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Xenophobia, and Xenophobia's Effect on Livelihood Opportunities.

A Study Concerning South Sudanese Refugees in Kampala, Uganda.

Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences,
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2017

Abstract

The overall objective of this study is to explore xenophobia, and how xenophobia affects South Sudanese refuges' livelihood opportunities, in Kampala, Uganda. Uganda have over the last four years received over one million refugees from South Sudan. The progressive and open refugee policy of the country allows for refugees to settle and to work all over the country. Many refugees from South Sudan have hence made the choice of trying to live and create livelihoods in Kampala, becoming a part of the growing urban refugee population of the city. Being a refugee in a big city poses challenges, some which arise in the social space between the local population and the refugees themselves. The research asked questions relating to the notion and nature of the phenomenon of xenophobia, as well as exploring lived experiences, especially relating to livelihood opportunities for South Sudanese Refugees.

The study used a qualitative approach. Informants of the study were South Sudanese refugees, local citizens and key informants from different offices handling refugee issues. A total of 20 interviews were used to build the thesis, these were both semi-structured and unstructured qualitative interviews. Informal conversations also informed the study. Participants were accessed through getting in contact with key contacts and gate-keepers within organizations and the local community of Kawempe division in Kampala.

Thematic analysis was applied to sort out and analyse the data.

The findings show how xenophobia is experienced, as well as what kind of different xenophobic tendencies different informants of the study have had experience with. The findings also show how the refugee informants of the study have applied different ways of coping with the experiences of xenophobia, and how they have, in different ways, adjusted their livelihoods to the challenges they face. Additionally, the findings shed light on other factors that makes life and livelihood creation challenging in the urban context of Kampala. The findings suggest that some refugees have had to make different limiting adjustments to their lives, like taking their children out of school, and cutting back on meals. Furthermore, there are worrying findings regarding corruption in service provision on multiple levels.

The informants were exclusively engaging in informal livelihood activities. They were not receiving government or NGO support in Kampala. Some were receiving remittances from family back in South Sudan.

The study concludes that there are big challenges among the informants of the study, and that much can be done regarding policy and programs to benefit this vulnerable group. However, this has been a small study, and more research is needed to understand the magnitude of the problems that were discovered in this study. Recommendations for further research will be outlined in the conclusion chapter.

The findings are relevant to actors and stakeholders interested in the Urban refugee context; this may be other researchers, social workers, and service providers including international organs concerned with refugee matters, NGOs and the government of Uganda.

Keywords: South Sudan, Uganda, Urban refugee, Kampala, Xenophobia, livelihood.

Dedication

I want to dedicate this thesis to my dear parents.

Mother, thank you for teaching me to always ask questions, to yearn for understanding, and to show compassion. Thank you for allowing me to be vulnerable, and for showing me that daring to be vulnerable – is a strength. This thesis would have never happened if it wasn't for you.

Father, thank you for always believing in me – and for constantly reminding me that I can achieve whatever I want to achieve in life. Your words have provided me with the courage I needed to complete this project.

To the both of you, thank you for supporting me in the choices that your life lessons have led me into. I know I have brought you worries. Thank you for your patience, and for always being there – whether I am near or far.

I also want to dedicate this thesis to the strongest woman I ever met - you know who you are. Thank you for sharing with me your pains and your passions. You are a true inspiration.

Acknowledgements

Acronyms and abbreviations

ID	Identity Document
ILO	International Labour Organization
KCCA	Kampala Capital City Authority
MSF	Medicines Sans Frontieres
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OAU	Organization of African Unity
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister (Uganda)
SPLA	Sudanese People's Liberation Army
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commisioner for Refugees
UNISDR	United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction
UN	United Nations
USD	United States Dollar

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Today, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), there are 65,6 million forcibly displaced people worldwide. Out of these, 22,5 million have fled their home countries, and are thus refugees. Others are stateless or remains internally displaced in their home countries. 28 300 people are forcibly displaced every single day because of conflict or prosecution (UNHCR 2017a).

South Sudan is one of the countries in the world which is currently experiencing large scale conflict, and around two million South Sudanese people have fled the country into the neighbouring countries "in a desperate bid to reach safety" (UNHCR 2017b). One of these neighbouring countries is Uganda. Since the outbreak of the South Sudan Crisis in 2013 – Uganda has received over 1 000 000 refugees from its neighbour in the north. South Sudanese refugees are in fact the largest group of refugees in Uganda, and the third largest refugee population worldwide. 85% of the refugees from South Sudan in Uganda, are women and children (UNHCR 2017b, UNHCR 2017c).

Member states of the United Nations, such as Uganda, have an obligation to ensure the protection, dignity and human rights of refugees (The UN Secretary-General 2016, 524). These obligations are based on the nine core international human right treaties, which are:

- The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
- The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
- The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
- The Convention on the elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against women
- The Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
- The Convention on the Rights of the Child
- The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families
- The International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance
- The convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. (ibid.)

The UN 1951 convention relating to the status of Refugees and its 1967 protocol, based on the human rights, is an instrument, developed by the United Nations, that clarifies who is a refugee, and what rights a refugee has, and the obligations of the states that have signed to it. Uganda is signatory to this convention and its protocol. The original convention came about after World War 1 and 2 and their massive displacement, and was – consequently, more or less limited to Europe. In 1967, it was amended to be worldwide with the 1967 protocol. The

1951 Convention and its 1967 protocol are the only global legal instruments explicitly covering the most important aspects of a refugee's life (UNHCR 2011, 2).

The convention defines a refugee as a person who;

> Is outside of his or her country of nationality or habitual residence; has a well-funded fear of being persecuted because of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, and is unable or unwilling to avail him - or herself of the protection of that country, or to return there, for fear of persecution (Article 1a(2), ibid.).

When a person does not receive protection of his/her human rights from his/her government, the international community steps in to make sure the refugee is safe and protected. A refugee should, according to the convention and its protocol, enjoy the same standard of treatment as other foreign nationals in the country where he/she is seeking protection (UNHCR 2011, 2).

The instrument clarifies the rights of refugees and the obligations of states party to them. The most important right is the right to non-refoulment; in article 33, that states that a refugee should not be sent back to a country where he or she faces serious threats to his or her life or freedom. Other rights include the right to work, spelled out in article 17-19, the right to housing, in article 21, the right to education in article 22, the right to freedom of movement in article 26, amongst several others (ibid, 4).

Refugees themselves also hold obligations; they are required to abide by the laws and regulations of the country in which they seek refuge and to respect measures taken to maintain public order (ibid, 4).

Uganda is also signatory to the OAU refugee convention of 1969. This convention was inspired by the forerunning international convention and protocol, and covers the specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa. Hence;

> The convention is built on existing international protection architecture and seeks to address aspects and challenges related to the protection of refugees that are specific to the African continent and that, as a result, may not be adequately addressed in existing global refugee instruments. (World Bank Group 2016, 11).

It adds to the previous definition of a refugee from the UN convention; "every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order". This makes the convention able to also protect those who are fleeing political persecution and domination. The Convention has made it possible for millions of Africans to reach safety and receive protection and assistance (Mahecic 2009)

The convention obliges all African Union member states to cooperate with UNHCR, as the convention is not meant as a substitute, but rather as an effective regional compliment to the 1951 convention (World Bank Group 2016, 11).

Currently, over 60 percent of the refugees in the world live in urban environments. Urban refugees have hence moved from being the exception from the rule, in that they were often confined within camps, to increasingly becoming the norm. Refugees in such a context face a wide range of risks relating to their protection needs, including for example harassment, exploitation and discrimination (UNHCR 2009,2).

In Uganda, most refugees are hosted in camps and settlements that are especially allocated for refugees (UNHCR 2017a). However, the right to the freedom of movement of refugees is reflected in that many refugees are found in Urban areas, and are hence Urban refugees. In 2009, UNHCR adopted a new policy, the "UNHCR policy on refugee protection and solutions in urban areas", acknowledging the need for a policy adapted to the global trend of urbanization of refugees and refugee movements (UNHCR 2009, 2). The policy explicitly states that urban areas are to be considered as legitimate places for refugees to enjoy their rights.

Uganda's national refugee policy, is praised for being generous. Uganda is often heralded as a 'refugee oasis' because of the Government of Uganda's Refugee Asylum Policy and Refugee Settlement Model (Easton-Calabria 2016, 2). The policy gives refugees the right to work and the freedom of movement, and is regulated within the 2006 Refugee Act and 2010 Refugee Regulations (ibid.). However, when a refugee in Uganda makes the choice to settle outside of allocated spaces such as camps and settlements, the creation of a livelihood and hence survival is left up to the refugee him/herself. This study looks at refugees from South Sudan who have decided to settle outside of camps and settlements, and have opted for living in Uganda's capital, Kampala. Some 10 319 South Sudanese refugees were registered as Urban refugees in Kampala by February 2017 (UNHCR 2017d).

Though access to livelihood opportunities in Kampala is a challenge for refugees and locals alike, due to high levels of poverty and unemployment for many, refugees face special hardships that can be connected to their refugee status and the tensions between them and the host community (Bernstein and Okello 2007, 53, Buscher 2011, 24). Refugees who are poor, are faced with a number of disadvantages in comparison to other low income city dwellers, they often lack community support systems that help poor nationals survive, and refugees are

often meeting obstacles in their efforts to support themselves by discriminatory actions against them based on nationality or ethnicity (UNHCR 2009, 17-19). Resentment and bitterness towards refugees from South Sudan from some of the locals, and tensions between them, may cause different sorts of additional obstacles in the South Sudanese Refugees' pursuit towards livelihood opportunities. Macchiavello (2004, 26) clarifies; "many Ugandans regard them with hostility, stereotyping refugees as economic parasites or collaborators with countries and factions which are the enemies of Uganda". Further Buscher (2011, 21) reminds us of how "xenophobia and discrimination by host country nationals have a significant impact on both vulnerability and access to opportunity" in addition to host government practices and policies. Xenophobia is defined as fear or hatred of outsiders or foreigners (Merriam Webster Dictionary 2017). The phenomenon of xenophobia will be looked at in more detail in chapter 3 of the thesis. Ugandan's national policies for refugees will be detailed in chapter 2.

1.2. Overall Objective

To explore xenophobia, and how xenophobia affects South Sudanese Refugee's livelihood opportunities in Kampala

1.3. Specific objectives

1. To get a better understanding of xenophobia directed towards South Sudanese Refugees in Kampala, and in particular look at the different forms that this xenophobia is taking

2. To explore the subjective opinion of why xenophobia towards this group of refugees occurs.

3. To explore the views of the host population on South Sudanese Refugees

4. To see the linkages between xenophobia and livelihood opportunities in the context of South Sudanese refugees

1.4. Research Questions

The questions applied to further elaborate the objectives, and bring them into practice in the field were the following:

1. Are the South Sudanese Refugees experiencing xenophobia or not?

2. What kind of experience of xenophobia do these refugees have?

3. Why are these refugees experiencing xenophobia?

4. Which forms is the xenophobia taking?

5. What kind of effect does xenophobia have on the lives of the refugees, in their pursuit towards livelihood opportunities in Kampala, but also in general?

6. How do the refugees from South Sudan, in Kampala, cope with the challenges they face, connected to xenophobia?

1.5. Purpose and Relevance of the study

The study is aiming to explore, rather than measure – the xenophobia that South Sudanese refugees are experiencing, and how it impacts their livelihoods. The purpose is to bring forward knowledge on the situation through exploring the subjective experiences and real-life stories of South Sudanese refugees in Kampala. For the welfare of these refugees in Kampala, it is important to get a better understanding of the xenophobia that they are experiencing - the reasons behind and the results of xenophobia in this specific context, as well as the coping mechanisms that these refugees employ to deal with the stress they are facing. Omata and Kaplan (2013, 11) are stressing that there are relatively few studies that have systematically explored the role of social relations in refugee subsistence. Although xenophobia as an issue has been mentioned in other studies concerning for example livelihood or legal issues that refugees face (Macchiavelo 2004, Bucher 2011, Refugee Law Project 2005), xenophobia as a phenomenon, and what it specifically entails, has not been extensively elaborated in the context of Kampala before. Subsequently, up until this study, xenophobia and its effect on livelihood opportunities was yet to be explored here. Furthermore, Refugee Law Project Uganda stresses that further research is needed to study host views towards refugees by nationality (RLP 2005, 38). I therefore find it timely that this study on how xenophobia affects the livelihood opportunities of South Sudanese refugees in Kampala, is conducted.

In the UNHCR's "South Sudan regional refugee response plan" for the year of 2017, two of the strategic objectives are relevant for the study. They are pointing out that in order to improve the situation of refugees it is of interest to:

- Broaden the economic opportunities available to refugees by supporting policies that offer alternatives to camps and access to self-reliance activities benefiting both refugee and host communities
- Support peace education and other initiatives aimed at encouraging co-existence among refugee communities of different ethnicities, as well as between refugees and their hosts.

(UNHCR 2016a, 7)

I argue further from reading of existing research on xenophobia and livelihood, and, noticing the lack of relevant, context-specific research in Kampala, that a lack of knowledge of the challenges around xenophobia might pose limitations to the accuracy of such initiatives. By bringing together the qualitative findings on experiences of xenophobia among South Sudanese refugees in Uganda, with existing academic research on xenophobia in ways which expand our existing knowledge on this topic, my research can help actors design more contextually sensitive response plans in the future, this agrees with previous statements from the UNHCR, that policy needs to be adapted to the specific circumstances of different countries and cities (UNHCR 2009,3). A better understanding may lead to better targeted socio-economic interventions and policies being implemented by UNHCR, and UNHCR implementing partners such as NGOs, and government alike.

For the fulfilment of my master's degree in International Social Welfare and Health Policy, at the Oslo and Akershus University college of applied social sciences, I find this study to be appropriate, because it investigates an issue relating to the social welfare of refugees. It also relates to the policy focus of the degree, in that findings from this thesis are assumed to bring forward implications for policy and program measures. Additionally, through working with this thesis I gain specific knowledge on a policy area. Furthermore, the thesis may help shed light on the urgency of shared international responsibility to help Uganda with the issues the country is facing in terms of refugee protection. The UN Secretary General is highlighting the need for the international community to react, to safeguard the rights of refugees, and acknowledge the disproportionality some regions or countries are facing in terms of responsibility, based on their proximity to countries from which refugees flee (2016, 518). MSF Norway, has in fact named the refugee situation in Uganda a forgotten crisis (Leger Uten Grenser 2017). Refugees and refugee movements are indeed a global/international concern and responsibility.

1.6. Limitations of the study

There were a number of limitations to the study. Often, limitations are presented as part of the methodology chapter. However, in this thesis, since some of the limitations relate to methodology, whilst others relate to the study as a whole, I consider it relevant to highlight them already here, in the introduction chapter. Eight main limitations are listed below;

1. The study was limited in terms of time. The amount of time spent on the field across two separate periods, was 15 weeks. The nature of the study is explorative, but time did not allow for me to completely emerge and to explore all aspects of what I was researching.

2. There is a limited diversity of social categories among my informants. Especially when it comes to the refugees, and this I see as a big limitation – particularly in investigating the effects xenophobia had on livelihoods. Originally, I wanted a broader set of social categories to inform the study, and was interested in getting a wider age range. Furthermore, I interviewed more women than men. The lack of diversity among my informants can be explained by practical obstacles in the field; I had limited time and a limited network in the field to help me access informants. I only managed to acquire gatekeepers to access informants from one division of the city, and the gatekeeper I had were only able to link me with one social category of refugees there, and to the people that they knew.

3. Being a single researcher living off an educational loan fund, I did not have the financial capability to hire a research team, which could have broadened the capacity of the study.

4. Further limitations on time, and on funds, is connected to the process of accessing informants. Out of the total fifteen weeks spent in the field, six of them were spent on establishing contacts and applying for official access to collection of data. The access required getting clearance from a local "research ethics council", a letter from the Prime Minister's office, and finally an approval from the Ugandan national council of science and technology. This was both costly and time consuming. Countless hours were spent in/and waiting for meeting in official offices, and on sending e-mails and making phone calls to make the study happen.

5. It cannot be ignored that, as a primary Investigator not being from either South Sudan or from Uganda, is something that gives clear limitations to the lived experiences I can apply to the understanding and interpretations of the data. This can be seen both as an advantage (in that I see things isolated) or as a disadvantage (in that I miss out on important contextual details). Luckily, I have had good support from my supervisors, and reading up on the context have proved helpful.

6. The fact that I had to conduct many interviews through a language mediator limited my direct interaction with the informants and the relationship and trust I was able to build with them. To overcome this obstacle as far as I could, I always stressed that I conducted the interviews myself, rather than having someone else take over the process completely, but even having to conduct interviews in English, that was neither mine nor my informants mother tongue, was a limitation.

7. Another limitation is the number of interviews I have had the capacity to conduct and analyse. In total 20 interviews were used to build this thesis.

8. Because of the lack of diversity, and the relatively small size of the study, the results cannot be generalized. They can only give a small glimpse of the situation, from a limited part of a big population.

1.9. Thesis structure

This thesis consists of six separate chapters which deals with different aspects of the study.

Chapter one served as an introduction, where the background for the thesis was outlined and the problem at hand was explained. A short overview of the situation and the theme that this thesis is exploring, was laid out. Furthermore, objectives, research questions and the relevance and purpose of the study was presented. The chapter concluded by clarifying study limitations.

Chapter two is about the context of the study, and gives an historical introduction to the South Sudan situation, and of Uganda as a receiving country of refugees. Furthermore, the chapter goes more into the policy regarding refugees on the national level, and the context of Kampala as a site for livelihood creation.

Chapter three is on the theory behind the thesis, as well as concepts and definitions. The chapter defines and discusses the key concepts of xenophobia and livelihood, as well as other concepts, and presents theories around xenophobia. The theories presented are: Social identity theory, Intergroup threat theory and Structural explanations.

Chapter four is concerned with the methodology of the study. The study follows a qualitative methodology. The philosophical stance behind the study, which is phenomenology, is explained. Methodological choices that have been made are presented. Furthermore, I inform about ethical considerations, selection of participants, the use of different methods and tools for data collection, and the analysis of findings.

Chapter five brings us to the findings from this study. In this chapter, the key findings will be presented according to four main themes identified in the data. The chapter will focus on bringing out the voices and narratives of the different informants, on creating a diversified view on the situation at hand, and on discussing the findings.

Chapter six is the final chapter, here, I summarize the key findings from the field research. Some final remarks are made, and Policy and Program recommendations, as well as recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER 2: CONTEXT

This chapter has the purpose of framing the study and creating a better contextual understanding. It is important to know about the history of South Sudanese refugees, and the history of Uganda in relation to being a recipient country of these refugees. I am also presenting an overview of the legal and policy instruments that are governing refugees in Uganda. Lastly, Kampala will be introduced as a city where people create their livelihood, and as a hosting location for refugees.

2.1. War and conflict in Sudan/South Sudan

In 1945 Sudan became independent after having been under the rule of the Anglo-Egyptian condominium for 46 years. Although Sudan was one country, there were clear divisions between the southern and the northern part of Sudan. Southern Sudan had a predominant population of black Africans with an indigenous culture, and in the north, the Arab inhabitants had an Arabic culture and followed Islam. This is still the case to this day. The government at the time, wanted to enforce Islam and Arab culture on the South, but there was resistance (Breidlid, Said and Breidlid 2014, 208).

A civil war sparked in 1955. This war is referred to as the first civil war – and it was caused by "a complex mix of ethnicity, religion, uneven development and inadequate political representation of the south compared to the north" (Wawa 2008, 24)

After several years of war, president Nimeiri acknowledged the cultural and historical diversity between the Arab northern parts of Sudan, and the African indigenous culture in the South. He agreed upon the need to develop economic and political structures in the South. This led to thé Addis Ababa peace agreement in 1972 (Breidlid et al. 2014, 242). The agreement granted Southern Sudan regional authority over the three states of Bahr-Al-Ghazal, Upper Nile and Equatoria (ibid, 246).

After the Addis Ababa peace agreement, a regional government in Southern Sudan was established, and people who had been displaced or had become refugees in neighbouring countries, found their way home. In the transition period 1972-73, more than one million people returned. The UNHCR assisted 550 700 who had been internally displaced in Sudan, and 500 000 from refugee camps in neighbouring countries such as Uganda (ibid, 254). Even

still, after the Addis Ababa agreement, there were tensions between the north and the south, and between the Southerners themselves. Amongst these tensions; a dispute over the rights to oil found on Southern territory, this was a tension that arose between the North and the South when oil was found on Southern territory, because the Southern government by the Addis Ababa agreement, had the right to tax the profits of oil export, but they were not allowed membership on the petroleum board by the northern central government. Other disputes included border conflicts, and corruption and nepotism amongst the Southern politicians, the nepotism ran along ethnic lines, where many members of the Dinka tribe gained important positions in government. What ultimately tipped Sudan into its second civil war and the violation of the Addis Ababa peace agreement, was Sudanese president Nimeiri's decision to implement Sharia law on the whole of Sudan in 1983 (Breidlid et al 2014, 276) The President enforcing Sharia law on the whole country undermined the authority given to Southern Sudan, and overlooked what he had seemingly acknowledged prior to the agreement. As a result, the second civil war/South Sudan's liberation war begun in 1983 – and it did not end before 2005.

At the start of the second civil war - two important fractions were formed to fight for what they thought should be the future of Southern Sudan. The militia group Anya Nya 2, first led by Akout Atem, set out to fight for the total liberation of Southern Sudan. The Sudan People Liberation Movement/Army was formed, and with its leader John Garang – its aim was to fight for a United Sudan (ibid, 281-282). In the beginning there were no ethnic dimension to the different goals of the fractions- both leaders were Twic Dinka. However, when in 1984 the leader of Anya Nya 2 was killed, the Anya Nya 2 took a new direction. Seeing that the new leader of the Anya Nya 2 forces was a Nuer, the northern government backed them, hoping to create a "Nuer army" that could defeat the "Dinka" Sudan People's Liberation Army - a classic "divide-and-rule" strategy that turned southern forces against each other.

