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**The factors influencing the decisions of women refugees to leave camps or settlements and settle in Kampala City**

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## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

This study was conducted in Kampala City, Uganda between October 2003 and January 2004. It sought to investigate the factors that influence refugees (especially women) to leave refugee camps or settlements, where they are officially resettled and to reallocate in Kampala City. The study used the international human rights approach, to establish the factors that drive refugee women into urban areas but also to amplify the complexities which arise from the unheard voices and experiences of women refugees. Immediately after a refugee woman has successfully crossed to a safe haven, a significant question arises: ‘Where am I going to stay? Where are they resettling me?’

The study has confirmed and validated most of the study assumptions which were based on the assumption that refugee women move to urban areas because refugee camps are not conducive to their staying.

The dissertation consists of six chapters. The first chapter starts with a poignant story depicting women’s lived realities, gives an historical overview, the statement of the problem, the justification, the objectives, the assumptions, the research questions, and the significance and demarcation of the study. The second chapter discusses the importance and limitations of the various research methodologies and instruments used. The study findings and analysis are presented in chapters three, four and five, and the last chapter is devoted to recommendations for the way forward and conclusions of the study.

#### **‘Widow’s tears run dry’**

Six years ago, on the 31 January 1998, in the middle of the night, Susan (not real name), a Kuku woman from Southern Sudan started her journey from Kajokeji town in the Equatorial Province. Little did she know that she would eventually end up in Kampala as an urban self-settled refugee. She fled from the turmoil of the raging protracted war between the Sudan Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA)<sup>1</sup> and the Khartoum Islamic Government that claimed her husband’s life — her tears continued for more than three months. She trekked for eight days (day and night with her four children — two girls and two boys, aged 18, 15, 12 and 8 years old) crossing the Sudan–Uganda border to Moyo district where she was received and sent to Olisi Refugee Transit Camp awaiting clearance and status acquisition. Six months later, after a long struggle with the police, the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) officers, Susan and her

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<sup>1</sup> SPLA – Southern Sudan Comrade John Garang led rebel group, fighting for the liberation of mainly the Christian Southern Sudan from the Khartoum Islamic Government.

four children were granted refugee status and were resettled at Maagi Refugee Settlement.

In her new status as a mother, ‘father’ and more so as a woman in the settlement Susan faced various problems, including lack of food and medical care, poor facilities, and gender violence such as sexual harassment from the former friends of her deceased husband and relatives, but worst of all, she felt insecure. A tragedy took place on 14 July 2002, when a group of about 150-200 Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA)<sup>2</sup> rebels, raided their settlement, killing five refugees (of which four were her children) and a Ugandan soldier. They burnt down 127 refugees’ huts, including hers. Five classrooms in a refugees’ school and the dispensary were also destroyed and looted. After burying and mourning her children for two months, the rebels came again. This forced her to flee and settle in Kampala. Now she feels much safer, although she is still facing a lot of other problems.<sup>3</sup>

This heart-rending story is the tragic lived reality of many women refugees settled in urban centres in Uganda, including Kampala City, and it is useful in understanding why refugee women move to urban areas.

## **Historical overview**

Kiapi (1998:35) argues that the phenomenon of refugees started as soon as mankind merged into organized communities. The causes of this refugees’ phenomenon are twofold:

- Natural disasters like droughts, floods, earthquakes and so on;
- Man-made disasters, for instance, wars and oppression by rulers.

Since the second world war Uganda, has continued to be an epi-centre for refugees, partly because of its geographical location in the centre of the Great Lakes region — an area characterized by instability and conflicts.<sup>4</sup> Her history of refugees and asylum seekers is double-edged as a source or generator of refugees and as a host of refugees.

## **Uganda as a source of refugees**

Uganda’s history as a source or generator of refugees can be placed into two phases. The first was during the 1960s and 1970s, when upheavals under ex-presidents, Obote and Amin, generated refugees within the region who fled to Sudan, Congo, Rwanda, Kenya, Tanzania, and other countries further afield. Uganda expelled all Ugandan citizens of Indian origin — a massive exodus that was eventually followed by the flight of large numbers of political and academic

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<sup>2</sup> LRA – Is the Northern Uganda rebel group, led by Joseph Kony, fighting the Kampala Government.

<sup>3</sup> A story of a woman refugee respondent from Sudan, interviewed on 23/11/2003.

<sup>4</sup> Refugee Working Paper 2, 2001:3

intelligentsia. The second wave came during the 1980s and 1990s which saw more influx into neighbouring countries. In 1980, almost the entire population of West Nile and Madi region was forced into exile<sup>5</sup>, into Sudan and the Congo. The National Resistance Army/Movement (NRA/M) 1986 clash with the political or military factions in the north led to more people being forced out of Uganda.<sup>6</sup>

Ironically, Uganda's reputation as the producer of refugees<sup>7</sup>, has not been given high political profile, yet refugees are crucial in the resolutions of the intractable ethno-religious rebellions that have ravaged the north and south western parts of Uganda, and most sections of the great lakes region. Uganda's image as an unstable refugee producing country has been downplayed.<sup>8</sup> This is just one side of Uganda's history of refugees — as a source or generator of refugees.

### **Uganda as a host for refugees**

Before attaining independence in 1962, Uganda was already a destination for many European refugees.<sup>9</sup> Between 1942 and 1944, 7000 Polish refugees — mainly women and children — were received in Uganda (Pinycwa, 1998:19). These refugees were settled in different camps established in various (remote) parts of the country. The Polish were settled in two camps, Nyabyeya in Masindi district and Kojja (Mpunge) in Mukono district. Italian prisoners of war were resettled in Jinja and civil internees were settled in Entebbe. Arapai camps in Soroti district accommodated civil internees including Hungarians, Germans, Austrians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Yugoslavs, the stateless Jews and even some Egyptians.

The next wave of refugees came into Uganda between the 1950s and 1960s. From the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium of Sudan<sup>10</sup> between 1955 and 1956, 5,000 Sudanese asylum seekers were received and resettled in the northern parts of Uganda.<sup>11</sup> In the 1960s and 1970s, the Anyanya rebellion against the repressive Khartoum Islamic Government, made thousands of Sudanese flee to Uganda.<sup>12</sup> This influx was soon followed by numerous refugees generated by unrest in the aftermath of the various struggles for independence in neighbouring countries. Good examples of this are the influx of Sudanese who fled due to the conflict that followed Sudanese independence, Kenyans during the Mau Mau struggle, Rwandese escaping the disastrous civil wars<sup>13</sup> of 1959 (which forced 78,000 'official' refugees into Uganda) (Prunier, 1999:62-63) and

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<sup>5</sup> Nabuguzi, 1998:53 - Obote takeover in 1979 and its aftermath in 1980s.

<sup>6</sup> Refugee Law Project Working Paper 2, 2001:4

<sup>7</sup> USCR, October 2, 2001 estimated about 20,000 Ugandans to be in Diaspora

<sup>8</sup> Zambia legal Resource Foundations 2002:89

<sup>9</sup> These European refugees were Polish, Italians, Hungarians, Germans, Austrians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Yugoslavs, the Stateless Jews and even some Egyptians Prisoners of war and Internees.

<sup>10</sup> Refugee Working paper No. 2, 2001:3

<sup>11</sup> Zambia Legal Resource Foundations, 2002:90

<sup>12</sup> Northerners because of ethnic similarities warmly received and accommodated their Sudanese brothers and sisters-Anyanya, till 1970s when the then President Obote fell apart with the Anyanya, because of supporting their Ugandan kin Amin.

<sup>13</sup> Ethnic conflicts between the Tutsis and Hutus, is the major cause of influx of refugees to neighbouring countries, fleeing from ethnic discrimination and recrimination. Between 1962-63, approximately 10,000

Congolese in the aftermath of Lumumba's assassination in 1961. Uganda also received a number of refugees from Ethiopia and Somalia during that period.<sup>14</sup> These waves of asylum seekers continued through the 1970s and 1980s until the cumulative number of refugees peaked at 300,000 in 1995 (USCR, October, 2001).

The third and most important wave of refugees in this study is the influx from the 1980s to the present. This is when most countries experienced intense internal conflicts and struggles for democracy. Sudan, for instance, experienced the SPLA<sup>15</sup> struggle against the Khartoum Islamic Government of General Omar El Bashir. This has led to a massive influx of refugees to Uganda; today conservative statistics<sup>16</sup> show that there are 175,902 Sudanese refugees out of 207,519 refugees in the country. The rest are from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Rwanda, Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia, among others.<sup>17</sup> The 1990 Rwandan Patriotic Front<sup>18</sup> success, and eventually the 1994 Rwandan genocide, caused fresh displacements and eventual exiling of approximately 10,000 Rwandan refugees to Uganda, many of whom were Hutus and moderate Tutsis. Rwandan refugees are the second largest group in the Ugandan caseload. Before the repatriation, which started last December, there were 19,473 refugees. The Democratic Republic of Congo conflicts between government forces supported by troops from Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Angola, on one side, and rebels<sup>19</sup> backed by Uganda and Rwanda<sup>20</sup> on the other, generated the third major group of refugees in Uganda. Coupled with ethnic conflicts between the Bahema and Balendu, more refugees have been and continue to be generated.

Before focusing on Kampala self-settled refugees, it is important to emphasize two crucial issues about earlier settlements of refugees. The first is that the Polish and other subsequent refugees were resettled in remote, secluded camps. This was probably because of their racial linkages with the colonialists; the policy that governed these refugees was aimed at retaining white superiority through restricting what was considered 'illicit contact' with blacks. As such, entry and exit from the camps was restricted. This eventually set the precedent for later refugee settlement policies, with many repercussions for and against refugees, the government and the UNHCR. The other striking feature in the Polish refugee regime was that the refugees administered themselves in their enclosed camps (Zambian Legal Resource Foundation, 2002:89-90). This kind of indirect rule was however dropped with the influx of the black refugees. The Ugandan government took

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Rwandese asylum seekers flocked to Uganda bringing the total number of registered refugees to about 40,000.

<sup>14</sup> Refugee Working paper No. 2, 2001:3

<sup>15</sup> SPLA rebel movement started in 1956. The war in Sudan, now in its fifteenth year, has many causes: racial, religious, regional, resources (the Nile water and oil), and cultural.

<sup>16</sup> There are no reliable refugee statistics on the exact number of refugees currently in Uganda, as noted by US Committee of Refugees October, 2001 and Zambia Legal Foundation Publications 2002:90, Van Der Meeren, 1996:261, in Journal of Refugees Studies Vol. 9 No. 3 and Refugees law Project Working Paper 6, 2002:3 and 6. A sentiment confirmed by the confessions of the Jesuit refugee services Urban Project Programme officer, Refugee Law project official, THE OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER officer, and SHRA officer. Jesuit refugee services Urban Project Programme officer commented that, "it is even worse for urban self settled refugees, which we estimate to be twice the total number of refugees in Uganda"

<sup>17</sup> UNHCR Refugees' Statistics as at the end of October 2003, in Uganda.

<sup>18</sup> RPF were mainly Tutsi dominated force that ousted Habyarimana in 1994.

<sup>19</sup> Amnesty International (2000:77) Among the prominent rebel groups were, Goma based - RCD Goma, RCD-MLC, and those in Kishangani – RCD Kishangani and RCD Bunia.

<sup>20</sup> UN 2001 Report

direct control of the refugees for a number of reasons, most probably, for instance, because of the threat posed by the refugees, because the government viewed refugees as temporary visitors in transit, because of the massive influx, or because of their needs.

### **Kampala self-settled refugees**

There are four types of refugee status granted by the Ugandan government. These are given according to vulnerability, settlement area and help given as can be seen below:

- 1 The highly vulnerable are mainly political and military refugees. These are largely on a prima facie policy; they are urban settled — part of the urban caseload.
- 2 The less vulnerable who are professional, economically able to sustain themselves or those who have acute medical complications, are granted urban status, both as urban-settled and either self-settled or as part of the urban caseload.
- 3 The less vulnerable who are considered unable or are actually unable to sustain themselves in urban centres, are settled in camps or settlements, under UNHCR and the Uganda government's direct assistance.
- 4 'Self or irregular movers' are refugees who move from camps or settlements with or without the permission from the office of the prime minister and eventually self-settle themselves in Kampala City.

