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The Socio-Economic Problems Faced by Urban Refugees:

A Case Study of Kampala, Uganda

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the socio-economic problems faced by urban refugees with a case study of Kampala Uganda. Under this topic, participants were asked why they live in unrecognized areas, why they never lived in settlements and why urban refugees are not visible to humanitarian agencies. The study went ahead to investigate the socio-economic problems refugees were facing as well as what they were doing to cope with the problems. This study took place in Makindye division, Kampala district with 99% of the sample drawn from Refuge and Hope International – a NGO working with urban refugees. Capabilities approach and resilience were used in this study. The study employed a convergent parallel mixed methods design where quantitative and qualitative data was collected concurrently, analyzed separately merged and interpreted to complement each other. The sample had 197 respondents where 72 participated in filling the questionnaires, 116 in focus groups and 9 respondents participated in semi-structured interviews.

The results/findings indicate the presence of security, good education and health care as well as desire to look for jobs as the main reasons refugees opt to live in unrecognized areas within cities. The other findings on why refugees never live in settlements/camps include insecurity, poor education and healthcare, lack of freedoms, poor housing, poor sanitation, early marriages, domestic violence and tribal conflicts. The results/findings of the study on the socio-economic problems refugees face in Kampala show various problems and some of them include high standards of living, language barrier, high rents, corruption, high fees, lack of access to quality education and healthcare, harassment by the authorities and many others. Some of the coping strategies used by refugees are, taking language courses, vocational training, praying, and community and family social support. The thesis concludes by calling for further research on urban refugees in developed host states for the findings to be generalized. *(22,940) words)*

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CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

Though refugees have previously been looked at as burdensome, a new thinking of looking at them as useful and beneficial to the states hosting them has emerged of recent. Particularly, urban refugees take with them a lot of human skills and capital to the host states. The existing state policies on the other hand limit the actions of refugees and hinder them from totally being included into the communities within the host states. These policies also deject urban refugees from accessing registration with most aid organizations, which demoralizes them from giving much needed assistance to refugees (Macrae, 2002). The 1951 convention relating to the status of refugees gives a definition of a refugee as;

> "a person who has a well-founded fear of persecution because of his or her nationality, race or ethnic origin, political opinion, religion or social group; is outside the country of his or her nationality and owing to such fear is unable or unwilling to seek the protection of the authorities of his or her own country" (McKay, 2009:12 and Black, *et al*, 2014:716).

However, this definition does not involve other refugees like the climate change and environmental refugees. To the best of my knowledge, it would also be necessary to give a definition that incorporates them since this thesis generally looks at urban refugees whether as a result of running away from persecution or from environmental disasters. To the Organization of African Unity (OAU) now African Union (AU), the convention governing specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa defines the term refugee as,

> "every person who owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place

of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality" (OAU, 1969).

Despite the existence of these international conventions and other refugee laws that aim at protecting refugees from being abused by their host states, in reality, the host states still wield a lot of powers on who should or should not be part of their protection (Hyndman, 2003). This has led many states to tighten their borders in order to control the influx of refugees from accessing their territories especially some of the states in the European Union, thus denying refugees opportunities to run away from persecution and other events that could be disturbing the public order from their countries of origin as laid down by the international conventions. Also, with the Sustainable Development Goals in place, they seem to have dedicated little or no concern about the future of refugees globally yet they represent the symptoms of absence of development (Black *et al*, 2014:716) making it a very big issue that deserves attention in this study. This thesis report will be approached in the following order with chapter one already included the introduction, and then follows background to the study, the statement of the problem, objectives of the study and research questions. Then follows chapter two with literature review, chapter three will introduce the theoretical framework, chapter four will explain the methodology used in this study, chapter five will present the findings and lastly chapter six will present the discussion of the findings, conclusion and then recommendations.

1.1 Background of the study

Though the total number of asylum seekers and refugees in the whole world remains stable for the last ten years and believed to be at 13 million by mid 2014, over half of them are living in urban centres (UNHCR, 2015). Despite this number remaining stagnant for all this time, the areas where these refugees used to come from have changed dramatically. European refugees have reduced in numbers with exception of Eastern Europe while those in Africa, Middle East and some countries in South East

Asia (Myanmar and Bangladesh) continue to grow higher due to wars and insecurity. The asylum states especially those in developing countries lack the capacity to accommodate those large arrivals. They face overwhelming responsibility of making sure that these refugees are secure in the countries/regions where they have settled especially with help of relief agencies. It is also the responsibility of host states to make sure that there is peace and stability of both refugees and citizens.

Before, the thought was that hosting refugees was not beneficial to the communities at all and that these communities suffered a burden of having to look after these refugees. However, Jacobsen disagrees with this thinking in her article, "Can refugees benefit the host state? Refugee Resources and African State Building". She states that, "while refugees impose a variety of security, economic and environmental burdens on host countries, they also embody a significant flow of resources in form of international humanitarian assistance, economic assets and human capital" (Jacobsen, 2002). To emphasize her theory, she concentrates on refugees in settlements/camps and ignores those in cities.

At present, urban refugees are looked at with negative attitudes with a belief that these refugees will occupy the jobs that would have been done by the citizens, raise the cost of living and contribute to criminal behaviors. The leadership in these governments fails to consider one thing that all the above could be affecting the refugees themselves, for instance, unemployment, high cost of living and high crime rates committed by citizens. Nevertheless, if this article's claim of the advantages of hosting urban refugees confirms to be suitable, then state policies that do not favour refugees and deny those in urban centres opportunities to work may be losing those benefits. For instance, the number of African refugees totaled to less than one point five million (1.5) in 1960 but by 1992, the number had tripled to more than five million refugees (Bascom, 1993) with most of them living in Ethiopia and Sudan.

Though the number of urban refugees has gone up of recent, it has proven very difficult to tell the accurate numbers in the whole world. This has been as a result of misunderstanding and failure to distinguish between who an urban refugee and a migrant worker is. In this study, I use the term "migrant" as elaborated on in the United Nations (UN) Convention on the rights of migrants as "a person who is to be engaged, or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a state of which he or she is not a national" (UNESCO, 2005:25). Although it is very difficult to tell the differences between these two, the differences exist in relation to the cause of the flight between an urban refugee and a migrant worker though the destination state treats them together as "unwelcome" foreigners. This makes most of these refugees to live in those urban areas illegally without registering with the asylum state or other humanitarian organizations. In 2001, all 13 percent of refugees that were registered with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) were living in urban environments (Jacobsen, 2005:31).

Seven out of ten refugees are living in settlements in Sub-Saharan Africa. Internationally, the estimates put half of the 10.5 million refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) under the concern of UNHCR to be living in urban areas. Very many reasons could be the previous life styles of refugees from their home countries, for instance if they were living in urban centres, there is a likelihood that they will opt for cities where they will retain that life style and others which this study aims to look into. The majority of refugees arrive in the urban centres without any knowledge of local languages making their communication very difficult; usually, the conditions they live in are not favourable, they sleep in ramshackle houses in urban slums where poverty is rampant. Most of them suffer from trauma, depression, stress and other mental illnesses with no capacity to afford basic treatment and counseling services and education. A big number never registers with the authorities horrified that they might be deported or taken back to the camps/settlements. This leads them to mistreatment and abuse by the authorities

especially the police who make their integration with local population difficult as they are exposed to discrimination and negative attitudes by the citizens (Pavanello *et al,* 2010).

Urban refugees and asylum seekers do not get help from the humanitarian relief organizations like UNHCR compared to their counterparts in the settlements [1]or camps. They must sustain themselves there with or without the source of income. Even though, they add something to the economy through casual labour, it becomes impossible for them to get official jobs. They have not been empowered to use their skills to contribute to the host nation which has hindered their integration. Although they meet same difficulties like the citizens, urban refugees suffer extra problems. In most cities like Nairobi, urban refugees are usually cheated through paying high rents especially in foreign currencies and more for public services like education and health than the citizens (Pavanello *et al*, 2010). Though Uganda has the highest number of refugee settlements in the whole region with over 692,000 refugees as of June 2015 (UNHCR, 2015), no one knows the accurate number of refugees residing in Kampala. Over 50,000 refugees were estimated to be living in Kampala by 2002 (Human Rights Watch, 2002). According to Machiavello (2011), some 15,000 refugees mainly from Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia live in the Ugandan Capital Kampala without UNHCR assistance. The number could be higher than that as a result of more influx of refugees from Burundi and South Sudan due to the recent civil wars.

Uganda is highly praised (UNHCR, 2015) for her positive response regarding the rights and freedoms of asylum seekers and refugees in contrast to her counterpart-Kenya. The Uganda constitution and the 2006 Refugee Act and Citizenship and

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[1] Settlements refer to refugee camps in Uganda. The government came up with that word because most refugees who live in camps have access to a plot of a land where they practice farming so they end up settling there.

Immigration control Act have been very instrumental in regulating the matters concerning refugees. On the other hand as it is in Kenya, the Ugandan refugees' Act stresses that all asylum seekers and refugees should live in settlements/camps where they can be provided with the basic needs of life such as food and medical despite inadequacy of these services. Government and UNHCR came up with a joint policy that encourages independence of refugees living outside the settlements/camps with the assumption that they will be able to take care of themselves, thus will not be assisted in their urban life (Boas *et al*, 2006). Unfortunately, this policy does not consider other challenges these refugees will go through living in urban centres, thus a justification for this study.

Basing on the research by the Women's Refugees Commission, refugees in Kampala live in two separate groups "Vulnerable households" (those unable to afford basic needs of life) and the "struggling households" (those who are able to access the basic needs) and cannot sustain the expenditure. They are usually all over the city slums where they prefer living together according to their nationalities. The Somalis have occupied the slum areas of Kisenyi, Kabalagala and Kansanga whereas the Congolese like to live in the areas of Makindye, Katwe and Masajja (Women's Refugees Commission, 2011). As most of the asylum seekers wait for their decisions from the old Kampala Police station, they tend to stay along that congested street where there are insecurity issues and this exposes them to criminal gangs. Between 1960 and 2006, a refugee's life was only limited to the settlements that are located upcountry where they would be given plots of land to practice agriculture and grow their own crops (Refugee Law Project, 2005). They were not allowed to leave the settlements unless they had genuine reasons that would permit them to be in urban centres. Those with health issues, security concerns or waiting to be resettled could be allowed to live in urban centres or if a refugee would prove that they could sustain themselves. Those who could not fall under the above were not assisted at all.

1.2 Problem statement

Urban refugees go through several problems as compared to their counterparts who live in settlements/camps (Xavier Project, 2015). Although refugees in UNHCR settlements have access to basic necessities of life like water, healthcare, shelter, education and food rations, those in cities find themselves in dilemma of meeting the above by themselves. Without legal documents, they find it hard to be employed and are always in fear of being caught and deported back to their countries of origin (Bailey, 2004:31). They are unable to open bank accounts or have access to credit and are always scattered and confined in slum areas which makes it very hard to find out their needs as well as recognizing those susceptible to poverty among them.

In 2006, Uganda adopted New Refugee Legislation, the Refugees' Act which "recognizes the rights of refugees to work and move around freely within the country and live within the local community" (Refugee Law Project, 2006). The country is ravaged by high unemployment rate and ranked 17th poorest country in the whole world (World Bank, 2015) with Uganda citizens themselves suffering from unemployment and poverty (Human Rights Watch, 2002). Worldwide, refugees are misconceived to be behind the rising unemployment, insecurity crime as well as terrorism (Human Rights Watch, 2002). This indicates that most refugees will find it difficult to cope in this kind of situation and the only option at their disposal is competition with the citizens. Besides, in 2009, UNHCR came up with a policy on refugee protection and solutions in urban centres and acknowledged that refugees are usually fleeing to the cities instead of camps (Mahoney *et al*, 2012). Twelve urban refugee policy objectives were suggested. Having worked with urban refugees in Kampala for 3 years (2011-2014), the impact these policy objectives have made towards the lives of urban refugees was deficient leaving a gap that desired this study. Also from 2006, the government started permitting a few refugees to reside in urban centres but without any assistance (Macchiavello, 2011). This lays a ground

for this study to look into the socio-economic problems these refugees face and how they are coping as they live without assistance.

1.3 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to examine the socio-economic problems faced by urban refugees with a case study of Kampala, Uganda.

Below are the specific objectives.

I. To explore the reasons as to why refugees live in unrecognized[2] places within Kampala city.

II. To examine the socio-economic problems faced by refugees living in unrecognized places within Kampala city.

III. To explore strategies refugees use for coping with the socio-economic problems in unrecognized places within Kampala city.

Below are the research questions;

I. Why do refugees live in unrecognized places within Kampala city?

II. What are the socio-economic problems faced by refugees living in unrecognized places within Kampala city?

III. How are refugees coping with the socio-economic problems within Kampala city?

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[2] Unrecognized places here mean those areas where refugees live but are not recognized by UNHCR as settlements for refugees.

1.4 Geographical scoop

This study was conducted in Kampala district which has five divisions but the student concentrated in Makindye Division because this is one of the divisions that has the highest number of urban refugees living there (Women's Refugees Commission, (2011) cited in (Naohiko, 2012). Besides, the Non Governmental Organization (NGO) working with urban refugees is located in this division and this gave me a quick and easy access to the overwhelming number of refugees that were involved in this study.

1.5 Content of the study

The study focused on the socio-economic problems faced by urban refugees, why they live in unrecognized places and how they were coping with the problems in Makindye division Kampala, Uganda.

1.6 Significance of the study

- The study's significance is that it suggests ways to look into the human rights of urban refugees in Kampala and Uganda at large.
- The study provides information that could be helpful to both refugees and NGOs working with refugees as well as Social workers where their services could be improved.
- The study contributes to academia in form of providing information to the researchers, other government institutions and NGOs.

This chapter has explained the background to the study, the research questions and objectives have been highlighted, and the research problem, the content and significance of the study have been explained as well. Though the total number of urban refugees living in Kampala City is not known yet, this study will not focus into trying to find what the number is but will focus on the research objectives given above and this paves a way for the next chapter which is literature review.

CHAPTER TWO

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the student gives a critical review of the issues that have been explored and studied both theoretically and empirically in the existing literature on the socio-economic problems faced by refugees in host states in developing countries and elsewhere in the world. Note should be taken that works of other scholars who have widely written and addressed issues related to the topic will also exist in this study. The literature will be comparative in that it will be in line with the specific objectives of the study so as to make the writer appreciate the contributions of different writers and identify the gaps.

2.2 Reasons why refugees live in unrecognized places and why they are not visible to humanitarian agencies.

Doing their research about urban refugees in Kampala and Nairobi, Human Rights Watch (2002) came up with a conclusion that the biggest reason as to why refugees opt for urban areas to living in refugee settlements/camps is that most of those settlements do not have adequate security and assistance which makes refugees insecure. They went ahead and said that, "refugees often face attacks and are subjected to inter-ethnic tensions or discrimination including inadequate humanitarian assistance, medical care and educational opportunities". These statements could hold some kind of truth but I find them lacking because according to the Women's Refugees Commission (2011), most refugees tend to regroup according to their countries of origin when they migrate to cities especially in Kampala where you find Eritreans are living in the same neighborhood/community, Somalis in theirs, Congolese, as well as Sudanese meaning that if ethnic tensions are as a result of refugees' flight from camps to urban areas, then they would not be

living together in the same neighborhoods' in the cities. Besides, UNHCR gives more attention when providing humanitarian assistance to refugees in settlements than urban refugees because refugees in camps are organized and easy to locate while those in urban centres are difficult to find. Also, the argument forgets to put into consideration of previous life styles especially if a refugee's country of origin was from the urban centre, it would very much determine on where they will settle in the host country. This is an indication that there could be other reasons associated with the refugees' flight to urban centres which this study will explore in depth.

