



CHAD : Socioeconomic profiling of Sudanese, Central Africans et Nigerians refugees



Summary note of the main results
September 2017

1- Background and rationale

Chad has been welcoming Sudanese refugees fleeing violence in the Darfur region for more than 10 years. Security and political conditions are still not conducive to a return to their home country. At the same time, overall insecurity prevails in Central African Republic impeding the repatriation of thousands of C.A.R. refugees and returnees living in Southern Chad. The prolonged presence of refugees in Chad and the continuous reduction in available funding for food and non-food assistance, have led the humanitarian community to reconsider the type of interventions in place. Between 2014 and 2015, WFP and UNHCR conducted a socio-economic categorization in refugee camps in Southern and South-eastern parts of the country with the strong involvement of CNARR (Government agency for refugees and returnees). Based on lessons learned from that approach, the 2016 Joint Assessment Mission (JAM) recommended an update in 2017. The current exercise was designed to go beyond a simple categorization and thus identify refugee household that can be empowered in the short to medium term as well as factors that can enable self-reliance. The results of profiling should be used to develop a new strategic needs-based approach. During the exercise, the technical teams decided to include in the analysis Nigerian and Central Africans refugees who arrived more recently but who may eventually face the same difficulties.

2- Key figures

- Initial data collection was conducted between 17 June and 15 July 2017. An additional round for Central African refugees installed in host villages in southern Chad was organized from 25 July to 4 August 2017.
- 544 officers including 435 interviewers ensured data collection; supervision and data quality check was provided by the staff of CNARR, UNHCR and WFP;.
- 19 camps and 9 host villages were visited by data collection teams.
- **87,725 households** were interviewed using the socio-economic questionnaire.
- **18 checklists** were filled with programme officers, cooperating partners, local authorities and managers of basic services in camps.
- **30 focus groups** (30 more to be received) were prepared with refugee leaders and representatives of women and youth.
- Individual information was collected from **356 684 persons**.
- Data collection was done using smartphones (no trees were felled to support this operation).

3- Agroecological characteristics of installation zones

Seeking shelter, many refugees settled in areas with **diverse agroecological conditions**. **Increased population density** in some areas **altered access conditions to available resources** (land, water etc.) and impacted on livelihoods.

Central Africans and some Sudanese living in the south and south-east of the country live in areas marked by abundant rainfall and favorable agro-pastoral conditions. However, **the lack of basic infrastructure** in these areas reduces the physical accessibility to sites during a certain period of the year. In addition, constraints on access to land, the impoverishment of land traditionally used, the **lack of supervision** around soil exploitation or the **lack of financial resources** to initiate income-generating activities considerably diminish opportunities for many refugees.

Similar opportunities can be find for Nigerian refugees living in the Lake Chad region, especially in the field of agriculture, livestock farming, fishing and cross-border trade. The low level of management of the Lake polders and the still precarious security conditions reduce the exploitation of these potentialities.

Camps in the east and north-east are facing unfavorable agro-climatic conditions. In spite of that, opportunities are not lacking in these areas, especially in terms of livestock and cross-border trade. A major limiting factor is the reduced potential for the promotion of livestock commonly own by Sudanese refugees.

In addition to the structural difficulties mentioned above, actors present in these areas don't seem to have a clear strategy to utilize these possibilities.

Finally, their prolonged presence led to an increase in the number of refugees due to frequent childbirths. Basic social services such as access to water, health and education are starting to show signs of fatigue. In addition to growing demand, these services, like all other forms of assistance to refugees, continue to suffer from reduced financial resources. When thinking about refugee self-reliance, humanitarian actors need to decide on the transfer of these services or at least the partial or total cost recovery. To this end, it is essential to evaluate the capacity of community management and income levels that allow even the most vulnerable households to access these services by their own means.

4- Structural vulnerabilities

Mostly women: More than 2/3 of refugee households in Chad are headed by women. This trend particularly visible in Sudanese camps where 71.4% of households are female-headed. Among Central African refugees, women play the leading role in 58% of households compared to 51% of Nigerian refugees living in the Lake.