These refugees are not entitled to any assistance, except for those who are emergency medical cases, and then only on a cost-sharing basis. This last category, namely the urban self-settled refugees, is of paramount importance to this study. UNHCR (2002:3) terms them 'self movers'— they are refugees who come and settle in Kampala with or without the permission of the office of the prime minister or those who come to attend to private business. They are, however, almost impossible to access (Tyrrell, 2002:15), even for those on the urban caseload. There are humanitarian organizations, for example, the Jesuit Refugee Service which helps urban refugees and asylum seekers access basic necessities, the Refugee Law project which helps refugees access justice through legal representation, advocacy and lobbying, the Sudan Human Rights Association which monitors their wellbeing and does advocacy and lobbying and obviously Inter Aid Uganda, an implementing partner of UNHCR (Appendix V-IX), that are helping asylum seekers and urban self-settled and even those on the urban caseload, with basic necessities of life, monitoring refugees' settlement conditions, lobbying and advocating refugees' rights.

The Kampala urban self-settled refugees' phenomenon acquired particular prominence after the influx of Somali refugees in 1993.<sup>21</sup> These settled in the slum areas of the city, for instance Kisenyi area (central division), one of the poorest sections of the city, and a place now known as 'the refugee capital in Uganda'. Others who came later settled in other slum areas of the city — about 100 Sudanese families settled in Rubaga division,<sup>22</sup> Makerere Kikoni (Kawempe division) and Nanjanankumbi in Makindye division, for instance at Bondeko Centre. These were mainly Sudanese and Congolese. It is important to note that there are many self-settled refugees in

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<sup>21</sup> Huff (et al) (2002;5): quoting Mulumba 1998 over 2347 were registered by December, 1993.

<sup>22</sup> Refugee Working Paper 6, 2002: 18.

Kampala City.<sup>23</sup> With this increasing trend the question is why? Why are refugees – women and men – moving away from the settlements or camps to self-settle in Kampala City? What are the push and pull factors?

### **Statement of the problem**

Some research has been done, about the plight of refugees living in refugees' settlements, and those in urban areas. There seem, however, to be no studies carried out to show whether urban refugees' self-settlement occurs due to conditions in rural settlements. There also seems to be no research specifically focusing on women's lived realities and experiences as refugees.

This study attempts to investigate the linkages in this apparent gap of knowledge of refugee settlements. It will examine whether one is a consequence of the other. Overall, the study tries to answer one major question: Why do refugees (especially women), move away from refugees' settlements and settle in Kampala City, in spite of all the help they receive in the refugees' settlements? In other words, what are the factors at play leading to Kampala self-settlements?

### **Justification of the study**

The Kampala self-settled refugees' situation is a serious issue of concern to the Uganda government, UNHCR, civil society and refugees themselves. The government Control of Aliens Refugee Act CARA 64 prescribes that refugees should be settled in camps or settlements, not in towns. The Office of the Prime Minister and UNHCR personnel find it much easier to access and assist refugees in a gazetted place. As noted by *The New Vision Newspaper*, (Monday, January, 2004:5), the state minister for disaster preparedness and refugees:

... warned refugees against relocating from the gazetted camps, saying this undermined the government plan to cater for them.

Apart from easy accessibility, the need to control refugees' activities, movements and security, makes resettling refugees in remote isolated places ideal. Those refugees who move from camps or settlements without the Office of the Prime Minister permission and self-settle in Kampala City are CARA 64 law breakers.

The civil society has made a lot of allegations against the refugees, linking them to crime and vices. The member of parliament for Rubaga South (where most Sudanese are self-settled), Ken Lukyamuzi, alleged that refugees are robbers, and cause insecurity in his constituency. The refugees alleged that he put his people against them.<sup>24</sup> Moral breakdown is also blamed on them, for instance, prostitution. Above all, there is the quarrel about small jobs and trade markets which nationals feel should be left for them. Many local leaders have raised concerns about their existence, yet nothing seems to be done to curtail their influx into Kampala City.

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<sup>23</sup> Refugee Working paper 6, 2002: 6, quoting Machiavello 2001:1, notes that while UNHCR lists about 400 registered Somali refugees in Uganda, mostly based in refugee settlements west of the country, there are perhaps ten times as many Somalis refugees in Kampala.

<sup>24</sup> Bukedde Newspaper, 10<sup>th</sup>, July, 2002, Article: MP Ken Lukyamuzi, "Nje Kwekalakaasa".

What the general public seems to be unaware of is that refugees encounter lots of problems, particularly women refugees. Apart from psychological torture from the public, they lack the basic necessities of life like food, shelter and, above all, security. Since the Uganda government and UNHCR consider refugee settlements as the centres for assistance, refugees living in Kampala face many hardships, yet it still seems better to them than staying in camps or settlements.

Many self-settled refugees seem to be facing different kinds of hardships, because of the apparent ignorance of the lived realities in settlements or camps, and even in their urban settlements.

There seems to be insufficient empirical data about urban self-settled women refugees' movement from camps and their eventual settlement in Kampala City. Some research has been done to highlight the refugees' plight in camps or settlements and urban areas, but nothing seems to link urban refugees settlements to conditions or issues arising from rural camps or settlements.

This study seeks to bridge this apparent gap of knowledge of refugee settlements, showing one as a resultant factor of the other, by establishing the push and pull factors leading to Kampala self-settlements.

### **The objectives of the study**

The main objective is to establish the factors influencing the decisions of women refugees to leave camps or settlements and settle in Kampala City, in order to propose policy changes more conducive to refugees' settlement.

The specific objectives are:

- 1 To establish the 'push and pull' factors leading refugees to self settle in Kampala City.
- 2 To suggest policies to better the lives of refugees in and out of refugee camps or settlements, especially focusing on conditions for women refugees.

### **The assumptions of the study**

The study was based on the following assumptions:

- 1 That there are more conducive conditions (housing, amenities, security, and freedom of movement) in the city, which influences refugees to settle in Kampala City.
- 2 That there are economic opportunities (trade and jobs) in the city, which influence refugees to move from the refugees' settlements and settle in Kampala City.
- 3 That the nationality and ethnic origins influence refugees to move from the refugees' settlements and settle in Kampala City.
- 4 That there are inherent weaknesses within the UNHCR and Uganda government policies, which influence refugees to move from the refugees' settlements and settle in Kampala City.

- 5 That the quest for education influences refugees to move from the refugees' settlements and settle in Kampala City.
- 6 That gender issues (sexual harassment, rape, women's recruitment for sex at war, forceful recruitment of boys), influence refugees to move from the refugees' settlements and settle in Kampala City.

### **The research questions**

The following were the research questions derived from the assumptions:

- 1 What are the conducive conditions that pull refugees to settle in Kampala City? Is it housing, or medical provisions in the city, which influences refugees to move and settle in Kampala City?
- 2 What economic opportunities influence refugees to move from the refugees' settlements and settle in Kampala City? Is it trade and search for jobs in city?
- 3 How do issues of nationality and ethnic origins influence refugees to move from the refugees' settlements and settle in Kampala City?
- 4 What are the UNHCR and Uganda government policies on refugees and how do they influence the settlements of refugees in Kampala City?
- 5 Does the search for education influence refugees to move from the refugees' settlements and settle in Kampala City?
- 6 What are the gender issues that influence refugees to move from the refugees' settlements and self-settle in Kampala City? Is it sexual harassment, rape, women's recruitment for sex at war or boys' forceful recruitment?

### **The significance of the study**

It is hoped that the study will be of benefit to organizations, personnel, and general public by raising awareness and result in eventual reforms of refugees' policies and laws.

- 1 The study seeks to provide useful information to service providers about refugees' plight, especially their settlement.
- 2 The study aims to provide insights for organizations dealing with refugees and areas of intervention to improve the lives of refugees. This will provide 'a basis to start from' in handling women refugee's plight.
- 3 The study seeks to make valuable information on the efficacy of the refugees or clients' laws and policies available to inform human rights activities, research on refugees', non-governmental organizations dealing with refugees, policy makers and opinion leaders.
- 4 The study also aims to make the voices of the women heard, so as to influence policy changes, pointing out the inadequacies of the current liabilities in the refugees' laws and policies.

- 5 The study underscores the importance of refugees' settlements. It is hoped it will lead to positive changes in refugee settlements.
- 6 The study hopes to identify useful areas that require further research, using this study as a background.

## CHAPTER TWO

### **Research methodology and methods**

A number of research methodologies and methods were used to collect data. These included: the women's law approach, grounded theory, legal pluralism and the case study approach. These were used because of their peculiarities and uniqueness in data collection, as is explained more fully below.

#### **The women's law approach**

The women's law methodology was one of the major approaches that I employed in this study. It takes women's lived realities as the starting point. It engages empirical data of these lived realities to explain the position of women in relation to the law and society. This approach brought out the deep experiential data from women, as to why they had to move and self-settle in Kampala, in spite of the law's prohibitions and society's negative reception. It was able to bring out the intricacies women are involved in, in and out of refugees' settlements, to highlight the differences. It's a women-centred approach, which was able to provide deep insights into women's lived realities, which I was able to pursue with the case study approach.

The women's law approach also enabled me to identify the law as a stumbling block to the lives of the refugees, for instance, CARA (60), chapter 64 of the Laws of Uganda. Taking the emphasis of the respondents about the law, I was able to discover that, for instance, it limited their freedom of movement and association, which eventually hindered their search for jobs and trade opportunities outside the settlements, rendering them completely dependent on the UNHCR provisions. This gave me a basis for deeper exploration through legal pluralism.

This approach too encouraged the exploration of gender issues, to get the whole perspective of the refugees' situation. The women's law approach was able to point out the similarities and differences in causal patterns of actions. This was a good start toward defining appropriate steps to remedy the refugee influx problems for the Uganda government.

Having people's lives as the starting point, the women's law approach enabled me to use the following real-world opportunities as they arose. The first occurred when I was leaving the Inter Aid Uganda office, about to board a taxi to the Refugee Law Project office. A man and a woman were walking in front of me when the man suddenly collapsed. With concern, I ran to help him, and discovered that the man was a refugee, who had gone to Inter Aid Uganda to seek medical help. I introduced myself to him and having helped him, he and his wife were willing to answer my questions; they even took me to where they were staying in Rubaga Road.

The second opportunity was when I had gone to Christ the King Church and was approached by a woman beggar, for some money.<sup>25</sup> I engaged her in some conversation and I discovered she was

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<sup>25</sup> Christ the King Church is one of the catholic churches in the city, where there is daily mass. This was on the on 19/21/00, lunch time mass.

a Congolese refugee, living in Kampala. I therefore used this opportunity to ask her about her experience in urban settlement, and how she left the Congo and eventually the Nakivale refugee settlement.

When I was passing an evening in Speke Hotel-Kampala, after work, an opportunity arose when a woman came and sat next to me, requesting company. After conversing with her for some time, I discovered that she was a refugee from Tanzania, who had lived in Kampala for over five years, earning a living by sex work. When I probed into the issues of prostitution among refugees in Kampala, she disclosed that many of the 2,000 sex workers are refugees, mainly from Rwanda and Congo. This supported the theoretical information I was given by other respondents.

### **Grounded theory**

With my assumptions at hand, this approach enabled me to check on the realities on the ground. One of my assumptions was that gender issues were major causes of refugees' influx in to Kampala. This included issues like sexual harassment, rape, forced recruitment and sexual slavery, to mention a few. According to the respondents, gender seemed to be the least important factor but after a critical look at the factors they were considered paramount. For example, taking the issue of insecurity, I discovered that issues like fear of rape, escape from sexual harassments and sexual slavery were emphasized. This showed how substantially significant, this factor was because it cut across the other factors.

One outstanding feature of the grounded theory that I used to the maximum in my study was the flexibility of the research design. It allowed me to change, make adjustments to the course of actions and concurrent data analysis, which enabled theory building. For instance, when new issues that were not part of the assumptions (for instance, the issue of relations as a factor) arose, I was able to incorporate and further pursue them to gauge their magnitude with later respondents.

This approach also enabled me to limit the number of respondents and data collection. It set boundaries for deeper probes on some issues and postponing probes on others until information is extracted from one section of respondents. For instance, after all Congolese respondents emphasized insecurity in their settlements as the major factor for the leaving and settling in Kampala, I went a head to find out the types of insecurity and triangulate the information with the Sudanese. Even among the Congolese, putting into perspective ethnicity and settlement location, probing one thing at a time and comparing the findings with others' experiences, proved very beneficial in the study.