In another study by Woodburn, he found out that most women who resided in unrecognized settlements within the Municipality of Gulu were not institutionalized which created suspicions among officials as this would make it impossible to control them. Looking at them, they appeared effortlessly mixed with other urban poor with fears that declaring themselves as Internally Displaced Persons would mean that the slum dwellers would look at them as persons who always need assistance. This indicates that people have not understood what displacement is and who a displaced person is. In his study, Woodburn (2007) concludes that many of the people who fled to Gulu municipality could have done so for economic reasons than conflict related situations which makes it difficult to differentiate those individuals from "true IDPs". Whatever reasons their flight was it is not a coincidence that these people fled during the insurgency in the north at that time.

The above argument assumes that most IDPs in urban centres are considerably better than those in the settlements. However in this case, someone cannot come to a conclusion by looking at the terrible living conditions that these people go through in their daily lives, but by conducting an exercise to determine what their social and economic statuses could be. Even if the truth shows these people's well-being, the state has not fulfilled its obligation through identifying and catering for these urban IDPs. There is a need to consider other factors without solely focusing on the income

conditions of the IDPs as well as other psychosocial needs that are related to their flight before determining the achievement of durable solutions. According to Inter Agency Standing Committee (IASC),

"a durable solution is achieved when internally displaced persons no longer have any specific assistance and protection needs that are linked to their displacement and can enjoy their human rights without discrimination on account of their displacement" (IASC, 2010).

In addition, the durable solutions' framework goes ahead and explains that the freedom of a migrant should involve liberty to access the basic necessities of life like housing, water, food, healthcare and education without discrimination. I strongly disagree with the above statement that almost all the refugees and other IDPs living in Kampala still face enormous discrimination of all kinds and even getting asylum on the side of refugees is very difficult due to corruption as most of them cannot afford the bribes. These examples are an indication that most of the urban refugees have not achieved the durable solution. More still, the events leading to these people's displacement like trauma have resulted into psycho-social problems which are not faced by the local residents.

Uganda was the first country in the whole world to come up with a national policy on IDPs which took place in 2004. In a period of two years, after the creation of this policy, no action was taken to put it into practice and this worsened the crisis in the country's northern region. The United Nations Security Council responded with a threat which forced Uganda government to create a Joint Coordination and Monitoring Committee (JMC). The role of JMC was to help in thorough execution of the government's programme on Peace Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP, 2007) for Northern Uganda, which was finally started in October 2007. The national Policy on IDPs and PRDP defined IDPs,

"as persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residences, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or nature or human induced disasters and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border" (PRDP, 2007)

Based on the above definition, the best way of telling whether the person is an IDP is by the reasons that led this person to flee and whether he or she keeps in the borders of his/her own country. In reality, the decision of where the person wants to live in his/her country should not lead him/her to being identified as an IDP. Indeed, the National Policy states that, "IDPs should freely choose their place of residence, move freely in and out of camps, other settlements or any other part of the country". More so, rights and protections to IDPs in all their displacements are guaranteed by PRDP and National IDP policy, with too much focus on the rural IDPs thus excluding the urban ones. A number of clauses in these policies can tell that people behind their drafting were preoccupied with rural IDPs in their mind with most sections having provisions that only focus on rural IDPs in settlements.

The PRDP does not in any way tackle the situation of urban IDPs and this fails to conform to the 2004 policy which states that its aim of return and resettlement programme is "facilitate the voluntary return of IDPs from camps to their places of origin and/or any other location of their presence as peace returns". This too much attention on rural population weakens the principles behind IDP protection and assistance represented in the Uganda's National Policy and other International legal policies Uganda signed. As IDPs have a right to live in any part of their country, they should also be in position to access assistance even when they are in urban centres. Their exclusion in these policy frameworks hinders effective return and resettlement processes.

Most states in Africa have not changed their policies towards hosting refugees in order to tap into skills and resources that urban refugees bring with them. This is because urban refugees have been and will always be there, so welcoming them is the best idea as it is not easy to repatriate them due to the war outbreaks that keep on occurring. By pushing refugees to live in settlements hampers their ability to become independent and self sustaining thus hindering the implementation of the durable solution of integrating them into the communities. Though it might be expensive to implement, "experience shows it is over the long run much cheaper, as well as better to have refugees be self-sufficient rather than dependent on relief" (Stein, 1986:279). More so, states and relief agencies find it hard to provide enough support and aid to urban refugees without knowing how many they are. The war in Sudan which started in the 1960s lasting for 45 years created the highest number of IDPs in the region as a result of the power struggle between Muslims and Christians. Approximately, 4 million people fled to camps where conditions are appalling and abandoned their homes of which the majority is women forcing them to suffer the worst human rights abuses ever.

The long-decade civil war in Sierra Leon killed thousands of people leaving hundreds of refugees and one million Internally Displaced Persons. Much of this armed conflict happened in rural areas where the brutality manifested itself in high gear. People were killed, mutilated and most importantly raped by the rebels of Revolutionary United Front (RUF). Women and children were also taken into captivity to work as slaves and child soldiers. Prior to the conflict, women and girls in rural areas could not easily have access to the social and economic opportunities that existed. During the conflict, they were subjected to all kinds of mistreatment that included rape, forced marriages, abuses, slavery and murders. They lost their loved ones and others could be forced to kill which caused psychological torture amongst those that survived. Hundreds fled their homes to urban areas while others went to refugee camps in the neighboring Guinea. What is alarming was that even when

these people fled to urban areas and camps, they could not access any help which forced many women and girls to opt for prostitution in order to meet the basic necessities of life for their families (Torres, 2002).

Nowadays, the majority of refugees reside in urban areas without legal documents because they fear to register thinking that they will be forced to go to the refugee settlements in the rural areas. The state policies have not halted this fear which has left refugees discouraged from registering with humanitarian agencies. For instance, Weaver argues that if the governments can recognize the "rights of urban refugees to reside where they are, donor agencies can provide assistance to promote their economic integration" (Weaver, 1985:155). In turn, both the host state and the refugees can gain from this registration as relief agencies will be able to avail assistance and services to them in their host communities where they live. In Sudan, the change in policies ushered in new lots of benefits to the people applying for asylum, for instance, after recognizing Eritrean refugees, the responsibility of taking care of them was shifted to the international community. The transfer of responsibility would not have easily happened if the Sudanese government had refused to recognize those refugees (Kibreab, 1996:138). Even if the responsibility was transferred to the international community, enhancing the capabilities of these refugees is the most important.

More still, Kibreab (1996:169) puts much emphasis on the need for the international community to "share the responsibility of hosting the refugees in a manner that enables them to become self supporting while offsetting pressures that their presence causes on the host country's social and physical infrastructure as well as local commodity and labour markets". Most states hosting refugees have policies that do not favor refugees to stay anywhere they feel because very many refugees might end up flocking into urban centres which is not likely to be the case. Few urban refugees who originally were from cities are the ones living in settlements; those who are self-

sufficient opt for residences in cities (Jacobsen, 2005:40). On rare occasion, refugees of rural origin tend to migrate to urban areas; most of them opt for settlements in rural areas.

2.3 The socio-economic problems faced by urban refugees in unrecognized places

Most refugees living in urban areas meet lots of problems than their counterparts residing in settlements. As refugees living in settlements have access to the basic needs of life like food, running water, shelter and a plot of land for farming; the refugees in urban areas have to fend for themselves in the city. Lacking proper identification documents, they cannot find employment and also face a threat of detention or deportation/forced relocation (Bailey, 2004:31). Urban refugees are not supposed to operate bank accounts or access credit and this exposes them to a lot of difficulties including meeting their expenses. They are always blamed for economic and social problems that happen in the countries they live in. For instance, Sudan shifts the blame on to refugees for being "responsible for sky-rocketing rents, periodic shortages of essential commodities, overcrowding of schools and healthcare facilities and other urban ills" (Weaver, 1985:148). On the other hand, Weaver goes ahead in defense of refugees by saying that "macro-economic factors such as inflation, declining productivity, and lower prices for exports rather than refugees have reduced the once abundant and generous Khartoum economy". This also happens in other countries hosting refugees like Kenya and Ethiopia where the citizens exploit urban refugees. Practically, in all the countries "landlords and grey market employers often exploit refugees, who in many refugee-hosting countries do not have legal protection" (Buscher, 2003:4). They are always exploited when it comes to payments even though they have the same qualifications and skills with the locals, yet they have to incur extra charges like rent and feeding.

Most people in host states have negative attitudes towards refugees with a belief that refugees cause and increase crime rates in urban areas. Based on my experience, I disagree with this statement as in most cases it is the citizens who involve in criminal activities including taking advantage of refugees' vulnerability. For instance, at my former work place in Uganda, a refugee from Sudan came to me for help after he was conned of $1100 meant for rent by house brokers and wanted me to take him to police to report his case. I volunteered and took him there but he was not helped at all, may be because he was a refugee I do not know but police never took it serious. Instead they started asking him for more money to be able to track the conmen with an excuse that they had no facilitation to follow up his case! This showed me that there could be many refugees facing lots of problems without any assistance especially legal.

While doing research in Johannesburg, Landau and Jacobsen (2004) found that, "migrants are far more likely to be victims of crime or police harassment than South Africans". With lack of knowledge about the country, "almost three quarters (72 percent) of the migrants surveyed reported that (they or someone they live with has been a victim of crime) compared with 43 percent of South Africans (who have spent most of their lives in the country)" (Landau and Jacobsen, 2004:45). Even police in Johannesburg where the majority migrants live agrees that usually the people always arrested as criminals are not usually behind criminal activities. Urban refugees find it difficult to involve themselves into criminal activities for fear of being caught which can result into detention and or deportation. Although their stay in urban areas has been associated with increase in crime rates, most of them do not involve in criminal activities.

Most urban refugees face lots of challenges in having accessibility to the finances. Most African governments have policies that limit refugees from owning bank accounts or have access to loans. This inability to have safe places for their money,

especially those doing small businesses could expose them to "known targets for mugging and theft", furthermore, a "lack of credit" limits refugees' ability to "pursue entrepreneurial initiatives" and this hinders them from participating in business activities that would be of benefit to them and the state at large (Landau and Jacobsen, 2004:46). Most residents of host states look at refugees as lazy, with negative attitude towards work. For instance, the Sudanese in most cases were concerned about "lack of motivation or effort by some refugees to build a creative and productive life" (Weaver, 1985:153). The biggest reason why most refugees do not want to work is that most of them tend to apply for resettlement to other countries especially developed countries and they always hope for work and new lives in those countries (Kibreab, 1996:170-171).

Considering these negative views, refugees now and days to come must make sure that these negative attitudes change as most studies have shown an increase in the number of asylum seekers as those for refugee statuses are prolonging (Bascom, 1993:314). Now that the struggle for independence by the colonized with colonial masters are no more, in which "victory often led to rapid voluntary repatriation" (Stein, 1986:277), long civil wars and killing of unarmed civilians has taken over the used to be wars for independence. These wars which are unpredictable nowadays cannot guarantee the safety of refugees willing to repatriate after signing the cease fires and peace agreements. In sates "where voluntary return is not immediately feasible or possible, conditions are created within the country of asylum for a temporary settlement or the integration of refugees into the community and their full participation in its social and economic life" (Stein, 1986:273). The unpredictability of wars now days require the host states to implement and put into practice the durable solutions and enhance the capabilities of refugees.

Most countries that accept to host refugees take them to be needy and vulnerable thus needing help from the relief agencies instead of focusing at their resilience

through enhancing their capabilities. The policies made by the leadership of these countries are not concerned about the refugees living in settlements achieving their independence by self sustainability; only think that they can rely on assistance and handouts for the rest of their life in the settlements (Buscher, 2003:20). Buscher continues to support refugees to be allowed to work, in order to fend for themselves and this can reduce on the pressure host states and humanitarian organizations go through to provide assistance to these refugees. This might change the perceptions people have had about refugees being dependants all the time, yet this dependency has always been created by the host states with their restrictions towards refugees.

2.4 Urban poverty and inequality

Urban poverty does not discriminate between citizens and refugees. However, it is always the refugees that suffer most due to the fact that they are in a new environment. While poverty has long been considered a dominant of urban violence and displacement (Black *et al,* 2014), this relationship has been challenged as too simplistic and even dangerous. Indeed statistical modeling has shown the ways in which inequality – and in particular income inequality – offer more explanatory power than poverty. Income inequality and the unequal distribution of economic opportunities across groups are believed to promote criminal violence as compared to per capita income which does not appear to have a clear effect. This implies at the national level when controlling for the distribution of education, ethnic and economic polarization, social capital and poverty. Some scholars theorize that a similar finding may emerge when examining horizontal inequality and violence, though there is no study that has subjected this hypothesis to robust testing in urban settings.

2.6 Strategies refugees have used to cope with the socio-economic problems

On contrary, the "resilience" of cities is a very important aspect that is usually neglected, and a lot can be learnt from it. The concept of resilience can be defined as

"an ongoing process of adaptation/coping of territorially bounded units including the city's formal and as well as informal social, political and economic institutions and its members and affiliates to exogenous and endogenous stress" (Muggah, 2012:52). Indeed proponents of the public health approach note how "protective factors" characteristics of an individual and his/her environment that strengthen the capacity to confront stress without recourse to violence – the role in facilitating healing and decreasing the propensity of violent behavior. There, is for example considerable evidence that a feeling of social connection is an important protective factor against violent behavior. On the side of refugees, social connection can be through inclusion and integration in all aspects of life.

While still a comparative nascent area of study, there is a growing body of work examining the critical place of protective factors in enhancing resilience and resistance to urban violence. Drawing largely on the economic model, protective factors tend to be aggregated at multiple levels. Moreover, it is often the accumulation of such factors that are said to enhance the safety and security of urban residents. Examinations include "social connections" in the family at an early age – including the reduction of child exposure to violence but also their exposure to positive family role models. Other social connections that are considered to be protective include peer groups as well as proactive community associations and schools and their authorities. Sociologists have also highlighted the role of community networks and productive employment opportunities as "protective". (Muggah, 2012:52)

To avoid dependency on the Kenyan government, most urban refugees of the Somali origin have proved that they can survive without any assistance. For instance, urban refugees in Eastleigh, Nairobi city normally known as "little Mogadishu" operate small businesses which have flourished well. They always bring in cheap goods illegally from Somalia which they sell very cheaply "weakening many Kenyan

competitors who do not have access to these networks" (Campbell, 2006:406). These goods are sold to both refugees and the residents at affordable prices. This kind of illegal trade helps many urban refugees survive in Nairobi. In most cities in Africa, many refugees do not have access to jobs and even if they do, they are underemployed and under paid which fails to match their qualifications they came with from their home countries. They find themselves in "menial activities which are incompatible with their occupational and professional backgrounds" (Kibreab, 1996:169). So, they have to make sure that they survive by involving themselves in petty business like selling clothes and starting kiosks for shops as is the case in Eastleigh, Nairobi.

A wide spectrum of interventions have been fielded to simultaneously promote "protective factor" and reduce "risk factors" facing would be victims and perpetrators. Many of these have honed in on family planning, parent-child relations, youth identity and belonging, youth education, after school and recreational opportunities (for the case of Refuge and Hope International in Uganda) and community resilience. Such interventions are relatively common in upper-income urban settings and routinely scaled up in municipal public health, education and welfare schemes. However, such activities tend to be less prominent in poorer contexts where interventions are typically more sporadic and project oriented. From a theoretical perspective, then, these approaches tend to draw from the public health concern with "accumulations" of risks while also building on emerging concepts of resilience (Muggah, 2012:56)

Many contemporary interventions draw from these historical antecedents. For example, the introduction of vocational training and employment schemes targeting youth in post-conflict and crime-affected settings are a repetition of an earlier theme. There is in fact a prevalent assumption amongst policy makers that urban violence is in some ways a failure of youth integration into labour markets and persistent

unemployment. Although statistical evidence is of poor quality, it appears that unemployment for urban youth exceeds that of other groups by orders of magnitude in many low and middle-income settings. Long term youth unemployment is also associated with ill-health, participation in criminal activities and delinquency. For decades, governments and agencies have sought to invest in stimulating income opportunities for the vulnerable and poor through cash transfer schemes and job training microenterprise (Muggah, 2012:57). However these have not included urban refugees especially in Sub Saharan Africa.

