

Socioeconomic status and livelihoods of refugees in a self-reliance situation in Kyangwali refugee settlement

Robert Ayine^{1*}

Fredrick R. Tumwine¹

Robert Kabumbuli²

Abstract

The need to establish the Socioeconomic status of refugees in Kyangwali Refugee Settlement under the new and stringent condition of self-reliance necessitated this study. Using expenditure levels as a proxy to determine income in socioeconomic status categorisation, three classifications were derived: thriving for the high income group, managing for the moderate income group and surviving for the low income group, each with distinctive characteristics. Most of the refugees (76.7%) were found to be of low socioeconomic status or simply surviving, and only 4.3% were found to be thriving, reflecting a high proportion of the poor. The study indicated a significant relationship between refugees' household size and socioeconomic status $\chi^2 = (37.539, p=0.000 > 0.05)$. The study concluded that the self-reliance strategy as implemented in the settlement has not significantly transformed the standards of living of the refugees as indicated by the large numbers in the low socioeconomic status, the surviving. The study therefore recommends the refinement of the agricultural requirement of the strategy and the creation of an environment that will allow for pursuance of alternative sources of income to diversify livelihoods and ultimately improve the well-being of refugees in the settlement.

Key words: Socioeconomic status, self-reliance strategy, livelihoods

¹Department of Geography, Geo-informatics and Climatic Sciences, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda

²Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda

*Corresponding Author: ayinerobert@yahoo.co.uk

Introduction

Efforts to improve refugee livelihoods and reduce their dependence on aid have dominated a lot of literature, yet such attempts have achieved minimal results (De Vriese, 2006). In most developing countries where the refugee phenomenon is largely evident, the efforts of refugees to construct their livelihood have been met with a lot of challenges. These challenges, to a large extent, arise from the defective approaches refugees employ and their attitude towards their own status and the need for support (De Vriese, 2006). They also arise in part from the challenges regarding their access to economic resources in their efforts to rebuild their livelihoods (United Nations, 2009). Another key factor in the reconstruction process is that there are unqualified and poorly understood socioeconomic resources among refugees. Such socioeconomic resources include land and means of production; therefore, access to and control of such resources may influence socioeconomic status in society. In a refugee context, land is a critical socioeconomic resource because of its central place in agriculture, particularly subsistence crop cultivation.

Access to and use of socioeconomic resources have a strong bearing on the socioeconomic resources of the refugees. In areas where access to such resources are limited, communities have remained relatively poor with no initiatives of economically empowering themselves. Socioeconomic status has been defined differently by different authors depending on the context in which it operates. Morris et al (2000) refer to it as components of economic and social status that distinguish and characterize people. Akinbile (2007) describes socioeconomic status as the position that an individual or family holds with regard to the existing average standards of living, income, material possession as well as participation in community activities. In the reconstruction of their livelihoods, refugees' primary focus is on survival, and it is only when survival is achieved that they get involved in different livelihood activities, depending on their means and capacity. In their attempts to make a living, socioeconomic classes emerge among the refugees, with the most enterprising in a higher class than the less enterprising or those who do not have access to socioeconomic resources, who are in the low income class. Such classification into strata may be a result of access to resources, income, and wealth or influence, because it is access to such resources that enables individuals to thrive in the social world (Oakes and Rossi, 2003). The measurement of socioeconomic status is critical in the planning and implementation of development programs (Tiwari et al, 2005), and with refugees, socioeconomic status indicates whether the intervention has yielded the expected

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results by impelling more refugee households out of the low income class so that they are able to survive without external aid.

In most developing countries, according to Worall et al (2003), the measurement of socioeconomic status is quite challenging, although the understanding of the term has much to do with its local conception and interpretation (Bellon, 2001). For instance, in developing countries, social scientists have faced diverse problems in the measurement of certain characteristics of rural communities, such as level of living, wealth, state of affluence and social strata (Adewale, 1999). Additionally, the indicators of socioeconomic status are dynamic both in time and space, and as such, it is possible to have different communities using different measures or the same community employing different measures at different times (Olaniyi, 2013).

