Sharing the urban space

Urban refugees' perceptions of life as a refugee in Kampala, Uganda

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Tiivistelmä/Referat – Abstract
This study explores the life and future prospects of refugees who live in urban areas in developing countries. The study focuses on urban refugees in Kampala, the capital of Uganda which has over 62,000 refugees from several neighbouring countries with fluctuating conflict situations. More than half of the world's refugees reside in cities today, and the number is expected to increase. However, international assistance and attention focuses still mainly on refugee camps and settlements. Approximately 86 per cent of the world's refugees reside in developing countries where resources to ensure the rights of refugees are scarce. They are facing numerous challenges related to rapid urbanisation, and their governments are reluctant to allow refugees to settle in urban areas. Urban refugees struggle for survival in precarious living conditions amongst other urban poor. Refugees live in the socio-economic margins mainly on their own. This study participates in the discussion and the search for solutions for urban refugees in protracted refugee situations.

The purpose of this thesis is to increase understanding of how urban refugees perceive their lives and future opportunities in the diverse and dynamic context of Kampala. The central concepts of this interdisciplinary study mainly draw upon social psychology. The ways in which refugees perceive their lives among other social groups in Kampala is analysed through social categorisation. The study explores refugees' perceptions of stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination as they are manifested in social interaction with locals and authorities. These perceptions are then analysed within the wider frame of integration and marginalisation.

The primary data that was collected during a six-week fieldwork period in Kampala in spring 2013 consist of 21 thematic interviews, observation, informal discussions and a field diary. The data was analysed by conducting qualitative content analysis. The interviewed refugees were of different nationalities, ages, genders and backgrounds.

The findings reveal that urban refugees varyingly face prejudices and discrimination in their daily interaction with Ugandans as well as within institutional contexts such as schools, health care centres and the police. The study demonstrates that real and perceived discrimination as well as anticipation of it have real implications on refugees' lives. They are particularly vulnerable to discriminatory practices as they have little means to overcome grievances caused by discrimination. The analysis shows that refugees perceive to be regarded as strangers who are not accepted to be part of Ugandan society. They are left to survive on their own, excluded from their rights to justice and equality. Particularly the most marginalised refugees have little possibilities to improve their situation. The analysis also reveals frictions, hostilities and discrimination within the urban refugee population. One of the central conclusions of the study is the need to acknowledge the diversity of urban refugees in all approaches to them.

Owing to perceptions that refugees are not accepted and disrespected social category in Kampala, refugees feel that they are deprived of their rights and opportunities to improve their lives in Kampala. Kampala represents a place where the life of refugees is characterised by stagnation, difficulties and unfreedoms that restrict them from changing the course of the lives. The analysis shows that refugees perceive that in Europe and North America refugees are accepted as members of society and hence able to build a better future for them and their children.

The study concludes that urban refugees have little incentive to integrate into local society if they perceive that refugees are trapped in the social, political and economic margins. In the light of the continuing trends of urbanisation and growing number of urban refugees, the study underlines the need to take urban refugees into consideration in international, national and local policies and practices to ensure that refugees can enjoy equal rights and that the growth of cities is socially, economically and environmentally sustainable.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords
urban refugees
prolonged refugee situations
local integration
marginalisation
social categorization
discrimination

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Tiivistelmä/Referat – Abstract

Tämä tutkimus käsittelee kehitysmaiden kaupungeissa asuvien pakolaisten elämää ja mahdollisuuksia Kampalassa, Ugandassa. Kaupungissa elää yli 62 000 naapurimaiden konflikteja paennutta ihmistä. Maailman pakolaisista yli puolet yrittää nykyään selviytyä leirien sijaan kaupungeissa. Maailmassa on useita pitkittyneitä pakolaistilanteita, ja lähes 86 prosenttia maailman pakolaisista on kehitysmaissa. Niiden resurssit turvata pakolaisten oikeudet ovat heikot. Ne kamppailevat nopean kaupungistumisen tuomien haasteiden kanssa, ja monet hallitukset ovat haluttomia sallimaan pakolaisten asettumisen kaupunkeihin. Tulevaisuudessa kuitenkin yhä useampi pakolainen etsii niistä leirejä parempia toimeentulomahdollisuuksia. Silti kansainvälinen apu ja huomio keskittyvät yhä pakolaisleireihin, ja kaupungeissa elävät pakolaiset kamppailevat toimeentulostaan lähinnä omillaan. He elävät sosioekonomisessa marginaalissa kaupungin muiden köyhien kanssa. Tämä tutkimus osallistuu keskusteluun ja ratkaisujen etsintään näiden pakolaisten oloihin.

Tutkimukseni tarkoitus on lisätä ymmärrystä pakolaisten omista näkemyksistä elämästä ja tulevaisuudennäkymistä Kampalassa. Tutkimus pureutuu pakolaisten sosiaalisissa vuorovaikutustilanteissa kohtaamaan syrjintään ja ennakkoluuloihin päivittäisessä elämässä ja asioidessaan eri viranomaistahojen kanssa. Lisäksi se kartoittaa käsityksiä pakolaisista muiden kaupungissa elävien sosiaalisten ryhmien joukossa sekä siitä, miten ugandalaiset heihin suhtautuvat. Tutkimus myös pohtii näiden käsitysten konkreettisia vaikutuksia pakolaisten elämään ja tulevaisuudensuunnitelmiin.

Monista tieteenaloista ammentavan tutkimukseni teoreettinen viitekehys nojaa pääasiallisesti sosiaalipsykologian käsitteisiin, joita ovat sosiaalinen kategorisointi, integraatio, marginalisaatio, syrjintä ja ennakkoluulot. Pakolaisten elämän ymmärtäminen heidän henkilökohtaisten käsitystensä kautta pohjaa niin ikään antropologiseen lähestymistapaan.

Kvalitatiivisen tutkimukseni aineistona on 21 temaattista haastattelua, havainnointia, lukuisia taustakeskusteluja ja kenttäpäiväkirja. Aineisto kerättiin kuuden viikon kenttämatkan aikana Kampalassa keväällä 2013. Materiaalina on myös alan kirjallisuutta, aiempia tutkimuksia ja raportteja. Aineiston analysointiin käytettiin laadullisen tutkimuksen menetelmiä.

Analyysista käy ilmi, että pakolaiset kohtaavat erilaisia ennakkoluuloja ja syrjintää päivittäisessä kanssakäymisessään ugandalaisten kanssa sekä asioidessaan eri julkisen palvelujen viranomaisten kanssa. Syrjintä ja sen ennakoiminen vaikeuttavat pakolaisten toimeentuloa ja päivittäistä elämää kaupungissa. Syrjivien kommenttien tai fyysisen turvallisuutensa puolesta pelkäävät välttävät sosiaalisia vuorovaikutustilanteita ja -paikkoja navigoidessaan kaupungin dynaamisessa ympäristössä. Analyysi paljastaa, että pakolaiset kokevat joutuvansa pärjäämään omillaan yhteiskunnallisen tuen ulkopuolella. Analyysi osoittaa myös, että pakolaiset ovat hyvin heterogeeninen joukko ihmisiä, joilla on erilaiset tarpeet, pelot ja huolenaiheet. Lähtömaista juontavat jännitteet vaikuttavat pakolaisten sosiaaliseen elämään. Tutkimus alleviivaakin tarvetta huomioida yksilöllisemmin pakolaisten tarpeita ja haasteita niin tutkimuksessa kuin avustusohjelmissa.

Eräs tutkimuksen keskeinen tulos oli pakolaisten käsitys, että pakolaisilla ei ole mahdollisuutta rakentaa parempaa tulevaisuutta Kampalassa. Melko yleisesti koettiin, että pakolaiset nähdään Kampalassa sosiaalisena kategoriana, jota ei hyväksytä yhteiskunnan jäseniksi. Siihen kuuluvilta on riistetty oikeudet ja mahdollisuudet parantaa elinolojaan. Pakolaisuus koettiin usein joksikin, jota ei voi paeta: he olisivat aina pakolaisia, ”muukalaisia”, minne ikinä menevätkin. Länsimaiden yhteiskunnat nähtiin kuitenkin paikkoina, joissa pakolaiset sosiaalisena ryhmänä hyväksytään ja heidän oikeuksiaan kunnioitetaan.

Tutkimuksen keskeinen johtopäätös on, että mahdollisuudet onnistuneeseen paikalliseen integraatioon ovat heikot, mikäli pakolaiset kokevat Kampalan paikkana, jossa heidän elämänsä on lukkiutunut sosioekonomiseen marginaaliin. Tutkimus myös korostaa tarvetta ottaa kaupungeissa asuvat pakolaiset huomioon kansainvälisessä, kansallisessa ja paikallisessa politiikassa ja käytännöissä, jotta pakolaisten tasa-arvoiset oikeudet sekä kaupunkien kestävä kasvu varmistuisi.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords
pakolaiset
pakolaisuus
integraatio
syrjäytyminen
kategorisointi
syrjintä
kaupungistuminen

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Foreword

Before my fieldwork in Kampala, I was told to keep in mind that I only go and take from refugees, that I give them nothing. Twenty-four women and men who had forcibly left their homes and lived in Kampala shared with me their painful histories, personal concerns and biggest fears.
In the end of every interview I asked whether they would still like to say something. They usually asked me to only spread information of refugees so that they would not be forgotten.

These pages are written with the aim of trying to fulfill this only task I was given.

List of abbreviations

CARA	Ugandan Control of Alien Refugees Act
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FRC	Finnish Refugee Council
HOWC	Hope of Children and Women Victims of Violence
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
KCC	Kampala City Council
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
IASFM	International Association for the Study of Forced Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRM/A	National Resistance Movement/Army
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
RLP	Refugee Law Project
UGX	Ugandan Shilling
UN-Habitat	United Nations Commission for Human Settlements
UNHCR	UN Refugee Agency (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees)

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All pictures are taken by the author of this thesis.

1 Introduction

Refugees and other forced migrants have become to lead the world's human migration figures. At the end of 2014 the world saw a new record since World War II as 59.5 million persons were forcibly on the move as a result of persecution, conflict, generalised violence or human right violations (UNHCR 2015b). The increase since the previous year was the highest ever seen in a single year, as 51.2 million people were forcibly displaced in 2013. Simultaneously, only 126,800 refugees were able to return to their home countries in 2014 (ibid.).

Today, more than half of the world's refugees served by the United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR) reside in urban areas instead of refugee camps and settlements. Similarly to others, refugees look for better survival opportunities in cities. This trend has accelerated since the 1950s and in the future, more and more refugees will be trying to survive in cities and towns (UNHCR 2015a). 86 per cent of all refugees reside in the developing world. These countries have the world's highest urban growth rates, and their cities are confronting with multiple challenges caused by rapid urbanisation. The cities lack adequate resources and capacity to plan services and infrastructure, and they struggle to meet the increasing demands of the growing urban population. Migration to cities is transforming the composition of cities, which may create tensions between different groups. Refugees along with other migrants are affected by and engaged in the process of urbanisation and its dynamics.

High profile crises attract a large part of the media, public and donors' attention while several protracted refugee situations that have lasted for years are left with lesser attention (Dryden-Peterson & Hovil 2004, 2). Especially in Africa, numerous refugees have lived in the state of escape for a minimum of five years and still do not have prospects of a durable solution. Refugees often find themselves trapped: They cannot go back to their countries of origin, they are not wanted to stay in the asylum country, and they have very small possibility to move on to a third country as Western countries are reluctant to accept greater number of refugees for resettlement (Crisp 2003, 1). Scholars

have frequently promoted local integration into the first asylum country as a durable solution for refugees in protracted situations. However, governments in the development world are reluctant to facilitate local integration that is connoted with permanence (Jacobsen 2006). Governments and locals often consider refugees as a burden to limited resources and services and as a threat to social security.

Under international law, asylum seekers and officially recognised refugees fall under the protection of the host state which is in charge to provide them with rights specified in the 1951 Refugee Convention and other international instruments. The right to protection and assistance pertain to refugees no matter whether they are located in camps, planned settlements or urban areas. Despite the legal framework, it is not guaranteed that national policies and practices aiming to ensure these rights are adopted. Most governments in the developing world prefer spatial segregation of refugees into designated refugee camps and settlements, and the policies do not support refugees to settle in urban areas. In respect to national policies, international assistance is mainly allocated to refugees in camps and settlements.

Refugees in urban areas of the developing countries live mainly in the socio-economic margins. They share the same challenges than other urban poor in midst of whom they live. They all live in precarious living conditions often in overcrowded slums and struggle to meet physical necessities. They have poor access to health, education, police and other services. Refugees also confront language barriers, xenophobia, discrimination, violence and uncertainties owing to their ambiguous legal status. They have limited support networks and many of them have to cope with trauma and injuries caused by their experiences conflict and forced migration. All these place urban refugees in an especially vulnerable position.

The purpose of this thesis is to increase understanding of the life of urban refugees who reside in the cities of the developing world and who have no hopes of returning to their countries of origin any time soon. The topic is approached by studying refugees who reside in Kampala, the capital of Uganda. Uganda has a long history of both generating and receiving refugees. There are several countries with fluctuating and prolonged conflict situations in its surroundings. Approximately half a million refugees from different Eastern African conflict areas are estimated to currently reside in Uganda.

Many of them are not expected to return soon owing to ongoing instabilities. Over 62,000 officially registered refugees live in Kampala. The number of those who live in Kampala but for various reasons are not in official registers can only be estimated. Uganda provides an interesting context for studying refugees in urban areas. It has an exceptionally permissive refugee policy as it allows refugees to freely choose to settle in urban areas. However, by choosing self-settlement refugees forgo their right for assistance and they are expected to be self-sufficient. Refugees who reside in Kampala find themselves among very heterogeneous Ugandan population that consists of different socio-cultural groups. Kampala is also facing numerous challenges related to rapid urbanisation.

This study seeks to analyse urban refugees' lives from their own point of view. The aim is to better understand *how urban refugees perceive their life and opportunities* in the diverse and dynamic context of Kampala where refugees struggle for survival among other urban dwellers.

Research questions

1. How do refugees perceive that they are regarded by Ugandans? What kind of perceptions do refugees have of discrimination and prejudices towards them? How do these perceptions affect refugees' daily lives?

2. How do refugees perceive themselves amongst other in Kampala and how do their perceptions of the social groups affect their lives?

3. How do refugees perceive their life and future opportunities *as refugees* in Kampala?

The study is ethnographic in nature. It emphasises understanding rather than causalities. It is limited to exploring the experiences of urban refugees in Kampala and cannot provide results that can be directly generalised to other times and spaces. *Life* is understood to comprise different dimensions of social, economic and cultural realities. These include the material and immaterial living circumstances such as livelihoods and employment situation, housing conditions, social environment (for example family,

friends and enemies), the person's physical and mental condition, as well as personal histories and experiences.

The conceptual tools used in analysis include processes of *social categorisation* and *identification*. Social categorisation is central in the operation of *prejudices*, *stereotypes* and *discrimination* that are of special focus in the first research question. The analysis of refugees' identifications with and categorisation of others into different social groups sheds light on urban social patterns and allows us to better understand refugees' perceptions of social realities that are the focus in the second research question. The perceptions analysed in the first two research questions affect the ways in which refugees see their lives and future opportunities in Kampala.

The analysis of perceptions of discrimination and prejudices is situated on the *interaction level*. The focus is on interaction between individuals, namely refugees and Ugandans. For the purpose of my study, 'interaction' provides a more multifaceted approach than for example 'encounters'. Interaction is more than mere physical contact: it is charged with previously held attitudes, stereotypes and expectations. Social interaction has been seen to provide a mediating link between individual, group and society (Tajfel and Fraser 1978, 99). It is in interactions that societal relations, beliefs and norms are reproduced, actualised and challenged (Verkuyten 2005, 19-20). In my study, interaction serves as an interface on which prejudices and discrimination manifest themselves. The phenomena that emerge from perceptions of interaction are related to *individual* and *societal level* (see ibid. 18-20). These three levels should be taken into consideration simultaneously in research. Evidently, refugees' perceptions derived from interaction are only one part of what affects the views of their life in Kampala. Personal, educational and professional background; previously held attitudes, values and stereotypes; familiarity of Uganda and its population; economic resources; psychological and health issues; and stories told by friends or family also influence their perceptions and interpretations of life. These occasionally come up in the analysis.

This research is inspired by urban dynamics. Urban areas provide various spaces for interaction between people who live there. Urban refugees interact with Ugandans, other refugees and other immigrants in daily life in the streets, neighbourhoods, market places and churches. They also interact with various authorities and professionals in

health care centres, schools, police stations and refugee offices. Each space influences the interaction. These spaces are not merely physical settings but characterised by certain atmosphere, norms and expectations of behaviour. They are part of the city's social environment which is in a constant flux and affected by movements of people, thoughts, cultures, goods and ideologies. To bring us back to social categorisation, much of what happens to us in these dynamic spaces is related to the activities of groups to which we belong or do not belong (see Tajfel 1969, 81). Also the relations between groups are in a constant change (ibid.).

The ever more increasing number of urban refugees, the socio-cultural diversity of them, the several protracted refugee situations and the current urbanisation trends create demand for a better understanding of urban refugees and their living environments. Scholars have called for a need to address urban refugees in municipal administration, urban planning and national poverty reduction strategies (Crisp et al. 2003, 38). I aim to increase understanding of the needs and desires of people who seem to have been speechless and ignored in urban planning, national and international policies and public discussion, and who for decades have been regarded rather as objects of management and governance than active participants of societies. Better understanding of their needs and worries helps in efforts to provide more effective assistance to refugees as well as to develop socially, economically and environmentally sustainable cities in developing countries.

Previous research on urban refugees

Since World War II, the academic research in the field of forced migration has increased in parallel with the significance of the phenomenon in politics. The 1951 Refugee Convention and the development of refugee policy have been closely connected with the development of academic research. During World War II, research aimed at finding possible ways out of the "refugee problem" resulted in the war. Afterwards the focus shifted to problematic aspects of "refugee experience", including research on refugees' psychological adaptation and dysfunction as well as difficulties in linguistic and occupational adaptation. Since the beginning of 1980s, the scholarly output on refugees increased alongside the establishment of a number of centres and journals specialised in the study of refugees. Today, the literature on refugees is wide-

ranging within many academic disciplines, including also such that do not identify themselves as refugee studies but deal with refugees substantively. The academic background of scholars varies from political science and anthropology to health studies and psychology. (Black 2001, 58-62.)

Regarding the research focusing on urban refugees, nowadays the research on refugees living in cities of the Western countries is relatively well advanced (Lyytinen and Kullenberg 2013). In the developing world, however, research on urban refugees is still relatively scant. It is focused on a limited number of large cities (Crisp et al. 2012, 37; Dryden-Peterson 2006, 281). In Africa, the focus has been on the cities of Cairo, Dar es Salaam, Johannesburg, Khartoum and Nairobi (Lyytinen and Kullenberg 2013). Kampala has also attracted scholarly interest (e.g. Bernstein and Okello 2005, Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2004; Dryden-Peterson 2006; Lucia 2012; Macchiavello 2003; Omata 2012).

Typically, studies on urban refugees explore the living conditions, livelihood strategies, social networks and challenges of urban refugees. Scholars studying refugee "communities" are often interested in the sense of belonging and adopt qualitative in-depth approaches (Lyytinen and Kullenberg 2013, 38). A number of studies aim to advocate on behalf of urban refugees as policymakers rarely hear the voices of refugees residing in urban areas. Majority of these studies conclude with policy recommendations or call for better access to education, jobs, health care, sanitation, water and other municipal and state services for urban refugees (e.g. Crisp et al. 2012, 37-38; Jacobsen and Landau 2003, 1). Several studies aim at informing policymakers on how to combine refugees and their assistance with wider development policies and programmes in host countries that benefit also local urban poor (e.g. Betts 2009; Crisp et al. 2012; Harild and Christensen 2011; Kaiser 2005; Meyer 2006; Refugee Law Project 2005, 1-2). Scholars have also called humanitarian actors working with refugees to expand their partnerships from merely national governments to comprehend municipal authorities, mayors, service providers and urban police forces (Crisp et al. 2013, 23).

Historically, there has been a close interaction between scholars and policymakers as well as scholars and international refugee organisations such as the UNHCR. The

frameworks set by international refugee agencies have influenced academic output as for example numerous scholars structure their analysis according to the bureaucratic UNHCR model which defines three durable solutions for refugees: returning home (repatriation), local integration and resettlement (Malkki 1995b, 505-506). The dependence of scholars on policy definitions and concerns has been seen as one of the principal weaknesses in refugee studies (ibid.).

Local integration has increasingly been suggested as a durable solution for refugees who reside in developing countries and are affected by prolonged conflicts (see e.g. Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2004; Jacobsen 2001). Previously, scholars tended to approach integration within the managing framework and studied how immigrants and refugees could fit best into the society (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2004, 26). More recent literature promotes local integration by strengthening the structures that enable joint development of both local and refugee population and takes into account all stakeholders (ibid.). The new emphasis is on the agency and economic capacity of refugees and understanding that refugees should be 'assisted to assist themselves' (Horst 2006, 6; see also Omata 2012). However, there still is little research on the process of local integration and its consequences for refugees and their hosts (Jacobsen 2001, 4). The impact of refugees on the cost and availability of food, housing and jobs also needs to be better understood (Crisp et al. 2012, 38). Little is known about refugees' access to and memberships in local communities where they can meet locals and other refugees. Numerous studies seem to aim at convincing host governments of the benefits of allowing local integration, and often take an economic perspective to respond to governments' unwillingness to integrate refugees. Scholars aim at demonstrating that refugees are not a burden for the society but active social agents capable of contributing in local societies and benefiting local economies (e.g. ibid; Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2004; Omata 2012).

My study participates in the discussion on and the searching for solutions for urban refugees who find themselves in protracted situation by taking the viewpoint of refugees. By this approach, I aim to highlight the subjective standpoints of refugees that sometimes seem to have been given less attention in studies.

Structure of the thesis

Chapters Two and Three include the theoretical and methodological frames of this research. In Chapter Two that follows the introduction, the central concepts for analysing the lives of urban refugees are discussed. The methods and data as well as ethical considerations are presented in Chapter Three.

Chapter Four outlines the international, regional, and national context of urban refugees. The Chapter begins with presenting international and regional policies and practises concerning urban refugees. It also includes a brief history and an overview on current issues regarding refugees in Eastern Africa and in Uganda. These help to contextualise the social, political, economic and cultural settings in which refugees live in Kampala.

Chapter Five and Chapter Six form the analysis chapters of this research. In Chapter Five, focus is on refugees' perceptions of how Ugandans regard refugees in Kampala. The Chapter examines refugees' perceptions of prejudices and discrimination that they have experienced in different interaction situations. The chapter also discusses how these perceptions affect refugees' daily lives.

In Chapter Six, the approach shifts to analyse how refugees see themselves and more generally the lives of refugees in Kampala. This is done by examining how refugees identify themselves with and categorise others into social groups. Scrutinising social categorisations by refugees sheds light on their life and reveals several issues of relations between different social groups in Kampala: with whom refugees interact with and with whom do they avoid interaction? Why? Categorisations also uncover prejudices and perceived threats within urban refugee population of which diversity is often ignored. The chapter also scrutinises how refugees see their life in Kampala as in the social category of refugees. The Chapter discusses refugees' perceptions of implications that membership into "the social category of refugees" has in Kampala.

Finally, in the conclusions, I pull the threads together and bring the study back to the wider discussion on urban refugees, protracted refugee situations and urbanisation challenges in developing countries.

2 Conceptualisation and theoretical framework

In this chapter I present the central concepts and the theoretical framework for this study. First, I discuss the concept of *refugee* and define how the term *urban refugee* is applied in my study. After that I introduce the theoretical framework. The study is interdisciplinary in nature. To conceptualise it, I have drawn from various academic fields within social sciences, mainly from development studies, social psychology, anthropology and sociology. Of particular importance is the notion of *social categorisation* that guides my analysis of refugees' perceptions of their lives. Social categorisation is central in analysing the operation of some of the key themes, namely *discrimination*, *prejudices* and *stereotypes*. These are seen to manifest in social interaction between refugees and others, and they are approached through refugees' subjective perceptions. The wider frames the refugees' perceptions are linked to are *local integration* and *marginalisation*.

2.1 Conceptualising the urban refugee

The "refugee" as a social category and as a juridical concept emerged in Europe during and after World War II (Malkki 1995b, 497). The internationally recognised legal definition of "the refugee" was established in the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (see the box below). The Convention reflects the post-World War II situation and it considers only people who had been forced to move during the war years and who were seen as a temporary problem to be managed (ibid. 497-502). Later, the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees removed geographical and temporal restrictions from the 1951 Convention, thus extending it to also apply to forced movements resulting from other conflicts than World War II. In 1969, the Organization of African Unity (now African Union, AU) signed a Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of the Refugee Problem in Africa (OAU Convention 1969) that extended the definition to more fully include victims of violence, war and civil strife. It is signed by most member states of AU.

1951 Refugee Convention definition	1969 OAU Convention extended definition
"[A refugee is a person who] owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country" (Article 1). (UNHCR 2010.)	"The term 'refugee' shall also apply to every person who owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality" (Article 1).

The second half of the 20th century witnessed a significant increase in the institutional development related to refugees (Malkki 1995b, 497-502; Black 2001, 58-59). In the post-World War II years, institutions with missions to resettle refugees and control refugee camps began to emerge (Malkki 1995b, 497-498). Camps got their standardised essence aiming at managing mass displacement and of being bureaucratic tools for systematic organising of refugees (ibid.). Ever since the beginning, governments, refugee organisations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have approached refugees as an international humanitarian problem. Our contemporary understanding of the refugee is influenced by these historical processes and the social, political and legal constructions produced by the international refugee regime over time (ibid. 506).

International conventions detail the rights and obligations that officially recognised refugees have within the country of asylum and form the basis for protecting and assisting refugees.[1] Refugee rights are closely intertwined with human rights law and include for example rights to freedom of movement, family life, security, employment and education as well as access to justice systems and equal treatment before the law (Jacobsen 2006, 1-2; Refugee Convention 1951). Refugees have an obligation to respect the laws of the country of asylum, and they can be arrested or prosecuted if found guilty

[1] *Asylum country* refers to the country in which a person seeks asylum. The *country of first asylum*, or the *first asylum country* refers to a country that permits people to enter its territory for the purpose of seeking asylum in that country. Asylum is perceived temporary, pending eventual repatriation or resettlement. Usually, UNHCR provides basic assistance to refugees in first asylum countries.

of an offence. For their part, states have an obligation to uphold and protect the rights and freedoms of refugees the same they do for their own citizens (Jacobsen 2006, 2). To obtain the official refugee status, asylum-seekers undergo full determination procedures in the host country.[2] If large numbers of asylum-seekers come as a consequence of human rights problems, the receiving society may not have resources or it is impractical to undertake intensive case-by-case determination processes. In this case, all asylum-seekers from those particular countries or territories are automatically considered refugees. Then, they are referred to as *prima facie* refugees and they enjoy legal protection in the country of asylum without individual status determination (Kagan 2007, 13). The mandate of the UNHCR concerns refugees as defined in the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol. Over time, the scope of UNHCR has expanded to asylum-seekers, returning refugees and stateless persons, to whom UNHCR sometimes refers to as "persons of concern."

