



FEED THE FUTURE

The U.S. Government's Global Hunger & Food Security Initiative

LABOR MARKET ASSESSMENT REPORT KARAMOJA CLUSTER



Market day at Kakuma livestock market, Turkana West, Karamoja

DISCLAIMER

This report was produced at the request of the Cross-Border Community Resilience (CBCR) Activity implemented by Chemonics and ACDI/VOCA through funding from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The report was prepared independently by the Grassroots Research. The views expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect the views of the USAID or the United States Government.



FOREWORD

As in any other society, the Karamoja cluster labor market is dynamic. This report delves into this dynamism, starting with the communities' reliance on agro-pastoralism that is amenable climatic and geographic conditions, and proceeds to document communities' inclusion of additional sources of livelihoods such as formal employment, self-employment (for example crop-farming, small-scale businesses, retail, and wholesale shops), wage employment in micro-services (hairdressing, barber shops, tailoring and so forth) and cross-border trade. Of course, this shift in the labor market is attributable to several causes, including climatic change that has reduced the fortunes of agro-pastoral sectors, and emerging market demands.

This labor market assessment report further elaborates on the gender dynamics of the dominant agro-pastoral livelihoods, which are similarly reproduced in the emerging forms of labor and wage employment. At the same time, the report provides an overview of the existing and potential economic opportunities in the labor market, identifies the key sectors of growth and potential, the available skills and skills in demand by the labor market, and the formal and informal barriers in labor market participation for various groups of people (especially women, youth and traditionally marginalized groups). Further, the report presents analyses of the major value chains and the potential for private sector development in the Karamoja cross-border cluster.

Overall, this report reminds us about the need to address the skills gaps among the youth, who are the most likely beneficiaries of changes in the labor market owing to their versatility and adaptability. For example, training in skills in demand such as vocational skills, financial literacy, information and communication technology (ICT), business management, and interpersonal skills is necessary for self-employment across the cluster, as job opportunities continue to dwindle or are unavailable in the Karamoja cluster. Again, it is still emerging that formal and informal barriers to labor and wage employment endure, and will need to be addressed, particularly the more salient traditional gender norms that still lock out women from accessing employment and training opportunities. Of course, we should not lose focus on other prevalent barriers to accessing labor and wage employment in the Karamoja cluster.

Collective action in the labor sector (which could take the form of cooperatives) is still underdeveloped in the Karamoja cluster, just as the small and medium enterprises (SMES). Although businesses continue to grow as alternatives to the traditional agro-pastoral livelihoods, they have been unable to consolidate and transition to the medium enterprises level, or even develop sustainable value chains.

This report is an invaluable resource for government and non-government actors in understanding the Karamoja cluster's labor market in our endeavors to contribute to the resilience of communities in the cluster and thus reduce their reliance on humanitarian assistance.

Jebiwot Sumbeiywo, Chief of Party (CoP),

Cross Border Community Resilience Activity (CBCR).

CONTENTS

FOREWORD	i
Contents	ii
List of Tables	iv
Acronyms.....	v
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	vi
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. METHODOLOGY	3
1.1. Geographic scope.....	3
1.2.2. Quantitative data	4
1.3. Analysis and report writing.....	5
3. FINDINGS.....	6
a. Main sectors of labor, wage employment, and trade	6
i. Labor and Wage employment at the community and district level.....	6
ii. cross-border trade.....	8
iii. Sectors with potential for growth.....	9
b. Changes in the labor market.....	10
i. Major Labor Market disruptors.....	11
ii. Conflict	11
iii. Natural Disasters and Seasonal Variations	12
iv. COVID-19 And Restricted Mobility.....	13
v. Movement and Migration.....	14
c. accessing labor, wage employment and entrepreneurial opportunities: formal and informal barriers for individuals and communities.....	15
i. Constrained based on socioeconomic conditions.....	19
d. Access to finance, trainings, and partnerships	22
i. Access to Finance	22
ii. Access to financing opportunities among the South Sudanese border communities	23
iii. Access to financing opportunities among the Ethiopian border communities.....	24
iv. Access to financing opportunities among the Kenyan border communities.....	24
v. Access to financing opportunities among the Ugandan border communities.....	25
vii. Issues Related to Attending Trainings	27
e. The current and potential landscape of Cooperatives and Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMES).....	28
f. Learning from past Partnerships	29
i. Current and Past Partnerships	29
4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	32
Recommendations.....	33

Key Areas of Programming and Potential Activities..... 36
Social and Cultural shifts 36
Recommendations across Districts 38

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Participation in income-generating activities beyond subsistence level.	9
Table 2. Main income-generating activities and agricultural products, by country.	9
Table 3. Incoming and outgoing goods, by country.	10
Table 4. Access to productive economic resources, by type and country.	23
Table 5. Participation in VSLAs, by country.	24
Table 6. Available training opportunities, by country.	27
Table 7. Trainings of interest, by category.	34
Table 8. Trainings of interest, by country.	34

ACRONYMS

CBCR	Cross-Border Community Resilience
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
KII	Key Informant Interview
LDO	Local Development Organization
MSME	Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprise
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OPM	Office of the Prime Ministry
PWD	Person with Disabilities
SACCO	Savings and Credit Cooperative Organization
URA	Uganda Revenue Authority
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
TUPADO	Turkana Pastoralists Development Organization
VSLA	Village Savings and Loans Association

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report provides a labor market assessment for the Karamoja cluster that covers cross-border communities in South Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda. The assessment was prepared for the Cross-Border Community Resilience (CBCR) Activity, a five-year initiative funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and implemented by Chemonics International and ACIDI/VOCA through local development organizations (LDOs).

Data collected through 12 focus group discussions, 32 key informant interviews, 109 short questionnaires, and secondary literature were analyzed to determine the current trends and potential of the labor market in the Karamoja cluster. Participant-led feedback regarding successful and unsuccessful partnerships with various organizations in the past was analyzed to create recommendations that are intended to capitalize on areas of potential growth of income-generating opportunities that local communities are interested in.

Throughout the Karamoja cluster, the main sectors available to local communities are livestock trade, agriculture, resource management, trade in small goods, self-run businesses and, in some cases, hospitality. There is a greater frequency of self-employment over employment, as waged work tends to be scarce, unreliable, or short-lived. The study's findings also indicate that there is a heavy reliance on cross-border trade, with all communities indicating a greater diversity of foods and goods being brought into their district, as opposed to sold across the border. Livestock trade is the primary income generating activity and continues to be a male-dominated sector. This is due to region-wide cultural notions that men are responsible for livestock rearing, while women are responsible for providing other forms of income and for household upkeep.

Involvement in business ownership and selling crops for commercial purposes were used as indicators of a community's ability to engage in income-generating opportunities that surpass subsistence levels. Cross-border trade is central to the viability of local markets, as each district had a heavy reliance on cross-border import to be able to access diversified goods and services. Mapping out the internal and cross-border trade of each district, available natural resources, and local contexts indicates the sectors with the greatest potential for growth. These findings are incorporated into the recommendations and key areas of programming and actionable activities at the end of the report. Key sectors of growth and potential implementation of partnerships and training are informed by major labor market disruptors.

The most prominent and disruptive aspects of the labor market are conflict, natural disasters and seasonal variations, restricted mobility, and migration. COVID-19 and government-imposed restrictions on movement had a direct impact on the health of local trade and labor markets from 2020 to 2022. These mobility restrictions were also influenced by conflict where populations seeking to avoid insecurity either became isolated from their borders or dispersed in search of more peaceful areas. Natural disasters and seasonal variations also affected mobility, particularly during the rainy season when roads were flooded. These disruptors also had a heavy impact on crop yield and livestock maintenance. During the dry season, when roads were clear, there were higher instances of conflict as pastoralists searched for water and pasture for their cattle.

These aspects were all seen as precursors to a reduction in income, labor opportunities, food security, and community safety. Due to the cyclical nature of the seasonal variation and the possibility of using peace-building efforts to deter conflict, these indicators showed a certain level of predictability that could inform community preparedness and increase resilience.

A range of formal and informal barriers in labor market participation for various groups of people, especially women, youth, and traditionally marginalized groups were analyzed. The study revealed that gender, educational levels, and socioeconomic background were all major obstacles that prevented

individuals from accessing economic opportunities. Income-generating activities continue to be strongly divided along gender lines, with men working primarily with livestock, and women working in other sectors. However, there is a slow but steady shift in the cultural perception of men working outside of the livestock trade sector. Persons with disabilities (PWDs) were heavily excluded from these activities, and assistance meant to prioritize PWDs was often exploited by other members of the community. All formal and informal barriers were found to be slowly reducing, except for educational constraints. As the labor market continues to implement more stringent qualifications for employment, particularly for NGO and government positions, respondents indicated that this particular barrier is increasingly becoming an issue.

Access to finance varied greatly between districts, though nearly all districts reported that less than half of the respondents utilized these opportunities. The main barriers are a lack of availability of finance institutions, particularly in rural areas that would require dangerous travel to access funding, and a widespread lack of understanding of Village Savings and Loans Associations (VSLAs) and how they work. Hesitation to get loans is often attributed to a lack of understanding of the lending system and to former instances of corruption. Some stark differences between districts showed that VSLA and micro-finance training had a particularly strong impact on communities. For example, Kapoeta South in South Sudan had well-attended financing skills workshops that resulted in high rates of VSLA and microfinance usage. The Dassanech *woreda* of Ethiopia showed virtually non-existent usage of the same measures, and respondent feedback showed that a high level of distrust and confusion around the system strongly impacted interest in VSLAs and microfinance.

Certain types of training opportunities were commonly found throughout the cluster. These included training on arts and crafts, community building, and farming techniques. Different localities, specifically those that are in closer proximity to main urban centers with dedicated institutions for training activities, had a much wider range of opportunities available to the communities, while remote areas had fewer options. There was a wide range of preferred trainings, with many overlapping suggestions and others that were more specific to the local district's economic and agricultural landscape. The key areas of interest fell into three categories: (1) business development skills, (2) product- and trade-specific skills, and (3) community development training. Although many trainings and workshops were eagerly suggested, there were nonetheless some factors that contributed to locals not attending these trainings, namely: (1) lack of awareness about their availability, either due to high illiteracy rates or difficulties in efficiently spreading information, (2) different priorities, such as avoiding travel during times of potential conflict and cattle raiding, and (3) cultural factors that may attribute stigmas to certain groups of people attending certain trainings. Additionally, there were difficulties in attending training due to the associated costs. Some reports indicated that many respondents, particularly from Kenyan border communities, had an aversion to attending many trainings that would lead to only short-term employment opportunities or no opportunities at all.

The landscape of existing and potential MSMEs was heavily impacted by foreign influence, conflict, currency fluctuation, and natural disasters. The unstable nature of the local marketplace indicates a difficulty in establishing and maintaining local enterprises. Findings have shown that respondents are most commonly self-employed, indicating that the flexibility of self-employment and the ability to quickly change course in a market dominated by changing supplies and fluctuating demands are factors that greatly affect the viability of MSMEs.

Data on the successes, failures, and lessons learned from respondents' experience of former partnerships with the public, private, and governmental sector was analyzed to better prepare for future partnerships. Each district presented positive and negative aspects of previous and existing partnerships, but some commonalities between the locations arose. Some of these included ensuring a long-term nature to the

partnerships, focusing on local participation instead of external influence, and incorporating measures to initiate financial opportunities while also developing the community's resilience to market stressors.

A compilation of these findings was used to formulate recommendations on the most effective partnership opportunities that may allow for a greater level of empowerment and self-sustainability among these communities. Based on the findings, the key recommendations revolved around the following key themes:

- Considering social and cultural measures in development and market interventions that contribute to: (1) shifting culturally accepted roles in the community to address the extent to which gender roles and clan/tribe affiliation influence the labor market, (2) enhancing peace-building efforts to prevent further conflict that subsequently restricts trade, and (3) enhancing the level of community awareness and connectivity in regard to available training and employment opportunities, and improving access to information by investing in communication.
- Across all districts, there is a need for crop diversification and support in irrigation schemes. Both of these endeavors could have the dual effect of enhancing community preparedness and resilience, while also creating potential avenues for income generation.
- Certain business and labor market interventions can be implemented on a wider scale across all of the districts:
 - Record-keeping training and basic business literacy courses are important to develop the viability of local MSMEs
 - Providing women with their own livestock, loans to attain cattle, or trainings on livestock skills can help encourage women to enter one of the primary methods of income generation in the Karamoja cluster
- Ensuring that local communities understand the structure and responsibilities of their local governments can allow them the agency to foster deeper relationships with their leaders. This will allow for a more efficient feedback loop where leaders can be updated on the needs and concerns of their community members.
- Creation of trainings categorized into the following sections: (1) business development skills, (2) implementation of product- and trade-specific skills, and (3) community development trainings. Recommendations are presented below for each of the cross-border communities.
 - In South Sudanese border communities, these trainings were broken down into ox-plow farming, construction skills, and gold mining skills. VSLA trainings in Kapoeta South appear to have a strong impact on local involvement in micro-financing options, and these interventions could be replicated in other regions. To combat the dominance of foreign business owners, it is suggested to implement a cooperation between locally-owned and -run businesses, perhaps offering discounts.
 - In Dassanech, focus was primarily placed on fishing-related skills, as there is currently a heavy strain on the local river and efficiency in fishing practices is vital. VSLA and microfinance trainings are important in the region, as there are high levels of distrust in these financial opportunities due to a lack of understanding of these systems. Trade at a wholesale level, husbandry skills, cereal banking, and peace-building workshops with the neighboring Turkana population are all interventions that can be prioritized.
 - Among Kenyan respondents, there were high levels of interest in building skills, such as construction and carpentry, as well as greater accessibility of microfinance institutions. Designating an area for the livestock market alongside peace-building efforts between the Turkana and Pokot populations could revitalize the livestock trade

between the communities. Training and investment in the wholesale business market and business development trainings were highly requested.

- In the Ugandan border communities, there is a particular need to encourage different members of the community to enter different sectors, as women are heavily excluded from the livestock trade, while men largely absent from all non-livestock sectors. Offering skills training or provisional loans to encourage local involvement of underrepresented groups in these sectors could reduce this gender divide and promote a more accessible labor market. Establishing a radio station or investing in alternative methods of information dissemination could allow for a more accessible market, as many respondents noted that they had difficulties hearing about opportunities. Tax literacy trainings, marble mining skills, veterinary programs, and post-harvesting handling of crops were all areas of interest to community members.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Cross-Border Community Resilience (CBCR) Activity is a five-year initiative funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and implemented by Chemonics International and ACDI/VOCA through local development organizations (LDOs). The Activity is designed to drive resilience programming in cross-border communities in the Karamoja, Moyale, and Mandera clusters by fostering local ownership of development investments through close collaboration with local leadership, and to reduce the need for humanitarian assistance through improved resilience.

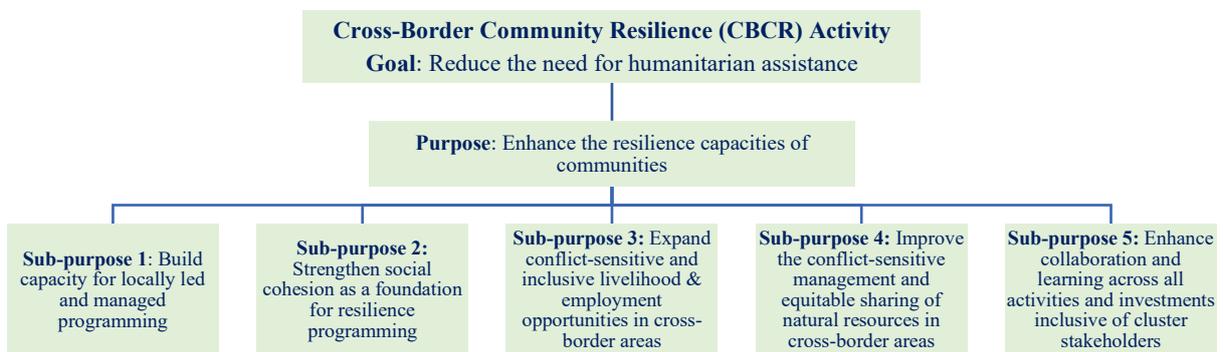


Figure 1. CBCR Activity Results Framework

As part of the overarching goal of the CBCR Activity, this report provides a labor market assessment of the Karamoja cluster. This is in an effort to identify the potential for local empowerment to aid cross-border communities in Uganda, South Sudan, Kenya, and Ethiopia by building resilience and reducing the need for humanitarian assistance.

The following sections discuss the methodology involved in data collection and analysis of the report. The findings are organized by topic, spanning the findings of labor and wage employment at community and district levels, the current state of cross-border trade, sectors with high potential for growth, and changes and fluctuations in the labor market. To further contextualize labor and trade market fluctuations, major market disruptors are presented and categorized into conflict, natural disasters and seasonal variations, restricted mobility, and the reasons for, and impact of, migration. Contextual information is brought to better understand the market fluctuation in the different cross-border communities, and an analysis of the accessibility of the market to different members of the community is made.