Several approaches have been advanced to measure socioeconomic status and these include Prasad's Classification; Kuppuswamy's socioeconomic scale; and the Standard of Living Index (Shankar et al, 2013). Prasad's classification is based on per capita monthly income as a univariant variable and has been widely used in analyzing household incomes (Shankar et al, 2013). Kuppuswamy's socioeconomic scale uses the composite score of education levels, monthly income of the family and occupation, using a weighted system to derive the various classes to which each household eventually falls (Bairwa et al, 2013). The Standard of Living Index is an integration of a number of variables applied in a bid to understand the socioeconomic status or well-being of a household or an individual (Ramesh et al, 2013). It is important to note that the approach employed largely depends on whether refugees can meet the cost of living and have a per capita income. Jones (2002) argues that this index is applied to refugees when evaluating their house types, source of lighting, toilet facility, and main fuel for cooking, source of drinking water, separate room for cooking, ownership of agricultural land, ownership of livestock, and ownership of durable goods, for measuring socioeconomic status.

Socioeconomic status has been established to have a positive correlation with the types of activities people are engaged in, savings, investment decisions, types of crops grown, number and variety of livestock kept and the level of adaptation of innovation and technology (Olaniyi, 2013). The emergence of socioeconomic classes among the refugees in their quest to reconstruct their livelihoods provides a barometer on the effectiveness of the interventions and approaches used by individual households and those employed by humanitarian agencies, and

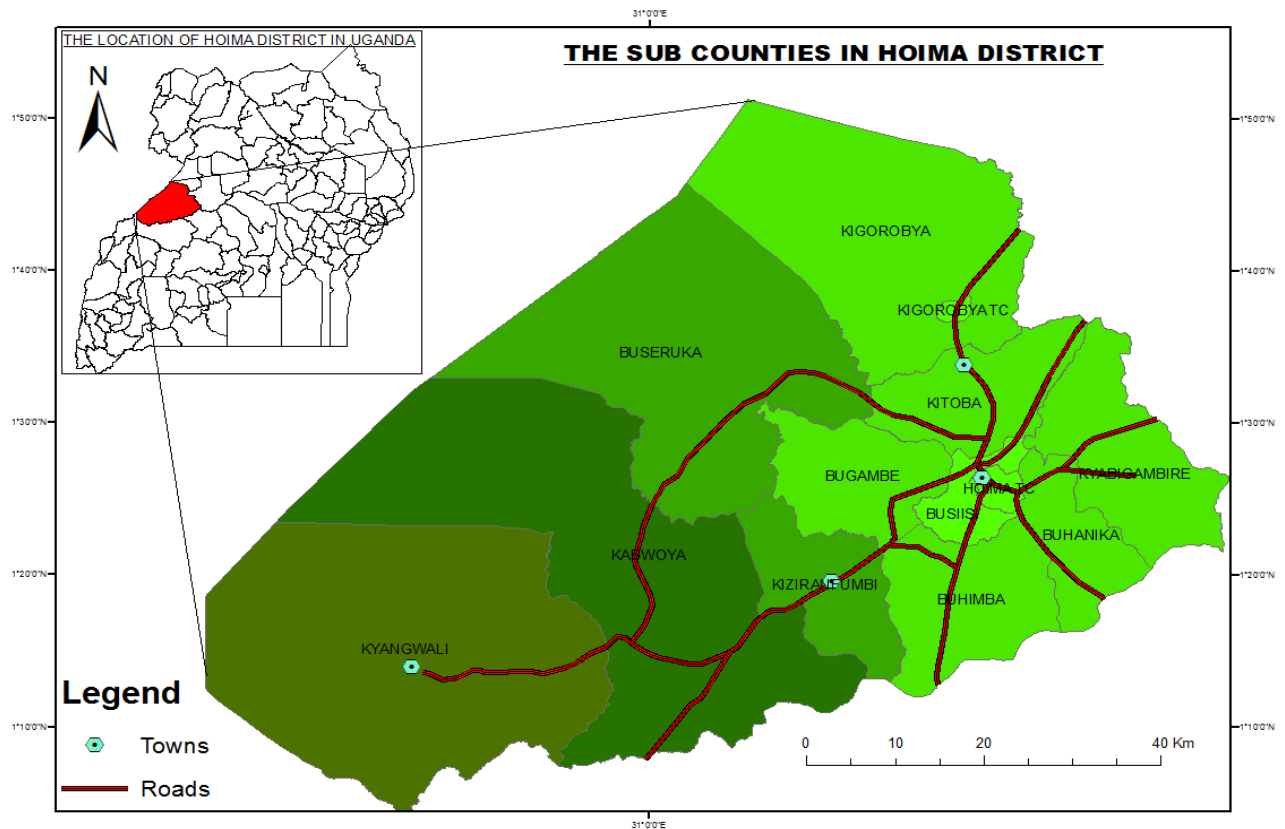
may also be used as an indicator of how successful the Self-Reliance Strategy has been in the settlement (Refugee Law Project, 2006; Omata & Kaplan, 2013). Interventions that will propel refugees out of destitution, impoverishment and the state of helplessness characteristic of the low socioeconomic class should be adopted to ensure that more refugees are indeed self-reliant and therefore able to direct their own development needs. The self-reliance strategy as employed in Kyangwali Refugee settlement seeks to enable refugees economically support themselves and thus reduce their dependence on humanitarian aid, especially food rations (OPM/UNHCR, 1999).

