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Forced migrants as an under-utilized asset: refugee skills, livelihoods, and achievements in Kampala, Uganda

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Introduction

This paper discusses the practice, adopted by the UNHCR, of placing refugees in agricultural settlements where they are expected to survive by farming. This practice, also adopted by the Government of Uganda (GoU), is justified on the basis that refugees are a political/security problem and an economic liability. However, agricultural settlements constitute a highly inappropriate solution for those skilled individuals, mostly of urban background, who are unable to survive by farming.

According to some commentators, with whom the author agrees, attempts to force refugees to live in settlements are not in accord with international standards of human rights¹ (Black 1998), nor conform to the rights refugees should enjoy under Uganda's 1995 Constitution. Furthermore, despite the well-known fact that most refugees are self settled (Kok 1989:422), a large number of them in towns and cities and not in refugee settlements, urban refugees are rarely the focus of any emergency assistance (excluding UNHCR urban case load).

In particular, this study examines what skills urban refugees possess and whether by using these skills, they can provide for their most immediate needs and, eventually, become self-sufficient. The hypothesis tested in this study is that urban refugees do possess skills, which, under the right conditions, would lead them to become self-sufficient.

By collecting data on urban refugees, this study aims to raise awareness among the hosting population and the GoU about the existence of refugees in Kampala, about their performance, efforts and achievements to become self-sufficient, and to urge the creation of programmes supporting their efforts. The results of this study should contribute to the design of a new refugee policy taking into account the diversity of background and skills the refugees possess and the benefit that their use can bring to the living standards and self-reliance of refugees and hosts.

The data used for the analysis has been collected primarily from the refugees met in Kampala, Uganda and this article relies heavily on case material. In addition, some information was collected from the urban office and headquarters of the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS), from the offices of the Refugee Law Project (RLP), and from official and unofficial refugee-born organizations, all based in Kampala.

Data has also been gathered from a number of Ugandan government offices, in particular the Directorate of Refugees, Ministry of Disaster Preparedness and Refugees in the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), the Ministry of Education, the UNHCR and its implementing partner in Kampala 'Interaid', Amnesty International (AI) and Old Kampala Police Station. Specific data on the characteristics of the economy of Kampala were supplied by a research fellow at Makerere University. Complementary data were also collected from various other people knowledgeable about the situation of urban refugees in Kampala, notably members of the Catholic Church and Church of Uganda.

¹ Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 13 (1): "Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within borders of each state".

I undertook this research while I was a Research Associate at the Refugee Studies Centre, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford from April 2001 to December 2002. This work was possible thanks to a generous grant from the Nuffield Foundation, London, UK.

Fieldwork took place in Kampala, from April to October 2001 following a preliminary visit to Uganda in spring 2000. The research is largely based on informal and formal interviewing. I generally began interviews explaining to interviewees the aim of the research. For this purpose, I would concentrate first of all on the issues they considered most relevant. Although I always tried to maintain an informal conversation, I would often follow up with a series of questions listed on a formal questionnaire (Appendix A). It often emerged, however, that many of these questions had already been answered in the course of the informal discussion.

Following assurance of strict anonymity and confidentiality, the interviewees usually felt comfortable with the fact that I took notes. They felt free to confide their perception of the local authorities and the UNHCR, their concerns, and the ways some of them managed to trick the authorities to their advantage. In addition to these interviews, I made extensive use of participant observation and informal group discussion as a way of cross checking information. This integrative activity took place with groups of refugees of different nationalities and social backgrounds, with aid workers from the offices of the JRS, the RLP, the UNHCR, AI, and with the refugees working for refugee-born organizations in Kampala.

The sample consists of a total of 221 individuals with different status, as explained below. However, in this paper, the term 'refugee' is used to refer to all the individuals in the sample, irrespective of their status. Moreover, the expression 'urban refugees' is used to refer specifically to refugees living in urban areas.

The sample is made up of the following nationalities: Democratic Republic of Congo 61.5%, Sudan 14.5%, Burundi 4.1%, Rwanda 4.1% Ethiopia 1.8%, Eritrea 0.9%, Kenya 0.9%, Sri Lanka 0.5%. The total sample constitutes about 1.5% of the total population of refugees in Kampala estimated to be between 12,000 and 15,000.²

The sample I collected is purposive, not random. During the first month of my fieldwork, I met refugees in the premises of the JRSUO and at the RLP who very kindly allowed me to use those premises to conduct interviews. Some refugees I had met the year before helped to locate interviewees, informing them of the aim of the research so as to avoid raising false expectations about the reasons for the interviews. Thanks to the help of these people and of others I met through the JRS and the RLP, one interview led to another. I can therefore affirm that my sample was built up through the use of the snowballing technique.

In the paper the terms 'employed' and 'self-employed' are used as sharply contrasting categories. 'Employed' refers to individuals working for wages for an employer. 'Self-employed' refers to individuals working for themselves for fees or payments for work and services they have done for their own customers. As will become clear, the

² Although nobody knows for sure the actual total number of urban forced migrants in Kampala, my interviews with Mr. Asiimwe, Directorate of Refugees, Office of the Prime Minister, Mr. Kalyango, Information Officer, Refugee Law Project, Kampala on 23.08.01 and Mr. Mbylunyi, UNHCR Senior Protection Officer, UNHCR headquarters, Kampala on 5.09.01 provided the above estimate.

condition and consequences for the refugees of being ‘employed’ or ‘self-employed’ in Kampala, contrast markedly.

Refugees in the sample are considered ‘self-sufficient’ when they are able to meet their own and their family’s needs for food and shelter, and provide for medical and educational requirements, both for themselves, if they had not completed their education, and for at least one of their children. They are considered to be ‘on the way to self-sufficiency’ when they can meet the needs just listed except education for themselves and for one of their children.

In the tables, the refugees are divided into five groups relative to whether they have attained self-sufficiency or not. These are: self-sufficient refugees, i.e. those who have attained self-sufficiency; non-self-sufficient, but paid for, i.e. those refugees who are not self-sufficient, but manage to survive thanks to charity, donations etc.; non-self-sufficient, but on the way, i.e. those refugees who, as outlined above, cannot satisfy all their own and their family’s requirement for self-sufficiency, but who are likely to be able to attain self-sufficiency soon; struggling, i.e. those refugees who struggle to survive, to find enough food for themselves and their family day by day; and refugees who were self-sufficient in the past, but not now, i.e. individuals who had managed to attain self-sufficiency some time in the past, but who, for various reasons lost it and are not self-sufficient now.

Refugees in Kampala

Officially, Uganda hosts some 200,000 refugees in agricultural settlements. In fact, there are many more thousands of refugees living in Ugandan towns and cities (Ibutu 1999), who survive on their own without UNHCR assistance. These include: Rwandan and Congolese refugees from earlier decades who are integrated in the Ugandan economy; refugees from the recent wars in neighbouring countries who have self-settled; since 1994 many Tutsis and Hutus of various nationalities (Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo); since January 1999 refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo fleeing anti-Kabila and factional wars; since the outbreak of war between Eritrea and Ethiopia (May 1998 – December 2000), numerous Eritrean and Ethiopian and a large number of Somali refugees.

The refugee population in Kampala is broadly classified into ‘refugees on the UNHCR urban case load’, ‘asylum seekers’, ‘refugees’ (allowed and not allowed to settle in Kampala), and ‘unregistered self settled refugees’. The first group includes security and vulnerable cases, such as elderly people, children and the seriously sick who are taken care of by ‘Interaid’, UNHCR’s implementing partner in Kampala, for a maximum period of six-months (or for longer periods in exceptional circumstances). At the time of fieldwork, this group numbered about 200 people. The second group (asylum seekers) consists of individuals who have registered their arrival and are waiting for their status to be determined by the GoU. This is a long and delicate process, which takes on average up to six months, but can take years.

During this waiting period, asylum seekers are not entitled to any form of official assistance, apart from some basic medical care. If granted refugee status, the refugees (third group) should move to a refugee settlement somewhere in Uganda. The majority however do not want to live in a settlement and self-settle in Kampala (not

allowed self-settled). Some agree to move to a settlement, but after some time go back to Kampala. This last group are considered by the UNHCR as ‘irregular movers’. On condition that they will not ask for assistance, the GoU allows a minority of refugees to settle in Kampala. This group is made up in particular of professionals and skilled individuals, or of individuals maintained by relatives. The fourth group, (unregistered self-settled) consists of individuals who fled to Kampala and self-settled there without registering with the Ugandan authorities.

Attitudes towards refugees in Uganda are generally ambivalent if not openly xenophobic. Refugees in rural, but especially urban, areas are not only viewed as an economic burden since they depend on charity and begging; but are also remembered as people who collaborated with former governments against the Ugandan nationals.

The life of refugees before flight

The majority of refugees in the sample had lived most of their life in an urban environment, and therefore felt that they would be unable to cope with the life conditions of a refugee settlement. The least represented nationality in this group is the Sudanese, i.e. individuals originating from southern Sudan, which is mostly rural. More precisely, 81.9% of the refugees in the sample fled directly to Kampala drawn by their need to live in an environment similar to the one they had been compelled to flee. Contrary to the policy adopted by the GoU and the UNHCR³, they settled in Kampala, refusing to move to a refugee settlement, as the majority of them were told to do upon being granted refugee status (Malkki 1995:199). Of the individuals in the sample, 18.1% initially lived in a refugee settlement in Uganda, but subsequently moved to Kampala in the hope of finding employment, of organizing an income generating activity so as to improve their living standard.

The reasons why refugees want to stay in Kampala are varied. Above all, the formal and informal sectors of the urban economy offer a wide variety of employment and business opportunities. Among the attractions for refugees of settling in Kampala are:

- the presence of hospitals and private medical services, a wide range of accommodation, good schools, considered to be better than those in settlements;
- communication facilities, such as internet and e-mail access to maintain contacts with relatives and possibly business back home;
- access to Western Union offices to benefit from relatives’ remittances and assistance transfers;
- good opportunities for concealment, the chance for those most concerned about their safety to lead a life without being too exposed to danger;
- recreational activities, such as painting, sculpture and acting organized by refugee-borne and local organizations, that help refugees to free

³ The UNHCR has been evaluating its policy with regards to refugees in urban areas and will shortly be publishing new guidelines on this issue

themselves, at least temporarily, from the stigma associated with refugeehood;

- the possibility of employing talents, such as sport and music, which, in a settlement, would rust and waste and not yield a living (ILO/UNHCR 1984:176);
- the opportunity for intellectuals to meet their peers, to offer and find support and understanding, and to work out ways to put their skills to use.

Moreover, Kampala is particularly attractive to the young people who lived most of their life in settlements and who, during interviews repeated that things ‘move and happen’ here, whereas in a settlement people sit waiting for a change that hardly comes by. Life in the settlement is described not only as more difficult than urban life, but also as dull, boring, depressing and passive (Jablenski *et al.* 1991:3). Many of those who lived in a settlement before moving to Kampala report having felt like trapped animals and to have left because of the very limited possibilities of improving their quality of life.