This chapter has looked at the literature in relation to the research objectives. Most of these problems urban refugees face are as the result of failure of most host states and humanitarian agencies to recognize refugees as beneficial not as a burden of aid recipients. Limiting their access to urban centres hinders their capacities and abilities to live a sustainable life. This leads to the next chapter of the capabilities approach and resilience which can help us to understand the refugees' situation.

CHAPTER THREE

3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This study used capabilities approach and resilience to understand why refugees live in unrecognized areas, the socio-economic problems they face and how they were coping with the problems. The reason behind the choice of these approaches is their ability to cover all the dimensions of human well being (Robeyns, 2005) deeply. The focus they put on people's capacities and resource abilities makes them the better choices to listen to the refugees' strengths, abilities and coping skills they are using to fight the unfreedoms they face daily.

3.2 The capabilities approach

The capabilities approach is well known and associated with Amartya Sen and more recently Martha Nussbaum (Robeyns, 2005:94). It focuses on the capabilities that people have, that is, the substantive freedoms they enjoy to lead the kind of lives they have reason to value (Sen, 2000:87). According to Sen, freedom also depends on social and economic arrangements like education and health as well as political and civil rights. In the case of this study, for the refugees to achieve a sustainable life in urban areas, there are factors that should lead them to this such as social and economic opportunities, political liberties and the enabling conditions of good health and basic education (Sen, 2000:5). However, most urban refugees face deprivations (unfreedoms) which limit their capabilities to live a desired life. These unfreedoms in form of under nutrition, lack of access to healthcare and good sanitary arrangements/clean water, inability to access functional education, gainful employment as well as economic and social security contribute to the misery and suffering urban refugees go through daily.

Most of the above unfreedoms arise as a result of inadequate processes, opportunities and lack of substantive freedoms in form of elementary capabilities to enrich their lives. The inability to access these elementary capabilities such as basic education and healthcare lowers their quality of life as well as reducing their ability to earn an income and free themselves from economic misery. Also, these socio-economic problems urban refugees face daily are due to lack of substantive freedoms that breed more unfreedoms thus affecting their quality of life. And yet if their capabilities are enhanced by let us say host states and humanitarian agencies, they would expand their productivity and earning power, thus enriching their lives as well as reducing deprivations of different kinds. Besides, this would relieve the host state and humanitarian agencies of their duties of having to be concerned about urban refugees and wanting to limit them only to settlements as well as looking at them as aid recipients. In addition, enhancement of capabilities by the host state and humanitarian agencies can also improve the ability of urban refugees to escape all forms of unfreedoms like unemployment with its effects such as loss of income, skill and self confidence, disruption of social relations and social life, social exclusions and racial tensions as well as increase in ailments and morbidity (Sen, 2000:94).

Urban refugees are faced with a lot of constraints that limit their abilities from participating in the economic and social sectors of host states. For instance, it is not easy to access certain services in Kampala city without identification documents which most urban refugees do not have. Having access to credit from the bank or opening a bank account requires a lot of identification documents like identity card, passports or recommendations from the authorities. In addition, for refugees interested in businesses face double unfreedoms of not having money to start the business, inability to afford the trading license and harassment by the authorities through confiscating their merchandise – for those vending on streets. More to the above is the requirement of having to obtain a student pass (UNHCR, 2009) for those willing to go to school and a work permit before you get employed and because

many refugees cannot afford to have these passes for their children, their access to education and employment respectively becomes limited. This unemployment breeds more unfreedoms like low income, poverty, poor health care, inadequate nutrition and lack of basic education as Sen (2000:8) puts it that "economic unfreedom can breed social unfreedom, just as social or political unfreedom can also foster economic unfreedom"

To be able to enhance the capabilities of these refugees, requires a focus on Sen's proposed list of five instrumental freedoms that are very crucial in contributing to the general capability of a person to live better lives and freely and they include; political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security (1999:38). For more explanation, political freedoms refer to opportunities that people have to choose their leaders, economic facilities refer to opportunities that individuals enjoy to utilize economic opportunities for the purpose of consumption, production, or exchange, social opportunities refer to the arrangements that society makes for education and healthcare as they are very instrumental towards availing substantive freedoms for better living, transparency guarantees is associated with need for openness that people can expect and lastly protective security provides a social safety net for preventing the affected population from being reduced to misery, starvation and death (Sen, 1999:38-40).

Nussbaum (2000) describes a list of functional human capabilities – life, bodily health, bodily integrity, affiliation, senses imagination and thoughts, emotions, practical reason, play, other species and control over one's environment[3] – which are very instrumental in enabling a person to live the kind of lives they have reason to value. I cannot go into the details to explain each capability due to limited space. According to Nussbaum, the above capabilities are part of social justice which

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[3] The detailed list of human capabilities can be accessed in Nussbaum book – Women and Development (2000: 78-80) where she explains each in details.

should be guaranteed to every human being. The inability to have these capabilities guaranteed to the citizens leads to injustices in society (Nussbaum, 2003:40). For this study, failure to have the human capabilities guaranteed to the refugees in the society they live in from life, control over ones environment, bodily health, bodily integrity, affiliation, play and so on hinders their capacity and ability to integrate and cope with the problems they face.   For instance, affiliation fosters resilience and can be a very "important factor against violent behavior" (Muggah, 2012) and this can solve a problem of discrimination and xenophobic attacks refugees face. Nussbaum's capability approach agrees with that of Sen since both of them look beyond people's satisfaction and resources under their command to what they are actually able to be or to do (Nussbaum, 2000:12). Despite the agreement on the strength of capabilities approach, Nussbaum criticizes Sen for giving lots of examples without making a list of central capabilities (P.13).

The above instrumental freedoms foster the human capabilities and substantive freedoms as they generally enhance human freedom. Sen argues that, "our evolutions and policies should focus on what people are able to do and be, on the quality of their life and on removing obstacles in their lives, so that they have more freedom to live the kind of life upon reflection, they have reason to value" (cited in Robeyns, 2005:94). Therefore this study looks into the capabilities and capacities of refugees by trying to find out how they are coping with the socio-economic problems.

3.3 Resilience

Resilience can be defined as "an active process of endurance, self-fighting, and growth in response to crisis and challenge" (Walsh, 2006:4). According to Walsh "the qualities of resilience enable people to heal from painful wounds, take charge of their lives and go on to live fully and love well" (Walsh, 2006). With resilience, the focus is more than mere survival and escaping danger to thriving. Resilience approach gives people in crisis the strength to tackle problems head on, overcome

adversity and move on with their lives as it involves investing in their capacities, abilities and resources so that they can deal with their immediate and long-term needs. This is because it recognizes people in need as active and creative agents and empowers them towards greater ownership of their own lives through employment generation, life skills training and inclusive governance (Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan, 2015). Amongst traits of emotionally resilient people is having a positive supportive circle [4]around them. Because of the nature of this study, the resilient approach becomes necessary to find how refugees are coping with the socio-economic problems due to its focus on people's capacities and abilities.

For any human to survive, there are basic needs that should be met and to satisfy these needs requires resources. For instance, financial security is very crucial for resilience (Walsh, 2006:135) as it satisfies specific needs such as food and clothing (Dermot *et al,* 2008), thus enhancing coping options in almost any stressful state, offering easier access to services and ensuring their best value. For instance asylum seekers who have money can easily access legal advice. Other factors that build resilience amongst refugees include personal qualities. Under personal qualities lies adaptability, flexibility, open mindedness and perseverance according to the study done by Toth (2003) on the refugee women of Canada.

Others include hope and optimism (Porobić, 2012) with a brief that good things will happen in the future. Another factor that builds resilience is support which can be from families, community or friends during and after resettlement process. A lot of studies have emphasized the role of families, communities and friends in enhancing refugee resilience (Hutchinson, *et al*, 2012:60). Religion and spirituality are also other areas that have been researched about as contributing to the resilience of refugees. In her studies, Porobić (2012:21) found that faith and spirituality were

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[4] Available at heartmath www.heartmath.com

joined together as powerful survival tools in coping with stressful conditions of displacement and forced migration because religion enables refugees to view themselves as "survivors of adversity and not helpless incapacitated victims" (P.269).

Though some refugees get traumatized, they have their own strengths and abilities which humanitarian organizations do not look into, they are taken as vulnerable and passive victims instead of active survivors. They have been labeled "sick" and traumatized people with little acknowledgement of the resilience and coping strengths (Hutchinson, *et al*, 2012). The trauma discourse has focused on the events that happened in pre-migration, overshadowing the basic needs in the present lives of resettled refugees. This focus on events that occurred earlier in the lives of refugees has nothing to say in the actual refugee adaptation process and the impact of the host environment on the psychological well-being of refugees.

Psychological well-being of refugees depends on the psychological basic needs being met in a satisfactory manner and they include a sense of living in a safe and stable environment (Dermot *et al,* 2008). This neglect of their capacities and resilience weaken their existing resources for self-protection, thus leaving them powerless (Gozdziak, 2002). Instead of focusing on stress and trauma, Dermot *et al* suggests that adaptation of refugees can be achieved by looking at "social demands such as unemployment, family separation, poor living conditions, legal status, insecurity, lack of meaningful day-to-day activities and other psychosocial needs that are common to all human beings" (Dermot *et al*, 2008). This is because refugee adaptation involves satisfying their needs, pursue their goals and manage demands encountered after relocating to a new society.

However, there are constraints to the resilience of refugees and these can be environmental where access to resources by the migrants in the host state is controlled by the state policies like expression of religion, access to basic needs like

health care, education, shelter, language classes, work permits, employment, freedom of movement and legal statuses (Dermot *et al,* 2008). These barriers have a big effect on the adaptation of refugees and psychological suffering is likely to result from these unmet needs. The host state can have a limit on the resourcefulness of refugees from flourishing due to the policies that constrain them from accessing services. More still, language barrier hinders the resilience and adaptation of refugees due to inability to communicate and express themselves effectively. Unable to speak the language means that they can hardly find jobs, interact with the local communities and this affects their integration. Other obstacles include discrimination which can lead to distress and isolation thus hindering refugees' functionality; labeling of refugees as traumatized can also have effect on their resilience as already mentioned earlier ((Hutchinson *et al*, 2012).   The two approaches as summarized below very guided the designing of a survey questionnaire.

Figure 1 shows how resilience and capabilities approach can enhance the capacities of refugees

Unfreedoms

Resilience building	Economic problems	Social problems	Capability enhancement by NGOs, and host states
□ Change of policies □Skills training □Language classes □Job creation □Integration	□High cost of living □ Lack of jobs □Lack of skills □High borrowing rates	□Violence □Poverty □Poor housing □Poor health □Lack of education for the children	□Provision of grants □Provision of affordable health care □Provision of basic education

Functionings/coping

□ Well dressed

□ Well nourished and healthy

□Literate

□Live in clean environment

□Able to earn income

□Able to communicate

According to the figure above, the social and economic problems refugees face are labeled unfreedoms in form of lack of jobs, poor health, education, and so on. If refugees' capabilities are enhanced by the host states, NGOs and humanitarian organizations through provision of basic education, affordable health care, clean

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water as well as building their resilience through change in policies, job creation, language classes, skills training and integration could result into substantive freedoms and functionings/coping. These may include being literate, being healthy, and ability to earn income, being able to communicate effectively and efficiently and being able to appear in public without shame. As the old proverb goes "Give a man a fish, and he will eat for a day; teach him how to fish, and he will eat for the rest of his life" (Stein, 1986:279). Some of the above mentioned problems were exposed to me through the interaction with the refugees during the three years of working with them.

This chapter has introduced two approaches that will be applied in this study. The capabilities approach and resilience have been chosen for their focus on people's capacities and abilities in solving the issues concerning them. They will be applied in the next chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter includes research design, the procedure and the methods of data collection, instruments of data collection, ethical considerations and data analysis. The study took place in Kampala Makindye Division with the aims of examining the socio-economic problems urban refugees face, why they live in unrecognized places as well as what they were doing to cope with the problems. It took me three weeks to collect the much needed data to answer the questions under investigation. The procedure of data collection did not neglect the research objectives and all questions to the respondents aimed at finding answers in relation to the objectives of the study.

4.2 Study site

This study took place in Makindye division, Kampala with the help of Refuge and Hope International (a NGO that works with refugees) acting as gatekeeper. The reason for the choice of this area is that most refugees reside in this division especially in the slums of Kabalagala and Kansanga (Women's Refugees Commission, 2011) cited in (Naohiko, 2012). Since this area hosts many refugees, it was easier for me to have access to the sample of the participants that I wanted to take part in this study where the research questions would be answered. Besides, most of them go to this organization which is also located in the division where they attend language training[5] and this paved way for me to have easy access to the participants who took part in this study.

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[5] Language training refers to the process of learning English.

4.3 Study population

Schensul defines study population as "the group or groups of interest to the researcher in relation to the study question" (Schensul, 2008:519). The study population was drawn from Refuge and Hope International and others from Kansanga, Makindye Division and included refugees, key informants – refugees' community representatives, social workers and a director who had been working with urban refugees for more than seven years. The choice of this population is that (1) the largest number is refugees and they are the "experts" of the socio-economic problems they face, thus match well with the aim and objectives of the study. (2) the key informants have been working and living with refugees and thus have rich knowledge about the problems refugees face. In other words, they are the local experts in the refugee community as a result of interactions they have together.

4.4 Research design – mixed methods

In this study, I used convergent parallel mixed methods design where both qualitative and quantitative data were concurrently collected, analyzed separately and compared the two findings to come up with a general interpretation as both findings complemented each other (Creswell *et al,* 2015). Most previous studies about refugees have dealt more on quantitative research leaving the human stories and voices of refugees absent in their literature (Dermot *et al*, 2008) prompting me to mix the methods in this study. Also, mixed methods would help me understand the socio-economic problems better than using one single method. Strengths in using mixed methods are that it helps researchers to develop a more complete picture of the social phenomena that includes both trends and individual's experiences (Creswell *et al,* 2008). Another advantage of applying mixed methods in this study is that the weaknesses of one method can be offset by the other method that has its strengths (Bryman, 2012:636).

There are also weaknesses associated with mixed methods where some researchers express concern of compatibility in mixing methods since they are taken to be belonging to two different paradigms. Other qualitative researchers doubt the viability of mixed methods with a thinking that mixed methodologists attempt to appropriate qualitative methods in some way (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009:102) According to Guest (2012:142), "mixed methods scholars cannot even agree on the definition of mixed methods research". While other authors argue that using a qualitative research to inform a survey instrument should not be considered a mixed methods design (p.142). Validity issue has also been raised to be lacking in mixed methods as there is no agreement on how it should be measured and evaluated (Liyen, 2014). Despite the limitations of mixed methods, validity will not be affected since the study is more exploratory (Bryman, 2012:409) and not concentrating on measurability. But also, both qualitative and quantitative methods will be given an equal priority (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009:102-103) to minimize on the above challenges since this study applies convergent parallel mixed methods.