The purpose of this paper is therefore to categorize the refugees in Kyangwali Refugee Settlement into socioeconomic classes and establish the relationship between such classes, on the one hand, and personal characteristics and access to socioeconomic resources, on the other. It also attempts to show the magnitude and diversity of refugees' involvement in the different livelihood activities in the settlement.

Materials and Methods

The study for this paper was conducted in Kyangwali Refugee Settlement. The Settlement is adjacent to Lake Albert in Hoima District, Western Uganda (see Map). It covers an area of 90 sq. kilometers and has a population of approximately 38,32 refugees (OPM, 2014). This settlement was chosen because it is one of the oldest locations where the self-reliance strategy was implemented. Many of its refugees have been in the settlement for a number of years, providing a perfect environment for analyzing long-term refugee self-reliance.

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The data for this paper were collected from a case study using a cross-sectional survey in which pretested questionnaires and interview schedules were used. A total of 348 respondents representing households were selected to participate in the survey using a multi-stage sampling technique. Refugee respondents were selected from households in the various villages and the blocks. Proportionate sampling was used at the village level to establish the sample quota for each village and block from which the respondents were randomly selected. For the interviews, key informants were purposively selected to provide the required information. These included: 4 employees from the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) who are based in the settlement, 2 employees of UNHCR and 5 from the Implementing Partner. A structured questionnaire containing close-ended pre-coded questions was used to collect information from the respondents. The data collected were analysed using descriptive statistics (frequency counts, percentages and means). A Chi-square analysis was used in establishing the relationship between socioeconomic status and variables like land size, household size and refugees' personal characteristics, while regression was used to predict the likely effect of personal characteristics, household size and level of education on socioeconomic status.

To analyze the socioeconomic status of the refugees in Kyangwali Refugee Settlement, consumption expenditure per household was used. A 7-day recall period was used for

expenditure on food, ingredients, beverages, credit or cellphone recharge tokens and tobacco purchased at the current prices. Purchases were recorded and the expenditures were collected on an item-by-item basis. The expenditure was aggregated from the highest to lowest. Using an equal interval classification, the refugees were categorized into three classes: surviving, managing and thriving, corresponding to low, middle and high income categories respectively. The study employed a univariate measure for socioeconomic status as opposed to a composite measure. The univariate measure adopted was the expenditure approach which was used as a proxy of income. This is because expenditure measures are much more reliable and easier to collect (Filmer and Pritchett, 2001), and besides, people find it difficult to establish their own income levels. Among the problems with an income approach is that approximately 30% of respondents are unwilling to reveal it, and those who do may misstate their income in one way or another (Oakes and Rossi, 2003). Moreover, income alone does not necessarily reflect purchasing power since income is not equal to wealth (Oakes and Rossi, 2003).

Results and Discussions

Personal characteristics of refugees

The study revealed that out of the total of 348 respondents, 67.5% (n= 235/348) were males while 32.5% (n=113/348) were females. This gender distribution indicates that there were more than twice as many males as females in the sample. The study further showed that the mean age of the respondents was 36.2 years and most of the refugees (55.2%) were in the age group 30-49 years. On marital status, 68.4% (n=238/348) were married and only 40 respondents or 11.5% had never married. The findings further showed that 12.1% (n=42/348) of respondents surveyed were widowed and 8% (n= 28/348) divorced. The distribution of the education levels of the respondents shows that 39.8% of them had no formal education at all, while 33% (n= 115/348) had only primary education, and only 23.6% (n=81/348) had up to secondary education. The study further showed that only 3.5% (n=12/348) had attained higher education. The results also showed that there were glaring gender disparities in education levels; more females (88.5%) had attained only primary education or had never been to school, as compared to 65.5% of their male counterparts. Table 1 has the details.