Findings regarding access to finance, training, and partnerships are also presented, as well as the current and potential landscape of local micro, small, and medium enterprises (MSMEs). This data is combined with community feedback on current and past partnerships. Finally, conclusions are drawn and recommendations are made regarding key areas of programming and potential activities to be implemented at a cluster-wide level, as well as contextualized recommendations at the district level.

The labor market assessment was done by assessing the current job market and factors that contribute to its fluctuation, trade in goods and services, key areas for potential growth, formal and informal barriers that influence labor market participation by different groups, available skills and skills in

demand, and the current state of sustainability and resilience of local livelihoods. The assessment also presents the major value chains and the potential for private sector development in the Karamoja border cluster.

Findings indicate that cross-border trade is a vital aspect of local economies, with each district reporting a much greater diversity of goods imported into the district as opposed to being exported from the district. The presence of conflict, natural disasters and seasonal variations, and restricted mobility, such as the restrictions implemented during the COVID-19 pandemic, were seen as the key sources of market disruptions. These disruptors may also influence migration, as individuals primarily cross borders during times of drought in search of pasture and water for livestock, and due to food insecurity. Some also cross the borders searching for sources of income or fleeing conflict in their home localities. The Turkana communities of Kenya were reported to be the source of conflict across the Karamoja cluster, and this resulted in limited mobility in areas such as Dassanech in Ethiopia, where residents avoided border regions to avoid conflict. On the other hand, flares in conflict predicted migration of groups away from dangerous areas in search of safety.

Foreign influence, conflict, currency fluctuations, and natural disasters all had a negative influence on the generation and sustainability of economic opportunities and MSMEs. The unstable nature of the local marketplace indicated a difficulty in establishing and maintaining local enterprises.

Data on the successes, failures, and lessons learned from respondents' experience of former partnerships with the public, private, and governmental sector was analyzed to better prepare for future partnerships. Each district presented positive and negative aspects of previous and existing partnerships, but some commonalities between the locations arose. Some of these included ensuring a long-term nature to the partnerships, focusing on local participation instead of external influence, and incorporating measures to initiate financial opportunities while also developing the community's resilience to market stressors.

2. METHODOLOGY

The research team identified different areas for data collection in each of the four countries represented in the Karamoja cluster - South Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, and Ethiopia. Data was gathered from key informant interviews (KIIs), focus group discussions (FGDs), and short quantitative questionnaires. The data gathered from participants was analyzed and presented to members of the communities in validation workshops. These workshops allowed participants to clarify, expand upon, or add to the findings, allowing for a greater degree of confidence in the assessment's findings. The research team analyzed the qualitative and quantitative data to assess the nature of the cross-border trade of goods and services, potential income-generating activities, and the skills and tools needed to allow local communities to maintain resilient, sustainable, and self-sufficient livelihoods.

1.1. Geographic scope

To provide a wide range of contexts, two districts or counties were visited in each country, with the exception of Ethiopia. Due to mobility issues in Nyangatom caused by flooding, all interviews in Ethiopia were conducted in the Dassanech *warda* (district). Three villages throughout Dassanech were included in the study, allowing for a wide range of data points, despite being limited to one *warda*. The three villages provided insight into the effect of natural disasters on communities, trade, and labor markets.

In South Sudan, Kapoeta South and Kapoeta East were chosen due to their strategic locations with high cross-border traffic with Kenya. In Kenya, Loima and Turkana North were selected for the labor market assessment. Loima borders Uganda and is rich in natural resources, while Turkana North shares a border with South Sudan and has a history of conflict and insecurity. These qualities allow for insights on the use, demand, and potential of local resources in the labor market. Data from Turkana North also allows for a greater understanding of how conflict and insecurity may affect trade and markets.

The Ugandan side of the cluster is represented by Amudat and Moroto districts, both of which share a border with Kenya. Amudat houses a Pokot majority, with gold mining and agricultural livelihoods, while Moroto is home to the Karamojong who engage in agricultural activities, but experiences low rainfall. These contrasts, particularly in the demographic composition, allow insights into the extent to which cultures affect labor market activities and practices. Understanding the differences in Pokot and Karamojong conceptions of work, community, and gender roles can provide a deeper understanding of how these may affect income and livelihoods.

1.2. DATA COLLECTION

1.2.1. QUALITATIVE DATA

Qualitative data was collected by the local researchers through FGDs and KIIs from August 31 – September 8, 2022. Three FGDs (comprising 8-10 participants) and eight KIIs were conducted in each country. Following the completion of the qualitative data collection, respondents' comments were compiled and analyzed.

Validation workshops were conducted with the communities included in the study with the aim of getting local community validation, elaboration, clarification, and approval of the preliminary findings and the analyses drawn from initial discussions and interviews. One validation workshop was conducted in each country in the first week of October 2022, with 20 participants per country. The participants included a mix of FGD participants and other members of the community who had not participated in prior qualitative interviews. In an effort to include participants from each of the districts involved in the

initial data collection, the workshops in Kenya and Uganda incorporated internet accessibility for community members that were unable to attend the validation workshop in person. The workshop in South Sudan was strictly in-person due to the instability of the local internet connection in Kapoeta South. Participants in Ethiopia were given the opportunity to join either in person or by phone call.

All study participants were given clear and thorough explanations of the aims and objectives of the research and their participation. Respondents were made aware that their participation was fully voluntary, and individuals who preferred not to be recorded, interviewed, or photographed (in the case of an FGD) were thanked and dismissed. Due to widespread distrust of audio recordings in South Sudan, audio recordings were made optional in all interviews conducted.

The research team ensured representation of varying employment status (self-employed, employed, and unemployed), age groups, and gender, with both surveys and FGDs having 48 percent female respondents and 52 percent male respondents. KIIs were less balanced, with only 28 percent of key informants being female. While the FGDs involved an array of community members, KII participants were selected based on their occupations or roles in the communities. These included government officials, livestock rearing farmers, community leaders, and other traditionally male-dominated roles, which may have contributed to the disparity in gender representation amongst KII participants. Vulnerable members of the communities such as persons with disabilities (PWDs) and minority groups were also included in the sample.

For quality assurance purposes, interviews were recorded to allow the researchers to focus on conducting the discussions or interviews. The research team implemented data quality assurance mechanisms to ensure that the qualitative data was accurately documented, relevant follow-up questions

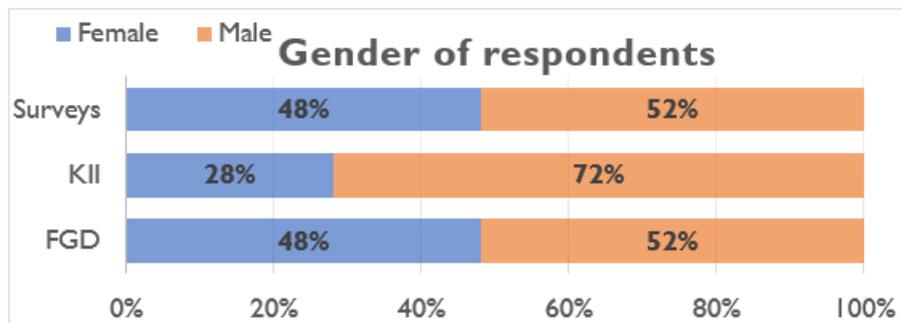


Figure 2 Gender breakdown, by methodology

were tackled, and any issues were immediately addressed.

1.2.2. Quantitative data

In addition to FGDs and KIIs, a total of 109 short questionnaires were completed. Short paper-based questionnaires were distributed at the beginning of FGDs in order to gather quantitative information to address the following indicators:

- Indicator Number 12: Percentage of female participants in USG-assisted programs designed to increase access to productive economic resources (assets, credit, income or employment) (GNDR-2)
- Indicator Number 13: Value of annual sales of smallholder producers and firms receiving USG assistance [IM-level] (EG.3.2-26)
- Indicator Number 14: Percentage of participants who are youth (15-29) in USG-assisted programs designed to increase access to productive economic resources [IM-level] (YOUTH-3)

- Indicator Number 16: Number of individuals participating in USG-assisted group-based savings, micro-finance, or lending programs (EG 4.2-7)

The research team aimed to address Indicator Number 15 (Number of USG engagements jointly undertaken with the private sector to achieve a U.S. foreign assistance objective (PSE-1)) by including related questions in the KIIs with government representatives, traders, policymakers, and other key players or stakeholders in the cross-border labor market.

1.3. Analysis and report writing

After data collection, conducting validation workshops, and quality control measures, the documented data was compiled and analyzed. FGD and KII responses were compiled to uncover commonalities within and between the cross-border communities. Responses from qualitative interviews offered insights regarding the current and changing state of the local labor markets and cross-border trade. Study participants also presented a wide range of suggestions, requests, concerns, and perceptions on the needs and resilience of their local communities. Alongside data analysis on the trends recorded through the quantitative surveys, findings were cross-checked with literature reviews and trends shown from previous studies in the Karamoja cluster.

In the following sections, the key findings are discussed, organized by topic and by country. These findings are summarized and contextualized to build a foundation for recommended courses of actions to contribute to local development and empowerment.

3. FINDINGS

The findings from the cross-border labor market assessment are organized into sections, beginning with the main sectors of the labor market, covering the skills and goods in demand in each of the locations included in the study, potential growth sectors, and the state of cross-border trade. Next, changes and fluctuations in the market are presented, including the main disruptors and predictors of market fluctuation, as well as the communities' responses to these changes.

Informal and formal barriers that impede access to trade, labor, and wage employment are disaggregated in each district by gender, educational status, and socioeconomic status to gauge how accessible the labor market is to different members of the community, and the impact of these barriers in attaining opportunities.

Access to finance, training, and various opportunities are presented by analyzing the current state of access, including the current landscape of cooperatives and MSMEs, previously available opportunities, and insights from locals on necessary improvements. Finally, findings are shared on the potential engagement with the private sector through examining previous partnerships and their successes, failures, and community feedback.

a. Main sectors of labor, wage employment, and trade

In assessing the main sectors of labor and wage employment throughout the Karamoja cluster, findings show that there are many similarities between the cross-border communities. These findings provide a starting point to understand the past and current dynamics of these communities, while also providing a foundation for implementing effective interventions to enhance, diversify, and strengthen the labor market at the local, national, and cross-border levels.

i. LABOR AND WAGE EMPLOYMENT AT THE COMMUNITY AND DISTRICT LEVEL

Selling cattle and trading livestock were identified as the primary sources of income across all seven localities included in the study¹. The employment status of study participants was gathered through a short questionnaire distributed at the start of the FGDs. Results indicated that most of the participants (63.3 percent) were self-employed. Specifically, most participants in Amudat (83.3 percent) and Dassanech (96.2 percent) were self-employed.

At least 57.1 percent of participants in Kapoeta South, Loima, and Moroto were also self-employed. On the other hand, most participants in Turkana North (52.9 percent) were unemployed.

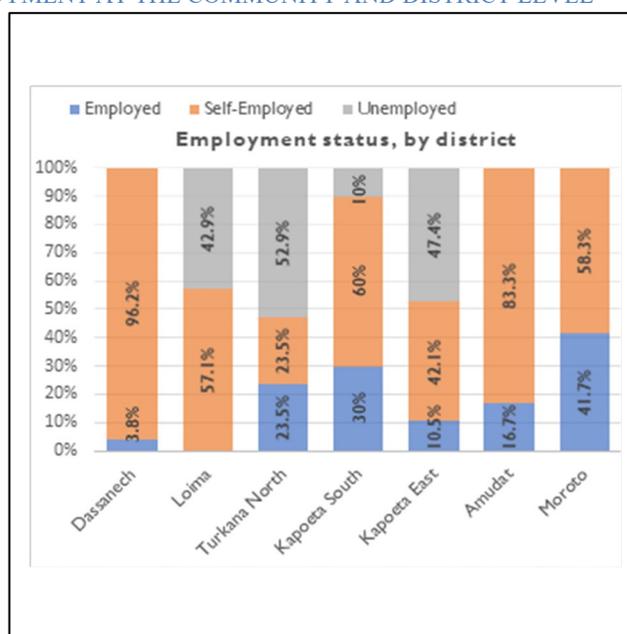


Figure SEQ Figure * ARABIC 3. Employment status, by district

Quantitative data also shows that there is a low level of participation in certain income-generating activities in the cluster. These include activities such as owning a business or producing crops for commercial purposes. At the *warda* level, Dassanech showed the highest participation in selling

¹ All FGDs included in the assessment

commercial crops (96.2 percent), followed by the Ugandan districts included in the assessment (56.7 percent collectively). Crop production for commercial purposes was low in the South Sudanese and Kenyan border clusters, but these districts showed a higher engagement in business ventures.

In addition to the small majority of Ugandan respondents selling crops for commercial purposes, business ownership (63.3 percent collectively) was also found to be high. The breakdown of responses is presented below. As part of the CBCR Activity’s aim to improve living above the subsistence level, these findings provide a good starting point for assessing which communities were able to produce enough crops to surpass private consumption and begin selling at a commercial level.

Table 1. Participation in income-generating activities beyond subsistence level

PARTICIPATION IN INCOME-GENERATING ACTIVITY BEYOND SUBSISTENCE							
	KAPOETA SOUTH	KAPOETA EAST	DASSANECH	TURKANA NORTH	LOIMA	AMUDAT	MOROTO
Selling Crops for Commercial Purposes	0.00%	26.32%	96.15%	11.76%	0.00%	38.89%	83.33%
Business Ownership	30.00%	31.58%	7.69%	35.29%	57.14%	50.00%	83.33%

Findings show that there is a heavy reliance on self-run businesses throughout the communities, likely due to the flexibility of being able to adjust one’s business to available supply and demand. The table below indicates the most common income-generating opportunities indicated by the respondents of each country, as well as the most prominent agricultural products. Due to the high instance of overlap in findings between districts, data from localities of the same country are presented together with an added indication on any specific variations between the districts’ presented opportunities.

Table 2. Main income-generating activities and agricultural products, by country

INCOME-GENERATING OPPORTUNITIES, BY COUNTRY		
COUNTRY	INCOME-GENERATING OPPORTUNITIES	AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS
South Sudan	Gold mining, livestock trade, sale of animal products, small-scale businesses, selling charcoal and firewood (women), restaurants, farming, boda-boda (men), selling tobacco (men), selling clothing and shoes, sale of biscuits, oil, alcohol (women), humanitarian work with NGOs, hotel and hospitality work, labor work, salon services (women), bed sheet sewing (women), bead making (women), selling alcohol/fruits/vegetables/firewood	Sorghum, maize flour, groundnuts, okra, <i>sukuma wika</i> , <i>choroko</i> , eggplant, tomatoes, guava, sweet potatoes, banana, pumpkin, sugarcane, mango, lemon, sesame, onion, millet, watermelon, tea
Ethiopia	Livestock trade [goats and sheep] (men), trade in small items, selling crops, fishing, cattle fattening, selling fodder seed, selling <i>koroso</i> [dry fish], brewing local drink, sawing sorghum, selling oil	Sorghum, corn, fodder seed, bananas, coffee straw (used as tea), tomatoes, kidney beans, sesame, onions, fruit, flour, pepper, cabbage, potato, chilies
Kenya	Livestock trade [goats, camels, donkeys] (men), selling firewood (women), shop keeping (women), fishing, construction (men), <i>biashara</i> [small-scale business], gold mining, bead making, salon services (women), selling cooking oil, masonry, watchman employment, shepherding, charcoal burning (women), , selling milk and meat, boda-boda (men), farming, government jobs, beekeeping, hunting, brewing and selling alcohol, laundry services (women), selling second-hand/clothes	<i>Kunde</i> , sorghum, maize, beans, rice, flour, sugar, kale, spinach, <i>dania</i> , watermelon bananas, sugarcane, sweet potatoes, peanuts, cabbage

Outside the livestock trade, waged work opportunities were reported by respondents as scarce. Most notably, waged work was associated with NGO (non-

and shoes (women), selling petrol, mechanics, unskilled labor like loading lorries with sand/stones (men), government jobs (men)

Uganda	Small-scale business and trading, marble mining in Moroto, gold mining, selling produce, beekeeping in Amudat, selling alcohol (women), livestock trade of poultry, pigs, goats, cows, and honey production, hotel and hospitality work, bricklaying, bulk production of cereal, charcoal, firewood, selling clothes, tailoring, catering (women), building houses (women), sand mining	Maize, beans, sugar, honey, groundnuts, <i>sukuma</i> , onion, tomatoes, cereal, aloe vera (to Somalis), cassava (Moroto)
--------	---	---

Source: Author's adaptation from the study's respondents

governmental organization) and government positions. In some localities, particularly South Sudan's Kapoeta South district, waged work also came in the form of locals working in shop fronts owned by foreign businessmen². Respondents noted that NGO work was considered quite lucrative, but often required stringent qualifications for one to be hired, and that humanitarian organizations often stayed in the region for short periods of time³. Government positions, particularly in South Sudanese communities, were commonly noted as an opportunity for waged work but were reported to have low pay and frequently delayed salaries⁴.

