interest in this matter arose during an internship with UNDP, which I undertook between January and July 2017. At a conference, I met an UN official who previously gave a presentation on Uganda's Refugee Policy. She sparked my interest to investigate this widely lauded as the most generous refugee policy in the world and ensured her support in case I wanted to pursue this topic. It was through this support that I was given the right contact details to receive clearance to visit the settlement and gain access to the field. It has to be stressed that this support did not affect the research objectives nor the outcome, as the interaction and support took place prior to the field research in Rwamwanja. For the refugees, I was a neutral individual who was not affiliated to any organization that was working in the camp.

3.2 Strategy

The research design of this project was mono method, as solely qualitative research was applied. Furthermore, the thesis is of exploratory nature, as it aimed to explore the link

between refugee entrepreneurship and institutions. Exploratory research is often used in cases where one wishes to define the problem more precisely, identify relevant courses of action or gain additional insight before eventually concluding the findings (Saunders et al., 2012).

Regarding this study's research strategy, the chosen course of action was to make a case study. The most favorable advantage when conducting a case study lies in the fact that it allows the research topic to be explored within its context (Saunders et al., 2012). It was therefore expected that this project would gain a rich understanding of both its topic and the relevant context. This particular research strategy also facilitated an in-depth abductive study of specific areas of interest, while it also led to an understanding of processes and phenomena rather than generalizable measurements or new theories (Saunders et al., 2012). In order to ensure data credibility, sources of data were triangulated using semi-structured interviews with refugees as well as camp authorities in combination with field notes and secondary data.

3.3 Research Design

This study's design can be described as an intensive single case study of entrepreneuring refugees in Rwamwanja refugee settlement. The topic of refugee entrepreneurship is currently little understood and as this study aimed to understand the links between institutional factors and entrepreneurship from the view of the refugees, a case study offered a particularly useful approach. Too use the intensive case study methodology effectively, one has to understand and define the nature of this method first.

At the outset of the methodology, it is helpful to distinguish in what direction a research method should go. Sayer (1992) devised two broad categories of research methods, namely *extensive* and *intensive* (Sayer, 1992, p. 242ff). For intensive research, "*primary questions concern how some causal process works out in a particular case or limited number of cases*" (Sayer, 1992, p. 242). Furthermore, other implications that characterize the choice of an

intensive study design are the type of groups studied or methods applied. The target group of this thesis was refugee entrepreneurs, which falls in the definition of a *causal group*, because the members were either similar or related to each other structurally or causally (Sayer, 1992, p. 244). As intensive research sets out to obtain in depth knowledge of a given phenomenon, qualitative methods are the most applicable (Jeppesen, 2005, p. 5). However, it has to be mentioned that an intensive method is not limited to the use of single cases and that other methods can be chosen depending on the nature of the object of study (Sayer, 2000, p. 19). Yet, through the use of less formal and less standardized interviews, respondents are able to communicate freely, allowing the researcher to uncover the structural determinants affecting the individual's behavior (Sayer, 1992). As this thesis aimed to illustrate how refugees perceived institutions and how these institutions in turn affected their entrepreneurship, this design was deemed the most useful, as it offered a rich understanding of the individuals perception and interpretation of given circumstances (Yin, 2003).

When looking at case studies, Yin (2003, p.13) provided a useful definition that accounts for its twofold nature and the technical aspects required. The author defines a case study as "*an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident*". Here Yin already highlighted that in real-life situations *phenomenon* and *context* are not always distinguishable and that other technical characteristics, such as data collection or data analysis come into play as well. This is demonstrated in the second part of the author's definition. According to Yin (2003, p. 13),

> "*the case study inquiry copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis*".

This thesis followed a single case study design given the following rational. Firstly, due to the general lack of knowledge in academia on the influence of institutions on entrepreneurship amongst refugees in settlements, it was important to capture a holistic picture of the environment and understand the procedures therein. Through interviews with key persons and an extended stay inside one settlement and continued exposure therein, this study was able to capture, analyze and appreciate the nuances, which characterized the camp environment and influenced entrepreneurship. Baxter and Jack (2008, p. 556) also argue in favor of a prolonged and intense exposure to the phenomenon under study so that "*multiple perspectives can be collected and understood and […] potential for social desirability responses in interviews*" can be reduced. Jeppesen (2005) deemed the explorative design a necessary supplementation of Sayer's intensive and extensive design, when little attention has been given to the field by other researchers.

Secondly, the ethnic composition, geographic potential, age and the size of the settlements varied significantly across Uganda. As such, the dynamics of the various settlements were expected to be unique at each settlement and thus required a richer understanding opposed to generalizable findings. Paired with the research gap, referred to in the previous point, this study was able to contribute more to knowledge by laying the groundwork for future inquiry. Eaton (2010, p. 127) spoke in this regard about the importance of relation to existing theory and when "*little exists then one case can be enough to begin the process of theory creation*". Therefore, this study can be described as a case *of paradigmatic* nature (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 15ff). According to Flyvbjerg (2006), such cases function as a reference point for future research, as they demonstrate general attributes of the society studied.

Lastly, the use of a single case study is also a pragmatic choice given the limited time available. Access to the field was regulated by OPM and clearance needed to be granted before entering any settlement. Further, upon arrival, suitable research assistants or translators needed to be found and trained before the interviews were to be conducted. In addition, it was necessary to familiarize oneself with the camp structure and dynamics to guarantee

meaningful sampling. Due to the scope of this thesis, a single case study was deemed the most suitable as it would allow for an extended data collection in one settlement and consequently a better understanding of the camp dynamics.

Although Eisenhardt (1989) stressed the potential weaknesses of case studies, namely their limited generalizability and information-processing biases (Meyer, 2001, p. 332), she also provided examples when a case study design can be applicable. Eisenhardt's argument for case studies was that *"when little is known about a phenomenon […] theory building from case study research is particularly appropriate"* (1989, p. 548). The advantage hereby is that such research does not have to be founded on prior empirical evidence or existing literature. This understanding is in line with Sayer's argument about generalizability in an intensive research design and the author's critical stance towards generalizations. Overall, the preceding points have demonstrated that the choice of a single case study methodology is academically justified.

3.4 Philosophy of Science

The following section will elaborate on the philosophy of science applied in the thesis. It takes its point of departure in the school of thought of critical realism, of which Sayer (1992, 2000) was a proponent. It will further justify the argument of methodological choices made and validate the argument against generalization on the basis of a case study further.

Given the unique setting of the settlement a philosophy of science had to be determined which equipped the researcher with the appropriate lens. Through the use of critical realism, this study hopes to move beyond the immediate and find the causes behind the observed events.

Bhaskar (2008, p.2), the founding father of the school of thought of critical realism, conceptualizes this through an ontology using three distinct domains, namely the domains of the empirical, the actual and the real. The fundamental level is composed of the domain of the empirical, where 'experiences' are made and visible phenomena are being studied. These

are in turn part of 'events' which take place at the domain of the actual. These 'events' are a result of 'mechanisms' that operate at the domain of the real (Jeppesen, 2005, p. 4-5). Eaton (2010, p. 123) emphasizes that 'events' may be misunderstood or observed differently at the domain of the empirical and as such *"there is a process of interpretation that intervenes between the two domains"*.

This lead to the epistemological understanding that the world is socially construed (Easton, 2010) and critical realists aim to explain the relationship between experiences, events and mechanisms (Jeppesen, 2005, p.5). Sayer (2000, p. 17) described these social phenomena as intrinsically meaningful, yet "*meaning has to be understood, it cannot be measured or counted, and hence there is always an interpretative or hermeneutic element in social science*". Jeppesen (2005) therefore came to the conclusion that critical realism is particularly suited for questions that investigate how or why a certain phenomenon came about and the explanation thereof. As this thesis has an exploratory approach to find the operational links between institutions and refugees, critical realism provides a sound philosophical justification for the chosen study methodology.

Furthermore, critical realism offers a response to the critics who see a limitation in a study that cannot be generalized. First, according to Eaton (2010), it needs be questioned if any case study can reach a satisfactory sample size that would qualify for the use of statistical interference. However, should that be the case it would be debatable whether a study with such a large sample size could achieve the depth that one would seek (Eaton, 2010). In addition, the nature of the object of study, institutions, is a concrete in the sense that it is a product formed through multiple components and forces (Sayer, 2000, p. 19). As a result, such a system is always open, complex and rather messy, here critical realism "*with its focus on necessity and contingency rather than regularity, on open rather than closed systems, on the ways in which causal processes could produce quite different results in different context*" (Sayer, 2000, p. 5) offers a valuable perspective to contribute to our understanding of a phenomenon without claiming generalizability.

Bhaskar (2008, p. 2) objected positivism as *"it cannot show why or the conditions under which experience is significant in science"*. Other authors have shared this criticism. For instance, Eaton (2010, p. 118) describes positivism as providing "*atheoretical explanations"* by seeking to establish causal explanations based on the constant conjunction of elements or variables alone and failing to answer how or why an event occurred.

From an ontological point of view, critical realism acknowledges that reality exists objectively and that one can conceptualize and theorize about it, but critical realists do not claim to provide a total comprehensive understanding of a given problem (Jeppesen, 2005, Sayer, 1992). After all, reality is interpreted by individuals who act according to their understanding.

Given the arguments that outline the basic understanding of critical realism, it has been demonstrated how this approach is reflected in this thesis. Drawing extensively on Sayer and the author's proposition of intensive research design is in line with this school of thought. Furthermore, the thesis also follows Jeppesen's supplementation of Sayer's design by adding an explorative element to the research. Critical realism provides the philosophical justification for the selection of a single case and opens the researcher's eye to identify mechanisms, which do not necessarily present themselves directly.

3.5 Sources of Data

Given the chosen research design, the empirical framework of this thesis mainly consists of primary data collected during the field trip in Uganda, but also on secondary data to…...

3.5.1 Primary Data

The bulk of primary data collection was done through semi-structured interviews conducted during the field visit in Rwamwanja Refugee Settlement. The interviews were accompanied by daily field-observations and reflections, kept in the field diary. Data collection took place in November 2017, after approximately one month of preparation and awaiting approval by OPM and other relevant authorities in Kampala.

3.5.2 Secondary Data

To explore the background and context of the study as well as to compare the findings secondary data was also used. This included published academic journal articles, which formed the basis for the theoretical framework. Reports as well as grey literature, such as press releases or websites etc., on Ugandan's refugee response and policies, dynamics and entrepreneurship in refugee settlements provided further insights and different perspectives.

3.5.3 Data Collection Procedures

Before the interviews could take place, access to the field had to be gained. First, clearance was sought from the OPM. Further, two translators or research assistants had to be recruited for the interviews. Since English was not widely spoken amongst the refugees, suitable translators had to be found who were fluent in English, Kiswahili and French. Given the limited time in the field and to reduce possible cultural barriers, it was deemed suitable to select translators who were refugees living in the settlement, because they offered additional insights into the settlement dynamics. One female and one male translator were selected to overcome potential gender-based barriers. Both translators had prior experience in doing surveys and questionnaires in the field; however conducting semi-structured interviews was new to them. As such, initial training on interview techniques, probing and ethics was undertaken. The translators assisted with the recruitment of participants, explaining the study design, answering potential questions, and the translation of consent forms.

Furthermore, a preliminary field visit, covering approximately one quarter of the settlement, was done with the translators and acted an initial reference point for the planning of the interviews.

The biggest group of interviewees was composed of entrepreneurial active refugees, since the study set out to investigate their perception of institutions. Other groups included representatives of formal organizations, such as OPM, police or the United Nations agencies.

There were two sets of interview guides, one for the entrepreneuring refugees and one for representatives of formal organizations or similar regulative institutional actors. The two interview guides varied in scope and structure. Whereas the interviews with the entrepreneurs looked at the institutional effects at the different stages of their entrepreneurial process, the one targeting institutional actors mainly served to gain additional knowledge, understand the structural environment from their point of view and thereby triangulate findings. As such, the selection of candidates for the interviews also varied. Whereas, the institutional actors were chosen based on their rank or position within the system, more rigor was applied when choosing the refugee entrepreneurs. First, the camp was divided into four quadrants to ensure that the sampling took place across the settlement and was not restricted to one area. Although randomization was not deemed as important as in a quantitative research, this measure guaranteed that location advantages or disadvantages within the settlement would be accounted for, e.g. proximity to police headquarter or main market. Second, at least four interviews were supposed to be conducted in each quadrant, of which two would be with male and two with female refugees. This goal was achieved, although the sample had a slightly higher rate of males. In total 23 individual interviews were conducted, of which 20 were with refugee entrepreneurs and three with institutional actors. Third, apart from the gender, the interviews aimed to include the variety of religions, and show varying professions that exist in the settlement, e.g. trader, restaurant owner and pharmacist (see Appendix 1 for a detailed breakdown of the interviewees). The selection of participants usually took place on an ad hoc basis, which meant that the research team would select an area to be visited and then approach different businesses.

