

Title: Assessment of Somali refugees' wellbeing: the centrality
of human needs

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Abstract

There is a substantial body of literature on psychological wellbeing of refugees in psychology, especially in relation to refugee acculturation. However, very little research has been carried out on refugee wellbeing by assessing refugees' objective conditions of living. This paper seeks to bridge this gap by evaluating the satisfaction of the human needs of Somali refugees in Kampala, Uganda. Drawing on data from thirty six individual in-depth interviews and seven focus group discussions with seventy Somali refugee and twenty two Ugandan study participants living in Kisenyi slum, the paper shows that the study participants assessed the satisfaction of seven objective elements. They include peace and security, housing, education, health care, financial security, food and employment. These objective elements can be seen to represent human needs when analysed in relation to Len Doyal and Ian Gough's (1991) theory of human need formulation. Specifically the objective elements are similar in some respect to Doyal and Gough's identified intermediate needs of physical security, nutritional food and safe water, economic security, protective housing, appropriate education, appropriate health care and a non-hazardous work environment. Doyal and Gough (1991) maintain that their identified needs equate to functionings such as being nourished, healthy, literate and numerate (educated), sheltered, clothed, etc under the capability approach.

The study participants assessed some Somali refugees as having adequate satisfaction of these objective elements while others as having inadequate satisfaction. Further, the Ugandan study participants evaluated the satisfaction of the elements more positively while the Somali refugee participants evaluated the satisfaction more negatively. In this paper I argue that this is the case because of the differences in Somali refugees' financial resources and social support, a comparison of Somali refugees' life situation in Kampala vis-à-vis their previous life situation in Somalia, a comparison of Ugandans' life situation with Somali refugees' life situation, and the non-discriminatory and accepting host environment. Refugees with more financial resources and stronger social support have their human needs such as housing, food, health care, education, employment and financial security adequately satisfied while refugees with fewer financial resources and weak social support have their needs inadequately satisfied. The financial resources are mainly from the small and medium scale business enterprises owned by

Somali refugees in Kisenyi while the social support is mainly in form of financial remittances from relatives and friends from industrialised or developed countries. In addition to financial resources and mutual social support, the non-discriminatory and accepting attitudes and behaviours of Ugandans resulted in the satisfaction of the human needs of housing, education, peace and security, and employment of this category of Somali refugees. The positive evaluation of the satisfaction of Somali refugees' needs of housing, education, food and financial security by Ugandans is because most Ugandans living in Kisenyi are in a poorer financial position than Somali refugees. On the other hand, Somali refugees' negative evaluation of the satisfaction of their needs is due to Somali refugees comparing their better conditions of living in Somalia before the outbreak of the civil war with their conditions of living in Kisenyi.

The findings of the study suggest that financial resources and a non-discriminatory and accepting host environment are instrumentally important in promoting Somali refugees' wellbeing since they guarantee adequate satisfaction of the human needs of Somali refugees. I therefore conclude by noting that having means to financial resources and a non-discriminatory and accepting host environment are fundamental in promoting and guaranteeing refugees' wellbeing in general and Somali refugees in particular.

Key words: Refugees' wellbeing, human needs, Somali refugees, human wellbeing

Introduction

Although Uganda hosts 220,555 refugees (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] 2014a), there is very limited research on the status of the satisfaction of their objective human needs. Yet, according to Doyal and Gough (1991), adequate satisfaction of human needs contributes to the wellbeing of human beings. It enables them to avoid objective harm and ensures their very survival and normal functioning (Braybrooke 1987; Doyal and Gough 1991; Reader 2005; Wiggins 1998). Indeed assessing the satisfaction of the human needs of urban refugees in Uganda, Somali refugees included, is necessary since the government policy requires urban refugees to be self-reliant (Government of Uganda [GOU] 2014; UNHCR 2014b). This means that they can neither receive assistance from the UNHCR and other non-governmental organizations nor the government of Uganda. Therefore, understanding the ways in which urban refugees promote the satisfaction of their human needs is paramount in the presence of such policy environment. It is these ways that need to be strengthened and promoted by agencies working with refugees so as to guarantee continued satisfaction of urban refugees' needs.

Using Somali refugees in Kisenyi as a case study, this paper explores refugees' and host community members' perceptions concerning the status of the satisfaction of Somali refugees' needs in Kisenyi. The paper draws on Doyal and Gough's (1991) theory of human need formulation to assess the satisfaction of Somali refugees' needs. The paper shows that the participants assessed the satisfaction of seven needs of Somali refugee, and they include peace and security, housing, health care, education, food, employment and financial security. These needs were evaluated as equally positive and negative. The Ugandan participants mainly held positive evaluations while Somali refugee participants mainly held negative evaluations.

In this paper argue that the wellbeing of Somali refugees is evaluated both positively and negatively because of the differences in Somali refugees' financial resources and mutual social support, a comparison of Somali refugees' life situation to Ugandans' life situation, and a comparison of the life situation in Somalia to the life situation in Uganda. Somali refugees who have a strong financial position and social support are perceived to have adequate access to employment, housing, education, health care, food and financial security. In comparison to

most Ugandans living in Kisenyi, Somali refugees have better access to housing, food and financial security. Additionally, due to the absence of war in Uganda, Somali refugees have access to peace and security. On the other hand, a combination of Ugandans' non-discriminatory behaviours towards Somali refugees and the laws guaranteeing refugee rights and freedoms also resulted in Somali refugees' access to peace and security, housing, education, financial security and employment. These behaviours and laws resulted in a non-discriminatory and accepting host environment.

The paper gives a brief overview of the meaning of the term needs, a description of Doyal and Gough's theory of human and a justification for drawing on it in order to perform the task at hand. The second section discusses the methodology used for data collection. The third section presents the findings of the study. The paper concludes by showing that financial resources and a non-discriminatory and accepting host environment are instrumental in promoting the satisfaction of Somali refugees' needs and their wellbeing.

Concept of needs and theory of human need (THN)

Although the concept of human needs has a long history, it has multiple and conflicting meanings. The term can be used as a noun, verb or method/satisfier of desires and drives (Doyal and Gough 1991; Gasper 2007; O'Neill 2011; Rauschmayer, Omann and Fruhmann 2011). However, this paper adopts Doyal and Gough's (1991) definition of human needs as universal goals which when adequately satisfied enables individuals to avoid serious objective harm. Thus, needs are viewed as necessities/requisites for achieving a given end (Gasper 2004; 2007; Doyal and Gough 1991; Phillips 2006). In this case the end is human wellbeing.

According to Doyal and Gough, there are two universal basic needs, that is, physical health and autonomy, which must be satisfied optimally in order to avoid the objective harm. Doyal and Gough (1991) argue that these two basic needs are similar to functionings under the capability approach such as being nourished, healthy, literate and numerate (educated) and sheltered. In order to optimally satisfy the basic needs, eleven intermediate needs must be satisfied minimally (Doyal and Gough 1991; Gough 2000; Phillip 2006; Scott 2012). The intermediate needs are satisfiers of the universal basic needs because they share universal satisfier

characteristics. Universal satisfier characteristics are ‘those properties of goods, services, activities and relationships which enhance physical health and human autonomy in all cultures’ (Doyal and Gough 1991: 157). Therefore the intermediate needs include nutritional food and clean water, protective housing, non-hazardous work environment, non-hazardous physical environment, safe birth control and child-bearing, appropriate health care, security in childhood, significant primary relationships, physical security, economic security, and appropriate education (Dean 2010; Gasper 2004; Doyal and Gough 1991; Gough; 2000; 2003).