Throughout the districts, there were reports of business owners struggling to start up their businesses and keep them open. The most noted reason for these struggles was a lack of customers, leading to low demand⁵. Of the supplies available, many interviewees noted that competition between businesses was high, as many business owners and traders offered the same products in the community⁶. Finally, a lack of stability in supplies, either due to mobility restrictions, conflict, or inconsistencies in crop yield or goods production added to the complexity of maintaining a stable and profitable business. Respondents in Amudat also noted that franchises tend to be more successful and stay open longer, since these businesses have a more stable and reliable access to the supply chain, whereas small-scale businesses are not always able to find local, affordable product suppliers⁷.

Chronicling the success and prevalence of the most common opportunities in these different sectors in each of the studied districts gives insight into the functioning of the labor market at a local level. However, as stated, cross-border trade and inter-community activity were found to be essential aspects of the communities' livelihoods. Thus, a more in-depth look was given to cross-border trade, providing a cluster-wide context of the trade and labor market.

ii. CROSS-BORDER TRADE

Each district and village demonstrated a reliance on trade with cross-border communities, with a heavy reliance on imports for access to a diversity of products. While incoming goods help to diversify and expand the local economy, outgoing goods from each side of the cross-border cluster provide an important source of income and employment opportunities for community members.

² SSD-FGD001 (Respondent 6), SSD-007, KEN-FGD001 (Respondent 7), SSD-005

³ KEN-FGD003 (Respondent 1), SSD-002, UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent)

⁴ SSD-FGD001 (Respondent 6), SSD-FGD002 (Respondent 1), KEN-005

⁵ KEN-FGD003 (Respondent 2, 4), KEN-FGD003 (Respondent 7), ETH-006, SSD-FGD002 (Respondent 5)

⁶ SSD-001 (Respondent 1), SSD-FGD002 (Respondent 3), UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent), UGN-FGD002 (Respondent 5), ETH-FGD002 (Respondent 2)

⁷ UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent)

Table 3 below shows the incoming and outgoing goods associated with each side of the cross-border cluster included in the labor market assessment. To allow for a more thorough analysis of cross-border trade relations, the source of incoming goods is presented wherever possible.

Table 3. Incoming and outgoing goods

Source: Author's adaptation from the study's respondents

Certain districts enjoy less competition for goods. An example is Uganda's Amudat district which is the main producer of maize and surrounded by

GOODS CROSSING THE BORDERS		
COUNTRY	OUTGOING GOODS	INCOMING GOODS
South Sudan	Livestock, diamonds, ivory, tobacco, ostrich oil and feathers, leopard skins	Fuel, construction materials, sugar, rice, soda, mineral water, timber, maize, flour, online, cooking oil, cabbage, sweet potato, watermelon, salt, <i>sukuma wiki</i> , soap (from Kenya and Uganda, few from Sudan)
Ethiopia	Sorghum, coffee straw, traditional brew, water, corn, biscuits, fish, goats, solar items, oil, sugar	Motorbikes, soap, beads, perfume, powder, sugar, packed foods, TV, cereal, salt, clothing, oil, bed sheets, shoes, lights, edible oils to be resold; rags, metallic roofing, and solar light (from the Kenyan border)
Kenya	Mats, baskets, goats, honey, woven containers, clothes	Clothing, shoes, petrol, furniture (Lodwar); alcohol (Moroto), mangoes, fruits, <i>kibish</i> , vegetables (West Pokot); beans, bananas, maize, eggs, beer (Uganda); livestock (Marsabit); wine, olive oil, petroleum oil, tobacco, cooking oil, petroleum jelly (Ethiopia); bullets (South Sudan)
Uganda	Maize, livestock, sugar, camels, jerricans, aloe vera, marbles, beans, posho, sorghum; cassava, tomatoes, sorghum (Moroto)	Alcohol, leather shoes, beans, second-hand clothing, bananas; beads, sugar, flour, clothes (Kenya); clinics and teachers (Kenya); beans (Tanzania); maize before local supplies are ready in Moroto (Mbale)

multiple districts more heavily invested in growing sorghum. However, due to difficulties in drying and storing maize, Kenya has implemented restrictions on the import of Ugandan maize, having a heavy impact on the local income of Ugandan communities heavily invested in growing and selling the crop⁸.

Mapping the state of intra- and inter-community trade, labor markets, and wage employment allows for insight into potential opportunities, trainings, and partnerships that could be implemented in line with the objectives of the CBCR Activity. Finding goods or services that are particularly popular in a certain community or district can help inform decisions on how to balance the promotion of diversification of income while also expanding and strengthening aspects of local trade that are successfully supporting locals. Alongside these findings, there must be an emphasis on understanding the shifting nature of the labor market, how to predict future fluctuations, and how to create communities that are prepared for the changing nature of trade and the work force.

iii. SECTORS WITH POTENTIAL FOR GROWTH

Respondents were consulted on skills that were in high demand, and sectors that had a high potential for growth. During interviews, local researchers also noted the sectors that were underdeveloped with a high potential for expansion, as well as skills, services, or goods that had a high demand but lack of supply.

There were many commonalities across locations in the cluster. These were, therefore, considered in recommendations for areas of actionable programming and provisions of training. Many of the respondents' opinions on the sectors with the highest potential for growth were related to agriculture, natural resource management, work in manual labor, and hospitality. The sectors highlighted in Kapoeta South and East, included gold mining, small-scale business, ox-plow farming, tailoring, carpentry, business management, driving, animal health work, humanitarian work, salon businesses, bead making

⁸ UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent)

and bed sheet sewing, bricklaying, catering, liquid soap making, village savings and loan association (VSLA) skills, and hotel management⁹.

In Dassanech, respondents indicated that some areas for potential growth are cattle fattening, fishing, irrigation and efficient water use, farming and plowing land, building stone, mining, producing milk and butter, and producing moringa, which naturally grows in the area¹⁰. Selling eggs provides a high level of income and could become an important source of trade, but is currently an underdeveloped sector, as few are working in producing or trading eggs¹¹. Respondents showed a strong interest in cereal banking, which is the practice of producing a surplus of cereals and storing them to be sold during times when there is scarcity of crops. This practice has proven to help maintain a stable source of food and income for locals throughout times of drought¹².

For respondents from the Kenyan side of the cluster, masonry, carpentry, plumbing, tailoring, computer skills, and salon services were reported as high income-generating activities that locals can be trained in¹³. The sale of certain goods, such as wine and spirits, generates a high and stable income¹⁴. Fishing makes up an important role in Turkana North where the fish industry is currently thriving¹⁵. The hospitality industry, made up of hotel and pub businesses, is currently struggling but has a high potential and services are in high demand¹⁶. The hospitality industry has led to an increase in available jobs and a heightened demand for related skills, though instability due to conflict in the region can make it difficult to create and maintain new businesses in the sector¹⁷.

Finally, the residents of the Ugandan border communities indicated that there was high potential in skills related to building, such as mechanics, block-making, bricklaying, welding, and carpentry¹⁸. The communities in both Moroto and Amudat also see a high demand for hair services, aloe vera sales, baking skills, new farming techniques, hospitality services, and construction. Transportation is also a possible sector for growth, as the boda-boda business is booming¹⁹. There is still a need for ease of transportation in the area, and there are currently no taxis to fulfil this demand. Additionally, transportation costs, particularly between Amudat and Alakas, are considerably high, furthering the growth potential for locals to begin offering cheaper transportation alternatives²⁰.

b. Changes in the labor market

To ensure that the current state of the trade and labor markets in the Karamoja cluster are put into the appropriate context, respondents were asked for their experiences and insights into the shifts and changes that they have experienced in their local labor market and access to trade. The aim of understanding these fluctuations is to be better able to prepare a community for the most likely fluctuations to their marketplace, better predict market disruptors before they happen, and take lessons from past instances that can help shape future decisions.

⁹ SSD-FGD1,2,3, SSD-001, SSD-002, SSD-003, SSD-007, SSD-008

¹⁰ All KIIs conducted in Ethiopia

¹¹ ETH-007

¹² ETH-FGD002 (Respondent 3), ETH-001, ETH-004

¹³ All KIIs conducted in Kenya

¹⁴ KEN-FGD002 (Respondent 4), KEN-005

¹⁵ KEN-FGD002 (Respondent 1), KEN-FGD003 (Respondent 2), KEN-006, KEN-007

¹⁶ KEN-FGD003 (Respondent 1,2,3,4,6)

¹⁷ KEN FGD 1,2,3 KII 1,3,4,5,6,7,8

¹⁸ UGN-002, UGN-003, UGN-004, UGN-005, UGN-006, UGN-007

¹⁹ UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent), UGN-FGD003 (Respondent 7,8), UGN-001, UGN-004, UGN-005

²⁰ UGN-002, UGN-003, UGN-004, UGN-005, UGN-006, UGN-007

Despite the importance of cross-border trade to the target communities, there has been a decrease in inter-district or international trade in most of the studied locations. These were largely due to changes and issues seen in the region that have influenced the ease and safety of mobility.

i. MAJOR LABOR MARKET DISRUPTORS

As indicated by the recent changes to cross-border trade, there are some dominant disruptors to the market that have shown to be regularly recurring in the Karamoja cluster. Categorizing these disruptors can help to track, predict, and prepare for market fluctuations. Conflicts, natural disasters, seasonal variations, and restricted mobility were found to be the major market disruptors.

ii. CONFLICT

Conflict was a main factor in disrupting trade. In fact, a study on resilience in the Karamoja cluster noted the heavy impact of conflict on the region and emphasized the importance of peace-building and conflict resolution efforts. Clan rivalries have led to a cycle of retaliation in which pastoral communities raid each other's cattle, commit revenge killings and, in some cases, avoid hiring or supporting non-clansmen²¹. Cattle raiding, revenge killing, and theft have all contributed to lower rates of cross-border trading and, subsequently, less stable and diversified markets.

Most respondents reported that conflict tended to originate over pastoralists' access to pasture for their livestock. As such, conflict tended to peak during times of drought, when there is a greater need for cattle herders to travel in search of pasture, thus increasing their exposure to other groups and risking their safety. Cattle raiding, particularly on roads leading to markets, was a major source of concern. Due to the prevalence of cattle raiding, Ugandan members of the cross-border cluster who bring their livestock to the market reported often being suspected of having obtained these cattle through raids, making it difficult to find trusting buyers²².

Some districts, such as South Sudan's Kapoeta East County and Kenya's Loima constituency in Turkana County, noted a lower frequency of conflict than others included in the study²³. Turkana groups were noted to be responsible for a great deal of cross-border conflict, with respondents from all communities mentioning the Turkana population as a source of insecurity, with particular emphasis on the ongoing conflicts between the Pokot and Turkana communities²⁴. To compound the issue, the Turkana have legalized access to guns, whereas Ugandan residents do not, putting Turkana at an advantage during instances of direct conflict²⁵. Lesser examples of conflicts include those between Rendille and Turkana populations in Kenya's Marsabit County²⁶, Pokot and Karamojong populations of Uganda²⁷, Toposa and Didinga populations in South Sudan²⁸, and Turkana conflict in Ethiopia²⁹.

Despite the presence of inter-clan conflict in the South Sudanese border communities, there are no clashes between Toposa groups in Kapoeta South, East, or North, but only with other groups such as

²¹ SSD FGD1 (Respondent 1,2,5,7,9); FGD2 (Respondent 9, R6); KEN-001KIII, KEN FGD1 (Respondent 2)

²² UGN-007

²³ SSD FGD1 (All), SSD FGD2 (All), SSD FGD3 (Respondent 1,2,3,6,8)

²⁴ SSD FGD3 (Respondent 3), KEN FGD3(Respondent 1, 5), KEN KII3

²⁵ UGN-007; The 2008 Small Arms Survey Report suggests that there has been illegal circulation of firearms in Turkana, which have been used for defense against rival groups in South Sudan and Uganda. However, there are existing regulations on firearms through application for a firearm license. Bevan, J. (2008). Blowback: Kenya's Illicit Ammunition Problem in Turkana North District. Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies: Geneva. Report available at: <https://www.smallarmssurvey.org/sites/default/files/resources/SAS-OP22-Kenya.pdf>

²⁶ KEN-FGD002 (Respondent 1)

²⁷ UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent)

²⁸ SSD-FGD001 (Respondent 2,5,8)

²⁹ ETH-005

Didinga and Buyi³⁰. All conflict occurs in areas where there are different clans, such as Budi County, which is home to the Didinga communities³¹. Though there is generally no conflict among the Toposa, there are reports of some road-side theft by Toposa and Budi youth³². Due to these conflicts, movement is restricted in areas where different clans may meet, particularly in Budi County and its surroundings³³.

Ethiopia's Dassanech *wareda* is deemed relatively safe inside its borders, as nearly all conflicts were reported to come from tensions between Dassanech locals and the Turkana people across the border³⁴. There used to be trade of fish, cattle, hair grease, biscuits, and candy with the Turkana, but this has ceased due to the conflict, which has caused a marked decline in outgoing goods from Dassanech³⁵. Fish has been left as one of the final remaining goods being traded out of the *wareda*³⁶.

On the Kenyan side of the cross-border cluster, instances of cattle raiding have been reported, particularly near the border of Ethiopia³⁷. Residents of Turkana North stated that they are heavily surrounded by enemies, with the Pokot on the border of Turkana South, the Samburu of Turkana East, Ethiopia's Merille *wareda*, the Toposa and Omulu of South Sudan, and the Karamoja from Uganda³⁸. Conducting business along any of these borders can be dangerous, and locals can be attacked at any time. During times of peace, business thrives and there is a great ease of mobility, highlighting the heavy toll that conflict has on cross-border trade³⁹.

Uganda's Moroto district reports thievery as a common issue, and sometimes businesses are robbed so regularly that it is not in one's financial interest to keep reopening their business⁴⁰. In Amudat, the main challenge is cattle raiding resulting from the conflict between the Karamojong and Pokot communities⁴¹. At the time of this study, the local market in Amudat had shut down due to the raids but was able to re-open once villagers began to patrol the area to keep the roads safe themselves⁴². In the Kenyan county of Turkana North, attacks and cattle raiding are a major barrier to trade, as instances of cattle raiding had been reported throughout the area⁴³. Cross-border business, or even conducting trade near these borders, can be dangerous and locals are often prone to attacks from rival groups.

In addition to a reduction of trade, conflict interferes with other opportunities, such as trainings and education. Many locals noted that they have missed the trainings offered in their areas due to reports of potential raids that could happen. They also emphasized that they will prioritize their own safety and that of their families and cattle over attending a training⁴⁴.

iii. NATURAL DISASTERS AND SEASONAL VARIATIONS

In addition to conflict, flooding, droughts, and livestock diseases were reported as the most common and disruptive disasters. Both flooding and droughts had major effects on crop yields, causing widespread hunger, an increase in conflict, and soaring food prices. There were few reports of forest

³⁰ SSD FGD1 (All), SSD FGD2 (All), SSD FGD3 (Respondent 1,2,3,6,8)

³¹ Ibid

³² SSD-FGD002 (Respondent 4), SSD-FGD003 (Respondent 9)

³³ SSD-FGD002 (Respondent 6)

³⁴ KEN-FGD003 (Respondent 2,7), KEN-005, KEN-006

³⁵ ETH-FGD003 (Respondent 3,4,5,6,7,9)

³⁶ ETH-FGD001 (Respondent 4), ETH-FGD002 (Respondent 1,3), ETH-003, ETH-004, ETH-005, ETH-007

³⁷ KEN-FGD003 (Respondent 2,7), KEN-005, KEN-006

³⁸ KEN-006; KEN FGD1(Respondent 1,2), KEN FGD2 (1,2,3,4,8), KEN FGD3 (5)

³⁹ KEN-FGD002 (Respondent 2), KEN-006

⁴⁰ UGN-FGD002 (All)

⁴¹ UGN-FGD001 (Respondent 1)

⁴² KEN-003, KEN-FGD003 (Respondent 5)

⁴³ KEN-003

⁴⁴ ETH-FGD002 (Respondent 2,4)

fires, particularly in Kenya, but fires were not considered a regularly occurring natural disaster that could disrupt community-level activities⁴⁵. In Uganda, farmers also face challenges regarding army worms and locusts affecting the production of certain crops⁴⁶.