4.5 Data collection methods and procedure

After the end of my internship for the autumn semester which was done in Uganda, I made a decision to stay and do field work for this study. This study is solely dependent on primary and secondary sources of data collection and it includes both qualitative and quantitative data collected in three weeks. Qualitative employed focus groups and semi-structured interviews while quantitative employed survey questionnaires as discussed later in the next section. Observation was also used. Focus groups and surveys were used to collect data from refugees with the help of Refuge and Hope International which is a faith based NGO working with urban refugees coming from some African states especially great lakes region. Most of these refugees come from Sudan, Somalia, South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Rwanda and some from Ivory Coast. The programmes that are offered to refugees are educational, leadership, spiritual

development, counseling and social services as well as professional development in form of practical skills (Refuge and Hope international, 2016). Furthermore, semi-structured interviews were used for key informants.

4.5.1 Research instruments

4.5.2 Focus Groups

For this study, two semi structured focus groups were conducted. Focus groups help researchers generate data through group discussions with the help of a moderator. They have become a popular method of data collection since mid 1980s because they can be modified to suit a wide range of purposes (Morgan, 2008:352). Focus groups are also preferred due to the opportunity created for participants to engage in meaningful conversations about the study topic researchers are investigating. Focus groups were chosen because the topic of study focused on people who shared a similar back ground (urban refugees) and this was an opportunity for them to discuss the issues concerning them as members of a group, rather than as individuals. Focus groups are also a very essential method of data collection as they can be helpful in identifying the emotional reactions, issues and language laypeople use to talk about issues concerning the topic (Creighton, 2005:113), which questionnaires would not have yielded.

According to Bryman (2012), focus groups help a researcher understand why people feel the way they do during the discussions including probing into each other's reason for holding a certain view – in other words, focus groups help in giving a variety of different views on a particular topic. Focus groups were chosen to capture different viewpoints urban refugees had in mind what they wanted to say and how they wanted to say them. Though focus groups have limitations like less control over the proceedings, certain individuals dominating the discussions, data being too difficult to analyze, the advantages of using focus groups outweighs the disadvantages (Bryman, 2012) because a huge amount of data can be produced in a

short time especially where time is limited. Since I had only two hours to collect data, the best way of utilizing that time well was to go with the method that would produce data very quickly. Despite focus groups being an efficient means of data collection, they are not appropriate especially if a researcher is investigating a sensitive topic or the details about anyone's individual experiences (Creswell *et al,* 2015) and this has an effect on the quality of data produced. Focus groups are also criticized especially for causing discomfort among participants under some certain circumstances (Madriz, 2002) cited in (Bryman, 2012).

Since this study is also sensitive, the above issues were minimized by employing other data collection methods like survey questionnaires and semi-structured interviews that shaded more light on issues that were not discussed in the focus groups. The challenges encountered in applying this instrument to the study was the overwhelming number of participants who took part in focus groups as I could not stop them from coming to the room where the discussions were taking place despite making it clear to the director that I wanted to carry out two focus groups only. Focus groups provided an emic perspective (Porobić, 2012:25) which was very important for them to air out their views as they are the experts of the problems surrounding them. This would also give me a direction about what the respondents think and what they are doing to overcome the problems as Fetterman explains that "the etic perspective is typically adopted after multiple, and often conflicting, emic or insider views are collected" (Fetterman, 2008:248). This provided me with an opportunity to see exactly how views were being constructed, expressed and defended (Wilkinson, 1998:193) during the conversations.

4.5.3 Questionnaires

Self administered survey questionnaires were used to gather quantitative data and were only filled by refugees in the highest grade. These questionnaires were under the supervision of English instructors who helped me administer them as I conducted

the focus groups. Despite elaborating the aim of the study to the participants, the presence of English instructors could have had an effect on the responses. Some could have thought that the surveys were going to be marked and graded thus declining to participate as one of the instructors told me that their students fear exams. Survey questionnaires were chosen for this study because they are cheaper and quick to administer (Bryman, 2012:233) especially with the limited time that was availed to me but also, they would capture variables like age, sex, nationality, years lived in Uganda which focus groups did not.

They were also used to capture some views from the respondents which others would not have given in the focus groups and semi-structured interviews for fear of the presence of the moderator and interviewer respectively (Bryman, 2012). Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) states that, "questionnaires are used to obtain vital information about the population and ensure a wide coverage of the population in a short time". In addition, Sekaran (2003) states that questionnaires are an efficient data collection mechanisms where the researcher knows exactly what is required and how to measure the variables of interest. However, there are challenges associated with survey questionnaires as a result of lack of guidance during the filling and these are non responses. In this study, though the total number of respondents was 72, there were non responses and missing data (Bryman, 2012:333) on some questions but still, the response rate was high as can be seen in the tables in the next chapter and this made results legible for analysis.

According to Groves (2006), "a response rate of at least 50 percent is considered adequate for analyzing and reporting. A response rate of 60 per cent is good; a response rate of 70 percent is very good" (p.647). He goes ahead and says that "changes in non response rates do not alter survey estimates" (p.647). The non responses could not be avoided in this study since most surveys tend attract certain amount of non-response (Bryman, 2012:199). Most researchers agree that everyone

is a respondent or non respondent depending on the circumstances (Groves, 2006:648) and not everyone in a sample turns out to be a suitable or appropriate respondent (Bryman, 2012). All these could be as a result of respondent's privacy concerns, restricted time, or burden experienced in the previous surveys (Fuchs *et al*, 2013). Also questions that appear irrelevant or boring are likely to be skipped (Bryman, 2012:235). Though there are some ways to avoid non responses which include incentives (Groves, 2006:665; Fuchs *et al,* 2013:29; Bryman, 2012:236), in this study, I did not give out any incentives to the respondents. May be, an incentive like a pen to fill the survey questionnaires would raise the response rate high than those in the tables as shown in chapter five.

4.5.4 Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews were employed to gather broad information about the topic of the study from the key informants. They were used to capture information about the topic to cross-check the answers from focus groups and some from questionnaires. In addition, "semi-structured interviews use a variety of probes that elicit further information or build rapport through the researcher's use of active listening skills"(Ayres, 2005:811), making them the best to supplement the focus groups. Each interview took 30 - 60 minutes. This was done to make sure that the interview is not hurriedly conducted. Likewise, the one for community representative took the same period of time though some of the questions that were being asked were different. Previously, the whole idea was to have eight refugees' community representatives to take part in this study but it was not possible due to time factor.

4.6 Recruitment of participants

All the participants who took part in this study were refugees with the exception of five key informants.

4.6.1 Sample size

The sample size included 197 respondents; 116 participated in focus groups while 72 filled questionnaires, 4 refugees' community representatives, 4 social workers and 1 director were also included in the sample. This sample had different marital statuses, mixed gender, different age groups and different nationalities and this could have had an effect on the way questionnaires were filled due to different interests and perspectives. The sample was chosen to be representative of the community because the bigger the sample size, the more representative the study would be and thus the high level of external validity (Creswell *et al,* 2015).

Table 1: shows the number of participants and their mode of participation

Participants	Frequency	Mode of Participation
	116	Focus group discussions
Refugees	72	Questionnaires
Key Informants	9	Semi-structured Interviews
Total	**197**	

4.6.2 Sampling strategies

The study employed non probability sampling strategies which included convenience and purposive sampling. The study used convenience sampling because participants were readily available and accessible (Bryman, 2012:201) in one place while other participants were purposively selected to participate in the study because they had enough knowledge concerning the socio-economic problems refugees face as well as what they were doing to cope with the problems. Snowballing was also used whereby refugees were able to refer me to their community representatives because they knew where they were residing. These non sampling strategies were used because they are also easier to implement than other sampling strategies (Creswell *et al*, 2015).

For the focus groups, all the participants were refugees who attend language training at Refuge and Hope International. They were conveniently and purposively chosen because they were readily available. Ideally, a focus group should be between 6-8 and rarely more than 12 members (Wilkinson, 1998:182), however in this study I was overwhelmed by the number of participants where the first group had 60 participants while the second one had 56. I had no control over the participants as if they thought I had come to solve all their problems immediately having been introduced as a student from Sweden interested in urban refugees' studies. I never wanted to be biased and looked as if I was discriminating amongst them with all their excitement to be in the study. But also, the instructors contributed to this as all of them released students who came and joined others in the class where I was moderating the discussion. Some started telling me that it was their opportunity to also have a one hour break. This of course had an effect on the discussions because of noise as all scrambled to be in the room.

The focus groups started with an introduction of myself as a moderator and thanked all the participants for agreeing to take part in the study. Since the groups were very large, they never took time to introduce themselves as it was limited. I had to give the goals and the reasons why I was carrying out the study. The procedures to be followed in the focus group were also outlined with an emphasis of encouraging everyone to participate as everyone's views in a group are very important (Bryman, 2012:513). These discussions took place in the well arranged classroom where those students usually have their lessons. The discussions were conducted in English and there was no interpreter as most of the participants who were actively contributing knew very good English. Those whose English was lacking sat quietly and watched though some could talk in their own language. Actually, I realized during the discussion that some were professionals and those who attend evening classes are students at the local institutions in the city.

I could read the questions to the whole group and then allow participants to raise their hands and contribute to whatever they knew about the question. Whenever the answer could be said, I would then write it on the white board for everyone to see. The discussions were not hurried as we only had five questions to discuss. These sessions took one hour each and after the discussions, given answers were captured with a phone camera (see appendix 5) which would then be copied to the computer. After the sessions, participants were given a chance to ask questions concerning the discussion. Because this is a sensitive and relevant topic, all the questions asked wanted immediate solutions and I convinced them that this research will be helpful to them and their counterparts in the settlements after compiling the report but promised to forward some of the questions to the director. All the participants were thanked for having contributed to the study. However, as I moved out, a group of about ten surrounded me and started telling me their personal problems about how they are denied asylum and how I could help them of which I had no solutions.

With survey questionnaires, participants for this study were purposively recruited based on their ability to read and write English very well since the survey was self administered. This was done because I could not have access to the sampling frame that would guide me in choosing the participants. I asked the English instructors to help me identify the students who had a capability to read and write well since they were the ones who taught and graded them. They identified 82 respondents who were in the highest grade that took part in the filling of survey questionnaires. Out of 82 survey questionnaires handed out to respondents, only 72 had been filled, the rest came back empty. The other ten decided to stay away maybe for the reasons I gave earlier but also, I had told them that participation was voluntary and they would walk away if they felt so. Like focus groups, survey questionnaires took one hour to complete.

For the semi-structured interviews, participants were readily available in the organization with the exception of Refugees' Community Representatives who live around Kansanga, Bunga, Buziga and Kisugu all in Makindye Division. These key informants included 5 respondents from the organization and 4 community representatives[6] who participated in this study. Though previously, my intention was to have eight community representatives, it never became possible due to limited time. From the organization, three social workers, one youth leader for (refugee youth) and a director were interviewed. These people were purposively chosen due to the "rich" knowledge they had about urban refugees and their capability to speak English since all the interviews were conducted in English.

As I asked questions I would capture everything by jotting (Bryman, 2012:450) down the responses by the respondents and after the interview, a respondent would be asked if he/she had any questions concerning what was talked about and then an appreciation of "thanks" for participating in the interview with a handshake would end the conversation. Immediately after the interviews, data would be sorted and entered in the computer to make sure that everything said during the interview was captured before forgetting. Secondary data was got through literature review of papers and other documents at the organization written about urban refugees in Uganda and Kampala in particular, though the information was insufficient.

Refuge and Hope International staff was very helpful and acted as gate keepers for easy access to refugees. Besides, I had worked with this organization before and some of the staff knew me and a tiny percentage of refugees had seen me before. The dress code was casual as I just put on the organization's T-Shirt and jeans for easy rapport with the respondents. This relationship built trust between me and the

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[6] Community representative here means a person who heads refugees according to their nationalities, for instance in this interview, community representatives of Eritrean, Sudanese, Congolese and South Sudanese nationalities were interviewed.

respondents as evidenced by the group that followed me after the discussion who wanted help. Before, going to this organization, focus group guides and questionnaires had been designed and tested on a small group of Somali refugees to ensure their functionality (Bryman, 2012:263).

I approached the director of Refuge and hope international for permission to do research with his organization. He was positive about it but referred me to the co-director who he works with because she heads the centre where refugees come for language training. I proceeded to the co-director who was happy about my intention as she said that this study could very well be of help to the organization but warned to keep the information about the refugees confidential as my topic of study is very sensitive. She then sent me to the head teacher who introduced me to some of the teachers that would help in organizing students[7]. We had to make an appointment and after two days, I went back and collected data.

4.7 Ethical considerations

Before data collection could take off, the issue of ethical consideration was the first to pop into my mind. Getting permission from the director to do research through Refuge and Hope International was the first on the agenda where we agreed that the information was going to be confidential since the topic of study was very sensitive. The director also warned me to desist from taking pictures of the students as most of them are very insecure having come as asylum seekers running away from persecution. I was able to seek consent from the respondents before they could participate in filling of the questionnaires as well as focus groups. Consent was also sought from the key informants before they could take part in the study.

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[7] Students here refer to urban refugees who come to Refuge and Hope International to attend language training

They were warned that some questions were very provoking and they should not feel offended when they come across them. I also told them that the information would be very confidential and not even their home countries could access it. For instance, Thorpe emphasizes that if private information has been accessed, then confidentiality has to be maintained (Thorpe, 2002). Participants were also told that the research was for study purposes and could help them and their counterparts in the settlements sometime to come. They were also advised not to participate in case they did not feel like doing so, they should walk away, and they had a right to. Most of them agreed to participate after telling them that I was a student because they were like "we also did research in our home countries, so we know what it means".

4.8 Limitations to the study

The focus groups were very large as one group had 60 and 56 participants respectively and not everyone in the group participated. Few respondents who knew English participated directly but this did not affect the quality of data that was given since others could also discuss in their own language. The few active participants were able to give the much needed data that answered the research questions (see appendix 5). The study time for collecting data was very limited and a study like this would have required enough time to collect data which I believe that one hour given for focus groups and questionnaires was not enough. The absence of current literature on urban refugees limits the study as most of the literature concentrated on refugees in settlements. Since the study took place in one division, the results of this study cannot be generalized to all urban refugees in Uganda due to the fact that it was a case study and yet case studies are most criticized in the social science research (Willis, 2007:239) for not allowing generalizations. There is need for more research to be carried out in other towns to determine the plight of refugees living there.

4.9 Data analysis

Data from the interviews and focus groups was organized, arranged and categorized into different groups (Bryman, 2012). The categories were labeled and the connection between them was determined in relation to the research objectives of this study. Most of the coded phrases, words, sentences, opinions, actions and other verbatim quotation were repeated in the interviews and focus groups and thus proved relevant to the topic. But also, I was guided by the research questions (Bryman, 2012:689) to derive meaning from the phrases and sentences. The raw data obtained from the questionnaires was cleaned, sorted and entered into the excel spread sheet and compared manually. This was the hardest, slowest and tedious part of the thesis due to the fact that I was only using excel for quantitative data analysis.

Data was then scored with numerical codes (Creswell *et al*, 2015:257) according to the ratings per variable and then counted to determine the total number of respondents who strongly agreed, agreed, not sure, disagreed and strongly disagreed with each variable on the questionnaire. Since the ratings were represented by numbers, all the total frequencies of these numbers were determined manually per rating and presented in the tables. Graphs were used to present information according to the number of respondents and inspected (Creswell *et al*, 2015:211) to determine the differences in the ratings. In my analysis, the variables that were rated by the most respondents appeared of much concern to urban refugees while those rated by few respondents had little effect to the lives of these refugees. Qualitative data was presented in themes as will be shown in the next chapter. After both quantitative and qualitative data were presented differently, they were merged and a general summary of the findings was presented.