THN is adopted for this paper because it listed needs conform to Alkire’s (2005) suggestion of framing needs in a general way, which allows both universal application and local specification and implementation. In line with Alkire’s suggestion, THN needs are universal, but their satisfiers (actual goods and services) vary from one society to another (Clark and Gough 2005; Gough 2000). This means that, although the primary needs apply to all cultures, their satisfiers are relative (applying to specific local contexts). Secondly, the theory has a logical and relational four step process of explaining the human needs. This also fits in well to Braybrooke’s (1987) suggested relational formula to be followed while discussing human needs. The relational formula helps us to understand the importance of the claimed needs, and reduces on the confusion that arises due to the various usages of term needs (Braybrooke 1987; Gasper 2004).

Methodology

Field work for this project was carried out between July and December 2013 using qualitative approaches. Data was collected from both Somali refugees and Ugandans living in Kisenyi, a slum in Kampala. This is because most Somali refugees in Kampala, if not all, live in Kisenyi (Omata 2012). Seventy Somali refugees and twenty two Ugandans were recruited for the study. All the study participants were between 18-60 years of age and they included both women and men. Fourteen and fifty six Somali refugees were recruited to participate in in-depth individual interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs) respectively, while all the 22 Ugandans participated in in-depth individual interviews. There were no FGDs for Ugandans because the potential Ugandan FGD participants refused to be recruited into FGDs arguing that they did not have time since they were busy.

In-depth individual interviews were carried out at various places in Kisenyi convenient to the study participants. I conducted the individual interviews with five female and nine male Somali refugee participants with the assistance of translators. I also conducted individual interviews with eight female and fourteen male Ugandan participants in Luganda. Men showed more willingness to participate in the study than women. Since participation in the study was voluntary, the study recruited more male participants than female participants. Individual in-depth interviews were used as a method of data collection because, as Boeije (2010) and Marshall and Rossman (2006) argue, they give an opportunity to the study participants to discuss the study issues in their own words. This fits well especially with a study looking at the participants' perception of Somali refugees' wellbeing.

In addition to the individual interviews, seven FGDs were carried out with Somali refugees. Four of the FGDs were carried at Kyaggwe primary school, one from Refugee Hope and two from a house in Kisenyi. With the exception of the two FGDs at a house in Kisenyi with only male participants, the rest of the FGDs had a combination of both female and male study participants. Each FGD had between seven to nine participants, and on average four to five were women. Although it had originally been planned to have gender segregated FGDs, potential female participants were unwilling to participate in FGDs conducted by a male researcher without male Somali refugees. They claimed that this was for religious reasons. Like the individual interviews with Somali refugee participants, the FGDs were also carried out with the help of the translators.

Data was collected using FGD guide, and I moderated the FGDs. FGDs were used as a method of data collection because this study is looking at Somali refugees' wellbeing at the group level, and not at the individual level. The group context, that is, the presence of others, and views of group members have effects on individual participants' views and behaviours (Boeije 2010). This results in collection of data which are not about the experiences and opinions of the individual participants, but about the group as generated through the interaction (Green and Hart 1999; Hennink, Hutter and Bailey 2011; Morgan 1997). All the interviews and FGDs were audio recorded.

Using NVivo 9, themes, subthemes, categories and subcategories were developed. Through comparing the codes for similarities and differences, data was grouped into categories and subcategories. Through comparing the categories and subcategories in order to observe the relationships between them, themes and subthemes were developed (Boeije 2010; Glesne 2011; Strauss and Corbin 1998).

Study findings

From the data analysis, the participants assessed the satisfaction of seven elements. They include peace and security, housing, health care, education, food, employment and financial security. These elements are similar to Doyal and Gough's (1991) intermediate needs of physical security, protective housing, appropriate health care, appropriate education, nutritional food and safe water, non-hazardous work environment and economic security. The Ugandan participants generally evaluated Somali refugees' access to the seven elements positively while Somali refugee participants evaluated Somali refugees' access generally negatively. Each of these elements is discussed in detail below. Important to note is that the terms wellbeing and living well are used interchangeably in this paper since they have similar meanings.

Peace and security

Both Somali refugee and Ugandan participants evaluated the satisfaction of the element of peace and security in relation to Somali refugees in Kisenyi. Contrary to Doyal and Gough (1991), who define physical security as absence of violence and criminality, peace and security according to the participants included absence of war/violence, freedom of movement and choice, law and order, and psychological peace/security or peace of mind. This echoes other authors' observations such as Barash and Webel (2002), Brunk (2012) and Galtung (2012) who maintain that peace includes both negative (absence of war/violence) and positive (harmony, love, gentleness, freedom, etc) aspects. For instance, Cortright (2008: 13) argues: 'in African traditions peace means order, harmony, and equilibrium, not merely preventing war.'

The majority of Somali refugee and Ugandan participants noted that most Somali refugees have peace and security in Kisenyi. Apart from living in a place without war, they are generally not

persecuted by the local host community or the government. The host community on the whole does not discriminate or fight against Somali refugees. They have warmly welcomed Somali refugees. Ugandans, especially the house owners and police, give advice to Somali refugees on how to promote their security. They are advised to go back to their homes before it is dark or late in the night so as to avoid criminals who target night travellers. Some Ugandans also arrest petty thieves targeting Somali refugees.

Somali refugees also have freedom to do whatever they want as long as it does not conflict with the laws of the country. For instance, they have freedom of worship and freedom of movement to any place and at any time of the day. Somali refugees contribute to this peace and security by interacting and making friendships with Ugandans. Peace and security was perceived by the participants as the only way Somali refugees' lives can be safe. When they have peace and security they are able to engage in other undertakings that are fundamental to living well such as starting business enterprises, going to work and studying. For instance, a male youth (Somali refugee) in a FGD observed the following in relation to Somali refugees' enjoyment of peace and security in Kisenyi: 'we have peace. I want to say this, sometimes we go to watch movies and we go back home late in the night and nothing happens to you. Nobody attacks or fights you. There is security here.' While Musa (Somali refugee) in an individual interview explained:

We are satisfied with the peace and security. There is law and order; there is a government controlling and securing the country. Nobody can fight like in Somalia. In Somalia there is tribalism and fighting based on clans; there is no peace there. So we are satisfied very much with life here and actually we appreciate.

On the side of the Ugandan participants Saida had this to say:

They tell us that in their own country (Somalia) they were no longer able to sleep at night. That when one had just put his/her head down (to sleep), someone would kick the door to the house, torture and do to you whatever he wants. But here, they are doing well; they tell us that they can sleep and wake up at 2:00am without anyone interfering with them. Don't you see that they are living well here? Peace and freedom are very important for one to live well. They have a lot of freedom here.

While Jane (Ugandan participant) noted:

I think it is the environment; there is peace. I think Somalis have peace. They tell us that Uganda is a very good place. He wakes up in the morning and he parks there his car. He sits in a restaurant to take tea as he watches television. Then at noon he drives to

another restaurant to have lunch. It comes to evening while he is driving his car and doing nothing, but driving and eating. I am not saying they don't work. What happens is that you will find that he has people working in his businesses or sometimes the wife. But these people have peace. You may pass here in the evening and you find them seated outside cross legged and taking tea; they have peace. They are living well.

In contrast to their lives in Somalia, Somali refugees are perceived to be enjoying peace and security in Kisenyi. This is due to the prevailing political stability in Uganda. Unlike Somalia, there is no war going on in Uganda. The war in Somalia created situations of generalised violence and criminality, as noted by Saida and Musa above. Similar to the observation by Doyal and Gough (1991), this inhibits the enjoyment of peace and security. Because there is no war going on and there is a functioning government in Uganda, there is minimal violence and generalised criminality.

