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Livelihood and Informality:
The Case of Urban Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons in Kampala

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Work not submitted elsewhere for examination

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been submitted and will not be, in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature: _____

SUMMARY

This study contributes to the debates on the assistance and protection of refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) living in Kampala Metropolitan area by exploring the challenges the refugees and IDPs face in accessing livelihood resources through formal institutions and organizations and the informal livelihood strategies they have adopted. It is a case study of the Congolese and Somali refugees and the internally displaced Acholi from northern Uganda. Interviews, observations and archival materials were used to collect data for the study. The findings indicate that refugees and IDPs find difficulties in accessing resources through formal channels in spite of the existence of legal instruments and programmes meant to assist them. Situating the debate within the policy context, it is argued that these difficulties owe to the bureaucratic processes characterized by uncoordinated, restrictive, non-context specific approaches and delays.

Within these prevailing challenges of formal assistance, various creative informal economic strategies emerge in which refugees and IDPs use the available livelihood resources to them to eke a living. Based on their historical links with particular resources such as an established presence of ethnic members in a place or an activity and cultural practices of particular skills, knowledge or labour, different ethnic groups have created a niche within a particular informal economic activity. Gender differences have also played a role in determining different kinds of work in which each of the gender groups participate in the selected informal economic activities. The informal economic strategies have contributed not only to taking care of basic needs but also served as transformative and enabling processes through which the refugees/IDPs contribute to urban economy and contest bureaucratic processes.

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ACCRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AU	African Union
CARA	Control of Alien Refugees Act
CDD	Community Driven Development
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
GOU	Government of Uganda
HIAS	Hebrew International Aid Service
HOPECHA	Holy Pentecostal Church of Africa
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IAU or InterAid	Inter Aid Uganda
IDP	Internally Displaced Persons
IGA	Income Generating Activities
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMDC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IOM	International Organization for Migration
JRS	Jesuit Refugee Service
KCC	Kampala Capital City
KCCA	Kampala Capital City Authority
LGBT	Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MBA	Masters in Business Administration
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NHCC	National Housing Construction Company
NRM	National Resistance Movement
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
PRDP	Peace Recovery and Development for Northern Uganda programme
Re-HOPE	Refugee – Host Population Empowerment

RLP	Refugee Law Project
SNM	Somali National Movement
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UGX	Ugandan Shillings
UIC	Union of Islamic Court
UN	United Nations
UNEB	Uganda National Examination Board
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNLA	Uganda National Liberation Army
VSLA	Village Savings and Loans Associations
WRC	Women Refugee Commission
YARID	Young African Refugees for Integral Development

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This study contributes to the debates on the formal assistance and protection of refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) living in the Kampala Metropolitan area. The study explores the challenges that refugees and IDPs face in their attempts to meet their daily needs in the urban areas and the informal economic strategies which they have adopted to cope with these challenges. In investigating the challenges the refugees and IDPs face, the focus is on the interaction of the refugees and IDPs with the state and non-state bodies or organizations that have the formal mandate to assist and protect refugees and IDPs in urban areas, examining why the refugees and IDPs face challenges in accessing formal resources and the strategies they have improvised to make a living. This study shifts the focus from the lack of formal recognition in urban spaces or government preferences for rural settlement¹ system as key challenges refugees and IDPs face (Peterson – Dryden, 2006; Crisp, Morris, & Refstie, 2012; Refstie, 2008) to the bureaucratic structures of assistance that stifle the capabilities of the refugees and IDPs (Landau, 2006). In investigating the strategies used by the refugees, the study analyses not only the extent to which ethnic or gender factors have played a role in particular economic activities but also how the refugees and IDPs contribute to the social and economic transformation of the local communities in which they live and how they challenge the systems of assistance through engagement in their informal economic activities. I suggest that the livelihood challenges that refugees and IDPs experience has much to do with the bureaucratic structures of livelihoods support and that the informal economic strategies they have adopted is also the way through which they contribute to transforming their social environment and challenging the systems of formalized assistance.

¹ The term “settlement” is used in this study in reference to a refugee management system where refugees are settled on lands given them by the government. The settlements are normally located in rural areas and are isolated from the host community. “Resettlement” as used in relation to refugees refers to the relocation of refugees to third country of asylum

Studies on the livelihoods of refugees and IDPs in Kampala gained significance in the wake of increasingly more refugees and IDPs moving to Kampala to seek social and economic opportunities (Bernstein, 2005) owing to a limited livelihood opportunities in the settlement areas and camps and the need for resettlement (to a third country) (Crisp, 2012; Kaiser, 2008; Mulumba, 2010). However, this trend of refugees and IDPs seeking urban residence has not gone without challenges to their livelihoods as regards their relationships with authorities and host communities in general. Some studies have already indicated the various challenges these social groups face and particularly from the perspectives of their legal status. Emphasis here has been mainly on the restrictive policies that insist on settlement systems and the limited number of organizations supporting urban refugees and IDPs. However, little attention has been given to the persistence of the challenges refugees and IDPs face in spite of the existence of some policies and programmes aimed at improving livelihoods of urban poor in general and refugees/IDP in particular. In addition, less discussed in challenges the refugees and IDPs experience are how these challenges are distinct from what other urban poor communities and migrants experience.

Literature also exists on the livelihood strategies of the refugees and IDPs with emphasis mainly on refugees. However, less discussed in this area are the roles ethnicity and gender play in differentiating the informal livelihood strategies adopted by refugees and IDPs. In addition, by limiting the parameters of the discourse on the informal economic activities of the urban refugees and IDPs to economic self-reliance, little attention has been given to discussing the transformative and enabling roles of the informal economic activities. The chapters in this study therefore seek to address some of these gaps using the 'sustainable livelihood approach' as an analytical framework which views the livelihood strategies of people as an outcome of their assets and the vulnerability context.

As a framework, using the sustainable livelihood approach advances the prevailing perspective on the concepts of 'livelihood' and 'informality.' These concepts have been used mostly to denote how self-sufficient and self – reliant the urban refugees and IDPs

are in the urban informal economy. Although the agencies of the refugees and IDPs have been quite extensively discussed, the materialist notions of informal livelihood strategies have not gone beyond the 'victim' approach since refugee and IDPs' livelihoods are confined to understanding how they fend for their basic needs. However, people's assets are not just about earning a living but also about creating a meaningful life and challenging the systems in which they live (Bebbington, 1999).

Refugees and IDPs are not merely victims of bureaucratic processes of livelihood supports but they also negotiate these processes and transform their urban locales. In so doing, refugees and IDPs engage in mundane subsistence informal economic activities like many other urban poor people. In this process different ethnic or gender groups use their historical or cultural endowment with particular livelihood capital – whether networks, knowledge, labour, skills or any other asset - to create a niche within a particular informal economic activity. Conceptualizing the livelihood capital to which refugees and IDPs have dominant control thus bridges a gap in understanding why certain economic activities are more prevalent among particular ethnic or gender groups. The informal livelihood strategies are also ways in which refugees and IDPs not only meet their basic material needs, but also the means through which they, whether by choice or coincidence, transform their social and economic environment. Their livelihood capital is also a way in which they articulate their response to the challenges of bureaucratic formal livelihood supports either by maintaining their independence from or by faulting the control of the state and non-state formal actors.

This study is a case study of the Congolese and Somali refugees, and the internally displaced Acholi from northern Uganda. These three communities are chosen because despite the fact that they constitute the biggest ethnic/national displaced communities living in Kampala, the contrasting patterns of their informal livelihoods and the key resources underpinning these contrasts have not been captured through an in-depth investigation. The informal livelihood strategies were also approached as cases of some few selected informal economic activities to represent the mentioned communities of

investigation. The informal economic activities investigated are mainly operated at precarious² or subsistence level and they therefore give a better perspective to understand these activities beyond their limits of meeting basic needs.

In terms of population for the study, the scope of the study is the refugees and IDPs living in Kampala city and its metropolitan areas³. The study covered those who identified themselves as refugees and have lived in Kampala for less than ten years, and those who identified themselves as IDPs and have lived in Kampala for less than fifteen years. I used the terms 'refugees' and 'Internally Displaced Persons' to refer to those who have migrated to Kampala in the wake of armed conflict in their country of origin or home areas within Uganda. They include Betts' categories of refugees and the Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) as parts of involuntary migrants (Betts, 2009). Displacement by armed conflict accounts for most of the mass movements in most parts of Africa. While the immediate cause of flight may be to escape from armed combats, other subsequent movements may result from generalized violence and collapse of livelihood opportunities arising from the prolonged armed combat and weakened state protections and livelihood supports. This study therefore includes all those who had to flee due to the causes mentioned and sometimes referred to as 'conflict affected migrants' in the study.

The geographical area of this study is Kampala the capital of Uganda. With a population of 1.5 million⁴ urban dwellers (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2016), Kampala is the primate city of Uganda. It is surrounded by another highly urbanized and densely populated district called Wakiso. Unlike other decentralized districts, in accordance with the Kampala

² I used the word precarious (including precariousness and precariously) in two interrelated sense. In the first place, it is used to refer to the unstable or insecure nature of economic activities of the refugees and IDPs. Secondly, it is used to refer to the instability or lack of integration of the refugees and IDPs in Kampala (partly deriving from the instabilities involved with their economic activities).

³ See Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, Loescher, Long & Sigona (2014, p. 5) for comprehensive definitions of forced migrants, which roughly matches conflict migrants and Betts (2009) for categories for involuntary migration. See also Zimmermann (2011) for complexities involved in terms such as voluntary and involuntary migrants in context of refugees and its implications on livelihoods (Jacobsen, 2014).

⁴ This figure is actually much lower than Kampala Capital City Authority's planning figure of 2.5 million which considers those who live in other districts but are economically engaged in Kampala (KCCA, 2014)

City Council Act 2010, Kampala's five divisions of Central, Kawempe, Lubaga, Makindye and Nakawa are administered by the central government under the Minister in Charge of the Presidency. The Act also granted the status of Kampala Capital City Authority with an executive body headed by a director to supervise and implement the delivery of services in the city. With an annual population growth rate of 2%, Kampala is inhabited and accessed by the indigenous Baganda of Kampala, voluntary migrants and the people displaced by armed conflicts in their regions or countries.

According to the Office of the Prime Minister, a figure of 75,586 was registered with the ministry by the end of the year 2015 as refugees and asylum seekers in Kampala. However, this figure does not account for those who have not yet applied for status determination or those whose applications might have been rejected but still live in Kampala. Forty three percent (43%) of the official refugees and asylum seekers are Congolese followed by Somalis with an estimate of 21%⁵ (OPM, 2016) while the rest come from South Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, Ethiopia, Eritrea and other countries. While some of these refugees and asylum seekers rent or own houses in the fairly decent suburbs of Kampala, most of them live in the informal settlements of Nsambya, Katwe, Kisenyi, Najjanankumbi, Kansanga and other areas. In addition, the victims of war in Acholi land who sought refuge in Kampala still live in the informal settlement areas of Acholi Quarters, Namuwongo, Nsambya (RLP, 2007).

Kampala is chosen for the study because despite the government's 'tolerant approach' to urban residence of the refugees and IDPs and the existence of quite a number of refugee and IDP assisting organizations operating in Kampala, the refugees and IDPs still find challenges in accessing livelihood resources in Kampala. Refugees and IDPs encounter difficulties in accessing resources because of exclusion from basic services by state officials (Bailey, 2004; Crisp, et al., 2012; Lucia, 2012; Peterson - Dryden, 2006) and hostilities from the local population (Machiavello, 2004; Wyrzykowski & Kasozi, 2009).

⁵ The percentage estimates were derived from OPM statistics for refugees and asylum seekers status determination (OPM, 2016)

1.2 Research Questions

What are the challenges related to livelihoods and the strategies of the refugees and IDPs in Kampala?

1. What challenges do refugees and IDPs face in accessing formal assistance and protection from state and non-state organizations?
2. How do the challenges refugees/IDPs experience differ from other urban poor and migrants?
3. What informal economic strategies do refugees and IDPs use to earn their living?
4. To what extent are the informal economic strategies used by refugees and IDPs determined by ethnic and gender identities?
5. What are the non-material contributions of the informal economic strategies of the refugees and IDPs in Kampala?

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The rest of this study is structured as follows: In chapter two I discuss the concept of livelihood and informality, the key concepts around which the thesis is centred. The chapter also discusses the literature on urban refugees and IDPs in Kampala, engaging mainly with the previous perspectives on the challenges of livelihoods and the discussions on ethnic and gender based networks. In chapter three I discuss the methodological approach as well as the ethical issues involved in researching urban refugees and IDPs. Chapter four is a contextual chapter and it bridges the conceptual chapters (Chapter 2) and methodological chapter (Chapter 3), with the empirical chapters. It highlights the historical circumstances of the displacement of the three communities of the study, their urban status in relation to prevailing policies, and the description of the networks of the three communities within Kisenyi and Acholi Quarters. Chapter five seeks to address the reasons as to why refugees and IDPs find difficulties in using formal channels of access to livelihood resources in a context where both state agencies and nongovernmental

organizations have programmes for urban poor including refugees and IDPs and how the refugees/IDPs differ from other urban poor in the challenges they experience. I discuss the challenges of bureaucratic structures of assistance of urban poor in general and the refugees and IDPs in particular, focusing on the uncoordinated and non-context specific implementation of policies and programmes. Chapter six discusses the informal economic strategies the refugees and IDPs use within the constraints of bureaucratic structures of livelihood supports and the purposes these strategies serve. Chapter seven concludes the study.

CHAPTER 2: LIVELIHOOD AND INFORMALITY: CONCEPTS AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the concepts of livelihood and informality, the key concepts in this study. In analysing the livelihoods of the urban refugees and IDPs, the study uses the sustainable livelihood approach (Scoones, 1998). In this study, I adopted Scoones (1998) usage of 'sustainability' to refer to the resilience – the ability to cope and recover from shocks and stress - of livelihoods of the urban refugees and IDPs in the prevailing urban vulnerability context. Informality is seen in terms of the economic domain following Kinyanjui's concept of informality as collective actions and agency of poor people in the urban areas (Kinyanjui, 2014). The chapter then proceeds to review the literature on urban refugees and IDPs which the study engages with. Some gaps emerge from the literature which this study will seek to address. In the first place, studies on the urban livelihoods of refugees and IDPs have emphasized the limited number of refugee and IDP assisting organizations and the government policies that privilege rural settlement system as key to the challenges refugees experience in coping with urban context. However, the bureaucracies involved with the processes of assistance suggest that accessing resources through formal channels is equally a challenge even in the context of ubiquitous formal livelihood support programmes in Kampala. Secondly, the extent to which gender and ethnicity determine the choice of particular informal economic activities have not been sufficiently discussed in the debates on national or ethnic networks as support for livelihoods. As various literatures suggest (Horst, 2006; Hovil, 2007; Macchiavello, 2003; McGregor, 1994; Polzer, 2010) refugees migrate with their own resources – hence capital - which they use to earn their living in the host community. An analysis of particular resources to which refugees and IDPs have historical or dominant control – including but not limited to networks - highlights why different ethnic or gender groups tend to dominate particular informal economic activities. Thirdly, in a context where formal livelihood support is difficult to access, the informal economic activities and networks can be understood as the means through which the refugees and IDPs contribute to

transforming the urban local communities and challenging the structures of formal systems of livelihood supports. However, much of the literature on informal livelihoods tends to focus on the material aspects of the refugee and IDPs lives, discussing whether they are self-sufficient in meeting their basic needs.

2.2 Concepts of Livelihoods and Informality

2.2.2 The Livelihoods Approach

The sustainable livelihood approach drew its theoretical inspiration from Amartya Sen's capabilities and entitlement. According to Sen (1984), the goods one has also give the capability to function in a particular way; they determine 'what one can or cannot do', or 'what one can or cannot be' (p.315 – 316). The goods to which one is entitled to, will depend on the legal, political, economic and social characteristics of the society and the individual's position in this society (p.454). The sustainable livelihood approach has been used in relation to rural economy to discuss the resources on which they draw for their livelihood strategies, the social and environmental vulnerability context in which they combine these resources for livelihoods and the institutional processes involved in accessing these livelihood resources (Chambers & Conway 1992; Ellis, 1998; Scoones, 1998).

In recent times, the livelihoods approach has been employed in the debates of livelihoods of migrants in general and displaced population in particular (Al Sharmani, 2004; Campbell, 2006; De Vriese, 2006; Horst, 2004, 2006; Jacobsen, 2004, 2006). This study draws on the sustainable livelihood approach (Kaag, 2004; Rakodi, 2002; Scoones, 1998) to conceptualize livelihoods of the refugees and IDPs in Kampala. The sustainable livelihood approach is used in this study to discuss how the bureaucratic processes of formal livelihood supports constrain the refugees and IDPs from accessing resources for sustainable livelihood strategies and how refugees and IDPs use their own resources to create niches in the informal economic activities. The advantage of using the livelihoods approach is that it acknowledges the resources of the poor people as a beginning point for understanding the strategies of the poor people. In the case of this study, the urban

refugees and IDPs have resources (Polzer, 2010) or different forms of capital, to which they have control, including those they migrate with and those they develop in their new places of displacement to cope with their vulnerability in new contexts. The control they have to these resources contributes to shaping their dominance in some informal economic activities, transforming the communities in which they live and challenging the systems of formal assistance.

Hence, at the centre of the sustainable livelihood approach are the assets on which households (individuals) draw to build their livelihoods within a vulnerability context (distinguished as structural and institutional) (Rakodi, 2002). In order to create livelihoods, people must combine the capital endowments that they have access to and control over (Scoones, 1998). The ability for the households to make a combination of capital to arrive at livelihood outcomes is determined not just by their own resources, but by the economic, social and political context in which they live (Rakodi, 2002). Hence the livelihoods of the refugees and IDPs can be understood by the assets (capital) they possess or have access to, the livelihood strategies they have adopted in the processes of combining the capital, and the structural and institutional contexts in which they make their living. It therefore requires an analysis of the assets and strategies refugees use to achieve desired outcomes, and the processes, institutions and policies—which constrain or enable access to these assets and strategies (Jacobsen, 2006).

Assets (Forms of Livelihood Capital)

Central to the sustainable livelihood approach is the need to recognize that ‘those who are poor may not have cash or other savings but that they do have other material or non-material assets, such as good health, friends and family and natural resources around them’ (Rakodi, 2002, p.10 of 306). Assets in this sense can be defined as the tangible and intangible resource portfolio of a household (Chamber & Conway, 1992). Assets can be accumulated, stored, exchanged or depleted or put to work to generate a flow of income or other benefits (Rakodi, 2002). These assets which have been accumulated, or stored, or exchanged or put to work constitute the livelihood capital. Capital refers to the stock of

assets available to individuals, household, community or society. In livelihoods approach, capital can include human, social, physical, natural and financial capital (Scoones, 1998; Morse & McNamara, 2013; Rakodi, 2002).

Human capital is defined as the quality and quantity of labour available. This quality of labour available can be constrained by low levels of education, lack of skills and poor health status. The quality of labour can thus affect the ability to secure a livelihood especially in the urban areas labour market (Rakodi, 2002). The changing context in which people live also means that the relevance of particular quality of labour varies according to these contexts. Saturations in particular skills for example may reduce its viability as a human capital at a given time.

Social capital covers connections between people; or social networks (Morse & McNamara, 2013). Social capital involves networks and norms facilitating collective actions for mutual benefit (Woolcock, 1998 in Bebbington, 1999). According to Hanifan (1916, in Morse & McNamara, 2013), social capital makes tangible substances count for most in the daily lives of people thus giving meaningful living through goodwill fellowship, mutual sympathy and social intercourse among group of individuals and families.

Social capital has attracted a significant attention in urban refugee studies (Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013). According Jacobsen (2006), 'in pursuing livelihoods in urban context of vulnerability, refugees are reliant on the support provided by their co-nationals already living in the city. Refugees use social capital (presence of co-nationals) for migration, settlement and accessing basic services' (p.282). 'Where refugees do not have an established anchor community that provides them with social capital, they find ways to create some new communities of support systems' (Jacobsen, 2006, p.283). Refugees also create social capital through formation of local friendships or taking advantage of the presence of charitable organizations or charity-minded individuals who seek to assist refugees or particular national groups for personal reasons.

Physical capital includes productive and household assets – tools, equipment, housing and household good, as well as stocks. The ability to invest in equipment for instance may directly generate income and enhance labour productivity (Rakodi, 2002). As will be seen later, residential houses sometimes serve as physical capital for informal economic activities. Physical assets also include infrastructure, which can be distinguished as public physical capital as opposed to individual or household physical capital - public physical capital enables people to access, and directly support income generating activities.

Natural capital: includes the natural resource stock (water, air) and environmental services from which resource flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived (Scoones, 1998).

Financial capital: urban economy depends on cash (Meikle, 2002) hence cash is essential for the ability to cope with stresses and shocks; livelihood options are influenced by their ability to accumulate or access stocks of financial capital to smooth consumption, cushion shocks and invest in productive assets - health, skills, business enterprises.

Household asset portfolios are often used in combination of other assets (Rakodi, 2002). Household composition or the nature of the social network, for example, can determine the availability of other livelihood resources. Power relations within households defined by gender, age, ethnicity or kinship ties also shape decisions on household assets. The values, relevance and usage of a particular set of assets are also configured by changing contexts in which they are used (Kaag, 2004).

Capital cannot be construed narrowly as simply for earning the basic necessities of life. In some cases, the livelihood strategies and the capital of individuals/households have values and contributions that transcend the provision of necessities of life. Bebbington notes that there is a need to bridge the more materialist, hermeneutic and actor-centred notion of poverty. Bebbington argues that people's assets are not merely a means through which they make a living; they also give a meaning to the person's world and the capacity to be and to act (Bebbington, 1999). Assets (capital) also include culture, religion and recreation

as these help to make living meaningful (Morse & McNamara, 2013). Assets available influence the scope for it to improve its wellbeing both directly by increasing its security and indirectly by increasing people's ability to influence the policies and organizations which govern access to assets and define livelihoods options (Rakodi, 2002). In the case of refugees, the social networks they have developed, for instance, may not only serve as meeting material needs but also to create a community that offers a sense of belonging in their area. While they may not exert direct influences on prevailing policies and programmes, the strategies they adopt have implications in examining the appropriateness of the policies and programmes that aim to support their livelihoods.

There is however, a danger that emphasis on peoples' assets for designing livelihood support programmes may restrict policy and actions to households that have some assets on which they can build and neglect the poorest and the destitute households who may be lacking in some other capital (Rakodi, 2002). For instance, reliance on networks of refugees and IDPs for designing programmes of support systems for urban refugees and IDPs may exclude some individuals who for some reasons cannot belong to informal associations.

Livelihood strategies

Livelihood strategies can be defined as the concrete actions households take to meet livelihood objectives or to avert risks subject to the asset portfolio and their environment. Strategies are ways in which households deploy assets and use their capabilities in order to meet their objectives and are often on basis of past experience (De Vriese, 2006). The ultimate aim of strategies that individuals or households adopt is to meet individual or household wellbeing and security. Livelihood strategies are normally made in relation to the portfolio of assets and capabilities (Rakodi, 2002). Strategies are normally described by series of activities households undertake in order to meet their objectives. Activities may include farming, migration, networks, small scale enterprises, or diversification (Ellis, 1998; Horst, 2006; Scoones, 1998).

In the urban context, economic activities constitute the basis of household strategies, undertaken normally together with overlapping activities such as migration movement, maintenance of ties with rural areas, urban food production, and decisions about access to services such as education and housing and participation in social network. Economic activities may constitute a mix of labour market involvement, productive and reproductive activities and social networking (Rakodi, 2002). The informal economic activities of the refugees and IDPs such as hawking, quarrying stones, small scale restaurants, informal collective actions such as informal cooperative systems of marketing and informal systems of financial capital generation will be studied as the key economic strategies.

Rakodi defines strategies by the daily decisions of households to dispose, invest, hoard, diversify, protect or even to deplete an asset. These daily decisions to dispose, invest, hoard, diversify, protect or even to deplete assets are adopted with the aim of coping with and recovering from stresses and shocks, to maintain or enhance capability and assets, and to provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation (Rakodi, 2002).

Vulnerability Context (structural)

Vulnerability refers to shocks and stresses to which the livelihoods of individuals, households or communities may be subjected to, by changing economic, environmental, social and political contexts (Meikle, 2002). While shocks tend to denote sudden pressures on livelihood, stress is a term used to denote a longer term pressure (Chambers, 1989). Vulnerability relates with the insecurity of the wellbeing of individuals, households or communities in the face of changing contexts (Raodi, 2002). Vulnerability is also related to resilience which is closely linked to access and control over resources. Individuals or households may, for instance, be considered less vulnerable or resilient if they employ diversified livelihood strategies and are able to cope with changes in other livelihood capital (Meikle, 2002). Vulnerability involves not only a matter of knowing what is happening now but also what the trends are and will be in the future (Rakodi, 2002). How

vulnerable or secure the livelihoods assets of the individuals or households or communities are, will influence the nature of livelihood strategies they will adopt.