Seasonal variations, cycling between the wet and dry seasons, tend to dictate the level of connectivity and the extent of interaction between communities⁴⁷. The wet season brings greater success in the livestock market and a greater flow of goods and services, while also reducing mobility due to flooded roads. Flooding during the wet season greatly reduces crop yields, as soil becomes waterlogged and planted crops are destroyed or washed away. Pastoralists do not need to leave their local areas in search of water and pasture for their cattle during the wet season, however, reducing their exposure to conflict and bringing some stability to local markets by maintaining a steady consumer base. As harvests tend to be more abundant at this time, wage employment is less sought after and farming becomes the main focus for many communities.

Across all locations in the cross-border cluster, there was a greater ease of mobility during the dry season compared to the rainy season when roads are flooded. However, the dry season also tends to bring droughts, and with it, higher instances of conflict between traveling pastoralists looking for pasture. More people tend to look for work during the dry season to supplement household income and food supply that may have been affected by poor harvests. On the other hand, during the rainy season flooding becomes a major issue in mobility and farming. Otherwise, the rainy season tends to be a more lucrative period due to better yields. Wage employment is more highly sought out during the dry season, particularly when harvests are low and household farms are not sufficiently producing crops to meet the daily food consumption requirements of the family⁴⁸.

Animal diseases have led to deaths of cattle and a significant reduction in cow fertility in South Sudan, particularly in Kapoeta East. The milk and meat of sick cows are avoided due to health implications to human health, resulting in wastage of resources⁴⁹.

In Kenya, there is a cough disease spreading amongst goats which is difficult and expensive to treat. Further research can indicate how cost-effective it would be to invest in greater accessibility to veterinary services, and whether this would have a significant effect on local trade and on the diets of local community members⁵⁰.

The migrations occasioned by natural disasters and seasonal variations greatly increase the risk of inter-community conflict and income loss as a result of cattle raiding. Nonetheless, cross-border trade flourishes as communities begin to have easier and more consistent levels of interaction.

iv. COVID-19 AND RESTRICTED MOBILITY

Another major disruptor to the trade and labor markets in the Karamoja cluster was government-imposed restrictions of movement as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic. All districts reported a decrease in mobility, income, and security during the pandemic. With these restrictions came an increase in food prices, a shortage of medical supplies, school closures, collapse of businesses, and unemployment. Secondary effects were an increase in alcoholism, substance abuse, early marriages, and pregnancies of school-aged girls, particularly in Kenyan communities⁵¹. There was a shortage of

⁴⁵ KEN FGD2 (Respondent 2)

⁴⁶ UGN-FGD002 (Respondent 5), UGN-FGD003 (Respondent 3,5,9)

⁴⁷ Findings referenced from nearly all qualitative interviews

⁴⁸ UGN-006, UGN-007, KEN-FGD001 (Respondent 4), KEN-002, KEN-005

⁴⁹ SSD-FGD002 (Respondent 4, 5), SSD-FGD002 (Respondent 5, 8)

⁵⁰ KEN-008, KEN-002, KEN-001

⁵¹ KEN-FGD2 (Respondent 6, 4)

employment opportunities, which may or may not have stemmed from insecurity or government mandates, and the markets dwindled due to the isolation between communities⁵².

Respondents on the Ugandan side of the cross-border cluster noted that prior Ebola outbreaks were not as restrictive as the COVID-19 pandemic⁵³, and the associated tensions nearly resulted in attacks on local security workers by people who wanted to cross borders and were being denied access. A large-scale, international study on the impacts of labor markets in developing countries showed that COVID-19 and the associated restrictions and effects led to severe impacts⁵⁴. Each of the four countries' districts included in this assessment showed a slow-down of economic activity as a result of the pandemic⁵⁵.

The COVID-19 pandemic greatly contributed to the reduction of mobility, but other factors came into play as well. In Kenya, the Pokot communities, who had previously taken part in livestock markets in Loima, have begun to frequent different markets. This is presumably due to newly implemented border charges that tax incoming pastoralists to bring their cattle to the market, while locals are exempt from these charges⁵⁶. South Sudanese respondents lamented the high border taxes when crossing Kenyan and Ugandan borders, while the Ethiopian respondents reported issues in cross-border mobility, as there were reports of having newly bought Kenyan goods, particularly motorbikes, confiscated at the border⁵⁷.

While reduction in mobility has had wide-spread negative consequences to trade, some communities have been able to enhance their self-sufficiency and become less dependent on international and inter-district trade. In Kapoeta East, there has been an increase in local self-sufficiency, as many crops, such as *sukuma wiki*, onion, lemon, cabbage, and sweet potato are now being produced locally and are no longer imported from Kenya and Uganda⁵⁸. This allows for greater self-reliance on the locally available resources and skills within the community. Self-reliance at community level can promote lower consumer costs by omitting high transportation costs associated with crossing borders with high fees, such as the South Sudan-Uganda and South Sudan-Kenya borders.

V. MOVEMENT AND MIGRATION

Migration of people can influence or be influenced by market disruptors, or can itself be a disruptor. Mapping the indicators of migration patterns can help predict the migrant movement and set up systems in which communities are more likely to recover from market disruptions and become less likely to migrate out of necessity.

The leading cause of migration was insecurity, such as food insecurity, conflict, or unemployment. Safety and conflict are factors that heavily influence migration. Conflict in particular areas led to higher instances of outward migration as people left to avoid danger. However, conflict in border districts or inter-group conflict led to a reduction in outgoing migration and cross-border trade. This is because movements in areas with active conflict pose a greater risk of violence, looting, and cattle raiding. These

⁵² According to a study conducted by Arasio, et al., COVID-19 has resulted in an increase in food insecurity and hunger in the Karamoja region of Uganda, primarily affecting poor households in rural areas engaged in pastoralism, agropastoralism, and agriculture, as well as male and female casual laborers. Hunger was primarily driven by market closure, low food stocks, reduced availability of high demand food items, high prices of goods, and income and employment loss, among others. Arasio, R.L., Catley, A., and Ayele, M. (2020). Rapid Assessment of COVID-19 Impacts in Karamoja, Uganda. Karamoja Resilience Unit (KRSU), USAID, Kampala.a

⁵³ UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent)

⁵⁴ Khamis, M., Prinz, D., Newhouse, D., Palacios-Lopez, A., Pape, U., Weber, M. (2021). The Early Labor Market Impacts of COVID-19 in Developing Countries: Evidence from High-Frequency Phone Surveys. Jobs Working Paper; No. 58. World Bank, Washington, DC. <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/35044> License: CC BY 3.0 IGO.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ KEN-003

⁵⁷ ETH-005

⁵⁸ SSD-008

trends show that communities make a marked effort to avoid areas of conflict. This may require leaving a region or moving into a region to stay distant from borders with active conflict. During peaceful periods, people are encouraged to engage in cross-border trade, but not relocation.

Movements of pastoralists during the dry season also showed a marked impact on local markets. As they migrated in search of water and pasture for their livestock, local markets tended to close down due to a less stable and consistent consumer base. In the rainy season, when livestock herders stayed in their localities and did not need to travel for pasture, local businesses showed an increase in activity. The livestock trade tends to be a precursor to the health of other markets, as the dispersal of pastoralists outside of an area is subsequently met with instability of local trade and markets.

c. accessing labor, wage employment and entrepreneurial opportunities: formal and informal barriers for individuals and communities

To assess how accessible income-generating opportunities are to the Karamoja cross-border communities, respondents gave insight into the formal and informal barriers that different members of the community experience. Spanning differences in gender, educational background, disability, socioeconomic background, age, political affiliation, and ethnic background, findings have been presented that illustrate the barriers that different members of the community face when trying to access employment opportunities. Gender and educational background were seen as the most influential barriers that impede or facilitate one's ability to enter employment. While the labor market is still quite divided along gender lines, all areas of the cluster show some level of improvement in promoting gender equality. Educational background, on the other hand, is becoming an increasingly impactful obstacle to many.

Constraints based on gender

Respondents throughout the Karamoja cluster reported that men are traditionally solely responsible for livestock rearing, indicating that a primary income-generating activity excludes women⁵⁹. Other than livestock rearing, men's contribution to income generation generally comes from construction work, farming, gold mining, crop sales, restaurant ownership, and boda-boda driving, which have all become more widely available to men.

Due to these long-held, widespread cultural practices and stigmas in the region, it is unlikely that women will begin to work in the livestock trade in the near future. Women, instead, are tasked with the upkeep of the household, including childcare, preparation of food, providing sufficient income and, in some of the studied districts, construction of housing expansions, particularly for new wives that their husbands marry⁶⁰.

For income-generating activities exclusive to women, the study participants in each location indicated that brewing the local alcohol was a major source of income, as well as plaiting hair, and selling hand-made goods such as beads, marbles, and sheets. With the exception of the livestock trade and a few particularly demanding physical jobs which vary across the districts, women play a more central role in the majority of income-generating opportunities throughout the Karamoja cluster. These gender divisions are starting to change, as men become more commonly involved in a wider range of income-

⁵⁹ SSD-001, SSD-002, SSD-003, SSD-005, SSD-008, ETH-FGD003 (Respondent 1), ETH-001, ETH-003, KEN-001, KEN-002, KEN-004, KEN-005, KEN-006, KEN-007, KEN-008, UGN-001, UGN-002, UGN-003, UGN-007

⁶⁰ SSD-FGD002 (Respondent 9), ETH-001, ETH-002, ETH-005, ETH-007, UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent), KEN-001, KEN-002, KEN-004, KEN-005, KEN-006, KEN-007, KEN-008, UGN-FGD003 (Respondent 2), UGN-001, UGN-002, UGN-003, UGN-005, UGN-007

generating activities⁶¹.

FGD respondents in South Sudan and Kenya noted that women sometimes face additional obstacles while searching for job opportunities. These include pressure from employers asking for sexual favors in exchange for employment⁶². Though tasked with providing food and income, they are often told by their husbands or other men in their families that certain jobs or training opportunities are not appropriate for them, particularly if they require being far from the home, leading to a limitation in opportunities⁶³. On the other hand, in areas where alcoholism was a particular problem, it was common for employers to prefer hiring women, as they are more reliable and less disruptive. Both men and women may be expected to pay a bribe to gain employment⁶⁴. Further exacerbating the difficulty in finding jobs or sources of income, it is not uncommon for some wage earners to receive their salaries late, especially among women who are considered to be less likely than men to confront an exploitative employer⁶⁵.

On the South Sudanese side of the cluster, the study found that men were likely to be preferred as workers due to the possibility of women getting pregnant and eventually leaving employment⁶⁶. Government jobs, for example, are most commonly given to men and it is uncommon to find a woman in a leadership role⁶⁷. On the other hand, NGOs prioritize women in their hiring practices, especially when hiring for jobs related to gender-based violence (GBV)⁶⁸.

Among the Ethiopian border communities, education has recently become accessible to women, allowing them to enter workforces that were otherwise inaccessible to them due to rigid educational and training requirements⁶⁹. According to respondents, some business owners prefer to hire women for waged work since they are considered to be less likely to engage in alcoholism and cause disturbances, a common issue among men in the community. Uneducated men have a wider range of opportunities than uneducated women, as they are able to work in physically demanding labor jobs, making women and girls' access to education even more important.

Fishing and agriculture are income-generating activities that communities in Dassanech often engage in. In the *warda*, fishing used to be an activity predominantly performed by men but is now an opportunity open to both men and women⁷⁰. A farmer in Demich noted the shift in gender divisions by stating that men and women now work together more frequently. *“Women are the frontiers when it comes to irrigation work. They are even better than males. We work together. They also fish together, so the market has now changed. It was once culturally believed that women do not do men's jobs, but now they are equally functioning.”*⁷¹

By contrast, respondents from Ethiopia reported that women are often considered incapable of caring for the cattle, further excluding them from the livestock trade⁷². Both women and men participate in farming, though women are more often responsible for irrigation. At the household level, trading and

⁶¹ KEN-002, KEN-005

⁶² SSD-FGD1 (Respondent 1,7,8,10), SSD-005, KEN-001, KEN-002, UGN-FGD003 (Respondent 3)

⁶³ SSD-003

⁶⁴ UGN-FGD003 (Respondent 1)

⁶⁵ KEN-FGD002 (Respondent 5)

⁶⁶ SSD-FGD003 (Respondent 1)

⁶⁷ SSD-002, KEN-005, ETH-002, ETH-006

⁶⁸ SSD-003, SSD-004, SSD-007, SSD-008

⁶⁹ ETH-FGD001 (Respondent 5)

⁷⁰ ETH-003, ETH-004

⁷¹ ETH-004

⁷² ETH-001, ETH-004, ETH-006, ETH-007

domestic chores such as cooking, buying groceries, and physically carrying items in public are expected of women. It is frowned upon for men to engage in small trade or to even be seen physically carrying goods in public⁷³.

Among the Turkana of Kenya, men have recently become more integrated into the labor market but, historically, women were responsible for income-generation. With the changes happening, the only opportunities that may exclude women are physically demanding ones, such as certain construction or manual labor jobs⁷⁴.

Sometimes, the Turkana women engage in employment that may require working far from home. This may be negatively viewed by some members of the community, with some accusing them of being involved in prostitution⁷⁵. These accusations often influence their husbands' views on women's participation in income-generating activities, which may result in women missing out on many available opportunities due to their husbands or male relatives' objections. Safety and insecurity may also limit the scope of work that women may engage in⁷⁶. For example, women may engage in mining activities, but areas like Sasame are not often frequented by women due to the high level of insecurity⁷⁷.

Findings from FGDs and KIIs show that women are perceived to have an easier time getting a wider range of job opportunities, and are even beginning to be included into leadership roles, such as one of the female key informants working in a government position in Turkana North⁷⁸. NGOs in Turkana North and Kapoeta East districts often strongly prioritize hiring women within the community⁷⁹. In the case of provision of aid, pregnant and lactating women (PLW), and the elderly are commonly prioritized as beneficiaries⁸⁰.

For the Karamojong of Uganda, there are some income-generating sectors other than livestock rearing that men and women may engage in together, with both genders being assigned different responsibilities. For example, in Moroto, both men and women take part in gold mining, but men lead the quarrying as they are generally expected to perform physically demanding labor (e.g., block breaking, logging, etc.)⁸¹. Respondents highlighted that the male workers doing these physically demanding jobs are almost exclusively from the Gishu and Karamojong ethnic minorities due to the stigma of men doing labor among the Pokot majority⁸². Despite the heavy reliance on livestock trade, women only own chickens, whereas men own cattle. Respondents suggested a need for providing women with their own cattle to empower them by reducing their reliance on their husbands or other men in their family⁸³.

Overall, respondents in the cluster communities indicated that the elderly have more challenges in finding work, especially those that require physical strength, such as construction or gold mining⁸⁴. It is also common among elders to have little to no education, which reinforces their lack of access to

⁷³ ETH-001, ETH-007

⁷⁴ KEN-001, KEN-004, KEN-006

⁷⁵ KEN-002, KEN-FGD001 (Respondent 7)

⁷⁶ UGN-002

⁷⁷ KEN-006

⁷⁸ KEN-005

⁷⁹ SSD-FGD002 (Respondent 8), KEN-FGD002 (Respondent 2,5), SSD-001, SSD-007, KEN-006

⁸⁰ KEN-FGD001(Respondent 3,7); KEN-FGD-002 (Respondent 2)

⁸¹ UGN-FGD003 (Respondent 7), UGN-007

⁸² UGN-001, UGN-FGD001 (Respondent 1) UGN-003

⁸³ UGN-FGD001; UGN-FGD002 (Respondent 6,7)

⁸⁴ UGN-FGD002 (Respondent 2); SSD-FGD002 (Respondent 3,2)

employment opportunities⁸⁵. Though some respondents mentioned that minors may be restricted by minimum age limits imposed by some types of jobs or employers, there were overall few comments of age being a significant barrier to accessing job opportunities⁸⁶.

Constraints based on education level

Low levels of education and increasing educational requirements for job opportunities were stated as barriers to accessing labor, wage employment, and entrepreneurial opportunities throughout the Karamoja cluster. The study participants highlighted the high rate of illiteracy across all locations in the cluster. For example, in Kenya, the literacy rate among the Turkana pastoralists was at 46 percent⁸⁷, while in Uganda, the illiteracy rates among persons aged 18 years old and above was 77.8 percent in Moroto and 81.7 percent in Amudat⁸⁸.

With government positions, NGOs, the private sector, and various organizations demanding more stringent qualifications, it is becoming more difficult for the average adult to find employment, particularly in districts that do not offer skills training⁸⁹. In Uganda, a government program named Functional Adult Literacy (FAL) was introduced in order to reduce illiteracy levels among adults. Still, illiteracy rates throughout Uganda remain relatively high, with Amudat registered as one of districts in the country with the highest illiteracy rates⁹⁰.

In Ethiopia, education was historically only available to men, but nowadays women are also allowed to go to school and receive an education⁹¹. This has narrowed the gender gap in parts of the labor market.