Furthermore, Somali refugees have peace and security because of the non-discriminatory behaviours of Ugandans towards Somali refugees, as the participants' quotes above indicate. Ugandans do not persecute or harass Somali refugees, even though it would be easy since Somali refugees are physically and culturally different from Ugandans and they are a minority vis-à-vis Ugandans. Ugandans are involved in behaviours aimed at protecting Somali refugees such as arresting thieves targeting Somali refugees and giving advice on how Somali refugees can avoid falling in the traps of thieves. This means that for immigrants in general and refugees in particular, to have peace, even in a country where there is no war, there must be the good will of the host community. This includes the host community having a positive attitude towards refugees.

In addition, the 2006 Refugee Act grants freedoms and rights to refugees such as freedom of movement (GOU 2006). All these (political stability, a non-discriminatory host community and the refugee act) create an environment which is peaceful and secure. It is this peaceful and secure environment in Kisenyi which enables Somali refugees to engage in tasks and activities that are important to living well, such as attending school, running business enterprises, moving from one place to another and at any time of the day, and engaging in pastime activities, as Saida and Jane pointed out above. As such, Somali refugees are perceived to be enjoying peace and security in Uganda compared to when they were in Somalia.

The role of the non-discriminatory host environment in Somali refugees' wellbeing is comparable to research on immigrants' subjective wellbeing in Australia (Correa-Velec, Gifford and Barnett 2010) and Finland (Jasinskaja-Lahti, Liebkind and Perhoniemi 2006). Although not focusing on objective wellbeing as the present study is, both studies found that individuals who experienced discrimination by the host community members had lower levels of subjective wellbeing. For instance, Correa-Velec, Gifford and Barnett (2010) in a study of 97 refugee youths in Melbourne, Australia found that youths who had experienced bullying at school and discrimination due to their ethnicity, religion and colour reported lower subjective wellbeing. This means that a non-discriminatory and accepting host environment is instrumental in guaranteeing refugees' wellbeing, both subjective and objective.

It is important, however, to point out that Somali refugees' behaviour of interacting with Ugandans is, in part, responsible for the peace and security they enjoy. It is through interacting with Ugandan house owners and police officers that Somali refugees receive advice on security actions they should take. Nevertheless, this still can only happen when Ugandans engage in non-discriminatory behaviours towards Somali refugees. For instance, Somali refugees cannot successfully interact with Ugandans if the Ugandans have not accepted them. Therefore, it is mainly due to the non-discriminatory behaviours of Ugandans that Somali refugees in Kisenyi enjoy peace and security in Kisenyi.

A small number of Somali refugee participants perceived themselves as enjoying peace and security in Uganda because they compared their life in Kenya and Uganda. For instance, a male youth (Somali refugee) in one of the FGDs had this to say about peace and security:

As for me I am very satisfied with life here (Uganda) because when I compare refugee life here and Kenya, refugees in Uganda are well off. There is a big difference. This is because we have never heard the Uganda government saying Somali refugees should go back to Somalia. We don't live in fear or threat of being chased; we have peace.

The 2006 Refugee Act is the reason why Somali refugees have never been threatened with deportation by the government of Uganda. The act is very generous in terms of rights and freedoms granted to refugees, as a right to remain in Uganda and fair and just treatment, without discrimination based on race, religion, sex, nationality and ethnic identity. In fact, according the act, being granted refugee status is considered a human right (GOU 2006). It also

clearly specifies the conditions for qualification, disqualification and cessation of refugee status. The government of Uganda is keen on implementing it. Therefore, refugees, Somali refugees included, cannot be summarily deported from Uganda. This results in peace, at least peace of mind or psychological peace, as pointed out by the participant above.

Although living in fear of being deported back to Somalia does not create physical violence, it negatively affects one's psychological peace. This may lead to one developing mental illnesses due to living under constant stress and distress (Doyal and Gough 1991). This suggests that 'psychological peace' promotes Somali refugees' wellbeing since Doyal and Gough (1991) observe that mental health is a component of physical health, which is a requirement for avoiding objective harm. In addition, Somali refugees having 'psychological peace' means that they can successfully engage in tasks and activities that are essential to living well, such as attending school, running business enterprises and engaging in pastime activities. For instance, one can only think of starting a business enterprise if he/she is convinced that he/she will not be deported, at least in the short run.

Despite a majority of the participants maintaining that Somali refugees enjoy peace and security in Uganda, a small number of Ugandan and Somali refugee participants noted that Somali refugees lacked peace and security. These participants believe that some Somali refugees are discriminated against, verbally abused and their valuable items snatched by some Ugandans. For instance, Khamiat (Somali refugee) in an individual interview had this to say about the insufficient peace and security Somali refugees in Kisenyi have:

We are not satisfied because we have been discriminated against or abused. Can life be satisfying when the people you are living with are abusing you? Somali girls go to markets for shopping, and whatever they have bought is snatched away by Ugandan thieves. They sometimes fight us; they call us Misumari (Nails) because it sounds like Somali. This is abuse to us. These are the kind of challenges we are facing, but we are patient because problems are everywhere whether it is here or Somalia. For instance, in Somalia Somali women face many problems. They are raped in our presence and nothing you can do to save them.

On the other hand, Swaib (Ugandan participant) had this to say about the peace and security Somali refugees in Kisenyi enjoy:

I see these people don't have peace because one (Somali refugee) may tell you that Ugandans have mistreated them. You see Ugandans didn't like them from the start. I think that is the problem they are experiencing. Let me give you an example, only that you were not around, but I saw it with my own eyes. One man riding a motor cycle intentionally knocked down a Somali girl while saying: 'you, why don't you go back to Mogadishu?' It really pained me. But the Somali girl was strong enough that she didn't fall down. However, it pained me very much. So, I think these people don't have peace.

The number of Ugandans engaged in discrimination towards Somali refugees is small. If it was big or substantial, there is no way a majority of both Somali refugee and Ugandan participants would have maintained that Somali refugees enjoy peace and security in Uganda. For instance, the petty thieves do not only snatch valuable items from Somali refugees, but also from Ugandans. However, because Somali refugees are new in Kampala and are less aware of the existence of the petty thieves they are more likely to be the target and victims of thieves than Ugandans who are more aware and streetwise. In addition, compared to when in Somalia, Somali refugees in Kampala still enjoy relative peace and security. In Uganda, Somali refugee women are not raped, as was the case in Somalia, as explained by Khamiat above. This is due to the existence of a functioning government in Uganda which controls criminality and generalised violence. This further illustrates that Somali refugees enjoy relative peace and security in Uganda compared to Somalia.

Employment

The Ugandan and Somali refugee participants also assessed Somali refugees' access to employment or work. Similar to Divakalala's (2008) research on wellbeing in Sri Lanka, employment was considered important by the participants in part because it guarantees financial security, which enables people to acquire other elements important to living well, such as housing, health care and education. However, unlike Doyal and Gough's (1991) work that mainly focuses on a non-hazardous work environment, the participants in this study were concerned with Somali refugees being employed, either self-employment or by others.

Both Ugandan and Somali refugee participants noted that some Somali refugees are employed. Some Somali refugees have started business enterprises such as supermarkets, shops, fuel stations and restaurants. It is in these Somali refugee owned businesses that most Somali refugees have acquired employment. The behaviours of Ugandans towards Somali refugees are

in some ways responsible for the development of Somali refugees' business enterprises. The participants noted that it is Ugandan house owners who rent out houses where Somali refugees run their businesses. It was also pointed out that Ugandans in Kisenyi buy from these business enterprises. Due to this, Somali refugee business enterprises have employed Ugandans as sales persons. For instance, a male Somali refugee participant in one of the FGDs had this to say about Somali refugee owned business enterprises:

Let me tell you one fact, Somali refugees are composed of two groups. Those who are financially well off and those who are not. Mostly those who are well off are the ones living here in Kampala and those who are poor live in Nakivale (refugee settlement in Isingiro district). It is them (Somali refugees living in Kampala) who have started businesses where we work. So, we get jobs among ourselves in Kampala. We create jobs for poor people (Somali refugees). For instance, some Somali girls cook for Somali students at university campuses.