The chapter has explained study design, sampling and sampling strategies, population, study area, procedure of data collection, ethical considerations, and limitations of the study and methods of selection. These have been descriptively

talked about in relation to socio-economic problems urban refugees face while living in Kampala city. The study dwelt on both primary and secondary data. Primary data instruments included focus groups, key informant interviews, questionnaires, while secondary data included review of relevant literature written about the topic of study. Data from questionnaires was analyzed manually within excel spread sheet while that from focus groups and semi-structured interviews was sorted, grouped, coded and entered in Microsoft office word and will be presented in the next chapter.

5. THE FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a brief introduction of the respondents and presents the findings according to the objectives of the study. A total of 116 respondents participated in focus groups, 9 in interviews while 72 filled survey questionnaires for transferability purposes. For questionnaires, the average [8]age was 29.4 years. Average years lived in Uganda was 3.8 years. 26 were males and 46 were females. Their level of education was; 14 had completed primary school, 32 completed secondary, 22 finished university and other 4. Their countries of origin were as follows; 8 were from Somalia, 1 from Ethiopia, 1 from Rwanda, 11 from DRC, 14 from Eritrea, 2 from Burundi, 13 from Sudan, 21 from South Sudan and other 1 (see appendix 4 for details). The results from the survey questionnaires will be presented first with the help of tables and graphs and then follows findings from the focus groups and semi-structured interviews. They will be briefly discussed with the theory.

Research objective one sought to find out why refugees live in unrecognized places within Kampala city and why they are not visible to humanitarian agencies

To seek answers for the objective of the study, two sub questions were asked to refugees, where (1) asked why they live in unrecognized place – Kampala (2) why they never lived in settlements/camps. They were instructed to rate variables on the Likert with the level of agreements where 1=Strongly Agree (SA), 2=Agree (A), 3=Not sure (NS), 4=Disagree (D), 5= Strongly Disagree (SD).

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[8] Method of calculating mean was adopted from here,
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NxEpV_6DpDAv

Table 2 shows the number of respondents on sub question 1

Reasons	SA	A	NS	D	SD	Total
Security	67	0	0	0	0	67
Education	37	15	1	1	0	54
Medical Care	22	6	15	0	2	45
Employment	11	4	4	12	1	32
Welfare	10	15	8	5	2	40
Previous lifestyle	14	7	8	8	2	39
Other	2					2

The above table summarizes the number of respondents on question 1. For instance, out of 72 respondents who participated in filling questionnaires, only 67 agreed that security was the main reason they live in Kampala. The rest were non responses and missing data since participation in this study was voluntary. The above information is presented graphically below. **Note should be taken that the graphs do not include a column on the total number of respondents.**
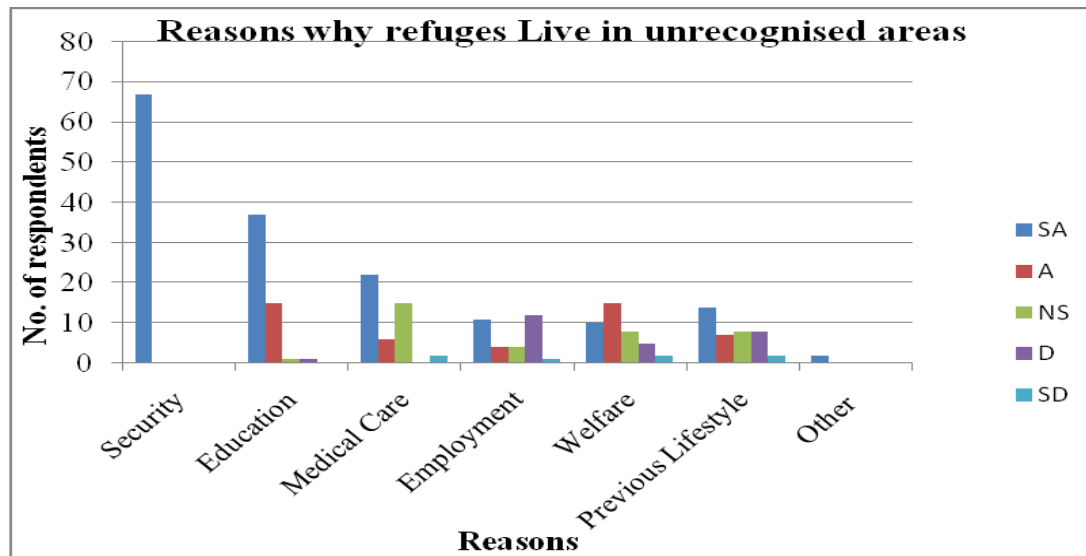
The above graph illustrates the reasons why refugees live in unrecognized places. The results according to the graph show that presence of security influences refugees' decision to live in unrecognized places within Kampala city having been

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rated by 67 respondents. Most of them believe Kampala is very secure and that is why they all decided to live there. 37 respondents strongly agreed while 15 agreed that availability of education influenced their choice to live in Kampala city since most of them flee with their children thinking that they can have good quality education there. Others choose to reside in Kampala to be able to access medical care and look for employment for sustainability, while welfare and previous lifestyle contribute to the refugees' decision to live in the city. The results show that there are other reasons as to why refugees live in unrecognized areas. Practically, refugees' decisions to live in Kampala, where there is security, good education and medical care is justified as they also want to enhance their capabilities. Even Sen(2000), emphasizes that "the more inclusive the reach of basic education and health care, the more likely it is that even the potentially poor would have a better chance of overcoming penury" (p.90).

The second sub question aimed at finding the reasons why refugees never lived in settlements/camps. Below is the table that summarizes the number of respondents.

Table 3 shows the number of respondents on sub question 2

Reasons	SA	A	NS	D	SD	Total
Insecurity	47	3	5	0	0	55
Poor housing	26	15	1	4	0	46
Poor education quality	34	6	2	3	4	49
Poor medical care	34	11	2	1	0	48
No jobs	25	6	2	12	0	45
Cannot dig	8	4	9	16	4	41
other	7	7				14

The table above shows the total number of respondents on each reason given. For instance 47 respondents agreed that insecurity in the camps was the reason they never lived there, 3 respondents agreed while 5 were not sure why they never lived in camps. This could be as a result of differences in age groups where some just followed their parents. The above information can be summarized below;

Reasons why refugees never lived in camps
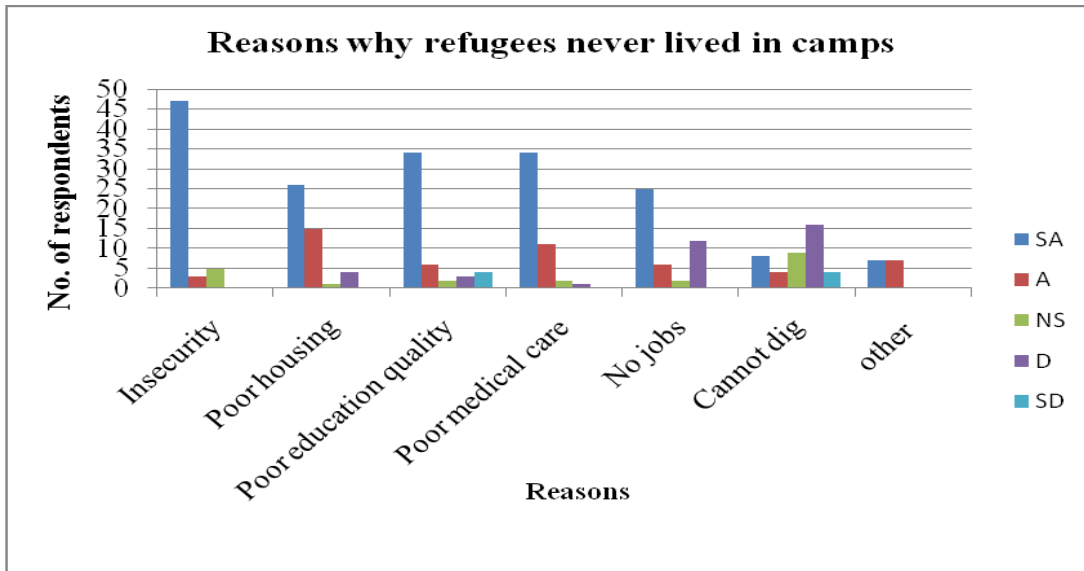
The results from the above graph show that 47 respondents strongly agreed that insecurity in the camps was the first reason as to why they never lived there while 3 still agreed that it was the same reason they never lived in the camps. The graph also shows us that poor medical care and poor education quality in the camps are the reasons refugees never resided there the fact that 34 respondents strongly agreed respectively. Other strong reasons as to why refugees never resided in the camps according to the graph include poor housing in the camps and inaccessibility to jobs with 27 and 25 respondents strongly agreeing respectively. However, other refugees disagreed that the reasons they never lived in the settlements/camps was not because they cannot dig, there were other factors. All the above given reasons according to the respondents are justifiable because as human beings, they should be able to have access to good health, adequate shelter and be able to work (Nussbaum, 2000:78-79) for them to achieve a capability.

The main objective number two aimed at examining the socio-economic problems that are faced by refugees living in unrecognized places within Kampala city.

Table 4 shows the number of respondents that filled question 2 on objective 2

Socio-economic problems	SA	A	NS	D	SD	Total
Insecurity	31	3	9	4	10	57
Poverty	39	6	6	6	2	59
Unemployment	44	6	2	1	4	57
No identification documents	12	2	19	4	10	47
Trauma	23	8	0	19	4	54
Language barrier	35	5	6	12	2	60
Domestic Violence	4	7	3	10	23	47
Reg. with OPM/UNHCR	19	12	2	7	10	50
No access to loans	25	6	5	8	1	45
Low customer turn-ups	7	2	12	6	15	42
Limited business Skills	24	12	6	4	3	49
High tuition costs	45	5	0	3	3	56
Poor housing	26	6	10	12	0	54
Lack of medical care	29	7	5	13	0	54
Harassment by the Authorities	17	8	6	11	10	52
Lack of education	38	1	2	8	7	56
Conflicts	10	12	4	12	9	47
Discrimination	24	4	2	6	16	52
High cost of living	55	4	1	0	0	60
Poor sanitation	23	12	3	9	6	53
High registration costs	16	2	13	11	7	49
Competition with locals	14	9	15	6	3	47
High rents	59	5	0	0	1	65
Lack of savings	13	4	8	7	10	42
Violence	14	16	5	9	6	50
Corruption	51	8	0	0	0	59
Other	3					3

From the above table, the resposnse rate is very high compared to other tables thus fits well with the main aim of the thesis. This makes it clear that the respondents were more interested in giving a highlight of socio-economic problems affecting them in their daily lives in Kampala city. The above information is graphically presented below.
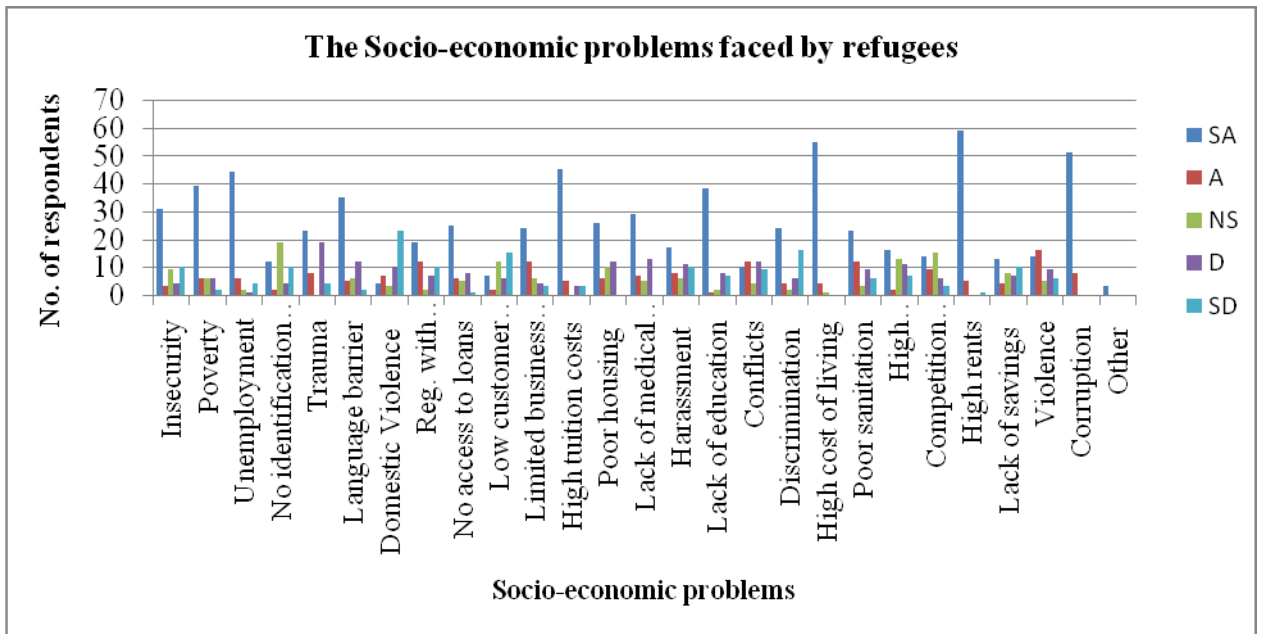
The results show a lot of socio-economic problems urban refugees face while in Kampala city. As the graph shows, 59 respondents strongly agreed that high rents is their biggest problem they face in Kampala. High cost of living became the second highest rated by 55 respondents strongly agreeing, while corruption comes at number three as the most encountered problem rated by 51 respondents with 8 agreed facing the same problem. 45 respondents also strongly agreed facing a problem of high tuition costs with 5 agreeing on the same issue. According to the graph, 44 respondents strongly agreed that unemployment was another problem they face with 6 also agreeing facing the same problem. 39 respondents strongly agreed facing poverty as 6 agreed facing the same. Lack of education, insecurity, poor housing, language barrier, lack of medical care, poor sanitation were also highly rated as the

problems faced by refugees. There are other problems they face like trauma, conflicts, harassment by authorities, domestic violence and lack of identification documents. Looking at the problems faced by refugees as they responded to the questionnaire, I conclude that, they have come up as a result of lack of substantive freedoms in form of economic facilities and social opportunities which are very essential in contributing to a person's capability to live better lives (Sen, 1999:38).

Objective three sought to explore strategies urban refugees were adopting to cope with the above problems

Respondents were asked to rate amongst the strategies they were using to cope with socio-economic problems they face while in Kampala city.

Table 5 shows the number of respondents who filled question 3 on objective 3.

Strategies	SA	A	NS	D	SD	Total
Long-term loans	8	0	9	14	7	38
Vocational training skills	23	4	9	6	8	50
Language training	44	12	0	0	0	56
Job-matching services	3	0	6	20	17	46
Connection with foreign relatives	22	4	1	4	24	55
Other	4				2	6

From the table above, 14 respondents disagreed getting longterm loans as 7 also strongly disagreed. This is attributed to lack of collateral security as well as constraints put up by the state that denies refugees from accessing credit and opening bankacounts. 27 of the respondenst disagreed looking for job-matching services with 17 strongly disagreeing looking for the same. This can be attributed to language barrier, unemployment and lack of academic documents that are Uganda's standard.

The above information is graphically presented below.