The time individuals spent in a settlement before deciding to move to Kampala differs considerably across the nationalities in the sample. The Congolese, Burundian and Rwandan stayed the shortest periods, ranging from a few weeks or months to four-five years. The Sudanese and Somali stayed the longest, ranging from two or three to eight years. Significantly, half of the group of those who left the settlement for Kampala are single males, mainly in their mid to late twenties, and 30% are single mothers with children, i.e. women whose husbands had been killed, imprisoned, disappeared, or left behind, or who had lost contact with their husbands during flight (Kibreab 1995:10).

These women in particular report having tried their best to survive in the settlement. Some set up small shops, other embroidered or made clothes to sell, some cultivated a plot, rarely managing to sell crops for cash, and others struggled to survive only on handouts. However, the hard life conditions, the very poor diet, child sickness and death, and badly run health facilities are the main reasons that eventually pushed them to move to Kampala. A minority of single mothers also report having left because of ethnic discrimination, sexual harassment and attempted rape. In addition, many of them believed that Kampala offered good hope of finding family members, husbands and partners in particular.

Interestingly, although the most disadvantaged single mothers in the sample could not afford schools for their children and some struggled to feed them, none would agree to move or go back to a settlement where primary education was free. A minority, though, had opted for life in between the settlement and Kampala to increase the chance of a livelihood. In other words, most single mothers preferred the autonomy of Kampala, despite the destitution or near destitution conditions some of them lived in, to the constraints of the settlements. This preference confirms similar findings by Hansen (1979, 1982).

Of the total sample, only 22.6% were formally allowed to stay in Kampala by the local authorities, whereas 65.2% had self-settled. Of these, 59.3% registered and upon being granted the refugee status were told to move to a settlement, but refused to

do so (Hansen 1979:370), and 5.9% had never registered with the Ugandan authorities. The rest of the sample is made up of asylum seekers waiting for a decision on their case, refugees in the UNHCR urban caseload and refugees who entered Uganda with a business visa. Asylum seekers expressed their intention to stay in Kampala even if not allowed by the authorities, and some tried their best to find assistance or employment to be allowed to stay in Kampala when granted refugee status (Malkki 1995:199).

Moreover, despite the fact that those who entered Uganda with a visa had escaped some kind of persecution or ‘events seriously disturbing the public order’⁴ and had good chances of qualifying as refugees, they did not want to be considered as such, in order to avoid the stigma associated with it and, especially, to avoid being sent to a settlement. Similar associations with the refugee status and behaviour towards registration have been noted elsewhere (Malkki 1995:154, 158).

Moreover, data analysis shows that 61.5% of the sample could either not cultivate land at all, or not well, and seriously doubted whether they could survive by farming in an agricultural refugee settlement. The rest, mostly Sudanese and Congolese, despite the fact that they could cultivate well, decided, mainly for security reasons, to stay in Kampala, which they considered safer than a refugee settlement.

These data indicate strongly that all refugees in the sample made every effort to stay in Kampala during their exile and not in a refugee settlement. Whereas only a minority had managed to be formally allowed to do so, well over half of the sample had either self-settled against the will of the Ugandan authorities, had not registered at all, or entered Uganda with a visa, precisely and most particularly in order to avoid being sent to a settlement.

The above evidence shows that the refugees in the sample shared common characteristics, which explained their preference for the urban environment of Kampala rather than the rural environment of refugee settlements. It also stresses the urgency of ceasing to consider refugees as an homogeneous group with a rural background, who will have little or no difficulty in adapting to the living conditions of refugee settlements, especially agricultural ones, where they are expected to survive by farming, or simply as people who ‘cannot be allowed to be choosy’⁵ when it comes to where to settle in exile. The evidence clearly shows that preferences about where to live are strongly connected to the background, education (considered further below), and skills of the refugees, which determine the environment that they regard as the most appropriate to lead them to self-sufficiency.

The evidence provides strong arguments against the policy adopted by the UNHCR and the GoU to put all refugees whether of rural or urban backgrounds in camps or settlements. Instead, a more differentiated policy should be developed taking into account the different needs of refugees and the environment in which they are more likely to either find work or organize an income generating activity allowing them to meet their basic needs and eventually to become self-sufficient.

⁴ As in Article 1 A (2) of the 1951 Geneva Convention on the status of refugees and stateless persons and in Article 1 of the 1969 Organization of Africa Unity Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa.

⁵ The opinion of the UNHCR Public Information Officer, Mrs. Malik, talking about the existence of urban refugees, during my interview with her at the UNHCR headquarters in Kampala on 9.08.2001.

Furthermore, the evidence suggests that the policy of placing refugees in settlements is an important factor leading some of them not to register officially, but to live irregularly in Uganda, thereby preferring the risk of arrest by the local police, or abduction, to being sent to settlements. In other words, the policy of placing all refugees in settlements indirectly compels refugees to accept the risks involved in living unregistered, so as to preserve their chance of living in the environment they feel most at ease with.

Living unregistered in a foreign country can lead to a number of serious consequences. Unregistered refugees are ‘invisible’ to the UNHCR and the Ugandan Government, which though aware of their presence, remain uninformed about their numbers and therefore unable to address their needs properly.

My fieldwork also shows that a portion of the unregistered self-settled refugees in the sample do not register because they see no benefit in doing so. This is due in part to the difficulties involved in the registration process, i.e. long waiting-times and queues, and the security threat resulting from standing for hours, or sometimes for days, outside the registration office in Kampala, where known intelligence agents from the Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie, the SPLA and other rebel and governmental groups have been spotted (De Lorenzo and Harrell-Bond 1999).

In part also, it is due to the long time the authorities have taken to make some of the decisions about granting or refusing the refugee status. Luckily for the unregistered individuals though, the police in Kampala are generally known to take an understanding approach towards refugees, which is not the case in other refugee-hosting countries.⁶ However, various refugees reported being arrested by the police on failure to produce valid documents.

Refugee education and skills

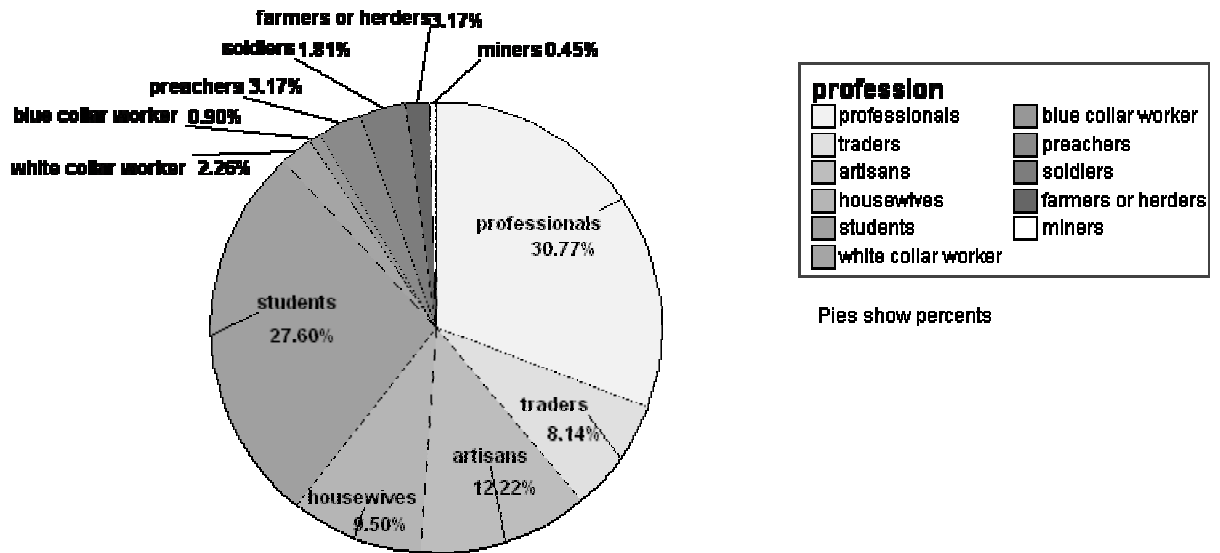
As far as education and skills are concerned, 70% of the refugees interviewed had either finished, or been attending,⁷ at least secondary education, in their life before flight. Of these, 30% had tertiary education or a university degree. This alone suggests that the level of education of most individuals in the sample constitutes an important factor behind the choice to live in Kampala, i.e. access to its developed urban market.

On the basis of educational level and previous profession, the sample was divided into eleven professional groups: ‘professionals’ (mainly academics), traders, artisans, white and blue-collar workers, preachers, soldiers, farmers or herdsmen, miners, students and housewives (see Appendix C for definitions). The majority of people in the sample, 30% of the total, are highly skilled professionals (academics, researchers, engineers, teachers, musicians, etc.). This is similar to the findings of other studies on urban refugees (Berar-Awad 1984:62). Students (i.e. individuals with the potential to become professionals), half of whom had been attending secondary school and 30% tertiary or university education, make up 27% of the total. Artisans, especially tailors

⁶ My interview with the UNHCR Senior Protection Officer, Mr. Mbilinyi, at the UNHCR’s headquarters in Kampala on 27.08.2001.

⁷ 27.6% of the forced migrants in the sample ‘had been attending’ school just before being compelled to flee and were unable to finish.

and hairdressers, some of whom specialized in *haute couture*, and traders, some of whom dealt in high-value goods, make up respectively 12 and 8% of the total (see pie chart underneath).



In particular, the professionals and students in the sample aim at Kampala's formal public and private sectors, i.e. private enterprises or public and international institutions. Traders, in particular those dealing in precious stones and metals, and specialized tailors and hairdressers aim at the urban market: rich Ugandans and the international community. Traders in simpler goods and general tailors aim at Kampala's very big informal market.

The skills found among the individuals in the sample explain why professionals or potential professionals and the specialized traders and artisans should prefer to live in an environment that values and favours the skills they possess, and which is more likely to offer them the opportunity to use their skills productively than any other market in Uganda. This supports similar findings among the Eritrean refugees in the town of Kassala, Sudan (Kok 1989:439).

Information about education and skills of the refugees in our sample confirms the research hypothesis: most individuals in the sample have the potential that, under the right circumstances, would enable them to become self-sufficient. Furthermore, it constitutes further argument against the policy of placing all refugees in refugee settlements. This policy acts against the refugees' and their country of asylum's best interests: it does not allow the former to survive in exile in the best possible way, and the latter to benefit from the refugees' contribution to its urban economy (ILO/UNHCR 1984:176).

The conditions for self-sufficiency

Having confirmed the initial hypothesis, my research went on to ask what the ‘right conditions’ are under which refugees could become self-sufficient. The question is more effectively formulated in this way: what are the constraints hindering the refugees’ efforts to find work or organize an income generating activity ultimately enabling them to become self-sufficient?