President Nimeiri was overthrown by the National Alliance for National Salvation in 1984 (Breidlid et al. 2014, 288). A new national government was instated, followed by a state coup by the National Islamic Front, whilst the north-south and south-south conflits continued and grew more and more complex. Human suffering reached new levels for the people of Southern Sudan. The Bor massacre in 1991 carried out by the SPLA Nasir fraction, a fraction that had broken away from the "Dinka" SPLA, led by Riek Machar, killed over 2000, predominantly Dinka South Sudanese, and thousands more were wounded. Following the massacre came famine – and reportedly 250 000 southerners died (ibid).

From the start of the first civil war – till the end of the second one the lives of the people in the south was "more or less completely conditioned by civil war" (Breidlid et al, 2014:307) and more than two million people died between 1989 and 2005.

A peace agreement between north and south was signed in 2005 and ended what is known as Africa's longest-running civil war. Between 2005 and 2011, there were negotiations leading up to a referendum and the South Sudanese people voted for independence from the north (Ibid, 340-350).

After the independence of South Sudan, it wouldn't be long until a new war sparked. This is referred to as the South Sudan Crisis, which started in December 2013, after disagreements between President Salva Kiir and former Vice President Riek Machar. The conflict spread throughout the country and has become a conflict between ethnic lines, led by the forces loyal to Kiir who is a Dinka, and opposition forces loyal to Machar, who is Nuer. The conflict calmed in 2015, but again intensified in July 2016 as forces of Kiir and Machar again took up arms against each other in Juba. The conflict is characterized by;

> "international human rights and humanitarian law violations, including: reports of extrajudicial killings of civilians; enforced disappearances; rape and other forms of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV); recruitment and use of children in armed conflict; looting and destruction of civilian and humanitarian assets; and curtailment of freedom of movement." (UNHCR December 2016, 6)

The economy of South Sudan has taken a hard hit from the conflict as well, further intensifying the desperate situation of the people of South Sudan. According to UNHCR (2016a, 6) The South Sudanese pound has lost more value than ever;

> the currency depreciated rapidly in 2016, reaching an all-time low of more than 100 SSP to 1 USD in November 2016. The cost of living has risen exponentially, with the South Sudan annual consumer price index increasing by 835.7 per cent from October 2015 to October 2016, the highest year-on-year inflation rate in the world.

I conclude that conflict in Sudan/South Sudan has been, and still is, motivated by many different causes. My reading of the situation agrees with Jok (2007, 5) in seeing that race, ethnicity and religion have been influencing the wars – and have proved to be both divisive and powerful separators influenced by both sides of the conflicts. From the latest conflict in South Sudan, post 2013, there have been reports of incidents "that appear to have an ethnic dimension and may indicate wider-scale atrocities, including ethnic cleansing" (UNHCR 2016a,6).

2.2 Sudanese/South Sudanese Refugees in Uganda

The civil wars from 1945 up until today, have led to massive displacement of Southern Sudanese civilians (after 2011, South Sudanese), many of which over the years have sought refuge in Uganda. Uganda has been a "safe haven" for countless refugees from its conflict-torn neighbouring countries. After 1945, Uganda has seen three influxes of the Sudanese/South-Sudanese refugees into the country, two of them before the independence of South Sudan, and after independence yet another influx is seen, as a result of the South Sudan crisis (Jok 2007, UNHCR 2017a).

The first civil war, from 1955 to 1972, caused an estimated 100 000 – 150 000 Sudanese refugees to seek refuge in Uganda, however – not all the refugees remained in Uganda until the end of this civil war, the Ugandan government wanted to resettle the refugees further south from the border to Sudan, and this would have to have been be without their cattle. Cattle farming is an important part of life for many South Sudanese. Faced with having to part with them resulted in most of the refugees disappearing (Jok 2007, 25), and some settling on their own amongst the Acholi tribe in the North of Uganda. Only about 3000 remained and were resettled further south in different settlement areas in Uganda, where they built their own houses and received assistance from the Ugandan government, until many of them returned to Sudan in 1972, when the first civil war ended (ibid.).

The next influx of the Sudanese refugees into Uganda was a result of **the second civil war** lasting from 1983-2005, after the Addis Ababa agreement was broken and the North - South conflict started again. This civil war again caused large numbers of Sudanese refugees to seek safety in Uganda – at the end of the 22 year long civil war, about 200 000 Sudanese refugees were present in settlements throughout Uganda. After 2005, once again most of the refugees returned home to take part in the referendum (ibid.).

Since **the South Sudan crisis** broke out in 2013 the people of South Sudan once again have had to seek refuge. UNHCR states that before 2013 there were 113 000 South Sudanese refugees, the situation has rapidly escalated – and per October 2017, there are close to two million South Sudanese refugees in the world. Uganda has received the refugees in waves. In early 2016, influx rates suddenly increased to about 10,000 individuals per month, and then reduced again. July 2016 marked a key tipping point, when heavy fighting again broke out in Juba between the government and the opposition forces. On average, over 61,000 new refugees have fled to Uganda every month since July 2016, and per 31. August of 2017, there were a total number of 1 021 903 South Sudanese Refugees in Uganda. 82% of the refugees

from South Sudan in Uganda are women and children. (UNHCR 2017e). Most of the South Sudanese new arrival refugees in Uganda are of the Madi and Lotuko ethnicities of Eastern Equatoria and Juba, and the Kakwa and Pojulu ethnicities, originating from the Central Equatoria region. Smaller numbers of Dinka, Lotuku, and Nuer ethnicities have also arrived in Uganda. (UNHCR 2016e).

2.3. Uganda's Legal Instruments Governing refugees
The Refugees Act, 2006
The Refugees Act is in line with the 1951 convention relating to the status of refugees and other international obligations of Uganda relating to the status of refugees (the Refugees Act 2006:3). This section shall draw out some key parts of the act that relates specifically to the South Sudanese refugees in Kampala and the subject that this thesis is exploring.

The act follows the definition of who is a refugee from the 1951 convention, and a person qualifies to be granted refugee status if he or she;

> (a) owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, sex, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, that person is outside the country of his or her nationality and is unable, or owing to that fear, is unwilling to return to or avail himself or herself of the protection of that country;

> (b) not having a nationality and being outside the country of his or her former habitual residence owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, sex, religion, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, that person is unwilling or unable to return to the country of his or her former habitual residence;

> (c) owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either a part or the whole of his or her country of origin or nationality, that person is compelled to leave his or her place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his or her country of origin or nationality;

> (d) owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for failing to conform to gender discriminating practices, that person is compelled to leave his or her place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his or her country of origin or nationality;

> (e) that person is considered a refugee under any treaty obligation to which Uganda is a party, or any law in force at the commencement of this Act; or

> (f) that person is a member of a class of persons declared to be refugees under section 25 of this Act. (The Refugees Act 2006, section 4)

Section 25 comments on the "group recognition, mass influx and temporary protection" of refugees and sets the prerequisites that allows for mass determination of refugee status in the case of mass influx of asylum seekers into the country, so that individual status determination under act 4 will not be necessary.

When mass influxes happen as a consequence of violence and conflict in another country, acceptance of masses of refugees goes under the international principle of "prima facie" and this is what has been happening in Uganda since 2013, since the South Sudanese refugees have been arriving in big numbers.

> A prima facie approach means the recognition by a State or UNHCR of refugee status on the basis of readily apparent, objective circumstances in the country of origin…. A prima facie approach acknowledges that those fleeing these circumstances are at risk of harm that brings them within the applicable refugee definition (UNHCR June 2015, 2)

Section 25 of the 2006 Refugees Act also states that the same rights and general treatment of refugees shall be appointed to refugees being granted refugee status in Uganda under this act.

Rights of refugees under the act.
Amongst the rights that refugees in Uganda have, outlined in section 29 and 30 of the act, are;

- The right to an identity card stating the refugee status for the purpose of protection and identification
- The right to remain in Uganda
- Refugees entitlement to fair and just treatment without discrimination on the grounds of race, religion, sex, nationality ethnic identity, membership of a particular social group of political opinion
- The right to receive the same treatment as is generally accorded to aliens under the constitution or any other law in force in Uganda.
- When it comes to education, refugees enjoy the same rights as aliens, but when it comes to elementary education – the refugees must receive the same treatment as nationals.

The act also handles the rights of refugees when it comes to work/economic activities, these include;

- The right to engage in, industry, handicrafts, and commerce and to establish commercial and industrial companies in accordance with the applicable laws and regulations in force in Uganda
- Refugees have the right, if they wish, to practice the profession for which they hold qualifications if, these are recognized by the competent authorities in Uganda.
- The right to engage in gainful employment and to access employment opportunities.

Lastly the Act states that any recognized refugee has the right to free movement in Uganda, subject to reasonable restrictions specified by laws, or directed by the commissioner. Such restrictions shall be appointed to aliens in general under the same circumstances, and be appointed on the grounds of national security, public order, public health, public morals or the protection of the rights and freedoms of others (the Refugees Act 2006 section 30).

Obligations of refugees under the act

The act also outlines the obligations that refugees hold when being appointed refugee status in Uganda. These include the obligation to conform to all laws and regulations in Uganda, and to conform to measures taken to maintain public order. Refugees are not allowed to engage in activities that can challenge state security, public order or public interest, and they cannot engage in political activity neither on local or national level, or appointed to their home state. If the refugee is under employment in Uganda, or fully integrated with a source of income, he/she is obliged to pay taxes in accordance to Ugandan tax rules. (the Refugees Act 2006 section 35)

The Refugee Regulations, 2010

The 2010 Refugees Regulations is a piece of subsidiary legislation by the national authorities of Uganda, to the existing refugee act. The regulations have the legal effect of incorporating the international and regional treaties into Uganda's domestic laws and makes them all legally enforceable by Ugandan courts (World bank 2016, 14). Together, the 2006 Refugees Act and the 2010 regulations embody key refugee protection principles and freedoms. The 2010 regulations adds that, in terms of right to employment, refugees have the right of access to employment on par with the most favoured aliens e.g., East African citizens. This is supposed to make refugees avoid hefty fees for obtaining work permits (World bank 2016, 13)

2.3.1. Legal instruments summary

Summarized, refugees in Uganda, generally have the right to exercise their freedoms in all of Uganda, refugees can choose to live in for example Kampala if they want, or in any other location within the country, rather than in camps and settlements. Refugees are entitled to make use of the local work market and employment opportunities. They have the right to be treated without discrimination, and on the same level as other "aliens" in the country. When it comes to employment they are siding with other East African citizens, and elementary level education is to be offered to them on the same basis as nationals.

2.4. Urban refugees in Kampala
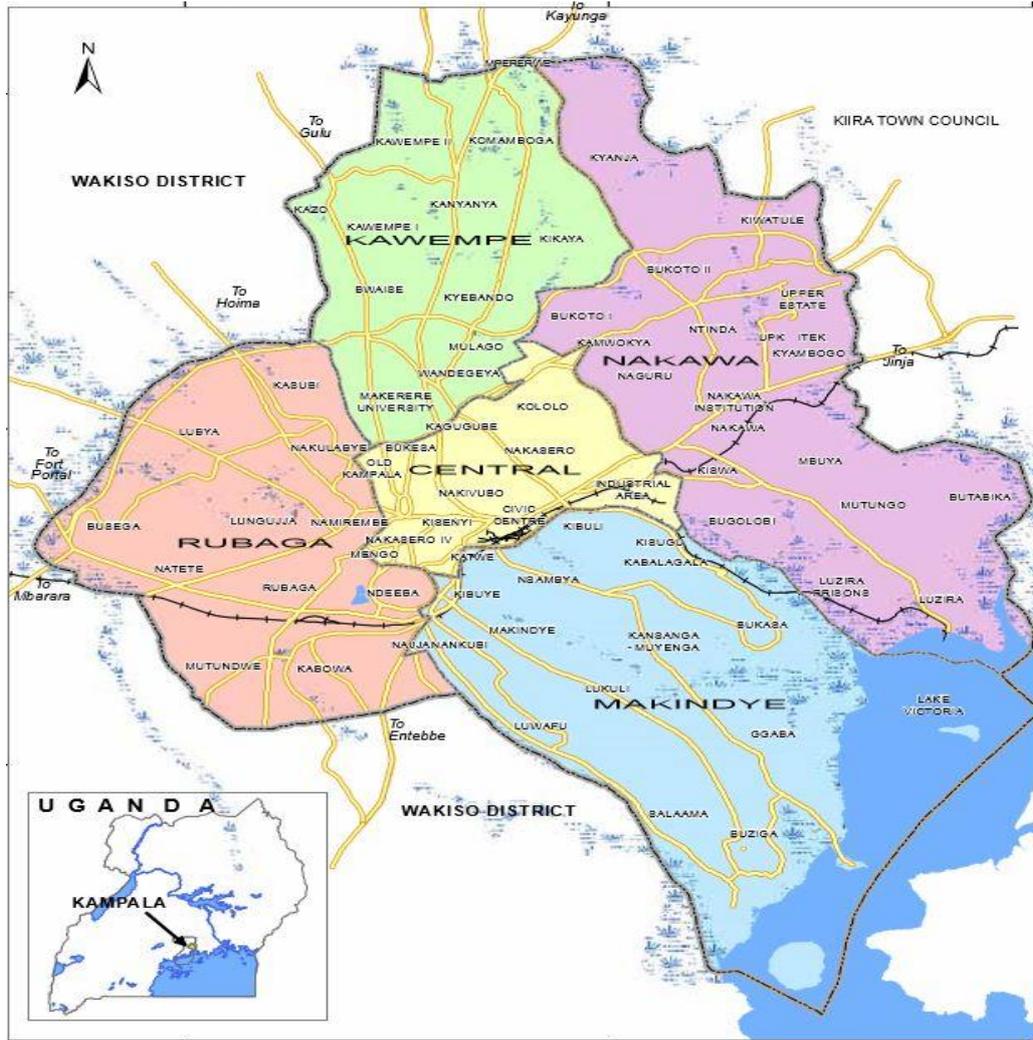
Map of Kampala. (Kampala Capital City Authority 2014, ii)

Kampala is the capital of Uganda. Since the independence of Uganda, Kampala has grown to be the largest urban centre in the country. The city is Uganda's political seat, and is home to 1,5 million people (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2014). Kampala is divided into five urban divisions; Central, Kawempe, Makindye, Lubaga and Nakawa. The city is the country's economic centre, and is accounting for 80% of the country's industrial and commercial activities (KCCA 2014,1). Furthermore, Kampala is the home of Makerere University, which is one of the oldest universities in Africa.

About 23% of the city area is characterized as fully urbanized, 60% semi-urbanised, and the rest is regarded as rural settlements (KCCA 2014,1).

60 to 85 percent of Kampala's population is living in informal settlements (Pietus 2014,4) and the cities inability to absorb a massive urban population growth, matched with poverty poses

challenges for many of Kampala's residents (Pietus 2014, 8). The population in the informal settlements are marginalized and facing challenges in terms of finding their place in the city's formal economy. This leads many to live a life in "informality", where people create their livelihoods within the informal sector. What characterizes the informal sector is that it is outside of legal protection (ibid.). Informal businesses contribute to a fundamental part of marginalized people's livelihoods in Kampala, and often consists of units engaged in the production of goods or services with the primary objective of generating employment and incomes to the persons concerned. These small units typically operate on a small scale in terms of production, with low level of organisation, and with little or no division between labour and capital. Labour relations are mostly based on casual employment and informal networks through kinship and personal social relations (OECD 2003).

From my own observations, a number of informal activities can be seen in Kampala. Sales of all kinds of goods such as fruits, electronics, books etc. are done by people walking around on the street and offering these goods (hawking). Goods are also sold from different kinds of informal temporary sales places, such as a rolled out blanket or a table with a display of various items (vending). Informal businesses such as different kind of unregistered shops and businesses that offer services like tailoring, cobbling (shoe fixing), barber and hair cutting services, home cooked meals or transport can also be spotted at a glance, to mention some. On a national basis, around 59% of Uganda's workforce Operates in the informal economy (Ulandssekretariatet 2014), specific numbers from Kampala could not be obtained, but it can be assumed that a large proportion of the city's workforce is engaging in the informal economy.

Informal activities at a glance in Central Kampala (My own photo)

Amongst the 1,5 million people living in Kampala, there was an urban refugee population as of November 2016 of 86 784 people. These refugees come from a number of countries in the east and central African region, including DR Congo, Burundi, Somalia, Rwanda and South Sudan. The refugee population in Kampala amounts for about 14% of the total number of refugees countrywide (UNHCR 2017e). Out of the total number of refugees in Kampala – In February 2017, 10 319 were from South Sudan. The numbers have been rising since the outbreak of the South Sudan crisis in 2013 (UNHCR 2017d).

Despite the provision of humanitarian assistance in the camps, refugees, including those fleeing from the latest conflict in South Sudan, find their way to Kampala. These refugees often come in search of better life opportunities, with hopes of engaging in the informal labour market, and/or with hopes of better educational opportunities and/or access to better health facilities (Refugee law project 2002, 17-18). Many of the refugees who come to Kampala have urban backgrounds that have made it difficult for them to live in rural settlements, and to sustain themselves, urban refugees in Kampala often turn to informal work activities (ibid, 20).

In Kampala, the government organ responsible for refugee matters, is the Office of the Prime Minister Refugee Directorate. The directorate oversees laws and legislation relating to the refugees, not only in Kampala, but countrywide. The directorate is responsible for protection and documentation for the refugees (World bank group 2016, 10), for example by making sure that they have refugee IDs. When a refugee comes to Kampala, he/she registers at the Refugee Directorate office in town, and gets an "urban refugee" identity card. The refugee directorate only has a coordinating role related to partners that works with and implement programs "on the ground" in Kampala (from Key Informant interview). One of the most important partners is the NGO Interaid Uganda. Interaid is working for the UNHCR vision to be attained, which is that; "refugees are protected by the government of Uganda, live in Safety and Dignity with the host communities, and progressively attain lasting solutions". (Interaid 2017). The organization is conducting community outreach to promote peaceful co-existence with the host community, and meets with local chairpersons in the local communities around Kampala's division on a regular basis. They are also working with promotion of livelihood and self-reliance for refugees (Interaid 2017).

2.4.1. Refugees right to protection in Kampala
Outside of camps and settlements, refugees are generally not entitled to any assistance from the government or UNHCR, other than assistance pertaining to protection needs. Accommodation or any kind of material assistance is therefore outside of the scope of what a refugee can expect to receive in, for example, Kampala. In the words of UNHCR;

> Beyond the provision of protection (access to asylum process, RSD, documentation and durable solutions counselling), which is the basic minimum that every refugee is entitled to in Kampala, there are no parallel or stand-alone service provision structures for refugees similar to those available in the settlements. (UNHCR Brochure n.d.)

The refugees are expected to make use of and have access to already existing facilities such as schools and hospitals, and to gain what they need for livelihood from their own efforts. Only when the situation is so dire that refugees are suspected to face serious protection concerns, in special cases they can get material assistance.

Protection concerns involve the protection of refugees' right to life, the right not to be subjected to cruel or degrading treatment or punishment, the right to not be tortured or arbitrarily detained, the right to family unity, and the right to adequate food, shelter, health, education and livelihood opportunities (UNHCR 2009, 4). UNHCR stresses that protection in Urban areas must be provided with regards to mutual support to that of other refugees (ibid.). This means, that it is of priority that refugees in Urban areas such as Kampala get the same

protection as those in the camps, even though they are not entitled to the same level of material support. Protecting refugees in urban spaces, without individual support, can be done by ensuring an environment where protection needs can be met, on the basis of a self-reliance principle (UNHCR 2009, 17). Self-reliance is indeed the strategy applied in Kampala. UNHCR has a primary objective of ensuring that "protection space" is available to refugees, by preserving and expanding such spaces. This includes UNHCR taking responsibility as an actor in itself, and facilitating for humanitarian organizations so that they can contribute to such "protection spaces" being overseen and developed. Protection space can be evaluated by, for example, looking towards how refugees have access to livelihoods and the labour market, by seeing that refugees can enjoy a harmonious relationship with the host population, other refugees and migrant communities, and are able to benefit from solutions such as local integration (UNHCR 2009, 4-5).

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTS, DEFINITIONS AND THEORY

The study revolves around the "phenomenon" of xenophobia, and tries to understand this phenomenon in the context of South Sudanese refugees in Kampala and their livelihood opportunities. The way xenophobia connects to livelihood become clearer in the findings and discussion chapter. However, the concepts of Livelihood and Xenophobia will both be defined here. I will also define other concepts that I directly or indirectly use in my thesis, these include; discrimination, prejudice, stereotypes and stigma. I will also through this chapter, start the exploration of what xenophobia entails, by looking at different theories and research around the concept. The theories that will be presented are; Social identity theory, Intergroup threat theory and Structural explanation. The theories are presented separately to create a good overview; however, they are in many ways complimentary to each other. For example, Intergroup threat theory builds on Social identity theory. When presenting and discussing my findings in chapter 5, the theories will be used interchangeably.

To highlight the relevance of the theory, and to ease in to the discussion and findings chapter later in the thesis (chapter 5) some findings from this study will be briefly highlighted throughout this chapter.

3.1. Xenophobia

The word *xenophobia* can be perceived in different ways. What immediately comes to mind for me, is harassment and violence towards foreigners by some nationals of a country, and this was confirmed as an association many people make, through numerous informal conversations relating to the study. Xenophobia consists of two works, xeno – and phobia.