While Abdu (Somali refugee) in an individual interview commented:

We come here because we need a good life. We need our children to go to school and we need to work. In Kampala we easily get jobs because of the many Somali refugee owned businesses. Actually we are living well. We use the money to pay bills like house rent. In Nakivale there is nothing (business enterprises).

On the other hand, Wilson (Ugandan participant) when asked where Somali refugees get employment replied:

Somalis work together. They usually pool financial resources so as to start running businesses. The businesses first will give them money, but secondly, they create employment for fellow Somalis. It is these businesses that employ most Somali refugees. They are living well because of working together.

While Saida (Ugandan participant) had this to say:

They have also started shops and supermarkets. For the butchery, I have only seen one for camel meat. In their shops and supermarkets they sell at the same prices regardless whether one is a Ugandan or Somali. They don't discriminate. When a Somali shop attendant sees you, he welcomes you saying: 'Maama come; customer come, you are welcome.' They will at least say an English word so as to attract you to their shops and buy from them.

Some Somali refugees in Kisenyi are able to obtain employment due to their strong financial position and possession of social support. It is Somali refugees with financial resources who have invested in self-employment ventures. It would be hard for Somali refugees to access

employment without financial resources to invest in self-employment ventures since Uganda's youth unemployment stands at 61.1 per cent (ActionAid International Uganda 2012). This suggests that Somali refugees who are not nationals have much fewer opportunities for accessing employment if they have not started their own employment ventures. In any case, the majority of Ugandans are engaged in self-employment (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2013). Therefore, for Somali refugees to access employment in Kampala they need financial resources to invest in self-employment ventures, as Ugandans are doing. This is why it is the financially well off Somali refugees who have migrated from refugee settlements to Kampala, since they are able to create their own employment.

Other Somali refugees who are not financially well off find employment in Somali refugee owned business enterprises. Financially well off Somali refugees engage in creating employment opportunities for financially poor Somali refugees. This is because of a strong culture of social support among Somali refugees. This finding shows that Somali refugees perceive employment of Somali refugees in Kisenyi as a collective responsibility. Furthermore, due to the strong culture of social support, Somali refugees are also able to pool financial resources to start self-employment ventures, as pointed out above by Wilson. All these demonstrate the role of social support in enabling Somali refugees' access to employment in Kisenyi.

Ugandans not engaging in discriminatory behaviours is also one of the reasons why Somali refugees operate business enterprises. In order for Somali refugees to run the business enterprises they need space in the form of housing. Due to non-discriminatory behaviours of Ugandan house owners Somali refugees are able to have access to housing, as pointed out above. Without housing for business purposes, it would be hard for Somali refugees to venture into business. In addition, Ugandans do not discriminate against Somali refugee owned businesses when it comes to purchasing goods. Since Ugandans are the majority in Kisenyi, this expands the customer base for Somali refugee owned businesses. This, in turn, creates more employment opportunities for Somali refugees since they have a big customer base to serve. Also, in order for Ugandan owned businesses to attract and effectively serve the Somali refugee

customers, they are employing Somali refugees as sale persons. All these non-discriminatory behaviours of Ugandans have created employment opportunities for Somali refugees.

However, the non-discriminatory behaviours of Somali refugee business owners also, in part contribute to Somali refugee employment. In order for Somali refugees to successfully operate businesses in a Ugandan dominated Kisenyi they need sales persons who understand the local languages. Since Somali refugee business owners do not discriminate against Ugandans in terms of employee recruitment, they are able to start and successfully operate business enterprises, which provide employment to the business owners. In addition, Somali refugee business owners' non-discrimination towards Ugandan customers has also expanded the customer base, which, in turn expands the number of sales persons employed, Somali refugees included, especially those who understand the local languages. This ensures that Somali refugees have access to employment in Kisenyi. This further demonstrates the role of Somali refugees' non-discriminatory behaviours in enabling them access employment in Kisenyi. It should be noted that Somali refugees' non-discriminatory behaviours can only contribute to Somali refugees' employment if Ugandans are non-discriminatory in the first place. Ugandans being the host community and the majority places them in a more powerful position vis-à-vis Somali refugees.

It is interesting that the participants were not concerned with a non-hazardous work environment, which is an element of Doyal and Gough's (1991) framework. It seems that the non-hazardous work environment is more of a developed and industrialised world concept. Citizens and residents of these countries have alternative mechanisms to live well without a job, such as social welfare programs. They also have alternative employment opportunities to choose from. However, Somali refugees in Uganda do not have alternatives in terms of employment since the majority of people in Uganda are engaged in self-employment, and there is a high rate of unemployment, as illustrated above. In such circumstances an individual would not be pre-occupied with having non-hazardous employment, but just employment. Also, non-hazardous requirements in relation to employment are more likely to apply to formal employment ventures than informal employment (self-employment or private employment

ventures), especially if the ventures are small and medium scale, as is the case with those started by Somali refugees.

It is also possible that the participants had little knowledge about what constitutes non-hazardous work. This is because research in Sri Lanka, another developing country, shows that the participants had a conception of a non-hazardous work (Divakalala 2008). According to Divakalala's (2008) study, the participants perceived wellbeing to mean having secure jobs. This included having decent jobs, adequate income, job satisfaction and jobs respected by the community. The fact that participants in another developing country (Sri Lanka) had a conception of non-hazardous work suggests that this element does not only apply to developed or industrialised countries.

Despite some Somali refugees in Kisenyi being employed and running business enterprises, there are some who are not employed. This was pointed out by both Ugandan and Somali refugee participants. Different reasons were advanced to explain Somali refugees' unemployment as will be shown later on. However, Hamid (Somali refugee) in one of the individual interviews had this to say about the satisfaction of the need of employment: 'having work or something to do. But we are having many guys who don't have work and they spend much of their time eating that thing called mira, while others smoke cigarettes. However, some people, their life is good.' While Jasmine (Ugandan participant) pointed out:

There are some male youths (Somali refugees) loitering around. It seems they don't have jobs/employment opportunities. They need to find ways of getting employment for these youths. That will help them so that they don't join some groups that are involved in petty theft as is the case with some Ugandans. Don't you see that? That is what I see.

This finding suggests that having no employment/work means that Somali refugees can turn to deviant behaviours as means of passing time and earning income. Pass time behaviours such as eating mira and smoking cigarettes directly affect the consumers, but petty theft affects others whose property is stolen. This means that when some people's elements for living well are not adequately met, they may find maladaptive ways of coping with the situation. In fact, Burton (1979), Coate and Rosati (1988) and Sites (1973) make similar observations in their works on human needs. For instance, Sites (1973: 9) notes:

The individual is willing to go outside the socially acceptable ways of behaving in order to seek gratification for more basic needs. He is willing to violate what, from a social point of view, might be considered his own good in order to obtain gratification for his basic needs.

Resorting to deviant behaviours in order to satisfy unmet human needs is what Doyal and Gough (1991) refer to as the strongest form of autonomy. According to Doyal and Gough (1991), an individual's autonomy must be within socially acceptable boundaries of behaviour. Human beings resort to deviant behaviours so as to satisfy unmet needs because the existence of unmet needs threatens their survival and normal functioning (Coate and Rosati 1988; Doyal and Gough 1991). That deviant or maladaptive ways can be dangerous to both those engaged in them and to non-participants is the reason why Jasmine advocates control.