Grounded theory approach, promotes the comparison of similarities and disparities between data collected from different areas with the ongoing reviews of the original plans. I found this very useful because it enabled me to compare findings from one nationality, ethnicity, settlement and sex, against others. For instance economics was pointed out as being one of the driving factors for the movement and settlement of the refugees in Kampala City. This approach, however, enabled me to go to the 'nitty-gritty' of the economic activities, to find out who does what, where and how. This enriched my understanding of the 'whole', with many 'parts' in detail.

## **Legal pluralism**

Refugees' movements in Uganda is governed buy the Ugandan municipal law, CARA 60 (64), and a number of international human rights instruments including; the universal; Declaration on HUman Rights, (1948), the Convention Relating to the status of Refugees/Geneva Conventions (1951), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (1966), the Covenant on Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (1966), the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979), the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (1981) and the Protocol Relating to the status of Refugees (1967). While the international instruments tend to emphasize the refugee rights' to move and even choose where to settle, the municipal law tends to hinder the enjoyment of these rights. With a plural legal system, the phenomenon of refugee movements can be adequately investigated by the legal pluralists' methodology that seeks to know how the law impacts on peoples lives, as is highlighted in findings.

Much as the two approaches above could ably explain reasons for the women's movement and settlement in Kampala, it falls short of exploring the legal concerns at play. The legal pluralist's methodology emphasizes that women's patterns of behaviour can be adequately explained by sets of laws, including state law and international laws. This methodology enabled me to confirm some of the social factors which prompted people not to conform to legal provisions, a signal to concerned parties to redefine the law. This methodology is law-centred, leaving out gaps that were filled by other methodologies. For instance, most of the refugees who flee to Kampala would have broken the CARA law, not all of them move to Kampala in reaction to the law but because of other factors.

## **The case study approach**

This approach emphasizes the study of a small sample with particular cases for a deeper understanding of the general phenomenon. These respondents were chosen from information obtained by the other methods of data collection – key informants, in-depth interviews and group discussions. To enable a deeper probe into the issues raised through the other methods, a smaller sample was chosen. I had six case studies of four women and two men which enabled me to record the life histories of the refugees, starting from their mother country to their self-settlement in Kampala.

The case studies proved valuable in that I obtained detailed information which I could not obtain through other methods. The tragic experiences like that expounded in the 'Widow's tears run dry', are revealed through a deep mutual appreciation and trust built between the respondents and the researcher through protracted interaction.

This methodology is however, time consuming; it requires time to gain the confidence of the interviewees and find out detailed information from them. The data from case studies is also limited, largely by the way in which the cases were identified. It may not ascertain all women's lived realities, but those few cases enriched the information collected by other methods. For instance, general information about conditions in settlements, and ethnic tensions were unearthed through this methodology, where respondents shared their lived experiences.

## **Research instruments and methods**

Both primary and secondary research methods were used in this study. These included the following:

### **Secondary methods**

#### *Literature review and records analysis*

The secondary tools used included a literature review and statistical analysis. Library research was an ongoing process throughout the research. I looked specifically at the literature about refugee settlements, and urban settlement. Literature reviewed were: magazines (for example, Sudan Human Rights Association (SHRA), refugees' journals, newspapers (*The Sudan Mirror*, *The Monitor*, *The New Vision*, *East African*), published and unpublished dissertations and papers (Refugee Law Working Papers, Human Rights watch (2002), Tyrrell (2000), Tamale (*et. al*) (1997) and other books. These enabled me to gain insights into and conceptualize the issues affecting refugees, and showed where to lay emphasis.

Records analysis of the statistics from the UNHCR and Jesuit Refugee Services revealed the inadequacies in the official government systems vis-a-vis what was happening on the ground. The statistics do not reflect the actual number of people in the city. For instance, just in the two days that I moved around the city to observe the economic activities of refugee women, I counted more than 100 refugees in Kampala City.

### **Primary instruments**

The primary instruments included key informants, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, case studies and passive observations.

#### *Key informants interviews*

With my open-ended questionnaire, I started by interviewing key informants who were personnel in refugee-related non-governmental organizations. This was to pave the way for access to the refugees since they act as 'gatekeepers' to the refugees — their clients. They were selected on the basis of the 'key' or influential positions that they hold in these refugees organizations, for

instance, the director and programme officer from Jesuit refugee services, the director and legal adviser from the Refugee Law project, protection officers of the Office of the Prime Minister and IAU. These are people who interact with the refugees on a daily basis, and are exposed to their problems and challenges of life in and outside settlements.

Having volunteered with the Jesuit Refugee Services, I was introduced by the urban project director to the Refugee Law Project. Both directors were my first key respondents. They referred me to relevant literature and documents; above all they gave me deeper insights into my subject of study. Furthermore, the two directors helped identify and introduced me to the first two influential refugees' leaders whom I worked with who led me to others. Fortunately, one was from Sudan and the other was from Congo, both men. It was important to win the refugees' confidence to enable accessibility.

The 'dung beetle' sampling method greatly worked to my advantage. Having won their trust, largely through their leaders, I was able to access refugees, even in their homes and places of work. This was all possible through using key informants to gain access to their clients.

Using key informants as a tool was not however, easy; some consultations turned into an 'indaba'.<sup>26</sup> Some key respondents were not easy to access and securing an interview, for instance, with the protection officer of UNHCR was not possible. This was not because he was unwilling to be interviewed but because of his tight work schedules. He cancelled appointments with him five times; On one occasion just when I was being checked in at their gate, I received a call from his secretary telling me it was not possible to meet me. With the flexibility of the grounded theory approach, I had to seek an alternative and this led me to the protection office of Inter-Aid Uganda – a UNHCR implementing partner, where I believe I found most, if not all, the information that the UNHCR protection officer would have given me.

### *In-depth interviews*

This was the main tool I used to collect data in this study. I interviewed a total of 50 respondents, as can be seen in table I.

TABLE I: SAMPLE OF RESPONDENTS ACCORDING TO NATIONALITY, SEX AND METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

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<sup>26</sup> 'Indaba' is an Ndebele word for problems or news, but in this case it means problems.

SEX			DATA COLLECTION METHODS			
NATIONALITY	F	M	KEY INFORMANTS	INDEPTH INTERVIEWS	GROUP DISCUSSIONS	TOTAL
CONGOLESE	32	19	1	30	2 (Each10)	51
SUDANESE	16	7	1	18	1 (Each 04)	23
RWANDESE	2	-	-	2	-	2
UGANDANS	3	2	5	-	-	5
TOTAL	53	28	7	50	2 (24)	81

This was my most favourite instrument because it elicited all kinds of information. I was able to capture women’s voices in a confidential 1-2 hour in-depth sharing session. After gaining access through their leaders this method, proved to be very useful. I used the two leaders to help identify and access other respondents in the same way — I was targeting men and women who had lived in settlements, left and were self-settled in Kampala City. The length of time spent in Kampala as self-settled refugees was variable — some who had just come gave me their ‘fresh’ reasons, which I was able to compare with others who had lived there for over 15 years.

For the sake of a conducive and enabling environment, and noting the sensitivity of my study, interviews were conducted in private settings, either in refugees’ homes, or in Jesuit Refugee Services or Refuge Law Project premises, though some even accepted being interviewed in restaurants; these were especially men and a ‘business’ woman who could not take time off during the day so preferred to meet in the evening and the best place to meet them was a restaurant. However for the shake of privacy and the respondents’ comfort, I would interview them in secluded parts of the restaurant. Men and women openly shared with me their lived realities and experiences in and outside settlements.

At first I thought I would use the open-ended questionnaire, with each assumption being addressed by a set of questions, but reaching the field I realized that to ask the refugees to share their experiences of leaving their homeland, travel, entry to Uganda, status determination, resettlement, movement from settlements and eventual settlement in Kampala City was a much better approach. At the end of each narration, most of the answers sought would be gained, giving me the opportunity to probe only issues that needed clarification or more detailed information. This was an integrated case study and in-depth interview method which gave respondents lots of room to share their experiences. This enabled me to draw data from their life histories.

Apart from the free sharing of experiences without interrupting the flow of the stories<sup>27</sup>, in-depth interviews elicited important concerns and opinions about the study in terms of ranking. By the ranking method, they were able to tell me in order of importance the factors that prompted them to move and settle in Kampala City. With that I was able to make a summary of responses as can be seen in table 5.

One of the challenges I encountered in using this method was that I ended up being a ‘local donor’ for their basic needs – through developing too much emotional attachment to them,

<sup>27</sup> For privacy, confidentiality, security reasons and on their requests, all interviewees’ names have been changed or withheld.

instead of keeping my distance. Though I tried to be as humble as possible, not to be mistaken for a rich researcher, their plight inevitably moved me to help and I ended up buying basics like bread and sugar or even giving them some money. This however, was not the pre-condition for acceptance, it was more a moral responsibility on my part for ‘one cannot be interviewed, when hungry’. This gave me a ‘place’ in their homes where I was accepted as ‘one of them’. Some interviewees would even offer tea before the ‘real business’ of talking began. All these interviews were conducted in a friendly, open and hospitable environment.

### *Focus group discussions*

This was one of the instruments that I used to gather general information about women’s lived realities and experiences. It enabled them to divulge information disguised as hearsay or as events they had witnessed. With this approach individuals tended to be freer in expressing their general opinions and one person’s views could easily spark off others. This gave me a rich source of ‘skeletal’ data which was fleshed out through in-depth interviews, case studies and even observation.

The gender perspective of the study emerged in two discussions groups where I was able to interview both men and women of the same nationality and status and in the same plight. This gave me insights into issues that I was able to follow up using the case study or the in-depth interviews.

The only challenge in using this method was the language. In two groups that I held with the Congolese I had to use an interpreter. Even though he was very competent and some respondents knew English, I missed the first the first-hand quotations from the respondents themselves.

### *Passive observation*

Passive observation was another method that I used to gather data about the economic activities that refugees were involved in. I visited refugees’ tailoring and design shops, and restaurants<sup>28</sup> and took my wife to one of their saloons in Bugolobi to give me an opportunity to observe their business — some were groundnut sellers and ‘Batembeyi’.<sup>29</sup> With the help of two research assistants, I was able to count (over two days), more than 100 refugees in Kampala City involved in different economic activities.<sup>30</sup> This method exposed me to the survival methods of some of the self-settled refugees in Kampala City. It also occurred to me that these people were operating ‘illegally’ and yet earning a living so given a ‘legal’ chance they could even do better. It revealed the real drama of refugee life in Kampala City.

Because of the sensitivity to their status considering their position in the workplace it was not possible to find out more about them in the streets, shops, saloons, and bars. These gaps were however, filled in by other instruments as discussed above.

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<sup>28</sup> Refugees’ run Restaurants are eg Hotel Fiancée, Anika etc

<sup>29</sup> ‘Batembeyi’ a Luganda word for hawkers.

<sup>30</sup> Research Assistants – For the sake of accessibility, I had to use a Sudanese woman and a DRC man

### **The case study approach**

The case study approach in this research was used both as a methodology and a method. As a data collection instrument it was useful in eliciting detailed information of the lived realities of women, by using just a few cases – four women and two men. Having elicited general information through other methods, the case studies enabled me to probe deeper into specific issues through particular respondents. They gave a wide range of insights which enriched the triangulation of the findings, giving a broader perspective to the study.

While the case studies I present here may not necessarily be representative, to give the substantive profile of the women refugees' lived realities and experiences in Kampala, they give the general picture of the circumstances that prevail in and outside settlements.

### **The demarcation of the study**

The study is geographically limited to five divisions of Kampala City that host most of the self-settled refugees — Rubaga, Kawempe, Nakawa, Makindye and Central divisions. The content scope is limited to investigating the factors influencing refugees to leave settlements and self-settle in Kampala City. Although the focus is on women refugees, men's perspectives are also considered to bring out the gender interface.

### **Sampling framework**

I used purposive and random sampling methods of both men and women. Tables I – 4 give the different categorization of the sample. I used sex, age, nationality, marital status and leadership positions as important yardsticks for selecting respondents. More crucial was targeting those who once lived in the camps or settlements and had moved and self-settled themselves in Kampala. I chose key informants – people who had deep involvements with the refugees; in-depth informants were the refugees themselves. These were the informants selected purposively but there were others chosen randomly as opportunity arose. Because of ease of access and population, I decided to limit my study to Congolese and Sudanese.