In addition to the individual interviews, two focus group discussions were held. One group consisted of five males and the other of nine females. In both cases, the participants were part of a business group that had been formed inside the settlement. This had the advantage that the participants had a higher degree of trust amongst each other and it was assumed that this would encourage them to speak openly.

All interviews were conducted at the home and/or workplace of the individuals. This was particularly important for the interviews with the refugees, as sensitive and personal information were disclosed. Where possible, the interview was digitally recorded, however, given the nature of questions and security concerns of the individual, the participants had the possibility to refrain from being recorded. If they chose to do so and wanted to participate they had to sign or provide a fingerprint on a form of informed consent (see Appendix 2), which was translated to them by the research assistant. The length of the interviews varied depending on the type of interview and language spoken. The interviews with institutional actors lasted between 20 to 35 minutes, whereas the interviews with the refugees were between 55 to 135 minutes. Most interviews were conducted in Kiswahili and accompanied by transcribing and writing down observation during the interview, e.g. interaction with spouse, state of the house, clothing etc. Since the aim was to use verbatim transcription, especially in order to capture the informal institutional effects on the refugees, special attention was devoted to the transcription. When direct quotes were used, they were changed to direct speech. This slight modification as well as the fact that they were translated needs to be taken into account when considering the quality of the data (see Appendix 1 for an indication which interviews were held in English and which were translated).

In addition to the interviews, extensive field notes were taken during the stay in Rwamwanja Refugee Settlement. Here, the observations during the interviews were noted and reflected upon as well as other observations that took place during the day. At times informal conversations with Ugandan nationals, police officers or aid workers offered critical insights that would have been difficult to retrieve through formal interviews. These observations were noted down daily in the field diary and complemented the findings made in the interviews. On top of the *descriptive notes*, *methodological* and *analytic notes* were also taken (Bernard, 2002, p. 373ff). Through the daily reflection on the methods used, weaknesses in the interview guide were discovered and adjusted. Furthermore, the use of analytical notes eased the discovery emerging patters and repetitive findings and allowed to determine whether saturation in the data collection had been achieved. The field notes also

served the purpose of establishing credibility through the use of data triangulation (Baxter & Jack, 2008).

3.6 Data Analysis

The data collected was constantly analyzed, interpreted and reflected upon, in order to see how the analytical framework or methodology held up in the field. The final analysis of the data was conducted after the researcher felt that saturation of the research question had been achieved. Knowing that saturation is also caused by one's own interpretation, it had to be acknowledged that it might have been flawed or important dimensions had been missed out. Given the three dimensions of the empirical, the actual and the real, any idea that came from these dimensions was an interpretation. Furthermore, Easton (2010, p.124) points towards the problem of the double hermeneutic, which researchers face when analyzing respondent based data. As such, constant reflection by the researcher was required to understand the researcher's role within the study.

Upon completion of the data collection, a process of familiarization with the newly acquired data took place. After revisiting the data several times, recurrent themes and trends were picked out and written down as initial codes. These were then condensed in order to derive key themes, which in the next phase were applied to the data at hand. In doing so, certain clusters of similar findings were grouped under textual codes and charted accordingly. In the final phase, the scope of the findings was compared against the backdrop of the analytical framework (Pope et al., 2000).

As part of the analysis, respondents were given acronyms in order ensure their anonymity (see Appendix 1 for a comprehensive list of all participants).

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Because the focus of this study was on a marginalized and vulnerable group, certain ethical considerations and standards had to be fulfilled. Before the interview, the participants were

informed about the purpose of the study, their anonymity and that they could withdraw at any point or not answer certain questions without giving a reason. Afterwards, only refugees who had given written or oral consent were allowed to participate in the study. Refugees under the age of 18 were not considered as they compromised an especially vulnerable group and there was a risk that they would not fully comprehend the risks and benefits of participating in a research study.

The interviews aimed to not harm or discomfort participants. The order of questions asked during the interview was adapted to the participants' answers. As such, some questions were reformulated or left out when the research team thought that they are inappropriate or sensitive and potentially distressing to the participant. The refugees were interviewed at their home or business to ensure privacy and confidentiality. All sensitive data and interview scripts were kept confidentially disclosed on a laptop that was only accessible by the primary researcher. All participants were assigned a random study number (ID) and all identifiable data were altered. No names or other identifiable data will appear in any research protocol or thesis. Data will only be transferred to other research teams with the participant's consent.

However, local confidentiality could not be ensured because participants may be able to identify each other. As a precaution, the translators had to sign a nondisclosure agreement in which they agreed that none of the information they obtained would be shared with a third party.

Clearance to visit Rwamwanja Refugee Settlement and conduct the study was granted by the Commissioner for Refugees at OPM on 18. October 2017. No instructions or limitations on how to conduct the study were given. The findings of the study will be shared with OPM upon completion.

Despite the risks of conducting research amongst vulnerable groups, the benefits of getting a deeper understanding of the economic lives as well institutional links to entrepreneurship justify this research. Furthermore, as it has been demonstrated, various measures were taken in order to minimize the risks for the participants.

4 Case Presentation

This chapter sets out to give a richer understanding of the case and provide a justification for the chosen study location. First, the Ugandan context and the country's refugee policy in particular will be looked at. The section hereafter describes the ongoing conflict in the DRC in order to understand the causes for the continuing influx of Congolese refugees into Uganda *as well as* the nature of the conflict since it still affects the people in the settlement. The final section of this chapter then presents the case of Rwamwanja Refugee Settlement, looking at the settlement's location, structure and setup.

4.1 The Ugandan Context

The Republic of Uganda is a landlocked country in East Africa with approximately 42 million inhabitants. It is bordered with South Sudan in the north, Kenya in the east, Tanzania and Rwanda in the south and in the west by the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Despite Uganda's location in a troubled region, which struggles with war, terrorism and the repercussions of the Rwandan genocide, the country has remained politically stable after the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) is no longer active in Uganda (World Bank, 2016). It is mainly due to the surrounding conflicts that the country has had a long history in hosting refugees, despite its own domestic problems.

Uganda has a low Human Development Index (HDI) and is amongst the 30 least developed countries on the planet (UNDP, 2016). Although the country is on a positive trajectory, between 1990 and 2015 Uganda's HDI value increased by circa 60 percent, it still suffers from widespread inequality and corruption (UNDP, 2016). An income Gini coefficient that places Uganda at 164 out of 187 countries (World Bank, 2013) and a corruption perception index that sees Uganda at place 151 out of 176 (Transparency International, 2017) highlights these circumstances. In economic terms, Uganda continues to achieve modest gross domestic product growth (AFDB, 2017). Although the rate in 2016 was with 4.8 percent slightly lower than in 2015, the general prediction is around 5 percent for the years 2017 and 2018 (AFDB,

2017). Despite the economic hardship that Ugandan nationals must endure, 31 percent of the country's population lives in extreme poverty (World Data Laboratory, 2017), Uganda remains an open-door policy towards refugees and has been praised for its liberal approach.

This raises the question why Uganda continues to receive refugees despite its own domestic challenges. One possible explanation lies in Uganda's own violent history. A series of wars and internal struggles forced many Ugandans, including current president Museveni and other members of the present government, into displacement themselves (Jallow et al., 2004). Thus, they experienced firsthand the hardship of flight and the trauma that comes with it. Another aspect is the shared ethnicity, including languages and cultures that different communities in Uganda have in common with their neighbors. This similarity also accounts for the prevalence of a Pan-Africanistic ideology[2], which has been advocated by many postcolonial African leaders and the current president of Uganda, and could provide an additional explanation for Uganda's open refugee policy (World Bank, 2016).

Despite the good intentions, one can also identify an economic incentive behind Uganda's widely applauded policy. Firstly, by placing refugees in underutilized regions in the country, they contribute to the agricultural or economic development of the area (Jacobsen, 2002). Another aspect is that the presence of refugees also brings international humanitarian and development organizations into the country. In order to deliver their aid, these organizations develop the local infrastructure, e.g. in the form of building roads, schools or hospitals, from which the host community can also benefit in the long run. Additionally, a recent study in Uganda has shown that humanitarian assistance to refugees created significant economic benefits for the local economy (Zhu et al., 2016), further strengthening the argument of an economic incentive for Uganda's government.

There is also political dimension to Uganda's refugee policy. Reports suggest that there are also opposition members and rebels from the neighboring countries amongst the refugees

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[2] As a political ideology Pan-Africanism seeks to promote solidarity and cooperation for people of African descent, irrespective of an individual's ethnicity or place of origin (Katembo, 2008; Cooper, 1994).

who find shelter in Uganda's settlements (Human Rights Watch, 2017; Schlindwein, 2017). For the government of Uganda, these groups are a political asset as they can be used to put their neighbors under pressure. Schlindwein (2017) therefore concludes that the current president Museveni is using the refugees to established Uganda as a major power in East Africa.

Despite this criticism, Uganda does have a remarkably progressive refugee policy compared to other countries. Yet, the policy has its own challenges and with an abundance of structural domestic problems and an increasing number of refugees coming in, it is a question of time how long this approach can be sustained in the future. As such, it is important to not praise Uganda's policy as the global gold standard for refugees, but to acknowledge its strengths and address the weaknesses.

4.2 Uganda's Refugee Policy

Since 1950, the country has continuously hosted over 165,000 refugees each year (UNDP, 2016). Due to ongoing conflicts in the neighboring countries, Uganda has experienced a sharp rise of incoming refugees, with the majority currently arriving from South Sudan. In the first half of 2017, approximately 300,000 people arrived from South Sudan alone to seek refuge (UNHCR, 2017b). As such, Uganda currently hosts over 1.3 million refugees and asylum seekers, which makes it the largest refugee hosting country on the African continent (see Appendix 3 for the current map of Uganda with all hosting areas and settlements).

Uganda's refugee policy is embodied in the 2006 Refugee Act[3] and 2010 Refugees Regulation[4] which guarantees registered refugees freedom of movement, access to public services, such

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[3] Replaced the 1960 Control of Alien Refugees Act with a more comprehensive and progressive law. It became effective in 2008 and its provisions incorporated all international and regional standards for refugee protection as provided in the 1951 United Nations convention, the 1967 protocol, and the 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) convention into municipal law (World Bank, 2016, p. 12).

[4] A piece of subsidiary legislation issued by the Office of the Prime Minister in 2010. It constitutes the last major aspect of the three-tier architecture that comprises the comprehensive legal protection framework for refugees (international, regional, and national). It had the legal effect of incorporating international and regional treaties into Uganda's domestic laws, so that they became legally enforceable by Ugandan courts (World Bank, 2016, p. 12).

as education or health, the right to settle and cultivate on government owned land within the settlements, and the right to seek employment or start a business in Uganda (World Bank, 2016).

The legal framework, which regulates the protection of refugees, is comprised of three dimensions, namely international conventions and declarations, regional agreements, and national legislation and regulations (World Bank, 2016). It is only through this multitier approach that the Ugandan government is able to maintain its open-door policy, as it gives donors, neighboring countries and the host community the necessary legal security and accountability. Furthermore, refugees are and remain a central aspect in the governments planning. This is demonstrated through the Settlement Transformative Agenda[5], a refugee specific strategy that is part of the National Development Plan II (NDP II), as well as by the fact that the implementation of these measures is administered by the OPM. The OPM is a government ministry that forms the executive branch of the government, which administers the coordination, and implementation of policies across ministries, departments and other public institutions (Government of Uganda, 2017).

Since the 1940s, the Ugandan government has settled refugees in rural camps across the country (Ilcan et al., 2015). As these camps are generally not fenced off and have a *village-style* infrastructure, including small market areas, churches and businesses, they are referred to by the Ugandan authorities as settlements that ensure a better quality of life for the refugees (OPM, 2015).

The scale of Uganda's refugee policy becomes clear when it is compared to the way other nations deal with refugees. Looking at Kenya, to stay in the East African context, the country has enforced a strict encampment policy in which all refugees that reside in urban areas are

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[5] A three-phase government-led initiative which is rolled out over five years. It aims to achieve self-reliance for refugees and to create durable solution in refugee hosting areas by promoting social development that protects national and local interest (World Bank, 2016).

required to move into designated camps. Furthermore, work permits are infrequently issued and the risks of working in the informal economy are high (LOC, 2016).