Although some Somali refugees are not employed, for some this is out of their choice, as two Somali refugee participants pointed out. For this category of Somali refugees the employment opportunities available to them do not provide decent wages, and, thus, they prefer not to work. For instance, a male youth (Somali refugee) in one of the FGDs had this to say about employment: 'here in Uganda there are many Somali companies like Hass, Dashib, etc. Somalis can get jobs from there, but they (the companies) pay very little. How can you work when the money you take home can't cater for your bills?' This finding implies that work is not sought for its own sake, but for financial security so as to secure other goods required to live well such as housing. However, the issue of low wages is not discussed by Doyal and Gough (1991) when describing what constitutes a hazardous work environment. They only list occupational injury and diseases, excessive hours of work and excessively repetitive work, yet wages paid to workers are part of the work environment.

Other Somali refugees in Kisenyi were not working because of a strong social support system, as noted by some Ugandan and Somali refugee participants. It is this support system which ensures that Somali refugees who are not working have financial security to meet other elements required for living well, such as food, housing and health care. This support system involves both Somali refugees living in Uganda and those living in other countries. For instance, Isma (Somali refugee) in one of the individual interviews had this to say about Somali refugees' working in Uganda: 'yes, some of us work; some of us we work with Ugandans. However, we

have our relatives living in the developed countries like America, Canada and Britain. So we mostly receive money from abroad.' Madina (Ugandan participant) on the other hand observed: 'most Somalis here don't work, but they have food. They are living well; they receive money from abroad.'

As pointed out above, this suggests that work is sought in order to meet one's elements required to live well. Since some Somali refugees have strong social support systems, they do not work. This is likely to be the category of Somali refugees which is not working on the account of low wages paid by Somali refugee owned business companies. Even without working this category can still live well due to social support in the form of financial remittances from relatives abroad. Therefore, some Somali refugees in Kisenyi live well partly because of a strong social support system, as observed earlier.

Education

Both Ugandan and Somali refugee participants evaluated Somali refugees' access to education. Similar to Doyal and Gough's (1991) work, education was considered important due to its ability to expand one's autonomy and skills acquisition. This partly prepares individuals for future employment, which is similar to Divakalala's (2008) finding on wellbeing in Sri Lanka. Also, education was considered important because it enables individuals to engage in intercultural communication. Some Ugandan and Somali refugee participants noted that Somali refugees have access to education. This is mainly for children and youths attending schools and universities respectively. Somali refugee children attend both public schools which are free of charge and private schools where students pay school fees. Also, the Somali refugee participants noted that their Ugandan friends advise them about the schools providing quality education. For instance, Musa (Somali refugee) in an individual interview when asked about which elements were required by Somali refugees in Kisenyi to live well responded: 'through what we get from the businesses, our children are able to go to school since we are able to pay the school fees.' While Maimuna (Somali refugee) in an individual interview had this to say about the education of Somali refugee children:

Yes, they are there. For instance, some Somali children attend Ugandan owned schools with Ugandan children, and the schools fees are affordable. However, most of these

schools don't provide quality education, but it is better than nothing. Some of these schools are government owned. However, we don't go near most privately owned schools because they are very expensive and we can't afford them.

On the other hand, Jalia (Ugandan participant) had this to say about Somali refugees' access to education:

However, when it is school time, you may go around this area and don't find school going children at home. Even Somalis' children are going to school. If you go to special schools owned by Somalis, the school fees are very high; they are the most expensive schools in this area. They are up there; two of them. There is a mosque for Somalis called Tawqhid; that is where one of the schools is. At that school most of the students are Somalis and they pay 520,000/= per term. There is a Ugandan who went to get a vacancy for his child and they asked for that amount yet the child would be commuting from home. It is not easy to find a Somali child of school-going age not attending school.

As in the case with employment, some Somali refugee children and youths access education as a result of their parents' strong financial status. These are mainly Somali refugees operating business enterprises. With incomes from the business enterprises they are able to pay school fees in private schools and universities, as Jalia and Musa explained above. It is the financially poor Somali refugee children who attend universal primary and secondary schools, since they provide free education. However, these schools only cater for tuition fees. The parents and guardians have to incur costs for scholastic materials and items such as books, pens, school uniforms, feeding and medical care (GOU 2008). This suggests that even Somali refugee children from poor families are in part able to access education in universal primary and secondary schools due to their parents' financial resources. If the financially poor Somali refugees were unable to pay for the scholastic materials and items, their children would not be able to attend the universal primary and secondary education schools. This shows that Somali refugee parents prioritise and value the education of their children.

Somali refugee children attending Ugandan dominated schools means that the Ugandan children and teachers do not discriminate against them. In fact, no acts of discrimination against Somali refugee children by their Ugandan peers were mentioned by any Somali refugee participant. If Ugandan children and teachers were discriminating against Somali refugee children, it is more likely that they would drop out of the schools. In addition, Somali refugees receive advice about schools providing quality education from Ugandans on the account of the

non-discriminatory behaviours towards Somali refugees. This results in Somali refugees accessing quality education since it is Ugandans who are more knowledgeable about the schools in Kisenyi and Kampala because they have lived there longer than Somali refugees.

However, for Somali refugee children to attend Ugandan dominated schools they themselves need to have non-discriminatory attitudes and behaviours. If they were discriminatory towards Ugandan children, they would as well stay away from the Ugandan dominated schools. Even the behaviour of seeking advice about schools with quality education can only happen when Somali refugees are not discriminatory towards Ugandans. Therefore, Somali refugees' non-discriminatory behaviours towards Ugandans are in some respects contributing to their children's access to education.

An interesting facet of this finding is the issue of the quality of education raised by the participants. This suggests that Somali refugees are not just focused on having education, but on quality education particularly. This idea is related to Doyal and Gough's (1991) work, who argue that education should be appropriate. It is the appropriate/quality education which promotes human wellbeing. However, the finding suggests that poor quality education is better than no education. This is due to the fact that poor quality education potentially has some elements/aspects that are useful in life. For instance, although an individual may not acquire all the expected skills, he/she will still learn some skills such as language and social interaction.

However, some Ugandan and Somali refugee participants maintained that there are some Somali refugee children who do not have access to education. This is due to them having insufficient resources to pay school fees. For instance, Khamiat (Somali refugee) when asked in one of the individual interviews which elements required to live well Somali refugees are lacking commented:

The thing we are lacking is education. We don't have education and we cannot communicate in English. So what we are lacking is education; it is number one. We don't have money. Yes, lack of money is a big problem. It is because of this that our children don't have education. They just loiter around the villages.

While Hadijah (Somali refugee) in an individual interview explained:

Our children are not going to school because we don't have money. All the schools you have mentioned, all of them are not free of charge. They ask you to pay money to join them. In most schools in Uganda you have to pay school fees, even government ones, you have to pay some money. As refugees, we can't afford the school fees. We also need transport when we want to go to school. We have to use boda bodas, yet we don't have enough money.

On the part of the Ugandan participants Swaib had this say:

Their (Somali refugees) children would like to go to school but poverty is hindering them. Some children don't go to school and some parents just send them to madarasa because they have no alternative. Madarasa is an Arabic or Kiswahili word meaning a religious course. Those who don't have money they take their children to madarasa to study religion.