The legal definition of a refugee as defined in the international conventions is, in its narrowness, problematic for research. It does not include forced migration caused by environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, famine, major development projects such as dam constructions nor smuggled and trafficked people or internally displaced persons (IDPs).[3] These are all included in the more general term 'forced migrant' which is promoted by the International Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM). Among researchers, there is no consensus on what the term 'refugee' should or should not include, and there has been criticism that the whole field of refugee studies has remained under-theorised (see Black 2001, 64; Malkki 1995b, 508). To avoid terms that have a specific juridical meaning in national and international law (such as refugee, asylum-seeker, humanitarian refugee and stateless person), some scholars apply more general terms such as forced migrant, displaced persons, exiles, expellees and transferees (Black 2001, 64; Malkki 1995a).

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[2] People who have not yet obtained the refugee status but who say they are refugees are called *asylum-seekers*. Those who are not recognised to be refugees, nor to be in need of any other form of international protection, can be sent back to their home countries (UNHCR 2015d).

[3] Internally displaced persons (IDPs) are persons or groups of persons who have been forced to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights, or natural or man-made disasters, and who have not crossed an international border (UN Commission on Human Rights 1998).

In anthropological research, there is a tendency towards seeing refugees almost like an essentialised, anthropological "tribe" that shares a common "refugee experience" and identity (Malkki 1995a, 8-9; 1995b, 510-511). Homogenising, humanitarian images of refugees occur in representations of journalists, humanitarian organisations, fundraisers and academic scholars. These images represent an abstract and universal suffering and erase the actual socio-political circumstances, history and culture of particular refugees (Malkki 1995a, 9-13). Liisa Malkki suggests that "the term refugee has analytical usefulness not as a label for a special, generalisable 'kind' or 'type' of person or situation, but only as a broad legal or descriptive rubric that includes within it a world of socio-economic statuses, personal histories, and psychological or spiritual situations" (Malkki 1995b, 496).

In my study, the understanding of the refugee and refugeeness is inspired by Malkki's (1995a; 1995b) insightful scrutiny. To emphasise the refugees' point of view, I lean on an anthropological approach rather than an administrative perspective on refugees. 'Refugee' is used as a descriptive rubric for a social category into which refugees are categorised by others and with which refugees varyingly identify themselves. Understood this way, the concept comprehends a kind of experienced refugeeness regardless the legal status. Because refugeeness may, as will be shown later, substantially affect person's life, it sometimes becomes an eligible social category to identify with. Identifying oneself as a refugee does not exclude identification with other social categories. This acknowledges that there are individual differences among those who consider themselves as refugees. The boundaries of social categories are not solid, and the continuous reconstruction of 'refugee' will be reflected throughout the study. My approach also expands the concept from exclusively perceiving the term 'refugee' merely as a result of escaping violence and persecution and crossing an international border (see also al-Sharmani 2003; Grabska 2006; Malkki 1995a; 1995b). When there is a specific need to be legally precise, I apply the terms 'legal' or 'official' refugee status to refer to the 1951 Convention and its protocols. In those cases, 'forced migrant' covers all forcibly moved people as defined by IASFM.

The term 'urban refugee' has not yet been defined in international law. It is commonly used to refer to people who have forcibly left their home countries, crossed international borders and, instead of refugee camps, reside in towns and cities (Ngumuta 2010, 2).

Sommers (1999) distinguishes four types of refugees residing in urban areas: (1) the few who are officially defined as refugees and have permission to reside in cities ("urban caseload"); (2) those officially defined as refugees but lacking legal rights to urban residence; (3) those who have come to an urban area to seek asylum including recognition as a refugee and support at a UNHCR office; and (4) those forcibly escaped who live without any institutional recognition or assistance and may not, for various reason, seek to be recognised (Sommers 1999, 22). In addition, there are those whose refugee status has been rejected but who are still seeking international protection (Ngumuta 2010). All these are included in the concept of 'urban refugee' in my study.

2.1 Refugees' social reality: Categorising the self and being categorised by others

Grace, a Congolese refugee, lives with her daughter and son in a small one-room apartment in Kampala. They fled the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) after rebels had kidnapped Grace's husband and the situation in their village had become volatile. Grace and her children ended up in Kampala where they were registered as refugees. They live in a neighbourhood that is inhabited by Ugandans and some other refugees from the DRC. Grace considers that her Ugandan neighbours dislike the Congolese refugees in their neighbourhood, and she describes the daily interaction with her Ugandan neighbours as tense. When Grace needs to take care of official issues, she goes to refugee offices in Old Kampala. There she waits for her turn in queues with other refugees from different backgrounds. Once a week Grace participates in an English course organised for female victims of violence. There, she studies together with other course participants who are women from different countries, mostly but not necessarily refugees, and also women from Uganda. On Sundays Grace goes to church similarly to other Christian believers. Grace manages to get enough income to afford primary school for her children. According to Grace, the teachers favour Ugandan pupils over the Congolese, which concerns Grace as a parent. In each of these contexts that Grace moves in Kampala, she interacts with other city dwellers including Ugandans, refugees and other immigrants. In each context, Grace identifies herself with different social groups: refugees, Congolese, women, victims of violence, Christians, parents, and so

on. Similarly, the other interacting parties in each context categorise Grace varyingly into different *social groups* or *categories*.

In this study, I adopt concepts deriving from social psychology to analyse the ways in which refugees perceive their social reality and interact with other people in dynamic urban spaces. It is clear that the following definitions of the concepts are limited. For the purpose of my study, however, the limitations are deliberate as they enable the use of the concepts in the discussions in my study.

Categorisation is central in understanding and structuring the social and non-social environment as well as in positioning oneself in the world (Allport 1954, 20-21; Tajfel 1978a, 305). We seek to make sense of the social reality around us by simplifying it into separate categories. The central function of categories is to gain knowledge about elements that belong to a particular category. As an example, having categorised a person as being a refugee, we can relate everything we have learned about refugees to this person (see Kessler and Mummendey 2008, 300). I observed above how Grace moves across different social contexts in Kampala and how she identifies with different social groups. *Social categorisation* is a process in which individuals divide their social context by self-identification to *ingroups* (their own groups to which they belong) and categorising others into *outgroups* (which they do not belong to). A particular social categorisation becomes meaningful in a particular context, in other words, each context influences the categorisation process. In addition to that, the adoption of a particular category is affected by factors such as specification of similarities and of differences, proximity, common needs and goals, sense of common fate and shared threat, as well as perceiver's motivations to use a particular category (see e.g. Brown 2010, 56-63; Jenkins 2000; Kessler and Mummendey 2008, 300-301; Tajfel 1982). Later in this study we will see for example how 'refugeeness' becomes activated and used as a social category for certain goals by both refugees and Ugandans.

The concept of *identification* denotes the relationship of the self to a particular social category. Simply, social identification is 'knowing who we are and who others are' (Jenkins 2000, 8). Identification with a social category leads to that individuals are affected by issues related to the category and perceive events with respect to their implications for this particular category (Kessler and Mummendey 2008, 297-301). For

example, if a female refugee from Somalia is asked about difficulties that she faces in Kampala, she may consider the question by identifying herself with women and mention the threats of sexual harassment. If the Islamist organisation al-Shabaab that is based in Somalia would make a terror attack in Kampala, she would probably think how the attack affects the attitudes against Somalis in Kampala. In this case she would consider the question by primarily identifying with Somalis. Naturally, the image that a person has of herself or himself in relation to the surroundings is much more complex than that derived from identifying with social categories. However, some aspects of individual's view of her or his life are contributed by the membership of certain social groups or categories (see Tajfel 1982, 1-4). Whereas numerous studies have also applied the notion of *social identity,* I have made a choice to avoid going into in-depth analysis of refugees' self-concepts, even though I refer to social identification processes.[4] I rather seek to use categorisations as a tool to analyse refugees' views of their lives through understanding social interaction situations that are influenced by categorisation and identification processes.

Processes of social categorisation and identification influence how we perceive and evaluate others and ourselves. Social identification is never unilateral but a product of the processes where we identify ourselves and others categorise us (Jenkins 2000, 8-9). Regarding social identification, what people think about us is just as important as what we think about ourselves (ibid.). In addition, the way we perceive others influences indirectly how we act towards them (Turner 1982, 29). These notions help us, on one hand, to understand refugees' perceptions of the attitudes and behaviour of Ugandans, and on the other hand to understand what affects refugees' perceptions of themselves among others.

Typical for categorisation and identification is that we tend to ignore dissimilarities of individuals if they otherwise are equivalent to one another for our purposes (Tajfel 1978a, 305). We tend to minimise differences within the categories we have formed (Turner 1982, 28). Similarly, we tend to ignore certain similarities of individuals in different categories if the similarities are irrelevant for our purposes (Tajfel 1978a, 305). These two tendencies are important considering the operation of stereotypes.

[4] Social identity can be understood as "that *part* of the individuals' self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group or groups together with the value of and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel 1982, 2).

Stereotypes lead to homogenisation and depersonalisation of outgroup members (ibid.). Sometimes the only similarity for individuals is that they are consensually referred to by a common label, both by other people and by themselves (Tajfel 1978c, 425). This common label defines their membership into the group and circumscribes a variety of social situations in which they feel or behave as a function of that membership (ibid.). The psychological and social significance of the criteria for what defines a group varies in changing social conditions (ibid.).

Reflecting the tendencies of ignoring similarities and dissimilarities, it seems that there are several assumptions about distinct and somehow coherent refugee and host "communities" both in research and assistance programmes to refugees. Scrutinising the coherence of the communities is sometimes neglected. Scholars often select refugees from a certain country of origin as focus for their research, and for example compare the experiences of refugee "communities" of different nationalities in a particular city. Some scholars also consider urban refugees in a certain city as a kind of "refugee society" that they study vis-à-vis "host communities" (Lyytinen and Kullenberg 2013, 38). In addition, a number of studies recommend humanitarian organisations to work more closely with "urban refugee communities." The outspoken approach of UNHCR in urban areas is also defined as "community-based" (UNHCR 2009, 7). However, people working with urban refugees, for example in the NGOs, seem to be quite well aware of frictions among refugees who (personal information 2013).

The conceptual ambiguity of "community" has led to fluid use of the concept in policymaking as well as in academic research (Lyytinen and Kullenberg 2013, 31). Lack of understanding the nature of cities and urban communities is one of the main challenges in urban refugee studies (ibid.). Madhavan and Landau (2011) challenge the assumption of a clear distinction between host communities and migrant (including refugees) communities. Madhavan and Landau emphasise that in rapidly changing African cities, domestic mobility, social fragmentation and the absence of bridging institutions result in relatively low levels of trust both within and across communities. This influences urban forms of social capital and social networks (Madhavan and Landau 2011, 474). Madhavan and Landau (ibid.) further state that low level of trust both among as well as within all urban communities "reflect a general sentiment of […] lack of collective solidarity not just between various groups but even among groups

who share certain common attributes." In line with Madhavan and Landau's findings, several studies on urban refugees have demonstrated that among them there is mistrust and clashes that are typically related to tensions and conflicts in the countries of origin (see e.g. Grabska 2006, 301). These notions underline the pitfalls in disregarding dissimilarities within the communities that are assumed to exist.

To add one more notion on categories, Malkki (1995a, 5-6) suggests that the modern system of nation states has become "a national order of things," a powerful regime for forming a categorical order and classifying people into national kinds and types. According to Malkki, the movement of people and the international refugee regime occur within this system (Malkki 1995b, 516). Without critically scrutinising categorisations based on for example nationality we blur the diversity of refugees. For example Lammers has called for focus on individual to bring to the fore that refugees constitute a remarkably diverse crowd of individuals, even if the individual approach does not come without challenges (Lammers 2005, 11). Also notions of hybrid, combined and syncretised identities question pure and fixed categories and boundaries (see Verkuyten 2005).

In my study, the analytical distinction between *groups* and *categories* is epistemological: *groups* are collectivities that are recognised by their members, whereas *categories* are constituted in external social categorisation during processes of social analysis and other genres of power/knowledge (Jenkins 2000, 8 [see also Foucault 1980]). This distinction is compatible with the notion of ingroups and outgroups. A social group can be defined as two or more individuals perceive themselves to be members of it (Turner 1982, 15). The emphasis is on subjectivity. One feels like a member of a particular group only in those situations which are relevant to that group membership (Tajfel 1978c, 425-426). Similarly, in their definitions of community, some scholars have stated that the community should be relevant and useful to its members For example Minnick (2009, 43) attributes a sense of belonging to a community and notes that the community itself must understand it as meaningful.

To pull the threads together and combine previous academic research with the chosen theoretical framework, in my study (in)groups and communities are considered equivalent (they are recognised by their members), as well as are outgroups and

categories. However, “group” is sometimes used as a descriptive term for a collectivity of people (compare to “outgroup”) as its use is established in studies on intergroup relations as well as in definitions of prejudices, stereotypes and discrimination that are discussed next.

2.2 Prejudice, stereotyping and discrimination

Social categorisation is central to the operation of prejudice and a precursor of it (Allport 1954; Brown 2010, 36). Prejudice can be defined as an aversive or derogatory *attitude* towards particular social groups or their members (Kessler and Mummendey 2008, 292). The attitude implies some negativity or antipathy. Prejudice functions through social categorisation as the attitude towards a particular person derives simply from her or his belonging to a particular social group. The person in question is therefore presumed to have the objectionable qualities ascribed to the group (Allport 1954, 7; Brown 2010, 7; Kessler and Mummendey 2008, 292). Prejudice can be conceived within a multicomponent model of attitudes that is used in my study to analyse social realities of refugees. This model differentiates 1.) *stereotype* as the cognitive component, 2.) *prejudice* as the affective component, and 3.) *social discrimination* as the behavioural component (Kessler and Mummendey 2008, 303).

To take a look on *prejudices* as the affective component, the affect (the emotions) towards own or other groups results from intergroup comparisons and can be positive, negative or mixed (Kessler and Mummendey 2008, 303). *Stereotypes* are cognitive associations, ideas and beliefs held by members of one or more groups about members of another group (Brown 2010, 68; Tajfel and Fraser 1978). To stereotype someone is to attribute to that person some characteristics which are perceived to be shared by all or most members of the group (Brown 2010, 68). Stereotypes are, alike prejudices, socially shared evaluations that arise directly from the categorisation process. The operation of stereotypes may be mirrored in behaviour in everyday social situations and have real implications for those who are its targets (ibid. 78). Stereotypes and prejudices can both be expressed in various forms of discrimination against a group or its members. *Social discrimination* can be negative, disadvantaging or derogatory behaviour, social exclusion, underprivileging, maltreatment or even physical extermination (Kessler and Mummendey 2008, 292). In my study, stereotypes,

prejudices and discrimination are seen to manifest themselves in social interaction between refugees and Ugandans as well as among refugees.

Prejudices screen and interpret our perceptions and cause that we are sensitised to look for signs that confirm our stereotypes (Allport 1954, 165-177; 265). As discussed previously, people tend to perceive outgroups, especially minority groups, as more homogeneous than the ones they identify themselves with (Brown 2010, 35-38; Kessler and Mummendey 2008, 303; Liebkind 2000, 59). Ignorance of individual differences is at the heart of prejudice (Allport 1954, 7). Prejudices and stereotypes towards groups defined by ethnicity or religious beliefs are normally negative and hold firmly (ibid. 13; Kessler and Mummendey 2008, 292). If a group has culturally distinct behaviour patterns or particular socio-economic circumstances, it may provide seed-bed for certain stereotypical perceptions about it (Brown 2010, 70). In my analysis, it will come out how perceptible cultural differences reveal foreignness of refugees and thus trigger prejudices towards them.

Some general notions of intergroup relations and of minority and majority groups help to analyse how urban refugees perceive their social environment and discrimination against them. In an intergroup context people may see their group to be discriminated against even though they are reluctant to see themselves as objects of systematic discrimination (Brown 2010, 224). For example, some refugees interviewed for my study stated that refugees are discriminated against but reported that they had not personally encountered discrimination. In general, members of minorities are aware of the probability that others see and evaluate them in terms of their membership to a devalued group (Goffman 1963; Tropp and Pettigrew 2005, 952). Consequently, the awareness of being targets of prejudice is constantly present in their minds, which may lead to the creation of intergroup attitudes that are based on the anticipation of prejudice from the majority group and influence their feelings, thoughts and behaviour (Crocker, Major and Steele 1998, 507; Tropp and Pettigrew 2005, 952). The analysis chapters later on reveal that refugees anticipate certain discriminatory behaviour especially in certain interaction situations. Hostile and discriminative behaviour against members of particular social groups affect the opportunities and limitations of the members of these groups to act in society. Prejudices and discrimination may also have an impact on the well-being of members of minorities and prevent their relations to members of

majorities, albeit these relations could potentially enhance cultural understanding of the others and reduce prejudice (Liebkind 2000, 27).

Several theories have been developed to explain prejudices and discrimination between groups. There are numerous references in my empirical data to two widely applied approaches of which main ideas I present briefly: the realistic conflict theory (RCT) and the contact hypothesis. Although these theories have had various later adaptations and my study does not seek explanations for *why* people hold certain attitudes, their ideas give insight into different ways to perceive the coexistence of different groups in Kampala.

According to the realistic conflict theory (RCT), prejudice has its roots in the real or perceived conflicts of interests between groups (see Sherif 1966). Conflicts between groups emerge for example if groups are seen to compete for the same limited resources (Tajfel and Turner 1979, 33). Many proponents have sought explanations from the RCT to explain attitudes between immigrants and their host societies (Jaakkola 2000, 29). Among others, scholars have suggested that as the relative size of a minority group becomes bigger, for example the quantity of refugees increases, members of majority group may feel that their socio-economic position is threatened, their attitudes become more critical and thus discrimination and xenophobia increase (see ibid.). A number of scholars state that mere perception of belonging to a social group, in other words social categorisation *per se,* is enough to trigger intergroup discrimination or competitive responses on the part of one's ingroup (Tajfel and Turner 1979, 38). This owes to the tendency towards favouring the ingroup over the outgroup (ibid.).

The contact hypothesis was formed to explain how prejudices could be reduced. Gordon Allport (1954) proposed that under appropriate conditions, contacts between members of different groups reduce prejudices (Allport 1954; Kessler and Mummendey 2008, 309). The hypothesis is based on the idea that as contacts between groups become more frequent and personal, the awareness and understanding of the other group and its members' behaviour increase. Thus, prejudices are reduced (Allport 1954; Jaakkola 2000, 29; Pettigrew 1998, 66). Today, intergroup contacts are regarded important in promoting intergroup prejudice reduction (Liebkind et al. 2000, 57; Tropp and Pettigrew 2005, 951). However, other scholars have noted that it is not clear whether

contact reduces prejudice or whether less prejudiced individuals seek more contacts with outgroups (Kessler and Mummendey 2008, 309). Casual contacts are often superficial and do not reduce prejudices (Allport 1954, 264). On the contrary, they may even increase them. The weakness of casual contacts is illustrated in my empirical data. For example, Somali interviewees told me that every time when Somalis go to the market place, they hear insulting comments about their way to cover themselves. These interaction experiences evidently do not provide fruitful premises for close relationships between Ugandans and Somalis. Sufficient frequency, duration and closeness of contacts are seen necessary to permit people to develop meaningful relationships (Brown 2001, 512; 2010, 244-247). Some facilitating conditions for positive effects of intergroup contact include equal status of the members of both groups; common goals; perception of common interests and common humanity; and support by norms and institutional authorities (Allport 1954, 281; Kessler and Mummendey 2008, 309, Brown 2010, 244-247). Brown (2010) highlights that in the core of social and institutional support is to establish norms of acceptance. According to Brown, authorities (such as teachers and staff members in schools, politicians who implement laws, and judiciary and police that seek to ensure the observance of laws) should all aim at enhancing positive intergroup contacts and integration (Brown 2010, 244-247). The notion is important in regards to the realisation urban refugees' rights as well as efforts to eradicate discrimination against refugees on different levels of society.

2.3 Between integration and marginalisation

When discussing voluntary and forced human mobility, it is generally thought that the newcomers and the local population along with local institutions have to *adapt* to each other. When studying this phenomenon, social scientists have applied a variety of concepts, many of which are poorly understood in public discussions (Bosswick and Heckmann 2006, 2).

Integration is frequently applied in refugee studies. It is also widely referred to in politics and public discussions: Typically, integration is the aim of policies, and it is referred to when people talk about how to "fit" refugees into an "organic" local society. The concept is poorly understood and there is disagreement over the definition of

integration. The vagueness has caused that the concept has been used in various, sometimes inconsistent and quite careless ways in politics, public discussion and research. A common understanding seems to induce a simplified view of homogeneous and fixed local societies. The African context – especially that of urban areas – poses the researcher in front of socially, culturally and politically heterogeneous populations. The proximity between migrant (including refugee) and "local" population adds to the dynamic character of cities. In refugee studies, there are numerous efforts to define integration with paying attention to the diversity of local context and potential frictions within it (see e.g. Harrell-Bond 1986, 7; al-Sharmani 2003, 4 [Kibreab 1989, 469]). For example Tom Kuhlman acknowledges the possibility of local frictions as he outlines a group of characteristics for refugees' successful integration. They include, among others, the following features: the socio-cultural change refugees undergo permits them to maintain an identity of their own and to adjust psychologically to their new situation; friction between host populations and refugees is not worse than within the host population itself; and refugees do not encounter more discrimination than exists between groups previously settled within the host society (Kuhlman 1991).

For the purpose of my study, integration can be defined as an interactive *process*, or an end result of that process, in which refugees (and other immigrants) are accepted in the society as individuals and as groups, and in which they can fully participate in the social, cultural and political structures of the society (Bosswick and Heckmann 2006; Varjonen 2013, 13). Integration is understood as a reciprocal and two-way process in which both the incomers and the society adapt to each other to create social cohesion (IOM 2010, 57). It is important to make a distinction between integration and assimilation. The latter is understood as a one-sided process in which immigrants, including refugees, give up their culture and adapt completely to the society they have migrated to (Bosswick & Heckmann 2006, 4). The integration process comprehends inclusion and acceptance of immigrants and refugees into the institutions as well as relationships of the local society (ibid. 11).

Participation and *membership* add to the understanding of integration as a two-way process in dynamic social reality. Participation comprises individual's activity and taking part in activities, and also those societal prerequisites that influence on the possibilities of individual's participation (Keskinen and Vuori 2012, 12). Harinen and

Suurpää (2003) approach ethnic minorities and their members' efforts to find a balance between their culture and that of the new society with the concept of *membership*. The membership approach comprehends individual's social position in the society, her or his formal rights and responsibilities, the everyday interaction and the power of emotions (Harinen and Suurpää 2003, 7). Individual's seeking of memberships is a question of constant change in unstatic society and constant navigating between different social groups (ibid.). Membership approach entails the possibility of belonging to different ingroups. The groups are not unchangeable but constantly negotiated and their borders are flexible. In different social contexts, individual is faced with confrontations, friendships and hostilities that are constructed varyingly in each context. The rigid division into "us" and "them" is therefore fallacious (ibid.). I am especially inspired by this approach that to me seems to be feasible in the urban refugee context and to provide insight into different dimensions of integration.

In my study, the above defined understandings of membership and participation as elements comprised in integration are essential in analysing the lives of urban refugees. Do refugees perceive that their ingroups are accepted as "member groups" of local society? Can refugees see themselves as members of local society, or do they always stay as marginalised "Others"? Refugees' personal experiences of being members and being accepted to be members of the society affect their views about their life in Kampala. Experiencing that others acknowledge refugees' rights to lead a normal life among others provides refugees with a sense of security and stability. This influences refugees' future plans: Can they imagine a future in Kampala and do they hence seek memberships in local society? These views are pivotal in the two-way integration process and in the promotion of integration as "a durable solution."

As a counterpart to integration, I apply the concept of *marginalisation*. My approach to the concepts resembles the classification of Berry (1997, 24) who sees integration and marginalisation to belong to the group of different acculturation strategies: integration as the most successful and marginalisation the least successful of them. Marginalisation is typically understood as individual's poor adaptation to the new society combined with rejection from the host society (ibid.). Marginality refers to economic, cultural, legal, political and social inequality and exclusion, a state of being underprivileged and excluded (Grabska 2006, 290). It is accompanied by collective and individual confusion

and anxiety, which makes definition difficult. Marginalisation is characterised by feelings of alienation, loss of identity and acculturative stress (ibid. [Berry et al. 1989]). A marginalised person has little interest to have relations with others, often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination. The person lacks social connections that could provide support (Berry 1997, 9; 24-25). Marginalisation process in refugee studies can be understood as a three-way dynamic: 1) being marginalised legally in terms of access to rights and services by the host government and the singling out of refugees by organisations providing assistance; 2) being discriminated against by the host society; and 3) excluding oneself from the host society (Grabska 2006, 290). These dimensions link the understanding of marginalisation with the concepts of memberships and participation that are included in integration. They also resonate with social discrimination discussed above. Together the dynamic processes of integration and marginalisation frame my analysis of refugees' lives.

Home and culture in relation to integration

In the definitions above, I have often referred to culture, especially in a way suggesting that one can differentiate a culture of a local society and cultures of people who come from outside. In addition, culture often emerged in my empirical data in the interviews and discussions with refugees and Ugandans. Another often referred concept was the concept of "home". I make few short notions on these to give some insights into different understandings of these concepts.

In traditional anthropological conceptualisations, "home" was understood as a stable, physical place; as a pattern of regular doings and routinisation of space (Rapport and Overing 2000, 156). Influenced by the contemporary movement and transnationalism, many later ideas of home are not related with fixity but signal a move away from home as bounded socio-cultural units of analysis (ibid. 156-158). Some scholars have proposed that individual can carry "the notion of home" into any inhabited place (ibid. 161 [Bachelard 1994]). One is at home when one inhabits a cognitive environment in which one can undertake the routines of daily life and through which one finds one's identity best mediated (Rapport and Overing 2000, 161). Berger [1984] suggests that for migrants –labour migrants, exiles and refugees– home is located in a routine set of practices, in a repetition of habitual social interaction, in styles of dress and address, in

memories and myths, in stories carried around in one's head, in the ritual of a regularly used personal name (ibid. 158 [Berger 1984, 64]).

These ideas of home can be reflected together with the idea of integration that entails that instead of *assimilating* into a new society, individuals are allowed to maintain their identities and culture that derive from what they previously regarded as their home. The idea of carrying the notion of home in one's head to any inhabited place leads to suggest that, in theory, one could integrate into any place. However, bearing in mind the two-way nature of integration, a question arises whether the local society is willing to adapt to "new" individuals who try to make themselves at home. The analysis of a successful two-way integration process should thus be preoccupied with questions such as do refugees have freedom to make themselves at home, and do locals accept refugees as members of the society while simultaneously maintaining other identities and cultures?