Respondents on the Kenyan side of the cluster noted that employment was more accessible during the era of President Moi, which lasted from 1978 until 2002⁹². During this time, individuals with Standard 8 (primary school) qualifications were able to find work, though this has become less common in recent years across many sectors. Additionally, there are certain skills expected within the workforce that are not always incorporated into the educational system⁹³.

In Uganda, uneducated women often work cleaning houses or offices⁹⁴. However, there has been a shift regarding views on education, particularly in the Moroto district, where women are now encouraged to get an education in order to find a good husband⁹⁵. While there has been a push for women and girls to go to school, it is speculated that developing skills and knowledge for better employment opportunities is not always the primary goal⁹⁶. Regardless of secondary outcomes, the increase in women's access to education showcases the narrowing gender divide in the workplace. As women are encouraged to continue taking advantage of education and trainings, jobs and employment that require qualifications

⁸⁵ ETH-FGD001 (Respondent 4,5), ETH-004, UGN-006

⁸⁶ UGN-FGD002 (Respondent 2), ETH-FGD001 (Respondent 4)

⁸⁷ County Government of Turkana. (2013).

⁸⁸ Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS). (2017).

⁸⁹ KEN-FGD003 (Respondent 1,4), KEN-007, SSD-005, SSD-FGD001 (Respondent 2), KEN-005; UGN-FGD-003 (Respondent 8), UGN-004, UGN-003, UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent), UGN-006, UGN-001, UGN-002; ETH-FGD001 (Respondent 9)

⁹⁰ Eninu, E. (30 Jan 2019). "Amudat Embraces Adult Literacy Program," Uganda Radio Network.

⁹¹ ETH-FGD001 (Respondent 5)

⁹² KEN-005

⁹³ Awiti, A., Orwa, C., Mbuvi, L., & Karumba, M. (2019). Whole Youth Development in Kenya: Survey of employers and employees in the formal and informal sectors to determine entry-level skills among youth (18-30 yrs.) in employment Kenya.

⁹⁴ UGN-FGD003 (Respondent 2)

⁹⁵ UGN-FGD003 (Respondent 5,4)

⁹⁶ Ibid

will become more available to them.

Constraints based on disability

Qualitative interviews suggest that programs and projects meant to support people with disabilities (PWDs) can be found throughout the cluster, particularly in Ethiopian, Kenyan, and Ugandan border communities. Study participants noted that PWDs are given preferential treatment for job opportunities in upcoming initiatives with NGOs⁹⁷. Despite this, respondents indicated that there are limited job opportunities and trainings for PWDs⁹⁸. Moreover, locations that reported specialized programs supporting PWDs also reported that the food, finances, and support directed at PWDs are often exploited and appropriated by family members or other members of the community at a high rate⁹⁹.

Respondents from Dassanech noted that PWD members of the community are encouraged to participate in the community and were given assistance from NGOs and government initiatives. PWDs in the city centers are more likely to participate in community activities than those in the Demich area¹⁰⁰. Despite the intent to create a disability sensitive and inclusive environment, there is a lack of opportunities available to PWDs, which may contribute to their isolation from the rest of the community.

These findings of isolation and inaccessibility to income-generating opportunities was found throughout all districts, with respondents from the Kenyan side of the cross-border cluster even stating that PWDs often do not have identification cards, are not registered, and are not recognized by the community¹⁰¹. As one participant from a FGD in Turkana North stated, “[PWDs] don’t have the opportunities. Those who are standing as their guardians take all the money from them since they don’t have IDs.”¹⁰²

In Kapoeta East, respondents emphasized that PWDs have higher school retention rates than their peers, but they are still virtually absent from leadership positions¹⁰³.

In the Ugandan side of the cross-border cluster, particularly in Amudat, PWDs are claimed to be unrecognized by the community, and are largely seen as unproductive, and denied access to opportunities. In Amudat, there are even reports of PWDs, particularly children, being thrown into the river for being unproductive¹⁰⁴. There is also a high instance of blindness in the district, often related to the preventable trachoma disease. Community awareness of the disease and how to prevent it may reduce the instance of blindness in the district¹⁰⁵.

Aid aimed towards PWDs is often exploited, particularly when it is given in the form of tradable goods and services such as food, finances, or other goods. All countries had programs and projects meant to support PWDs but reports from each district emphasized the high likelihood of these programs being taken advantage of by community members without disabilities. Family, friends, and clan members were said to appropriate the money and tradable aid intended for PWDs.

i. CONSTRAINED BASED ON SOCIOECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Neptotism and discrimination based on ethnic, political, or clan affiliation was identified as a major issue across the cross-border cluster, with many respondents noting that gaining employment is largely

⁹⁷ UGN-FGD002 (Respondent 7), KEN-FGD001 (Respondent 3), SSD-FGD002 (Respondent 2,4)

⁹⁸ UGN-FGD002 (Respondent 8,4,9,5,7)

⁹⁹ UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent), SSD-FGD001 (All respondents), SSD-FGD002 (Respondent 1,2), SSD-FGD003 (Respondent 1)

¹⁰⁰ ETH-FGD002 (Respondent 3)

¹⁰¹ KEN-FGD003 (Respondent 1)

¹⁰² KEN-FGD001 (Respondent 1)

¹⁰³ SSD-FGD001 (Respondent 1), SSD-FGD003 (Respondent 1)

¹⁰⁴ UGN-FGD002 (Respondent 8)

¹⁰⁵ UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent)

influenced by networking, and that most jobs are offered to family members, friends, or members of the same clan¹⁰⁶. In the Kenyan and Ugandan borderlands, there was particular emphasis on jobs being given primarily to individuals who supported the elected political party¹⁰⁷.

Some respondents from the South Sudanese side of the cross-border cluster claimed that job opportunities awarded on the basis of clan affiliation and nepotism have become commonplace, though they were based on merit prior to the economic crises of 2013 and 2016¹⁰⁸. In Kapoeta East, respondents cited that there were cases of government officials, such as the County Commissioner or Member of Parliament, interfering with employment proceedings by recommending individuals close to them¹⁰⁹.

Ethiopia's Dassanech *wareda* was the only area in which respondents claimed that there was little or no instance of nepotism. Respondents in Ethiopia noted that through community building and trainings, the locals learned that all individuals should be equally welcomed to participate in community affairs¹¹⁰. Whether this is objectively or anecdotally true, it shows a trend towards welcoming diversity within the workforce.

In Kenya, politicians often ensure that the people within their locality are the first to be given jobs. Both political affiliation and tribalism are an issue, with respondents emphasizing the need for a 'tall brother'¹¹¹ to attain job opportunities, indicating the importance of network connections. Politicians are often blamed for poor representation that leads to a lack of job opportunities. Corruption plays a big role in accessing employment, as does political instability.

In the Amudat district of Uganda, members of the service commission are often at odds with the political wing, causing delays in bureaucratic proceedings. FGD respondents claimed that government funds meant for recruitment have been severely delayed and needed to be reprocessed twice due to these politicians' prolonged exchanges on how the service commission wants to utilize the money and which localities they should focus on. These operational issues at the leadership level show how influential political leadership is in the labor market, and it is commonly the supporters of the political party who find employment. Employers often ask for bribes from individuals seeking employment, particularly those not closely related to them.

Some respondents across the cluster indicated that the participation of minority groups in the labor market is not equal to that of the majority, though greater minority representation was reported across the board.

South Sudanese respondents noted that members of minority communities participated in livelihood opportunities just like any other member of society. Minority individuals were particularly represented in the sectors of gold mining and trade, livestock rearing, and farming¹¹².

Of the communities included in the study, the Dassanech respondents were the only ones who claimed that minorities were not discriminated against, similar to their claims of low levels of nepotism¹¹³. Among the three minority ethnic groups, Fendel, Kuru, and Gerele, it was stated that their participation

¹⁰⁶ UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent), UGN-FGD002 (Respondent 4), UGN-FGD001 (Respondent 8,4,2), SSD-FGD001 (Respondent 6), KEN-FGD003 (Respondent 3), KEN-001

¹⁰⁷ KEN-FGD003 (Respondent 4), KEN-007, UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent), UGN-FGD002 (Respondent 2), UGN-FGD003 (Respondent 3)

¹⁰⁸ SSD-003, SSD-006, SSD-007, SSD-008

¹⁰⁹ SSD-FGD002 (Respondent 3)

¹¹⁰ ETH-FGD001(Respondent 2,3,4,5,7), ETH-FGD002 (Respondent 1,4), ETH-FGD003 (Respondent 6)

¹¹¹ KEN-FGD002 (Respondent 2)

¹¹² SSD-FGD001 (Respondent 1,2,4,5,7,10), SSD-FGD002 (Respondent 3), SSD-FGD003 (Respondent 1,5,6,7,8,9), SSD-006

¹¹³ ETH-FGD001 (Respondent 1,2,4,5,6), ETH-FGD002 (Respondent 1,2,4), ETH-FGD003 (Respondent 7,9), ETH-004

in the labor market has markedly increased since NGOs offered trainings about the importance of ensuring accessibility for all members of the community¹¹⁴. Historically, members of these minority groups were heavily discriminated against, but respondents explained that there has since been a shift in the cultural attitude and in hiring practices as they have been more engaged in the labor market and treated more fairly in recruitment processes.

Nonetheless, these minority groups continue to be underrepresented in the labor market despite the recent improvements. Language barriers can be a big obstacle in employment, and these are more common among minorities who often speak a different language than the majority of the population¹¹⁵. Discrimination against minorities is still present, but education and awareness have helped to improve the situation. One of the respondents from Demich in Ethiopia described the increasing accessibility to the labor market for minorities as a result of education and awareness efforts, saying:

*“They [minorities] are now getting better but they didn’t participate equally as the others. Through awareness creation and education, they are now coming in front like the others. Now every clan is equally seen. But still there are some discrimination[s] flying inside the community.”*¹¹⁶

Respondents in both Loima and Turkana North in Kenya similarly claimed that there were no issues regarding access to labor market opportunities for minorities¹¹⁷. In Turkana North, the Somali were mentioned as an example of minorities that were able to fully participate in income-generating activities¹¹⁸.

Contrary to respondents from the other three countries, clannism and exclusion of minorities was widely noted by Ugandan respondents. Community members noted that the Ugandan government does not offer protections to minorities, unlike Kenya, where there are governmental policies to protect and benefit minorities^{119, 120}. Due to nepotism of the clan system, jobs tend to be occupied by the majority clans, leaving out minorities from job opportunities. Oftentimes, these minority groups, such as the Tepeli and Pippets of Uganda, are pushed into a particular field of work like farming and cultivation¹²¹.

In Uganda, there is a unique situation in which minorities such as the Gishus and the Karamojongs are the predominant workers in manual labor jobs, such as welding, carpentry, and construction, among others. This is due to the cultural attitude of the Pokot, who do not find this work appropriate for men and look down upon Pokot men who partake in these types of income-generating opportunities¹²².

In Amudat, clannism is strong, and the Kakakwo and the Kateka clans are more dominant than others, with the latter being completely in charge of the district service commission¹²³. In Moroto, the Tepeli and Pippet minority groups have a more difficult time finding employment, as the Matheniko majority clan occupies most positions, from mining to housework jobs¹²⁴.

¹¹⁴ ETH-FGD002 (Respondent 1,2,4), ETH-FGD003 (Respondent 7,9), ETH-004

¹¹⁵ Ibid

¹¹⁶ ETH-FGD002 (Respondent 4)

¹¹⁷ KEN-FGD001 (Respondent 6)

¹¹⁸ KEN-FGD002 (Respondent 7)

¹¹⁹ UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent), UGN-FGD003 (Respondent 1,6,7), UGN-007

¹²⁰ Mubangizi, J. C. (2006). The Constitutional Protection of Socio-Economic Rights in selected African countries: a comparative evaluation. *African Journal of Legal Studies*, 2(1), 1-19.

¹²¹ Ibid

¹²² UGN-001, UGN-003, UGN-006

¹²³ UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent)

¹²⁴ UGN-007

In addition to limited accessibility to employment opportunities compared to more dominant clans, the Pokot tend to frequent each other’s businesses to a greater degree than other groups. This is particularly true in Karita, where there is a high Pokot population¹²⁵. To increase accessibility to market opportunities, efforts have been made in Amudat to translate everything from English to Pokot and Kiswahili as community members found that not knowing the Pokot language is likely to cost a business many customers¹²⁶.

With the influence of NGO training and education programs, all studied districts reported an increase in minority representation in the labor market, with many respondents emphasizing that treating non-clansmen as equal has begun to change the labor market. Nonetheless, there is still a disparity in minority representation due to the continued instances of nepotism and clannism.

d. Access to finance, trainings, and partnerships

Access to finance and training opportunities varied by location, particularly on the level of the community’s understanding of the different types of opportunities available to them. Below is a summary of the level of access and participation that locals have regarding the available financial opportunities.

i. ACCESS TO FINANCE

The extent of access to finance varies in each country and district. Across the board, most of the FGD participants owned assets and were employed or self-employed, but less than a quarter of them have existing loans or credits. Quantitative data provided insights on locals’ participation in group-based savings, microfinance, and lending programs.

Table 4. Access to productive economic resources, by type and country

PARTICIPATION IN INCOME-GENERATING ACTIVITY BEYOND SUBSISTENCE							
	KAPOETA SOUTH	KAPOETA EAST	DASSANECH	TURKANA NORTH	LOIMA	AMUDAT	MOROTO
Participants Owning Assets	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	87.50%	75.00%	85.00%	94.12%
Employed or Self-Employed Participants	90.00%	52.63%	100.00%	47.06%	57.14%	100.00%	100.00%
Participants with Loans or Credit	10.00%	15.79%	0.00%	23.53%	42.86%	22.22%	83.33%
Participants involved in VSLAs	70.00%	5.26%	0.00%	29.41%	42.86%	38.89%	83.33%

In Kapoeta South and Moroto districts, it was common for locals to take advantage of these financing opportunities¹²⁷. The rest of the districts reported lower instances of using these mechanisms, and all Ethiopian respondents reported that they do not currently use these schemes, though they reported past instances in which microfinance programs have been implemented. This is consistent with quantitative data that shows that none of the study participants in Ethiopia used VSLAs at the time of the study¹²⁸.

¹²⁵ UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent)

¹²⁶ UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent)

¹²⁷ UGN-FGD003 (Respondent 1,2,5,6), UGN-004, UGN-003, UGN-006, UGN-007; SSD-FGD001 (Respondent 1,3, various), SSD-001, SSD-003, SSD-004

¹²⁸ ETH-FGD001 (Respondent 3,5,6,7), ETH-FGD002 (Respondent 3,4,5), ETH-002, ETH-003, ETH-005, ETH-006, ETH-008

Overall, VSLA usage was highest in Moroto at a district level (83.3 percent), and throughout Uganda at a national level (56.7 percent), including both among females (75.0 percent) and youth (62.5 percent).

Table 5. Participation in VSLAs, by country

RESPONDENT PARTICIPATION IN VSLAS					
	SOUTH SUDAN	ETHIOPIA	KENYA	UGANDA	TOTAL
Overall Participation	27.59%	0.00%	33.33%	56.67%	29.40%
Female Participation	46.67%	0.00%	42.86%	75.00%	41.13%
Youth Participation	50.00%	0.00%	20.00%	62.50%	33.13%

Reasons for avoiding using these financial opportunities often stemmed from a lack of understanding to how these functioned or a high level of distrust of VSLA systems¹²⁹. Areas with high levels of poverty and low accessibility to income-generating opportunities, such as Kapoeta East¹³⁰ and Loima in Kenya¹³¹, were less likely to have VSLAs within a reachable distance. Study participants reported a fear of loan programs, as they worried that being unable to pay their debts would result in confiscation of their cattle and goods, furthering their financial insecurity¹³².

These reasons for hesitancy suggest that, with the right community outreach, VSLAs may be easily integrated into these communities after thorough education regarding the aim, process, and uses of these financial opportunities.