Xeno means stranger, and phobia means fear – so in this regard xenophobia can be referred to as "fear of strangers", but it is defined as both fear and hatred towards strangers or foreigners (Merriam Webster dictionary 2017). The definition can be further elaborated to include "attitudes, prejudices and behaviour that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity" (Declaration on Racism, discrimination, Xenophobia and Related intolerance against migrants and Trafficked persons 2001). The South African human rights commission has defined it as "the deep dislike of non-nationals by nationals of the recipient state" (In Bekker 2010: 127).

Bearing in mind these definitions, xenophobia in this study, mainly considers hatred or fear of South Sudanese refugees in Kampala, seen as different attitudes, prejudices or hostile behaviour towards them by Ugandans. However, I do not exclude the fact that xenophobic tendencies can occur between people or groups of the same nationality. For example, ethnic based discrimination has been seen in Uganda in the pre-colonial times, escalating during colonialism and post-colonialism and continues today (Anthony 2002). The same can be said about South Sudan, where, as demonstrated in chapter 2, ethnicity has become a core influence for the conflict. This, although often referred to as tribalism, I argue, is also xenophobia.

In South Africa, xenophobia has been explored extensively, much because the phenomenon there has grown obvious, by a way of which physical violence has become a part of its nature, in violent xenophobic attacks in 2008 and 2015 (Thisdaylive 2017). The nature of violence in South Africa goes far beyond the definition of xenophobia as an attitude or state of mind (Hågensen 2014, 34). Xenophobia in Kampala, Uganda, as highlighted in the section of "relevance of the study", has been briefly mentioned in other literature; Refugees are often the target of xenophobic tendencies, and hence discrimination from the locals (RLP 2002, 20). refugees experience being unfairly blamed for societal problems, have been hearing xenophobic statements from locals, and are seen as economic parasites (RLP 2005, 38; Machiavelo 2004,26).

3.2. Livelihood.

A livelihood, is the way people make a living. How they are able to access what is necessary to cover expenses for their wants and needs, such as water, food, education, health care and so on. "The term is well recognized as humans inherently develop and implement strategies to ensure their survival" (UNDP & UNISDR 2010, 1). In addition to the activities people engage

in to acquire a means of living, a livelihood also comprises people's assets (including both material and social resources) and capabilities (Chambers & Conway 1991)

Livelihood assets can be divided into "capitals" that individuals hold a larger or lesser amount of, such capitals are;

- Human capital; skills, knowledge, health and ability to work.
- Social capital; Social resources, like access to informal networks, organizations, relationships and other social institutions for facilitating cooperation and economic opportunities.
- Natural capital; Land.
- Physical capital; Infrastructure, like roads, water and sanitation, schools and "producer goods" such as for example livestock
- Financial capital; savings, credit, income

(UNDP and UNISDR 2010, 2)

The refugees from South Sudan who informed my study had a varying set of "Human capitals". For example, many had skills in handicrafts, others had experience and knowledge from formal work. They had different levels of language skills, and some received financial capital in the form of remittances from family. The different skills and other assets that the informants of the study had, will be commented on further in chapter 5, under the section of "other influencing factors" and in the "effects on livelihood opportunities" section.

How people access and use the above-mentioned assets is what forms their livelihood strategy. Livelihood strategies may be individual or collectively organized within a group or a community. The context in which people develop their livelihoods is crucial as few livelihoods exist in isolation – quite the contrary – most livelihoods are interdependent on other livelihoods and together they all form the communities in which individuals live (ibid.). Some of my informants shared accounts on how they were relying on each other to reach livelihood opportunities, for example, they sold their produce through connections they had made with others. Livelihoods are formed within social, economic and political contexts (ibid.). How these contexts look, and changes in them, will be affecting the obstacles or opportunities that people meet in attempting to create livelihoods. As I will indicate in my findings and discussion chapter, the social, economic and political context in today's Kampala, logically, was affecting the livelihood opportunities of the informants of this study.

3.3. Stereotypes

When we talk about groups or social categories, stereotypes of them becomes a natural subject to talk about. I will show how stereotypes affect South Sudanese, and how stereotypes seem intrinsic to Xenophobia, in the findings and discussion chapter (chapter 5). Stereotypes are knowledge structures that serve as mental "pictures" of the groups in question (Lippmann 1922). With few exceptions, stereotypes represent the traits that humans regard as characteristic of a given social group or individual, and comes forward particularly in differentiating one group or individual from another (Stangor 2009, 2).

3.4. Prejudice and discrimination

Prejudice can be defined as a negative attitude towards a group or an individual in that group (Stangor 2009,2) Kisuule (2007, 158) emphasizes how prejudice lays the groundwork for discrimination, and how prejudice can be both conscious and unconscious. Discrimination is actions that are rooted in prejudice(ibid.), such actions can for example excluding someone from opportunities, based on the attitude towards the group that someone belongs to. As outlined earlier, prejudice is part of what is xenophobia, so discrimination can also be an expression of xenophobia.

3.5. Stigma

Goffman (1963) describes stigma as a powerful discrediting and tainting social label that radically changes the way individuals view themselves and are viewed as persons. When a group, or an individual belonging to a group is failing to meet normative expectations because of attributes that are different and/or undesirable, he/she is reduced from being accepted to being discounted (Kisuule 2007, 156)

3.6. Theories around xenophobia

Looking at already existing theories and research handling the nature of xenophobia help us look at the general characteristics of the phenomenon. Xenophobia develops in the context that is surrounding us, and between the people we surround ourselves with. In other words, it is in the "space" between people. It is in the reality of groups as well as individuals, that the phenomenon of xenophobia is experienced and expressed. To understand why xenophobia is there, we then must look at the social relations between people, therefore it is necessary to understand the sociocultural explanations of xenophobia. The theories will be emphasizing in-group and out-group thinking as a predisposition for xenophobia. An in-group is a social category or group with which a person identifies strongly, whilst an out-group, on the other

hand, is a social category or group with which a person does not identify (Giles and Giles 2013, 142).

3.6.1. Social Identity theory, In-group and out-group.

Social identity theory, considers how human beings, as individuals, connect their identity to the group that they feel they "belong to". The group that we identify with, and feel connected to – is a source of self-esteem. Being part of a group can provide the benefits of acceptance, belonging, and social support, as well as systems of roles, rules, norms and beliefs that guide behaviour (Stephan, Ybarra and Morrison 2009, 43). Social identity theory looks at "the aspects of an individual's self-image that derive from social categories to which he perceives himself belonging" (Tajfel and Turner, 1979, 40). According to the theory, we like to think positively about the group that we belong to, whilst there is a tendency of thinking negatively about groups in that we do not belong to, and this can help us enhance our individual self-esteem; it makes us feel "better than" the group we don't belong to (ibid.). Therefore, we can often see behaviour that divides people into "in-group" which oneself is considered part of, and "out-group" which is "the others". The relationship between an in-group and an out-group is described as an intergroup relation. Even if it is not logically necessary for boundaries between groups to create tension between them, in practice intergroup relations are more likely to be antagonistic than complementary (Stephan et a. 2009, 43), and that is why an intergroup relation can show itself through intergroup conflict and group cohesion (Tajfel 1982, 15). As early as 1906, Sumner wrote about this relationship, saying that "The relationship of comradeship and peace in the we-group, and that of hostility and war towards other-groups are correlative to each other. The exigencies of war with outsiders are what makes peace inside" (In Tajfel 1982, 15).

In this study, generally, the "out-group" is the South Sudanese refugees, as they are foreigners in Uganda, and the in-group is the Ugandans. However, which is which depends on the perspective we take. For a South Sudanese refugee, his/her in-group is generally the South Sudanese that he/she shares a common nationality with, and Ugandans can be seen as the out-group.

Putting oneself in an in-group, and others in an "out-group", instead of looking at individuals and their individual qualities, will often lead to simplifying, looking at people as a group of individuals which all hold the same qualities. In other words, we tend to stereotype out-groups and out-group members. When there is a strong intergroup conflict, the likability of members of opposing "groups" behaving towards each other as a function of their respective group

membership, rather than on an individual basis, will be higher (Tajfel and Turner 1979, 34). We will often look at members of the out-group as "undifferentiated items in a unified social category", risking an end in which we "depersonalize" or "dehumanize" members of the out-group (Tajfel 1982, 21). Building on the definition of xenophobia, I argue that there is a clear link between the points this theory is making about in-group/out-group relationships, and what would correlate with xenophobic tendencies. For example, attitudes towards South Sudanese refugee individuals, or hostile behaviour towards them, can be argued to be based on a negative thinking about the out-group of South Sudanese, and a result of Ugandans generalizing the impression they have about them as an out-group.

3.6.2. Intergroup threat theory

Intergroup threat theory, is based on the in-group/out-group relationship – and on how sometimes there is a perceived threat between groups. "In the context of intergroup threat theory, an intergroup threat is experienced when members of one group perceive that another group is able to cause them harm" (Stephan et al. 2009, 43). The theory divides different threats into realistic threat, and symbolic threat.

Realistic threat – is the perceived threat of physical harm or loss of resources, and general welfare; threats to tangible resources

Symbolic threat – is the perceived threat of one's group meaning system and the integrity and validity of it. This includes a group's meaning system when it comes to religion, values, belief system, ideology, philosophy, morality and worldview; threats to group-esteem.

Important to note is that the theory talks about *perceptions* of threat, and on how reactions to perceived threats may be harmful to social relations between two groups. The theory proposes that the threat, and reaction to the threat is based on a group's positioning compared to the other, and on wishes to defend this position. Whether the perceived threat is actual, depends on the situation and context, but often, the threat is exaggerated because of the in-group generalizing the "impressions" of the out-group, much in line with what we have already explored in social identity theory. As mentioned, South Sudanese are generally seen as the out-group in this study, but the out-group can also feel threatened by the in-group of Ugandans, seen from the position where they are standing, in the findings and discussion chapter, I will discuss this in relation to stigma.

What is it that makes one group more or less prone to feel threatened by another group? The intergroup threat theorists list a number of variables that affect the level of felt threat. It

depends on the level of prior relation between the groups in question, the cultural values of the group members – are they similar or dissimilar? It also depends on which situations the groups interact within, and individual differences between group members (Ibid, 46-47). Additionally, the power relationship between the group is an important indicator. Power is a contested concept within sociology, but the most common definition is by Max Weber, who defines it as the ability to control others, or to control events or resources. In other words, the power someone has to make what they want to happen, happen, in spite of obstacles, resistance of opposition (Crossman 2016). Field research have shown that between two groups, the "low-power groups" (in this study, South-Sudanese refugees) are more likely to experience threat from "high-power group" (in this study, Ugandans), but because of being at the mercy of the high-power group, their reaction might be smaller. As for the high-power group, they "react strongly to feeling threatened because they have a great deal to lose, and unlike low-power groups, they possess the resources to respond to threats" (Stephan et. Al 2009, 45). The perceived group size and size relationship between two groups is also an antecedent of threat. In Kampala, if one puts South Sudanese refugees and Ugandans "up against each other", then the South Sudanese is a smaller group, and according to my informants, many South Sudanese hold less relative power than many Ugandans.

There are also the threats to individuals, which may form the perception of how an out-group is viewed (Stephan et. Al 2009), as "group members who have had less personal contact with out-groups are more inclined to feel that they are threatened than those who have had more personal contact with the out-group, though personal contact with the out-group in negative settings can heighten perceptions of threat" (Riek et al. 2006, Stephan et al. 2002 in Stephan et al. 2009, 49). The individual threats that the theory builds on are also divided into realistic and symbolic threats. Here, realistic threats are the actual physical or material harm to an individual belonging to a group. This can involve different types of experienced violence or pain, such as torture or death, but also involve pain or bad experiences connected to economic loss, deprivation of valued resources, and threats to health or personal security. Symbolic threats to the individual involves loss of face or honour, and/or undermining of the individual's self-identity or self-esteem (Stephan et al. 2009, 49-50).

Consequences of feeling threatened
Intergroup threat theory poses that consequences of threat are diverse. It does not only include changes in attitude towards the out-group. The consequences can be broken down to cognitive, emotional and behavioural responses (Stephan et. Al 2009, 50).

The cognitive responses include changes in the perception of the "out-group" such as changes in stereotypes. It can also involve ethnocentrism, intolerance, hatred and dehumanization of the out-group (ibid.).

The emotional response to threat are likely to be negative, and include emotions like fear, anxiety, anger and resentment, as well as contempt and disgust, rage, despair, dread and helplessness to mention some proposed in the intergroup threat theory. Perceived threat may undermine emotional empathy for out-group members and increase empathy for in-group members (Stephan et. Al 2009, 51), creating grounds for bias towards in-group members. For example, many Ugandans talked about feelings of fear, anger and resentment towards the South Sudanese. The South Sudanese refugees I spoke to demonstrated feelings of helplessness connected to their situation, and to their interactions with Ugandans, I will elaborate this in different parts of the findings and discussion chapter.

Behavioural responses to threat are what is called "open intergroup conflict" which ranges from withdrawal, submission and negotiation to the more hostile; aggression, discrimination, lying, cheating, stealing, harassing, retaliating and sabotage, and in its most extreme expressions - protests, strikes, violence and warfare (Stephan et. Al, 52). I could, through my study, identify "open intergroup conflict" by seeing both withdrawal and submission amongst my South Sudanese informants, and aggression, discrimination and harassment from Ugandans towards South Sudanese refugees. An example of "harassment" is how different categories of informants (both Ugandans and South Sudanese informants) had experiences of, or could tell me about South Sudanese people being verbally abused on the street. I tie this to threat as South Sudanese at the same time were seen by many as hostile and violent. This will also be elaborated more in chapter 5.

Whether or not a *perceived* realistic or symbolic threat is actual does not change the fact that the threat has consequences, and that is why the theory does not focus too much on the actuality of threats.

3.6.3. Structural explanations

To widen the understanding of how xenophobia comes to be, we can also look away from the "social" space that xenophobia is appearing in, and look at the bigger structures of society as influencing factors for its emergence. How the policies of a country are constructed and how the systems between countries are different or similar is something that affect interactions. The way a state holds its responsibility for the people within it affects the environment in

which xenophobia may or may not be allowed to grow and flourish. What a state does, and what it signals, can have a big impact on what goes on in a country (Hågensen, 2014, 24). Hågensen (2014) highlights the attitude and behaviour of civil servants, as an important state-centered explanation of xenophobia. Indeed, the vulnerabilities that refugees are exposed to, including xenophobia, can be determined by how laws and policies of host government are constructed and implemented (Jacobsen in Bucher 2011, 21). In Uganda, the policy is, as highlighted in chapter 2, quite generous towards refugees. The policy favours the refugees and is designed for protecting them. How the policy is handled by individuals however, in the direct interpersonal handling of South Sudanese refugees in Kampala, might be a different matter. The findings from the field, for example, shows that refugees, and others, in Kampala, are subject to corruption from public servants, this will be elaborated on in chapter 5.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

This thesis is written by the primary investigator of the study, who have personally collected the data and conducted the analysis of it. This chapter will therefore bare clear reflections and experiences from me as the PI made in the process of putting the methodology to life in the field.

The chapter looks at the methodology and the research design guiding this study. It will start off outlining the Research design and the philosophical stance behind it. Furthermore, it will go into looking at how this stance affected the methodological approach including the data collection and analysis strategies. The selection of participants will be described, as well as the data collection tools. The chapter will also talk about ethical concerns, challenges encountered in the field, analysis of collected data and limitations of the study.

4.1 Research design.

The study has a qualitative research design. Qualitative research bears interest in understanding *how* people interpret their experiences, *how* they construct their worlds and *what* meaning they attribute to their experiences (Merriam and Tisdell 2016, 6) The questions that a qualitative researcher would be asking, focuses on understanding experiences, and that calls for a qualitative research design (ibid.) The product of qualitative research is richly descriptive, and words and pictures – rather than numbers, are used to convey what the researcher has learned about a phenomenon (ibid.).

The lived experiences of my participants have been in focus. The study is looking at experiences connected to livelihood and xenophobia, through the eyes of informants on the

field. As my study focuses on *exploring* the experiences and opinions of individuals, creating more understanding through questions of "what, why and how", I found a qualitative research design appropriate. As I am exploring the *phenomenon* of xenophobia, I am entering a qualitative design within the philosophical stance of phenomenology;

> "Phenomenological research is a design of inquiry coming from philosophy and psychology in which the researcher describes the lived experiences of individuals about a phenomenon as described by participants. This description culminates at the essence of experiences for several individuals who have all experienced the same phenomenon" (Creswell, 2014, 14)

Because of the nature of the study, it was necessary to go onto the "field" in order to get close to the reality of my participants and to talk to them myself, this is a common thing to do within the qualitative methodology, as Silverman (2006) points out, qualitative research in general has the characteristic of studying the phenomena in the context in which it arises, through observation and/or recording or the analysis of printed and internet material. I went to Kampala and recorded peoples' experience and opinion around the phenomena of xenophobia, at the same time, it became natural to observe the context of my data collection, and to study literature, national policies, acts and other official documents dealing with refugees and livelihood.

Qualitative research uses words as data (Braun and Clarke 2013). In this study, data was collected with the use of personal interviews with the participants, some which were semi-structured, others unstructured. Data was also collected through informal conversation, document review and personal observation. The rationale behind the choice of this type of data collection methods, is that they allow for the exploration of experiences and views, which further allows for building and understanding of the situation based on the participants' narratives. The data collection method and tools will be further elaborated on later in this chapter.

4.2. Selection of informants.

The selected informants were adults (above the age of 18). I wanted informants to give me a diverse view of the issue at hand, and therefore I wanted a diverse sample of informants. That is why both South Sudanese Refugees, as well as local Ugandans and people connected to different offices handling refugee matters were selected. The refugees I interviewed should hold refugee IDs and live in Kampala. I was going to the field planning to interview both men and women. I wanted to look at the refugees who had refugee status in Kampala after the latest conflict in South Sudan. The informants were "picked" through gatekeepers, from

NGOs and from people in government offices. In addition, some were selected through connections at Makerere University. Being from outside the context myself, I had to rely on connections of people more familiar with the context for finding informants.

Through official websites, I found offices of NGOs such as Interaid Uganda and Refugee Law project, and the Office of the Prime Minister's refugee directorate. Through contacting these offices, I found people working with refugees who were willing to be part of the study. These people function as key informants. They are defined as key informants because they are professionals in the handling of different refugee matters in Kampala, and hence were assumed to have extensive knowledge and experience with the issues that this study is addressing. Furthermore, one of the NGO contacts linked me to a community contact who was the link between said NGO and the South Sudanese refugees in one of the divisions of Kampala. This community contact proved to be a valuable resource in recruiting participants who fit some, but not all, of the criteria of the sample I wanted of refugees from South Sudan. I was originally aiming at using "snowballing" to further identify informants, but it proved that relying on the community contact to set up meetings for me with the refugees was the safe way to go, as she already held trust in the community. Having to use the gatekeepers I was provided with, and working through NGOs made my sample opportunities limited, as I was depending on the people that they knew of, and could get in contact with, this has also been commented on in the "limitations of the study" section in chapter 1.

The selection of informants was done in two phases. The first phase was from August till November 2016, and the second, from August till September 2017. In the first phase I selected 15 informants. Out of these, 6 were refugees, 3 were locals and 6 were key informants. In the second phase, I re-interviewed 3 of the refugees from the first phase. In addition, I selected 5 new informants, 1 of them was a refugee, and 4 of them were locals. The reason for going to the field twice, and for selecting informants in two phases, was that after my first field visit, I went through my collected data and found that I wanted some of the information I had gathered to be further elaborated. I also lacked informants to cover the whole sample I originally wanted. After my second field visit, I finally felt like I had enough substance to answer my research questions, although the sample did not end up as diverse as I had hoped for. For example, my refugee informants were all from what could be defined as "lower middle class", and out of the 7 refugees whose interviews are reflected in the thesis, only two were men. However, as a single researcher without a big research team, I found it important to go with the informants that I could access rather than focus on the limitations to

the point where my project would "fade". Like Creswell (2014) rightly points out, the process of qualitative research is emergent – which means that the research plan cannot be counted upon as fully accurate, and one must be prepared for the phases of the process to change or shift as the researcher goes onto the field and starts data collection.

Summarized, I ended up selecting in total 20 informants.

4.3. Validity and Reliability

All research is concerned with producing valid and reliable knowledge, and Validity and Reliability are "measures" of the trustworthiness of research. Ensuring the validity and reliability in qualitative research involves conducting the investigation in an ethical manner. These measures can be achieved using several strategies (Merriam and Tisdell 2016, 242). When assessing validity and reliability in qualitative research, it is important to be aware that within the approach of qualitative research, truth is a contested concept, because in qualitative research, we look for lived experiences of individuals; "Qualitative researchers can never capture an objective "truth" or "reality" – but is looking for individuals construct of their own realities – around the experience of a phenomenon" (ibid,244).

The strategies that I applied to ensure validity and reliability were triangulation, respondent validation and self-awareness.

As the primary investigator of this study, I have been the primary tool for data collection, and that is normal in quantitative studies, the investigator is the one asking questions and interpreting the data, rather than "external tools" for data collection being interjected between informants and me. An advantage of this is that it has brought me closer to the reality of the informants of the study. But it was important for me to be aware of my personal influence, standpoint and background for interpretation, as "data do not speak for themselves, there is always an interpreter" (Ibid, 245). I made a point out of bracketing my own assumptions and biases as a researcher.

Triangulation means approaching an issue from several angles, and by that, comparing and cross-checking data collected (ibid, 244). This can be done by using multiple sources of data, multiple methods, and multiple investigators and theories. I used multiple sources of data; I had several informant groups that had different perspectives. I also used multiple methods, both structured and unstructured interviews, informal conversation, observations and documents.