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Table 1: Personal characteristics of refugees

Personal characteristics	Freq.	Percent
Gender		
Male	235	67.5
Female	113	32.5
Total	348	100.0
Age group		
15 – 29	111	31.9
30 – 49	192	55.2
50+	45	12.9
Total	348	100.0
Marital status		
Married	238	68.4
Widowed	42	12.1
Divorced	28	8.0
Never married	40	11.5
Total	348	100.0
Educational level		
None	139	39.9
Primary	115	33.0
Secondary	82	23.6
Higher Education	12	3.5
Total	348	100.0

Source: Field data

A Pearson Chi-square test was conducted to examine whether there was a relationship between gender and education levels of the refugees, as shown in the results in Table 2. The results reveal a significant relationship between the two variables (Chi-square value 33.024, $df = 2$, $p < 0.05$). A significantly large proportion of female refugees (88.5%) have not attained formal education at all or only had primary education, as compared to 65.5% of their male counterparts.

Table 2: Distribution of respondents according to education levels

Education level	Gender of the respondent				Total	(%)
	Male	(%)	Female	(%)		
None	68	28.9	71	62.8	139	39.9
Primary	86	36.6	29	25.7	115	33.0
Secondary	70	29.8	12	10.6	82	23.6
Higher Education	11	4.7	1	0.9	12	3.5
Total	235	100.0	113	100.0	348	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 33.024$		df=3		p=0.05	

Source: Field data

It is clear from the results that low levels of education constrain efforts by the refugees to devise better initiatives to achieve self-reliance and therefore improve their socioeconomic status. For those with low levels, coping, devising and adopting livelihood practices that can help in the reconstruction of life are often sluggish and a challenge all together.

Socioeconomic categorization of refugees in Kyangwali Refugee Settlement

The socioeconomic categorization presented here was derived using consumption expenditure per household as an indicator of well-being. The total weekly expenditure per household was derived as the sum of all consumption expenditure on items such as fresh food, dry food, beverages, ingredients and hotel accommodation. The total monthly expenditures ranged from Uganda shillings (Ugx) 2000/= to Ugx. 396,000/=. The results show that the average monthly household expenditure level was Ugx. 92,043/=. In nominal terms, therefore, the mean monthly consumption expenditure per capita was estimated at 27,035/- per person per month. The weekly expenditure was further categorised into three equal class intervals, namely 500 – 33,000, 33,100 – 66,000, and 66,100 – 99,000. These three intervals were used to classify the refugees into three socioeconomic categories. The refugees in the lowest expenditure interval were categorised as surviving, those in the middle were categorised as managing, while the highest were categorised as thriving. The data show that the majority of the refugees were surviving (76.7%), while 19.0% were managing and only 4.3% were thriving. Table 3 gives a summary of the expenditure and socioeconomic categorization.

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Table 3: Expenditure and socioeconomic categorization

Expenditure/week	Freq	%	Categorization
500 – 33,000	267	76.7	Surviving
33,100 – 66,000	66	19.0	Managing
66,100 – 99,000	15	4.3	Thriving
Total	348	100	

Source: Field data

The surviving category of refugees, who constitute the majority, are the very poor, occupying the lowest stratum of the socioeconomic categorization, while the managing group was in the moderate stratum. Those in the thriving category, only a small minority as shown in Table 3.0, were in the high stratum and enjoyed the best socioeconomic status in the refugee camp.

Livelihood activities of the refugees

The study considered the various economic activities that refugees are involved in to derive their livelihoods. Table 4 shows that subsistence crop cultivation was the most dominant livelihood activity with the majority (80.5%) of the respondents. Subsistence crop cultivation was followed by the operation of *boda-boda* (a form of motorcycle taxi often used in areas which motor vehicles cannot access and also among poor communities), with 8% of the refugee respondents engaged in this activity. Small-scale trade had 3.7% of the respondents while tailoring had 2.3%. Brewing of local alcohol was among the less popular livelihood activities, attracting 1.4%. Others include formal salaried employment (0.9%), poultry rearing (0.6%) and casual labour (0.6%), with commercial crop cultivation, subsistence livestock rearing, rental income, construction work and charcoal making each comprising 0.3%. Table 4 summarizes the above findings.