Liisa Malkki (1995b) states that some scholars in refugee studies have seen the country of origin as ideal habitat for any person. According to Malkki's interpretation, these scholars view that in their "homeland", refugees enjoyed stability, freedom and enough of food; they had a future; and they were successful members of society. In the sedentary worldview that stresses rootedness, people *belong* to one place that is their home. "Going home" means thus going to where one came from, to where one belongs (Malkki 1995b, 509). Malkki suggests that nation states have come to form "the national order of things". This order is based on the view that the world consists of national categories. Refugees do not fit into this order as they have been "externalised" from their national land and disrupt the "natural" order of other nations (Malkki 1995a, 1-17; Malkki 1995b 9). Looking at integration and marginalisation through the theory of the national order of things, one could not be a member of a new society as she or he belongs only to her or his home country and is a stranger elsewhere. This worldview resonates in my empirical data particularly when refugees describe their perceptions of discrimination by Ugandans but also in refugees' reflections on their place in the Ugandan society.

In the functionalistic view that sees the world to consist of nation states, *culture* is profoundly territorialised. Culture can be defined as "the shared way of life of a group of people" (see Berry et al. 2011, 4; 224-228). The understanding of culture that accepts

that culture has some objective existence that can be used to characterise the relatively stable way of life of a group of people also recognises that lifestyles of humans vary over space. Culture has many concrete and perceptible signs: often it is something one can see, smell, taste and hear. Besides observable activities and artifacts, culture comprises underlying symbols, values and meanings that are constantly being created and re-created in social relationships (ibid. 226-229). Cultural traits often serve as markers of different nationalities (see Jerman 1997, 81 for cultural traits in another context). In the functionalistic worldview culture is seen to fix people to their places of origin, and it renders other societies strange (Malkki 1995a, 15; 1995b, 509). A number of scholars see that "uprooting" someone from his/her natural and ideal habitat automatically leads to losing his/her identity and culture (see e.g. Marrus 1985, 8). They see that the identity can only be whole and well when it is rooted in a territorial homeland (see Malkki 1995a, 1-17; 1995b, 509-514). This corresponds to the above-mentioned assumption that every person has a homeland that is not only normal but the ideal habitat for each one, and contributes to the "making strange" of the asylum country. However, the whole phenomenon of migration, whether forced or voluntary, is more complex. Seeing culture and identity being tightly fixed to a specific territory disregards history and dynamics of cultures, identities and different kinds of human mobility (Malkki 1995a, 2). Research in social settings of refugees therefore questions the concepts of culture, identity and community as bounded, territorialised units (ibid.).

3 Methodology

3.1 Data collection and field research in Kampala

Empirically, I adopted qualitative ethnographic research methods to emphasise the aim of creating understanding on refugees' personal perceptions of their lives. Etnography has been used in research especially when the aim is to gain a wide and multifaceted picture of the research topic, and to understand peoples' ways to perceive issues and the world surrounding them (Alasuutari 1999; Rastas 2010, 65). Etnography is not merely a method emphasising the importance of fieldwork but a methodological standpoint in which data is collected from various sources. Interviews are an essential part of it. Information gained through them is combined with other data such as observation notes and documents produced by authorities (Rastas 2010, 65-67). Rastas (ibid.) notes that urbanisation and human migration have constantly produced new cultures "among us" and that ethnographic approach has been considered justified for studying them.

Studies on urban refugees have been criticised for revealing relatively little about the associated data collecting methods (Lyytinen and Kullenberg 2013; Jacobsen and Landau 2003, 2-6). Because numerous ethical questions arise, I aim to provide a thorough description of my research process. This is challenging, as ethnographic approach entails a lot of invisible know-how, knowledge and work stages that have not traditionally been written in research papers (Rastas 2010, 74 [Malkki 2007].

The fieldwork was conducted over a six-week period between February and March 2013. The primary data collected during the fieldwork consists of 20 individual and one group interview, observation, visits to NGOs, tens of informal discussions, a fieldwork diary and photos taken during the fieldwork. The secondary data include a wide range of academic literature on urban refugees mainly in Eastern Africa, policy documents and reports published by local and international organisations working with refugees. I also collected background information by going through news archives of the main Ugandan newspapers, national statistics documents as well as municipal and national reports archived in the House of Statistics in Kampala. The data also includes a CD that

I was given by a group of Rwandan and Congolese refugees who hoped to spread their message concerning the lives and desires of refugees through music.

I chose the capital of Uganda as the research site for several reasons. In addition to the opportune Ugandan urban refugee policies regarding my research questions, a major advantage was that English is the second official language of Uganda. It is used in administration, media and education, and people widely speak it among other languages. This enabled me to follow the media and official communication and to study material that is archived in the House of Statistics, as well as to make observations and have informal discussions when moving around. I could also take care of the fieldwork practicalities such as transportation and interview arrangements by myself. Ultimately, I made my final decision to focus on Kampala as my case study after an interview that resulted in an internship with the Finnish Refugee Council (FRC) in Finland. At the time, FRC had a 15-year-long experience in Uganda as a partner organisation of UNHCR. I learned that the FRC country office in Kampala had a Finnish volunteer who could help me in finding interviewees. My internship with FRC in Helsinki began right after the fieldwork period. My knowledge and understanding on refugees globally increased during the internship, which helped me to set the urban refugee question in a global context. I also learned a lot about the Ugandan refugee situation by familiarising myself with the FRC activities in the country.

To reach the interviewees I relied on snowball sampling. This has been a commonly used method in a vast majority of recent studies on urban refugees (Lyytinen and Kullenberg 2013, 38). Because of the lack of data on the size and composition of urban refugee populations in the developing world there in fact is no clear sampling frame for a representative sample (ibid.). Prior to the fieldwork, I had been concerned about finding interviewees in Kampala. This, however, turned out to be surprisingly easy. The first encounter happened when one of my Ugandan friends took me for a walk in a neighbourhood where many refugees are staying. We sat on a bench in front of the InterAid office to rest for a while.[5] A man sitting next to me asked me in broken English of how am I doing. I tentatively inquired him where he comes from. He said: ”I am a refugee. I am from Congo”, and explained that he normally sleeps on the very same

[5] InterAid is an implementing partner of UNHCR in Kampala.

bench we were sitting on. Our discussion went on and so I ended up conducting my first interview in a modest cafeteria nearby. He also introduced me to some other refugees. While moving around in Kampala I met refugees in local transportation and restaurants I went to eat in (refugees were working as cooks or waiters). One day I had an opportunity to accompany staff members of the FRC country office for their visits to four of their partner organisations that were run by refugees in different areas of Kampala. I had a chance to talk with staff members who were of Ugandan and international backgrounds. During the day I met several refugees who were working or volunteering for these organisations. They wanted to assist other refugees and were also willing to assist me with my research. For example, after our visit to Hope of Women and Children Victims of Violence (HOWC), the head of the organisation, originally a refugee from the DRC, told about my research to refugees participating in their trainings. Those who were willing could come for an interview after their training session. I could also use the organisation's facilities for conducting the interviews. During the day with FRC I also came across with a centre that provides shelter and support for female refugees. Later I visited the centre, interviewed the head of it and met some refugees staying there. A young Congolese refugee who volunteered at the centre was of great help later on as he organised meetings with Congolese refugees in the same neighbourhood. He also introduced me to a Somali refugee who was my key contact to meet Somali refugees living in Kisenyi. Earlier I had been told by numerous NGO representatives, other interviewees and Ugandans that it would be difficult to access Somalis. Whether this perception is true or not, I would not have met the women I had a chance to interview without the contact I got through the snowball method.

It proved to be very productive to have various contact points with refugees of different nationalities, linguistic groups, genders, ages and religions, and living in varying accommodation arrangements. This revealed the diversity and heterogeneity of urban refugee population while simultaneously demonstrated that there are many common concerns shared by refugees. Whereas a number of studies on urban refugees approach refugees via organisations, my method provided a possibility to reach the most marginalised among urban refugees who were not active in any associations.

The interviewees of my study were of varying backgrounds. The nationalities they represented were the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (11), Somalia (7), Rwanda

(4), Sudan (1) and Burundi (1). The interviewees were of all ages and both genders, the youngest one being 17 years old and the eldest in his fifties. One interviewee had arrived in Kampala 15 years ago but others had arrived within the last three to five years prior to the fieldwork. The majority had arrived directly in Kampala but a few had spent varying time (from some months up to four years) in a refugee settlement before moving to Kampala. Typically the interviewees lived in small rented apartments with other refugees or their family. Three interviewees had no place to live in and stayed among many other refugees in a neighbourhood nearby Old Kampala. About half of the interviewees had dependants; five were single mothers who had lost their husbands. Altogether 23 out of the 24 interviewees held an official refugee status. The one without the status had applied for it several times but had been rejected.[6] I recorded additional interviews with four South Sudanese women whose families had moved to Kampala to find better and safer living conditions. They live in similar living conditions and face very similar challenges than people with an official refugee status in Kampala, and the interviews were used as background information.

The duration of the interviews varied between 40 and 90 minutes. I recorded 19 interviews with the permission of the interviewees and also took supportive notes. The interviews that were not recorded were made when I met refugees unexpectedly and was not carrying a recorder with me. Some interviewees were concerned for their security. Interviewees were assured full confidentiality, and all names in this research are pseudonyms. Some of the interviewees' background information has, for safety reasons, been changed to make it impossible to track the person in question.

I aimed at giving the interviewees the possibility to select when and where it would be most convenient for them to meet me for an interview. Typically we discussed at their homes, which provided with a tranquil, secure space. For example the female interviewees from Somalia felt uncomfortable about moving outside their homes. In addition, this arrangement did not cause the interviewees any transportation costs.

[6] The interviewee, here called Claude, explained that he is a Tutsi and has a personal Hutu enemy from his country of origin. Claude said that this enemy of his currently lives in Kampala and holds a high-ranked position in Uganda. According to Claude, he uses his power and bribes so that Ugandan authorities reject Claude's application for a refugee status. Claude also told me he had been kidnapped and tortured by his enemy in Kampala. He showed me a medical report according to which Claude still suffers from damages caused by the torture. The report had been issued by a doctor in a hospital in Kampala.

Owing to heavy traffic, moving around Kampala is also very time-consuming. Travelling to the centre for an interview would have taken a lot of time from refugees who use most of their time for trying to make a livelihood. The group interview was conducted in an inner yard where a Rwandan refugee woman runs a small street restaurant. A number of mostly Rwandan and Congolese refugees normally gather there to eat and socialise, and some of them called the place 'struggle camp'.

Picture 1. The "Struggle camp" where a number of mainly Rwandan and Congolese gather to socialise and eat (Kampala).

I conducted semi-structured thematic interviews. I had a list of questions grouped according to thematic topics. The questions were asked in a flexible order to create an open, dialogic and pleasant atmosphere for the interview situation. Interviewees were free to raise other issues of their concern within the thematic frames. This provided me fruitful insights, illustrative stories and discoveries which I would otherwise have been unaware of. The interviewees had had varying experiences of conflict and escape, and also their current concerns and situations varied. Hence, they gave different emphases and meanings to the issues of concern. It was up to the interviewees to determine what is important and what requires more discussion. Although we were discussing difficult personal experiences and extremely sensitive issues, it seemed that the interviewees felt comfortable talking to me.

In the beginning of each interview, I thoroughly explained the purpose of my study, my affiliations and my status as a student. I emphasised that I do not represent any

organisation. Half of the interviews were conducted in English. The rest were interpreted from French, Somali and Swahili with the help of interpreters. Using interpreters required cautiousness because of frictions and mistrust present among refugees. Both the Congolese and the Somali interpreter were experienced in interpreting as they had worked as interpreters for refugee organisations in Kampala. The Congolese man was known among the Congolese refugees in the neighbourhood, partly as a result of his volunteer work for refugees. He arranged interviews with Congolese refugees and interpreted them from French. We worked in a similar manner with the interpreter from Somalia. Both of the interpreters helped me voluntarily as they wanted to help the voices of refugees to be heard outside of Uganda. The fact that both of them also were refugees themselves probably influenced the confidence of the interviewees. First I had been concerned whether interviewing female Somalis with a male interpreter would affect their openness, especially because I had heard that they had faced sexual violence and some had had children as a result of rape. However, the interpreter had earlier helped the women by interpreting their reports to refugee organisations in Kampala and the women trusted him. As one of the women said: "This man here is a good man, he knows our problems."

There are, of course, several pitfalls in working with interpreters and more generally in translating the interviews. The interviewees were of different cultural backgrounds, and I do not possess enough socio-cultural knowledge of each of them to understand the nuances and other meanings of language or different terms (see Pietilä 2010, 411-415). Neither would I have known all of the customs of the interviewees. Therefore, the presence of interpreters often felt useful. They also gave me valuable background information on social habits and other issues. However, the issues discussed in the interviews were mainly very concrete mundane problems related to poverty and daily survival, and thus I am not too concerned of the possibility of my own biased interpretation (see ibid.). Nevertheless, the possibility that some information was lost in translation evidently remains. I speak some French so I could follow the interpreting from French but I cannot say the same of Swahili or Somali. During the interpreted interviews I had more time to make observations and pay attention to our surroundings.

Continuous observation was significant for my understanding of the life of refugees and other urban dwellers in Kampala. I was often walking with the interviewees in areas

where refugees live. While walking, the interviewees explained what we saw on our way and we discussed several issues concerning the daily life of refugees in Kampala. I had numerous informal discussions with refugees and Ugandans that I met on the streets. I could also observe how the interviewees interacted – or did not interact– with other refugees and Ugandans who we met on our way. I also often went to eat at a restaurant run by a Sudanese owner. The employees were Sudanese and Ethiopian refugees and Ugandans, and there were always some young Sudanese refugees in the restaurant. They got used to see me there and chatted with me. Furthermore, I visited HOCW for five times for interviews, and some of the women and staff members became used to see me there. Meeting with the interviewees for several times helped to build trust between us. I also consider it important that since they had revealed their worries and problems to me, the interviewees got a feeling that I am interested in how they are doing.

3.1 Data analysis

For analysing the primary data I used qualitative content analysis. All interviews were transcribed and examined in parallel with the observation notes and other studies to get a holistic picture of the phenomena under scrutiny. To make analytic sense of the data, I used data reduction and pattern coding methods (see Miles and Huberman 1994). I looked for similarities and differences and formed thematic categories, raised questions and made some tentative connections between issues and categories (see May 2001, 138). The process helped me to find recurring phenomena and commonly shared issues but also to reveal interesting dissimilarities. In my thought I often returned to the interview context or to the streets of Kampala to compare my observations with the data. The photos I had taken of the interviewees, their houses and neighbourhoods were of great help for memorising the interview situation and my observations during it.

When analysing the primary data, I focused more on the contents of the interviews than the language used by the interviewees. The interviews were conducted in many languages, often in quite simple English, and the interpreters may have translated some terms in a way that is easy for them. For example discourse analysis was therefore ruled out. However, the definitions with which the interviewees described their social reality

and make categorisations were taken into account. The excerpts in the study are direct quotations with their grammatic mistakes, although some minor changes were made for readability.

The focus of my research is on refugees' perceptions and their personal interpretations. The data analysis hence leans on an anthropological approach. Of course, my study raises questions about my own categories and interpretations (see Verkuyten 2005, 35-36). I aimed at being responsive to the definitions, categorisations and identifications of the interviewees and tried to avoid assigning pre-defined categories for them to choose from (see ibid.). Being open to the interviewees' definitions was necessary regarding my approach to the concept of "refugee". I used questions of the anthropological approach such as whether, when and how people define, use and orient to definitions. These were helpful especially in that part of the analysis in which study how refugees see their social reality. In this study, the definitions are considered to be the categorisations made by the interviewees when they talked about social groups in Kampala. The conceptual frameworks with which social reality is described and explained are related to knowledge, and therefore the researcher's and interviewees' perspectives might differ from each other (ibid.). I aimed at posing my interview questions in a way in which participants would not feel that I locate them in a certain category. I admit I often felt it challenging not to think about the interviewees primarily as refugees – after all, my study is all about being a refugee. For analysing my data I also drew from social psychological and sociological approaches to study the social consequences of belonging to a particular group. Typical questions for these approaches are for example how person feels about belonging to a certain group and what the possible consequences, such as those on participation in the educational system and intergroup relations, might be (ibid.). Combining different approaches allowed me to analyse how the interviewees perceive themselves among other groups (anthropological approach), as well as how the interviewees perceive that others view them and what the consequences are (sociological/social psychological approach).

Furthermore, the study is based on the view that is not possible to separate the reality and refugees' reports about the reality. They are interlinked parts of the construction of the reality. My study thus leans on an interpretivist tradition that sees that social phenomena cannot be understood independently from our interpretations of them

(Marsh and Furlong 2010, 199-204; Parsons 2010, 80). The interpretations of social phenomena are crucial (ibid.). My purpose is not to judge whether refugees' perceptions are "correct" or correspond to reality – this is not even considered possible. Whether, for example, refugees "erroneously" perceive behaviour of a Ugandan doctor discriminatory (even though the doctor would not mean that) is not important or even possible to study because refugees construct the representations of their lives according to their own interpretations. This is what matters on their views of life in Kampala.

3.2 Ethical considerations

There is a range of ethical problems concerning research on urban refugees (Jacobsen and Landau 2003). Prior to the fieldtrip I got advice from a researcher who has conducted research among refugees in Kampala. She emphasised that I should be sensitive when digging into their lives and not imagine to be able to help them: "You must remember that you only go and get something out of them; you give them nothing" (personal communication, March 2013). Her message was very well illustrated in a meeting with a group of female refugees at the RLP office in my second week in Kampala. After I had presented my purpose in Kampala, the women said that over the years, they had seen a number of Western researchers who come to Kampala, interview refugees and leave back to their countries. The women were disappointed for never had they heard again of the researchers to whom they had told painful stories about their past several times. The women explained that they had never got something back. The discussion was very eye-opening in regards to the legitimacy and role of the researcher and influenced my later encounters with refugees. However, I do admit that an ethical question concerning the legitimacy remains. Another occurrence happened after my second interview. Even though I had explained the purpose of my study, the interviewee asked me: "Now that I have given my information to you, how can you help me?" At another instance I interviewed three refugees (one by one) in the house of one of them. At the time of my departure, we met their neighbour standing outside the gate. She said she had waited for two hours outside and insisted me to interview her as well. I then decided to interview her. When I started the interview with the routine of explaining the purpose of my study, she understood I was not "someone from the UNHCR" and did not want to continue the interview. It turned out that she had thought that I am conducting interviews for a possible resettlement on behalf of UNHCR. The example

was a good proof to me how important it is to be clear with explaining research purposes to the interviewees. It also shows also how much *bazungu* [white persons; sing. *muzungu*] draw attention when walking in local neighbourhoods. Finally, the occurrence demonstrates that ethical questions remain. I cannot but to ask myself, what were other neighbours thinking in case they saw me entering the house of the interviewee? What if there were some pressures towards the owner of the house, for example if others thought that the interviewees benefited my visit financially? However, the interview was conducted at the interviewee's house of her request to do so. I also kept in touch with them during my fieldwork period through the interpreter and fortunately did not hear of any problems.

In general, I felt that interviewees were pleased that I paid them a visit and that someone is interested in their lives. In fact, I was surprised of the level of confidence and openness of the interviewees. A number of them said that I was the first one ever asking about their problems, and many seemed to be happy to have a listener. The contact with me seemed to be an opportunity for some of them to speak out. One woman explained that telling her story to an outsider felt relieving because she thought that I could not judge her or spread rumours about her confessions. In fear of being laughed at and judged by her fellow Congolese, she had never before been able to talk about a rape and sexual abuse befallen her in the DRC. Often the interviewees talked about very personal issues even though I did not ask about them. Continuous reflection, good listening skills and discretion were essential during the interviews. At times I felt that I lack tools to handle the stories told to me. The mental skills to cope with the hardships vary individually, and some interviewees would clearly need professional counselling. Afterwards, the confidence and openness of the interviewees feels like a huge responsibility. I think that my personality and sincere curiosity affected the interviewing situations. I learned how important it is not to schedule interviews with strict timetables. I found that three interviews per day is maximum and that qualitative research requires a great deal of flexibility.

It should be noted that in the interviews we mainly discussed the challenges of refugees and barely touched issues that bring joy to their life. This is both due to my questions that guided the interviewees to focus on the difficulties they had faced and the fact that interviewees tended to emphasise the hardships of their life in Kampala. This evidently

results in a problem-oriented approach to their lives. One can also ask what refugees' motives were to be interviewed. It may be that they emphasised the miseries and problems of their lives because they were hoping for getting some assistance, benefits or opportunities by the visit of the *muzungu,* which would be very understandable. My feelings of empathy with the hard lives of the interviewees may also have affected my readiness to accept stories emphasising miseries and hardships.

Refugees, like every one of us, make categorisations and have stereotypes towards members of certain categories. I often felt that in the eyes of refugees, I presented something that I would not have wanted to present. In Uganda, a common perception of *bazungu* is that they work for a humanitarian organisation. I did not overcome the feeling that I was seen as a walking dollar bill. When walking on the streets I was often asked for money or assistance to go to Europe or America. Even though the personal encounters were positive, the meetings with me probably triggered the interviewees' imaginations of life in Europe. I came with my camera and tape recorder and told that I am studying in the University – all of which the interviewees only dream about. Often after the interview, the interviewees asked me questions about Finland or Europe. Several times I found myself explaining about the school system, situation of immigrants or weather conditions in Finland. I enjoyed the conversations and used a lot of time for them because I did not want to leave Uganda with the feeling that I have only taken from the refugees and not given anything back.

Scholars have asked how to exit the research site (see Jacobsen and Landau 2003). The question also arose in my case at the time of saying goodbyes to the interviewees. Some interviewees asked for my contacts such as email address and phone number in Finland. Some interviewees also requested me as their friend on Facebook. While it provides an easy way to keep in touch, what kind of an image does my Facebook account give my life in contrast to that of refugees who log on their Facebook once a month with slow Internet connection in a shabby Internet cafeteria? They had showed me trust, so how to show it back without personal involvement? What kind of friendship it is if the researcher has first aimed at building a relationship based on trust and mutual respect? Can a researcher stay in touch with some of the interviewees with whom a deeper connection was formed while discreetly abstain from staying in touch with others?

4 Urban refugees in international, regional and national context

4.1 Urban refugees in Africa and beyond. Policies and practices

Environmental, political and economic reasons have always caused migration, both voluntary and involuntary, within and across borders. In Eastern Africa, various population movements of Africans over time, the Indian migration to Eastern Africa from 1830 to 1980 and the European interference have shaped the region's history. These movements have also influenced the distribution of population and different political and cultural groups. Human mobility in Africa during the pre-colonial period was sporadic. It did involve, however, a substantial number of peoples. During and after the colonial era and the formation of nation states human mobility became regularised. Population movements during the colonial period were caused by, for example, Europeans' forceful acquisition of lands and demand for labour force. The global economic situation and general developments during the colonial era were reflected in Africa. They led to the development of a working class and increasing migration to towns, causing the growth of urban areas. Later in the post-colonial Africa the export-oriented economy and government-led development approach that involved investments in industry, commerce and post primary education continued to cause migration, mainly from rural to urban areas. (Usman and Falola 2009, 1-15.)

Since the last decades of the 20th century, refugees have come to dominate international migratory movements (Usman and Falola 2009, 16). The world is facing record figures of forcibly moved persons and the worldwide displacements caused by wars, conflicts and persecution is accelerating fast (UNHCR 2015b). In this section I shortly describe some general and regional developments of policies and practices concerning the allowing of refugees to settle in urban areas and integrate locally. After that and before going into Ugandan context I will also give, in light of the current policies, an overview to the common situation of urban refugees in developing countries today.

The development of refugee policies and practices concerning local integration and urban refugees

The understanding of how refugees should adapt to the new country has evolved over time. Self-reliance and local integration of refugees were taken for granted at the time when the 1951 Refugee Convention was formed (Jacobsen 2001, 1).[7] Local integration, as set out in international refugee conventions, refers to the granting of full and permanent asylum, membership and residency status by the host government (ibid.). It includes legal, economic, social and cultural incorporation of refugees. The 1951 Convention (which concerns only European refugees) used the term 'assimilation' which implies the disappearance of differences between refugees and local population, as well as permanence (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2004, 27). More recent thinking emphasises maintaining individual identity and the possibility of promoting self-reliance pending voluntary return, whereby local integration is seen temporary (ibid.).

After their independence mainly in 1960s, many governments in Africa allowed refugees from neighbouring countries to choose to settle amongst the local population without official assistance, in other words self-settlement (Jacobsen 2001, 2).[8] Legal aspects such as permanent residency and civil rights for a full refugee status or local integration were seldom granted to the self-settled refugees (ibid.; Kagan 2007, 16). From the mid-1980s onwards through the last decades of the 20th century the emphasis was on the notion that repatriation is the only viable solution to refugee situations in Africa (Crisp 2003, 3). Approaches of local integration were given little attention and disappeared from the agenda (ibid). The practice of allowing self-settlement got restricted, and host governments became reluctant to facilitate local integration (Jacobsen 2006, 2-3). Local integration carries with it a connotation of permanence, whereas refugees are expected to return to their home countries regardless of the duration of exile once the political conditions that caused forced movement cease (Fábos and Kibreab 2007, 3). Ever more tightening refugee and immigration policies may exclude refugees from formal employment, social welfare and equal protection (Amisi 2006, 6).

[7] Article 34 says, "The Contracting States shall as far as possible facilitate the assimilation and naturalization of refugees. They shall in particular make every effort to expedite naturalization proceedings" (UNHCR 2010).

[8] Refugees who stayed in camps and settlement were eligible for UNHCR assistance.

UNHCR has evaluated and adapted its policies to address the challenges and opportunities facing urban refugees. Before UNHCR introduced its *Policy on Refugees in Urban Areas* in 1997, it had not have a clear, comprehensive policy regarding urban refugees (Jacobsen 2006, 277). The 1997 policy was based on the assumption that most refugees should not be moving to or living in urban areas and UNHCR continued to give primary attention to refugees in camps. The 1997 policy states that while refugees in cities (referred to as 'irregular movers') have a right to protection, material assistance to them should be denied so as not to discourage the phenomenon (UNHCR 1997, 1). The revised urban refugee policy (2009) marks the beginning of a new approach. It expands UNHCR's mandated responsibilities to refugees in urban areas that are recognised to be legitimate places for refugees to enjoy their rights (UNHCR 2009, 3). However, the practical implication of the policy has criticized to be unclear as the humanitarian community still knows little about the numbers, needs, protection concerns and economic coping strategies of forced migrants in urban areas (Women's Refugee Commission 2011, 4).

Policies and practises concerning urban refugees in Africa today

Under the international law, officially recognised refugees and asylum seekers fall under the protection of the host state which is in charge to provide them with 'refugee rights' specified in the 1951 Convention and other international instruments. Rights to protection pertain to refugees no matter where they reside within a country and regardless of national policy requirements (Jacobsen 2006, 276). Despite the legal framework set in international conventions, it is not guaranteed that policies and practices aiming to ensure the refugee rights are adopted at the national level (Crisp 2003; Kagan 2007; Jacobsen 2001, 9; Jacobsen 2006; Ngumuta 2010, 3). While governments in the developing world consider camp refugees eligible for assistance and protection, refugees living in urban areas are often without such recognition. They are outside of assistance structures and expected to be self-sufficient. The exception is the few refugees who obtain a special permit to reside in cities, often for health or special protection reasons (Jacobsen 2006, 274). Municipal and national authorities may ignore the existence of forced migrants in urban areas even though they are well aware of them (Crisp et al. 2012, 26-27; Human Rights Watch 2002; Jacobsen 2006).