In addition, on average, 54% of refugee household members are female. This proportion is close to 60% in eastern and north-eastern camps (Oure Cassoni, Amnaback, Kounoungou, Touloum, Iridimi, Milé). In Oure Cassoni and Amnaback camps, more than 25% of households are exclusively female.

62% of refugees are under 20 years old: This figure is relatively constant across camps except for Kerfi and Moyo where the collected data reports respectively 67% and 68%. People under 30 represent more than 76% of the total number of refugees. In addition, at least one-third of them were born in the camps (people under 10 years old). This high proportion of youth creates pressure on health structures, schools, vocational trainings and access to employment. Moreover, it instigates the discussion on what future will these children have as they grew up seeing their parents often "idle", taking care of households only through food and non-food assistance.

20% of households have at least one household member with special needs: Unaccompanied minors and elderly are the most frequently encountered vulnerable people in camps. On average, they make up for 15% of households but sometimes they form entire households and find themselves excluded from traditional mechanisms of family or community solidarity. Women at risk (GBV victims, or other domestic violence) represent another dominant category of people with special needs as they can be found on average in 4% of households (this figure is 18% in Dembo camp, 10% in Dosseye and 9% in Djabal). Moreover, 3% of households reported a chronically-ill household member and 5% said their household include a disabled person (physical or sensory).

Low levels of education: 53% of refugees have not attended school and therefore have no level of education. Some of them have only learned to recite the Koran (10%). The illiteracy rate is much higher among people over 20 (70%). It is estimated at 28% for children aged 6 to 14, proving that not all children attend school. Most people dropped after primary school (60% for all camps). Currently education levels among adults reduce opportunities for empowerment especially in areas other than agro-pastoralism or low-skilled small trades.

Mostly semi-sustainable but fragile habitat: In most camps, the refugee's typical habitat is built with banco (mix of mud and straw dried in the sun). Only in Kerfi, Djabal and Goz Amir camps, the walls are made with stalks of millet. Roofs are mainly straw or thatch, with some additional roofing confectioned from tarpaulins provided by UNHCR. The camp of Dar Es Salam, newly settled, stands out from the rest. Refugees in this camp and those in host villages in the Lake still live in tents made exclusively from plastic sheeting received from UNHCR. Rainy seasons are usually associated with strong winds that dismantle roofs or entire housing constructions. The analysis used housing structures as well as construction materials as an important indicator of households' comfort level.

Few material possessions: Mobile phones are the most common property of refugees. On average, 24% of refugee households own at least one mobile phone. In the camp of Dar Es Salam, this figure reaches 39%. Overall, other belongings are owned by very few refugees, with the notable exception of solar panels which are owned by 15.5% of refugee households. This figure is correlated to the distribution of rechargeable solar lamps with small associated panels organized by UNHCR in the East (Amnaback, Iridimi, Touloum, Kounoungou, Milé). In these locations, nearly 9 out of 10 households report owning a solar lamp with a phone charger.

Table 1: Assets ownership

	Equipment rate		
	Average across camps	Maximum per camp	Camp with the highest rate
Cellphone	23.8	39.2	Dar Es Salaam
Solar panels	15.5	90.5	Iridimi
Radio	8.1	16.4	Kerfi
Any holder	5.3	20.4	Iridimi
Battery (charging unit)	3.1	18.7	Kounoungou
Bicycle	2	9.2	belom
Motorcycle	1.6	4	Dar Es Salaam
Television	0.5	2	Amnaback
Generator / generator	0.5	1.2	Kounoungou
Vehicle	0.2	0.5	Iridimi

The plow is the most common productive asset or production structure. On average, 7.6% of households own a plow. The peak of 28% was registered in the camp of Goz Amir (probably because of the "Seeds for solutions" project implemented by UNHCR and its partners).