Jasmine (Ugandan participant) noted:

May be we would say the education of their children. Ok, there are some who are sending their children to formal schools and others to religious schools (Madarasa). I think there is a need there. But I think it depends on which kind of education a parent wants for his children because you can't tell a parent to take his children for formal education when he is interested in religious education

As discussed earlier, Somali refugee children are able to access education because of the financial resources of their parents from small and medium business enterprises and social support. Therefore, Somali refugees with insufficient social support and who do not own any business enterprises are unable to pay their children's education costs. Moreover, urban refugees in Uganda are supposed to be self-reliant (GOU 2014b; UNHCR 2014b). They are not supposed to receive financial support from the government and UNHCR. This results in some Somali refugee children, especially those whose parents have a weak social support system, to drop out of school or not attempt to enrol at all. Although some Somali refugee parents do not have sufficient financial resources to pay school related costs and fees, and send their children to religious schools as an alternative, there are some Somali refugee parents who prioritise religious instruction over academic education, as explained by Jasmine above. This is because a majority of ethnic Somalis are Muslims by religion (Abdullahi 2001; Lewis 2008; Samatar 1993).

Housing

The Ugandan and Somali refugee participants also assessed Somali refugees' access to housing in Kisenyi. This element is related to Doyal and Gough's (1991) intermediate need of protective

housing. According to the participants, housing includes availability of houses and ability to pay house rent. Both Ugandan and Somali refugee participants noted that Somali refugees have adequate access to housing. Somali refugees rent houses from Ugandan house owners. Some Somali refugees in a stronger financial position lease houses with many units, which they sublet to fellow Somali refugees. Also, Somali refugees utilise the services of Ugandan house brokers to secure housing. Nonetheless, Somali refugees who have lived in Kisenyi for a long time get houses by themselves, without utilising the services of Ugandan house brokers. Somali refugees who have lived in Kisenyi for a long time always give advice to and help in looking for housing for new arrivals. Those who have lived in Kisenyi for a long time have Ugandan friends who advise them about good quality housing, and also help them to look for housing. This reduces the chances of Somali refugees being cheated by landlords in terms of house rent. For instance, Sulait (Ugandan participant) had this to say about Somali refugees' housing in Kisenyi:

I am talking about their (Somali refugees) housing. For me as a Ugandan I can't afford renting a house of one million a month, but most Somalis are renting houses in that range. What they get from their businesses helps them; what they get from the UN helps them; what they get from different relatives living abroad helps them. So, you find that they are having different sources of income. When you are up there in Kisenyi, you will find that most of them have small shops and Forex bureaus. They are involved in money transfers; the legal one and the illegal one.

While Paul (Ugandan participant) had this to say:

They sleep in good houses, yet some of us the indigenous people don't. Ok, don't you see them (pointing at a multi-storied building) up there. See where (pointing at makeshift houses) Ugandans sleep. That is where Ugandans are sleeping. They (Ugandans) may also be having peace because they are able to sleep, but the other one in a storied building has more peace; that peace is more than that of a Ugandan.

A male Somali refugee participant in a FGD commented:

The houses we are living in are for Ugandans. While renting these houses from Ugandans, the first thing we do is to pay rent in cash for two years. This means we will not be worried about paying rent for two years.

And a female Somali refugee participant in another FGD noted: 'The first thing we have because of Ugandans is the warm welcome; we feel at home. Secondly, they rent to us houses; they sympathise with us and they sometimes give us discounts.'

As with employment and education, Somali refugees are able to access housing because of their financial resources. They have multiple sources of income such as business enterprises and financial remittances from relatives abroad. With this income from these two sources they are able to pay for housing. It is this stronger financial position of Somali refugees that accounts for them residing in better housing than some Ugandans, as explained above by Paul and Sulait.

Sulait's view that Somali refugees receive financial support from the UN is unlikely to be true. There is no single Somali refugee participant who mentioned it. Further, as pointed out earlier, urban refugees in Uganda are supposed to be self-reliant in terms of their welfare. The government of Uganda and the UNHCR are not supposed to provide accommodation and material assistance to refugees in Kampala (GOU 2014). They can only do so during life-saving circumstances, and it should only be a once in a lifetime event. In fact, refugees who are unable to sustain themselves in Kampala are supposed to approach the Office of Prime Minister for relocation to the refugee settlements (GOU 2014). With this kind of a policy, it is not possible for Somali refugees to receive financial assistance from the UNHCR. Therefore, instead Somali refugees are compelled to access housing by drawing on their own financial resources, from business enterprises and remittances from relatives abroad.

The views of Ugandan participants concerning Somali refugee housing are characterised by a comparison between the housing status for Ugandans and Somali refugees, and not on internationally acceptable housing standards. According to Doyal and Gough (1991), acceptable housing should be able to protect someone from physical, environmental and social dangers and inconveniences. It is not clear, however, whether Somali refugees' housing provides adequate protection from the physical, environmental and social dangers or inconveniences. Somali refugees, in fact may not enjoy adequate housing since they are being compared to the urban poor of Uganda. Dimanin (2012) argues that Kisenyi is the biggest slum in Kampala, and slum dwellers are among the urban poor in Uganda. The low income status of most Ugandans in Kisenyi therefore positively impacted on the perception of Somali refugees' housing situation in particular and wellbeing in general.

As with peace and security, education and employment, Somali refugees are able to access housing, in part due to the non-discriminatory behaviours of Ugandans, especially house

owners. Ugandan house owners rent out their houses to Somali refugees, as illustrated by quotes from the two FGD Somali refugee participants cited above. Additionally, Ugandan house brokers and Ugandan friends of Somali refugees give advice concerning housing to Somali refugees. Therefore, it is not necessarily due to Somali refugees' financial resources that they have access to housing. An individual might be willing to pay high rent, but the house owner refuses to rent out his or her house, basing the decision on grounds of race or ethnicity. This may easily happen with Somali refugees since they are physically different from Ugandans.

However, Somali refugees' long duration of residence in Uganda plays a role, since they are able to form friendships with Ugandans, which are utilised during house searches, as noted above. These friendships are useful during house search. Somali refugees' long residence in Uganda also enables them to adapt to life in Kampala, which is very important during house searches. Somali refugees who have adapted to life in Kampala are able to access housing without the services of Ugandan house brokers. In addition, it enables them to help Somali refugee newcomers to search for housing.

Despite a majority of Ugandans observing that Somali refugees have adequate access to housing, some Somali refugee and Ugandan participants noted that some Somali refugees do not have adequate access to housing. Some Somali refugee participants argued that housing was not adequate because, unlike in Somalia where they owned their own houses, in Kisenyi they have to pay house rent. They also reported that the house rooms were bigger than the ones in Uganda. Some of the houses rented by Somali refugees do not have clean water. For instance, a male youth (Somali refugee) in one of the FGDs had this to say about Somali refugees' inadequate housing in Kisenyi: 'housing is also not enough because when we were in Somalia we used to live in our own houses and we were not renting. But here we have to pay rent yet we don't have enough money for that.' While Hamid (Somali refugee youth) in an individual interview commented:

For us (Somali refugees) we don't have good houses. We just have cheap houses. We live in one room like ten guys. We share the house rent whereby each one will pay like 80,000/= per month. We also don't have mattresses and bed sheets. The housing is generally bad.

On the part of the Ugandan participants Zubail explained:

I think if Somalis are to live well they need to improve on their housing because you find around ten Somalis sleeping in a single room. I think this strangles one's life. One may fall sick and yet he is among other nine members. It is very easy to spread diseases to each other. They pay high house rent; a single room they pay around 350,000/=. They do this because they like living together as a group.