It is already possible, by way of a general conclusion, to argue that, despite the constraints outlined in the next paragraphs, which, typically of most underdeveloped economies exist in the economy of Kampala, the data shows that 64.3% of the refugees in the sample work, 33.5% are self-sufficient and 15.4% are on the way to becoming self-sufficient (Tables 1, 2). It confirms similar findings (Kok 1989:439) that, despite the absence of assistance, almost half of the refugees in the sample have proven themselves able to secure a living for themselves and their family or household, and to have either become self-sufficient or be very close to becoming so. More particularly, this underlines the determination and ability of the individuals in the sample to overcome constraints and obstacles and adapt to the new living conditions so as to make the best of the available resources (Dick 2002:38).

Specifically, in the sample, more than half of both sex groups, 67.3% of men and 56.9% of women found work (Table 3) and about half of each group, 49% of men and 48% of women are self-sufficient (Table 4). As will be argued later, although working men are more numerous than women, on the whole women are considered to perform better than men.

Table 1. Working/not working and students

Working/not working and students	Count	Percent
Employed	142	64.3
Unemployed	74	33.5
Student	5	2.3
Total	221	100.0

Table 2. Self-sufficient and non-self-sufficient refugees

Self-sufficient and non-self-sufficient refugees	Count	Percent
Self-sufficient	74	33.5
Non-self-sufficient, but paid for	57	25.8
Non-self-sufficient, but on the way	34	15.4
Struggling	47	21.3
Self-sufficient in the past (not now)	9	4.1
Total	221	100.0

Table 3. Sex and working/not working/students

Sex	Working/not working and students				Total
		Working	Not working	Student	
Females	Count	37	28		65
	% within sex	56.9%	43.1%		100.0%
Males	Count	105	46	5	156
	% within sex	67.3%	29.5%	3.2%	100.0%
Total	Count	142	74	5	221
	% within sex	64.3%	33.5%	2.3%	100.0%

Table 4. Self-sufficient (ss.) and Non-self-sufficient (Non-ss.) refugees & Sex

Sex	Self-sufficient (ss.) and non-self-sufficient (non-ss.) refugees						Total
		Ss	Non-ss., but paid for	Non-ss., but on the way	Struggling	Ss. in the past (not now)	
Females	Count	18	1	6	8	4	37
	% of total	48.7%	2.7%	16.2%	21.6%	10.8%	100.0%
Males	Count	52	8	22	18	5	105
	% of total	49.5%	7.6%	21%	17.1%	4.8%	100.0%

The following paragraphs will look first, at the structural constraints hindering the refugees' attempts to become and stay self-sufficient, such as those intrinsic to the economy of Kampala, and secondly at the specific constraints relative to their skills.

Structural constraints

Similarly to the economies of other African countries (ILO/UNHCR 1982:19), the most relevant structural constraints are intrinsic to the features of the urban economy of Kampala. This consists of a large unregulated, informal sector where economic activity thrives and which provides low-paid, mostly unskilled work to the majority of both the Ugandan population and the refugees (Chekwoti 2001; Tørres 1998:42; Kok 1989:439). Ugandans working in this sector prefer self-employment, as this allows more control over the volume of transactions and income than employment does. Self-employment, as will be shown later, is also the preference of most refugees. However, the informal sector suffers from serious shortcomings such as the absence of established rules fostering the respect of one's own rights or preventing them from being transgressed. This is very likely to affect especially the refugees who do not speak the local language, who are employed and not self-employed, and who are therefore often abused and exploited, either badly or not paid at all.

The formal economy of Kampala has a public sector, which was downsized following a reform aimed at reducing useless and unproductive public spending in 1995, and a private sector that, having suffered greatly with Amin's expulsion of the Indians in the 1970s, has been shrinking ever since. As a consequence, neither sector has been able to create work for the continually growing labour supply, and newly graduated students have little chance of finding employment in either. The two sectors together are believed to employ about 13% of the population (Chekwoti 2001). Ironically,

although the private sector in particular desperately needs skilled workers to improve and increase its businesses, it cannot afford them.

In view of the condition of the economy, the large number of professionals and potential professionals among refugees are disadvantaged from the start. The sector that might employ them suffers from a chronic rigidity in the face of supply, and a large proportion of skilled Ugandans are themselves unemployed or are compelled to set their skills aside and take up unskilled work just to survive.

There is therefore an urgent need to address the structural constraints affecting the labour market, to increase the employment opportunities available, to absorb the surplus of new graduates and to defend the poorest and least skilled individuals among the population and the refugees communities to increase the chance of the latter group becoming self-sufficient and thereby benefiting the local economy (ILO/UNHCR 1982:19).

Another relevant structural constraint seriously affecting the life of refugees in Kampala is the currently used Ugandan law on forced migration, the Control of Aliens Refugees Act 1960⁸. One of the most fundamental flaws of this legislation is its inadequate definition of a refugee, as it contains no mention of the requirements that an asylum seeker must satisfy in order to be granted refugee status (Masiga 2000:20). Moreover, it contains no guidance on whether refugees are allowed to work in urban areas, need a work permit, or are allowed to buy a work permit, or set up a business. The lack of guidelines on these important issues leaves ample room for misunderstanding and confusion, especially among those locals who are potential job givers of refugees.

Locals are responsible for creating most of the obstacles when a forced migrant asks them for a job. As they do not know how they are to behave, they often refrain from employing refugees altogether for fear of running into trouble with the authorities. This means that for refugees the possibility of finding a job, or starting a livelihood is seriously hampered at the onset. The lack of guidance constitutes a major constraint in securing employment of refugees (Berar-Awad 1984:140). Often, both locals and refugees are given contradictory information on this issue by the authorities. This imposes further hardship on the many refugees who are victims of such misunderstanding and incompetent advice, and they often end up unable to use their skills and start a new profession in a new sector. This implies a waste of their resources and a longer period before they can meet their basic needs and become self-sufficient.

An analysis of the refugees' general performance in the labour market of Kampala revealed further noteworthy constraints on their efforts to attain self-sufficiency. The preference among many locals for self-employment over employment (Chekwoti 2001) is also reflected among the working refugees in the sample.

Fieldwork showed that being employed (especially by locals) often leads to exploitation, is generally badly paid and hence represents an unreliable source of income. Among the employed individuals in the sample, the rate of those who lost their job, 16.2%, is much higher than among the self-employed individuals, 2.8%.

⁸ Control of Alien Refugees Act, chapter 64, also known as Cap. '64.

Being self-employed, namely owing a business, no matter how small, in the Kampala labour market offers the best chances of a good income, more control over the continuity of business, and thus success.

The data confirm the preference of refugees for self-employment. The values of self-employed and employed refugees after flight show, respectively, an upward and a downward shift in relation to the same values before flight. In exile, the number of self-employed individuals in the sample increased by 9.6% whereas the number of employed decreased by the same amount (Table 5). This is in line with what has been noted of Liberians in Ghana (Dick 2002:38). It confirms what was argued above, namely that, despite the harsher living conditions of exile and the differences of the new labour market, the refugees in the sample are able and willing to adapt their survival strategies to the new living conditions in exile, to maximize the opportunities available and make the best of their life in Uganda.

The evidence that self-employment is preferable over employment is strengthened by the fact that self-employed refugees are more successful than employed ones. Of the working self-employed individuals: 26.1% are 'self-sufficient', 15.5% are on the way to self-sufficiency, 7.7% struggle to survive, and 2.8% lost their self-sufficiency. By comparison, among the employed: 23.2% are self-sufficient, 4.1% are on the way to self-sufficiency, 10.5% struggle to survive and 3.5% lost their self-sufficiency (Table 6). In short, being self-employed offers better chances to attain self-sufficiency than being employed.

This evidence also indicates that in the Kampala market, initiative and entrepreneurial skills are extremely valuable assets, and those who possess them benefit the most, whereas those who do not possess them are in a disadvantaged position. On the basis of this evidence it becomes clear that assistance aimed at developing the managerial and entrepreneurial skills of refugees could enhance their efforts in the Kampala market (Berar-Awad 1984:140) and empower them against exploitation.

Table 5: Working categories of refugees in the sample, before and after flight

Time	Working categories		Total working individuals
	Employed (% values)	Self-employed (% values)	
Before flight	55.4%	44.6%	139
After flight	45.8%	54.2%	142
	9.6% (difference)	9.6% (difference)	

Table 6: Working individuals and their working status and self-sufficient (ss) and non-self-sufficient (non-ss.) refugees

Working individuals	Self-sufficient (ss.) and non-self-sufficient (non-ss.) refugees					Total
	Self-sufficient	Non-ss., but paid for	Non-ss., but on the way	Struggling	Ss. in the past (not now)	
Self-employed	26.1%	2.1%	15.5%	7.7%	2.8%	54.2%
Employed	23.2%	4.2%	4.2%	10.6%	3.5%	45.8%
Total	49.3%	6.3%	19.7%	18.3%	6.3%	100.0%

The analysis indicates that, despite the disadvantaged position of women in the sample as compared to men, women generally perform better in the labour market than their male counterparts. The women's disadvantage is that there are more single mothers than single fathers, i.e. most women have children to care for whereas most men don't (ILO/UNHCR 1982:15; Berar-Awad 1984:49). Specifically, 46.2% of women in the sample are single mothers, with an average of 3.4 children per head, and only 10.8% of them are single (no partner or children), while only 3.2% of men in the sample are single fathers, and 62.2% of them are single (no partner or children). Also, almost four times more women than men are the only working member of their households, a pattern already noted among Eritrean refugees in the urban areas of Sudan (Kibreab 1995:22).

Women in the sample generally show themselves to have better entrepreneurial skills, to be more resourceful, to put more effort into attaining self-sufficiency and to be more adaptive than men (Moussa 1991:12, 13; Callamard 1994:47; Kibreab 1995:11; Whitaker 1999:15). In the sample, the number of self-employed women is 33% greater than self-employed men, showing that more women than men have noticed the advantages that self-employment offers.

The fact that the total number of self-sufficient men and women in the sample is very similar, respectively just above 49% and 48% (Table 4 above), is a strong indicator of the women's ability to adapt to the new life conditions in exile, and their success in attaining self-sufficiency despite the fact that, on average, almost half of them have more than three children to support. In fact, the self-sufficiency values show that, despite the women's harder struggle, their efforts and achievements are striking compared to those of men, most of whom are single.

However, among the non-self-sufficient men and women, the heavier burden women face is evident: only 16.2% women are on the way to becoming self-sufficient compared to 21% men, 21.6% women struggle to survive compared to 17.1% men, and 10.8% women lost their self-sufficiency compared to only 4.8% men (Table 6). Hence, being single mothers presents additional difficulties. They not only struggle to become self-sufficient, but those who manage it, also face great difficulties in remaining self-sufficient. As many women in the sample are the only persons to care for the rest of their household, which (as pointed out) is mainly made up of children, it can prove extremely difficult to cope with any emergency, particularly a medical one. Children are particularly vulnerable to malaria, a frequent cause of infant death in Uganda, and when more than one child falls sick at the same time, the cumulative cost of drugs can easily deplete a single mother's savings, leaving her with nothing to live on.

