

**HISTORY OF KIRYANDONGO REFUGEE SETTLEMENT, KIRYANDONGO
DISTRICT, WESTERN UGANDA**

1954-2018

BY

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DECLARATION

I, JOSEPH KABOGGOZA, do hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work and has never been presented for a degree or any other award in any other University or higher institution of learning

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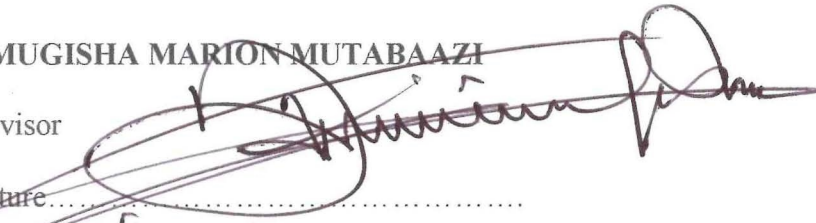

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved children; Ssonko Joseph Bryton, Nantumbwe Divine Finella Lunkuse and Ssembatya Darren Emmanuel; you are a blessing to my life.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AAH	:	Action Africa Help
AHA	:	African Humanitarian Action
ARC	:	American Refugee Council
CRRF	:	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
DRC	:	Democratic Republic of Congo
IAU	:	InterAid Uganda
ICRC	:	International Committee of Red Cross
IDPs	:	Internally Displaced Persons
IPS	:	Implementing Partners
IRC	:	International Rescue Committee
IRO	:	International Refugee Organisation
IRRI	:	International Refugee Rights Initiative
KDLG	:	Kiryandongo District Local Government
MSF	:	Medicins Sans Frontieres
OPM	:	Office of the Prime Minister
POW	:	Prisoners of War

RANU :	Rwanda Alliance for National Unity
ReHoPe:	Refugee and Host Population Empowerment Strategic Framework
RMF :	Real Medicine Foundation
RWC :	Refugee Welfare Council
SGBV :	Sexual and Gender based Violence
SPLA :	Sudanese Peoples Liberation Army
SRS :	Self-Reliance Strategy
TPO :	Trans Psychosocial Organisation
UNHCR:	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UPF :	Uganda Police Force
U.S.A :	United States of America
UWA :	Uganda Wildlife Authority
WFP :	World Food Program
WTU :	Windle Trust Uganda
ERPR :	Education Response Plan for Refugees and Host Communities
ADRA:	Adventist Development and Relief Agency

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the history of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement, Kiryandongo district from 1954-2018. It analysed the geography of the place, how the name Kiryandongo came about, and described the place of Kiryandongo and its people during the colonial period. It showed the genesis of her becoming a refugee settlement area. The study examined Uganda's refugee laws and policies and how they influenced the flows of refugees in Kiryandongo in post-colonial Uganda. This was guided by three specific objectives which were: to trace the origins and history of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement; to analyse the refugee flows and how they influenced the growth of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement, and to examine the changes and transformation in Kiryandongo after the arrival of refugees. The study adopted a qualitative approach; data was collected using documentary review guide and oral interviews. Purposive sampling method was adopted to identify key informants who were interviewed. Data was analysed using documentary analysis and organised in themes that resulted into different chapters in this dissertation. Findings indicate that the name Kiryandongo was hatched from the historic relations with the Congolese, the British wars led to depopulation and land was made government ranches, part of which was later transformed into a refugee settlement. Refugees have transformed Kiryandongo, since her becoming a district in 2009 was intended to extend services to the people including refugees. Four major refugee flows were mapped and they are South Sudanese, Kenyans, Congolese and Rwandese. Other occupants of the settlement are internally displaced persons from Acholi and Bugishu Sub regions. Their arrival promoted a number of changes and transformation leading to peaceful co-existence, integration and reducing government burden on refugees. This breaks the narratives that hosting refugees threaten the host country's security, wastage of tax payers' money and development of under development. The study opens room for historical documentation of other Refugee Settlements in Uganda.

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

A refugee: According to the UN Convention of 1951, a refugee is a person who is outside the country of his nationality due well-founded fear of being persecuted because of political opinion, race, nationality, or religion and is unwilling or unable to seek the protection of that country.

Internally displaced person: Nations High Commission for Refugees defines IDPs as people/groups of people who on a run from armed conflict, natural or man-made disaster and violations of human rights but remain within borders of their home countries. IDPs remain within their country and remain under the protection of its government even if that government is the reason for their displacement.

Resettlement: According to Nations High Commission for Refugees, resettlement refers to the transfer of refugees from the first country of asylum to another country that has out of will, agreed to host them and accord them a permanent settlement.

Self-Reliance Strategy: According to Nations High Commission for Refugees, self-reliance is the ability of a particular individual, family or community to fully depend on their own physical, social or natural resources with little or no external assistance in meeting their day to day basic needs of life.

Asylum seeker: According to Nations High Commission for Refugees, an asylum seeker is a person who pursues a refugee status in another country, after establishing their fear of persecution, and after proof is founded, they undertake particular legal processes through which the host country accepts to grant them a refugee status.

Conflict: To be antagonistic, incompatible, contradictory or being in opposition or, a misunderstanding that arises when two or more parties have incompatible goals about something.

Transit IDP Camp: This is a camp regarded as temporary where internally displaced persons settle while awaiting resettlement or return back home.

Relocation: This is the act of transferring/moving of refugees/internally displaced persons from one place to a new place.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.0 Introduction

This particular study examines the history of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement from 1954-2018. The study is premised on the argument that, although a lot has been written about refugees in Kiryandongo, very little has been documented to the origin, growth, changes and transformations caused by the coming of refugees in this area. Despite the fact that refugee crisis is a global phenomenon, it has been significant in Africa because of the different social conflicts related to economic and political conditions in sender countries.¹ This is evident with the conflicts over resources in Central African Republic, Equatorial Guinea and Chad. Other refugees have been hatched by the armed conflicts in East and Central Africa, mainly in Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo.² Additionally, Uganda has played a leading role as a host for different groups of refugees from several parts of the world. This has been so due to its refugee policy that allows self-settlement as noted by Hovil,³ that the policy of self-reliance continues to promote the structure of refugee settlement and to allow them become self-sufficient. As such, this study examines the history of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement, being that it is a model settlement where officials from other refugee settlements of Uganda, come to learn refugee management.

1.1 Background to the Study

A refugee refers to a person who leaves his motherland or place of residence to another place outside his country of birth or nationality, due to fear of persecution.⁴ According to Porzuck,⁵ the

term refugee originated from France, and was first used after the overturning of the Decree of the Nantes in 1685, which forced the Protestant Huguenots to flee the religious persecution on them by the French Catholics led by King Louis XVI of France. The word refugees progressed into the English word and then transformed by the 19th century, according to Genamo, to mean not only people fleeing religious persecution but also people fleeing war, violence and all other forms of oppression. Therefore this study looks at a refugee as a person who leaves his country to another one due to economic, social or political reasons. These may include unemployment or poverty, war, tribalism or bad governance among others.

Refugees are a global phenomenon, who the end of 2016, there were almost 65.6 million people forcefully displaced across the world. Most of these refugees were generated by a number of wars, persecution, conflicts as well as violation of human rights.⁶ The above figure indicated that unlike the previous year, there was now an increase by 300,000 people, being refugees. These comprised of 22.5 million refugees, of whom 17.2 million were under Nations High Commission for Refugees' mandate, where as 5.3 million Palestinian refugees were registered by UNRWA. Further, 40.3 million people were internally displaced (IDPs) yet 2.8 million people were asylum-seekers.⁷ Of these refugees, about 10.3 million people were the new group of people displaced by conflict and persecution and the 6.9 million people were displaced within borders of their respective countries and the 3.4 million were new batch of refugees and asylum-seekers.⁸ According to United Nations High Commission for Refugees, 10 million people from 75 countries were stateless by 2016 and half of these were children below 18 years from Afghanistan. Germany was the host of most asylum seekers followed by United States of America, and Turkey. Most resettlers were hosted by the United States of America.⁹

When the UN Convention on refugees came into force in 1951, Uganda was still a British protectorate. Through the British, Uganda pledged her membership which meant that she had to grant asylum to refugees and to provide them free visas for travel.¹⁰ The membership enabled Uganda to avail asylum to a number of refugees from African continent where poor governance; dictatorship and poverty have caused a series of conflicts.

The establishment of Kiryandongo Refugee settlement was a fulfillment of Uganda's membership to the United Nations High Commission for refugees.

The rapid-growing refugee population in Africa was spurred by the South Sudan crisis which caused an increase in refugees, mainly children from 854,100 to over 1.4 million by the end of 2016. Due to the conflict, 791,600 Sudanese entered Ethiopia while 940,800 sought asylum in Uganda.¹¹ These were followed by the 78,000 Southern Sudanese refugees.¹² Other refugees entered Uganda from her neighboring countries of the Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Somalia, and Eritrea, Ethiopia among others.¹³ This has made Uganda a leading host of refugees from across the continent.

Uganda first hosted refugees during the Second World War. The first group of refugees in Uganda was of 7000 people. These were prisoners of war from Austria, Poland, Germany and Romania. They were transported and settled at Nyabyeya in Masindi district and others at Kojja in Mukono district. These were later followed by several other refugees generated by civil wars in the post-independence African states.¹⁴ Later more 80,000 refugees from Southern Sudan crossed into Uganda during the first Anyanya war and settled in West Nile.¹⁵ The period from 1983 to 2005 was characterised by conflicts caused by the Sudanese People's Liberation Army

(SPLA) that waged an armed struggle against the government of Sudan, which led to displacement of South Sudanese refugees into Uganda.¹⁶

In the 1950s, Kenyan refugees fleeing the Mau Mau rebellion also entered Uganda. Other Kenyans also fled and entered into Uganda as refugees running away from the 2007 election violence.¹⁷ The continuous political unrest in Rwanda also forced 17,176 Tutsi to enter Uganda in 1959. These were settled in Oruchinga, Nakivale, Kyaka, Kyangwali, and Rwamwanja. By 2017, about 240,000 Congolese refugees were reported to have fled to Uganda due to the 1950's and 1960s post-Independence conflicts. It is these large refugee flows that made the government set up Kiryandongo to reduce congestion in other refugee camps in Uganda.

According to Kaiser,¹⁸ Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement is located in Masindi District and was established in 1991. It was aimed at providing refuge to the Southern Sudanese refugees who had been internally displaced by the Sudanese conflict of the early 1989. They crossed into Uganda later that year, and were primarily accommodated in a transit camp located in Kitgum District. While there, they were continuously strained by attacks from rebels of Lord's Resistance Army. This made them to be relocated and transferred to Kiryandongo in 1991.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Despite the fact that some studies like Schalit,¹⁹ Kaiser,²⁰ and Nambuya *et. al*,²¹ have been conducted on Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement, they provide generalised information on refugee patterns in Uganda. Other scholars on this subject like Nassali²² have focused more on social protection for refugees in Kiryandongo refugee settlement. Additionally, Mulumba's focus is socio-economic effects of refugee influx on refugees, host communities and the government of Uganda. For instance, there is much literature that shows that the influx and eventual settlement

of refugees in Kiryandongo has greatly disrupted the delivery of socio-economic services to ordinary citizens in this area.²³ Much of the other information on refugees mainly centers on how refugees can be incorporated into the local population to reduce on the pressure in camps. All these act as a source of information and thus enrich the literature on the study of refugees in Uganda. Whereas these studies are a source of valuable information, they do not historicise the origin, growth, changes and transformation of Kiryandongo after the arrival of refugees. Therefore, it is on such a background that this study aimed at examining the history of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement to bring out its origin, growth, changes and transformations in the area after the arrival of refugees. This is important in providing historical information to the general study of refugees not only in Uganda but Africa in general.