In the developing world today, three forms of refugee settlement can be separated: self-settlement, camps and planned rural settlements. Camps and planned rural settlements are often placed in peripheral areas not used by local population. Camps normally rely on external relief, and refugees who reside there have limited possibilities to engage in income-generating activities such as farming (Schmidt n.d.). The intention of planned settlements is to provide refugees with more opportunities to self-reliance than in camps. Typically, settlements provide possibilities for agricultural practises, education and skill enhancement (ibid.). Self-settled refugees mainly settle in towns and cities and are expected full self-sufficiency. The movement of refugees into towns and cities has accelerated since the 1950s. Today more than half of the world's officially recognised refugees are estimated to reside in urban areas (UNHCR 2009; 2015a). Forced migrants who stay in the cities of Africa and Asia are mostly asylum seekers, i.e. not yet officially recognised refugees (ibid.). In countries without camps, such as South Africa, Egypt and most Western countries, asylum seekers and refugees have a legal permit to live in urban areas (Jacobsen 2006, 274).

Most governments in the first asylum countries prefer to place all refugees and asylum seekers, regardless their occupational, educational or experiential backgrounds, in spatially segregated sites, namely refugee camps and settlements (Kibreab 2007, 28). Strict encampment policies and harsh immigration laws constrain refugees' rights and freedoms (Ngumuta 2010, 3). Governments frequently justify their encampment policies by asserting that urban refugees are a drain on national resources, an economic, social and environmental burden and a security problem (Kibread 2007, 27; Jacobsen 2006, 3). They also see that the presence of refugees in urban areas exacerbates already strained cities struggling with urbanisation (Crisp et al. 2012, 26; Kibreab 2007, 29). The relationship between urbanisation and forced migration has not been addressed by urban planners, demographers or development specialists (Crisp et al. 2012, 38). The implications of refugees' presence for city administration, planning and poverty reduction strategies are poorly understood (ibid.). A number of scholars have noted that developing countries are themselves struggling with poverty, lack of resources and infrastructure, corruption and other social and economic development challenges (see Jacobsen 2001, 14 [Kibreab 1989]). For example Kibreab asks if African countries can realistically be expected to establish policies, legal frameworks and institutions that would allow taking hundreds of thousands of refugees into their societies facing

economic challenges and environmental degradation (ibid. [Kibreab 1989, 474]).

International assistance is mainly channelled to refugee camps and settlements. UNHCR and a range of NGOs operate mainly in them, which they have explained for example by stating that assisting self-settled refugees in urban areas would be contrary to the host government's policy (Kibreab 2007, 32). It has been suggested that urban refugees demand bigger amount of financial and human resources and that donors prefer to fund interventions in rural areas, which causes that securing funding for emergency responses in camps is easier (Crisp 2003, 26). Profiling of cases is more difficult and uncertain in urban areas, which causes that governments and humanitarian organisations are more cautious to address the assistance to cities (ibid.). Some scholars have suggested that as urbanisation is viewed problematic in general, governments do not welcome assistance in cities in fear of creating attraction for more unwanted newcomers (Crisp et al. 2012, 26). In addition, the established practice of channelling international assistance mostly to camps and settlements does not provide governments any incentive to allow self-settlement. On the contrary, the practice leads to policies promoting spatial segregation whereby encamped refugees can be managed by host governments and international agencies (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2004, 2; Kagan 2007). Historically, governments in developing countries have relied on material assistance from the outside to respond to refugee situations. Kagan (2007, 15) has stated that African states prefer the broader definition of the refugee as it allows the governments to shift burden and responsibility for refugees to international agencies.[9] The policies and practices have also caused that refugee assistance is formed as aid which is short-sighted by nature (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2004, 2). This resembles the common view in developing countries according to which refugees are regarded as temporary guests.

Urban refugees in a nutshell

The total number of all kinds of forced migrants, including internally displaced persons (IDPs) and returnees, who reside in cities is and will remain an estimate. Governments are often incapable to enforce laws limiting the place of residence, and there are

[9] The definition as defined in the 1969 OAU Convention related to the Specific Aspects of the African Refugee Problem. It has been suggested that Western states have an interest in keeping the definitions of what constitutes refugee status narrow to maintain control of immigration (Kagan 2007, 15; Malkki 1995b, 503).

considerably more forced migrants in urban areas than are officially recognised (Jacobsen 2006, 275.) Official statistics and data about how many rejected asylum-seekers remain in urban areas are rarely available (Kagan 2007, 22). Besides, there are always those who avoid official registers and rely on anonymity provided by cities as their survival strategy, mainly for security reasons (Crisp et al. 2012, 27; Macchiavello 2003). In some cases family members who are able to work might live and try to make income in cities whereas the dependants, such as elderly people, mothers and children, stay in a camp. If those looking for income in cities encounter hunger or security threats, they might return to the camp (Jacobsen 2001, 8). A strict division between urban or self-settled and "camp refugees" is thus obscuring. In the past, the common view was that mostly young men who possess the capacity and determination to survive in the city stay in the cities in developing countries (UNHCR 2009, 2). Today, also women, children and elderly people reside in urban areas, though estimations of the composition of urban refugees may have become more accurate as the awareness of them has increased.

Refugees are attracted by urban areas for the same reasons than other migrants. In cities, formal and informal economies offer refugees a wider variety of employment, business and income-generation opportunities compared to the agricultural settlements. Refugees see that cities provide them with opportunities for education and services such as health care, housing, clean water supply and sanitation, as well as transportation (Bernstein and Okello 2007; Fábos and Kibreab 2007; Jacobsen 2006, 276). Refugees with professional or educational background that is not related to agriculture may think that refugee settlements in rural settings do not provide them with meaningful employment opportunities or desired post-primary school education (Fábos and Kibreab 2007, 7). Access to financial and communication services, such as international banking and internet, may be crucial for refugees who receive remittances from abroad and who want to connect to their friends and relatives abroad (ibid. 8; Women's Refugee Commission, 4). Some refugees believe that in urban areas, they have better opportunities to enter resettlement programmes (Jacobsen 2006, 276). The opportunity for anonymity in cities attracts those who consider their security to be threatened in refugee camps or for some other reason seek to hide their true identity (ibid.; Fábos and Kibreab 2007, 3). There is demonstrated evidence on security threats in camps (ibid. 7). Refugees who have stayed in camps have reported sexual abuse, gender-based violence,

brutal attacks and recruitment by militia groups (Ngumuta 2010, 2; Women's Refugee Commission 2011, 4). Camps have sometimes been targeted by armies, opposition groups or rebel groups from countries where refugees originate from (Crisp 2003, 7; Fábos and Kibreab 2007, 7; Human Rights Watch 2002; UNHCR 1987). In addition, the encampment policies tend to place refugees originating from a given country in the same site, which may cause that former enemies reside in same geographical area leading to clashes between them (Fábos and Kibreab 2007, 7).

Urban refugees who have access to work are typically engaged in the informal economy. They try to make their living by multiple livelihood making strategies, engaging mostly in casual labour and petty trade. Female refugees that I interviewed made their living by selling vegetables, jewellery or homemade tailored products, or worked as domestic workers for different households. These seemed to be typical income generating methods of female refugees in Kampala. Male refugees normally looked for occasional work at constructing sites. My primary data also revealed that some refugees work as waiters or cooks in restaurants. In cities of the developing countries, similar kinds of self-employment and income generating strategies in the informal sector are common among all urban dwellers, not only among refugees.

Refugees in urban areas can be considered to be subsets of two larger populations, namely other foreign-born migrants and those host country nationals who constitute a part of all urban poor with whom refugees share the same social and economic space in cities. They all face similar challenges associated with urban poverty. They live in inadequate and overcrowded living conditions. They have multiple sources of income but still cannot cover all their basic expenses. All urban poor struggle to meet their basic needs, such as shelter, food and clean water and to access services such as education and health care (Dryden-Peterson 2006, 382; Jacobsen 2006, 276; UNHCR 2009, 2).

The informality, illegality, ignorance of the common practises and insufficient language skills sets urban refugees in a vulnerable position. Some of them lack the legal refugee status, and several refugees carry non-sufficient documentation. Refugees' physical security is at risk especially before obtaining the legal status, but even the officially recognised refugees live in insecurity on the margins of urban societies (Fábos and Kibreab 2007, 9; Human Rights Watch 2002). Other people may seek to take advantage

of refugees' vulnerable position and ignorance about their rights (Crisp et al. 2012, 33). Refugees are extracted higher rents and required to pay bribes for access to land and utility services for housing. They have limited and disadvantaged access to jobs, education and health services and face restrictions to enter markets. At work, they face abuse, discrimination, harassment and exploitation. Refugees also confront multiple threats to their security, such as sexual and gender-based violence, human smuggling and trafficking. Moreover, they have limited support networks (see e.g. ibid. 31; Fábos and Kibreab 2007; Jacobsen 2006, 281-282; Pavanello, Elhawary and Pantuliano 2010). A Human Rights Watch report (2000) revealed that in Kampala there is active presence of agents from refugees' countries of origin. The report stated that these agents had been seen in places where refugees were commonly staying. Numerous refugees have personally experienced or witnessed violent conflict, torture and other human rights abuses. They have undergone long and arduous journeys. Hard experiences may result in physical and mental health problems such as trauma and post-traumatic stress disorder. These, in turn, may cause difficulties in establishing and sustaining livelihoods (see e.g. Jacobsen 2006, 276). Urban refugees also live under a constant threat of being arrested, abused and harassed by the police. Earlier studies on refugees in Kenya, for example, have found that refugees are subject to mistreatment, rape cases, extortion and arbitrary arrests especially by the Kenyan police in Nairobi (Human Rights Watch 2002; Pavanello, Elhawary and Pantuliano 2010). Without valid documents, refugees are unable to claim for their rights (Jacobsen 2006, 281-282). In addition, when the perpetrator of the abuse, such as the police, is the same party to whom refugees should turn to, complaints are rarely raised. Refugees with security problems often do not know where to turn to for help. The only option may be to seek resettlement in a third country (see Human Rights Watch 2002).

4.2 The origins and dynamics of the Ugandan refugee situation

In this section I introduce the historical developments that have led to the diversity of the present day society in Uganda. The purpose is to give an idea of different sociocultural groups in Uganda and the region to provide a social context in which human mobility occurs. After this I move on to the refugee policy in Uganda and the current refugee situation. The living conditions of refugees in Kampala will be looked at in greater detail in the end of the section.

The diversity in Uganda

Image 1. Map of Uganda and its neighbours (Google maps 2015).

Uganda is a landlocked country neighbouring Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). In 2013 the total population of Uganda stood at 37.5 million, of which 15 per cent live in urban areas. The annual urban population growth rate has been around 5.5 per cent in recent years. The continuation of rapid population growth is expected to pose serious challenges to Uganda's future

development. Despite the economic growth of the country, Uganda is estimated to remain among the least developed countries (UNHCR 2013a; Worldbank 2015). Approximately 85 per cent of the population is Christian and 12.1 per cent Muslim.

A diversity of peoples with different languages, political systems and cultures has existed in the territory before Uganda became independent and the present national borders were drawn in 1962. In the nineteenth century, there were at least 200 socio-political entities that ranged in size and complexity, and at least 63 distinct languages (Jørgensen 1981, 34-38). There has been a socio-economic divide between the north and the south (Allen 2006, 28; Finnström 2008). Peoples living in the north were politically organised to less hierarchical segmentary societies whereas the Bantu speaking groups in the south had more centralised feudal kingdoms that varied in size (Jørgensen 1981, 34-38; Harlow et al. 1965, 57). One of the most influential and powerful kingdoms was the densely populated Buganda kingdom, located on the shores of Lake Victoria where the current day Kampala is situated in (Jørgensen 1981, 34-38).

Ethnic consciousness in Uganda grew over time owing to colonialism and post-independence governing methods. During Britain's colonial rule ethnic and socioeconomic divisions were exacerbated and ethnic boundaries were drawn into geographic regions (Finnström 2003; Jørgensen 1981). Ethnicity which had earlier been rather relative became more rigid (Finnström 2008, 53-54). The centrally located Buganda kingdom was at the core of Britain's Protectorate. The colonial rule strengthened the kingdom and nurtured its sense of supremacy. Buganda's administrative system was used as a model elsewhere and the *Baganda* [people of Buganda] aristocracy was among main beneficiaries of Britain's policy. Buganda had a hegemonic position in domestic affairs for long in the twentieth century, and the king of Buganda became the first president of independent Uganda (Jørgensen 1981; Harlow et al. 1965, 63-66). Before and after independence in 1962, there were struggles against the colonial rule as well as domestic power struggles in Uganda. After independence, the regimes of Milton Obote (1962-71 and 1980-1985) and Idi Amin (1971-79) influenced through dynamics of ethnic and religious conflict, which enhanced ethnic and religious stereotypes among Ugandans. Polarisation became entrenched through the forming of opposition groups along ethnic and religious divisions (Jørgensen 1981, 303). Religious affiliations became especially politicised under the Amin regime as

Muslims were presumed to be Amin supporters and Christians his opponents (ibid. 304). Violence increased during Obote's second term in power in 1980s as Yoweri Museveni and the National Resistance Movement/Army (NRM/A) fought its guerrilla war against Obote ("Bush War"), mainly in Central Uganda. Museveni became the President in 1986 as the Museveni-led NRA toppled the militaristic junta Tito Okello, Obote's former army commander who had led a military coup against Obote in 1985. In its early years, Museveni's NRM/A government sought to incorporate a wide range of political ethnic, religious and other interests through political appointments and aimed at building consensus among different groups in Uganda (Tripp 2010, 26). Later on the approach was largely replaced by favouring a clique of Museveni loyalists, and political appointments began to take increasingly more pronounced regional and ethnic character. Today, Uganda's leadership is personalised into Museveni (ibid. 9-39). Ethnicity continues to play a role in politicised divisions between different regions in Uganda as well as between the old kingdoms, notably Buganda and the rest (Allen 2006, 28).

Uganda's internal conflicts presented above have caused forced population movements, both internal and across its borders. Fighting between the Ugandan army and the rebel group Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in northern Uganda fluctuated for years between intense fighting and periods of lull, being one of the longest standing conflicts in post-independence Africa (Allen 2006; Finnström 2008, 1-14; Tripp 2010, 4). At the conflict's peak in 2005, there were 1.84 million internally displaces persons (IDPs) living mainly in camps in northern Uganda (UNHCR 2012). Some 300.000 - 600.000 IDPs fled to urban centres and never registered. Similarly to other urban refugees, they remained in exclusion and marginalisation (Refstie et al. 2010; Refugee Law Project 2007). The conflict in northern Uganda is related to regional conflict context, fought in a proxy war between Uganda and Sudan (Prunier 2004, 359). The conflict has also been fought in the territory of the current DRC (ibid.). After the ceasefire between the LRA and the Ugandan army in 2006, the LRA moved its operations out of Uganda and expanded its attacks to Central African Republic, the DRC and southern Sudan (Tripp 2010, 32-33). The Ugandan government has also engaged in military and paramilitary activities in the DRC, which has been seen as an attempt to expand its regional influence and to exploit resources (ibid. 4; 32-33). These complex regional patterns have caused forced migrations as well as influenced attitudes and suspicions among

different groups towards each other in the region. Evidently, the past events and Ugandan government's engagements in regional politics and conflicts influence on perceptions that refugees from the neighbouring countries have towards Uganda and Ugandans.

Refugee policy in Uganda

Uganda is a signatory to the 1951 Refugee Convention, the 1967 Protocol and the 1969 OAU Convention, and has adopted and incorporated the conventions into its national legislation. However, it has been stated that in Uganda these legislations and policies have always been rather ad hoc (Refugee Law Project 2005, 7). The former Ugandan Control of Alien Refugees Act (CARA) of 1960 required all refugees to reside in refugee settlements maintained by the Directorate of Refugees that operates under the Ministry of Disaster Preparedness and Refugees in the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM). Refugee settlements in Uganda are located in rural and isolated areas mostly in the north-western region, often close to borders of countries where refugees originate from. Refugees in rural settlements are allocated plots of land for agricultural activities. The newer Refugee Act issued in 2006 replaced CARA. Refugee Act allows refugees to settle among the Ugandan population outside of settlements. Uganda thus belongs to the small number of governments in the developing world that offer refugees and asylum seekers an opportunity to settle in urban areas – and in theory to integrate into local society (Jacobsen 2001, 2). Uganda mainly considers refugees in its refugee settlements as *prima facie* refugees who are eligible for assistance from UNHCR or the government (Dryden-Peterson 2006, 384). By choosing self-settlement outside of settlements refugees forgo their rights to assistance structures, specifically shelter, food rations, psychosocial counselling and facilitated access to UNHCR-supported health clinics and schools. An exception is the UNHCR's 'urban caseload' of around 200 refugees who are provided with assistance in terms of costs of healthcare, education and to a small extent housing (Refugee Law Project 2005, 7). Refugees are recognised into this caseload on the grounds of healthcare needs that can only be addressed in Kampala or because of security or other concerns related to person's general vulnerability. Some of them are awaiting resettlement (ibid.). In practice, the Refugee Act binds assistance with location of refugees. This discourages refugees from moving to cities and puts

them under pressure to relocate to settlements (Bernstein 2007, 46; Refugee Law Project 2005, 15; see also Crisp 2003, 29; Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2004, 28).

A foreign long-term director of a NGO in Kampala noted to me that the Ugandan refugee law looks good on paper but the reality is different.[10] He stated that there is little knowledge of the rights of refugees amongst people who are implementing the law such as in the police and judicial system, as well as in the health and education sectors. A previous study has noted that knowledge and capacity of local government officials, civil servants and civil society organisations as well as local service providers in Kampala should be enhanced (Refugee Law Project 2005, 10). There is very little involvement of urban refugees in policy formulation and implementation (ibid.). For example, OPM, UNHCR or its implementing partners do not involve refugees into discussions or planning of programmes and policies that relate to urban refugees (ibid.). Nevertheless, the above-mentioned director of the NGO notified that it is important that owing to the new UNHCR policy on urban refugees (2009), the existence of refugees in urban areas is now officially recognised at a high level. He continued by adding that wider awareness is still little yet growing, and that it would take long before urban refugees are taken into account by city authorities and in other lower governance levels in Uganda.[11]

Refugees in Uganda

I have now laid down the context of Uganda where approximately half a million refugees, asylum seekers and other forced migrants from varying backgrounds reside. Varying kinds of forced migrants are spread across several refugee settlements in the country, with thousands in town and cities (see Image 2).

In the beginning of 2015 the total number of persons of concern to UNHCR was approximately at 486,000. The number includes both official refugees and asylum seekers, and UNHCR has estimated it to increase to 642,000 by the end of 2015 (UNHCR 2015c). Congolese make up the largest population of concern to UNHCR in Uganda (186,177). Ever since the conflict in South Sudan erupted in December 2013,

[10] Personal communication in February 2013.
[11] Personal communication in February 2013.

refugees from South Sudan (150,206) have become among the three main populations of concern to UNHCR alongside refugees from the DRC and Somalia (24,786). Nearly two-thirds of the refugees from these countries have arrived within the past five years (UNHCR 2014; 2015c).[12] In addition, there are refugees from Rwanda (16,190) and other countries (28,234) (UNHCR 2014). To put the refugee situation in Uganda in a global context, the country holds the sixth place in global comparison when one compares the number of refugees residing in Uganda to the average income level. Looking from this point of view, Uganda hosts 152 refugees per 1 USD GDP (PPP) per capita (UNHCR 2013a, 34).[13]

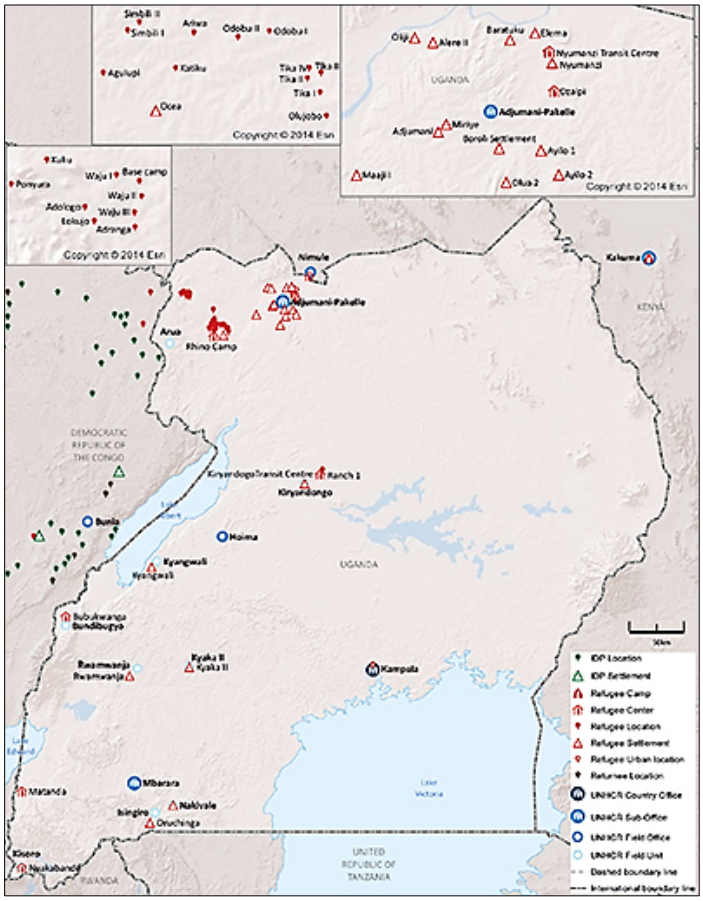

Image 2. Refugee settlements and UNHCR presence in Uganda, as of 2015 (UNHCR 2015e).

Refugees who currently reside in Uganda have arrived due to various reasons over time. Famines, drought, conflicts and civil wars have forced people to flee their homes in Eastern African countries and the Great Lake region. The countries in the region have both produced and received refugees in significant amounts. Three of the world's top

[12] The figures as of 2014.
[13] GPP = Gross Domestic Product, PPP = Purchasing Power Parity

origin countries of refugees are in the proximity of Uganda, namely Somalia (third), Sudan (fourth) and the Democratic Republic of Congo (fifth) (UNHCR 2013a, 7-9; 25).[14] In addition to these, the nearby countries Rwanda, Burundi, South Sudan and Sudan have witnessed mass violence and ethnic polarisation. Competition for political power between different groups living within the national borders that were remnants of the colonial era has led to waves of conflicts and even genocides in these countries since their independence in the 1960s (see e.g. Malkki 1995a, 19-51). The famines in Ethiopia and Sudan caused large-scale migration in the 1980s (Usman and Falola 2009, 16). The history of conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi are complex and long which has caused various forced migrations over time. In Uganda, there are Rwandan and Congolese refugees from earlier decades who have said to have 'integrated' in the Ugandan economy (Macchiavello 2003, 3; Personal communication in February 2013). In 1994 the Rwandan genocide caused one of the largest annual refugee figures as 2.3 million persons fled their homes. Many fled to Uganda (UNHCR 2013a, 30). A number of refugees have escaped other recent conflicts such as anti-Kabila and factional wars in the DRC; war between Ethiopia and Eritrea; war in Somalia; and conflicts in Sudan (Macchiavello 2003, 3; Women's Refugee Commission 2011, 4).

The volatile situations in Uganda's neighbouring countries has resulted in fluctuation in the numbers of arriving refugees. For example, in the beginning of 2012 the eastern and north eastern DRC saw renewed violence, which caused a remarkable increase in the number of Congolese refugees arriving to Uganda (UNHCR 2015c). However, UNHCR expects many of them to return in 2015 as the security situation has improved in some parts of the DRC (ibid.). This illustrates the fluctuation of refugee situations. It is good to note here that not every person from conflict-driven countries residing Uganda is refugee. For example, many Somalis live in the major cities in East Africa for family or business reasons (Jacobsen 2006, 274). Some of them might be eligible for a refugee status but prefer not to be identified as such or seek to avoid officials (ibid.).

[14] Figures of refugees in developing countries rely largely on UNHCR as these countries often lack the capacity and resources to collect data on refugees (UNHCR 2013a, 17-18). The figures include officially recognised refugees, asylum-seekers, internationally displaced persons (IDPs), stateless persons, and others of concern to UNHCR. They do not include other forced migrants or those who stay outside of official statistics.

Refugees in Kampala

Kampala is a city of approximately 1.5 million people. It is struggling with challenges posed by rapid urbanisation. The urban population growth rate in Uganda is high, around 5.5 per cent annually. Historically, the people living in Kampala are *Baganda,* although migration movements, trade, British colonial rule, Indian merchants, rural-urban migration, and foreign migrants have brought diversity to the composition of the city's present day population (Jørgensen 1981, 39-45). Most of the rapid population growth in Kampala today is due to rural-urban migration. The city has inadequate capacity to plan, manage and guide urban growth and development, and it lacks resources to respond to the needs of the increasing urban population. Kampala faces typical challenges of urbanisation, such as overcrowding, traffic congestion, growth of slums, food security concerns, and poor sanitation. City services in Kampala are overstretched and underfunded (Refugee Law Project 2005, 10-11). Despite the growing national economic figures, urbanisation has been accompanied by increasing poverty levels. Over 60 per cent of the city's population live in slums without infrastructure, safe water, sanitation, and formal employment (UN-HABITAT 2007, 10). The presence of urban refugees is not taken into account nor budgeted in city planning (Refugee Law Project 2005, 4; 10; 20).

Picture 2. Street view in the city centre of Kampala, close to the Owino market.

The total number of refugees in Kampala is unknown. In October 2014, the total number of refugees who were registered with UNHCR in Kampala stood at 62,000 which stands for 15 per cent of all refugees registered with UNHCR in Uganda (UNHCR 2014). The number of those who have not registered can only be estimated but it is clear is that the number of individuals seeking refuge in the city is increasing (Women's Refugee Commission 2011, 4). The Congolese make up the largest and Somalis the second largest refugee population in Kampala (ibid. 5). Refugees live scattered in low-income areas of Kampala, albeit they tend to regroup according to their country of origin. Congolese live mainly in Katwe, Makindye and Masajja, Ethiopians are concentrated in Kabalagala and Kasanga, and Somalis live close to the city centre in a neighbourhood called Kisenyi (ibid.).

Picture 3. A house where a Congolese refugee lives in one-room apartment with her children. The house is located in a neighbourhood in Kampala.