I also did respondent validation. After interviews, I repeated my understanding of the respondents' accounts, and got them confirmed or disconfirmed, if in any instance I had misunderstood, questions were repeated to make sure I got it right. I wanted to do a group respondent validation at the end of the field visit, but unfortunately, time did not allow for that to happen. However, the triangulation of data and the fact that a lot of the data was consistent with one another strengthens the validity and reliability.

In terms of what Meriam and Tisdell (2016) refer to as external validity, that poses the question of, is the result generalizable? The study design, sample size and limited diversity of the sample are clear limitations to this. However, often in qualitative research;

> "A single case, or a small, non-random, purposeful sample is selected because the researcher wishes to understand the particular in debt, not to find out what is generally true for many" (ibid:247).

What is more important in qualitative research is the transferability of the results, which simply is, whether or not the results can be used by others? I argue that the descriptive data of the realities of my informants, can be picked up for other research, and can be applied elsewhere, with the accurate caution. This will be further elaborated in the conclusion chapter.

4.4 Site of the study

This study was conducted in Kampala, Uganda. The key informants, were in different offices around the city. The informants who were South Sudanese Refugees, and local Ugandans who contributed, were from one of the cities divisions, called Kawempe, and most of the meetings with them were conducted there.

4.5. Data collection

In qualitative research, the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis (Merriam and Tisdell 2016, 17) In this study, as mentioned, I went onto the field, this was however, not without the use of recognized research tools, such as interview guides. I developed different research guides for the different groups of informants. The questions within these guides were based on the research questions outlined in chapter 1. I conducted qualitative interviews, both structured (with interview-guides) and unstructured, informal conversations and document review throughout my data collection. In addition, these methods were complimented by my personal observations. Below follows a description of why I found these methods of data collection appropriate for the study, what proved challenging in the use of these methods, and how the process of using these methods went.

4.5.1. Interviews

Two types of interviews were used to gather data for the thesis. These were semi-structured, and unstructured interviews. Both are considered qualitative interviews.

Semi-structured qualitative interviews are aiming at getting an insight into the participants' own perspectives. They are open and give room to answer freely, so that the researcher gets the chance of seeing what the participants deems as relevant and important.

The focus of qualitative interviews is on how the interviewee frames and understands issues or events (Bryman, 2012), so when I, a researcher, want to look at an individual's perception and interpretation, qualitative interviews are advantageous. Qualitative interviews also bring the advantage of flexibility in allowing research topics to be approached in a variety of ways, and when the interviews are done well, "we can achieve a level of depth and complexity that is not available to other, particularly survey-based approaches" (Byrne 2012, 210). Using interviews as my data collection tool, limited my access to quantifiable data, but then again, this was not what I was looking for in my study.

In meeting with the informants from South Sudan I found that the semi-structured interviews were beneficial for first meetings, so that I could address the issues I wanted to, systematically. As I was meeting the informants for the second time, it was better to have unstructured interviews and probing for the information that I wanted to go more into. Unstructured interviews were conducted with some local informants as well. I found that using a less "formal" approach helped bring out some answers and opinions that might not have come forward otherwise. The key informant interviews were all semi-structured with guides. When the informants were comfortable with it, and circumstances allowed it, interviews were taped. Confidentiality measures were taken throughout the interview process. These will be outlined in section 4.6. of this chapter.

All in all, 20 informants were interviewed.

The interviews with informants who could not communicate in English were held with the help of the community contact that I had established through an NGO. She functioned as a language mediator who could translate between me and the informants. The community contact was not a professional translator, as it was considered to be more important that she held trust with the informants. I did not want (because of the issue of trust) and did not have time to facilitate a process in which I brought along a translator from the outside. However, it was made sure that when my community contact functioned as a language mediator, she had a

good understanding of the "rules" in translating, and I did bring along an academic assistance from Makerere University, who mastered both Arabic and English to quality check the interactions during the second phase of data collection. The interviews that could flow well in English, I held myself under four eyes. Confidentiality measures were taken with everyone involved in the interviews.

At times, I found challenging to find the right questions to ask in order to answer my initial research questions, and I had to angle my questions in many different ways to get viable answers. The questions also had to be context-sensitive and some of them were altered as I went along, especially in situations where I saw that my informants, for different reasons, were struggling to answer. It was also important to me during the interview process to be aware of how my point of view, and most basic - my presence, influenced the participants, as well as the use of a language mediator. For that reason, during my second round of interviews, as mentioned, I brought along an assistant who mastered Arabic to quality check the interactions between my community contact, me, and the refugee informants who did not speak English. Having to take these considerations in the interview process pose clear limitations of the qualitative interview that can only be minimized to a certain degree. The amount of valid and reliable data I could collect might also have been influenced by factors that I could not predict, such as participant's behaviour and surrounding environment, not to mention the risk of the participants not telling the truth or only telling parts of the whole truth. Byrne (2012, 207) describes the qualitative interview as such; "The interactive nature of their practice means that interviewing is a highly flexible but also somewhat unpredictable form of social research".

Sites for the interviews

The interviews with the informants were held at the preferred site chosen by each of the informants. When interviewing the refugees, the interviews were mostly held in the home of the respective informants in Kawempe. Only one of the refugees was interviewed at the OPM office. Interviews with the key informants were held in their offices or in close proximity to them. The local Ugandan informants were interviewed close to their workplaces in Kawempe, one was interviewed in another part of town called Kisementi, and one was interviewed on the Makerere University campus.

4.5.2 Informal conversations

During my time on the field, I accessed valuable data from "unplanned meetings" and conversations that were not pre-planned and not taped as interviews. These data were noted

down in my field diary from memory after the interactions had taken place. An advantage of such interactions is that they were often filled with more open and honest answers when there was not a recorder or a "formal setting" involved. These informal conversations would take place in all kinds of situations, over a dinner table, during evening drinks or on public transport. A disadvantage, was that I had to rely on my memory in noting down the information that was shared. Although questions about the ethical perspectives of using such data can be posed, I argue that these data add much value to the thesis – and still, the confidentiality of these data have been kept with the same caution as other data.

4.5.3. Document review

Time was spent studying different documents, statistics, previous research and books handling the topic and context of my study. The literature that I investigated was an important part of building the thesis. Academic sites were visited in looking for articles and other literature. Both the HiOA online library and the library on campus was utilized, as well as other scholarly portals. Furthermore, the campus book-shop at Makerere was utilized, as well as the central library of Cape Town. Online, I used search words such as Xenophobia, livelihood, Refugee, Kampala, Uganda, Coping, prejudice, Stereotype etc. in different combinations. Reading through literature from my initial literature search, and throughout the process of working on my thesis, I found other sources, that other scholars and researchers had used that were considering similar topics. The main literature used in the thesis, was published during the last 10-12 years. However, due to the nature of the topic addressed, and the context of the study, these sources were of a limited amount, and some of the literature I applied therefore goes outside of this timeframe. The same goes for the literature relating to the theoretical perspective of the thesis. Some of the literary sources are classics within the topics that this thesis is addressing, and hence have been published a long time ago. Examples of this is Tajfel from 1982, and Goffman from 1963. Additionally, Official data from UNHCR was reviewed, as well as official documents from Uganda, such as law and legislation.

By reading through the literature I could single out what was most relevant for my study. I excluded some literature that turned out to be outside of the scope of the study. Furthermore, literature that was considered as not belonging to viable sources, was excluded.

4.6. Ethical Issues and confidentiality measures.

The study was approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data, by the School of Social Sciences Research Ethics committee at Makerere University, Uganda, and by the Uganda National Council of Science and Technology. Before any interviews were conducted, each

informant was given a thorough explanation of the study and its aim, the confidentiality of any information given during the interview or otherwise, and the information of who to contact in case of any psychosocial challenges faced as a result of being a part of the study. The people who assisted me during the interview process, such as the language mediator and the person who quality checked the interactions, were informed about the confidentiality of the data, and agreed to keep the information confidential. All contacts involved in the data collection were also informed that they could contact me, the primary investigator at any point, or the research ethics council at Makerere University if they had any questions, or wanted to withdraw from the study. Furthermore, the informants were given the opportunity to ask any clarifying questions before, during and after the interviews. After having given this information to the informant, verbal or written consent was asked. The names of the informants were not taken. Numbers, age and gender were used to identify them. Any names appointed to informants in this thesis are pseudonyms. The confidentiality of all the information gathered have been strictly protected by further measures such as keeping records such as tape recorders, my computer, hard disks and notebooks locked and/or coded. All audio data and other data will be deleted at the finalization of the thesis.

4.7. Informant overview – social categories

The informants of the study can be separated into three overall categories. These are;

1. South Sudanese refugees
2. Local Ugandans
3. Key informants

The South Sudanese informants consist of two men, and five women. These informants were refugees from South Sudan, six out of the seven had fled from South Sudan because of the South Sudan Crisis. Ryan (23) was the only one of the informants who were in Uganda before 2013. Prior to the crises, Ryan had been a Student at Makerere, but because of the difficult economic situation relating to the conflict, he had to opt out of his studies program, lost his student visa and became a refugee. These informants can be defined as belonging to a lower middle class, who were in different ways struggling to make ends meet in Kampala. The women I interviewed were married, but lived in Kampala as Single mothers. Two of them had co-wives. One of the women was widowed. One of the men was also married. These informants were appointed with pseudonyms, and their age is behind these in brackets; Karla (37), Mary (38), Paula (30), Ryan (23), Jacob (44), Maria (40) and Sara (35).

The Local Ugandan informants were four men, and three women. They belonged to different social classes. They were appointed with the pseudonyms of Sam (27), Lisa (41), Ali (29), Monica (30s), Grace (30s), Marc (30s) and John (26). Out of these informant, 5 were working in different informal markets in Kawempe. Sam was a freelancer, and John was a student.

There were six key informants to the study. These informants were employees at different offices handling refugee matters. All of the key informants were men in their 40's. They were from Interaid Uganda, Refugee law project and from the OPM refugee directorate. Some of my key informants allowed me to refer to them by their work title. Where this is not done, key informants will be referred to as "representative" from their respective organizations (ex; representative Interaid), or as "Government official". Five out of the six key informants were Ugandan, and therefore they are in some parts of chapter 5 also referred to as Ugandan nationals, or locals.

4.8. Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of making sense out of data (Merriam and Tisdell 2016, 191). In qualitative research the analysing process is not linear, but rather a process that starts from the first observation, first interview, or first document read, and runs alongside the data collection. It is an interactive process throughout that allows the investigator to produce believable and trustworthy findings (ibid.). This does not mean, however, that analysing stops once the data collection is completed.

The analysing process was informed by the notion that the interviews were reports of experience, and they were treated as such, rather than as events in their own rights – therefore, applying thematic analysis strategy was deemed appropriate. Thematic analysis seeks to identify key themes in the interview data (Bryne, 2012). The advantage of thematic analysis is that it allows me to systemise the findings, making the wealth of information collected easier to grasp. One problem with thematic analysis is that it is rather vague- for example it has not been "outlined in terms of a distinctive cluster if techniques" (Bryman 2012, 578).

Throughout the process of my study, I tried to continuously make sense of my data by summarizing my interviews, identifying themes and sketching dispositions for the organizing of data. The data collected was transcribed, and this is something I did personally. This allowed me to use transcribing as a tool for getting closer to the data, and I made notes of themes and findings that seemed important to me throughout the transcription process. After completing the transcripts, they were read through several times and reoccurring themes were

marked and coded. The findings were then summarized to get a good overview of the data. I continuously compared the data to the original research questions and objectives, to make sure the collected data answered these. After the second field visit, I concluded that my data had reached a "saturation level" that I was pleased with, although, in qualitative research, there is always more questions to be asked, and as mentioned in the limitations section, my informant sample was limited.

The continuous analysing of data, going "back and forth" between the data collected and the objectives and research questions of the study, finally led to the formation of four overarching themes. The themes are;

1.Causes of xenophobia

2.Expressions of xenophobia

3.Other influencing factors

4. Effects of xenophobia on livelihood opportunities

Under each of the themes, sub-themes also emerged. The findings and discussion chapter will present and discuss the findings according to these themes.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS – PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I present findings from the field-work, and discuss these findings, according to the themes outlined in the analysis part of the methodology chapter.

In the two first sections "Causes of xenophobia" and "Expressions of xenophobia", voices from the field will shed light on the experiences and opinions of different informants on the respective themes. These voices will be discussed, and compared to theory and existing research.

The "other influencing factors" sections sheds light on other factors in the lives of South Sudanese refugees, except from xenophobia, that made their livelihoods challenging. This helps nuance the situation they are in. Voices from the field will also be shared here.

The "Effect on livelihood opportunities" section, will show the connections of xenophobia to livelihood opportunities. The section will inform about the problems that I found the South Sudanese refugee informants facing, and through narratives from six South Sudanese refugees, it will be shown how each of them had managed/or had failed to manage, to get around the effects that xenophobia had on their livelihood opportunities. For narrating, I will

present each of the South Sudanese informants whose voices have been used in the forerunning sections more thoroughly, except from Ryan. Ryan's voice will be shared in the first two section only.

5.1. Causes of xenophobia

Four different reasons for why xenophobia against South Sudanese refugees in Kampala is occurring, were identified, they are; Being identified as South Sudanese, South Sudanese being viewed as different than Ugandans, South Sudanese being associated with the conflict in South Sudan, and the South Sudanese having a lot of money. The most prominent reason for xenophobia to occur, was connected to the background of conflict in South Sudan, and the stereotypes that have been developed because of this. Overarching the reasons for xenophobia, is the question of how a South Sudanese person is identified, because it is a reason in itself for xenophobia, and because, in this study, when South Sudanese refugees were identified as South Sudanese, that made them vulnerable to other causes, as well as expressions and effects of xenophobia.

5.1.1. How is a South Sudanese refugee identified by people in Kampala?

An obvious way to identify if a person is from South Sudan, is by finding out or knowing, that he or she is holding a South Sudanese passport, ID card or refugee identity card that states his or her nationality. But in everyday life, this is not something that is showing. The people from South Sudan that I encountered during this study, did not walk around shouting out their nationality, or waving their flag around.

I must highlight, that there seemed to be no distinction between who was a refugee and who was not, by the locals that I spoke to. People from South Sudan, were referred to as people from South Sudan.

One of the ways that people from South Sudan are identified, according to two of the Ugandan nationals I spoke to, is the way that they look; *"An area of discrimination, is their colour. You find that most of them are dark and tall"* (Refugee Outreach Officer, Interaid). According to Sam, people in Kampala who are from South Sudan really stand out *"(...) They are just really different, they really stand out. You just know that's a South Sudanese, so that is how people see them"* (Sam, Informant from Uganda). Ryan, said*;*

"people are presuming to know South Sudanese as being tall, black and having some marks. But that is not really true. Because in South Sudan there are so many tribes. From my tribe, you will not be able to identify if this person is Ugandan or South Sudanese… I am quite light

skinned, and most people have trouble identifying me as South Sudanese. They don't believe that I am South Sudanese, and because of that – they are not treating me all that bad." (informant from South Sudan)

From this we can see that some people from South Sudan, fitting the stereotype of "Tall and dark", and hence, typically "South Sudanese looking" are easily identified by others, as coming from South Sudan. But clearly, not all people from South Sudan are fitting in to that stereotype. The informants I had from South Sudan, looked a variety of different ways, and far from all of them were looking "typically South Sudanese". Some, but far from all of the informants from South Sudan fit this stereotype of tall and dark. So how were these people identified as South Sudanese?

Sometimes, word of mouth informs people around, and I found this in the neighbourhoods I visited; *"people living in this compound are from South Sudan"* (Local chairperson, Kawempe). Other times, language is a factor that "gives away" the impression that someone is from South Sudan;

"Some will say this is a Sudanese by the way we talk. Speaking in Arabic, can make it difficult for us. But if we speak our tribal language, Kakwa – people may think we are Kakwa from Koboko – because there are people from Uganda who speak the same language. So it is better to use this language." (Maria, informant from South Sudan)

These findings show that sometimes a South Sudanese person will be identified as such because he or she is "obviously" South Sudanese, fitting the stereotype of "tall and dark". Whilst other times, there are other factors influencing the impression, such as language. Other times, people found out who was a South Sudanese because other people had told them. What is striking about the findings above, is that, according to both Maria and Ryan, it is an advantage that their national identity is not known by Ugandans. When I asked Ryan about the chances of refugees from South Sudan who are trying to make a livelihood, and look "typically" South Sudanese, his answer was; *"These ones, I really don't think it can work out for them"*

Whether or not a situation can "work out", of course depends on more than one's nationality. There are people from South Sudan in Kampala, who hold assets which makes it easier for them to sustain life than those who do not have much, such as many of the refugees. This will be discussed in more debt later in this chapter.

The bio-cultural hypothesis has explanations that agree with the findings relating to how a South Sudanese person is identified. This hypothesis suggests that foreigners are targets of xenophobia because they are easy to spot (Harris 2002). Morris (1998) found that Congolese and Nigerians in South Africa, were targeted because they were easy to identify by the language they spoke, their inability to speak South African languages, by physical features, clothing and hairstyle. The bio-cultural hypothesis does explain part of the cause of xenophobia towards South Sudanese refugees, and it might be that some are facing challenges based on their looks alone, but as the rest of the findings will show, there are other negative impressions tied to someone being South Sudanese, that go beyond the way that they look or talk. I argue, that the following findings, further explain the reason why it would be an advantage for someone not to be identified as a South Sudanese person in Kampala.

5.1.2. The South Sudanese are different from us

People from South Sudan were according to some of my informants, in many cases perceived as being markedly different from other people in Kampala. These differences involved more than just differences in looks and language as mentioned above, but also cultural difference and traditions, that held a negative value to the locals. A number of informants expressed their concern about the burial practices of people from South Sudan. For example, one key informant elaborated on how this practice instated fear based on cultural differences. He stated that;

"Sudanese have a culture of burying the dead inside the house – so the landlords fear actually dealing with them (…) That is the general thinking among most Ugandans, that if you rent your premises to a Sudanese, first of all there will be so many inside the house, that it will damage the property, and in case of sickness and death, they will think that the dead will be buried inside the house" (NGO representative, Interaid)

Another informant, who was from South Sudan (Jacob) had the impression that Ugandans perceived South Sudanese as having a bad culture;

"We are talking about the culture. If you meet another South Sudanese here in Kampala, honestly they are ok. But the culture is a problem. I know some people who were never in the army, but they (the Ugandans) say that all the Sudanese have a bad culture. The war is between the Dinka and the Nuer, but they think that Sudan refugees all have a really bad culture"

The impression of being associated with war and conflict will be elaborated in the next sub-chapter, but from the way Marc sees it, the impressions that many Ugandans seem to be having, stem from Ugandans and South Sudanese being different from one another.

"Sudanese have their own behaviours, and Ugandans have their own behaviours. They (the South Sudanese) are fighting, they are tough, and also they are unhygienic" (Marc, Informant from Uganda)

That we see someone as different from ourselves, can lead to us not identifying with them, Marc, does not himself "belong to" the impression that he has of the South Sudanese people. His self-image, tied to his "in-group" of Ugandans, in addition to having a different nationality than them, is not connected to what he calls "the behaviours of the South Sudanese". He is generalizing, not considering that there is an individual dimension to human beings. This agrees with what Tajfel (1982, 21) says about viewing out-groups as "undifferentiated items in a unified social category", he is referring to generalized "picture" of all South Sudanese as fighters, tough, and unhygienic. The fact that difference seems to be an issue for many Ugandans, can be connected to beliefs about out-group traits, as something that build stereotypes. The findings above can also be connected to intergroup threat theory, and a "symbolic threat" to the meaning-system of Ugandans, connected to perceived cultural/traditional practices of burial, that differ between Ugandans and the South Sudanese.

5.1.3. The South Sudanese are associated with the conflict in South Sudan – "they are savages!"

Many informants of the study described a "picture" of South Sudanese people as violent and aggressive, unfriendly and badly behaved. This included both local Ugandans, key informants, and people here and there in informal conversation. Changing stereotypes, like this one that seem to have come from the conflict, can be seen as a cognitive response to intergroup threat. The South Sudanese were seen by some as heartless with no conscience;

"They generalize (Ugandans) and there is a notion that, preconceived, how South Sudanese are heartless, they have no conscience, because of their culture. You know they can – killing somebody is not a problem. I mean – they (the South Sudanese) have been in conflict pretty much, I don't know for how many years – they've never known peace. So, they live a very violent life" (Sam, Informant from Uganda)

Summed up, South Sudanese are by many viewed as "savage-like". They are viewed as an extension of the violence and abuse that people in South Sudan are victim of;

"What? South Sudanese, those people are bad! Those people will go and slit (cut) your throat in a second!" (Boda-boda driver, from Uganda)

"They are hostile. That is what I have heard… these people are very tough. They can kill you (…) This impression, of course, limits their interaction with the nationals" (Ngo representative, Interaid)

"When it comes to South Sudanese refugees (rather than other refugees in Kampala) it is worse because they, with the current political conflict in the country, Ugandans doing business there were killed. So they face discrimination (…) It is extreme, they attribute the killings to the South Sudanese refugees who are here" (Psychosocial assistant, Refugee Law Project)

Burial practices, and the fact that this is something that have been made a far-reaching general impression, seem to be a result of "word of mouth" from people who have heard from someone, who have heard from someone. There are some people in South Sudan that do have this burial practice of burying their relatives in the compound where they live, but according to my informants from South Sudan, very few practice it, especially in Uganda, since Uganda is not considered "home". The stereotype of the South Sudanese as violent, however, in addition to coming from word of mouth, from for example people who have been there and their networks, can be argued to come from the Media. Several Ugandan news media have reported on the violence in South Sudan, and on people from Uganda being victim of it. There is a devastatingly violent conflict going on, but in addition to media reporting on real events, as they should, news reporting can also have an impact on prejudice and stereotypes. This is demonstrated in other research, for example, media has been shown to shape the impression of black men and boys (The opportunity agenda 2001) and media-coverage has an influence on anti-Muslim prejudice (Ogan, Willnat, Pennington and Bashir 2014). One informant confirmed that this might be a reason behind Ugandans opinions about South Sudanese people; *"because you only hear that information on the radios (about violence in South Sudan), and see it in the newspaper. Because they are not around them. So, people have been very harsh"* (Local chairperson, Kawempe).