In this study, the vulnerability context of the urban refugees and IDPs refers to the subjective experiences of structural circumstances that constrain the aspirations of the individual refugees and IDPs. Structural circumstances or forces may constitute the changing contexts of market opportunities, including labour markets, changing political contexts such as changes in political regimes, attitudes and perceptions of other urban residents and the urban security context. Considering vulnerability from the perspective of subjective experience is important because the way individuals respond to the structural forces and its outcomes on personal aspirations varies according to the individual's endowment with livelihood capital.

Institutions

The interactions of household assets and strategies to meet livelihood objectives occur within constraints and opportunities normally in relation to institutions. Institutions are 'regularised practices structured by rules and norms of society which have persistent and widespread use' (Giddens 1979 in Scoones, 1998, p.12). According to North (1990), institutions are formal or informal constraints that human beings devise to shape human interaction. North (1990) distinguished institutions from organizations; while organizations refer to groups of individuals bound together by some common interest, institutions refer to the 'rules of the game' (p.5). Institutions therefore form the link between organizations and individuals who can be considered as the actors in an institutional matrix (Etzold, Keck, Bohle & Zingel, 2009).

Davies and Hossain (1997) further distinguished organizations as formal and informal depending on their proximity to the State. According to Davies and Hossain (1997), elites and members of formal and informal civil society exert mutual influence over neighbouring domains of institutional control. These 'socially included people' have access to and influence over the state, formal and informal civil society and/or community. Such

people include: members of ruling political elites; economically powerful actors; members of dominant ethnic or caste groups; civil servants and the armed forces; active members of formal civil society; and sometimes locally powerful traditional leaders. Those members of the community who are included in neither elites nor informal civil society are 'socially excluded people'. They include: the poor; members of marginal ethnic or low-caste groups; and often women, irrespective of their social and economic status (Davies & Hossain, 1997).

The participants in this study are mainly those who occupy the lower end to the institutional domains. Their direct influence on state and organization policies may be minimal. However, the refugees and IDP participants in this institutional domain can negotiate their available options, and they can challenge the institutions which in turn structure their actions (Etzold et al., 2009). They 'choose to act against more formal institutions not only to protect their livelihood, but also because the more formal institutions simply do not make sense in their life world' (Etzold et al., 2009, p.10).

Institutions play an important role in any analysis of the livelihood strategies of individuals and social groups. Institutions act as a link between the vulnerability context and the livelihood strategies of the different actors involved. Institutions influence the natural access to many of the capital as well as peoples' opportunities and choices (Davies & Hossain, 1997; Scoones, 1998). Institutions also help to govern social relations and power structures (Davies & Hossain, 1997). They determine what rights may or may not exist for a particular social group and whether the rights individuals or a collectivity holds can be translated into substantive livelihoods in a given context. In urban contexts, 'the formal institutions may include policies and programmes of support for livelihoods activities, community development, tenure and shelter policies, healthcare and environmental sanitation programmes, spatial planning, access and infrastructure policies and arrangements for governance (Rakodi, 2002). Policies and programmes can help to reduce the vulnerabilities of certain capital to shocks and stresses but their contradictory nature

may also act as constraints to the accumulation and deployment of some other livelihood capital.

In the case of refugees and IDPs, the centrality of institutions and their interrelationships with organizations (actors) is reflected in how the bureaucratic processes embedded in policies and programmes that are aimed to protect and assist the refugees and the IDPs constrain their capabilities to achieve sustainable livelihoods. According to Jacobsen (2006), in host countries of Africa and Asia it is more common that governments only partially fulfil their legal obligations or do not implement existing policies properly, or have abdicated their responsibility for refugees to UNHCR or NGOs. The lack of commitment by these host governments affects the ability of refugees and IDPs to access capital for their livelihoods. Landau (2006), for instance, found that the serious problem confronting the growing number of African refugees in Johannesburg is the slowness of the bureaucracy in providing appropriate documentation. While recognized refugees have the right to work, even skilled workers or professionals usually can find only low paid, unskilled jobs, often without work contracts or social benefits. 'Ambiguities in application of institutions' (Goodfellow, 2010, 2012) may also imply that urban refugees and IDPs find themselves at the disjuncture of the ambiguities of the broader institutional matrix in the urban areas.

Inclusion of the modes of regulation in the analysis of the livelihoods of refugees and IDPs in Kampala can help us see how regulations on access to employment documents, market spaces, residential areas which are determined by the government agents affect livelihoods of refugees and IDPs and even sometimes contradict the policies aimed at assisting and protecting the refugees and IDPs. It also helps to view the refugees and IDPs as part of a broader urban economy in which their actions are shaped by influences of other urban major investors and developers. Moreover, it helps to uncover the bureaucratic mechanisms of assistance which are sometimes decontextualized from the situation of the refugees and IDPs.

2.2.3 Informality

Informality in this study is used in the sense of the engagement of the actors in the employment in the informal economy. According to International Labour Organization (ILO), informal economy refers to informal work arrangements in both small-scale/unregistered enterprises and registered/large-scale firms (International Labour Organization (ILO), 2002). The basis for distinguishing the informal economy from the formal economy is the former's incompatibility with the frameworks of labour regulations (ILO, 2002). However, there is a continuum between the informal and formal economy (Castell & Portes, 1989; Chen, 2007).

While the ILO definition uses labour regulations to underpin the concept of informal economy, Lindell (2010) cautions against the danger of lumping together a wide range of work situations under 'evading state regulation.' Lindell pointed that 'different categories are embedded in different social relations, subject to very different kinds of constraints and vulnerabilities. They may also relate differently to state regulation and may also have different interests' (Lindell, 2010, p.6). Etzold et al. (2009) maintains that informality must not be seen purely as an attribute of an actor, of an entity like a shop or of an entire economic sector. They suggest that informality can be understood as the mode of interaction of actors involved in an arena; actors in officially registered enterprises as well as actors who mainly navigate in the street economy pursue informal strategies on the basis of their established social and economic networks in order to secure their business success and, thus, their livelihoods.

As seen in the preceding paragraphs on livelihoods, individuals create meanings with what they do and seek to transform their social world. Informal economic activities embody these transformative and enabling processes among urban refugees and IDPs. While maintaining the characterization of informal economic activities, I also embrace Kinyanjui's approach to the analysis of the informal livelihoods of women in Nairobi. Quoting De Soto (1989), Kinyanjui (2010) argues that micro-entrepreneurs in the informal sector choose to operate informally with a view to circumventing the cost, time and effort

of formal registration. This particular aspect offers a lens to understand why some individuals embrace certain economic activities even though pro-poor programmes and strategies might be provided by the state or nongovernmental organizations. For instance, some would rather hawk instead of obtaining a formal assistance for an established enterprise.

Further, Kinyanjui (2014) argues that informality is a path to urban socioeconomic dynamism for a large majority of people since they derive their livelihoods, configure their identities and claim their space in the city from it. Basing her argument on Nijman (2010) and de Soto (1989), Kinyanjui maintains that economic informality is a form of revolutionary and dynamic entrepreneurship because individuals engaged in it exhibit resilience and determination as they go about their everyday struggle to earn a living and improve their living standards (Kinyanjui, 2010). Kinyanjui adds that informal operations give them the rubric for the collective action and agency, which in turn serves as the nucleus for resistance to everyday subordination besides serving as a medium for participation and active citizenship (Kinyanjui, 2014). Informal economy is therefore reconstructed as a syncretic re-imagination of African traditional market system (Kinyanjui, 2014; Lindell, 2002) and therefore not an entirely atypical parameter in an economy.

As will be seen, while refugees/IDPs engage in the employment in the informal economy largely due to lack of formal and better paying jobs, they have also used their activities to challenge the system of regulations and formal assistance. How the refugees/IDPs have contributed in transforming their local communities will also be highlighted.

2.3 Literature on Kampala

2.3.1 Problems of livelihoods

The last few decades have seen a tremendous increase in the urban population in Uganda, a feature that has now become characteristics of cities in the global South. Between 2002 and 2014, Kampala's population has grown from about 1.1 Million people to 1.5 Million

(UBOS, 2016). While natural increase might have accounted for the greatest portion of increase in Kampala's population, the conflicts in the neighbouring countries as well as the long stretched armed conflicts in various parts of Uganda have added to this increase. Refugees and IDPs have now found their way to Kampala contributing to the increase in the number of urban poor. This displaced population have their own challenges in integrating in the urban populations and incorporating them into programmes of assistance. Relationships with some other urban populations have not been smooth, attracting the attention of organizations and scholars alike.

In the urban areas refugees and IDPs are sometimes invisible because of their need to survive in a context where they are restricted to rural settlements. This invisibility is sometimes considered as a key factor in accessing refugees and IDPs for assistance (Bernstein, 2005). In consequence invisibility is attributed to raising difficulties in understanding the condition of refugees and the relevance of their problems to the UNHCR (Sandvik, 2012). As regards the IDPs, identifying them to determine their needs into return and reintegration processes has to large extent been hindered by their invisibility to the urban authorities (Refstie & Brun, 2011). It is therefore not easy to disentangle them from economic migrants (Crisp et al., 2012). Invisibility has thus been attributed to the inability of the refugees and IDPs in accessing basic services and exposure hostilities to government officials (Peterson - Dryden, 2006).

The inability to access basic services in Kampala is evidenced in the nature of physical infrastructures of the areas where the refugees and IDPs live. Refugees and IDPs are compelled to live in overcrowded slums with no security, rudimentary water and sanitation facilities, and very limited access to basic services such as education and health care (Crisp, et al., 2012). Access to basic education which in theory is free is compounded by the additional fees charged by most urban schools (Bernstein & Okello, 2007). And where refugees have sought to use their own community initiatives, lack of formal recognition has led to blockage of their initiatives by authorities (Peterson - Dryden, 2006). Lack of information on the part of the city officials on refugees and IDPs has

fostered a further exclusion from the services provided by the city (Bernstein & Okello, 2007). Urban poverty is not peculiar to the refugees and IDPs but their situation is heightened by conflict related migration which calls for a different form of protection.

In addition to the challenges in accessing basic services, in the absence of full citizenship in the urban areas, refugees particularly become victims of discrimination and exploitation (Lucia, 2012). Deprived of formal legal status, conflict migrants, especially refugee women, are exploited at places of work (Crisp et al., 2012). While some employers fear to employ refugees due to employment regulations (Bailey, 2004), others use the informal employment system to legitimize arbitrary hiring and firing of conflict migrants. Abuses also occur through misrepresentation of the refugees before the law enforcing bodies and extorting money from them by the agents of law enforcing bodies (Lucia, 2012).

According to Lucia (2012), discrimination arises due to language barrier and it is demonstrated in arbitrary inflation of prices of goods and services for conflict migrants. This lack of language skills has a direct impact on the self sufficiency of the refugees (Bailey 2004). Discrimination and exploitations of various sorts have impacted adversely the prospect of integration of displaced persons in urban areas (Refstie, 2008). Among the refugees, the Darfurian communities found it difficult to live with the host community due to the regular exploitations, exclusions and discriminations they face in their interactions with the Ugandans (Lucia, 2012). In addition to discrimination, hostilities toward forced migrants are also portrayed by stereotypical attitudes towards refugees and IDPs, describing them (IDPs) as murderers or associating them with Lord's Resistance Army (Wyrzykowski and Kasozi, 2009). Refugees are blamed as parasites to the economy and collaborators of countries and factions hostile to Uganda (Machiavello, 2004).

According to Höök (2015) refugees encounter prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviour in their interactions with individual Ugandans as well as with public authorities working in health care centres, police stations and schools. Höök also indicated that there is a widespread perception among the refugees that refugees are used as scapegoats,

disrespected and an ill tolerated social category in Kampala (Höök, 2015). Refugees thus feel marginalized and alienated and therefore not part of Ugandan society. The 'feelings of marginalization and alienation further discourage refugees from making long term plans or create personal relationships with the local' (Höök, 2015, p.110).

In the study of the Congolese refugees in Kampala, Den Boer (2015) found that the refugees suffer from a sense of worthlessness and exclusion, particularly visible in livelihood opportunities and access to state services such as health and police protection. Den Boer maintains that the sense of worthlessness the refugees experience has fuelled an antagonistic sense of home in exile. The limited opportunities to consider Uganda home and the pain associated with the lost Congolese home translates into a wish to be resettled and it is seen to offer hope that the prerequisites to construct a new home, such as physical security, a sense of self and inclusion, will be met. She argues that the idea of resettlement enables refugees to develop multiple parallel visions of home, as return to the country of origin can only be a possibility after being resettled (Den Boer, 2015).

In all there is quite a significant amount of literature that sought to demonstrate the challenges urban refugees and IDPs experience. In this body of literature, there is an assumption that the challenges refugees experience can be traced to the legal status of refugees in the urban areas. The legal claim is reflected in the fact the challenges the refugees and IDPs face owes largely to emphasis of the government in locating refugees and IDPs in camps and settlement. For instance, Höök (2015) observed that while Uganda has a permissive Refugee Act which allows refugees to settle anywhere, refugees forgo their rights by choosing to self-settle in urban areas. This, of course, implies that rights, particularly in relation to assistance and protection, are provided only when refugees live in camps. This assumption reflects findings in other contexts where refugees find difficulties in earning their living due to restrictive government policies in urban areas. For instance, Campbell (2005, 2006) indicated that the Kenyan government's enforcement of camp policies has hindered the urban refugees' ability to integrate within the urban market. This position also reflects some previous concerns in Uganda on lack of freedom

of movement and the government's enforcement of segregated settlement which contributed to the destruction of the vital social networks between refugees and host community (Kaiser, 2005).

In these debates, what remains missing is the reason as to why refugees and IDPs continue to experience the described challenges in spite of the existence of policies and programmes that aim to assist and protect the displaced population. As Höök (2015) rightly observes, Uganda's refugee Act is rated as a progressive policy and in addition, Uganda has an IDP policy which is supposed to govern the internal displacement in all contexts. Similarly, recent times have seen the emergence of UNHCR's Urban Refugee Policy 2009, the Alternative to Camps 2014, and the Refugee – Host Population Empowerment (Re-Hope) programmes which are central policies and programmes to protect refugees and organizations involved in refugee issues in urban areas. Moreover, a number of NGO's in addition to UNHCR now operate to either directly address the problems of refugees and IDPs or work indirectly through pro-poor programmes.

This study therefore contributes to these debates by focusing on the inconsistencies in applications of the legal instruments and bureaucratic and decontextualized strategies of assistance and protection as some of the key factors for persistent precariousness of the refugees and IDPs in Kampala. In so doing, this study explores, in relation to the case of Kampala, the inadequacy of refugee legal status as the main means of addressing challenges of refugee protection (on the South African context, see Landau, 2006; Landau & Duponchel, 2011). The study also demonstrates the differences between refugees/IDPs and other urban poor people or migrants regarding livelihood strategies, which has hitherto not been discussed extensively in refugee literature on Kampala. In examining the strategies of the refugees and IDPs, the study also engages with the literature on ethnic and gender networks that are considered as central in urban refugee studies (Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013).

2.3.2 Urban livelihood strategies: ethno-national and gender networks approach

Studies on networks of refugees and IDPs based mainly on ethno-national lines and sometimes according to different gender or age groups have gained significance in Kampala. Networks have been seen as the primary resources for the mobilization and management of other resources and thereby enhancing access to livelihood for refugees and IDPs (Clark-Kazak, 2006; Karooma, Hollaus, Lindsay, & Williamson, 2014; Krause-Vilmar, 2012; Molerop, 2013; Mulumba, 2010). For instance, among the Eritreans, Ethiopians and Somalis, networks have played a significant role as a means through which they access remittances from their fellow family members in other countries (Mulumba, 2010). In a similar way, members of the Somali community, especially men, rely on ethnic networks to access employment opportunities and sell their goods to fellow Somalis (Buscher, 2012; Krause-Vilmar, 2011). Further, a few refugees also use their cross-border networks to run their businesses in selling animal products or to access cross-border employment opportunities (Krause-Vilmar, 2011; Lucia, 2012). According to Molerop (2013), networks of ethnic members of the Acholi IDPs in Acholi Quarters have played a role in their decision to migrate to Kampala. Molerop (2013) maintains that ‘close links to co-ethnics were not only important in the initial phase in Kampala but also central in maintaining a sense of continuity with their past’ (p. 81).

The benefits of networks are, however, not limited to networks formed along ethnic or national basis. Gender and age networks have also facilitated women’s and young people’s access to resources. Krause-Vilmar (2011) indicated that refugee women in Kampala use their networks for informal savings to start-up small entrepreneurship or to help fellow refugees when in need. Clark – Kazak (2006) found that in the face of shrinking traditional kinship networks among the Congolese refugees in Kampala and in Kyaka II settlement, young people in peer networks also had greater access to decision-making in households and families, and more opportunities to engage in political activities at community and policy levels. Clark – Kazak (2006, 2011) further noted that young people

who migrate without their families are not inherently worse off than their counterparts in intergenerational networks.

While the preceding debates on networks in Kampala discussed mainly the benefits of networks of accessing resources, other studies have instead attributed the significance in accessing resources to the strength of these networks. In other words, ethnic or national groups with strong ethnic networks are likely to have fairly well organized livelihood activities. Buscher (2012) and Omata (2012) indicated that Somalis in Kampala tend to perform much better in their business activities than other refugee communities because they have a strong ethnic network among themselves. Somalis' unprecedented success in business compared to other refugee communities is also attributed to their long tradition of business network along ethnic lines in East Africa (Macchiavello, 2003). While the Somalis in Kampala are engaged in fairly well-structured businesses such as running supermarkets or butcheries, other communities such as the Congolese tend to run smaller businesses such as operating sewing machines, salons or barber shops, wood curving (Mulumba, 2010) and entertainment industry (Macchiavello, 2003). Other refugee communities such as the Rwandese women work in restaurants and as house maids, making table clothes and glass covers and selling cooked food while South Sudanese are involved in selling alcohol or working as security guards or working on piece rate or time rate whenever hired (*leja leja*) or merchandise lifters from the lorries and trucks in Kikuubo (Mulumba, 2010).

Ethnic and gender based networks have also been considered as a key contributing factor to the diversity of livelihood strategies of the refugees (Betts, Bloom, Kaplan & Omata, 2014; Krause-Vilmar, 2011; Lucia, 2012; Mulumba, 2010). Refugees engage in a diverse small business activities such as hair dressing, tailoring, selling food or running small shops or restaurants (Mulumba, 2010), running butcheries for camel meat often got through Kenya (Krause-Vilmar, 2011) and running mini supermarkets (Omata, 2012). Refugees are also engaged in professional practices such as doctors or teachers (Buscher, 2012) or in cross-border employment opportunities in South Sudan (Lucia, 2012). Employment across

borders indicates the significance of networks in the communication and the coordination of opportunities in different parts of the region.

Although Betts et al. (2014), maintains that refugees are integrated within the economic system of the host countries through the diversity of activities in which they are engaged, other authors tend to suggest that the benefits of the activities depend on the nature of the activity in question. Buscher (2012) argues that some of the varieties of economic coping strategies refugees in urban areas adopt may place them at risk. Krause-Vilmar (2011) and Nyanzi (2013) indicated that engagement in sexual relations in form of informal marriage arrangements exposes women to the risk of HIV infection. Engagement in diverse activities in order to meet household needs has also led to some women assuming more responsibilities (Krause-Vilmar, 2011). In addition livelihood diversification sometimes implies shifting gender roles in household livelihood strategies which have to some extent led to domestic conflicts at household levels (Krause-Vilmar, 2011).

The literature has therefore given an indication of the significance of networks as an aspect of social capital for the livelihoods of refugees. What is not adequately explored in this literature is whether the networks such as those based on ethnicity and gender have a role to play in shaping the dominance of a particular social group in a given livelihood strategy. And if so, what accounts for this differences, what resources (or livelihood capital) different social groups have that account for their ability to make a difference within a given livelihood strategy. Examining a range of livelihood capital would suggest that while networks may be important as a resource, they cannot solely account for the predominance of different ethnic groups in a given livelihood activity. This study, therefore, will seek to answer some of these questions in the proceeding chapters.

The existing studies also did not make sufficient exploration of the contributions the refugees and IDPs make in transforming the urban communities in which they live. The aspect of participation in the local economy is central in understanding the integration of conflict migrants in urban areas. This study will therefore extend the literature on

networks beyond its immediate material significance to include the direct or indirect ways of making a meaningful living by contributing to local economies. These livelihood strategies will also be approached as a way of challenging the institutional contexts in which refugees and IDPs earn their livelihoods. In this regard, selected informal economic activities will be discussed in details in the sixth chapter.

2.3.3 Informal economic activities

In spite of the growth in literature on the livelihood strategies of conflict related migrants (Buscher, 2012; Lucia, 2009; Krause-Vilmar, 2010; Mulumba, 2010; Peterson – Dryden, 2012), there is a scarcity of literature that discusses the informal economic activities of the conflict migrants. Yet it is fairly known that in urban context of the low income countries, informal economic activities are central to the livelihood strategies (Kinyanjui, 2014).

The available literature on informal economic activities is the research on Humanitarian Innovation Project (HIP) which aims to explore alternative approaches to refugee assistance on the basis of refugee economic activities (Betts, Bloom and Omata 2012; Betts et al., 2014). Although HIP looks at refugee economy in general (both formal and informal), their findings can be used in understanding the informal activities of the urban refugees. Refugee Economy is defined as 'the resource allocation systems relating to a displaced population [and they are] part of wider system involving consumption, production, exchange and finance' (Betts et al., 2014, p.6). Betts et al. (2014) argued that refugee communities are often integrated within vibrant and complex economic systems and, recognising and understanding this represents an opportunity to turn humanitarian challenges into sustainable opportunities. For this study, the role the refugee economy plays in creating market and employment opportunities is central in integrating the refugees in the urban economic system.

Regarding market provision, the study indicates that more than 80% of refugees identify Ugandan merchants as their most important suppliers of goods and services necessary for their primary livelihoods (Betts et al., 2014). Urban refugees tend to buy their daily goods

from the plethora of Ugandan shops surrounding their homes ranging from daily household goods to essential supplies from Ugandan business to support their own livelihood activities (Betts et al., 2014, p 17). The refugee network also provides markets for new technology and the service sector, a key area in this is the way in which they use mobile phones and internet services to organize their income generating activities and for access finances for their small scale enterprises (Betts et al., 2014). Refugees also provide international market opportunities through transnational trade networks, including exportation of items purchased from Uganda.

The informal trade has also opened a platform for employment opportunities for both the refugees and the Ugandan nationals. In general most of the refugees are self-employed in family businesses (Betts et al., 2012; Betts et al., 2014) but a good number of refugee entrepreneurial activities employ some Ugandans as well. For instance Betts et al. (2014) found that 29% of the refugees employ non-family members and 40% of those employed by refugees are Ugandans. Besides refugee business, refugee led associations such as YARID offered employment opportunities to both refugees and Ugandans in informal services such as English classes instructors or internet café attendants (Hakiza, 2014). In addition refugees contribute in some ways to building human capital through provision of labour or apprenticeship to some Ugandans. Betts et al. (2014) indicated that of the people surveyed, 43% are employed by Ugandans. A few Ugandans also obtain training as tailors from the refugee artisans.