There are few organisations that assist refugees in Kampala but they have very limited capacities and resources. This may be a result of the government's previous requirement that all refugee assistance is to be provided in settlements. There are also some organisations known as community-based organisations. These are typically organised by one or few refugees and they work with a certain agenda, such as promotion of human rights of refugees or providing of legal counselling, business training, language classes, or peer group discussions (Refugee Law Project 2005, 9; Personal

communication in 2013). Two organisations, namely InterAid and Jesuit Refugee Services, are the only ones assisting specifically asylum seekers. However, both are overstretched and the findings of the RLP report indicate that asylum seekers without informal support networks are left with few options for shelter and other necessities (Refugee Law Project 2005, 15). As will be described below, the situation of officially registered refugees is necessarily not any better. There has been relatively little research on the nutritional status of urban refugees (Crisp et al. 2012, 32). The interviewees of my study complained about lack of food and told me that they usually eat once a day. Their common daily meal was *posho* (a cheap dish made of maize flour) and beans.

Despite the large numbers of refugees and asylum seekers living in urban areas, their rights to assistance and protection are not acknowledged by Ugandan authorities or in the political structures (Refugee Law Project 2005). Self-settled refugees in cities are allowed to use the same services such as healthcare and education as Ugandan citizens. However, city authorities and public service dividers are largely unaware of what services refugees have right for, or ignore these rights (ibid. 9, 26). The perception of urban refugees as illegitimate is widespread among city officials in Kampala (ibid.). The findings of a previous study revealed that many Ugandan service providers associate the term "refugee" with the UN or NGOs and hence assumes that refugees are thought to be better than Ugandan nationals as they are "under the care of UNHCR" (ibid. 26).

The legal status of self-settled refugees in Kampala remains insecure, and refugees are faced with a risk of detention owing to lack of proper documentation (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2004, 28; Jacobsen 2006, 10; Women's Refugee Commission 2011, 4). Refugees suffer from discrimination and face barriers in accessing education, employment and other public services, which hampers their opportunities to improve their socio-economic situation. Some previous studies have found that refugees have difficulties to access health care, while others have suggested that the problems refugees experience do not differ from those of Ugandans (Refugee Law Project 2005, 9; Women's Refugee Commission 2011).

In principle, Uganda allows refugees to be formally employed, but there are lot of ambiguous practises and unawareness (Ngumuta 2010, 3; Refugee Law Project 2005,

26). Refugees are faced with difficulties with unclear policies relating to their right to work (Women's Refugee Commission 2011, 4). Similarly to other urban poor, refugees in Kampala have to turn to informal economy for overpriced goods and unstable seasonal employment. However, discrimination by police hampers their economic activity. Social contacts are pivotal to access jobs, credit and protection but refugees often lack the required supporting networks (ibid. 1-2; 9). They face discrimination and exploitation at work (Macchiavello 2003, 11-12).

Picture 4. Ugandans and people from other backgrounds sell their products along a street close to the city centre of Kampala.

Ugandans' attitudes towards refugees have been said to be generally negative and openly xenophobic (Macchiavello 2003, 4; Women's Refugee Commission 2011, 4). Refugees are considered to be an economic burden and looked upon with suspicion particularly in urban areas. In the findings of earlier studies refugees in Kampala have reported xenophobia and discrimination by locals (ibid.). Different threats to personal safety and security affect lives of refugees in Kampala. Some are seriously concerned about their safety and stay hiding (Macchiavello 2003, 26). Some refugees are mistrustful to report to Ugandan authorities and government representatives because of the Ugandan government's alleged collaboration and involvement in conflicts and politics in the DRC, Rwanda and Sudan (Human Rights Watch 2002; Refugee Law Project 2005, 9).

Refugees choose to settle in Kampala for the same reasons that attract refugees in urban areas in general (Macchiavello 2003; 2010; Refugee Law Project 2005).[15] Existing contacts, such as relatives and friends already living in Kampala, affect the decision to settle in Kampala (Personal communication 2013). The interviewees of my study reported that Kampala provides them with better opportunities for livelihood, education and personal security. What emerged from my empirical data is that a number of the interviewees had been unaware of the existence of refugee settlements at the time of their arrival in Uganda. Another study has found that asylum seekers in Uganda are unaware of refugee registration procedures (Refugee Law Project 2005, 13). Some of the interviewees of my study had also stayed for some time in settlements before moving to Kampala. They explained that they had left the settlements for Kampala to seek for better living circumstances; because of poor diet and hard living conditions in the settlements; or because they had been concerned of their physical security. It was also revealed that in the settlements, they had faced sexual harassment, discrimination and violence by other refugees from the same country of origin (such as other clans), as well as insecurity owing to a threat of soldiers from their countries of origin. These are in line with findings of other studies (Macchiavello 2003, 4-5; Refugee Law Project 2005, 13-14). Generally, refugees who live in Kampala find the city to offer safer conditions than the settlements located in border zones close to the countries they fled from (Refugee Law Project 2005, 13). Some refugee settlements have been attacked by rebel groups in the northern parts of Uganda. In 2002, Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), the rebel group based in southern Sudan and northern Uganda, targeted camps of Sudanese refugees by four attacks that displaced some 30,000 refugees. Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) has targeted southern Sudanese former combatants who escaped to Uganda and settled in refugee settlements (ibid. 13-14; Crisp 2003, 7).

My empirical data suggest that often the self-settlement in Kampala has been caused by coincidences and geographical proximity. Few of the refugees interviewed for my study had, at the time of fleeing their homes, had a plan for their escape route or destination. Most of them had fled suddenly, typically after facing sudden violence. Some had simply joined others and ended up in Kampala. For example, the majority of the

[15] As discussed in section 4.1.

Congolese interviewees had fled their villages and ended up at the DRC-Uganda border where they had met other Congolese who were also running away from conflict areas. “At the border they directed us to Kampala. We didn't know where to go,” explained one interviewee. Congolese interviewees explained that at the border they had hopped on lorries transporting goods to Kampala. This is in line with findings of other studies (Refugee Law Project 2005, 13). Rumours and recommendations also affect the decision to head for Kampala. Interviewees from Somalia reported that Somalis typically come to Uganda via the Kenyan capital, Nairobi. While in Nairobi, many of them had heard that “Uganda is better for refugees.” One man from Somalia told me that he was directed to leave Kenya: “The brother [of a friend] advised me I'd better go to Uganda; that Uganda is better and the refugees are normally cared [for]. They are handled in a better way than in Kenya because in Kenya the refugees normally stay in camps. If they come to town they are arrested by the police officer or asked for an ID.”

I have now laid down the context in which urban refugees live in Kampala. I have also presented some issues concerning their background and challenges in Kampala. Next, I move on to the Part Three which comprises the two analysis chapters of my study (Chapter Five and Chapter Six). The chapters focus on analysing the life of urban refugees in Kampala.

5 Categorising refugees: discrimination of outgroups

This chapter approaches the lives of urban refugees in Kampala by exploring their perceptions of Ugandans' attitudes and behaviour towards refugees in Kampala. This is done by analysing refugees' experiences of interaction with Ugandans in varying spaces in Kampala and by combining this with other empirical data. Close proximity of refugees and other city dwellers in urban areas as well as the dynamic nature of cities cause that there are numerous spaces where social interaction takes place. Different contextual issues and social dynamics affect each interaction situation. Therefore, to approach refugees' interaction experiences, I have decided to make an analytical distinction between casual interaction and interaction with authorities in public services. The former refers to mundane interaction that occurs in public spaces such as neighbourhoods, market places, streets, public transportation, churches and mosques. Interaction with public service authorities refers to interaction between refugees and officials who work in public service institutions such as schools, health care centres, the police and offices that deal with refugee issues. This interaction is asymmetric and the interacting parties have unequal statuses as the refugee is more or less dependent on the assistance, behaviour or decisions of the authority or the institution the authority represents. Although the context is institutional, interaction always occurs between individuals. However, for the refugee, an individual authority may represent the whole institution and thus interaction with individual authorities may influence refugees' perceptions of the whole institution.

The first three sections of this chapter (sections 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3) explore refugees' perceptions of how stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination manifest themselves in interaction with Ugandans. Section 5.1 starts first with presenting some general mechanisms of stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination. Section 5.2 focuses on refugees' perceptions of casual interaction in daily life, and section 5.3 scrutinises their interaction experiences with authorities. These three sections are followed by exploring refugees' reactions and responses to the perceived discrimination and prejudices, as well as their implications to refugees' lives. The chapter is concluded with discussion

on how refugees are seen as a social category and what thoughts this evokes in the minds of refugees.

5.1 Prejudices and mechanisms of discrimination in interaction

Uganda or Ugandans – who is it that discriminates

The experiences of discrimination and prejudices of the interviewed refugees ranged from prejudiced comments in everyday social interaction to more severe assaults. A large part of the faced prejudices affect all refugees, not only those in urban areas. However, they are the ones who encounter prejudices and discrimination in their everyday life and in whose life prejudice and discrimination have concrete consequences. However, majority of the interviewees reported that interaction with Ugandans is mainly neutral. When the interviewees were asked general questions about interaction with Ugandans, a common first reaction was to assure that they "do not have problems with Ugandans." Almost everyone emphasised that "not all Ugandans are bad." Prejudice or discrimination were not perceived as dominant features of interaction. Nevertheless, when the discussion proceeded to more specific topics such as behaviour of the police, teachers or neighbours, numerous acts and comments that reveal prejudices, negative stereotypes and discrimination towards refugees arose.

What emerged from the interviews is that some interviewees think that generally, "*Uganda* [the *state*] treats refugees well." However, later on same interviewees reported that "Ugandans [the *people*] discriminate refugees." When assessing how refugees are regarded in Uganda, the interviewees tended to talk about "Uganda" as an obscure state actor that treats refugees well, or at least better than the neighbour countries. Especially Somali interviewees reported that they had first fled to Kenya and then continued to Uganda "because Uganda treats refugees better than neighbouring countries." Uganda as a *state* was perceived separately from the Ugandan *people* who were then seen to have negative attitudes towards refugees. Interviewees also tended to personify the state of Uganda in the current President Yoweri Museveni. Museveni has been in power since 1986 and the interviewees thus only know Uganda under the Museveni regime. A Rwandan interviewee believed that "the President of Uganda knows my problems. They [the Ugandans] tolerate us [refugees] because of government. But there is government

which forces them to let us live here." A Somali interviewee said, "Museveni is good, he is the one taking care of refugees." The perception that President Museveni is beyond Uganda's refugee policy can also be seen in the Ugandans' utterances. This is illustrated in comments said by Ugandans to Congolese Liliane. Liliane told me, "Yeah, discrimination everywhere! They [the Ugandans] told us, 'You are refugees, you don't have right to cultivate! If Museveni would not be president, we [would] tell you to go to your country!' " Three of the interviewed refugees were sceptical towards the government's motives for its refugee policy. One of them said, "The government accepts refugees only because of the international pressure. They [the government] don't like us here." Furthermore, the majority of the interviewees uttered their concern about the coming presidential elections in 2016. They believe that the situation of refugees will deteriorate in case the president changes.

When talking about their interaction experiences with Ugandans, only few of the interviewees seemed to consider the relations between different socio-political groups within Uganda. Majority talked, in a very general way, about Ugandans or locals. Few spoke about *Baganda* by which they referred to the people who historically have lived in the Kampala area. These few were also aware that Ugandans from other socio-political groups might also face discrimination in Kampala. "Ugandans" is, of course, a justified term as Kampala nowadays consists of a diversity of people. However, it seemed to me that the majority of the interviewees were not profoundly informed of the discrimination towards certain Ugandan socio-political groups – as for an example, internally displaced people (IDPs) who have escaped the conflict in Northern Uganda also have faced discrimination in Kampala and other cities.

Refugees as a threat to economy, culture and security

"From the outside you come and eat our food!"

Refugees in urban areas are often associated with wider social and economic problems and they become scapegoats for different illnesses in society (Refugee Law Project 2005). Generally, the perceived threat refugees are seen to pose can be economic, political, moral, social or for example health related. The interviewees commonly shared a perception that Ugandans consider refugees as a threat to the national resources. The quote that begins this section – "From the outside you come and eat our

food"– is what Ugandans had told Liliane, a refugee from the DRC. The comment illustrates well how refugees can be seen to threaten the daily life and survival of Ugandans. Liliane thinks that Ugandans regard the large number of Congolese refugees as a threat to food security in Uganda. Similarly to other Congolese interviewees, she has heard these kinds of accusations towards the Congolese for several times. A number of the interviewees reported that Ugandans had also accused them for rising rents and food prices in Kampala. They had thus formed a perception that Ugandans see the presence of refugees in Kampala to cause increase in living expenses. The interviewees considered this to be one reason for why the Ugandans do not tolerate refugees. Clémence, the DRC, explained what Ugandans who live in her neighbourhood had told her:

> "They say 'No, you're Congolese. We are tired of Congolese refugees.' […] They say if refugees come to Uganda everything is expensive. Like food. Like cassava, in 2008 it was 1000 but now it's 2000.[16] Ugandans say it's because very very many refugees in Uganda."

The examples above show that refugees and Ugandans are seen to compete for the same limited resources, which resembles the principle idea of the realistic conflict theory. However, the impact of refugees on for example the cost and availability of food, housing and jobs has not been thoroughly studied (Crisp et al. 2012, 38). Another example of perceived intergroup competition comes up in the following view held by one interviewee: "[Ugandans] do not like refugees because they believe that refugees get some opportunities that Ugandans do not get." The comment illustrates how a person may, when comparing her or his life with that of outgroups, see that outgroup receives unjustified advantages (see Kessler and Mummendey 2008, 306 [Mackie, Devos and Smith 2000]). The comment is also in line with a previous study stating that locals are not sensitised to what refugee status means or what rights it entails (Refugee Law Project 2005, 17). The study also found that even authorities may believe that refugees are better off than citizen because they are believed to be assisted by the UN and the NGOs (ibid.).

Findings of a previous study (Refugee Law Project 2005) suggest that refugees in Kampala are also been seen as a social threat. Ugandans particularly in Old Kampala have accused refugees for the worsened criminality situation in the neighbourhood

[16] 2000 Ugandan shillings (UGX) was about 0.59 euros in 2013.

(ibid. 17). The office of the Refugee Law Project (RLP), Office of the Prime Minister and Old police station that all deal with refugee issues are located in Old Kampala. As a consequence, many refugees move in the area or reside there permanently. One can see dozens of refugees and asylum-seekers sleeping under plastic sheets on the roadside outside the office of the RLP. Small children in worn-out T-shirts play on the streets as their parents have gone to look for food or some income and some tired-looking adults lay in the shade with glazed eyes.

Some of the refugees interviewed for my study considered that Ugandans' attitudes towards refugees have become increasingly negative in recent years. Particularly Congolese interviewees considered that this is due to the increase of the number of arriving refugees.[17] Grace, who arrived in Kampala from the DRC in 2008, explained:

> "Before when I came there were not many refugees here in Kampala, and people were friendly to us. But now as the time has gone on the number of refugees has been increased, and the citizens now, they are complaining that 'Now our life has become difficult, it is time for you to go back to your countries.' "

A number of the interviewees perceived that cultural differences hamper the interaction with Ugandans and trigger prejudices towards refugees. Particularly Somali interviewees perceived that Ugandans "do not like the Somali culture" and considered the comments that pick up specific cultural features of Somalis as discrimination. Gaaday, a Somali interviewee, explained:

> "The Ugandan may say 'Why are you covering?' And by the way they see these Somalis covering some Ugandan may even run away from you. Someone may say 'I don't know what you're carrying, are you going to bombing, what are you going to do to me?' So there are some people who understand but some who do not understand the culture."

The excerpt above is an illuminating example of the operation of stereotypes and prejudices (discussed in Chapter 2). It shows how clear signs of group affiliation of a person (such as veil) evoke stereotypes and prejudices towards the whole group (Somalis). One can also identify an emotion of fear towards everyone who is categorised into "the Somalis". This emotion affects the behaviour towards individual members of the category. In the case above, Ugandans' prejudices towards Somalis

[17] According to UNHCR, Congolese refugees made up 65 per cent of the entire refugee population in Uganda in 2013. The majority of them had arrived during the last three years prior to November 2013 (UNHCR 2013b). However, most of the arriving refugees are in settlements close to border zones.

seem to lead to avoiding them as Somalis are perceived to threaten Ugandans' personal security. This is in line with findings of previous studies stating that Somalis in Uganda are often associated with terrorism and violence (see Pavanello et al. 2010). The perception of Somalis as a security threat arose several times in informal discussions with Ugandans. "They walk with knives!" said one of my Ugandan acquaintances. My data further suggest that other city dwellers in Kampala generally consider the Somali neighbourhood dangerous and avoid going there if not necessary.

Stereotypes towards Somalis cannot be understood without considering the wider political context. Association with terrorism is related to Uganda's involvement in the African Union's AMISOM-troops fighting against the Islamist militant group al-Shabaab in Somalia. Al-Shabaab has frequently threatened the AMISOM participant countries with terror attacks and also attacked them. Uganda considers al-Shabaab as a significant security threat, and there are alerts for terrorism from time to time.

One of the major terror attacks made by al-Shabaab in Eastern Africa was in 2010 when two bomb attacks made during the FIFA World Cup final match killed 74 people in two clubs in Kampala. After the attacks, Somalis in Kampala faced prominently increased levels of verbal and physical assaults. A female Somali interviewee described:

> "People [Somalis] were in fear, people could not go out, people were at home. Two weeks I was just at home, not going out, we were in fear. This [the attack] was behind bad people but not us."

In the aftermath of the attacks, counterattacks on Somalis became frequent in Kampala. Somalis in Kampala stayed at home in fear of abuse and arbitrary arrestment that were taking place on the streets. According to the Somali interviewees, the police started patrolling on the streets of Kisenyi and carried out several house searches in the neighbourhood. Gaaday's description of the post-attack period illustrates the atmosphere among Somalis during that time:

> "Sometimes someone could hit you and even disturb, and some our Somali ladies were beaten in the town by Ugandans. […] But the police couldn't do much because the police could not arrest all Ugandans and this was all the Ugandans, all people who were in Uganda, they were saying that you guys, you are terrorists. You couldn't go out at night time, sometimes police can arrest you. All the Somalis who are refugees but had no ID were arrested because of being called suspects, that they were al-Shabaab. Many refugees who are in the camp normally come to Kampala

> to find jobs, to change to better lives. So refugees who were in the camp were not given IDs."

The comment reveals that besides Ugandan civilians, the terror attacks affected the attitudes and behaviour of authorities. Somali interviewees considered that the Ugandan police and authorities still have prejudices against Somalis and that Somalis are arrested and sentenced more easily than others in Kampala. Some interviewees of other than Somali origin told me that after the 2010 attacks, they had noticed that the police had become more vigilant and started to check IDs more frequently. Consequently, refugees had begun to carry their IDs all the time when moving around. The security controls before entering shopping malls, movie theatres and other public places in Kampala also emerged and still continue today. A staff member of an NGO working with refugees told me that the organisation has got instructions from the ministerial level that if staff members, when working with Somalis, ever hear anything related to terrorism, they must report it to the authorities.[18]

Even though the situation of 2010 had calmed down at the time of my fieldwork in 2013, Somali interviewees told me that they are frequently called terrorists or al-Shabaab on the streets. One interviewee said, "Yes yes [it happens often]! If you go out they normally say 'You are al-Shabaab, you should go back to your country!' " Another Somali interviewee recalled what she had been told on the streets: "You Somalis are bad people, you destroyed your country, now you destroy here, everywhere in this world." It is worth noticing that Somali refugees, too, are civilian victims of al-Shabaab and have fled Somalia in fear of terror attacks. All the interviewed Somali refugees had lost family members or been themselves injured by al-Shabaab's attacks in Somalia. "Those who did bad to me are al-Shabaab. When I'm called al-Shabaab, I feel very bad", described a middle-aged woman who had lost her family in a terror attack on a hotel in Somalia. She herself had been shot and as telling the story, she showed me the bullet scar in her arm. Because of accusations related to terrorism and al-Shabaab, Somalis get regular reminders of their painful past when they are in interaction with Ugandans. The Somali interviewees seemed to shun unnecessary interaction with Ugandans.

[18] Personal communication in Kampala, February 2013.

Although the interviewees seemed to anticipate discriminatory behaviour when interacting with Ugandans, a few of them thought that regular interaction advances mutual understanding between refugees and Ugandans. Aline, a 17-year-old Congolese girl, explained how interaction between young people gives opportunities to exchange ideas and information on each other:

> "Actually, about me personally as young people, we interact with friends so you get to explain to them [Ugandan youth] what kind of life we people [refugees] are living here and, you know, we have interactions and ideas that make them also change their minds, the way they used to think about us, so they're kind of changing."

Aline believes that younger Ugandans to be more open-minded than elderly ones. Her mother was nodding while Aline was telling her view. Aline considered that although there are young Ugandans who have a lot of prejudices against her in school, many of the Ugandan youth are quite easy to socialise with. Her ideas resemble the contact hypothesis. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, casual contacts are mainly superficial and may actually strengthen prejudices. This seems to be true especially when a lack of common language hampers the interaction between refugees and Ugandans, as discussed next.

Language, a challenge for interaction and a tool for discrimination

> "If you don't know Luganda, you are in problems" (Claude, Burundi).

The excerpt above was said by Claude, an interviewee from Burundi. Similarly to other interviewed refugees, he considered language to be one of the major daily challenges in Kampala. A lack of language skills in local languages, Luganda and English, evidently affects refugees' social interaction. It causes multiple challenges for daily survival. My empirical data demonstrates that the importance of language becomes highlighted in social interaction and getting along in schools, hospitals, police stations, different offices courts and market places. Previous studies have found that refugees in Kampala consider lack of skills in Luganda or English as a major impediment to accessing services and interacting with Ugandans (Refugee Law Project 2005, 9; see also Macchiavello 2003, 14). One interviewee from Somalia said to me, "No I don't interact with Ugandans. I don't know English, I don't know Swahili, I don't know Luganda, but I have no problem with them." The comment illustrates that lack of common language

prevents taking contact with others – whether one has prejudices or not. Without a common language the encounters between refugees and Ugandans remain superficial and refugees have few means to build their local support networks that would be crucial for employment and social support. The interviewees also reported that they have difficulties to fill out official documents, explain their maladies for health care workers, read medical instructions given by doctor and take part in lessons at school.

Claude, the Burundian refugee, had learned Luganda to hide his foreignness and hence avoid problems with Ugandans. He explained that when Ugandans recognise that he is not Ugandan, they change their attitudes and behaviour towards him. Language is a visible marker of person's socio-cultural group. Several interviewees considered that when they speak other than Ugandan languages, their foreign origin is revealed and the attitudes and behaviour of their Ugandan interlocutor change. As an example some interviewees told me that often when Ugandan vendors recognise refugees at the market place, they lift their prices. Grace, an interviewee from the DRC, said:

> "They can discriminate you or they can say words that insult you, or if you want to buy something, just by looking at the way that you dress and noting that maybe you're not Ugandan as you're not speaking their language, they can increase the price of the thing that you want to buy."

Without proper language skills, refugees are unable to negotiate about the price. The way the interviewees talked about these kinds of situations seemed as if they feel frustrated and powerless in such situations.

A major part of what the interviewees considered to be discrimination are verbal insults. Examples of these come up throughout my study in numerous excerpts. Besides direct verbal insults, the *way* of using language was also considered to be a means for discrimination. Some of the interviewees perceived that Ugandans strategically and intentionally exploit refugees' insufficient language skills in interaction situations. After asked for examples of discrimination, Hawa, an interviewee from Somalia, said:

> "Number one is language barrier. These local people, the Ugandans understand each other. They talk and talk and refuse their case while you are just there. When you are asked you can't reply because of the language barrier, so being idle you can be arrested and taken to the jail. […] They use their local language so that you won't understand."

Hawa considered that Ugandans utilise language as a tool to discriminate. In her view, the above-mentioned way of Ugandans to continue speaking Luganda even though she stands right there is intentional, a way to ignore her presence. According to Hawa, Somalis may be arrested if they stay silent when someone talks to them, even though they are quiet just because they do not know Luganda. Also other Somali interviewees mentioned that sometimes Somalis on the streets are arbitrarily arrested and taken to the court accused of terrorism. According to Gaaday, one of the Somali interviewees, the arrested Somalis are not always provided an interpreter in the court. Hence they cannot defend themselves against the claims and they are jailed.

Language and communication are important in interaction as well as in individuals' understanding of the society, social behaviour and social systems (Tajfel and Fraser 1978, 101). They are central regarding individual's capacities to participate in society. Local society remains distant and strange for an individual if she or he does not understand what is going on around her or him. It seems obvious that lack of language skills impedes local integration. Together with unawareness of local customs, lack of language skills may also cause that refugees misunderstand social interaction situations. The interviewees may have misinterpreted the behaviour of Ugandans to be discriminatory just because they have not understood what is going on and thus felt uncomfortable in that situation. Nevertheless, the interpretations and perceptions affect refugees' views no matter if they are somehow "correct" or not. In the next section I take a closer look into refugees' experiences of interaction situations in their daily life.

5.2 Discrimination in casual interaction situations

When asked if they had faced discrimination in Kampala, the interviewees typically started to list a range of incidents that they perceived as discrimination. The incidents had occurred in mundane interaction in the streets, market places, public transportation and neighbourhoods. Often mentioned examples included that Ugandans do not want to have refugees in their neighbourhoods; that vendors increase the prices for refugees at the market place; that drivers cheat refugees to pay too much for public transportation; that Ugandans comment refugees' clothing; that landlords ask higher rents from refugees than from Ugandans and oust refugee tenants arbitrarily; that employers

discriminate refugees in the job market; and that in case refugees are hired, they get smaller salaries than their Ugandan colleagues. The interviewees perceived that, generally, Ugandans' behaviour towards refugees differs from their behaviour towards Ugandans. A homeless refugee explained his view on this matter:

> "There is mistreating from the civilians and the police. When they notice you are not Ugandan, they mistreat you and say go back to your country. For example, if you are renting a house and you are unable to pay one month's rent, the landlord throws you away straight away. A Ugandan can live there four months without paying rent!"

Life in the neighbourhood

> "We greet them but they say 'Eh! Refugees!' I try to speak English, I try, but they don't accept us" (Liliane, DRC).

In the excerpt above, Liliane, a refugee from the DRC, describes interaction with her neighbours. Liliane said she has tried to take contact with her neighbours by greeting them, which is an important custom between neighbours. Liliane, similarly to a number of interviewees, perceives the refusal to greet as discrimination and feels that she is not tolerated in the neighbourhood. She described the interaction with her neighbours to be tense: "They [the neighbours] don't want to eat together with us. They don't want to speak [to] me. […] If Museveni left presidency, all refugees are to go back to their countries. They don't accept us. They don't like foreigners in their country."