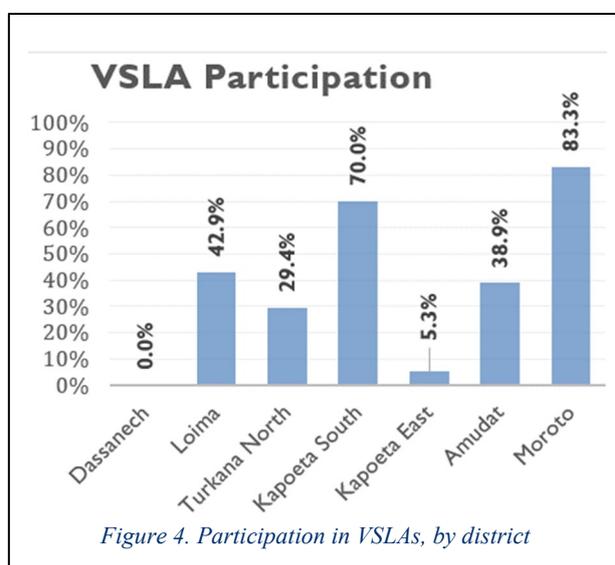


Figure 4. Participation in VSLAs, by district

ii. ACCESS TO FINANCING OPPORTUNITIES AMONG THE SOUTH SUDANESE BORDER COMMUNITIES

Respondents in Kapoeta East indicated that there was limited access to microfinance or VSLA opportunities in the area, though respondents reporting having heard of some VSLAs that supported PWDs and women¹³³. Kapoeta East respondents had heard of some micro-financing opportunities in Kapoeta South, and suggested VSLA trainings be implemented in the region¹³⁴. Though respondents from Kapoeta South indicated that some women and PWDs are supported by local VSLAs, there was an overall low number of enterprises in the area, partially due to large taxes imposed by the

¹²⁹ ETH-FGD001 (Respondent 3), ETH-FGD002 (Respondent 3), ETH-006

¹³⁰ SSD-FGD002 (All respondents), SSD-FGD003 (Respondent 4)

¹³¹ KEN-FGD003 (Respondent 2), KEN-001

¹³² UGN-FGD002 (Respondent 2), ETH-001

¹³³ SSD-007

¹³⁴ SSD-FGD002 (All respondents), SSD-FGD003 (Respondent 4)

government¹³⁵. Despite the low number of available VSLAs, they were well-frequented by the local community members. Local respondents expressed a desire for greater financing opportunities to support small-scale businesses and support centers for women.

The fluctuation of the United States Dollar (USD) has a negative impact on small businesses. The South Sudanese Pound (SSP) has lost value to the dollar, lowering the exchange rate. At the same time, the effects of the economic crises of 2013 and 2016 that resulted from local conflict are still felt to this day¹³⁶. Accessing financial services, including loans, is difficult due to insecurity on the roads going to financial institutions. For VSLAs that have been successfully started, communities claimed that local officials take advantage of these savings schemes by ensuring the inclusion of their family and friends in the VSLAs, excluding others. Alleviating some of the heavy government taxes on micro enterprises reported by Kapoeta South locals can also influence the success of these new ventures.

iii. ACCESS TO FINANCING OPPORTUNITIES AMONG THE ETHIOPIAN BORDER COMMUNITIES

Community members, particularly those in Nyememeri, indicated a greater sense of trust in the bank system than in microfinance institutions and VSLAs, which are both present in Dassanech. This is especially because they felt that customers are treated better at banks¹³⁷. Nonetheless, respondents from Nyememeri reported that Omo Microfinance gives loans to their members and to organized groups, and that it is popular among women's groups¹³⁸. In Demich, there are microfinance loans with rates of about 7.0 percent interest commonly used by locals¹³⁹.

There is widespread doubt about microfinance institutions due to a history of suspected fraud due to a lack of transparency, customers not receiving receipts, and instances of customers being unable to withdraw their own savings in cash¹⁴⁰. These systems often get phased-out, so locals do not commonly trust this system¹⁴¹.

Individual loans are available, but the process is slow, tedious, and bureaucratic¹⁴². In addition to the necessary documentation, collateral is mandatory to qualify for a loan, which excludes many locals from being able to attain one. Requirements to apply for loans a month in advance further hindered participation, as did residents' experiences of only being allowed to take out smaller loans than they had requested. Some Ethiopian respondents, particularly in Demich, reported that they did not fully understand how these systems work.

iv. ACCESS TO FINANCING OPPORTUNITIES AMONG THE KENYAN BORDER COMMUNITIES

Both Loima and Turkana North sub-counties in Kenya have merry-go-round saving schemes¹⁴³. Due to the high rates of poverty in Loima, there are few VSLAs available, but many locals invest in merry-go-

¹³⁵ SSD-FGD001 (Respondent 5)

¹³⁶ SSD-FGD001 (Respondent 1,3), SSD-FGD002 (Respondent 2,8), SSD-FGD003 (Respondent 9), SSD-001, SSD-002, SSD-004

¹³⁷ ETH-FGD001 (Respondent 2,3,4,5,6,7), ETH-FGD002 (Respondent 3,4,5), ETH-006

¹³⁸ ETH-FGD001 (Respondent 4), ETH-006

¹³⁹ ETH-FGD002 (Respondent 3)

¹⁴⁰ ETH-FGD001 (Respondent 3,5,6)

¹⁴¹ ETH-FGD001 (Respondent 3)

¹⁴² ETH-FGD002 (Respondent 3,4,5)

¹⁴³ Merry-go-rounds are social associations in which members, generally locals or community members, each contribute a certain amount of money on a regular basis. One individual will receive the full sum, and the recipient is cycled so that all members will receive the full sum at some point.

Kurgat, F. C. (2022). The Role of Informal Finance and Capital Accumulation: A Case Study of Women Market Stalls Holders and Open Air Vendors in Kericho Municipality, Kericho County, Kenya. *The International Journal of Business & Management*, 10(5).

round groups¹⁴⁴. Turkana North, however, offers more financial opportunities to its locals, with VSLAs widely used and available for PWDs, posho millers, and other groups within the community¹⁴⁵. Financial support centers offer cash transfers for all who qualify. There are no local banks available, and the only Savings and Credit Cooperative Organization (SACCO) in the area has shut down¹⁴⁶. To access banking services, locals need to travel to Lodwar, which entails high costs and exposes people to insecurity on the road. For residents of Loima, the cost of transportation does not make traveling to banks worth the effort¹⁴⁷.

There was one case of a worker at the Kinimirai VSLA group running away with a large sum of the group's money, which has led to distrust of the VSLA structure in Loima¹⁴⁸. The small number of established VSLAs in Loima prevent individuals from making regular contributions.

In Turkana North, various NGOs, such as NAWIRI, the World Food Programme (WFP), Save the Children, and USAID, offer cash transfers. Mobile money loans, such as those through M-shwari, are available for individuals who fulfill a set of qualifications. The Turkana Pastoralists Development Organization (TUPADO) supports pastoralists of Turkana¹⁴⁹.

Insecurity from conflict, political instability, and high taxation hinder financial opportunities. The hand-to-mouth lifestyle of locals has created hesitancy towards the credit system. Business owners are often faced with challenges in the upkeep and restocking of their businesses, as it is not uncommon for customers paying with credit to not pay off their debts¹⁵⁰. A lack of transparency and suspicion of corruption further enhances the distrust of the financial system.

v. ACCESS TO FINANCING OPPORTUNITIES AMONG THE UGANDAN BORDER COMMUNITIES

In Uganda, there are local VSLAs that provide loans with an interest rate of around 7.0 percent, as well as mobile money services¹⁵¹. The Moroto district has a SACCO, a branch of local savings schemes that originates in Kampala, and local money lenders. Respondents in Moroto noted a strong distrust of VSLAs among the community, due to poor record-keeping practices in the past.

Emyooga is a presidential initiative intended to provide Ugandans with funds to support job creation and to enable local farms to increase their yields and go beyond subsistence level¹⁵². It offers low-interest rates and can be found in both Moroto and Amudat. Savings associations are also available in Amudat. In these associations dividends are equally shared unless a local has a particular need for money, such as paying their children's school fees¹⁵³. There are also NGOs promoting community savings measures.

Access to the above financing schemes has its own challenges. For example, Amudat district lacks banking services, and residents must travel to Mbale or Moroto to access loans and financing services. At the same time, there are high rates of tax illiteracy amongst locals. With no local Uganda Revenue Authority (URA) branch, community members neither know how to pay their taxes nor understand the

¹⁴⁴ KEN-001

¹⁴⁵ KEN-FGD002 (All respondents)

¹⁴⁶ KEN-FGD002 (Respondent 2), KEN-FGD003 (Respondent 4)

¹⁴⁷ KEN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent)

¹⁴⁸ KEN-FGD002 (Respondent 3,7)

¹⁴⁹ KEN-FGD002 (Respondent 2), KEN-005

¹⁵⁰ KEN-FGD002 (Respondent 2), KEN-FGD003 (Respondent 3)

¹⁵¹ UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent)

¹⁵² UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent), UGN-FGD003 (Respondent 5)

¹⁵³ UGN-001

value for doing so or the consequences of tax evasion, occasionally resulting in fines.

In Moroto, there is a reported lack of trust in financial services, while Amudat residents are often unaware of opportunities due to a lack of radio stations or sources of information on financial services.

Insecurity and distrust play significant roles in financial instability. Goods and cattle are often stolen, particularly when heading to the market. Individuals known to take out loans are often targets of theft. A widespread lack of trust prevents business collaboration, stemming from instances of political extortion and a lack of business education.

vi. TRAININGS AND OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE

Accessibility of trainings allows participants to learn, utilize, and spread knowledge that can be incorporated into new or existing income-generating opportunities. Access to a wide variation of trainings encourages the preservation of a dynamic marketplace in which locals are able to engage one another with their goods and services, while also allowing for greater assortment of cross-community engagements.

Respondents reported trainings that were currently or previously available in their respective locations. Those with established institutions enjoyed a much greater frequency and diversity of training opportunities, including those aimed at underrepresented groups. The more remote locations reported a much narrower range of opportunities.

Certain trainings were commonly found throughout the Karamoja cluster. These include arts and crafts trainings, community building workshops, and various types of farming-related skills trainings. Some trainings have been led by locals of the community, as opposed to incoming foreigners from NGOs or other organizations. For example, participants from Turkana North in Kenya reported that the Juakali Training Center was run and taught by locals to teach others *jiko*-making and metalworking skills¹⁵⁴.

The table below summarizes the training opportunities and institutions/centers that study participants cited during the qualitative interviews.

Table 6. Available training opportunities, by country

AVAILABLE TRAININGS AND OPPORTUNITIES		
COUNTRY	AVAILABLE TRAININGS	LOCAL INSTITUTIONS
South Sudan	Locally taught arts and crafts, beadmaking, tailoring, sewing, bricklaying, plumbing, masonry, carpentry, USAID: peacebuilding food security and livelihoods farming techniques Kapoeta South Business management Kapoeta East Large-scale farming, VSLA establishment	Vocational Training Center in Nairus
Ethiopia	Farming, conflict resolution, GBV training, female and genital mutilation (FGM) seminars, childcare, maternal care, USAID: social equality training, trainings for PWDs Ethiopian government: coffee service training	
Kenya	Women empowerment, <i>jiko</i> -making and metal working (locally run Juakali training center), biashara (self-employment) training, leadership trainings, GBV trainings, vegetable farming, livestock marketing (VSF Belgium), water provisions and farming (Shalivan) Loima IRC: GBV training USAID: various labor training Turkana North	Locally run Juakali training center Kaaleng training center, TVET college, Lodwar Vocational Training College, Cambridge College in Eldoret, Turkana Technical Training Institute

¹⁵⁴ KEN-FGD003 (Respondent 1)

Source: Author's adaptation from the study's respondents.

	Friends of Lake Turkana: leadership training, women empowerment,	
Uganda	Welding, carpentry, adult literacy, hairdressing, hotel management, borehole repair, veterinary trainings, tailoring, arts and crafts Self Help Africa: Beekeeping Amudat Driving, salon services, mechanics Moroto Tailoring	Technical school in Nakapiripirit Kosike Institute Zoe Training Center in Amudat

vii. ISSUES RELATED TO ATTENDING TRAININGS

Aside from identifying available training opportunities and areas of interest, there were major barriers that prevent individuals from participating in the trainings available to them. These include a lack of awareness caused by limited access to training advertisements, risks from potential conflict that result in community members staying home, and cultural attitudes towards these trainings.

The lack of awareness of available training opportunities ties into the educational barrier of high illiteracy rates. Due to a high percentage of illiteracy within the populations, advertisements often go unnoticed¹⁵⁵. Additionally, some districts, such as Uganda's Amudat district and Kenya's Turkana North County, do not have functioning radio stations and are largely cut off from social media, leaving most opportunities to be spread by word of mouth¹⁵⁶. Word of mouth as a primary method of advertisement allows for nepotism to persist and makes it difficult to spread these opportunities to more marginalized and peripheral members of the community. This leaves advertisements and WhatsApp groups as the main method of information-sharing¹⁵⁷. Most youth have smartphones, so there has been a heavy reliance on WhatsApp groups for sharing opportunities, announcements, and news.

When employers, officials, or community leaders begin to spread word of new opportunities, primarily through oral communications, individuals most closely associated with them, such as friends, family, and clan members, will generally be the first to hear of these opportunities. This makes more distantly associated community members less likely to take advantage of these new opportunities before slots are filled. In linguistically diverse regions, language barriers may also present an issue since advertisements of new opportunities may not be made available in all local languages and, therefore, can exclude certain individuals.

Ethiopian respondents emphasized that training opportunities are not likely to be prioritized over safety and avoidance of conflict, particularly when there are rumors of cattle raiders nearby who may potentially steal their cattle¹⁵⁸. Due to the economic and cultural significance of one's livestock, the protection of one's cattle will be prioritized before learning new skills. One respondent from the Dassanech *wareda* noted his prioritization of his cattle and safety over training opportunities, stating *"For instance, if the training is going to be given today, I might be taking care of my cattle and when I am about to go to training, somebody may come and tell me that my cattle are going to be taken by robbers. At that time, I forget the training and go hide my cattle. So, inconvenience is another huge factor."*¹⁵⁹ Additionally, training centers are often far from the villages, exposing participants to dangers during travel.

Cultural factors also tend to play a role in participation in training activities. Many men across the

¹⁵⁵ UGN-FGD001 (Respondent 6)

¹⁵⁶ KEN-002, UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent)

¹⁵⁷ KEN-006, KEN-008, UGN-001

¹⁵⁸ ETH-FGD001 (Respondent 1), ETH-FGD002 (Respondent 2)

¹⁵⁹ ETH-FGD002 (Respondent 2)

different districts perceive women as responsible for supporting, feeding and serving the family, and generating the necessary income for the upkeep of the household. Particularly for the Pokot men of Uganda, manual labor is looked down upon and, therefore, only Gishu and Karamojong men will attend trainings in the area. Due to these cultural attitudes, there is a tendency for certain groups to not take advantage of these opportunities. Respondents also emphasized that women are likely to miss training opportunities due to domestic responsibilities and their husbands and other male figures in their household not allowing them to leave to participate in any skills development training.

Respondents on the Kenyan side of the cross-border cluster also noted the frustration and loss of morale that come with unemployment, particularly for individuals who have taken advantage of training opportunities that do not lead to employment and their skills are no longer useful. As one participant in a Loima FGD stated, *“People get skills to help them in life. When the skill becomes deactivated, it makes one lose morale. If there were others interested in the same skills, they would not go for [trainings] because of disappointment.”*¹⁶⁰ Moreover, alcoholism and drug use among young men are an issue, along with peer pressure not to enlist in any jobs that are deemed culturally inappropriate.

e. The current and potential landscape of Cooperatives and Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMES)

As the aim of the CBCR Activity focuses on the self-reliance of cross-border communities, attention was given to the landscape of locally-owned- and -run MSMEs. Across the Karamoja cluster, the creation and maintenance of cooperatives and MSMEs are seen to be strongly contingent on accessibility to seed funding, stability of supply chains, conflict-related insecurity, diversity of locally available products, and the level of foreign influence on local trade. The instability of crop yields, conflict-influenced migrations, and increasing frequency of market disruptors, such as natural disasters, conflict, and restricted mobility, all contribute to difficulties in establishing and maintaining MSMEs throughout the cluster.

Areas like South Sudan’s Kapoeta South County and Kenya’s Loima sub-county experience a heavy influence of foreign business ownership, which results in more competitive and lower prices than local businesses can compete with¹⁶¹. In addition to dominating the local market, foreigners benefit from the sale of local fuel and construction material, while locals are not profiting from them, further dwindling opportunities for local MSMEs¹⁶².

In Loima, one of the biggest potential areas of growth towards supporting locals is to enter wholesale business by selling goods in bulk¹⁶³. This allows for the greatest profit when working directly with other communities, though they can also have a wider reach when working with middlemen. However, the market is also dominated by foreigners who are able to sell products at a lower price due to access to larger, wholesale quantities. With locals unable to sell at similarly low prices, foreign businesses are much more successful than local shops, as local buyers prefer to purchase cheaper goods from foreign businesses rather than frequenting local businesses. Loima respondents also noted that the high level of unemployment was due to the lack of large public or private institutions in the area, such as colleges, universities, and health facilities¹⁶⁴. Recently, however, a hospital was built and it has provided many

¹⁶⁰ KEN-FGD002 (Respondent 5)

¹⁶¹ SSD-FGD001 (Respondent 1,2,6,9), KEN-FGD001 (Respondent 1,7)

¹⁶² SSD-FGD001 (Respondent 10)

¹⁶³ KEN-FGD001 (Respondent 6)

¹⁶⁴ KEN-001, KEN-002, KEN-004

locals with stable employment¹⁶⁵. Thus, respondents emphasized the need for more institutions that would build a long-term presence in the district.