Table 2: Possession of productive assets or production structures

	Equipment rate		
	Average across camps	Maximum per camp	Camp with the highest rate
Shop	3	7.3	Dar Es Salaam
Mill	0.9	3	Kerfi
Bakery	0.8	2.6	Kerfi
Cart	3.4	7.8	Gaga
Plow	7.6	28.3	Goz Amir

Empowering initiatives for refugee households must build on these productive assets and on certain equipment which for now are not yet sufficiently valued. These rates allow to identify a small proportion (less than 20%) of households that could be excluded from food and non-food assistance.

More cattle in the East than in the South: The cattle ownership analysis shows that Eastern camps stand out from the rest. Donkeys are the most commonly possessed animals especially in the East. More than half of refugee households in Eastern camps owns a donkey. This figure reaches 75% in the camp of Touloum. In Amnaback, Iridimi, Touloum, Kounoungou, Milé, Oure Cassoni camps, more than 20% of households have goats. These animals are essential in households' strategy to cope with the food deficit during the lean season or to generate an additional income to cover food or non-food needs. Even in these camps, less than 3% of households have more than 10 heads. As such, large numbers of livestock owned by a single household are an exception: in most cases households have one or two heads of cattle and less than a dozen small ruminants.

Table 3: Livestock Possession

	% Of households with at least one head	Max	Camp with the highest rate
Cattle	2.2	7.1	Amnaback
Donkey	47.9	74.6	Touloum
Sheep	11	23.1	Amnaback
Goat	16.7	46.9	Mile
Porc	0	0.4	Doholo
Camel	0.8	4.2	Treguine
Poultry	17.6	39.6	Dar Es Salaam

Fearing another reduction in the level of food assistance which occurred after the previous categorisation exercise conducted in the South, numerous Central African households declared lower numbers of possessed livestock.

Wealth Index¹: The combination of the type of habitat, equipment goods, productive assets and owned livestock enables, through a factorial analysis, the assessment of household wealth levels (wealth index). The literature shows that it is more efficient to combine all factors using the Euclidean distance and focus the perceived coefficient on the first two factors to capture the maximum amount of information. This is a linearization of the first factorial design.

The issue of truncation thresholds remains pending. Usually, analysts make quartiles, quintiles or deciles and look at how wealth classes are distributed according to certain crossover variables. The results in Table 4 are constructed on the basis of quartiles. They show that Central African refugees are more in the middle class compared to other refugee groups. The vast majority of Nigerians refugees is in the very poor and poor categories.

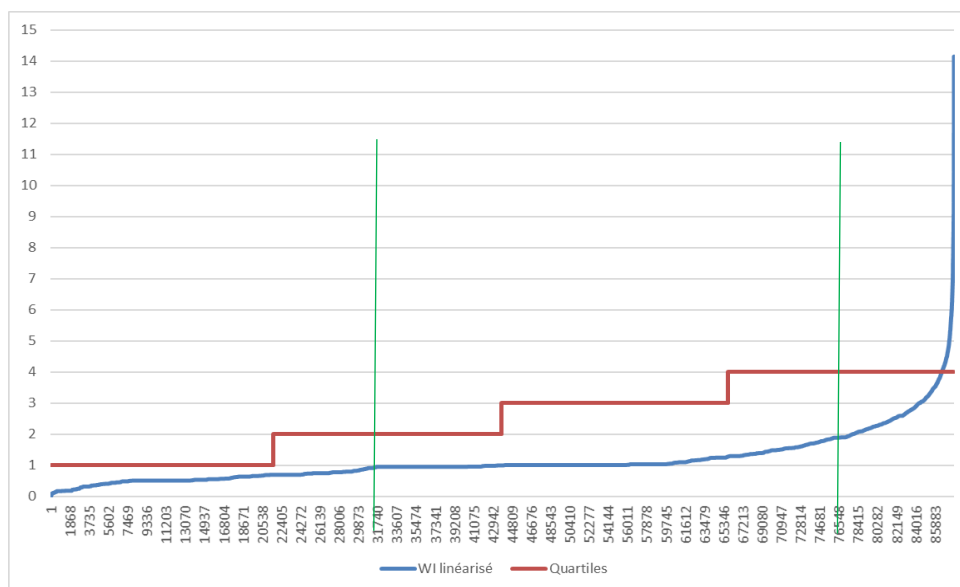
Table 4: Classification of households according to wealth index quartiles