The study contributes to this literature on urban refugee and IDP informal economic activities by discussing the activities different gender and ethnic refugee and IDP communities undertake. In these activities, it will be discussed how refugees have used their historical links with a particular livelihood resource to create an edge in a particular domain of informal economic activities. Activities such as hawking, stone quarrying, hairdressing, running restaurants as well as informal cooperative means of accessing urban market opportunities and informal means of generating financial capital will be discussed.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I discussed the key concepts of livelihood and informality and the literature on urban refugees and IDP livelihoods which the study seeks to advance. The chapter discussed the sustainable livelihood approach as the analytical tool for the assets and the vulnerability context of the refugees and IDPs. The concept of informality is defined by various forms of employment in the informal economy. However, informality is also approached as a form of collective action and agency of the actors involved in it. The reviewed literature revealed gaps which this study seeks to fill. While a lot of discussion on the challenges the refugees and IDPs experienced have been discussed in the literature, an area which is less attended to is the fact these challenges and particularly the persistence of subsistence living exists within the availability of policies and programmes aimed to assist and protect refugees in urban areas. It therefore proposes a need to study how policies and programmes relate with the livelihoods of the refugees and IDPs and how their situations differ from other urban poor people and other migrants. The literature on networks and informal economic activities also indicate that less attention has been given to discussing the extent to which ethnic networks and gender have influenced the livelihood strategies of refugees and IDPs. In addition, while refugees and IDPs use their ethnic, age or gender differences to earn the basics of life through informal economic engagements, the strategies they adopt might also serve a non-material purpose. This non-material aspect of livelihoods has, however, not been adequately discussed in the literature. The study will therefore seek to address some of these gaps. The methods used to address these gaps will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND ETHICAL ISSUES

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the methodological approaches taken and ethical issues encountered in the processes of studying refugees and IDPs living in Kampala and how the methodological and ethical issues encountered were addressed. The study is designed as a case study on the livelihoods of the Congolese and Somali refugees and the predominantly Acholi IDPs from the northern Uganda. Both the design and the type of population of study as 'Hard to Reach' determined the research instruments, the identification and selection of participants, the limitations and practical challenges of the study. The section on the researcher identity and ethical considerations highlighted pertinent issues in studying the livelihoods of urban refugees and IDPs. Issues of the identity of the researcher, seeking consent, maintaining confidentiality and minimizing harm sometimes present new challenges in researching urban refugees and IDPs which require a renegotiation of the conventional ethical guidelines to suit the context of the urban refugees and IDPs.

3.2 Research Design

Processes of collecting data, analysis of the data collected and the conclusions drawn from the data depend on the design of the research which can be construed as a logical structure of inquiry (Tight, 2010). These inquiries can be undertaken within qualitative, quantitative and mixed approaches (Creswell, 2013). The choice of research approaches thus depends largely on the type of question the study seeks to investigate.

This study is designed as a case study of urban refugees and IDPs living in Kampala city and its metropolitan areas. The study covered those who identified themselves as refugees and have lived in Kampala for less than ten years, and those who identified themselves as IDPs and have lived in Kampala for less than fifteen years. The choice of the urban refugees and IDPs is based on my own interest in the livelihood strategies employed by

the urban refugees and IDPs. Urban refugees and IDPs in global south inherit both the challenges of processes of urbanization and the problems of the protection and assistance of displaced population. The livelihood patterns of urban refugees and IDPs that is an integral part of urban community contrasts that of the spatially and socially segregated refugees and IDPs in the rural settlements practiced in Uganda. As Stake (2005) indicated, 'a case study concentrates on experiential knowledge of the case and close attention to the influence of its social, political and other contexts' (p.444). According to Yin (2003), a case study is preferred when 'how' or 'why' questions are posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real – life context. The study explores the experiences of the urban refugees and IDPs in navigating their livelihoods in Kampala and the meanings they attach to their livelihood strategies. The study also situates the livelihoods of the urban refugees/IDPs within the institutional practices that largely shape the nature of their livelihood strategies.

Urban refugees and IDPs are quite diverse in geographical dispersal, ethnic/national configuration and the strategies of earning a living. As Stake (2005) and Tight (2010) agree, what makes an investigation a case study is its boundedness or specificity. This study is restricted to the experiences of the Congolese and Somali refugees and the predominantly Acholi IDPs from Northern Uganda. The basis of my choice of these three groups owes to my interest in studying populations that migrated largely due to the effects of armed conflicts in their places of origin. Among the fairly known displaced people living in Kampala, the Congolese, the Somali and the Acholi constitute the biggest national/ethnic groups. Their residence among the rest of urban communities thus creates fairly visible and distinct patterns of livelihoods of interest. Within these communities, key livelihood strategies of the three national/ethnic groups were identified for an in-depth investigation. The study was carried out in two geographical areas: Kisenyi in the Central Division of Kampala and Acholi Quarters in Wakiso, a district that forms Kampala

Metropolitan area. Kisenyi was chosen because both the Somali refugees (the predominant group) and the Congolese refugees can be located there.

There is no consensus on the research approaches employed by a case study design (Creswell, 2013; Stake, 2005; Tight, 2010). Creswell (2013) holds the view that a case study design is appropriate for qualitative approaches to research. However, Tight (2010) maintains that 'it is erroneous to equate any particular design with either qualitative or quantitative design methods' (p.10). According to Stake (2005), coming to understand a case usually requires extensive examining of how things get done, but the prime referent in case study is the case, not the methods by which the case operates. In this study I employed a qualitative approach because of the need to have an in-depth narrative on the activities of the urban refugees and IDPs. The choice of qualitative approach determined the decisions on the research instruments used in this study.

3.3 Data collection tools/instruments

Data for this study were collected over a period of three and half months (from mid-October 2015 to end of January 2016) through the use of interviews, observations and analysis of documents. Using more than one strategy for the collection of data has an advantage for triangulation of data as a way to a deeper understanding of the issues under investigation (Bloor, Frankland, Thomas & Robson, 2001).

Interviews: Both semi structured interviews and unstructured (informal) interviews were used to gather data from representatives from organizations, local council authorities, refugee/IDP community leaders and from selected individuals from among the refugee/IDP communities (see below). The choice of interviews draws on the case design which aims to provide detailed descriptions of the experiences of the refugees/IDPs in daily life and the meanings they give to these experiences (Brinkman & Kvale, 2014). Interview method is appropriate for this study due to its ability to allow for flexibility in studying a range of topics related to the main research theme (Skinner, 2012).

Through in-depth interviews, I therefore sought to find the different perspectives and experiences of the participants on livelihood capital and livelihood strategies; the nature of their informal economic activities; how issues of gender and ethnic diversities influence the livelihood strategies; how they relate with systems of regulation and how all these contribute to their ability to integrate (or not) in the wider urban society.

Most of the interviews with the community members were conducted at their homes while a few others were interviewed at venues of organizations or community centres with the help of translators chosen or approved by the interviewees. Similarly, community leaders and the local council leaders were interviewed either at their homes or at community centres. Interviews with representatives of organizations were conducted at offices of the respective organizations. The community leaders, the local council leaders and representatives of organization provided contextual information on the economic activities of refugees and IDPs, challenges each of the three ethnic communities experience as a group and the overall policy and programmatic contexts of urban refugees and IDPs. These leaders and representatives were included for interviews because of their broader experiential knowledge in engaging with both the refugees and IDPs, and actors involved in refugees and IDPs issues.

Participant observation: the initial strategy for participant observation was to make visits to commercial centres where the refugees and IDPs congregate in order to understand how refugees and IDPs use their networks to organize their informal economic activities. The other strategy was to get an attachment with Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) organization and participate in workshops/classes of skills training. An insertion of this nature enabled me to observe and interact with some of the refugees on the importance of the skills they acquire, how they intend to use them and what opportunities and constraints might be involved with the skills they acquire.

I visited commercial centres and got attachment with JRS which to some extent allowed me to interact with some of the participants. However, contingencies in the field could not

allow me to have an extensive observation in the way it was planned. Conducting the research within a span of three months limited the possibility of long exposure for a detailed observation. Secondly, the refugees and IDPs live in separate geographical areas between which I had to split the time available. Even in Kisenyi where the Congolese could be found along with the Somali, there are variances in settlement patterns that affected the possibility of an extensive observation. Thirdly, some of the informal economic strategies such as hawking are mobile while others such as stone quarrying were done during dry season. There was thus a need to device other ways of observing.

In order to mitigate challenges mentioned above, I used some of my free time such as going to barber shop, shopping or recreation as an opportunity to observe. Data collected through observation included the different physical resources the refugees and IDPs use for their livelihoods, the kind of economic activities they undertake, the strategies they use to produce and market their products, and the representation of different ethnic groups and gender in particular economic activities. This strategy of observing helped me to supplement or clarify some of the information obtained through the scheduled interviews.

Archival materials: to a smaller extent, the study is also built on the analysis of archival materials, including reports from UN refugee agency, Office of the Prime Minister, Refugee Law Project, Inter Aid Uganda, Jesuit Refugee Service and the IDP community leaders. Online media sources were also used in the analysis of the data. Documents from the organizations and the media were used in, obtaining a demographic data on urban refugees, mapping the informal economic activities, the strategies organizations and the government use to assist refugees and IDPs and advocacy issues being raised in humanitarian context. Archival materials contributed to understanding the strategies of the formal assistance and the implications of these formal modes of assistance to the strategies adopted by the urban refugees and IDPs.

3.4 Selection of Participants

About 64 participants were both formerly and informally interviewed from among the refugees/IDPs community members, representatives from refugees/IDP assisting organizations, refugee/IDP community leaders and local council representatives from both Acholi Quarters and Kisenyi as in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Selected Research Participants

S/N	Participants' Descriptions	Number Selected
1	Refugees/IDPs community members	45
2	Representatives from refugees/IDP assisting organizations	9
3	Refugee/IDP community leaders	8
4	Local council representatives from Acholi Quarters and Kisenyi	2
5	Female participants in total	38
6	Male participants in total	26
7	Congolese community	19
8	Somali Somali	12
9	Acholi IDP community	14
10	Total number of research participants	64

I approached the study population as a 'Hard to Reach' population. 'Hard to Reach' is a term that has been used to describe a section of community that is difficult to involve in public participation (Brackertz, 2007). In the context of sampling, 'Hard to Reach' populations have sometimes been described as 'Hidden Population' (Duncan, White, & Nicholson, 2003). I used the term 'Hard to Reach' or 'Hidden population' not in a pejorative sense (Freimuth & Mettger, 1990) but to emphasise the challenges involved with their dispersal within the urban communities (Brackertz, 2007). Urban refugees and

IDPs sometimes share neighbourhood with their co-urban residents making additional challenges in identifying them for studies.

In approaching the urban refugees and IDPs as a 'Hard to Reach' community, I used a snow ball sampling to select the research participants tapping from refugee/IDP networks I identified through organizations involved in refugee activities, churches, local council leaders and the refugee community leaders. The snowball technique suits qualitative research since the overall purpose is to draw a diverse sample to generate insights and to provide a depth in data collection and analysis (Brinkman & Kvale, 2014; Lyons & Douek, 2010).

Snowball sampling has some limits with regard to an 'accurate reflection of the characteristics of the total population' (Lyons & Douek, 2010, p.112). Jacobsen and Landau (2003) argue that 'snowball draws subjects from a particular segment of the community, and they are likely to be similar in certain ways' (p.13). Using the refugee networks to identify potential interviewees runs the risk of selecting people of the same social or economic characteristics (Landau, 2004). Problems of spatial inaccessibility or ethnic, cultural and religious affiliations may also inadvertently lead to exclusion of a group from participation (Ellis, Kia-Keating, Yusuf, Lincoln & Nur, 2007). Hence bias may ensue in the diversity intended to be achieved.

To reduce the problem of selecting individuals who might reflect homogeneity due to their network patterns, I used what Jacobsen and Landau (2003) described as multiple entry points (nodes) in their study of refugees. Instead of relying entirely on one organization to identify refugee and IDP networks, I used my own links with resourceful persons to connect me with other refugee/IDP assisting organizations as links to some other refugee and IDP communities which are not served by the organization to which I was attached. I also identified some of the Congolese refugee networks through some of the churches. Among the Somali community, I also involved their own local community based organization to link me to some of the participants.

3.5 Data recording and analysis

Except in one case where the participant objected to being audio recorded, all the semi structured interviews were audio recorded. In addition to the audio recorded data, I also took field notes on the details of the participant, summary of key points and my own perceptions and perspectives on some points mentioned. My own perceptions which I recorded later contributed to preliminary interpretation of the data. In addition, I used the summary of field notes to validate the transcription of the data. Analysis of the data was done through identification of key themes. The recurring themes were identified through the revision of the transcribed data. The transcripts were also categorized into matrix form according to the identified themes. The extracts in the matrices were used in verbatim quotations during the writing stage.

3.6 Limitations of the study

This study is limited to the Congolese and Somali refugees living in Kisenyi area and Acholi IDPs living in Acholi Quarters. Non-refugees/IDPs were not included in the interviews even though in a few instances references were made to them. The conclusions are therefore limited to each of the three ethnic/national communities even though the potential of the study as a starting point for similar investigation cannot be discounted.

3.7 Researcher Identity and Ethical Considerations

As a qualitative study, one is likely to have a subjective view of reality informed by one's personal and social context which calls for reflexivity of the researcher. Reflexivity means the tendency to critically examine and analytically reflect upon the nature of research and the role of the researcher in carrying out and writing up empirical work (Elliot, 2005, p 3 of 32). It is therefore required of the researcher to 'be explicit about the operation of power in the process of researching and representing people' (Elliot, 2005, p.4 of 21). My identity as a Ugandan, a Roman Catholic cleric and a student attached to Jesuit Refugee Service organization (JRS) has to some extent influenced my relationships with the research participants and the knowledge produced.

Given the previous knowledge I had about refugees and IDPs in a different context, the prior knowledge I had about refugees and IDPs in Kampala through my career with JRS, and the experience of living in Kampala for about 3 years (2003 – 2005), I had some assumptions about the livelihood strategies of urban refugees and IDPs in Kampala which had to be challenged and sometimes changed as I proceeded with the research. For instance, it was during my interviews that I came to realize that selling jewellery is more important to many ordinary Congolese refugees than selling Congolese clothes which initially I thought I could study.

Multiple identities had other effects as well in the way the participants related to me. Overall, my identity as a Ugandan was not a concern for the refugees and the IDPs and my background as a cleric and my linkage with organization helped me to gain the trust of the research participants. In particular, it enabled me to access even female research participants on the basis of trust in religious leaders. However, some refugees and IDPs felt that my position as a researcher could be an access to power, linking them to some assistance beyond what organizations and the government provides. While where I deemed necessary I gave some information to links of assistance, I also maintained that my objective was not to make advocacy or give immediate assistance but to meet an academic requirement.

Jacobsen and Landau (2003) raised concern that a research on the lives of vulnerable population such as refugees should maintain methodological and ethical soundness. The research should aim at transforming the lives of people using a systematic academic approach. Hence it is incumbent upon the researcher to uphold consent, confidentiality and to minimise harm as much as possible.

Consent involves providing the participants with a full knowledge about the study, its purpose and the implications of participating in the study (Christians, 2005). To ensure an informed consent in this study, the research participants were given full introduction about the study and time to reflect on whether to participate or not, before commencing

any interview. Consent was also sought after the sessions of interviews to avoid misunderstandings arising after the interviews. Consent from the refugees and IDPs who cannot read English were obtained verbally and participants were left to decide whether the interviews should be audio recorded or not. In the case of representatives of organizations, community leaders or local council authorities, informed consent was done through signing a consent form. However, where some participants felt uncomfortable about the bureaucratic procedures of signing forms, I respected the participants' judgments and confidence of not signing a written consent form.

Confidentiality involves safeguarding the participants and the information provided by the researcher so that they cannot be linked back to the research participant. Confidentiality was ensured in this study by interviewing the participants at neutral places identified by the participants including their respective homes, or community centres or offices of organizations. Where translation was necessary, the participants chose their own translators even though that sometimes meant a trade-off between confidentiality and quality of translation. During the analysis, pseudonyms were used for the refugee and IDP community members. Where representatives of organizations or community leaders or local councils were the research participants, the identities of these individuals were deliberately kept 'vague.' For sensitive information use of names of organizations or places or times of events was avoided.

It is incumbent upon the researcher that a study should seek to minimize harm whether physical or psychological in nature. For refugees and IDPs, there is need to minimize the possibility of reawakening any physical or psychological stress which they might have gone through in the process of their displacement. This study focused on mundane activities and hence I did not encounter any physical or psychological stress directly linked to the processes of displacement. However, studying urban refugees and IDPs has two other potential harms that one has to deal with, namely exposure to hostilities and raising unrealistic hope.

Exposure to hostility is connected with the economic activities in which the refugees and the IDPs are engaged. Authorities sometimes view these activities as 'illegal' while the locals involved in them see migrants as competitors depriving them from their livelihoods. On ethical grounds exposing such activities through research may heighten hostilities from both the state authorities and the locals. But ignoring to study how refugees and IDPs survive may also imply being complicit with the structures that produce their precariousness in the urban areas. I chose to proceed with studying such activities after seeking consent to document the findings in these informal activities. In undertaking to investigate such activities, I also considered the fact that these activities are not illicit and that and perceptions of illegality vary over time and place.

Harm also involves giving a hope that the research has the power to make an immediate improvement in the situation of the refugees and IDPs. The risk of creating an impression of immediate result is crucial in a study that aims to influence the behaviour and thinking of policy-makers and practitioners so that their interventions can improve the situation of those whom they wish to help (Turton, 1996). Harm occurs by subjecting the participants into an extensive period of waiting for improvement in policies as a result of the study. As noted by Christians (2005), 'hope that merely projects a future redemption obscures abuses of power and human need in the present' (p.150). In this study, I preferred to approach the ethical dilemma by simply maintaining honesty that the primary goal of the study is to fulfil an academic requirement and that policy change, if any, may take a long time.

CHAPTER 4: THE SETTING OF URBAN REFUGEES AND IDPS

4.1 Introduction

By the end of the year 2015 about half a million registered refugees and asylum seekers are living in Uganda (Government of Uganda, 2016). There are also non Ugandans who qualify for refugees/asylum seekers status but have chosen to remain invisible and are therefore not registered with the government. In addition, some of the Northern Ugandans who were displaced by the war in the North still live as displaced persons in some parts of Uganda (Mollerop, 2013; Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IMDC), 2015). Among these refugees/asylum seekers are Somalis from mainly Somalia and the Congolese from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). The internally displaced persons (IDPs) include mainly the Acholis from the Northern Uganda. In line with the increasing urbanization of refugees/IDPs (Landau, 2014), refugees/IDPs reside in Kampala and earn their livelihoods mainly through informal economic activities.

This chapter therefore provides the broader context in which the refugees/IDPs have come to live in Kampala. The chapter is divided into three sections; the first section provides highlights on the circumstances of the displacement. The second part sets the policy context of urban residence and the third part discusses the setting of the three communities in Kisenyi and Acholi Quarters. Setting the policy context of the residential status of the refugees and IDPs in Kampala is essential for later understanding of the challenges involving the bureaucratic structures of assistance. As Meikle (2002) indicates, policies mediate contexts of urban livelihoods and influence how people respond to long term impacts of stress and shocks. The policy context therefore also contributes to understanding how the refugees organize their networks within the two residential areas.

As the sustainable livelihood approach suggests, poor people have a range of resources on the basis of which they reconstruct their livelihoods (Rakodi, 2002; Scoones, 1998). Hence, to create livelihood poor people combine these resources, or 'capital' through processes such as sequencing, substitution or clustering. According to Horst (2006), refugees depend

on their skills and other qualities within their communities to gain a sense of self-sufficiency. As indicated in the literature, urban refugees and IDPs depend largely on their social networks to migrate to Kampala and to access most of the basic services (Betts et al., 2014; Krause-Vilmar, 2011; Molerop, 2013; Mulumba, 2010). Refugees and IDPs thus use their social networks to increase capital and to reduce risks (Horst, 2006). As will be seen here, in order to organize their communities in Kisenyi and Acholi Quarters, the refugees and IDPs did not only rely on their networks; rather, they used a range of resources including strong establishment in the land they settled, relationship with the government and the existing physical infrastructures.

4.2 Conflict and Displacement Dynamics

Common to the displacement of the Congolese, the Somalis and the Acholi is the armed conflict between the state and the armed opposition and the consequent generalized violence. However, given the complexities of the causes of displacements and the enormity of the literature related to them, an exhaustive account is not possible in this study.⁶

The Congolese refugees have lived in Uganda since the late 1950s and early 1960s (Mulumba & Olema, 2009; Nabuguzi, 1993). However, the current Congolese refugees living in Uganda can be attributed to the generalized violence in the eastern part of Democratic Republic of Congo in the wake of the collapse of Mobutu's regime in 1997 (Lammers, 2006; Lemarchand, 2001; Vlassenroot & Raemaekers, 2005). While the dictatorship, the kleptocracy, fiefdom and patronage that characterized Mobutu's former Zaire is largely held responsible (Lemarchand, 2001), the failure of Laurent Kabila's government to repair the damaged economy and to address major political reforms in the country were at the threshold of the current displacement (Lammers, 2006; Lemarchand,

⁶ For detailed discussions on various aspects of the conflict dynamics please see the following: Lemarchand, 2001; Vlassenroot and Raemaekers, 2005; Banwell 2014, Human Rights Watch Report 2015 on DRC; Barriagaber, 2006; Hesse, 2010; Hammond 2014 on Somalia and Somaliland; Omach 2002; Finnstrom 2003; Lomo & Lucy, 2004; Dolan 2009; Anna and Brier 2010; Esusruku, 2012.

2001). This failure led to multiple armed groups operating in Eastern DRC and gross violation of human rights.

Even though Joseph Kabila's government made some reforms (Vlassenroot & Raemaekers, 2005) and reached a peace agreement with major rebel factions (Banwell, 2014; HRW, 2015), killings and other forms of violation of human rights by smaller rebel groups and the militia have continued unabated. In addition, the stalled disarmament, demobilization and the re-integration process, the failure to bring to justice the culprits of human rights abuse (HRW, 2015) and the anxieties created by the forthcoming general elections (Interview with Robert, Congolese Refugee, 18/12/2015) make it difficult for the refugees to consider a voluntary repatriation.

Somali refugees first came to Uganda in 1989 (Nabuguzi, 1993). It happened in the wake of Siad Barre's suppression of the Somali National Movement's uprising in the Somaliland (Barriagaber, 2006). By 1991 the number of Somali refugees in Ethiopia reached a peak of 628,526 (Hammond, 2014). However, the pressure to remove Barre soon spread to different parts of Somalia (Barriagaber, 2006; Hammond, 2014). In 1991 Barre's regime collapsed and this left the country even more fragmented along clan lines. With the absence of centralized government, people sought protection from warlords and clan-based patrons. According to Laura Hammond, the minority clans or sub-clans are the ones who suffered most. The chaos that came after the collapse of Barre's government sent many to mainly Kenya and Yemen (Hammond, 2014).

Between 1996 and 2006 a relative calm came to Somalia and a Transitional Federal Government (TFG) was formed (Hesse, 2010). By mid-2006 the situation deteriorated again when the Ethiopian forces invaded Somalia and overthrew the Union of Islamic Court (UIC). Perceived as a foreign invasion, resistance emerged which saw the birth of the Al Shabaab which is now responsible for the current refugee situation in Somalia. According to UNHCR, by the end of year 2015, the total number of Somali refugees and asylum seekers had reached 1,155,608 (UNHCR, 2016).

The effect of the armed conflict in Northern Uganda that lasted for almost two decades forced many people to live in squalid IDP camps and other parts of the country. While it can be easily labelled as an atrocity from the LRA, multiple variables are operative at its roots. In the first place, fragile relations inherited by the Ugandan societies from the colonialists' divide and rule policy (Dolan, 2009; Omach, 2002) left the Northern region economically marginalized and thus potent for conflict. The system also entrenched mistrust among the Ugandan societies (Esuruku, 2012; International Alert, 2009; Lomo & Lucy, 2004). Moreover, post independent governments did not prioritize building a national unity among the fractionalized Ugandan societies.

Secondly, in 1986 when the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government came to power, it attempted to force the former Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) to return to the barracks without a clear reintegration process (Dolan, 2009; Esuruku, 2012). This attempt triggered the first resistance from Odong Latek's Uganda Peoples Democratic Army (UPDA). UPDA gradually evolved into the Lord's Resistance Army. The latter would accomplish the atrocities that left thousands of lives devastated (Annan & Brier, 2010; Finnstrom, 2003).

Thirdly, even though the uprising in the Northern Uganda is within the capacity of the NRM government to contain, the lack of political will to end the war led to the devastation to the lives and livelihoods of the affected population (Dolan, 2009; International Alert, 2009). Moreover, the war soon became a multi- stake war in which various external parties were involved (Dolan, 2009). As the atrocities raged on in the region, many people from the Acholi land were forced to seek safety elsewhere, including the urban areas, thus adding to the mass displacement that has gripped the country for years. Some of these displaced people would come to settle in urban areas including Kampala.

4.3 Why Kampala: The Policy Context

In line with the characteristic rural – urban migratory patterns, the urban residence of refugees/IDPs has sometimes been essentialised as a search for better urban services and opportunities (Bernstein, & Okello, 2007; Crisp et al., 2012; Kaiser, 2008; Mulumba, 2010). Most of these studies link the migratory pattern of the refugees/IDPs with the hardships they endure in the ‘refugee settlements’ and the ‘IDPs protected villages.’ Although these linkages can hardly be ignored, the current context of refugee/IDPs’ residence in Kampala has much to do with the subtle implementation of the Acts or policies governing refugees/IDPs. I agree with Jacobsen (2014), that the livelihoods of refugees are different from those of other migrants because their residence is regulated by policies. But I also add that the conception, implementations of these policies and their outcome on the refugees/IDPs may be much more complex than singularizing them as being restrictive.