However, some authors criticize the restrictive encampment policy because the rural locations of the settlements potentially hinder integration into Ugandan society (Ilcan et al., 2015). Furthermore, a number of these remote settlements have limited or no access to markets and transport systems, which is another obstacle for local integration.

Furthermore and despite the general positive media coverage that Uganda has received by news agencies in the global north (see The Guardian, 2017; Spiegel Online, 2017), there are a number of concerns and negative developments in Uganda. Amongst them is the rapid influx of refugees from South Sudan into Uganda, which put the system under immense pressure. As these refugees entered into northern Uganda, an area that is structurally underdeveloped and marked by widespread poverty, a situation arose in which the settlements could not live up to the country's refugee policy. This led to increasing tensions between refugees and the host community, as both groups had to compete over scarce resources and jobs in the region (Schiltz & Titeca, 2017; BBC, 2017). As such, the settlements and refugee situation in the north are now fundamentally different compared to ones in the west or south (BBC, 2017).

In the light of global migration flows and the ongoing influx of refugees into Uganda, the country's liberal policy makes this case particularly interesting and highly relevant. Giving refugees the chance to economically integrate themselves into the host country will not only stipulate a better relationship with the host community but also enables refugees to make a direct positive economic contribution (Betts et al., 2014). However, as the experience from Uganda has shown, it is important that the host community can actively benefit from these contributions to achieve peaceful coexistence or even integration. Although Uganda's approach can certainly not be copied one to one by other countries and has its flaws, it can serve as a point of departure for future debates on refugee policies, their rights and the economic potential that is inherent to this group.

4.3 The Conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Refugees hosted in Uganda come from a variety of countries, mainly South Sudan, the DRC, Burundi and Somalia. With nearly 230,000 people from the DRC, the Congolese form the second largest refugee group in the country. In 2016, about 40,000 new Congolese refugees arrived in Uganda and for 2017 the estimated number is estimated to increase to 60,000 (UNHCR, 2017b). Due to a continuous influx of refugees from the DRC into Uganda, a closer look at the reasons for flight needs to be taken in order to understand the reason for their displacement.

The DRC has experienced a succession of wars and lower scale conflicts since 1996, but in the bloodiest period between 1998-2008, over five million people died (Maystadt et al, 2013). Although the death toll and the number of people affected through displacement vary depending on the consulted sources, they give an indication of the sheer magnitude and hardship that the Congolese experienced.

The causes of the Congo Wars are manifold and complex. Maystadt et al. (2013, p.7) list a variety of factors found in the literature, such as "t*he weakness and inefficiency of Mobutu's[6] regime, ethnic polarization, spillover effects from the Rwandan genocide, regional control by foreign powers and natural wealth"* (see Prunier, 2009; Vlassenroot & Raeymaekers, 2004). This corresponds to the reports of refugees who described their main reason for flight being the activities of the militia, general insecurity and experienced harassment (UNHCR, 2017b).

Although the circumstances of the ongoing conflict are intermingled, they are rooted in the first Congolese War (1996-1997), which started when the Alliance des Forces Démocratiques pour la Libération du Congo (AFDL) fought against the Mobutu government. The following second Congolese war (1998-2003) was the immediate result and involved even more international actors. It was described to have been used to fight off proxy wars in the region.

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[6] Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu Wa Za Banga (1930-1997) was a military dictator and President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo from 1965 to 1997.

After the end of the war, rivaling armed groups and gangs remained active in the country and continue to do so (Maystadt et al., 2013, p. 7-9). Olsson and Fors (2004, p. 321) describe that *"a primary reason for the continuation of the fighting has been a desire to gain control of easily appropriable and highly valuable natural resources [such as coltan, gold, oil and timber]"*. Although this is a valid and often quoted reason, other factors, such as tribalism or struggles over political power, should not be forgotten or underestimated (Vlassenroot & Raeymaekers, 2004).

In the particular case of Rwamwanja, the reopening of the refugee settlement was a response to the high numbers of incoming refugees from eastern Congo due to new fights between the break-away militia M-23[7] and the DRC national army (FARDC), as well as other local armed groups such as the Mai Mai and the Forces démocratiques de libération du Rwanda (FDLR), in 2012 (UNHCR, 2014).

4.4 The Case for Rwamwanja Refugee Settlement

At the time of writing, there were 22 refugee settlements in Uganda. Rwamwanja was deemed a suitable study location due to several factors. Firstly, many settlements in the north can currently not live up to the national policy, e.g. in regard to the amount of land allocated to refugees. By opting for a settlement that was not heavily affected by the South Sudanese influx, it was assumed that the Ugandan model, with its rights and obligations for refugees, could be better observed.

A second reason for the selection of Rwamwanja as study location was that the data suggested that Congolese refugees dominate the self-employment sector with 41 percent in Uganda (World Bank, 2016). Choosing a settlement with Congolese refugees was therefore deemed a suitable choice to start the investigation, as it would ensure a variety of

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[7] March 23 Movement (M-23) is a rebellion led by mostly Tutsi officers who had been part of the Congrès national pour la défense du peuple (CDNP) rebel group. M23 relied on support from Rwandan's military. Between April 2012 and November 2013, when the group was defeated, M23 fighters committed widespread abuses, including summary executions, rape, and recruitment of children (HRW, 2017).

entrepreneurs in the target population. Refugees from the DRC are currently hosted in four settlements across southwestern Uganda, namely Rwamwanja, Nakivale, Kyaka II and Kyangwali. As Rwamwanja presents the youngest settlement out of the group, incoming refugees from the DRC are primarily settled here.

In relation to the previous point, women in Rwamwanja were found to be the most economically active in terms of self-employment out of all settlements in Uganda (World Bank, 2016). As one hypothesis of this thesis is in relation to female entrepreneurs, a study location with a high percentage was sensible and pragmatic choice. Furthermore, it might be the institutional environment at Rwamwanja that encourages entrepreneurship amongst female refugees.

The last factor was that Rwamwanja is mainly a mononational settlement. Several studies have shown that the nationality of a refugee affects the livelihood strategy pursued (see Betts et al., 2014 or World Bank, 2016). Hence, choosing Rwamwanja allowed the study to take place in a more controlled environment. In line with the exploratory nature of the research and the lack of similar studies, this choice is justified to establish a point of reference for future research.

4.4.1 Rwamwanja Refugee Settlement

Rwamwanja refugee settlement is located in Kamwenge District, Western Uganda, and was reopened in 2012 (UNHCR, 2014). It currently hosts 76,816 refugees of which the vast majority is of Congolese origin (UNHCR, 2017b). Due to its proximity to the DRC, Rwamwanja was for a long time a mononational settlement. However, because of the ongoing crisis in South Sudan and the resulting influx of refugees into Uganda, the Ugandan government is currently allocating refugees and asylum seekers from the northern districts to Rwamwanja. Nonetheless, refugees from the DRC still constitute the visible majority of the settlement's population and have shaped the settlement through the presence of Congolese products, fashion and music.

Rwamwanja refugee settlement covers an area of approximately 130 square kilometers (UNHCR, 2014). The administrative unit, including the headquarters of OPM, the police, UN agencies and NGOs, is located at the base camp in the northwestern part of the settlement. In close proximity is the main trading center of Katalyeba, which the refugees share with Ugandan nationals. The settlement is divided into a total of 36 villages (UNHCR, 2014). Each of those villages is represented through an official chairman elected from and by the refugee population. These chairpersons act in many cases as the intermediaries between OPM and the refugees and represent the refugees' interest at the Refugee Welfare Council (RWC), which is an official body that speaks on behalf of all refugees in the settlement and is recognized by OMP and UN agencies.

The settlement is administered at the top level by OPM, which is represented by the on-site settlement management team. This body consists of 18 staff members and is led by the Settlement Commandant. Key responsibilities of OPM include, but are not exclusive, to advise government and other stakeholders on refugee matters, provide physical protection, improve the settlement's infrastructure and enhance refugee livelihoods through the provisioning of income generating activities (Government of Uganda, 2017).

The opportunities for self-employment inside the settlement are manifold and similar to the activities undertaken in Ugandan villages. As such, one finds wholesale shops, retail businesses, tailoring, local brewing, restaurants etc. Goods are largely brought in through frequent taxi buses or the daily bus that comes from Kampala. A big market, covering the size of 2-3 hectares, takes place twice a month near Katalyeba. Here, Ugandan nationals as well as Congolese refugees trade their products and imported goods, ranging from fruit and vegetables to Congolese fashion and livestock. Despite the similarities to rural villages, it must not be forgotten that they offer shelter to a particularly vulnerable group. This makes the settlements a special case, because the people inside are affected by internal conflicts from their home country, such as tribalism, and need to be protected from potential external

hostilities posed by the surrounding host community[8] or different nationalities in the settlement.

[8] Whilst assessing the land to prepare for the arrival of Congolese refugees, the first commandant of Rwamwanja refugee settlement was killed by a mop of Ugandan nationals. The locals, who had been using the land for farming and their livestock, were driven out and left to find new areas to cultivate or feed their livestock. Refugees reported that in 2012/2013 they had to wear weapons (wooden sticks, machetes etc.) to protect themselves from angry nationals. The tensions have been reduced due to the visible benefits of hosting refugees (development of Katalyeba trading centre) and policies that required the employment of Ugandan nationals by aid agencies and shared services with the refugees.

5 Findings

The following chapter will provide an analysis of how the interviewed refugees perceived the effects of institutional systems on their entrepreneurship process in Rwamwanja. The chapter is structured according to the three types of institutions. First, the effect of regulative institutions and their executing organizations will be presented. Afterwards, the findings in relation the to the cultural-cognitive and normative dimensions are shown. The final section will provide a joint discussion in which the three types of institutions are combined and applied to the stage model.

5.1 "We needed the security to start" – The Importance of Regulative Institutions, Policies and the Impact of perceived Security

Although the regulative environment in the settlement, which was strongly shaped by Uganda's refugee policies, visibly facilitated entrepreneurship amongst the refugees, it was not frequently mentioned during the interviews. From the responses given it became apparent that it was the *visible presence of actors*, which could enforce given rules and laws that encouraged and assured the refugees to start a business.

The refugees described how they initially sought assurance from the external regulative organizations to appraise and evaluate the financial and social risks of running a business inside a refugee settlement. Reportedly, a common fear was that hostile tribes or Ugandan nationals would rob or attempt to ruin their business or hurt their families. Many refugees mentioned that these fears were particularly common in the early days of the settlement, between the years 2012 and 2014, when the camp was growing rapidly and clear rules had not been established yet. These fears towards others were less dominant amongst refugees who had become entrepreneurs after 2014. However, despite a decrease in perceived threat, these entrepreneurs still attributed great importance to the presence and actions by the police and OPM, as it would ensure that *security* was upheld and thus risks for their businesses be continuously reduced.

5.1.1 Policy

Albeit part of the regulative dimension, the existing refugee policies by the Ugandan government were generally not addressed by the interviewed refugees. When asked about the impact the policies had it became apparent that perceptions of what the rights and obligations of refugees were varied greatly amongst the respondents. Concerning the obligations, some refugees believed that they did not have to pay tax, whilst others thought that they needed to pay a registration fee as well as taxes to the Kamwenge district officials. On the other hand, some of the rights that refugees were entitled to were taken for granted. Since the responses regarding the policies varied drastically amongst the interviewees it cannot be conclusively determined in which ways it affected entrepreneurship, however the observations suggest that they had a positive impact since they facilitated and legalized entrepreneurship.

A positive example of an entrepreneur who was well informed about the policies was a carpenter. He arrived in the settlement in 2012 as one of the first refugees to be settled in Rwamwanja. To start his business, he only needed some carpentry tools, which he brought from the DRC, and some timber, which was available near the settlement. Due to the Ugandan refugee policy, he was able to start his business and purchase the required timber from national suppliers *"without any problems"* (R15). Nonetheless, he also reported that there was not a lot of trust between the nationals and refugees in the beginning, which he at times even described as "hostile" (R15).

His response leads to the next section, which discusses the aspect of security. Although the refugee policies of Uganda provided the entrepreneurs with a legal framework in which the refugees were granted rights, it was often not sufficient or unknown to them. The carpenter, as well the majority of other entrepreneurs, saw the presence of the police and OPM, *as the enforcing agents of regulative institutions,* as the most important dimension and expression of the regulative institutions.

The carpenter reported that he relied on the police several times in the beginning in order to solve disputes with Ugandan nationals who wanted to take advantage of his vulnerable position. His example demonstrates the impact regulative institutions can have on the entire entrepreneurship process. However, the policy itself is not sufficient; it needs to be carried by institutional organizations that have the local authority, capacity and are willing to enforce given rules and regulations. Furthermore, this example demonstrates that, although security was generally described as a necessity in first and second stage, it also remains an important dimension throughout the whole process.