Daily interaction with Ugandans in the neighbourhood seemed to be characterised with perceptions of not being accepted by the Ugandan neighbours. Although most of them emphasised that they do not have troubles with Ugandans, they commonly considered that the Ugandans try, in various ways, to make it inconvenient for refugees to live in the neighbourhood. An example that was repeated in the interviews was that Ugandan neighbours play music very loud day and night, which was perceived as an attempt to drive refugees away from the neighbourhood. The interviewees said that the loud music is very disturbing and disturbs their sleep during the night. Once we were about to conduct an interview in the house of an interviewee but because of loud music played in the neighbouring house we had to move to discuss outside in the shade of a tree further away. The interviewee then explained that the music is always very loud. To him it seemed clear that this was an attempt to make him move out. Another interviewee told me that the children of her neighbour throw rocks on the roof of her house. According

to her, the parents tell their children to do so because they do not like to have refugees as their neighbours. Michel, a Congolese refugee who had come to Kampala 15 years ago and now runs a centre that helps vulnerable female refugees, considered that refugees are not tolerated in Kampala's neighbourhoods. He explained that there is various kinds of discrimination against the centre in the neighbourhood where it is located in:

> "Yes there is, there is [discrimination]! For example, there is a lady who lives there [next to the centre], and she does not want that the refugees and the centre is here. She has called to OPM [Office of the Prime Minister] and told them 'Take these people back to the border!' The other neighbour there, they play music so so loud you cannot sleep. They say, 'Refugees finish our food!' "

A common example of discrimination in the neighbourhood was that neighbours hide the water pipe at the water-fetching place. The interviewees explained that Ugandans go to fetch water early in the morning before refugees, fill up their jerry cans and hide the pipe so that refugees who come later would not find it. This was considered to be an intentional effort to complicate refugees' lives in the neighbourhood. Water-fetching place had also been a scene for more severe incidents. Halima, a young Somali mother of nine children, told me that her children often get beaten when they go to fetch water:

> "It's the neighbour who beats my children so I reported to police. When they go fetching [water] the children are beaten. It's often. Even yesterday he [a son] was hit in his back."

While explaining, Halima lifted the shirt of her son to show his back with bruises caused by beating that had occurred the day before the interview. Another refugee from Somalia, Jamila, told me that some time ago Ugandan children who were living in the same neighbourhood had violently assaulted Jamila's son on the street. The son had needed hospital treatment after the assault. Jamila had gone to report the case to local authorities but drew the report away because the neighbours had threatened her:

> "I was threatened [by] the neighbours. The local people said: 'Change your report.' They [the neighbours] can even kill you, they can do anything. I was afraid and I couldn't go and report to the police."

Jamila told me that she had been threatened not only by the families of the children who had abused her son but also by other Ugandan neighbours who had allied with these families against Jamila. Jamila started to fear for their revenge if she goes on with the report. Eventually, Jamila had kept her mouth and did not go on with the process. Her family moved to another neighbourhood for fear of another physical attack.

Work, employment and precarious livelihoods

> "The biggest difficulty is that most of them [refugees] don't work. When one does not work, one can't eat, one can't pay for housing, and it's the same for paying the school fees of my children. […] Because we don't work here, I'm just surviving" (Grace, DRC).

Lack of work and stable income is generally a major concern for urban refugees. Without money or regular income, refugees have difficulties to afford basic living costs such as rent, school fees and schoolbooks, food or health care. The interviewees had a common perception that the Ugandan employers in Kampala discriminate against refugees and non-Ugandans. In theory, refugees in Kampala have a right to engage in wage-earning employment and other livelihood making practises (see 1951 Refugee Convention, Articles 17-19). However, the interviewees told me several examples of different ways to discriminate against refugees at work and in the job market. The examples stemmed from their own or their friends' experiences. Some of the interviewees told me that the employers require certificates from refugees. The interviewees considered this practice to be discriminatory as the employers know that refugees normally do not possess their certificates anymore. One interviewee said that it is impossible for him to find a job: "The [Ugandan] police took my papers. I don't have any papers so I can't find a job. They [the employers] refuse to accept me." Another interviewee, Grace, also perceived that employers require certifications because they are reluctant to hire refugees. She sighed:

> "They know well that we are refugees and we have the same capacities. We are capable to work, but we still don't find a job. If I could just exercise my job. If the government can consider the background [of refugees] and offer us some job."

Grace was working as a nurse in the DRC but has not got diploma or employment certificates. She noted that refugees leave all documents at home when they have to quickly escape their homes. Grace also said that arranging the official documents in Kampala is complicated and noted that official translation of documents is too expensive for refugees. She added that getting a job is not even worth trying because every time one does what employers require, the employers invent another trick to complicate the employment process "until you just give up." When another interviewee was talking about discriminatory employment practices against refugees he noted, "We don't have any way to fight for our rights." Once the stereotypes and prejudices towards refugees came up in an informal discussion with a Ugandan man who owns several

small businesses in Kampala. After I had tentatively asked him if he could consider having refugees as employees, he said, ”I don’t hire Congolese because they don’t speak the language! And they dress up in a weird way. We Ugandans dress up in the English way.” It is worth of noting that although we were talking about refugees, he associated it with Congolese. Michel, a Congolese refugee who has lived in Kampala for 15 years, noted that also Ugandan nationals face discrimination in the employment market. In his view, one should have the right contacts: “The problem is the tribalism. Not even the Ugandans get jobs, they only give jobs to their own tribe. It’s not like that in other countries. Bagandans are like that.”

Job-related challenges continue also after getting a job. A vast majority of the interviewees who had sometimes been employed in Kampala reported that they had been paid less than their Ugandan colleagues. They believed that this is a common concern for all refugees in Kampala. Many male interviewees said that they and several of their friends, also refugees, had occasionally been working at construction sites. They all mentioned that refugees work for long hours but get smaller salaries than Ugandans working at the same place. Some of the interviewees seemed to consider the smaller salary almost like a fundamental part of the suffering and injustice that characterise the life of refugees in Kampala. Burundian Claude sighed:

> "Here we [refugees] don’t have access to work for Ugandans. Like the Ugandans, you see, you can’t get someone you pay 5000 to work 24 hours. It’s impossible! But for us, because we don’t have other choice, we have to accept."[19]

Examples of work-related discrimination that arise from my empirical data demonstrate that prejudices and discrimination hamper the making of livelihood of refugees in many ways. Attitudes towards refugees seem to affect different kinds of livelihood methods. Grace, the DRC, gave an example of this:

> “Here life is difficult because we cannot work. You can see, if you see a refugee on the road selling something, like g-nuts, you see no one buying from her because they [Ugandans] prefer to buy from someone Ugandan.”[20]

In Grace’s view, Ugandans do not want to buy anything from refugees but prefer to buy from Ugandans. She also thought that Ugandans prefer not to take any contact with

[19] 5000 Ugandan shillings = 1.48€ at the time of the fieldwork in February and March 2013.
[20] G-nut is a short form of groundnut that is commonly used for cooking in Uganda.

non-Ugandans. Another interviewee told me that she and her husband had bought a piece of land to cultivate food crops for their own consumption. She said that their crop is often stolen and believed that it is Ugandans who steal the crops because "they do not accept refugees." When asked why she thinks this she replied that Ugandans had said to her, "You are refugees, you don't have right to cultivate!"

To make her income in Kampala, Congolese Cléménce goes from house to house asking for occurring housework. She told me that she for example cleans, digs the ground, does the laundry and does all kinds of housekeeping jobs the house owner asks. In the end of the day, she is supposed to get her wage for the day's work. "But the Ugandans refuse to pay!" she said. Several times when she has asked for her earnings, the Ugandan house owner has refused to pay her. According to Cléménce, in these occasions the Ugandans typically start to yell at her to make her scared and insult her in various ways. Cléménce said that Ugandans had pointed out that she is a refugee or that she is a Congolese in a derogatory way. She perceived these incidents as discrimination. Once a Ugandan man had raped her while she had been doing housework for him.[21] As a result of the rape, Clémencé got pregnant and was diagnosed HIV-positive. Before Clémencé started to do domestic work as the main income generating strategy, she had earned money by petty trading. She had decided to quit it after three violent mugging cases. Although thefts are not uncommon in Kampala where poverty is widespread, Clémencé believes that the Ugandans had robbed her because she is a refugee and "they [Ugandans] do not accept" refugees to work. Afraid of getting violently robbed again, she had thought that she endangers her life if she continues petty trading and stopped it "in fear of death." Two male interviewees had similar kind of experiences of selling jewellery on the streets in Kampala. Both of them perceived that it is the Ugandan police officers who are discriminatory against refugees and hamper their petty trading activities. Several times when the men had been petty trading, the police had arrested them and broken all the goods they were selling. Eventually, both men had stopped petty trading. Nowadays they are lingering on the streets looking for occurring work at construction sites.

[21] Other studies have found that refugees' livelihood strategies may increase their risk to gender-based violence (see Women's Refugee Commission 2011, 2).

5.3 Discrimination by authorities and in public services

In Uganda, officially recognised refugees have a right to use the same public services than citizens. According to a previous study, however, urban refugees generally lack knowledge of what services are available for them (Refugee Law Project 2005, 9). Furthermore, there is little awareness of the rights of refugees among Ugandan authorities (ibid; personal information February 2013). The previous study also found that discrimination towards refugees exists regarding access to education and employment but that their problems in accessing healthcare do not differ from other residents in Kampala (ibid. 1). In this section, the approach to analyse refugees' perceptions of interaction with authorities in public sector is based on the view that the interaction situation is unequal. In other words, when a refugee interacts with authorities such as police officer or doctor, the interacting parties have unequal status as one is a professional and the other "a client." The section only focuses on authorities with which the interviewed refugees had had interaction experiences, namely the police, health care personnel, school personnel and staff members in offices and organisations dealing with refugee issues. A few of the interviewees said they had not had interaction experiences with any authorities in Kampala. These few seemed to be unaware of their rights and opportunities in Kampala and to mistrust authorities in general. Refugees' perceptions of authorities need to be examined against the historical, political and social contexts. Refugees have often escaped from countries in which corruption and mistrust in authorities on different levels of governance is not uncommon. They have lived in fragile states and witnessed struggles for power and changing state regimes. Some have fled their countries because of persecution by authorities. Evidently, these affect refugees' perceptions, prejudices and stereotypes towards authorities.

In general, the interviewees view authorities in Kampala with mistrust. Regarding interaction experiences with them, the issues that arose in the interviews include corruption; the language barrier that hampers communication with authorities; the perception that authorities discriminate refugees and neglect them and their needs; and the feeling that refugees cannot rely on authorities. Patience, who has lived five years in Kampala, thinks that staff members in refugee offices and Office of the Prime Minister

(OPM) only help refugees because it is their job. Elsewhere refugees are on their own. According to Patience:

> "In different offices of the refugees they [the staff] pretend. If you want assistance they can assist you as they know that they are doing their work. But outside those offices, if you have a problem with a Ugandan and you go to the police or anywhere, they will not accept you even if you're right, but they will just tell you that you are wrong."

In the view of Patience, authorities are aware of the rights of refugees but neglect them, which she perceives as discrimination. The interviewees often compared authorities' behaviour towards refugees with their behaviour towards Ugandans, and generally came to the conclusion that the attitudes and behaviour is discriminatory towards refugees.

Nearly all interviewees mentioned corruption as one of the major challenges regarding authorities. Whatever they needed, they would need the money first. Corruption penetrates into various levels of governance and public institutions in Uganda.[22] Congolese Sony stated that everyone is corrupt in Kampala, even the refugee-related organisations: "The organisations do not help us. They only help Somalis because Somalis give them money." Three other interviewees expressed their frustration towards UNHCR because they believe that the organisation organises resettlements only for bribes. Their view is based on their perception that Somalis are accepted for resettlement programmes in third countries more often than refugees of other nationalities. The interviewees believed this is due to Somalis' ability to pay bribes. A few other interviewees also stated that the refugee offices such as the OPM and UNHCR are corrupt. One interviewee told me that he had paid money to get the official refugee status for his wife, though he did not specify in which part of the process he paid the bribe.

Health services

Éléonore is a Congolese single mother who suffers from several maladies, including HIV. She said that nearly all the money she manages to earn goes to her medicines. She

[22] Uganda was ranked 142 of 174 in the Corruption Perceptions Index published annually by Transparency International (2014). The Index ranks countries and territories based on how corrupt their public sector is perceived to be. The Global Corruption Barometer that surveys how many respondents feel that different institutions are corrupt or extremely corrupt gives the following numbers for Uganda: The police (88 per cent), medical and health services (57 per cent), education systems (46 per cent) and NGOs (20 per cent) (Transparency International 2013).

and her children eat once a day, and some days she does not have money to buy food at all. The general weakness caused by hunger and illnesses hamper her abilities to work, which causes that she makes less money to get the medicines she would need. Éléonore lives in a vicious circle of poverty and maladies. The interviewees reported having chronic pain, maladies, trauma and mental health problems. Some of them had been abused with machete knives by rebel groups, many females had been violently raped and were still suffering from issues caused by that, and some reported suffering from pain caused by torture and beatings such as earache and deterioration in hearing. Refugees in general suffer from many health problems while simultaneously trying to cope with the stress caused by the hardships of their past and unawareness of the destiny of their family members, as well as the insecure future prospects (see e.g. Jacobsen 2006, 276). Those interviewed for my study had all lost family members or were unaware where they were.

All interviewees considered access to health services and proper treatment in Kampala difficult. The reported difficulties were related to language barrier and lack of interpreters; lack of money and inability to pay for medicines or bribes; and discriminatory or careless attitudes of health care personnel.

Lack of common language evidently complicates interaction between refugees and health care personnel. A couple of the interviewees noted that there is widespread misuse of drugs among Somalis because they cannot read English or Luganda and do not understand the medicament instructions or prescriptions of the doctor. A number of the interviewees reported that the healthcare personnel show clear signs of frustration when they do not understand refugees' needs. Refugees who reside in Kampala may rarely have the possibility to get an interpreter from InterAid to escort them to hospital. One interviewee told me that InterAid had once provided her a ride and someone to escort her to the hospital, as her physical condition had been weak and she could not afford public transportation. She said that the escort had just left her in front of the hospital and never picked her up. She had stayed the whole day in the hospital, sitting helplessly in the lobby and crying. She never saw a doctor or a nurse that day, as she could not ask for help in local language. She said that none of the health care personnel had approached her and she had felt neglected by them. She considered that they do not care about refugees needs.

Several interviewees perceived that doctors in Kampala generally ignore and disdain refugees' problems. In their view, doctors neglect refugees and do not treat them properly. Some interviewees said that doctors only write recipes for painkillers to quickly get rid of refugee patients and do not listen to what is the real concern of them. While some considered doctors' frustration and ignorance to be caused by discrimination towards refugees, many viewed that the main reason is the language barrier. They did not perceive the doctors' attitudes to be generally discriminatory but viewed that doctors have no means to help them. A few of the interviewees also stated that health care personnel is corrupt and may refuse to do any operations such as give injections without bribes. However, not all interaction with health care personnel was negative. One interviewee emphasised the positive experience she had had as a doctor had kindly encouraged her and treated her well after she was diagnosed HIV-positive.

Education

Gaaday, now at his 30s, fled Somalia as a 17-year-old boy after al-Shabaab had killed his parents. He escaped first to Nairobi, Kenya, from where he continued to Uganda. After his arrival in Uganda he was directed to Nakivale refugee settlement. There he attended a school that had both Ugandan and refugee pupils. Gaaday, who had graduated from high school in Somalia, had to start at the primary school level five with younger children because he did not know English, the language of Ugandan education system.[23] Other pupils were picking on the older boy who stood out from others in the class, which he felt humiliating. Gaaday was also having difficulties because of the language. Examinations were especially challenging because questions were written and explained in English. Gaaday did not understand the questions, let alone could he write the answers. Other pupils were calling him with names pointing out that he is a refugee, and he had felt to be different than others. Similar experiences of school than those of Gaaday's arose in several interviews.

Access to education arose as a major concern of the interviewees (see also Dryden-Peterson 2003; 2006). Whereas refugees in settlements are provided with basic

[23] A previous study on education of refugees in Uganda states that language is a true barrier to learning and that many refugees perform badly at school because of their lack of English skills (Dryden-Peterson 2003, 32).

education possibilities, urban refugees have to arrange school by themselves. Primary education is in principle free in Uganda but schools commonly collect school fees to offset teachers' salaries and costs of the school (ibid. 2003). In addition, parents have to pay for books and school uniforms. The interviewees of my study said that refugees in Kampala are usually unable to pay the school fees. Even if they could afford the fee, they cannot afford the books or daily transportation to school. As a consequence, they noted, refugee children often stay at home. Missing out education does not give optimistic future prospects for refugee youngsters. Refugees see the education as a principal way of ensuring their children a better future (ibid.). All interviewees of my study hoped for a better future for their children and were anxious about not being able to put their children to school. Aline, a 17-year-old Congolese girl whose mother could not afford post-primary education to her, said:

> "It's truly making life a bit hard because seeing other kids of your age, they are now in secondary schools and you're just at home. You're feeling bad because maybe your parents are unable to pay for your school fees and all that."

Aline perceived that she is isolated from other children of her age as they can now continue their study paths and she stays at home. Schools can be seen to provide a natural place for contact for refugee and Ugandan children. Refugee children who stay outside the school system are in danger of staying excluded from other children of their age. A previous study has demonstrated that carefully planned efforts aiming at social integration of refugee children through primary education would benefit both refugees and local societies (Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2004). Gaaday, who had managed to graduate from the school in refugee settlement, learned fluent English and moved to Kampala, told me that those young Somalis whose parents cannot afford school are idle, linger on the streets and view their life meaningless. This causes a lot of problems for them and their families, as well as condemnation towards the youth within Somalis. Gaaday explained:

> "And mostly when such cases happen that the young children of the Somalis, they are chewing drug, like a leaf, like eating *khat*, some kind of drugs because they don't get proper treatment and proper life. They don't go to school, some of them don't have the school fees. Some of them can even get like cocaine, like really this cocaine. And police may find them at night, some of them are arrested. Sometimes they are released and sometimes they are just killed in the tribe because of these problems."

Those interviewees whose children had at some point attended school reported varying experiences of discrimination by the school personnel. A few of the interviewees said that teachers behave similarly towards all pupils but complained about the bad quality of education, overcrowded classrooms and poor school facilities in general. Some other interviewees considered that the behaviour of teachers and headmasters is unfair towards children who are of other than Ugandan background. Aline, who had studied in a primary school for some years in Kampala, explained her experiences of teachers' behaviour towards refugee pupils: "They give us [refugees] more punishments than to Ugandan kids. Like caning." Aline perceives that teachers and headmasters favour Ugandan pupils over refugees. When asked for examples, Aline replied that her brother had become first in the class in annual exams, which had made him very happy. The headmaster had dropped her brother from the first place and explained that he did it because their family could not pay all the school fees in time. Aline and her mother considered that this was unfair and would not have happened to a Ugandan pupil. Generally, they considered that the teachers' and hearmasters' attitudes are harsh towards refugee pupils.

The unfair and corrupt police?

Sony is a frustrated young man living on the streets of Kampala. He fled the DRC after Congolese army soldiers had killed his parents. Sony said that ever since he arrived in Kampala, he has kept a low profile and sought anonymity because some soldiers had followed him from the DRC. Sony spends his days lingering on the streets, looking for opportunities for occurring construction work. The idle looking man has been arrested and beaten by the Ugandan police for several times. He has the official refugee status but avoids the Ugandan police and other authorities in deep mistrust. Sony sighed: "I'm hiding from the Congolese and Ugandan people alike, I hide from everyone." He holds a law degree and knows in detail what his rights as a legally recognised refugee are. With his living experience in Kampala for four years, Sony said he certainly is not enjoying his rights. He emphasised especially the lack of protection and said that he does not trust that the police or any authority is interested in ensuring protection for him. He summarised his feelings into one comment: "In Kampala, injustice!" In 2012 Sony participated in a demonstration of mainly Congolese refugees in Kampala. The purpose was to claim for his rights as a refugee. When the police had scattered the

demonstrators, Sony was arrested together with a number of other demonstrators. Sony told me that while he had been jailed, the police had beaten him and taken his documents. “We can kill you this is not Congo”, the police had told Sony. The police had released the arrested refugee demonstrators after a few days. In Sony’s view: “They noticed that we don’t have any money and they let us go.”

When talking about interaction with the police, the vast majority of the interviewees mentioned that corruption of the police imposes a major problem for refugees. One interviewee noted: “If you have money, they [the police] do all the things.” Some of the interviewees noted that as they are unable to pay bribes, they do not count on getting assistance. One interviewee underlined the impossibility for refugees to bribe police officers: “We can’t even help each other, we don’t have anything!”

Nevertheless, money does not guarantee justice or equal treatment for refugees. The interviewees shared deep mistrust in the police. Interviewees commonly perceived the police to have negative attitudes towards them. My empirical data give several hints that many police officers in Kampala have suspicious and prejudiced attitudes towards refugees in Kampala. A number of refugees perceived that in case there is a dispute between refugees and Ugandans, police officers side with Ugandans against refugees. A woman from Somalia said:

> “Yes, yes, yes [the police are on the Ugandans’ side]! When my child was hit with a stick to his stomach he was vomiting. I took him to police. I was told to pay some money. I paid so that they’d arrest the one [who attacked] for justice but the police did not do anything.”

In general, the interviewees do not rely on getting justice or equal treatment by the police or in court. Hence, if something occurs, it is a common strategy to let the incident pass. Hawa, a Somali refugee, described how she reacts when she goes to the market place and someone calls her a terrorist or comments her way to cover herself: “We normally keep patience. Whatever they say we don't stop, we don't listen, we just move. We pretend we haven't heard… we just go straight what we were going to do.” Hawa’s comment illustrating the reactions of refugees arose also in other interviews: A number of interviewees reported to “keep quiet.” Another reason to keep quiet is the will to avoid causing more trouble. Several of the interviewees believe that if they reported some matter to police or other authority, they would end up in further trouble. This is

well illustrated in Clémence's case. When Clémence had first arrived in Kampala, another Congolese refugee had advised her never to report something to police "to stay out of troubles." Clémence, who had lived in Kampala for four years at the time of the interview, explained:

> "I think if I report to police I will get another problem. I don't go to police. If I report to police and they kill me, my children where will they live? I keep quiet."

Clémence believes that if she reported something to the police, she might be arrested or even killed by the police. She was further concerned of what would happen to her children in case she was jailed and considers that it is better to stay quiet to ensure her own and her children's safety. Therefore, she did not report any of the three times when she had got robbed while she had been petty trading. Neither did she go to police after she had been raped by Ugandan man in Kampala. Clémence is also afraid that in case she reported to police, the person who Clémence accuses might revenge her for example by paying someone to attack her house during the night. Clémence's story leads to ponder how many cases remain uncovered and how little we know of the life of urban refugees. All in all, it seems that the mistrust in police leads to that refugees are constantly alert to their own behaviour. The mistrust also causes a commonly share sentiment of living in insecurity, which is further discussed in the next section.

5.4 Feelings of marginality

> "What can I do everyone rejecting me? [...] Up to now I haven't been able to go to UNHCR or the police even if I had problems. Where can I go? I can't go anywhere. They can't even give me protection, shelter, medicine, food; I sleep by the road side […] They refuse to accept me! Who can help us?" (Sony, the DRC).

Sony's words above reflect his view that authorities in Kampala are not receptive to the problems of refugees. He perceives that refugees are left to struggle on their own, which seemed to be a common perception among the interviewees. Discussions in Chapter Five so far have shown that different authorities are perceived to neglect the rights and needs of refugees, and that many practices and behaviour are considered to be discriminatory. The interviewees also shared a perception that refugees are excluded from their access to rights and services.

The experiences of interaction with Ugandans in different spaces of the city and the perceptions of how Ugandans regard refugees have left the interviewees with a perception of being excluded and ignored in the margins of the society. This resonates in numerous utterances of the interviewees. "Nobody knows that we are in problems", sighed one interviewee who mainly stays inside the compound where she lives in. Another interviewee told me that no authority had ever asked about her problems. She seemed to be moved that I visited her house and was interested in how she is doing. She said, "I appreciate you for your visit to know about or situation." Sahra, an interviewee from Somalia, noted that if refugee children are discriminated or assaulted at school, they can at least report to the headmaster and try to do something about it in school. However, she continued, when a discriminatory incident occurs on the street, there is no one to report about it and no tools to prevent it. Sahra also mentioned that when Somalis are discriminated against by calling them terrorists on the streets, they are left with the option of quietly accepting the comments they hear: "When we are called these names on the streets, there is no solution." She said that she is concerned for her and her children's security because they hear these comments often, and because sometimes prejudices appear as violent behaviour against Somalis.

Some interviewees seemed to have acquiesced in their current situation whereas others were visibly frustrated because of the injustice, exclusion, neglect and discrimination they perceived to face in Kampala. A Congolese interviewee told me that he had joined a demonstration of mostly Congolese refugees and asylum-seekers in front of the UNHCR office in Kampala in summer 2012 because he wanted to speak up in defence of his legitimate rights for protection and other human rights. Samuel, another Congolese interviewee who participated in the demonstration, explained: "We wanted to show that we are still here." His utterance illustrates well the perceptions of being ignored and forgotten. Samuel continued: "Discrimination. Injustice. We were shouting injustice. […] I wanted to show them that me as a human being, I have the same human rights. I want everyone to be equal."

Owing to the perception of being excluded from accessing societal support, refugees may cope with insecurities and grievances in ways that result in further exclusion from society. My empirical data reveals that many refugees respond to real and perceived

threats they face when moving around in Kampala by staying quiet and suppressing their reactions. In the anticipation of facing discrimination, some of the interviewees have started avoiding social interaction as a strategy to avoid further problems. Some interviewees seek to avoid interaction with anyone who could potentially cause negative consequences or unpleasant feelings for them, or any place for such interaction. They keep a low profile on the streets or stay mostly at home. Halima, an interviewee from Somalia, could not first even answer the question whether she has faced discrimination on the streets or public places in Kampala: "For me I'm just in my house, I can't tell you that. I'm in fear." Halima explained that she is first and foremost afraid of Somalis from majority clans who, according to her, discriminate members of minority clans like her. Halima also told me to be concerned about violent assaults by Ugandans in the neighbourhood as they frequently assault her children. Owing to all these threats that are out there in the streets of Kampala, she prefers that the children stay at home instead of going to play out. Halima and her nine children mostly spend the days in a small, shaggy room or inside the small compound it is located in. They had no friends or other social connections in Kampala. Halima seemed to be quite unaware of what is going on in Kampala and what opportunities there would be for refugees.

The findings of my study suggest that female refugees are particularly vulnerable to marginalisation. Besides the common difficulties shared by urban refugees, female refugees are in many ways subject to exclusion from social and economic spheres. When moving around in the city they live under a daily threat of sexual harassment. Congolese Michel who runs a centre that supports female refugees said that many women who have come to look for shelter provided by the centre have been raped. Michel told me that he hears about sexual harassment and several rape cases occurring to refugee women in Kampala every day. He introduced me to the women and children who were currently staying in the centre and explained that many of the children that we were seeing around us had been born as a result of rape. Threat of harassment restricts female refugees from freely moving around. Three of the female Somali interviewees said that they normally stay inside their houses and only go out when necessary, for example when they go to buy food at the market place or to work. The reason was that they were afraid of harassment by Somali and Ugandan men. They explained that in Somalia, the presence of a male in the household is significant for the protection and safety of female members of the family. Aniso, 18, explained: "In Somalia normally

when you have brothers or your elder brother is around, Somali men cannot just approach you. But when you don't have anyone they can harass you and do whatever they want. Here [in Kampala] nobody knows you, who you are, anyone can disturb at any point." Aniso who had arrived alone in Kampala viewed that the streets of Kampala are insecure for lone female refugees. It is worth to mention that also male refugees face sexual violence in Kampala. However, none of the male interviewees mentioned it, which is expectable considering how tabooed the topic is.