As Meikle (2002) argues, the legal status of poor people in the urban areas determines their access to livelihood capital. Where the legal status of the urban poor is ambiguous, they are likely to lack their labour and housing and land tenure rights, be disenfranchised and excluded from political decision and subjected to police and bureaucratic bullying (Meikle, 2002). The Refugee Act 2006 and Uganda’s IDP Policy 2004 provides a concrete context to ambiguities in legal status than the familiar ‘restrictive policies’ debates. While the IDPs and refugees can reside in the urban areas, their rights to resources in the urban areas have not been clearly articulated in these instruments, thus giving space for informal relationship of the state with these refugees and IDPs.

Uganda is a signatory to global and regional conventions governing forcibly displaced populations including the 1951/67 Convention on Refugees and Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement 2004, the OAU (AU) Convention on Specific Aspects of Refugees in Africa and the AU Convention on Internally Displaced Persons, known as the Kampala Convention, implying a conformity with international standards of refugee/IDP governance. Uganda also recognizes UNHCR’s mandate to protect and assist forcibly displaced populations including cooperation with the UNHCR in the implementations of

UNHCR's 2009 Urban Policy and the Alternative to Camps (2014) policies. Concretely, it implies the recognition of the displaced people to reside outside camps and the right to freedom of movement.

These legal and policy instruments have, however, to be undertaken within the country's constitutional mandates. In accordance with the constitution of the country, the Refugee Act 2006/regulation 2010 and the IDP Policy of 2004 are the laws currently governing the specific aspects of the life of the refugees/IDPs. These Acts/Regulations/Policies have significant bearings on the residential status of the refugees/IDPs in Kampala.

4.3.1 The Refugee Act 2006 and Refugee Regulation 2010

In 2006, the Ugandan parliament enacted the Refugee Act 2006 which came into force in 2008. In 2010 this Refugee Act was operationalized into the Refugee Regulation of 2010. The Refugee Act 2006 thus repealed the Control of Alien Refugees Act (CARA) of 1960 which is short of international standards and ad hoc in implementation (Kiapi, 1998, in Mulumba & Olema, 2009; Nabugazi, 1993). The process of Refugee Act 2006 began in 1998 and it came into force in 2008 but long before UNHCR started urging Uganda to standardize its refugee policy.

Though not without critics (Andersson, 2013; Mulumba & Olema, 2009; RLP, 2011; Sharpe & Namusyoba, 2012), Refugee Act 2006 is acclaimed as a progressive refugee act (UNHCR, 2015). A number of key departures from the CARA are noticeable including a clarity on the process of refugee status determination, the establishment of the Ministry of Refugee and Disaster Preparedness in the OPM and the Directorate of Refugees (DoR) under the headship of the Commissioner and the provision of the rights enshrined in UN Conventions and OAU protocols (RLP, 2011; Mulumba & Olema, 2009). For urban refugees, its provisions on refugee employment and the position with regard to the residence are important. The Act provided for the refugees to engage in gainful employment and to practice their profession like any other alien in similar circumstances.

However, Refugee Act 2006 stands at a disjuncture of regional obligations enshrined in the OAU (now AU) and the other international standards regarding refugees to which Uganda is a signatory. For instance, in line with the African countries' security concerns (Kibreab, 1989; Nabugazi, 1993), Uganda maintains the settlement system. But to conform to the UN's Conventions and meet its constitutional obligations, it softens the approach to this system. While in CARA, strict disciplinary measures can be taken against any refugee who resides outside the settlements, Refugee Act 2006 does not have such measures. It instead provided for free residence outside the camp on a condition that a refugee has the permission from the Commissioner. In day to day life, these permissions are hardly obtained. Jacobsen (2014) stated that authorities turn 'blind eyes' to those who leave the camps without permission; in the case of Uganda, the policy and its implementers turn blind eyes on monitoring the residential status of the refugees living in the city.

Refugee policies in Africa have been described by two polarities as 'open door' and 'closed door' policies (Rutinwa, 1999 in Rwamatarara, 2005); where, most of the African countries tend to fall under the closed door policy (Kibreab 2003 in Rwamatarara, 2005). In a closed door policy, refugees are given a very limited range of freedom including the freedom of movement and settlement (Rwamatarara, 2005). The Refugee Act 2006 seems to have managed to combine the two polarities; as long as the refugees do not pose major threats to the national interest, refugees can informally reside in the urban areas. Hence, within this limited opportunity provided by the policy, many of the refugees have by de facto come to reside in Kampala.

4.3.2 The IDP Policy 2004

For the urban IDPs, what still holds them in Kampala is their inability to return and reintegrate in their places of origin due to lack of recognition and facilitation under IDP 2004 Policy and its Peace Recovery and Development for Northern Uganda programme (PRDP). This process should have been easier for them were it not for the narrow scope of IDP 2004 policy and PRDP. The policy has failed to achieve this by what Polzer (2010) described as policy blinkers in the process of categorization of social groups for

interventions. The policy also recognized only the IDPs living in the 'protected villages' by granting representation in district development programs only to those in camps (IDP Policy, 2004; RLP, 2007). For instance, representation on IDP issues in local district development plans has been limited to those living in the camps or the 'protected villages.' Similarly, in its objective of rebuilding and empowering communities, the PRDP sought to facilitate IDPs from camps only (PRD, 2007). As a consequence, the urban IDPs have been labelled as economic migrants by both the government and other humanitarian actors (Refstie, 2008) and have been excluded in the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PDRP) for northern Uganda (RLP, 2007).

The urban IDPs live in Kampala as displaced people neither because they are economic migrants nor because they have refused to return to the north or the east. In fact, the desire to return is nearly echoed by all the people I interviewed. They live in Kampala because they do not have access to the provisions enshrined in the IDP 2004 policy and the PRDP for return and reintegration, even though they came to Kampala due to the conflict in the region. In Kampala, their status has not been anywhere better than that of other urban informal settlers, as will be seen in the results of the study. For instance, in a study done by Bjørkhaug, Bøås, Hatløy and Jennings (2007) on uncertainties involved with the return of IDPs in camps, the issue of land and social services were crucial and more so for women and youths. The reasons why the urban IDPs could not return are similar to these; some of the urban IDPs, mainly the widows, I interviewed have had their lands confiscated or encroached on and so have nowhere to go. Others could not return because they do not have a package for resettlement once they get back to their ancestral land. With the long period of living in exile, some of the youths are now disconnected with the life in the north and worrisome about beginning a new life in the North.

4.4 The Congolese and Somali Refugees and Acholi IDP communities in Kampala

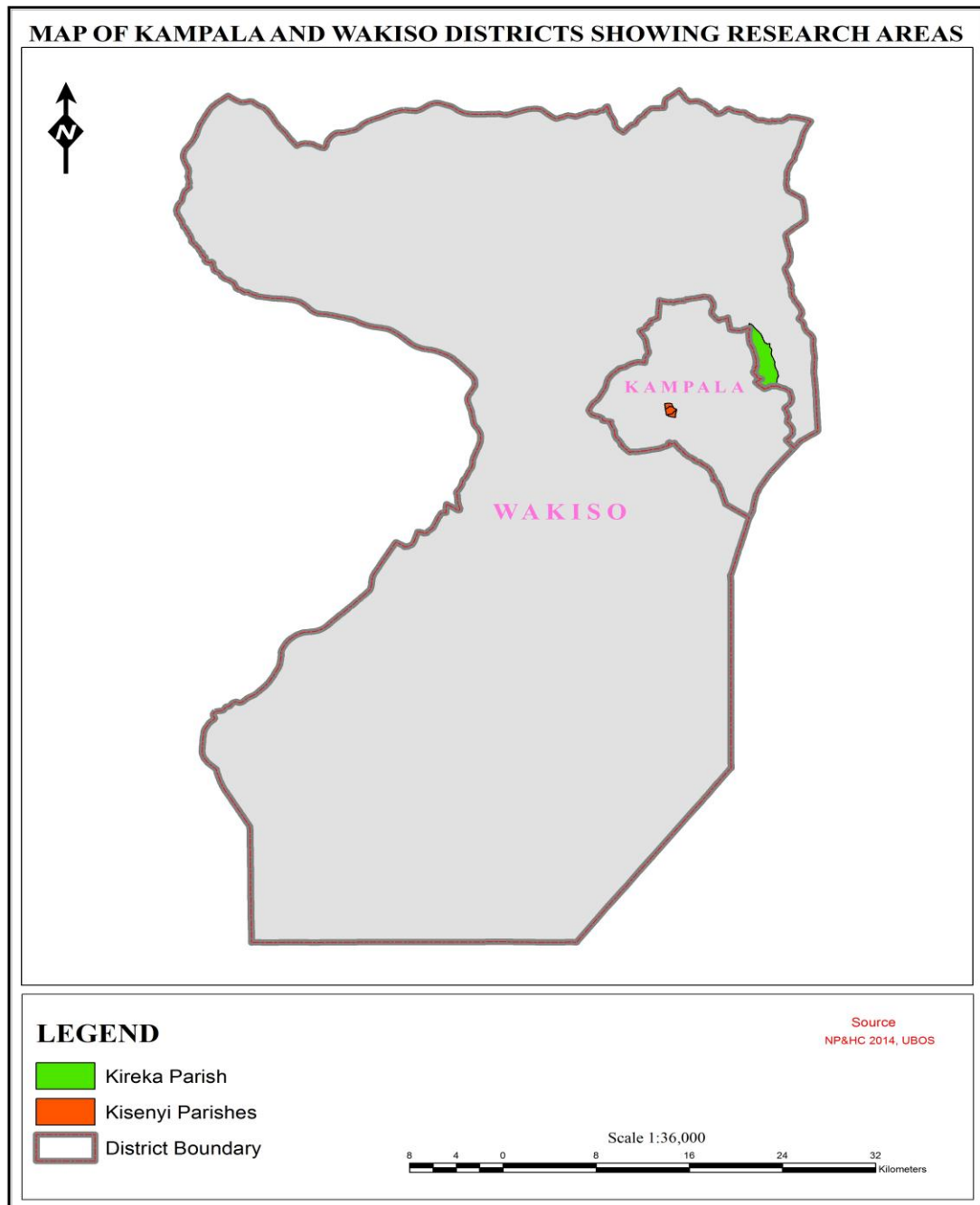
In this section I discuss the refugees and IDPs communities in the two geographical areas of study (see Figure 1 below). 'Community' here is used in the national and spatial sense (Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013) referring to Congolese and Somali refugees living in Kisenyi

and the Acholi IDPs living in Acholi Quarters. Community also can be formed in an organic manner to meet a particular need of a group (Amisi, 2006 in Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013). Examples of this can be community based organizations or an association of professions.

As will be discussed below, the notion of community has a specific sense of meeting some of the needs in the urban space. While the scholarship on urban refugees in Kampala suggested that the strength of ethnic or national network have strong influence on the wellbeing of refugees (Buscher, 2012; Macchiavello, 2003; Omata, 2012), the significance of strong network is only contextual in the case of these three communities. Urban displaced persons are often diverse in experience, background and daily realities; they constantly shift and redefine their spaces (Anderson, 2012). As seen in the livelihood approach, poor people make daily decisions on their assets with specific aim (Rakodi, 2002). This implies that the relevance of a particular livelihood capital is highly variable depending on the needs. Hence, while some of the communities tend to be loosely organised, this loose structure is nevertheless built on other valuable assets for some tangible benefits.

Although the focus of the study is on the Congolese, the Somali and the Acholi as communities, the participants in this study are heterogeneous not only in age, gender and ethnicity but also in their pre-migration social status. Some of the participants were trained as pharmacists, teachers, nurses, pastors and accountants before migrating to Uganda, and some of them worked in the private sector, with NGOs or as civil servants. There is also a variation in the pattern of migration as well as in the number of years spent in Uganda. This diversity reflects not only the livelihood capital they migrated with, but also the challenges embedded in use of these skills or professions in a context of displacement.

Figure 1: Map of Kampala Metropolitan Area and the Research Areas



Source: UBOS (2014)

4.4.1 Refugees in Kisenyi

Kisenyi, as part of the central division of Kampala sits right in the middle of the town and is formed by three parishes and nine zones. Although referred to as the ‘Little Mogadishu’ because of the predominant Somali population, the area presents a multicultural community attracting people from both indigenous and migrant groups from within Uganda and other migrants and refugees from all the neighbouring countries. As one of the largest informal settlements in Kampala, Kisenyi is not only a representation of the informal economy of Kampala but also the vibrancy and diversity of its economy. The assortment of the economic activities in the area is almost innumerable, ranging from metal works, crafts, grinding mills, clothes and shoe making, second hand clothes business, groceries, car washing, repair works, mobile phone sales and repairs, butcheries to services such as boda boda business (motorcycle taxis) and mobile money transfers businesses. Contextually, Kisenyi is a confluence for livelihoods of refugees, economic migrants, victims of domestic violence and the indigenous Baganda.

Kisenyi informal settlement holds a significant place to the government, not only in terms of KCCA’s Strategic plan of upgrading the informal settlement areas of Kampala but also the government’s broader objectives of modernization and strategic aims. The modernization and strategic objectives of the central government in Kisenyi settlement are not always in harmony with KCCA’s urban programmes. One example of this modernization process was the leasing of the land on which Nabagereka Primary School, a KCCA owned school, to a developer, a process involving the Uganda Land Commission. As a result the school has been closed since last year (Interview with Local Council Leader, Kisenyi, 09/12/2015). Nabagereka primary school is located in Mengo – Kisenyi where the marginal residents of Kisenyi, including the majority of Congolese refugees, live.

Strategically, an organized Somali community in Kisenyi is an asset for the government for buttressing its security system that is vital in the role it plays in East African region. The government and the Somali community maintain a mutual relationship particularly in

exchange of security matters (Interview with Somali Community Centre Leader, 23/11/2015). As Iazzolino (2014) indicated, the liberal approach to Somali community has its reward in providing intelligence both in Uganda and its military targets in Somalia.

The Somali Community

Kisenyi is where the majority of the Somali population live and this has links with their own need to belong as a group which reflects wider Somali characteristics in diaspora. As explained by the leader of Youth Cooperation for Ideas, Kisenyi is the place where the Somalis can get most of the information and if they live far from each other, they feel they are lonely (Interview with a Somali youth leader, 5/01/2016). Ahmed, a Somali refugee who came to Kampala due to hardships in Kakuma camp in Kenya added that he came to live in Kisenyi because Kisenyi is the place where he could easily get assistance from fellow Somalis (Interview with Ahmed, a Somali youth, 4/01/2016). The Somalis in Kisenyi have a fairly well-structured community. Also, when compared to Somali communities in different parts of the world, the Somali community in Kampala is small but it is among the strongest worldwide (Interview with Somali Community Centre Leader, 23/11/2015).

Two associations are central here: The **Somali Community Centre** and the **Youth Cooperation for Ideas**. The Somali Community Centre plays a key role in coordinating the Somali community with the government agents, including the police and the Office of the Prime Minister. Maintaining good relationship with the state authorities through a centralized body has the benefit of protecting the Somali members within Kisenyi (Interview with Somali Community Centre Leader, 23/11/2015). But this sort of protection only lasts as long as it still serves Uganda's security goals. On the other hand, Youth Cooperation for Ideas, a Community Based Organization initiated by Somali youths, helps to link vulnerable refugees to organizations for assistance through sharing of information.

The Congolese Community

For the Congolese, Kisenyi is a more practical location in which they can easily access resources and organizations. InterAid, RLP and Hebrew International Aid Service (HIAS), the lead international refugee NGOs, are all located in Old Kampala and Rubaga, a neighbourhood of Kisenyi. The city centre and the main transport terminals are all within a walking distance from Kisenyi. This proximity to transport terminals makes it easier for the Congolese refugees to access even distant organizations such as JRS, Xavier Project and branch of HIAS in Nsambya. In addition, house rent in this area is fairly cheap compared to areas such as Rubaga or even Old Kampala itself. The primacy of access to other resources has an effect on the strength of their community in Kisenyi.

Compared to other refugee communities, the Congolese refugee community is perhaps the biggest and well represented among the urban refugee communities in seeking support from refugee assisting organizations.⁷ Yet the Congolese community seems not to have any single centralized organization. Lyytinen and Kullenberg (2013) observed that bigger communities sometimes have more internal threats and this seems to be the case for a Congolese refugee community initiated by UNHCR in 2011. According to some of the research participants, this community collapsed because of internal power wrangles. The Congolese, however, use mainly the churches to organize themselves thus reflecting previous findings on significance of churches to refugees (Lauterbach, 2014; Lyytinen, 2015). Among many others, two important churches include St. Matthias Mulumba Catholic Church located in Old Kampala and Holy Pentecostal Church of Africa (HOPECHA), a Congolese initiated church located in Katwe, a neighbourhood informal settlement. At these churches, they meet resource persons and get links to organizations and other resources (Levitt, 2003). They also form their informal associations such as 'Home Njiani'⁸ in Matthias Mulumba church and give community support for the most vulnerable.

⁷ From my observation at JRS offices, most of the refugees who come for assistance are the Congolese. This In my interviews with representatives from JRS and RLP, the representatives of these organizations also mentioned that the Congolese tend to be more common in seeking assistance from organizations.

⁸ Home Njiani is a combination of Swahili and English words. The literal translation is "Home is on the way" refers to creating home in transitional period of refuge.

4.4.2 The Acholi IDPs in Acholi Quarters

Acholi quarter is located in Kireka – Banda area. It shares neighboured with two other informal settlements, Kasokoso and Kiganda, mainly occupied by the Baganda. The IDPs sometimes call Acholi Quarters ‘Lede’, meaning top of the hill. In the later chapters we will see how the IDPs built their livelihoods on the rocks of this hill. Acholi Quarters has, however, become a multi-ethnic community that draws people mainly from the Northern and Eastern Uganda. The administrative jurisdiction of Acholi Quarters is somehow complex and this has created further complexities in its ownership. According to the 2014 National Population and Housing Census’ boundary, Acholi Quarters falls under Kireka parish of Wakiso district, another fairly well urbanized district surrounding Kampala, but Kireka area also falls under Kampala Capital City Infrastructural Planning Area.

The Acholi IDPs in Acholi Quarters belong to the broader urban internally displaced persons living in various urban areas in Uganda from the districts of Gulu, Kitgum, Pader and Amuru (RLP, 2007). Broadly, the urban IDPs are represented by a committee with a chairperson, a vice chairperson, coordinators for Kampala and other municipalities, and representatives for the various urban residential areas. Between 2007 and 2008, this committee advocated for the inclusion of urban IDPs in the then government and UNHCR on-going programmes of assisted return of IDPs to their home areas (Refstie, 2008; RLP, 2007). However, most of their requests to be profiled for return and reintegration by the government and UNHCR during this period did not materialize. Within Acholi Quarters, the community elders play an important role in maintaining unity among the people and cultural practices (Interview with Odong, elder, male, IDP community, 6/12/2015).

However, the residential status of the IDPs on the land of Acholi Quarters and how they articulate their identity as conflict induced urban internally displaced persons in Acholi Quarters kept changing with changes in the context of the primary cause of displacement and prevailing government policy. This residential status also reveals an intersection between formal and informal institutions, where informal institutions play vital role to claim right from the formal institutions.

The Acholi first settled in the area of Acholi Quarters, a land belonging to the Kabaka of Buganada, in 1940s through their co-ethnic members (Molerop, 2013) who settled in the land as World War II veterans, and skilled and unskilled labour migrants. Later in 1950s, Sudanese refugees joined this group and the number grew. With the war in the North that span from mid the 1980s until 2006 when the Juba accord was signed (Wyrzykowski and Kasozi, 2009), the Acholi and many other conflict affected communities in the northern and eastern region began arriving to Kampala in large numbers mainly to reunite with family members or to escape the deplorable situation in the 'protected villages' (RLP, 2007). According to the leaders of this group, as the number of the displaced people kept growing, the Kabaka (the King of Buganda) decided to give the area where the first migrants settled and the surrounding areas for the displaced population to use as long as they needed the land. This ownership remained temporary and none of the displaced people ever formalised the process of land ownership through land titles.

The urban IDPs in Uganda lived precariously in Acholi Quarters earning a living through the stones they quarry without any formal recognition by the state agents and international organizations. In 2007, a participatory action research conducted by some social scientists in this area, which coincided with a government and UNHCR programme of return and re-integration for displaced persons in the country, brought the IDPs, and the state and formal organisations in contact for the first time (Refstie, 2008). The unfolding plan to return and reintegrate the internally displaced persons offered an opportunity for the urban IDPs to re-position themselves as displaced persons qualified for assisted or organised return and re-integration programmes. Momentarily, the urban IDPs entered into a negotiation process with the government and UNHCR to be officially recognised as 'urban IDPs', to be profiled, and for their needs to be identified. However, this attempt did not live to yield any result. Writing from the perspective of famine resettlement programme in Ethiopia, Hammond, argues that,

Beyond trying to control movement, governmentality relating to mobility also serves to define the relationship between polity and citizen by casting the former as

regulator and orchestrator of (im)mobility while the latter, through compliance or lack thereof, comes to define commendable citizens. Those who move in the way that the state wants them to are rewarded with the privileges of citizenship, while those who depart from the prescribed model of mobility are subject to sanctions (Hammond, 2011, p.117)

In the case of the urban IDPs, this group whom the state and formal organisations considered as 'deviant from the states' mode of mobility' were eventually excluded from the return and reintegration programmes, reserving this programme for those who remained in the 'protected villages.'

From about 2006, a relative peace reigned in the northern and eastern region as a result of signing of cessation of hostility between the government and LRA in 2006 (UNDP, 2009), even though no comprehensive peace agreement was reached (International Alert, 2009). With peace in the region, the government was able to shift its attention to development programmes under the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP). As a result the urban IDPs muted their claim to IDP status and the need for incorporation in assisted return and reintegration until 2013.

Since 2013, Acholi Quarters and the other informal settlements have attracted the interest of the National Housing Construction Company (NHCC), the government's agent for housing development. NHCC aims to provide modernised housing facilities for Kampala's growing middle class and these areas have been earmarked as conducive for housing estates development. NHCC claims the ownership of Acholi Quarters and neighbouring areas of Kasokoso and Kiganda, and regarded the residents of these three neighbourhoods as squatters. This implies that the IDPs and other residents could be evicted and possibly without compensation. Alternatively, if the residents want to remain in Acholi Quarters, NHCC would build houses under its scheme which they can then acquire through mortgage.

The involvement of NHCC has led to uncertainties among the urban IDPs in Acholi Quarters insofar as their status as urban residents is concerned. The IDPs live with the fear that they can be evicted by NHCC anytime and probably without compensation since

NHCC's action is meant to fulfil a broader government's urban development plan. This fear is made even more palpable by the fact that they do not have land titles.

However, the actions of NHCC and the uncertainties it raised led to a new and rather nuanced strategies through which the IDPs claim their rights to the land as displaced persons. The IDPs claim their legitimacies to Acholi Quarters, asserting that the land was given by the Kabaka and by the fact that they lived on the land for over ten years without any claim meant that constitutionally they are the bona fide owners of the land, not NHCC. They further argue, under the IDP Policy 2004 and the constitution of Uganda, the IDPs have right to settle anywhere in the country. In this sense, an eviction would undermine their constitutional right as Ugandans, and the right granted to them under IDP Policy 2004 which allowed IDPs to resettle in any part of the country. Hence, if the planned eviction and redevelopment of the place is to be implemented, they should either be fairly compensated for developing the area, or assisted to return and resettle at their places of origin, or given the priority to own and develop the land. Using this argument, they sought assistance through their area representative in the parliament and some key personalities in the Ministry of Land and they were momentarily able to halt the process of eviction until now.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I explored the broader context in which the refugees/IDPs came to reside in Kampala and the ways in which they have organized themselves in communities. Congolese, Somalis and Acholis of Northern Uganda came to live in Kampala because of the generalized violence in their areas that came with the armed conflicts. For the residence of the three communities in Kampala, the conception and the practices embedded in the legal and policy instruments have significant contributions. While the disjuncture of Refugee Act 2006 between regional obligations and international conventions has allowed the authorities to ignore monitoring residential status of the refugees, the exclusionary practice of the IDP Policy 2004 of Uganda forced the displaced Acholi community to continue living in Kampala. In Kampala, nationality and space has

played important role in organizing the communities. Within these communities, associations or organizations emerge to meet specific needs of the community. Previous narratives on the migration of refugees and IDPs to Kampala tended to emphasise the reasons for migration to the city. This chapter differs from these previous accounts by instead addressing the status of the refugees and IDPs in the city particularly in their relationship with the government and their areas of informal settlement in the city. There are currently two extreme perspectives on Uganda's policy. One popular view is that Uganda's policy provides unlimited opportunity for refugees to settle in any part of the country. The other perspective is that the Refugee Act 2006 remains largely restrictive in so far as it retains the settlement system. This chapter suggest a need for a modified approach to the question, considering the fact that the urban residential status of the refugees and IDPs is highly ambiguous and the relationship with the state varies across different ethnic or national groups.