I argue that the impression of South Sudanese people as being violent, is a stereotype. This is because although some South Sudanese are acting violently, and are, or have been active in

the conflict in South Sudan, the majority of refugees in Uganda have had nothing to do with this. As mentioned in previous chapters, the majority of refugees from South Sudan are women and children. Furthermore, many refugees are from tribes that are not associated with the conflict. Even people who belong to the Dinka and Nuer tribe may have had nothing to do with the violence, many are according to informants, fleeing because they don't want to be a part of it.

It can be argued that the fact that South Sudan and Uganda are bordering countries, has an influence. People have been moving back and forth between the two countries for different reasons for a long time, therefore, there are important relations between the countries, and, it can be assumed that words and news travel fast. How impressions of people from neighbouring countries are formed, and how stereotypes are influenced by countries proximity to each other, is of interest and is something that should be studied closer. The fact that many Ugandans have been in South Sudan, and that because of this many have fallen victims of violence there, seem to have brought out many feelings for many Ugandans. A quick search in Ugandan newspapers brings up articles that confirm Ugandans facing the violence in South Sudan (The Observer 2016, The Daily monitor 2017a). The observer reported that two Ugandans were killed in the fighting in July 2016, another example is that the daily monitor reported on 5 Ugandans being shot and killed in an ambush in South Sudan on the 8th of July 2017. In the light of intergroup threat theory, we can see it as Members-of the Ugandan in-group, having been hurt and/or killed by the South-Sudanese out-group. The way people explained the situation, sounds feelings of anger, hurt and resentment/bitterness;

"People here hate them!" (James, informant from Uganda)

"You know, how they treat people, they treat Ugandans back there, I mean they were killing a lot of Ugandans back there, so people are not friendly to them because of that" (Sam, informant from Uganda)

"Some Ugandans are just really hurt by what happened. Because a lot of Ugandans were really hurt as well. They lost a lot of money. They lost their businesses. I mean, someone just came into your shop and killed all the people that worked for you…" (Sam, Informant from Uganda)

"Sometimes it's this feeling they have inside of them. Because some time back, because of this conflict, I remember how some Ugandans were victims of this. They were tortured for no good reason. I think it is causing some hatred between the Ugandans and the South Sudanese

(…) It is those (Ugandans) who are having this anger, who feel like they should pay back. I think some of them are doing it to show it to the South Sudanese that what they are doing back home is not good. To remind them that next time this is not how it should be" (Ryan, Informant from South Sudan)

"So that anger, the Ugandans who came back, they start building on it, to justify the hatred" (Refugee Outreach Officer, Interaid)

As I outlined in the theoretical chapter, there can be emotional responses to threat, and I argue that some Ugandans are feeling a certain threat connected to the presence of South Sudanese refugees, or South Sudanese in general, based on the findings above. Talaska, Fiske and Chaiken (2008) show how emotions are twice as closely related to racial discrimination as stereotypes and beliefs are, although stereotypes are connected to discriminatory behaviour as well. They hypothesized that stereotypes were *directing* discriminatory behaviour, but that emotions had an "energizing" effect to it, and found out that "Stereotypes, beliefs, and emotional prejudices all closely relate to what people say they did or will do toward out-group members, but that emotional prejudices are more closely related to what they actually do" (Talaska et a. 2008, 284). In this view, discriminating behaviour can be seen as an expression of xenophobia, fuelled by the emotional response to threat. I argue, that Talaska et.al's. study is highlighting the importance of my findings on how emotions seem to lie behind xenophobia and expressions of it, between Ugandans and South Sudanese. Expressions of xenophobia, will be discussed in section 5.2.

The paradox in this situation, is that the refugees that I spoke to, had ran away from the exact conflict that the people who dislike them, base their impressions of them on. Some of the refugees shared their accounts of how the conflict in South Sudan led them to flee the country and end up in Kampala. Some of the them feeling anger themselves, and the conflict is something that is also separating South Sudanese in Uganda;

"My husband was almost killed by the wars and by these tribes (referring to the Dinka and the Nuer) So that is why we had to run away… The Dinka and the Nuer are the ones who spoiled our country, they are the reason we had to come here and suffer in Uganda, so we do not want them here" (Maria, informant from South Sudan)

"The camp (in the north of Uganda) is very hard, because you can get the Dinka and the Nuer together. Sometimes they are even still fighting. That is part of the reason why we came to Kampala (Paula, informant from South Sudan)*"*

The Refugee Outreach Officer at Interaid explained how he thinks this continued separation along ethnic lines is an underlying cause for xenophobia expressed by Ugandans;

"You find that the South Sudanese themselves are divided on ethnic grounds. There are these two dominant tribes in South Sudan – the Dinka and the Nuer. They can't live in the same place – they have divided themselves, because they have phobia of each other (…) So that in itself manifests in discrimination, when the host communities are seeing that you are not united, it becomes a stepping stone for xenophobia".

5.1.4. The South Sudanese - they have a lot of money, and they spoil the prices!"

Many Ugandans I spoke to, and even business people from abroad had, had the impression that all the South Sudanese people were rich. Although not to the same extent a negatively loaded impression, it did have negative effect on the lives of the refugees I spoke to. Repeatedly during both informal conversation and interviews, this impression that South Sudanese are well-off was highlighted.

It seems that the impression stems from the fact that South Sudanese people in high ranking position have been living lavish in Kampala over the years. IRIN news, reporting on the matter, emphasises how the views are based on pre-civil war stereotypical impression of aggressive and flashy South Sudanese. According to reporter Matthews, the perception is based on the ministers and military commanders who, after independence, bought property and relocated their families to Kampala to take advantage of the comfortable lifestyle (Chris Matthews, 12. April 2017). South Sudanese that Matthews spoke to, highlighted that such stereotypes definitely do not fit the profile of the refugees fleeing the current crisis. The information gathered from my study, is also describing the same;

"We have had a big Sudanese community living in Uganda, but they have been from the well-off class. Not refugees. Now, of course, the Ugandan community they will not tell which is a refugee and which is not. The moment they realize you are a Sudanese, they think you have money" (Psychosocial assistant, RLP)

"The host community will brand you to be rich, when you are not. Because there are those who are staying in the upper hills of the capital city, in expensive houses. This manifests in a perception being born – and it affects those who don't have enough. They all look alike, so whoever sees a South Sudanese looking person will think they have the money" (Refugee Outreach officer Interaid)

Other local Ugandans informants confirmed these statements;

"They have much money (the South Sudanese). They are hardworking people but not here in Uganda. They do not want to work here. They came to relax" (Monica and Grace)

"They are getting money from the Ugandan government, from NGOs and from South Sudan, and their money have a lot of value" (John)

"Most of them are better off than me" (Ali)

As outlined in chapter 2, refugees in Kampala are generally not entitled to financial or material support from the government, or to support from the international community thorough UNHCR. As the refugee policy in Uganda is posing that you get assistance when you are in the settlement, but you are expected to fend for yourself if you decide to stay outside, for example in an urban centre like Kampala.

The impression that the South Sudanese are well-off, is also noticed by the refugee informants themselves. Sara and Paula both told me during interviews that they feel like they often are wrongfully assumed to have more than what they actually do. In the words of Sara;

"The Ugandan people believe that the Sudanese people have a lot of money and that they are having these dollars, but even though before it was there, after the war broke out it is not there anymore. From their own seeing, they see how we live. We have a big house – but that is because we have a big family. We came with kids, we came with relatives, we came with the children of those who died in Sudan. That is why we have a big house. But inside the big house there is a lot of trouble (…) When we go to the market, prices are hiked, when they know we are South Sudanese"

Some mentioned that the presence of rich foreigners, was leading to soaring property prices. The general thinking that all South Sudanese have money, have led to the South Sudanese refugees I spoke to also facing the blame for it;

"They are saying that before the South Sudanese were here, the prices were better. Since we (the South Sudanese) came in with our money, we have spoiled the prices(…) That is what they say. So ever they see us, and they feel bad (Paula, informant from South Sudan)

"People keep blaming them (the South Sudanese) that your presence has made the house rent going higher. Natives are no longer able to afford the house rents because of YOU!"
(Psychosocial assistant, Refugee Law Project)

5.1.5 Summary of Causes of xenophobia.

I have so far through this chapter looked at the context specific causes of xenophobia, and complimented the findings with discussion around the influence of media, the influence of emotions, and with other sources that further deepens the understanding of the topic. This has been the first step in realizing the objective of the thesis, and has handled the specific objectives of exploring the subjective opinions of why xenophobia towards South Sudanese Refugees occur, and exploring the view of the host population on South Sudanese Refugees.

5.2. Expressions of xenophobia

As a result of the causes of xenophobia, outlined in the previous section, different expressions of it comes forward. The described causes do not always have to lead to expressions, but the findings show that many times they do. The expressions are not always loud and clear, and in some cases, they may be perceived, rather than actual. This does not mean that it does not have consequences. Four different expressions of xenophobia towards the South Sudanese refugees in Kampala, were identified through the study. These were "lack of trust" "Avoidance" "exclusion" and "Abuse and harassment".

5.2.1. There is a lack of trust in people from South Sudan

The major issue that South Sudanese have now, is that there is a lack of trust in them. Ugandans have no trust with the South Sudanese. This is a result of the conflicts, when Ugandans were attacked. Somehow there is a lot of tension, much of it is quiet maybe, but there is a lot of tension (Refugee outreach officer, Interaid)

Two of the participants, described that distrust was an expression they were facing;

"They don't trust me. They see my face and think, they will find out that I am a South Sudanese by the way I don't speak Luganda well, they ask me where I am from, and then they find out. Then the people cannot like me very well, they will be saying "I think this man will ruin our shoes" (Jacob, informant from South Sudan)

Ryan describes a challenging process to get trust from locals, in the cases where he has tried to find work;

"Me, if I happen to get something new to do – there is always a question, they want to know where I am originating from. If they understand that I am a South Sudanese, in most cases they won't allow me to work. I need to get someone to give them a proper explanation, someone to defend me properly. Someone who has been around me and know me as an individual… I really need a good, good connection who can defend me properly. And this is

just for me, for those other South Sudanese who are in the Dinka or the Nuer tribe – I see it as really much impossible for them to get something to do…You have to explain yourself too. Yes, you're South Sudanese. Yes, you understand it is always said about South Sudanese this and that – but they should give you a chance. And they have to really know, that us being from there, it is not that everyone is behaving in the same way" (Ryan, informant from South Sudan)

What Ryan says here about being identified as a South Sudanese, and the limitations this poses for him in a job seeking process, can be reflected to the previous subchapter 5.1, on the causes of xenophobia, and on how it is a disadvantage that people find out that someone is from South Sudan. I argue that this is because of all the negative stereotypes that are tied to them.

Sam, who is a Ugandan, explains how this all works;

"The Ugandans who have been there and the stories they have heard and everything – they put it altogether and they generalize; if you are a South Sudanese then you cannot be trusted, so you don't associate with them. That is the notion that they have" (Sam)

I argue that we decide not to trust someone because we expect negative things to happen if we do, hence, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety, can be connected to this distrust. Stephan, Ybarra and Bachman (1999) is highlighting, that in addition to realistic and symbolic threats, negative stereotypes and intergroup anxiety also embodies some aspect of threat (Stephan et. Al. 1999, 2231). Intergroup anxiety, which means to feel anxious towards an outgroup, can therefore connect to intergroup threat theory, and be bound to lack of trust, in that we predict negative outcomes as a result of interaction with an out-group that we have negative views on. The same can be said about negative stereotypes;

> "If immigrants are expected to be aggressive, dishonest, ignorant, or undisciplined, it will probably be anticipated that interactions with them will be unpleasant or worse" (ibid, 2231)

Such a view on immigrants, or refugees, as this is the population under the scope for this study, is often based on lack of interaction with the out-group. The way that the out-group of South Sudanese seems to be viewed in the context of Kampala, does not encourage further interactions. This leads to a low social capital for many of the informants. Social capital is defined by Putnam (2000, 19) as relating to the connections among individuals, it is "the

social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Ibid, 19). In communities with more interaction between all the members, there will be more social cohesion between all, and according to the findings of L.Gordon and Maharaj (2015) more positive attitudes and trust. But as outlined in the theory of in-group out-group relationships, intergroup relations are likely to be more antagonistic than complimentary (Stephan et al. 2009). I will show how this plays out in the next section, handling "avoidance".

5.2.2. Avoidance

Introducing this section, about expressions of xenophobia, I argued that xenophobia is not always "loud and clear", and in demonstrating that it sometimes shows itself in what I call "avoidance", I hope to make that more obvious. I already quoted the Refugee Outreach officer at Interaid in saying that *"there is a lot of tension, much of it is quiet maybe, but there is tension"*. Avoidance here, I argue, is what the intergroup threat theory would call withdrawal, as a behavioural response to threat. To withdraw from someone, I argue, can mean the same as to avoid. Furthermore, it can be said that the avoidance is also based on the distrust discussed in the forerunning section 5.2.1., where in the discussion I connected distrust to intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes, still seen as forms of threat. "Negative stereotypes often lead to avoidance of out-group members" (Stephan et al. 1999, 2224). There seems to be a two-sided story here, locals give accounts of South Sudanese avoiding contact and vice versa. After presenting the findings, I will discuss this.

The psychosocial assistant from refugee law project and the Refugee Outreach officer at Interaid, both explain how they see avoidance as an expression of xenophobia;

"Of course, there will be a bias – when someone will not employ you. Secondly, someone will not buy from you – if you have a small business. So it has an impact on their livelihood…" (Refugee Outreach Officer, Interaid)

"A barrier is the relationship with the neighbours. They already have this impression that the relative of these South Sudanese that killed the Ugandans are living there. So they avoid. If you don't have a good relationship with your neighbour, it is an obstacle. A neighbour is an important connection to tell you where you can go to get what you need" (Psychosocial Assistant, Refugee Law Project)

Sara and her co-wife have tried to socialize with their neighbours, and Sara feels as though she is being avoided, I visited Sara twice during the study, once in 2016, and once in 2017. Both times her illustration of the situation was similar;

"Sometimes we meet and greet on the street, they go to the other side (of the road). Because we are Sudanese they just ignore us… They don't even greet. It becomes very hard to go out and interact with Ugandans, because when I am greeting they are not even answering me" (Sara, first visit)

"When we go and try to greet them, they deny us. It has been very difficult to get close to the people around us. Even if we want to be close to these people, the people will push us away. We keep asking why!" (Sara, second visit)

Paula also explains how she has heard of fellow South Sudanese sometimes being avoided;

"You will ask for a direction from a Muganda (a Ugandan person), you ask in English – and the person will leave you there, and move on. Will not direct you, will not even say anything. Will just leave you and move on… "

The same goes for Ryan, who has seen other people from South Sudan being dodged downtown;

"I have ever witnessed. In town, in Kampala market – because of the way South Sudanese have treated Ugandans back home, it happens that, when they see a South Sudanese and they realize this person is South Sudanese – if it comes to prizing the commodities they will rise it up… Increasing the price to discourage. Or, the South Sudanese can ask for the price of something, and the person in the market will reply in Luganda, knowing very well the South Sudanese can't speak it – but just to discourage so that you will move away."

Sam from Uganda says;

"Some people are really not ok with them (South Sudanese) …They really don't like them, so they don't want to do business with them, and they don't want to associate with them".

Monica and Grace, two Ugandan ladies working close to where Sara and the other ladies who I interviewed from the refugee community live, told me that; *"We don't want them here, we want Ugandans here! We want to be with Ugandans, not with them."* But they also said; *"They don't want to be with us, they have their own group"*. The local chairperson in Kawempe told me his impression;

"They don't want themselves to work with these people. They feel like they should be in their homes until they go back to South Sudan. That is the only problem. There is high disintegration"

From the voices above, there seems to be a disconnect between what the Ugandans in the local community are expressing, and what the South Sudanese refugees are experiencing. According to the local chairperson, there is no problem from the side of the Ugandans in the community, but why is it then so hard for the South Sudanese to connect? Is the local chairperson, and the ladies at the market right when saying that they simply don't want to?

We cannot discard the fact that Ugandans, for the South Sudanese, is their out-group, and that they probably feel a stronger cohesion towards their fellow South Sudanese in the community. According to Refugee Law Project (2002, 18) refugees in Kampala sometimes form enclaves, and indeed the South Sudanese refugees in the Kawempe community seemed to have "found each other". However, I argue that since the South Sudanese are often at the mercy of the Ugandans for establishing important connections, and to get footing in the Ugandan society to find ways of getting by, they would want to connect with the Ugandan community somehow. At least from what the informants from South Sudan told me, the reason why they are not better integrated in Kawempe, had to do with not feeling welcome. Initiating contact and creating a good relationship and feeling of community had been hard for them. But could it be that they are also generalizing the impression of Ugandans? That in seeing them all as unwelcoming, are they exaggerating the threat that they feel towards themselves? The South Sudanese refugees that informed this study, as I have argued earlier – can be seen as a "low-power-group" in Kawempe, and hence their reaction to the threat they are feeling is lower, because they are at the mercy of the Ugandans in the community. A response I often got was "There is nothing we can do, because this is not our country", and this sound of withdrawal/avoidance and a behavioural response to threat of submission, from the side of the South Sudanese refugees.

Avoidance can also be explained by South Sudanese being aware of the stigma towards them. Goffman (1963) analysed stigmatized persons' feelings about themselves, compared to the "normal" of society, normal, are those in a society who are not facing stigma, often, the majority. Stigma, is the situation of the individual who is disqualified from full social acceptance (Goffman 1986, preface). I argue that this description would fit the refugee informants and the way they are in this study tied to the concept of out-group and as a minority group, or what Goffman would call a "stranger";

> "While a stranger is present before us, evidence can arise of his possessing an attribute
> that makes him different from others in the categories of persons available for him to
> be, and of a less desirable kind – in the extreme, a person who is quite thoroughly bad,
> or dangerous, or weak. He is reduced in our minds from a whole and usual person to a

tainted, discounted one. Such an attribute is a stigma, especially when its discrediting effect is very extensive…" (Goffman 1986, 3)

How a stigmatized individual is handling the stigma he or she holds, is depending on the individual's awareness of the attributes that marks him as different and hence devalued in the eyes of others, the social context and the individual's motives or goals (Major and O'Brien 2005). I argue that the South Sudanese refugee informants were having an awareness of the stigma of being South Sudanese, because they knew that their nationality, and hence – part of their identity, was connected to negative stereotypes. A person being aware of the negative stereotypes and discrimination surrounding them, can put him or her at risk of feeling a threat towards his or her social identity (Major and O'Brien 2005). The awareness of the stigma can also be seen on group levels, as minority-groups for example, based on their prior experiences and exposure to a "dominant culture", create a shared understanding of the status they have in a society (Crocker 1999, Crocker et. Al 1998 in Major and O'Brien 2005). I argue that South Sudanese refugees can be seen as a "minority-group".

A way that stigmatized people might cope with the identity threat they are facing, from the awareness of how they are viewed, is by withdrawing their efforts, or disengaging from places and situations where they fear being discriminated against (Major and O'Brien 2005). Maybe, this is what is causing the disintegration of South Sudanese refugees in the Kawempe community, rather than them simply not wanting to be with the Ugandans. Allport (1954) pointed out how members of stigmatized groups may cope with identity threat by approaching, or identifying more closely with their own group. It could be that this is what is happening when Ugandans feel like "they don't want to be with us, they have their own group". Two of the key informants of the study mentioned this issue of how South Sudanese refugees may be aware of the stigma they are holding.

"People who have moved from the war, they are traumatized. When people are for example knowing that they will be called by tribe – they will not go well with it. They will feel rejected" (Refugee Outreach Officer, Interaid)

"They feel they are being discriminated against. They have this inferiority complex among them. So in trying to help them with livelihood you need to know that they are not very resilient. Once they want a service and they don't get it they give up… It takes a lot of mobilization and sanitization to get them on board" (Interaid Uganda Representative)

I conclude that the awareness of stigma and the coping mechanisms employed to protect self-identity, especially coping by withdrawing/Avoiding, may limit the efforts of the South Sudanese Refugees to integrate, and hence come at the cost of their success in creating livelihoods. However, Barnik, Hurst and Eby (2017) found that avoidance was the least frequently reported meta-theme in their analysis of how refugees cope with vocational stress. This is a striking finding, as it is contesting the former theory and research on discrimination and stigma (Ibid, 2). It is noteworthy that their study was on a limited sample, and relating to a different refugee population and context than that of this study.

Discussing self-stigma is not in any way an attempt to devaluate the stories shared by my informants, or mark them as untrue. Their lived experiences are still valid, and from clear findings on expressed xenophobia towards them, there is no doubt that xenophobic tendencies do exist in the community. Many informants had first-hand experiences of "loud and clear" xenophobic behaviour, and having faced these expressions in themselves made integration difficult. Bringing out self-stigma is merely an attempt to nuance the discussion. Section 5.2.3 and 5.2.4, will show some findings handling expressed xenophobia that are of the more "loud and clear" nature.