5.1.2 Security

Given the nature of the conflict in the DRC and the situation in which the refugees had been placed, dimensions such as *security* and *trust* cannot be underestimated. The term 'security' was frequently mentioned during the interviews. In specific, *security* was described as the enabling factor that created an environment in which refugees could build *trust*, both towards Ugandan nationals as well as fellow refugees. In the interviews, *security* was also predominantly associated with regulative actors, namely the police. Although policies, rules or informal institutions can also provide the individual with a sense of security, for most respondents it was predominantly associated through visible external forces.

Most respondents described in detail how the security situation had been in the DRC prior to their displacement, in particular how relatives would suddenly disappear or were killed in front of their eyes, how rebels came into their villages to plunder or that the police needed to be bribed for protection. In addition, several refugees reported that they had witnessed how successful business owners in the DRC were under an even higher risk to be robbed, murdered or forced to pay large amounts to the rebel groups or state actors. Refugees, who had operated prior businesses in the DRC, told how they had tried to remain invisible or operate at a small scale in order to not attract any unnecessary attention from the various hostile actors. This caused the majority to live in a "*constant state of fear*" (R7) and ambiguity about their future. Although, most of the described atrocities were carried out based on

tribalist motives, the constant level of uncertainty and fear made it difficult for the refugees to even trust people from their own kin. This fear was also carried into the settlements, since some of the rebel fighters migrated alongside noncombatant refugees to Uganda. As such, it was not clear who was foe or friend when the refugees started settling in Rwamwanja in 2012, and to an extend it is still not entirely clear today.

In addition to the uncertainty about the motives and backgrounds of their fellow nationals, the experienced failure of the regulative institutions to uphold security in the DRC also led to an immense mistrust towards formal institutional actors in general. This suspicion is not unjustified, as the Deputy in Charge and Operational Commander of the local police unit confirmed:

> *"In fact, they [the refugees] had that experience that when they start business*
> *[in the DRC] they equally be robbed by mostly the security personnel, but now*
> *they get us and for us, we are free with them, we interact with them, there is*
> *no way of saying bring that money here. No no! They have enjoyed that peace."*
> (POL)

Although the refugees reported that it had been difficult to trust the police at first, due to their negative experiences made in the DRC, over time they "*learned that we can trust them [police and OPM] and that they treat us well here*" (R14).

Another threat was reported by respondents who settled in Rwamwanja in 2012 and 2013. They described that they had faced hostility faced by the local community, which was upset about the reopening of the refugee settlement. According to current commandant, local farmers had used the lands to grow crops and feed their livestock, while the settlement was closed for years. However, they had then been driven out by OPM prior to the arrival of refugees, which had caused outrage in the community. So much that it had erupted into a violent conflict, in which the first commandant of Rwamwanja had been killed by an angry mop and groups of Ugandan nationals roamed through the settlement with wooden sticks

and machetes "*to beat or kill*" (R14) the refugees. The situation had forced the refugees protect themselves and/or seek help from the authorities. One respondent stated that "*in the beginning, we had to carry wooden sticks to protect ourselves from the Ugandans*" (R14). As the hostilities by the host community had also been geared towards the police and OPM, the refugees had witnessed how these actors were protecting them and that they would also prosecute Ugandan nationals, if necessary. In this regard, one respondent stated: "*Seeing that the police is on our side was really important, it assured us that we are seen equal and that worth as much as the Ugandans*" (R14).

Under the impression of these statements, it can be explained why in particular security was described as such an important dimension for refugees when considering starting a business in the refugee settlement. The first and second stage of the entrepreneurship process are characterized through a high level of uncertainty, in which entrepreneurs have to evaluate the opportunity costs and the risks associated starting a business idea. Due to this uncertainty and the perceived fragile stability in the settlement, the security provided by formal organizations was a key in the entrepreneurs' first two phases. In this regard, one respondent said that *"knowing that you won't get robbed was a good feeling and encouraged me to start"* (R**12**). Another refugee entrepreneur told that he *"couldn't afford to lose it'll again"* (R9), but with the constant presence of reliable state actors he had found the "*courage to take the risk"* (R9) and to start a business. As a result, the perceived security had not only assured them personal safety but also had given encouragement to take risks by opting for additional income generating activities. Overall, at the time of the interviews the refugees felt *"safe"* (R18), *"well protected"* (R8) and *"secure"* (R15) in Rwamwanja settlement.

However, it appeared as internal threats towards security still existed. Amongst the most significant were allegedly the activities of former combatants that entered Uganda and the camps alongside the refugees, either to stop their fighting or with the aim of reorganizing and returning to the DRC. A report issued by Human Rights Watch (2017) described how the influx of rebels disguised as refugees brought the conflict of the DRC into Uganda and the

settlements. During the period of data collection, no actions by the rebels or signs of a violent tribal conflict inside the settlement were witnessed, and according to the police, former combatants had been successfully identified and placed in a separate, undisclosed settlement (POL). However, informal conversations with refugees and Ugandan nationals, which took place outside the interview settings and without the research assistants, revealed that the threat persisted. In support of this claim was the circumstance that the majority of refugees strongly opposed the idea of being recorded. Two respondents openly voiced their concern about potentially negative consequences if they spoke too critically. When asked who these groups were no further comments were given. Out of the 21 individual interviews with entrepreneurs, one interview had to be stopped after 40 minutes, as the respondent became too anxious about the questions regarding tribes and conflict in the settlement. These observations provided a new perspective on the refugees' statements made in the interviews, which generally portrayed a positive picture.

When asked about the presence of former and active rebels in the settlement, the Deputy in Charge of the police stated that: „Some *of them [refugees] were former combatants who were picked out and sent to barracks, but of course they have relatives here and they can easily come*" (POL), confirming that claim that fighters can easily access and reside in the settlement.

Through the examples above it was highlighted that the role of regulative institutions had been a crucial component of the entrepreneurship process, in particular for the first and second phase. Due to the traumatic and drastic experiences that the refugees have made prior to their displacement, there was an urgent need for security that would stipulate trust between the refugees as well the police. Through their actions, the police as the enforcing organization of rules and regulations was able to establish a sufficient level of trust and security between them and the refugees. It was through this sense of security that gave the refugees *"room to breathe*" (R7) and encouraged to think of additional income generating activities as well as to take the risk to pursue their idea. Both refugees and security personnel

had the consistent view that the impact of external threats significantly decreased over the years. However, the refugees still regarded security as an important dimension for entrepreneurship. Here the observations about the continuation of internal threats can offer interesting insights. However, due to limited responses no conclusive statement can be made.

5.2. "We have to come together as refugees, as Congolese, and overcome our cultural differences" - The Influence of Cultural-Cognitive Institutions

Although Rwamwanja solely hosted refugees from the DRC, unlike other refugee settlements in Uganda, it is made up of various religious convictions as well as tribes and thus the settlement's population can be described as culturally diverse. As the foregoing section has already highlighted tribal conflicts, rooted in the history of the violent conflict in the DRC, were potentially still affecting the settlement's dynamics. Although the perception of the situation in the settlement at the time of the study was described in different ways by numerous parties, the tension when Rwamwanja reopened in 2012 was undisputed by all respondents. The police chief described the situation as follows: *"there was a serious threat over the ethnicity; you get the Tutsi and Hutu [...] In the beginning it was so common, that a Tutsi could not imagine to sit together with a Hutu"* (POL). Through the community involvement and sensitization efforts by NGOs, along with OPM, the visible violent incidents had, according to the police, reportedly decreased. The observations made during the field study supported this claim.

When looking at the cultural impact on entrepreneurship two aspects received the most attention by the refugees. First were the local power structures around the villages' chairperson and elders. Although these cultural leaders became increasingly formalized through the use of elections, they still emanated a cultural influence and operated in informal ways. In this regard, the varying role of gender in the perception of institutions was also the most prominent in this dimension.

Another finding concerning the cultural-cognitive system was the presence of businesses cooperatives, in which refugees of previously hostile tribes or religious beliefs worked alongside each other. In doing so, they demonstrated a powerful change in the cultural self-perception and social identification of the refugees, thus enabling new forms of entrepreneurship.

5.2.1 Formalizing the local Power Structure

In Rwamwanja each of the 36 villages had a chairperson and a council, which the refugees referred to as the elders. This structure was reportedly similar to a village structure found in the DRC. The tasks of a chairperson was to give advice to the villagers and mediate dispute between refugees. For the majority of interviewed refugees the chairperson had the cultural legitimacy to intervene in a conflict and give a ruling on a case. Thus, most of the interviewed entrepreneurs reported that they would first seek the advice of the chairperson before consulting any other authority. Judging from the statements made, the chairperson and the elders only affected entrepreneurship when the business was already running. Although the entrepreneurs wanted the chairperson to "strengthens business" or "helps businesses by talking to OPM [e.g. to improve roads, bring in traders]", none of the interviewed refugees reported that the chairperson had an influence on them during the first stages.

Given the cultural legitimacy these actors held, the settlements commandant and police chief saw a great advantage in giving the refugees more local authority. Therefore, they began manifesting the local power structure with the intention to further strengthen and develop self-reliance amongst the refugees by resembling the cultural life in a Congolese village rather than a Ugandan refugee settlement. As such, the position of the chairperson of a village became more formalized through official elections and a power transfer to the chairperson. Some of the new tasks included to ensure ongoing communication between the refugees and OPM and vice versa, as well as to act as first point of contact for criminal charges. Despite the positive developments inside the settlement, such as the reduction in violent conflicts

between the different tribes, the police chief acknowledged the transfer of power also entailed some problems:

> "*It is always encouraged that they make the first report to them. However, in some instances some don't give hearing, basing on the origin. Sometimes they tend not to help, but through our sensitization of the leaders we have been encouraging them to give services to everybody.*" *(*POL).

However, it was also a strongly patriarchic system, as such, female refugees were reportedly disadvantaged and even negatively affected by giving more authority to the local power structures. Although women could technically be elected as a chairperson, only males were seen in this position during the field study. This might explain why female respondents felt more disadvantaged when they were reaching out to the chairperson. *"He asked me to buy him booze before he would hear my case"* (R19) another reported: *"They won't take you seriously, so the last time I went straight to OPM, but they told me to see the chairman first. I felt so alone"* (R16). Thus, females experienced this institution differently when compared to their male counterparts. Whilst most of the women said they accepted the circumstances or were used to this imbalance, two female respondents told that they refrained from consulting the chairman as they disagreed with such a practice. However, they both admitted that it was to their disadvantage, e.g. when there was a dispute with a customers they could not turn to the chairperson, and they received a bad reputation in the village by questioning the chairpersons authority. Interestingly, by critiquing to status quo they also experienced resentment from other women.

Another problem for the women was that issues regarding gender-based violence were also supposed to be reported to the chairperson first. This was particularly alarming since, although violence based on tribe decreased in the settlement, domestic violence was a growing issue. According the police officer: "*domestic violence is the biggest problem*" (POL). These reports suggest that although the tribal conflicts became less visible, gender based discrimination and disadvantages persist. These circumstances, in which females refugees did

not enjoy the same rights or had to fear over their resources, could hold women back to start or successfully run a business. Thus, potentially affecting all three stages of the entrepreneurial process.   The examples of unequal treatment of refugees by their chairperson, in particular for women, highlight that the power transfer from OPM and police to the villages should be closely monitored in order to avoid abuse of power.

5.2.2 Finding a new Social Identity by being a Refugee

Despite the cultural tensions that existed in Rwamwanja, some refugees of different backgrounds came together and started business groups. These groups moved beyond cultural borders and created new values and personal identities for their members.

For instance, a collective of twelve women between the ages 22 and 54 had come together to form a group that specialized in making bags and clothes, but at times they would also harvest each other's plots together and sell the produce jointly. None of the members were married, which was described as one of the drivers that had brought them together. According to the women, being an unmarried woman was "tough" or "challenging" (G2) due to the frequent harassment by men when they were selling their products at the market(s). For instance, it was described that men would ask the women for sexual favors or insulted them: *"First they ask you for the price of the charcoal and then they ask for your price"* (G2). The women reported that they had enough of the way that men treated them. Since the women could not change their surrounding or what was seen acceptable by men, they decided to come together in order to support and empower each other. However, not solely through positive group dynamics but also financially. The women had formed a savings group, in which every woman was required to contribute UGX 20,000 (~ USD 5.50)[9] per month. In return, each member would receive the savings of the other eleven members worth UGX 220,000 (~ USD 60) [10] once a year (one member per month). This money could then be used for their families or their personal businesses, so that members did not have to

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[9] Estimated with a currency exchange rate of USD 1 = UGX 3,650 (04/03/2018).
[10] Ibid.

lend from other savings groups at unfavorable rates or become dependent on the goodwill of moneylenders, who might abuse their power position. Through their initiative, the women were able to independently grow their existing businesses or reportedly felt encouraged to take small risks and start a new business. For instance, one woman told that she used the money to travel to big markets in Kampala to buy fabrics that were not being sold in or around Rwamwanja. Upon her return, she received an increasing amount of orders due to the new and unique fabrics she had purchased.