1.3 Research Purpose

The purpose of this study was to examine the history of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement camp focusing on how it has developed to become one of Uganda's model settlements. In so doing, the study has diversified the general studies on refugees in Uganda

1.3.1 Objectives

1.3.2 Main Objective

The main objective of the study was to analyse the origins, history, growth and development of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement.

1.3.3 Specific Objective

The study was guided by the following specific objectives;

1. To trace the origins of Kiryandongo Refugee settlement.

2. To analyse the growth of the settlement through the flows of refugees in Kiryandongo refugee Settlement.
3. To examine the changes and transformations in Kiryandongo, after the arrival of refugees.

1.3.4 Research Questions

The study was set out to answer the following research questions:

1. Why and how did Kiryandongo become a refugee settlement?
2. What were the different flows of refugees into Kiryandongo refugee settlement and how did they affect its growth?
3. What changes and transformation have taken place in Kiryandongo refugee settlement to make it evolve into its present form?

1.4 Scope of the Study

1.4.1. Geographical Scope

The study covered Kiryandongo refugee settlement, in Bweyale, Kiryandongo district. Kiryandongo Settlement is subdivided into 3 ranches. Ranch 1 is made up of 11.5 Sq. Kms, ranch 18 made up of 15 Sq. Kms and ranch 37 that covered 12 Sq. Kms. These will be studied because they are the proportions of the Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement.

The study investigates the history of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement with emphasis on the origins, growth, changes and transformations that occurred after the arrival of refugees into Kiryandongo refugee settlement.

The study covers a period from 1954-2018. The year 1954 was taken because it is when the area of Kiryandongo received first group of refugees who were running away from the Mau Mau uprising. These were brought by the British colonial government moved fleeing the Mau Mau guerilla war and settled them at Kigumba, formerly part of Masindi District.²⁴ Even when it had not yet become an official refugee settlement, it was chosen because of many reasons but not limited to; the availability of plenty of unutilised land that the native government of Bunyoro had leased to the British Colonial government for a period of 49 years, the land was relatively fertile, its proximity, but fairly distant from all boarders, to the various groups of refugees that were settled therein and above all, its remote locality. On the other hand, 2018 was selected because it was a year when the government of Uganda began implementing the Refugee and Host population empowerment strategic framework (ReHoPE), which reinforced self-reliance and integration of refugees and host community.²⁵ This had been initiated by Refugee Act passed in 2006, which gave refugees a number of rights and promoted integration which has promoted self-reliance of refugees. This has made life of the refugees easier, not only in Kiryandongo but in Uganda as a whole. As a result, it has led to more flows of refugees and internally displaced people from different parts of the country, which has transformed the image of the settlement.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study lies in the fact that it provides an historical analysis and origins, growth, changes and transformation of Kiryandongo refugee settlement. This makes it a special place where refugees from various countries such as Kenya South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda have been settled over time. Unlike other Refugee Settlements, Kiryandongo also host a number of internally displaced persons from Acholi Sub region and Bududa district in Bugishu.

Therefore, tracing the origins, growth and development of Kiryandongo refugee settlement adds value to the already existing literatures on refugee settlements in Uganda. The study provides a basis of how this place came to be a destination for refugees and how the refugee settlements evolved over time. It further provides scholarly analysis and understanding of the refugee flows and how this led to growth and development of the area. This generates new historical evidence that will clearly portray history as a science in advocating for the rights of refugees as well as explaining the politics involved in refugee settlements. The findings also stimulate future researchers to re-think about the value of understanding the origins and history of refugee settlements elsewhere in Uganda and other refugee hosting nations.

1.6 Literature Review

The available literature suggests that despite the fact that refugees are an important question in Uganda and Africa at large, most writers have mainly concentrated on studying the causes and effects of these refugee movements and settlement on host communities. Even the few scholars such as Kaiser,²⁶ Schalit²⁷ and Atari²⁸ among others who have tried to write about Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement have not problematized the settlement to understand it as a historical and political entity worth studying for its own sake. Even where they have tried to bring the element of origin, still it has been in a brief manner, which is a clear indicator that the history of the settlement is not the focus, rather refugees' impact on the host communities. This gap is what study attempts to fill.

Scholars who have studied Kiryandongo refugee settlement include Atari, Kaiser and Lunyiigo²⁹ indicate that between 1942 and 1952, 7,000 Polish refugees mainly women and children were received in Uganda. These were settled in two camps, Nyabyeya in Masindi district and

Mpunge-Kojja on Lake Victoria peninsular in Mukono district. By 1948 however, most of them were resettled in Britain, Canada and Australia and the very old, hard core criminal Polish refugees who could not be absorbed in Europe remained in Kojja until its closure in 1952.

Uganda became home of many Europeans displaced by World War II majority of whom were Polish and civilian prisoners of War from the axis powers and assorted detainees from the allied side. This called for the establishment of camps in different parts of Uganda to accommodate all these refugees.

All British colonies in East and Central Africa, Uganda inclusive, received a share of Europeans displaced during World War II because these colonies were remote from the vigorous theatres of war thus enemy nationals and friendly aliens could be accommodated with maximum security.

After World War II the British embarked on the repatriation of the Polish refugees in 1946 to kill off contacts with the Africans which the British interpreted as lowering the White superiority. A number of refugees had engaged in sexual intercourse with Africans due to shortage of men in the camp. In 1947 the International Refugee Organisation was established based in Geneva to assist in the repatriation process and by 1950, 11,000 refugees had been accepted by Britain while others were resettled in Austria, United States of America, Canada, France, Argentina and South Africa. By March 1951, the International Refugee Organisation (IRO) was dissolved despite Uganda having over 350 Polish refugees who were mainly widows, children, mentally sick, and about more than 50 other refugees across Uganda on temporally terms and could not be allowed by any country. Therefore, the British had to take care of them.³⁰

Nyabyeya camp was closed down in May 1948³¹ and the refugees who had remained there were taken to Kojja camp. In 1952, Kojja camp was also dismantled, its property auctioned and sold to

various government departments.³² The Government relocated these remaining refugees to Kojja inform where she again took them to Kiryandongo. Similarly unclear is how Kenyan refugees of Mau rebellion of 1952 came to Kiryandongo. This gap necessitated this study to bring out why Kiryandongo and how they finally settled there.

Lunyiigo³³ states that Polish blood runs amongst Ugandans due to the “illicit” unions between Uganda women and Polish refugee men. This forced the colonial regime to employ psychiatry to isolate the Poles who had intimated with the Ugandans. To keep them isolated, they were relocated to rural Kiryandongo where government had plenty of unoccupied land. Mulumba³⁴ indicates that Kiryandongo refugee settlement is located in Masindi district and was the only settlement there. It mainly hosted Acholis most of whom had fled the armed conflict in northern Uganda and has existed since 1986. She adds that when the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) rebels attacked the Acholi-Pii refugee settlement in two times, one of which occurred in 2002, in which more than 120 refugees were killed and others were displaced.³⁵ As a result, the government of Uganda in collaboration with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees decided to relocate them to Kiryandongo on a temporary basis. Other refugees displaced from Acholi Pii Settlement were resettled in Nebbi and parts of Arua in West Nile in September 2003.

Further, Mulumba narrates that the number of refugees totaled to 1800 households which brought their population to 10,250 in Kiryandongo refugee settlement where they settled in three ranches named ranch 1, ranch 37 and ranch 18, with a total number of thirty settlement clusters lettered AA to ZZ.³⁶

Mulumba³⁷ further noted that Masindi district is located in northwestern part of Uganda and historically belongs to the Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom. Its original inhabitants are the Banyoro,

speaking Runyoro. However, as for today, the district is home to more than 56 ethnic groups. It is also home to many Kenyans who came to Masindi for asylum, in the early 1950's during the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya.

She adds that in early 1990s, about 10,000 Sudanese refugees relocated from Acholi Pii settlement to Kiryandongo refugee settlement. This was after another period of uncertainty that occurred in August 2002, when the Lord's Resistance Army attacked and killed hundreds of refugees. As a result, 25,000 Sudanese refugees were relocated to Kiryandongo where they experienced an increase in population through the self-settled refugees and internally displaced persons from different areas affected by wars in northern Uganda.³⁸

However, all the above information gives a brief account of a history, how and when refugees and later internally displaced persons arrived in Kiryandongo. This leaves a number of questions unanswered for example: How was Kiryandongo area was before becoming a refugee settlement, who in particular occupied it before these refugees, how was land acquired and allocated to refugees and how the refugee relocation to Yumbe district influenced other events in Kiryandongo area. Such information is necessary for future reference. It is due to such gaps that the origins of Kiryandongo refugee settlement become an important study to supplement the already existing literature.

By the time the Norwegian Refugee Council,³⁹ reported that Sudanese refugees in Uganda were a target of the Lord's Resistance Army by May 2004, the worst attack had already been made on Acholi-Pii camp on August 5, 2002. In this attack, Lord's Resistance Army killed more than 60 people, and more than 24,000 Sudanese refugees there dispersed into the bush amidst fear. The rebels also captured four aid workers of International Rescue Committee though they were later

released. The Lord's Resistance Army continued with a number of attacks in which they killed five Sudanese refugees and burned 126 houses in Maaji refugee camp in Adjumani on July 8, 2002. Later, on October 3, 2002 they returned and attacked the same camp, killed several Uganda people's defense force soldiers and burned over sixty-five homes. It was the Uganda's Operation Iron Fist that restored sanity. Shortly after this, 16,000 Sudanese refugees were relocated from Acholi-Pii to Kiryandongo refugee settlement.

The Norwegian Refugee Council⁴⁰ adds that Kiryandongo refugee settlement was established for the Sudanese refugees fleeing Achol-pii settlement after the Lord's Resistance Army raid, in which 100 refugees were killed. This created 13000 internally displaced persons who were then relocated to Kiryandongo refugee settlement. On reaching there, they created overcrowding and deterioration of sanitary conditions that forced the Ugandan government, through its Minister for disaster preparedness to identify two new locations in West Nile where "Former Acholi Pii refugees" were relocated to. The exercise ended on 8th September, but with some refugees being wounded, arrested and killed.

Although the United Nations High Commission for Refugees was initially denied access to Kiryandongo settlement, they were later given access to monitor the ongoing relocation exercise. United Nations High Commission for Refugees was fully involved in receiving the refugees in the West Nile settlements and allocating them plots.⁴¹ Much as this report gives a detailed account of the numbers and period of coming and leaving Kiryandongo refugee settlement, it does not show how they were received by the local people of Kiryandongo, the settlement patterns, and how their departure left the settlement. It's this gap that this study seeks to identify and close.

According to Kaiser,⁴² Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement was established to cater for the needs of a Southern Sudanese refugees displaced internally by the ongoing Sudanese conflict early in 1989. As they crossed into Uganda later that year they were initially accommodated in a transit camp in Kitgum District. Here they were repeatedly harassed and attacked by the infamous Ugandan Lord's Resistance Army until their relocation to Kiryandongo in 1991. After reaching there, they were given agricultural plots of land to resume fuller lives; however they were simultaneously confronted by the necessarily temporary nature of their new home.