5.2.3. Exclusion

Because of the way people view South Sudanese people, many times the impression is that there is not any room for them in "informality spaces" such as markets. They are not welcomed – and some turn to hawking instead. Some put out blankets with their products outside the gates of their houses, others – go to spaces in town where there is a concentration of South Sudanese, and sell products especially for the South Sudanese (from informal conversations). According to a local market secretary I spoke to, in his market this was the situation; *"they don't like them (South Sudanese), they don't want them here because of the way they've been treated. Small businesses don't like the (South) Sudanese."*

The effects that xenophobia has on livelihood opportunities shall be handled more closely in section 5.4, but I want to mention already here that there seems to be a problem of exclusion, and that there were clear accounts of it as part of my findings. Referring back to the definitions of xenophobia, exclusion is an expression of xenophobia.

The problem of exclusion often comes up when looking for places to work from, according to the psychosocial assistant at Refugee law project. He shared one of his experiences from his work with the South Sudanese refugees;

"once I had some women from South Sudan come in. They were looking for a place to rent, so they could start a business. They had the money they needed even. But they were finding it so hard to get a place to rent, like an office. Whenever they were going to find something, they told me that people would look at their face and say "Na'ah – no one can give you a place to start renting, we never know you so maybe you are planning something bad" (…) They had permission and documentation and all. They asked me to help them find somewhere to operate – but we could not find anywhere for them to operate from, simply because they were from South Sudan. There is much suspicion.

The suspicion that the informant is referring to may be linked back to the distrust towards the South Sudanese, and the discussion about that earlier. However, I argue that exclusion of foreigners, or of refugees, is in itself an expression of xenophobia that can be seen as a behavioural response to threat, and an expression of hatred, anger or other negative emotions, in the form of discrimination and sabotaging. This can be attributed to the negative stereotypes that are surrounding South Sudanese and might in particular be connected to fear of traditional burial practices.

5.2.4. Abuse and harassment

In addition to avoidance and exclusion, which I describe as the more "quiet" expressions of xenophobia, there were also several stories of "loud and clear" hatred towards the South Sudanese refugees, or South Sudanese in general, and these were described by all the different groups of participants. Most of these "loud" expressions were hurtful words, but one story of physical abuse was identified, where an informant was spit at on the street. Such expressions can be seen as behavioural responses to threat.

The psychosocial assistant at Refugee Law Project, talks with many South Sudanese refugees weekly, as a part of the job that he is doing, and the refugees share their experiences with him. He has also witnessed in his own neighbourhood, as he has neighbours who are from South Sudan, how some South Sudanese are being openly harassed on the street;

"…They face discrimination – saying "You! After killing our people there now you are here running in to our country" (…) I am not saying that other people don't also face discrimination like this, but currently, with what has happened in South Sudan… People are pointing fingers at them. They fear to move from one place to another because people will be yelling and pointing "Do you see those people, they are the ones who killed our relative, now they are moving freely here!""

Local Ugandans informants to had also noticed;

"Those other people that don't like the South Sudanese, if at all they meet one, here in Uganda there are laws that protect the people. So, they just leave them… I think if at all there were no laws here in Uganda, they would end up beating the South Sudanese" (Lisa)

What Lisa is saying, can be connected to the Structural explanation behind xenophobia. The Ugandan legal framework, and, at least in preventing xenophobic violence – the law implementation, seems to be strong in Kampala. There seems to be signals from the authorities that one should not cause civil unrest, and indeed, civil unrest in Kampala is something that, in my experience is being dealt with by force by the Police. Verbal abuse on the other hand, seems to be common;

"I have heard of many scenarios whereby South Sudanese have been verbally abused by Ugandans. Especially when a Ugandan male youth have ever worked in South Sudan, or a relative of them, like a brother. If at all they see a South Sudanese vending or even just walking along the street they would abuse them. They will say "Go back to your country! Why did you come here in Uganda? Such things…" (Lisa, informant from Uganda)

"People start yelling: You Sudanese guy! What do you want here? You kill our women, you rape our women, you steal from us! You should get out of this place! Sometimes they even assault them. That's what happens. I've seen that you know… We were walking and then some boda guys just stopped on this street when the South Sudanese guys were walking. And they just started abusing them, yelling at them. And saying really mean stuff. I was there, and the guys (the South Sudanese) just walked on, and they didn't seem comfortable. You know that kind of situation is really sad. They do such stuff (killing and raping.) but you shouldn't put that on everyone you know. It was sad. (Sam, informant from Uganda)

From how the South Sudanese refugee informants themselves described situations, we can also see how verbal abuse and harassment is something that is happening to them;

When you are going on the road, you are going to the market, you are going any place – there is this insult that any Sudanese is called Dinka. Sometimes they will say; You Dinka! You have spoiled your country there; you are coming to spoil us here!" (Sara)

"It is not a good job. But it's just because I want to survive and push life on. That's why I go for such work. But there is a lot of suffering, because they insult me, on top of other things they can do. There is a lot of abuse in this type of work (Karla did not want to elaborate on

"other abuse") (…) They are saying "you people caused war in your place, you have caused your own war and now you come here trying to disturb us with the small, small jobs of ours. Better you go back to South Sudan and they kill all of you!" (Karla, informant from South Sudan)

"One time I was moving to town with a friend to find work, we were going on a boda – and passing by one of these matatus (local taxi-bus). There were some people in the matatu that were spitting on us as we were passing, calling us Dinka's and telling us how we ruined our country and now we came to Uganda" (Karla)

Mary, a tall, proud and dark woman of the Dinka tribe, from South Sudan, that I visited twice during my data collection, explained to me the second time that I visited;

We still cannot move around. People still yell at us "what are you doing here?" Embarrassing and harassing us… To me it is very difficult to move around, to make contact with people" (Mary, second visit)

According to the psychosocial assistant at RLP, his experience is that the harassment/discrimination is hardest on people who are Dinka, or look as if they might be;

"Everyone here in Kampala knows that this group called Dinka, they are the people who are fighting… So some ethnic group from South Sudan face more discrimination than others. My impression is that those who face more discrimination are Dinka's especially"

Informants who were from the Dinka tribe, often fit the above described stereotype of "tall and dark" and hence, were "easy to spot".

5.2.5. Summary of expressions of xenophobia

In this part of the findings and discussion chapter, I have taken a closer look at the expressions of xenophobia that was found in the study. The discussion has linked these expressions to the theories presented in chapter 3. The findings have also been discussed considering intergroup anxiety, negative stereotypes and Stigma, as well as other concepts outlined before, and I have tried to make clear the links between these findings, and the findings in section 5.1. I argue to further have realized the overall objective of the thesis, through reaching the specific objectives of getting a better understanding of xenophobia directed towards South Sudanese Refugees in Kampala, and looking at the different forms that this xenophobia is taking. I argue that we can also draw some preliminary conclusions that xenophobia was harder on informants who were Dinka, or those who looked as such,

however, this will be looked at more closely in the section handling the effects that xenophobia has on livelihood. The findings also show that distrust was something that mainly male refugee Informants were making note of, but it is difficult to conclude that this is affecting men more than women from such a small sample. Furthermore, people of both genders seems to have been experiencing the other expressions that may be argued to be consequences of distrust and negative stereotypes.

5.3. Other influencing factors

Through the study, in addition to identifying how xenophobia had an impact on livelihood opportunities, I also identified a number of other influencing factors. These factors can be connected to livelihood capitals, or assets. Many of the factors can, to some extent, be connected to xenophobia and/or prejudices, and some stand on their own. Although xenophobia was proven to be an important issue, it would be fooling my readers if I did not shed light on other factors that were clearly present. These factors were; local unemployment, lack of language, lack of skills, low educational levels, corruption and hiked prices, factors that all had a negative impact on livelihood opportunities. There was also one factor that can be thought to have a positive effect on livelihood opportunities, and that is the factor of "those who understand" – and can be tied to social capital. All the factors and the importance of them were confirmed through the meetings with the informants, and some voices will therefore be shared also in this section.

5.3.1 Local unemployment

Refugees often seek employment alongside the host communities' urban poor, that are plagued with high rates of unemployment, crime, sub-standard shelter and limited services (Bucher 2011). An NGO representative from Interaid informed me how the local population was struggling to find employment themselves, and that this would be an additional obstacle for the refugees. According to ILO statistics from 2013, there is a 3,8% overall unemployment rate in Uganda, and a 6,6% youth unemployment rate (Ulandssekretariatet 2014, 11). Specific numbers for Kampala could not be obtained, but locally it is well known that a lot of people are struggling to find employment that can secure a basic standard of living. The local unemployment reflects the economic and political reality of the context of Kampala.

5.3.2. Lack of Language skills

Language skills can be connected to what is called human capital in livelihood assets

Out of all the South Sudanese informants, only Paula and Ryan were close to fluent in English. Mary and Jacob could communicate in simple sentences, and the others could not speak English, but spoke their tribal language and Arabic. Only Paula, out of the informants from South Sudan, had acquired good language skills in the local language Luganda.

Limited language skills, especially when it came to the local language, can be argued to be the biggest limitation that my informants faced in managing to create a bond to the local community, and hence having the opportunity of establishing social capital. Luganda is the language that, in addition to the official language of English, is commonly spoken by the Buganda people who live in Kampala. This language is much used in everyday interaction by locals in Kampala, and according to a representative of the NGO Interaid, it is also this language that dominates the informal sector, which was where the informants of my study were seeking employment. Not knowing the local language, therefore was a very big limitation in terms of being able to connect and build a social network.

The NGO Refugee law project was offering English language classes for adults. But seeing that their offices were on the opposite side of town from where my informants were located, it was a challenge for them to get there. According to Bucher (2011) refugees in Kampala often stay within their neighbourhoods, because they cannot afford local transport, and for protection. He argues that financial limitations that restrict refugees' movements pose additional obstacles to urban refugees' employment opportunities and access to basic services.

The language that refugees would be able to take the most advantage of in the arenas where they were seeking employment, was Luganda – and this was not offered as a class.

Many informants demonstrated a will to learn Luganda, as it would greatly help them in interactions with the locals, but they found it difficult to find ways to acquire such skills. A natural choice would be to start practicing with and learning from their Ugandan neighbours, but as I have already shown, many felt rejected by them;

"You know when you are from different people, there is that fear. You can't just go from nowhere to your neighbour's place and start sitting with her, when she won't even greet you" (Paula)

Awareness of the stigma, and the xenophobia that people were expressing towards the South Sudanese refugees, seemed to have an influence on the opportunities that informants could or would reach in order to learn languages that would help their opportunities. Furthermore, as mentioned before, not knowing the local language was a "give away" to the locals find out that my informants might be from South Sudan.

5.3.3. Lack of work skills and education.

In addition to lack of human capital such as language skills, many of the south Sudanese refugees I spoke to had a limited set of livelihood skills that they could utilize in order to access livelihood opportunities. In terms of work experience, Mary, Paula, Sara and Ryan had experience with formal employment in South Sudan. All had experience from informal work in South Sudan. This will be elaborated in section 5.4. Knowledge is another human capital important for creating a livelihood. The informants had a varying level of education. One informant from South Sudan had no education, four of the informants had primary level education. Paula had studied until secondary level 4, and Ryan was currently undergoing higher education. The education level of the informants naturally has implications for their capabilities.

5.3.4. Corruption

Corruption largely influenced the life of the informants. They faced corruption in meeting both public services like school and hospitals, and in dealing with the refugee authorities like OPM and Interaid. My experience is that corruption is something that affects most people in Kampala. However, I second what Bernstein and Okello (2005) argue, in terms of corruption within the police system in Kampala, that also refugees face problems in meeting the police. Refugees face extra difficulties in meeting authorities as they often have to negotiate their legal status and secure justice on their behalf, opening for further exploitation (Ibid:53).

Refugees are often in a vulnerable life situation, more than other marginalized people, because they are even more marginalized by language, cultural barriers and lack of social capital (Bucher 2011:19). Many of the informants did not have the network, language, nor the income to handle the corruption they were facing. Corruption largely put an additional strain

on their livelihoods and their ability to provide for themselves, in that it affected their livelihood asset of financial capital. Some of the informants described it like this;

"Malaria treatment is like 75 000, but obviously if you are South Sudanese it is 100 000 or more. It is everywhere! Even in schools the South Sudanese have to pay different school fees. Most of the South Sudanese are paying more. When you see the Ugandan paying 250, the South Sudanese will have to pay 300 000 or 350 000 (Secondary School). But you can't know unless somebody at the school will let you compare receipts. What some do, if they have a friend who is Ugandan, they ask them to bring the South Sudanese kid and register them as their own, but sometimes they will see that the kid is South Sudanese. And if you go to the headmaster they will just say; if you don't want to pay, take them to another school" (Sara)

When asked what they can do to avoid these things, if they can report to for example Interaid, this is what Sara experienced;

"The Interaid asked us to report to the police, but reporting to the police will cost 100 dollars. So then we go to Interaid to report for corruption, and nobody acts. Then we go and wait for action. When we come to press – they (Interaid) also ask for money… and the same is happening in for example OPM offices. Corruption is there. But they tell you to come and report on corruption." (Sara)

This is worrying findings, and one can ask if this has something to do with the stereotype regarding the South Sudanese having money. Referring to structural explanations, the laws are by some evidently broken in terms of taking advantage of a vulnerable population such as the refugees from South Sudan.

5.3.5. Hiked prices

Hiked prices were also seen to influence the livelihood asset of financial capital. Informants from South Sudan were of the assumption that as South Sudanese, they were assumed to be able to afford higher prices than others, and they often found that prices were hiked in the markets. It may be added, that most foreigners in Uganda are overcharged. In my own experience, the rule on the street is that the price of a commodity does not depend on the commodity itself, but on the person who is buying the commodity. Good haggling skills is a must in trying to get a fair price. Referring back to the lack of language skills, this might also be a reason why South Sudanese often felt that they were overcharged. However, it cannot be completely discarded that, as some of my informants mentioned, hiked prices might be an expression of discontent with the South Sudanese's presence in Kampala. Nevertheless, hiked

prices made basic necessities for survival costlier for the refugees, something that was another influencing factor as it left the refugees with less money to, for example, buy what they needed to produce goods for sale, or invest in their livelihoods in other ways.

5.3.6. Those who understand

Some of the participants had been helped out, and found ways through Ugandans who sympathized with them and their situation. These were often people who had experience from South Sudan;

"Some can look at you good. Those who have been in South Sudan or have relatives there, but those who have not ever see us as negative" (Maria)

"Many of the businessmen in town, they have stayed in Juba, in South Sudan. Some of them know the language very well – and small, small English. Most of the Ugandans who were in business in South Sudan before, they understand. They can understand a bit of our condition, they also lost their business there. They sympathize, because they know. (Karla)"

Mary, has been able to stay in her house although she cannot make rent, because the pastor who owns it has accepted not to get rent. Mary tells me that many other South Sudanese who have not been able to pay, have been thrown out – and that all their furniture has been taken as a reimbursement of missed payment. She feels lucky that he sympathizes;

"He comes here inside the compound, and sees that we are struggling… He leaves us to stay here, even if we cannot make rent. We have not paid rent in three months now"

People who understand and who sympathize with the refugees, seem to be the ones who know the realities of what it can be like to be a refugee from South Sudan. It is people who have knowledge on the decrease in the value of the pound from having worked there themselves, or people who have seen the struggling that my informants go through first-hand, by actually having seen the desperate situation that they are in, by looking behind the gates of their compounds. This agrees with the what Stephans et al. (2009) are saying, that there is less resistance towards "out-groups" from people who have had more experience with members of the out-group. People who understood the situation can be seen as a positive addition to the livelihood asset of "social capital" for the South Sudanese refugees.

5.3.7. Summary of other influencing factors

Through this section of the chapter, I have shown how there are a number of other variables other than xenophobia, that influences the livelihood opportunities of Refugees from South Sudan, and poses difficulties to them. These factors can be connected to livelihood assets in

terms of different capitals, and to the social, economic and political context in Kampala. Outlining these factors helps maintaining a nuanced view of the situation of the South Sudanese Refugees in Kampala. These factors, and additional strains that xenophobia puts on livelihood, require the South Sudanese Refugees to amend their livelihood strategies, this I will demonstrate in the next section, through different informants' narratives. Discussing these factors is not to undermine that xenophobia does influence on livelihoods, throughout this section of the chapter I have shown how some of these "other influencing factors" can also be connected to xenophobia, such as language skills and hiked prices.

5.4. Xenophobia's Effect on livelihood opportunities

In this section of the findings and discussion chapter, I will explore how xenophobia specifically affected the lives and the livelihood opportunities of the South Sudanese refugees that informed this study. The chapter will start of by briefly outlining, through the voices of my informants, the different difficulties they were facing because of their situation as refugees from South Sudan in Kampala. Furthermore, I will present the narratives of each of the informants, with a specific focus on how xenophobia has affected each of them, and their livelihood opportunities. It will be shown how each of them had managed/or had failed to manage - and this relates to their ability to cope and to coping-strategies. Lastly, some additional findings will be highlighted about negative coping strategies. These findings are not very extensive, they hint towards prostitution or sexual abuse, and the subject was "tiptoed" around by my informants, something that makes sense, as it is very sensitive. However, I find it of importance to shed light on these findings. The findings in this section will be commented on as I present them through the narratives, and will be discussed at the end of the chapter.

5.4.1 Difficulties

The refugees from South Sudan explained to me some of the difficulties that they were facing in terms of living in Kampala;

"I have the problem of rent, getting food, and it is a challenge because I also have children. They have to stay with the mother-in-law" (Jacob)

"It is just me. As a single mother, I am just struggling to take care of the kids. I push life on. Life has been very hard, but we have been coping up, just struggling here and there. I thank God that he has been good (Paula)

"Others can provide food for themselves, but most not. Even to eat is very hard… The ones that are surviving, they are surviving, the ones that have money to go to the camp, now they have gone to the camp. Because you can't be here. Kids are sleeping hungry, rent is hard, education is not there" (Sara)

"I can only keep the youngest out of my seven children in school. Those who are in primary and in nursery. The school fees are not expensive. But the ones who are supposed to be in secondary, I cannot afford" (Karla)

"The livelihood is hard here. Everything is hard. The boda prices are high, market is high. The people (South Sudanese) who are selling bread in the street, I heard they were beaten. You cry here, and the neighbours won't come and ask you why. (Karla)

Summed up, all the informants from South Sudan who were interviewed, mentioned difficulties concerning their ability to keep their children in school, in getting enough food for themselves and their families, or difficulties in being able to pay rent where they lived. These difficulties can, as I have already outlined, be connected to a number of different factors that may lead to challenges in their ability to meet their needs. I argue that one factor is Xenophobia.

A livelihood is like mentioned in chapter 3, the way that someone makes a living, this can for example be by different income generating activities that people engage in. As I have outlined before, how a livelihood is constructed is dependent on different livelihood assets. To reach income generating activities, I argue that we are dependent on these assets to find "arenas" for making a living, such arenas can be compared to what the UNHCR refers to as protection spaces (UNHCR 2009, 3). For example, we are dependent on financial capital (an asset) for being able to rent premises to run a business, and business premises can be seen as an arena. Furthermore, we are dependent on a good network (an asset, social capital) to find a way of accessing such an arena, or other arenas, such as a spot in a market to sell products, or a place to buy what we might need to produce goods for selling. Furthermore, we are dependent on social connections/social capital (an asset) to establish a customer base, and so I argue that access to "social spaces" can be access to an arena. I suggest an understanding here, where livelihood opportunities, are seen as the "arenas" that the informants reached, or did not reach, to make a living, to have a chance of getting their wants and their needs covered, in other words, the protection space available to them. I found through my study that xenophobia had an impact on which arenas were available for the South Sudanese refugees, but I also found

that xenophobia affected my informants' own choice in seeking out these arenas. My informants were exclusively engaged in the informal sector. Bucher (2011, 25) through his study of Kampala, New Delhi and Johannesburg found that the informal, unregulated market was the arena where refugees could find access, whereas the formal employment sector was severely restricted.

My assumption was that the livelihood asset most influenced by xenophobia was the one of "social capital" because xenophobia, as I have explained in chapter 3, is something that arises in the social space between people. In a social space where there is an antagonistic relationship between an in-group and an out-group, which in many cases seem to be a fact between South Sudanese and Ugandans, there will be a lack of social capital. This would be compromising the livelihood opportunities that my informants could reach. Looking at the narratives below, I will draw parallels to what I have now outlined, and I will also compare what I found, to the other sections in this chapter, and to how I have discussed other findings so far.

5.4.2. Karla

Karla is a 37-year-old woman from Juba, she is from the Kuku tribe, and she is tall, slim and dark. As the findings in section 5.1.1. has shown, such an appearance makes a person from South Sudan easy to spot, although she is not Dinka, she still can be identified as "different" than other people in Kampala at a glance.

Karla has no formal education, and used to work with handicrafts before she fled to Uganda in 2014. Karla has seven children who are dependent on a substantial income to cover their school fees, and food. In South Sudan, she was a well-known seamstress in her neighbourhood, and used to have "too much" to do when sowing bed-sheets and tablecloths. In Kampala, she has not been able to start the same kind of work, she tells me that this is because of a limited customer base. No-one seems to want to buy her services here. She tells me how "there is no proper job here". Having trouble building a local costumer base can be attributed to a number of reasons, first of all, Karla does not speak Luganda, and only a little English, and this limits her social capital. Secondly, I argue that her social capital is further limited from how she looks South Sudanese, thirdly, she actually is South Sudanese, and it has been established through this study that there are a number of negative stereotypes connected to that.

Karla has experienced expressions of xenophobia. The first time I met her, she told me how she had a lot of negative experiences with the Ugandans; Since she had failed to make ends meet through working as a seamstress, she had gone to town, seeking out the arena of the big market there, to take "small, small jobs", something that for example involved sorting the bad beans from the good ones in batches of beans in the back of the big market.