It is, however, important to note that in no way can data collected be adequately representative of the self-settled refugees in Kampala City. Neither is it representative of all the nationalities that are refugees in Kampala City. However, it gives general insights into women's lived realities and the experiences of self-settled refugees.

### **Data analysis**

This has been an ongoing process, starting from the field. At the end of each day, the information was entered into the data bank, under headings corresponding to the assumptions. New issues were given priority in later gathering of data. This gave impetus for further probing to build in the

informing factors. Data was eventually categorized according to nationality, sex, and ranking of factors. This made it easy to derive themes and sub-themes, for instance, insecurity in and around the settlements, was a major theme, with sub-themes like rebel attacks – internal (Ugandan) and external (Sudanese and Congolese) rebels, abductions for forceful conscription in the army or sexual slavery, or ethnic cleansing. It also enabled emerging themes, — in this case the the issue of protection mechanisms in refugees’ settlements which leaves a lot to be desired.

This ongoing data analysis was advantageous because it kept me focused, and determined my course of action.

### **Limitations of the study**

Among the challenges I faced in this study were:

- 1 The political sensitivity of the study made some respondents reluctant to disclose certain ‘classified’ information to me which I was able to elicit from other officers. I overcame this by giving longer explanations and using other personnel inside the system to access the relevant information — for example, to the UNHCR statistics for 2003. With the refugees, however, I used their friends to develop their trust and create goodwill and thus gained full access.
- 2 The language barrier was another challenge I faced in the field, especially with the Congolese respondents. It was difficult to record original quotations. However, I was able to overcome this by using competent interpreters who were refugees themselves to act as my research assistants.
- 3 Securing interviews with some key informants was my biggest challenge in the study. The main case in point was the UNHCR officer; I was however able to get the ‘same’ information from the Office of the Prime Minister officers.
- 4 I faced a shortage of funds. Direct and indirect requests for material help were a challenge and because of the situation of my respondents,<sup>31</sup> it became almost a moral responsibility on my part to help them with money or goods where possible, not as payments as such but to create a conducive atmosphere for an interview to be conducted smoothly. I was able to share the limited funds I had with them — as the saying goes: ‘In Africa we share’!
- 5 One major limitation was time. The four months was too short a time, to adequately cover the sample of Kampala self-settled refugees, and triangulate their information with the refugees’ real settlements experiences. This was however, covered by interviews of respondents, who had recently come from the settlements or visited relatives and had come back with rich memories.

The study findings and analysis of the factors influencing refugees to move from refugee settlements and self-settle in Kampala are presented under three main chapters, as follows:

- Chapter three: Search for security and health care brought us here.

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<sup>31</sup> Refugees are generally needy and poor people.

- Chapter four: Quest for education and economic opportunities brought us here.
- Chapter five: Refugee policies, relations and earlier lifestyle impacts on refugee movements and settlement.

The categorization under these three main chapters was due to the similarities of issues discussed. These factors are presented in the order of importance as the refugees emphasized them, as can be seen in table 5 below.

TABLE 5: INTERVIEW RESPONSE SUMMARY ACCORDING TO IMPORTANCE OF THE FACTORS IN SELF-SETTLEMENTS

FACTORS	CONGO		SUDAN		RWANDA		UGANDA		TOTAL		
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
INSECURITY	32	19	16	07	02	--	02	01	52	27	79
SETTLEMENT CONDITIONS	32	19	16	07	02	--	01	01	51	27	78
EDUCATION	29	17	15	06	02	--	02	01	48	24	72
ECONOMICS	28	15	15	05	02	--	03	02	48	22	70
GOU AND UNHCR POLICIES	28	15	14	05	01	--	01	01	44	21	65
GOU AND REBELS	25	14	15	07	--	--	01	01	41	22	63
EARLIER LIFESTYLE	25	10	10	05	02	--	03	02	40	17	57
ETHNIC CONFLICTS	15	10	10	03	02	--	03	02	30	15	45
RELATIONS	15	10	10	03	02	--	02	01	29	14	43
GENDER	10	05	10	05	02	--	03	02	25	12	37

GOU = Government of Uganda

Insecurity, settlement conditions, the quest for education and economic activities ranked highest in that order, followed by Ugandan government and UNHCR refugees policies, the government's relationship with the rebels, refugees' earlier lifestyles, ethnic conflicts, relations and gender.

## CHAPTER THREE

### **Search for security and health brought us here**

#### **Importance of security**

The importance of security in the development of any country, individual, or organization is already established; thus, the slogan goes 'security is the key to development'. Insecurity in refugees' settlements disrupts and brings to a halt all human activities. This affects educational, economic and agricultural activities and any attempt to integrate refugees. As already noted, refugees' situations are generated by a lack of security of person that prompts individuals to search for space for the sake of survival.

The 1951 Geneva Conventions Article I(2) guarantees asylum for any person,

...owing to well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself the protection of that country, or who, not having a nationality and being outside his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

The 1967 Protocol relating to the status of refugees and the 1989 Organization of African Unity Convention governing the specific aspects of refugees' problems in Africa, emphasise the non-refoulement principle. Article Ii(3) of the 1967 protocol relating to the status of refugees states that:

No person shall be subjected by a member state to measures such as rejection at the frontier, return ('refouler') or expulsion, which would compel him to return to or remain in the territory where his life, physical integrity or liberty would be threatened  
...

It modified the 1951 Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees to be more protective with an additional clause on the non-refoulement principles.

The non-refoulement is the 1951 UN Convention policy relating to the status of refugees, that commits contracting states not to expel or return a refugee whose life or freedom would be threatened due to race, religion, membership of a social group or political opinion.

Asylum is granted so that the individual feels secured and safe. But in circumstances where this status quo reaches an imbalance, like previous times in the refugees' mother countries, then they are more endangered than ever. Therefore questions to ask would be; where then can they be secure and safe? How safe and secure are the refugee settlements? Are there alternatives to such

‘secondary’ insecurity?<sup>32</sup> What can refugees do in a refugee settlement in Nakivale or Palorinya to safeguard and secure themselves? Does search for protection influence urban self-settlement of refugees? What contributes to their influx into Kampala City? Is it insecurity in and around refugees’ settlements? And if this is true, what are their security concerns?

This study was largely premised on the assumptions that insecurity in refugees’ settlements contributes to the movement away from settlements and towards self-settling in Kampala. Out of the 81 respondents, 78 confirmed that insecurity was the primary major factor that forced them to move away from the refugees’ settlements or camps and self-settle in Kampala. This study confirms the *Human Rights Watch* report on the plight of refugees living in Nairobi and Kampala (2002 128-132), Tyrrell (2000:16) who researched Kampala urban refugees’ problems and Hovil’s (2001: 6-15) work on *Refugees and the security situation in Adjumani which focuses on physical insecurity in Adjumani district*. The findings confirm insecurity as a major contributing factor for the influx of refugees into Kampala City.

The respondents interviewed came up with four broad areas that result in insecurity in and around settlements or camps that forced them to leave and self-settle in Kampala, as follows:

- 1 Rebel attacks by the Ugandan-led rebel forces, for instance LRA, ADF and WNBF.
- 2 Activities of ‘home’ rebel groups in refugees’ settlements, for example, forceful conscription into the ‘home’ rebel groups like SPLA, RCD Goma and so on;<sup>33</sup>
- 3 Ethnic conflicts and;
- 4 Gender violence, especially against women.

## **Rebel attacks**

As one interviewee, Susan, emphasized:

I left the settlement not because I wanted to but because of the LRA rebel attacks. That day, they attacked and killed five people in our camp. Do you expect me to stay there and just wait for death or try my luck elsewhere? <sup>34</sup>

This was verified too by the officer from the Office of the Prime Minister who told me that ‘sometimes they are attacked by LRA rebels’.<sup>35</sup>

Since most of the settlements are established in remote places and above all near borders, where rebels can easily enter, refugees have been specially exposed to the insecurity of rebel attacks.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> ‘Secondary’ insecurity here refers to insecurity in first country of asylum refugee settlements.

<sup>33</sup> A ‘Home’ rebel group refers to rebel groups from the refugees’ countries of origins.

<sup>34</sup> Sudanese woman interviewed on the 23/11/2003

<sup>35</sup> THE OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER Officer interviewed on 30/10/2003

<sup>36</sup> Lwanga – Lunyigo, S (1998), Uganda’s Long Convention with the problem of Refugees: From the Polish Refugees of World War II, to the President in Ginyera Pinyowa (ed), Uganda and the problem of Refugees, pp 21-22, emphasizes the background to remote settlement starting with the Polish refugees.

As noted by SHRA, *The Sudan Monitor*, Vol. 5, No. 3, September, 2000:1:

Armed attacks on refugee camps and settlements are rampant during which refugees are subjected to torture, loss of property and sexual and all other forms of violence. Some of the refugee camps in Adjumani and Moyo districts, such as Kali refugee settlements in Paloringa and Maaji and Mongula at the Adjumani/ Gulu border have been attacked by the rebels frequently ...

This view was emphasized particularly by refugees who formerly resided in settlements close to the border. For instance, the Sudanese refugees who were staying in Adjumani settlements near the Sudan border complained of rebel attacks. Most parts of the Sudan border are operational areas of LRA and even SPLA. Congolese refugees who are former Kyaka I and II residents shared the same view. Fort Portal is one of the towns where ADF is operating. One old Sudanese woman, who vividly remembers one WNBf attack in 1997, painfully recounted the story of atrocities that the rebels committed that led her to move to Kampala City. She stated:

The rebels came at around midnight, shooting people, cutting people's ears, hands... my husband was a victim, his ears and arms were cut, he bled to death ... my daughter was raped by more than five soldiers in my presence, other girls were abducted.<sup>37</sup>

Out of the 51 female respondents more than 34 confessed having experienced rebel atrocities either directly through rape, beatings, and sustained injuries or indirectly through loss of relatives and physical or psychological damage. As one old man put it:

This left us with nothing but to move away from where we thought was a safe place to Kampala with hope of getting better security, at least from the rebels' attacks.<sup>38</sup>

As noted, issues of security are not about compromise but about life and death. This has been a major contributing factor to the influx of the refugees to Kampala City. Others, who fail to raise the transport fare, end up in the nearest town centres, eking out a living. For instance in Kasese (western Uganda) and Arua (north western Uganda) towns are hosting a number of refugees in this category.

### **External threats**

While Hovil (Sept 2001:7) categorizes external threats into two main groups – Uganda rebel groups operating in the region and external foreign rebel groups like SPLA, RCD Goma and so on – this study found that ethnic conflicts are another major source of external threats. Ethnic tensions, as emphasized by 45 of the 81 people interviewed, confirmed that the ethnic operatives were special groups that were targeting specific individuals in the refugee settlements.

The threats from these rebels include abductions, forceful conscription into rebel groups, inflicting of physical and psychological torture and even killings.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Sudanese old women, interviewed on the 28/12/2003.

<sup>38</sup> Congolese old man interviewed on the 25/10/2003.

<sup>39</sup> Human Rights Watch 2002:137-138.

## Abductions

Many respondents identified abductions as a major source of security problems for refugees in settlements and transit camps. The ‘unchecked’ or stealthy rebel activities within these settlements is an absurd fact that exposes some refugees to direct victimization and attacks. As sadly recounted by one Kukul woman:

My brother was abducted from Olegi transit camp on the 14 January 1994 by the SPLA forces... Up to now all attempts to know his whereabouts have failed. He had come from Khartoum, so he was suspected of being a spy of the Khartoum Islamic government.<sup>40</sup>

These abductions of people, suspected to be spies of the Khartoum government exposes refugees to many human rights abuses, including torture with intent to extort evidence, ostracization, being chased away from the settlement and even death.

The second type of abduction, specifically of women, is either for the same reasons or for ‘sexual company’<sup>41</sup> for rebel soldiers at war fronts. This has led to a massive influx of girls and women – especially single women – from settlements to Kampala City. One Congolese woman whose twin sister was abducted painfully told me that her parents had to decide to resettle in Kampala – ‘seemingly a safer place, rather than to lose us all.’<sup>42</sup>

As observed by the Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children (2001:15), most local rebel groups, for instance, LRA, abduct refugees:

It is estimated that 11,000 young people were abducted by the LRA since 1986, of which 5,000 are known to have escaped...