As such, the group had a twofold impact on entrepreneurship in the settlement. On the one hand, *the group* itself was a successful business that went through the three stages of entrepreneurship. The members came together and found the courage to start a business (stage one), collected the needed resources jointly (stage two) and managed the business collectively (stage three). Through the shared group business, the female members felt able to break out of the patriarchic power structures that dominated the camp dynamics. One of the women reported: *"We help ourselves, if we want to do something, we can. We don't have to ask anybody and we don't need anybody, we got ourselves. "* (G2). On the other hand, the group was also perceived as a key component for the entrepreneurial process of *the individual members*, both when expanding their current business as well as building new ones. Knowing that they had a group on which they could rely on, three females out of the group reported that they had found the courage to start a new business. Moving to the second stage, the groups saving cycle gave members the opportunity to buy needed materials or resources to start their business or to make it grow, as it was demonstrated through the example of the tailor who imported new fabrics into Rwamwanja. For the final stage, the group also provided guidance and support if members needed business advice or where facing hardship.

In addition, one aspect that the women valued about the group was trust and the sense of belonging. Knowing that they had a group behind them on which they could rely was seen as an important point, especially since the women were not married and thus the sole

breadwinners of their household. For an unmarried woman, "*life can be tough here. They see you differently […] you are so helpless*" (G2). The group provided them with *"a safety net"*, *"female solidarity"* or "*a place to retreat"* (G2) to name a few attributes that were mentioned during the interview with the group.

Another group was interviewed to further explore the entrepreneurial dynamics of business groups in Rwamwanja. The group consisted of 20 men who started to cultivate fish to improve access to nutritious food in the settlement. Although they shared some of the characteristic of the women's collective, the dynamic amongst the men was very different. The men reported that malnutrition was a big problem in the settlement, as diets would usually only consist of *ugali* (stiff porridge) and beans. *"And in the market we couldn't find fresh fish"* (G1), one of them said. Prior to their displacement fish was a staple food for many of the men and their families, however, it was expensive to buy fish at the settlement from the traders who came to Rwamwanja. Therefore, a group of nine males came together in 2015 and looked into the possibility of cultivating fish in one of the bigger ponds in the middle of the settlement. The incentive with sparked the creation of this joint enterprise was the aim to fill a void in the settlement. Despite their differences and prior conflicts, the members who started the collective saw that they had to do something to provide nutritious food for their families and when the businesses grew for the rest of the settlement. Hence, the group demonstrated a high normative influence during the idea stage of the entrepreneurship process. However, according to the men, coming and working together with different tribes and religions had been a cultural challenge that needed to be overcome at first. The group had been culturally diverse from the beginning with people of different tribes and religions. Unlike the women's group, the men reported that such a business group would not have been formed in the DRC due to the beliefs and prejudices they used to have about the members of other tribes and religions: According to one man, they *"wouldn't have had the idea to work in a group like this "* (G1). However, by being a refugee and living in the settlement, the men had understood the need to act and realized that they ought to work together. One said "*when we found ourselves as refugees in Uganda, it was better to be*

common, to be one, even if we belong to different tribes and different religions."(G1) for the benefit of all. The men were also the only entrepreneurs who mentioned the sensitization as an important aspect of being in the camp. This lead to the realization that "*it is best to be united*" (G1) one member said. By living together with other refugees, the men saw that there was more than just a tribe or a religion to a person. When they came together as a group, they identified themselves as refugees, which allowed them to see the similarities between them and the others. The change in their self-perception and how they viewed others enabled the group to start a business and move into the first stages. Here they had found the courage to overcome their perceived differences in order carry the business idea forward. When they were collecting the needed resources, as part of stage two, the group structure was also an advantage. Firstly, it allowed them jointly finance the project and secondly, it gave them a stronger bargaining position when they tried to get permission to use the pond for commercial use. Similar to the women's group, the group dynamics worked also in their favor. By being a diverse group, with access to different networks and resources, the members were able run this business and overcome bureaucratic hurdles when they tried to get a commercial license to use the pond for cultivating fish.

In summary, the responses of the interviewed refugees suggested the cultural-cognitive dimension had some influence on entrepreneurs but not as strong as the regulative institutions. The impact of local power structures around the (male) chairperson of the villages was perceived differently by the respondents. Although most women reported that the systems in place were to their disadvantage, they either accepted it or developed strategies to overcome these hurdles, of which one example was the female business group. Although some men were discriminated by local chairpersons, it was to a much lesser degree than the women were.

Within the two interviewed groups, cultural-cognitive influences on entrepreneurship appeared to be more prominent. Here, the refugees overcame traditional values and beliefs, and as a result experienced a new form of social identity as a refugee. By starting meaningful

business collaborations, which benefited both the group members as well as other refugees in the settlement. This helped the refugees, in particular the respondents from the male group, to overcome previously held assumptions about tribes or religions other than their own. Furthermore, according the members, the diversity of the group created synergies, which had positive implications for the groups' entrepreneurial undertaking and was the reason why they were successful.

5.3 "I need to be here for the other refugees" – The Effects of Normative Institutions

The role of normative institutions for the entrepreneurial process generally depended on the kind of business the entrepreneur was operating, to illustrate the differences this thesis has devised two categories, namely 'common businesses' and 'niche businesses'.

Most of the interviewed entrepreneurs were operating 'common businesses'. These businesses widely existed in all parts of the settlement and generally offered similar products and services. For instance, a large amount of small shops and tailors existed in the settlement. For most of the interviewed business owners' moral norms did not affect the first two stages of the process but played a slightly more prominent role at the final stage. On the contrary, entrepreneurs, who operated 'niche businesses' showed a much higher awareness towards norms and morals throughout the entire entrepreneurship process. This section will therefore look at the two groups separately in order to determine the varying impacts of normative institutions.

5.3.1 Common Businesses

Given the resources available, the majority of the interviewed entrepreneurs operated business that either traded common goods, such as toiletries and snacks, or offered basic services, such as tailoring. These 'common businesses' comprised the visible majority of enterprises inside the settlement and were found in all areas and villages visited during the field study. Due to the existing infrastructure and established trade links within the settlement as well as outside, business owners of 'common businesses' reported that it was

"*easy to start a business, you just have to have money and maybe need to know some people who can help*" (R9). As such, many entrepreneurs had first engaged in farming on their allocated plot and sold the generated surpluses in order to invest into additional income generating activities. When asked about the motivation behind the diversification and starting a business, the refugees almost unanimously reported that additional businesses would reduce exposure to external risks, such as a loss of income due to illnesses or bad harvests caused by heavy rains or draught. A small number of refugees also hoped to offer employment opportunities for their immediate family through the new businesses, they also told that they hoped to gain a higher status and reputation within the family. At times, two or three shops were offering the same products in close proximity and it therefore appeared as their owners had copied business ideas, which had worked well for other refugees. One respondent stated: *"I saw how my neighbor was earning more and more money from the shop. At the end, she did not even have to harvest her field. I wanted that too."* (R11). Another entrepreneur told:

> "*We are wholesalers, we know how to trade, and then we saw how others were doing well with their shops, so we started one too and little by little we were able to grow it. They [customers] trust us, because we are their customers during the harvest season as well, we got a better relationship with them than the other shops*" (R14).

However, the interviewed entrepreneurs told that they at the later state sought ways to differentiate themselves from competitors who were running similar businesses. For example, most interviewed entrepreneurs said that they attracted customers by being *honest* sellers. The wholesaler of crops said: "*The better I behave, the more clients I get. It's important to be honest and that the weighing scale has precision. There are cheaters, but they will lose in another way" (R14).* Another reported measure to set the business apart from the competition was to offer customers to buy products on credit. Since the refugees in Rwamwanja greatly relied on the yields of their harvest, the availability of cash varied

significantly throughout the year and therefore the majority of shop owners told that they made the most money during the harvest season and shortly after it has finished. However, in the time between harvests, farming refugees were low on cash and tended to buy on credit with the promise to pay it back during the harvest season. The majority of entrepreneurs understood that credit was an important aspect, not only to maintain customers, but also to provide the community with needed goods, including food items. Throughout the interviews, business owners proudly stated that: "*here [at their business] they can buy on credit, and that's why they come here*" (R11) and described their credit practices as the most important aspect that set them apart from similar businesses. *"You know, giving them credit requires me to trust them. I do, that's why I'm a good business man*" (R6), one entrepreneur said, demonstrating his normative understanding.

During the interviews, two dimensions of credit giving were observed. The first was an opportunistic approach to credit. Given the circumstances that cash resources were low outside of the harvest season and in an attempt to maintain their customers, some business owners would offer products at a higher price, which could be paid back during the harvest season. Although the business owners did not necessarily trust their customers, the presence of the chairperson and police provided them with enough assurance to sell their product on credit.

Two interviewed entrepreneurs demonstrated a higher normative drive and provided credit at no extra cost for their customers. These entrepreneurs were exclusively female and operated businesses, which traded everyday products and food. One woman said: "*How can I keep my things when somebody else needs them? […] I know them, their family and where they live, how can I say no to them?*" (R7). The other reported: "*when a mother comes to me and needs something for her kids but doesn't have the cash, it would be wrong to send her away?*"(R18). These entrepreneurs showed a higher degree of compassion towards fellow refugees, but also told that selling products on credit required established familiarity and trust towards the customers. As such, credit was only offered to people in their immediate

neighborhood who were known to them and preferably female. One female respondent stated: "*You know the people who have a reputation and won't pay you back the money. If somebody is a drunkard I won't sell him my things*." (R18). A positive effect of this lending practice was that the customers of these women remained loyal to them. Even during the harvest season, they kept returning to the same shops to maintain the level of trust they had built. It can therefore be said that, although normative institution played a minor role in the initial stages of a 'common businesses', they became slightly more important in the final stage and were most prominent amongst female entrepreneurs selling basic consumer goods and/or food.

5.3.2 Niche Businesses

The strongest influence of normative institutions was found amongst entrepreneurs who ran 'niche businesses'. These entrepreneurs either possessed specific knowledge in a certain profession and/or access to resources that were difficult to obtain otherwise.

In this study, the individual entrepreneurs influenced the most by normative institutions were a pharmacist, a teacher, a mechanic and a bar owner. These entrepreneurs described how their norms and morals were the driving force behind their business and how it had affected their business model. A trait that they all shared was that they were determined to put their specific knowledge and capabilities to the service of the community. In this regard, respondents often referred to a *void* that needed to be filled similar to the findings made during the interview with the fishing group, who demonstrated a normative driven in order to improve access to nutritious food for all. The felt void that these entrepreneurs described incentivized them to start their business. As such, stage one was not purely driven by the desire to make money, but to contribute their knowledge and resources to the community. So did the pharmacist report that he felt responsible to fill "*the void of missing doctors*" with his knowledge (R8). He felt that it was his *"duty to offer my knowledge and expertise to the community. […] you can see I put my phone number on the door so that people can reach me around the clock, even at night. If it is an emergency I am there for them*." (R8). Another

entreupreneur had experienced a void by the absence of a "*space where we as refugees could come together and forget about the situation we are in*" (R3). He had therefore built a bar in a hut with tables, chairs and a stage, which groups could use for their performances or festivities. With his establishment, he hoped to create a space for interaction where the refugees can also forget about their present situation, since *"when you go to a church or a mosque you don't mix with other people, here everybody can come*" (R3).

Another example was an English teacher who arrived in 2017, which made him the most recent arrival in Rwamwanja out of this study's cohort. However, he was already actively engaged with the community through his business. As part of the first stage, he saw that the Congolese and Ugandans could not communicate with each other because of the different languages. Since he was a teacher in the DRC, a profession that he described as his "*passion*", he *"saw a need to act and make a contribution to my new community"* (R20). He reported that most refugees faced challenges to communicate with OPM officials or the police and thus felt restricted by their limited knowledge of the English language. Furthermore, the teacher described that refugees also needed to speak English to "*get to know the locals*" (R20). Thus, in an attempt to foster a better coexistence between Ugandans and Congolese, he felt the need to teach.