CHAPTER 5: STRUCTURES OF ASSISTANCE AND CHALLENGES OF ACCESS TO LIVELIHOOD RESOURCES

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the challenges of livelihood strategies of refugees and IDPs in Kampala focusing on the role of government agents and organizations.⁹ The findings in this chapter indicate that in spite of the existence of legal instruments and programmes to protect and assist refugees in Kampala, the refugees and IDPs have not been able to attain sustainable livelihoods within the provisions of these instruments and programmes. It is argued that refugees and IDPs have not been able to attain a sustainable livelihood within the existing instruments due to bureaucratic processes embedded in the policies and programmes of assistance and protection. Because of these issues, the experiences and challenges of urban livelihoods of refugees and IDPs differ from those of other urban migrants. I discuss these issues in regard to accessing employment documents, regulations of urban informal economic activities, the livelihood support by organizations and the resettlement of refugees to third countries.

Literature on urban refugees is quite consistent on the fact that urban refugees and internally displaced persons experience multiple obstacles in accessing urban livelihood opportunities (Branch, 2011; Höök, 2015; Lammers, 2006; RLP, 2005; RLP, 2014; Krause-Vilmar, 2011). Using the sustainable livelihood approach, I situate these obstacles in the role of formal institutions and organizations as a vital force in linking peoples' livelihood capital and the vulnerability context (Rakodi, 2004; Scoones, 1998). Forms of livelihood capital in relation to which institutions play a role in urban refugee and IDP contexts include, but are not limited to, documents, access to market spaces, skills, talents, physique, knowledge, cash, and networks of friends, or relationships shaped by gender or ethnicity.

⁹ 'Organizations' in this chapter is used to refer to the UNHCR and NGOs, involved in refugees and IDPs assistance

Most of the studies on the policy context of livelihoods of refugees in Kampala tended to conclude with the need for institutional and organizational support for refugee livelihoods (Betts, et al., 2014; Buscher, 2012; Omata, 2012; Peterson-Dryden, 2006; Krause-Vilmar, 2011). The conclusion to a large extent follows from the institutional debates which attribute the precariousness of the majority of urban refugees and IDPs to government policies that restrict refugees and IDPs to rural settlement (Campbell, 2006; Jacobsen, 2006; Mulumba, 2010). Mulumba (2010) argues that in spite of the modernization and development processes, refugee policies for Africans south of Sahara view the refugees as suitable only for rural agricultural settlements and camps. Campbell maintains that the restrictions of refugees only to the camps have hindered the ability of the Somali and Congolese to integrate in Nairobi (Campbell, 2005, 2006). Busher (2012) and Horst (2006) indicated that refugees have limited access to urban employment due to restrictive government policies.

However, other urban refugee studies in countries that do not have the policy of rural settlement or camp system suggest that refugees experience challenges of livelihoods irrespective of legal instruments to protect refugees in non-camp contexts (Al Sharmani, 2004; Jacobsen & Al Sharmani, 2015; Landau, 2006). Yet not so much attention has been given to these challenges in a context where governments and nongovernmental organizations have policies and programmes of livelihood support for not only refugees but urban poor in general. This chapter extends these debates to the bureaucratic structures of refugee and IDP assistance which are marked by inconsistencies or lack of coordination, restrictions, delays and lack of attention to the context of the people being assisted. Within these structures, urban poor in general but particularly refugees and IDPs' ability to access livelihood capital are stifled and thus result in living at subsistence level. Borrowing from Misztal's notion of 'bureaucratic exchange', bureaucratic processes can be considered as 'abstract, universal rules of rational culture of modern organization' (Misztal, 2000, p. 87). Bureaucracy thus stresses depersonalization, impersonal power and the detailed rigidity of prescribed behaviour all of which make the initiation of change

difficult (Misztal, 2000). In consequence, assistance is characterised by authoritarian practices where refugees and IDPs have little say in deciding upon policies and livelihoods programmes (Easton –Calabria, 2015). This mode of assistance is also restrictive in the sense that assistance is given according to prescribed ‘protection needs’ as opposed to refugees’ own capabilities (Easton - Calabria, 2015). This leads to a decontextualized mode of assistance which ends up favouring ‘dominant actors in the institutional domain’ (Davies & Hossain, 1997; Etzold, el., 2012).

5.2 Accessing employment documents and market spaces

Institutions are important in guiding the interactions of actors in a social setting or the arena (Etzold et al., 2009). ‘Institutions reduce uncertainty by establishing a stable structure to human interactions’ (North, 1990, p.6). Having certificates, permits or forms of identification are therefore visible forms of expression of being part and parcel of the institutional domain which serves to reduce uncertainties in human interactions. Refugees and IDPs need certificates, permits or identifications to claim their legitimacy and stability in daily transactions that are significant to their livelihoods. The need for documents thus brings the refugees and IDPs in contact with other actors in the urban area who are often more powerful than the refugees in negotiating the dynamics of the ever conflicting institutions. The state, supranational actors and corporate enterprises constitute these other actors that the refugees and IDPs ought to interact with. According to Etzold et al. (2009), generally speaking, more powerful actors would have more influence in this negotiation. In other words, it is these powerful actors who set the terms on which refugees and IDPs can have access to employment opportunities, access to market and residential areas. In most cases, the goals and the interests of the major actors tend to supersede the protection of the livelihoods of the urban poor in general and refugees/IDPs in particular and thus a decontextualized approach. Hence inconsistencies or uncoordinated application of legal instruments are not necessarily symptoms of ineffectiveness but negotiation processes of dominant actors in a bureaucratic process. This inconsistency thus helps in determining who can have access and who cannot have

access to urban opportunities. Dominant actors negotiate the institutional mode of operation by setting standards and procedures to documents, censoring activities or demarcating spaces through the use of licenses that do not reflect 'local context' (Misztal, 2000). In this sense one can understand why in spite of the rights granted for refugees in Refugee Act 2006, or even the IDP policy 2004, the refugees and IDPs are not able to translate these rights into entitlements and sustainable livelihoods (Landau, 2006). In this section I discuss these inconsistencies in policy implementations, standardization of certificates, censoring in relation to work permits, equation of certificates/entry into professional circles and restrictions in informal economic activities. In each case, I attempt to highlight how these processes affect the livelihoods of the refugees and IDPs and how they experience these processes in a way that is different from other urban dwellers.

5.2.1 Accessing work permits

The challenge of accessing work permits is something that distinguishes refugees from other urban poor in general but also from other aliens. Under the Refugee Act 2006, refugees are supposed to have the right to engage in any gainful employment equivalent to any alien in 'a similar circumstance.' However, there is no consistent and coordinated understanding across the government bodies involved on whether refugees are required to obtain work permit like other aliens. In the understanding of the Office of Prime Minister (OPM – which is responsible for refugee affairs), refugees fall into a different category and hence do not require work permits, a position most refugees maintain. Immigration Control (responsible body for the employment of aliens), however, maintains the position that insofar as refugees are aliens, work permits are required in order to be employed (Interview, Major NGO staff, male, 10/01/2016).

Inconsistency in the interpretation of refugees' work permits has been approached as lack of implementation of the refugee Act 2006 (Krause-Vilmar, 2011; RLP, 2006). However, this lack of consistency in the application of legal instruments can also be seen as a symptom of bureaucratic processes of assistance. The necessity of clear guidelines on work permit for refugee economic integration has been raised by Refugee Law Project to

Immigration Control and in principle Immigration control understands the fact that refugees are not necessarily the same as other migrants. Yet to date Immigration Control still vacillates on whether to issue a different type of work permit for refugees and as a consequence there is no clear stance on the status of refugees' employment (Interview, small NGO staff, female, 19/11/2015).

This inconsistency in interpreting the Refugee Act 2006 in relation to work permits has impacted on employers' decisions on whether or not to employ professional and highly skilled refugees in the formal sector. The confusion on the status of work permits puts the refugees in a weaker position in negotiating employment with employers. One NGO worker explained:

Let's say they want to employ you, they say you know you are a foreigner you haven't gone to immigration to get your work permit, you haven't got your papers clear. And then at every stage you have to say no, I am not from this country but I don't have to have a work permit because am a refugee and am not able to understand that aspect (Interview, small NGO staff, female, 19/11/2015).

Refugees are left confused on whether to seek work permit or not (RLP, 2005). As a result, many refugees who have professional qualifications or specialized skills end up being employed in informal jobs or informal self-employed activities. Some of them also end up being downgraded as casual workers in some formal sector even though they may have the qualifications as in the case of Martha, a nurse who now depends on hawking: 'I am a nurse; if I could get a nursing job I could do it. I am at Inter Aid as a volunteer but not permanent. I tried sometime to find a job but they told me just to work as a helper and since that time I stopped' (Interview with Martha, Congolese refugee, 13/11/2015). Casualization may also involve the process of recruitment which privileges only those with some links. As stated by Benoit, a trained accountant who left his job in a university in DRC after losing his father:

It is relationship, I know someone who was recommended by the director of an organization, he was his friend. When some visitors come in the office he asks, you can't get a place for so and so. If he accepts he gives the name and you go there. I know another who works in a company, he was recommended by a friend in UK,

because the company is from UK. That one is a refugee I know, he earns 1.5 Million UGX (Interview with Benoit, Congolese refugee, 18/12/2015).

Although many foreign nationals encounter bureaucratic delays in obtaining work permits, the uncoordinated approach to work permits in the hands of OPM and Immigration Control is an issue that affects only the refugees. Taken from the perspective of Refugee Act 2006, refugees are entitled to work without the need for a work permit because they are refugees, and therefore not necessarily any other alien. However, refugees cannot claim this right since different actors apply different legal systems to address their issue of employment. In the end, refugees find it difficult to engage in a secure employment in the formal sector or in better paying jobs. It also becomes difficult for them to join professional circles for gainful employment. The issue of work permit also distinguishes the refugees from their counterparts, the IDPs, because the latter being nationals means they do not require permits for employment.

5.2.2 Equation of Certificates and entry into Professional Associations

To engage in a professional job in the formal sector and to join a body of relevant professional associations, any academic qualifications attained from a foreign nation needs to be equated with the Ugandan system (The Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions (Equating of Degrees, Diplomas and Certificates) Regulations, 2007) (Interview with a major NGO staff, female, 27/10/2015). The processes of equation of certificates and belonging to a professional association are meant to ascertain one's credibility for the job he or she seeks to undertake. But these processes also serve the means of securing and protecting the labour market for a few professionals and hence as a mechanism of labour control. Processes involved in equation of foreign academic certificates and entry into professional circles add to the challenges refugees experience in the confusion of work permits.

Given the circumstances of their migration, some of the refugees have lost their documents or the documents got destroyed in the course of displacement and obtaining new documents from their respective institutions is demanding. Where the refugees have

the documents to be equated, the process of ascertaining the individual's competence in the stated profession is excruciating. As one NGO member of staff explains:

You find in DRC, their senior four is our senior two, as an example, so that if their senior two would be our senior one, such that when they come here equating becomes difficult and if it is done then you are like a standard lower [...]. Rwandan refugees have had the process a bit easier because Uganda and Rwanda have been cooperating, assisting UNEB or other institutions and academic institutions to equate certificates. DRC specifically has been a difficult state, [...] you tell UNEB can you please equate certificate for refugees, they would like to join S.6, they would like to join five after.S.4, or they would like to join campus and then UNEB says DRC, the government is uncooperative (Interview with Small NGO staff, female, 19/11/2015).

In addition, entry into professional associations also comes at a cost which many impoverished refugees cannot afford. The equated certificate thus becomes redundant as in the case of Benoit, a casual broker in Kampala who qualified with an MBA and worked as an accountant in a university in DRC:

I have tried that with Makerere University, I have translated my certificate, why I can't do everything because to get job is a problem..., it has been translated because when we came from Congo with Diploma in French, you have to go to Makerere to translate it in English, and you keep the translated version. If you can get a job, you can bring it they translate and you get the job (Interview with Benoit, refugee, 18/12/2015).

Processes of certificate translation and entry into professional associations are indications that provision of rights to employment in policy documents do not necessarily mean that refugees can attain sustainable livelihoods. Rights can be of use if they are synchronized with other legal instruments and employment practices such professional requirements. Unless these issues are included in refugee protection, the right to employment may be relevant only for survivalist livelihood strategies.

Refugees are disadvantaged in securing jobs, compared to expatriates because of the differences in the processes of certificates translation and entry into professional associations. For expatriates, employment documents and professional recognitions are done by the employer without direct involvement of the expatriate and sometimes long

before the arrival of the expatriate into the country. Refugees are neither expatriates nor nationals. Employers would want to treat refugees as nationals and where processing work documents is required, they are expected to process their own documents. Refugees are prone to the whims of both employers and those involved in processing documents, putting them into a further disadvantaged position compared to other aliens and the locals.

The question of certificates also distinguishes the refugees from the IDPs because IDPs do not require these processes while seeking jobs. Hence even though the circumstances of their migration to the urban areas may be similar, entitlements to different forms of capital to enhance livelihoods may not necessarily be the same. This difference can be seen from the fact that during the field interview, I did not encounter any professionally trained IDP who has not got a job equivalent to his or her qualification. Yet among the refugees, there are some professional refugees who could not get formal jobs as in the case of Abubakir, a trained pharmacist with some work experience in medical profession (Interview with Abubakir, Somali refugee, 31/12/2015).

5.3 KCCA and urban economic activities

Organizing the ever burgeoning informal economic activities in Kampala has been a concern to experts and ordinary city residents alike. Some academics attribute the ineffectiveness in organizing the city to ambiguous involvement of actors in service delivery (Goodfellow, 2010, 2012). In recent times, measures have been taken up under the new Kampala Capital City Act 2010, to reorganize urban governance and to improve the effectiveness in the delivery of service. A few observers have already pointed out that some of these measures are likely to affect the urban poor, particularly the refugees and IDPs (Brown, 2010). How the processes of reordering urban economic activities affect the livelihoods of refugees and IDPs in the urban space needs to be seen from the perspectives involved in the formalities of urban economy. One key aspect of formal processes is to create a rigidly prescribed behaviour which makes the initiation of change difficult (Misztal, 2000). In others words, the urban poor have limited possibilities to

manoeuvre their ways for alternative livelihood strategies in the prescribed system. In this sense, bureaucratic processes reflected in restrictive urban economic activities play an important role in constraining urban refugees and IDPs in access to livelihood opportunities.

5.3.1 KCCA and informal business requirements

In order to promote an ordered economic development in Kampala, KCCA took measures to re-organize Kampala's informal enterprises including enforcing the operation of enterprises in fixed places, business licenses, taxation and prohibition of vending/ hawking in Central Business District areas. An ordered economic activity is driven by the objective of having a city that is 'attractive to investment' (KCCA, 2014). Hence the primary motive is creating an urban space for formal investment companies whom KCCA considers more resourceful in terms of revenue generation. In this sense, re-ordering the urban economy is in line with meeting the demands of the major actors, the developers or the investors, mirroring the 'mode of operation' of institutions in the arena (Etzold, et al., 2009). Narrating the challenges he experienced in running restaurants over the last four years in Kampala as well as the experiences of people in similar circumstances, Ishaq, a Somali refugee who migrated with some training in finance and some skills in running business, explains:

Some people have their own allowance and they can give a good price and while for you you're renting a room, a shop with a high price. And you are selling your things at the same price with the other one, and to make yourself equal with others you will make loss sometimes. That is the challenge we have sometimes or the challenge the refugees have sometimes (Interview with Ishaq, Somali refugee, 05/01/2016).

This process of organizing urban economic activities is restrictive and therefore not based on specific circumstances or contexts. As a result many of the poor, including the refugees and IDPs continue to operate precariously as hawkers, vendors, gamblers or sex workers since the measures taken undermine their capacity to accumulate financial capital. According to Hamid, a Somali youth leader, among the Somali community, some people open their businesses but at the end of the year the businesses collapse, because of low

profits and high taxation (Interview with a Somali youth leader, 05/01/2016). Closing of such a business causes a snowball effect in poverty since some employees lose their jobs (Interview with Hamid, Somali refugee, 31/12/2015).

Restrictive measures taken to limit hawking and vending in the Central District Areas have heightened the poverty of the victims because of loss of properties, heavy fines and time lost in prison. Speaking of the strict measures of KCCA authorities and their effects on the IDPs, the representative of the IDPs in Acholi Quarters stated:

You find that they are arrested, and once they are arrested, they have to pay fine, 150000 UGX even there and then (or they take them to Luzira, an interjection), and you expect a woman with just a basket of oranges, of which even if she is to sell may raise only 20000 UGX or 15000 UGX. But if you are arrested they expect 150000 UGX, they take you to court there and then and from court you are sanctioned and imprisoned (Interview with IDP leader, female, 02/12/2015).

In a bid to extract rents from vendors, KCCA officials extend their search for vendors at homes and in established shops. For example, some Somali women in Kisenyi complain that officials from KCCA confiscate their properties even when they display them on the veranda of their friends' shops (Interview with a small NGO staff, 30/11/2015). In many cases, these crackdowns single out refugees as in the case of Somali women cited above, exploiting their ignorance of the systems. Women are also most affected in the raids since it is mostly women involved in hawking and vending. Loss of assets affects the refugees and IDPs more because it is reminiscent of the assets they had lost during the war, thus becoming a second or third loss. Ironically, such measures do not help to reduce the practices of hawking and vending but encourage those involved to adopt new methods of manoeuvring their ways because with a depleted asset, these activities remain the only means to begin life.

5.3.2 Pro – poor urban economic initiatives

There are, however, ways in which KCCA has attempted to include the urban poor in the urban economy including the creation of informal market venues and days for the informal traders. Creating these informal market days and spaces would accommodate

the large number of vendors and hawkers who could not access other formal market spaces (KCCA, 2014). For instance, KCCA has opened a place in Makindye for art and craft. Similarly, at the Central Business District area, some parts of Luwum Street and Dastur Street have been designated for informal traders to display their second hand clothes, shoes and other items on Sundays.

Although this approach has, to some extent, helped in providing market space for the poor people, operating only one day a week and in a few selected areas is quite restrictive for the poor who have to survive through daily struggles. Moreover, expenses on market dues, feeding and transport limit the ability of the poor people to access these market opportunities (Interview with Betty, IDP woman, 08/12/2015). The market for the crafts at these premises is not assured (Interview with IDP Leader, female, 02/12/2015).

There are particular ways in which refugees and IDPs do not benefit much from KCCA's provisions. The setting of these informal market spaces does not fit in with the livelihood capital, particularly physical capital, to which the refugees and IDPS have control confirming the inaccessibility of resources by the poor migrants in spite of the availability of these resources in urban areas (Meikle, 2002). Spatially, IDPs in Acholi Quarters are limited by their peri-urban location. Living far from these places increases the cost of transport which they incur regardless of selling their products or not. As explained by Betty, an IDP woman, 'we have got a taxi which comes to pick us every Friday from up there to go there, 2500UGX; coming back, 5000UGX. When you get 10000UGX you come with nothing. At least if you get like 20 or 30 like that' (Interview with Betty, IDP, 08/12/2015). Physical location also jeopardizes their security because of issues such as harassment by security organs on their way back from the market areas (Interview with Akello, IDP woman, 08/12/2015).

While KCCA's informal market opportunity is meant to benefit any urban resident, most impoverished refugees are not aware of their rights to these services under the provisions of Refugee Act 2006. Refugees are not integrated in urban programmes by the city

planners because no proactive measures are taken by the OPM and UNHCR to engage the KCCA in integrating vulnerable refugees in urban plans hence a problem of coordination of programmes of assistance. This exclusion arises from the position held by OPM and UNHCR that only refugees who can demonstrate self-sufficiency can live in urban areas. In addition, city authorities are not informed of the refugees' entitlement because UNHCR has not given a guideline to Inter Aid Uganda (IAU), its official implementing partner of urban programmes, on working with city authorities as an aspect of the UNHCR's urban policy and Alternative to Camp policies. Moreover, refugee assisting NGOs prefer to implement parallel programmes from the KCCA programmes thus entrenching the isolation of refugees by city authorities.

5.4 Programmes and strategies of organizations: livelihood support and the resettlement processes

5.4.1 Livelihood supports – the case of loans

Some organizations in Kampala have initiated policies and programmes of livelihood support to refugees. In the case of Inter Aid Uganda (IAU) and Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) livelihood support constitutes a core aspect of their programmes in Kampala. Livelihood support follows a trend from UNHCR since 2003, in which livelihood support has been regarded as a way of preparing refugees for any of the three durable solutions of return/reintegration in country of origin, local integration in the host country, and resettlement to third country (UNHCR, 2003). Livelihood support is also considered more appropriate in urban areas where refugees are self – settled among the host community (Karen, 2005, 2006; Krause-Vilmar, 2011). Various strategies have been employed including provision of soft loans, formation of livelihood support groups, identification of /engagement in income generating activities (IGAs) and skills training. The assumption is that such strategies will not only help the refugees cope but aid their process of integration by helping them become self-reliant (UNHCR, 2003).

Livelihood support reflects a social support system widely practiced among sub Saharan African states. For instance Ferguson (2015) indicated that social supports in form of cash

transfers is now widely practiced in nearly all the Southern African countries. In Uganda, this system has been done through schemes such as the Community Driven Development (CDD) funds to improve the welfare of the unemployed youths. However, this system somewhat differs from the Western welfare system because its objective is not to substitute for other economic activities, (such as unemployment benefit, work injuries, pensions); rather, it acts as a catalyst to enable informal livelihoods such as small business (Ferguson, 2015). From theoretical perspectives, it has been approached as a missing link in mitigating the vulnerability context of the urban refugees and IDPs (Buscher, 2012; Jacobsen, 2005, 2006; Krause-Vilmar, 2011). Livelihood support has thus underpinned the centrality of the role of institutions and organizations in the 'Livelihoods Approach' in urban refugee and IDP context.

The context of the refugees and IDPs studied here, however, suggests a nuanced approach to considering livelihood support in forms of soft loans and skills training as simply a missing link. As Ferguson indicates, in so far as social protection programmes do support a sort of social reproduction, it is the reproduction of precisely that class of people who have increasingly slim prospects of ever entering the labour market at all (Ferguson, 2015). Seen from the situation of refugees and IDPs in urban areas, the logic that livelihood support, in form of loans and skills, would help refugees or IDPs achieve self-sufficiency in urban areas is disputable. While the restrictions, de-contextualized approaches, delays and uncoordinated approaches can be reflected across other livelihood supports such as skills training programmes, in this section I take the case of loan supports.

Although the urban poor are dependent on cash income for their livelihoods (Meikle, 2002), poor urban refugees and IDPs have very limited access to credit facilities from financial institutions (Buscher, 2012; Krause-Vilmar, 2011; Lammers, 2006; RLP, 2005). As a result, soft loans given either individually or through groups have been used by organizations to fill this gap in credit facilities. In group loaning systems, an organization can either support a common project of a group or support projects of individual

members belonging to a specific group and each member is encouraged to contribute towards the recovery of loan (Interview with a major NGO staff, male, 11/01/2016). A group loan is usually preferred by organizations because of the relatively stable loan recovery from the groups (Interview with a major NGO staff, male, 11/01/2016). Notwithstanding the success of the loan system in strengthening the bonds among group members through the Village Savings and Loans Associations (VSLAs), as will be discussed in the next chapter, some challenges regarding its primary aims of achieving self-reliance and thereby a sustainable livelihood need to be underscored.