Table 4: Main livelihood activities in Kyangwali Refugee Settlement

S/N	Livelihood Activity/Source	Frequency	Percent
1	Subsistence crop cultivation	280	80.5
2	Boda-boda riding	28	8.0
3	Small scale trade	13	3.7
4	Tailoring	8	2.3
5	Brewing (local gin)	5	1.4
6	Formal salaried employment	3	0.9
7	Brick making	3	0.9
8	Poultry rearing	2	0.6
9	Casual labour	2	0.6
10	Construction	2	0.6
11	Commercial crop cultivation	1	0.3
12	Subsistence livestock rearing	1	0.3
13	Rental income	1	0.3
14	Charcoal making	1	0.3
	Total :	N= 348	100.0

Source: Field data

Small-scale trade, however, attracted few refugees, despite the fact that the population in the settlement provides a ready market and therefore opportunities for trade. When asked why few refugees were involved in trade activities, most respondents in the discussion bemoaned the lack of capital to start a business and the stiff competition with members of the host communities who are involved in different types of trade activities with the refugees.

The study, however, shows that subsistence crop cultivation defined the livelihoods of the refugees. It was the predominant livelihood activity, largely because the focus of self-reliance is on producing sufficient food to reduce or off-set the dependency on food relief. In addition, the results indicated that there was minimal diversification in the livelihood activities of the refugees, a situation detrimental to refugee self-reliance if crops fail as a result of weather vagaries, pests and disease or any other unforeseen factor.

The results of the survey were further supported by information gathered from the interviews. According to one of the key informants, most refugees were primarily involved in subsistence

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crop cultivation for two reasons: to meet their food needs and because it is the only tenable activity within their means. He made the following observation: *“First and foremost, the refugees must produce their food to survive on but also because they do not have the skills and resources that may allow them to get involved in other economic activities.”* Another key informant interviewed attributed the substantial involvement of refugees in subsistence crop cultivation to low formal education levels: *“... because of low or no formal education, most refugees end up in agriculture....”* Yet another participant in the discussions attributed the dominance of subsistence crop cultivation to the allocation of land and the withdrawal of food aid: *“We are allocated land to cultivate and produce our own food as a way of detaching us from food aid...”* The withdrawal of food rations left refugees with no option but to embark on subsistence crop cultivation to guarantee food security. The study established that there was a low level of diversification of livelihood activities among the refugees, which is a challenge to self-reliance, especially in situations where weather vagaries or other unforeseen factors result in poor crop output.

The results of the study therefore show that the self-reliance strategy has not ably met its objectives of reducing refugees’ dependency on food-aid and ensuring that they reconstruct their livelihoods. It is thus clear from the study that despite the efforts by the refugees to be self-reliant, most of them do not fare any better than the average Ugandan household outside the settlement. This may be attributed to their vulnerability as people who have been affected by conflict. However, it is imperative to realise that they have lived on the settlement long enough to have significantly improved their welfare and their livelihoods if the environment had been enabling enough. Unlike the thriving category of refugees who have a highly diversified livelihood, the results show that most of the surviving category of refugees are involved in only subsistence crop-cultivation. The study therefore illuminates the relevance of engagement in multiple economic activities to ensure sustainable livelihoods. The finding is consistent with Ellis’ (2000) observation that households in poor communities and vulnerable groups are engaged in diverse livelihood activities in order to survive, diversify their sources of income and improve their standards of living.

Characteristics of the different socioeconomic categories of refugees in Kyangwali Refugee Settlement

The study established that the majority of refugees (83.1%) in the surviving category were involved in subsistence crop cultivation as their main livelihood activity. Furthermore, the

study showed that a low proportion of refugees (only 18.4% (n=64/348)) were involved in non-farm activities as their main source of livelihood. Table 5 has the details of the analysis.