However, he was restricted with the cash resources at hand and therefore struggled with stage two. To start teaching he used his own money to purchase some required materials, such as chalk, a handful of books or flashcards. He also worked on peoples plots to raise more money, which he could invest in the classes. Although he could make more money for his family by harvesting and being employed at a business, he only worked to a level at where he could finance his teaching and feed his family.

The final void during the interviews was mentioned by a mechanic, who was one of the first refugees to settle in Rwamwanja in 2012. He reported that he had witnessed "*what happens to the youth when they do nothing"* (R4) during his time in the settlement. Being ambitious himself and operating three different businesses with his wife, namely a mechanic shop, hair

salon and a cinema, he had wanted to provide opportunities for others. Although he initially did not have the intention to provide training for the settlement's youth he said that "*when I saw what was needed, and we need more mechanics and give the young ones work, I stepped in*". However, he also reported that private gains played an important aspect when providing training opportunities for the youth. Due to the increased workforce, at the time of the interview he employed 22 people who worked a two to three days a week, he was able to fulfill more orders. In addition, by giving work to youth he earned an honorable reputation in the community, which resulted in an increased demand for his services.

Overall, the four interviews suggest that the entrepreneurs operating 'niche businesses' had been significantly motivated to pursue their businesses in the hope to add social value by filling perceived voids in their communities. With the exception of the mechanic, for these entrepreneurs the first stage of the entrepreneurship process was largely defined by the voids they observed and their inner drive to fix them. Although there was business motive behind their enterprises, it varied greatly amongst the individuals and was not as dominant as it was amongst the 'common businesses'. So did the mechanic, despite being compassionate towards other refugees, demonstrate a business mindset through his goal oriented approach and constant aim to expand his mechanic shop. On the other hand, the teacher, the pharmacist and the bar owner stated that the business thinking was not always at their forefront. As an example, although the teacher also relied on the income generated through his teaching he did not understand himself as an entrepreneur or a businessman. *"I'm a teacher […] sometimes it is hard to teach all day and you come home with barely enough money. I can see my wife being disappointed, but I believe this is what I have to do because nobody else is doing it."* (R20)*.*

Looking at all the interviews, it became apparent that the role of normative institutions varied greatly amongst the refugees engaging in entrepreneurship. The majority of interviewees operated 'common businesses' which aimed at creating an additional income for their family or household at a lower risk. For most of them, the three stages of entrepreneurship were

not significantly affected by normative institutions, except of the female shop owners who sold their products on credit to refugees in need. On the contrary, normative institutions greatly affected the entrepreneurship process for 'niche businesses'. Due to the entrepreneurs' engagement and ongoing reflection about their role in the community, they showed a significantly higher awareness and understanding of normative influenced morals. In fact, their norms were described as a driving force behind their businesses, in particular during the first two stages of the process.

5.4 The differing Roles of Institutions at different Stages

The findings of the previous sections have demonstrated how regulative, cultural-cognitive and normative institutions affected entrepreneurship inside Rwamwanja settlement. This section will briefly summarize these findings and apply them to the three stages of entrepreneurship; a more thorough review will follow in the discussion.

The responses indicated that regulative institutions appeared to have the most significant impact on the entrepreneurs in the settlement. In specific, the security they provided were described as crucial factors that enabled the entrepreneurship process throughout the different stages. The call for security was mainly rooted in the violent conflict and the traumatizing experiences made in DRC. As such, the visible presence of the police and OPM, as actors of regulative institutions, appeared to have the most influence on entrepreneurship in Rwamwanja, in particular at the first two stages of the entrepreneurship process since they entail the highest degree of uncertainty.

The majority of entrepreneurs interviewed understood their businesses as an additional safety net in an uncertain environment. Hence, entrepreneurs diversified the household income generating activities. Although some owners of niche businesses told that they were primarily normatively driven, they saw the value that the security by the police and OPM provided as a necessary assurance for their undertaking. As such, it can be said that for the

first stage, namely the idea stage, the presence regulative organizations was important for all entrepreneurs.

In general, the interviewed entrepreneurs who fell into the category of 'common businesses' applied the same pragmatism to the second stage as they did to the first. This meant that resources or networks were being used to which the refugees already had access to. For entrepreneurs operating a 'niche businesses' this was not a viable option, as the nature of their business required them to find resources which were difficult to obtain and for which no distribution infrastructure existed in the settlement. Here the individuals believed in the business and the need for it in the settlement encouraged the entrepreneurs to continue building their enterprise. The groups on the other hand had a significant advantage in the second stage over individual entrepreneurs. The group structure benefited its members by offering them a network that could help them collect needed resources. At the same time, the diversity of the group itself also benefited the joint business, as the member could contribute in various ways.

At the final stage, when the business was running and *had to navigate through obstacles*, the normative aspects increasingly important part for most interviewed entrepreneurs, although the degree to which it affected their business varied. Particularly for owners of 'common businesses', who in the first two stages attribute no or only minor importance to this dimension, more attention was given to their own norms. Although some reported that they tried to be "good" in order to differentiate themselves from their competitors, others showed a more compassionate approach and began helping refugees who were in vulnerable positions, because the entrepreneur's business put them in apposition to help. For the business owners who already had a high normative influence during the first two stages, such as the 'niche businesses', the impact of norms remained on par. In this stage, the groups and its members also appeared to be better equipped to navigate the businesses. Within the third stage, the experiences of female respondents varied the most when compared to the male entrepreneurs. Due to the prevailing power structures in the settlement, female

entrepreneurs experienced the most gender-based discrimination when their business was running…

6 Discussion

This chapter will discuss the previously described findings in the light of the applied analytical framework. In order to answer the research question, first the sub-questions will be addressed before an answer to the main question is given. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the study's limitations and appropriateness of chosen analytical framework and methodology.

6.1 The Effect of Formal Institutions

Looking at institutions one can divide Scott's (1995) institutional pillars into one of two categories, namely formal and informal institutions. The formal category comprises regulatory structures, such as governmental agencies, laws or bureaucratic and administrative procedures (Bruton et al., 2010). Since refugees in Uganda fall under the direct mandate of the Prime Minister and are governed by several policies, which constitute their rights and obligations, one can assume that formal institutions have an impact on entrepreneurship amongst refugees. As such, the first sub-question set out to determine *how formal institutions affect entrepreneurship inside the settlement.*

When examining the relationship between the formal institutions and entrepreneurship from a macro level, it can be said that Uganda's refugee policies were an enabling factor for entrepreneurship to take place. Based on the observations made in the field, the reasons for this conclusion are as follows. Firstly, in order to start their businesses most entrepreneurs needed to purchase goods and materials, such as food or non-food items, from Ugandan nationals. This commercial exchange was facilitated by the open structure of the settlements, which saw numerous traders entering Rwamwanja on a daily basis. Since refugees also had the right to travel within Uganda they could also establish their own supply networks, as it

was shown trough the example of the female tailor who traveled to Kampala to purchase unique cloths. The active trade between Ugandans and refugees corresponds to the findings made by studies conducted in other refugee settlements in Uganda (see Werker, 2007 or Betts et al., 2014). By not being isolated or shielded off from the surrounding economy, the refugees were given the possibility to engage in a variety of income generating activities in the first place.

Another enabling factor that the policies provided was that refugees were given plots of land for agricultural use. For refugees who were in stage two of the entrepreneurship process and had not enough startup capital, this was an opportunity to generate money by selling their yields or working on the plots of other refugees. For most, working on their own plot generated sufficient funds to start the business. Although Werker (2007) described that start capital could also come from goods or money brought from their country or remittances from abroad, capital was mainly acquired from own labor production in this study's cohort. Some of the interviewed refugees reported that prior to their flight their livestock was taken by rebels or they had to pay bribes along the way, which forced the majority to rebuild a financial basis. Taking these observations into consideration, it can be said that the refugee policies in Uganda positively contributed to entrepreneurship and had an impact on all three stages of the process.

Albeit the progressive refugee policies appeared to had an impact, during the interviews the refugees did not attribute much importance to the policies. At large, there was a general lack of knowledge or even indifference about these regulations. This was unexpected, but could be due to the fact that the majority of interviewed entrepreneurs reportedly operated in the informal economy in the DRC and used to neglect formality.

On the other hand, regulative *organizations* that could enforce laws or give sanctions, namely the police and OPM, received a lot of attention by the interviewees. Whereas the policies were abstract concepts, the organizations that enforced the policies and laws could easily be identified in the settlement, both through the uninforms as well as their general presence. In

addition, these actors also addressed the immediate needs and daily problems of the refugees, which can explain why the refugee responded so strongly when they referred to the regulative organizations.

Looking at how the refugees described the ways in which the two organizations affected them as entrepreneurs, most examples focused on the first and second stage of the process. This is potentially because within those stages there are variety of factors which cause uncertainty or pose a risk. In the light of the vulnerability and uncertainty experienced by refugees, the presence of an actor who could enforce regulative institutions provided security and in the long run stability.

Koudstaal et al. (2015) have shown that the level of uncertainty and stability are key dimensions for entrepreneurs when deciding to start a business. In a refugee context, these dimensions could potentially play an even more important role, since the trauma, which many refugees had reportedly experienced prior to their displacement, could increase the need for perceived security. In addition, the choice to invest into an additional income generating activity is a significant commitment with numerous risks and opportunity costs associated to it, thus supporting the claim that perceived security and stability are key components for entrepreneurship to take place. The regulative actors projected security and provided the refugees with a sense of stability that convinced that it was worth to take a risk. In relation to the entrepreneurship stages this meant that entrepreneurs, who were in the idea stage felt encouraged to start a business due to the presence of strong state actors, which could enforce rules set out by the regulative institutions. Refugees, who were determined to pursue their idea, moved onto to collect the needed resources. In most cases, it was mostly money that was needed to purchase goods or equipment. Depending on the business type, the second stage could either be very short or take up to two years, which translates to approximately four harvests. Within this timespan the refugees had to stay convinced that it was worth pursuing their business idea. As such, a similar logic can be applied to the second stage as it was done to the first. The refugees needed to be assured at

all times that it was worth to take risk, safe money and work extra in order to realize their business idea.

Overall, it can be said that formal institutions played a pivotal role to entrepreneurship inside the settlement. The observations made in the field showed that polices that govern the macro level do have the potential to enable entrepreneurship by creating a favorable environment. However, judging from the response by the entrepreneurs, the policies themselves did not have strong personal impact on the refugees. Only when the rules, laws or policies were visible enforced by reliable actors they became effective and propelled entrepreneurship.

6.2 The Effect of Informal Institutions

The informal category consists of assumptions, less formal shared societal and cultural practices (Bruton et al., 2010), as well as norms and values in a society (Sine & David, 2010). Since these dimensions shape the perceptions and expectations of individuals, they can influence the motivation and attitude towards entrepreneurship. As such, this section will discuss *how informal institutions affected entrepreneurship inside the settlement.*

The findings suggested that within the cognitive pillar of the informal spectrum normative institutions, issues regarding the power structure in the villages, gender and the 'refugee identity' had the most profound impact on entrepreneurship.

Regarding local power structures, all interviewed refugees reported that chairpersons and a group of advisors were the most powerful in their communities. These people were to be consulted if there were disputes in the village that could not be resolved by the affected parties. As such, power structures mainly affected entrepreneurship at the final stage, e.g. when there were disagreements between an entrepreneur and a customer, or if there was a complaint about another member of village.

However, it was found that gender had an influence on the treatment by chairpersons, which made female entrepreneurs to feel disadvantaged as they experienced an unfair treatment by the chairpersons. They told that they felt restricted to approach the chairmen or had to evaluate if the payoff would be worth it. Two female respondents said that they refrained from seeing the chairperson altogether, which placed them in a vulnerable position since they moved away from the cultural norm. The reason why these women rejected the chairperson's authority might be rooted in the fact that both had previously lived in an urban setting in the DRC and thus might not have felt as strongly bound to traditional practices or role pictures as others who came from rural settings. This claim can be supported by the fact that these two women were shunned by both men *and* women in their immediate community. In sum, the majority of female respondents in this study experienced discrimination based on a *constitutive schema* (Scott, 2008, p. 51) that was prevalent inside the settlement. This finding corresponds to other research conducted in SSA. For instance, Amine & Staub (2009, p.183) attest female entrepreneurs to experience unfavorable conditions by local regulatory, normative, and cognitive systems due to gender. In this context, institutions were likely to have a negative impact on female entrepreneurship. Due to unequal treatment of refugees by their chairperson, in particular for women, the ongoing formalization of the chairperson and the power transfer from OPM and police back to the villages needs to be closely monitored in order to avoid discrimination against certain groups.