The study findings also confirm *Human Rights Watch* (2002:138) concerns where the abductees are forced to fight and offer sexual slavery as well as manual labour. In fear of such atrocities, refugee women and men move from the settlement. Most refugees use public transport, for instance, from Adjumani, Fort Portal, to Kampala. Some move to nearest towns first, struggle to get transport money and later move to Kampala.

Ethnic-oriented abductions, however, as most respondents suggested, end in killings. Some respondents whose relatives were abducted had lost hope of seeing them again. As one Congolese Hema man put it:

The Lendu militia abducted my brother, I know they killed him...<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Sudanese woman interviewed on the 24/12/03

<sup>41</sup> “Sexual company” here means women forced to be wives to soldiers in war.

<sup>42</sup> Congolese girl, interviewed on the 25/10/2003

<sup>43</sup> Congolese Hema man interviewed on the 24/10/2003

Apart from abductions (which is partly a form of forceful recruitment), direct foreign rebels forceful recruitment is another cause for concern. One Congolese man recounts his experience:

When I fled from Bukavu for fear of RCD Goma who wanted to recruit me to their rebel group in my second year in the University of Bukavu, I came to Uganda and was resettled in Kyankwale. But hardly a month passed when the forces I had run away from arrived and started their work... In other settlements, where RCD Kishangani and Bunia were given access, forceful recruitment also took place... Thus, I had to flee again for a probable 'safer place'... and here I am in Kampala, some of my friends went to Fort Portal Town...<sup>44</sup>

What touched me most was his last painful question, when he asked that, 'My brother, if you were the one, what would you have done?', expecting the affirmative answer supporting his action of moving away from danger and settling in a relatively safer place.

The study too reveals that some particular refugees who flee to Uganda for safety are still or are even more disadvantaged by the settlement structures. The same man confirmed that some refugees are being followed even to Kampala. However, to him the city seemed to provide better cover and protection in terms of space for manoeuvres than the confinement of the camps and settlements. As observed by Hovil *et al.* (September 2001:9):

The interviews revealed that some refugees, despite having fled to Uganda for safety, still did not feel safe living within the settlements or self-settled areas. Such individuals revealed how they lived in fear ...

This however leaves many unanswered questions. For instance, what is Uganda's commitment to providing asylum? What is the role of UNHCR in these sagas? What mechanisms are put place in the refugees' camps and settlements to protect already disadvantaged people?

## **Ethnic tensions**

Apart from two external sources of insecurity for refugees, there is also ethnic conflict (though it is more pronounced as an intra-settlement problem and 'home born').<sup>45</sup> This too has contributed to some refugees settling in Kampala City. Among the notable conflicting ethnic groups are Hutu against Tutsi from Rwanda, Hema against Lendu from Congo and Acholi against Madi, Kukus against Dinkas, and Kakwa from Sudan. Because of their proximity in the refugee settlements, the home-born conflicts are magnified or more pronounced in settlements.

As one Hema woman recalls:

After successful escape from the Lendu conflicts in Bunia, with my husband and six children, we crossed to Uganda. When we were eventually resettled in a camp in Western Uganda, the Lendu warriors, having their spy network in the camps,

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<sup>44</sup> Congolese man interviewed on the 24/09/2003.

<sup>45</sup> 'Home- Born' conflicts are conflicts that have their origins from the refugees' homes, but carried are across borders.

informed their militia who came for us. Fortunately the information was leaked and we left the camp before they arrived but of our Hema friends who insisted and remained – two of them were axed to death, others fled with grievous bodily harm...<sup>46</sup>

When I probed further to find out how safe she felt in Kampala, the replies showed a sigh of relief.

This place is much safer and, after all, even international organizations cannot protect us...

The problem of ethnic tension is also historical among Sudanese ethnic groups. As observed by Hovil *et al.* (September 2001:9), the Dinka's strong association with SPLA leadership has attached negative stereotypes to them. Several interviewees, for instance those from the Kuku, Acholi and Kakwa, depicted their rage at such an association. Once these are resettled in the same settlement the tempo of their enemy flares and this has led to escalation of the conflicts.

### **Gender-based violence**

One study assumption which was usurped and integrated under insecurity, was that gender issues influence the settlement of refugees in Uganda. Though respondents did not seem to directly emphasise gender-based violence as a major factor impacting on women and men's insecurity, this could be deduced through their responses. For instance, attacks on females were seen as revenge, for example, between ethnic groups, personal attacks on enemy 'property' or reactions to non-compliance with rebel orders. These acts of gender-based violence included ostracisation in the community, defilement, rape, forced marriages and sexual harassment, to mention just a few. Widows, girls and women in general fell victim to this. The perpetrators identified were mainly male relatives, friends of the deceased husbands, ethnic enemies or rebel soldiers.

One victim lamented that she was molested by her late father's friend, when with her mother in the settlement in Arua and immediately the following day dawned, they took off and ended up in Kampala City.<sup>47</sup> As echoed by *Human Rights Watch* (2002:142), several other women refugees cited fears of sexual violence as a reason for leaving Uganda refugee camps.

Another form of gender-based violence rampant in refugees' settlements is domestic violence. This leads to divorce, separation and even death or movement and eventual settlement in Kampala City. As one man observed:

I know of a friend in KyanKwale, who lost his sister due to domestic violence, April, 2001... Her husband beat her to death ... in the process of burying her, the information leaked to the camp commandant who instead of taking him to face the wrath of the

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<sup>46</sup> Congolese woman, interviewed on the 26/10/03

<sup>47</sup> Sudanese woman interviewed on the 14/11/03

law, told him to go ahead with the burial... but told him not to mourn her, because this would make others know and scare others.<sup>48</sup>

When the brother of the deceased tried to raise the issue, he was threatened with death. The man eventually left the settlement and is now staying in Nakulabye – one of the suburbs of Kampala City.

The boys' forceful conscription into the army and girls' forceful relationship with soldiers and the ethnic drive to eliminate boys, is yet another form of gender-based violence. Some girls end up being raped; some boys are killed due to their perceived roles in society.

Although the scope of this study excluded physical visits to the refugee camps and settlements, it adequately reveals that insecurity in and around refugee settlements is a major cause of refugees' influx into Kampala City. Fleeing from their home countries in search of safety, they end up in Kampala due to 'secondary' insecurity in and around the settlements or transit camps. The security of refugees in Kampala too may not be any better but most refugees interviewed considered Kampala a much safer place. The extent of the safety leaves a lot to be desired.

In light of the above, the study findings seems to reveal that the fundamental rights of refugees – the right to protection – is grossly violated. Apart from the inadequate security mechanisms put in place to guard settlements, most of them are established close to the borders, contravening the emphasis by international instruments that refugee settlements should not be established near borders to home countries. This gives enemy militia easy access to the refugees and this access is indirectly facilitated by the Ugandan government's policies which are supportive to the rebel groups. It appears that the government condones rebel activities and this exposes refugees to extreme danger. It also points out the inadequacy of UNHCR which is mandated with refugee care and protection.

Faced with such dangers, refugee women and men are left with no option but to flee. If the 'host' government systems cannot offer refugees protection in the camps and settlements, why not try town centres! This is the notion that leads many to flee and stay in Kampala or nearest towns.

### **Harsh settlement conditions**

The importance of having a conducive environment for the settlement of refugees cannot be over-emphasized. This would enable the already desperate people to avoid communicable diseases and overdependence on the UNHCR/Ugandan government for treatment as well as make for generally more productive people. Health is the key to good living and is only possible through proper health care, clean water, good housing facilities and adequate provisions.

Considering the importance of having a conducive healthy atmosphere for refugees, the 1951 Geneva Convention Articles 21 and 23, obligate contracting states to provide the best housing and relief assistance to their nationals. The Universal Declaration of Human rights (1948), Article 25, (1-2), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), Article 24, and the Protocol to the

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<sup>48</sup> Congolese man interviewed on the 28/12/2003

African Charter on Human and People's Rights of Women (2001), Articles 14 & 15 obligate member states to ensure that refugees, especially women and children, are given appropriate medical attention, nutrients and adequate food, right through to providing adequate housing and clothing. Judging Uganda's welfare provisions to refugees using this yardstick, the situation leaves a lot to be desired.

## **Health care**

Before embarking on this field study one of my assumptions, was that, settlement conditions – meaning housing and health-related facilities – determine where a refugee woman settles. After four months of research, the study findings reveal that more than 95 per cent of Kampala self-settled refugees – women and men – are compelled by harsh settlement conditions to move and settle in Kampala.

Probing further on the issues of health, a number of areas of emphasis were raised by respondents. Among them were inadequate medical care, lack of clean water, food insecurity and poor housing facilities. As one Sudanese woman put it:

I stayed in Belameling settlement. The five years I stayed in the settlement, my biggest problem was health... There was only one health centre, serving multitudes... Drugs were always lacking... each time you go to health centre the nurse tells you there are no drugs... This can take 2-3 weeks before the next supply... Most times, patients are given panadol and septrin for all kinds of ailments... Sometimes, they refer us to buy them, when we do not have money... Most people resort to using herbs after under dosing themselves...<sup>49</sup>

This sentiment shows up the serious problem of medical care in refugee settlements around the country. Most women interviewees revealed that one of the major problems with health services provision was lack of drugs. Although some humanitarian organizations, for instance, African Action Health (AAH), is supplying health units with some drugs and equipment, the number of health centres means problems of insufficient drugs persists.

This impasse is due to two intertwined reasons: the overwhelming demand for medical care by a large population of refugees and the limited number of health units. This was confirmed by the Office of the Prime Minister officer who said:

Our (refugee) health centres are overwhelmed by the population in refugee settlements... But the situation is no different to that of nationals...<sup>50</sup>

This sentiment was also shared by one Sudanese woman<sup>51</sup> who mentioned that her experience as a volunteer health worker in Kali health centre was extremely difficult. The health unit serves about 20 blocks (each block with 50 households, with an average of four persons per household –

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<sup>49</sup> Sudanese woman, interviewed on the 25/10/03

<sup>50</sup> THE OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER officer interviewed on the 30/10/2003.

<sup>51</sup> Sudanese woman interviewed on the 23/11/03.

about 4,000 people. Although not all 4, 000 people will fall sick at the same time, simple statistics show the dire need for medical care.

The population has overwhelmed the facilities and service providers. Apart from the above there is poor facilitation at the health units, like maternity facilities and feeding centres. Most women refugees confirmed that maternity wards in refugee settlements are ill equipped.

Accessibility of health services is one important issue in good health provision. This calls for the establishment of health units close to the people and, above all, staffed with committed, qualified personnel, ready to serve the people.

The study findings reveal the inaccessibility to health services as one of the major problems, not only in terms of distance (which is the fate of most nationals) but also due to poor commitment and quality of personnel. This limits access to life support systems for the refugees. As one Congolese man asserted:

We rather break the law... move without permission from the settlements and settle in Kampala...than die in the settlements... It is better to seek medical care in other places, than perish in camps.<sup>52</sup>

This is also observed by SHRA (Vol. 6, No. 3, 2001:10) that:

... adding to the difficulties posed by supply shortage is the lack of trained and dedicated staff.

In one settlement in northern Uganda, Margaret<sup>53</sup> told me that, there were only four medical personnel – two doctors, one nurse and one midwife in a settlement inhabited by about 4,000 people. Looking at that ratio of four medical personnel to 4,000 refugees, the ‘human face’ of tired medical personnel immediately arises. This was reflected in refugees’ complaints that:

The doctors are hard to see... to see a nurse sometimes you have to wait for 4-6 hours... when the midwife comes, she is very rough...<sup>54</sup>

The problem of distance to health units and, worse, to the nearest referral hospital for acute emergency cases, poses the greatest challenge to refugees. As noted by *Human Rights Watch* (2002:144), the host states have a responsibility for creating conducive camp conditions:

[Most governments] ... in developing countries such as Kenya and Uganda, may be (*are*) unable to meet the needs of large numbers of refugees and will require the help of the international community, including UNHCR... Given these funding shortfalls, the international community is partially responsible for the lack of adequate... assistance for refugees...

International bodies, like WFP and WHO, are also overstretched in their budget and cannot provide enough to refugees. Thus, refugees resort to using archaic available means like carrying

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<sup>52</sup> Congolese man interviewed on the 28/11/03

<sup>53</sup> Sudanese, woman interviewed on the 23/10/03

<sup>54</sup> Sudanese woman interviewed on the 23/01/04.

patients on bicycles or even on beds. Susan, a Congolese woman, recounted her painful story of how her uncle who had an acute asthmatic attack died because of lack of transport. After, that, 'We were forced to relocate to Kampala', she retorted.<sup>55</sup>

This is one among many refugees who because of medical reasons moved and settled in Kampala. What, however, still remains a puzzle is how refugees access those good health services with the kind of financial resources they have. Nevertheless, it is better to borrow to save a life than to stay in the bush without medical care and risk losing lives.