Somali refugees perceive their housing as inadequate due, I suspect, to feelings of nostalgia about life in Somalia. As is the case with peace and security, Somali refugees compare their current housing situation in Uganda with the previous one in Somalia. They compare living in a rented house vis-à-vis living in one's own house, and smaller house space in Uganda vis-à-vis Somalia. Because of this comparison, Somali refugees' housing in Uganda is experienced as being inadequate. That some Somali refugees find housing inadequate on account of high rents further illustrates the above argument that other Somali refugees enjoy adequate housing due to their financial resources from business enterprises and remittances from relatives abroad. Somali refugees with limited financial resources are either forced to rent cheap houses of low quality or pool financial resources to rent housing as a group. However, the pooling of financial resources to access housing illustrates the role of social support. If this social support option was not available, it is most likely that this category of Somali refugees would be homeless or relocated to refugee settlements in accordance with the government's refugee policy, as described earlier.

Interestingly, similar to Doyal and Gough's (1991) work, this finding considers the aspect of acceptable housing standards. The participants did not only look at availability of housing and rental rates, but also the house space and the number of residents per room. The inadequate space and congestion can be a source of physical risks, especially the spread of infections, as discussed above by Zubail. Additionally, it limits one's privacy. It is the unacceptable housing standards and inability to afford rent which the participants considered as inadequate housing.

Financial security

The Ugandan and Somali refugee participants also assessed Somali refugees' access to financial/economic security. This is similar to Doyal and Gough's (1991) intermediate need of economic security. Echoing Doyal and Gough's work, the participants considered financial security important since it enables an individual to secure other elements required to live well,

such as food, housing, education and health care. Financial security mainly concerns having secure income. Most Ugandan participants and one Somali refugee participant maintained that Somali refugees have financial security. Somali refugees have two main sources of income, that is, business enterprises and financial remittances from friends and relatives abroad. For instance, Robert (Ugandan participant) explained Somali refugees' financial security as:

Somalis have money. They have invested their money in businesses. Some of them are richer than Ugandans; they own businesses such as supermarkets, shops, internet cafes, fuel stations among others. It is very hard to find a Somali who has no relatives abroad. The relatives may send USD 300 or 500 a month. They also have support from the UN.

While Zubail (Ugandan participant) argued:

In all other aspects of living well, they are satisfied. They have more money than Ugandans. There are Ugandans who go hungry because they don't have food, and they beg for 1,000/=. This is not the case with Somalis because they have money. Ugandans are evicted from houses because of failure to pay house rent, but there is no Somali who has ever been evicted because of that. They are doing well.

Somali refugees are perceived to be financially secure because of the money they have. The sources of Somali refugees' financial security are the small and medium scale business enterprises and the social support in form of financial assistance from relatives and friends abroad. It is this money that Somali refugees use to buy food, rent housing and invest in business ventures, as discussed by Zubail and Robert above. It is, therefore Somali refugees with relatives and friends abroad and operating business enterprises who are financially secure. Robert's suggestion that Somali refugees receive financial support from the UN is not right. As indicated earlier, urban refugees in Uganda are supposed to be self-reliant. They are not supposed to receive any assistance, apart from life-saving assistance, from the government of Uganda and the UNHCR (GOU 2014).

Ugandans' perceptions of Somali refugees as having financial security are not based on objective standards, but on a comparison between Somali refugees and Ugandans in Kisenyi. As such, Somali refugees may not have adequate financial security. This is because the Ugandan participants are comparing Somali refugees to financially poor urban Ugandans in Kisenyi. As indicated earlier, slum dwellers, including Kisenyi, are among the urban poor in Uganda (Dimanin 2012). Therefore, Somali refugees may merely have a little more money than

Ugandans in Kisenyi. The absence of Somali refugees having a history of eviction from houses due to failure to pay house rent does not mean that they do not struggle financially to raise house rent. In fact, in terms of housing, most Somali refugee participants noted that they pool financial resources so as to rent a single room as a group, as earlier discussed. If they had adequate financial security, each would rent his/her own room or more spacious housing.

Despite most Ugandan participants perceiving Somali refugees as having adequate financial security, a few Ugandan and Somali refugee participants noted that some Somali refugees are financially insecure. For instance, Swaib (Ugandan participant) pointed out the following in relation to the wellbeing elements that Somali refugees lack:

Money; they don't have money. Let me tell you there are Somalis who are rich and those who are poor. Sir, there are Somalis who go hungry because they don't have food. Yes, they are here in Kisenyi. They are there.

While Jumah (Somali refugee) in an individual interview commented:

We also have financial problems. We don't have enough money. We need help in order to pay school fees, house rent and take pregnant mothers to hospitals for health care. Because of the financial challenges, most Somali women don't go to hospitals for antenatal services. They only go when they are about to give birth.

This finding suggests that there are two categories of Somali refugees: the financially rich and financially poor. Since the main sources of financial security for Somali refugees are social support in the form of financial remittances from relatives, and business enterprises, it is Somali refugees who do not have business enterprises and/or financially secure relatives abroad that face financial insecurity. Without these two sources of income, Somali refugees have inadequate financial resources to secure food, housing, health care and education for their children, as discussed above by Jumah and Swaib.

Food

Both Ugandan and Somali refugee participants evaluated the adequacy of Somali refugees' access to the element of food. This element is similar to Doyal and Gough's (1991) intermediate need of nutritional food and safe water. However, unlike Doyal and Gough who are concerned with nutritious food, the participants were just concerned simply with food. A few Ugandan participants and one Somali refugee participant observed that Somali refugees in Kisenyi have

adequate food. This is possible because of financial support from their relatives and friends, and business enterprises. For instance, Sulaiman (Ugandan participant) said the following in relation to Somali refugees' access to food:

I also told you that they buy food that takes them through a month. For us you leave home to come and look for money to buy food for that particular day. I think since they are refugees, they are living well.

While Twaha (Ugandan participant) commented:

They (Somali refugees) are far ahead of us (Ugandans) because you may find one having a sack of rice (50 kilos), a jerry can of cooking oil and a carton of wheat, when in your case you are unable to buy them. Between cassava which is not fresh and rice, which one would you pick? However, you leave rice there and go to Owino market to buy cassava which is not fresh because it is what you can afford. We would also like to eat rice, but it is because we cannot afford it. Somalis can afford them.

When I pointed out that Somali refugees could be buying many food items because they have big families, Jalia (Uganda participant) for instance commented: 'I don't know whether their families are big, but I think they have the resources. You may have a big family, but at the same time you may not have resources to take care of it.'

Similar to education, housing and employment, Somali refugees are able to access food due to their financial resources from business enterprises and financial remittances. It is this money which is used to buy food, as pointed out above by Sulaiman and Twaha. However, like financial security and housing, Somali refugees are perceived to have adequate food because the Ugandan participants compare them to Ugandans in Kisenyi, yet, the shopping behaviours of the two groups are different. Ugandans tend to shop for food required for a particular day, and not for many days, as is the case with Somali refugees. Most Ugandans tend to shop for fresh food items such as matooke, cassava, vegetables and sweet potatoes, which are perishable and cannot be stored for long periods of time. In addition, the Ugandan participants compared Somali refugees to the urban poor Ugandans living in Kisenyi. Therefore, Somali refugees have adequate food in comparison to the poor Ugandans in Kisenyi. However, if compared to non-poor Ugandans, Somali refugees may be facing a problem of inadequate food.

One Ugandan participant and a few Somali refugee participants pointed out that some Somali refugees in Kisenyi do not have adequate food. For instance, Ibra (Somali refugee) in an

individual interview commented: 'we (Somali refugees) are also lacking enough food.' While Issa (Somali refugee) in another individual interview explained:

There are people (Somali refugees) who have no problems of living well; they have good jobs, relatives abroad sending them money or businesses. However, there are so many who live on less than one dollar a day. So, people do not have the same standards of living. There are Somalis who don't have enough food.