"you just move around and ask people for work. You move within the market and ask what you can do for them (…)"

Many days, it was hard to find work, and people in the market were often abusive towards her, as voices shared in previous sections have demonstrated, sometimes, when people in the market found out where she was from, they would verbally abuse her, and tell her that she should go back to South Sudan, *"Better you go back to Sudan and they kill all of you..."* Once, when she was going to the market to find work, she was spit on. Some of the people in town understood her situation, but most did not. Karla was so clearly frustrated by the situation the first time I met her, it was really taking a toll on her.

Karla had been forced to go to town for these small jobs because with the limited livelihood assets she had available, she found that it was the only way she could make a living and make sure her children were ok. Even with a limited social capital, she found that she just had to do it. But once she regained contact with her husband in Juba, and he started providing her with some financial capital, she stopped. Although the remittances he was sending her was not much, because the South Sudanese pound was so weak, she decided not to put herself in uncomfortable situations anymore, and the second time I visited her, she told me;

"The small money I am sent is the one I am managing with (…) I stay home(…)The money is fine whether it is small or not, I am fine with it(…) Even if the kids sleep hungry(…) It covers what it can cover(…) Whatever comes I try to squeeze the money for things to work out"

Karla felt very defeated by Ugandans behaviour toward her. She would rather struggle with the little money she could get from her husband in Juba, than try to make things easier financially, by working in town. Furthermore, she seemed to have given up on trying to integrate; *"Even if I learn the language, they will look at me the same, it appears that I am South Sudanese so there is no need".*

Karla's situation is an example of how I found refugees making a choice not to seek out arenas that could help them make a living. Karla had decided on not to take the opportunity to

make things better for herself and her family financially by continuing working at the market, because of the xenophobia she had been facing, and because she was expecting to face more of the same if she did. This can be argued to have to do with her awareness of the stigma against her, and a coping mechanism by withdrawing her efforts, or disengaging from an arena where she was expecting harassment, but also logically is connected to how she is protecting herself because of actual past experiences.

5.4.3. Maria

Maria is 40 years old, lives with her co-wife, and together they care for 13 children. They are pajulu by tribe. By appearance Maria does not look typically South Sudanese. When they lived in Juba, they were running a small business from home, in addition to being housewives. Their husband is in South Sudan still doing business, and luckily, he can send them some remittances, that has made them able to rent a compound with enough space for the whole family. But to overcome the costs of caring for such a big family, they have also been reaching for other opportunities;

"there is no other help for us (than remittances from their husband), all the help is coming from South Sudan. And we get some money from the small stuff we do here (…) This is what we are surviving on. I make cookies and my co-wife is making ground nut paste. These days there is no business because there are so many who are doing this. Sometimes I make it and put it in front of our gate…Other times I walk on the street to sell. (Maria)

Maria has had some negative experiences on the street, of being critiqued for her nationality. Her reaction to this is

"in somebody's country you have no voice. So you ever take it like that… I just listen. When they hurt me, I give it some time and then I go back (to continue her selling of cookies). They keep on hurting me and I have to go back and work. This is how to survive. I cannot let it immobilize me too much. It is painful but I have to keep working" (Maria)

Maria is not tall and dark or "typically South Sudanese looking", she describes how because of this, she often "gets away" with hawking, because she can be mistaken for a Ugandan from northern Uganda. She speaks the same language as them too. Hawking does not require too much interaction, so it has been an "arena" available for her, although she sometimes faces harassment. But for selling her co-wives products at the local market, she has chosen to rely on the connection she has to Paula, another South Sudanese lady that is better integrated. Paula, has been helping them to sell groundnut paste in the market space;

The groundnut paste has been moving so good. When they make it, I take it to sell… Fellow South Sudanese come and buy, and even Ugandans – they buy it for bread, the paste…
(Paula)

Although Maria has been victim of xenophobia, she does not let it affect her too much, she has also taken advantage of the social capital she has because of her connection with Paula, so that she has another option than to sell her produce on the street. When she does , as mentioned, she often tries to conceal her nationality by choosing to speak kakwa, her tribal language, rather than Arabic. It is worth highlighting again that Maria is quite short, not very dark and this seemed to have made her less prone to xenophobia than some of the other informants.

5.4.4. Sara

Sara, a 35-year-old Pajulu lady, lives together with her co-wife, and together they are taking care of 10 children. When Sara lived in South Sudan, she used to work as a nurse. She does not see herself getting a similar job here;

> *"Here in Uganda, you can't get a job as a nurse. And Ugandans don't give that job for the Sudanese. Even if I put my own clinic here, only Sudanese would be going there"*

Their husband is in Juba, but since the decrease in the value of the pound, he is not able to send them money from his business. Luckily, they have been able to rent out their house in Juba to an NGO, so they are receiving some money to cover their rent in Kampala from that, this allows for financial capital that is making them less vulnerable than if they had nothing. Other than this, they have turned to informal business to get money for other necessities, they are selling tap-water from the compound;

"We are selling tap water for the kids to survive on. We are selling it to the South Sudanese who don't have taps in their houses, and some of the Ugandans when they don't have water… Ugandans are not very good to us. It is only when the water is cut off that they come for the water. But they are not very good neighbours(…) If I decided to do any other business around here, they would not come and buy from me(…) Ugandans won't support us"

As the voices from Sara in the previous sections have shown, she has been avoided by her neighbours, and has felt the consequences of what she thinks are the negative stereotypes that are appointed to South Sudanese. Her children are often sent back to her compound when they try to play with the Ugandan neighbours, her older son has been chased by the other boys in

the neighbourhood and been thrown rocks at, and she herself has faced verbal abuse on the street.

Even when occasionally she gets Ugandan customers who buy water, because they have lost water-supply in their own compounds, she describes a "frostiness" in the interaction. This has discouraged her to try any other kind of initiatives to make a living;

It has discouraged us seriously; we feel like if we start selling no-one will buy from us

Sara is yet another informant who is not seeking livelihood opportunities that she could have because of the way she has been met by the community in Kawempe. She has chosen actively not to seek out livelihood opportunities outside of her house, and is assuming that if she did, she would be rejected and fail. She has however tried her best to integrate, but too many negative experiences have led to her giving up.

5.4.5. Mary

Mary is a tall, proud and dark Dinka lady from the city of Bor in South Sudan. She fled when the militias disrupted the peace in her city just after the South Sudan crises erupted. She is now taking care of her five children, plus an orphaned child of her brother, and her old neighbour lady who also has three children of her own. When Mary lived in Bor, she used to be the main breadwinner for her household, as her husband was not contributing. She had gotten training in "digging" in Kenya, and used to work for a local entrepreneur, training others in how to "dig". After she fled Bor, she has not heard from her husband. She managed to bring herself and her children to Kampala because she had managed to gather some savings. She tried the camps first, but did not want to stay there, because the children were suffering from the conditions there, and she wanted them to go to good schools.

The first time I visited Mary, she was bitterly regretting her decision to come to Kampala. Her appearance made it very difficult to get around, she was making some handicrafts at home, but was losing more money than she was making from it, because she did not have access to an "arena" where she could make a profit from what she was making. She had been denied a spot at the market, according to her, the price had been put so high that she could not afford it. She was not wanted there, she told me. Mary was considering going back to the camps to be able to sustain herself and her children;

There is nothing I can tell you, because the only thing I think about every day is what are we going to do tomorrow. What can I do for my children? That is the only worry I have in me. That is why I am crying (Mary, first visit)

The second time I visited her, she had gotten access to the market by establishing some connections, and managed to get more of her handicrafts sold;

Some Ugandans can focus the market for me. There is a group of women this side (…) From these women, the things are presented to the market (…) We are not allowed ourselves (referring to herself and her neighbour), but the Ugandans can assist in getting access. This has remained my major economic activity (…) We can still not move around... (referring to herself and the neighbour) I communicate when I have made the table cloths, and my contacts looks for someone in the market to buy. It can be South Sudanese inside or outside Uganda, people like you, or even Ugandans. There is no marketplace for us to take it ourselves – we communicate by phone because we cannot come out public, when we do, we are always rejected and pushed aside. It limits the potentiel.

The findings show how Mary's livelihood opportunities in terms of the arenas she can access, have been limited by her appearance, and her nationality, and this is clearly xenophobic. Moving around and selling her products herself has not been an option, but luckily, she has been able to access an arena for selling her products through a social network of a few Ugandans, and I argue that this social bond has become an "arena" in itself. She has managed to find a way to run her little income generating activity still. This shows the value of social capital, and that there are some in the community who sympathize with her situation- "those who understand". Furthermore, it shows that there is a demand for the products she is making, hence, that the human capital she has in her skills, is valuable. However, the situation is still challenging;

It generates a varying income. It depends on luck if someone wants to buy it. It is very hard. and it takes a long time to make them.

None of my kids are in school. Neither are my neighbour ladies' children, which I also take care of. We have not paid rent for three months. Luckily, our landlord is understanding, he is a pastor. He sympathizes with us (…) We would go back to the camps, but the transport for all the family is too expensive, and they bribe at the camps for people to re-register there

I argue that xenophobia has had a substantial impact on Mary's opportunities to make a living. The fact that she is so easily recognized as an out-group member, and a South Sudanese, when she goes out, has made it very difficult for her to engage first hand in the selling of the products that she is making. She has no control over the activities that others are doing for her to get her products sold, and I argue that this limits the market potential and the

ability to utilize a potential arena for livelihood opportunities. She does have some social capital that has helped her, but the lack of social capital she has "on the street" herself is very apparent.

5.4.6. Paula

Paula is 30 years old. She is a widow, as she lost her husband during the latest unrest in Juba. That was when she fled to Kampala with her two children. When she fled in 2013, she came to Kampala straight, because her late husband had had connections there. Paula is fluent in English, she is short, and not very dark skinned. She is the only one of the refugee ladies that I spoke to, who is working outside of her home every day. In Juba, she used to be a successful business lady, she had her own bar and a salon. In Kampala, she is working in the local market selling vegetables;

From South Sudan, I had a bar and Salon business which has been very good. But when the war came I lost it, both the salon and the bar. Everything. When I came here, first I stayed together with a friend of my late husband, doing housework. But his wife eventually kicked us out. He gave me some start-up capital. I started a shop, it collapsed. I could not get costumers. Then I decided to join the market… When poverty came by, I just got the strength…(Paula)

Paula has not been receiving support from anyone back home. What seems to have been pushing her ability to cope is a strong resilience, as well as experience in running successful businesses before, in other words, she has knowledge and skills as important livelihood assets. Furthermore, she decided to make the most out of the arena of the market because she had to;

Before joining the market, I had accepted really in my heart that I had to be in the market. So whatever people said I didn't take it. Me I know I am there; I know I have to be there. So whatever people talk about me, I don't care too much. (Paula)

At the same time, she has made a point out of showing the other ladies in the market that they were wrong about her and about other South Sudanese;

It's the way I talk to people. It is the way I present myself within the Ugandans. It has made me being so different. They call me "costumer care" because I am friendly. I talk, I don't ignore people (…) Other than me, the way other people look at them, they (Ugandans) think they put themselves (the South Sudanese) so high. (Paula)

I am convinced, that under the right circumstances Paula could have made a very profitable livelihood. She is a very resilient and resourceful woman. However, although she has been able to make an income enough to rent a house and keep her children in school, the low income she has is still making it hard to make ends meet. She has had to adjust her livelihood to the limited opportunities available in the community for her.

5.4.7. Jacob

Jacob, is a 44-year-old man from Juba, he is a Kuku by tribe. When I met Jacob, he was living and working in Kampala on his own, while his wife and kids were residing with relatives elsewhere in Uganda. Taking care of the whole family in Kampala had become too expensive, so he decided that it was best if they lived out of town. He was doing this by hawking in the streets, and offering to mend shoes for people. As I highlighted in section 5.2.1. One major issue that Jacob was facing, was that people did not trust him, and this could be attributed to his looks and his nationality. When I came back to Kampala the second time, Jacob had left, and another informant who knew him, told me that it was because it had become too hard for him to make ends meet. This shows, that some refugees had to give up on living in Kampala, and it can be argued that xenophobia was part of what influenced the inability to make it in the city. My informants told me that there were many other South Sudanese refugees who had made this decision to leave the city as well, many decided to rather live under cumbersome conditions in the camps, because the conditions in Kampala did not allow for them to reach the reasons why they had come to Kampala in the first place, that for most were to be able to send their children to better schools, and in general to reach better opportunities than in the camps.

5.4.8. Unknown, young girls.

Some of the refugees from South Sudan are engaging in informal work activities out on the streets, such as hawking and vending, but findings imply that also other riskier activities are taking place, Conventional "informal activities" such as vending and hawking for some lead to facing the city authorities;

NGO rep. 3; "The women face the city laws, that prohibit the small business that they do. Which affects their livelihood"

Jacob painted a picture for me on how since hawking is illegal, and many South Sudanese don't have access nor capital to start up in the markets, some girls go for "housework". He tells me how he's heard that this solution, for some involves more than house chores;

"Others mostly, we keep our security through the produce of our work. Mostly we go to town. But then there are those young women who are ordered as house girls. They are not paying them. Even they'll be saying if I pay you let me have sex with you"

The negative economic coping strategy of having sex for money, or sexual exploitation of vulnerable groups, is an extremely difficult topic to discuss, it is sensitive, and connected to shame. This may explain how no other participants have explicitly outlined this as an issue. However – Paula was hinting towards it, talking about begging and "moving in town";

"You see them (young South Sudanese women) carrying pregnancy before time. Before you can get the Sudanese marrying and having pregnancy from home, but because of this kind of condition, the mother is here confused in the house – nobody to help her. So you see the kids have become free, they are moving within the town. You don't know if they are begging, how they are doing to get the small, small money. They are buying clothes – how? You can't even ask because you can't afford to give them… There are many out there – they are moving, they are begging. Even if not in the open but I know they are begging. (Paula)

5.4.9. Discussion

Through the narratives above, I have shown how the different informants were managing their livelihoods through different strategies for survival. Some of the informants were supported by family who sent them remittances, something that made them less vulnerable in terms of difficulties they were facing in meeting their needs. Even still, all the informants had to seek other sources than remittances for income to make ends meet. The exception was Karla; whose negative experiences had led her to decide to only manage with what she could get from her husband.

There were so many different factors that affected the livelihood opportunities and the livelihood strategies of the refugees, that it was difficult to single out xenophobia as an influencing factor in limiting their opportunities, but it is apparent that it does have an effect. Other literature has also stressed how it can be difficult to look at issues of discrimination, which is closely connected to xenophobia, in that the presence of discrimination is notoriously difficult to assess (World Bank Group 2016), both because of the way discrimination is perceived and different levels of sensitivity that people have to discrimination, and expectations of being discriminated towards (ibid.). The same can be said about Xenophobia.

Looking to the theory of stigma again, refugees can in fact perceive discrimination or other expressions of xenophobia, when it is not there, and choose to cope by withdrawal because

they expect negative outcomes in terms of the social interactions with Ugandans. I do not doubt that the informants of this study were facing discrimination and other expressions of xenophobia, many findings are confirming that. But when it comes to barriers in seeking employment and in livelihood opportunities in different arenas, I find it difficult to put a definite measure to say that this is detrimental to their opportunities, as there were so many other constraints, relating to lack of other assets. Lack of education and skills is something that can also be argued to affect Local Ugandans. Some Ugandans who are not from the Buganda region (central Uganda) may also struggle with language barriers. Furthermore, Ugandans also struggle with unemployment and lack of opportunities because of the constrained economy in Kampala and other contextual concern that makes lives for many difficult in the city. However, an additional barrier for the South Sudanese refugees that informed this study is their nationality, and how their nationality can lead to a lack of trust in them, and an impression of them that does not correlate with them as individuals. Having access to assets that could help them in their situation, such as language for example, was influenced by xenophobia as well, it seems. Thus, I am convinced that the xenophobia the informants had been subject to, made creating livelihoods in Kampala more difficult than if they had not experienced it at all. The xenophobic tendencies the refugees had experienced, and the stigma they carried as refugees from South Sudan, evidently had made the informants I spoke to amend their livelihood strategies to the position that they held in society, as individuals belonging to a minority and as an out-group.

The impressions that local Ugandans had of South Sudanese people did depend on if these people were refugees or not. It can therefore be argued that being a refugee in itself was not detrimental to the xenophobia that my informants were facing. However, being a refugee in the positions that my informants had, added vulnerabilities to the them, in that these refugees, having fled their homes and their context in a bid for safety, had not brought, or did not have assets in Kampala that could put them in a more advantageous position. Hence their level of vulnerability was affected by the fact that they were refugees, something that adds another dimension of vulnerability to refugees compared to vulnerabilities that locals have.

I argue that xenophobia had a more serious effect on the informants who held the least livelihood assets, and who looked the most "South Sudanese", such as Mary, and this agrees with the voices in the other sections, who said that people who were "tall and dark" would have difficulties making it in Kampala. However, it appears as though being tall and dark can be "overcome" as a big livelihood obstacle, if someone has the right amount of different

assets. I have personally seen people on the field who by appearance are tall and dark, and belonging to the same tribe as Mary, but are holding high positions. This relates to the financial and social assets that they hold, as well as their individual positions of power. All these factors are naturally interdependent. Sam adds to my argument, by saying that;

There are the ones that comes here they can cover small business like, one that I knew he opened up a small shop that sells phones…But unless someone has a very good business proposal that you know you are going to be getting money, then of course let's work together for the money! I mean there are also some southern Sudanese who have, some of them are very wealthy, some of them got money from their government and that kinds of stuff. So the only way they can work for Ugandans is if it is really, really comfortable for a Ugandan

The South Sudanese refugees that informed this study, were, as mentioned, not in a very strong position in terms of the assets that they could draw from. I find it admirable how even with such a large number of odds against them, most of the refugees I spoke to still managed to keep their spirits up and push on, though they had different ways of coping. Bucher (2011) talks of refugees in urban areas having strong resilience, but at the same time their economic coping strategies manifesting such resilience are not always positive, safe or beneficial (ibid, 22) and I argue that the findings from this study have also shown this. The withdrawal seen by some refugees, choosing not to engage in arenas where they could have tried to make a living, and to not challenge perceptions is not pushing for change. However, it can hardly be expected that this is something that every person is able to, or willing to do- the way that for example Paula did. Theory clearly shows that in terms of our social psychology it is much more natural to withdraw. Evidently, trying to engage was not working for everyone, looking to the example of Karla. Paula had more assets available to her in that she spoke English and Luganda. Furthermore, by appearance she looked very different from Karla. This I argue, demonstrates how Paula had more tools available for coping with the vulnerable situation she was in, than what Karla did.

Furthermore, the negative economic coping strategy of prostitution that the last findings in section 5.4.8 were insinuating, are far from positive, safe nor beneficial. Prostitution has been discovered amongst negative coping-strategies in nearly every study concerning urban refugee livelihoods, in addition to use of violence and crime (Bucher 2011).

5.4.10 Summary of Xenophobia's effect on livelihood opportunities

The findings shed light on different issues related to livelihood opportunities, that can directly or indirectly be connected to the effects of xenophobia. Although the xenophobia that my informants were subject to was not the only factor influencing their livelihood opportunities, it is apparent that it had an effect. There are a number of initiatives and interventions that can be implemented in order to facilitate for a better and more welcoming community, enhancing more social cohesion between the in-group of Ugandans, and the out-group of South Sudanese refugees. I will elaborate on this in the conclusion chapter of the thesis.

This section of the chapter has functioned as the fulfilling chapter of the overall objective of exploring how xenophobia affects South Sudanese refugees' livelihood opportunities in Kampala. I have been attempting to show the linkages between livelihood opportunities and xenophobia for the informants of this study.

In the next chapter, I will take from all the sections within this chapter and draw some final conclusions, and I will make different suggestions for further research to expand the knowledge on this field. Policy recommendations will also be made.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

This thesis has explored the phenomenon of xenophobia and how it affects the livelihood opportunities of South Sudanese refugees in Kampala. The study has brought forward the voices of a group of informants, that before the study had the experience of not being heard, and were struggling to make ends meet and meet their basic needs. Although the deprivation of their livelihoods was not merely connected to xenophobia, the study has brought about valuable findings relating to this phenomenon. The study has been able to cover both the overall objective, and the specific objectives outlined for the study. The key findings are as follows;

1.   There is xenophobia towards some South Sudanese refugees in Kampala. The xenophobia takes different forms and are expressed in a variety of ways. Sometimes, the xenophobia that informants were experiencing was not always loud and clear, but rather "quiet" expressions that are not there to spot without investigating further into the issue, like this study has done. Such expressions were the lack of trust, and avoidance. There are also loud and clear expressions of xenophobia towards some South Sudanese in Kampala. The informants of this study had experiences of verbal harassment on the street, that was clearly tied to their nationality and on stereotypes based on it. Some informants shared accounts of

exclusion. These findings compliment the specific objective number 1 of the study in that they bring a better understanding of xenophobia that is directed towards South Sudanese Refugees, and the findings show what forms this xenophobia is taking.

2.   Informants of this study shared that South Sudanese people are viewed as violent and "savage-like", based on the conflicts in South Sudan. There were also different impressions based on culture and tradition, and on South Sudanese and Ugandans being "different" from one another. Another impression that came forward, was that people from South Sudan were all rich. These views on people from South Sudan can be reasons for xenophobia. The findings shed light on the subjective opinions among the informants of why xenophobia towards refugees from South Sudan occurs, and the views of the host population on South Sudanese (refugees), in accordance with specific study objectives number 2 and 3. The xenophobic tendencies towards my informants did not seem to be relating to their status as refugees. However, most people from South Sudan currently in Uganda, are refugees.