	Very poor	Poor	Rich	Very rich	Very poor + poor
Central African camps	17,8	29,0	45,6	7,7	46,8
Sudanese camps	26,0	23,8	21,0	29,1	49,9
Nigerian camps	30,0	52,0	4,7	13,3	82,0

¹ It is important to remember that this is an indicator of relative poverty. This does not necessarily mean that the so-called "rich" or "very rich" people are necessarily able to cover their food and non-food needs from the resources they have. They are just "very rich" compare to the "very poor".

Another approach is to identify inflection points in the considered curves. The graph below shows there is no noticeable difference up to a certain threshold. The red staircase represents the different levels of quartiles while the vertical bars in green identify the notable inflection points on the curve².

Graph 1: Linearized factorial design (1,2) of the wealth index



By applying new thresholds, the results obtained in Table 5 better reflect the reality on the ground. These results confirm the trend of greater vulnerability among Nigerian refugees (who arrived more recently in Chad) and a concentration of Central African refugees in the two lowest categories, confirming the above-mentioned trend towards greater homogeneity in poverty. A detailed analysis (below) will characterize each of these categories and to confirm whether such a breakdown is relevant.

Table 5: Wealth index classification per inflexion points of the trend breaks³

		Better-off / less poor (Cat3)	Moderate (Cat2)	Worst-off/ most poor (Cat 1)
Group camps	CAR camps	3,1	50,2	46,8
	Sudanese camps	13,2	36,6	50,2
	Nigerian camp	4,0	14,1	82,0
	Total	11,2	38,6	50,2

Discriminant analysis to confirm the classifications: The previously obtained classes were consolidated with a discriminant analysis. The principle of the approach is to evaluate the characteristics of the different preceding categories and to determine the probability of each household to belong to a given category based on its own characteristics. It makes it possible to reclassify observations and to identify the households that could possibly be on the cut-off points that can be considered in one or the other of the categories.

² This approach could have been computerized, but it requires a hierarchical classification procedure or Bootstrap that needs a high-capacity computer (calculator) given the large volume of data to be processed (nearly 90000 households). While waiting to find the appropriate calculator, the empirical approach was used.

³ The 2015 methodological approach for the categorization exercise was as follows: a theoretical FCS is estimated using a linear model and this according to household characteristics. The theoretical FCS is used to define consumption classes. Hyphenation thresholds are obtained from focus groups that use the HEA approach to define the proportions of households in each category.

Table 6: Reclassification of households after discriminant analysis

		Better-off / less poor (Cat3)	Moderate (Cat2)	Worst-off/ most poor (Cat 1)
		%	%	%
Groupe de camps	CAR camps	4,4	65,3	30,4
	Sudanese camps	15,3	35,1	49,6
	Nigerian camp	6,9	9,6	83,5
	Total	13,2	39,9	46,9

As can be seen in Table 6, the reclassification of households shows some adjustments in the previous figures. Among Central African refugees, a large number of households classified in category 1 of the most vulnerable were returned to categories 2 and 3. Households categorized as moderately vulnerable move from 50.2% after reclassification to 65.3%. The phenomenon is less marked among Sudanese refugees, while among Nigerian refugees, there is a strengthening of the most vulnerable category. **Based on current data, these results have been stabilized and are considered the most optimal at this stage of the analysis.** However, it should be noted that 18% of households are in the "gray" zone, that means the probability of belonging to one class or another does not differ by 5%. It is mainly households classified as "less vulnerable" that are in this situation. This means that the characteristics of these households in "gray" areas do not practically distinguish them from the next category of moderately vulnerable households. In practice, it will be necessary to find in the field concrete justifications allowing to maintain them or not in the current classes.