Table 5: Relationship between sources of livelihood and socioeconomic status of the refugees

Sources of livelihood	Thriving		Managing		Surviving		Total	(%)
	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)		
Subsistence crop cultivation	10	66.7	48	72.7	222	83.1	280	80.3
Non-farm livelihoods	5	33.3	16	24.2	43	16.1	64	18.4
Other farm activities	0	0	2	3.0	2	0.7	4	1.1
Total	15	100.0	66	100.0	267	100.0	348	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 7.469$		df=4		p=0.113			

Source: Field data

With regard to the surviving category, survival was the primary agenda, and all efforts were geared towards solving the day’s subsistence needs. Those in this group had poor shelter, hardly had more than one meal a day, and usually the same type of food made of a mixture of beans and maize and sometimes cassava leaves. In most cases, the surviving category of refugees lived in poor, and in some cases makeshift structures. This was affirmed by one of the opinion leaders in the settlement in a discussion who commented as follows: “... *the poor households in the settlement are struggling to survive and to them survival is about having food. Often the poor have make cannot even afford basic needs like food and shelter. The children are malnourished as a result of poor feeding.*” This therefore means that for refugees who are merely eking out a living, achieving self-reliance is a formidable challenge. When probed further on the type of meal, a participant in one of the discussions explained that the food was largely boiled maize grains and beans, commonly known as ‘noyo’, and sometimes cassava leaves, depending on the season: “*Such refugees feed on boiled beans and maize and sometimes on boiled cassava leaves especially during the wet-season*”

It was difficult for the respondents to describe the moderate income group, many considered them as being among either the rich or the poor. This is because, as many of the respondents acknowledged, some refugees in this category sometimes exhibited characteristics of those to be considered ‘well-off’, while at other times they showed features of the poor. This category,

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therefore, can be regarded as transitory between the two extreme groups. Such refugees may be those involved in some form of small-scale trade, such as roadside petty trade, and often such non-farm livelihood activities are carried out alongside the main activity which is crop cultivation. When asked whether there were refugees who participated in other activities alongside crop cultivation, one of the participants said the following: *“some refugees supplement household income by selling petty items like petrol packed in bottles, fried eats like chapatti, mandazi and sometimes airtime top-ups for mobile phones”*

Table 5.0 indicates that in the category of the thriving, only 18.4% of the respondents were involved in non-farm livelihood activities. In addition, one-third (33.3%) of refugees in the thriving category were those who participated in non-farm activities, suggesting that such non-farm activities have a high potential of improving the livelihoods and well-being of the refugees in the settlement. The livelihoods of the refugees considered the rich or the ‘thriving’ category, that is, those with the highest income, were associated with successful entrepreneurship, multiple livelihood activities, as well as well-established connections with external markets, transnational and social networks. One of the participants in the discussions described the refugees considered to be affluent as follows: *“They are the economically better-off, with better welfare. They have business and networks, they own vehicles and motorbikes for public transport, and they are owners of businesses, restaurants, bars and mobile money outlets.”*

Often, the success of persons in this category is a result of personal ingenuity, background and connections. In this category, some refugees are visibly better off than some host community members. In the study it was observed that some refugees had houses roofed with corrugated iron-sheet and even lit with solar energy while others owned chains of businesses ranging from retail shops to bars and Passenger Service Vehicles (PSV) plying between the settlement and Hoima town. In a discussion with one of the key informants, it was reported that some of the refugees had businesses with the capacity of supplying the humanitarian agencies in the Settlement with goods and services like stationery and catering services, while others even provided financial services, though often unregistered, to fellow refugees.

The study further established that the affluent refugees who were thought to be given better treatment, benefits and opportunities by the numerous humanitarian agencies operating in the settlement have been viewed with envy by some members of the host community. One of the key informants who was a host community member had this to say: *“Refugees are given a lot*

of support by the different humanitarian agencies, yet we are ignored. As a result, some refugees are better-off compared to us even when we gave them our land.”