## **Water**

Access to clean water is a basic human right. The importance of clean water to healthy living is unquestionable. As noted by Tyrrell (2000:22):

Proper sanitation and clean water are key elements in maintaining an individuals and community's health. It is well known that unclean water and poor sanitation play an essential role in the spread of diarrheal diseases.

Out of the 51 female respondents, more than 50 per cent identified two problems associated with water provisions – the quality of water and, worst of all, its accessibility and the associated problems. Although most refugees acknowledged that they had boreholes in their camps, the number of boreholes were not proportional to the population. Some settlements had unprotected springs but even those which had boreholes, complained that they were hard to pump.

The issue of accessibility was yet another important contributory factor which eventually caused flight from refugee settlements. Why? Besides distances of one to three kilometres to water points and the population per borehole (approximately 600), the security risks for women are enormous. They provide traps for men who want to rape or defile girls. As echoed by Jane:

Every day, as I went to collect water almost two kilometres away, men would waylay me, demanding for sex. After pestering me for six months, in vain, one man attempted to rape me... if I had not overpowered him, he would have done it... I managed to escape from his wrath, and that is why I am here (Kampala).<sup>56</sup>

Such brutal acts, in addition to ethnic tensions and abductions of women for sexual slavery by soldiers, led many like Jane to move and self-settle in Kampala. It is however, not water *per se* that has compelled many women to flee to Kampala, but the danger that they are exposed to in water collection. Much as the international human rights conventions emphasize the provision of clean, accessible water to refugees, these provisions are not met in many settlements.

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<sup>55</sup> Congolese woman interviewed on the 23/11/2003.

<sup>56</sup> Congolese woman interviewed on the 28/12/03

## Food security

Ayoo (2000:5) observes that there is no food security in refugee settlements, despite the fact that refugees are given plots or land to cultivate:

Off-farm sources of income are limited and destructive to the natural resources base. This has led to persistent food insecurity at the household level as malnutrition rates among the children...

Much as credit should be given to government for giving refugees access to land for cultivation, most refugees have not gained much from agriculture.

While agriculture is seen as a source of livelihood for refugees, for the majority of nationals, as noted by Ayoo (2002:6),

... agricultural production in settlements is unreliable because of drought, poor quality of land, lack of access to outside markets and lack of credit.

Because of the remoteness of resettlements and, above all, the allocation of mainly wasted 'unwanted', unproductive land to refugees, they always have poor yields, which may only be for subsistence use rather than commercial use. As Ayoo (2000:6) again emphasized:

... land allocated to refugees in Imvepi has low soil fertility because of its rocky and sandy nature and it being low in potassium and organic matter.

Soil exhaustion is another reason that most respondents were quick to point out caused food insecurity. Some gardens are used year in and year out because it is the only plot they have to survive on; plots are allocated without regard to the family size.

Apart from soil exhaustion, the lack of improved technologies exacerbates this situation through, for example, the increase in pests, diseases and vermin and consequently the poor prices for agricultural produce. Since agriculture is the core source of income and livelihood, poor production has been hindering the integration policies of refugees in settlements. Women and children go fruit gathering to survive. For instance, refugees who had come from Kali settlement mentioned places like Nyawa (about 10 kms away) where they used to get coconut and vegetables. Because of that, most families were having one meal a day, others who have a little money could buy from the nationals.

The situation of food insecurity, however, incapacitates refugees from being productive. Many refugees do not see farming as the only way of earning a living. They see alternatives in town areas, where they can engage in economic activities other than agriculture. As one put it:

After failing in settlement farming, I had to try my luck with my four children in Kampala, here we are re-selling our kitenges<sup>57</sup>...

Having a healthy population is an asset for production. The provision of adequate health care to refugees is the mandate of UNHCR and responsibility of host nations. This study reveals that,

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<sup>57</sup> Kitenge is a type of Congolese designed clothing.

there is dire need for health care in refugee settlements. The Uganda government cannot provide all that the refugees need because of the poor economy which cannot even support her own citizens. Healthy living also involves consumption of clean water and nutritious food. This study points out that these are ideals in refugee situations. There is food insecurity and even the food distributed by the World Food Programme is often inadequate and only offers short-term solutions to food crises in settlements.

With these problems in settlements, most refugees leave the settlements and move to settle in Kampala. To them, much as they may be renting in shanty slum areas of Kampala City, in terms of access they have a variety of economic activities that enable them to gain access to medical care. However this is not possible for all; most face even harsher health problems by trying to do unhealthy jobs without protective wear. These flock to Inter-Aid Uganda to seek medical attention.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### **Quest for education and economic activities brought us here**

This chapter presents two main factors for the influx and settlement of refugees in Kampala City – the quest for education and economic activities.

#### **The quest for education brought us here**

Provisions of education for refugees falls under the UNHCR mandate. Article 22 of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and other international conventions obligate member states to provide education to all refugee children. The 1948 Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), Article 28, also states that:

States parties recognize the right of the child to education, and on the basis of equal opportunity, and in particular, (a) make primary education compulsory and available to all, (b) Encourage the development of different forms of secondary education, including general and vocational education, make them available and accessible to every child, and take appropriate measures such as the introduction of free education or offering financial assistances in case of need...

Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) also emphasizes that:

Everyone has a right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

The 1951 Geneva Convention, Article 22, recognizes education as a basic right for all children. It emphasizes the obligation of ‘contracting state to accord the refugee the same treatment as is accorded to nationals for elementary education’.

#### **Value of education**

The importance of education in the life of any child or even adult cannot be underrated. Education is the key to success in life. It opens the windows and doors of opportunities to refugees’ children in exile or even when they return home. That is why the UNHCR (2002:1) *Education sector policy and guidelines* (draft), Geneva, identifies four major reasons why education is essential in refugee situations.

First education is a human right. Within this right, as outlined in the international conventions ... Second, education is a tool of protection. Through education, the exploitation or abuses of children can be identified ... as can children who are in need of medical and psychological attention. In addition, education promotes the understanding of society and the rights and responsibilities of individuals, building stronger communities that ultimately protect children. Third, education helps to meet psychosocial needs. Due to disruption of children's lives through conflict and displacement, there is great need for structured activities that provide a sense of routine and normality. Education fills such roles. Finally, education provides self reliance and social and economic development by building 'human capital'. This human capital is needed for reconstruction and development of displaced person's areas of origin or settlement.

The 48 women of which two thirds were students contend that education is the key to a good life. It is a means to an end. It can pave the way for employment. It can also impart skills for self-sustenance and job creation. As Joyce emphasized:

I risked and came to Kampala City not because of anything else, but for academic pursuits, so as to be equipped to compete for the few jobs...<sup>58</sup>

The 33 parents that I interviewed (though more than half were primary school leavers – see tables II and IV for education qualifications.) confirmed the importance of education, to their children,

... whether life is hard, I should sacrifice for my children's education, so that they may not suffer in the future.<sup>59</sup>

TABLE 2: NATIONALITY, SEX AND AGE:

AGE	CONGOLESE		SUDANESE		RWANDESE		UGANDANS		TOTAL		
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
- 25	10	07	05	02	--	--	--	--	15	09	24
26-35	20	10	10	04	02	--	02	02	34	16	50
36- 45	01	01	01	01	--	--	01	--	03	02	05
46+	01	01	--	--	--	--	--	--	01	01	02
TOTAL	32	19	16	07	02	--	03	02	53	28	81

TABLE 4: NATIONALITY, SEX AND EDUCATION LEVEL:

EDUCATION LEVEL	CONGO		SUDAN		RWANDA		UGANDA		TOTAL		
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
PRIMARY	03	04	02	01	--	--	--	--	05	05	10
SECONDARY	23	10	10	02	01	--	--	--	34	12	46
DIPLOMA	05	02	03	03	01	--	--	--	09	05	14

<sup>58</sup> Sudanese woman interviewed on the 25/11/03

<sup>59</sup> Congolese, old man interviewed on the 26/10/03.

BACHELORS +	02	03	01	01	--	--	03	02	06	05	11
	<b>32</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>07</b>	<b>02</b>	--	<b>03</b>	<b>02</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>81</b>

Much as they are refugees, their plans and dreams for a better life through education of their children is not lost – they remain real and constantly in their minds.

Credit however, goes to Uganda government, UNHCR and Jesuit Refugee Services<sup>60</sup> for providing free primary and ‘O’ level education to the refugee children. With universal primary education, the government has continued to extend elementary education to refugee children. The study findings however reveal that even the primary education offered to primary refugee children seems lacking as is the case in most national schools. As observed by Dryden-Paterson (2003:11) most primary schools are overcrowded, with the pupil–teacher ratio overstretched to 100 pupils per teacher, there is a general sense of chaos in the schools. Most parents who can afford it and wanted quality education have to move or send their children to Kampala schools or to neighbouring towns’ good schools. Among other problems, there is a lack of trained personnel, like teachers, to staff these schools, a lack of scholastic materials and inadequate facilitation. As Margaret<sup>61</sup> explained:

Most refugees’ schools do not have permanent buildings... they lack furniture... in most schools pupils sit on stones and logs... teachers are not motivated, they are paid low salaries...but worst of all there are no trained teachers...<sup>62</sup>.

*With a PLE certificate what can one do?* Questions of that kind lay emphasis on the drive for higher qualifications than PLE certificates or even advanced level certificates. With the UNHCR policy of offering education to refugees up to senior four and for first graders in ‘O’ level exams to continue, the majority drop out. Even the alternative of cost sharing still leaves many out of the education system. With other dire needs in settlements and even in Kampala, some parents fail to meet the educational needs of their children in addition to the basic necessities of life. Education however still remains paramount to their children’s lives.

Puzzled by some of these issues, they search for alternatives to become the next major action. As one student stressed:

I had to come to Kampala with some white man, who sponsored my education in one of the good schools from S1 – S3, but he left last year and now I am looking for help to complete senior four.<sup>63</sup>

Because of the value attached to education, refugees (even refugee students) are ready to go an extra mile to search for answers to their problems. Apart from those who come to Kampala to do some petty work to earn school fees, most of them are attracted by the prospects of getting scholarships. Access to scholarships funds isn’t easy and the criteria are tough. Only a few get the

<sup>60</sup> Human Rights Watch 2002:136

<sup>61</sup> Sudanese woman interviewed on the 23/01/04

<sup>62</sup> Sudanese woman interviewed on the 23/01/04

<sup>63</sup> Sudanese girl, interviewed on the 23/01/2004

awards. But since there are more scholarships organizations in Kampala most are attracted to try their luck. As John narrates of his ordeal:

UNHCR and other scholarships organizations<sup>64</sup> give information about scholarships through Inter-Aid Uganda, to the settlements... Most times refugees receive the information when it is already too late... Applications forms are got from IAU Headquarters in Kampala which is far away from the settlements... following up is hard... I was forced to come and stay nearby ... fortunately enough I got a Christian organization that is now paying for my university education.<sup>65</sup>

With such examples of luck, many refugee students have taken the risk and came to Kampala. However, some who have not been so lucky are working. More than half of the student respondents' work during day time and study in the evening shifts.<sup>66</sup>

In justifying their relocation to Kampala students often said: 'Which jobs can you get from the settlements which can earn you some school fees?' This was the response most of refugee students sponsoring themselves stated to express their burning desire and will to be educated.

It is however, important to point out that not all refugee students who come and settle in Kampala make it to formal education. Some resort to vocational on-the-job training which at the end of the day earns them some money for food, accommodation and to support their families including paying school fees for younger siblings. Some, however, fail completely and resort to work to eke out a living, others become beggars in the streets. One Congolese man told me that he had to sacrifice his education and get petty work for the sake of his two brothers and a sister. This to him this was only possible with their relocation to Kampala City<sup>67</sup>.

These study findings therefore affirm the assumption that the quest for education influences refugees' decisions to relocate to Kampala where they can access formal and informal education. This is not possible for all; some don't make it at all.