Thirdly, the 'refugee identity' affected previously held assumptions and taken for granted tribal believes. These were now challenged by a new *shared understanding* (Scott, 2008, p. 51) amongst the refugees. Being placed in the settlement was for many refugees, in particular the men, a stressful situation in which they felt vulnerable. In this environment, the interviewed entrepreneurs might have experienced something similar to a collective crisis that triggered them to question their self-image or the relation they had to others (Bizri, 2017). Out of the study's cohort, this was best demonstrated by the group of fishermen who found a new identity in being a refugee in a settlement and redefined their cultural-cognitive and to an extend their normative institutional perception. This reorientation allowed them

to come together and collaborate in the business. Due to the scale of their operation, e.g. financing the fish, protecting the pond at night, purchase fishing material, this collaboration was the only way they could have realized the enterprise in the second and third stage of the process. As such, redefining their institutional perception was critical for entrepreneurship in this regard.

Given the nature and brutality of the conflict, an unexpected finding was that reportedly no tribal tensions existed in the settlement, since none of the interviewed refugees spoke about negative experiences. However, their responses regarding tribal issues were generally vague and put the interviewees in discomfort. In addition, most refugees chose not to be recorded due to fears. Whether these fears were tribal based or of a different nature could not be determined. Nevertheless, observations and conversations made outside of the interviews suggested that some level of tribal conflict was still present. Given the conflicting responses, the data does not allow to conclusive determine if tribal issues, as part of the cultural-cognitive pillar, affected entrepreneurship. Therefore, future research should consider to further explore this dimension and gain insights through more immersed methodologies.

Overall, it was found that the normative dimension, as part of the informal institutions, affected different business types in different ways, which will further be described in the next section.

6.3 The Effect of the Type of Business

Within Rwamwanja refugee settlement, there was a variety of business and entrepreneurs who engaged with their environment in different ways. As such, it was asked h*ow the effect of institutional systems depended on the entrepreneur's type of business?* As part of the data analysis, the businesses were placed into two distinct groups, namely 'common businesses' and 'niche businesses'.

'Common businesses' generally appeared to be less affected by informal institutions. Albeit some entrepreneurs showed a moral awareness during the final stage of entrepreneurship,

the first two stages were entirely dominated by regulative institutions, in particular the rule of law inside the settlement. Here, security and stability were key dimensions. The majority of interviewed entrepreneurs understood their businesses as an additional safety net in an uncertain environment. Hence, the idea of starting a business was commonly a pragmatic choice with the purpose of diversifying the household income generating activities (Gough et al, 2013), rather than a personal desire to add value to the community. Therefore, it can be said that these entrepreneurs acted predominantly in their own interest; showing an almost Friedmanian approach to business, in which the sole purpose of the enterprise was to generate profits for themselves or their family. This example of pluri-activity, where numerous businesses are operated simultaneously, is a common phenomenon found in LICs and prevalent amongst people who depend on the seasonality of their agricultural production (Rosa et al., 2006, p.2). Since the cultivation of food crops played an important role in the life of the refugees, it was not surprising to find many entrepreneurs with numerous businesses. In relation to the institutions, this could imply that they generally did not feel a strong personal attachment and why normative or cultural-cognitive influences appeared to have little or no influence entrepreneurship stages of those businesses. On the other hand, the institutions that had the most influence were of regulative nature, as these ensured that the risk involved in the business remained the same. Under the impression of the entrepreneurs' business motivation this influence can be justified.

On the contrary, entrepreneurs operating 'niche businesses' showed the highest normative drive. The reasons for this could be twofold. First, they all described a *passion* that they had for their job. Secondly, the businesses, with the exception of the mechanical shop, were started with the aim to fill a perceived void inside the settlement. This circumstance highlighted the personal engagement as well as involvement of these entrepreneurs. When the refugees identified the voids, e.g. refugees needed medicine (R8) or needed to speak English (R20), they felt as it was a *social obligation* (Scott, 2008, p. 51) to apply their knowledge and/or resources in order to contribute to the community. This strong feeling, which these individuals shared, was also carried on when they had to get the required

resources to realize their ideas and at the last stage, when they were running the business. The example of the English teacher demonstrated that some of these entrepreneurs went beyond the norm, and at times put their own interests behind that of the community. It was interesting to observe that religious or cultural expectations appeared to not be driving force or have a significant influence on these entrepreneurs. The fact that saw their businesses a service to whole community, or the previously mentioned social obligation, highlights the strong normative influence of these entrepreneurs. Seeing that this influence was carried through the different stages, it is justified to attest the normative institutions can affect entrepreneurship. However, it depends on the type of business and the aim of the entrepreneur hopes to achieve. Despite the normative influence, these entrepreneurs were still affected by regulative institutions and regarded them as an important dimension. However, due to their strong believe in their business and the cause they were serving it appeared as if they were less risk averse than the other entrepreneurs and therefore regarded regulative institutors as not as influential on their entrepreneurship process.

This section has demonstrated that the influence the institutional systems had on entrepreneurship varied greatly. As such, the division of 'common' and 'niche business' helped to identify the effects. Whilst for both types of business the cognitive dimension appeared to have had no or only a minor influence, both regulative and normative effects were found across the three stages, albeit in different proportions. As such, regulative institutions had a significant effect on 'common businesses', as entrepreneurs running those business were more risk averse. On the hand, 'niche businesses' were predominantly driven through normative systems.

6.4 Institutions and Refugee Entrepreneurship

In summary, the following links between institutions and entrepreneurship have been found with this study.

First, the strongest link was discovered between the regulatory institutions and the first two stages of the entrepreneurship process. The majority of entrepreneurs saw the rules and laws, which governed and controlled the life of the refugees in the settlement, as the most important factor for their entrepreneurship. In this regard, both the existence of refugee and entrepreneurship friendly policies *as well as* the enforcement of these policies through credible agents and administrative bodies created an environment in which the refugees were willing to take a risk and invest into additional income generating activities. Albeit it was the policies, which enabled entrepreneurship, for the refugees the physical presence of the police and OPM was key to trigger the first stage. It was also these regulative actors that assured them to continue to work towards opening their business. Once the businesses were running in stage three, the link to the regulative institutions appeared less at the forefront of the entrepreneurs but was still a highly valued dimension.

Another link that emerged as part of the research was between normative institutions and entrepreneurs who operated 'niche businesses'. For these entrepreneurs, who held had a specific skill or knowledge, the all three stages of the entrepreneurship process revolved around their normative system. However, these entrepreneurs only represented a small group out of this study's cohort. As such, the normative dimension appeared to be not strongly linked the entrepreneurship process of the 'common businesses'.

Compared to the preceding established links, the links between the cognitive institutions and entrepreneurship showed more facets. As such, the experiences of female entrepreneurs varied greatly from that of their male counterparts. Women were predominantly confronted with hardship at the last stage, when the business was running. However, in order to escape the patriarchal system some women came together and created a collective business in which they worked jointly and supported each other financially. Through this collective, they created a new business, which moved through all the stages, and helped other at the different stages. This mean that some were encouraged to start business, others received the

needed resources and the last group was helped with in running the business if needed. Thus, all stages of the entrepreneurship process were involved.

Amongst the male group, there was a change in the cultural-cognitive perception, which also had a positive link to entrepreneurship. When the refugees found a new social identity as being a refugee they were able to overcome previously held assumptions as well as beliefs and create synergies that they used to build a business together. Similar to the women, this business also affected entrepreneurship at all three stages.

In general, the first and second stage received the most attention by the refugees and appeared to be affected the strongest by institutional systems. Given the high levels of uncertainty that is inherent to these stages, it is not surprising that the entrepreneurs valued the stability institutions can provide to the individual.

6.5 Methodological and Analytical Reflections

After answering the research question within the scope of this thesis, this section will critically reflect about the relevance of the analytical framework as well as the methodology used. By looking at their limitations as well usefulness, it can be discussed how these components might have affected the outcome of the thesis.

6.5.1 Methodological Reflections

First, due the limited time available in the settlement, convenience sampling was applied, which considered only entrepreneurs who were already operating their business in stage three. However, in order to achieve a more a more holistic view of the ways in which institutions impact entrepreneurship, refugees from different stages should have been interviewed. This would have also reduced a potential recall bias and the respondents might have remembered factors influenced their entrepreneurial activity better, since they were still in a certain stage.

Furthermore, findings could have been influenced by the perceived role of the researcher. Although respondents were informed that there was no immediate benefit from participating in the study, a small number of refugees tried to sell their products or receive a small reward after the interview was conducted. This highlights the researcher's role of an outsider in the refugee context and as such, the respondents might have not revealed all information. A longer exposure in the settlement would have allowed for mutual trust building and more location specific knowledge. Another important dimension in this regard was the language barrier, which excluded the researcher from nuanced information.

To overcome this limitation and reduce potential gender-, cultural- and language barriers, one male and one female research assistant, who were themselves living as refugees in Rwamwanja, were selected as research assistants. Due to the context specific knowledge the assistants had, they also conducted the recruitment of potential interviewees. As such, they might have had a selection bias in the people they approached. In order to reduce this potential bias, interviews were conducted throughout the settlement, which included areas that the translators would not visit frequently.

In addition, the researcher as well as the assistants could have been influenced by preconceptions, potentially affecting their understanding and contextualization of the answers. In order to avoid such influences the researcher constantly reflected upon his role during the field study and in the field diary. Given the limited experience and English skills of the research assistants there might have been a risk that the recruited misinterpreted answers. Although the interview guide had been discussed prior the field visits, both assistants lacked consistency in their approach, which led them to ask the questions in different ways. This could have been overcome by translating the interview guide from a professional translator prior to the field visit. However, the problem remained if new questions emerged during the interview and needed to be translated on the spot. As such, the study could have been methodological improved if a single research assistant with more experience would have been used; or by transcribing the interviews first and then translating

them. The final limitation in regards to the research assistants was that, although they were supposed to minimize cultural differences, their presence might have restricted the refugees in what they felt safe to share with the researcher. Considering that the refugees were more open to talk about issues, such as cultural tensions, when they were not present, supports this argument.

The final limitation was that the majority of refugees chose not to be recorded. Therefore, extensive note taking was required and in the process information could have gotten lost or overheard. For instance, a perceived powerful quote might have been written down in greater detail, as such shifting the focus from the interview to the transcription. To reduce the risks attached to note taking, the interview was stopped and/or the research assistant was consulted, where appropriate.

To reduce the limitations and ensure high standard quality output, the data was triangulated. As such, semi-structured interviews were conducted with both refugees as well as camp officials. In addition, extensive field notes were taken in which the researcher reflected on the role of the investigator as well as the observations made outside the interviews. Lastly, where available, secondary sources were consulted to compare the findings and learn about other camps and their dynamics. Furthermore, since the entrepreneurial process was a unique experience for all the respondents, the semi-structured nature of the interviewed gave respondents the room to open up and tell their story. This was particularly important in order to unveil normative influences, since these are highly personal. It is thus argued that it was because of the used structure that insight into the normative dimensions of the entrepreneurs were unveiled.

Despite its limitations, this work still provides valuable insights into the entrepreneurial lives of refugees and the links to the institutional environment.

6.5.2 Analytical Reflections

As the findings have shown, there was plurality of links between the institutional environment and entrepreneurship. The advantage of using the analytical framework, which this paper proposed, was that it broke both variables down into three, clearly identifiable components. Therefore, this study was able to identify the links between certain institutional dimension and stages of the entrepreneurship process. Using Scott's (1995) three pillars to entrepreneurship had the advantage of considering formal as well as informal institutions. Given the prevalence of informality in the SSA context, this dimension was regarded as critical and hence had to be included. Furthermore, the proposed qualitative research design of the study enabled the research to look at the normative dimension of the entrepreneur in a nuanced way. The same logic applied to Kristiansen's (2002) process model for entrepreneurship. Breaking down the process allowed the research to look at the specific stages and determine whether the links to institutions remained the same or changed. The proposed framework was then converted into an interview guide in which the effect of institutions on three stages of entrepreneurship where considered individually. For each stage, the influence of institutions was then considered and evaluated. This was particularly useful for the respondents, as they could easily identify the three stages and thus recall the institutional influences they experienced at the time.

However, one limitation of separating the institutions and trying to determine the strongest links between them and the stages, was that this ignores the circumstance that the institutions possible acted in mutually reinforcing ways. As only the link between institutions and entrepreneurship was considered during the research, this study ignored the possible relations between the different institutions. Furthermore, the analytical framework applied a top down approach and as such did not specifically research the ways in which entrepreneurs might influence institutions through institutional entrepreneurship or their agency.