He adds that the population at Kiryandongo was very heterogeneous but a clear majority identified themselves as Acholi. There were also the minority of Madi, Lutuko, Zande and Bari speakers.⁴³ The vast majority of the population, regardless of ethnic identity, came from rural areas of Southern Sudan.⁴⁴ However, he does not show which group came first, how many came, when and where they eventually settled. It is said that by 1996, many of the residents of the Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement had been displaced to the border area from various locations within Eastern Equatorial in Sudan, and subsequently fled to Kitgum District in Uganda, from where they were again displaced by rebel activity in 1991.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, no effect on the settlement patterns is shown. Further, the way they are brought back and allocated plots by the Ugandan government and United Nations High Commission for Refugees together with the way they are encouraged to become self-sufficient also has small scholarly work. Kaiser concentrates on showing the social and cultural relations of the diversity of people whose origin, cultural activities, occasions and instrument are not ascertained. Although these are important, they cease value if the performers' origin and transitions are not elaborated. Above all, Kiryandongo refugee settlement is a host of refugees from South Sudan, Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi and

Democratic Republic of Congo⁴⁶ but Kaiser seems to be looking at only those from Sudan.⁴⁷ It is this gap therefore that this study sought to cover by locating their origins.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees⁴⁸ indicates that Kiryandongo refugee settlement hosts 64,760 refugees of whom 64,126 are South Sudanese, 210 Congolese, 210 Sudanese, 149 Kenyans, 36 Burundians and 27 Rwandese. The statistics show that 54,163 of these refugees are women and children comprising 84% of the total population, 1,377 are elderly refugees making 2% while 33,657 are female accounting for 52%. A total of 18,909 are youths between 15-24 years who make 29% of the total refugee population in the settlement. Whereas this analysis is good for the government and refugee monitoring agencies for planning, information does not show how and when all these refugees reached Kiryandongo refugee Settlement yet this is important on building on the general studies of refugee settlements in Uganda.

Worse more, readers are not given an analysis of how the population of refugees evolved to what it is currently. Settlement patterns are also left thus readers cannot know which group of refugees are settling in which ranch or cluster of the camp, and how they relate with each other as well as with members of the local community. Above all, the internally displaced persons have not been specified yet they are also known to be settling in Kiryandongo refugee settlement. It is therefore, these gaps that make this study worthy to be carried out in order to answer these questions.

Overall, all scholars who have written about refugees in Uganda have focused more on their livelihood in the settlements. While other scholars have expounded the causes of refugee movements from mainly the sending countries, the challenges they face, and the role

government, other governments and non-governmental agencies have taken in resettling them. Little documentations, however, is available to locate the origins and history of Kiryandongo refugee settlement. These are the gaps that necessitated the carrying out of this study.

United Nations High Commission for Refugees⁴⁹ shows that Kiryandongo Refugee settlement accommodates a total of 66,453 refugees and Asylum Seekers who comprise 5% of Uganda's total 1,423,377 populations of refugees and asylum seekers. Such information is relevant in refugee studies but there is no analysis of how many refugees came to Kiryandongo refugee settlement and from which country, how many asylum seeker and internally displaced persons, how and when they came, in which ranch they are settling and how they managed to cope up with the life in the camps. These gaps therefore needed to be bridged by this study hence making it necessary.

According to Mugoya,⁵⁰ disasters can be dealt with, diminished, lessened and side stepped. He refers to the Bududa landslides of 1 March 2010 which resulted into internally displaced persons (IDPs) being relocated to Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement. The response that followed included gathering of opinions of the victim and Government officials on certain activities that were approved by Government and Relief Inter agencies.

He further shows that victims of the Bududa landslides were relocated to Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement by Ministry of Relief, Disaster Preparedness and Refugees under Office of the Prime Minister, Uganda People's Defense Forces (UPDF) and other relief inter-agencies.⁵¹ However, his focus remains on the destructive nature of landslides to the livelihood of the Bududa victims. He does not clearly show how many internally displaced persons were relocated, how they were transported, when they were relocated and where they were settled. He does not give an account

of the politics involved at Bulucheke transit camp where these IDPs were first settled. Further, he gives no reason why internally displaced persons were relocated to Kiryandongo refugee settlement, yet such information is important in overall formation of the flow of these internally displaced persons in Kiryandongo refugee settlement, and the Changes and transformations that they caused to the host community.

Generally, all the above accounts do not indicate how refugees and later internally displaced persons were transported to and from Kiryandongo refugee settlement, which group came first, and with what numbers, are all questions that this study aimed to answer.

1.7 Research Methodology

This section describes the research design; population studied, sampling techniques, research instruments, sources of data source, data collection procedure and analysis applied while carrying out this study. The detail of how each section was adopted is shown in the following sub-sections:

1.7.1 Research Design

This study applied qualitative approach of descriptive and historical research design. Data was collected through observation, interviews and archival materials. This described the origins of Kiryandongo, refugee flows into Kiryandongo refugee settlement and the development that resulted out of their flows. According to Creswell,⁵² this type of research design encourages research through both documents review as well as field research through purposive sampling following snow ball method that facilitate a detailed and better analysis, understanding and interpretation of the study. The observation method checked the area where the refugees first

settled and came up with a number of economic and social changes and transformation that have taken place since then up to 2018.

1.7.2 Area of Study

The study was carried out in Kiryandongo refugee settlement, Kiryandongo district. It focused on three ranches that make up the refugee settlement namely; ranch 1, ranch 37 and ranch 18 and her neighbouring areas.

1.7.3 Study Population

This study was conducted amongst refugees in Kiryandongo refugee settlement. Key informants included the Camp Commandant, elderly refugees above 60 years and have stayed in the settlement for atleast 20 years, refugee guides from different ranches and Cluster leaders. These were selected randomly following snow ball method. This was done in equal apportionment and gender considerate. These were believed to be more knowledgeable about this particular study. Others were district leaders in charge of refugees, Officials from the Office of the Prime Minister and United Nations High Commission for Refugees and department of disaster preparedness, who are directly concerned with Kiryandongo refugee settlement and elderly locals of the area. These ought to have information, relevant for this study.

1.7.4 Sample Size

Since a qualitative approach was employed in this study, Amin⁵³ states that the basis of sample selection is statistically representative of the study population. Therefore the researcher got the necessary data after interviewing 39 respondents. They included 11 Sudanese refugees, 2 Congolese, 4 Kenyans, 5 Rwandese, 2 internally displaced persons from Acholi and 4 Bududa landslide victims. Those included ranch and cluster leaders choosing atleast one from each ranch

or cluster. Among others were 7 Ugandan nationals from the host area, 3 government officials in charge of refugees, including the current Camp Commandant and 2 officials from the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM). These 20 female and 19 male respondents were purposively sampled by the researcher to provide the information deemed necessary for the study.

1.7.5 Data Sources

This research collected primary and secondary data. Primary data was attained through key informants and in-depth interviews held with purposeful sampling of the respondents.⁵⁴ Interviews were used because Creswell⁵⁵ argue that the flexibility in collecting data face to face allows the research to interview the respondents basing on their literacy level. Those knowing English were interviewed in English and those who did not speak English were interviewed in their local languages through an interpreter. Bunyoro elderly people were also interviewed to show the place of Kiryandongo before the establishment of the settlement. This helped to trace the origins of the Kiryandongo. Reports, declarations, memoranda, articles in the newspapers, written books, journal articles, unpublished dissertations and internet were obtained from Africana section of Makerere University Library and Uganda national records centre and archives at Wandegaya.

This information located the changes and continuities in the Kiryandongo Settlement. All collected information that answered the second objective of the study which aimed at describing the refugee flows in Kiryandongo Refugee settlement. . The secondary data enabled the researcher to compare with the data collected from the field to find meaningful interpretation of the study findings for evidence.⁵⁶

Other information was obtained from elderly refugees who have stayed in the settlement for more than 20 years, ranch leaders, cluster leaders, refugee guides and the district officer in charge of refugees. The researcher got files and reports containing information about refugees from the camp commandant. This information addressed the second objective of analysing the different flows of refugees in Kiryandongo refugee Settlement. In the Office of the Prime Minister and United Nations High Commission for Refugees, the researcher obtained and investigated some files and annual reports which elaborated on growth and development that has taken place in Kiryandongo since the arrival of refugees. The findings addressed the third objective of examining in the changes and transformations that have taken place in Kiryandongo refugee settlement, to make it evolve into what it is today.

Oral information also provided historical information since the interview process was not limited to the development. This was done using interview guides containing semi structured and open ended questions as shown in Appendix A.

Whereas oral information cannot fully be relied on due to contradictions and the lack of chronology, the researcher addressed these problems by the Vansina “textual criticism” of comparing different oral sources and then correlating fetched data with both written and archival sources. He also incorporated in observation method, where he looked at the new developments that are said to have come along with the arrival of refugees in Kiryandongo.

1.7.6 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher obtained a letter of approval of M.A research proposal, and a letter of introduction from the department of history and Political Science, Kyambogo University. A letter of clearance to carry out the research was obtained from Uganda National Council for Science

and Technology, and a letter of permission from the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) to carry out research in Kiryandongo refugee settlement.

1.7.7 Ethical Consideration

The researcher assured respondents that the study was strictly academic and that maximum confidentiality was to be observed. The researcher made sure that the data used in this study was anonymously coded.

1.7.8 Data Processing and Data Analysis

All data collected from interview and documents review were gathered together for analysis. Data processing involved data deep and chronological assessment. This based on the main subject of the study derived directly from the objectives of the study.

Data analysis was done after data sorting. The narrative method was used to assess the data. Elliot Jane⁵⁷ supports that his method transcribes the interview responses and data collected from the secondary sources and edited them accurately to fit the focus of the study.

1.9 Conclusion

In this chapter the researcher gave a general introduction of the dissertation by elaborating about Kiryandongo refugee settlement and justifying the importance of the study. The chapter further analysed the general background of refugee studies and elaborated the Objectives, scope, significance and related literature and concluded with the methodology. The next chapter describes the history and geography Kiryandongo district and the people therein.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY AND PEOPLE OF KIRYANDONGO DISTRICT

2.0 Introduction

This chapter describes the geography and history of people of Kiryandongo District where Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement is located. It mainly looks at the location, economic activities, and population, geography and soil types. It further analyses vegetation, drainage, hydrology, rainfall distribution, and the general environment that has defined this area. In addition, it describes the history of people of Kiryandongo, which is important in tracing the pull and push factors that influenced this area into a refugee settlement and the general population settlement of the area.

The chapter also presents an over view of the history, settlement, economic activities and social services, and how they have influenced the gradual transformation of the settlement into its current state.

2.1 The History and Geography of Kiryandongo District

2.1.1 Origin of Kiryandongo District

Kiryandongo gained district status in 2009 but became fully operationalised on 1 July 2010. It was carved out of Masindi district located in Northwestern Uganda. Other districts located in the sub region include; Hoima, Kibaale, Kakumiro, Kikuube, Buliisa and Masindi.¹ Kiryandongo district was created by an act of Parliament following the motion that was moved for the creation of 14 new districts. The motion followed a request by the people of Kibanda for a district status to be called Kiryandongo to bring social services closer.² Masindi District Council resolution endorsed the request to grant their county a district status.

2.1.2 Geography and History of Kiryandongo District

2.1.3 Location of Kiryandongo District

Despite the fact that the study of geography is not the main purpose of this study, it is imperative to analyse the geography of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement. This is useful as it informs the settlement patterns and why this place became conducive for refugee settlement.

Kiryandongo District is bordered by Nwoya district to the north, Oyam to the North East, Apac to the East, Nakasongola to the South-East, Masindi to the South and South-West, and Buliisa to the North.³ Kiryandongo district headquarters are located about 225 Kilometres (140 miles) Northwest of Kampala, Uganda's capital city. The District has a land of 3,624.1 Sq. Km of which 1,747Sq. Km is arable.⁴ Other areas are covered by River Nile, and Murchison falls conservation area which includes Murchison falls national park and the Karuma Wildlife Reserve. These tourist sites occupy the Northern and North Eastern parts of the District.⁵

In terms of altitude, the district is generally a plateau land with a sitting of 1,295 meters on average above sea level. Undulating hills with some pronounced high points are located in some localities of the District. One of these high points is Kaduku in Kigumba Sub County. The land in the Murchison Falls conservation area is flat which provides a good habitat for wildlife. The natural vegetation of Kiryandongo comprises of savannah woodland including dry and humid Savannah with elephant grass in some areas which favors wildlife.⁶

2.1.4 The Geography of Kiryandongo

Kiryandongo refugee settlement sits on 3,725 hectares of land and has a road network of 27.1 Kilometres.⁷ The settlement is part of the Uganda Government land that was a cattle ranching scheme in the 1970s. The Settlement is located near the main road of Bweyale town but many

parts of the settlement are inaccessible. This is because of its rural setting with no motorable roads, and the bureaucratic fencing. According to Nabuguzi (1993), for one to reach most parts of the settlement, he/she needs authorisation from the Office of the Prime Minister, Settlement Commandant as well as from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees officials.⁸ This makes it hard for people to get access to the refugees and the settlement in general which promotes security and safety of the refugees.