The different socioeconomic status of the refugees reflects levels of livelihood diversification and degree of self-reliance, with the surviving category having minimal or no diversification and more likely not to be self-reliant, as compared to the thriving category who have multiple livelihood activities and are therefore more self-reliant. The evidence suggests that the low involvement in some livelihood activities like commercial crop cultivation, rental income and trade can be attributed to inadequate capital and skills among most of the refugees. Prior to their flight, most refugees in the settlement had low levels of education and were largely peasant crop cultivators and therefore lacked skills in vocational activities such as tailoring, carpentry or construction work. While for trade activities which involved small scale trade and the brewing of crude alcohol, most refugees reportedly lacked the initial capital to set-up such businesses. This finding is in line earlier studies. For example, Cavalier (2005) had already established that subsistence agriculture is a prime coping strategy for most refugees in response to unusual food stress. This is partly because most international assistance organizations are promoting subsistence agriculture as the primary self-reliance strategy for refugees, but also because most African refugees are of rural origin and settled in rural settlements, making subsistence agriculture a logical, if not automatic choice. Also in congruence with the study's findings are those of Henry et al (2007) and Hussein et al (2008), who observed that refugees rarely engage in salaried employment because they are not well positioned for such work, although they engage in such activities as agricultural production, trade in non-agricultural goods and services, wage labour and self-employment in small firms, in order to spread risk. The study also showed that the engagement of the majority of the refugees (78.7%) in subsistence crop cultivation has a bearing on socioeconomic status, with a close to similar proportion of refugees in the low income socioeconomic status (76.7%), an indicator that subsistence crop cultivation per se does not improve the socioeconomic status of the refugees in the settlement.

The relationship between personal characteristics, household size and socio economic status

The paper considered the implications of household size, gender, marital status, the level of education and the age of the respondents on their socioeconomic status, and a Chi-Square test of the relationship was conducted. As shown in Table 6.0, the Chi-Square test indicates a

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significant relationship between household size and socioeconomic status ($p=0.000* < 0.05$), since the p-value was less than the critical value of 0.05 at 95% confidence interval. Contrary to the expected results that smaller households tend to belong to a higher socioeconomic category, the results indicated that a large proportion of refugee households with 5 or more members were in a higher socioeconomic status as compared to those with fewer members. Table 6 shows that 80% of households of thriving socioeconomic status had household size of 5-8 members as compared to 20% of households that had 1-4 members. Correspondingly, the majority (57.3%) of households in the surviving category had household size of 1-4 members as compared to 40.8% of refugee households which had 5-8 members and 1.9% of households of 9 or more members.

Table 6: Relationship between household size and socioeconomic status of the refugees

Household Size	Socioeconomic status							
	Thriving		Managing		Surviving		Total	
	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)	Total	(%)
1-4	3	20	19	28.8	153	57.3	175	50.3
5-8	12	80	38	57.6	109	40.8	159	45.7
≥ 9	0	0	9	13.6	5	1.9	14	4.0
Total	15	100.0	66	100.0	267	100.0	348	100.0
	$\chi^2 = 37.539$		df=4		p=0.000*			

Source: Field data

The Chi-Square test was also performed to examine the relationship between gender and socioeconomic status, and it revealed a significant relationship ($p=0.014* < 0.05$) at 95% confidence interval as shown in Table 7. The results showed gender disparities in the socioeconomic status of the refugee respondents, with all the 4.3% of the respondents in the thriving category being males while a relatively higher proportion of females (83.2%) as compared to males (73.6%) are in the surviving group. The results, therefore, illuminate the fact that women continue to be disadvantaged in access to and control of productive means and assets essential to livelihoods. In most rural communities in Uganda for instance, women are considered the less influential, weaker sex and therefore have little say in the ownership, use and management of resources.

Table 7: Relationship between gender and socioeconomic status of the refugees

Gender	Socioeconomic Status						Total	
	Thriving		Managing		Surviving		Freq.	%
	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)	Freq.	(%)		
Male	15	4.3	47	20	173	73.6	235	67.5
Female	0.0	0.0	19	16.8	94	83.2	113	32.5
Total	15	4.3	66	18.9	267	76.7	348	100
		$\chi^2 = 8.532$		df=2		p=0.014*		

Source: Field data

Chi-Square results also show that there was no relationship between marital status and socioeconomic status ($p=0.130 > 0.05$). Although the majority (86.6%) of refugees in the thriving category were married, the results also showed that 64.7% of those in the surviving category were married as compared to 13.1% who had never married and 12.4% who were widowed. Furthermore, only 7.5% and 10.6% of the managing category of refugees were from the never married and widowed groups as compared to 78.8% of the managing group who were married.