In view of the remarkable achievements of the women in the sample and of other evidence supporting their capacities, their able economic efforts and their responsibility in providing for a large number of people especially in refugees' communities, there are strong reasons to believe that an assistance programme targeted at women and, more particularly, at the vulnerable condition of single mothers, would be most productive and yield substantial results in empowering women and boosting their already remarking efforts and achievements (ILO/UNHCR 1982; Women's Commission for Refugee Women and children 2002:24; Ager *et al.* 1995:285; Kibreab 1995:22; Martin & Mends-Cole, 1992:5).

Specific constraints

As noted in other studies (Berar-Awad 1984:51), this research found that there is one factor that, above others, is particularly relevant to the performance of the refugees in the sample, namely their capacity to make themselves understood by the locals. First and foremost, their knowledge of English, widely used or understood as a *lingua franca* by Ugandans, who do not have a national language; and second, their knowledge of another language, especially Kiswahili, which is spoken by some Ugandans.

Of the total number of refugees in the sample, about 70% are French speakers, about 15% speak English and about 15% speak others languages such as Arabic, Somali, Amharic and local dialects.

More precisely, in the sample, 43.9% do not speak English. They believe that this directly affects their capacity to work and integrate in Kampala, and that more dialogue could improve the Ugandans xenophobic attitude towards refugees. 18.6% cannot speak English but manage to communicate through other languages, especially Kiswahili. However, this group expressed the desire to learn English in order to access better employment opportunities and improve their business potential. A small group, 8.1%, who could afford it, invested in an English course, as they realized the potential this held in improving their efforts to stand on their own feet in Kampala. Some, however, were unable to complete the course for financial reasons.

Those who cannot afford a course expend a great deal of energy looking for opportunities to learn English free of cost. Some take part in the English courses organized by the few refugees-borne organizations in Kampala, in response to the clear need for improving the communication skills of refugees. However, the free courses are few and overcrowded. Some refugees enrol in free courses run by religious organizations for French-English bible translation, which though providing little help for the everyday spoken English they need, is considered better than nothing. This, again, supports what we argued above, and underlines the refugees' commitment to doing their best to access the possibility of earning a living in exile (Dick 2002:27).

Fieldwork also identified many serious attempts among various communities of refugees in Kampala to create learning centres for vocational skills (such as hair plaiting, sewing, tie-and-die techniques) and English (Harrell-Bond ch.3, 1986:1; Griffiths 2000). However, most cannot afford to pay teachers, and the skilled and English-speaking members of the community can only afford to teach their communities a few hours a week free of charge, as they have to work for cash the rest of the time. The younger Somali women in the sample are very interested in the possibility of an English course for refugees, as they consider English a means to break their isolation and come into contact with the outside world, give expression to their needs, gain some economic independence and eventually access education in Uganda. Similarly, Somali single mothers and Somalis belonging to minority tribes who are alone in Kampala, or whose communities are small, believe English would improve their survival chances. Moreover, many of the unregistered Somalis in the sample said that if an English course was offered to asylum-seekers they would seriously consider registration.

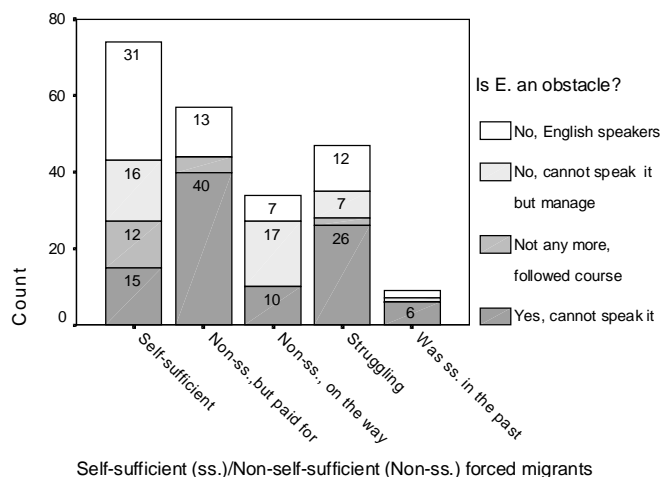
The research found out that the knowledge of English and Kiswahili of the individuals in the sample is positively related to the number of working and not working individuals. In other words, among the total working refugees, the majority, 42.3% can either speak English or followed an English course in Uganda and 28.2% speak Kiswahili and so manage to make themselves understood. Conversely, among the unemployed, the majority, 74.3%, do not speak English. This evidence strongly suggests that the capacity to communicate with the locals, especially through English, but also Kiswahili, is a significant factor in the refugees' willingness and capacity to work.

The knowledge of English in particular and of Kiswahili is also positively related to self-sufficiency among the refugees in the sample. More precisely, among the self-sufficient refugees the largest groups can speak English or Kiswahili, whereas and among those who struggle to survive the largest group cannot speak English or Kiswahili (Bar Chart 1).

Moreover, knowledge of English is seen to have some relation to the refugees' possibility of finding work in the formal sector of Kampala, as well to their chance of using their skills (of which more details later).

On the basis of the evidence for the importance of the ability to communicate with the locals, especially through the use of English, in enhancing the refugees' opportunities to find work and attain self-sufficiency, and the evidence of the efforts the refugees make to find ways to learn English, it is obvious that assistance to complement such efforts in a country where a different national language is spoken would be most effective and productive.

Bar Chart 1: Is English an obstacle to integration and employment? & Self-sufficient (ss.) and Non-self-sufficient (Non-ss.) refugees (No. of cases)



For a better understanding of the specific constraints affecting the refugees' attempts to become self-sufficient in exile, the analysis divided the sample into three groups. The first group includes the individuals who, in Kampala, were able to use the skills they had acquired back home, either through education or through work experience.

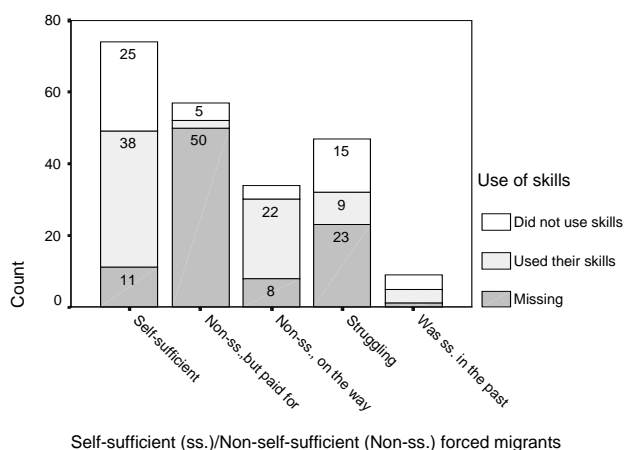
People in this group are considered to constitute an asset for Uganda, as they contribute their professional skills, which they learnt or trained for in their country of origin, or country of first asylum, the costs of which were not borne by Uganda.

The second group includes those who did not use their skills and had to opt for a, mostly less skilled, occupation, which they often had to start from scratch. People in this group are considered to be ‘an under-utilized asset’, as they possess skills, which are not put to use in the economy of their country of asylum, and which, therefore, go to waste. The third group is made up of those refugees who, since their arrival in Uganda, remained unemployed.

Interestingly, the working refugees who used their skills in exile, 33.9% of the total, are more numerous than the working refugees who did not use them, 24% of the total.⁹ This is a significant result, as it indicates that the number of the refugees whose skills are under-utilized is smaller than those whose skills are utilized and who therefore constitute an asset for the host country. Moreover, the data show that the refugees who used their skills are more successful than those who do not, so that there is a positive relationship between the use of skills and the capacity to become self-sufficient (Bar Chart 2). Hence, as Table 7 indicates, 29.7% of those who used their skills are self-sufficient, as against only 19.5% of those who did not.

This underlines the fact that the refugees in the sample have demonstrated a capacity to adjust well to the new labour market, to make use of the skills they already possessed despite the existing constraints. It is also a strong argument that the appropriate assistance, directed to helping refugees to enter the labour markets and use their skills, will have a positive impact effect on their capacity to become self-sufficient and therefore on their standard of life in exile (Berar-Awad 1984: 23).

Bar Chart 2: Did not use their skills/Used their skills/Missing (Unemployed and Students) & Self-sufficient (ss.) and Non-self-sufficient (Non-ss.) refugees (No. of cases)



⁹ The rest is either made up of former soldiers and housewives, who have been treated differently as their entry in the labour market of Kampala meant a complete change of role, by students and unemployed individuals.

Table 7. Used their skills/Did not use their skills in exile/(Missing = Unemployed, Students) & Self-sufficient (ss.) and Non-self-sufficient (Non-ss.) refugees¹⁰

Use of skills		Self-sufficient (ss.) and Non-self-sufficient (Non-ss.) refugees					Total
		Self-sufficient	Non-ss., but paid for	Non-ss., but on the way	Struggling	Ss. in the past (not now)	
Used their skills	% of Total	29.7%	1.6%	17.2%	7.0%	3.1%	58.6%
Did not use their skills	% of Total	19.5%	3.9%	3.1%	11.7%	3.1%	41.4%
Total	% of Total	49.2%	5.5%	20.3%	18.8%	6.3%	100.0%

The following list indicates, for each occupational class, the percentage values of the refugees who were able to use their skills (first value) and of those who were not able to use them (second value). ‘Artisans’ 92%, 8%. ‘Traders’ 78.6%, 21.4%. ‘Professionals’ 64.6%, 35.4%. ‘White-collar workers’ 33.4%, 66.6%. ‘Students’¹¹ 16.1%, 83.9%. ‘Preachers’ are the only group in which all working individuals managed to use their skills. ‘Blue-collar workers’ and ‘Farmers/Herders’ are the only groups in which all working individuals did not use their skills. The groups of ‘Soldiers’ and ‘Housewives’ who started working in Kampala are treated separately as, by entering the labour market, they radically changed their role. Unemployed individuals are present in each of the above groups. The following paragraphs discuss only the most significant groups.

Artisans and traders

The most relevant features common to the first two groups are practical skills and the high incidence (almost completely) of self-employment. Because of the advantages that self-employment offers, it can be suggested that, the prevalence of self-employed individuals in these groups and the existing demand for their skills in Kampala, especially in the case of artisans, are directly responsible for the large numbers of individuals who were able to use their skills and become self-sufficient, i.e. almost 40% traders and 60% artisans. In both groups, the performance of those who used their skills is clearly better than those who were not able to do so (Table 8).

The majority of hairdressers work at their clients’ houses. Although they have to charge lower prices than hairdressers’ salons, many make a living out of it and save enough capital to start new businesses, as also noted by Dick (2002:26). Tailors, in comparison, face harder challenges. Sewing machines are very expensive items and only very few were able to carry one during flight (Berar-Awad 1984:61). A minority

¹⁰ This table does not take into account the groups of ‘Housewives’ and ‘Soldiers’, who are treated separately.

¹¹ Similarly to the group of housewives, the group of former students who worked in Kampala also changed their role (from students to workers) once they entered the labour market. However, as students were studying to acquire skills to enter the labour market, they are analysed taking into account of the kind of skills they were studying for. By contrast, the housewives were in a different position and their entry into the labour market meant a drastic change of role.

of tailors bought their machines with donations; the majority had to borrow money in order to do so.