Kiryandongo refugee settlement is made up of three ranches namely; ranch 1, ranch 18 and ranch 37.⁹ Ranch 37 measures 12 Sq. Kms, ranch 1 is 11.5 Sq. Kms and ranch 18, 15 Sq. Kms.¹⁰ Ranches 1 and 37 are made up of 9 clusters each. This was a reserve land labeled “EE”. The influx of Sudanese refugees caused congestion in the ranches and clusters which made government to re-label them cluster “G.” Later, Dinka people started hiring land in Bweyale to avoid conflicts with their enemies, the Nuel who are warriors. Ranch 18 has 8 clusters. Each cluster hosts 65 families, with a farming land of 200X200 metres depending on the number of people in the family.¹¹ A family of a father, mother and children below 18 years was given 1 acre but if children were above 18 years, there would be an additional acre for each.¹²

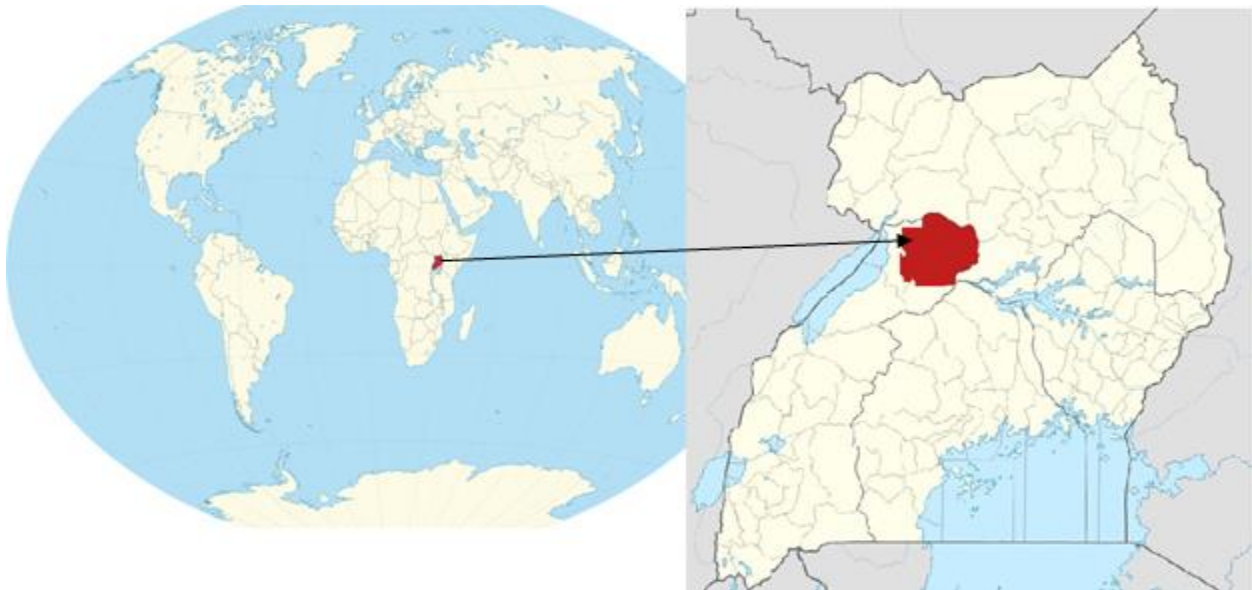


Fig 2.1.5: Location of Kiryandongo refugee Settlement in Africa and Uganda

Source: Bunyoro-Kitara general information

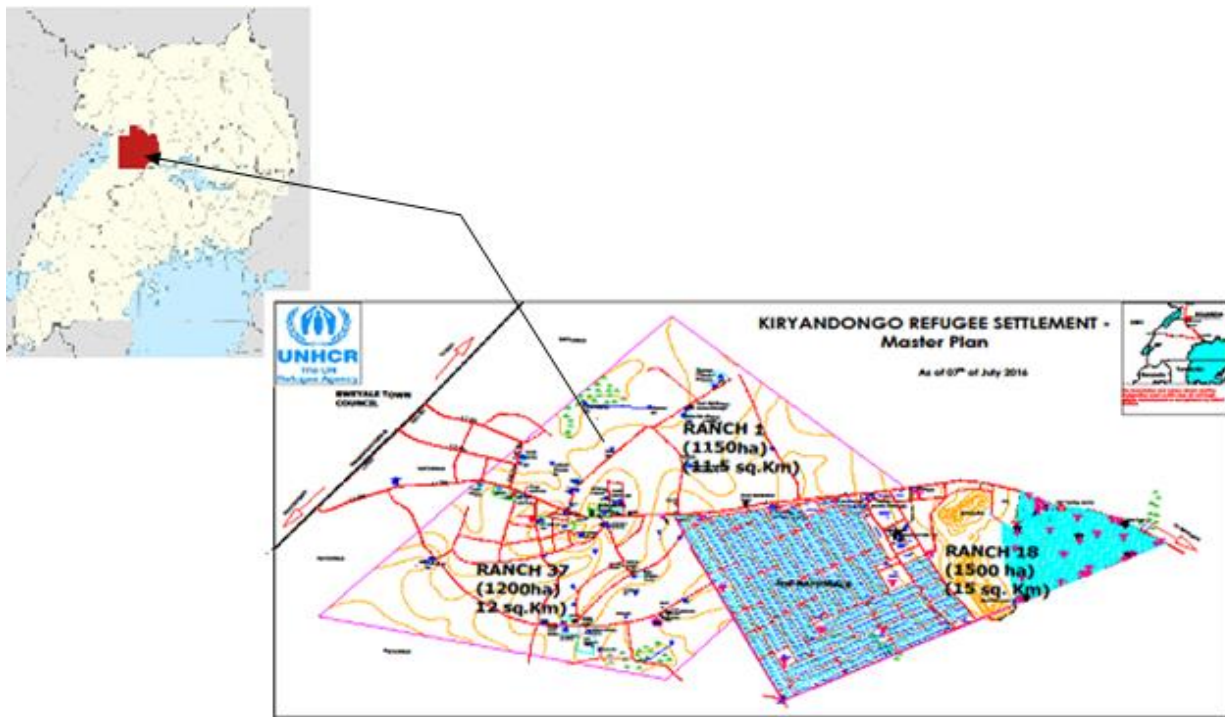


Fig 2.1.6: Physical location of Kiryandongo refugee settlement in Bunyoro.

Source: UNHCR, Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement Master plan 2016

As shown in figures 2.1.2 and 2.1.2 above, Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement is octagonal shaped but subdivided into three ranches. Ranch 37 of 12sq. km occupies the Southern part with in a rectangular-like shape of 5 sides with a curved northern boundary. Ranch 1 is located north of ranch 37 but share the South Western border with ranch 18. Ranch 18 is rectangular-like, and has to the west to the ranch 1 and 37, a V-shaped boarder penetrating into ranch 1 and 37 while narrowing triangularly, eastwards.

Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement is located in Kiryandongo district, Mid-Western Uganda between Kigumba and Bweyale towns. This site is particularly situated in Kigumba sub-county which is 8km North East of Kiryandongo town, which is 143 kilometres North West of Uganda's capital city, Kampala. By coordinate, Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement seats at an altitude of 1295 meters on average, above sea level. This is particularly between 10° 22' and 20' North of the Equator, with longitude of between 31° 02' and 32° 23' East of Greenwich.¹³ This location gives the settlement area a suitable location that avails it with average amount of rainfall which boosts human settlement and activities such as agriculture. This, alongside the plenty of vacant land that the British Colonial government had leased from Bunyoro Kingdom for 49 years, its relative fertility, remote locality and, proximity, but fairly distant from all borders, to the various groups of refugees that came, made it a special area of destination for refugees because such conditions could boost a number of economic activities especially farming that would make refugees self-reliant.

2.1.7 Soils of Kiryandongo

Kiryandongo lies at an altitude of 1,295 meters above sea level. It has some smooth rising and falling terrain with Kaduku as one of the few areas with high points in the district.¹⁴ Pearl

Company has done mineral exploration in the district and discovered nickel, platinum, chromium and iron ore.¹⁵

The soil type patterns in the district are almost uniform throughout the district with sandy loam soils dominating. Clay loam predominates in Kitwara Parish, while sandy soils are in the sub-County of Masindi Port.¹⁶ Some land like Murchison falls conservation in the north is a protected area. Other protected areas are Kibeka in the East, Kaduku in the South West and Nyamakere in the North East.¹⁷

All this makes area inaccessible, unless with permission from government. This made the place favourable for refugees because they could not easily be met by unauthorised people. Further, the good soils could be a basis for self-reliance.

The soils of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement have nutrient levels greater than 5.1% and a moisture content of 20%. The soil depth of 20cm and above is considered suitable for agriculture as it gets little hindrances.¹⁸ It is projected that 22.2% of these soils have a good depth¹⁹ which promotes growing of various crops. The depth enables crops to get nutrients for favourable growth. Also, the soils are fertile with enough water²⁰ for crop yielding. It should however, be noted that 27.8% of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement has poor soils of less than 15% depth, a poor nutrient level of less than 3.0%, and poor moisture content of less than 15% making it hard for crop production.²¹

As such sandy loam soils ease the growing of food crops for example maize, cassava, tobacco, ground nuts, rice, millet, vegetables sweet potatoes.²² This ensures enough food production by the refugees as well as the host community thereby ensuring food security. With some important exceptions, soil fertility is better than that of other settlement areas especially Arua district.

Therefore, the fertility of the soil in Kiryandongo, the good climate and political stability of Uganda among other factors, are some of the reasons why refugees settled in Kiryandongo refugee settlement.²³ This is in line with the findings of Nambuya that 13% of the refugees interviewed during her research, agreed that the reason why they settled in Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement was due to fertile soils and good climate in Uganda.²⁴ Refugees in Kiryandongo were given plots of land to encourage food cultivation in order to be self-reliant.²⁵

2.1.8 Vegetation of Kiryandongo

Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement is located in an area characterised by limited rainfall and drought. In some places there low vegetation cover and fragile soils which limits crop yielding.²⁶ Generally the climate and topography of the area determines the distribution the various forms of natural vegetation. Kiryandongo is covered with savannah vegetation, woodland with dry and humid.

Woodland is dominant in Masindi port, Kiryandongo town council, Karuma, Kibeka, Nyamakere and Murchison falls, but with grassland evenly distributed throughout.²⁷ Grassland Savannah is predominant along the northern border with Nwoya district and a few areas of the Western border with Buliisa and other small grassland areas within parts of Kiryandongo, Murchison falls Karuma and Masindi port.²⁸

On the other hand, wetlands are predominant along the South Eastern border with Nakasongola and Apac, and a small part of Mutunda port where they support a variety of plant, animal and plant species.²⁹ Shrubs are mainly in Kigumba town council, Bweyale Town Council, and some parts of Masindi port. Open water is found along Masindi port border with Apac and some parts

of Mutunda port.³⁰ This vegetation is home to birds and animals of different types³¹ especially buffalos and baboons.

In addition to the above, the existing wetlands are well-known for being seasonal which supports the different plant and animal species.³² All these displaced the people from this area, leaving it unoccupied for some time. Therefore, when the government was faced with the problem of refugees, she chose to settle them on her ranch land. This was so because the presence of these wetlands and large pieces of virgin lands was ideal for refugee settlement. .

Furthermore, the availability of woodland was also a probable source of wood fuel for the refugees and internally displaced persons to use for cooking food. All these made Kiryandongo area a suitable place for refugee.

2.1.9 Drainage of Kiryandongo

Kiryandongo refugee settlement, on its border with Kigumba sub-county is drained by Titi stream whereas on the South west end, it is drained by Victoria Nile.³³ This ensures effective flow of water throughout the area. The availability of such waters favours the growth of crops like yams, rice and sugarcane. This also provides effective cultivation of other crops such as groundnuts, maize and potatoes. Generally, there is enough supply and access of water in the settlement, serving refugees and the host people. According to one of the refugee who is now settled in this area;

We have enough water supplies from natural water bodies. This enables us to get enough water for our home use in domestic work, farming, cattle keeping and general livelihood.³⁴

The presence of such water sources around and within Kiryandongo avails enough water for both home use and feeding of cattle. This would favour both faming and pastoral refugees.

2.1.10 Rainfall Distribution in Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement

Kiryandongo district, where the settlement is located, receives an average rainfall of 1200mm a year. This rainfall distribution divided the district into three main climatic zones.³⁵ The highest rainfall is received between March–May and from August–November. Such rain plays a part in the favourable weather conditions of Kiryandongo making it suitable for farming. Medium rainfall is received in the sub counties of Kigumba, Kiryandongo and parts of Mutunda Sub County which receives an annual rainfall amount ranging between 800mm–1000mm.³⁶ Lower rainfall is received in areas of Masindi port sub County which receives an annual rainfall amount less than 800mm.³⁷

On average, Kiryandongo generally receives relative amount of rainfall which is bimodal and comes between March to May, and between August and November. The rainfall eases agriculture.³⁸ Such rains made settlement suitable for refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs), in six months, they would be self-reliant in terms of food security and progressive animal rearing.

In a nutshell, the geography of Kiryandongo favoured settlement of refugees in terms of sufficient land, rainfall, vegetation and climate which support agriculture especially crop farming and animal rearing. In addition to geography, the former Masindi and now Kiryandongo district was depopulated by colonial wars in Bunyoro up to 1960s.

These wars brought in epidemics like sleeping sickness, Spanish influenza, syphilis, and famine which depopulated the area, leaving a lot of land unoccupied.³⁹ Government later began reclaiming all the unoccupied land by eradicating tsetse flies and ranching schemes.

2.2. Ethnic Composition

The Luo are the dominant migrants and are settling in North and South West whereas the Bantu occupy the South East and the rest of the areas of Kiryandongo. The Luo settled in the area early in the 16th century before crossing to Acholi, and others to Bunyoro where they formed the Babito dynasty.⁴⁰ Kiryandongo, being in Bunyoro and formally part of Masindi district, is therefore, mainly inhabited by Banyoro and Alur people. The area of Mutunda sub-county, in parishes of Diima, Kakwokwo and Nyamahasa, there are mostly Chope tribe.⁴¹ Generally, in percentage, Langis are the dominant migrants in the former Masindi district area, with a percentage population of 98.30%; Acholis make 0.44%, Iteso 0.11%, Alur 0.11%, and Banyankole 0.12%. There are also other tribes like Baganda, Bagishu and others who make up 0.92%, of the general populace of the area.⁴² This has promoted cultural integration in Kiryandongo area.

2.3. Education

According to article 26 of the Universal declaration of human rights, education is a fundamental, compulsory and free right to all human beings.⁴³ It is noted that in all refugee settlements in Uganda, including Kiryandongo, primary schools are more compared to secondary schools and tertiary institutions.⁴⁴ Kiryandongo is no difference from the above as she has one nursery school, which is Beth Cole Nursery School. There are a total of eight primary schools namely; Bakhita primary school, Good Shepherd primary school, Butenga primary school, Victoria primary school, Arnold Nursery School, Bidong Primary school, Canrom Primary school and Panyadoli Hill Primary school.

On the other hand, there are only Panyadoli Self Help Secondary school, Panyadoli Secondary School (PSS) Kiryandongo High School (KHS) and Panyadoli Secondary School. All these feed Panyadoli Vocational Training Institute (PVTI) which is the only tertiary institution in the area. This causes congestion in the available secondary schools and tertiary institution because they get larger numbers from primary that they cannot effectively accommodate. Nevertheless, added on the already existing schools in the area, the education sector had been improved, since more children can now acquire education services.

2.4. Major Economic Activities in the Kiryandongo District

2.4.1. Agriculture

Agriculture forms the major economic base of the people, in addition to tourism and fisheries potential. Crops grown include; millet, sorghum, beans, sunflower, simsim, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, cassava, maize, cotton, tomatoes, cabbages, tobacco, coffee, onions, soya bean, peas, pineapples, rice, ground nuts and banana. Over 60% of the population in the district is engaged in smallholder agricultural activities although large scale commercial farming is taking root. The people of Kiryandongo participate in growing of maize, selling it to the World Food Programme on several occasions⁴⁵.

Majority of the population in Kiryandongo District are majorly farmers growing cassava, sweet potatoes, Maize, beans and ground nuts. Many others also grow simsim, rice and vegetables. Cash crops grown mainly include tobacco, cotton and sunflower which are supplemented by major activities like livestock and fishing.⁴⁶

According to Mulumba,⁴⁷ the cash crops include tobacco, coffee and cotton. Animals kept include sheep, cattle, and goats. There is also small-scale activities like pit sawing; saw milling,

cotton ginning and manufacture of jaggery, furniture and processing of hides and skins, oil and grain milling. The neighboring Budongo Saw Mills and Kinyara Sugar Works offer employment opportunities to many people of Masindi and Kiryandongo districts. This has provided tremendous development potential which provides employment opportunities to the people.

2.4.2 Fishing and Bee Keeping

Fishing is done on river Nile and Lake Albert, where some parts of the lake form landing sites in the district. Fish farming⁴⁸ is also an important economic activity carried out in the low rainfall zones of the district mainly in the Port of Masindi County. There is also small scale but promising fish farming mainly done by men. Bee keeping for honey production is increasing by being an important and practiced atleast everywhere in the district.⁴⁹ These economic activities supplement other forms of production in Kiryandongo District.

2.4.3 Tourism

Tourism in Kiryandongo is increasing with a steady stream of visitors to Murchison Falls National Park, Karuma Wildlife reserve, Nyamakebe and Kibeka forest reserve, Kaduku hill, Titi wetlands, Kyoga Nile and Karuma hydro power project.⁵⁰ Murchison falls National Park is managed by Uganda Wildlife Authority. The park extends inland from L. Albert, around Victoria Nile up to Karuma falls. It stretches to Bugungu wildlife reserve and Karuma wildlife reserve.⁵¹ The location of Kiryandongo in an area surrounded by wildlife reserves, make it a suitable place for resettling of both refugees and IDPs. This is good in providing natural protection to them and boosting population growth in the area as a whole.

2.4.4 Population of Kiryandongo District

According to the population and housing census of 2014, the district of Kiryandongo was found having a total population of 266,197 of which 133,701 were males and making a percentage of 50.3% and 132,496 females making a percentage of 49.7% and the population density stood at 74 people per square kilometer⁵². The population density stood at 74 persons per square km as per the report released by UBOS at the end of 2015. However, statistics indicate that by January 2018, the population has grown to 270,290 local people and 57,639 refugees.⁵³ Kiryandongo district today has a population of approximately 317,500 with majority of the households earning a living from subsistence farming.⁵⁴ With over 3.6 percent population growth rate per year, the district population keeps on increasing especially with the reunion of the different members of the refugee families, in the camps, increasing number of IDPs who are resettled by government and the self-settled in the district. It should thus be noted that the little population that existed indicated availability of land for the resettling of the refugees and IDPs.

According to the District development plan⁵⁵ population density stands at 74 persons per square km. Kiryandongo district is also said to be hosting a total of 54,700 refugee population and 277,444 population of the host community bringing the overall population of Kiryandongo district to 332,144.⁵⁶ Currently, of the total district population, 67,700 refugees and asylum seekers.⁵⁷ These are made up of 10,376 households, of which 32,569 are males and 35,131 females, and 19,759 are youths between 15-24 years. Regarding settlement patterns, 56,244 are settling in urban areas and 211,944 in rural areas of the district.⁵⁸ 32,630 of the general population of Kiryandongo district are people with disabilities; 17,494 with disability in seeing, 8,826 in hearing, 10,864 in remembering and 9,972 in walking.⁵⁹

Ranch 1 hosts 35,271 refugees from 5481 households, ranch 37 has 32,420 refugees from 4892 households and ranch 18 only 9 in ranch 18. 7% are boys between 1-4 years and 8% are girl of the same age. Boys between 5-11 years comprise of 13% and girls 12%. Those between 12-17 years are 12% for boys and 11% are girls. The adults of 18 years and above are 16% for males and 20% for females.⁶⁰ 27% of this can generate income from employment as 270 of them are employed in farming and forestry, 383 in housekeeping and restaurant, 2603 housekeeping, 2607 in farming and 2421 in administrative assistance.

2.5 The History and Political Economy of Kiryandongo Area

2.5.1 The History Focuses on People of Kiryandongo

Although this study is on at Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement, it is imperative to look at the general history of Bunyoro Kingdom in which Kiryandongo district and the settlement, is located. This is important in tracing the origin and the history of the people of Kiryandongo. This is because the history of the pre-colonial era is linked to the post-colonial period in which, the land was eventually gazetted for the refugees.

There was no written history of the Banyoro before the arrival of the first Europeans in 1862. However, legends and traditions confirm that the origin of the Banyoro, their history and traditions are in line of the Batembuzi, Bachwezi and the Babito reigns.⁶¹ Kiryandongo and its people belong to Bunyoro Kitara Kingdom in Western Uganda east of Lake Albert, traditionally under Omukama. Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom comprises of the current day five districts of Hoima, Masindi, Kibaale, Buliisa and Kiryandongo, with Runyoro-Rutooro as their native language.

The origins of Bunyoro Kitara are linked to the Bachwezi who succeeded the Batembuzi, who were the first settlers in the lakes region of East Africa in the 14th and 15th centuries. The Batembuzi reign covered parts of Uganda, northern Tanzania, eastern Democratic Republic of

the Congo, Rwanda and Burundi.⁶² Legends from Western Uganda state that this empire existed up to the 16th century when the Luo invaded, disintegrated and replaced her with Bunyoro-Kitara.⁶³

The Batembuzi rule existed between 9-21 generations⁶⁴ before they were followed by the Bachwezi with whom they are praised for having established Bunyoro-Kitara Empire.⁶⁵ Like the Batembuzi, Bachwezi were demi gods who are believed to have just disappeared, and are today worshipped by clans in Toro, Bunyoro and Buganda.

The rulers get many of their names for example Ndahura, Mulindwa, Wamara and Kagoro.⁶⁶ Their rule was however short-lived, with only three kings; Ndahura, Mulindwa and Wamara before allegedly migrating and disappearing into Lake Wamala which they named after their last king-Wamala.⁶⁷ Some Bachwezi were absorbed into Bahima of Ankole and Batutsi of Rwanda, and this is why they share characteristics of the Bachwezi and herders of long horned Ankole cattle that the Bachwezi introduced.

Socially, the Banyoro were structured into clans with the royal clan as the strongest, producing Kings, Princes and Princesses. All power belonged to the King and his word was final. The Banyoro worked for their King as clans brought food stuffs to ensure food security to the King. Different clans had different roles to play in the King's palace. For example, Abaliisa clan were shepherds, Abahamba were hunters and body guards, Abasiita were artisans and craftsmen whereas the Bayaga were the chief entertainers of the King.⁶⁸

Kiryandongo belong to Bunyoro's three dynasties of the Batembuzi, Bachwezi and the Babiito whose rule was mythical and short-lived in the 14th Century A.D.⁶⁹ When the Bachwezi disappeared, the Luo-Babiito took over power of the area and named Luo-bito dynasty, remembering its founders-the Jo-bito clan of the Luo that originated from under the Bito tree.⁷⁰

However, this group being small in number, they quickly dropped their Luo language and adopted the language of the Bantu whom they ruled.

Bunyoro Kitara Kingdom was founded by Rukidi in the sixteenth century along the banks of river Nile. Rukidi first killed his nameless mother's child whom he threw into the river. He was compensating his brother who had lost a child in the sacrificial violence that was required to pass over bodies of water patrolled by the spirits of such localities.⁷¹ Rukidi found Bunyoro a collapsed state due to famine but he established a new political and ritual that changed the balance of power in Bunyoro and ended famine in the seventeenth century despite the climatic oscillations that hindered successful agriculture.⁷²

According to oral traditions, the Luo first settled in Tekidi in Agora Mountains of Acholi area from where their ruler Isingoma Rukidi Mpuga derived his name. Isingoma meant Ise-Ngoma, meaning father of drums and was named in remembrance of a royal drum and insignia which belonged to the Basita and the old drum that he came with from Chope. Mpuga meant the spotted one which meant he had mixed the Bachwezi and Babiito descendants.⁷³ According to Kirungi, a diviner Nyokoka left Kitara and went to Bukidi where he met the brothers, Rukidi and Kato. On arrival Rukidi Mpuga embraced him with a feast in the night. As people were sleeping, Nyokoka explained to Mpuga about the existence of a big empire of Bunyoro in the south without a leader but with a lot of wealth, herds of cattle and rich clothing which excited him to want see this land.⁷⁴ Kirungi adds that,

While in their discussion, another Muchwezi messenger came and asked the Babiito to take over Bunyoro. Shortly after, another man called Mugungu came from Babwijura clan of Kitara and urged the Babiito not to delay since he had the royal regalia that the Bachwezi had left behind himself was incapable for kingship. Nyokoka then assured Mpuga of divine support and guidance.⁷⁵

Thereafter, Mpuga and his people decided to move towards Bunyoro. On entering Bunyoro, they first settled at Chope but later spread as far as Kiryandongo, where they found the place scarcely populated.⁷⁶

When the Luo reached Kiryandongo, they first settled in Kibanda County particularly at Kaduku hill, which became home to many foreigners from the North and North Eastern.⁷⁷ At Kaduku, the Luo king met a lady by names of Nyachwol whom he fallen in love with and finally impregnated her before he proceeded to Acholi. They later went to Acholi where he left wife, who gave birth to Rukidi Mpuga.⁷⁸ With time, this lady followed where he had produced his children without their father being identified.⁷⁹ She returned to Kaduku hill with a lot of herbal medicine and planed them on this hill. This was supported by Mugenyi, who stated that,

The Luo came with a lady with whom Kabalega produced Tito Winy the father of Iguru. People were coming in like settlers as many came from Southern Sudan in the Equatorial and others from Democratic republic of Congo.⁸⁰

Further, many Congolese moved from Congo to Acholi looking for pastures. They moved with their cultures of eating baboons, chimpanzees, monkeys and seasonal caterpillars from the Congo forests.⁸¹ When these foreigners came to Chope, they found many of these insects and caterpillars including “Ndongo-pallars” that lived in tree woods. The local people where surprised to see the Congolese eating “ndongo” insects, which the local people thought not to be eatable. So they named the place “Kiryandongo” literally meaning a place where people eat insects called Ndongo.⁸²

Kiryandongo is made up of one county called Kibanda, whose name is derived from the acts of vagabonds and crooks which characterised the place from the Abarusura in their attempt to ensure safety of the Omukama.⁸³ One of the prominent towns in Kiryandongo is Kigumba whose name was derived from the Maragoli language in which it means a bone.⁸⁴ This was confirmed

by Ndooli who stated that, when the Maragoli were clearing the plots of land which were allocated to them, they came across some trees which were too hard to fall. They equated such hardness to a bone hence naming the place Kigumba.⁸⁵

In the 1940's, Uganda became home of many Europeans displaced by World War II especially the Polish and civilian Prisoners of War from the axis powers and the assorted detainees from the allied side.⁸⁶ This called for the British establishment of camps in different parts of Uganda to accommodate all these refugees. Lunyiigo⁸⁷ states that all British colonies in East and Central Africa including Uganda received a share of Europeans displaced during World War II because these colonies were remote from the vigorous theatres of war and it's where the British enemy nationals and friendly aliens could be settled under maximum security.

Kiryandongo between 1942 and 1952 received 7,000 Polish refugees consisting of mainly women and children who were brought by the British government and settled in two camps.⁸⁸ About 3,635 Polish refugees were housed in one camp of six small fertile villages in Nyabyeya - Masindi district, some 30 Kms east of Lake Albert. In this area, there were no towns nearby but only the 3sq. Km piece of land that the Banyoro Machete wielders had cleared out of forest and constructed temporary mud and grass thatched huts.⁸⁹ They were worried as they were surrounded by dense wildlife infested areas but because the soils were fertile, they started growing bananas, maize, pineapples, tomatoes, sunflower and small livestock like hens.⁹⁰

The Nyabyeya refugee camp was so remote being located 19 miles away from Masindi town. It was well planned from centres of high population in 1940's. It was selected because it was hard for refugees to come unauthorised people mainly the enemies like the pro-Germans and anti-Russians to infiltrate the camps and to preserve whites' superiority of the Caucasians that was to

become badly dented whenever the Poles got the opportunity to do so to the bewilderment and disgust of their British bosses.⁹¹ Nevertheless, it served both British and refugees interests because it promoted comfort of both since camps could not be accessed anyhow by British enemies.

Generally, the relationship between the British colonial government and the Polish refugees was good because Poland and Britain were great allies during World War II. The Polish looked at the British as their saviors.⁹² The Polish refugees were also pleased with the sympathy portrayed by the British who imported nutritious food supplies that fed the Polish refugees during their first years at Nyabyeya.

On the side of the Banyoro, the relationship with the Polish refugees was also good. This is evidenced with the Banyoro entertaining of the Polish refugees through local dances. Economically, Banyoro also traded with these refugees mainly in food items that the Banyoro sold to the Polish refugees. According to Kabwijamu on NTV connect;

As a young boy, I travelled to Nyabyeya to sell mangoes to the polish refugees. They helped me in getting my school fees. They used these mangoes to make waragi. The refugees were greeting in 'Zindobere, Zindobere,' that's how they greeted. I liked them because for being very industrious. For them, they were producing their food, clothing, shoes and other things....⁹³

This shows that the Polish refugees were very friendly to the Ugandans and Banyoro in particular, something that exhibits how the two groups co-existed.

Administratively, the British set up the East African refugee administration in 1942 based in Nairobi to administer refugees in East African colonies. However, below the regional setting were territorial refugee offices under the Director of refugees. These were in charge of individual protectorates and their role was to supervise the administration of refugee camps which were under camp commandants. Like the British indirect rule, camp commandants were British,

seconded by local civil services.⁹⁴ The camp commandant at Nyabyeya appointed different Poles within the camp to effect the day to day running of the camp.⁹⁵ The elected Poles were given many powers but were answerable to the camp commandant, who only intervened when the Polish camp leaders acted contrary to their designated roles.⁹⁶ Additionally, the British also provided necessary man power where suitable Polish personnel could not be found to run camp activities

After World War II the British embarked on the repatriation of the Polish refugees in 1946 to kill off their contacts with Africans. This was because the British claimed that some Polish refugees had engaged in sexual intercourse with the Africans due to shortage of men in the camp yet such interracial sex undermined the white's superiority. In 1947 the International Refugee Organization was established based in Geneva to assist in the repatriation process of refugees across the World. In May 1948, Nyabyeya camp was closed and the refugees who had remained were taken to Kojja camp in Mukono, which hosted other Polish refugees.

By 1950, 11,000 refugees had been repatriated to Britain and others were resettled in Austria, United States of America, Canada, France, Argentina and South Africa.⁹⁷ In March 1951, the International Refugee Organisation was dissolved, but Uganda still had over 350 Polish refugees. These were mainly widows, children, and mentally sick poles and about more than 50 others across Uganda on temporally terms. These could not be allowed by any country and therefore, the British had to take care of them. Since by 1952, Kojja camp had been dismantled, its property auctioned and sold to various government departments and eventually closed,⁹⁸ “culprits” of interracial sex were relocated to Kiryandongo, on a government free land that she had acquired from Bunyoro, to continue isolating them and as a form of punishment. This is affirmed by Katusabe who stated that;

I and other 31 people were brought here in 1953 from Entebbe because the British thought that we had engaged sexually with the Polish refugees. The government did this to isolate us as a punishment.....When we arrived here, Kiryandongo area was bushy and we started clearing bush for settlement as well as gardening and charcoal burning to earn a living.⁹⁹

This means that Africans who used to work for the Polish refugees at Nyabyeya and Kojja were the first to be resettled at Kiryandongo then followed by the Maragoli people. However, this was earlier before the legal acquisition of this land.

The closure of the refugee camps of Nyabyeya in 1948 and Kojja in 1952 made the British resort to Kiryandongo that was sparsely populated coupled with cordial relationship between the colonial government and Sir Tito Winyi.¹⁰⁰ This laid a good foundation for the British to convince Winy to give the colonial government land to settle the Africans who had been with the Polish refugees and the Maragoli from the British East African Colony. Soon after the departure of the Polish refugees from Uganda, other refugees entered Uganda fleeing civil wars. For example, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan and Kenya have over 190,000 refugees in Uganda.¹⁰¹ Some refugees came in 1955 from the Anglo-Egyptian condominium of Sudan. These were followed by those fleeing unrest of the struggles of independence of Kenya, Rwanda and Sudan.¹⁰² All these conflicts generated into Uganda over 78,000 refugees. During the same period, Uganda also hosted Ethiopian and Somali refugees.

Due to this influx, the British colonial government took some of the refugees to Kiryandongo area in 1954. These were settled first in Kigumba-Masindi district on the land that Amin had gazetted as government ranches.¹⁰³ Later others spread to other parts of Bunyoro including Kiryandongo where the refugee settlement was established.

Primarily, there existed land conflicts in Bunyoro among the Bakiga and Banyoro. They were common in South Western part of Bunyoro.¹⁰⁴ However, amongst the local Banyoro in

Kiryandongo there were no titles, so anyone could acquire land through sale agreements. Above all, since the British had defeated the Banyoro and in turn worked closely with Winyi IV, Bunyoro was not hesitant to comply with the British protectorate request due to the fact that this land was vacant and the neighboring communities were depopulated by the earlier British wars.

According to the United Nations High Commission for refugees, between 1955 and 1972 about 86,000 Sudanese entered Uganda for refuge.¹⁰⁵ Following the breach of a peace accord signed between Sudanese warring parties in 1972, war broke out in 1980, which forced another 155,932 Sudanese to flee to Uganda. They were put in twenty eight settlements in the region of North and West Nile. From there, they were attacked by the lord's resistance army who injured and killed both the Acholi and Sudanese refugees mainly in Acholi Pii refugee settlement in Pader district.¹⁰⁶ As a result, government and United Nations High Commission for refugees (UNHCR) transported many of them to Kiryandongo. On reaching Kiryandongo, they were put in a transit camp. Shortly after, the settlement was designated to cater for them. This was supported by Langoya, who stated that,

We came from Sudan on March 3 and 4, 1989 and settled in Kitgum. Due to the attack from the Lord's Resistance Army, in 1990, UNHCR transported us from Lorojo-Kitgum via a convoy to Bweyale, when it was still part of Masindi district. On reaching here, there was no water and we used to get it from Masindi port. There was no grinding machine but this was later also established by the United nations high commission for refugees.¹⁰⁷

He adds that Kiryandongo refugee settlement was constructed by government and the Nor-consult surveyors. These measured the land and gave plots of 25 X 25ft to each person. This was aimed at ensuring that each individual gets a plot of land since the population of refugees had increased. This was done by the post-colonial government of Uganda in 1992. In 1993 Museveni re-established districts from Amin's provinces.¹⁰⁸ Later on July 1, 2009, Kiryandongo was

carved from Masindi district and her headquarter became a town council.¹⁰⁹ This intended to extend service delivery to the people of Kiryandongo.

Therefore, Kiryandongo area has been home for many people of diverse cultures. From the era of the Batembuzi, Bachwezi and later the Luo, shows a related peopling. Later the coming of the Acholi and the Congolese, from which the name Kiryandongo emanate, proves changes that people can cause on an area. Its location in Bunyoro is evidence for existence of Banyoro, Bakiga and Batoro who are closely related. With the later migrations of Baganda, Banyarwanda and later the refugees from different countries, all explain the multicultural setting of the area. This, among other factors, explains why it became a destination of different refugees.

2.5.2 The Political Economy of Kiryandongo Area

Originally, Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement belonged to Masindi district located in the former Bunyoro-Kitara kingdom which is today Bunyoro Kingdom. It was originally inhabited by the Banyoro people speaking Runyoro.¹¹⁰ The place also has other ethnic groups from within and outside Uganda (Refugees), each with its cultural norms ranging from dressing, rites and marriages. Some of these are Acholis, Langi, Iteso, Lugbaras, Bachope, Nubians, Baganda, Banyankole, Bagishu, Masai and Dinkas. Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement is a heterogeneous area.

The settlement area was part of Uganda government's old cattle ranching scheme¹¹¹ in a locality where cattle keeping and maize growing were the common farming practices. People's culture was portrayed in music, dance, drama and folktales. Generally the history of Bunyoro makes a great part of history of Uganda¹¹² because a number of social, economic and political events that constructed the modern Uganda are linked to Bunyoro.

Politically, the King had supreme authority over his subjects as he could appoint, promote and dismiss county chiefs. Below him was the prime minister who was the head of civil service throughout the kingdom and below him were the county chiefs who were answerable to him who reported to the king. Below the county chiefs were the sub county chiefs who managed sub counties through receiving annual reports from parish and sub-parish chiefs. Village chiefs were the lower most administrators who delivered the king's message to the Banyoro lay people.

Economically, Bunyoro carried out trade with her neighbours as she supplied foodstuff in return to what she could not produce. The kingdom's fertile soils boosted Banyoro's subsistence farming and the surplus could be sold to the neighbouring Buganda, Ankole and Toro. Therefore, hoe-based agriculture was the economic backbone of the economy of Bunyoro and this facilitated barter trade¹¹³ and transformed the kingdom's economy from traditional to modern. This made Bunyoro a leading centre of trade in salt and iron smith during the pre-colonial period. The salt deposits of lake Katwe, Kasenyi and Kibiro alongside iron-ore deposits near Masindi attracted many societies to go to Bunyoro to purchase red-hoes and salt which were highly needed by the Lango and Iteso¹¹⁴ many of whom chosen to remain in Kiryandongo.

The above transactions transformed Bunyoro as a kingdom into a conducive area for human settlement which made government choose it for the settlement of refugee hence Kiryandongo

Refugee Settlement

The Maragoli people from Western Kenya were the first group of foreigner settlers to come to Kiryandongo area. These came in 1900 during the construction of the Uganda railway. After staying in Bunyoro for over 40 years, their dialect sounded close to that of Banyoro which amazed Winyi. He then decided to visit the Maragoli chief in Nyanza province of Western Kenya from where they agreed that more Maragoli people come to Bunyoro.¹¹⁵ They came and

were allocated land for settlement in Kigumba county (Kiryandongo district)¹¹⁶ when it was still part of Masindi district, Bunyoro region, Western Uganda. According to Ndooli;

The Maragoli community came to Uganda as technical people during the construction of the Uganda railway between 1904-1910. After living in Bunyoro between 30-40 years, the King of Bunyoro discovered that they were good people, something he shared with their leaders in Bunyoro. On hearing that most of the Maragoli were living in Mwanza province in Kenya, Winyi called them to come and settle in Kigumba together with other Maragoli.¹¹⁷

He then talked to their leaders and convinced them to send more Maragolis to Bunyoro area. Once they allowed his request, more Maragolis came into Uganda, particularly in Kiryandongo, Bunyoro.

Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement belongs to the former Masindi District. According to Lunyiigo¹¹⁸ this area received 7000 Polish refugees who were part of the displaced people of World War II mainly comprising of mostly women and children were brought in Uganda between 1942 and 1944. These people were settled at Nyabyeya camp in Masindi district and Mpunge-Koja on Lake Victoria peninsular in Mukono district. This was because Uganda had been made one of the homes of Europeans displaced by World War II.¹¹⁹ By the year 1948 however, many had been resettled in Britain and Canada as well as Australia. After the closure of Nyabyeya camp, but the elderly and hard core Polish refugees who could not be absorbed in Europe were taken to Koja camp until 1952 when it was closed down and its assets shared by both government and the public.¹²⁰

After demolishing the camp of Koja, many people therein were helpless which made government to plan for their resettlement. This created a need for the establishment of a new camp that could offload the existing burden created by the closure of Koja camp. In 1954, government decided to transfer them to Kiryandongo where she had unoccupied land. The British acquired this land as result of the signing of Bunyoro agreement, earlier in 1933.¹²¹

Uganda, like other British colonies in East and Central Africa received a share of Europeans displaced during World War II because these colonies were remote and far from fields of the war where British enemies and friends could be accommodated under effective strictness.¹²² Putting them in isolated centres was therefore not only a planned arrangement but also an important exercise of the British masters to ensure their safety by making sure that they were not easily be accessed by their enemies. With the closure of Nyabyeya and Koja camps, the British colonial administrators asked Bunyoro native government for a remote Kiryandongo land which Bunyoro gave. This led to the establishment of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement. Later Kenyan refugees running away from the Mau-Mau rebellion were later brought and settled in Kigumba in the then Masindi district.¹²³

Among these were Kariuki who is remembered as prominent businessman in Kigumba and Sajjabi who left a filling station that is currently operated by his children in the same town.¹²⁴ As soon as these had arrived, the Maragoli led by 52 year old Adoli Eliakim left Kenya to Kiryandongo-Bunyoro and settled in the then bushy Kigumba¹²⁵ in 1954. On arriving to Kigumba, they promoted farming through the introduction of maize and this developed Kigumba into a town and Kiryandongo as a region through commercialisation. Ndooli, one of the Maragoli leaders affirms that;

The Maragoli are majorly cultivators, they mainly grow maize and they were the first people to introduce maize growing in Kiryandongo and spread to the whole Bunyoro and Uganda. Even today, Kiryandongo is known among the districts producing the biggest amount of maize together with beans, cassava and sweet potatoes.¹²⁶

The Maragoli helped in spreading religion in the Kiryandongo district which has shaped the refugees in the area up to today. Kagunza adds;

The Maragoli tribe is the one that spread Christianity in the area. Although they are other religions here but most of the people here are Christians of protestant sect, followed by a number of Pentecostal, born again and some Muslims which shows the work of the original Maragoli people in this area.....¹²⁷

From 1956 to 1958, more Maragolis came again from Kenya.¹²⁸ When they arrived in Kiryandongo, Bunyoro Agricultural Company adopted a new cash policy on produce that seemed to benefit cultivators the more since the policy exempted farmers from paying taxes. Bunyoro and the colonial government then opted for a settlement scheme as a way of destroying the bushes that housed tsetse flies.¹²⁹ Each Maragoli family then acquired 20 acres of land for purpose of growing cotton and maize as stated that;

The Maragoli who came in the 17th Century acquired land the way the Banyoro did and those Who were brought by Winyi were given 20 acres each, by the Omukama himself. There did not Exist land conflicts between these two groups. But because the Maragoli were not constitutionally recognised as a tribe, some Banyoro threatened to take over land that the Maragoli occupied but this was on a few individual level not as a community perspective.¹³⁰

By 1959, Maragoli people had acquired 372 plots of land from the British colonial government.¹³¹ This ensured their settlement, safety and self-reliance through farming. Whereas some Maragoli decided to go back to Kenya, others settled in Ntoma settlement scheme as well as spreading to parts of Bunyoro.¹³² However, as some Maragoli were moved away from Bunyoro back to Kenya, new rivals of Maragoli tribe kept on entering into Uganda looking for friends and relatives who had come earlier on.

The Protectorate government later built Kigumba farm prison to strengthen the rule of law and its prisoners worked on the farm¹³³ which increased food production and food security in Kigumba, Kiryandongo and Bunyoro as a region. It is recorded that a total of 35,000 Maragoli settlers settled in Kigumba¹³⁴ but are now spread to all areas of Kiryandongo district and Bunyoro region. The coming of the Maragoli increased the population of Bunyoro and due to the desire for land; there came some individual conflicts over land as Ndooli adds that;

I have not seen any serious conflicts over land between the Maragoli and Banyoro, except that when a particular tribe is not in the constitution, those who are a bit learned will always disturb them saying ‘you don’t appear anywhere in the constitution,’ but that is at an individual level.

That's where you will discover the little bit of land conflict, with particular individuals but not with the whole community. Issues to do with Maragoli having land conflicts with the Banyoro is not there.¹³⁵

However, with the coming of more Maragolis and other people to Kiryandongo, there was increased pressure on both land and other resources leading to the land tenure system in Bunyoro that ended into the demarcation of 37 ranches in Kiryandongo area, part of which the refugee settlement is located. After their settlement in Kigumba and spreading over Kiryandongo, some local people began disrespecting them and marginalising them on grounds that they were not Ugandans.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, there were high levels of intermarriages between the Maragoli and the Banyoro which is enough to make them Ugandans according to the constitution and citizens control Act.¹³⁷ On this, Kagunza states that,

There is high level of intermarriage between the Maragoli and the host people of Bunyoro and most of the children born have different parents. Either the father is a Maragoli and the mother a Munyoro or a father a Munyoro and the mother a Maragoli. The children produced are treated as Ugandans but their Maragoli parent is segregated in the community.¹³⁸

Therefore, to avoid segregation and stop marginalisation of the Maragoli community, they formed a pressure group called the 'Maragoli Community' to force government to recognise them as an independent tribe in Uganda. These are now led by Adola.¹³⁹ Ndooli adds that;

Our struggle to demand for citizenship began in 1998 but we relaxed a bit not until 2012 when we resumed the efforts. We put in more efforts and petitioned the speaker of parliament and our issue was tabled by the legal committee of the parliament. The cabinet tried to discuss it and now they told us that government is making amendments where the marginalised Maragoli people who were not recognised will now be considered. After, we got the communication of the president and the attorney general about identifying us as true Ugandans.¹⁴⁰

This pressure was because for two consecutive national censuses, the Maragoli had been left out yet they had for long requested to be considered a tribe in Uganda. The settlement of the Maragoli into Kigumba later resulted into population increase which led to land conflicts and land tenure system which resulted into the demarcation of land into a number of ranches. In this demarcation, three ranches were reserved and gazetted as Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement.

The demarcation of the ranches was due to the post-World War II problems of escalating nationalist movement which required social and economic changes. The movements were to create a social group that would have an objective interest as opposed to radical politics, rapid agricultural change and expansion of the market for imported agricultural produce. Keeping them in ranches would therefore be the best way for the government to contain them.

There then emerged land conflicts in which all people who were looking for land were settled in Kitongozi.¹⁴¹ In the process, many people were evicted and later squatters claimed that the boundary of Karuma game reserve was illegally made. This made the game warden punish one squatter over issues related to a woman and this resulted into creation of a new boundary to get rid of the squatters and enemies.¹⁴² This affected many innocent peasants as they were evicted and a new boundary created in 1964.