Some respondents' interests in establishing enterprises involved measures that could be profitable and also help build community resilience in the face of stressors. For example, farming techniques training and supplies of seeds for the diversification of crops was primarily aimed at engaging in varied forms of trade. This can also work toward enhancing reliance on local supplies of food and becoming less reliant on incoming trade to ensure that the local community's food supply stays healthy and diverse. In Ethiopia's Dassanech *warda*, investments in cereal banking were suggested by multiple respondents, both with the aim of preventing famine in the community, while also opening the potential for a new pathway of revenue for the locals.

The key factors that negatively influence local businesses are a lack of capital, high costs of transportation and road taxes, fluctuating exchange rates, expensive rental costs for shop fronts, a lack of warehouses, and primarily foreign business people offering cheaper goods. However, there are instances of creative, communal MSMEs that have filled demands that may otherwise have been overlooked by individuals unfamiliar with the area. For example, the community members of Moroto banded together to purchase a grinding machine and generate income from providing grinding services¹⁶⁶. Some of the residents are trained in the maintenance and mechanical workings of the grinding machine, ensuring the upkeep of the machine's grinding services to locals who may need to use it.

f. Learning from past Partnerships

Using findings regarding the labor market, formal and informal barriers, financial opportunities, and difficulties in establishing MSMEs throughout the Karamoja cluster, suggestions can be made regarding the potential for various partnerships with the private sector, governments, and between communities. Before aiming to suggest new partnerships, respondents of FGDs and KIIs described past partnerships and the successes, shortcomings, and lessons associated with them.

i. CURRENT AND PAST PARTNERSHIPS

Findings suggest that across all the study locations, participants responded negatively to foreigners capitalizing on local opportunities, whether this came in the form of benefiting from local resources, being hired for local job opportunities, or hiring local residents for menial, low-paying jobs at foreign-owned businesses. Communities tended to have poor relationships with governments when they felt that they did not have adequate representation, a satisfactory understanding of how to share feedback or concerns, and means to contact officials to report issues. This was compounded in areas where there were high costs for crossing borders, common instances of confiscation or fines, and a lack of tax and licensing awareness.

Signs of a partnership that were deemed successful by locals often centered around the provision of goods, funds, or training, with a strong emphasis on the viability of long-term effects. There was a particular preference for partnerships with sustainable outcomes that had tangible effects on the community. This include the fixing of road infrastructure in Kenya or the construction of a high school center in Uganda, both of which have noticeable effects that can continue to benefit the community even after the partnership has ended¹⁶⁷. The funding of St. Elizabeth Health Center by USAID in

¹⁶⁵ KEN-002

¹⁶⁶ KEN-FGD003 (Respondent 1,2,4,7)

¹⁶⁷ KEN-002, KEN-007, KEN-008, UGN-FGD001 (Unidentified respondent), UGN-006

Kenya's Loima constituency subsequently allowed for hiring of locals as hospital staff, allowing for long-term employment¹⁶⁸.

Respondents from Kenya's side of the cluster commended efforts by USAID to promote food security, as well as peace-building projects by various NGOs, such as the Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA), Organization for Peace, Relief and Development (OPRD), WFP, and UNICEF¹⁶⁹. Various NGOs have taught irrigation methods and provided seeds, fertilizers, livestock vaccinations, and livestock drugs. USAID funded the purchasing of water tanks, hiring local workers, setting up greenhouses, and teaching irrigation along River Turkwel. Multiple NGOs, including NAWIRI, TOPADO, World Fund, Red Cross, WFP, and Concern International give out cash transfers¹⁷⁰.

Private farmlands in the Dassanech area are considered socially responsible for benefiting the community but are currently failing to do so. Communities have made their expectations clear to these private farmland owners and there is some minimal change. Some locals are given small jobs as guards, though this has not been deemed as an adequate level of investment in the community¹⁷¹.

For the past 10 years, oil has been extracted from Turkana County, yet the locals have not received any benefits or compensations¹⁷². According to study respondents, the money obtained from oil extraction should be put towards the community, particularly towards fixing roads. Moreover, locals are unaware of available channels to contact their government officials to request assistance, provide feedback, and seek clarifications on local financial and political concerns¹⁷³.

Although NGOs often come and provide well-received programs, these are generally short-lived and rarely last longer than three months. Study participants suggested that NGOs should stay for a greater length of time, particularly for projects dealing with peace-building and conflict resolution. However, the duration of humanitarian assistance is typically influenced by available funding.

In Turkana North, hiring locals to fix roads has had the positive impact of both improving the local infrastructure, while also supplying locals with jobs. In Loima, efforts were made by NGOs helping farmers to practice farming and irrigate the dry lands of the area.

In Uganda, Self Help Africa has provided training in agricultural skills and beekeeping. In Amudat, SEEDS Africa and Equator Seeds have beneficially provided seeds that help improve the economic condition. In Moroto, a high school ICT center was constructed to support students in accessing education. However, the trend of foreigners capitalizing on local natural resources is again shown by Chinese businessmen in Amudat coming in and taking over the mining, not allowing the locals to take part. Tororo Cement is profiting from rocks from the locals' land and their only reciprocation is to hire the locals to load and unload the rocks.

Data gathered from respondents also informs the shortcomings of communities' relationships with their local governments. In the Dassanech region, the Ethiopian government conducted a safety-net program that provided water seedlings to local communities, as well as a program to supply hay seed¹⁷⁴. Some enterprises participate in fodder-making, grain production, and other product cultivation that stimulate the local economy. A local organization provides animal feed for locals to prepare and sell. RDL and other enterprises provide employment to the locals, reducing unemployment rates. However, locals of

¹⁶⁸ KEN-002

¹⁶⁹ KEN-FGD002 (Respondent 2), KEN-005

¹⁷⁰ KEN-FGD002 (Respondent 2), KEN-005

¹⁷¹ ETH-006

¹⁷² KEN-FGD003 (Respondent 3,4), KEN-002

¹⁷³ SSD-FGD003 (All respondents)

¹⁷⁴ ETH-FGD003 (Respondent 2)

Demich stated that they are often consulted by various NGOs regarding the trainings and employment opportunities that they would be interested in, but these NGOs rarely return to implement the locals' suggestions, leading to loss of morale and development of distrust¹⁷⁵.

In many areas, the government has been unsuccessful in teaching the community the laws and procedures of licensing. Businesses used to simply run without licenses, but now the government requires licenses that locals do not know how to attain. This includes licenses for goods purchased across the border, as there are reports of Ethiopians purchasing motor bikes in Kenya and having them confiscated.

¹⁷⁵ ETH-FGD001 (Respondent 4), ETH-004

4. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Across the Karamoja cross-border communities, the male-dominated livestock trade is the primary source of income. Beside trade in livestock, trading crops, goods, and services to communities, and employment opportunities within and across borders are major sources of income and diversification of available products, foods, skills, and business opportunities. Across the cluster, wage employment was far less common than self-run businesses and unemployment, with NGO and government work being the predominant forms of waged employment. Various specialized skillsets that generated income such as alcohol brewing, making charcoal, growing and trading in crops, and crafts making were female-dominated.

The well-being of the livestock market is a precursor to the health of other job opportunities and markets, as areas with a strong livestock trade and a cattle market have more stable and diverse income-generating opportunities. This is largely because the trade in goods and services is often centered on these markets. The diffusion of pastoralists who migrate in search of pasture and water for their cattle, therefore, greatly empties these consumer bases. By coupling other forms of trade to areas involved with livestock trade, there is a greater circulation of funds that work to support other peripheral businesses. Findings suggest that once livestock herders disperse, so do these other businesses. Mining of local resources is also an important means of income, particularly marble and sand mining among the Ugandan border communities and gold mining in the South Sudanese and Kenyan border communities.

Employment rates and levels of income are notably reduced when mobility of people and goods is restricted. This indicates that accessing cross-border communities for trade is a key determinant of the success of local markets. Moreover, migration patterns were influenced by multiple factors, such as conflict and natural disasters. Job opportunities also played a large role in these migration patterns, particularly in the case of mining and NGO jobs.

Market disruptions, local responses to stressors, and the consequential results of changes in the labor market allow for insights into the resilience and coping mechanisms of local communities. Market disruptors across the region were generally categorized into natural disasters, seasonal variations, conflict, and mobility issues. Droughts, floods, and animal diseases were common issues among agricultural and pastoral communities, with marked impact on markets.

Livestock loss due to droughts and disease was a major concern for the studied communities of the Karamoja cluster, who heavily rely on the livestock trade. The droughts and floods also heavily impact the crop yields of these communities, who grow crops both for personal consumption and trade. Many of these market disruptors are seasonal, causing cyclic trends and allowing for a certain level of predictability and, thus, preparation.

Additionally, certain political and cultural contexts were particularly impactful on local markets. In South Sudan, for example, the effects of the 2013 and 2016 economic crises can still be felt. Across all districts, the cultural beliefs that men should not be working in sectors other than the livestock trade has hindered efforts to equate labor opportunities between genders.

Findings confirmed that not all members of the community had equal accessibility to labor financing and training opportunities. Communities and work forces are still heavily divided along gender lines, with men dominating the livestock trade while women are responsible for almost all other forms of income-generation, as well as household and familial upkeep. However, these gendered divisions are beginning to become less stark, and women and men are slowly beginning to take part in the same labor sectors. Education level was one of the most prominent barriers to accessing opportunities, as NGOs, governments, and the private sector are all beginning to demand continually more stringent training and

educational standards. Socioeconomic factors, such as clan and political affiliation, and relationships with employers and people in power have impact on one's ability to attain work opportunities. However, there is notable improvement in increased accessibility of the labor market on all of these fronts, with the exception of educational standards.

While participants on each side of the cluster had varying degrees of accessibility to finance, it was evident that a lack of understanding, trust, or physical vicinity were major impacts on communities' usage of financing opportunities. South Sudan's Kapoeta South district has a high instance of VSLA and microfinance participation, and provided many VSLA trainings to locals, with particular success shown in the high rates of VSLA usage. As such, increasing physical (or digital) accessibility and clearing up misconceptions on financing opportunities, VSLAs, and other possibilities seem to provide major enhancement to community participation.

Trainings are heavily desired by communities, though some barriers exist as to whether individuals can manage to attend trainings. Levels of awareness, insecurity, and illiteracy rates have an impact on whether training opportunities are successful.

MSMEs, particularly those in South Sudan's Kapoeta South County and Kenya's Loima sub-county, are heavily hindered by foreign influence. Locals are often unable to compete with the low prices offered by foreign competitors, impeding the viability of locally owned businesses.

Respondents from the different communities indicated the importance of the support and interventions by NGOs (e.g., Self Help Africa), donor agencies (e.g., USAID), UN agencies (e.g., UNICEF, WFP), local organizations, and other partnerships which bring with them skills training, job opportunities, farming tools and methods, water, and seed provisions. Though these partnerships are seen favorably, their short-lived nature often leads to less impactful outcomes or locals feeling demoralized once the projects are discontinued. Particular issues with past partnerships have stemmed from non-locals taking over the local marketplace, whether it is due to foreign business people dominating the market or from governments giving the majority of jobs to non-locals.

Each country identified desired partnerships and areas of engagement with the private sector that can help to empower locals to gain the tools and knowledge to create, support, and revitalize local businesses. There was an overall enthusiasm and interest in all forms of opportunities that could provide long-lasting benefits to the community even in the event that partners from the private sector eventually cease their presence in the respective district. Below are the specific opportunities that respondents from different areas requested.

Recommendations

Efforts to harness the labor and economic potential that are available in these cross-border communities can focus on behavioral and attitudinal shifts that can transform the current environment into one that enables employment and access to training opportunities. In particular, efforts to change cultural stigmas and biases can help open up many forms of income-generating opportunities, including to members of different minority groups, genders, ages, political affiliations, and PWDs. Such efforts have occurred through community training in all studied localities, and the effects included a positive improvement in the inter-sectionality and equitable access to the labor market.

Moreover, in all seven localities visited, there has been a reduction of varying degrees of segregation of jobs and opportunities due to community training. Such approaches could continue to ensure a wider accessibility to jobs. Peace-building efforts can ensure that more communities are able to work with one another and reduce disputes between different groups, which is a major challenge to maintaining the stability of labor markets.

It is important to establish a reliable method of communicating new opportunities. By enhancing connectivity, members of the community that are often isolated may also gain access to new and upcoming opportunities. For more concrete and specific approaches and opportunities, see the recommendations below.

Finally, ensuring that implemented interventions are as effective as possible, prioritization of interventions should be informed by site-specific research to ensure appropriate context. This may require further research in some contexts or locations, while also using the patterns and similarities between different districts to ensure the most time- and cost-effective interventions. High-level observations of this labor assessment should inform intervention planning that can be presented to multiple different communities and districts, with the understanding that further, more localized research may be required to ensure culturally appropriate and contextual administration of interventions.

Three main categories were identified as areas of interest that the assessment respondents would like to be trained in: business development skills, product- and trade-specific skills, and community building. For product development and trade-specific skills, there were certain requests shown to be in high demand throughout the cluster. These included beekeeping, maize harvesting, carpentry, construction, tailoring, irrigation, hairdressing, masonry, and bead making. Adult literacy trainings would be beneficial in all locations included in the assessment. Providing illiterate adults with these trainings can give them basic reading and writing skills that will allow them to participate in jobs in which this is a requirement, read advertisements regarding employment and training opportunities, and learn record-keeping skills to better track their own profits and expenses in income-generating endeavors.

Business development skills were highly requested among all communities, and there is an eagerness to attain useful business knowledge to be able to open and maintain a business. Record keeping, business management, and financial literacy were among the top areas of interest, as these are the foundation of any successful enterprise. Respondents noted that there were cases of individuals unknowingly working at a loss as they continued to run their businesses at a financial deficit.

Along with business skills, there was a wide array of **product- and trade-specific skills** that were requested, with many overlapping requests among the different districts. Study participants were interested in skills for making profit in order to improve their household food security. Many of these requested skills, such as crop storage, cereal banking, and diversification of crops, had the dual purpose of allowing families to engage in income-generating activities while also giving the communities a more stable level of subsistence. These skills trainings should be prioritized to allow for the possibility of profitability or community resilience, depending on the community’s situation.

Community development trainings made up the third category of suggestions, though these were requested to a lower extent than the other two. Reports of positive changes as a result of prior community development trainings likely led to these suggestions. Issues of peace building, conflict prevention, and a deeper understanding of workers’ and citizens’ rights were among the most common responses.

Table 7. Trainings of interest, by category

TYPES OF DESIRED TRAININGS	
TYPE	EXAMPLES
Business development skills	Financial literacy, record keeping, business management, entrepreneurship, tax education, foreign exchange literacy, wholesale marketing, VSLAs, saving and loan trainings, business licensing requirements

Product- and trade-specific skills	Product/crop storage, wholesale marketing, cereal banking, fishery building, vocational trainings (tailoring, shoemaking, masonry, carpentry, soap making, brick laying, computer courses), trainings for women (soap making, salon services, tailoring, beadmaking), hygiene management, irrigation schemes
Community building	Trainings on GBV and early/forced marriage prevention, peace-building and conflict prevention, workers and citizens' rights

Key Areas of Programming and Potential Activities

Based on lessons learned from the shortcomings and successes of past partnerships that were cited, study participants noted the types of partnerships and trainings that they think would be beneficial for their respective communities. While each district had unique requests, there were overlapping suggestions from participants across countries. As shown in the positive feedback from previous partnerships, structural changes that offer sustainable benefits in the district were popular. These included the restructuring of transport and business taxes, strengthening road infrastructure, and attaining tools and methods to store and transport crops and goods.

Social and Cultural shifts

Consider behavior change approaches in shifting culturally accepted roles in the community to address the extent to which gender roles and clan/tribe affiliation influences the labor market

Restructuring the cultural notion that livestock rearing is a market exclusive to men and that women are responsible for all other forms of income generation in the household can be the first major step towards creating a more stable, sustainable, and resilient community across all the areas included in the study. Providing women with their own livestock, so that the men of the household are not the only ones with their own cattle, can allow women more agency in entering the livestock trade, which is central to these communities, and will reduce reliance on their male head of household, such as the husband or father.

This can be done by incorporating cultural and local leaders in advocacies geared towards making the labor market more inclusive to different genders and clans. Empowering women in the livestock trade and men in other forms of work opportunities can help shift these cultural notions. As respondents in Kenya noted, seeing men take part in income-generating opportunities that were previously designated for women will help change public perception of the gender divide among jobs. These interventions can come in the form of grants or trainings for women to enter the livestock trade or men to enter female-dominated industries.