Besides physical insecurity, female refugees face numerous obstacles in participating in social activities or trainings organised by NGOs and other instances in Kampala. A staff member of an NGO that offers trainings in various subjects for mostly refugee women listed reasons for why women drop out or do not participate in their courses: Firstly, many women are single parents and lack time for participation as they have to use all the available time for income generating activities to cover the basic needs of the family.[24] Secondly, they lack time as they typically have many small children whom they have to take care of. Thirdly, some husbands deny the participation of their wives because of jealousy. In addition, a previous study on refugee children's education possibilities found that the attendance of refugee girls at school is less frequent than that of boys because girls often are expected to take care of duties at home (Dryden-Peterson 2003, 27). The finding demonstrates that refugee girls are posed into a vulnerable position already in their childhood. Exclusion from education results in weaker capacities for active participation in different spheres of society as a child and later on.

Generally, refugees who seem to be more or less marginalised have little possibilities to improve their situation. My data show that their social connections are limited or nearly non-existent and that they are not aware of opportunities for improving their life. Above all, they do not have possibilities to hear about their opportunities. None of those interviewees who reported to mostly stay at home or those seek to hide themselves (about half of all interviewees) have taken part in or even heard about the language or business-trainings organised for refugees by some NGOs. They had not been active in any associations or community-based initiatives. Participation requires knowledge, and

[24] The need to earn a living has been found to cause high dropout rates among refugees in Kampala in general, not only among women (Women's Refugee Commission 2011, 9).

marginalised refugees are not exposed to the information required to acquire the knowledge.

5.5 Refugees as strangers? Marginalisation of the Other

> "You are just a refugee so go back!"

This section explores refugees' perceptions of how Ugandans regard them. The comment above illustrates how refugees are reminded of their *refugeeness* and *non-belongingness* in local society. Comments like this abound in stories of interaction experiences with Ugandans, and they affect how the interviewees perceive that refugees are regarded in Kampala. These perceptions and their implications are discussed below.

Foreigners and strangers

> "I'm a foreigner. They [Ugandans] will always know that I'm not Ugandan and I'm always a stranger" (Samuel, the DRC).

Samuel's comment above illustrates the interviewees' common perception that refugees are regarded as unwanted people in Uganda. Refugees bear different labels than that of 'Ugandan'. Labels for the categories into which refugees are categorised denote the alienness or strangerness of refugees (see Tajfel 1978b, 401). Refugees hence become an outgroup, "Others" in Uganda.

My empirical data reveal that in various interaction situations, interviewees are often reminded of their *refugeeness, foreignness* and *non-belongingness* in the local society. This illustrates how interaction experiences with Ugandans affect refugees' perceptions of how Ugandans regard them. Interviewees have frequently heard comments such as "You are refugee, this is my country" and "You are just a refugee so go back." Verbal cues are a direct way to indicate to those categorised as refugees that they are foreign in Uganda and hence their place is not in Kampala. These kinds of comments reinforce refugees' perceptions that Ugandans do not "accept refugees in their country", that "Ugandans do not tolerate" refugees because they are strangers who do not *belong* to Uganda. This is illustrated in the comment of a Congolese woman: "They don't accept us [refugees]. They don't like foreigners in their country." Wizeimana, an interviewee

from Rwanda, considered that nobody seems to accept refugees and said that no one respects the dignity of refugees:

> "But there is a problem which I don't understand. Sometimes, all the animals have got a right to stay in this country more than a human being like me. Humanity, ha!"

Wizeimana also said that Ugandans' negative attitudes towards refugees is a problem as they cause that refugees lack social connections in Kampala. He seemed to be uncertain to take any contact with Ugandans because he perceived he is not accepted anyway. Wizeimana said:

> "The problem we have is we have no brothers in Uganda. They have some racism, they say 'I'm from Uganda, YOU are from Rwanda.' "

Verbal cues are also a way to indicate one's place in society. One can see from the comments said by Ugandans that the label of "refugee" takes a pejorative connotation: "You are *just* a refugee so go back." One interviewee repeated the derogatory words she had been told at a market place and explained how words made her feel like:

> "'Here is Kampala not Mogadishu, here is Uganda you should know that. You're just a refugee so go back!' So they can make you small while you're shopping."

It also seemed that feelings of *strangerness* and *non-belongingness* emerged in social interaction especially when cultural differences appear. Cultural traits may serve as markers of different nationalities and therefore reveal the foreignness of refugees. Congolese Samuel perceived cultural traits to be inescapable. When talking about how Ugandans regard refugees, he noted that efforts to learn Luganda to hide his foreign origin are pointless because the Ugandans would always notice "the difference". Clothing is one visible feature that reveals the foreign background of refugees. Particularly female interviewees mentioned that different ways of clothing come up in interaction with Ugandans. A Congolese woman noted that the Congolese are easily recognised because the women wear *bitenge*, a typical Congolese dress, and Somali interviewees reported that their way of covering themselves with veil frequently draws unwanted attention. Interviewees perceived the comments on cultural differences, such as those on clothing, as discrimination and as ways to point out the strangerness of refugees and their culture. This emerged clearly when Somali interviewees were asked if they had faced discrimination in Kampala. Typically, they started by recalling Ugandans' comments about veils worn by Somali women. For example, after asked for

examples of discrimination, a Somali woman replied: “They say ‘What is this, why are you covering?’ So they normally say things when we dress differently.”

While the interviewees perceived that Ugandans consider them and their culture different, the interviewees similarly had their own perceptions of “the culture of Uganda” that they considered different from theirs.[25] A number of interviewees uttered, in a way or another, that “it is difficult to adjust to the Ugandan culture.” The notion was often uttered alongside acknowledging specific cultural norms that the interviewees regarded foreign for them. For example, Aniso, refugee from Somalia, directly said that she “does not belong to Uganda.” Her feeling seemed to be reinforced in mundane interaction with Ugandans especially when cultural differences appear and make her feel uneasy: “They [Ugandans] force us to take hand in hand which is not our culture. We [Somali women] don’t greet men with hand to hand, that is a problem.” The interviewees’ notions of cultural differences are linked to the “making strange” of Uganda. Their perceptions resemble the worldview according to which refugees have become uprooted from their “natural” home and torn from their culture and belonging.

Generally, in different situations the interviewees ended up when moving in the city, they did not want to stick from the crowd. In her research on Hutu refugees in towns and camps in Tanzania, Liisa Malkki (1995a, 169) found that town refugees had been switching between situational identities as part of pragmatic strategy to assimilate into the mundane Tanzanian urban society and to hide their refugeeness. Most of the interviewed refugees of my study did not actively strive to hide their foreignness, although being recognised seemed to be perceived distressful because of anticipated discrimination towards refugees. Being recognised as a refugee/foreigner brings with it undesired attention. As an example, an interviewee from Somalia explained that Somali children have problems in Ugandan schools because they face prejudices by Ugandan pupils: “So that’s kind of like abusing, […] in schools they are being called a rebel, refugee, just they'd like to be called like students.” Once, after I had asked about challenges of refugees in Kampala, a Rwandan interviewee replied: “I’d like you to ask me not as a refugee but as an artist.” These two examples illustrate the contradiction there may be in how others categorise us and how we would like to be categorised.

[25] The interviewees did not separate different sociocultural forms and differences among Ugandans.

Nevertheless, sometimes being categorised as a refugee was seen beneficiary. The interviewees alluded to the legal refugee status when it justifies receiving assistance, provides protection or gives hope of resettlement in a third country. I was told by a number of interviewees that numerous Rwandan asylum-seekers claim to be Congolese when they are applying for the refugee status in Uganda. According to the interviewees, some Rwandans try this strategy because the status is granted more easily to Congolese than Rwandan asylum-seekers. Considering "refugee" merely a legal status that brings with it a right to protection and reside in Kampala leads to a suggestion that calling oneself a refugee may not be internalised as an identity but is used merely as a tool for refugees' own purposes, as a loose categorical rubric.

"Refugees go back!" - Is home where one comes from?

It is interesting to note that none of the interviewees have ever been told to go to refugee settlements, of which existence Ugandans are well aware of, but to their countries of origin. Ugandans' comments to interviewees abound utterances such as "You are refugee, go back to your country!" These comments resemble the view that every person has a homeland that is not only normal but the ideal habitat for each one (see Malkki 1995a; 1995b, 509). This view also resonates in the perceptions of the interviewees. The idea of one, true homeland was endorsed by Aniso, an interviewee from Somalia, who said:

> "Life was best in Somalia. […] We [refugees] are all hosted in Uganda, we are all the same. Where I fled from it was my homeland."

Aniso's comment reflects the strangerness of refugees discussed in the previous section. She said that it would be ideal for everyone to live in their "own homeland." Aniso also associated this with being "hosted" when outside of the homeland. She said, "When you go anywhere and you get everything, still you are refugee. So every person to go back to his country." The view that it is ideal to live in one's own country is also illustrated in the following comment of a Rwandan interviewee:

> "Your original country it is good more [than] where you are. So now here [in Kampala], we are not in our country. The problem is too much. We are not to be here. So we can be abroad, we are without our family. So now to be here, it's not good."

Several interviewees seemed to think that they had been forced to leave their home to live in a condition of constant struggle, "to live for nothing." A Burundian man said:

> "We are not here voluntarily. We are here by force. I can't see how can I survive here when I have my country. […] Why my kids are here, why I can't take them to my country? Why my wife will stay here for nothing? […] Here I'm surviving. In Burundi we had everything."

Utterances that cherished the good memories of home were always mentioned within the frames dissatisfaction with life in Kampala. A Congolese woman said, "In Congo I was enjoying my time and I was working. We don't work here, I'm just surviving." Similarly to other interviewees, she repeatedly uttered that life in Kampala is constant struggle and that refugees are barely surviving. In their memories, the countries of origin had been places where refugees had had employment possibilities, jobs and opportunities to make their livelihood; they had had a home, family and friends, and education possibilities. However, not all had such a good memories. Many of the Sudanese refugees described that they had been persecuted by state authorities in a way that had made their life unbearable in Sudan. They uttered a desire to one day move back to Sudan, but only after there has been a complete change in the regime and state politics. It would be interesting to explore to what extent the views that the country of origin is an ideal place to live is affected by the experiences of their escape or difficulties in Kampala. If refugees would have voluntarily left for another country and be successful there, would they have such strong feelings of strangerness and non-belongingness?

The way they see you matters

The findings presented in Chapter Five give evidence that being categorised as a refugee becomes significant in various social interaction situations in Kampala. Refugeeness often becomes a label that defines refugees' strangerness and non-belonginess in Uganda. The membership into the social category of refugees circumscribes a variety of social situations refugees end up in their daily lives.

Categories become socially significant if they determine one's status in the society. When categories are attributed with certain features, especially negative ones, they become problematic. Refugeeness seems to be perceived to be socially, economically

and politically restraining for those who are considered to belong to the category. In the next analysis chapter, refugees' self-categorisations and their perceptions of what it means to "be a member of the refugee category" in Kampala are scrutinised in a more detailed way.

6 Who we are and what we could be

Chapter Five was preoccupied with how refugees perceive that Ugandans regard them and behave towards them in interaction situations. In Chapter Six the focus is on how refugees perceive themselves among other social groups in Kampala. This is approached in two ways. Firstly, I scrutinise the ways in which interviewees identify with and categorise others into social groups and how these categorisations affect refugees' daily lives. This sheds light on the social reality of urban refugees. Secondly, I analyse how the life and opportunities of refugees in Kampala are perceived.

6.1 The self-categorisations of refugees

When talking about different interaction situations in Kampala, the interviewees identified with many different groups. For example, when telling about their experiences of being discriminated or not accepted, interviewees identified themselves varyingly with their country of origin ("they don't want us Congolese"); with all refugees in Kampala ("Ugandans don't accept us refugees"); with refugees in general ("refugees in the world"); or with all who are seen to be foreign or stranger in Uganda ("they don't like us foreigners in Uganda, we will always be strangers"). Sometimes the interviewees used more attributes to construct a group and define its limitations, such as "we women Congolese single mothers are suffering in Kampala." The analysis also reveals that the different ways of identification and categorisation are made across boundaries that an "outsider" might assume to exist and varyingly go beyond criteria of nationality, gender, religion and culture. Furthermore, the analysis of categorisations also uncover boundaries that are not clearly visible, such as those among refugees who share a lot of similarities. Above all, the analysis demonstrates the dynamics and the subjectivity of categorisation processes.

The processes of identification and categorisation are affected by, among others, finding of similarities and dissimilarities, common needs and goals and common fate. Exploring what kinds of similarities and differences the urban refugees identify among people

living in Kampala gives insight into their social reality. Situational context matters, and urban areas provide a variety of social spaces compared to settlements and camps. When a Congolese refugee discusses with her Ugandan neighbour, different groups for identification become relevant than when she participates in English class organised only for female refugees of different backgrounds. The interviewees seemed to identify themselves varyingly depending on social context. This resembles Malkki's (1995a) findings concerning Hutu refugees in towns and refugee camps in Tanzania. Malkki found that 'town refugees' used identities on a more individual basis than refugees who live in camps. Town refugees "borrowed" identities from the social context of the township (ibid.). According to Malkki, moving through categories was a form of social freedom and security for town refugees. They also dissolved national identities. On the contrary, for refugees in the camp, the spatially isolated camp represented separateness from other categories and was a central place from which to draw a "pure" collective identity (Malkki 1995a, 3, 169). Next I explore how the interviewees identified with different groups and how they perceived themselves among other social groups in Kampala.

Dissimilarities and similarities

Refugees residing in Kampala come from different social, cultural, economic and political backgrounds. Some of them consider each other as former enemies. While there did not seem to be any overt conflicts among refugees in Kampala, my empirical data demonstrates that hostilities, tensions and frictions amongst refugees cannot be disregarded. In the following, Fabrice (the DRC) gives his opinion concerning relations among refugees in Kampala:

> "No solidarity, even between refugees there is no solidarity. They have different problems. They come because of different reasons: genocide, politics… There is lack of solidarity even within same nationality. Each one is fearing each other. They don't trust each other. Even if you are friends you don't trust. […] Especially with Rwandans."

Fabrice does not perceive refugees in Kampala anyhow as a group. Quite the contrary, he emphasised the mistrust and tension originating from countries of origin. One sign of frictions among refugees, particularly those from the same country of origin, is that some refugees avoid refugee settlements because of security concerns caused by tensions between refugees of different backgrounds. This arose several times from my

empirical data. Some of the interviewees considered it unsafe that in the settlements, refugees are concentrated in one area. Claude, a Burundian interviewee, said that it would dangerous for him to live in a refugee settlement. He explained:

> "For us, Hutu, Tutsi, Rwanda, Burundi – even here we stay fighting. It's a problem. We can't make a group. Even the Tutsis, like the Tutsis like me, I can't trust them. If I saw a Burundian who comes to me: 'Claude, even me I'm a refugee from Burundi', I can't trust him because the politics is there."

The threats posed by other refugees were also a concern for many in Kampala, as refugees of many different socio-political and cultural groups live in the city. Most of the interviewees regard some refugees in Kampala with suspicion because of tensions and frictions transferred from the countries of origin. A Congolese interviewee told me that she had been discriminated against in the DRC because she is Banyarwanda, people who are of Rwandan background and speak Kinyarwanda but live in the DRC.[26] She emphasised that Congolese refugees in Kampala represent a variety of sociocultural groups. Once I met a Rwandan refugee on the street in Old Kampala and started to chat with him. He told me that he is Hutu refugee and that has lived on the streets of Kampala for some years. While we were talking, he started to slowly unbutton his shirt, revealing brutal scars on his chest. He told me that the scars had been caused by an acid attack by Tutsis who had attacked him in Kampala. The man explained that he is constantly alerted for the possibility that Tutsis attack him again. He was visibly distressed and repeatedly referred to tensions among refugees in Kampala.

It has been noted in previous research that divisions that exist within the refugee populations may also be a consequence of the increased competition over scarce aid for refugees in cities (Lyytinen and Kullenberg 2013, 34). According to this view, refugees in urban areas compete with each other for access to assistance programmes. The view was resonated in my empirical data as three Congolese interviewees were of the opinion that in Kampala only Somalis get resettlements. With a hint of frustration and disdain in the tone of their voices, they blamed Somalis for "being quick to give money to the authorities."

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[26] People of Rwandan background who live the DRC, mostly in North and South Kivu provinces, are generally called *Banyarwanda* (literally "those who come from Rwanda"). However, this definition comprehends several varying groups of people who have migrated to the DRC in many waves along history. There are also 1 million Banyarwanda in Uganda, mostly in Western parts.

My empirical data suggest that there is common perception, held by both Ugandans and other than Somali refugees in Kampala, that Somalis have a strong community in Kampala. Also some previous studies consider Somali refugees in Kampala to be the most self-reliant and to have strong social networks (see e.g. al-Sharmani 2010; Women's Refugee Commission 2011, 5).[27] However, when Somali interviewees themselves talked about the Somalis in Kampala, it became clear that 'the community' is not at all that coherent. A vast majority of the Somali interviewees raised the clan system to affect the relations among Somalis.[28] Gaaday, a young man from Somalia, described that the clan system is "the curse of Somalia." According to him, it is because of clans that Somalis in Kampala "do not make a strong union." Interviewees from Somalia gave different emphasis on the influence of clans. Especially those who identified themselves as members of minority clans considered clans remarkable. They seemed to identify with their clan more strongly than those two interviewees who represent majority clans. This seemed to be caused by that members of minority clans perceived the majority clans to be a threat for minorities. Perceptions of these threats affect their daily lives, which made identification with their clan relevant. When we started the interview with Halima, a refugee from Somalia, she first introduced herself by telling her name and the clan she belongs to. She explained that her clan is small and said that she is the only one from her clan in Kampala. She mentioned several times that she does not have any friends in Kampala but is totally alone there, and often mentioned simultaneously that she has no one from her clan there. When I asked her what it means for her daily life that she belongs to a minority clan, she explained:

> "They [members of majority clans] normally discriminate. They only help people who are from the same tribe. […] Somali people they normally ask who are you, what is your tribe, before they help."

Halima told me that when she goes out of her house, she puts on a *hijab* [a veil] that covers her face because she is afraid of members of majority clans. She fears that they could attack her and said that because she is alone, no one protects her. Earlier Halima had stayed in a refugee settlement in Uganda but left from there because members of a bigger clan had attacked her. Halima told me that they had violently assaulted her and burned her house. When asked for a reason for the attack, Halima explained that her ex-

[27] Some scholars have also stated that tight networks of Somalis have enabled them to cope with their marginalisation in Kenya and Uganda (Lyytinen and Kullenberg 2012, 16).
[28] This is line with a previous study that found clan affiliation to be important and meaningful for Somali refugees in Cairo (al-Shamani 2003, 25).

husband had got married with a new wife who belongs to the clan of which members had then attacked Halima. Now Halima lives in Kampala and tries to keep low profile. As anyone from the majority clans could come across on the streets in Kampala, she prefers to stay at home and avoids other than necessary moving outside as she is worried about her safety. So does Sahra, who is a member of another minority clan. Sahra said: ”I’m alone, I can’t even leave the home. There are strange people from bigger tribes.” Similarly to Halima, Sahra considered that majority clans pose a threat of physical abuse and discrimination towards members of minority clans. However, not every interviewee originating from Somalia perceived that the clan system would affect their life. Jamila, a highly educated single mother, did not consider clans significant but seemed to have a strong sense of a unified Somali community. In her view, sharing a Somali name and same religion creates a sense of unity among Somalis:

> “There is no tribe, just being known as you are Somali. Since I have been in Kampala I have not experienced problems with tribe, no. Although I did not go deeply into the community. […] We only usually help as being a Somali and being a Muslim.”

Jamila had discovered that there is a Somali community that has regular meetings after she had been asked to attend the meetings by her Somali acquaintance. Jamila told me that now she “volunteer[s] for the community by helping others.” Jamila clarified that “help” within the community could be for example giving advice to or borrowing money to neighbours. Other interviewees from Somalia did not mention any kind of organised community activities among Somalis.

Different perception of the Somali interviewees illustrate that identification process is individual and that people identify with their ingroups to different degrees (see Brown 2010, 159). How much the group matters to its members depends on how strongly attached they are to it and how strongly they identify with it (ibid.). Those Somali interviewees who identified with their clan emphasised the threat posed by majority clan members for the minority clan members just because they belong to a particular minority clan. The significance the clan membership seemed to matter as it affected their lives in concrete ways.

Despite some evident frictions among refugees who come from the same country of origin, the same country of origin may also give a sense of unity. Congolese Éléonore viewed that it brings solidarity:

> "There is solidarity. Among Congolese… Congolese refugees yeah. […] Because of communication, the language sometimes separate Congolese people among them[selves from others]. All we are together."

At the time of my fieldwork, the refugees who were interviewed for my study had lived in Kampala from three to 15 years. Most of them said that they do not have a lot of friends in Kampala. Especially the women reported that they do not have time to socialise. The few friends the interviewees had were dominantly from the same country of origin. Some said they spend time with others from the same country of origin but mostly it seemed to happen between people who are in more or less same socioeconomic situation. For example, a Sudanese interviewee told me that he meets other Sudanese who had been in some way involved in politics in Sudan and now live in Kampala with the protection of refugee status. They continue their political activism targeting Sudan. However, the interviewee said that he knows there are Sudanese refugees who are really suffering in Kampala but does not know anything about them. He said, "In fact because I've never talked to them, I never stay with them, I have no idea about them." His comment illustrates well the diversity within urban refugees.

Refugees often seek support and help from people who are from the same country of origin. Previous studies have demonstrated that particularly the newly arrived asylum-seekers and refugees usually look for people of the same nationality to get support and help in the beginning (see Refugee Law Project 2005, 15; Willems 2003, 160-162). This emerged also from my data. At the time of their arrival in the taxi park in Kampala, several interviewees had asked passers-by where to find people from the same country of origin. One interviewee from Somalia noted that Somalis, known for their lively small businesses and shops in Kisenyi, rely on each other economically: "They advice each other to do business. They depend on each other" (see Omata 2012 for similar findings). Also some other interviewees mentioned that people from the same countries of origin help each other. A number of the interviewees said they prefer to live nearby others from the same country of origin while several were suspicious towards other them as they could not be sure about their background and motives to socialise with them.

Cultural similarities and differences seemed to be remarkable for how the interviewees' perceived social patterns in Kampala.[29] Sociocultural differences and observable cultural traits affected how the interviewees perceived refugees from other sociocultural groups, how they navigated in their social environment in Kampala, and also influenced their social relations. The same sociocultural group provided a variety of similarities shared by group members, such as same language, religion, cultural habits (clothing, traditional food and beliefs) and common experiences of conflict. On the other hand, these features are largely the same that the interviewees pointed out to arise in interaction situations with Ugandans and that they perceived to provide seedbed of discrimination. They were also perceived to be markers of refugees' alienness in Uganda.

When the interviewees were talking about difficulties or discrimination faced by refugees in Kampala, they frequently made comparisons between refugees of different nationalities. They seemed to regard that refugees from other sociocultural backgrounds have different experiences of "adapting" to and of "being accepted" to Uganda. Scholars have suggested that features related to the group such as distinctiveness from the majority, cultural distance between cultures, as well as the time spent in the new society are important factors when explaining differences in discrimination experiences between different groups (Liebkind 2000, 80 [Crocker and Major 1989; Fromboise et al. 1993; Smith and Bond 1998]). My empirical data reveal that particularly interviewees from Somalia perceived Somali culture to be remarkably different and distinct from all other groups in Kampala. Aniso, a refugee from Somalia, considered that adjusting to the local culture is easier for other refugees because they have more similar culture and language with Ugandans than Somalis. Aniso said:

> "Refugees from Burundi, Congo, Rwanda, Sudan - they maybe have same culture, they normally say that they are Africans. But what they say us is that 'you Somalis are not Africans, you only share the African map.' So it's not easy to adjust Ugandan culture."[30]

[29] In section 5.5 the culture was defined as "the shared way of life of a group of people" and it was accepted that culture can vary spatially and temporally (see Berry et al. 2011, 4; 224-228).

[30] Aniso's thoughts resemble studies that apply 'cultural fit' and 'cultural distance' to evaluate how well people fit to the norms of the society and how big the differences between two cultures are (see Liebkind 2000, 23). The influence of culture on how refugees adapt to new societies has been a subject of many studies, and cultural differences are often referred to when discussing how immigrants and refugees can *adapt* to the new society (Liebkind 2000, 23).

The perception that Somalis differ from other groups in Kampala was prominent among interviewees and also arose in informal discussions with Ugandans. The visible and widely known concentration of Somalis in Kisenyi may intensify their perceived distinctiveness from others, which may negatively affect the prejudices against them. For example Gordon Allport (1954) has noted that segregated housing reflects to segregation in much else. Moreover, it enhances the visibility of a group and makes it look larger and more menacing than it is (Allport 1954, 269).

Interviewees tended to view refugees of other nationalities to form more homogeneous groups than their own ingroups, which is typical to the operation of categorisation. My empirical data also include numerous examples of stereotypes based on national categories. The interviewees seemed to perceive "ethnic" differences as rooted in essential differences. According to a perception that quite frequently emerged in the interviews, Somalis and Sudanese are violent and "eager to fight." These prejudices affected the behaviour as several interviewees said to avoid interaction with Somalis and Sudanese. They shun them and the neighbourhoods they live in. A Congolese interviewee said that she had told her children "to keep distance to the Sudanese" pupils at school because she considers that they are "troublemakers and violent." The examples illustrate how stereotypes of other social groups affect how refugees assess their social environment and threats within it.

Language is an important part of our identity and central for understanding who we are and what we think about others (Edwards 2009). It has a remarkable influence on the social life of refugees. Common language is unitive and evidently facilitates interaction. While language barrier was seen as one of the major challenges for interaction with Ugandans (as discussed in 5.1), linguistic similarities among refugees may surpass other sociocultural dissimilarities. For example, refugees from francophone countries socialise with each other in Kampala as they have a same language for communication. Naturally, linguistic differences also keep refugees distant from each other. An interviewee from Somalia perceived that Somalis are distinct from other refugees because of the language: "Somali people have the language barrier. They have failed to live or interact with other refugees. All others understand each other, they all have African languages." However, language classes in English and Luganda organised by NGOs bring refugees of diverse backgrounds together to study languages in the same

classroom. They have a natural place for interaction with each other. They also share a common goal to learn a new language and can learn to know about refugees from other sociocultural backgrounds.