As in the case with education, housing, employment and financial security, it is Somali refugees without businesses, jobs and unable to secure financial resources from relatives and friends abroad who face the problem of inadequate food supplies.

Health care

Both Ugandan and Somali refugee participants assessed Somali refugees' access to health care. This element is similar to Doyal and Gough's (1991) intermediate need of health care. However, it not clear whether the participants' conception of health care includes preventive, curative and palliative services as Doyal and Gough (1991) suggest. One Somali refugee participant and a few Ugandan participants maintained that Somali refugees in Kisenyi have access to health care. They have access to both government health facilities, which offer free services, and private health facilities. The refugees who are unable to pay the health care bills in private care use public health care. For instance, Solomon (Ugandan participant) when asked about Somali refugees' health care utilisation responded:

Health services, they get them from our health centre there (government facility). Even then, they have money to go to any of the health facilities in Uganda. I sometimes meet them at Maama (mother) Dora's place (operating a private clinic). You see, Somalis are people who care about their health. When they fall sick I see them going to health facilities for treatment; that shows that they care about their health.

While a female Somali refugee participant in one of the FGDs commented:

Mulago hospital (government national referral hospital) is free; we receive health services from there. Only that sometimes we can't successfully communicate with the health workers because of the issue of language. I remember one time I went to Mulago hospital, I was warmly welcomed, but unfortunately I couldn't communicate because I only knew my mother tongue.

Somali refugees utilise the available health care, both public and private. The abolition of cost sharing in public health facilities in 2001 (Burnham et al. 2004) is the reason Somali refugees

can access public health since it is free of charge. Because of staff absenteeism and inadequate drugs (UBOS 2013), individuals who are financially able to seek private health care prefer to do so. However, limited language abilities are a barrier to Somali refugees' health care utilization. Ager and Strang (2008) also highlight the role of language in the effective delivery of health services to refugees.

A Ugandan participant and some Somali refugee participants observed that Somali refugees do not have adequate access to health care. For instance, Maimuna (Somali refugee) in an individual interview noted: 'we are lacking tuition and health care. When we fall sick we don't get the drugs needed for treatment' While a male youth (Somali refugee) in a FGD commented:

However, we would like to get more health care services. They should be free of charge. For you to get health care even in public facilities you have to pay some money. The health workers tell you to go and buy the drugs. We don't have that money.

Financially poor Somali refugees have inadequate access to health care. As indicated earlier, although public health care is free, it is inadequate, especially the drugs. Government health facilities usually run out of drug stocks. This means that an individual can have consultations with the health workers, but he/she has to buy the prescribed drugs from privately owned pharmacies. As such, financially poor Somali refugees end up not accessing the prescribed drugs, and hence have inadequate access to health care. This exposes them to ill-health, which negatively affects their wellbeing.

Conclusions and implications

This paper has shown that Somali refugees' wellbeing is mainly about objective elements. The participants perceive the most important objective elements (needs) to Somali refugees' wellbeing as peace and security, housing, employment, health care, education, financial security and food. These elements are seen to be human needs when analysed in relation to Doyal and Gough's THN formulation. They are considered as basic necessities of life (Doyal and Gough 1991; Reader 2005; Scott 2012) to Somali refugees' living well. Somali refugees should have adequate access to them if they are to live well in Kisenyi. Indeed, the 1951 UNHCR refugee convention lists housing and education as components of refugee welfare. It also further lists employment as a right to refugees (UNHCR 2007).

Furthermore, the paper has shown that in terms of access to these elements, there are Somali refugees who have adequate access and those who have inadequate access. Somali refugees' access to these elements is influenced by their financial resources from small and medium scale business enterprises and financial remittances from relatives and friends overseas. For instance, Somali refugees with adequate financial resources had adequate access housing, education, health care, employment, food and financial security, while those with inadequate financial resources had inadequate access. In addition, Somali refugees' wellbeing was influenced by the non-discriminatory and accepting host environment. This environment resulted in Somali refugees' access to peace and security, housing, employment, education and financial security. Furthermore, the comparison of life situation in Uganda to that of Somalia and Ugandans' life situation to that of Somali refugees' influenced the perception of Somali refugees' wellbeing. For instance, a comparison of Uganda to Somalia resulted in Somali refugees being perceived as enjoying peace and security, while a comparison of Ugandans' life situation to Somali refugees' resulted in Somali refugees being perceived as having adequate access to housing, food and financial security.

From the above analysis, a non-discriminatory and accepting host environment (laws and policies promoting refugee rights and freedoms and non-discriminatory behaviours of the host community members) create a conducive environment that promotes and guarantees refugees' wellbeing. Somali refugees were able to engage in small and medium scale business enterprises and secure overseas financial remittances because the laws in Uganda allow them to do so, and thus securing financial resources. For instance, they are allowed to engage in commerce, gainful employment, own assets and reside in any part of Uganda (GOU 2006). Therefore, financial resources and a non-discriminatory and accepting host community are instrumental in ensuring and promoting Somali refugees' wellbeing in particular and refugees in general.

We have seen that a non-discriminatory and accepting host environment played a significant role in Somali refugee acculturation and wellbeing. This is mainly due to the laws and policies that promote freedoms and rights of refugees. These laws and policies enabled Somali refugees to engage in activities that contribute to the satisfaction of their needs, and thus their wellbeing. One way other refugee hosting countries can contribute to the wellbeing of refugees

is by designing and implementing laws and policies that promote freedoms and rights of refugees. For instance, as a result of a right to gainful employment and engagement in commerce (GOU 2006), Somali refugees were able to start small and medium scale business enterprises. It is these enterprises that enabled them to have access to financial resources, and these resources were used to secure wellbeing elements such as housing, health care and education. Further, freedom of movement and residence in any part of the country enabled Somali refugees to move from a refugee settlement (Nakivale) to an area (Kisenyi) with opportunities that can lead to self reliance. Therefore, refugees' rights and freedoms need to be promoted by the host communities through policy formulation and implementation.

Furthermore, although the majority of Somali refugees were perceived as living well, there were some who did not. This calls for a change in the government policy on urban refugees. As earlier noted, refugees in urban centres are supposed to be self-reliant, neither receiving material support from the UNHCR nor the government (GOU 2014). This does not augur well with the 2006 Refugee Act which gives refugees an option of applying to the commissioner of refugees so as to reside in any other part of Uganda other than the refugee settlements or transit centres (GOU 2006). Therefore, the government and UNHCR should make some policy provisions for providing material support to urban refugees who are unable to be self-reliant or those who were once self-reliant but slip back. The policy requiring urban refugees to be self-reliant in some ways forces some refugees to live in refugee settlements because of their inability to be self-reliant in urban centres. This negatively affects their choices and freedom on where to reside.

The findings of this study show that seven elements of living well were assessed in terms of the wellbeing of Somali refugees. However, some Somali refugees were perceived as having inadequate access to these elements. Therefore, the government, UNHCR and non-governmental organisations working with refugees in general and urban refugees in particular, need to focus on delivering these elements to refugees, especially those having inadequate access to these elements. This will ensure that their wellbeing is not compromised. Further, as the 2006 Refugee Act points out, these agencies are supposed to promote self-reliance among refugees (GOU 2006). These agencies' efforts, activities and programs should be directed at

ensuring that refugees, especially urban refugees, become self-reliant in terms of access to the six elements (education, health care, food, housing, employment and financial security). This can be achieved by these agencies creating opportunities for refugees to have adequate access to financial resources.

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