Table 8: Relationship between marital status and socioeconomic status of the refugees

Marital Status	Socioeconomic Status						Total	%
	Thri	(%)	Mang	(%)	Surv	(%)		
Never married	0	0	5	7.6	35	13.1	40	11.5
Married	13	86.7	52	78.8	173	64.8	238	68.4
Widowed	2	13.3	7	10.6	33	12.4	42	12.1
Divorced	0	0	2	3.03	26	9.7	28	8.0
Total	15	100	66	100	267	100	348	100.0
		$\chi^2 = 9.868$		df=6		p=0.130		

Source: Field data

Education levels often are good predictors of socioeconomic status and therefore persons who have achieved tertiary level of education are expected to belong to a higher socioeconomic status. However, the Chi-Square test of education levels and socioeconomic status was not

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statistically significant ($p=0.447>0.05$), indicating that education levels of the respondents did not influence their socioeconomic status, as shown in Table 9

Table 9: Relationship between Education level and Socioeconomic Status of the refugees

Education level	Socioeconomic Status						Total	(%)
	Thri	(%)	Mang	(%)	Surv	(%)		
None	4	26.7	21	31.8	114	42.7	139	39.9
Primary	5	33.3	22	33.3	88	32.9	115	33.04
Secondary	5	33.3	17	25.8	48	17.9	70	20.11
Tertiary	1	6.67	6	9.09	17	6.37	24	6.90
Total	15	100	66	100	267	100	348	100.0
		$\chi^2 =5.787$		df=6		p=0.447		

Source: Field data

The Chi-Square test of relationships between the age of the respondents and socioeconomic status revealed that the relationship was statistically significant ($p=0.01<0.05$), an indicator that age influences the socioeconomic status of the refugees in Kyangwali Settlement. Table 10 shows that 86.7% of the refugees in the thriving category were in the age group 30-49 as compared to none in the 15 – 29 age group. This could be attributed to the fact that the 30-49 age group is the most economically productive age group.

Table 10: Relationship between Age group and socioeconomic status of the refugees

Age group	Socioeconomic Status						Total	(%)
	Thriv	(%)	Mang	(%)	Survi	(%)		
15-29 years	0	0	16	24.2	95	35.6	111	31.9
30-49 years	13	86.7	44	66.7	135	50.6	192	55.2
50+ years	2	13.3	6	9.1	37	13.9	45	12.9
Total	15	4.3	66	19.0	267	76.7	348	100.0
		$\chi^2 =13.371$		df=4		p=0.01*		

Source: Field data

The Chi-Square test of relationships between duration of stay and socioeconomic status of refugees revealed that the relationship was statistically insignificant ($p=0.471>0.05$), an

indicator that the socioeconomic status of the refugees in Kyangwali Settlement had nothing to do with the duration of their stay in the settlement. Table 11 shows the analysis.

Table 11: Relationship between duration of Stay and socioeconomic status of the refugees

Duration of stay	Socioeconomic Status						Total	(%)
	Thriv	(%)	Mang	(%)	Surv	(%)		
5-10 Years	9	60.0	42	63.6	183	68.5	234	67.2
11-15 Years	3	20.0	16	24.2	41	15.4	60	17.2
Above 15 Years	3	20.0	8	12.1	43	16.1	42	54
Total	15	100	66	100	267	100	348	100.0
		$\chi^2 = 3.549$		df=4		p=0.471		

Source: Field data

Conclusion and recommendations

The effort towards promoting refugee livelihoods is doomed to fail if refugees are not empowered to construct gainful livelihoods. In order to improve the socioeconomic status of the refugees in Kyangwali Refugee Settlement, and consequently their contribution to the host economy, there is a need to create an enabling environment that will promote individual and collective innovativeness and opportunities, and tap into the synergies and potentials of the refugees. This can be done through diversifying livelihood activities and encouraging the involvement of refugees in multiple sources of income. Agricultural livelihood alone is not sufficient to improve refugees' welfare, make them self-reliant and boost their socioeconomic status. There is therefore the need to revamp and remodel the subsistence crop-cultivation in the settlement into a market driven production that can guarantee high production levels, quality and subsequently more income.

It is also important that actors on refugee issues abandon the notion that refugee self-reliance is contingent upon sufficient food production alone. The study therefore recommends that the agricultural requirement of the strategy be refined and that an environment is created that will allow for alternative sources of income to be pursued to diversify livelihoods and ultimately improve refugees' well-being in the settlement.

Acknowledgements:

This work was made possible with funding from the Swedish Development Agency (SIDA) through the Makerere University School of Graduate Training and Research. I also acknowledge the support of my advisors and supervisors, Assoc. Prof. Fredrick R. Tumwine and Assoc. Prof. Robert Kabumbuli. Lastly all the research assistants and respondents who participated in the study are also acknowledged for their contribution.

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