Some traders and artisans are convinced that the lack of knowledge of a language, especially English, to communicate with the locals constitutes an obstacle to improved performance of their business and to their efforts to become self-sufficient. In particular, some lament their distress in being exploited by local intermediaries whose 'help' is necessary to make contact with clients. The majority of traders and artisans who have become self-sufficient using Swahili, Luganda,¹² or their own language, as their clients are mainly of their own nationality, believe that, if they spoke English the number of their clients would increase and their path to self-sufficiency would be smoother. In the sample, the majority of the self-sufficient traders and artisans speak English. By contrast, among the non-self-sufficient ones, the majority do not speak English and consider this the main, or one of the main factors responsible for their economic situation.

Professionals

For a group of English-speaking professionals, self-employment is seen to be a useful way to enter the labour market and use their skills. This group is prevalently made up by individuals with university degrees who were employed in the formal sector back home, as either lecturers, teachers, researchers and who, after an unfruitful search for work in the formal sector of Kampala (Dick 2002:26) entered the informal sector as private tutors. They teach to the wealthy classes of Ugandans and most of them are self-sufficient. English plays a relevant role in their success, as it is the means through which they can communicate with their potential work givers and use their knowledge as a livelihood.

Among the self-employed, however, there is a group of refugees who work and use their skills without the help of English. These are Congolese musicians who found employment in local clubs as Congolese music is appreciated in Uganda and, at the time of the fieldwork for this study, were on the way to becoming self-sufficient. In sum, the professionals who combine their entrepreneurial and professional skills and, in most cases, the use of English, benefit the most from their performance on the labour market.

A small group of professionals found employed work in the formal sector thanks to their English, but their performance is poor and almost 42% of them lost their jobs. This confirms what this paper has already argued in the paragraph comparing the performance of employed and self-employed refugees, namely that skill dependent employment is volatile and unreliable.

Despite the need for doctors and nurses in Kampala,¹³ the process of recognition of qualifications acquired outside Uganda is extremely bureaucratic. Refugees have to go through either an unpaid training period in a hospital or to repeat and pay part of their education costs in a Ugandan school (Berar-Awad 1984:68; Dick 2002:26). As a result, many cannot afford the process of recognition of their education and are

¹² Luganda is the language used in Kampala. It is the language of the Baganda, the original inhabitants of the area of Kampala, and who make up the majority of its population.

¹³ The 'Monitor', 6.07.2001.

compelled to concentrate on alternative sources of income. These typically do not use their skills which, in consequence, become non-utilized assets.

Only a few of the refugees specialized in development work with local non-governmental organizations. This, both refugees and Ugandan think, is not only because few refugees speak English, but because of the general diffidence of Ugandan development agencies towards qualified refugees.

About half of the professionals who lost their job remained unemployed afterwards, being discouraged by the unreliable character of skilled employment and frustrated by the fact that their skills cannot be used even when in demand, and that, when used, are generally paid much less than locals.

About 35% of professionals in the sample are unable to use their skills in the labour market of Kampala and found other ways, mostly unskilled, to earn a living. In some cases, this depends on the skills they possess. Radio and newspaper journalists who cannot speak English cannot use their skills and, similarly, lawyers of Francophone countries used to the Roman law legal system cannot adjust to the Common law legal system used in Uganda.

Despite the fact that 70.6% of professionals in the sample work, professionals are also the second largest group among the unemployed. It emerges from the fieldwork that this is due not only to the difficulty of finding a skilled job in Uganda, but also to the fact that those professionals who can afford not to work -because their wives work or receive regular assistance- prefer not to engage in less skilled work which they consider degrading (Kibreab 1995:21).

White-collar workers

Similarly to the above groups, the reasons why so few white-collar workers used their skills in Kampala are the constraints of its formal sector and the fact most of them cannot speak English. Therefore, even if work was available, most of them would be unable to work. Only one person in this group found employment as an office clerk, but he was exploited. The majority of white-collar workers are compelled to do other things to earn a living (Kibreab 1985:74).

Former students

Of the numerous former students present in the sample, half were attending secondary education and 30% tertiary education or university before flight. This again suggests that the main attraction of settling in Kampala for most former students among the refugees is the hope of furthering their education or the chance of using their education in the urban labour market.

A few among the former students in the sample finished their dissertation, but were unable to receive a certificate due to the situation of unrest and disorder that eventually compelled them to flee. This is a serious cause of distress for many of them as, without a certificate, they are unable to show proof of their education and are often precluded from accessing skilled jobs (Berar-Awad 1984:67). The few among

them who work using their skills found employed work. However, less than half of these are self-sufficient and 40% of them lost their jobs.

Despite the fact that students constitute the largest group among the unemployed, none of the unemployed former students want to move to a settlement, as they consider Kampala to offer more opportunities, and believed that 'something can always turn up'. Generally, probably also as a consequence of their poverty, students live in brotherly tribal groups where those in work help in turn with rent and food those who stay at home.

Preachers

Generally, the preachers in the sample have no great difficulty in finding a parish or an organization to provide for them in exchange for their preaching or to employ them. Most of them suffered persecution because of their preaching, which called for overcoming tribal differences, some were in mixed marriages, especially Hutus with Tutsis and vice versa. As a consequence preachers in the sample have often serious reasons to fear for their life. Security issues can impose considerable restrictions on their search for work and on their attempt to become self-sufficient. Some preachers had to stop working as they had become too exposed. Some preachers live in hiding and depend on charity. However, security issues can constitute an obstacle also when searching for charity. Although only some of the working preachers are actually paid (the others being mainly provided with accommodation and food) even among preachers, the English speakers have a better chance of finding assistance, of working and becoming self-sufficient. In contrast to the other professions in the sample, however, preachers enjoyed the advantage of being able to work for their own refugees' community, for which no English was needed.

Housewives

Of the total number of women refugees in Kampala who had been housewives before flight, 43% were left with no other choice than to start working or become destitute (Kibreab 1995:11). This is almost certainly a direct consequence of the fact that about three-quarters of them reached Uganda as single mothers, i.e. without their partners or husbands, but with their own, and often their relatives', children. All of those working in Kampala entered the labour market as self-employed and this underlies the particular entrepreneurial spirit of women, pointed out above. They either work as traders, selling charcoal, second-hand clothes or Congolese materials, or as artisans, selling their embroideries, hand-made clothes or plaiting hair, or as farmers by cultivating the land allocated to them in the settlement and selling their harvest in Kampala.

Most single mothers in the sample report that the main obstacle to starting a business is the lack of initial capital (Berar-Awad 1984:61). Hence, because of the constant need for medical care for their children mentioned earlier, they find it extremely difficult to save. A few among them save the initial capital to start a business through small jobs, such as plaiting hair. Some receive assistance or small loans from other refugees, which they usually invest in fabrics and repay with part of the earnings from fabric sales. Some are granted a loan by the microfinance service of the JRS in

Kampala. However, many other women in the sample have no possibility of finding some capital to invest, and although some spotted business opportunities, they were unable to set up a business, and struggled just to survive.

The demand for microfinance loans is considerable and the JRS service was overloaded with requests at the time of fieldwork and able to satisfy only a small number of people (just above 20). This evidence again underlies the urgent need for a programme directed in particular at the most disadvantaged portion of the forced migrant community, especially single mothers who have shown themselves to have entrepreneurial flare, adaptability and capacity to attain self-sufficiency (Kibreab 1995:11). Most of their skills and efforts go to waste as they face constraints which, because of their being refugees, are often too heavy for them to cope with (Ager *et al.* 1995: 285).

Former soldiers

More than 70% of the soldiers in the sample, mostly former SPLA, work for their communities in Kampala in exchange for accommodation and sometimes food. Some live between the settlement, where they cultivate the land, and Kampala, where they go after sowing their fields in search for paid casual work.

In sum, the evidence from fieldwork and data analysis shows that among the refugees with occupational skills, those who are most successful in using those skills are traders and artisans. Their skills are manual and practical. They are almost completely self-employed and are the most successful groups in term of self-sufficiency (Table 8). However, as the specialized skills of professionals are also in demand, despite the low job supply in the formal sectors of the Kampala economy, those who can combine their skills with entrepreneurial spirit and work as self-employed do better than those who cannot apply their skills in their new situation of exile (Table 8). In other words, entrepreneurial skills are an invaluable asset, essential for the utilization of other skills in the labour market of Kampala.

The majority of those who use their skills as ‘employed’ workers suffer the disadvantages of being employed in the Kampala market, namely they are exploited and job security is very weak. Their achievements are therefore less satisfactory than the self-employed (Table 6).

Knowledge of the English language, and to some extent of Swahili, also appear as essential skills, to enable the utilization of occupational skills, and to make businesses successful. Even among the employed individuals, a good knowledge of English is seen to facilitate finding other work.

A combination of factors are responsible for the refugees’ inability to use their skills in Kampala. These are: the structural constraints intrinsic to the economy of Kampala, i.e. the weak job market in the formal sector where professionals, former students and white-collar workers in particular look for work; the lack of an appropriate national legislation outlining the rights and duties of refugees; many refugees cannot speak English, or Swahili; security concerns can hinder the search for work and compel some to leave their work; the nature of certain skills, which many cannot afford to have recognized (medical qualifications), or which cannot be utilized

in Uganda (lawyers from Francophone countries); the diffidence of Ugandans towards refugees, in particular of local non-governmental organizations towards refugees' development specialists; and former students unable to show proof of their qualifications.

The evidence highlights the value of being able to communicate with the locals, especially of English, for finding work and becoming self-sufficient, and the importance of entrepreneurial skills, in order to take up the better opportunities of self-employment in the conditions in Kampala. The evidence also indicates clearly how much special assistance programmes, addressing the relevant issues, could help boost the refugees' own efforts to achieve self-sufficiency and sustain it. Finally, the evidence reveals the need for programs to sensitize the local population, especially potential employers, to the plight of refugees.

Table 8: Occupations & Used their skills/Did not use their skills in exile & Self-sufficient (ss.) and Non-self-sufficient (Non-ss.) refugees

Occupations	Self-sufficient (ss.)/ Non self-sufficient (Non-ss.)		Used their skills	Did not use their skills	Total
Professionals	Self-sufficient	% of Total	27.1%	20.8%	47.9%
	Not ss., but on the way	% of Total	31.3%	-	31.3%
Traders	Self-sufficient	% of Total	42.9%	7.1%	50.0%
	Not ss., but on the way	% of Total	21.4%	-	21.4%
Artisans	Self-sufficient	% of Total	64.0%	-	64.0%
	Not ss., but on the way	% of Total	8.0%	4.0%	12.0%
Students	Self-sufficient	% of Total	6.5%	41.9%	48.4%
	Not ss., but on the way	% of Total	3.2%	6.5%	9.7%
White collar workers	Self-sufficient	% of Total	-	33.3%	33.3%
	Not ss., but on the way	% of Total	-	33.3%	33.3%
Preachers	Self-sufficient	% of Total	25.0%	-	25.0%
	Not ss., but on the way	% of Total	25.0%	-	25.0%

Table 9. Occupations & Self-sufficient (ss.) and Non-self-sufficient (Non-ss.) refugees

Occupations	% within occupations	Self-sufficient (ss.) Non-self-sufficient (Non-ss.) refugees					Total
		Self-sufficient	Non-ss., but paid for	Non-ss., but on the way	Struggling	Ss. in the past (not now)	
Professionals		36.8%	17.6%	25.0%	13.2%	7.4%	100.0%
Traders		38.9%	22.2%	22.2%	11.1%	5.6%	100.0%
Artisans		59.3%	3.7%	18.5%	18.5%		100.0%
Housewives		19.0%	47.6%	9.5%	19.0%	4.8%	100.0%
Students		26.2%	36.1%	6.6%	29.5%	1.6%	100.0%
White collar workers		20.0%	20.0%	20.0%	40.0%		100.0%
Blue collar workers					100.0%		100.0%
Preachers		14.3%	28.6%	14.3%	28.6%	14.3%	100.0%
Soldiers		57.1%	14.3%		28.6%		100.0%
Farmers/ Herders			75.0%		25.0%		100.0%
Miners			100.0%				100.0%
Total		33.5%	25.8%	15.4%	21.3%	4.1%	100.0%

Further ‘right conditions’: the receipt of assistance, the possession of private savings

The receipt of assistance during the first stages of life in exile, or the possession of personal savings upon arrival in Kampala, turn out to be essential factors in the refugees’ attitude to life in Kampala and their performance in the labour market. More precisely, the reason why assistance received soon after arrival -from either friends, relatives or national/international organizations- or the possession of funds, is important is not primarily for the material support they offer, but for the opportunity this provides for a ‘period of adjustment’ to the new environment.

This period allows refugees to postpone their active involvement with the outside world for some time, to gradually adjust to their new condition as refugees in a foreign country and to come to terms with their experiences of persecution, the loss of loved ones and of material possessions. Many of the individuals in the sample who benefited from a ‘period of adjustment’, through the support of the few forced migrant-borne organizations in Kampala or the use of their savings, generally show a more positive and hopeful attitude towards life and are economically more successful than those who did not benefit from it.

This confirms what Baker (cited in Harrell-Bond ch.7, 1986:12), Harrell-Bond (ch.7, 1986:6), Loughry and Ager (1999:17), Jablenski *et al.* (1991:5), Mollica (2000:5) found, that for intervention to bring positive results, it should occur while refugees are in the ‘active crisis state’, that is, generally during the first stages of life in exile. This can strengthen the coping and adaptive capacities of individuals to deal with the hardship that the new environment presents. On the contrary, when refugees cannot experience a period of adjustment and suppress feelings, such feelings do not disappear and often become entrenched and can seriously affect those individuals’ ability to cope with future problems or lead to psychological disorders and disabilities.

Fieldwork showed that the refugees who reached Uganda with some personal savings, 43.4% of the total, were able to benefit from a period of adjustment which many found essential to regain confidence, feel safe again and come to terms with their grief. During this time, refugees made contacts with other refugees to ensure support (material and mental) and eventually started looking for work or organizing income generating activities.

Only few of those who reached Uganda without savings had a similar opportunity. The need for support is enormous, whereas the organizations offering any are mainly forced migrant-borne and have no funds. Even so, the little support they are able to give has a real impact. First among these organization is ‘Cresocret’ (Centre pour le regroupement social pour la reintegration transitoire) created by a Congolese forced migrant. It aims to provide support to young Congolese of different tribes who experience adaptation and drug problems (Harrell-Bond ch.7, 1986:5) as a consequence of failing to adjust to their life as refugees.

The support Cresocret provides goes beyond the satisfaction of basic needs, such as food and shelter. Cresocret offers refugees a safe haven where they have the opportunity to adjust and are helped to regain confidence in themselves and their actions. The benefit enjoyed by the members of Cresocret are enormous: 90% of them work and are either self-sufficient or on the way to becoming so and they credit

the moral support and teaching gained from Cresocret for restoring their positive attitude towards life. Despite living exclusively on occasional donations, Cresocret has helped about 150 refugees since its creation in 2000.

Similarly, the organization 'Zande', created by a group of young Sudanese people, provides moral support to young Sudanese and, through its contacts with Sudanese organizations in developed countries, raises funds to support their education. The main benefit to its members consists in regular meetings to share problems, concerns and advice on where to ask or offer material and psychological support. Zande members share their efforts to cope with the needs of the community and this provides them with a sense of belonging and the energies to make the best of their life in Kampala. Zande members were about 100 at the time of fieldwork and lived off donations.

The 'Jesuit Refugee Service Urban Program' (JRSUP) was the only international organization helping refugees in Kampala at the time of fieldwork, a part of the UNHCR, which, as already said helped only the refugees in the urban caseload. The material and psychological support JRSUP provides, and especially its microfinance programme, helps refugees to regain confidence in their future. In particular, it helps them to meet their basic needs while creating the space to adjust. The microfinance program establishes a trustworthy relationship with its recipients, and this confers a new condition of worth to destitute refugees and renewed hope. More than half of the refugees who received a microfinance loan paid it back in part or in full and generally managed to run a successful business.

Despite their difficulties in paying back the loan they praised the scheme as a correct way to empower refugees and help them regain the confidence many lost through their condition as destitutes (Harrell-Bond ch.7, 1986:11). Considering its restricted budget, the JRSUP has managed to help a fairly large number refugees.¹⁴ The microfinance scheme, since its establishment in June 2001, has assisted 23 refugees, mostly single mothers. However, the applications for assistance were many more than the scheme could afford and many were as a consequence left out.

'Yolé Africa', a non-governmental organization borne out of the co-operation between some refugees and a Dutch PhD student, aims at developing the artistic capacities of refugees. In particular, it aims to regenerate the spirit and mind of refugees through the healing properties of recreational activities. Since its establishment in 2000, Yolé Africa held art exhibitions and theatrical shows, with beneficial results for both participants and spectators. Yolé Africa had about 30 members when my fieldwork took place.

As Kampala does not have any facility to accommodate asylum seekers, apart from some reserved for refugees in the UNHCR urban case load, the refugees who reach Uganda without savings to fall back on, have very few options. Some lucky ones find temporary accommodation with other refugees or with locals, a few manage to obtain night shelter, and sometimes the left over food of prisoners at the premises of Old

¹⁴ Six-monthly review for: JRS Uganda, 29 May 2000:3

Kampala Police Station, a concession by kindness of the Head Police Officer.¹⁵ The rest, however, sleep rough, in streets, in parked buses or under parked trucks.

Living as destitutes in a foreign country, going through a series of degrading experiences, such as having no shelter and begging for food, can quickly affect the physical and mental well-being of refugees, their attitude to life and their potential for regaining self-sufficiency. As a result, some asylum seekers in the sample had lost hope in their future, were seriously depressed, and lacked the mental strength to get out of that situation.

Refugees in the sample showed a real need for psychological support, confirming the fact that refugees populations are predisposed towards psychosocial difficulties (Loughry and Ager 1999:23; and Liebkind 1991:1). Evidence also confirms that addressing the psychosocial needs, as well as the basic needs, of the most destitute among refugees in the first stages of their life in exile is a prerequisite for a satisfactory capacity to cope and do well (De Girolamo 1990:7).

As the above list of organizations indicates, despite the fact that most of them rely on sporadic financial support, there is a clear will and commitment on the part of refugees to address the most pressing psychological problems and basic needs of their communities. However, such efforts are constrained by lack of funds and as a consequence, many individuals in need are left out. This study estimates that the total number of people benefiting from the services of the organizations helping refugees in Kampala is about 600 (including the UNHCR urban caseload) i.e. 4% of the estimated 15,000 refugees in Kampala.¹⁶ In other words the services available for refugees in Kampala are not sufficient to meet their needs and to complement their own efforts and struggle.

For a few months of the year 2000, Interaid ran a microfinance program in Kampala, but had to stop it as many loans were not repaid. The UNHCR's Senior Protection Officer expressed his regrets about the limited success of Interaid's microfinance program, and was convinced that this was a consequence of the fact that refugees often perceive the UNHCR and its implementing partners as institutions to exploit. Therefore, he thought, more power should be given to non-governmental organizations which are more likely to enjoy the trust and respect of refugees.¹⁷

Security and self-sufficiency

As already argued, security constraints can hinder some refugees from fending for themselves and constitute a serious obstacle to their opportunity to find productive ways to earn a living and ultimately become self-sufficient.

¹⁵ The Head Police Officer of Old Kampala, Mr. Pious expressed his concern about the constantly growing number of forced migrants asking for night shelter at his office and about the need to provide temporary shelter for those awaiting decision on their cases on various occasions -during my interview with him on 14.05.2000, and during his speech at the 'Workshop on racism, racial discrimination and xenophobia' organized by the East African Ugandan Law Society, on 20.07.2001, at the Imperial Hotel, Kampala, when Mr. Pious directly addressed representatives of the Government, the UNHCR, Interaid and other international organizations.

¹⁶ See Note 1.

¹⁷ My interview with Mr. Mbylanyi, UNHCR Senior Protection Officer, UNHCR headquarters, Kampala, on 27.08.2001.

The asylum seekers who, following their formal acceptance as refugees, are taken on the UNHCR urban caseload, avoid work and exposure for the length of time that assistance lasts, generally six months. However, serious problems arise when, for whatever reason, asylum seekers with security problems are not accepted in UNHCR caseload. Because of the scarcity of French and/or Swahili speaking staff among the authorities responsible for interviewing refugees and granting refugee status in Kampala, non-English speaking refugees are often unable to properly express the delicate circumstances leading to their flight, and their fears. This not only results in their frustration and depression, but also in the authorities failing to pick genuine claims and concerns.

The research found that 20.8% percent of the refugees in the sample have not been accepted in the urban caseload, but are nevertheless seriously concerned about their safety and mostly live in hiding. Some are lucky and can count on assistance from friends and charities. However, those who are too scared to make contacts resort to selling their valuables, if they have any, asking support from their family back home, or if they possess some capital, hiring labour to work in their place and lose profit. As in the case of some Congolese preachers, some individuals' safety has been irreparably undermined: they have no choice but to work to survive and become exposed.

As a consequence of the risk involved, some have to stop working, change their area of residence and go into hiding for some time. Most Rwandan Tutsis in the sample live in a continuous state of fear of being abducted and killed, with serious health consequences. Some refugees prefer not to send their children to school to avoid exposure; for the same reason, some professionals in the sample refuse good job offers and many use local transport into town to avoid walking, even though they would rather economize by walking.

Interestingly, Interaid is normally provided with a yearly budget sufficient to support about 600 refugees in its urban caseload group, but despite the presence of refugees with security concerns in the sample who had nevertheless not qualified for assistance in the caseload, the total number of individuals in the caseload at the time of the fieldwork was about 200.¹⁸

Although some refugees report being victims of attacks and attempted abductions to organizations such as Amnesty International and the Refugee Law Project, most of them refuse to move to a settlement, and prefer to stay in Kampala, which they consider safer and to offer better hiding places. To increase their security, many refugees in the sample regularly move their residence to different areas of Kampala.

Most refugees with security problems consider resettlement their only chance to escape danger. Some would gladly accept another African country, as far as possible from their country of origin, and do not necessarily wish to be resettled in countries in the developed world, where most refugees are generally resettled.¹⁹ Many individuals in the sample apply for resettlement. However, as only a small number of resettlement places are offered, many, especially people of mixed tribal origin or in

¹⁸ My interview with Ms. Sikola of Interaid, Kampala, on 11/07/2001.

¹⁹ Forced migrants selected for resettlement are principally sent to developed countries such as the USA, Canada, Australia, and Norway.

mixed marriages, consider the possibility of migrating to other African countries or to the developed world (Jacobsen 2002:109).

Government policy towards refugees in urban areas

The GoU generally believes that refugees are a potential source of political unrest, who need to be supervised, and should be settled in refugee settlements (Control of Aliens Refugee Act, ch.64) in order to avoid endangering national security and overburdening the infrastructure. However, the GoU also seems to have a fairly open mind about the presence of refugees in urban areas; it allows some professional refugees, and in general those with means to cope, to settle in Kampala.²⁰ Towards the end of the period of fieldwork, however, following some peaceful demonstrations by a group of refugees in Kampala, the GoU expressed concern about the increasing number of refugees living in the capital, about the increasing pressure on institutions and resources, and expressed its intention to limit the influx.

In comparison with the GoU, the UNHCR tends to be stricter on the issue of refugees living in urban areas. It supports the idea that refugees should live in refugee settlements, where administrative tasks are easier to carry out, assistance can be distributed efficiently and quickly, and potential disorders can be supervised.

Despite the preference of both the GoU and the UNHCR for refugee settlements, the evidence from this research sample shows that settlements are not the first choice of the majority of the refugees. Moreover, there exists no scientifically proven evidence that refugee settlements are better than other areas, such as urban centres, for refugees who, as this research show, have different backgrounds. Hence, settlements may be an easy way to make the presence of refugees visible to the world and to attract donations, but it does not follow that this is also the best solution for all refugees. Attempts to force refugees to live in settlements are not in accord with international standards of human rights, such as the right to freedom of movements within the borders of each state²¹ and the right to freedom to choose place of residence.

Apart from the assistance given to a small number of cases accepted in the urban caseload,²² the UNHCR assures assistance in settlements, but not in urban centres. However, according to its Statute²³ “the UNHCR is competent to provide protection and assistance” to anyone falling under the definition of a refugee as in the 1951 Geneva Convention, the 1967 Protocol and the 1969 Organization of African Unity Convention. Is it not then correct to argue that, by making assistance and protection conditional on the individuals’ agreement to settle in camps, as is happening in Uganda, the UNHCR is failing to respect its Statute? Moreover, by making assistance conditional on the place of residence of refugees, is it not correct to argue that the UNHCR and the GoU - also signatory to the above - fail to recognize the legal

²⁰ My interview with Mr. Asimwe, Directorate of Refugees, Office of the Prime Minister, Kampala on 23.08.2001.

²¹ Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 13.

²² Consisting of about 200 people when fieldwork took place.

²³ From ‘The State of the World’s Refugees’ In Search of Solutions’, 1995, UNHCR, p.33 “According to its Statute, UNHCR is competent to provide protection and assistance to any person who owing to the well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear or for reasons other than personal convenience, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country”.

definition of a refugee? More specifically, that they fail to recognize those refugees settling in urban areas, or outside of refugee settlements, as refugees?

The policy of keeping refugees in settlements and not in urban centres could imply that those settling in urban areas are considered as politically more dangerous than those living in a settlement. Similarly, it could suggest that refugees living in urban areas are more likely to demonstrate and create unrest than if they lived in settlements. Other researchers in Uganda noticed that refugees who feel the need to demonstrate do it irrespective of where they are - in Kampala, or in refugee settlements. With reference to the September/October 2001 demonstrations in Kampala, all of which were peaceful, the Director of the Refugee Law Project stressed that the population in Kampala had hardly noticed them and that no member of the public ever publicly commented on them,²⁴ thus indicating that no member of the public seemed to be particularly concerned or worried about the presence of refugees in Kampala or about their actions.

Assistance by the UNHCR should be based upon the granting of refugee status, and not upon any decision regarding place of settlement. In fact, however, assistance is contingent upon the refugee deciding to live in the settlement, in other words it is conditioned on the basis of where the refugee agrees to settle, and not upon the granting of refugee status. The UNHCR's mandate clearly talks about providing assistance to groups, but it makes no reference to assistance being conditional on a refugee's agreeing to live in a camp or settlement.

This research shows that refugees in Kampala do their best to achieve self-sufficiency and ensure a good living standard for themselves and their families. Although about half of them manage without assistance, the other half struggle and are unable to overcome a variety of constraints which are, by their nature, outside their control, namely structural and specific constraints that hinder their efforts. This study argues that there are good reasons for believing that assistance targeting those constraints (thus complementing the existing efforts of refugees) is needed other than in settlements, as it could greatly improve the already satisfactory performance of refugees.

Conclusion

As this study has shown, the majority of urban refugees in the sample have an urban background, cannot cultivate at all or well enough to survive by farming, and are educated to at least secondary school level. These characteristics play an important part in their choice to live in Kampala, where their skills, experience and entrepreneurial spirit can be fruitfully put to use. Moreover, Kampala offers all the advantages of a large urban centre, such as a choice of good schools for themselves and their children, health and communication facilities.

Refugees have shown themselves to have the necessary skills that can lead them to become self-sufficient, to be capable and determined to look after themselves, and to adjust to their new environment, making the best of the available resources. In particular, they have shown that they do their best to create the right conditions to

²⁴ My interview with Mr. Lomo, Director of the Refugee Law Project, Kampala on 29.09.2001

reach self-sufficiency, by overcoming many of the constraints hindering their efforts to secure a livelihood -for example, by favouring self-employment, learning English or using intermediaries to penetrate the market, supplying education and vocational training, living in small fraternal groups, setting up a business even though they might never have worked before flight, etc.

On the basis of what refugees have managed to achieve without official assistance, this research argues that a little help from both the government and national and international organizations could go a long way and produce remarkably positive results. More specifically, the government could help through more comprehensive and progressive legal guidelines and framework for forced migration; the national and international organizations could direct targeted assistance programmes to help the needy groups to tackle the constraints they cannot overcome on their own. Among the most urgent needs, assistance should be aimed at enhancing the economic power of refugees by providing English and management courses, supplying the most vulnerable individuals with the capital to start a business through microfinance loans, and helping single mothers in the extremely challenging task of securing a healthy life for their children by providing support to meet medical costs, and by malaria prevention.

Although African governments tend to consider refugees indiscriminately as a political/security problem and an economic liability, this study has argued that refugees on their own are not a security risk and that urban self-settlement with government support creates less pressure on the economic and political landscape than forced settlement in agricultural camps.

The policy of the UNHCR, supported by many African governments, of placing all refugees in settlements seems mainly to serve this organization's administrative and institutional need to maintain control of refugees. This policy reduces them to a dependent, passive and victim like group, on the assumption that refugees, people who have fled into exile, have no right to be 'choosy' when it comes to where to live. Evidently, this policy does not allow refugees the opportunity to maintain their dignity, still less to use their survival skills productively. More precisely, it acts against the refugees and their country of asylum's best interests -it prevents the former from surviving in the way they consider most appropriate and of which they are capable; as a consequence of that, the country of asylum does not benefit from the refugees' contribution to their urban economy.

Research conducted in various refugee hosting countries in sub-Saharan Africa has shown that refugees can be an asset, potential contributors to the economic development of the host country and, ultimately, to the fight against chronic poverty. However, African governments and international institutions have as yet paid little attention to the argument, supported by the increasing evidence by research for new policies to address the issue of forced migration. They have yet to see the potential benefits that forced migration, if properly addressed, could bring to their national development.

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Abbreviations and acronyms

AI	Amnesty International
GoU	Government of Uganda
JRSUP	Jesuit Refugee Service, Urban Program
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister of the Government of Uganda
RLP	Refugee Law Project
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Army
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Appendix A: Questionnaire:

Background Information:

- 1 Interview No.:
- 2 Interview Date:
- 3 Name:
- 4 Date of Birth:
- 5 Country of origin and city/village they lived in:
- 6 Status: (have they registered as asylum seekers and where?):
- 7 Education received up to now:
- 8 Occupation (work, acquired skills) back home:

History:

- 9 Reasons for flight (briefly), how they reached Uganda and when:
- 10 Have they lived in a settlement in Uganda before moving to Kampala? If so, how did they find life conditions in the settlement? Why have they decided to move to Kampala and the date of first arrival in Kampala.
- 11 Have they come directly to Kampala? If so, date of arrival and why have they made such a choice?
- 12 Can they cultivate land and how well (would they be able to survive on their work as a farmer, or not)?
- 13 How have they survived in Uganda from their arrival up to now?
- 14 Have they been working since they arrived in Uganda, and what kind of work have they done?
- 15 How long have they waited before starting their first work in Uganda?
- 16 What is their knowledge of the English language? If they are non-English speakers, can they speak another language to make themselves understood in Uganda?
- 17 Do they consider the fact of not being able to speak English an obstacle to integration and/or finding work in Kampala and why?
- 18 Did they possess any savings when they first arrived in Uganda?
- 19 Did they receive any financial help from their family, relatives or friends from home or from abroad since they have been in Uganda?
- 20 What kind of assistance (financial help, accommodation, food, children schooling, moral assistance), have they received up to now, from whom or which organisation?
- 21 Have they taken part in the Microfinance loan scheme for refugees and asylum seekers organised by the Jesuit Refugee Service Urban Office? If so, have they repaid their loan? If not, reasons why.
- 22 Details of their consumption since their arrival: spending priorities in Uganda
- 23 How long has a decision to grant them or not to grant them the refugee status taken in their case?
- 24 What are their future hopes?
- 25 Additional comments

Appendix B. Basic Tables

Table 1. Nationality of refugees in the sample

Nationalities	Count	Percent
Democratic Republic of Congo	136	61.5
Sudan	32	14.5
Somalia	26	11.8
Burundi	9	4.1
Rwanda	9	4.1
Ethiopia	4	1.8
Eritrea	2	.9
Kenya	2	.9
Sri Lanka	1	.5
Total	221	100.0

Table 2. Age Groups of refugees in the sample

Age groups	Count	Percent
Group 1: from 36 to 45 yrs.	79	35.7
Group 2: from 26 to 35 yrs.	66	29.9
Group 3: from 16 to 25 yrs.	55	24.9
Group 4: from 46 to 55 yrs.	13	5.9
Group 5: from 56 to 66 yrs.	7	3.2
Group 6: from 66 to highest	1	.5
Total	221	100.0

Table 3. Sex of the refugees in the sample

Sex	Count	Percent
Male	156	70.6
Female	65	29.4
Total	221	100.0

Table 4. Family Status of the refugees in the sample

Family Status: 'sm': single male, 'sf': single female, 'sp,f': single parent female, 'sp,m': single parent male, 'fam,h': member of a family: husband, 'fam,w': member of a family: wife, 'fam,s': member of a family: son, 'fam,d': member of a family: daughter

Family Status	Count	Percent
Sm	97	43.9
fam,h	47	21.3
sp,f	30	13.6
fam,w	21	9.5
fam,d	7	3.2
fam,s	7	3.2
Sf	7	3.2
sp,m	5	2.3
Total	221	100.0

Table 5. Total No. of children of refugees in the sample

Total No. of Children	Count	Percent
Missing	124	56.1
3c	28	12.7
2c	16	7.2
4c	12	5.4
1c	11	5.0
8c	9	4.1
5c	8	3.6
7c	7	3.2
6c	4	1.8
10c	1	.5
9c	1	.5
Total	221	100.0

Table 6. Education of the refugees in the sample

Education	Count	Percent
Secondary	101	45.7
post secondary course or university degree	69	31.2
Primary	37	16.7
None	14	6.3
Total	221	100.0

Table 7. Education of former students and whether they worked or not in Kampala

Education of 'former' students and whether they work or not in Kampala	Count	Percent
primary/working	4	1.8
primary/not working	4	1.8
Secondary/working	17	7.7
Secondary/unemployed	13	5.9
Secondary/students	2	.9
post secondary, university/working	10	4.5
post-secondary, university/not working	9	4.1
post-secondary, university/students	2	.9
Total	61	27.6
Missing	160	72.4
Total	221	100.0

Table 8. Capacity to Cultivate of the refugees in the sample

Capacity to Cultivate?	Count	Percent
yes, well	85	38.5
yes, but not well	10	4.5
not at all	126	57.0
Total	221	100.0

Table 9. Legal Status of refugees in sample

Legal Status	Count	Percent
Registered self-settlers	131	59.3
Formally allowed settlers	50	22.6
Unregistered self-settlers	13	5.9
Still waiting for a decision on their case	11	5.0
Staying temporarily in Kampala	7	3.2
Forced migrant in UNHCR Urban Caseload	5	2.3
Migrated to Uganda with a visa	4	1.8
Total	221	100.0

Additional notes:

The total value of refugees who had self-settled in Kampala without having been allowed to do so by the authorities amounted to 65.2. This is given by the sum of the highlighted values in the sample, i.e. those who had been granted the refugee status and told to move to a settlement and had refused, and those who had never registered with the Ugandan authorities

Table 10. The refugees in the sample who came to Kampala directly, either from their country of origin or other country of asylum (people in this group did not live in a settlement)

<i>Those who came to Kampala directly</i>	Count	Percent
Valid	181	81.9
Missing	40	18.1
Total	221	100.0

Table 11. The refugees in the sample who lived in a settlement for some time and then moved to Kampala

The refugees in the sample who lived in a settlement and then moved to Kampala	Count	Percent
Valid	24	10.9
Missing	197	89.1
Total	221	100.0

Table 12. The refugees who registered in Kampala, accepted to live in a refugee settlement, and then left and moved to Kampala

The refugees who registered in Kampala, lived in a settlement, and then moved to Kampala	Count	Percent
Valid	16	7.2
Missing	205	92.8
Total	221	100.0

Table 13. Number of years, months or weeks spent in a refugee settlement

Number of years, months or weeks spent in a settlement	Count	Percent
Missing	182	82.4
0.02	1	.5
0.1	1	.5
1.0	2	.9
1.3	1	.5
1.5	2	.9
1.6	1	.5
2.0	2	.9
3.0	8	3.6
4.0	4	1.8
5.0	7	3.2
6.0	6	2.7
7.0	3	1.4
8.0	1	.5
Total	221	100.0

Additional notes:

The average number of years and months spent in a settlement is about 4 years

Table 14. Occupations of refugees in the sample

Occupations	Count	Percent
Professionals	68	30.8
Students	61	27.6
Artisans	27	12.2
Housewives	21	9.5
Traders	18	8.1
Preachers	7	3.2
Soldiers	7	3.2
White collar workers	5	2.3
Farmers or Herdsmen	4	1.8
Blue collar workers	2	.9
Miners	1	.5
Total	221	100.0

Table 15. Working/Not Working & Students

Working/Not Working & Students	Count	Percent
Employed	142	64.3
Unemployed	74	33.5
Student	5	2.3
Total	221	100.0

Table 16. Employment status of the refugees in Kampala

Employment status of the refugees in Kampala	Count	Percent
Self-employed	73	33.0
Self-employed, but lost job	4	1.8
Employed	42	19.0
Employed, but lost job	23	10.4
Never worked	74	33.5
Not working, student	5	2.3
Total	221	100.0

Bar Chart: Occupations & Employed/Unemployed

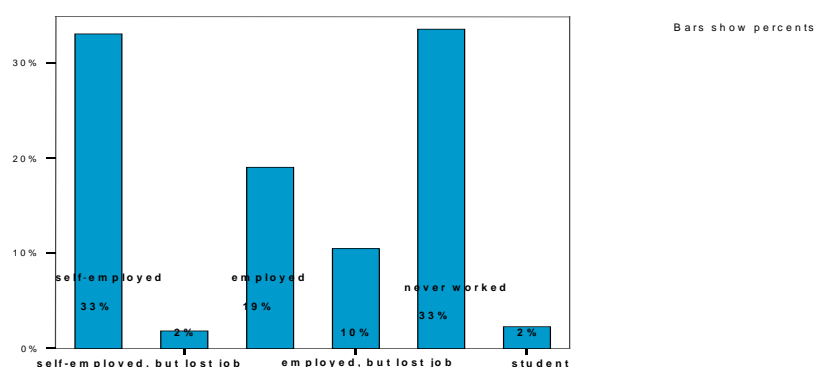


Table 17. Did the refugees in the sample consider the fact of not being able to speak English an obstacle to finding a job and to integrating?

Did the refugees in the sample consider the fact of not being able to speak English an obstacle to finding a job and to integrating?	Count	Percent
Yes, as they could not speak English	97	43.9
Not any more: followed English course (own initiative and expenses)	18	8.1
No, although they could not speak it, they managed	41	18.6
English speakers	65	29.4
Total	221	100.0

Table 18. The refugees who managed to use their skills in exile

Used their skills in exile	Count	Percent
Valid	75	33.9
Missing	146	66.1
Total	221	100.0

Table 19. The refugees who could not use their skills in exile

Did not use their skills in exile	Count	Percent
Valid	67	30.3
Missing	154	69.7
Total	221	100.0

Table 20. Self-sufficient and Non-self-sufficient refugees

Self-sufficient and Non-self-sufficient refugees	Count	Percent
Self-sufficient	74	33.5
Non-self-sufficient., but paid for	57	25.8
Non-self-sufficient., but on the way	34	15.4
Struggling	47	21.3
Self-sufficient. in the past (not now)	9	4.1
Total	221	100.0

Table 21: The refugees who possessed savings upon arrival in Uganda

The refugees who possessed savings upon arrival in Uganda	Count	Percent
no	125	56.6
yes	96	43.4
Total	221	100.0

Appendix C: Information about the refugees' occupations

N. 1: Professionals

This category includes: university lecturers, researchers (economists, statisticians) secondary, primary and pre-school teachers, teachers for children with special needs, doctors, nurses, health advisors (family planning specialists), radio, television and newspaper journalists, engineers, lawyers, high ranking public and private officers, musicians, developing workers holding positions of responsibility.

Total No. professionals	68 (65m, 12f)	30.8% of total sample
Total No. working professionals in the sample	48 (7 f)	70.6% of professionals
Total No. not working professionals in the sample	20 (5 f)	29.4% of professionals
Total	68	100%

N. 2: Traders

This category includes all those individuals in the sample who before flight traded in some kind of goods, by buying at wholesale prices and re-selling at a dearer price, such as the sale of second hand clothes and shoes, cheap jewels, precious stones and metals, processed and unprocessed food stuff: vegetables, dried fish, chapatis, doughnuts, as well as the running of restaurants of various size.

Total No. traders	18 (9m, 9f)	8.1% of total sample
Total No. working trader	14 (7 women, 50%)	77.8% of traders
Total not working traders	4 (2 women, 50%)	22.2% of traders
Total	18	100%

N. 3: Artisans

This category includes all those individuals in the sample who before flight produced the goods and services they sold, such as tailors, hairdressers, artists, beauticians, shoes repairers, electrician, mechanics and butchers.

Total No. artisans	27 (17m, 10f)	12.2% of total sample
Total No. working artisans	25	92.6% of artisans
Total No. not working artisans	2	7.4% of artisans
Total	27	100%

N. 4: Housewives

This category includes those women in the sample who were housewives before flight, but who chanced their role in exile and started working, mainly because they reached Uganda without their husbands/ partners, or because these could not find employment, as well as those women who remained housewives during exile.

Total No. of housewives	21 (21f)	9.5% of total sample
Total No. of working housewives	9	42.9% of housewives
Total No. of not working housewives	12	57.1% of housewives
Total	21	100%

N. 5: Students

This category includes all those individuals, who were students at the time of flight

Total No. of students in the sample	61 (50m, 11f)	27.6% of the total sample
Total No. of working students	31	51.7% of students,
Total No. of not working students	25	41.7% of students
Total No. of students who continued studying in exile	4	6.6% continued to study
Total	61	100%

N. 6 & 7: White/Blue Collar Workers

This category includes those individuals in the sample who, before flight, worked as secretaries, accountant, office clerks and truck drivers.

Total white/blue collar workers	7 (6m, 1f)	3.2% of total sample
Total white-collar workers in the sample	5	2.3% of total sample
Total blue-collar workers in the sample	2	0.9% of total sample
Total working white and blue collar workers	4 (3 white, 1 blue)	57.1% of white/blue collar workers
Total not working	3 (both white)	42.9% of white/blue collar workers
Totals	7	100%

N. 8: Preachers

This category includes all clergymen and lay preachers in the sample.

Total preachers	7 (6m, 1f)	3.2% of total sample
Total working preachers	4	57.1% of preachers
Total not working preachers	3	42.9% of preachers
Total	7	100%

N. 9: Soldiers

This category includes all former governmental or rebel groups soldiers in the sample, such as former SPLA and RCD soldiers.

Total No. of soldiers in the sample	7 (7m)	3.2% of total sample
Total working soldiers	5	71.4% of soldiers
Total not working soldiers	1	14.3% of soldiers
Total soldier turned student	1	14.3% of soldiers
Total	7	100%

N. 10: Farmers or Herdsmen

Total No. of farmers or herdsmen	4 (4m)	1.8% of total sample
Total working farmers of herdsmen	2	50% of farmers/herdsmen
Total not working farmers or herdsmen	2	50% of farmers/herdsmen
Total	4	100%

N. 11: Miners

Total No. of miners	1	0.5% of the total, not working
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