In spite of a growing literature on bureaucratic controls in humanitarian assistance of displaced populations in sub-Saharan Africa (Harrell – Bond, 1986; Polzer, 2010; Scott – Smith, 2014; Verdirame & Harrell – Bond, 2005), little is known on how bureaucratic controls hinder displaced people's ability to access livelihood resources from organizations in urban areas (Crisp, et al., 2012). Polzer (2010) indicates that in bureaucratized industries of assistance, assistance is prescribed by an intervention driven definition of a refugee and preference is given to standardized procedures. In an intervention driven definition of a refugee, decisions on who gets assisted depends not on individual specificities but some 'expert' opinions. Writing in the context of supplementary feeding programme in Yusuf Batil camp in South Sudan, Scott- Smith (2015) observed that aid agencies use hierarchical control where the agent defines and controls the nutritional intake with minimal involvement from the beneficiary. Similarly, bureaucratic controls have their own subtle expression in loan assistance through mundane decisions on who to admit for assistance and how many of these beneficiaries could be assisted. For instance, in one organization, out of 500 groups formed in 2015, the organization was able to assist only 66 groups (Interview with a small staff, male, 12/01/2016). In some cases, the categories of refugees to be assisted are predetermined by the donors, a fact that affects the organization's flexibility to respond to all the needy refugees (Interview with Small NGO staff, female, 29/11/2016). Bureaucratic controls include use of counsellors to recommend individuals or groups for loans and subjecting refugees into long periods of

waiting. Controls are also exercised through limiting the amount of loans given to refugees, expecting the refugees to make their own contribution in start-up capital and setting standardized procedures for recovery with less reference to individual circumstances in group network.

Although the exercise of bureaucratic controls serves the benefit of managing the limited capacity of organizations to assist displaced persons, it limits the latter's capacity to engage in self – sustaining economic activities. For instance, Simon a Congolese refugee pastor wanted to establish his own small scale business of crafts work after acquiring skills from one NGO. However, this plan could be realised because when he approached the organisation for some funds he could not get the right amount. Reflecting on his experience, Simon stated:

You can for example come to the organization expecting capital, you can ask for 2 Million UGX- for example, but what is given to you is 500000 UGX. Ok you are not totally deceived but what is given in comparison with your needs there is no relationship. Instead of increasing the money you have got as loan, once when the landlord comes because the capital is little you pay rent. Then three months or six month after you are jobless, you no longer have capital to continue with your business (Interview with Simon, a Congolese refugee, 07/12/2015).

Further, the strategy discourages refugees from seeking loans to develop their livelihood strategies. For instance, in one field visit, one refugee woman stated that, 'it is not a better option to think of loans because of competing needs; for example when the child falls sick, I may spend the money and I may not be able to refund'(Interview Liz, a Congolese refugee, 30/10/2015). Similarly, in referring to procedures of servicing loans, one refugee woman articulated her disappointment with the use of groups:

One day I went to InterAid, the officers there were talking about loans they could give to people, but the conditions; for example they were saying that if we give you money, we will give it to the group, and everybody is responsible. For example, they will give money to five people; if one or some of you miss, you have to pay back at the place of those people. So it becomes very complicated. For me I could pay my part, what I have got but if someone misses, I also have to pay for those other people so it becomes a burden for me. So that is a condition which is

not for my interest (Interview with Lucy, a Congolese refugee woman, 04/11/2015).

Loan supports tend to have some basic assumptions that all refugees have equal access to information about opportunities from organizations. It also neglects the subjective experiences of urban security and the variability in stability of groups. In other words, there is a neglect of power relations embed in the different social relations which is crucial in how people access resources. In an institutional setting more powerful actors or individuals not only have better access to organizations (Davies & Hossain, 1997), or capable of negotiating the institutions (Eztold et al., 2009), but also decide who should have access to resources. As De Haan and Zoomers (2012) indicated, failed access and the resultant poverty or social exclusion can also be the result of a mechanism by which some people exclude others from access to resources, with the objective of maximizing their own returns. However, these failures can also be re-enforced by practices of organization providing loan services through a process of abstract and technical relation with a social group which 'removes any regard for personal consideration'(Misztal, 2000). The case of the loan assistance to some extent reflects the intricacies of formal processes of assistance and power relations within the recipients. Since some vulnerable refugees do not have regular contacts with organizations they miss the opportunities for loans. Speaking of the difficulties of accessing loans, Jean Pierre, a 48 year old Congolese refugee who once worked as a pastor in DRC explains, 'the people we talked to for information normally say, no we began our program, you cannot enter now, you wait we finish this one; you can enter in 2016' like that (Interview with Jean Pierre, a Congolese refugee, 26/11/2015).

In addition, situations of life, such as social stigma or security situation, affect some vulnerable people's ability to belong to groups. This inability to belong to a group is illustrated in the case of Zainab, a 32 year old single mother of two children, who feels insecure in her community: 'for me I fear belonging to a group because even when they [other women] see me they start abusing me. That's why I even left from there [the

camp]. Most of them are there in the camp' (Interview with Zainab, Somali refugee, 04/01/2016). In such cases, loans benefit only those who are relatively less vulnerable since they have the ability to belong to a group.

Group loans also imply that the trust among members of the group does not change over time. However, a trusted person disappearing with the money of a group as in the case illustrated here by Susan, an IDP woman who coordinates her informal loan group, are common:

The more you move, makes me also to say, let me also enter to the loan. [...]. I was liking that one, the monthly, because that monthly can give you, when moving, keeping small, for their what, their loan. Now the problem is the woman run away. We are going to face problem again the group to pay the money of the woman (Interview with Susan, IDP woman, 08/12/2015).

Similarly, one NGO staff member who heads livelihood and psychosocial programme mentioned that in November 2015 a chairman of a group disappeared with 8 Million UGX from the savings of the group. In another case, a Congolese refugee women group supported by an organization collapsed after the leader 'ate' the money and disappeared.

People disappear with money because of changes in household poverty situations and/or lack of security in the village saving. However, in the absence of legal systems to regulate such informal loan services, measures taken by the group members to recover loans from the defaulters have led to the depletion of household physical capital (Interview with an IDP leader, female, 02/12/2015). As noted by the local council representative for women in the local council of Acholi Quarters, people are made poorer because it is difficult to rebuild assets such as household items once they have been lost towards loan recovery (Interview with a Local Council leader, women's representative, 13/12/2015). Group loans have also contributed to the accumulation of debts which has worsened the situation of some refugees and displaced people.

According to Sanyal (2012), aid agencies that insist on singling out refugees for assistance also contribute to the process of marginalization because such practices can adversely

affect the ability of refugees to integrate into host societies. Similarly, the system of supporting refugees through soft loans has contributed to the perceptions of refugees by the locals as a privileged social group, a challenge that distinguishes refugees from other migrants. For instance, during one field visit, Irene, a 28 year old Congolese refugee woman, who was once supported by JRS was evicted by her landlord, after JRS had ceased giving support, claiming that the woman in question refused to pay the money given by the organization (Interview with Irene, a Congolese refugee, 30/10/2015). The perception that refugees are privileged through their connections with organizations also created some hostile sentiments towards refugees. During the field visits, the urban IDPs quite openly aired their disappointment with the government and the organizations in their preference for refugees when they share similar predicaments. For instance, Achayo, an IDP woman, complained that the government and the organizations give jobs for refugees while ignoring IDPs (Interview with Achayo, IDP woman, 02/11/2015). In another case, displaced Karamojong youths approached JRS complaining about their neglect by the organization when serving only refugees (Interview with JRS staff, 27/10/2015). Refugees thus find it difficult to make a long term economic engagement even though loan supports are available because of the fear that the perceptions about the assistance they get may attract hostilities from the local population. Billy, a Congolese youth who acquired some skills in writing songs before coming to Kampala, mentioned to me that he cannot conceive of doing any business in Uganda because his property may be destroyed when some incident happens that involves refugees and the host communities (Interview with Billy, a Congolese refugee, 26/11/2015).

The negative perceptions of refugees and their effects on integration can be seen against the background of an assistance based on a policy prescribed category of social groups. In this case, the basis of assistance is not exactly the vulnerability characteristics of the individual. Individual vulnerabilities may be considered for assistance only if such individuals fit in the policy frame. In this system of categorization, two poor people may

share neighbourhood but as long as one does not fit in the required category, he or she may not be entitled, hence being potent for conflicts.

5.4.2 The Processes of Resettlement to a Third Country

Kampala attracts a large number of refugees who are seeking resettlement to a third country (Bernstein, 2007; Mulumba, 2010). Refugees identified for resettlement prefer to reside in Kampala because they hope that by living in Kampala the process of their resettlement will move faster (Interview with Large NGO staff, male, 18/12/2015). Nearly all the refugee research participants I interviewed have either applied to be resettled to a third country or they are seeking to apply for resettlement. Whereas some attribute their reason for resettlement to lack of security or lack of medical facility for special cases of illness, the majority seek to be resettled because of lack of foreseeable prospects of local integration owing to lack of gainful economic engagements in Kampala. The bureaucratic processes involved have consequences on the nature of urban refugee livelihoods.

Resettlement to third country is meant for refugees and not for IDPs because the latter are considered to be under their state's 'protection.' Resettlement processes in Kampala are handled by UHCHR in liaison with IOM and Hebrew International Aid Service (HIAS) and sometimes refugees are referred to these organizations by other NGOs. Resettlement is granted as one of the durable solutions mainly for refugees with specific needs and potential vulnerabilities from among women and girls who have been victims of sexual violence, children and adolescents, older refugees, refugees with disabilities and LGBT (UNHCR, 2011). It applies mainly in protracted situation where return/re-integration into country of origin or local integration in country of first asylum is not feasible in a foreseeable future. Categories for submission for resettlement to third countries include those with legal/physical protection needs, survivors of violence/torture, medical needs, women and girls at risk, family reunification, children and adolescents at risk and in a situation where there is no any other durable solution in the foreseeable future (UNHCR, 2011). Resettlement is done in an order of priority depending on whether it is an

emergency case, urgent case or normal (UNHCR, 2011). For many refugees, waiting for their turn to come is part of the daily routine.

Processes of resettling refugees can be seen as a power relation in refugee situation in which control over refugees is exercised through a bureaucratic routine of subjecting refugees into 'waiting.' As argues Sutton et al. (2015), waiting is usually for the less powerful; the more power one has, the less one has to wait. In this sense waiting can be understood as a process and manifestation of power dynamics. This exercise of power can be seen in the relationships between agents of resettlement (UNHCR and the related NGOs) and their officials with the refugees in subjecting the latter into routine of waiting. According to one of the refugee community leaders, some of the refugees have waited for over 10 years from the time of identification till the time of conducting the field research (Interview with refugee community leader, male, 23/11/2015). In reality, the mundane practices of identification, referrals, medical assessments, assessment of individual cases, preparation of resettlement files, decisions on qualification for submission by the organization, decisions on admission by the country of resettlement and processes of accessing visa normally take more time than the prescribed duration of UNHCR. Refugees sometimes have to go through a series of referrals between different organizations thus prolonging their stay in Kampala (Interview with refugee female, 18/12/2015). But this prolongation has significance for the implementers because waiting helps to keep a large number of refugees who otherwise would have been resettled to third countries in situ in the third world cities.

Waiting is also a manifestation of liminality – where refugees are in 'no man's land' (Sutton et al., 2015, p.32). For instance, Landau (2006) observed in South Africa that during the extended period of waiting, asylum seekers remain in a state of limbo during which they may stay in the country but access few social services and receive almost no official and private assistance in the form of direct aid or finding employment. Similarly, as refugees wait to be resettled, they neither seek to integrate in Kampala nor are they certain about their being resettled. Referring to Uganda's 'hospitality' to refugees, one

NGO staff described the situation of protracted resettlement process as ‘putting people in cage like chicken:’

The Ugandan government and the Ugandans are hospitable but sometimes I keep wondering what this hospitality is. It is like ‘putting people in a cage like chicken’ where your future is not guaranteed. If you have chicken, you keep checking how many you have and which one to take out and which one to keep. It is better if the government allows the people to go instead of keeping them here. People want to move but they are kept here for long time (Interview with a major NGO staff, female, 15/01/2016).

Waiting for resettlement has become an opportunity for ‘corruption strategists’ (Landau, 2006). As a way to circumvent the usual bureaucratic procedures ‘brokers’ have emerged within circles of organizations to fill this gap of waiting for resettlement. In this processes, a few refugees landed into disastrous situations in the hands of some employees of organizations, the brokers, who claim to have powers to help refugees get resettled. These officials use the opportunity of protracted resettlement process to extort money from refugees seeking resettlement. These fraudulent individuals have their own power strategies to exert their own control over refugees. For instance, refugees who do not have the means to pay the money are kept out of information about the progress of their resettlement as in the case of Benoit and his sister:

Last time before the new director of the organization came, I was there I brought every document which can help me to resettle my sister. When the [former] director saw it he told me, no we can’t do anything here but don’t worry, we can only refer her to our partner, HIAS. They asked me every document for hospital, I brought all of them. I waited, waited, they told me come that day, this day... I did not know that he would pick some money from refugees. After, he was stopped from work and till now (Interview with Benoit, a refugee male, 18/12/2015).

Another way in which fraudsters wield their powers over the refugees is by deliberately mishandling documents of refugees. Robert a Congolese refugee taking care of his mentally ill sister could not get his sister. Robert explains that:

When my sister was raped, she got a bit mentally disturbed because she was told that he was HIV positive. UNHCR signed that this family can never be resettled because his sister is mad. Then I took the case to Law project, Law project

investigated the case and made a report, after law project completed the report, because my madam went there. To finish the case, another problem, the lawyer disappeared with the case [file]. Now when he left, I went to law project to follow up on the next step after the lawyer's disappearance. They told me to open another case again. Now we even fear because it seems each time you present a case the person disappears so we even fear to present our case (Interview with Robert, a Congolese refugee, 26/11/2015).

The long process of resettling refugees is counterintuitive to the argument that it can relieve the country of asylum (UNHCR, 2011) since in Kampala's case it has instead helped to produce a pattern of survivalist mode of living. Since the desire to be resettled outweighs any other long term concern, many urban refugees in Kampala do not consider making a long term commitment to engage in economic activities for local integration as a viable option within the urban community. Instead, many refugees opt to live precariously in the urban areas with the hope that one day they will be resettled and their future secured. Precariousness in this sense is an exercise of power by those who are subjected into waiting to 'let things happen,' and a way of living in the liminal space. The consequence however, is that insofar as livelihoods are concerned, resettlement has produced an outcome that has hindered a progressive integration of refugees in the urban areas. Precariousness among the refugees is also the result of the government's lack of capacity to economically integrate the population. According to the 2012/2013 National Household Survey, 27% of the total labour force is underutilized ¹⁰(UBOS, 2013). In the employment sector, the informal sector accounts for the 95% of employment indicating that the government lacks the capacity to provide secure jobs.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter explored the livelihood challenges the refugees and IDPs experience in Kampala. The findings indicate that refugees and IDPs are not able to progress to sustainable livelihoods in spite of the existence of legal instruments and programmes meant to assist them. Quite a number of obstacles to accessing formal assistance have

¹⁰ UBOS, uses labour underutilization in order to capture the situation of those who are unemployed, those employed in a field below their qualifications and those earning lower than the national median income

been discussed in this chapter at various layers of the state agencies and international organizations. However, the objective here is not so much to outline these obstacles as to analyse how bureaucratic processes are embedded in these obstacles thereby limiting livelihood opportunities and differentiating refugees and/or IDPs from other urban poor and migrants. The findings suggest that refugees are not able to progress into sustainable livelihoods because the Refugee Act 2006 has not been coordinated with other existing legal instruments. Programmes of assistance have also not been streamlined into urban planning. In addition, bureaucratic processes of administering assistance have affected the refugees and IDPs in seeking assistance by excluding those with limited access to organization or those who cannot belong to groups due subjective security reasons.

Although some of the livelihood challenges urban refugees and IDPs experience are similar, the challenges they experience in relation to these findings distinguishes their case from other urban poor people. The challenges discussed here have therefore less to do with the 'absence' of the state or international organization which has been discussed mainly in the need for institutional support (Peterson – Dryden, 2006) than to do with the structures of their actual involvement. In this sense, the findings here extend the role of bureaucracy as an aspect of institutions and organizations in shaping the livelihood strategies of urban refugees. The chapter therefore proposes that an analysis of the role of organizations and institutions in refugee livelihoods needs to incorporate the analysis of how bureaucratic processes are manifested such as through processes of coordination mechanisms, keeping in tune with individual or specific contexts, delays and restrictions. The next chapter discusses the informal strategies the refugees and IDPs employ not only to meet the challenges of their basic needs but also to challenge the systems within which they earn their livelihoods.

CHAPTER 6: THE INFORMAL ECONOMIC STRATEGIES

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss the informal economic strategies of stone quarrying, selling jewellery, running restaurants and informal paper beads cooperative marketing among the refugees/IDPs in Kampala. These four informal economic strategies were selected to represent the activities of each of the three communities studied because these activities have been identified by research participants as the main economic activities among these communities. They represent the livelihoods of those refugees and IDPs who have 'no regular means of earning income' (Buscher, 2012). The chapter explores the extent to which ethnic networks and gender differences have played a role in the selected informal economic strategies. The chapter also explores the transformative and enabling roles of these four selected livelihood strategies.

Various studies have explored the strategies of the refugees in response to the livelihood challenges the refugees experience (Betts, et al., 2014; Krause-Vilmar, 2011; Mulumba, 2010; Peterson- Dryden, 2006). These earlier studies have shown that different ethnic and gender groups tend to concentrate on some particular informal economic strategies. Betts et al. (2014) and Mulumba (2010) indicated that economic activities of refugees vary across nationality and ethnicity. The variance in informal economic activities has been attributed to the relative strengths of the networks of various ethnic groups and strongly gendered roles. According to Omata (2012), refugees build their livelihoods based on their ethnic connections. The findings in this chapter therefore advance these debates from the perspectives of livelihoods capital. The findings indicate that the livelihood strategies studied here are the domains of the ethnic communities studied not so much because they solely belong to them but rather, it is because of their differential endowment with a particular livelihood capital or sets of capital, compared to other ethnic groups, which helped them to create a niche within the economic strategy studied. While network may constitute part of this capital, in form of social capital, refugees draw on a range of capital including, but not limited to, their skills, knowledge, land or labour. Differences in

livelihood capital can be attributed to historical circumstances such as historical establishment in particular place (in this case land) and/or cultural factors such as a skill or labour practices predominantly associated with a group. The study also indicates socially constructed gender roles where livelihood activities are stratified along gender differences. Culturally held notions about or stereotypes on gender based livelihood activities played important role in this stratification of livelihood along gender lines. In analysing the gender roles in livelihood activities, the chapter explores not only how the culturally held notions or stereotypes about gender roles and livelihood activities are maintained in a context of displacement but how the context of displacement contributes to transforming these gender roles. The chapter indicates that while some cultural practices or stereotypes are retained and used in particular livelihood within the different ethnic communities, there is also some change in that some women engage in activities that were in the past associated with men.

Given the dearth of humanitarian assistance in the urban areas, the earlier studies on informal economic activities focused mainly on the role these economic activities play in accessing basic needs, hence the 'instrumental' or the 'material' role of capital (Bebbington, 1999, p. 2022). As Bebbington (1999) suggests, livelihood capital also give meaning to the person's world and the capability to be and to act. As Sanyal (2012) argues, refugees move beyond resource-seeking and citizenship rights from the state to creating autonomous ethnic spaces of development and identity. Such spaces can include urban informal spaces from above, but also peripheral, weakened and marginalized spaces. This chapter therefore affirms the refugees and IDPs as 'agents of social transformation' (Peterson – Dryden, 2006). However, beyond submission to the constraints of city regulations as in the case of Peterson – Dryden's (2006) Congolese school, the refugees and IDPs challenge the systems of regulations in various ways including, active engagement of the state for their rights, maintaining independence from formal assistance, faulting authority controls or challenging misconceptions by complying with regulations.

Kinyanjui described the informal economic activities in the informal garment industry as a 'solidarity entrepreneurialism' (2013, p. 150). This system of solidarity entrepreneurialism is based on the traditional African concept of collective community values. The women involved in this activity reduce transaction costs by sharing resources on the basis of interdependence and trust. Kinyanjui (2014) argues that the women involved in this solidarity entrepreneurialism help in reconfiguration of the city space by creating a sustainable, equal and liveable space by combining their labour and capital. It has enabled them to move from obscurity to visibility in what Kinyanjui describes as a 'quest for spatial justice' (Kinyanjui, 2014). The informal economic activities discussed here, in greater respect, reflect the characteristics of Kinyanjui's women in the informal garment trade. In this chapter, I follow mainly from Kinyanjui to analyse informal economic activities of the refugees/IDPs as transformative and empowering.

6.2 Stone quarrying among the IDPs

'As human kind, they had to think, what could we do for survival? But God had mercy for the people, God showed them the quarry' (Interview with a Local Council Leader, woman 13/12/2015). This quote captures the agency of those involved in subsistence activity within the constraints of their vulnerable circumstances. In this regard, the displaced people are actively shaping their lives in a particular context through material and non-material resources (Kaag, 2004). While these poor people may be cash strapped, they have other resources around them (Rakodi, 2002). Stone quarrying is thus an embodiment of a process in which individuals exercise their agency through a range of livelihood capital with some consequences to the outcomes. In this informal system of economic engagement, the labour of the actors involved in it and the historical advantage of access to the land of Acholi Quarter underpins the ways in which the actors use this place. With this capital, the actors create peculiarities within an informal economic activity and the place in which they live. Hence, quarrying can also be viewed as a transformative activity where the actors actively shape the meaning of the place for themselves. The use of the capital also becomes a process of empowerment, the justification for claim for 'spatial

justice’ (Kinyanjui, 2013). In the sections below I discuss how this works in stone quarrying.

6.2.1 Gender and Ethnic factors in stone quarrying

Gender influences the nature of participation in stone quarrying, and this is reflected in the different roles men and women assume in stone quarrying. As explained by Okumu, a youth leader who also helps his mother in quarrying, ‘mostly women who are crushing it. And extracting it is men, yes, it is only men because you need to carry this big hammer and the bolt of the vehicle, they use it for removing those stones’ (Interview with Okumu, an IDP youth leader, 06/12/2015). Hence socially constructed gender differences are the key assets used to structure the roles men and women play, hence some form of ‘specialization.’ Men take up extraction of the stones because they are perceived as physically strong and therefore disposed to undertake the heavy work of extraction.

However, stone quarrying is also a site where traditional gendered power structures, both physical and economic are challenged and changed. For instance in a bid to meet the basics of life, some women now extract stones. Among the Acholi community, ownership and control over physical resources such as land were traditionally held by men. However, given that a good number of the women in Acholi Quarters are either widows or separated from their husbands, they had to work on their own to acquire pieces of land from the quarries thus subverting the traditional male ownership of physical resources. A few married women also have managed to access their own quarries.

Stone quarrying in general is a common activity on various outskirts of Kampala, including places such as Muyenga in Kampala and Kasenge in Mukono District. However, within Acholi Quarters, stone quarrying is the domain of the IDPs from northern Uganda, particularly the Acholi community because of their long established access to the land. As seen in the previous chapter on the contextual set up of the IDPs in Acholi Quarters, the already existing kinship networks contributed to the settlement of displaced people in Acholi Quarters. Since the area they occupied was largely unsettled prior to their arrival, a

few who came earlier acquired some sections of the stones by clearing the bush around, a process known as 'activating' the stones (Interview with IDP Community leader, 02/12/2015). According to Opira, a who lost his job with mining company after the company was sold out, some who came later also bought some spaces with the money they raised from crushing stones from others (Interview with Opira IDP, 13/12/2015). Stone quarrying started as a result of the demand from the Ministry of Works', whose offices were located in the neighbourhood, need for stone samples for laboratory tests. With the process of urban infrastructural development, people also discovered additional values of the stones for buildings in the urban areas.

Social institutions act as links to livelihood strategies and thus one's endowment and entitlement to resources (De Haan & Zoomers, 2005; Scoones, 1998). Historically, the Acholi who first came to Kampala as soldiers and workers in various industrial and construction companies first settled in Acholi Quarters. This gave the place a unique status as an area predominantly occupied by the Acholi community. Having predominance over Acholi Quarters, the IDPs gained entitlement and control over the rocks of Acholi Quarters. Hence, with this entitlement, stone quarrying became a distinctive economic activity of the IDPs, thus underlining the importance of social networks in accessing resources (Lyytinen & Kullenberg, 2013).

But the social network and entitlement to Acholi Quarters is not the only factor that enabled the displaced people to create a niche in stone quarrying. The identities and stereotypes embedded in labour practices have largely shaped the preoccupation of the displaced people in quarrying. Culturally, the Acholi are distinguished as a 'tough' ethnic community (Finnstrom, 2003) capable of enduring hardships of manual labour. This toughness is attributed to physiological body make up and cultural food that distinguishes the Acholi from their neighbours within Kireka mainly from the central and western region. The displaced people thus migrated with this perceived quality in labour. While other ethnic groups in the neighbourhood would loathe quarrying, the capability to endure hardships led many displaced people to engage in quarrying. Building on this

quality of resilience, the displaced people were able to develop distinct sets of skills and art in stone quarrying. Patrick, a 21 year old young man who has worked in the stone quarry since the age of 13 and now doubles as a broker of stones explains:

With material you get a chance of fixing, we have a tool called Panua. We fix them in between the stone, and that tool it will force the stones to crack, and if you get a big heap of stone, you burn them with tyre, we crash them into medium size like this one, the one we call the hard-core, and then there is this one called the blocks-slates (Interview with Patrick, IDP youth, 08/12/2015).