Strategies used by refugees to cope with the problems
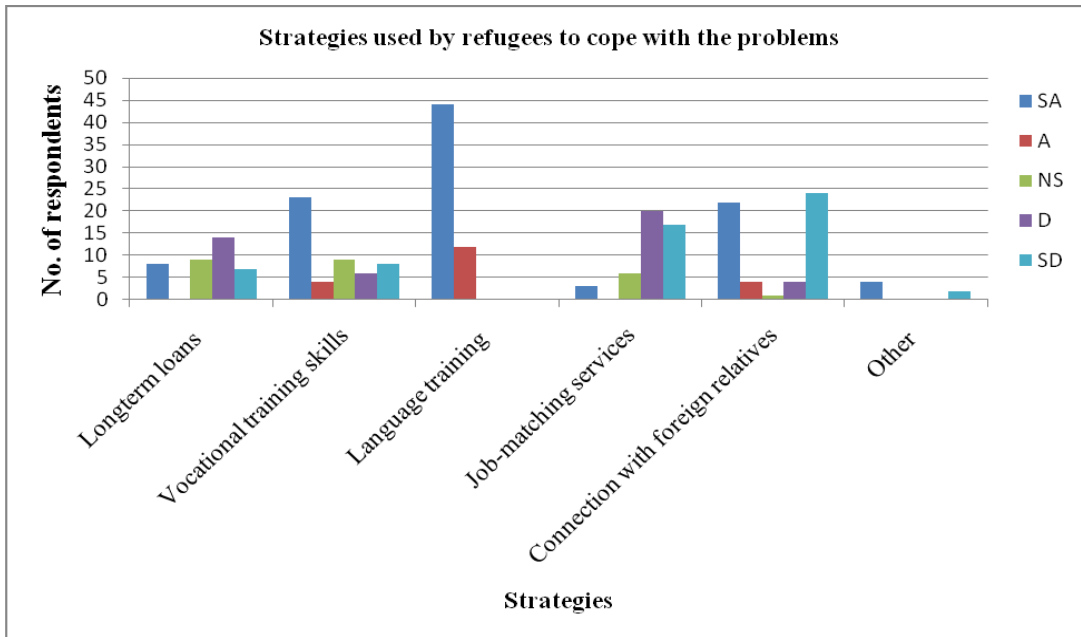
Looking at the above graph, the results show that refugees try to cope with the socio-economic problems by taking langauage training classes for easy communication as 44 respondents strongly agreed with 12 agreeing doing the same since language enihances resilience through interaction. 23 respondents strongly agreed attending vocational training to get skills with 4 also agreeing coping through vocational skills. 22 respondents strongly agreed with 4 agreeing through connecting with their foreign relatives for help as a way of coping.

The findings from the focus groups and semi structured interviews are presented in themes below;

Research objective one sought to find out why refugees live in unrecognized places within Kampala city and why they are not visible to humanitarian agencies.

To seek answers for the above objective, two sub questions were asked to refugees, where (1) asked why they live in unrecognized places with in Kampala (2) why they never lived in settlements/camps and (3) why refugees are not visible to humanitarian agencies was asked to key informants.

The findings from focus groups and semi-structured interviews about the question above (1) included,

> "Assured security and peace were mentioned first in our discussion as the main reasons why refugees live in Kampala. Other reason that popped in our discussions includes refugees coming to Kampala to look for employment, have access to good education and healthcare. The freedom of movement was commonly mentioned in our discussion as the reason refugees chose to live in the city. The presence of good infrastructure in town influenced refugees' decisions to stay in town. Others chose to stay in Kampala to reunite with their families, communities as well as feel a sense of belonging" (Focus Groups, 01/02/2016).

The issue of peace and stability was emphasized by one key informant. She is from Eritrea and has been living in Uganda for six years. In an interview with her, I asked why most refugees including her live in unrecognized places within Kampala city. Below is what she had to say;

"Kampala is peaceful and the camps are not ideal places for people to stay in. Also, our people (Eritrean refugees in Sudan) are always abducted from Sudan by the Eritrean government and they are taken back to Eritrea, tortured and killed. That is why we find Kampala peaceful" (Respondent 2, Eritrean Community, 01/02/2016)

Looking at the above two themes critically indicates that for any human beings to survive, there should be enabling conditions to support their survival. Sen emphasizes the presence of economic facilities and social arrangements like basic education and health as well as civil and political rights (2005:5). The presence of these facilities in Kampala became a pull factor to refugees for them to keep enjoying their freedom.

Respondents were also asked a question why they never lived/stayed in the settlements and these are the findings from the focus groups and semi-structured interviews,

Lack of opportunities for education and good healthcare in the settlements were listed in the discussions as the most reasons refugees leave camps for the city, insecurity was mentioned as a big problem in the settlements, lack of jobs and poor sanitation were also talked about as the main problems that forced refugees to live in the city. Other problems that were highlighted as forcing refugees to run away from the camps include conflicts, early marriages and domestic violence especially for refugees from Sudan and South Sudan, lack of freedoms, tribal conflicts and poor sanitation (Focus groups, 01/02/2016).

The above was exemplified by the social worker in an interview;

"Camps/settlements are overpopulated, not health, they have sanitation issues and poor living conditions. Other refugees think they can get jobs in Kampala and they decide to leave the camps" (respondent 1, Social worker, 02/2/2016)

The two themes above indicate the unfreedoms that exist in the settlements that are forcing refugees to runway from there. People should have the substantive freedoms to live the kind of lives they have reason to value. They should be able to have good health, to be adequately nourished, have adequate shelter and should be informed and cultivated by an adequate education (Nussbaum, 2000:78). The inability to have access to these capabilities has caused social injustices to refugees which has led them to look for them in urban centres.

The Key informants were also asked why urban refugees are not visible to humanitarian agencies. In their responses including a director who has been working with refugees for 7 years had this to say;

"Relief agencies cannot access them because refugees are scattered in the whole city and their goals (relief agencies) do not target urban people, urban refugees are not a priority and most relief agencies have their own interests" (respondent 4, Director, 26/01/2016).

Another respondent who has worked with refugees for 3 years highlighted that most refugees are not visible to humanitarian agencies because they are taken as economic migrants and their mode of entry into the country is always illegal. Below is an excerpt of what he said,

"The reasons why most urban refugees are not visible is that they are not regarded as refugees, they are taken as economic migrants. Their mode of entry is totally different as most of them come in through illegal means and

also most relief agencies do not focus on urban refugees, they focus on refugees in camps" (Respondent 5, Youth volunteer, 26/01/2016)

However, in an interview with the last respondent who has worked with refugees for seven months, she disagreed with others who had put the blame on the humanitarian agencies and instead shifted the blame to the refugees. She highlighted most refugees being unstable all the time, below is a quote from her.

> "Refugees are unstable and they keep migrating and most of them do not have permanent contacts and phone numbers" (Respondent number 2, Social Worker, 02/02/2016).

The above were the key findings on the objective one which sought why refugees live in unrecognized places like Kampala, why they never live in camps/settlements and whey they are not visible to humanitarian/relief agencies.

The main objective two aimed at examining the socio-economic problems that are faced by refugees living in unrecognized places within Kampala city.

While in the focus groups, the participants gave a long list of problems haunting their lives in Kampala city. The social and economic problems are all mixed together and they range from,

> "Language barrier, unemployment, insecurity, high rents, high cost of living, discrimination of all kinds, poverty, high school fees for kids, culture shock, lack of freedom for movement, lack of legal rights, corruption especially by police, high transport charges, poor health services, poor education, violence, bureaucracy with registration to acquire asylum" (Focus groups, 01/02/2016). This was emphasized by one respondent who said, "You want to know problems refugees face here, copy paste all other problems Ugandans go

through because those affect refugees even more" (Respondent 2, social worker, 2/02/2016)

The above findings were confirmed by respondent 1 who has lived in Uganda for six years and was not happy about the rate of discrimination and corruption against people of her nationality.

"There is a lot of discrimination, corruption and biasness by the police against Eritrean refugees especially at Old Kampala police and Office of Prime Minister. When we (Eritreans) apply for asylum, most of our applications are denied. Out of 100 applications for asylum, only one person or none might be given yet others get asylum. This leaves most of our people without identification documents" (Respondent 1 Eritrean Refugees Community representative, 29/01/2016).

From the above quote, discrimination, corruption and biasness of police hinders the refugees' capacities and abilities to cope. Discrimination according to their national origin denies them the capability of affiliation of being able to live with and towards others as well as being able to be treated as dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others (Nussbaum, 2000:78). This discrimination leaves them without documents which also affect their resilience (Hutchinson *et al*, 2012) as they live in fear thinking that anytime they might be deported.

But these problems are not only affecting one nationality because one Somali woman was able to narrate how corrupt officials failed her to go and visit her relatives in the neighboring country because she could not afford to pay the bribe. She said this in a focus group.

"I wanted a travel document to go to Kenya and visit my relatives, went to police and Office of Prime Minister and told them that I wanted to go to Kenya in three weeks time. The man (police man) kept on postponing our

appointment for interviews that he was busy. When I went there in the last week I had planned to go, he told me to come next week, when I asked him why? He told me to give him $1000. I did not have the money and I never went to see my relatives" (Somali refugee woman in a focus group, 01/02/2016).

The above quote indicates how the freedom of these refugees has been abused by the officials due to corruption. By denying her a document to travel is a clear indication of injustice that has denied her the human capability of bodily integrity, of being able to move freely from place to place (Nussbaum, 2000:77) because capabilities are part of social justice that should be guaranteed to every human being.

The interviews with social workers revealed other findings that they deal with always at their work places. Most of these problems are social and personal and I believe the respondents never wanted to share them with the public when we had the focus groups. They find it easy to share them with social workers on one-on-one. There is an excerpt of what they are always told during their psychosocial counseling sessions.

"Lack of food, stigmatization, sexual abuse, domestic violence, lack of coping skills and psychosocial problems as a result of trauma" (Respondent, 1, 2 and 3, Social workers, 02/02/16).

Looking closely to the above excerpt, I see that the causes to the people's trauma and stigmatization have not been established. This is because there has been too much focus on trauma neglecting the basic needs that are essential to all human beings like food and other psychosocial needs (Dermot *et al,* 2008). Changing this western model of approach to trauma could enhance the resilience and capabilities of refugees.

The Sudanese community representative who has been living in Uganda for ten years as a refugee and teaches refugees tailoring and sewing put emphasis on the above problems faced by fellow refugees. Lack of food, high transport charges, language barrier and poverty are the main problems she had to mention;

> "My people face renting problems, the language, poverty/lack of money, transport and getting food is a struggle. My students always travel to the refugee settlement in Kiryandongo, get handouts and come back to the city" (Respondent 1, Sudanese Refugees' Community Representative, 29/1/2016)

The above is an indication of lack of instrumental freedom of economic facilities which has made refugees face renting problems, poverty and lack of food. This is because there are no economic opportunities of production, exchange and consumption that these refugees are involved in which has led to the above unfreedoms. According to Sen (2000), "economic unfreedom can breed social unfreedom, just as social or political unfreedom can also foster economic unfreedom" (p.8).

From the above findings, the socio-economic problems refugees face are all emphasized by the key informants and they affect all the nationalities as confirmed by the Eritrean Community representative and Somali Refugee woman as well as other key informants. However, problems that were personal like psychological and trauma, sexual abuses were not talked about in the focus groups; they were exposed to me by the social workers who attend to them most of the time. This again opens the next section of how they are coping with the above problems.

Objective three sought to explore strategies urban refugees were adopting to cope with the above problems

Refugees were asked to explain strategies they were using to cope with the socio-economic problems since they were experts of everything that was going on in their

lives. This question was also asked to key informants because they have knowledge about refugees, though some were refugees themselves, others have been working with refugees for some time, thus were well equipped with the experiences refugees go through daily.

> In our focus group discussion, attending language course was mentioned as one way of coping with the language barrier. Another coping skill refugees are using is bargaining with, landlords, traders, taxi drivers and "boda-boda[9]" riders. More to the above is trying to integrate in the communities by making friends. Others are trying to adapt to the conditions by trying to be flexible and resourceful through living in their means. Another coping strategy that has been commonly used by all refugees is prayer. Most of them pray to God/Allah to look into their challenges they go through daily. I observed this after the afternoon focus group discussion where a group of Muslim Somalis went behind the building with their mats and started praying together.

From the key informants, the findings differ a bit and some of them are "shocking" as they narrated;

> "Most of these refugees try resettlement to developed countries, others try getting jobs while some get involved in prostitution to survive" (Respondent 1, Social worker, 02/02/2016). "They have a strong sense of community, the fact that they live together in the communities and support each other as well as strong family social support" (Respondent 4, Director and Eritrean Refugees' Community Representative, 26/01 & 01/02/2016).

From the two quotes above, one can ably tell that factors that enhance resilience are being used by refugees to cope with the problems in Kampala. For instance,

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[9] Motorcycles used to transport passengers in Uganda if you are in a hurry and you want to avoid traffic jam.

language training, family social support and religion are key in enhancing resilience (Hutchinson *et al*, 2012). This is because language enables them to communicate and interact effectively; social support enables them to share information as religion gives them hope for future all of these are good for resilience building.

Another respondent number two having worked with refugees for seven months agrees that trauma discourse is not helping at all by saying that most refugees rarely overcome these problems.

> "They rarely overcome these problems because they are always traumatized and they live from hand-to-mouth" (Respondent 2, Social Worker, 02/02/2016).

As explained earlier, the interpretation that can be derived from the above statement is that the social workers are using a wrong approach to trauma. If the refugees are always traumatized, that means that their psychosocial needs that are all important for the human being to live are not being met as inability to meet these needs could result into trauma (Dermot *et al*, 2008).

From the findings, some of the coping strategies refugees have adopted are good like praying and learning the language, bargaining, making friends and adaptation. These could speed up their integration into the communities and avoid more suffering. Others like prostitution are very risky and this puts their health at risk of getting sexually transmitted diseases.

5.2 Summary of the results and findings

There is a wide relationship in the findings from the three groups of participants. The findings from the focus groups and semi-structured interviews emphasize, enhance and reinforce the results from the questionnaires. Security, peace and stability, good education, medical care, freedom of movement and desire to looking for jobs were the most reasons given as to why refugees live in unrecognized places within

Kampala. The reasons why refugees never live in camps were enormous as stated by all respondents and included insecurity in the camps, conflicts, poor education quality, poor medical care, congestion poor housing, domestic violence, early marriages, poor living conditions, lack of freedom, poverty and lack of jobs. On the reasons why refugees are not visible to humanitarian agencies, the findings were illegal entry, looking at refugees as migrants, humanitarian agencies lacking a sustainable solution and having their own interests. Others were the mobility of refugees and lack of contacts.

The findings from all the participants on the socio-economic problems urban refugees are facing were, high rents, high cost of living, corruption, poverty, unemployment, lack of freedom of movement, inability to access medical care and education for children, high fees charges, high transport costs, discrimination, culture shock, insecurity, problems with registration. Others include trauma, violence, lack of identification documents as a result of corruption, harassment by the authorities and inaccessibility to loans.

On the coping strategies the participants highlighted attending language classes to be able to communicate effectively, family social support for survival, connection with foreign relatives for support, integration through making friends, adaptation through flexibility and learning how to save and live in their means, praying as means of coping was also mentioned, attending vocational training was talked about as another coping skill for self employment. Other findings indicate looking for jobs, involving in prostitution, looking for small business loans and living on handouts from well wishers. This sums up the findings from all the respondents who participated in this study.

In this chapter, the findings from all questionnaires, focus groups and semi structured interviews have been presented differently, compared and a single summary has been given. The findings show that refugees meet same problems while living in Kampala

city though the frequency of the effect differs sometimes. The next chapter will present the discussion of the findings in relation to previous research, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER SIX

6. DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction:

The aim of this study was to examine the socio-economic problems faced by urban refugees, why they live in unrecognized places and what they were doing to cope with the problems. Out of 197 participants, only 5 were not refugees but they had knowledge about the topic of the study since they had been working and interacting with refugees. The findings from all the participants revealed similarities as they responded to the questions in focus groups, semi- structured interviews and questionnaire filling. Therefore, in this chapter, I will discuss the findings in relation to the objectives of the study and compare it with previous research.