Refugees' relocation to Kampala in search of education signifies UNHCR's failure to fulfill her mandate. It however proves the importance that refugees attach to education. The UNHCR policies stress the importance of education but fall short of making it a reality in refugees' lives. Refugees' overwhelming needs and the priorities of UNHCR partly explain why education is offered to a few in higher institutions of learning.

### **Search for economic opportunities brought us here**

Economics is the lifeline of every sector of society including the refugees. Economic activities would expose refugees to the world outside the camps and provide them with the marketplace to buy basic necessities or search for jobs.

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<sup>64</sup> Hugh Pilkington Trust, Church of Uganda, Namirembe Diocesan Social Services, New Sudan Council of Churches

<sup>65</sup> Sudanese student interviewed on the 20/11/2003.

<sup>66</sup> Most tertiary institutions in Kampala now have double shifts – morning and evening sessions.

<sup>67</sup> Congolese man interviewed on the 20/11/03.

Article 18 of the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951), states that:

The contracting states shall accord to refugees lawfully in their territory treatment as favourable as possible and, in any event, not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances, as regards the right to engage on his own account in agriculture, industry, handicraft and commerce and to establish commercial and industrial companies.

It binds contracting states to offer conducive economic conditions to refugees. This would allow them to trade, search for jobs, and engage in commercial activities. In relation to that, Section 15 of the CIRA 60 (64), allows for refugees to seek employment. Giving provision to one of the most important refugee economic needs. This section also guarantees wages that are normally given for similar work to nationals. The section is, however, curtailed by Section 8 (1) of the same Act, that limits the freedom of movement to search for jobs.

### **Trade opportunities**

The study assumption that economic opportunities (trade and job searches) influence refugees to move and settle in Kampala City, was greatly affirmed by the findings. Desire to trade was one of the issues most of my respondents raised. As one woman reiterated:

I came here to do business ...it is not possible in the settlement because of restrictions...there are even fewer opportunities ... there is a small market.<sup>68</sup>

This was one of the widely-shared views for the influx of women and men to Kampala. As noted above, the CIRA (60)(64), much as Section 15 allows refugees to seek employment, is curtailed by Section 8(1) that restricts their movement. This is partly to control their activities but this has far-reaching consequences on their desire to trade. Most women interviewed confirmed that they had talents to braid hair and sew clothes, for example, but the settlement environment could not allow them to exploit their skills. So they were forced to try elsewhere in Kampala. Fortunately, as one woman put it, 'now I have some business'.<sup>69</sup> She has ten tailoring machines and three special design machines as she is doing very well. Restriction of refugee movement in settlements tends to limit their economic activities. With exposure to more economic activities in Kampala, some refugees are earning a living.

There are also fewer economic opportunities in the settlements. Having people of almost the same economic status, most refugees complain that it is very hard to make a breakthrough. There is a very small market apparently because people don't always have money to buy their items or pay for services rendered. One Congolese woman told me that:

I am a saloonist, now I braid about five women's hair, but in the settlement because of lack of money people don't even bother to ask except maybe once in a week.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Congolese woman interviewed on the 24/11/2003

<sup>69</sup> Congolese woman interviewed on the 24/11/2003

<sup>70</sup> Congolese woman interviewed on the 23/11/2003.

Due to availability of economic opportunities in the city, more refugees are attracted to move and settle in Kampala. Some sell clothes, music tapes, groundnuts, dance for entertainment and work as casual labourers at construction sites or in restaurants and bars. Most of these are not available in refugees' settlements. This is one factor that this study has revealed as a major economic reason for the movement and settlement of refugees in Kampala City. It is however important to note that the study discovered that more than 20 of the 76 refugees interviewed were unemployed and in dire need of help. These are the ones who go begging in the streets of Kampala.

### **Search for jobs**

Another issue raised by the respondents was the quest for jobs. Out of the 81 respondents, 70 confirmed that searching for a job is a major contributing factor for their movement and settlement in Kampala. Jobs in settlements are mainly for professionals – teachers, nurses or clerks. These are employed to work in the settlement structures. There are however no well-paying jobs in settlements or camps, even for professionals. As noted by SHRA, *Sudan Monitor* (Vol 7, No2, June 2002:3):

Qualified personnel to work in the health centres (settlement institutions) are not motivated by the situation to stay long and serve the people.

So, even the professionals seek employment outside the settlement because of better pay.

Most refugees, though without professional qualifications, felt that in Kampala they could get some petty jobs which could even earn them a living. As a Congolese man, put it:

Once in Kampala, our people (meaning refugees) develop skills for survival, for instance, casual labour in construction sites, carpentry, tailoring, dancing or entertainment, selling tapes, groundnuts, kitenges (clothes).<sup>71</sup>

This point of earning a living was greatly emphasized by refugees who preferred living in Kampala to settlement areas which are remote and detached from all economic activities. Though, in the process of job search work, they are exposed to a lot of abuse and exploitation (like sexual harassment, rape, low pay and so on), most refugees alluded to the fact that they are better staying in Kampala. In extreme cases however, some end up as sexual workers with the inevitable accompanying problems.

The search for better access to economic opportunities has been revealed as one of the major factors causing refugees to move away from settlements and settle in Kampala City.

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<sup>71</sup> Congolese gentlemen interviewed on the 23/10/2003

## CHAPTER FIVE

### **Refugee policies, earlier lifestyles and relations**

This chapter shows how refugee policies, their earlier lifestyle and their relations impact on the movement and settlement of refugee women and men in Kampala City. It acknowledges that refugee movement and settlement is governed by the municipal and international law – Government of Uganda CARA (60) 64 and UN conventions and treaties.

One study assumption was that there are inherent weaknesses within the policies of refugee settlements that influence refugees' settlements either in settlements or in urban centres like Kampala City. This assumption was affirmed by the study findings.

#### **Uganda government policies**

Uganda is a signatory to many international human rights conventions and treaties; these include the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees/Geneva Convention (CRSR) (1951), the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (1981) and the OAU Protocol relating to the status of refugees (1967). These accord the refugees all rights as human beings and charge them with various duties and responsibilities. Juxtaposing these human rights Instruments to the Uganda CARA (60) (64) and Constitution (1995), the study tried to determine the extent to which refugees are kept in line with the said human rights principles. It goes further and more importantly to determine the impacts of these policies on the movement and settlement of refugee women and men in Kampala City.

As noted by Kiapi (1998:42) and Tyrrell (2000:9), the Control of Aliens Refugees Act (Chapter 64 of the laws of Uganda, 1964), treats refugees as unwanted intruders, rather than as traumatized population fleeing their home countries. It does not provide the protection of rights outlined in the Geneva Convention which Uganda has ratified, nor does it provide the protection outlined in the 1995 Uganda Constitution or Bill of Rights.

The study confirmed that CARA (60) 64 laws contribute to refugee reallocation to Kampala; this factor was raised by refugees as leading to their influx to Kampala. While International instruments consider all asylum seekers eligible for refugee status, without conditions attached – Article 1 and 3 of the Geneva Conventions, OAU Charter 1(1) and (2) – CARA's definition of a refugee or alien in Section 3(1) contravenes this. CARA gives powers to the minister (implemented by the Directorate of Refugees – Refugees Eligibility Committee) to define a refugee. This has led many refugees to flee either directly from their countries to Kampala or indirectly from the transit camps, after waiting for sometimes six months to a year without being granted asylum. Out of the 77 refugee respondents, 65 complained of the CARA law. More than half of those respondents said they had to just come directly to Kampala or they had left transit

camps and moved to Kampala because of their failure to be considered refugees or the delayed processing of their documents because of doubts regarding their eligibility.

### **Determination of status**

While Article 33 of 1951 Geneva Convention and Article II, OAU Convention guarantees status acquisition and uses *non-refoulement* and *prima facie* policies, CARA 60 (64) allows the minister or director to have sole discretion in determining the status of individual refugees. *Non-refoulement* is a 1951, UN convention policy relating to the status of refugees that commits contracting states not to expel or return a refugee whose life or freedom would be threatened due to race, religion, membership of a social group or political opinion. It does not, however, protect persons not denied asylum. Ugandan law does not provide adequate protection against *refoulement* (Zambian Legal Resources Publications, 2002:95). Nothing affirmatively states Uganda's obligation to that effect. Although it prohibits repatriation of individuals who risk persecution upon return, there is a lack of determining mechanisms regarding individual risk factors.

Out of the 77 refugees interviewed about five confessed they had to flee to Kampala when their relatives or friends were told to go back, either by police on the border or by the Office of the Prime Minister officers in up-country offices. Apart from risk of entry without protection, this section exposes women to a lot of dangers, for example, manipulation from authorities – where they have to submit for fear of being repatriated. When the power of the 'authorized' person is unchecked, it can be a problem to refugees (Tyrell, 2002:9). Much as this section of the law is not strictly followed, determination of status systems have many shortcomings. This has forced some refugees to take the law into their own hands, relocating to Kampala City.

### **Freedom of movement**

One of the sections of the CARA 60 (64) which is unfortunately enforced is section 17(1-4), that limits freedom of movement, subject to authorization by the director or commissioner for immigration; this permission is often not granted (Tyrell, 2000:10). It violates Article 26 of the Geneva Convention, which allows for freedom of refugees' movement and choice of residency, 'subject to any regulations applicable to aliens generally in the same circumstances'. Other aliens are free to move with identity documents or passports. With CARA 60(64) there is no freedom of movement, nor any freedom of choice of residency. This has led to settling refugees without considering pertinent issues like ethnic tensions with all its effects on refugees' settlements. The designation of refugee residency areas should not inhibit their right to choose where to live within those areas. Furthermore, section 17 inhibits the right to move freely from designated points of residency... (Zambia Legal Resources Publications, 2002:95).

These policies adversely undermine their right to work – limiting them to jobs available within the camps and settlements; it also limits their freedom of association (Geneva Convention

Articles 15, 17 and 18), worsened by Section 13(1) that prohibits refugees to enter a camp settlement without the consent of relevant officers.

What the literature reviewed and the government policy makers, failed to consider is that these policies have many negative effects. Most researchers have looked at the human rights violations but have not projected the effects to include what the study reveals about illegal urban movements and settlements. Because of the archaic nature of CARA (60) 64 and the laxity of its enforcement, some refugees are forced to leave the transit camps or settlements to self-settle in Kampala.

### **UNHCR policies**

One other unfortunate policy is that once a refugee leaves a refugee camp or settlement she or he ceases to be under the operation of UNHCR. (UNHCR/Inter Aid la Uganda June 2000:43-44). These policies are to help control refugees' activities and reflect the government's fear of integration and need for easy accessibility. As reiterated by an officer of the Office of the Prime Minister:

... we accommodate them in camps/settlements, for easy control of activities, movement, security, access...<sup>72</sup>

These policies have given leeway for refugees to move and settle in Kampala, they say, '... after all, even if I escape and settle in Kampala, I am on my own.' Although this is gross misinterpretation of the refugee policies to suit their interests, it still leaves a lot to be desired.

Laxity on the side of law enforcement officers to trace and reprimand refugees who flee from camps or settlements and settle in Kampala, is a motivation for many to do the same. Most respondents alluded to the fact that the CARA law is archaic and not enforced; otherwise they would have been reprimanded. This is depicted in what one Congolese woman mentioned:

I only knew that the law applies to refugees in settlements, not in Kampala or outside camps.<sup>73</sup>

This notion shows ignorance of the law and that they are not afraid of living in Kampala without permission. Though they still show some signs of fear of law enforcement personnel, generally laxity in law enforcement has given them the opportunity to exploit it to their advantage.

### **Relationship between Uganda government and the rebel groups**

Of the 81 people interviewed, 63 confirm that the relationship between the rebels, for example, SPLA, RCD Goma with government leadership, has led them to move and settle in Kampala.

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<sup>72</sup> THE OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER officer interviewed on the 30/10/2003.

<sup>73</sup> Congolese woman interviewed on the 24/11/03

This amicable relationship has a two-fold effect on their decisions. The first category is refugees who felt that the Ugandan government supported their rebels and that they would not be disowned if they decided to resettle in Kampala. Through that association they emphasized that they would be salvaged.

The negative effect of the amicable relationship was that, in times of rebel activities in settlements, they kept quiet and this led to many having to flee. As one Sudanese man put it:

I left the settlement because we were not protected by Uganda government against the SPLA activities.<sup>74</sup>

The Uganda government policies therefore include issues that infringe on the rights of refugees which prompt them to leave and self-settle in Kampala.