3.   Although xenophobia was not the only limitation that the informants faced, xenophobia had effects on the livelihood opportunities that my informants would or could reach. This relates to the arenas that were available for them, and limitation of this availability based on xenophobia. Negative experiences relating to xenophobia, or expectations of meeting xenophobia in trying to meet livelihood needs, led some informants to withdraw their efforts to integrate in the local community of Kawempe. Furthermore, the negative experiences led informants not reaching livelihood opportunities that they otherwise would or could have reached. Informants coped by amending their livelihood strategies to the challenging environment and limited "protection space" available to them. These findings relate to specific objective number 4, because they show the linkages between xenophobia and livelihood opportunities in the context of South Sudanese refugees.

4. There are implications that some South Sudanese refugees (although not amongst my informants) had to turn to negative coping strategies, involving what UNHCR refers to as "survival sex".

The overall objective of the study was to explore how xenophobia affects South Sudanese Refugees' livelihood opportunities in Kampala, and although the findings explore the study objectives only through the eyes of a quite limited sample of informants, the findings are valuable in that they bring about knowledge on an area that has not been explored before in this context. There are doubts relating to if the findings are representative for the whole

population of South Sudanese refugees in Kampala. Some refugees in Kampala may have more assets available to them, than those of the informants to this study. Even still, the findings are highlighting issues that can be explored further in research that has a wider scope and by researchers with more capacity.

The findings are also valuable in that they make issues visible, that to the informants of this study were real, and affected their lives negatively. The vulnerability of the informants can be argued to be pertaining to their social status and low amount of assets, as well as their nationality. Furthermore, the findings are important because they have shed light on issues that some of the key informants of this study seemed to be unaware of. Key stakeholders working in government positions in Kampala, with concerns relating refugee protection, told me how the government does not see any apparent issues when it comes to discrimination and prejudice towards South Sudanese refugees. When asked specifically about xenophobia, the answer was;

"You will not find it here! Your research sound interesting, but you will not find what you are looking for" (Senior Government official, OPM refugee directorate)

"No, there is no xenophobia here" (Government official, OPM)

As of late, there has been mention about xenophobic tendencies in Kampala appearing in the news media in Uganda. On the 4th of November 2017, in the local Ugandan newspaper the Daily Monitor, Lord Mayor Lukwago stated that the Kampala Capital City Authority must look at planning for the welfare of the refugees in the Capital. He further stated that; "There is fear that Kampala may have xenophobia which will be hard to handle" (The Daily Monitor 2017b). This is in my view, a welcome attention to the issues that this thesis has shed light on.

The study has had a focus on xenophobia and looked at this phenomenon in terms of intergroup relationships between the South Sudanese refugees in Kampala and the Ugandans. However, it is important to be aware, that looking at the issue of xenophobia simply as an issue pertaining to nationality is quite a narrow scope, especially in a region where tribalism between ethnic groups has been prominent, and where people generally feel more belonging to their ethnic group than their nation. As my Ugandan supervisor professor Paul Bukuluki points out, the border between South Sudan and Uganda is a porous one. Some tribes have their cousins and nephews on the Uganda side of the border, which means that people who are Kakwa for example, may blend in quickly and have easier networks than others. This is reflected in the findings of the thesis in that people belonging to the Kakwa/kuku tribe could

use their tribal belonging as a coping mechanism in terms of getting by in Uganda, and getting past xenophobia that was based on nationality. Drawing conclusions about this from my findings, however, due to the small sample of informants, is challenging. Furthermore, it is important to clarify that although this study has had an in-group/out-group approach, and had focus on bringing out the experiences of xenophobia amongst my informants, Ugandans, like the South Sudanese, are not a homogenous group. Not all Ugandans are xenophobic.

It is not possible to identify the magnitude of the problem of xenophobia from the sample and the study-design of my project, but I argue, that the study can be viewed as a pilot on the area, and has brought out clear implications for looking even closer at the issues pertaining to xenophobia and livelihood. Recommendations regarding this, and other recommendations for further research will therefore be given in section 6.2.

6.1 Policy and program recommendations

Even though this is a small and rather limited study, I want to use my findings to give directions for different initiatives and interventions that may help South Sudanese refugees in Kampala, and other refugees for that matter, to have better chances of reaching livelihood opportunities. Previous research has shown that refugees can make a positive contribution to the host-state economy, and that refugees aspire to receive support to help them be self-sufficient, rather than to be dependent on humanitarian assistance (Betts, Bloom, Kaplan and Omata 2014). Indeed, the South Sudanese Refugees who informed this study, were not asking for a "handout", but were asking for assistance to be given to them so that they could better fend for themselves, such as access to credit-solutions, or livelihood projects.

There are already programs in Kampala that are targeting refugees and livelihood, for example at Interaid. However, I argue that the programs can be better tailored to reach the most vulnerable. A representative at Interaid working with livelihood projects, told me how the process of admission to livelihood programs offered by them could be bureaucratically challenging. The projects that they were currently offering (in September 2016), required refugees wanting funding toward livelihoods to submit a detailed project proposal written in English. This project proposal would then be evaluated by a board. Furthermore, the offices of Interaid's livelihood projects were on the other side of town from where informants from this study were residing. The assets that my informants had available, makes utilizing such programs very difficult. I argue that bringing livelihood projects closer to the reality of refugees, both physically and "structurally" is important for making sure that efforts are successful and reach the most vulnerable. Furthermore, I strongly encourage that the

government, and particularly government officials working with refugees and issues relating to their protection, acknowledge that there are issues pertaining to Xenophobia in Kampala. Xenophobia is a protection concern that the government, as well as UNHCR and other actors, should take responsibility in handling. Although the government does not take responsibility for implementation of efforts "on the ground", and has more of a legislative and coordination role, it is important that the coordination of efforts is in line with the reality that some refugees are facing. For the protection of the rights of the refugees, I argue that this is crucial.

Corruption is putting additional strains to the situation of already vulnerable individuals. I stress that efforts must be made to stop the corruption in service provision for refugees and locals alike, and that offices that are there to protect the refugees take a serious look at their procedures so that corruption within these structures comes to an end.

I want to make a number of suggestions based on my findings, for initiatives that can help refugees in reaching livelihood opportunities. I find it appropriate, that the UNCHR and other actors working with refugees in Kampala, take a look at bringing these initiatives to life. It might be that there are already programs that agree with these suggestions in place, from different NGO's, and in the plans of UNHCR and OPM in Kampala. Due to the limitations relating to my study, in terms of time and capacity, I was not able to explore this in debt. However, from my time spent in Kawempe division, I found that such initiatives had not reached my informants. The initiatives can be argued to help expanding "protection spaces" and to promote environments that enable urban refugees to establish sustainable livelihoods. The recommendations are based on the findings from this study, and on the 2009 UNHCR policy on refugee protection and solutions in urban areas.

1. Public information and media campaigns that address Xenophobia, challenge stereotypes, and promote local acceptance and integration of refugees could be launched by the Government of Uganda and UNHCR, as well as NGO's.

2. Information, training and integration programs for refugees, with special attention given to teaching the local Language Luganda to those who struggle to communicate with locals should be implemented. Seeing that Refugee Law project already has experience in Language training programs, I would suggest that they implement this, but other NGO's should also consider it. Initiatives like this should be supported by the UNHCR. I encourage that programs are brought closer to the communities as part

of "community outreach", and that NGO's invite all members of the local community to take part in such programs.

3.   Extra efforts can be made in identifying those subject to xenophobia and discrimination and the consequences of it, by training of "ground staff" in the protection needs related to xenophobia, and the rights that refugees have to assistance in circumstances where they are subject to it. Training should be implemented by UNHCR, and be given to ground staff at OPM refugee directorate, Interaid and other connected implementing-partners of the UNHCR.

4.   Local communities should arrange for cultural, social, recreational, sporting and community initiatives that aims at involving both the local Ugandan community and refugees, as an arena for unification and integration. Such initiative should be supported by UNHCR.

5.   I encourage that all actors concerned with refugee matters, make special efforts in informing refugees that UNHCR services and services by other connected actors is to be provided free of charge, and in a manner that is in no way abusive, exploitative or corrupt. In addition to informing about this at the OPM and Interaid offices, it can be implemented as part of "community outreach" programs.

6.   I encourage Refugee Law Project, Interaid and other NGO's to continue sensitising the local population in Kawempe, and in the rest of Kampala about the reason why refugees flee, the rights that refugees have, and the effects of xenophobic attitudes on the lives of refugees. Sensitising should also focus on encouraging interaction and dialogue between locals and refugees in the neighbourhoods where they live.

I stand behind what UNHCR (2009,8) states; that for combating xenophobia, it is important that efforts are made to ensure that services provided to urban refugees, also benefit other city-dwellers, especially those in the sections of the population that have the most needs, and those who live in close proximity to the refugees.

Uganda's resources are stretched, and services are under immense strain from the massive influx of refugees to the country (Hovil and Kigozi 2015, 3). It is understandable that UNHCR, the government of Uganda and NGOs find it difficult to reach standards of protection that ensure that refugees' needs, and rights are met. While the continents in the West are discussing the problems of receiving numbers in the thousands, Uganda is hosting

over one million South Sudanese refugees, in addition to refugees from other surrounding countries, and this with considerably fewer resources. The UNHCR's last report on the South Sudan Situation shows a considerably large gap of 68% in the funding that has been requested from the international community (UNHCR 2017f). I therefore conclude by urging the international community to step up and contribute towards meeting the needs of South Sudanese- and other refugees, in Uganda, and in Kampala.

6.2 Recommendations for further research

Through working with this thesis, I identified a number of topics and concerns that I think should be researched more closely. Below, I give my recommendations;

1. I recommend other studies with different or larger research-designs on the same topic as that of my study to be conducted in Kampala. These studies should involve more informants, and be looking at a broader set of social categories in terms of age, gender and social class.

2. I recommend studies concerning refugees with other nationalities than South Sudanese, with a focus on xenophobia and livelihood/livelihood opportunities, that bring out the specific causes, expressions and effects of xenophobia towards respective nationalities.

3. I recommend that comparative studies relating to xenophobia and livelihood between refugees of different nationalities are conducted.

4. I recommend that other researchers focus on further detangling the complex web of ethnicity and tribal belonging relating to the issue of xenophobia.

5. I recommend that other researchers take a closer look at the effect xenophobia between refugees of same nationality, in a refugee host-country, has on xenophobia towards refugees and/or foreigners by host-country nationals.

6. I recommend a study that looks closer at corruption in public service provision for refugees.

7. I recommend studies that look at access for refugees in Kampala to primary, secondary and tertiary level education.

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APPENDIX 1: CONSENT FORM

"An explorative study on xenophobia's impact on South Sudanese urban Refugees' livelihood opportunities in Kampala, Uganda"

By; Elene Karlsen Tjemsland, Oslo and Akershus University College of applied sciences.

In affiliation with; Makerere University, department of social work and social administration.

Informed Consent Form for Participation in the Research Study:
"*An explorative study on xenophobia's impact on south Sudanese urban Refugees' livelihood opportunities in Kampala,*

Uganda."

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Investigator: Elene Karlsen Tjemsland,

Address: Makerere University, School of Social Sciences, P.O. Box 7062, Kampala, Uganda

Tel: +256-703034580; Email: Elene_ktjemsland@hotmail.com

This study has been approved by the MAKSS REC : MAKSS REC 003

Thank you for your interest in taking part in this research. Before you agree to take part, the person organising the research must explain the project to you.

If you have any questions arising from the explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you to decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

I would like to invite South Sudanese refugees living in and attempting to create a livelihood in Kampala, above 18 years of age to participate in this research project.

Details of the Study: This study is a part of the primary investigators pursuit towards completing a masterdegree in "international social welfare and health policy, from the Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences, Norway.As part of the thesis it is expected that a field study abroad on a social issue is conducted.

The plan is to do interviews for the thesis, trying to interview South Sudanese refugees as well as other people within the refugee community such as NGO representatives, government officials, locals and community leaders. The study is aiming to look at refugees' livelihoods here in Kampala, wanting to find out about the South Sudanese refugees' experience of coming to the city and if they have experienced any obstacles in trying to make a living here, specifically in regards to discrimination, social exclusion, prejudice, stigma and the like.

It is well known that in a lot of countries receiving refugees, there is resentment and bitterness towards them from some of the locals, and previous research has shown that this is also the case also in Kampala, where local organizations have pointed out xenophobia and persecution of urban refugees as two main protection concerns. Tensions based on

xenophobia such as discrimination, social exclusion, prejudice, stigma and the like, may cause different sorts of additional obstacles in the south Sudanese Refugees' pursuit towards livelihood opportunities.

This study is focusing on South Sudanese refugees in particular, because they are the largest group of refugees in Uganda, also there is a long history of people fleeing to Uganda from South Sudan, even before the country gained its independence. It is assumed that there are well established assumptions and impressions of the South Sudanese in Uganda, that is worth looking into, especially now that the number of refugees coming from South Sudan is rapidly rising.

On background of what has been found previously, it is important to get a better understanding of the South Sudanese Refugees' experiences - the reasons behind and the results of xenophobia in this specific context, as well as the coping mechanisms that refugees and the community at large employ. A better understanding may lead to better targeted social interventions and policies being implemented by NGO's and government alike.

The investigator wants to talk to adult South Sudanese refugees, as well as other adult locals, community leaders and key informants from NGO's and government offices. A total of 15-22 interviews will be conducted.

Practical information: The interview will take about one to two hours. For you to participate in the study, a time and place will be agreed upon that is convenient for you. During the interview, a tape recorder will be used and the primary investigator will take notes, with your permission. You will be asked to outline and explain different experiences and opinions about the subject of the study.

You do not have to take part in this project. It is entirely voluntary. If you decide not to participate, this will not affect any services you may be receiving.   You can stop the interview at any stage. You can withdraw from the study after the interview is finished.   You do not have to give a reason. But after we complete the interviews and start analysing the data, it will then be too late to remove your data from the project.

Your confidentiality will be protected.   Nobody will know if you take part in this project. Your interview will be recorded and transcribed, and translated into English if necessary. Your name and any identifying details will be removed from the transcript. The original recording will be destroyed. What you say may be quoted, but you will not be identifiable.

There are minimal risks to the individual as a result of taking part in the study.   You may feel a bit sad, if you remember difficult events in your past. You will be offered support if this happens.   If you want further support or advice, you will be referred to the "Refugee Law Project" or other support organisations in Kampala

If you decide you want to take part in the study, you will be given a copy of the information sheet and asked to sign a separate consent form.

If you have any questions about the study, if the study has harmed you in any way, or if you wish to make a complaint about the conduct of the study, you can get in touch with Elene Karlsen Tjemsland, Principal Investigator, on Tel: +256-703034580. Email: Elene_ktjemsland@hotmail.com

OR

if you are still not satisfied with the response, you may contact the Makerere University School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (MAKSS REC) **Dr. Stella Neema Tel: 256 -772457576 the Chairperson,** or the Primary Investigators Local supervisor at Makerere University, Department of Social Work and Social Administration **Associate professor Paul Bukuluki Ph.D. Tel: 256-772462100.**

All data will be collected and stored in accordance with the UK Data Protection Act 1998 and UNCST guidelines for data protection.

Thank you for reading this information sheet and for considering taking part in this research.

Participant's Statement

- I understand that my participation will be recorded and I consent to use of this material as part of the project.

- I understand that the information I have submitted will be published as a report and I will be sent a copy of a summary or the full report if I provide my name and address. Confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify me from any publications.

- I understand that if I decide at any time that I no longer wish to take part in this project, I can notify the researcher(s) involved and withdraw immediately.

- I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study.

- I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998 and the UNCST Guidelines for Research and protection of human subjects in research.

- I agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in this study.

Signature of participant ……………………   Date ………………

Signature of interviewer ……………………   Date ………………

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SOUTH SUDANESE REFUGEES

Personal information

- Gender

- Age

- Education

- Ethnic group

- Current occupation

- Religion

- Marital status (Probe: single, married, divorced, widow/widower, co-habitation)

- Number of children (biological, adopted)

- Contact address

History

- Could you please tell me a bit more about yourself?

- What was your profession when you lived in South Sudan?

- When you left South Sudan, did you come directly to Kampala, or did you go a settlement first and decide to leave for the city?

- How did you come to the decision of choosing to come to Kampala?

- When did you come to Kampala?

- In general, how has coming to Kampala city been for you?

- What do you think of the area of Kampala in which you are residing?

- How are your living conditions?

Experience with xenophobia and opinion about it.

- Do you have any previous experience with discrimination, prejudice, name-calling, exclusion, violence motivated by your nationality and status as a refugee, before coming to Kampala? (probe; during time of conflict, flight, living in settlements)

- Do you feel like you have been treated differently than the Ugandan nationals, since coming to Kampala? If so, in which ways? (probe. Negatively and/or positively)

- Do you have a clear opinion of why you have been treated differently?

- Have you experienced incidences of discrimination, name-calling, exclusion, violence or other xenophobic actions seemingly motivated by your nationality, ethnicity and/or refugee status?
  - What happned? (Probe: who against who, where, when, how)
  - Why was there a confrontation?
  - What was the outcome?

- How did you react to the incidents you are describing? (Probe: what did you do afterwards – immediately, and following days.)
- Why did you react the way you did?
- After you experienced these incidents, who did you talk to about it? (family, community, authorities, police, NGO's …)
- **In which way does the xenophobic attitudes and actions towards you affect your everyday life, and in particular your opportunities of making a living here?**
- What role do you think your nationality, ethnicity, and your status as a refugee played in the incident(s) you are describing?
- What kind of influence do you think your gender had on the way you found yourself being treated?
- How do you think the economic collapse of the South Sudanese economy has influenced the way South Sudanese are viewed and treated by Ugandan nationals?
- Have anyone in your close network who are also refugees (family, friends) experienced similar incidences to what we have discussed, after coming to Kampala?
    - What happened? (Probe: who against who, where, when, how)
    - Why was there a confrontation? (probe: motivation, cause)
    - What was the outcome?
- What role do you think your friends/close relations' nationality, ethnicity and h*r status as a refugee played in the incident(s) you are describing?
- How did they react? (Probe: what did they do afterwards – immediately, and following days)
- Why did they react the way they did?
- After they experienced these incidents, who did they talk to about it? (family, community, authorities, police, NGO's…)
- **In which way has the xenophobic attitudes and actions directed towards them affected their everyday life, and in particular their opportunities of making a living here?**
- Do you know of any interventions done to improve the situation?
  - What kind of interventions? (probe: personal, by the community, by police, Ngo', embassies - cultural, councilor services, law enforcement, community justice….)
  - Did the intervention(s) work?
  - If so, How?
  - If not, why?
- Do you have any further suggestions as to what can be done to improve the situation?
- Thank you for answering my questions, is there anything you would like to add? Any final remarks?

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR LOCAL UGANDANS

Personal Information

- Name (optional)
- Gender
- Age
- Place of birth.
- Education
- Current occupation
- Marital status (Probe: single, married, divorced, widow/widower, co-habitation)
- Number of children (biological, adopted)
- Contact address

History

- Could you please tell me a bit more about yourself?
- What do you think of the area of Kampala in which you are residing?
- How are your living conditions?
- There are many South Sudanese refugees living the area where you live. How do you feel about this?
- In your opinion, are the South Sudanese refugees here in Kampala treated differently than others, based on their nationality, ethnicity and/or refugee status?
  - How?
  - Why?
- The South Sudanese are trying to make a living here in Kampala, how does this influence you and the community?
- Could you point out for me some positive consequences of the South Sudanese presence?
- Could you point out for me some negative consequences of the South Sudanese presence?
- Do you know of any confrontations between the South Sudanese and the locals happening in your area – if so, can you tell me a bit about this?
  - What happned?
  - Why was there a confrontation?
  - What was the outcome?
- Thank you for answering my questions, is there anything you would like to add? Any final remarks?

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR NGO REPRESENTATIVES

Personal Information

- Name (optional)
- Gender
- Age
- Place of birth.
- Education
- Current occupation
- Contact address

History

- Could you please tell me a bit more about yourself?
- Why have you chosen to work for this organization?
- Could you tell me about your experience within refugee matters?

Questions about the South Sudanese refugees and the work of the NGO.

- There are many South Sudanese refugees in Kampala. What kind of assistance does your organization provide for them?
- To your knowing, what kind of challenges do the South Sudanese refugees face when coming to Kampala?
- This study is exploring the concept of xenophobia and its influence on South Sudanese refugees' livelihood opportunities here in Kampala, what are your views on this issue?
- Obviously, the opportunities one has is influenced by a number of factors, such as socio-economic status, health, education and so on, so it is hard to generalize the question of livelihood opportunities. But in your experience with the refugees that are coming to your organization, what kind of livelihood opportunities are there for the South Sudanese refugees and what kind of opportunities are they pursuing?
- To your knowing, what kind of obstacles do the refugees meet in pursuing these livelihood opportunities?
- Could you please share with me your views on how the Ugandans living in Kampala are receiving the South Sudanese refugees?
- Is your organization doing something to facilitate integration of the refugees into the local communities?
  - What?
  - How is it going?

- Thank you for answering my questions. Is there anything you would like to add? Any final remarks?

APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Personal Information

- Name (optional)
- Gender
- Age
- Place of birth.
- Education
- Current occupation
- Contact address

History

- Could you please tell me a bit more about yourself?
- For how long have you been working within the government?
- Can you tell me about your experience within refugee matters?

Questions about the South Sudanese refugees and the work of the government official.

- It seems to be an important concern of the government that refugees in Kampala are self-sufficient. What kind of interventions are implemented by the government organs to ensure that this is achieved?
- What kind of obstacles does the government see in the opportunities the South Sudanese refugees have to create livelihoods in Kampala?
- What kind of obstacles do you see personally?
- Xenophobia is a known problem in many countries that receive refugees. In earlier research done in Kampala, it has been found that some refugees are excluded, discriminated against and are victims of violence. How does the government handle these issues?
- In your role, what experience do you have with South Sudanese Refugees and the issue this study is addressing?
- Thank you for answering my questions. Is there anything you would like to add? Any final remarks?