Another limitation that emerged during the interview was that questions regarding the cultural-cognitive or normative dimension were understood less well by the interviewed refugees and usually required more rephrasing and explanation during the interview. This was at times also a challenge for the research assistants, which might also explain why the respondents struggled. In general, the interviewed refugees appeared to find it more difficult to think of examples how informal institutions influenced their entrepreneurship process. At times the respondents even found it comic or absurd when asked how culture or norms affected their business.

A possible explanation could be that these concepts are very abstract and require a lot of reflection about the business and one's personality. In this regard, the level of education might have played a role since respondents who went through higher education were able to reflect about norms with more ease. However, some entrepreneurs who were less formally educated were also able to understand the questions, a characteristic they demonstrated was that they were very business driven individuals. As such, they constantly reflected about their business and what factors can bring it forward; thus these entrepreneurs understood the stages model and abstract concepts better than the rest of the cohort. Considering these experiences, dividing the institutions into formal and informal might have facilitated a better understanding for the interviewed refugees.

Nonetheless, despite some shortcomings, the utilized analytical framework has guided the research and created credible results. Although the concept of institutions was hard to communicate, the process model for entrepreneurship was clear and well understood. Given the limited research in the area, this study has produced findings which future research could use as a point of departure.

Possible areas of future inquiry could for example look into the role of gender on entrepreneurship, institutional entrepreneurship inside the settlement or institutional change.

7 Conclusion

This paper has set out to research the ways in which institutional systems affected the different stages of entrepreneurship inside a refugee settlement. Through a single case study of Congolese refugees in Rwamwanja refugee settlement in Western Uganda, this paper sought to explore an under researched topic and provide a point of departure for future research in the area of refugee entrepreneurship.

In order to establish the links between the institutions and entrepreneurship an analytical framework that combined Scott's institutional theory (1995) with Kristiansen's (2002) process model for entrepreneurship was utilized. The data was generated through semi-structured interviews with entrepreneurs as well administrative bodies located in the camps. Through the analysis, which revisited and revised the bulk of compiled data several times, certain patterns and links between institutions and entrepreneurship emerged.

The strongest link was found between regulative institutions and the first two stages of entrepreneurship. In this aspect, the dimension of *security* had a positive impact for entrepreneurs who were in the early stages of the process. The policies that governed the lives of the refugees as well their right to work were an enabling factor. However, given the fragility of the Congolese government and lack of rule of law in the DRC, the refugees needed to see that their rights were respected and applied. As such, policies alone were not sufficient, as it required the support of trustworthy actors, such as the police or OPM, who would enforce given rights if necessary. Security, as a dimension provided by regulative institutions, was also seen as needed in the third stage by the entrepreneurs, but it was attributed less importance since uncertainty within the final stage was less of an issue.

Whereas the influence of the formal systems was clearly identifiable on all three stages, the informal spectrum depended more on the context in which the entrepreneurs were placed. So did female entrepreneurs experience a difference in treatment during the final stage of entrepreneurship as part of the cognitive dimensions in the settlement. However, this

triggered a response in which some formed a collective business that was jointly run and therefore affected all stages of the entrepreneurial process. As such, by being disadvantaged through the cognitive system entrepreneurship in the group was started. Similarly, a group of men, who overcame cultural assumptions and beliefs about other tribes, also came together and formed a business. Through a new social identity, as part of the cognitive system, the new business was made possible and moved through the stages.

Within the normative dimension, there was a distinction between two groups, namely entrepreneurs running 'common businesses and 'niche businesses'. Whilst the former did generally not attribute much importance to the role of normative systems for their business, the latter appeared to define themselves through their moral obligation to run the business. Due to this self-perception, normative institutions affected all three stages of process.

In conclusion, this thesis has revealed that there is a variety of links between institutions and entrepreneurship that take place in a refugee settlement. Whilst the link is clearly defined in regards to formal institutions, it is more varied when taking informal institutions into consideration. Given the lack of similar research, this thesis has applied a top down analysis in which the direct effects of institutions on the septate stages were looked at. As such, the influence of entrepreneurs on institutions are the ways in which institutions reinforce each other was not explicitly investigated. Despite the limitations, this thesis provided new insights into the diverse economic lives of refugees and in doing so contributed to an increasingly important field of research.

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9 Appendices

9.1 Overview

Appendix 1 - Interview Overview

Appendix 2 – Example Form of Informed Consent

Appendix 3 – UNHCR Presence and refugee locations

Appendix 4 – Recorded Interviews (found on USB)

Appendix 1 – Interview Overview

Refugee Entrepreneurs

ID	Date	Duration	Occupation	Arrived in	Gender	Age	Religon	Language	Recorded
R1	4th Nov 2017	1:22:40	Rice Farmer	2012	M	-	Catholic	Mix	Y
R2	4th Nov 2017	1:18:15	Translator/Bags	2014	F	21	Protestant	Mix	Y
R3	6th Nov 2017	1:21:02	Bar/Restaurant	2015	M	48	Protestant	French	N
R4	6th Nov 2017	1:46:31	Mechanic I	2012	M	32	-	Kiswahili	N
R5	6th Nov 2017	0:55:08	Bakery	2012	M	22	Adventist	English	Y
R6	7th Nov 2017	1:17:42	Tailor	2013	M	53	Muslim	French	N
R7	8th Nov 2017	2:12:21	Small Shop	2012	F	25	Adventist	Kiswahili	N
R8	8th Nov 2017	1:50:32	Pharmacy	2012	M	34	Protestant	Mix	N
R9	9th Nov 2017	1:20:31	Shop/Restaurant	2013	M	28	Pentecostal	Kiswahili	N
R10	9th Nov 2017	1:14:58	Hotel/Restaurant	2013	F	21	Adventist	Kiswahili	N
R11	9th Nov 2017	1:05:16	Drink Store/Liquor	2012	F	34	Pentecostal	Kiswahili	N
R12	10th Nov 2017	1:34:56	Tailor	2013	M	35	Protestant	French	N
R13	10th Nov 2017	1:25:02	Mechanic	2012	M	43	Muslim	Kiswahili	N
R14	10th Nov 2017	2:01.14	Crops Wholesaler	2012	M	31	Anglican	Mix	N
R15	11th Nov 2017	1:54.22	Carpenter	2012	M	35	Pentecostal	Kiswahili	N
R16	13th Nov 2017	1:47:21	Trader	2012	F	38	Adventist	Kiswahili	N
R17	13th Nov 2017	1:53:55	Palm Oil Trade	2012	F	35	Pentecostal	Kiswahili	N
R18	13th Nov 2017	1:32:45	Local Porridge	2014	F	34	Muslim	Mix	N
R19	14th Nov 2017	1:04:18	Clothes	2012	F	25	Pentecostal	Mix	N
R20	14th Nov 2017	0:57:41	English Teacher	2017	M	30	Born Again	English	N

Groups

ID	Date	Duration	Size	Occupation	Members	Language	Recorded
G1	11th Nov 2017	1:42:42	5	Fish	20	Mix	Y
G2	15th Nov 2017	2:05:45	9	Bags/Clothes	12	Mix	N

Institutions

ID	Date	Duration	Occupation	Language	Recorded
UN	27th Sep 2017	0:33:07	UN RC	English	Y
POL	14th Nov 2017	0:32:58	Police Chief	English	Y
COM	16th Nov 2017	0:23:08	Commandant	English	Y

Appendix 2 – Example Form of Informed Consent

Form of Informed Consent

Study Title: How did institutional factors facilitate the entrepreneurial activities of refugees in Uganda?

Dear Participant,

My name is Mr. Kevin Jahndel and I am Master student in Business and Development Studies at Copenhagen Business School. This interview is part of my thesis, in which I aim to explore the enabling and constraining factors refugees face when setting up a business. The information collected will mainly be for academic use and I hope to give NGOs and aid agencies a better understanding of refugeess' views on how to improve and further develop their livelihood and self reliance programs.

Giving your consent to be part of the study, you will be asked to participate in a 30-60 minute interview. Your participation in this study is strictly voluntary and can be anonymous. Some questions might involve emotionally or politically sensitive material, please know that you can withdraw at any time from the study or refuse to answer certain questions without giving a reason.

Thank you again for your participation!

Yours sincerely,
Kevin Jahndel

Consent

I understand the statement which has been read to me and I consent to take part in the study. By signing this form with my signature or fingerprint, I accept to participate in the study.
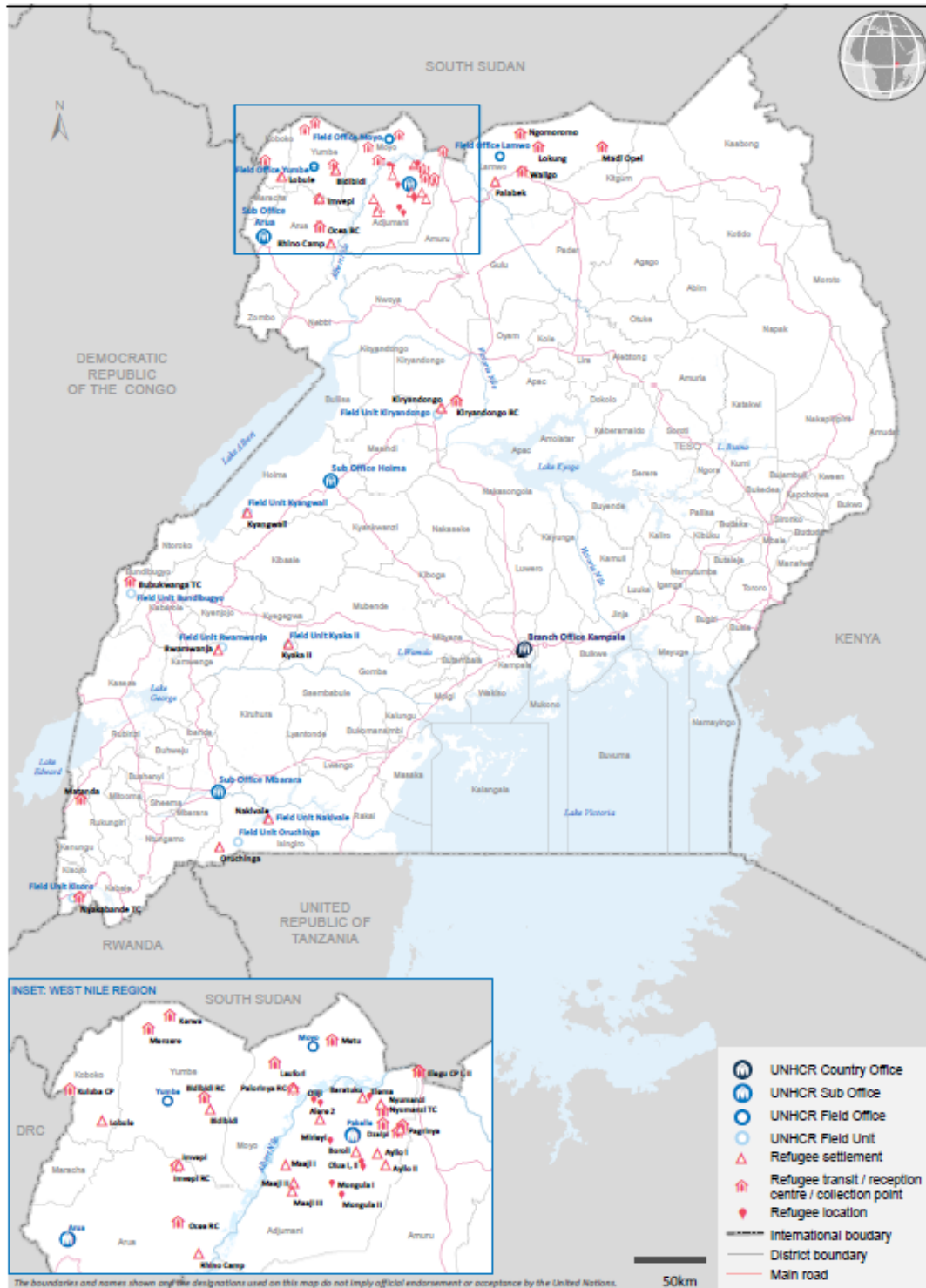
I give permission to use my official title in the report (circle applicable):   YES NO

I give permission to use my name in the report (circle applicable):   YES NO

Signature of respondent: _____ Date 9/11/17

Printed name of respondent: NGARUKIYE JAN Pel Date 9/11/17

If you have any further question(s) regarding this study, you can contact me via email (keja15ab@student.cbs.dk) or phone +256 774690631

Uganda
UNHCR Presence and refugee locations
May 2017

Appendix 4 – Recorded Interviews