6.2.2 Transformative and enabling role of stone quarrying

The story of the stone quarrying juxtaposes human suffering and resilience simultaneously. Many have lost their lives while others have suffered physical injuries and permanent disabilities as a result of extracting stones. According to the local council leader in Acholi Quarters, since 2001 about 7 to 10 people lost their lives in extracting stones (Interview with a Local Council leader, woman 13/12/2015). In addition, the community lost six children in the stagnant waters in the quarries (Interview with IDP Community Leader, 02/12/2015). The activity involves hard labour with little pay especially for the women and the children. One can work the whole day and earn just 1000UGX for ten of split-jerricans¹¹ he/she crushes these days (Interview with IDP leader, 02/12/2015). Yet stone quarrying has a significant contribution in the lives of the displaced people in Acholi Quarters.

For the majority, it is a starting point in earning a living in the absence of formal assistance from humanitarian organizations and the government. For the women in particular, stone quarrying supported them until the introduction of paper beads in the village. The women I interviewed used the money they earned from crushing stones for basic household needs such as food, water and health and some even managed to pay school fees of their children at the level of basic education. Some other indirect benefits involve the creation/preparation of space for the construction of semi-permanent structures for accommodation. People use these spaces for construction since the money they get from

¹¹ The aggregates are usually measured using a halved-jerrican

the quarry is not sufficient for renting because of other household needs (Interview with IDP leader, 02/12/2015). For some, these houses also became additional sources of income. But the importance of stone quarrying goes beyond these material things.

Stone quarrying has made a significant contribution to the transformation of Acholi Quarters. Given that the trucks have to get deeper into the village, there is now a road network developed to link the village to the main highway as well as the other villages of Kasokoso and Kiganda. An administrative unit has also been created; the village has its own local council and a police post to boost the security of the area against thefts. Quarrying made a crucial contribution to the revenue that was used to establish these administrative units (Interview with Opira, IDP male, 13/12/2015). In addition, crushing stone is a form of contribution the displaced people make towards urban housing development through the provision of their labour (Interview with Opira, IDP male, 13/12/2015).

From a political perspective, stone quarrying has become a tool for IDPs to negotiate their rights in face of intra urban displacement. As seen in chapter four, the IDPs argue that they are bona fide owners of Acholi Quarters and according to their view they need to be compensated for, in form resettlement package for displaced persons, should the government proceed with the eviction plans. Reinforcing the argument for compensation is the fact that they contributed to the development of Acholi Quarters. As their logic goes, they first helped to clear the bush and thus made the place more habitable and attractive to government agents. In this regard, their labour in developing Acholi Quarters should be compensated for if the government wants to appropriate the land for urban development. Hence, the actions of the IDPs can be seen as a political empowerment on the basis of their labour, land and livelihoods.

6.3 Selling Jewellery

Selling jewels is an activity in which most of the Congolese research participants are involved. The very low start-up financial capital required for entry into the enterprise coupled with their networks and historical access to some skills and knowledge with which they migrated makes it attractive. For instance, Annette, a 28 year old mother of four children, raised her first financial capital from selling her personal kitenge cloth worth 40000UGX (Interview with Annette, a Congolese refugee female, 04/11/2015). Items that are commonly traded are necklaces, earrings, bangles and rings mainly made out of gold and other precious stones or metals. Their portability makes them more convenient for this kind of trade. The items are sold by hawking around in commercial buildings, salons, pubs, restaurants, residential houses and even deep in the villages.

Hawking has been frequently listed among the informal economic activities of refugees in Kampala (Betts, et al., 2014; Buscher, 2012; Krause-Vilmar, 2011; Mulumba, 2010). Narratives on hawking normally rotate around its legality and the dangers involved in engaging in it (Buscher, 2012; Krause-Vilmar, 2011). These activities are seen in terms of exposing the refugees to harassment, rape, theft and arrest (Buscher, 2012). An exception to this perspective is the study of Betts, et al. (2014). Through their findings on hawking jewellery and clothes, Betts et al. (2014), argue that the refugees contribute to the local economy through consumption, job creation and provision of labour. The discussions in the case of selling jewellery here build on the findings of Betts et al. (2014). The refugees do not only contribute to the local economy; through the use of their livelihood capital such as their networks, skills and knowledge, the refugees give a meaning to these activities as peculiar to their community. While these activities operate at subsistence level, they also play an enabling role through faulting the rationales embedded in humanitarian assistance.

6.3.1 Gender and ethnicity

Selling jewellery is stratified along gender lines particularly with regards to the spaces of operation and quantity of items being traded. While men tend to operate large scale sales

of jewellery and engage in long distance trades, including crossing over to other towns in Uganda or neighbouring countries, the women operate on small scale, hawking around commercial buildings, salons or residential areas of Kampala. Selling jewellery also intersects with age; most of the participants involved in selling jewellery, particularly the men, are below the age of 35.

The findings tend to agree with previous studies that indicated that men tend to be reserved in engaging informal self-employment activities such as hawking (Krause-Vilmar, 2011). The domestic roles different gender plays have somehow contributed to this difference. The female participants engaged in selling jewellery explained that they need the money to buy food, pay house rent, buy medicine for their children or pay school fees. This is contrasted by the concern of the men who describe their major economic concerns in terms of making capital investments such as buying land, houses or paying the school fees of their children at tertiary levels.

Street trade in general, including hawking, vending or running kiosks is not limited to one ethnic group in Uganda. However, compared to the Acholi IDPs and Somali refugees, selling jewellery is a domain of the Congolese refugees. For instance, while only one Somali lady participant hawks second hand clothes and number of IDPs hawk paper beads, plastic bags/containers for recycling and second hand clothes, no one from these communities is involved in hawking jewellery.

To create a distinct place within selling jewellery, the Congolese refugees rely on the nature of livelihood capital with which they are endowed. This livelihood capital includes those that they migrated with as well as those that they develop while in Kampala. The Congolese refugees do not have long historical access to land as in the case of the IDPs and the Somali. However, the Congolese are advantaged in this enterprise because of the knowledge they developed from dealing with precious stones such as gold. Artisanal and informal gold mining is widely practiced in Congo for livelihoods (Geneen, 2013). Refugees who mostly came from this region migrated with this knowledge of trading precious

stone. In addition, compared to the Somali women, culturally the Congolese women have advantage because they are less restricted by cultural norms in exploring livelihood opportunities outside their own community (Krause-Vilmar, 2011; Mulumba, 2010).

To consolidate their place in the urban market, the Congolese use the networks of their ethnic or national members long established in the trade in Kampala. These networks have been used to develop knowledge and skills needed to master the dynamics of the city and the market at large. For instance, Vivian, a breastfeeding mother who takes care of her ailing mother and other dependants through hawking jewels mentioned to me that, 'in Congo I have been doing business, and when I came here, someone helped me to buy and how I could sell' (Interview with Vivian a Congolese female, 04/11/2015). In the past people used to carry their items in open so that people could see them but this is no longer possible. Instead, the refugees have adopted unique strategies such as carrying items in bags or going to familiar restaurants to sell their items (Interview with a major NGO representative, 27/10/2015). Refugees also learn from each other on how to identify the authorities with visually noticeable objects such as vehicles or uniforms and the safe hours of the day or safe places to sell their products. Others have instead developed a network of regular customers where the sellers of jewels can make arrangements by phone to deliver the items at the residential house of the customer (Interview with small NGO representative, 30/11/2015). Within the provisions of Refugee Act 2006, Congolese also developed their networks with some Congolese refugees who have settled in other parts of the country or in other countries where they move from Kampala to sell their items (Interview with Benoit a male Congolese refugee, 18/12/2015). The strategies of the refugees thus reflect the spirit of 'solidarity of entrepreneurialism' (Kinyanjui, 2013) in which a high level of cooperation in the networks governs their activities.

The long standing involvement of the Congolese refugees in the jewellery enterprise led to the development of 'trust' as resource that is unique to the Congolese refugees in Kampala. Bernadette alluded to me, for example, that the Ugandans prefer to buy jewellery from the Congolese because they know that the Congolese sell jewellery from

genuine gold (Interview with Bernadette, a female Congolese refugee, 26/11/2015). Trust is a debatable thing since it is a quality that varies from person to person. On a whole however, the fact that DRC is one of the gold producing areas gives some access for the refugees through their families back home to access genuine jewellery from precious stones. For refugees, however, trust evolved as a survival mechanism of maintaining their integrity as a weapon to protect themselves against discriminatory systems of justice. In the end this trust has somehow become a useful asset that helped them to have an edge in the jewellery enterprise.

6.3.2 Contributions to urban economy and challenging formal strategies

Selling jewel is a risky enterprise given the severe punishment by the KCCA when caught operating in Central District business areas, confrontations with the police on issues of security, operations at less secure places or at odd hours and unreliable market for jewels. In spite of these problems, refugees persist in this activity; the question then is what makes them persist and is there any gain from engaging in such activities?

At a basic level, selling jewels has helped the refugees to meet their basic needs. For those who do not have access to formal assistance, selling jewels is a starting point for earning the basics of life. Vivian explains how selling jewellery enabled her to take care of her household needs: 'for my living I sell necklaces, jewellery around the town, if God blesses me I get from it some little money for food, for paying rent and school fees for the children etc' (Interview with Vivian, Congolese refugee, female, 04/12/2015). On the other hand, for those who have access to assistance, the money raised helps to supplement what they get from the organizations (Interview with Bernadette, 26/11/2015).

Selling jewels, together with other forms of informal livelihood strategies, is an empowering process which has helped the refugees to challenge the practice of humanitarian assistance in the urban areas by maintaining their independence. In particular, the refugees interviewed demonstrate their resistance to the formalities involved in livelihood assistance by distancing themselves from humanitarian assistance.

For instance, when I asked Vivian why she does not seek assistance from organization, she explained that, 'I get discouraged because of the conditions involved, to get that money you have to do this, to that, lots of conditions'(Interview with Vivian, 04/12/2015). Other refugees challenge the rationale of durable solution through livelihood assistance (UNHCR, 2003) by deliberately refusing to take financial support for income generating activities from organizations:

[There] is that loan when you want, like 1,000,000UGX, like 1,500,000UGX. But people say when they give you that money, they help you forever¹². Then you, you don't know that; what you know is they support you to solve our issues here in Uganda, to pay rent, to pay school fees, then other things you can go ahead (Interview with Lillian, Congolese refugee, 26/11/2015).

This method of reacting against bureaucratic processes of assistance reflects a broader pattern of challenging humanitarian assistance by urban refugees (Clark – Kazak, 2006; Grabska, 2006; Sanyal, 2009). For instance, Grabska (2009) found that in some cases, recognized refugees use the strategy of self-marginalization and vulnerability in order to access some of the assistance offered by the UNHCR office. Clark-Kazak (2006) observed that young refugees sometimes use their vulnerabilities as minors to claim resources from the assisting organizations. Similarly, refugees in Kampala refuse to take livelihood supports from the organizations so that they can justify their case for making claims for basic needs or resettlement. In this sense, there is something 'socially productive' (Sutton et al., 2011) in how the refugees negotiate the meaning of vulnerability. By living precariously through selling jewels, the refugees can cater for the basics of life but at the same time use their precariousness to demonstrate a failure in livelihood support. For instance, one NGO staff member indicated that,

Majority of [refugees] look for survival, if I can live through today and may be the next twelve months, then that's fine. So they say actually they don't have a lot of urge to like grow these businesses like to, you know, to big levels. This is their ideology they gave us their thinking behind the businesses that they do. They just do it for survival; can I get food, can I pay my medical bills, can I pay school fees for

¹² Meaning, the organizations will never assist you again.

my children as I wait for something to happen, either to go back to my country but most especially for most of them, as I wait for resettlement, where they are taken to a third country (Interview with Small NGO staff, 30/11/2015).

Similarly one woman we visited during field trips echoed this lack of interest in livelihood support when she said: 'it is not a better option to think of because of competing needs, e.g. when the child falls sick, I may spend the money and I may not be able to refund. The main concern for me is security. I cannot run a business when am not secure' (Field trip interview, Congolese, female, 02/11/2015). Another woman openly said, 'better to be resettled instead of giving loans for business. Loan is worth trying but the problem is in returning the loan (Field trip interview, Congolese, female, 02/11/2015).

Selling jewels, however, has its own economic contribution in Kampala when judged as an enterprise. In the first place, the income generated from selling jewel is used to pay rent and other urban services. Indirectly, they contribute to generating revenue through their use of facilities in the urban areas. For instance, a baseline survey conducted by Inter Aid Uganda (IAU) indicated that over 90% of the urban refugees rent houses and 36% access health services from private clinics compared to 29% from KCCA clinics and 1% from NGO clinics (IAU, 2009). Given that these services are not free of charge, refugees make their contributions to urban economy through their consumptions of such services with the income they get from selling jewels.

Through the jewels enterprise, the refugees have played a role in the global value chain. The items they sell are imported by Ugandan business people from as far as China and United Arab Emirates. In addition, DR Congo produces gold which Ugandan business people can obtain from their counterparts in Congo, sometimes through the links of the Congolese refugees. The refugees thus contribute to the distribution of these items by purchasing from the Ugandan business people and selling to the final users. Others who have networks in South Sudan also help to link Ugandan business people with South Sudanese market.

6.4 Somali Restaurants

The case of Omar (a male) and Hajjat (a widow with seven children), restaurant owners, illustrates how individuals with different livelihood capitals make their way through the informal livelihoods and how social institutions play a role in the processes of transitions in context of displacement. A trained accountant, Omar migrated to Uganda from Somalia because of collapsed livelihood opportunities in his home area. Omar rents a space for his restaurant in a single - storey building along the busy Rubaga road. The restaurant is located at a corner in the first floor of the building next to what seems to be a hall in which other recreational activities take place. In the balcony of the building are chairs where he receives his customers. While most of his customers are from among the Somali community, a few others from Uganda and Sudan as well come to eat at his restaurant. Omar pays rent to the owner of the building and he has a license from KCCA. While he also joins in to cook and do other administrative errands, he has employed two people, one Ugandan and one Congolese to assist in cooking and serving customers. Omar opened his restaurant with a support he received through the community based organization, and that is Youth Cooperation for Ideas.

Similarly, Hajjat runs a restaurant located near one of the local universities. Hajjat is a widow with 7 children (4boys and 3 girls). She came to Kampala 7 years ago after having lost her husband – the bread winner - due to the war in Somali. Before migrating to Uganda, Hajjat only worked as a housewife. When she first arrived with her children, Hajjat first received some support for health and food from UN plus some basic English skills. She then worked in a restaurant which she later had to leave due to exploitation. She then established her own restaurant after receiving some financial support from the local community with the help of the Youth Cooperation for Ideas. Hajjat's restaurant is a small scaled restaurant where she mainly provides take away since the space available is not enough to provide a dinning space. She normally does her work alone including serving her customers.

To establish their restaurants, both Omar and Hajjat received support from the *Zakat* and *Ayuuto*, with the help of Youth Alliance for Ideas – a community based organizations which links the refugees to resources. *Zakat* and *Ayuuto* are religious and ethnic based system of generating resources commonly practiced by the Somalis in Kampala. *Zakat* is a form of Islamic “tax” which is a mandatory contribution from any Muslim in a given income level collected and given to help the poor or to support a community project. *Ayuuto* on the other hand is a form of business initiative among the Somali business people in Kisenyi. In *Ayuuto*, the business community pool some funds which can then be given to an individual to start up a business. In administering the *Zakat* and *Ayuuto*, the funds are channelled to the beneficiaries through trusted individuals such as Imams or through community based organizations such as Youth Cooperation for Ideas. The *Zakat* and *Ayuuto* have been used to support the newly arrived refugees within the community and other poor people to begin a living.

In their studies among four African cities, Landau and Duponchel (2011) found that the most significant factor in explaining urban ‘success’ in access to services is social networks. According to Landau and Duponchel (2011), those who were joining friends or relatives already in a city were considerably more successful than those who migrated without such support already in the city. Similarly, the findings of Betts et al. (2014) Omata (2012) and Krause-Vilmar (2011) confirm the significance of networks in Kampala. Running restaurants thus fits in the broader informal economic activities that draw for its resource base on networks.

However, to create a difference within an informal economic system, actors rely on a range of other forms of livelihood capital. For the Somali, it involves labour, skills, knowledge and cultural practices with which the refugees migrated and the land (natural capital) of Kisenyi which is historically occupied by the Somali. In the section below, I discuss how some of these factors led to the differences between men and women in the areas of participation within restaurants and the difference between Somali and other nationalities in running restaurants.

6.4.1 Gender and ethnicity

Restaurants constitute part of the varieties of informal business activities of the Somali that ranges from mini-supermarkets, mobile phone/accessories shops, internet cafes, mobile money points to foreign exchange bureaus. Somali restaurants vary in sizes, ranging from small scaled road side food vending to fairly well established restaurants. Restaurants are quite popular among the Somali communities because of the ready market provided by students, shopkeepers, drivers and un-married men in the working class. Among the Somali, both men and women are involved in running restaurants but not at equal level. While men tend to own fairly well established restaurants, the women tend to operate on small scale and mainly by either widows or women who are fairly advanced in age. The following discussion is based mainly on the case of Omar and Hajjat whose restaurants I visited.

Both Omar (a male youth) and Hajjat (a mother of seven children) run restaurants; they draw on social networks for their market. While Omar's regular customers are the young men frequenting the area for recreation, Hajjat's network of customers are mainly the university students where the restaurant is located. The findings in this study suggest that men and women are not entirely at the same level involved in running restaurants. In the first place, the social status of the woman in this community influences whether a she can run a restaurant or not. Hajjat, and a few other women I met in similar circumstances, are widows and this might have accounted for the fact that they are engaged in their own income generating activity. Although Krause-Vilmar (2011) indicated that culturally the Somali community frown upon women who work, the case of the women suggests under some circumstances the culture may accept for some women to engage in some accepted economic activities. Circumstances such as widowhood and advancement in age may change the perceptions of women and their economic activities in the community (although these activities can also be processes of emancipation as discussed a little later in the section). The support of the community for these women is evidenced by the financial assistance they got from the community to start up their business.

Secondly, gender difference in running restaurants is quite explicit in the nature of participation of men and women and the size of the holdings in the restaurants. In the restaurants I visited, the majority of the workers such as waiters and cooks tend to be men. Abdurrahman, a young man who once worked as a waiter in one of the restaurants attributes the predominance of male workers to their physical capacity to handle the heavy duties of working in restaurant:

The people who are working there are men, I didn't see any female, because the restaurant was not too big, it was very small, and the people who are working there were also very few. That is why they need only men because they are very strong; they can fetch the water, they can cook, and they can serve the customers (Interview with Abdurrahman, a Somali refugee, 05/01/2016).

However, other cultural practices of being protective about women contributed to the limited participation of women in restaurants as workers. Hajjat, a Somali woman mentioned that she cannot allow her daughters to work outside because they may be 'kidnapped' (Interview with Hajjat, a Somali refugee, 31/12/2015).

Running restaurants is not an economic activity done only by the Somali. Ethiopians and the Eritreans as well have a long practice of running restaurants in Uganda. But there is a particular aspect of the Somali community life that intersects with the ways restaurants are organized in Kisenyi. In the first place, since the colonial times, some Somalis migrated to Uganda and for long got citizenship and lived in Kisenyi. Although the earlier Somali migrants were not known for major business initiatives, apart from long distance truck driving, their presence in Kisenyi acted as a starting point for any business connections for refugees within Uganda. Like in the case of the IDPs, having co-ethnic community members already living in Uganda gave them access to the area and therefore an entitlement to use the area for settlement and to run their business. Living within co-nationals also provides a sense of security and lessens the cost of operation which is useful for an established system of running business. Secondly, the Somalis have a strong social protection system to support the vulnerable (Krause-Vilmar, 2011). However, unlike many other communities, the Somali social protection mechanism places premier on

supporting the recipient to be self-reliant (Interview with a Somali community leader, 23/11/2015). This emphasis on self-reliance is evident in the case of Omar and Fatima who channelled their support from the community to starting up restaurants. This strategy of supporting the vulnerable helped the Somalis to start activities such as restaurants. Restaurant also enjoys a place among other activities because of its ease of start-up. Thirdly, the Somalis have long experience of trans-border trade (Campbell, 2006). Their linkage with other Somali communities in other parts of East Africa, particularly Nairobi allows them to obtain food items with cheaper price. In effect, their restaurants sometimes tend to offer food at fairly better price since their cost of obtaining raw food is lower (Interview with a Somali community leader, 23/11/2015).

Living within the community of co-ethnics has led to the development and circulation of some basic business skills. In most cases, these skills are developed through working in restaurants owned by Somali community members. For instance, Omar, who had a training in finance first worked in a restaurant and it is from there that he got the experience and the inspiration. Similarly, Hajjat worked in a restaurant before she opened her own. However, in her case, the mistreatment she went through also acted as a motivation to begin her own restaurant. These individuals were then able to develop their own skills such as strategically choosing location of their business and deciding on the catchment of their prospective customers. While in the case of Omar, the location near the recreation hall already provided an access to the young men around, Hajjat targets the university students. As they develop relationship with the regular customers, the networks of customers also expand to attract more customers.

The case of the restaurants thus confirms other findings which indicated a strong sense of mutual support among the Somali community (Betts et al., 2014; Buscher, 2012; Krause-Vilmar, 2011). However, to create a distinctive feature in running restaurants, the Somali relied on other resources. These resources include the area of Kisenyi which is predominantly a Somali area. Added to this land is the business skill which was brought in Kisenyi by the Somali refugees, a quality which was added to that of the Somali migrants

at colonial times who were known only for long distance transportation of goods (Interview with Somali Community leader, 23/11/2015).

6.4.2 Contributions of restaurants: sense of home and emancipation

Hannah Elliot's conceptualization of consumption of camel milk among the Somali in Eastleigh in Nairobi captures the meaning of restaurant in Kisenyi. According to Elliot (2014), 'consuming things is a means through which people can reify, reassert or reinvent their identities in situations where they have been destabilized' (p.132). In this regard consumption can become embedded in narratives of 'home', the nation or region, or of 'us' and 'our' culture in contexts of displacement. However, this power of 'things' in facilitating identity construction lies not only in their consumption but also their exchange (Elliot, 2014). Consumption and the exchanges involved in it have some 'hermeneutic' value (Bebbington, 1999). They are the means through which actors involved create a meaningful world. Restaurants in Kisenyi, as will be discussed here, have meaning beyond the material gains for the Somali in Kisenyi. Hence, running restaurants can be conceived as a transformative process. This process of running restaurants is also emancipatory for some individuals, involving crossing 'socially and economically defined borders and boundaries' (Kinyanjui, 2013).

Initiatives such as the restaurants have contributed towards self – sufficiency. The participants I interviewed take care of their basic needs such as housing, medical care, feeding as well as the education of the their children. However, understanding restaurant by self – sufficiency in economic terms leads to a partial construction of this informal economic activity.

At the community level, the restaurants together with other similar business initiatives have helped in the transformation of Kisenyi as a vibrant township within Kampala. Restaurants contribute to paying revenues to the KCCA, paying rent to the landlords, providing employment for community members and supporting community initiatives

such as collection of food for the poor (Interview with Somali Community Leader, 23/11/2015).

However, more important than running any other informal economic activity is the fact that restaurants are directly linked with food and therefore a culture of a people. In words of Mcsheffrey, 'Kisenyi, though still a slum, is home to a rising middle and upper class of Somalis who keep the heart of the local economy beating' (Mcsheffrey, 2014). The restaurants are a constitutive part of making this home. Restaurants hold something symbolic for the Somali community: the traditional foods they serve such as camel meat, powdered milk or the pasta are reminiscent of culture of the Somalis. The Somali community thus recreate the 'home' lost in the process of exile by consumption of their own food items from the local restaurants.