The role of religion was often remarkable in the identification and categorisation processes of the interviewees. Religion and customs related to it affect the social life of the refugees. Churches and mosques provide spaces for interaction between Ugandans and refugees of different backgrounds. The majority of the interviewees go to church or mosque weekly. Aline, a young Congolese interviewee, told me that her dearest hobby is to sing in a gospel choir of the church. She told me that people in the choir come from different countries and socio-economic backgrounds. Aline considered that they all share a common enthusiasm for singing. She had also learned to know some of her Ugandan friends for the first time at the church. Religion may also create a sense of belonging to a wider community. When the interviewees referred to religion, they seemed to mark their membership to a kind of global community of Christians or Muslims. This was notably visible among the Somali interviewees whose daily life and customs are characterised by Islam. After I had asked from a Somali interviewee whether religion unites Somalis and Ugandan Muslims, she answered: "Somali Muslim, Ugandan Muslim, we are the same. Muslim is a Muslim, they are only one."[31] The regular custom of going to church/mosque also leads to ponder the possibilities of religious institutions in efforts to reach the most marginalised people who otherwise stay outside of activities and NGOs.

Despite the individual and sociocultural differences discussed above, the majority of the interviewees considered that in Kampala, all refugees struggle with more or less the same challenges. This created a sense of common fate shared by refugees in Kampala. Grace, who is from the DRC, explained how she feels in relation to other refugees in Kampala:

> "We have different lives. But all the refugees are facing the same problems. If you want to go and visit the neighbour or a fellow refugee, he will just give you the same complaints than every refugee."

Grace perceived that the refugees' difficulties in Kampala are similar but she emphasised that they are individuals with diverse backgrounds. When talking about the

[31] 12.1 % of population in Uganda are Muslims.

social and economic hardships, the interviewees often made references to "us refugees." It seemed that it is the same socio-economic conditions that create a sense of unity among refugees in Kampala, which allows that a social category of refugees can be recognised.

Sometimes the interviewees' utterances seemed to indicate that there is a sense of common fate of all refugees in the world. This emerged from the interviews when the interviewees were cherishing a sense of shared refugeeness, hence creating a new collective understanding. "Refugees" were then seen as people belonging to the forcibly moved persons who live scattered across the globe, are strangers wherever they go and will always face challenges. This kind of collective identity of refugees seemed to derive from strangerness and otherness. This approach to collective identity of refugees is different from for example that of al-Sharmani's (2003, 25) who has suggested that the collective identity is constructed from the shared experiences of flight and displacement of refugees. However, the collective understanding signals a move away from regarding the world to consist of socio-cultural units and gives space for imagining a transnational community (cf. section 5.5). It also demonstrates the narrowness of the legal understanding of 'the refugee'.

Navigating in the social realities

The analysis has shown that socio-economic, cultural, political and historical differences and similarities all play a role in how urban refugees perceive themselves and other social groups in Kampala. The differences and similarities work both as distinctive and as unifying factors for when the interviewees identify themselves with and categorise others into groups. Resembling Malkki's study (1995a) showing that town refugees in Tanzania used situational-based identities in the city, it seemed that different categories become relevant in different contexts where interaction may take place in Kampala. Urban refugees identified themselves and categorised others varyingly in various spaces provided by urban areas, such as churches, mosques and associations of which activities they participate in. Sometimes the same similarities (such as nationality) were used for defining one's own ingroup with whom they socialise with, sometimes for defining potential enemies who pose a threat.

The analysis demonstrates that social categorisations affect social interaction with others in Kampala. Refugees' perceptions of and prejudices towards other social categories have concrete implications on their daily lives. Refugees may strategically seek or avoid contact with people they categorise to certain social categories. These notions question pure and fixed categories and boundaries: groups are not stable or coherent communities that hold their validity across times and spaces. Refugees in urban areas are affected by the urban dynamics and diversity. The city gathers refugees from all social, cultural and economic backgrounds. The analysis also reveals that much of what affects how refugees navigate in their social realities in Kampala is related to personal backgrounds, their current situation and pure coincidence. In addition, an important remark that emerged was that not identifying oneself with any group in Kampala may cause that a person excludes her/himself from others. This may result in further marginalisation.

6.2 Life of refugees in Kampala: Stagnation, suffering and inability to improve one's life

> "I don't want to stay here but… I stay because I don't have another place where I can get the freedom. In Congo I have no peace. And here, I haven't also. So where can I go, I don't know. I'm just here, I don't know. Sometimes I see like I'm in end of my life because I don't have money to travel to another country and I can't go back [to] Congo because right now there is the war so I'm… I'm just there" (Éléanore, the DRC).

The excerpt from the interview with Éléanore encapsulates three issues that arose repeatedly in the interviews: absence of (inner) peace, lack of freedom that I here call unfreedom and stagnation of life. These emerged together with dissatisfaction with the life in Kampala.

Interviewees commonly thought that refugees are deprived of opportunities, rights and freedoms that enable them to improve their lives socially and economically. My study has shown several examples of how discrimination and prejudices towards refugees may hamper refugees' daily lives and survival strategies in Kampala. One interviewee described that refugees are "hostages of politicians' crimes", by which he referred to

that refugees have no opportunities to influence their own lives: First they had to forcibly flee their homes and now they struggle in Kampala because the society and policies neglect them. With adequate social opportunities individuals can shape their own destiny and help each other (Sen 1999, 11). The interviewees seemed to view as refugees are deprived of opportunities, they are trapped in socio-economic margins. Many perceived that their life is stagnated in continuous suffering from which they cannot exit.

Refugees are faced with real and perceived restrictions for their social, economic and physical mobility in Kampala.[32] The persistence of the lack of opportunities seemed to cause a sentiment that refugees are shackled in permanent suffering. This seemed to distress the interviewees and cause frustration. This is illustrated in a comment of a Rwandan refugee who seemed to feel hopeless: "I'm forty. I have no job, I have no kids, I have no wife, and I have no hope to live another time." The lack of opportunities also caused unawareness of the future, which is distressing. This comes up in the numerous utterances, such as "I don't know what way to go forward." The frustration of not being able to improve their lives was often uttered with "lack of inner peace." A young man explained how he had been suffering for all of his life: "In Congo, in Kampala, life is suffering. […] There is no inner peace in me." Also the anticipation of facing discrimination and prejudices may cause distress that is expressed in a similar way. Liliane, a refugee from the DRC, said:

> "The big problem here, no peace. Because the Ugandan, they discriminate us. When we stay with them [in the same neighbourhood], they don't want to eat together with us, they don't know."

Urban refugees have to cope with various uncertainties and instabilities. As discussed in the previous chapter, a number of interviewees restrict their physical mobility and avoid social interaction situations because of perceived and real threats for personal security. Besides causing distress, these strategies may lead to excluding oneself socially. This then results in that the person has fewer possibilities to hear about opportunities she or he could have. Nevertheless, security is subjective and each interviewee perceived the threats individually. "In Kampala, insecurity!" cried a young Congolese man who said that he is constantly hiding from both Ugandan police and soldiers from the DRC that

[32] A previous study has also demonstrated that refugees in Kampala lack ways to improve their socio-economic situation (Refugee Law Project 2005, 1).

had followed him to Kampala. Female refugees perceived security threats differently and mentioned sexual harassment. For example Somali interviewees reported that they avoid all but necessary movement outside of their house in fear of harassment. The way in which the interviewees cope with different uncertainties may cause feelings of being restricted. In the previous chapter I discussed how refugees, when faced with discrimination or other grievances, deliberately suppress their reactions and let the incident pass. This was due to fear of ending up into troubles as the interviewees mistrust the authorities and perceive that refugees are not equally treated. The way in which the strategy of keeping quiet sets refugees in captivity is illustrated in the words of a Congolese woman: "Eeeh the security? We try to take care of ourselves, not to get problem with the Ugandans, so here is like in the prison because we don't have freedom."

The social, physical and economic restrictions often came up with perceived lack freedom. Sony, a Congolese refugee, is among several interviewees who think that they will never be able change the course of their lives in Uganda. He said:

> "Where can I go, I can't go anywhere. I have no freedom. We are not free. I want to go to another country. There I can be free."

The interviewees' feeling of being strangled by their financial and social situation can be juxtaposed with the concept of 'unfreedom.' The concept here is inspired by Amartya Sen's theory of development as freedom; development beyond economic growth (Sen 1999). Sen's key idea is that development entails a set of individual, substantive freedoms that allow people to live as full social persons, to exercise their own freedoms, and to interact and influence the society they live in (ibid. 15). Development consists of the removal of various types of unfreedoms whereas poverty is deprivation of basic capabilities (ibid.). Resembling this notion, one interviewee who emphasised that life for him has always been constant suffering said: "Because I don't have money, I will stay like this." The feeling of unfreedom was also caused by the perception that refugees are not able to improve their lives in Kampala because of discrimination. (The examples of discrimination that hinder refugees' economic activity were discussed in section 5.2.) One interviewee considered that Ugandans do not allow refugees to gain success in business. Several interviewees thought that Ugandans complicate refugees' livelihood making strategies because they do not accept refugees' presence in Uganda, whereas others perceived that Ugandan employers exploit

refugees' vulnerable position. The feeling of not being free to be an active, fully acknowledged member of society who can freely enjoy his or her rights in Kampala brings as back to the notion of integration as a two-way process. As a number of the interviewees perceived that they are not accepted in local society, they are discouraged to participate in it. This makes successful integration ever more distant and may, on the contrary, lead to marginalisation.

The following words of Aniso, a young interviewee from Somalia, illustrate the feeling of living in captivity that characterises the interviewees' common perception of their lives. Aniso said:

> "I don't know what to do. I have nothing, and I need everything, and I can't get it. So my life is very hard to me. […] My life needs a lot of things but the main thing is to study. A human needs a lot of things, needs never end."

Aniso's biggest dream is to study and become a doctor. It is evident that she will never have the opportunity to afford education in Uganda. Aniso considered that without education, she will be unable to improve her opportunities to achieve better social and economic conditions. Therefore, she will always be trapped in poverty: "Even if you're a refugee, if you reach another country, you can do something if you study. But if you don't study you are just nothing, forever to be down." Aniso's thoughts are resonated in Sen's (1999) theory of freedoms. Sen notes that different types of freedoms are empirical and causal and can help to reinforce each other (ibid. xii; 3-7). For example, social opportunities for education and health care complement individual's opportunities for economic participation and advance their own initiatives in overcoming their respective deprivations, whereas deprivation of some freedom may keep people in captivity (ibid.).

Particularly children's wellbeing, education and future were major concerns of those interviewees who were parents. None of the interviewees could afford school for their children. A few had got support to pay the fees from some NGOs. Halima is a single mother of nine children and one foster child. The children do not go to school – Halima can barely afford food for the whole family. She is in despair of the children's future: "They are just sitting here stuck in the situation, just sitting here. I just watch them, I don't know which way forward." The inability to invest in their children's future distressed the parents who naturally were hoping that they could offer a better future for

their children (see also Women's Refugee Commission 2011, 1-2). Expressing the concern for her children's future, Somalian Jamila said:

> "All I left in my country and I'm here, this is asylum country. I request a third country for a durable solution for a better life for me and my children. Now my children don't have any future. […] Life would change. I'm requesting for resettlement so that their [children's] future will be bright."

As discussed above, many interviewees seemed to perceive that 'suffering' is the existing state of affairs that they cannot escape from. Therefore, staying in Kampala means passing status quo to children. Congolese Clémence said:

> "My message, tell them, we are suffering, the women refugees, refugees Congolese, we are suffering with our children. I want my children to be happy. I don't want to make them suffering in Kampala."

All in all, the lack of opportunities to improve their lives affects the interviewees' perception of life in Kampala. The interviewees frequently complained about "having nothing" and "being in Kampala for nothing." Henrik Vigh who has explored the lack of social options of young men in Guinea-Bissau has described their life as "bare life, mere existence as such" (Vigh 2009 [Agamben 1999]). Similar perception of life resonates in my empirical data. The excerpt below shows how Clémence, a Congolese refugee, perceives her life:

> "To live in Uganda? No. I don't live in Uganda. I live in Uganda but I have another plan. I will… I don't want to live in Uganda my life."

The comment illustrates how the interviewees orientated to their life that they perceived meaningless; actually they do not really *live* their life, they *just are* in Kampala. However, they shared a belief that if they would get a resettlement in a third country, their life would be better and the suffering would end. "I want to go to some European country, even America. There, I will get the inner peace", said one interviewee. The imaginations of ability to build a better life elsewhere are discussed next.

6.3 Imagining a better life elsewhere

> "I need to go out. It's the first [thing], to give us resettlement because here we are suffering. To be resettled… to get a life" (Aniso, Somalia).

Aniso's words above illustrate, on hand, the suffering of refugees in Kampala and on the other hand, the common imagination among the interviewees that elsewhere they would have opportunities to change their lives. Henrik Vigh (2009) has studied how young men imagine the social characteristics and possibilities – 'the social imaginaries' – of Bissau, the capital of Guinea-Bissau. For the young men, Bissau appears as a place of persistent decline and conflict, which has brought about a process of routinisation of instability and dilapidation. "The city is no longer characterized by hope for a better future but by a pervasive sense of 'being thrown down,' 'debased' and 'humiliated'" (Vigh 2009, 99). Similarly, Kampala appears as a place of suffering for refugees. The city, and the whole country, represents a place characterised with prolonged misery, with no hopes for better life.

Vigh (2009) writes that "[o]ur social imaginary oscillates between *presentia* and *potentia* thereby prolonging being into possible becoming: and when looking at the way people envision themselves as agents and social categories — as groups of people within and among Others in time and space — this imagined community often gains a holistic character, simply because people see themselves as wholes and part of wholes in relation to their historical becoming" (Vigh 2009, 99). Applying Vigh's notions, when the interviewees consider their life ('presentia') as refugees in Kampala, they compare it with the imaginations of what belonging to that category could mean elsewhere ('potentia'). Vigh examines social imaginaries by understanding the world to consist of spaces and social options that are open or closed to persons of different social categories within it (ibid. 92-93). My empirical data of urban refugees' perceptions of their lives in Kampala suggest that belonging to the social category of refugees means living in social and economic regress. "The category of refugees" was seen as a category without social or economic opportunities in Kampala. Furthermore, it was often considered to be a category towards which others have derogatory attitudes.

The interviewees shared a belief that in Europe and the North America, there would be more social options open for refugees. In his study on the young men Vigh notes that the negative understanding of Bissau does not mean that the men see themselves as being without positive traits or the ability to create positive lives for them elsewhere (Vigh 2009). The men illuminated the miseries of Bissau and simultaneously the possibilities to be found elsewhere. This 'elsewhere' is the socio-political Other (ibid. 100). Similarly, the interviewees of my study viewed that they have all the potential to live a better life. Most interviewees were educated and they had had a job in their countries of origin. In Europe or America, the interviewees believed, they would be able to break the shackles that keep them in poverty in Kampala. However, they perceived that their possibilities to work are restricted in Kampala and that their skills are not recognised in Uganda. One interviewee, a former nurse in the DRC, sighed deeply: "If I could just exercise my job. Government should consider background and offer job." The majority of the interviewees perceived that the category of refugees is inescapable. "Where ever you will go, you will always be a refugee", noted one interviewee. Thus they uttered a "need" to go to another country where they would be allowed to deploy their potential to live a better life. They believed that refugees are better accepted in other countries, and being a refugee would not determine their status in society. This was clearly brought up by a refugee from the DRC who said: "In other countries they treat the refugees well." Linking the perceptions of life in Kampala with imaginaries of the life elsewhere helps us to understand the hopes for resettlement in the future.

Being a refugee, despite all the deprivations, also brings with it a small possibility for resettlement, a little opportunity of change. Resettlement is imagined to open the realm of possibilities. This expectation is illuminated in Gaaday's expectations for his future in the USA where he had been granted a resettlement a few months before the interview (the resettlement process was still going on). Gaaday described:

> "I hope that my life one day one time [in the] US will be better and high. But I don't expect that as I land in the US that everything will be okay. The money won't be there. […] And I know everywhere in this world life will be hard. And I know everywhere you'll go you'll be stranger. When I came here I had nothing. Today I'm working myself. I rely on myself. I started myself. Nobody has paid me. So I have come to the ladder. I started from down, and now I'm up. So if you have to climb that building in Uganda, you can't fly and go in, you have to start from the ladder. And you have to take

the step. […] So I wish I've taken my steps in Uganda and I wish if I go to the US I will start myself and I think my life will be very high up in the end. That's my expectation."

7 Conclusions

This study has explored how urban refugees living in Kampala perceive their lives and opportunities. The subject was approached in three ways: by analysing how refugees perceive that Ugandans regard refugees; by analysing how refugees perceive their social reality in Kampala; and by analysing how refugees see their lives and opportunities "as refugees" in Kampala. Each approach included exploration of the ways in which refugees' perceptions affect their daily lives. Focus upon integration/marginalisation was sustained throughout the research.

Firstly, the study shows that refugees face prejudices and varying forms of discrimination in their daily lives on different levels of society. They encounter prejudiced attitudes and discriminatory behaviour in social interaction with individual Ugandans as well as with public authorities working in health care centres, police and schools. Refugees also anticipate discriminatory behaviour by Ugandans. The study further demonstrates that real and perceived discrimination as well as anticipation of it have real implications on refugees' lives. They make mundane social interaction situations distressful and hamper the livelihoods in many ways. This makes the daily survival even more insecure and is projected on children whose education refugees cannot afford. In worst cases, discrimination poses a threat to refugees' physical security. The findings are similar than those of many previous studies (see e.g. Macchiavello 2003; Women's Refugee Commission 2011; Refugee Law Project 2005).

This study suggests that urban refugees are especially vulnerable to discrimination as they have little means to overcome grievances caused by prejudices and discriminatory practices. The commonly shared view that authorities neglect refugees' needs and rights leaves urban refugees with a feeling of being on their own, excluded from accessing their rights and services. To overcome insecurities and grievances, refugees have hence adopted coping strategies that may result in further exclusion. The analysis reveals that a common way to respond to threats and discrimination is to suppress reactions and deliberately disregard the situation.

There is a widespread perception that refugees are a scapegoated, disrespected and ill-tolerated social category in Kampala. Feelings of marginality and alienation may result in a perception that refugees are not accepted to be part of Ugandan society. Further, this may discourage refugees to make long-term plans or create personal relationships with locals. Refugees, too, consider themselves as strangers in Uganda. Many endorse the view that it is ideal to live in their 'home country' whereas Ugandan culture was seen as strange. The perceptions resemble the worldview that Malkki (1995b) calls as "the national order of things", in which people belong to one place and elsewhere become uprooted from their culture and identity. It would be interesting to study further how much the views of rootedness and belonging have been influenced by refugees' experiences of forced migration and life in Uganda.

Even though the analysis of refugees' perceptions of themselves among other social groups in Kampala was just a scratch into their social reality, it revealed many issues that affect the lives of urban refugees. The study shows that refugees' perceptions of and prejudices towards different social groups affect the ways in which they navigate in dynamic urban spaces. Refugees may strategically seek or avoid contact with people they categorise into categories based on for example nationality, socio-cultural origin or language. Previous studies demonstrating that among refugees there is mistrust and clashes that are typically related to tensions and conflicts in the countries of origin (e.g. Fábos and Kibreab 2007; Grabska 2006; Jacobsen 2006) have noted that these are problematic in refugee camps where refugees are concentrated in one area. My study demonstrates that frictions, hostilities and discrimination among refugees may affect their lives also in urban areas. The city gathers refugees from all social, cultural and economic backgrounds and there is heterogeneity within all groups.

My study further notes out that these frictions may stay invisible to "an outsider". Certain refugees are easily seen to share common attributes denoting their membership in a same *group* (see Tajfel 1978a, 305; Turner 1982, 28). Some scholars select "a refugee community" of certain nationality as the focus of their research. However, my findings remind that assumptions of coherent 'communities' are simplifying and blur the heterogeneity of refugees. The notion resembles that of Madhavan and Landau's (2011) who state that low level of trust both among as well as within all urban

communities "reflect a general sentiment of lack of collective solidarity not just between various groups but even among groups who share certain common attributes." One of the main conclusions of this study is that the diversity of urban refugees cannot be disregarded. The study underlines the need for more fine-grained approach to 'communities' in research as well as in assistance for urban refugees. This is in line with those scholars who have emphasised the need to address individual needs and aspirations instead of approaching communities (e.g. Madhavan and Landau 2011). These notions question pure and fixed categories and boundaries: groups are not stable, coherent communities that hold their validity across times and spaces. Harinen and Suurpää's (2003, 7) idea of membership was helpful in describing how refugees are constantly navigating between social groups in dynamic urban context. This approach acknowledges that individual is faced with confrontations, friendships and hostilities that are constructed varyingly in different social contexts.

The diversity of the interviewed refugees raises a question of representation and if any conclusions can be made. However, it has been noted that problems of representation and participation have often appeared in community-based interventions, as they usually target easy-to-reach people instead of the 'right' people (Lyytinen and Kullenberg 2013, 34-35). Whereas a number of previous studies have approached urban refugees through a certain association, my approach allowed me to reach refugees who did not participate in any organisations or community activities and can be considered to live in the "margins of the margins." Notwithstanding the diversity of the interviewees, the similarities in their reports suggest that many challenges are perceived to be shared by all urban refugees. Having said that, the study also reveals that much of what affects refugees' perceptions of their lives in Kampala is related to personal background, experiences, beliefs, values and their current situation. I believe that my study demonstrates that qualitative research methods are legitimised in the study of urban refugees, as they are the only means to analyse the varying and ambiguous phenomena.

The lives and opportunities of urban refugees, as analysed in the third research question, appear as being characterised by stagnation, 'suffering' and an inability to improve one's life in Kampala. The recent emphasis in assistance aiming at enhancing refugees' opportunities "to assist themselves" corresponds to refugees' dissatisfaction with their restricted possibilities to improve their lives. However, refugees' poor socio-economic

situation was not seen to be under their control but linked to their social status as refugees. Refugees perceived that they are deprived of their rights and economic, political and social opportunities to improve their living conditions and change the course of their lives in Kampala. The city was hence seen as a place where refugees and their children's lives are stagnated in socio-economic margins. However, the findings show that refugees are believed be able to enjoy their opportunities to build a better future for them and their children in Europe and North America. The belief stems from a view that 'refugees' as a social category is better accepted there and that their rights better respected in these countries: Refugees could be active participants in society even though they are refugees (cf. Vigh 2009). As resettlement is imagined to open the realm of possibilities, several interviewees seemed to cling to their official refugee status as it brings them hope of resettlement in a third country.

One of the main contributions of this study is the notion that category of refugee/stranger in many ways determines the status of refugees in society (see Tajfel 1969). Refugeeness is a marker with a pejorative connotation and circumscribes a variety of social interaction situations that refugees end up in urban areas. Being revealed to be a refugee may have real implications on how Ugandans behave towards a person. The study demonstrates how membership in certain social categories may appear to be restraining for individuals. This is not to say that hardships faced by urban refugees are only due to their refugeeness. The challenges of other urban poor amongst whom refugees live are very similar, and it has been noted that urban refugees are not necessarily economically more vulnerable than local urban poor (Jacobsen and Nichols 2011). It would have been interesting to analyse how the urban poor of Ugandan nationality perceive their socio-economic situation in relation to that of urban refugees but this was beyond the scope of this study.

Whereas scholars have recently increasingly promoted local integration as a durable solution for refugees in protracted situations (e.g. Dryden-Peterson and Hovil 2004; Jacobsen 2001), this study notes that urban refugees have few incentives to integrate into local society if they perceive that refugees are trapped in socio-economic margins. This perception is coupled with feelings of marginality and alienation as well as aspirations to move back to their home countries where they "belong" or alternatively to a third country. What is meant by "integration" also poses a question of what is

expected from refugees and the local society. If the criteria for successful integration (see section 2.4; Bosswick and Heckmann 2006; IOM 2010; Kuhlman 1991; Varjonen 2013) include that refugees are accepted as equal members of society while they would simultaneously be allowed to maintain other identities and cultures, the premises for a successful integration do not seem to be promising in the light of this study.

My study, which originally aimed to examine local integration possibilities of urban refugees, turned out, in many ways, to point out ways of local marginalisation. Urban refugees navigate in various spaces in the city according to their assessments of the social environment and the threats in it. In many cases this means avoidance of interaction with anyone who may potentially cause them trouble, or any space where such interaction could take place. This may lead to exclusion from society. The study further adds that marginalised refugees have little possibilities to improve their situation. Particularly female refugees face many obstacles to active participation. The most marginalised are hard to find, their social connections are nearly non-existent and they are not aware of opportunities for improving their life. They should be of particular concern in efforts to enhance refugees' capacities to survive in the city.

The seriousness and omnipotence of discrimination as well as the causes, responsibilities and consequences of discrimination are all under debate (Verkuyten 2005, 109). It is far from clear of how to assess and interpret discrimination (ibid.). My study demonstrates that urban contexts in developing countries are characterised by social, cultural and political heterogeneity, which makes the analysis of discrimination difficult. In the globalising world in which human mobility continues to grow, all "local" contexts are increasingly characterised by heterogeneity and diversity. This challenges the modern states. As Castles and Davidson (2000, vii) note, "the democratic state needs the participation of all its members: everybody is meant to belong." Despite the obscurity of discrimination and prejudice, we should not avoid the topic in fear of indisputable weaknesses related to research on them. Instead, we should seek analytic ways to discover different dimensions and manifestations of discrimination and prejudices. My study aimed at revealing these in regards to urban refugees.

The urban areas as a context for studying prejudices and discrimination proved to be fruitful as refugees interact with people representing diverse backgrounds. By 2030, 60

per cent of the world's population will reside in urban areas (UN-HABITAT 2008). In the light of the continuing urbanisation trend and increasing number of urban refugees (UNHCR 2015), what potential consequences do cities face if some of their residents feel excluded from them? For example David Landau (2007, 71) suggests that discrimination and exclusion of refugees from the job market may contribute in keeping the informal economy alive as refugees find their ways to make a livelihood in the informal sector. Furthermore, discrimination in the housing market and economic exclusion may lead to the growth of slums and social fragmentation, and discrimination and exclusion from health services may be a health risk in densely populated cities (ibid. 70-71). An UN-HABITAT report (2008) states that a city cannot be harmonious if some groups remain impoverished and marginalised. These notions indicate the need to take into consideration the needs and desires of people who seem to have been speechless and ignored in urban planning as well as national and international policies (Crisp et al. 2012, 37-38; Jacobsen and Landau 2003). As Jacobsen shows (2006, 278-279), developing policies for assisting urban refugees faces many difficulties that are related to funding and the host country policies and contexts. Aid agencies may also find it difficult to legitimise the assistance targeted for urban refugees if the local urban poor are left without assistance (Jacobsen and Nichols 2011). My study shows that urban refugees are not necessarily worse of than other urban poor (also ibid.) The notions emphasise the importance of a holistic approach to international, national and local policies and practices to ensure that refugees and locals can equally enjoy their rights and that the growth of cities is socially and economically sustainable.

Ultimately, one of the major concerns of refugees is the perception that the social and economic hardships of refugees and the state of stagnation passes to their children. Exclusion from education projects future inequalities in future generations who do not possess required skills to lift themselves out of poverty. Regarding refugees' future alternatives as defined by the UNHCR – a possible return to their countries of origin, local integration or a resettlement in a third country – what are the possibilities of an uneducated, excluded generation to improve their own lives, contribute to the rebuilding of societies they once had to flee from, or successfully integrate into the developed societies in the resettlement countries?

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