Research objective one sought to find out why refugees live in unrecognized places within Kampala city and why they were not visible to humanitarian agencies.

Under this objective, respondents were asked why they live in unrecognized areas within Kampala.

The findings show security and peace, desire to look for employment, have access to quality education and healthcare. The freedom of movement also appeared in the findings as a reason why refugees live in unrecognized areas. The presence of good infrastructure in town influenced refugees' decisions to stay in the city. Others chose to stay in Kampala to reunite with their families, communities as well as feel a sense of belonging. From the above findings peace and security is vital for every human beings' safety. Because these refugees have gone through conflicts and war that has caused their displacement, they choose to look for safer places where Kampala becomes one of them. Studies related to the above findings have found refugees with security concerns especially in Nairobi and Kampala to live in those cities in order to

remain anonymous from the state agents of their countries who could track and kill them (Human Rights Watch, 2002).

The above findings also indicate that refugees live in unrecognized areas within Kampala city to look for employment as well as have access to quality education and health care. With employment, they think they could be able to earn an income and sustain themselves. Also access to basic education and health care can increase their ability to earn an income and be free of income poverty (Sen, 2000:90) because Sen emphasizes that 'the more inclusive the reach of basic education and health care, the more likely it is that even the potentially poor would have a better chance of overcoming penury" (p.90). Also employment and educational skills foster resilience of refugees (Regional Refugee and Resilience Plan, 2015) and creates sustainability[10]. So refugees' desire to live in Kampala where infrastructure and basic services of education and health are located is justified by other authors.

More still, the findings indicate that most refugees come to live in unrecognized areas because of freedom as well as community and family reunification. Community and family reunification enhances social support which fosters resilience of refugees. The literature reviewed confirmed that most of the urban refugees in Kampala slums tend to regroup according to their families and countries of origin according to the research done by Women's Refugees Commission (2011). This gives them freedom to support themselves through information and financial support that enhances their resilience.

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[10] With sustainability, I mean refugees' ability to take care and support themselves without depending on any aid.

The findings from the second sub question that sought to find why the refugees never lived in the settlements/camps indicate;

Lack of opportunities for education and good healthcare in the settlements were listed in the discussions as the most reasons refugees leave camps for the city, insecurity was also mentioned as a big problem in the settlements, lack of jobs and poor sanitation were also mentioned as the main problems that forced refugees to live in the city, other problems that were highlighted as forcing refugees runaway from the camps include conflicts, early marriages and domestic violence especially for refugees from Sudan and South Sudan, lack of freedoms, tribal conflicts and poor sanitation.

Conflicts and insecurity are the reasons refugees never lived in the settlements/camps as the findings already show. Because most of these people ran away from persecution, they always think that in camps they might be potential targets from other ethnic tribes because of their political or religious affiliations. This then is confirmed by the study done in Nairobi by Human Rights Watch (2002) who concluded that the reason refugees leave camps/settlements for the cities is that refugee camps/settlements lack adequate security and assistance thus unsafe for them to be there. They went ahead and said that "refugees often face attacks and are subjected to inter-ethnic tensions or discrimination, including inadequate humanitarian assistance, medical care and educational opportunities" (p.128). The findings of inadequate medical care and educational opportunities as found out by Human Rights Watch concur with these findings that show the reasons why refugees never live in settlements/camps.

Other findings that show why refugees never live in the settlements/camps that are very unique as found out by this study are early marriages and domestic violence that happen in the camps. Though no studies have been carried about early marriages in settlements/camps, this could be as a result of poverty where parents marry off their

daughters in order to raise money for the basic needs. An example related to the findings is of a14 year old Syrian refugee girl who was forced to marry her Lebanese landlord in order to save her family from being evicted from the house they were living in as they could not raise $250 per month. [11]. This is an indication that poverty plays a big part in other early marriages that take place in the refugee settlements of Uganda. Also, domestic violence can be related to poverty and unemployment.

Why urban refugees are invisible to humanitarian/relief agencies in Kampala

The findings according to the respondents who participated in the semi-structured interviews indicate that the refugees' mode of entry is illegal and they are instead looked at as migrants who are looking for jobs. Other reasons include, refugees being unstable and mobile all the time as well as not having contacts. Refugees' being unstable and mobile all the time is well associated with their desire to be resettled to developed countries. Of course this is confirmed by the argument made by Kibreab (1996) in favour of Eritrean refugees who were being blamed for being lazy and lack of motivation to work by the Sudanese. Kibreab's defense was that they may not be willing to settle because most of them still harbor hopes of being repatriated/resettled thinking they can start new life in the host countries (p.170-171).

There has always been confusion between differentiating refugees from economic migrants because of the difficulty to tell who refugees are and who the economic migrants are. This problem has also failed experts to tell the difference in the new wave of refugees' influx to Europe. Though the findings show that most humanitarian agencies are there for their own interests, and lack sustainability as refugees look for sustainability, it then makes sense because they have parallel interests and that is why they look at urban refugees as economic migrants.

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[11] This story was reported on Aljazeera and can be watched on YouTube at:
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y-zo00p8

Objective two aimed at identifying the socio-economic problems refugees face

The findings from the respondents show a long list of problems that they face in their daily lives. Among them are language barrier, unemployment, insecurity, high rents, high cost of living, discrimination of all kinds, poverty, high school fees for kids, culture shock, lack of freedom of movement, lack of legal rights, corruption especially by police, high transport charges, poor health services, poor education, violence, bureaucracy with registration to acquire asylum and harassment by the authorities. I will discuss some of them in relation to the literature and also compare with other findings that have been carried on the topic.

High cost of living and high rents appeared in the findings as the biggest problems urban refugees face as they live in Kampala. Refugees also complained of being charged highly on transport and owners of the houses charging them expensively on rents. This looks like a common norm that happens to refugees everywhere as other studies have found the same happening to refugees in other host states. For instance, the studies carried out in Sudan by Weaver (1985) found out that refugees were always held responsible for the high rents and skyrocketing prices of the commodities, overcrowding of schools and healthcare facilities in Khartoum (p.148). He goes ahead and says that this exploitation also happens to refugees in Ethiopia and Kenya. Buscher (2003) concludes that landlords and grey market employers often exploit urban refugees in most host states (p.4).

From the findings above, discrimination of all kinds has been highlighted as one of the biggest problems refugees face. They are discriminated when it comes to jobs, education, healthcare accessibility, and asylum applications. This is in relation to the study that was carried out on the refugee people of Australia by Hutchinson *et al* (2012) where it emerged that landlords often perceive refugee people as less desirable tenants and they refuse their rental applications telling them that the property is already taken yet in reality it is still on the market. They usually base on

these stereotypes that refugees have no income and employment history, cannot manage rent (p.72). This is contrary to article[12] (2) that entitles a person to all the rights and freedoms as set in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This abuse of refugees' rights has continued to deny them access to basic services thus leaving them excluded and hampering their resilience.

According to the findings, unemployment and poverty appeared of a great concern to urban refugees. This could be as a result of discrimination that they face as they try to look for jobs. Unemployment leads to lack of income and lack of income leads to poverty thus leading to inaccessibility of the basic needs. These forms of unfreedoms have been reported in other literature, for instance, a study by Toth (2003) on the refugee women of Canada found that unemployment was their main challenge due to language barrier and lack of professional accredited documents. Language barrier is also big challenge to resilience as it isolates refugees from interacting with the locals. The findings by Toth are related to the above findings of unemployment problems faced by refugees in Uganda because as most of them come when they cannot speak the official language yet they come when they are qualified according to the quantitative results which show that 32 completed secondary, 22 finished university and other 4.

The findings also show harassment by the authorities and corruption as other problems refugees face in Kampala as they apply for asylum. These problems of course leave refugees without legal documents and others not getting resettled. Harassment by the authorities looks to be done to all the refugees everywhere in the cities, because the study according to Landau and Jacobsen (2004) done in Johannesburg found that migrants were more harassed by the police than South Africans (p.45). Still on harassment and corruption, research by Human Rights Watch (2002) found that asylum seekers in Nairobi were being harassed by police

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[12] Available at: www.ohchr.org

and other officials who could tell them to pay bribes in order to access the UNHCR offices but still UNHCR officials were found to be extorting exorbitant bribes from the refugees to process their resettlement files. The results of this study support the above findings of Jacobsen and Landau and human rights watch.

Other findings included lack of credit in order to operate business as this is fuelled by the laws that prohibit them from operating bank accounts in the host states. To compare the findings with what other researchers have documented in the literature, Landau and Jacobsen (2004) have written about refugees being unable to open bank accounts or take out loans as well as lacking safe places to keep their money which exposes them to risks. In her research in South Africa, Rosenkranz (2013) found that refugees could not access their bank accounts because their permits had expired which prompted banks to close their accounts thus denying them access to their money. The lack of access to credit limits the refugees' abilities to pursue entrepreneurial initiative and gain financial security which is very influential for their resilience (Walsh, 2006) and sustainability.

Objective three aimed at exploring the strategies refugees were adopting to cope with the socio-economic problems within Kampala city.

All the findings from the focus groups, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews indicate that refugees are taking language training courses as a way of coping with the problem of language barrier such that they can be able to communicate and express themselves effectively. Since language barrier is a hindrance to resilience of refugees (Hutchinson *et al*, 2012), the ones in Kampala have opted to go for language classes. Proficiency in the host language by the migrants has been documented in the journal of refugees' studies as one way of resilience through which adaptability depend most (Dermot *et al*, 2008). This explains the reasons refugees take language classes in order to be very proficient in English and communicate effectively with the inhabitants.

The findings also indicate refugees using community, family social support and connection with foreign relatives as a means of resilience and coping strategy. Through this, they can be able to take care of their basic needs such as food, medical care and education for their children. Family social support has been widely documented in the literature as a resilience strategy where refugees can access the basic necessities. The refugees in Kampala city have decided to regroup and live together in the communities according to their countries of origin (Women's Refugee Commission, 2011) to take advantage of the community and family social support and feel connected. In relation to this, a study by Meleis *et al* (2000) found that "making new contacts and continuing old connections with extended family and friends were an important part of Brazilian women's migration experiences" because these women "utilized social network as important sources of information, housing, transportation, employment and social support"(P.24). So, it is not a coincidence that urban refugees in Kampala have relied on community and family social support.

From the findings also, respondents highlighted using prayer as a resilience strategy for coping with the difficulties they go through. Religion has been used as a resilience tool by many refugees during and after forced displacement. It is not a surprise that refugees in Kampala have also devoted to prayer to have relief of their burdens because one study carried out in Australia by Hutchinson *et al*, (2012) amongst refugee peoples of Australia found religion and spirituality being mentioned several times as a resilience building factor. In addition, Toth's study on refugee women of Canada confirms a belief in faith, higher power and the search for meaning in life (Toth, 2003). Also, Porobić (2012) emphasizes the above findings on the use of religion as a resilience tool in her research she did on resilience and religion in a forced migration context with Bosnian refugees in Sweden where she found that reliance on spirituality and religion provided them with increased appreciation of life, well-being and inspiration to live fully (p.230).

The findings from the study show refugees devoted to applying for business loans; look for jobs such that they can be able to sustain themselves in Kampala. Resilience literature emphasizes financial security to being influential for resilience to be effective due to the role it plays in meeting the basic needs of life (Walsh, 2006:135 and Dermot, *et al*, 2008). Also, Sen emphasizes the presence of economic facilities for anyone to achieve a capability and live a better life (Sen, 1999:28). The above coping strategy of setting up business is well supported by the literature in the study carried out by Campbell (2006:402) in Eastleigh, Nairobi city where Somali refugees have set up thriving businesses just to avoid dependence on the Kenyan government and humanitarian organizations. Kibreab adds that refugees get employed in "menial activities which are incompatible with their occupational and professional backgrounds" (Kibreab, 1996:169). Though it is not "real" employment, it has become a coping strategy for most refugees in cities to sustain themselves.

More still, the findings from the study illustrate refugees taking vocational training as a coping strategy to be able to acquire skills that can help them survive. In this vocational training, they are able to gain literacy/educational skills and other occupational skills (Dermot *et al,* 2008) which can help them adapt to the host environment. By attending this training, refugees are trying to remove obstacles in their lives such that they have enough freedom to live the kind of lives they have reason to value (cited in Robeyns, 2005:94). Education also improves their capabilities to function and undertake the actions and activities they want to engage in (Robeyns, 2005:95). Education raises a person's self esteem which can make them appear in public without shame as well as feeling the capability of affiliation (Nussbaum, 2000) within the community. This vocational skills' training coping strategy could reduce discrimination and speed up integration and inclusion of refugees in the communities.

Other findings about resilience and coping strategies of refugees in Kampala that I did not expect to come across during the study was women and girls' involvement in prostitution to be able to raise money for survival as told by the social workers and observed in Kansanga and Kabalagala in the evenings. This strategy is usually used by females not because they like "sex" but because of the conditions of poverty they find themselves into. These findings are backed up by other studies carried on refugees and IDPs elsewhere as was seen in the literature review whereby Torres (2002) found that women in Sierra Leon during and after the war resorted to prostitution for them to be able to provide basic necessities of life for themselves and their families.

6.2 Summary

The findings of this study have a lot of similarities to those of other authors who have researched about urban refugees. Issues related to corruption, discrimination, harassment by the authorities, language barrier, unemployment, high cost of living, poverty, violence, insecurity, poor housing and poor sanitation including the coping skills as reported by the respondents of this study have similarities to other studies conducted under this topic.

6.3 Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to examine the socio-economic problems faced by urban refugees within Kampala city, Uganda. The study focused on identifying the reasons why refugees live in unrecognized areas, why they never live in settlements, the socio-economic problems they face as they live in Kampala and the strategies they were using to cope with those problems. A total of 197 respondents participated in this study. The findings as given under each study objective have a similarity to those indentified in the literature.

Despite the shortest time that was availed for data collection, the respondents cooperated and enough data was collected through focus groups, semi-structured interviews and questionnaires. The levels of education were different but still, they were able to avail the much needed information that was required for this study. Though the findings of this study can be generalized to other urban refugees in developing countries, they cannot be generalized to urban refugees in the developed world especially when it comes to social services, corruption and infrastructure. So, further research needs to be carried out on urban refugees in both developing and developed host states to fill that gap for the findings to be generalized.

Throughout this study, I have come to understand the power of community and family social support. I used to see refugees live in Kampala slums in the same communities according to their nationalities and never understood why. I now know that they do that as a coping strategy to enhance their resilience through supporting each other. Besides, working with refugees for three years did not expose me to know why they could do some things more often like not missing prayers especially the Sudanese and Somali Muslims. I never knew that it was a coping strategy until I carried out this study. Despite the refugees' ability to adapt, they need to be assisted in inclusion and integration for the durable solutions to be effectively implemented.

Employing mixed methods approach in this study proved beneficial as the findings showed similarities. Focus groups and semi structured interviews were able to provide more information that was not captured in the questionnaires thus the gap in one method was filled by the strength of the other. For instance, the findings show early marriages and domestic violence as other reasons refugees never live in camps. More coping strategies used by refugees were also highlighted in the focus groups and interviews, like prayer and social support which were not on the questionnaire. With the experience of working with urban refugees, the prior clue I had about why refugees opt for urban centres than for camps, the problems they face, and how they

were coping has been confirmed in this study. This study has gone ahead to expose more reasons, more problems and more coping strategies that I never knew existed. The findings also disapproved my thinking that all refugees are traumatized since only 23 respondents in the questionnaire strongly agreed facing trauma while no participant in the focus groups talked about trauma as a big problem they face. The time of interacting with participants was limited especially for questionnaires and focus groups since I had only two hours to collect data. Therefore, in future, I hope to use in-depth interviews with a large sample of participants given the availability of time and resources to have more refugees' stories in my study. The differences in frequencies of the results from questionnaires indicate that the problems affect refugees differently.