Demographic and socioeconomic characterization of the different categories: Few variables make it possible to differentiate the obtained classes of vulnerabilities. If the first class of "Most Vulnerable" appears as that of households that have almost nothing, the other categories do not have much. Demographically, the most vulnerable households are slightly smaller in size with a slight predominance of female-headed households. In addition, totally female households are overall more vulnerable than others, even though this type of household is found in all classes. The proportion of households with members who have attained a minimum secondary school level (grade 6 and above) is higher among households classified as "least vulnerable".

About housing, the use of sustainable building materials seems to be generally indicative of a certain household welfare, but here too, there are exceptions that must be considered in the field during activities implementation phase. Possession of livestock appears as an important element of discrimination of different groups. However, the number of large livestock keepers is quite small. In addition, the under-reporting of these assets by households does not make it possible to obtain definite characteristics of the categories obtained.

Table 7: Characteristics of vulnerability groups

	Most vulnerable	Moderately vulnerable	Less vulnerable
Demographic characteristics			
Average household size	3.9	4.0	4.4
Average number of active people per HH	1.4	1.5	1.8
HH headed by a woman	48.7	39.3	12.0
HH headed by a man	42.8	41.4	15.8
% of households of which at least 1 member has reached secondary level	26.0	27.4	34.2
Presence of adopted child in the household	2.5	3.0	2.5
Presence of person with specific needs	20.6	20.9	12.2
Presence of a disabled person	15.2	15.0	11.3
% of exclusively female households	19.8	18.1	12.1

	Most vulnerable	Moderately vulnerable	Less vulnerable
Characteristics of the habitat			
House's roof _cement	0.5	0.8	1.3
House's roof _sheet metal	7.0	7.7	12.4
House's roof _thatched	50.9	63.5	50.3
House's roof _ UNHCR plastic cover	39.7	24.0	32.6
House's roof _other	1.8	1.8	1.8
House's wall _cement	1.3	1.3	1.9
House's wall _banco	67.6	72.5	79.3
House's wall _sheet metal/wood	1.9	3.5	2.2
House's wall _straw	22.1	20.2	13.5
House's wall _ UNHCR plastic cover	7.1	2.4	3.2
Livestock			
% of households with at least 5 heads of cattle	0.1	0.1	1.8
% of households with at least 1 donkey	58.7	26.0	75.7
% of households with at least 10 sheep heads	0.1	0.2	2.6
% of households with at least 5 camels	0.2	0.4	3.0
% of households with at least 10 goat heads	0.1	0.1	0.4
% of households with 10 or more poultry	0.5	0.7	3.5
Assets			
Cellphone	19.6	23.5	39.7
Solar panels	14.7	10.8	32.8
Television	0.1	0.1	3.4
Radio	4.1	6.0	28.8
Trunk carries everything	1.5	2.5	27.3
No asset	69.6	9.4	36.4
Bed with mattress	12.7	31.4	38.4
Bed without mattress	17.7	59.2	25.2
Battery (accumulator for charge)	0.7	1.3	21.3
Bicycle	0.0	2.6	6.7
Motorcycle	0.0	0.3	10.7
Generator	0.0	0.0	2.7
Vehicle	0.0	0.0	1.2
Metal fireplace	0.1	0.2	6.7
Productive assets/places			
Shop	0.1	0.2	6.7
Mill	0.7	0.9	1.7
Bakery	0.0	1.0	1.8
Cart	0.3	0.5	22.5
Plow	3.9	5.8	25.9

	Most vulnerable	Moderately vulnerable	Less vulnerable
Agriculture			
% of households evolving in agriculture	43.0	49.5	63,6
Average area planted	0.50	0.58	0,99
Average quantity of cereals harvested (Kg)	186	227	291
Average number of months of coverage	3.5	4.0	4,1

Food consumption and strategies			
FCS_poor	4.9	2.7	1.5
FCS_borderline	37.0	36.0	27.3
FCS_acceptable	58.0	61.2	71.1
No strategy	36.4	24.4	12.7
Stress strategy	37.8	47.4	49.7
Crisis Strategy	16.9	19.4	22.3
Emergency strategy	8.9	8.9	15.3
Possibility of debt	35.8	43.3	49.4
% of households with outstanding debt	70.7	71.9	65.9
% of households in self-help association / Tontine	3.3	5.7	9.4

Possession of productive and non-productive assets is a more salient element of household differentiation. Thus, some equipment such as batteries, travel devices or some equipment such as radio or television are owned only by refugee households considered the less vulnerable. The type of bed owned by households is another major characteristic variable of the different groups. In fact, 70% of the most vulnerable households do not have a bed. Moderately vulnerable households have beds of different shapes but no mattresses. Beds with mattresses or more simply the possession of mattresses is characteristic of the less vulnerable households in the camps.

Finally, some of these households have a larger social network which makes it easier for them to obtain food and non-food products on credit while the most vulnerable households, because of difficulties of repayment due to a lack of financial resources are found in greater proportion with outstanding debt.

70% of vulnerable households according to interviewers: The interviewers were asked to provide their opinion on the apparent vulnerability of each household based on their observations and collected information. Interviewers estimated that 5.5% of refugees could be considered as not-vulnerable, including 7.4% of Central African and 5.2% of Sudanese refugees. The general impression that emerges from visits in refugee camps is indigence of these people to survive on so little for so long. Given they can easily travel in Chad and even to go abroad, it is safe to assume that refugees who had the means to move, settled in other Chadian localities for business. The results of the perceived vulnerability reflect the impoverishment trend as 70% of households were classified as "vulnerable" or "very vulnerable". Here as well, the situation of extreme vulnerability seems to affect the Sudanese refugees more than Central Africans.

Table 8: Vulnerability perceived by investigators

		Perceived vulnerability by investigator			
		Not vulnerable	Less vulnerable	Moderately Vulnerable	Most vulnerable
Group camps	CAR camps	7.4	29.2	53.9	9.5
	Sudanese camps	5.2	22.3	51.6	20.9
	Nigerian camp	0.4	30.8	60.4	8.4
	Total	5.5	23.7	52.2	18.7

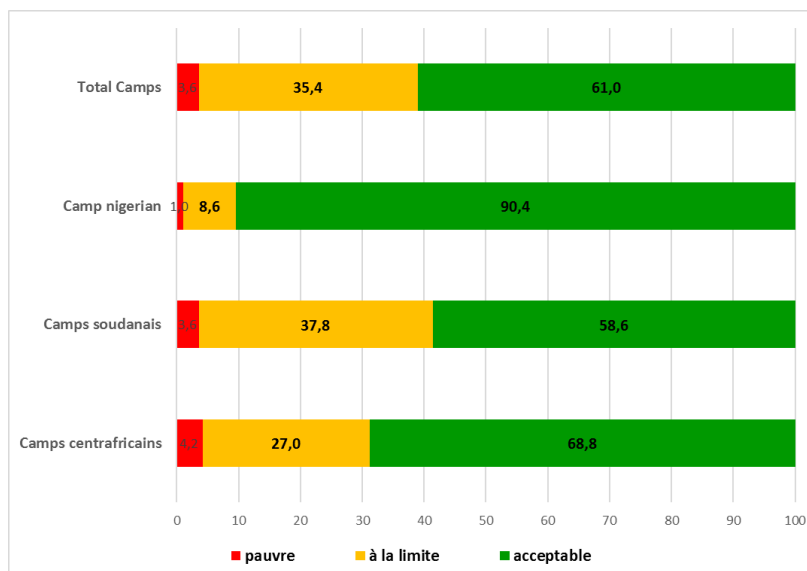
By comparing these perception results with classifications after discriminant analysis, it is noted that for the most vulnerable, 78% were correctly classified according to both approaches. In the other two categories, the results are more divergent: only 54% of households classified as "non-vulnerable" and "not very vulnerable" by the interviewers were found "less vulnerable" by classification based on quantitative data.

5- Borderline food consumption scores with frequent use of strategies

During household survey, data collected on food consumption show a generally low diversity despite food distributions being organized not long before⁴. In all camps, nearly 40% of households have difficulty sustaining a rich, frequent and diversified diet.

The camp of Dar es Salaam reports a better food security situation than the rest due to the continuity and regularity of received food assistance. In Sudanese camps, nearly 42% of households can be considered food insecure compared to 31% of Central Africans. It should be noted that data was collected during the lean season. Many households do not have the capacity to supplement the received half-rations. In addition, the modality of assistance differs according to the location of camps. As a result, Sudanese receive food assistance while Central Africans have been receiving cash transfers since November 2016.

Graph 2 : Food consumption score



The table presenting food consumption scores per level of vulnerability reveals the absence of significant differences between the "most vulnerable" and "moderately vulnerable"⁵ households. On the other hand, households classified as "less vulnerable" generally have a better food consumption,

⁴We could have taken the approach used in 2015 to classify households from a model with an estimated FCS based on household characteristics. Despite the shortcomings of the approach, it will be explored in the full document.

⁵To reduce confusion and sensibilities, perhaps categories could be named 1, 2, 3; with an explanation on the characteristics of each category.

even though this category also includes households with infrequent and / or little diversified food consumption⁶.

Table 9: Food consumption score and vulnerability categories

	Food consumption score		
	Poor	Borderline	Acceptable
Most vulnerable	4.9	37.0	58.0
Moderately vulnerable	2.7	36.0	61.2
Less vulnerable	1.5	27.3	71.1

More frequent emergency strategies for "less vulnerable" households: More than half of the most vulnerable households do not use livelihoods strategies because they do not have a livelihood strategy possibility or they have exhausted these strategies. The second major result of reading Table 10 is the predominance of "least vulnerable" households using emergency strategies. They are 15.3% against 9% in the other categories.

Table 10: Use of livelihood strategies according to vulnerabilities group

	Livelihood strategies			
	No Strategies	Stress Strategies	Crisis Strategies	Emergency Strategy
Most vulnerable	52.6	25.5	13.1	8.9
Moderately vulnerable	44.2	31.5	15.3	8.9
Less vulnerable	39.6	29.4	15.7	15.3
Total	47.5	28.4	14.3	9.7

These results show that the best food consumption observed in the first group would probably be the result of negative strategies such as the sale of breeding females or the begging of children. These strategies may affect the ability of these households to meet their food and non-food needs in the medium and long term. They are also a factor directly mortgaging the future of children in schooling ages and therefore a brake on the sustainable empowerment of these populations. These results show also that an automatic and definitive exclusion from food and non-food assistance of these refugee households considered less vulnerable can result in a gradual deterioration of their situation which will led to bring them back into categories currently considered as the most vulnerable.

⁶The full report will identify if there is a food frequency problem or not diversified diet. It is worth noting that certain eating habits result in low food consumption score irrespectively of the actuals standard of living of the household.

6- 6- Conclusions and recommendations

- Refugees live in different livelihood zones with varying potentialities. Most refugees are unable to benefit from these potentialities because minimum conditions for exploiting them are not yet in place;
- There are structural vulnerabilities within households and in communities (including host communities) that impede the development of income-generating activities and hence their empowerment;
- The analysis of capital goods, productive assets and other capital of refugees distinguishes 3 categories of households: The most vulnerable (47%) the moderately vulnerable (40%) and the least vulnerable (13%);
- Because of a high degree of homogeneity in vulnerability, profiling does not show much difference between refugee households, especially the first two categories. However, moderately vulnerable households have more "Capabilities" than the most vulnerable and would therefore be more "self-reliant";
- Given internal structural vulnerabilities, not all households could be self-reliant. The wars, conflicts and security problems that forced these populations to take refuge in Chad have destroyed family and social fabric and have been accompanied by physical and moral trauma for some.
- Vulnerability is more pronounced among Nigerians (newly arrived) and Sudanese (in areas with less potential) than among Central Africans and is perceptible by observation of the household environment. While resilience takes time and resources; empowerment could take even more.

Refugee proposals for empowerment

Vulnerabilities are important in refugees' camps. They are due to both the intrinsic situation of households and depend on possibilities offered by the environment. In fact, at this stage of the analysis, two broad categories emerge.

On the one hand, a small number of households manage to stay alive thanks to activities they perform in the camps. On the other hand, the rest depends almost entirely on the food and non-food assistance provided by humanitarian actors. Artificial subdivisions within the second group can be imposed however there will be no real distinction between these groups, especially with regards to nutrition and food issues. When asked, refugees list four activities they do to empower themselves:

- Agriculture (Production and Trading)
- Small business of food products
- Livestock (Production and Trading)
- Daily / Informal Services

Tableau 11: Main empowerment activities proposed by refugees

Activités	Camps		
	Central African	Sudanese	Nigerian
Agriculture (Production and marketing)	73.4	64.8	56.8
Small business of food products	64.1	45.9	45.0
Breeding (Production and marketing)	54.9	27.9	48.7
Daily / Service of the informal sector (help driver, daily worker, carter ...)	12.2	29.1	14.2

Regarding the support expected to achieve this empowerment, most refugees are demanding "funding". They are 57% in this situation on all the camps. The trend is more pronounced in the south than in the east, where the continuation of food assistance comes first in the responses. It should also be noted that it is the least vulnerable households who are more likely to ask for financing that can help them become more independent.

Tableau 12: Main Support Actions for Refugee Empowerment

Activities	Camps		
	Central African	Sudanese	Nigerian
Grant funding	81.3	51	96
Popularize agricultural production techniques	11	4.2	0.8
Facilitate access to land	1.3	5.4	0.6
Continue food assistance	1.7	31.6	1.6

In fact, there are significant opportunities that can be exploited in different camps to reduce the footprint and dependence on food assistance. However, many of these require coherent support programmes and clear messaging for refugees on their responsibility and levels of engagement in future phases of assistance. The (preliminary) results of profiling also show that probably not everyone will be self-reliant in the short term. This implies the continuity of food assistance but for whom? Given the magnitude of the task, a gradual approach towards self-reliance of households needs to be considered.

What exit strategies from humanitarian assistance?

- Differentiate strategies between food assistance from other forms of assistance;
- Consider the specificities of the livelihood zones of the country in the definition of strategies
- Build the capacity of households to facilitate access to cash income to cover different needs (food and non-food);
- Emphasize a multisectoral approach (why not multi-purpose cash transfers) with a livelihoods financing component
- Ensure effective involvement of women in the production and management of household resources
- For direct assistance to households, focus on the gradual approach (graduation approach) of UNHCR

For households classified as "less vulnerable"

- Put in place the necessary actions to confirm their status
- Suspend food assistance for them as part of an exit strategy that can considers two aspects:
 - Grant the necessary financing (package) to maintain and strengthen the economic status of these households
 - Facilitating economic inclusion and access to microfinance and credit institutions

For households classified as "moderately vulnerable"

- Identify households able to empower themselves in the short or medium term
- Identify promising activities that can empower these households as part of the exit strategy;
- Grant the necessary financing (package) to improve the economic status of these households
- Facilitating economic inclusion and access to microfinance and credit institutions
- Adapt (gradually reduce) the level of food assistance for these households based on the success of activities undertaken

For households classified as "most vulnerable"

- Confirm the status of the most vulnerable households able to empower themselves in the short or medium term
- Put in place a gradual approach to get them out of this extreme vulnerability through a combination of activities integrating:
 - Social protection
 - Sustainable livelihoods
 - Microfinance
 - Give priority to cash transfers whenever possible (Multipurpose Cash Transfers)
 - Facilitate household access to basic social services

The success of such a strategy requires important support programs, especially in the area of agricultural production (inputs, tools, support/ counselling, development of arable land), crop storage, market expansion and creation of value chains. Similar actions should be considered in the field of livestock and small trades which may be the largest demand of the refugee workforce.