Running a restaurant is also a process of self- emancipation. When I asked Hajjat about her challenges of livelihoods, she narrated to me problems of being both 'a mother and a father' since she is a widow taking care of seven children. In spite of these problems, Hajjat maintains her confidence and independence telling me that; 'if I have good health I do not need assistance' (Interview with Hajjat, a Somali refugee, 31/12/2015). The aspect of emancipation even came clearer when I inquired how she started her restaurant business. Hajjat left her previous job to start her restaurant because she felt she was usually cheated when her managers paid her wages. Reading Hajjat's decision entirely on economic terms misses the significance of her decision. Her need to maintain her dignity was the driving factor for her decision which can be understood as a process of emancipation. Her decision also involved crossing socially defined boundaries (Kinyanjui, 2013) of a male environment which restricts many Somali to work within the household (Krause-Vilmar, 2011).

6.5 Paper Beads Cooperative Marketing

According to Kinyanjui (2014), central to solidarity entrepreneurialism is the spirit of sharing and support that pervades in the group. The women pool resources through a rotational credit system and share spaces through apportioning various commercial areas. Paper Beads Cooperative Marketing is an economic activity which draws on a range of livelihood capital including use of market space and other physical infrastructure such as transport system, networks of women involved in it and the labour of the individuals. Underlying how the IDP women access and utilize these resources is the solidarity which forms a basis for sharing resources. The informal cooperative paper beads marketing among the IDPs reflects the solidarity entrepreneurialism where values such as trust and solidarity not only supersede individuals' goals but also reinforce the economic activity of the individuals engaged in it. This activity is directly linked to beads making and marketing, the product of the labour of the women.

Making paper beads from mainly recycled papers as a craft work is now a common activity among refugees and IDPs because many organizations now offer these skills. For instance, JRS started its own in-house training programmes by providing skills in paper beads (Interview with a Large NGO staff, 23/10/2015). In Acholi Quarters it is more popular through the 'Beads for Life' project.

Most important however, in the case of Acholi Quarters is the informal cooperative system of marketing around paper beads. There are three different ways in which the women market their products together. In the first place, the women pool resources to take advantage of the market days provided by KCCA for those who cannot afford the regular business licence. The market place is in Makindye, another division and operates only on Fridays. They hire their taxi¹³ together to transport themselves and their paper beads. In the market, they pay some fee, normally 1000UGX to display their goods. Where a member cannot contribute, the women support such a member.

¹³ Taxi in Uganda refers to commuter vans commonly used as public transport in Uganda.

In the second place, some women with external links would receive some orders for supply of paper beads – mainly from Kenya and Rwanda. In the past, some organizations from UK, Europe and US also bought beads from the women groups of Acholi Quarters. The link person would then pass the information to the group to produce a given amount of beads for a negotiated amount (Interview with the IDP leader, 02/12/2015). Each woman would be given a quota to produce and contribute to the order. In this way, each woman would have an opportunity to sell her beads.

6.5.1 Gender and ethnic networks

Informal paper beads cooperative marketing is an activity entirely done by women in Acholi Quarters. Paper beads making skill was introduced in Acholi Quarters by a lady from the United States (US) after her encounter with hardships of the displaced women in the area through the invitation of the IDP leadership (Interview with Local Council Leader, Acholi Quarters, 13/12/2015). She then trained some of the women in the skills of making paper beads. She also helped in marketing the products in US, United Kingdom (UK), Germany and other European countries. The activity eventually gave birth to the Beads for Life project in Acholi Quarters. The objective of the woman who introduced paper beads was to improve specifically the lives of the displaced women in Acholi Quarters who were, by then, not receiving any formal assistance. Targeting women from early stages of the introduction of the skills then led to the formation of marketing networks along gender lines. Culturally, beads making is also an activity done by women from among the Acholi community. Although paper beads were new to the Acholi, the existing skills associated with women gave them flexibility to adopt the newly introduced paper beads making.

Beads making and marketing has contributed to changes in gender roles in households. The male participants in Acholi Quarters could not find formal jobs and they therefore depend on their wives. Since beads making and marketing is mainly the domain of women, most of the women involved in this activity have now assumed household economic responsibilities such as paying school fees for their children and acquiring land for quarrying. There is also an intersection between gender and age in beads making;

whereas the women are the ones mainly involved in making the beads and selling them, young people are engaged in collecting materials and cutting the papers into sizes.

Ethnically, compared to the Somali and Congolese refugees studied, cooperative marketing of paper beads is the domain of the displaced Acholi community. Beads making has been part of Acholi culture even though the beads they made were for different purpose and from different kinds of materials. The introduction of paper beads among the displaced Acholi therefore found a community that would easily embrace this new skill. The community and solidarity the women in Acholi Quarters built in the course of their common history of displacement also helped them in organizing themselves in groups to market their products. According to Tukamushaba, Orobias, and George (2011), empathy and the perceived attractiveness of engaging in international social entrepreneurial behaviour are some of the indicators to the reasons for internationalization. Since, paper beads making was introduced among the IDPs before any other community, the Acholi women were able to secure international market links at early stage which has now lived to sustain them. They were able to attract customers from abroad because it was also perceived by organizations that purchasing their products was a way of contributing to a social cause. Being nationals also helped them to easily get links to local market opportunities.

6.5.2 Contributions of paper beads cooperative marketing

The importance of networks is not limited to marketing and managing the problems of security but is also seen in raising resources as well. Bebbington (1999) argued that livelihood strategies can also serve as a means of raising other livelihood capital. In the case of the association of the women in the paper beads, working together was a guarantee to access financial assistance from organizations. In addition, the paper beads contributed significantly to the formation of the Village Savings and Loans Associations (VSLA) by raising the money for the regular group savings. VSLA is a standardized form of Accumulating Savings and Credit Association (ASCA) involving a membership of up to 50 or more and constituted on a yearly basis. Each member contributes a certain minimum

share determined through a consensus by the group.¹⁴ Parallel savings are also made for social insurance against individual or group needs. Contributions are done during regularly held meetings. Any member in need can take a loan, with an interest, from the savings to start or support a business or even to cater for basic needs and other social events. At the end of the year's cycle, the group meets to disburse their accumulated shares. Each one receives worth the amount of share she contributed in the course of the year plus the interests charged on loan service. The group is then either disbanded or – and in most cases – reconstituted for another year. Most of this money the women raise for their regular savings comes through the paper beads work. VSLA in turn facilitated the women's basic needs and capital for the paper beads business through generation of common funds: 'What is helping us is saving now, saving because if you don't have money you borrow the money, you can pay school fees for the children and some you use to buy the paper, varnish and glass beads you add on top of your business' (Interview with Local Council Leader, Acholi Quarters, 13/12/2015).

In the recent times, with the growth of the number of women producing beads and the disappearance of the organizations who previously purchased from the women, paper beads enterprise has suffered a decline in market. Lack of market to some extent destabilized some of the groups' cohesion since many began to compete and act secretly to secure market (Interview with IDP leader, 02/12/2015). In spite of these challenges of team dynamics and changes such as the loss of market, the paper beads business has made a significant impact in the livelihoods of the IDP women. Paper beads making in Acholi Quarters is now regarded as one of the social entrepreneurship in Uganda (Oyugi & Kasule, 2012; Tukamushaba et al., 2011). According Tukamushaba et al. (2011), social entrepreneurship is the process of applying businesslike, innovative approaches to social problems to make a difference. In this regard, operating as a group

¹⁴ Some groups refer to this minimum share as a "star." For example, if one star is equivalent to 3000UGX then two stars would 6000UGX and three stars would be 9000UGX. "UGX" is used to refer to the Uganda Currency. The estimated exchange rate at time of the writing is 1US Dollar = 3390 UGX (or Ugandan Shillings) or 1£=4960UGX

enabled the group's market security and therefore income for their basic needs. A few women were also able to invest in assets such as buying land and building semi-permanent structures. Within the community, paper beads enterprise has led to the creation of jobs for young people. For instance, Okumu who learnt cutting papers from his brother now makes a living from cutting papers for the women. Hence, the paper beads business can be considered as a process of emancipation from the condition of poverty to a fairly better living.

In addition, the importance of informal associations such as the VSLA has transcended their material value to include building a sense of belonging. Operating together has helped the women to bond together and is a source of emotional support. According to Betty, a widow with seven children who drew support during moments of hardships from her VSLA group, the women view each other as 'sisters' in the context of displacement to whom they can turn in times of problems:

Here, like me who doesn't have relatives here in Kampala, I just stay with those who are here. They were not my relatives but they are now my relatives. For example the teacher, this teacher here, if I have something which is difficult to my heart, I can go and ask, you help me with this kind of thing, or you give me advice, she can give me advice. So here we are staying like we are in one family even if we came from different places. Me I came from Kitgum, so here we meet like one people (Interview with Betty, IDP, 08/12/2015).

6.6 Conclusion

The preceding chapter discussed the informal economic strategies of the urban refugees/IDPs in Kampala, examining four different informal activities among the three selected refugee/IDP communities. In each of the four informal economic activities, two key areas have been addressed. Firstly, the focus is on the extent to which each of these informal economic activities belong to a particular ethnic or gender domain. In this sense, the chapter fits into a discourse on ethnic and gender role in determining the selection of informal economic activities (Betts, et al., 2014; Mulumba, 2010; Omata, 2012). These previous findings placed significance on networks within the different ethnic or national groups. Not only does an ethnic or national network influence the participation of these

social groups in particular informal economic activity, but also the strengths of the networks have influenced the relative economic status of these social groups (Omata, 2012).

I argue that the relative advantage in endowment with particular livelihood capital or sets of livelihood capital are central to the capabilities of particular ethnic or gender groups to create a niche within the activities. As Horst (2006) indicated, refugees build their livelihoods on the existing qualities and skills within the community and they also transform the existing livelihood strategies. Refugees and IDPs build their livelihoods by combining the different capital with which they are endowed. Endowment here may be based on historical circumstance such as the settlement of Somali in Kisenyi or the Acholi in Acholi quarters which traces beyond the period of conflict. It can also be on cultural basis such as the practices of particular kinds of skills, labour or some kinds of knowledge within the ethnic community. While networks may play part of the capital from which the refugees and IDPs draw to develop a particular strategy, its value in creating a niche may be contingent on the need for the group to intensify their participation in an economic activity.

Secondly, the chapter focused on the ‘transformative and enabling’ (Bebbington, 1999) role of the livelihood strategies of the refugees and IDPs. A caution about focusing on ‘capital’ is the tendency of reducing people to *homo economicus*, where preoccupation with assets is on their use to obtain well – defined economic goals (Kaag, 2004). The economic goal has hitherto shaped the literature on urban refugees and IDPs in Kampala, focusing not only on the challenges they encounter but their own strategies to meet their basic needs normally framed in ‘self-reliance.’ I argue that the informal economic activities and the capital they use to organize these economic activities have not only economic goals but also transformative and enabling roles. They are the means through which the refugees and IDPs claim their right in the urban spaces or what Kinyanjui (2014) termed as ‘spatial justice.’ Refugees and IDPs contribute to transforming, whether directly or indirectly, their local communities by contributing revenues, and creating employment

opportunities for some poor urban dwellers and creating a sense of 'home' through the networks they develop. In some instances, these informal economic activities have formed the basis for claims the displaced people make and even justifying their identity as vulnerable people. The activities also serve as the appropriate instruments for managing the bureaucratic processes of delays, restrictions or decontextualized approaches. Choosing precariousness over these bureaucratic processes revitalizes dignity and gives justification for an appropriate mode of assistance based on the refugees' perspectives.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

This study is an outcome of three months' interviews, observations and documentary analysis about the livelihoods of Congolese and Somali refugees and Acholi IDPs from northern Uganda living in Kampala. Kampala was chosen for this study because of the intricacies involved with the legal instruments of refugee/IDP assistance and protection, and the sizeable populations of conflict displaced people. The study thus investigated the challenges involved in accessing formal assistance from the government and organizations and the strategies the refugees and IDPs use to earn their living.

7.1 Summary

The findings in this study agree with Al Sharmani (2004), Jacobsen and Al Sharmani (2015), Landau (2006) and Landau and Duponchel (2011) that having a legal instrument and programmes to assist refugees does not necessarily imply that refugees and IDPs can access resources. By paying attention to the complexities of refugee/IDP policy context, the findings also challenge the previous notion that challenges of livelihoods the urban refugees and IDPs encounter owes to legal instruments that restrict and favours refugees in settlement areas or camps (Buscher, 2012; Mulumba, 2010) and proposes a need to focus on the bureaucratic processes embedded in accessing work documents, market spaces, financial capital and resettlement options which are considered as key aspects of livelihood resources in this study. Bureaucratic processes include uncoordinated approaches in policies and programme applications, restricted supports, decontextualized support and delays. Bureaucratic processes are embodied in the disconnectedness of Refugee Act 2006 on access to work permit, certificates recognition, entry into professional associations and incorporation of refugees and urban IDPs into KCCA's programme for the urban poor.

This issue affects the refugees in particular because refugees are subjected to different and more complex pathways from other migrants and urban poor in accessing resources. While some government programmes for the urban poor in general and for refugees and IDPs in particular are available, some of the refugees and IDPs are excluded from these

services because of restrictive tendencies and lack of coordination between the government agents and organizations responsible for displaced persons. In addition livelihood support programmes, especially the loan services, aimed at the refugees or even the IDPs are designed in ways that do not meet the specific contexts of the individuals and sometimes they subject the refugees (especially) into further vulnerabilities. Protracted processes of resettlement have also contributed to uncertainties and thereby to the inability of the refugees to make a long term economic engagement for their integration.

Within the context of prevailing challenges of formal assistance, various creative informal economic strategies emerge in which refugees and IDPs use the available livelihood resources to them to eke a living. The study chose the cases of stone quarrying, selling jewellery, running restaurants and informal cooperative systems of marketing to represent the livelihoods of the three ethnic groups of the study.

The study sought to examine the extent to which some informal economic activities are domains of particular ethnic/national or gender groups. In line with previous studies (Betts et al., 2014; Mulumba, 2010; Omata, 2012), the findings indicate that informal economic activities are to some extent patterned by ethnic differences indicating the significance of ethnic networks in the choice of a particular informal livelihood strategy. However, the refugees and IDPs rely not only on their networks but also on other livelihood capital to make a niche in an informal activity. This livelihood capital includes the land on which they settled, and skill, knowledge, labour and other resources with which they migrated. On the basis of self - reliance, these informal economic strategies have contributed to taking care of their basic needs and sometimes acquiring assets.

However, in addition to the need for self – reliance in economic terms, the informal economic activities are also transformative and enabling. The informal economic activities served as means through which the refugees/IDPs participate by contributing to urban infrastructural development through direct/indirect generation of revenues, creating

employment opportunities for some poor urban dwellers and building a sense of 'home' within the spaces in which they live. Refugees/IDPs have also used their informal economic strategies as a way of contesting the bureaucratic systems of assistance and justification (especially the IDPs) to claim their rights from the government.

7.2 Contributions

The study contributes to the debates on urban refugee and IDP studies. In so doing, the study engages with the concepts of livelihoods and informality. In discussing the livelihoods of refugees, the study used the sustainable livelihood approach which views assets of the people as the beginning point for understanding their livelihoods. Hence, within the sustainable livelihood approach the roles of institutions and organizations in the livelihood strategies were discussed. In this respect, the study engages with the literature on the obstacles urban refugees and internally displaced persons encounter in trying to access urban livelihood opportunities (Branch, 2011; Höök, 2015; Lammers, 2006; RLP, 2005; RLP, 2014; Krause-Vilmar, 2011). However, the objective of the study is not so much to outline these obstacles as to analyse how bureaucratic processes of assistance are embedded in these obstacles and thereby limiting livelihood opportunities and how these obstacles differentiate refugees and/or IDPs from other urban poor and migrants. In this regard the study extends the role of bureaucracy as an aspect of institutions and organizations in institutional debates on urban refugees and IDPs (Campbell, 2006; Jacobsen, 2006; Mulumba, 2010).

Following closely from Misztal (2000), the study maintains that the bureaucratic approaches of assistance stresses depersonalization, impersonal power and the detailed rigidity of prescribed behaviour all of which make the initiation of change difficult. In consequence, bureaucratic structures of refugee and IDP assistance result in assistance programmes marked by inconsistencies or lack of coordination, restrictions, delays and lack of consideration for specific context of individuals. Within these structures, urban poor in general but particularly refugees and IDPs' ability to access livelihood capital are

stifled and result into living at subsistence level. They also differentiate the refugees and IDPs from other urban poor and migrants in accessing resources. Although some of the livelihood challenges the urban refugees and IDPs experience are similar, the bureaucratic structures of assistance make their case rather different from other urban poor people.

This study contributes to the literature on ethnic or gender networks and the informal economy. It also builds on the concept of livelihood capital, including networks as an aspect of social capital, within the sustainable livelihood approach, applying this concept in a context of a displaced population. Livelihood capital is central to understanding how social groups make a niche in an informal economic activity and what significance these activities hold in an urban displacement context. I approached informal economic activity as a key livelihood strategy for the refugees and IDPs in an urban setting. As indicated in the findings, different ethnic or gender groups tend to predominate in some livelihood strategies because of their differential endowment with a particular livelihood capital or sets of capital, compared to other ethnic groups. These differences in livelihood capital helped them to create a niche within the economic strategy studied. While a network may constitute part of this capital, in form of social capital, a network on its own is not sufficient to account for why some informal economic activities tend to be occupations of particular refugees and IDPs groups. Refugees draw on a range of livelihood capital including, but not limited to, their skills, knowledge, land or labour. Endowment here may be based on historical circumstance such as settlement pattern in a particular place which traces back to the period before the migration of the displaced people. It can also be based on cultural practices such as the practices of particular kinds of skills, labour or some kinds of knowledge with which the refugees and IDPs migrate. The study thus confirms other findings which show that refugees migrate with some resources that are potentially useful for their integration in urban (Campbell, 2006; Macchiavello, 2003, 2004). However, the strength of this study is in the empirical analysis of the different livelihood capital each of the three ethnic groups have and how these capital enabled each of these ethnic groups to create a niche in a particular informal economic activity.

The study also extends the understanding of informal livelihoods as well as the livelihood capital beyond the immediate economic gains such as accessing basic needs (Krause-Vilmar, 2011). Broadly, it contributes to the critique of the dangers of de-politicizing the sustainable livelihood approach. The study also challenges the ‘pessimistic definition of informality’ (Kinyanjui, 2013), understanding it in terms of the risk or harms involved (Buscher, 2012). Informality is ‘a transformative and an enabling’ (Bebbington, 1999) process. Refugees and IDPs contribute to transforming their local communities by contributing revenues, and creating employment opportunities for some poor urban dwellers. Through their engagement in these informal economic activities, refugees and IDPs are creating a sense of ‘home’ in the areas in which they live and a sense of solidarity and belonging within their networks. In this sense refugees and IDPs are ‘agents of social transformation’ (Peterson – Dryden, 2006). In some instances, these informal economic activities have formed the basis for claims the displaced people make and even justifying their identity as vulnerable people. The activities also serve as the appropriate instruments for managing the bureaucratic processes of delays, restrictions or decontextualized approaches. Choosing precariousness over these bureaucratic processes revitalizes dignity and gives justification for appropriate modes of assistance based on the refugees’ perspectives.

7.3 Limitations and recommendations

This study is limited by its design as a case study of the three ethnic communities, the Somali refugees, the Congolese refugees and the Acholi IDPs. Even though modest comparisons were made with other refugee communities not included here or other migrants and urban poor, the conclusions drawn here are only relevant to these ethnic groups. However, this limitation could also be an opportunity to extend the analysis to other ethnic communities or other forms of displacement within Kampala or other major towns of Uganda. The selected communities constitute the largest displaced group in Kampala and attract relatively more attention to scholars and policy makers. However, other smaller groups of displaced persons live in Kampala whose situations may be less

known. Inclusion of such smaller groups may give a fairly complete picture on the livelihoods of different refugee and IDP groups.

An area which is less covered in this study is the relationship between the refugees and their hosting communities. The livelihood strategies the refugees and IDPs use are likely to affect the perceptions and attitudes of their hosting community members. Unlike the refugees and IDPs in settlement areas, refugees and IDPs in urban areas share resources with other urban populations. As the findings show, the fact that particular ethnic group tends to be popularly known for some informal economic strategy does not mean that other people are not engaged in it. Where activities are widely practiced, there is likely to be competition and hence conflicts or hostilities. Understanding the intersection of the perceptions and attitudes of the host community and the livelihood strategies would shed more light on the challenges of integration of the refugees in urban areas.

Although this study took a less pessimistic stance towards the informality of the Kampala economy, the point here is not to ignore the destitution involved in these activities. Conversely, the study recognizes the struggles the refugees and IDPs make and seeks to appreciate and affirm their efforts.

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APPENDIX: GUIDING THEMES AND QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWS

Themes and questions for conflict migrants:

1. Background information: Name, age, gender, country of origin, educational background, marital status household membership, length of stay in Kampala, reason for Kampala
2. How would you describe your experience of getting assistance from the state institutions and UNHCR? How do you feel in dealing with local authorities such as local council, city council, revenue authority, police or security? How do you normally cope with difficulties in dealing with the authorities?
3. Tell me something about the work you do to earn your living; perhaps how you first started doing this work and your experience of doing this kind of work? How do you see your work helping you in getting the assets and income you need to live in Kampala?
4. What skills do you have for managing your work? How do you see the skills you have helping you in your work? What is your experience of having to acquire some skills from organization, churches, schools or training centers? (languages? Have you learnt a new language since moving to Uganda? What languages do you use/need for your livelihood?). How has learning a new language helped you?
5. How do you see your work in relation to your age, gender, education or your home place? Is this kind of work common for women (or men)? What about people of your age group and level of education?
6. How do you see having connections through friends, family/kin, and ethnic, faith groups helping you to get assistance from government or organizations? Are there some challenges involved in working through connections? Do you belong to any associations? (church? Neighbourhood watch? Savings/credit coops? Other community groups?) has that been a positive experience?
7. Given what you do to earn a living, how do you feel about settling in Kampala (Uganda)?
8. How do you feel about your relationship with your non conflict migrant neighbours? What is their feeling about you and your work?

9. Looking at your work, how do you feel about the way you are treated by your employer or local community? (have there been any incidents or conflicts that you have experienced?)
10. How do you see yourself making a contribution to the local community?
11. How did you come to live or work in Kisenyi? Have you lived elsewhere in Kampala? How do you find the place? Do you have experience of evictions? (details) Is it a good place for business? Do you feel secure? (why/why not)
12. How do you see the future? (in relation to your work? Your residence in Kisenyi?/Kampala?/Uganda?)
13. Transnational connections. Do you maintain connections with family/people in the country/place you came from? Do you have contacts in other parts of Uganda? In other countries? Does your work take you into other places/countries? What has been your experience?

Themes and questions for local council/community leaders:

1. Information about the participant: name, age, gender, educational background, position in the community/local council?
2. From your perspective, why do you think the conflict migrants choose to live in Kampala? How is living in Kampala helping them?
3. What kinds of works do the conflict migrants normally do to make a living?
4. What are the difficulties involved in their making a living in Kisenyi? How do they deal with some of the difficulties?
5. What kind of assistance do they get from you? How do you see your role in relation to their needs?
6. What is your experience of dealing with other organizations or other government institutions in relation to their needs? How helpful are the other institutions?
7. What is your view about their relationships with their non- conflict migrant counterparts?
8. How do you assess their relationships with the local authority?
9. What is your view about their contributions in the local community?
10. What is your perspective about their need to integrate or return to their places of origin? How best can they be helped to integrate or return?

11. Have there been any studies that your (another) organization has conducted? Why? What were the findings?
12. For community leaders: how do you see the circumstances of the particular community you represent (eg Somali/Congolese)? Does it face discrimination more than others? What are the relationships with Ugandans/other migrants/refugees? Why does your particular community face specific issues?
13. How did come into your leadership role? What is your personal experience in Uganda? (how long have you been here etc)

Themes and questions for representatives of organizations

1. Background information about the participant; also background about the organization (how long in Kampala/Kisenyi, how have roles changed, what sort of projects)
2. What are the issues involved with legal frameworks and strategies (both government and UN) in conflict migrant assistance?
3. In what ways does your organization help them to meet the challenges of legal frameworks for assistance in urban areas? What kinds of assistance do your organization? How do you determine their needs? How to you access/find the appropriate constituencies?
4. How has the assistance you give so far changed their lives? To what extend are they self-sufficient?
5. On the basis of your experience, what are the problems involved with their employment? How do they maneuver their ways?
6. From your interactions with both conflict migrants and non-conflict migrants, how do you assess the nature of their relationships? How has your organization helped in shaping their relationships with their non-conflict migrant counter parts? Or with the local authorities?
7. How do you see the future of the conflict migrants, in terms of return or integration in Kampala?
8. What would say about their contributions in the local community?
9. Have there been any studies/reports on refugees/migrants, or relevant reports on the urban context/livelihoods/credit/services?