### Earlier lifestyle

Much as the earlier lifestyle of refugees was not one of the study assumptions, it came to be one of the prominent issues raised by the respondents. Out of 76 refugees, 52 emphasized that they left the camps or settlements because of their earlier life background. Those who grew up in urban centres (did not grow up digging, had lots of money, and were having white collar jobs) could not ‘lower’ themselves to be ‘farmers’ in settlements, as one Congolese driver<sup>75</sup> put it.

Another human rights journalist asserted:

I have lived all my 40 years, in town, how then do you think I can survive in the rural Nakivale... I don't survive by digging...<sup>76</sup>

Since most of them are young and single, they find it easier to stay in Kampala, than in settlements (see Table 3).

TABLE 3: NATIONALITY, SEX AND MARITAL STATUS

MARITAL STATUS	CONGO		SUDAN		RWANDA		UGANDA		TOTAL		
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
SINGLE	15	10	10	05	02	--	03	01	30	16	56
MARRIED	07	05	02	01	--	--	--	01	09	07	16
DIVORCED	--	02	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	02	02
WIDOWED	10	02	04	01	--	--	--	--	14	03	17
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>07</b>	<b>02</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>03</b>	<b>02</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>81</b>

<sup>74</sup> Sudanese man interviewed on the 18/10/2003.

<sup>75</sup> Congolese man interviewed on the 14/11/03

<sup>76</sup> Congolese man interviewed on the 25/10/03

This partly explains their search for white-collar jobs, supposedly found in Kampala, not in refugees settlements. This factor was greatly stressed by Congolese drivers, carpenters, electricians, radio technicians, tailors, beauticians, businesswomen and men. Though they may have had minimal qualifications, their earlier way of life has a great bearing on the decisions of whether to settle in settlements or Kampala City.

As Tyrell (2000:10) observes, it can be very difficult for urban dwellers to convert to an agricultural lifestyle. This could only be possible if these opportunities were available in camps or settlements. For instance, with 25,742 refugees in Rhino Camp, Arua District, it is impossible to offer white-collar jobs to more than 100-200 people.

### **Our relatives are abroad and in Kampala**

We cannot communicate with our son in USA from Magula settlement in Adjumani...  
77

My brother, who came last year here (Kampala) ... called me to join him and do something ... after all there is free accommodation... 78

These are two out of the 43 respondents' sentiments for moving and settling in Kampala. Although at first this was not considered an assumption, it later proved to be an important factor. The factor of relationships with relatives abroad or in the country of asylum and Kampala was revealed. This was mainly stressed under two main issues – the need for easy contact with relatives abroad and the offer of accommodation in Kampala.

### **Ease of communication**

The first category of respondents emphasized the importance of communication with the relatives resettled abroad in USA, Canada and Germany, to name a few of the most commonly mentioned. Most emphasized the variety of communication networks available in Kampala and not available in settlements. This includes telephone, fax, email and postal services. In the settlement, an old Sudanese woman reiterated:

We received his letter only once in four years time, after he had left and yet him, this was his tenth letter telling us to resettle in Kampala... for easy reach ...<sup>79</sup>

The importance of communication in this internet era does not need much emphasis. 'Now we can send emails and get replies after just a few minutes,' emphasized one man whose brother is resettled in Canada.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Sudanese old woman interviewed on the 29/12/2003.

<sup>77</sup> Congolese woman interviewed on the 13/12/2003.

<sup>78</sup> Congolese woman interviewed on the 13/12/2003.

<sup>79</sup> Sudanese old woman interviewed on the 29/12/2003.

Some explained that they had to self-settle in Kampala because their relatives sent them money to rent houses there, being a strategic place where their siblings could access education or wait to be taken to join them abroad. The idea that ‘she is coming to collect us’ was vividly shared by more than 30 respondents. For instance, one Sudanese woman, confided that:

...my uncle invited me to stay here and wait, that he is going to take us (three people) to join him in USA. He sends us US\$20 after every two weeks ... So far, he has taken three already to USA, and Canada, who went in September, 2002...<sup>81</sup>

This notion flashes rays of hope in their minds which prompts them to brave rain and sun to self settle in Kampala City.

### **Kampala relatives**

Another major category of refugees self-settled in Kampala because of their relatives who came earlier and settled in Kampala. The offer of accommodation, a living, a promise of a job or education opportunities, are some of the factors that cannot be ignored by refugees in moving and settling in Kampala. Most elderly and young refugees that I interviewed praised their relatives for rescuing them from the pathetic conditions in camps or settlements and for exposing them to the world.

Thus relations play a role in the movement and settlement of both men and women refugees into the city. This factor is however hinged on the hope to access rewards mentioned earlier. Settling in Kampala to them would mean better accommodation, eating better food and, above all, access to better education and jobs. Though some are lucky enough to achieve their goals, when I saw what they ate, how their children dressed and the schools they attended, I was left in no doubt that they are living in misery.

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<sup>80</sup> Sudanese man interviewed on the 28/11/2003

<sup>81</sup> Sudanese woman interviewed on the 29/12/03.

## CHAPTER SIX

### **Conclusions and recommendations**

Drawing from the study findings and the recommendations from concerned parties, this chapter presents a number of proposals for the way forward. It concludes by highlighting the salient features revealed by the study findings.

#### **Recommendations**

These recommendations were taken from the refugees themselves, personnel working with refugee non-governmental organizations and study findings, and are addressed to the UNHCR, implementing partners, non-governmental organizations, the Ugandan government, personnel that interact with refugees and, above all, refugees and the general public. The recommendations for the way forward are put into four broad categories; sensitization, education, advocacy and mobilization, policy changes and legal reforms. These can be seen below:

- 1 Mechanisms to sensitize personnel who receive, sieve and interview asylum seekers should be strengthened to be sensitive to their plight and to the various background factors.
- 2 Public awareness of refugees issues needs to be raised. This could be through the non-governmental organizations, dealing with refugees or the government directorate of refugees or through human rights activists. Various stakeholders need to be sensitized to how to deal with refugees, to reduce or eliminate xenophobia and hostility against them.
- 3 UNHCR needs to step up their supervisory mechanisms, roles and activities regarding refugees. They should base their policies on refugees' welfare, status determination and, above all, security. UNHCR should provide checks and balances for government refugee policies.
- 4 The Ugandan government, through the parliamentarians, should pass the 1998 Refugees Bill to deal with the shortcomings of the archaic CARA (60) 64 and to cater for refugees' rights to policies that meet the international standards.
- 5 The refugees' eligibility committee (REC) function should be legislated so as to streamline their activities and circumvent administrative shortcomings.
- 6 Refugees' non-governmental organizations and concerned parties need to advocate for diversification of the self-reliance strategy to include refugee women's innovations in and outside settlements. For instance, involvement in income-generating activities – tailoring, trade, service industry, restaurants, where they are trained and given some initial starting capital.

- 7 Women refugees need to be empowered rather than ignored, so they can eke out a living for themselves and their families. This can be through special training on, for example, entrepreneurship, peace-building and human rights.
- 8 Mechanisms for refugees to voice their concerns and talk about their plight should be put in place or strengthened and made accessible so as to expose human rights' abuses for appropriate action.
- 9 More non-governmental organizations need be encouraged to be involved in crucial service provision in and outside settlements – for example in the areas of education and health.
- 10 Women's rights non-governmental organizations need to advocate for women refugee access to social services without discrimination based on status, race, nationality, religion and so on.
- 11 The international community should encourage peaceful resolutions to various conflicts that generate refugees, so as to reduce the influx of refugees and even allow repatriation which is the best permanent solution to refugees' problems.
- 12 More research needs to be carried out on the following:
  - Refugees survival methods to determine, whether they can be adapted as a breakthrough to self reliance.
  - Vulnerability of urban self-settled women refugees.
  - Why some refugees remain in settlements, in spite of the vulnerable problems faced.

## **Conclusions**

In the light of the above findings and recommendations, the study has the following conclusions. The study confirms that there are many self-settled refugees living in Kampala City, although most statistics seems to downplay the figures. It has also revealed a number of factors that cause the influx of refugee women and men into the city. Insecurity and harsh conditions in the settlements are ranked highest, among other factors.

As denial of citizens' rights, creates insecurity and generates refugees, insecurity in refugee settlements too influences refugees to search for alternative settlement areas. Many end up in the city because of the transport network.

Since the basic human needs are food, water, shelter and medical care, failure to provide these puts refugees, especially women with children, in a very awkward position. This leads many to seek better services elsewhere.

The quest for education generates an unquenchable thirst in the hearts of refugees, with the hope that the right education will pave the way for their children's future. This leads some who have the means and moreso the will, to relocate to Kampala, where there is a variety of educational institutions.

There are gaps in the laws of Uganda that mean Uganda does not conform to international refugee human rights standards. Procedures of status determination take too long and this determines how

the refugees respond to the status granted. Though earlier lifestyles greatly determine where they finally settle, the long procedures also greatly contribute to their relocation to Kampala.

In conclusion, the study has revealed a number of factors that influence refugee women and men to flee from settlements and settle in Kampala. It calls for concerted efforts of all to take action to salvage refugees from human rights abuses, which forces them to relocate. It demands that the government and UNHCR refocus their policies and strategies to meet refugees' human rights needs.

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## **APPENDIX I**

### **INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR WOMEN REFUGEES**

#### a) BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

1. When did you come to Uganda? .....
2. What is your nationality? .....
3. What is your refugee number? .....
4. Have you ever been a refugee in another country apart from Uganda? .....  
Where? ..... How many times? ..... Have you ever  
settled in a refugee camp? ..... Where?.....
5. Do you have dependants? .....  
If any, how many (husband..... children ..... relatives ..... etc)?.....

6. Are you staying in a refugee camp or in Kampala –in your own rented house?  
.....

b) FACTORS FOR URBAN SETTLEMENT:

7. What problems do women and children refugees face in your urban settlements?

❖ Probe: Gender Violence – Camp and Urban areas.

Are they the same as in camps?

8. Do sexual violence occurs in your community? If yes, can you give some examples?

❖ Probe: Connection with the refugee women urban settlement).

❖ Perpetrators: Outside/Inside camps/ People known/Unknown)

❖ Victim's methods of coping up.

❖ Community response

9. What legal, health services exist to help address these problems?

❖ Probe: Health, police, legal counseling, social counseling etc.

❖ Who provides these services?

❖ How could these efforts be improved?

10. If you were given preference of choice, where would you like to be settled?

Probe: Urban or refugee camp? Why?

**INTERVIEW GUIDE: FOR POLICE, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND UNHCR:**

a) BACKGROUND INFORMATION:

1. How long have you worked on this organization? .....

2. What is your policy on refugee settlement?

b) FACTORS FOR URBAN SETTLEMENT:

3. Is there preference for urban individual women refugees' settlement than camps? If yes, why?

4. What services are offered to women refugees in camps/urban areas?

## **GENERAL INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:**

### **GENDER ISSUES:**

1. What are some of the gender issues that determine the settlement of women refugees in Uganda?  
Probe: - Sexual, Domestic Violence, rape, defilement etc  
- Urban or camps settlements
2. What are the conditions in refugee camps? How do they deter women refugees from settling in camps?  
Probe: - Are these conditions better in urban areas.  
- Housing, medical, security, etc
3. What economic activities are women refugees involved in?  
Probe: - Where are more of these opportunities?  
- Urban or camps settlements
4. What is the general educational qualification of women urban refugees?  
Probe: - Does the highly qualified get more opportunities to settle in urban areas, than the lowly qualified?  
- Urban or camps settlements
5. What are the common crimes committed by women refugees?  
Probe: - Are there some who run away and hide in towns/other camps/  
- Urban or camps settlements
6. Which organizations are in charge of resettling refugees in Uganda?  
Probe: - How do they implement their policies?  
- What is the weakness/ strength in the policies/implementation?
7. What are the main ethnic refugee groups in Ugandan?  
Probe: - Are there groups that cannot stay in the same camps with other?  
- Give examples.  
- Does it force some to run and settle in Kampala areas

## **APPENDIX II**

### **MAP OF UGANDA**

**APPENDIX III**

**MAP OF KAMAPALA**

**APPENDIX IV**

**DIRECTORATE OF REFUGEES REGIONAL OFFICES**

**APPENDIX V**

**REFUGEE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS**

REFUGEE LAW PROJECT

JESUIT REFUGEE SERVICE

SUDAN HUMAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION