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# Challenges and Livelihood Strategies of Darfurian Refugees Living in Kampala, Uganda

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University of San Francisco

# Challenges and Livelihood Strategies of Darfurian Refugees Living in Kampala, Uganda

A Thesis Presented to  
The Faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences  
Master's Program in International Studies

In Partial Fulfillment  
Of the Requirements for the Degree  
Masters of Arts in International Studies

by  
Angela Lucia  
December 2011

# Challenges and Livelihood Strategies of Darfurian Refugees Living in Kampala, Uganda

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF ARTS

in

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

by

Angela Lucia  
December 2011

UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO

Under the guidance and approval of the committee, and approval by all the members, this thesis  
has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures	iv
Acknowledgements	v
<b>CHAPTER I – INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
Statement of the Problem	1
Background of the Study	3
Purpose of the Study	3
Research Question	4
Methodology	5
Limitations of the Study	8
Significance of the Study	8
<b>CHAPTER II – REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE</b>	<b>10</b>
Introduction	10
What is a Refugee?	11
Refugee Law	13
Refugee Camps versus Urban Refugees	20
Refugee Livelihoods	27
Ugandan Literature on Refugees	29
Further Research Needed	31
<b>CHAPTER III – DATA FINDINGS</b>	<b>33</b>
Introduction Page	33
1. Refugee Rights	33
1.1 Refugee Status Determination	33
1.2 Security	37
1.3 Discrimination	47
2. Refugee Livelihoods	49
2.1 Education	50
2.2 Accommodation	51
2.3 Emotional and Psychological Challenges	54
2.4 Lack of Assistance	57
3. Durable Solutions	61
3.1 Increase Services	61
3.2 Access to Services	63
3.3 Future Hopes	64
Conclusion	65
<b>CHAPTER IV – DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS &amp; RECOMMENDATIONS</b>	<b>67</b>
<b>REFERENCES</b>	<b>75</b>
<b>APPENDICES</b>	<b>80</b>

## **List of Figures**

Figure 1: Map of Kampala with Marked Locations	6
Figure 2: Age of Refugees	37
Figure 3: Education Level of Refugees	50

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## CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

### Statement of the Problem

The world is urbanizing at an exponential rate. Over 3 billion of the world's population now lives in cities. The urban population will account for almost all future world population growth, and the majority of this population increase will occur in developing countries.<sup>1</sup> People are migrating to urban areas for a variety of social, economic and political reasons; however the prevalence of conflict has created an increasing number of refugees that are choosing to settle in urban areas. There are 10.5 million refugees worldwide, and an estimated 58 percent live in urban areas. Kampala, Uganda has come to host an increasing amount of urban refugees, which are seeking refuge from conflicts in neighboring countries which include the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Somalia and Sudan.<sup>2</sup>

In Sudan, conflict has claimed the lives of more than 2 million people and forced 5 million people from their homes. In January 2005 the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) saw an end to this conflict and granted more autonomy to the South, which included a six and a half year interim period followed by a referendum to determine the status of South Sudan.<sup>3</sup> In July 2011, Southern Sudan officially gained its independence. While the world continues to monitor the deteriorating relations between Sudan and South Sudan, the humanitarian situation in the western region of Darfur has received little attention from the international community since the International Criminal Court (ICC) issued an arrest warrant for President Omar al-Bashir. In response to the arrest warrant, al-Bashir accused foreign aid

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<sup>1</sup> Mike Davis, *Planet of slums*. London, UK: Verso, (2006), 2.

<sup>2</sup> Krause-Vilmar, Jasmeet. "The Living Ain't Easy: Urban Refuges in Kampala," *Women's Refugee Commission* (2011).

<sup>3</sup> Francis Deng, *War of Visions: Conflict of Identities in the Sudan*, Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, (1995).; Douglas Johnson, *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, (2003).

agencies of providing testimonies to the ICC and expelled 13 international NGOs from Darfur and revoked the licenses of three national NGOs.

Since 2009, the situation in Darfur has only worsened. In regards to the conflict in Darfur, Sudan, the United Nations (UN) described the situation as one of the worst humanitarian crises in the world when violence escalated in 2004. The UN estimates that the conflict has killed as many as 300,000 people, and has led to more than 2.6 million IDPs and over 250,000 refugees, the majority of whom fled to Chad and Central African Republic.<sup>4</sup> Darfurians have also attempted to find livelihood opportunities in cities in Darfur, Khartoum and South Sudan. However, due to continued security threats in Darfur and Khartoum, and increased tensions due to the referendum and subsequent independence, many Darfurians are leaving Sudan and now South Sudan to find security, education and livelihood opportunities in Kampala, Uganda. Darfurian refugees in Kampala do find greater security than in Sudan, however they also find many challenges living as a refugee in an unfamiliar urban environment.

The phenomenon of urban refugees poses many challenges to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), host governments, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that are providing services to them, thereby posing many challenges to the refugees themselves in having their needs addressed. By the 2006 Ugandan Refugee Law, those living outside the rural settlements do not receive any assistance from the UNHCR and often end up settling in slums among the urban poor.<sup>5</sup> Part of the difficulty of assisting refugees in urban areas is the lack of knowledge about where refugees are located and what services they need assistance in accessing.

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<sup>4</sup> AlertNet, "Darfur Conflict: Peace Elusive in War-Torn Region," *AlertNet*, 2011, <http://www.trust.org/alertnet/crisis-centre/crisis/darfur-conflict>.

<sup>5</sup> Krause-Vilmar, "The Living ain't Easy."

## **Background of the Study**

Because the majority of urban refugees residing in Kampala are from the Congolese, Somali and Burundi communities, scholars and humanitarian agencies know even less about the Darfurian refugee community residing in Kampala.<sup>6</sup> My research with the Darfurian refugee population will provide evidence on this relatively new Diaspora that has formed in Kampala. In order to better provide services, humanitarian agencies in urban areas need to understand how they can better support community-based initiatives.<sup>7</sup> Ugandan refugee law does acknowledge self-settlement for refugees in urban areas, however in order to continue moving UNHCR's 2009 policy on urban refugees forward, a deeper knowledge of the experiences of urban refugees is necessary.

## **Purpose of the Study**

The Darfurian Refugee Association Uganda (DRAU) is a community-based organization started by Darfurians in Kampala. DRAU works to promote activities focused on advocacy and protection of the human rights of Darfurian refugees in Uganda. The refugee community elects the executive members of DRAU to represent Darfurians refugees to the Ugandan government as well as to organizations and donors. Currently, DRAU's main activities include assisting newly arrived asylum seekers with the process of registering with the Office of the Prime Minister. DRAU also helps refugees find accommodation and helps to resolve problems that refugees face such as conflicts with the police or the host community. DRAU seeks to solicit support from governments, non-governmental organizations, and donor agencies. DRAU's executive members

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> António Guterres, "Protection Challenges for Persons of Concern in Urban Settings," *Forced Migration Review* No. 34 (2010); Sara Pavanello and Marzia Montemurro, "Displacement in Urban Areas: Implications for Humanitarian Action," *Forced Migration Review* No. 34 February 2010: 57.

also participate in conferences and workshops in order to convey the situation of Darfurian refugees in Uganda to relevant parties and to stay connected with the efforts of the international donor and aid communities. When funds are available to the DRAU, they distribute the resources according to the community's needs, whether that includes material assistance such as food, or financial assistance for medical procedures. The research that I conducted with DRAU aims to better understand the livelihood questions facing Darfurians in Kampala. It is also hoped that a clearer mapping of the Darfurian refugee population gathered from the questionnaires, focus groups and interviews will be able to illuminate the situation that these refugees face to donors and other agencies who provide assistance.

### **Research Question**

With this research, I will be able to answer the question: what are the livelihood strategies of Darfurian refugees in Kampala? Through looking at the livelihood strategies of Darfurian refugees, I will also have a better understanding of the challenges that Darfurian refugees face living in Kampala, the services that refugees need assistance in accessing and their future hopes for themselves and their community. In order to answer this research question, I spent ten weeks in Kampala, Uganda administering a questionnaire, leading focus groups and conducting interviews.

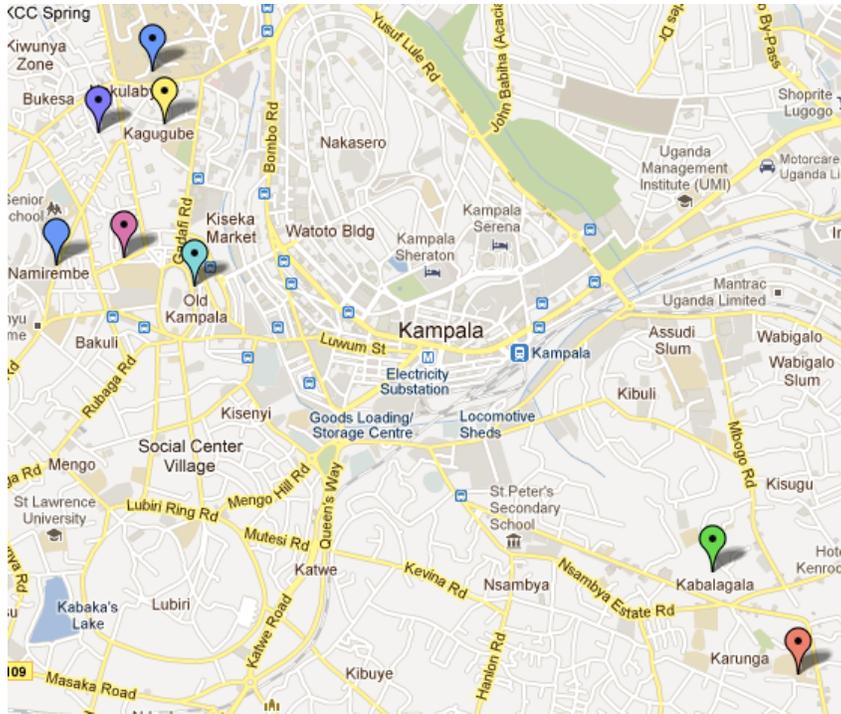
### **Methodology**

Where methodology is concerned, I used a mixture of qualitative and quantitative techniques. I administered a questionnaire with open-ended questions to fifty-two refugees, conducted fourteen semi-structured interviews, and lead five focus groups with Darfurian

refugees living in Kampala, Uganda. Interviews were semi-structured which allowed me to provide a base from which to make comparative analysis. I therefore asked similar questions to each respondent, however I was able to deviate from those questions if there was something that I wanted the respondent to elaborate on.

Because refugees in urban areas tend to keep a low profile for security and other reasons, access to the population can be difficult. In collaboration with the Darfurian Refugee Association in Uganda (DRAU), I used a snowball sampling method. DRAU helped me to identify where a group of refugees was located, and following the surveys, interviews and focus groups, those refugees then identified other refugees in the community that would be willing to participate. Due to the way that many Darfurians live together and near one another in Kampala, the snowball sampling method functioned well for the purposes of this study.

I administered all questionnaires, conducted all interviews and lead all focus groups in different areas of Kampala. I administered questionnaires and conducted interviews in people's homes or hostel rooms, which was dorm-style accommodation. I often returned to the same location more than once in order to administer the questionnaire to everyone living at the household or to people living in separate rooms in the same hostel. Sites included a home and hostels and an outdoor area in Old Kampala; the outdoor area served as the location for the focus group discussions. Other sites included a hostel at Makerere University and other residences nearby, a home in Kabalagala, and classrooms at Kampala International University (Figure 1).



-  Hostel at Makerere University
-  Classroom at Kampala International University
-  Home in Kabalagala
-  Home in Old Kampala
-  Nana Hostel
-  Home in Bukesa
-  Focus Group Location
-  Hostel in Old Kampala

Figure 1: Map of Kampala with Marked Locations. Source: created from Google Maps at <http://maps.google.com/maps?hl=en&tab=wl>

When I arrived at a location, I would introduce myself to everyone, explain what my research is seeking to address, give refugees the relevant information pertaining to the protection of human subjects and allowed for time to answer any questions they may have. They would then exit the room and I would speak to them individually. The quantitative data that I collected provides demographic information such as refugees' age, sex, education level, occupation before leaving Sudan, and how long the refugee has been living in Kampala. Using an excel

spreadsheet, I analyzed the quantitative data in order to have clear statistical data of the respondents. Through the open-ended questions in the questionnaire, semi-structured interviews and focus groups, I was able to gather narratives from the refugees about the challenges they face in terms of accessing services, how they are sustaining their livelihoods, and what their future hopes are. Qualitative data also helped to identify other challenges that refugees are facing including instances of discrimination, social isolation and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Using a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodology allows for the refugees' voices to describe their own experiences.

I administered the questionnaires to a single respondent at a time, except for three women that I spoke to who had small children and for whom it was difficult to take the time to speak with me individually. Focus groups added more qualitative data that I was not necessarily able to get when speaking with respondents individually due to the problem of interviewer bias. Focus groups consisted of ten refugees split into two groups of five, which discussed various topics amongst one another for a few hours at a time. I was not directly involved in the discussions, however one of the refugees would take notes during their discussion, and at the end, the two groups would share their responses to the entire group. This allowed refugees to open up to one another more since they were able to speak in their own language to other refugees who they knew better than an outsider such as myself.

### **Limitations of the Study**

Through administering a questionnaire, I was able to speak to a larger amount of refugees in the ten-week period than I would have if I had only conducted in-depth interviews. Although the size of the sample is 66 respondents, limitations to the study include the composition and size

of the sample. Ten weeks was not enough time to speak to many more refugees. While the majority of respondents were male, due to my snowball sampling method it was difficult to get an even number of male and female respondents. Speaking to an overwhelming number of young male refugees could be seen as having a non-representative sample, however it is clear that there are more young Darfurian men in Kampala than young women and women with children. Due to the demographic composition of the refugee population and the snowball sampling method, it was more difficult to gain access to female refugees.

### **Significance of the Study**

My research on Darfurian refugees in Kampala will provide valuable information such as what challenges refugees are facing and what services they need assistance in accessing. With an accurate needs assessment for the refugee community, agencies can then begin providing those services to the Darfurian refugee population. In identifying the needs of the population, my research will also contribute to the development of a methodology for identifying and modeling needs and networks in urban centers, in order to more efficiently provide services to that population. My research will also contribute to a larger body of research that is beginning to address the increasing amount of urban refugees, particularly in developing countries, as well as the challenges they face and the livelihood strategies that they employ.

My research will provide evidence that refugees have agency and are not burdens on society, and will show that while urban refugees face challenges due to inadequate protection and support, they carve out certain social and economic spaces in order to sustain their livelihoods. In discussing their livelihood strategies, my research will emphasize the voices of Darfurian refugees living in urban areas and what they express their needs to be. Through my

work with DFRAU, I will be able to create a needs assessment for the organization, which will in turn enable DFRAU to provide for funding and collaborate with other NGOs in Kampala in order to begin providing services to the Darfurian refugees. My research will also contribute to a larger body of research that is increasingly addressing the challenges and livelihood strategies of urban refugees, as well as to service providers in other urban areas which seek to improve their operations. My research will enable me to put forth a methodology for identifying and modeling needs and networks in urban centers, enabling agencies to more efficiently evaluate the provision of services to urban refugees and better understand the processes involved in the social and economic integration of refugees.

## CHAPTER II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

### Introduction

Much of the literature on refugees and the policies of host governments and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has traditionally focused on refugees that live in designated camps or settlements<sup>8</sup>. Yet the literature on urban refugees has expanded in recent years, due to an increasing number of refugees migrating to urban areas and it has begun to address issues surrounding protection and assistance of urban refugees, and how to best deal with the refugee ‘problem’<sup>9</sup>. The research present within the body of literature addresses the definition of a refugee, refugee law, refugee camps versus urban refugees, and refugee livelihoods. However, because my research focuses on the experiences of urban refugees in Kampala, along with discussing general issues in refugee literature, this review will also examine literature that specifically addresses these discussions in the context of Uganda. This review

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<sup>8</sup> Barbara Harrell-Bond, *Imposing Aid: Emergency Assistance to Refugees* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1986); Barbara Harrell-Bond, “Are Refugee Camps Good for Children?” *UNHCR Working Paper* No. 29 (2000); Liisa Malkki, *Purity and Exile: Violence, Memory, and National Cosmology among Hutu Refugees in Tanzania* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Liisa Malkki, “Speechless Emissaries: Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricization,” *Cultural Anthropology* Vol. 11 No. 3 (1996); Richard Black, “Putting Refugees in Camps,” *Forced Migration Review*, No. 2, 1998; Karen Jacobsen, “The Forgotten Solution: Local Integration for Refugees in Developing Countries,” *UNHCR Working Paper* No. 45 (2001); Jeff Crisp, “Mind the Gap! UNHCR, Humanitarian Assistance and the Development Process,” *UNHCR Working Paper* No. 43 (2001); Jeff Crisp, “No Solutions in Sight: The Problem of Protracted Refugee Situations in Africa,” *UNHCR Working Paper* No. 75 (2003)

<sup>9</sup> Marc Sommers, “On the Margins, In the Mainstream: Urban Refugees in Africa,” in *Occasional Paper #37 Humanitarian Action: Social Science Connections*, ed. Stephen C. Lubkemann et al. (Brown University: Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies, 2000); Jesse Bernstein, “‘A Drop in the Ocean’: Assistance and Protection for Forced Migrants in Kampala,” *Refugee Law Project Working Paper* No. 16 (2005); Katarzyna Grabska, “Living on the Margins: The Analysis of the Livelihood Strategies of Sudanese Refugees in Egypt,” *Forced Migration and Refugee Studies Working Paper* No. 6 (2005); Katarzyna Grabska, “Marginalization in Urban Spaces of the Global South: Urban refugees in Cairo,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol. 19, No. 3 (2006); Elizabeth Campbell, “Urban Refugees in Nairobi: Problems of Protection, Mechanisms of Survival and Possibilities for Integration,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol. 19 No. 3 (2006); Karen Jacobsen, “Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Urban Areas: A Livelihoods Perspective,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol. 19 No. 3 (2006); Sarah Dryden-Peterson, “‘I Find Myself as Someone Who is in the Forest’: Urban Refugees as Agents of Social Change in Kampala, Uganda,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol. 19 No. 3 (2006); Lucy Hovil, “Self-Settled Refugees in Uganda: An Alternative Approach to Displacement?” *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol. 20 No. 4 (2007); Anna Tibaijuka, “Adapting to Urban Displacement,” *Forced Migration Review* No. 34 (2010); Guterres, “Protection Challenges for Persons of Concern in Urban Settings.”; Krause-Vilmar, “The living Ain’t Easy.”

therefore discusses the definition of a refugee, then refugee law, followed by the distinction between refugees living in camps and refugees living in urban areas, the livelihoods of refugees and Ugandan literature on refugees. It concludes with my argument that the literature lacks adequate examination of the challenges that urban refugees face in accessing services, the livelihood strategies urban refugees that employ, as well as how agencies can more effectively provide assistance to these hidden populations.

### **What is a Refugee?**

The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees provided the first legal definition of a refugee. The 1951 Convention states,

The term 'refugee' shall mean every person who, as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it<sup>10</sup>

While this definition is widely accepted, Malkki (1995) asserts that because the definition only reflects refugees from events that occurred in Europe during World War II and not refugees in other parts of the world after 1951, there were subsequent protocols developed. The 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees removed the phrase "as a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and..." as well as "...as a result of such events."<sup>11</sup> Crisp (2000) explains that recognizing the narrow definition, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Refugee Convention of 1969 broadened the definition. The 1969 OAU Refugee Convention states:

The term 'refugee' shall also apply to every person who, owing to external aggression,

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<sup>10</sup> UN General Assembly, *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, 28 July 1951, *United Nations Treaty Series*, Vol. 189

<sup>11</sup> UN General Assembly, *Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees*, 31 January 1967, *United Nations Treaty Series*, Vol. 606

occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality<sup>12</sup>

The decision of the OAU to broaden the refugee definition reveals the solidarity among African countries during struggles for independence in the period of decolonization.<sup>13</sup> An asylum seeker is someone who has applied for but not yet attained refugee status. Some literature takes the definition of refugee beyond the legal system to encompass the action of being a refugee.

Malkki's (1995) research among Hutu refugees in Tanzania, which fled Burundi in 1972, is widely cited among refugee literature. Malkki's (1995) research among two refugee populations, one in a camp setting and one in a town setting, "revealed radical differences in the meaning that people ascribed to national identity and history, to notions of home and homeland, and to exile as a collectively experienced condition."<sup>14</sup> This research shows that the meaning of being a refugee should not just rely on the action of leaving one's country, but should take into consideration the experiences in exile that drastically alter the refugee themselves. Malkki (1996) explains that among the Hutu refugees, "'refugeeness' was seen as a matter of *becoming*."<sup>15</sup> Al-Sharmani (2003) and Grabska (2005) adopted this definition as well, explaining that it allows for a deeper understanding of the experiences that refugees have while they seek asylum and continue to live in exile. This process is as equally important as the experiences that refugees had in their country of origin, as it affects how refugees form their identities and their livelihoods. Expanding on the concept of a refugee, Malkki (1996) and Harrell-Bond and Voutira (2007) argue against those that label refugees as 'burdens' and 'helpless'. This negative perception of

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<sup>12</sup> Organization of African Unity, *Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa* ("OAU Convention"), 10 September 1969, 1001 U.N.T.S. 45

<sup>13</sup> Crisp, "Africa's Refugees"

<sup>14</sup> Malkki, *Purity and Exile*, 2.

<sup>15</sup> Malkki, "Speechless Emissaries," 381.

refugees affects the way that governments and international organizations design and implement policies, which I will expand on in the following section, and essentially renders refugees ‘speechless.’<sup>16</sup> Through this perception, refugees are devoid of agency and their experiences are also often ‘dehistoricized,’ by ignoring the realities which forced refugees into exile.<sup>17</sup> While the legal definition is significant in terms of a refugee being recognized by governments and international agencies, one should also take into consideration the concept of a refugee as a process. Much of the literature on refugees discusses the law which surrounds the definition of a refugee.

## **Refugee Law**

In 1950, the United Nations established the Office of the High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) with the purpose of assisting and protecting the rights of refugees from World War II.<sup>18</sup> However as Rowley et al. (2006) explain, the UNHCR quickly expanded its mandate to include other parts of the world, particularly the African continent, which was entering the turbulent period of decolonization and regime change. The 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees outlines the rights of refugees, asserting such principles as non-discrimination, freedom to practice religion, right of association and access to courts. Articles in the 1951 Convention also cover gainful employment, the welfare of refugees, and freedom of

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Prem Kumar Rajaram, “Humanitarianism and Representations of the Refugee,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol. 15 No. 3 (2002); Barbara Harrell-Bond and Efithia Voutira, “In Search of ‘Invisible’ Actors: Barriers to Access in Refugee Research,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol. 20 No. 2 (2007).

<sup>18</sup> Malkki, “Speechless Emissaries”; Harrell-Bond, “Are Refugee Camps Good for Children?”; Elizabeth Rowley, Gilbert Burnham and Rabbin Drabe, “Protracted Refugee Situations: Parallel Health Systems and Planning for the Integration of Services,” *Journal of Refugee Studies* Vol. 19, No. 2. (2006); Amy Slaughter and Jeff Crisp, “A Surrogate State? The Role of UNHCR in Protracted Refugee Situations,” *UNHCR Research Paper* No. 168. (2009); “Legal Protection,” UNHCR, accessed September 19, 2011, <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49c3646c.html>

movement.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps the most widely covered refugee right by the literature is Article 33, which prohibits *refoulement*, or the expulsion or returning of refugees to their home country.<sup>20</sup> As previously mentioned, in 1969, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Refugee Convention gathered African heads of state to discuss the rights of refugees. The document reiterates articles from the 1951 Convention, as well as covers the asylum process, security of refugees, voluntary repatriation and cooperation with the OAU and the UNHCR.<sup>21</sup> Crisp (2000) asserts that the OAU Convention protected “national security and inter-state relations” for and among African governments.<sup>22</sup> These legal instruments serve as guidelines for the international refugee regime, which ‘governs’ the policies and procedures having to do with refugees.

The ‘international refugee regime’ is comprised of the UNHCR, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), national governments, and international agencies and donors.<sup>23</sup> The international refugee regime has framed refugees as a problem that needs to be solved. As the international refugee regime discusses solutions to the refugee problem, refugees become dehumanized and reduced to numbers. Crisp (1999) examines the ‘notion of refugee enumeration’ and explains that while there are politics involved in counting refugees, it is a necessary step for governments and agencies such as the UNHCR to conduct their operations. He continues to explain that it is important to remember that refugees are individual people with a diversity of needs and capabilities. I will return to Crisp’s (1999) discussion in the following

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<sup>19</sup> *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees*, 19, 23-30.

<sup>20</sup> Brian Gorlick, “Human Rights and Refugees: Enhancing Protection Through International Human Rights Law,” *UNHCR Working Paper* No. 30 (2000); Bonaventure Runtinwa, “The End of asylum? The Changing Nature of Refugee Policies in Africa,” *UNHCR Working Paper* No. 5 (1999).

<sup>21</sup> “*OAU Convention*,” 1-8.

<sup>22</sup> Crisp, “Africa’s Refugees,” 9.

<sup>23</sup> Malkki, *Purity and Exile*; Gorlick, “Human Rights and Refugees”; Sarah Meyer, “The ‘Refugee Aid and Development’ Approach in Uganda: Empowerment and Self-Reliance of Refugees in Practice,” *UNHCR Research Paper* No. 131 (2006); Harrell-Bond and Voutira, “In Search of ‘Invisible’ Actors”; Slaughter and Crisp, “A Surrogate State?”

section when addressing host government's preference of camps to allowing refugees to settle in urban areas. Slaughter and Crisp (2009) argue that the UNHCR has in some respects taken on state functions in its role in the international refugee regime. The authors explain that the UNHCR has had a variety of responsibilities in relation to host countries. However, in the majority of situations, the UNHCR has taken primary responsibility for refugees. The historical development of the refugee regime partly explains why this shift occurred. As Slaughter and Crisp (2009) explain, following the expansion of the UNHCR to address the refugee situations beyond Europe, the host countries involved were in a much different position than the European countries. Particularly in African countries, the governments had fewer resources and were hosting an increasing amount of refugees.

African states have been tied to conditions implemented by international financial institutions such as the World Bank and IMF, which have required cuts to public spending and services. Following the end of the Cold War, the shifting geopolitics of economic assistance became dominated by the Western neoliberal ideology of Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs). Based on the "Washington Consensus," the World Bank and IMF began imposing certain conditions on the structures of developing economies so loans could be repaid. Structural adjustment also sought to create a specific role that the state would play in the economy in order to increase economic development. Structural adjustment policies include cutting back on social spending, including sectors such as education, health, and other social services. Structural adjustment has led to an overall decline in social welfare across Africa. The issue of refugees has also become more significant politically, and is often used as a scapegoat for social and economic problems by host governments and communities.<sup>24</sup> Relating to the political

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<sup>24</sup> Crisp, "Africa's Refugees"

significance of the refugee issue, Fielden's (2008) analysis adds that the acceptance of refugees by host governments can be influenced by the provision of international aid and improving a government's reputation among the international community by sharing the 'burden.'<sup>25</sup> Policies that governments and agencies such as the UNHCR develop are impacted by the politics of the international refugee regime, which inevitably affect the amount of assistance and protection afforded to refugees.

The international refugee regime held the International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa in 1981 (ICARA I) and ICARAI in 1984. ICARA I focused on bringing attention to the worsening refugee situation in Africa in an attempt to better organize refugee assistance, and ICARA II "sought to link refugee aid and development."<sup>26</sup> Harrell-Bond (2000) also addresses ICARA II, stating "UNHCR was advised to allow UNDP to invest in building the capacity of local institutions and infrastructure to benefit both refugees and the host community."<sup>27</sup> However, due to the belief that refugee situations are only temporary, the dominant form of assistance became refugee camps<sup>28</sup>, which I will expand on in the next section. Just as the law surrounding refugees' rights reflected the historical significance of the period, including the end of World War II and the period of decolonization, the policies towards refugees shifted as dynamics within the refugee regime changed. Crisp (2000) and Rutinwa (1999) address these shifts, particularly on the African continent. Following the OAU Refugee Convention, African governments strongly supported asylum, what Rutinwa (1999) refers to as the "open door policy."<sup>29</sup> Crisp (2000) attributes "the ideologies of pan-Africanism and anti-

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<sup>25</sup> Alexandra Fielden, "Local Integration: An Under-Reported Solution to Protracted Refugee Situations," *UNHCR Research Paper* No. 158 (2008): 3

<sup>26</sup> Rowley, Burnham and Drabe, "Protracted Refugee Situations," 159.

<sup>27</sup> Harrell-Bond, "Are Refugee Camps Good for Children?" 3.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Rutinwa, "The End of Asylum?" 1.

colonialism” during the period of decolonization to the favorable policies towards refugees.<sup>30</sup>

Host governments and the UNHCR also differ on their systems of refugee status determination (RSD).

Many host governments grant large numbers of asylum seekers *prima facie* refugee status, based on recognition of the situation that forced them from their country of origin, and are thereby eligible for assistance.<sup>31</sup> However, host governments and the UNHCR also grant refugee status on an individual basis through the refugee status determination (RSD) process. The literature recognizes that there are flaws in the RSD process, and evidence suggests that many refugees have difficulties figuring out the process either due to confusing procedures or inefficient systems. Granting individual asylum seekers refugee status can take from months to years.<sup>32</sup> Verdirame and Harrell-Bond (2005) explain that the RSD process can be problematic for the forcibly displaced; not being able to apply for asylum or not attaining refugee status increases the vulnerability of refugees by preventing them from exercising their rights and from receiving necessary protection and services. Many protection and assistance issues arise when the policies of host governments and those of the UNHCR are inconsistent.

The literature addresses how conflicting international and national law hinders the assistance and protection of refugees in urban areas.<sup>33</sup> Kaiser (2008) asserts that the protection of

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<sup>30</sup> Crisp, “Africa’s Refugees,” 5

<sup>31</sup> Bernstein, “‘A Drop in the Ocean’”; Guglielmo Verdirame and Barbara Harrell-Bond, *Rights in Exile: Janus-Faced Humanitarianism* Volume 17 *Studies in Forced Migration*; Berghahn Books (2005); Dryden-Peterson, “‘I Find Myself as Someone Who is in the Forest’”; Tania Kaiser, “Sudanese Refugees in Uganda and Kenya,” in *Protracted Refugee Situations: Political, Human Rights and Security Implications*, edited by Gil Loescher et al. (United Nations University Press, 2008); Richard Stainsby, “UNHCR and Individual Refugee Status Determination,” *Forced Migration Review* No. 32 April 2009, 52.

<sup>32</sup> Dryden-Peterson, “‘I Find Myself as Someone Who is in the Forest’”; Bernstein, “‘A Drop in the Ocean’”; Hovil, “Self-Settled Refugees in Uganda”

<sup>33</sup> Michela Macchiavello, “Forced Migrants as an Under-Utilized Asset: Refugee Skills, Livelihoods, and Achievements in Kampala, Uganda,” *UNHCR Working Paper* No. 95, (2003); Bernstein, “‘A Drop in the Ocean’”; Jacobsen, “Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Urban Areas”; Dryden-Peterson, “‘I Find Myself as Someone Who is in the Forest’”; Hovil, “Self-Settled Refugees in Uganda”; Kaiser, “Sudanese Refugees in Ugandan and Kenya”;

urban refugees often depends on the UNHCR because host governments usually prefer containing refugees in camps, for reasons which I will discuss in the following section. Under the 1951 Convention, host governments and agencies should not deny refugees of protection or assistance when living in urban areas.<sup>34</sup> Following the recognition that UNHCR was working with refugees outside of designated camps, in 1997, the UNHCR Policy on Refugee Protection and Solutions in Urban Areas established that settlement of refugees in urban areas should be discouraged and that assistance to urban refugees should be minimal. However, the policy document also emphasized that the location of refugees should not affect UNHCR's responsibility to protect refugees.<sup>35</sup> Dryden-Peterson (2006) asserts that the contradictory nature of the 1997 policy resulted in a lack of strategy in regards to assistance to urban refugees. The UNCHR's Evaluation and Policy Analysis Unit (EPAU) reviewed the implementation of the 1997 policy, and in 2003 suggested a reform document. The EPAU recommended replacing the policy with one that offered more protection to refugees in urban areas, different approaches to providing assistance, and the promotion of self-reliance.<sup>36</sup> The lack of protection and assistance for refugees in urban areas continues, however there is an increasing amount of attention being paid to urban refugees by researchers and policy makers alike.

In 2009, the UNHCR released a new policy document which recognizes that refugees should be able to enjoy their rights in urban areas.<sup>37</sup> The 2009 Policy on Refugee Protection and

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Krause-Vilmar, "The living Ain't Easy"; UNHCR, *UNHCR Policy on Refugees in Urban Areas*, 2009 <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/4ab8e7f2.pdf>

<sup>34</sup> Jacobsen, "Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Urban Areas"

<sup>35</sup> UNHCR, *UNHCR Policy on Refugees in Urban Areas*, 1997 <http://www.unhcr.org/3c0f8bd67.pdf> Dryden-Peterson, "I Find Myself as Someone Who is in the Forest"; Jacobsen, "Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Urban Areas"

<sup>36</sup> Dryden-Peterson, "I Find Myself as Someone Who is in the Forest"

<sup>37</sup> UNHCR, *UNHCR Policy on Refugees in Urban Areas*, 2009; Roger Zetter and George Deikun, "Meeting Humanitarian Challenges in Urban Areas," *Forced Migration Review* No. 34, February 2010, 6; António Guterres, "Protection Challenges for Persons of Concern in Urban Settings," *Forced Migration Review* No. 34, February 2010: 8-9.; Sara Pavanello, Samir Elhawary and Sara Pantuliano, "Hidden and Exposed: Urban refugees in Nairobi,

Solutions asserts that the UNHCR's main objective will be to protect any urban refugees, whether or not the national law permits them to be there. However, the 2009 policy recognizes that the implementation of the new policy must be adapted to different countries, depending on the refugee laws that governments have in place.<sup>38</sup> However because the refugee laws in various countries have historically been unfavorable to refugees settling in urban areas, there is a structural barrier for all agencies and urban refugees to overcome. The UNHCR's 2009 revised policy proves that there is recognition among policy makers and scholars alike that an increasing number of urban refugees need more adequate assistance and protection. Developing policy that is consistent with national laws is therefore required in order to create efficient systems and provide adequate assistance and protection. National laws that support urban refugees will increase the assistance and protection afforded to refugees. Consistency between international and national law will also encourage cooperation and reduce conflict between host governments and international agencies that seek to provide protection and assistance to refugees.

### **Refugee Camps versus Urban Refugees**

In the discussion of refugee camps versus urban refugees, the literature agrees that humanitarian agencies and host governments have predominately used the camp and settlement systems as opposed to supporting the settlement of refugees in urban areas.<sup>39</sup> The literature addresses the difference between refugee 'camps' and 'settlements,' explaining that the terms vary based on factors such as freedom of movement, mode of assistance, and population

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Kenya," Humanitarian Policy Group Working Paper (2010).

<sup>38</sup> UNHCR, *UNHCR Policy on Refugees in Urban Areas*, 2009, 5

<sup>39</sup> Harrell-Bond, *Imposing Aid*; Harrell-Bond, "Are Refugee Camps Good for Children?"; Malkki, *Purity and Exile*; Malkki, "Speechless Emissaries"; Black, "Putting Refugees in Camps"; Jacobsen, "The Forgotten Solution"; Crisp, "Mind the Gap!"; Crisp, "No Solutions in Sight"; Hovil, "Self-Settled Refugees in Uganda"

density.<sup>40</sup> Settlements tend to have more permanent structures and access to land for farming, while camps have a more temporary construction and no access to land.<sup>41</sup> However, Hovil (2007) asserts that settlements and camps are essentially the same, while other literature refers to policies of settlements and camps as the ‘warehousing’ of refugees.<sup>42</sup> Confining refugees to camps and settlements continues to dominate host governments and agencies’ policies and assistance related to refugees.

Humanitarian agencies and governments prefer the use of camps and settlements for ease of visibility, access and service provision, as well as for raising money, cost effectiveness and the efficiency of operations.<sup>43</sup> Crisp (1999) states, “Within the humanitarian community, discussions of the ‘politics of numbers’ almost invariably turn to the way in which countries of asylum in developing regions make exaggerated claims about the number of refugees present on their territory.”<sup>44</sup> Crisp (1999) asserts that while in some cases this is true, it should not be the overarching opinion about how host governments deal with the ‘enumeration of refugees’. Many host governments prefer the use of camps because they do not have the ability or desire to invest in developing the infrastructure that urban areas need to support refugees.<sup>45</sup> Host governments also prefer to restrict the provision of assistance to settlements for political and security reasons.<sup>46</sup> Particularly in developing countries where the majority of refugees are found, host

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<sup>40</sup> Malkki, *Purity and Exile*; Black, “Putting Refugees in Camps”

<sup>41</sup> Jacobsen, “The Forgotten Solution”

<sup>42</sup> Kaiser, “Sudanese Refugees in Ugandan and Kenya”; Jeff Crisp, “The Local Integration and Local Settlement of Refugees: A Conceptual and Historical Analysis,” *UNHCR Working Paper* No. 102 (2004); Jacobsen, “The Forgotten Solution”; Natalie Ondiak and Omer Ismail, “Darfur: A Way of Life Lost,” *Forced Migration Review* No. 33, September 2009: 27.

<sup>43</sup> Black, “Putting Refugees in Camps”

<sup>44</sup> Jeff Crisp, “Who Has Counted the Refugees? UNHCR and the Politics of Numbers,” *UNHCR Working Paper* No. 12 (1999), 10.

<sup>45</sup> Harrell-Bond, *Imposing Aid*, 8.

<sup>46</sup> Black, “Putting Refugees in Camps”; Jacobsen, “The Forgotten Solution”; Macchiavello, “Forced Migrants as an Under-Utilized Asset.”

governments and local populations argue that refugees should remain in settlements because outside of settlements refugees will create a socioeconomic burden and put a strain on already limited resources.<sup>47</sup> However, those who argue against the camp and settlement systems assert that these systems create dependency and do not allow for refugees to become self-sufficient.

Proponents of the settlement system argue that it will lead to the integration of refugees into the host community.<sup>48</sup> Harrell-Bond (1986) describes the three-phase process that refugees in settlements experience to become 'self-sufficient.' The refugees arrive at a settlement or at an agency, such as the UNHCR, which transports refugees to the settlements. Agencies such as the UNHCR distribute aid and also provide an existing home or space to build a home. The UNHCR or other agency provides land for cultivation. As refugees farm and harvest, agencies reduce their assistance, until eventually agencies and donors stop the distribution of assistance.<sup>49</sup> While in theory some arguments for placing refugees in settlements seem valid, such as increased visibility and ease of providing assistance, there is an increasing amount of literature that argues against the settlement system in practice.

A significant body of literature exists that criticizes the camps and settlement systems.<sup>50</sup> Settlements are frequently unable to guarantee the safety of refugees and actually serve as easy targets for violence towards refugees.<sup>51</sup> Bernstein (2005) discusses the insecurity of the

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<sup>47</sup> Arafat Jamal, "Camps and Freedoms: Long-Term Refugee Situations in Africa," *Forced Migration Review* No. 16 January 2003: 4-6.; Jacobsen, "The Forgotten Solution"; Jacobsen, "Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Urban Areas"; Hovil, "Self-Settled Refugees in Uganda"

<sup>48</sup> Harrell-Bond, "Are Refugee Camps Good for Children?"

<sup>49</sup> Harrell-Bond, *Imposing Aid*, 8; see also Crisp, "'Mind the Gap!'" and Hovil, "Self-Settled Refugees in Uganda".

<sup>50</sup> Black, "Putting Refugees in Camps"; Harrell-Bond, *Imposing Aid*; Harrell-Bond, "Are Refugee Camps Good for Children?"; Crisp, "Africa's Refugees"; Crisp, "No Solutions in Sight"; Sarah Dryden-Peterson and Lucy Hovil, "Local Integration as a Durable Solution: Refugees, Host Populations and Education in Uganda," *UNHCR Working Paper* No. 93, 2003.; Verdirame and Harrell-Bond, *Purity and Exile*; Bernstein, "A Drop in the Ocean"; Jacobsen, "Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Urban Areas"; Hovil, "Self-Settled Refugees in Uganda"; Gil Loescher and James Milner, "Understanding the Challenge," *Forced Migration Review* No. 33 September 2009: 9-11.

<sup>51</sup> Rutinwa, "The End of Asylum?"; Crisp, "Africa's Refugees"; Hovil, "Self-Settled Refugees in Uganda"; Kaiser, "Sudanese Refugees in Uganda and Kenya."

settlements in Uganda, which occurs due to the presence of Congolese and Rwandese rebel groups that cross the border. Evidence also suggests that assistance solely to settlements in areas surrounded by rural poor host communities can create tension within society.<sup>52</sup> In regards refugees' livelihoods within the settlement system, Crisp and Jacobsen (1998) argue that some conflicts forced refugees from urban areas, and therefore they may not have knowledge of agriculture or be interested in making agriculture their livelihood. Even for those who wish to make agriculture their livelihood, settlements make accessing markets more difficult. The availability of arable land also continues to decrease.<sup>53</sup> Kaiser (2008) asserts that there has been much disagreement over the level of self-sufficiency that refugees in settlements are able to attain.<sup>54</sup> With a lack of freedom and challenges to becoming independent economically, refugees in camps and settlements can become hopeless due to prolonged confinement and dependency on assistance.<sup>55</sup> Refugee situations that continue for an uncertain amount of time increase the insecurity for both refugees and the host community and increase tension within society.

Much of the literature that discusses solutions for refugees discusses protracted refugee situations.<sup>56</sup> Many refugees that live in camps or settlements end up in protracted refugee situations, however the international refugee regime has focused much of their attention and resources on emergency refugee situations.<sup>57</sup> According to the UNHCR, a protracted refugee

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<sup>52</sup> Harrell-Bond, *Imposing Aid.*; Kaiser, "Sudanese Refugees in Uganda and Kenya."

<sup>53</sup> Crisp, "No Solutions in Sight"; Dryden-Peterson and Hovil, "Local Integration as a Durable Solution."

<sup>54</sup> See also Rutinwa, "The End of Asylum?"

<sup>55</sup> Barbara Harrell-Bond, "Camps: Literature Review," *Forced Migration Review* No. 2 August 1998: 22-23.; Rutinwa, "The End of Asylum?"; Macchiavello, "Forced Migrants as an Under-Utilized Asset."; Crisp, "No Solutions in Sight."

<sup>56</sup> Dryden-Peterson and Hovil, "Local Integration as a Durable Solution."; Crisp, "No Solutions in Sight."; Crisp, "The Local Integration and Local Settlement of Refugees."; Fielden, "Local Integration."; Lucy Hovil, "Hoping for Peace, Afriad of War: The Dilemmas of Repatriation and Belonging on the Borders of Uganda and South Sudan," *UNHCR Research Paper* No. 196, 2010.; Rowley et al., "Protracted Refugee Situations."; Jacobsen, "The Forgotten Solution."; Harrell-Bond, "Are Refugee Camps Good for Children?"; Verdirame and Harrell-Bond, *Purity and Exile.*; Slaughter and Crisp, "A Surrogate State?"

<sup>57</sup> Crisp, "No Solutions in Sight."; Loescher and Milner, "Understanding the Challenge."

situation occurs when there are more than 25,000 refugees displaced for more than five years. However, the average length of a protracted refugee situation is almost 20 years. This number does not include the internally displaced or refugees in urban areas. Protracted refugee situations not only cause humanitarian problems for refugees, but also political and security problems for the host country and the region.<sup>58</sup> Regardless of the numbers of refugees in a protracted situation, the reality is that refugees around the world continue to live without adequate support and assistance, whether or not they are living in camps or urban areas.

Spending decades in a refugee camp hinders development of the refugees and the host community. Davis' (2008) research on urban poverty shows that after years of unresolved conflict, some refugee settlements evolve into slums, which are located on the periphery of host cities and can become breeding grounds for more violence. The possibility of becoming targets for more violence exacerbates the trauma and fear that refugees are already suffering from. It should be noted that Jacobsen (2002) makes an important point that in prolonged refugee situations camps and settlements come to resemble villages and refugees bring goods to the area that were not previously found. Alix-Garcia, Bartlett and Saah's (2011) research on semi-urban areas in Darfur, Sudan shows that forced migration and the location of IDP camps on the periphery of major cities has resulted in changes to the food supply chain, cost of living and land use changes. It is necessary to recognize that refugees in camps are still resourceful and find ways to sustain their livelihoods. However, durable solutions for refugees must be considered.

Durable solutions to the refugee 'problem' include repatriation, resettlement, and integration.<sup>59</sup> While the 1969 OAU Convention protects the right of voluntary repatriation and it is not a solution widely discussed, the literature does assert that host governments choose the

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<sup>58</sup> Loescher and Milner, "Understanding the Challenge."

<sup>59</sup> Loescher and Milner, "Understanding the Challenge."

temporary nature of camps and settlements in order to support repatriation.<sup>60</sup> Repatriation can only take place however, when refugees are able to return to their country and live in a secure and dignified environment.<sup>61</sup> Resettlement is also rarely discussed within refugee literature, however Rutinwa (1999) recognizes that host governments particularly in Africa do not help support resettlement.<sup>62</sup> The other literature that mentions resettlement discusses it in the context of those in urban areas waiting for the chance to resettle.<sup>63</sup> Pavanello et al. (2010) assert that resettlement can be difficult to coordinate for refugees in urban areas because the vulnerable often have the least amount of visibility and voice. Integration is the most widely discussed durable solution among the literature.

Much of the refugee literature discusses integration as a solution to the refugee ‘problem.’<sup>64</sup> The 1951 Refugee Convention defined integration as ‘assimilation’ and includes forth an article on the naturalization of refugees.<sup>65</sup> However, refugee literature recognizes that assimilation implies that refugees must adopt the host communities culture instead of preserve their own, and therefore disregards the notion of assimilation.<sup>66</sup> However, it is worth noting that the 1951 Convention addresses integration as a solution. Crisp (2004) states, “Local integration can be regarded as a process which leads to a durable solution for refugees. It is a process with

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<sup>60</sup> Gaim Kibreab, “Eritrean and Ethiopian Urban Refugees in Khartoum: What the Eye Refuses to See,” *African Studies Review* Vol. 39 No. 3 1996: 131-178.; Jacobsen, “The Forgotten Solution.”; Crisp, “No Solutions in Sight.”; Crisp, “The Local Integration and Local Settlement of Refugees.”; Campbell, “Urban Refugees in Nairobi.”

<sup>61</sup> Pavanello et al., “Hidden and Exposed.”

<sup>62</sup> See also Hovil, “Self-Settled Refugees in Uganda.”

<sup>63</sup> Grabska, “Marginalization in Urban Spaces of the Global South.”

<sup>64</sup> Harrell-Bond, “Are Refugee Camps Good for Children?”; Jacobsen, “The Forgotten Solution.”; Dryden-Peterson and Hovil, “Local Integration as a Durable Solution.”; Crisp, “The Local Integration and Local Settlement of Refugees.”; Grabska, “Living on the Margins.”; Campbell, “Urban Refugees in Nairobi.”; Pavanello et al., “Hidden and Exposed.”

<sup>65</sup> UN General Assembly, *Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees.*; Harrell-Bond, “Are Refugee Camps Good for Children?”; Crisp, “The Local Integration and Local Settlement of Refugees.” Grabska, “Living on the Margins.”

<sup>66</sup> Jacobsen, “The Forgotten Solution” cited in Grabska, “Living on the Margins.”; Crisp, “The Local Integration and Local Settlement of Refugees.”; Harrell-Bond, “Are Refugee Camps Good for Children?”; Gorlick, “Human Rights and Refugees.”

three interrelated dimensions.”<sup>67</sup> The three dimensions include a legal process, an economic process, and a social process. Local integration begins with affording more rights to refugees, such as access to public services and the right to seek employment, which then leads to the economic process by expanding the number of economic opportunities for refugees.<sup>68</sup> Finally, refugees can integrate socially by living in the host community “without fear of systematic discrimination, intimidation or exploitation by the authorities or people of the asylum country.”<sup>69</sup> Refugee literature strongly supports integration as a durable solution, particularly for refugees living in urban areas that are receiving little support from host governments and agencies.

An increasing amount of refugees are now living in urban areas.<sup>70</sup> In an increasingly global economy, urban areas hold more economic opportunities as opposed to those in settlements, which remain isolated from the economy.<sup>71</sup> Evidence suggests that when supported, most urban refugees make economic contributions and employ various livelihood strategies.<sup>72</sup> Although there are potential benefits to living in urban areas as opposed to camps and settlements, urban refugees face many challenges in accessing basic services and are often

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<sup>67</sup> Crisp, “The Local Integration and Local Settlement of Refugees,” 1.

<sup>68</sup> Also cited in Campbell, “Urban Refugees in Nairobi.”

<sup>69</sup> Crisp, “The Local Integration and Local Settlement of Refugees,” 1-2.

<sup>70</sup> Kibreab, “Eritrean and Ethiopian Urban Refugees in Khartoum.”; Anita Fabos, *‘Brothers’ or Others? Propriety and Gender for Muslim Arab Sudanese in Egypt, Studies in Forced Migration* Volume 22, New York: Berghahn Books, (2008).; Mulki Al-Sharmani, “Livelihood and Identity Constructions of Somali Refugees in Cairo,” The American University in Cairo Forced Migration and Refugee Studies, Working Paper No. 2. July 2003.; Grabska, “Living on the Margins.”; Grabska, “Marginalization in Urban Spaces of the Global South.”; Dryden-Peterson, “I Find Myself as Someone Who is in the Forest.”; Campbell, “Urban Refugees in Nairobi.”; Eveliina Lyytinen, “A Tale of Three Cities: Internal Displacement, Urbanization and Humanitarian Action in Abidjan, Khartoum and Mogadishu,” UNHCR Research Paper No. 173, March 2009.; Sommers, “On the Margins, in the Mainstream.”; Pavanello et al., “Hidden and Exposed.”; Krause-Vilmar, “The Living ain’t Easy.”

<sup>71</sup> Black, “Putting Refugees in Camps.”; Harrell-Bond, *Imposing Aid.*; Macchiavello, “Forced Migrants as an Under-Utilized Asset.”; Pavanello et al., “Hidden and Exposed.”

<sup>72</sup> Kibreab, “Eritrean and Ethiopian Urban Refugees in Khartoum.”; Verdirame and Harrell-Bond, *Purity and Exile.*; Jacobsen, “Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Urban Areas”; Campbell, “Urban Refugees in Nairobi.”; Hovil, “Self-Settled Refugees in Uganda”; Kaiser, “Sudanese Refugees in Uganda and Kenya.”; Krause-Vilmar, “The Living ain’t Easy.”

victims of xenophobia.<sup>73</sup> Due to the lack of protection that refugees in urban areas enjoy, refugees often make themselves invisible, which makes providing assistance even more difficult.<sup>74</sup> With the numbers of urban refugees increasing regardless of what national laws are in place, the literature is becoming more assertive that policies must reflect this changing dynamic and support the settlement of refugees in urban areas.<sup>75</sup> If policy does not support refugees in urban areas and refugees continue to lack access to public services such as health and education, refugees will be unable to reach their full potential while in exile.

### **Refugee Livelihoods**

Due to the limited protection and assistance to refugees in urban areas, refugees' livelihoods are resourceful yet often unsustainable (Bernstein 2005; Jacobsen 2006; Kibreab 1996; Hovil 2007; UNHCR 2009; Tibaijuka 2010; Krause-Vilmar 2011). As discussed earlier, the literature explains that protection in urban areas is limited partly due to the lack of legal status for refugees, which makes it difficult to make claims to their rights. Refugees often become victims of abuse from society and police due to lack of legal status and negative attitudes towards refugees by the host community.<sup>76</sup> An example of problems associated with a lack of legal status for refugees and the effect on refugees' livelihoods can be seen in Cairo, Egypt. Cairo, Egypt has long been recognized as an urban center that hosts a large number of refugees. Cairo is home to many Sudanese refugees due to the two countries political and economic ties

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<sup>73</sup> Dryden-Peterson, "I Find Myself as Someone Who is in the Forest."; Grabska, "Marginalization in Urban Spaces of the Global South."; Lyytinen, "A Tale of Three Cities."; Pavanello et al., "Hidden and Exposed."

<sup>74</sup> Malkki, *Purity and Exile.*; Kibreab, "Eritrean and Ethiopian Urban Refugees in Khartoum."; Al-Sharmani, "Livelihood and Identity Constructions of Somali Refugees in Cairo."; Grabska, *Living on the Margins.*"; Bernstein, "A Drop in the Ocean."; Dryden-Peterson, "I Find Myself as Someone Who is in the Forest."; Harrell-Bond and Voutira, "In Search of 'Invisible' Actors."; Pavanello et al., "Hidden and Exposed."

<sup>75</sup> Tibaijuka, "Adapting to Urban Displacement."; Guterres, "Protection Challenges."

<sup>76</sup> Dryden-Peterson, "I Find Myself as Someone Who is in the Forest."; Bernstein, "A Drop in the Ocean."; Hovil, "Self-Settled Refugees in Uganda"; Kaiser, "Sudanese Refugees in Uganda and Kenya."

dating back to the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>77</sup> The Egyptian government's unfavorable policies towards refugees in Cairo make legal integration extremely difficult. Grabska (2005) explains that a very small proportion of Sudanese refugees in Cairo have legal status, however the majority continue to live in Cairo, which increases their vulnerability. Without access to basic services and inadequate protection, urban refugees face difficulties in employing sustainable livelihood strategies.

A key to pursuing sustainable livelihoods is social capital, or the social connections that refugees have. Access to community-based organizations and residing in urban areas can increase the amount of social capital available to refugees.<sup>78</sup> Krause-Vilmar (2011) examines the livelihood strategies of refugees in Kampala, and explains that refugees' ability to access the market is limited and many refugees must find employment through the informal sector. Other barriers to accessing more stable livelihood opportunities include Ugandan law on the right of refugees to work, which causes uncertainty amongst employers and refugees alike. Research shows that refugees in Kampala cite exploitation and discrimination when attempting to access employment opportunities.<sup>79</sup> In order to be successful while living in exile, policies must support refugees that live in urban areas, including their right to seek employment and access health and education services.

When discussing the challenges faced by refugees, it is important to emphasize the difficult experiences of refugees before conflict forced them to leave their homes and seek refuge in another country. Much of the literature I examined lacks recognition of the personal

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<sup>77</sup> Grabska, *Living on the Margins.*; Fabos, *'Brothers' or Others?*

<sup>78</sup> Verdirame and Harrell-Bond, *Rights in Exile.*; Jacobsen, "Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Urban Areas"; Dryden-Peterson, "I Find Myself as Someone Who is in the Forest."; Pavanello et al., "Hidden and Exposed."; Krause-Vilmar, "The Living ain't Easy."

<sup>79</sup> Bernstein, "A Drop in the Ocean."; Jacobsen, "Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Urban Areas"; Krause-Vilmar, "The Living ain't Easy."

experiences of refugees and the psychological challenges that they faced once in their country of refuge. Refugees are commonly suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and other health concerns that service providers can address. Agier (2008) discusses the psychological challenges faced by refugees, emphasizing the loss of identity and meaning that they experience due to conflict forcing them from their homes. The lack of formal recognition by host governments and agencies such as the UNHCR exacerbates these feelings of a lack of definition, vulnerability and insecurity that refugees experience.

### **Ugandan Literature on Refugees**

Uganda has come to host an increasing amount of refugees, particularly in the country's capital, Kampala.<sup>80</sup> In 2006, Uganda passed the Refugees Act, which officially allows refugees to settle in Kampala and other urban areas. However, if they are living in urban areas, they must forgo humanitarian assistance and therefore be able to provide for themselves. While some self-settled urban refugees are able to access education and employment opportunities, many often end up living in slums with the Ugandan urban poor.<sup>81</sup> The UNHCR takes on a small 'urban caseload' and assists urban refugees based on security threats or medical emergencies.<sup>82</sup> However, the majority of urban refugees continue to go without adequate assistance and protection.

The literature asserts that Ugandan refugee law remains inconsistent with international law in that it restricts the provision of assistance to those that reside in settlements.<sup>83</sup> Before

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<sup>80</sup> Bernstein, "A Drop in the Ocean."; Dryden-Peterson, "I Find Myself as Someone Who is in the Forest."; Hovil, "Self-Settled Refugees in Uganda"; Kaiser, "Sudanese Refugees in Uganda and Kenya."; Krause-Vilmar, "The Living ain't Easy."

<sup>81</sup> Kaiser, "Sudanese Refugees in Uganda and Kenya."; Krause-Vilmar, "The Living ain't Easy."

<sup>82</sup> Bernstein, "A Drop in the Ocean."; Dryden-Peterson, "I Find Myself as Someone Who is in the Forest."

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

ratifying the 1951 Convention in 1976, Uganda enacted Control of Alien Refugees Act (CARA) in 1960, which required all refugees to live in settlements.<sup>84</sup> CARA has largely influenced Uganda's policies towards refugee assistance and protection. The Act was a response to a large migration of refugees from Sudan, Rwanda and Congo in the late 1950s and early 1960s, which Uganda viewed as a threat to stability and development.<sup>85</sup> The Act did prohibit *refoulement* and prevented deportation; however, it sought to control refugees and perceived refugees as burdens on society.<sup>86</sup> As this review has shown, Uganda's policies towards refugees represent the majority of host government's and community's attitudes.

The government's new policy does allow freedom of movement to refugees and continues to provide land for cultivation to refugees that reside in settlements. However, the lack of assistance provided to refugees living in urban areas has caused difficulties in terms of service provision by the UNHCR and other agencies that are attempting to better accommodate the increasing number of refugees that reside in urban areas.<sup>87</sup> Because settlements have been the primary means through which refugees received assistance in the past, there is a lack of proper infrastructure for providing assistance in urban areas.<sup>88</sup> A national law that recognizes the needs and rights of refugees in urban areas and works to develop infrastructure for providing assistance would better support agencies and would allow for more efficiency within the system. The inability of refugees to access services exacerbates the challenges they face in urban areas.

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<sup>84</sup> Bernstein, "A Drop in the Ocean."; Dryden-Peterson, "I Find Myself as Someone Who is in the Forest."; Hovil, "Self-Settled Refugees in Uganda"; Kaiser, "Sudanese Refugees in Uganda and Kenya."; Krause-Vilmar, "The Living ain't Easy."; UNHCR, "Legal Protection."

<sup>85</sup> Zachary Lomo, Angela Naggaga and Lucy Hovil, "The Phenomenon of Forced Migration in Uganda: An Overview of Policy and Practice in an Historical Context," *Refugee Law Project Working Paper* No. 1, June 2001

<sup>86</sup> Verdirame and Harrell-Bond, *Rights in Exile*.

<sup>87</sup> Krause-Vilmar, "The Living ain't Easy."

<sup>88</sup> Tibaijuka, "Adapting to Urban Displacement."

## **Further Research Needed**

Although the evidence that supports urban refugees is growing, there is much more to learn about the experiences and needs of this vulnerable population.<sup>89</sup> While service providers such as the UNHCR have begun to recognize that refugees in urban areas need more support, host governments continue to neglect the realities of refugees that are located outside of camps and settlements. Durable solutions such as integration could lead to positive changes for refugees, however solutions such as this much move past discussions within refugee literature and on to policy makers. In order to see change in policy that affects refugees, it is necessary to have adequate examination of the challenges that refugees face in access services. Refugee literature agrees that there is a dearth of evidence as to how refugees in urban areas sustain their livelihoods. Recognizing that refugees are often rendered ‘speechless’ by the discussions which analyze their realities, my research will bring the voices of refugees living in Kampala to the forefront.<sup>90</sup> From their personal experiences host governments and agencies can more effectively provide assistance to these hidden populations.

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<sup>89</sup> Hovil, “Self-Settled Refugees in Uganda.”

<sup>90</sup> Malkki, “Speechless Emissaries.”

## **CHAPTER III DATA FINDINGS**

### **Introduction**

Data for this paper came from primary sources. Data was collected from June 2011 to August 2011, with the assistance of members of the Darfurian Refugee Association in Uganda (DRAU). In order to illuminate the issues exposed by my conversations with refugees, I have organized data findings into three main sections. The first section covers issues relating to refugee rights, including the process of Refugee Status Determination (RSD), the security situation of the respondents before they left Sudan and their current security situation in Kampala, as well as instances of discrimination experienced by the refugees in Kampala. The following section looks at issues relating to the livelihoods of refugees, which includes education, accommodation, emotional and psychological challenges of refugees in Kampala, and their livelihood strategies in light of an absence of any humanitarian assistance in Kampala. The final section concludes with issues of durable solutions that the refugees themselves discussed; this includes increasing assistance for refugees in Kampala and building the capacity of DRAU, refugees' access to services in Kampala, and their future hopes.

### **1. Refugee Rights**

#### **1.1 Refugee Status Determination**

The Refugee Status Determination (RSD) process is solely run by the Government of Uganda's (GoU's) Office of the Prime Minister (OPM). The first and only entry point for refugees that wish to seek asylum in Uganda is the Old Kampala Police Station in Kampala. Upon arriving at the Old Kampala Police Station, it was clear that the facility had limitations in regards to its capacity to process the overwhelming amount of refugees that arrive in Kampala

seeking asylum. This lack of capacity creates challenges for Darfurian refugees going through the RSD process in Kampala, with protection and security being the main issues for the refugees that are not able to process their applications in a timely manner. The majority of the refugees that I interviewed had begun the process of seeking asylum. However, of the refugees that I spoke to that had begun the process of seeking asylum, many had not yet received refugee status.<sup>91</sup> For some of the newly arrived refugees, they did not yet have the opportunity to apply or did not know where to begin the process.<sup>92</sup> A few refugees that I spoke to who had left Sudan due to their work as human rights activists did not want to apply because their passports would be taken away.<sup>93</sup> At the Old Kampala Police Station I had the opportunity to speak with the Director of the Criminal and Investigation Department about the RSD process.

All new arrivals are supposed to register at the Old Kampala Police Station. After the refugees fill out forms at the police station, the officers send them to the OPM. At the OPM, the refugees receive asylum seeker papers, which have their name, photo, country of origin, and a short note permitting them to be in Kampala. These papers are valid for three months, however at the end of three months if they haven't completed the RSD process, the OPM will renew their papers. Once refugees receive their asylum seeker papers, refugees are sent back to the police station to schedule their RSD interview. After the police station conducts the interview, the notes are sent back to the OPM. After the OPM makes its decision, the names will be posed on the

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<sup>91</sup> Survey 4, Male, 25, 6/9/11; Survey 5, Male, 25, 6/9/11; Survey 9, Male, 17, 6/9/11; Survey 11, Male, 17, 6/11/11; Survey 12, Male, 22, 6/11/11; Survey 13, Male, 26, 6/11/11; Survey 14, Male, 25, 6/14/11; Survey 16, Male, 25, 6/14/11; Survey 18, Male, 25, 6/14/11; Survey 19, Male, 22, 6/14/11; Survey 20, Male, 28, 6/14/11; Survey 21, Male, 21, 6/14/11; Survey 26, Male, 27, 6/15/11; Survey 27, Male, 21, 6/15/11; Survey 28, Male, 30, 6/15/11; Survey 29, Male, 21, 6/15/11; Survey 30, Male, 28, 6/15/11; Survey 34, Male, 23, 6/16/11; Survey 35, Male, 26, 6/16/11; Survey 36, Female, 28, 6/18/11; Survey 37, Female, 26, 6/18/11; Survey 38, Female, 26, 6/18/11; Survey 39, Male, 20, 6/18/11; Survey 41, Male, 26, 6/18/11; Survey 43, Male, 20, 6/22/11; Survey 46, Male, 26, 6/22/11; Survey 47, Male, 24, 6/22/11; Survey 48, Male, 32, 6/24/11; Survey 49, Male, 19, 6/24/11; Survey 50, Male, 23, 6/24/11; Survey 51, Male, 21, 6/24/11

<sup>92</sup> Survey 15, Male, 21, 6/11/11; Survey 23, Male, 20, 6/14/11; Survey 24, Male, 23, 6/14/11; Survey 32, Male, 21, 6/15/11; Survey 52, Male, 26, 6/24/11

<sup>93</sup> Interview 4, Female, 32, 7/28/11; Interview 14, Male, 30, 8/7/11

outside of the building, notifying the refugee whether they have been accepted or denied. If the refugee is denied, they have the right to appeal the decision. The Director of the Criminal and Investigation Department explained that the Old Kampala Police Station as a facility to register refugees did present some challenges. There are only three police officers that work out of Old Kampala Police Station, and they only schedule appointments for Monday through Thursday. With an understaffed office, refugees are often forced to return multiple times until they are able to obtain an appointment. Although UNHCR did provide the office with its computers and furniture, there are many more improvements that the Ugandan government and UNHCR could make. The office is also commonly without electricity, which makes it difficult to operate efficiently. Interpreters volunteer their time to interpret for the refugees during their interviews however are not there at all times which can present problems for refugees that come from countries throughout the Great Lakes region.<sup>94</sup> The Director of the Criminal and Investigation Department was able to provide basic information about the way the Ugandan government handles the RSD process. However, the refugees that I spoke to provided perspective of the challenges associated with completing the RSD process.

Some refugees cited problems of corruption within the RSD system. The RSD process rarely takes just three months for refugees to receive a decision. The majority of the refugees that I spoke to had been waiting from six months to one year. If refugees want the process to go faster, they would have to pay money to the people processing their applications. A refugee who hadn't applied for refugee status explains, "I haven't applied for asylum seeker yet because it costs 30,000 UDX."<sup>95</sup> One refugee who had worked at the OPM described the office as a "market." He explained that the OPM operating as a market creates the possibility that there will

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<sup>94</sup> Interview, Director of the Criminal and Investigation Department at Old Kampala Police Station, 7/29/11

<sup>95</sup> Survey 42, Male, 21, 6/22/11

be someone working there who discriminates against the refugees, charges them money when they shouldn't, and doesn't have the refugee's interests in mind. He explains,

For example, after you register at the Old Kampala Police Station, you are referred to the OPM, and when you go to the OPM, you have to get an appointment for them to interview you and at the desk, they start questioning you. They will ask, 'How much do you have? Do you have 10,000 UGX?' How much they charge refugees for an appointment depends on the person you are talking to. If you say that you don't have money, they give you an appointment to come back after a month. As a refugee going through status determination, when the decision is made it is posted on the wall outside the OPM. Even when you see that you were granted refugee status, you have to enter the office to receive your ID card. The people will again ask you, 'How much do you have?' If you don't have any money, they will say, 'You have to come back to check to see if your ID card is ready.' This can take months.<sup>96</sup>

Most refugees are not able to pay any money to help expedite the RSD process, and therefore must make multiple trips to the Old Kampala Police Station in order to receive an appointment and spend months going through the RSD process. One refugee explains, "I spent 47 days going to Old Kampala Police Station because I didn't have any money to pay them for the process to go faster."<sup>97</sup> Another young man explained that he had to return to the Old Kampala Police Station every day for one month.<sup>98</sup> Having to pay for transportation to Old Kampala Police Station for a long period of time is difficult for refugees who are just arriving to Kampala and in an unfamiliar place. DRAU is providing support for refugees by helping them through the RSD process, however as the population increases, it becomes more and more difficult to accommodate the community. Without asylum seeker papers or refugee status, the security of refugees is compromised.

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<sup>96</sup> Interview 13, Male, 30, 8/6/11

<sup>97</sup> Interview 13, Male, 30, 8/6/11

<sup>98</sup> Survey 50, Male, 23, 6/24/11

## 1.2 Security

It is important to first examine the reasons that Darfurians left Sudan, in order to understand more about the realities that they face living as refugees in Kampala. For the refugees that I spoke with, life in Sudan was characterized by insecurity, inability to continue their education or find employment and a lack of hope for a better future. 89 percent of the refugees that I interviewed were male, while 80 percent of those that I interviewed were aged 18 to 30.

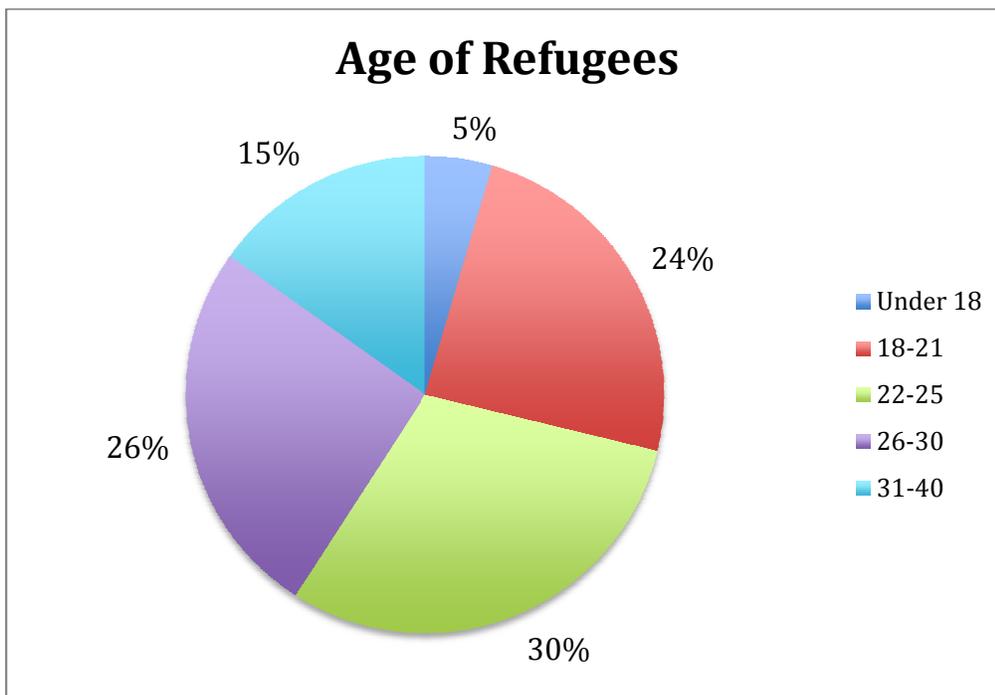


Figure 2: Age of Refugees

The majority of those that I interviewed were young men, who explained that the main reason that they left Darfur was because the Government of Sudan (GoS) is targeting young men in IDP camps and cities. A young male refugee explains, “When I was in the camp the janjawiid would attack the camps, especially at evening time. They were targeting youth. My two friends and I were advised by our families to return to Geneina so we wouldn’t be killed by janjawiid in the camps.”<sup>99</sup> Refugees that I interviewed cited being arrested or kidnapped from the IDP camps by

<sup>99</sup> Interview 8, Male, 25, 7/30/11

the National Intelligence and Security Service (NISS) in the middle of the night or being kidnapped by the janjawiid militia.<sup>100</sup> Those who did spend time in prison described instances of torture and ill treatment by the GoS.<sup>101</sup> Many left Darfur after being released, while some escaped prison and fled.<sup>102</sup> One refugee explains his experience of being arrested from Kalma IDP Camp,

The security forces arrested me and I was badly tortured. The others that I was arrested with died because of the torture. I was being interrogated for a long time where they were trying to get information about rebel leaders and about what Darfur community leaders were doing. I was in prison for two months. My family didn't know that I had been arrested because they kidnapped me in the middle of the night, blindfolded me and took me to an unknown place. This is happening a lot to people my age. After they made sure I was innocent and that I didn't have any information to give them, they released me. After I left prison I didn't go back to my family in the camp, I escaped Darfur. I went to South Sudan and let them know I was OK.<sup>103</sup>

This is not an isolated case, and many young men that have arrived in Kampala speak of their escape due to fears for their life and their inability to continue their education or secure work.<sup>104</sup>

Refugees described the challenges associated with expressing their opinions and protesting about what was occurring in Darfur when the conflict escalated in 2003. After holding a demonstration at his university, one refugee explained the response by the GoS, "Many students were arrested by the government, including myself. We were taken to prison around Nyala for two months. During the detention, we were beaten and tortured, including electric

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<sup>100</sup> Survey 18, Male, 25, 6/14/11; Survey 42, Male, 21, 6/22/11; Survey 47, Male, 24, 6/22/11; Interview 1, Male, 35, 6/24/11; Interview 12, Male, 20, 7/31/11; Interview 13, Male, 30, 8/6/11

<sup>101</sup> Survey 13, Male, 26, 6/11/11; Survey 33, Male, 32, 6/16/11; Survey 35, Male, 26, 6/16/11; Survey 40, Male, 23, 6/18/11; Survey 42, Male, 21, 6/22/11; Survey 46, Male, 26, 6/22/11; Interview 8, Male, 25, 7/30/11; Interview 9, Male, 25, 7/30/11; Interview 13, Male, 30, 8/6/11; Interview 14, Male, 30, 8/7/11

<sup>102</sup> Survey 13, Male, 26, 6/11/11; Survey 40, Male, 23, 6/18/11; Survey 42, Male, 21, 6/22/11; Survey 46, Male, 26, 6/22/11

<sup>103</sup> Survey 42, Male, 21, 6/22/11

<sup>104</sup> Survey 12, Male, 22, 6/11/11; Survey 17, Male, 18, 6/14/11; Survey 18, Male, 25, 6/14/11; Survey 20, Male, 28, 6/14/11; Survey 30, Male, 28, 6/15/11; Survey 31, Male, 27, 6/15/11; Survey 34, Male, 23, 6/16/11; Survey 35, Male, 26, 6/16/11; Survey 39, Male, 20, 6/18/11; Survey 49, Male, 19, 6/24/11; Survey 50, Male, 23, 6/24/11; Survey 51, Male, 21, 6/24/11; Interview 8, Male, 25, 7/30/11; Interview 9, Male, 25, 7/30/11; Interview 10, Male, 24, 7/31/11

shock, hanging people, and they also put broken glass and spread animal feces all over the rooms where they were interrogating us.”<sup>105</sup> The GoS then denied those Darfurians who were arrested to continue their education at the university. This was followed by more demonstrations, and subsequent arrests as well as torture and ill treatment of Darfurians, simply because they are speaking out against the killing of their family members and members of their communities and the destruction of their villages. Another refugee explains his inability to continue his education, “Because they closed down the university in Zalingei and universities all over Western Darfur, I tried to find some work.”<sup>106</sup> The GoS is openly violating Darfurians right to freedom of expression and suppressing their right to education as punishment for demonstrating their dissent against the government’s actions.

The majority of the young men that left Darfur left behind their families in the IDP camps. The conditions in the IDP camps consist of a lack of security, water, and a lack of health and education as well as other services.<sup>107</sup> Many refugees had been separated from their families when their villages were attacked.<sup>108</sup> While living in Kampala, many refugees do not have contact with their families.<sup>109</sup> Some refugees did not know if their families were safe or where they were located, and many refugees were not able to notify their families that they had made it to Kampala and were currently living there.<sup>110</sup> One refugee explains,

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<sup>105</sup> Interview 13, Male, 30, 8/6/11

<sup>106</sup> Interview 8, Male, 25, 7/30/11

<sup>107</sup> Survey 18, Male, 25, 6/14/11; Survey 27, Male, 17, 6/15/11; Survey 32, Male, 21, 6/15/11; Survey 36, Female, 28, 6/18/11; Survey 37, Female, 26, 6/18/11; Survey 38, Female, 26, 6/18/11; Survey 39, Male, 20, 6/18/11; Survey 47, Male, 24, 6/22/11; Survey 48, Male, 32, 6/24/11; Survey 49, Male, 19, 6/24/11; Interview 6, Female, 28, 7/29/11; Interview 7, Male, 32, 7/30/11; Interview 8, Male, 25, 7/30/11; Interview 11, Male, 22, 7/31/11

<sup>108</sup> Survey 16, Male, 25, 6/14/11; Survey 29, Male, 21, 6/15/11; Survey 43, Male, 20, 6/22/11; Survey 46, Male, 26, 6/22/11; Interview 10, Male, 24, 7/31/11; Interview 11, Male, 22, 7/31/11; Interview 12, Male, 20, 7/31/11

<sup>109</sup> Survey 12, Male, 22, 6/11/11; Survey 34, Male, 23, 6/16/11; Survey 43, Male, 20, 6/22/11; Survey 45, Male, 35, 6/22/11; Interview 8, Male, 25, 7/30/11; Interview 12, Male, 20, 7/31/11

<sup>110</sup> Survey 31, Male, 27, 6/15/11; Survey 46, Male, 26, 6/22/11

After I was separated from my family I was trying to find where my family was, along the way I was arrested. I was taken to El Geneina and was accused of being a rebel. I was in jail for one year. Sometimes they tied me up and made me carry heavy things. At the end, they made us work to make bricks. One day when I was making bricks, I escaped and went to Nyala. I was in Nyala for three years in a camp. Nyala also wasn't secure they were always questioning people about why you were there and where you came from.<sup>111</sup>

Another refugee spoke of his family living in Otash Camp and described a fear of spies that is present within the camp. He explained that the spies tell the NISS that certain men are from rebel groups and have them arrested.<sup>112</sup> A young male refugee fled to Central African Republic with his family when the government and the janjawid attacked his village. When he went to find work and returned, his family had been moved to a different area and he couldn't locate them. He has only heard from a friend where his family is now, but has not been able to let them know that he is in Kampala.<sup>113</sup> Refugees' ability to locate and communicate with their families has a significant impact on their ability to feel comfortable in Kampala. Refugees are constantly worrying about their families back home in Darfur, and daily life can be even more stressful for those that are not able to stay in contact with their loved ones.

Refugees who had been forced to Khartoum to either continue their education or find work widely cited the intimidation and discrimination by the NISS in Sudan as a reason for coming to Kampala. Refugees explained that the GoS is particularly targeting those who have higher education or are currently at university, accusing them of aiding the rebel groups. One refugee explained his experience attempting to pursue an education in Khartoum, "I left Otash IDP Camp because of insecurity and I went to Khartoum to study at university but I faced many challenges. The government forces are arresting people because they are black and Darfurian, so

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<sup>111</sup> Survey 46, Male, 26, 6/22/11

<sup>112</sup> Survey 12, Male, Age 22, 6/11/11

<sup>113</sup> Survey 43, Male, 20, 6/22/11

that is why I left. There was too much pressure from the government and I couldn't study."<sup>114</sup> Many others cited intimidation from the government and explained that even if they didn't directly experience it, many Darfurians in their communities felt uncomfortable and it impacted their ability to feel safe and secure.<sup>115</sup> Another refugee explained that he had tried to continue his education at Juba University in Khartoum, however after South Sudan voted for independence, the GoS closed down the campus. Juba University in South Sudan was unable to accommodate the large number of students at the campus, and therefore many students were left with uncertainty about when they would be able to continue their education.<sup>116</sup>

Individuals that were unable to continue their education or had finished university faced challenges seeking employment opportunities in Khartoum. A refugee explains his reasons for leaving Khartoum, "I was in Khartoum and the government arrested me. After they released me, I saw on TV that they said I had been 'captured' in war. But I wasn't involved in the war, so the government was lying about why they put me in prison. I also looked for a job for four years and I couldn't find one."<sup>117</sup> Another refugee explained his situation in Sudan, "I was being intimidated by the government and I was discriminated against in terms of getting a job after I finished university. I tried to get jobs but I failed. They have been looking for those who are well educated to be killed."<sup>118</sup> A refugee that I spoke with that faced many challenges while at university in Khartoum had to work in order to pay for his education. He discussed his experiences with security forces while working in the market selling goods, "They would take all my goods and then release me. They would harass Darfurians and those from the Nuba

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<sup>114</sup> Survey 12, Male, Age 22, 6/11/11

<sup>115</sup> Survey 48, Male, 32, 6/22/11; Interview 3, Male, 28, 7/28/11; Survey 39, Male, 20, 6/18/11

<sup>116</sup> Interview 11, Male, 22, 7/31/11

<sup>117</sup> Survey 33, Male, 32, 6/16/11

<sup>118</sup> Survey 24, Male, 23, 6/14/11

Mountains who are the ones that are selling things in the market. The police would ask us what tribe we are from. Poverty is based on race in Sudan; you can't find Arab street children."<sup>119</sup> He also explained that those working as house workers were discriminated against. Another respondent discussed the same issues with the police taking away his goods that he was selling at the market and as a result he was unable to continue working in Khartoum. He explained that security forces would take him into the police to question him because he is from Darfur.<sup>120</sup> While refugees made it clear that they did not feel secure in IDP camps or in Khartoum, others shared their experiences of insecurity living in cities in Darfur such as Nyala and El Geneina.

Security in cities such as Nyala, the capital of South Darfur and El Geneina, the capital of West Darfur, was also minimal and forced many refugees to leave Darfur. One refugee explained his experience living in El Geneina, "Since it was up to me to look after my family when some of my family members died, I went to El Geneina to work as a tailor. In Geneina we were hiding because the security agents are always looking for new faces, for those who come from outside. I was scared that I was going to be arrested, so I decided to escape to Wau in Southern Sudan."<sup>121</sup> Others that lived in cities in Darfur such as Nyala before coming to Kampala, spoke of changes to the city such as overcrowding, a decrease in the overall health of city inhabitants including an increased prevalence of sexually transmitted diseases, young women having pregnancies out of marriage more frequently, and a change in community and family relationships.<sup>122</sup>

Many refugees spent time in South Sudan before leaving the country for Kampala. Some refugees who spent time in South Sudan described an increase in insecurity due to the GoS looking for Darfurians, with these conditions worsening leading up to the vote for succession in

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<sup>119</sup> Interview 14, Male, 30, 8/7/11

<sup>120</sup> Interview 7, Male, 32, 7/30/11

<sup>121</sup> Survey 45, Male, 35, 6/22/11

<sup>122</sup> Interview 6, Female, 28, 7/29/11

South Sudan.<sup>123</sup> One refugee explains, “In Juba, I found that there was propaganda regarding the separation of South Sudan because they were getting ready for independence. The Government of South Sudan was denying Darfurians to work on the street because they wanted to clean the country.”<sup>124</sup> Refugees also cited discrimination by Southern Sudanese.<sup>125</sup> One refugee explains, “I was trying to do English courses in South Sudan, but the discrimination was too great so I decided to come to Kampala. There were many Darfurians there, and many Darfurians in South Sudan felt that Southerners were discriminating against them. People were very open about the discrimination. The government was a part of the discrimination as well.”<sup>126</sup> He continued to explain that someone threatened him by telling him that South Sudanese were going to start mistreating Darfurians after the country became independent and that he should leave. He explained that this was just weeks before the separation.<sup>127</sup> Without feeling secure in South Sudan many Darfurians, including those who had been there for an extended period of time since the conflict broke out in 2003, began to leave the country and traveled to Uganda, which is the most accessible country to seek asylum.

The stories that refugees shared with me describing the time from when the janjawiid and Sudanese Armed Forces attacked their villages to their arrival in Kampala were extremely lengthy and indicated traumatic experiences. Many made a length of the journey on foot, survived attacks by the janjawiid, and worked along the way in order to have money for transportation by bus. Another source of transportation used by Darfurians were lorries being used by the World Food Programme and other non-governmental organizations to deliver food

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<sup>123</sup> Survey 29, Male, 21, 6/15/11; Survey 45, Male, 35, 6/22/11; Survey 46, Male, 26, 6/22/11; Interview 8, Male, 25, 7/30/11; Interview 10, Male, 24, 7/31/11; Interview 11, Male, 22, 7/31/11

<sup>124</sup> Interview 8, Male, 25, 7/30/11

<sup>125</sup> Interview 8, Male, 25, 7/30/11; Interview 11, Male, 22, 7/31/11; Interview 12, Male, 20, 7/31/11

<sup>126</sup> Interview 11, Male, 22, 7/31/11

<sup>127</sup> Interview 11, Male, 22, 7/31/11

and aid to the camps.<sup>128</sup> One refugee explained, “The situation in the camp was still insecure because the janjawiid were still attacking and killing people. NGOs helped young men to get back to Geneina with a lorry because they were being targeted.”<sup>129</sup> Intimidation from the GoS and lack of education overwhelmingly contribute to the flight of refugees from the region, in particular young Darfurian men. The implications of this young male demographic being chased out of the country is yet to be fully understood, however in consideration of future development and sustainable peace in Darfur, it is absolutely vital that the significance of this population’s flight be acknowledged and addressed. The number of refugees, particularly young men, is increasing by the week.<sup>130</sup> A refugee states, “The number is increasing because of insecurity in Darfur. All the educated young men are targeted by the government security. When we form student unions or form any opinion against the government you will be arrested by the security forces.”<sup>131</sup>

While young men are the most able to make this journey, women and children are beginning to arrive in Kampala as well. A woman that I interviewed that was living in Kampala with her husband and five children spoke of the conditions they experienced living in an area on the outskirts of Khartoum,

There were many challenges, especially for black people. The government is always harassing us. We lived in an area called Soba, on the outside of Khartoum. One of the challenges is to get accommodation in Khartoum. My family has land that they have had since 1985 in Khartoum but the government is not interested in having us there. Most of the people living in that area are from Darfur, the Nuba Mountains and South Sudan. The government wants people from the North to come and settle there. Although people are living there the government asked everyone to leave Soba, but all the citizens refused to move. After the government would come and destroy the homes, everyone would rebuild them. Many children died because of the poor construction of the toilets and because the

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<sup>128</sup> Survey 36, Female, 28, 6/18/11; Survey 37, Female, 26, 6/18/11; Survey 38, Female, 26, 6/18/11; Survey 40, Male, 23, 6/18/11

<sup>129</sup> Interview 8, Male, 25, 7/30/11

<sup>130</sup> Survey 11, Male, 17, 6/11/11; Survey 22, Male, 25, 6/14/11; Survey 52, Male, 26, 6/24/11

<sup>131</sup> Survey 41, Male, 26, 6/18/11

houses were made out of tents, which would catch on fire. The government continues to do this every month.<sup>132</sup>

She also spoke of challenges in regards to education for her children. Another female refugee who spent time in Khartoum discussed the problems that Darfurians face living in marginalized areas, “Most of my family is in Khartoum, and the situation is very bad. Even if you live in Khartoum, because you come from Darfur, you still have to live in the marginalized areas. Living far from town, you face problems with transport and accessing services such as water, education and health.”<sup>133</sup>

Darfurians are leaving Sudan because the GoS is not protecting their rights to security, to freedom of expression, to a standard of living adequate for health and well being, to education, and rights to freely participate in the cultural lives of their communities. Darfurians are seeking refuge in Uganda hoping to find protection, the ability to pursue their education, and the opportunity to develop sustainable livelihoods, which will enable them to support themselves, their families and their war-torn communities in Darfur. However, what they find in Uganda is a much different reality. Refugees’ rights are curtailed by the GoU’s policies towards refugees living in urban areas, which are also expressed by the police and host community’s discriminatory attitudes towards refugees living in Kampala. Survival in Kampala is exacerbated by this denial of rights and widespread discrimination.

Some refugees cited issues of getting attacked and their things stolen when they were out at night in Kampala. However, the majority of security issues which refugees described related to their fears of the NISS in Kampala. One refugee that I spoke with had experiences with authorities from the Sudanese Embassy in Kampala trying to question him and following him to

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<sup>132</sup> Interview 5, Female, 33, 7/29/11

<sup>133</sup> Interview 4, Female, 32, 7/28/11

his home. Darfurian refugees also participated in an International Criminal Court Conference on the human rights abuses taking place in Darfur last year in Kampala. One Darfurian human rights activist explained that three men suspected to belong to the Sudanese Embassy entered the conference without the required identification. He explains,

No one knew how the men could have entered without ID's, but they took many pictures. The police confiscated the camera but they eventually gave it back. I don't know why they did that. The men could have paid the police money for the camera though. That is a difficult part of working here as a human rights activist. There are opportunities to raise awareness about the situation, but you cannot go to a restaurant to meet and feel secure.<sup>134</sup>

It is incidents such as this that make refugees feel insecure about their protection in Kampala.

Another refugee spoke of security personnel from Sudan that are in Kampala and search for Darfurian refugees. He explained that he did not feel safe moving around at night.<sup>135</sup> Aside from the security issues having to do with the Sudanese government in Kampala, refugees do widely recognize that Kampala is more secure than Darfur.

### 1.3 Discrimination

Refugees most commonly cited issues of discrimination related to problems as a result of the language barrier as well as the host community increasing prices at the market, for transportation and for accommodation in some cases.<sup>136</sup> Some refugees explained that once the host community realized that they were Sudanese they would increase the prices. They explained that Ugandans increased the price because they perceive Sudanese as having a lot of money.<sup>137</sup>

One refugee described getting into arguments with the host community because they would pay

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<sup>134</sup> Interview 1, Male, 35, 6/24/11

<sup>135</sup> Survey 8, Male, 23, 6/9/11

<sup>136</sup> Survey 13, Male, 26, 6/11/11; Survey 14, Male, 25, 6/14/11; Survey 15, Male, 21, 6/14/11; Survey 27, Male, 21, 6/15/11; Survey 40, Male, 23, 6/18/11; Survey 46, Male, 26, 6/22/11; Interview 3, Male, 28, 7/28/11; Interview 8, Male, 25, 7/30/11; Interview 11, Male, 22, 7/30/11; Interview 13, Male, 30, 8/6/11

<sup>137</sup> Survey 20, Male, 28, 6/14/11; Interview 4, Female, 32, 7/28/11

for food or transportation and not get their change back.<sup>138</sup> If refugees try to go to the police regarding discrimination, refugees explained that the police would side with the host community. Discrimination by the police would often end in refugees being forced to pay money in order to have the issue resolved without going to jail, which also caused problems for refugees with very little resources. Many refugees also cited discrimination by Ugandans by being called Somalis and a terrorist.<sup>139</sup> Another refugee explained a conflict that occurred with his landlord. “My landlord cheated me once. I paid him the rent and asked him to bring back a receipt that day. He just disappeared for two weeks. When he returned he denied that I paid him. After arguing with him for a while I had to pay him again. If I went to the police, they would side with the landlord.”<sup>140</sup> This has obvious negative affects on the refugees’ comfort in Uganda and the extra expense of having to pay bribes can prevent refugees from having money to pay for food or transportation.

One refugee explained an incident that had just recently occurred involving his friends and Ugandans:

Some of my friends went to buy some of the local food from a vendor on the street. He had 20,000 UGX. The vendor took the money from him and said, ‘Let me get change, I’ll be right back’ and he just ran away from his cart. The next day my friends went back to buy more from someone else next to the guy who had stolen his money and again my friend had 20,000 UGX. Again the man said that he didn’t have change. My friend told the vendor that someone else stole his money yesterday so he was not going to let him go get change, and they began fighting. When you get in argument with a Ugandan, others will come and defend them. They beat up my friend. They used a glass bottle to beat him and so he was badly injured. The other Darfurians from the house went to defend him and they were also beaten up and injured. We reported it to police, and the police went to the area and arrested the Sudanese people and not the Ugandans. There were witnesses and they were also defending the Ugandans and saying that it was the Sudanese who were causing the problems. The police fined them 200,000 UGX and they had to pay it or else

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<sup>138</sup> Survey 51, Male, 21, 6/24/11

<sup>139</sup> Focus Group, Kampala, 7/2/11; Focus Group, Kampala, 7/3/11; Focus Group, Kampala, 7/16/11

<sup>140</sup> Interview 13, Male, 30, 8/6/11

they would have had to go to jail. If you go to jail, you have to stay until you can pay. There are many cases such as this and we are fined a lot by the police.<sup>141</sup>

These types of incidents cause many problems for the refugees, who already feel uncomfortable among Ugandans. The amount of money that refugee's must spend paying the police when there are incidents such as this one can have a devastating affect on the savings that a group of refugees shares amongst each other. This type of incident only occurs because Ugandans are discriminating against Darfurians, and the police are condoning this discrimination. The discrimination that refugees experience is part of their ability to sustain their livelihoods.

## **2. Refugee Livelihoods**

In discussing the livelihoods of Darfurian refugees, it is necessary to make clear that there are two Darfurian refugee populations in Kampala. The first, which is the focus of this research, is the population of refugees that have come to Kampala in relation to the crisis in Darfur which has forced them from their homes, deprived them of their rights and compromised their security and wellbeing. The other population is those that have come to Kampala in relation to the political movements that are engaging in the conflict with the Sudanese government. The rebel groups that have come to Kampala as they take part in negotiations with the Sudanese government have a different financial base, which creates a stratification of the refugee population by wealth. The population that took part in this research is the refugees who are affected by this crisis, and have no outside financial support other than the small number of refugees who have received minimal assistance from their families in Darfur or from traders working in South Sudan. This issue will be further discussed in the following section of this paper.

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<sup>141</sup> Interview 10, Male, 24, 7/31/11

## 2.1 Education

The education level of the refugees that I spoke to varied.

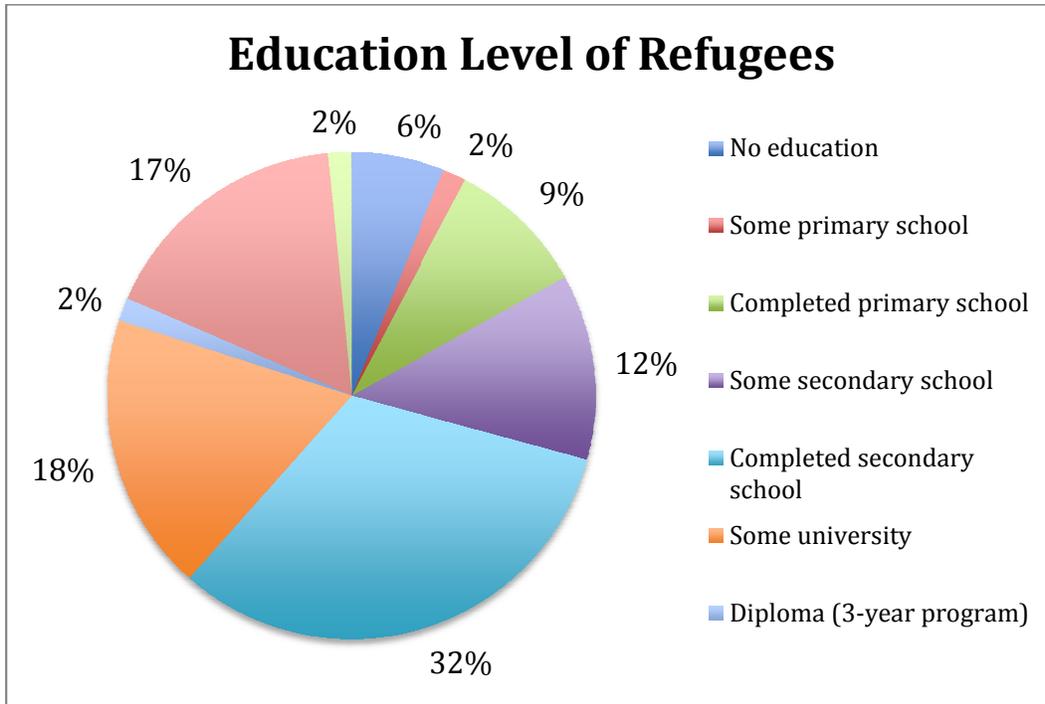


Figure 3: Education Level of Refugees

Because the language of instruction is Arabic in Sudan, refugees were not able to enroll in systemic education upon arriving in Kampala. The majority of the refugees that I spoke to were taking English classes in Kampala.<sup>142</sup> Those who were not taking English classes cited the inability to pay as the reason why they were not enrolled.<sup>143</sup> Two of the refugees that I spoke to were enrolled in Refugee Primary School, which they were attending for free.<sup>144</sup> However the majority of refugees were not receiving any assistance in regards to education. Some refugees

<sup>142</sup> Survey 13, Male, 26, 6/11/11; Survey 25, Male, 20, 6/14/11; Survey 28, Male, 30, 6/15/11; Survey 29, Male, 21, 6/15/11; Survey 30, Male, 28, 6/15/11; Survey 32, Male, 21, 6/15/11; Survey 33, Male, 32, 6/16/11; Survey 41, Male, 26, 6/18/11; Survey 46, Male, 26, 6/22/11; Survey 47, Male 24, 6/22/11; Survey 48, Male, 32, 6/24/11; Survey 52, Male, 26, 6/24/11; Interview 2, Female, 25, 7/28/11; Interview 3, Male, 28, 7/28/11; Interview 6, Female, 28, 7/29/11; Interview 7, Male, 32, 7/30/11; Interview 8, Male, 25, 7/30/11; Interview 10, Male, 24, 7/31/11; Interview 11, Male, 22, 7/31/11

<sup>143</sup> Survey 11, Male, 17, 6/11/11; Survey 19, Male, 22, 6/14/11; Survey 23, Male, 20, 6/14/11; Survey 43, Male, 20, 6/22/11; Survey 45, Male, 35, 6/22/11; Survey 52, Male, 26, 6/24/11; Interview 13, Male, 30, 8/6/11

<sup>144</sup> Survey 39, Male, 20, 6/18/11; Survey 40, Male, 23, 6/18/11

cited assistance through scholarships would be helpful.<sup>145</sup> Refugees viewed education as the most important aspect of being able to improve their livelihoods and their futures. The refugees that were ready to enroll in higher education did not have the money to do so. However, a few refugees were enrolled in pre-university courses which are required in order to begin university in Kampala.<sup>146</sup> The refugees that discussed the importance of education described their desire to support themselves and to return to Darfur to help their families. One refugee explained, “I am student and I want education. I want to be educated so I can do other things in order to help my community.<sup>147</sup>” The importance of education for refugees must be considered when putting forth durable solutions. Aside from education, another main issue that refugees discussed was accommodation.

## 2.2 Accommodation

Young Darfurian men, which comprised the largest demographic of the refugees I interviewed, lived in dorm-style accommodation, which they described as hostels. Some refugees shared homes with three rooms, which did not have toilets or kitchens. In the dorm-style accommodation, refugees had between two to six refugees sharing a small room with bunk beds. Hostels had communal bathrooms and a communal cooking area. In regards to the challenges associated with accommodation, refugees explained that they need assistance paying for housing. Also, for those that lived with either five or six refugees to one room expressed that the conditions were not suitable particularly for refugees that are studying.<sup>148</sup> While the dorm-style housing posed challenges for refugees, it contributed to their ability to pay for accommodation

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<sup>145</sup> Survey 12, Male, 22, 6/11/11; Survey 23, Male, 20, 6/14/11; Survey 40, Male, 23, 6/18/11; Survey 52, Male, 26, 6/24/11

<sup>146</sup> Survey 49, Male, 19, 6/24/11; Survey 50, Male, 23, 6/24/11; Survey 51, Male, 21, 6/24/11

<sup>147</sup> Survey 26, Male, 27, 6/15/11

<sup>148</sup> Survey 43, Male, 20, 6/22/11

and share resources. Dorm-style housing posed challenges for families as well. A woman that I interviewed that is living in a hostel with her three children and husband when he is not working in South Sudan explains,

We have problems with the accommodation because this hostel is not for families; this is a student hostel. We chose it because of the price. If we want to get a place for a family, it costs \$500 for one month. This place has security as well. Otherwise, if you get a place that is cheaper it might not be as safe. We chose this place for security, not for comfort.<sup>149</sup>

Her other two children were attending boarding schools, which also created challenges for the children. Only two of the refugees that I spoke to had lived with Ugandans in the hostels. One young male explained that he wanted to live with a Ugandan in order to practice his English.<sup>150</sup>

The young woman that I spoke to explained that her first experience living with a Ugandan ended with her moving rooms multiple times due to discrimination by the roommate and the people responsible for housing. However, she did explain that she had made some Ugandan friends. She states, “When I was in another hostel, I was living with a Ugandan and she wanted me to leave so they moved me from the room. They moved me again and lied to me about why they were moving me. I knew what was going on though, so I just kept quiet and I came to another hostel. I have made Ugandan friends here.”<sup>151</sup> While living with Ugandans could help to integrate Darfurian refugees into the host community, most refugees do not have the opportunity or the desire to live with Ugandans. Darfurians feel supported by their community and are surviving based on the ability to live with and share with one another. While the majority of refugees that I spoke with were single young men, I did speak with a small number of women with children that had much different experiences trying to survive in Kampala.

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<sup>149</sup> Interview 5, Female, 33, 7/29/11

<sup>150</sup> Survey 33, Male, 32, 6/16/11

<sup>151</sup> Interview 2, Female, 25, 7/28/11

I spoke with three women that were living in Kampala with their children while their husbands were in South Sudan working. The three women shared a room with their children; one woman had three children and the other two women had four children. The three families were also staying with young Darfurian men as well, making the total people living in one house twenty-one. The house did have a kitchen, and at one point a Darfurian was also using the living room space in the house to teach refugees English. When asked about how they accessed accommodation upon arriving in Kampala the women explained is that when they arrived with their children, other young Darfurian men that were living in the house moved out in order to make room for the women and their children.<sup>152</sup> Along with the importance of taking care of one another within the community, these types of actions among members of the refugee community can be attributed to the cultural values of hospitality and generosity.

While I was interviewing this group of women, a thunderstorm began. A loud crack of thunder made one of the women jump out of her seat. After she realized it was only the storm, she began to joke with the other women about how she thought it was the janjawiid. While the others smiled with her and reassured her that it could not be them, this incident showed me how much trauma these women had experienced living in the IDP camps in Darfur. The psychological and emotional affects of the war in Darfur were evident among all of the refugees that I spoke to in Kampala.

### 2.3 Emotional and Psychological Challenges

Emotional and psychological challenges faced by refugees affect their ability to adjust to life in Kampala. Many refugees spoke of their inability to feel emotions and described feelings of

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<sup>152</sup> Survey 36, Female, 28, 6/18/11; Survey 37, Female, 26, 6/18/11; Survey 38, Female, 26, 6/18/11

decreasing self-worth and feeling less valuable than the host community.<sup>153</sup> Refugees also described feeling ignored by non-governmental organizations and feel as though others are forgetting about their suffering.<sup>154</sup> Nearly all of the refugees that I interviewed lost family members when the Sudanese Armed Forces and janjawiid militia attacked their villages, looted their property and burned their homes. Many showed signs of suffering from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Some of the refugees told stories of seeing their family members and neighbors killed and women and girls being raped. One refugee told the story of the day his village was attacked,

When my village was attacked, I was separated from my family. During the attack, very young girls were being raped; they hadn't even reached puberty. The eldest women were being slaughtered with knives. Many people, including children, were being burned as they set the village on fire. There was a lot of gas from the bombs that paralyzed you. The pregnant women were being gathered up and the janjawiid cut open their stomachs; if it was a boy they would kill it and if it was a girl they would abandon it. I was shot in the leg as they opened fire randomly on the village.<sup>155</sup>

This is just one of many traumatic experiences described by the refugees I spoke with. These horrific stories reveal incidents that cannot even be imagined, however are continuing to occur to Darfurians. Psychological and emotional challenges will continue to affect refugees until they have the ability to process the experiences that they went through and heal from their wounds. These experiences are particularly worrying for the young men that are now without their families in Kampala.

Many refugees had been shot when the janjawiid militia and Sudanese Armed Forces attacked their village.<sup>156</sup> One refugee explains, "I was shot in my arm and my leg. I haven't been

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<sup>153</sup> Interview 13, Male, 30, 8/6/11; Focus Group, Kampala, 7/2/11; Focus Group, Kampala, 7/16/11

<sup>154</sup> Focus Group, Kampala, 7/2/11; Focus Group, Kampala, 7/16/11

<sup>155</sup> Interview 10, Male, 24, 7/31/11

<sup>156</sup> Survey 16, Male, 25, 6/14/11; Survey 20, Male, 28, 6/14/11; Survey 21, Male, 21, 6/14/11; Survey 22, Male, 25, 6/14/11; Survey 23, Male, 20, 6/14/11; Survey 51, Male, 21, 6/24/11;

treated well, so I am still in pain. I cannot carry heavy things or do certain things.”<sup>157</sup> Some refugees that I spoke to were badly injured during these attacks.<sup>158</sup> One refugee I spoke with states, “When my village was attacked by the janjawiid and the Sudanese Armed Forces my head was cut with a knife.”<sup>159</sup> It was clear to me as I interviewed the refugees that psychological support is greatly needed within the community. A refugee explains, “We need counseling. We also need activities that can let us forget those things in Darfur.”<sup>160</sup> Refugees discussed psychological and emotional challenges in the focus group discussions, which helped to serve as a type of counseling for the refugees. Refugees were able to talk to one another and hear what others are going through. Without psychological support, refugees’ trauma only worsens.

It is important for those refugees who are suffering from PTSD to receive the treatment that they need when they arrive in Kampala. A refugee discusses the danger of living in Kampala without addressing his trauma, “Being a refugee increases the trauma that I experienced in Darfur. With facing more problems here in Kampala and not receiving any treatment, my mental state just gets worse. It seems like refugees will just end up going crazy.”<sup>161</sup> Psychological counseling must be considered as an important aspect of assistance to the refugee community.

One refugee explains,

Being a refugee, far from my country, you miss your homeland and you feel homesick. One of the biggest challenges is that someone has come and displaced you from the land of your grandfather and they kick you off the land and now they are living there. This can lead you to not focus on your education and your future. If we keep thinking about that situation, it becomes very hard. Sometimes you try to escape and forget, sometimes you try to have fun, but it is difficult.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Survey 14, Male, 25, 6/14/11

<sup>158</sup> Survey 49, Male, 19, 6/24/11

<sup>159</sup> Survey 39, Male, 20, 6/18/11

<sup>160</sup> Survey 19, Male, 22, 6/14/11

<sup>161</sup> Interview 13, Male, 30, 8/6/11

<sup>162</sup> Interview 7, Male, 32, 7/30/11

Refugees continue to deal with the reality that their families are suffering in Darfur, and with very little communication between them and their families it is difficult for them to feel comfortable and feel positive about their situation in Kampala.

The women that I interviewed explained that they experienced discrimination from the Darfurian refugee community as well as from their families as a result of their decision to leave Sudan. Two of the women that I interviewed were human rights activists working for Radio Dabanga in Khartoum. Radio Dabanga is a radio station that reports from inside Sudan as well as abroad on the human rights abuses taking place in Darfur. The GoS surrounded the office of the radio station and arrested employees. Those who were not at the office during the time of the GoS's raid were immediately at risk of arrest. The women were at risk, however they still received criticism for their decision to leave. One woman explains,

My family is worried about me because it is the first time that a woman has left the family so that has caused some problems. The Sudanese men here in Kampala are also harassing us and disrespecting us because in our culture women should not travel, especially young women that are not married. It is more common the government is forcing young men from the country, but now even young women have to leave.<sup>163</sup>

Another woman described that particularly for those who travel to Uganda, women face criticism and are sometimes rumored to have contracted HIV because of the high rates of the virus in Uganda.<sup>164</sup> Women who are in Kampala with their children while their husband's travel to South Sudan described challenges associated with taking care of their children on their own.<sup>165</sup> The lack of assistance that refugees were receiving in Kampala contributed to their feelings of invisibility.

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<sup>163</sup> Interview 6, Female, 28, 7/29/11

<sup>164</sup> Interview 4, Female, 32, 7/28/11

<sup>165</sup> Survey 36, Female, 28, 6/18/11; Survey 37, Female, 26, 6/18/11; Survey 38, Female, 26, 6/18/11; Interview 5, Female, 33, 7/29/11

## 2.4 Lack of Assistance

The majority of the refugees that I spoke to had not received any assistance in Kampala aside from the minimal assistance that the DRAU was able to provide. The assistance the DRAU was able to provide included helping refugees apply for asylum, assistance with finding accommodation, visiting community members when they are sick or have conflicts with the host community or police, and helping with religious and cultural events such as Ramadan. One refugee explains, “I got some assistance from the Association such as school materials and for Ramadan, the Association came together and organized community meals.”<sup>166</sup> In some cases, refugees were able to contact DRAU or members of the refugee community in Kampala before arriving, however many refugees that traveled to Kampala alone had to seek out members of the Darfurian community.

The few refugees that I spoke to that had received assistance upon arriving in Kampala were human rights activists whose cases were well known by human rights organizations in the region. The refugees that had received assistance were working for Radio Dabanga in Khartoum, Human Rights and Advocacy Network for Democracy (HAND) and other organizations. Following the GoS’s raid of the Radio Dabanga office in Khartoum, the activists lived in hiding in South Sudan for two months before arriving in Kampala. When they arrived in Kampala, the East and Horn of Africa Human Rights Defenders assisted them with accommodation and English courses for a three-month period.<sup>167</sup> While this assistance was helpful for the refugees, they continued to worry about what was going to happen once the three-month period ended. Most of the refugees were not receiving any assistance from organizations in Kampala.

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<sup>166</sup> Survey 9, Male, 17, 6/9/11

<sup>167</sup> Interview 2, Female, 25, 7/28/11; Interview 4, Female, 32, 7/28/11; Interview 6, Female, 28, 7/29/11; Interview 14, Male, 30, 8/7/11

Of the refugees that aren't receiving any assistance other than from DRAU, their main support comes from their community around them. This support can be attributed to the cultural values of hospitality and generosity present in Darfurian culture. The majority of the refugees share everything that they have in order to pay for accommodation, education and food and help each other when one person does not have the means to pay for food or accommodation.<sup>168</sup> As one refugee states, "We are like one person; you can't distinguish between us. We share everything."<sup>169</sup> While this helped many refugees to survive it also posed challenges for those who did have resources for themselves to pay for English classes or accommodation. For instance, one refugee had only arrived two weeks before speaking to me, and was worried about his ability to pay for things. He explains, "I am feeling scared because everyone around me is saying how difficult the situation is without money or work. We are helping each other, and many people are depending on me because I am a newcomer."<sup>170</sup> Newcomers arrive with a little money in their pocket, which they saved along the way and are understandably overwhelmed when they realize the situation that many refugees are in. As another refugee explains, "The general problem is that everyone is suffering and if you have something you have to share it. If you are planning to do something, you end up not doing it because you can't save any money. You come to do something and you realize that the situation is different and so you have to change your plan."<sup>171</sup> While the majority of refugees are surviving as a result of their community's willingness to share and help one another, it is not a sustainable means of survival for the refugees.

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<sup>168</sup> Survey 7, Male, Age 23, 6/9/11; Survey 10, Male, 32, 6/11/11; Survey 11, Male 17, 6/11/11; Survey 19, Male, 22, 6/14/11; Interview 12, Male, 20, 7/31/11

<sup>169</sup> Survey 16, Male, 26, 6/14/11

<sup>170</sup> Survey 32, Male, 21, 6/15/11

<sup>171</sup> Survey 43, Male, 20, 6/22/11

Some refugees were receiving assistance from their families back in Sudan.<sup>172</sup> A few refugees that I spoke to were receiving assistance from traders in South Sudan that travel to Kampala.<sup>173</sup> Six refugees were staying in a house that a member of the Southern People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) had paid for in advance while they were staying in Kampala. The member of SPLM told the refugee that he could stay there until the end of the six-month period that the house was paid for. He explains, "While I was in Juba I knew some officials that belong to SPLM, he had been in Kampala and he rented from this building and had paid for 6 months. When I was in Juba he gave my friend and I the key and said we could live here."<sup>174</sup> Again, refugees faced uncertainty in regards to securing accommodation when this period ended. Some refugees explained that they traveled to South Sudan in order to work and then returned to Kampala. In some cases, a refugee from the community would travel to South Sudan to work for the group and then return to share the resources among them. "We share the responsibility of cleaning and cooking, and we share money. If the situation gets very difficult then some go to Southern Sudan to work and make money and then return to Kampala."<sup>175</sup> Most refugees do not have the means to travel to South Sudan in order to work, and with South Sudan's independence, traveling there will be even more difficult. For now, working in South Sudan is the only way for many refugees to maintain their livelihoods in Kampala, however this is not a sustainable means of support for the refugee community. Refugees seek durable solutions to their situation in Kampala, through increased support from humanitarian agencies, opportunities to continue their education, and reuniting with their families in a peaceful Darfur.

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<sup>172</sup> Survey 2, Male, 18, 6/9/11; Survey 3, Male, 14, 6/9/11, Survey 5, Male, 25, 6/9/11; Survey 6, Male, 19, 6/9/11; Survey 7, Male, 23, 6/9/11

<sup>173</sup> Interview 10, Male, 24, 7/31/11

<sup>174</sup> Interview 7, Male 32, 7/30/11

<sup>175</sup> Survey 39, Male, 20, 6/18/11

### 3. Durable Solutions

#### 3.1 Increase Services

The explanation from many refugees that they were not receiving any assistance aside from their community members as discussed in the previous section confirms that there are not enough services available to refugees in Kampala. Many refugees explained that assistance from the DRAU would make it easier to access services and that they would like to see the capacity of the Association strengthened in order to better assist the community.<sup>176</sup> A refugee states, “I hope that organizations here in Kampala can assist the Darfurian Refugee Association in Uganda and our community in order to provide the services that we need.”<sup>177</sup> A member of DRAU that I spoke with explained that the Association had tried to form a relationship with the OPM and they did not receive a response. It was his understanding that the GoU and the OPM isn’t interested in having a relationship with or supporting refugee associations. He states, “The government doesn’t want Associations to be strong because they fear that Association’s will push for refugees’ rights.”<sup>178</sup> The inadequate amount of assistance that is available to refugees in Kampala is the predominant cause of refugees’ inability to meet their needs in regards to food, accommodation and education.

While I was in Kampala, I spoke with a Refugee Officer at Amnesty International’s (AI’s) Africa Regional Office. He discussed the challenges that organizations providing assistance to refugees face in Kampala because they are not receiving support from the GoU. The only organizations that are really providing assistance to the refugees in Kampala are InterAid,

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<sup>176</sup> Survey 1, Male, 22, 6/9/11; Survey 2, Male, 18, 6/9/11; Survey 3, Male, 25, 6/9/11; Survey 4, Male, 25, 6/9/11; Survey 5, Male, 25, 6/9/11; Survey 6, Male, 19, 6/9/11; Survey 7, Male, 23, 6/9/11; Survey 8, Male, 23, 6/9/11; Survey 9, Male, 17, 6/9/11; Survey 20, Male, 28, 6/14/11; Survey 22, Male, 25, 6/14/11; Survey 29, Male, 21, 6/15/11; Survey 44, Male, 34, 6/22/11; Survey 45, Male, 35, 6/22/11; Survey 50, Male, 23, 6/24/11

<sup>177</sup> Survey 5, Male, Age 25, 6/9/11

<sup>178</sup> DRAU Interview, Kampala, 8/5/11

the UNHCR's implementing partner in Kampala, and the Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS), which is overstretched for the amount of refugees that need assistance in Kampala. In his opinion, the GoU could be supportive of organizations, rather than discouraging them due to fears that the refugee population will increase. He described the situation as the government not wanting refugees to be comfortable.<sup>179</sup> Although the GoU has a policy to allow refugees to live in urban areas, the government's approach to urban refugees continues to deny them of their rights. The UNHCR's policy toward urban refugees has also improved in recent years, however it is clear that an increase in protection and assistance to urban refugees is needed.

The member of DRAU also explained that the UNHCR has no presence in Kampala, and after many attempts to contact the UNHCR, DRAU still has not been able to speak with anyone at the office. All of UNHCR's assistance is carried out through InterAid, its implementing partner in Kampala. This affects refugees' abilities to speak directly with people from UNHCR. The member of DRAU that I spoke to had also worked for many organizations in Kampala, and he expressed concerns with the operations of InterAid in regards to corruption and the language barrier. He confirmed what the Refugee Officer at AI explained, that the JRS does provide assistance to asylum-seekers, however the number of refugees that need assistance also strains the organization's capacity.<sup>180</sup> The DRAU seeks to provide assistance to refugees in terms of accommodation and education, however it is necessary that organizations provide support to DRAU in order for that to occur. Increasing refugees' access to services is another solution that refugees cited.

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<sup>179</sup> Interview, Refugee Officer at Amnesty International's Africa Regional Office, 7/22/11

<sup>180</sup> DRAU Interview, Kampala, 8/5/11

### 3.2 Access to Services

In regards to assistance needed, refugees spoke most of needing help with accommodation, education, and access to other services including health and income generating activities. The majority of refugees accessed accommodation and English courses. Refugees didn't cite problems in accessing English classes aside from having the funds available to pay for them. In regards to accommodation, some refugees explained that they experienced discrimination as far as the price getting increased and having to pay for many months in advance. Of the refugees that accessed health services, some spoke of discrimination because they were refugees. However, others explained that they didn't have problems accessing health services other than the problem of being able to pay for medicine and treatment. One refugee suggested that having separate services that they can access.<sup>181</sup> Refugees also suggested scholarships for education as a way to provide assistance.<sup>182</sup> Refugees' access to services must be greatly improved in order to ameliorate their ability to maintain sustainable livelihoods in Kampala. Without increased assistance, their ability to plan for the future and seek out education will not improve.

### 3.3 Future Hopes

When asked what their hopes for the future were, many refugees described hope for a peaceful Darfur.<sup>183</sup> Many refugees spoke of justice in Darfur and a new regime in Sudan.<sup>184</sup>

Refugees spoke of their hopes to continue their education and be able to contribute to the peace

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<sup>181</sup> Survey 14, Male, 25, 6/14/11

<sup>182</sup> Survey 6, Male, 19, 6/9/11; Survey 11, Male, 17, 6/11/11; Survey 12, Male, 22, 6/11/11; Survey 33, Male, 32, 6/16/11; Survey 40, Male, 23, 6/18/11; Survey 43, Male, 20, 6/22/11; Survey 52, Male, 26, 6/24/11

<sup>183</sup> Survey 8, Male, 23, 6/9/11; Survey 9, Male, 17, 6/9/11; Survey 10, Male, 32, 6/11/11; Survey 15, Male, 21, 6/14/11; Survey 16, Male, 25, 6/14/11; Survey 19, Male, 22, 6/14/11

<sup>184</sup> Survey 8, Male, 23, 6/9/11; Survey 9, Male, 17, 6/9/11; Survey 11, Male, 17, 6/11/11; Survey 33, Male, 32, 6/16/11; Male, 32, 6/16/11; Survey 34, Male, 23, 6/16/11

and development of their communities.<sup>185</sup> One refugee states, “I am hoping that we here can become well educated because it is important for someone who is from the place where there is a war to have education. It is important to enforce the culture of nonviolence.”<sup>186</sup> Some discussed hopes for resettlement and to continue their education abroad in Europe, the U.S. or Australia.<sup>187</sup> Refugees want to be united with their families back in Sudan and urge the international community to recognize their suffering in Kampala and Darfur. One refugee states his hopes for the future, “I want to be a doctor. I want to help my family in the village because they don’t have hospital or doctor. I hope that there will be development in Darfur and that there will be education in order to apply the education. I hope that the international community and NGOs can help with scholarships so we can go study in the West.”<sup>188</sup> Refugees explained that they were beginning to get frustrated with being interviewed about their experiences in Kampala, but not seeing any improvements in their livelihoods.<sup>189</sup> One refugee explains, “For us refugees, we have been disappointed by NGOs because we have been interviewed and nothing has happened.”<sup>190</sup> As discussed earlier when addressing the emotion and psychological challenges that refugees face, many feel that humanitarian agencies are ignoring their suffering. This feeling becomes compounded when researchers come to ask them about their situation.

For some refugees, it was difficult to discuss their future when they are unsure how they are going to find the means to survive in the present. The same refugee that expressed frustration with non-governmental organizations had a bleak outlook on his future. When I asked him what

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<sup>185</sup> Survey 2, Male, Age 18, 6/9/11; Survey 6, Male, Age 19, 6/9/11; Survey 48, Male, 32, 6/24/11; Interview 11, Male, 22, 7/31/11

<sup>186</sup> Survey 28, Male, 30, 6/15/11

<sup>187</sup> Survey 11, Male, 17, 6/11/11; Survey 12, Male, 22, 6/11/11, Survey 13, Male, 26, 6/11/11; Survey 24, Male, 23, 6/14/11, Survey 46, Male, 26, 6/22/11

<sup>188</sup> Survey 6, Male, Age 19, 6/9/11

<sup>189</sup> Survey 24, Male, 23, 6/14/11

<sup>190</sup> Survey 20, Male, 28, 6/14/11

his future hopes were, he stated, “Especially for me, I have lost hope for any future because I have to fight for survival. How can I think about the future?”<sup>191</sup> This is a reality that many Darfurian refugees face in Kampala, plagued by uncertainty about where they will find the money to pay for food, accommodation, and their education. However, it is important to emphasize the resilience that these refugees possess, and the overwhelming sense of ambition and faith amongst the population. These refugees made the long journey to Kampala with very little, some surviving incommunicado arrest and torture by the GoS, attacks by the Janjawid where other Darfurians were killed in front of them, and constant pressure and harassment preventing them from continuing their education or finding employment.

## **Conclusion**

The issues that refugees discussed in regards to their experiences living without security, opportunities for education or employment, and a lack of hope for the future forced them to leave Sudan. Refugees arrived in Kampala to face more challenges finding the means to pay for accommodation, education and daily expenses such as food and transportation. Going through the RSD process in Kampala poses challenges for those who seek asylum with the hope that the GoU will protect their rights. Although refugees recognize that Kampala is more secure than Sudan, what they experience is discrimination by the government officials who are registering them as asylum seekers, police officers, as well as the local population. Without any assistance from humanitarian organizations, refugees are left to rely on members of their communities through living together, sharing with one another, and in some cases sending members of their community to South Sudan to work. Refugees feel as though their presence is invisible and that

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<sup>191</sup> Survey 20, Male, 28, 6/14/11

their suffering goes unrecognized, which further compounds their psychological and emotional trauma suffered as a result of their experiences in Darfur. Refugees are seeking recognition and an increase in assistance by humanitarian agencies. It is necessary that community-based organizations such as DRAU receive more support, or that agencies such as the UNHCR and other humanitarian organizations offer more support and services to refugees in Kampala.

## **CHAPTER IV DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS**

In regards to the RSD process, it is necessary to increase the capacity of the Office of the Prime Minister in registering refugees in Kampala. The Old Kampala Police Station does not have an adequate facility to register the overwhelming amount of refugees that arrive in Kampala on any given day. The inadequate capacity of the facility increases the challenges that refugees face in applying for asylum and obtaining the necessary documentation. Refugees are put at an increased risk of harassment and arrest by police when they are traveling to and from the Old Kampala Police Station for weeks in order to gain an interview.

The Ugandan government must also address corruption within the OPM. Those who seek asylum in Uganda deal with the inefficiency of the RSD process, however they should not have to pay in order to expedite the process. This is particularly difficult for refugees when they are first arriving in Uganda and are unsure how the process works. Refugees arrive with few resources and DRAU along with the Darfuriian community assist them in finding accommodation and in beginning the process of seeking asylum. Without money to pay employees at the Office of the Prime Minister, asylum seekers continue to live in Kampala stuck in the middle of the RSD process without being fully recognized as refugees. It takes sometimes up to one year to receive a refugee ID card that is necessary to get assistance. The Ugandan government must address the capacity and the efficiency of the Old Kampala Police Station and OPM, and organizations such as the UNHCR must improve the process of status determination so that refugees that are entering Uganda have more support, such as accommodation along with other basic services, while they wait for their status to be determined.

It is critical to address the security issue in Sudan particularly for young men and human rights activists. The Sudanese government must be held accountable for the actions of the

National Intelligence and Security Service (NISS) as well as violations to the right to freedom of expression. Organizations should assist those who arrive in Kampala by documenting their stories of how the Sudanese government is intimidating young men and human rights activists, and the prevalence of incommunicado detention, torture and ill treatment of young men who are kidnapped and arrested in large numbers from IDP camps. The international community should address these human rights abuses that continue in the region. The Government of Sudan has continued to curtail the human rights of Darfurians and those that seek to expose the abuses of the Sudanese government. It is necessary to support the victims of human rights abuses and to assure them that their suffering is not being ignored by governments and human rights organizations.

Amnesty International's (AI's) Africa Regional Office is located in Kampala. AI guides refugees through the status determination process and refers them to organizations for any assistance that AI doesn't provide. AI keeps records of the refugees that come into the office in order to track their progress. For refugees that remain at risk of insecurity while in Kampala receive assistance from AI in taking action on their cases. Some cases that AI does take action on include those who were potentially followed into the country of asylum and remain at risk of kidnapping, arrest or torture. AI also records refugees' reports of human rights abuses in their country of origin and can provide this information in the country profiles that the organization compiles and makes available to the public. AI's role in providing support and protection to refugees in Uganda must be supported. Other organizations that can provide the much needed service of documenting the stories of victims of human rights abuses, and the necessary support and protection that comes with that, must also be supported in Kampala. The actions of the NISS driving this young male demographic and human rights activists from Sudan will have far-

reaching consequences for sustainable development and peace in Darfur, therefore it is necessary that this population's flight be addressed.

Discrimination by police and the host community exacerbates the challenges that Darfurian refugees face in Kampala. Darfurians are consistently charged a higher price for transportation and goods in the market, and are commonly asked by police to pay money in order to have illegitimate charges against them dropped. This treatment has negative psychological affects on refugees and their ability to feel that they can integrate into society and remain in Kampala. With little resources for survival, paying to have illegitimate charges dropped and paying more for food and transportation can cause serious setbacks in refugees sustaining their livelihoods. Refugees also face challenges in finding resources to pay for medical costs, and often don't receive the treatment they need. Many cited discrimination when at medical facilities, which added to the already overcrowded and strained public services. While refugees may face the same challenges in accessing medical services, they should have to experience an increased challenge to access these services due to discrimination.

In regards to refugee livelihoods in Kampala, many Darfurians recognize that living in an urban area with a different language and culture is challenging. When asked about living in settlements in Uganda, most refugees reflected on their experiences living in IDP camps in Darfur. It is important to recognize that refugees spent a significant amount of time living in IDP camps in Darfur and suffered from insecurity, a lack of basic services, and no education opportunities, which forced to leave Sudan. Refugees described IDP camps as prisons and as a result have a negative perception of living in camps. Those who are in Kampala are seeking to find education and livelihood opportunities that are not present in settlements and camps.

Related to refugee livelihoods in Kampala is the stratification of the refugee population by wealth. Kampala has become one of many cities around the world where Darfurians involved in the rebel movements have gathered to hold political meetings and orchestrate negotiations with the Sudanese government. This has created a dichotomy between refugees who have fled Darfur as a result of being forced from their homes into IDP camps and those who are politically involved in the conflict. The decisions that the political movements have made have had consequences for the people of Darfur, and continue to create a divide between the two populations. Darfurian refugees who come to Kampala as a result of the conflict are removed from their families and their culture, and must try to secure a livelihood with no support around them other than their collective resources within their community. Meanwhile, leaders of the political movements live in Kampala in more comfortable surroundings with a significantly higher amount of resources, however are not connected to the other populations of refugees.

Rebel groups such as the Sudanese Liberation Movement (SLM) and Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) brought the little known issues of underdevelopment, neglect and conflict within Darfur to the international stage in 2003. The region of Darfur has been neglected for decades by the Sudanese government, and I do believe that there are human rights to be fought for and won in Sudan, however I argue that the consequences to the people of Darfur should not be overlooked. The SLM and JEM should be more aware of the situation that refugees face in Kampala. While there is now less known about the situation of Darfurians in IDP camps due to the Sudanese government's restrictions on aid agencies, it is certain that people are still suffering from a lack of basic services and security, some to a worse degree than when the conflict began.

Education is the highest priority for refugees that arrive in Kampala. Obtaining access to English courses is a critical first step for refugees' integration into Ugandan society. Without

English skills, refugees will continue to struggle with living in Kampala. Organizations should assist refugees in gaining access to English classes either through providing classes or scholarships. While English courses are the first priority, systemic education is also needed for some of the younger refugees whose education was disrupted by the eruption of the conflict in 2003.

While Darfurian refugees are able to find accommodation through their social networks, many refugees are uncertain about their future ability to pay for living costs. Without sustainable resources, refugees are unable to feel secure about their future in Kampala. Increasing assistance to refugees in paying for accommodation would allow them to direct more resources to providing food and education for themselves.

Due to the severe trauma that Darfurians are suffering from when they arrive in Kampala, counseling for refugees that suffer from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) is an important aspect of assistance that organizations should provide. Without addressing the emotional and psychological challenges that refugees face, PTSD is only worsened and their inability to continue their education, obtain employment and have hopes for a brighter future. Potential physiological affects of PTSD result in isolation and depression, and can keep refugees from pursuing their livelihoods. The lack of any form of assistance to refugees adds to the emotional and psychological challenges

Refugees have come from poor living conditions in Darfur, Sudan, with hopes that they will find support from organizations in Kampala. However, in reality they find that no organizations are assisting them, and they are in a country with a different culture, language, and feel that their lives are less valued because they are refugees. Refugees in urban areas should not feel that their suffering is being ignored because their situation is not as visible as it is when in a

camp. Their suffering was just as apparent when they were in IDP camps, however their government prevented organizations from continuing to provide assistance there.

The Ugandan government must increase its support of organizations that wish to provide support to refugees in Kampala. Uganda's policy on urban refugees allows them to reside in urban areas, however it does not provide support and protection for refugees. As a result of the policies that do not favor urban refugees, their protection is extremely limited and they have very little support when they first arrive, when refugees are the most vulnerable. This lack in sufficient policy must be addressed, and the UNHCR has the obligation to assure that refugees in urban areas such as Kampala are receiving adequate assistance.

UNHCR's 2009 Policy on Refugee Protection and Solutions claims that the UNHCR's main objective will be to better support refugees living in urban areas, however the realities in Kampala do not correspond to the rhetoric. UNHCR must more closely monitor InterAid, its implementing partner in Kampala. Due to the UNHCR not having direct contact with refugees, InterAid is the only organization that is available to refugees. InterAid has failed to efficiently provide the services that will assist refugees in building sustainable livelihoods.

Organizations that assist with income generating activities are greatly needed in the Darfurian refugee community. Refugees desire to work and be able to provide for themselves, however do not have the opportunities build their skill set or to sell products in the market. While the majority of refugees seek to improve their English speaking abilities, income generating activities would assist them in finding livelihood opportunities while they continue their education or after they feel more comfortable in Kampala.

The small number of organizations that provide support and services to refugees in Kampala greatly hinders the success of Darfurians in Uganda. Organizations such as Amnesty

International do help refugees gain access to organizations that can provide services in Kampala. It is my hope that organizations, governments and donors will come to realize the conditions that refugees face living in urban areas, particularly the conditions that Darfurians in Kampala are living in. Refugees from Darfur have gone through enough pain and suffering being forced from their homes and having their families, culture, and communities destroyed.

It is important to emphasize the resilience that these refugees possess, and the overwhelming sense of ambition and faith amongst the population. Refugees made it Kampala after having suffered atrocities unimaginable by most, some surviving incommunicado arrest and torture by the GoS, attacks by the Janjawid, and constant pressure and harassment. Refugees are now waiting in Kampala for their situation to be recognized and their circumstances to change for the better. It is the responsibility of government's agencies such as the UNHCR and other humanitarian organizations to protect the rights of this vulnerable population and support their positive growth so they can be agents of change in their communities.

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## Appendices

### Questionnaire

1. Age:
2. Sex:
3. Education level:
4. Occupation before coming to Kampala:
5. Where are you originally from in Darfur? Were you displaced before you came to Kampala?  
If yes, where were you displaced to?
6. Where is your family now? Can you describe the situation of your family in Darfur?
7. How many family members do you have? Have you lost any family members as a result of the war?
8. Do you have communication with your family?
9. In your opinion, what are the causes of war in Sudan?
10. Can you describe the challenges you experienced, which forced you to leave Darfur and come to Kampala?
11. Why did you decide to come to Kampala, as opposed to going somewhere else from Darfur?
12. How did you reach Kampala? Did you come directly to Kampala from Sudan? If no, where were you staying before coming to Kampala?
13. Did you come to Kampala with anyone else from your family or other relatives, or with friends? If you came alone, how did you find the Darfurian community when you arrived?
14. Did you have any savings when you first arrived in Uganda? If yes, how much?
15. How long have you been in Kampala?
16. Can you describe how you have been feeling since you have arrived in Kampala?
17. Can you describe how you organize yourself as a group (such as sharing responsibilities and finances)?
18. Have you applied for refugee status? If yes, how long has it taken to receive a decision?
19. Do you know your rights as a refugee?
20. Are you staying in Kampala or moving back and forth between Kampala and other cities, either in Uganda or in neighboring countries?
21. How many people do you live with here in Kampala?

22. What activities have you been participating in while in Kampala?
23. Have you been able to generate income? If yes, what sorts of jobs have you been doing?
24. Have you faced any discrimination while in Kampala or faced problems of insecurity?
25. Have you received assistance (housing, financial, food) since living in Kampala? If yes, who is providing the assistance (family/friends in Kampala or Sudan) or which organization?
26. Have you accessed any services since you arrived in Uganda? If yes, have you faced challenges in accessing those services?
27. What kind of services do you need assistance in accessing?
28. What would make it easier to access services such as housing and health care, or employment and education opportunities?
29. What other activities and facilities do you think would help to improve your living situation in Kampala (such as job training, workshops, income-generating activities, football club, cultural activities)?
30. In your opinion, do you think that the number of Darfurian refugees is increasing? Why or why not?
31. What are your future hopes and goals while you are in Kampala?
32. What is your vision for bringing a permanent solution to Darfur?
33. Do you have any disabilities?

### **Interview Questions**

1. Age:
2. Sex:
3. Education level:
4. Occupation before coming to Kampala:
5. Where are you from in Darfur? Were you displaced?
6. What challenges did you face that forced you to leave Darfur or Sudan?
7. How did you reach Kampala? Did you come directly to Kampala from Darfur? If no, where were you staying before coming to Kampala?
8. Did you come to Kampala with anyone else from your family or other relatives, or with friends?

9. Can you describe what happened when you first arrived to Kampala? Where did you sleep? How did you find your community?
10. How did you find accommodation? Did you face any challenges finding accommodation? Did anyone assist you with the process? What problems have you faced since finding accommodation (problems with landlord, ability to pay)?
11. What activities have you been participating in while in Kampala? If you are taking English courses, how did you sign up for the class? Did anyone assist you with the process?
12. Did you have any money when you first arrived in Uganda? If yes, how much? If you did not come to Kampala with any money, how are you paying for accommodation, education and daily expenses?
13. How long have you been in Kampala?
14. Have you applied for asylum seeker? If yes, where did you apply (UNHCR, OPM)? Did you face any challenges with the process of applying? Did anyone assist you with the process?
15. What have you been doing in Kampala? How have you been feeling since you arrived?
16. Have you faced any discrimination while in Kampala or faced problems of insecurity?
17. Have you received any assistance from NGOs since living in Kampala (UNHCR, InterAid, Refugee Law Project, OPM)? If yes, what kind of assistance?
18. What challenges have you faced since living in Kampala?

### **Interview Questions Family**

1. Age
2. Sex
3. Education level
4. Occupation
5. Do you have any children? If yes, how many and their sex and ages.
6. If you were living in an IDP camp in Darfur, what challenges did you face for you and your family? If your children are school aged, did your children have access to school?
7. If your children are school aged, do they have access to school in Kampala?
8. What were the conditions like in Darfur that forced you to leave?

9. Where is your family? Is your husband or in South Sudan?
10. How did you reach Kampala? Did you come directly to Kampala from Darfur? If no, where were you staying before coming to Kampala?
11. Can you describe what happened when you first arrived to Kampala? Where did you sleep? How did you find your community?
12. How did you find accommodation? Did you face any challenges finding accommodation? Did anyone assist you with the process? What problems have you faced since finding accommodation?
13. Did you have any money with you when you arrived? If you did not come to Kampala with any money, how are you paying for accommodation and daily expenses?
14. How long have you been in Kampala?
15. Have you applied for asylum seeker? If yes, where did you apply (UNHCR, OPM)? Did you face any challenges with the process of applying? Did anyone assist you with the process?
16. What challenges have you faced living in Kampala (isolation, difficulties raising children away from your community support)?
17. Have you faced any discrimination while in Kampala or faced problems of insecurity?
18. Have you experienced gender based sexual violence either as a result of the war in Darfur or in Kampala? If yes, did you get access to health or police services?
19. How has being a refugee affected your family relationships?
20. Have you received any assistance from NGOs since living in Kampala (UNHCR, InterAid, Refugee Law Project, OPM)? If yes, what kind of assistance?
21. Have you accessed any health services for your family? If yes, did you face any difficulties in accessing those services?
22. What do you need assistance with in Kampala?

### **Focus Group Questions**

1. How has being a refugee impacted your life?
2. How has your experience being a refugee changed from living in a refugee camp to becoming an urban refugee living in Kampala? For example, how have challenges that

you have faced, your ability to practice your culture, or your identity as a refugee changed?

3. In the last three months, what kind of problems have you faced? How are you addressing these problems? What positive experiences have you had in the last three months?
4. What challenges have you faced emotionally and psychologically as a refugee?
5. Discuss ideas for improving your situation, including ideas for community building, cultural activities, bringing awareness to the situation of your families and community in Darfur and your situation in Kampala.