Theoretically, resilience and capability approach were very instrumental in explaining the topic of study in this thesis and they proved fruitful. For academic honesty, for instance, resilience proved more applicable to the study than the capabilities approach as it explains most of the findings according to the objectives of the study. This also confirms the fact that capabilities approach cannot be used as a lone theory in a study and thus requires additional explanatory theories (Robeyns, 2005:94). In future, I hope other researchers could apply both theories more in the studies related to this topic with a combination of other approaches like basic needs approach. This may explain whether the basic needs are being met instead of focusing on trauma counseling.

6.4 Recommendations to policy makers

The problems urban refugees face could be avoided if there are measures to curb them. Below are the recommendations that should be put in practice by both the host states, humanitarian agencies and practitioners working with refugees.

The current method of humanitarian assistance that is driving more refugees to urban centres needs to change. A resilience approach should be adopted instead to enhance

the abilities and capacities of refugees such that they are able to take care of their own lives. What refugees need is empowerment and not handouts and they should be empowered through skills including language, employment and quality education. This will enable them to support themselves and their families instead of relying on humanitarian assistance.

As the findings show, most of these refugees can be a resource to the host states if they integrate them into the community and join the labour market because they are highly qualified. The fastest thing the host states should be doing is to help them learn the language such that they are able to communicate and express themselves effectively. This should be taken seriously since most language schools in Kampala charge fees yet most refugees cannot afford.

The government of Uganda should come out and fight corruption which is hindering the effectiveness of service delivery as most refugees have been denied asylum due to inability to pay bribes. There is need for refresher courses for all state agencies for them to learn the dangers of corruption.

The government and UNHCR should work together to improve the services in the settlements like quality education, healthcare facilities, water, power and housing to reduce on the number of refugees who opt for urban centres because of the availability of these services. This will make settlements more conducive for people to stay in and will attract refugees to stay there. This might reduce on the number of refugees who would have wanted to live in the cities, thus reducing on the pressure of already inadequate services to the citizens in the cities.

There is also a need by the government and UNHCR to change their policies that restrict refugees from working, opening bank accounts, access certain services without identification documents. By accepting them to work, they will be able to take care and sustain themselves in the cities which will also reduce on the burden

faced by the host state and humanitarian agencies of having to provide handouts to the refugees.

Census of all urban refugees should be carried out in Kampala to encourage those big numbers who have been living illegally in the urban areas to also come up and register. This will pave a way for knowing where they live and how they can be helped to enhance their capabilities as well as help them build on their resilience.

Developed countries should also come in to help refugees by opening up their borders and increase the numbers of refugees resettled every year. For instance more efforts should be directed to those countries that take in refugees and incorporate them in their socio-economic urban settings by increasing their funding and humanitarian assistance that focus on resilience building and capability enhancements. This could also motivate and encourage those countries that have not changed their radical policies of wanting to keep refugees in settlements.

The legal rights of urban refugees should be looked into because they seem to have remained on paper since those policies both local and international were signed. This is because refugees still face discrimination, harassment by the authorities and targets of conmen and women, whereby even if they run to police, they are not helped. There is need for more legal personnel to help refugees go through the above mistreatments they face in their lives to make a host environment suitable for adaptability.

Security should be boosted in the settlements through more policing so as to make them safe and habitable for the people living there. This will also keep refugees from running away from those settlements.

The host states need to look into the deficiencies that restrict the resourcefulness of refugees from flourishing. This is because the study has confirmed that most refugees come in when they are highly qualified from their home countries as

evidenced by the 32, 22 and 4 of the respondents who filled questionnaires having completed Secondary, University and other studies respectively. Tapping into the resources and skills these qualified people have to offer can be beneficial to the host states. Besides, this will enhance refugees' resilience in coping with the socio-economic problems they face while they live in Kampala.

Finally and most importantly, there is need to change the western models of approach to Trauma by psychosocial counselors and social workers in practice from looking at refugees as "sick and traumatized" to focusing on finding out whether their basic psychological needs are being met because inability to meet these needs affects the psychological well-being of refugees.

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Appendix 1

Questionnaires for data collection (to be filled by refugees)

Please follow the introductions

1. **Age (Please tick one)**

Below 20 ☐ 21-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41-50 ☐ 51- Above ☐

2. **Sex**

Male ☐ Female ☐ Other ☐

3. **Educational level**

Primary ☐ Secondary ☐ University ☐ Other ☐

4. **Country of origin (tick one)**

Somalia ☐ Ethiopia ☐ Rwanda ☐
DRC ☐ Eritrea ☐ Burundi ☐
Sudan ☐ S. Sudan ☐ Other ☐

5. **How long have you lived here in Uganda? (choose the age group)**

0-1 year ☐ 2-5 years ☐ 6-9 years ☐ 10 years and above ☐

> **From question 6 and above use;**
> 1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Not sure
> 4. Disagree 5. Strongly disagree

6. **Why did you decide to live in Kampala?**

Security ☐ Education ☐ Medical care ☐

Employment Welfare ☐ Previous lifestyle ☐

Other ☐

7. **Why didn't you stay in the camps/settlements?**

Insecurity ☐ Poor housing ☐ Poor education ☐

Poor medical care ☐   No jobs ☐   Cannot dig ☐   Other ☐

8. What socio-economic problems have you faced since you started living in Kampala?

Insecurity ☐   Poor housing ☐
Poverty ☐   Lack of medical care ☐
Unemployment ☐   Harassment by the authorities ☐
Lack of identification documents ☐   Lack of education ☐
Trauma ☐   Conflicts ☐
Language barrier ☐   Discrimination ☐
Domestic Violence ☐   High cost of Living ☐
Registration with OPM & UNHCR ☐   Poor Sanitation ☐
No access to loans ☐   High registration costs ☐
Low customer turn ups ☐   Competition with Locals ☐
Limited business skills ☐   High rents ☐
Language barrier, ☐   No access to savings ☐
Other ☐   High tuition costs ☐

9. What strategies have you used to cope with the socio-economic problems?

Long term loan for business expansion ☐
Vocational training skills ☐
Language training ☐
Jobs matching service for refugees, ☐
Connection with foreign Relatives ☐

10. How would you want to be helped to address the existing problems?

Integration with the local community ☐
Resettlement ☐
Self reliance ☐
Repatriation ☐
Registration with OPM & UNHCR ☐
Registration with KCCA ☐
Legal issues ☐
Counseling ☐

Thank you

Appendix 2

Key informative interviews – guide (30-60) minutes

Name (optional)_____

Position_____

Below are the questions that will be asked? (NGOs working with Refugees)

1. How long have you worked with refugees?
2. Why do you think refugees come to live in Kampala not in camps/settlements?
3. Why are urban refugees not visible to other relief agencies?
4. What problems do they face in this city?
5. How do they manage to overcome these problems?
6. How have you helped them to overcome these problems?
7. How do you get them here at the organization?

Questions for refugees' community representatives

1. What is your country of origin and why did you come here?
2. How long have you lived here in Uganda?
3. Why did you decide to live in Kampala not in refugee camps or settlements?
4. What problems do you face in this city?
5. What socio-economic problems face people you lead (refugees)?
6. What are you doing to cope with the socio-economic problems that you face?
7. Are you getting help from the relief/humanitarian organizations? Yes/NO
   If yes what is it?   If no, why?

Thank you!

Appendix 3

Focus Group Discussion – guide

Below are the questions that were posed to the group for brainstorming.

1. Why did you decide to live in Kampala?
2. Give reasons why you never lived in the camps/settlements
3. What socio-economic problems do you face while here in Kampala?
4. What are you doing to cope with the above problems?
5. Which help do you get from relief/humanitarian organizations

Thank you!

Appendix 4

Results from the questionnaires

Age bracket	
Below 20	8
21-30	31
31-40	25
41-50	6
51 above	2
Total	**72**

Sex	
Male	26
Female	46
Other	0
Total	**72**

Educational Level	
Primary	14
Secondary	32
University	22
Other	4
Total	**72**

Country of Origin	
Somalia	8
Ethiopia	1
Rwanda	1
DRC	11
Eritrea	14
Burundi	2
Sudan	13
S.Sudan	21
Other	1
Total	**72**

Years lived in Uganda	
0-1	24
2 to 5	37
6 to 9	10
10 to 14	1
Total	**72**

Why decided to live in Kampala	SA	A	NS	D	SD	Total
Security	67	0	0	0	0	67
Education	37	15	1	1	0	54
Medical Care	22	6	15	0	2	45
Employment	11	4	4	12	1	32
Welfare	10	15	8	5	2	40
Previous Lifestyle	14	7	8	8	2	39
Other	2					2

Why didn't stay in the camps	SA	A	NS	D	SD	Total
Insecurity	47	3	5	0	0	55
Poor housing	26	15	1	4	0	46
Poor education quality	34	6	2	3	4	49
Poor medical care	34	11	2	1	0	48
No jobs	25	6	2	12	0	45
Cannot dig	8	4	9	16	4	41
other	7	7				14

Socio-economic problems faced	SA	A	NS	D	SD	Total
Insecurity	31	3	9	4	10	57
Poverty	39	6	6	6	2	59
Unemployment	44	6	2	1	4	57
Lack of identification documents	12	2	19	4	10	47
Trauma	23	8	0	19	4	54
Language barrier	35	5	6	12	2	60
Domestic Violence	4	7	3	10	23	47
Reg. with OPM/UNHCR	19	12	2	7	10	50
No access to loans	25	6	5	8	1	45
Low customer turnups	7	2	12	6	15	42

	SA	A	NS	D	SD	Total
Limited business Skills	24	12	6	4	3	49
High tuition costs	45	5	0	3	3	56
Poor housing	26	6	10	12	0	54
Lack of medical care	29	7	5	13	0	54
Harassment by the Authorities	17	8	6	11	10	52
Lack of education	38	1	2	8	7	56
Conflicts	10	12	4	12	9	47
Discrimination	24	4	2	6	16	52
High cost of living	55	4	1	0	0	60
Poor sanitation	23	12	3	9	6	53
High registration costs	16	2	13	11	7	49
Competition with locals	14	9	15	6	3	47
High rents	59	5	0	0	1	65
Lack of savings	13	4	8	7	10	42
Violence	14	16	5	9	6	50
Corruption	51	8	0	0	0	59
Other	3					3

Strategies used to cope	SA	A	NS	D	SD	Total
Long term loans	8	0	9	14	7	38
Vocational training skills	23	4	9	6	8	50
Language training	44	12	0	0	0	56
Job-matching services	3	0	6	20	17	46
Connection with foreign relatives	22	4	1	4	24	55
Other	4				2	6

Appendix 5

Findings from the focus groups
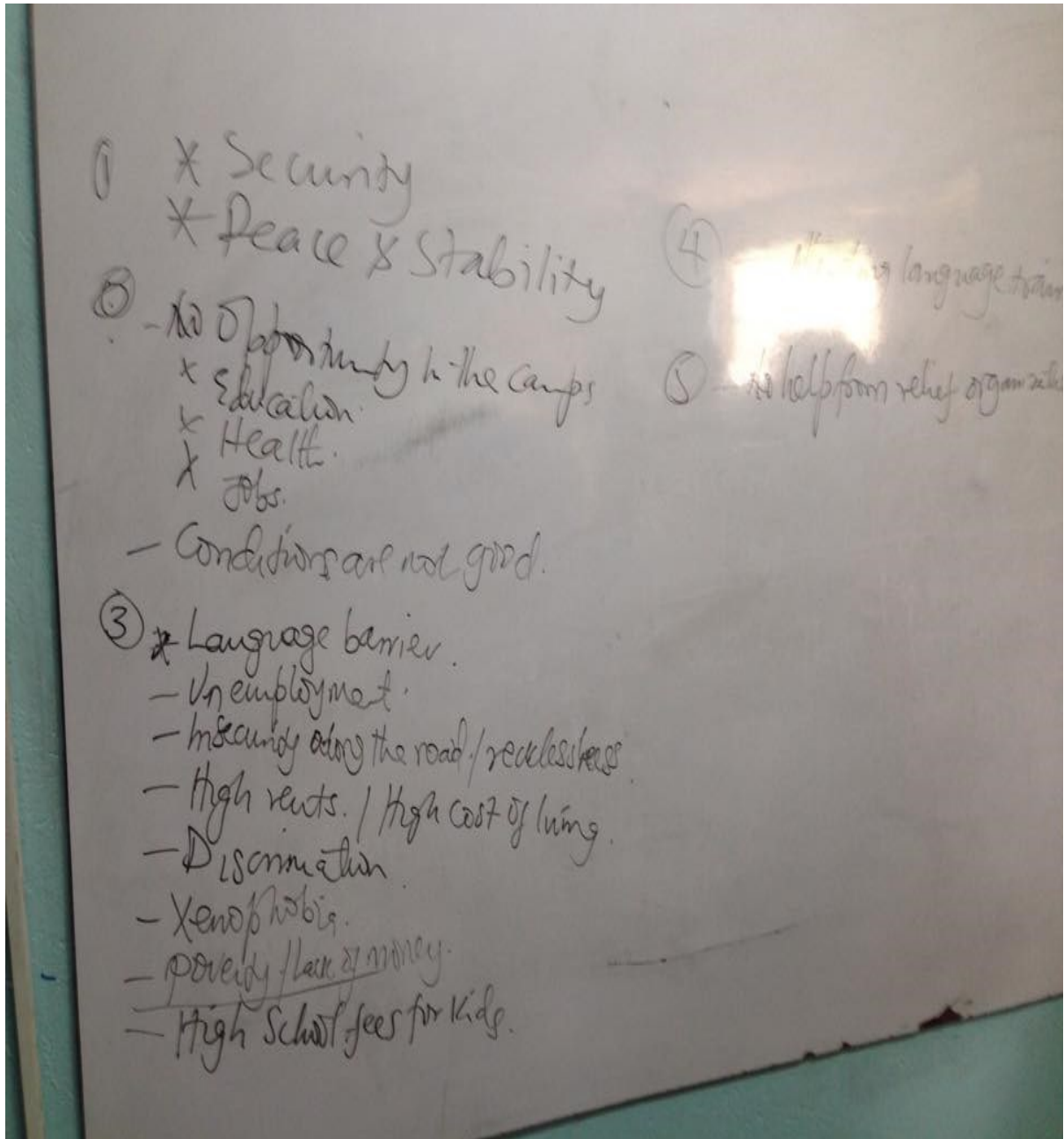
— Attending language training skills

— No help from relief organisation.

1 - Freedom - Free Country.
    = Security
    = Peace.
    - Facilities / Infrastructure.
  - No Discrimination
    - Opportunities (Education & hospital / Medica
    -

2. - Poor life - Inadequate
    - Insecurity.
    - Lack of medical.
    - Far from the Capital,   Early marriages
    - poor education   Domestic violence.
* Lack of self Sufficiency.
- Lack of opportunities
- Unfreedoms
- Lack of protection.
- Diseases / Sicknesses / poor sanitation.
  → conflicts / tribal.

3. – Discrimination
   – Xenophobia / Seggregation.
   – High cost of living / charge us highly.
   – Corruption with registration. Transport (Bala)
   – Language barrier.
   – Culture shock.
   – Lack of freedom of mov't.
   – Problems with registration – police charges fees.
                                  – Asking for money from
                                    Eritrean Asylum seekers 1000 or

   * Legal rights of
     urban refugees.

4. – Adaptation :
   – Integration.
   – Language training.
   – We can bargain.
   – Making friends.
   – Praying.

5. Only promises.
   solve at RAH
   – freedom of expression.