Uganda presents a particular example in which there is a stark segregation of communities represented among different employment sectors. As earlier noted, Pokot men almost exclusively work in livestock rearing, with Pokot women expected to support the family both through generating income and taking care of the household. Job opportunities that are not culturally attributed to women, such as hard labor and jobs requiring strong physical strength, go to non-Pokot minorities such as the Gishu and Karamojong. Thus, Ugandan communities present an entry point in which measures in shifting cultural barriers to equal access of work can be tested.

Shifts in attitudes and behavior towards cultural, gender, and clan differences may take time and are influenced by community-specific context. Certain job opportunities are still heavily gender-segregated, such as women working in salon services, bead making, and alcohol brewing. Therefore, efforts to close the gender gaps in participation in training opportunities should be rooted in a deep understanding of culture and norms, and entry points for change should be through influential members of the community and relatable, practical examples. Having arts and crafts support and trainings for women can allow for a sustainable source of income while also encouraging avenues to help women participate in traditionally male-dominated sectors can allow for a balanced approach, in which women are encouraged to enter the livestock market while still providing trainings and support for them to thrive in female-dominated industries.

Strengthen peace-building efforts to help address disputes and conflicts that restrict trade

Access to income-generating opportunities on a personal level is a large part of the cultural shift that can change the landscape of market accessibility. Biases, distrust, and conflict are major barriers to trade on a community and inter-communal level. There must be peace-building and conflict resolution trainings given to all communities that rely on cross-border and inter-community trade, but certain communities may need more intensive trainings.

The Turkana of Kenya have some of the highest reports of conflict and reduced mobility. All communities with direct contact to the Turkana people indicated a high instance of conflict and lack of trust. Communities without frequent contact with the Turkana also reported that the ethnic group had a reputation of being particularly aggressive, retaliatory, and prone to conflict. Peace-building workshops have been reported in various communities throughout the studied locations. However, a targeted approach to working with the Turkana community and addressing resource scarcity to improve relations among communities could help shape peace-building efforts that contribute to improved mobility, better security, and stronger inter-communal relations.

Enhance community awareness on available training and employment opportunities and improve connectivity to access information by investing in communication

Enhancing access to information will allow for a wider and more secure market, and will help ensure that communities are able to pursue any opportunity without discrimination. Communities and individuals should be provided with information on training, job opportunities, and trade ventures through multiple reliable and recognized platforms that are available to locals, including illiterate members of the community and PWDs.

One way in which this can be implemented is by investing in more radio stations or enhancing the reach of the broadcast. This is particularly pertinent to Uganda's Amudat district and Kenya's Turkana North constituency, where the broadcast of the closest radio stations does not reach the villages. Networking with village chiefs and other important community leaders can provide a way for communities to hear of opportunities through a trusted leader and to know of a reliable local source in which information can be obtained. Finally, WhatsApp is currently a commonly used tool for locals, particularly the youth, with group channels where jobs, trainings, news, and other important information can be easily and widely distributed. All three of these methods, including WhatsApp with its video and voice note features, are accessible to adults with limited capability to read and write.

Encourage local business ownership by emphasizing the importance of patronage of locally owned businesses over foreign ones.

Ensure widespread encouragement of locally owned businesses, with particular focus in South Sudan's Kapoeta South County and Kenya's Loima sub-county. This can be done through community trainings, grants, or campaigns. The creation of local support networks and campaigns that encourage cooperation between locally owned businesses and ventures can aid the survivability of new and existing local MSMEs.

Based on the data gathered in the assessment and the recommendations above, the following potential activities are presented. These also consider respondents' recommendations, identified patterns in the labor market, and analysis of past partnerships. These key areas are the most likely to make substantial impacts on the livelihoods, labor markets, opportunities, and profitability of the communities.

Recommendations across Districts

Agricultural Interventions

Each district noted an interest and need for **crop diversification** to prevent an over-dependence on one or few crops. Moreover, this can help diversify the local markets, increase available stock of subsistence crops, and promote multiple crop cycles in a year. This may require provision of seeds for a variety of crops and teaching crop rotation to local farmers to allow for year-round crop production as well as improved soil health.

Irrigation schemes and other methods of water resource management are instrumental to maintaining agricultural livelihoods. These topics may be included in trainings and assistance related to the agricultural and agro-pastoral lifestyles of many of these cross-border communities. By incorporating trainings on the usage of natural resources, as well as elements of disaster management, these interventions will support communities to better prepare for unforeseen natural disasters and anticipated seasonal variations, more meaningfully allocate their water resources, and expand their crop yields. This can be coupled with establishing linkages with partners promoting climate-resilient crop varieties that are suitable for the soil conditions in the Karamoja cluster.

Business and labor market interventions

Across all districts included in the study, limited business development knowledge was found to be a challenge. To support the creation and growth of local businesses, **record-keeping training** and **basic business literacy courses** would provide individuals with a better understanding of how to maintain their businesses and prevent or diminish losses.

Providing women with their own livestock to enhance their participation in the livestock trade has the potential to increase women's access to their own financial resources and reduce reliance on male figures in their respective households as dictated by existing cultural and gender norms surrounding the labor market. Allowing women to own livestock will increase their access to the benefits and stability that come along with asset ownership. A study by Sanginga, Njuki, and Waithanji emphasized the importance of closing the gender gap in the livestock trade, with data showing a clear positive relationship between women's livestock ownership and control of income, as well as improving aspects of food security¹⁷⁶. This may also have a tangential effect of encouraging men to take on job opportunities that are traditionally seen as women's work.

Finally, establishing **job kiosks** or related job or career trainings can help create a more structured and reliable network for spreading information about opportunities, matching individuals to open job or training positions, and improve access to opportunities for members of the community that may have a more difficult time finding and being hired for employment opportunities. This can help promote a balance of gender, ages, and backgrounds in a wide range of sectors and eliminate nepotism or corruption in hiring practices.

Government Engagement and Policy Interventions

In addition to the tax and licensing literacy that has been suggested in certain districts, communities throughout the Karamoja Cluster can benefit from being better-informed on worker and civilian rights.

¹⁷⁶ Njuki, J., & Sanginga, P. C. (2013). Women, livestock ownership and markets. Bridging the gender gap in Eastern and Southern Africa. Londres-Nueva York: Earthscan Routledge.

Fostering a deeper relationship between communities and their government officials can be done by training community members and leaders on local government structure, the responsibilities of different representatives of the government, and how to reach these officials to express the needs and concerns of the community.

South Sudanese border communities

Small-scale business investment and VSLAs are a point of interest and have shown to be particularly effective in Kapoeta South. However, the costs associated with trainings and the transport to attend them were a major deterrent. South Sudanese respondents also emphasized the need for a **relationship with the government** that is built on trust, noting the issues of corruption and cases of job and training opportunities being unfairly given to individuals and groups that are favored by politicians. Additionally, the government can work with the communities to ease movement, either through rehabilitation or construction of road infrastructure, transportation subsidies, or reduction of border crossing fees.

Both Kapoeta South and Kapoeta East showed a strong interest in **ox-plow farming** and receiving **loans of oxen and tractors**. Ox-plow farming can help significantly increase the number of crops being produced, allowing for a more sustainable crop yield and, in some instances, surplus for storage in preparation for times of low crop yield or for additional income when sold commercially at a mark-up price. Loaning oxen helps improve cultivation of crops, as well as in transporting harvests. With increased production, South Sudanese farmers may eventually be able to participate in wholesale trading, where they sell large quantities of goods at lower prices, typically to retailers or middlemen.

As many foreign wholesale businesses are pushing out local businesses due to their lower price points, particularly in Kapoeta South, this method of crop expansion can allow entry for locals into trading crops at a bulk scale. This may allow local farmers to offer their crops at lower prices and, therefore, compete better with foreign businesses who have to cover the high cost of cross-border travel. Another potential way to combat foreign dominance in the marketplace is to **implement a cooperation of locally owned and run businesses** which work together to support each other, potentially offering each other discounts and greater degrees of cooperation.

In Kapoeta South, there is an influx of foreign businesses, causing an increase in the demand for **construction skills** such as welding, carpentry, metal fabrication, and masonry. Providing tools and trainings associated with these skills will enable the local community to capitalize on the opportunities that come with foreigners entering the county.

Finally, **gold mines** are a natural resource that has drawn many individuals and organizations from across borders to come into South Sudan. Tensions between the local Toposa community and the residing government can be reduced by promoting partnerships between local community members and government officials to allocate gold mining employment opportunities to locals.

ETHIOPIAN BORDER COMMUNITIES

Providing **fishing nets, boats, and related trainings** may help fishing communities to maintain and improve the local fishing industry, which they currently rely on heavily. Moreover, training locals in creating their own nets and repairing and maintaining their fishing boats will help reduce dependence on development assistance. These skills can be transferred to the community through fishing net-making, mechanical skills, and boat construction trainings. There is already a strain on the local river, as fishing is a major component to the region but the river is not filling to the same levels of previous

years. Thus, maximum efficiency and sustainability is central to the continuation of the community's fishing culture.

Encouraging the use of **VSLAs and microfinance opportunities** by implementing trainings can be particularly effective in the Dassanech *warda*. Most of the community's aversion to these opportunities is based on misunderstanding or on experiences of mishandling and fraud. Aiding the community to trust and rebuild these ventures can lead to a significant increase in access to financial opportunities.

Additional interventions can target teaching **trade at a wholesale level** to other *wardas* or across international borders to allow locals to sell their fodder at a larger and more economical scale. Support in farming and selling sorghum, the local brew, coffee straw, maize, and bananas are particular areas of interest in Nyememeri. Residents of Koro mentioned that the village has high-quality soil, emphasizing the need to protect it from flooding and soil erosion.

Husbandry skills can help to support the pivotal livestock trade, and **cereal banking** and transport trucks can help locals to better store, trade, and subsist on the crops that they produce. Water pumps and other fishing equipment, such as nets and boats, could help stimulate the fish market, which is currently the main source of income. These tools should come with training on use and maintenance as they often break down shortly after the community receives them. This is particularly true for water pumps, which often have a high cost of maintenance but are important to irrigation techniques. Providing trucks capable of delivering goods over long distances can expand the reach of the local markets.

Due to the heavy toll of the insecurity and conflict on communities, respondents in Dassanech noted that they received **peace-building education** to prevent conflict with the Turkana, but they do not believe that the Turkana receive the same education. Suggestions to provide these peace-building trainings to the Turkana population and to assure the residents of Dassanech that these efforts are being made had been raised, with the aim of encouraging the community to continue engaging in peace-building efforts.

Kenyan Border Communities

In Loima, **building skills** such as carpentry and construction that can help expand local employment opportunities. The lack of local training institutions hinders the labor market, pushing residents to migrate out of Loima for work. Aiding the community in building local institutions can change this dynamic. Respondents noted that there is no designated location for trainings and workshops, which is likely the main reason for the low diversity in types of trainings available in the county. Building skills may be utilized for generating income while also helping establish build training centers.

Loima residents showed an interest in **greater accessibility of microfinance institutions**. Training local community members on their rights and how to reach out to government officials can also be beneficial in increasing community participation in reporting needs and issues and suggesting resolutions. Investing in local infrastructure, fixing roads, providing vehicles for transport, and reducing the cost of fuel and transportation can help to stimulate the local economy and encourage cross-border trade by easing travel to cross-border communities.

Designating an area for livestock trade can help to centralize the market and make it easier for traders to find each other. In Turkana North, the most pressing area of interest is in **peace-building efforts** with the Turkana population. Revisit existing peace-building efforts and explore more community-based approaches to help improve relations with the Turkana people as well as surrounding communities that have reported a high rate of conflict with the Turkana. Potential approaches may

include micro-disarmament practices¹⁷⁷, and creative ways of talking about conflict and peace-building, such as radio dramas for areas with radio broadcast coverage. Other industries that require travel would benefit from having safer, more secure roads.

The **wholesale business market** is currently being dominated by non-locals, and a focused effort to teach and develop wholesale business skills can help the local population gain traction in this sector. Pointed efforts can be made to build community support of locally owned businesses to foster greater likelihood of viability of these ventures.

Business development trainings to aid polytechnic graduates in developing local businesses can ensure that the skills they have acquired will be put to use. However, a lowered morale and a heightened sense of frustration has emerged due to the short-lived nature of job opportunities. Learning a new skill to only use it for a brief period has negatively affected respondents' motivation to attend trainings and job opportunities. As such, skills and trainings that can be implemented by the community on a long-term basis should be prioritized. These can include farming techniques, crop storage, cereal banking, and livestock husbandry, all of which are practices that can be continued by locals even after interventions from foreign organizations have ended.

Ugandan Border Communities

Ugandan respondents noted the heavy impact of cultural notions of gender and the stigmas associated with certain groups entering the labor market, particularly Pokot men. **Community building, skills training, and provisionary loans** can all be implemented to encourage different groups of the community to enter certain labor sectors. Women, in particular, should be encouraged to enter the livestock trade, a central income-generating opportunity that they are largely excluded from. Additionally, men, particularly Pokot men, may be provided with focused skills trainings to encourage their involvement in activities that stigmatized male involvement.

The Amudat district is experiencing an increase in offices and businesses in the area, but there is still a lack of connectivity and awareness of opportunities beyond word of mouth due to the lack of a radio station. **Establishing a small radio station, partnering with radio stations with extended reach**, or using **alternative methods of communication or information dissemination** would allow for better involvement of a wide range of individuals in community matters, and create greater awareness of new and upcoming opportunities. Moreover, they may also consider creative approaches to information dissemination to increase information and audience retention.

Exploring a partnership with the Uganda Revenue Authority (URA) may also be beneficial. Opening a local URA branch will allow Amudat residents to learn how to pay their taxes and increase tax literacy. Misunderstanding of licensing and taxing regulations has led to negative effects on locals in the forms of confiscations and fines, hindering internal and cross-border trade. **Tax literacy training** can help improve knowledge on local taxation to avoid preventable fines and to better understand how local taxes can be used to support local infrastructure and other community improvements. If possible, it could be beneficial to support the creation of a URA tax office where locals can have an easily accessible location to pay and learn about taxes.

In Moroto, leveraging and improving **marble mining skills** can encourage local engagement in the local mining sector in a meaningful and safe way. Mining marble has become a major source of income, but insecurity and theft are the main challenges. Businesses in Moroto are often closed due to looting

¹⁷⁷ Kachope, P. (2021). Micro-disarmament experiences in Africa: Learning from the Karamoja integrated disarmament and development programme, North-Eastern Uganda. *African Security Review*, 30:3, 271-289, DOI:10.1080/10246029.2020.1828117

that prevents the growth and sustainability of local business ownership. The first step would be to explore ways to maintain businesses despite frequent closures, such as considering **business opportunities that may not require physical shops**.

In Amudat, **veterinary programs** providing drugs for livestock have proven to be successful in the past and could be implemented again. Expanding the profits generated from the livestock trade could include providing training and packaging products for locally sourced milk. Training on **post-harvest handling of crops** can lead to better drying and storing measures. Kenya’s restriction on Ugandan maize may be reversed if residents learn how to properly dry, store, and transport maize.

Due to the highly influential meat and livestock trade, specific skills training on how to use animal skins and hides in a bid to prevent the waste of available resources was suggested. These hides are occasionally used as rugs but finding an innovative use for these hides would help to expand the market and develop a new skill among community members.

Table 8. Trainings of interest, by category

DESIRED TRAININGS BY COUNTRY	
COUNTRY	DESIRED TRAININGS AND OPPORTUNITIES
South Sudan	Tailoring, hotel catering, driving skills, business skills, VSLA training, agricultural tool use and loan and farming tools and tractors, business management, education to allow for NGO employment, capital for business start-ups, business management, tailoring, carpentry, catering, masonry Restaurant and hotel management skills, especially in Nairus, where catering work is often taken by Kenyan foreigners Trainings for PWD in computer skills, mechanics, carpentry, and driving skills
Ethiopia	Trainings on farming techniques to amplify crop yield, fishing techniques, how to raise cattle most efficiently, and VSLA trainings Material items and their usage, such as water pumps, fishing nets, and boats.
Kenya	Sewing lessons and materials; projects that can allow people to have a greater crop yield (seeds, water, farming tools, etc.) and plaiting lessons With electricity arriving to the area, power is needed, and wiring skills are in high demand; welding in the Jua Kali industry; computer skills are more commonly needed now, secretaries in schools need to know these skills CCTV camera installation; NGOs and county government to train on business skills and development; financial literacy, record keeping, business management, and entrepreneur skills, veterinary services, agricultural, mechanic, wiring
Uganda	Metal fabrication, welding, mechanics, carpentry, baking; projects like poultry/piggery/goat rearing (powered water pumps, extension pipes, farm tools, and seed capital loans)

This chart may be used to inform the planning and implementation of trainings in different regions