In 1973 more evictions were made and many peasants were not compensated and even after the fall of Amin, the farm remained vacant. Population pressure together with the internally displaced persons of the Dok Turwu war led to the encroachment into the farm.¹⁴³ This necessitated change in land tenure from customary to 'state lease' and 'individual lease' tenure which resulted into government's establishment of ranching schemes in Bunyoro sub region. Kiryandongo then became a ranching scheme mainly for agricultural progressive ranchers who were used by the regime in power to reward political supporters in the way feudal social formation did.¹⁴⁴ This was ascertained by a one Kabuya, who stated that,

I settled on this land in 1970's after government's decision to take my original land in the bid to establish the ranches for purposes of boosting farming and ranching system. I am so lucky because many others were evicted with no compensation. I can sustain my family due to the number of activities that i run on my land.¹⁴⁵

To make matters worse, in 1973, Amin government took over 186 miles of land through the disguise of law and established another ranching scheme covering a total area of 43,218 hectares of land, whose owners were evicted and compensated but others were not.¹⁴⁶ Most of them ran to Lira and Apac¹⁴⁷ and Bunyoro ranching scheme was set up on the land that they had left behind. This was later subdivided into 37 ranches with an average size of 950 and 1800 hectares in Kibanda sub-county.¹⁴⁸ Most of the people who lived on this land were re-allocated during Obote II rule and others displaced. Some of them went and settled along main roads and in towns, having been devastated by colonial wars and epidemics like Spanish influenza, syphilis, sleeping sickness and famine. The displaced were resettled by government.¹⁴⁹

Such a system made land scarce because more land was transformed from Kibanja tenure to state and individual lease tenure which made it hard for people to acquire it. Since government had abolished kingdoms, she gained direct control over land and made district land boards mere agents of Uganda Land Commission which gave government an upper hand to carve out land in Masindi district¹⁵⁰ part of which she establishment of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement.

However, in 1975, a land reform act was passed with a clause that tenants were not to be evicted without compensation. Nevertheless, landlords and army officers continued to evict tenants without compensation.¹⁵¹ The continued eviction resulted into re-occurrence of more land conflicts between the squatters and landlords in areas of Kiryandongo. As a result, in 1978 sixteen peasants signed a petitioned to the district commissioner of north Bunyoro complaining about a one Abdallah who had fenced 39 homes to which land they had stayed on since 1965. Above all, they were afraid that they had nowhere to go.¹⁵²

Later a County chief also wrote to the district commissioner in support of all the evicted people. It was noted that the enclosure movement was full of conflicts and quarrels over land which resulted into evictions and death.¹⁵³ Although it was difficult to re-construct the lives of the evicted but they were finally resettled as the Ggombolola Chief of Kiryandongo noted that:

The remaining land in Masindi is already inhabited by those who were evicted from Panyadoli ranch (sic Bunyoro ranching scheme) and also from the Palestinian farm of Kirooko and Kitaleba. Furthermore, this claimed land is already known to you for it is the very piece to which general..... wanted but it failed as it had more people.¹⁵⁴

When Amin lost power in 1979, the Langi in Apac and Lira districts staged the war named “Dok Turwu” against all non-Langi forcing them to go back to their native land leading to more displacements.¹⁵⁵ The war enabled the Banyoro and Maragoli squatters to acquire land at Ibuje ranch that belonged to the absentee landowners.¹⁵⁶ Later these returned to Kiryandongo as fugitives having lost their property and relatives. On reaching Kiryandongo, they were resettled on the abandoned Palestine farm in the ranches where they settled as squatters in different villages as follows: The village of Nabikoni got 602 people, Kikungulu 160, Koki 106, Kihembera 169, Kankoba 269, Kabonyi 116, Kyamakubangi 209, Kyansanyi 175 and Kiryampungura 284 people which brought the total of squatter population within these ranches to 2504 Internally displace persons.¹⁵⁷

The process of resettling these people in those ranches led to the creation of the landlord tenure of lease system and the development of ranching system in Kiryandongo district.

In 1980’s, most of them were settling in Kitongozi where they acquired land.¹⁵⁸ The Palestine-cum settlers were then transferred from the national road authority farm and game reserve and were given smaller pieces of land within Kitongozi ranch by the chiefs after bribing them. This swelled their numbers in the ranches.¹⁵⁹

After the acquisition of this land, conflicts emerged between the absentee landlords, squatters and indigenous people over the increased rent of the squatters who desired to develop land which was contrary to the indigenous people who desired to evict them especially the Kenyans.¹⁶⁰ The conflict took an ethnic trend as one Kenyan squatter complained to the district commissioner if it was bad for him to develop over 25 acres of land than an indigenous person who wanted to keep it bushy because he was a native.¹⁶¹ He then requested the chief to stop the natives from interrupting his plans because he was Kenyan.¹⁶²

Unfortunately, more land conflicts continued to emerge between the veterinary and forestry sectors over the ownership of Kitongozi area. This conflict was caused by the gazetting of Kibeka and Nyamakere forests as reserves earlier before the establishment of the ranches, but then the ranch demarcation process never considered these reserves at a time of establishing the ranches.¹⁶³

Therefore, the veterinary department demanded that the forest department abandons the forests to ranches yet the forest department also insisted that the forest reserves had to remain. Due to the fact that the veterinary department had an alliance with the absentee owners, the other stake holders disagreed and the two departments began evicting squatters from this area.¹⁶⁴ Many evicted people started looking for land in Kitongozi and were joined by those evicted from the national roads authority farm which had been demarcated by the Amin government and allocated to the Palestine Liberation Organisation.¹⁶⁵

When the National Resistance Army took over power, many squatters were evicted and land was taken over by her production unit. Using their giant earth moving equipment, the army uprooted banana plantations and huts in villages of Kirooko 1 and Kirooko 2 and squatters crowded in the

remaining areas of Kiryandongo. Some squatters spread to Pakanyi in ranch land of Buruuli where as others into the Karuma game reserve from where they were further evicted by the game department.¹⁶⁶

The local politics amongst the squatters assumed an ethnic face which affected the amount of land settlers could get. The dominant Baluuli in Kitongozi believed this ranch land belonged to their ancestors who were evicted in favour of a ranching system and this made other groups get less land.¹⁶⁷ This is why foreigners settled at the entry points to stop wild animals from entering Baruuli's gardens. Fortunately due to water shortage and lack of developed roads, some ranches remained uninhabited and therefore vacant.¹⁶⁸ These became sanctuaries for wild animals and tsetse procreation.¹⁶⁹ Other late settlers habited the edges of ranches and rich people purchased developed areas far from those with sickness and wild animals.

As their children grew older, they were given land and when they married, they became independent thus separated from their parents but on the same large piece of land bought at first. This reduced their parents' original land and explains why the squatters had unequal access to land. All the remaining uninhabited land was then converted into large-scale government ranching scheme made up of 39 ranches which made it to become even more sparsely populated than before.¹⁷⁰ Later, recommendations were made that all uninhabited land be re-distributed to the landless and the squatters' issue in Kiryandongo be fixed by re-possessing their ranches especially those which were not yet developed.

Many squatters and landless people were relocated and peaceful co-existence was encouraged. This improved harmony and set a foundation for innovation and development of agriculture.¹⁷¹ Consequently there was promotion of self-sustainability and food security for better livelihood of

both squatters and the host community. This led to much alienation of land and the progression of the squatters into Kiryandongo more so with the creation of the ranches.¹⁷²

The system of land enclosure system spread and population increased. With increasing political displacements and natural disasters, there was increased pressure on the outstanding small piece of land. Certainly some squatters settled on the forest and game reserves of Karuma, Pakanyi and Lake Albert range.¹⁷³ Nonetheless they were evicted from there and tried to press the authorities to extend frontier to the reserve. They were sent away from Panyadoli and showed them the actual borderline of the game reserve.¹⁷⁴ Consequently, they were distributed in the already established official ranches.

Therefore, the land tenure system and transition from the traditional tenure to state tenure created land conflicts. The conflicts resulted into a number of displacements and settlements into various parts of Bunyoro. As a result, the government's desire to resettle her people made her to redistribute all the vacant land of Kiryandongo into 39 ranches from which different displaced people were resettled. The three ranches; 1, 37 and 18 that remained unoccupied were then reserved for the refugees who were hatched at a ripe time when this land was still vacant. The government then gazetted and demarcated the land that remained unoccupied into the Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement.

In mid-1990, arrangements were made and Sudanese refugees were brought into this place for refuge.¹⁷⁵ These fled Sudanese People's Liberation Army across the Ugandan border from Parajok in Torit district to Kitgum in an Oxfam transit camp from where they were transported by lorry via Masindi to Kiryandongo and put in a transit camp before the settlement was gazetted.¹⁷⁶ Soon after, Oxfam withdrew her help and were replaced by Medicins Sans Frontieres as the implementing partners of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. In 1992,

plots of land were allocated and families were moved out of the transit camp at Kiryandongo to the gazetted refugee settlement where they began to build homes and growing crops for their living in ranch 1 and 37. Later on, ranch 18 was planned for the Internally Displaced Persons as Okello states that;

When we arrived here, we were given our designed respective plots of land. The plots were Curved mainly in ranch 1 and 37 because they were fertile and we needed to grow our own food. Ranch 18 had been ignored because it was infertile and with more stones. Due to the increase in the numbers of refugees especially with the arrival of internally displaced persons, ranch 18 was planned mainly to accommodate them.¹⁷⁷

In the same year, Medicins Sans Frontieres were also replaced by InterAid in the Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement and InterAid operated their up to the early 1997¹⁷⁸ when the government of Uganda gazetted all the uninhabited land around Kiryandongo and incorporated it onto the refugee settlement.

Above all, many Achol-pii Sudanese refugees were predominantly Acholi who mainly entered Uganda between 1992 and 1993.¹⁷⁹ Because many of them had relatives in Kiryandongo, it made government choose to relocate them to Kiryandongo to save them from the Lord's Resistance Army attacks of 1996 as they looked at this settlement as the best venue for these Acholis. This explains why the Acholi are the most dominate ethnic race of refugees in Kiryandongo refugee Settlement.

Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement is organised into three ranches: ranch No.1, ranch No.37 and ranch No.18 with thirty settlement clusters lettered from AA to ZZ.¹⁸⁰ It is in these clusters where refugees were allocated plots of land to settle and cultivate their own food for self-sustainability.

The aim this program was to provide refugees with security and enable them the host community. There was a problem of the land issue but this was fixed, when the government made available 2500 hectares addition of land to the Settlement. Later, out of 1563 who were

residing at the transit camp, 599 families were allocated pieced of land demarcated in form of plots therein.¹⁸¹ By May 1995, government had allocated more 3,725 hectares of land and this further promoted integration of refugees. More 964 families were also able to get plots where they could live and grow crops.¹⁸² By 1999 relocation of all refugees from the transit camp to their apportioned plots within the gazetted refugee settlement had been completed.

Refugees were allocated between 3 to 10 acres of land, but this also depended on the size of the family, time of relocation and size of land. This is in line with one Okello who stated that;

We entered Uganda running from the first Anyanya war in Sudan to Kitgum from where a convoy carried us to Kiryandongo between March to April 1990. After settling at Kiryandongo Refugee camp for one year, between 1992-1994, government and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees transported us to the newly established refugee settlement where they allocated us plots of land. Each person was given 2 acres of land and when a family had many people, each person was given 1 acre. They then gave us seeds to start farming.¹⁸³

Later, ranch 18 was added onto the settlement to accommodate the Internally Displaced Persons from the period of the Bududa landslides as Okello adds that;

At first we occupied all the three ranches; ranch, ranch 37 and ranch 18 but later with the coming of Bududa Internally Displaced Persons, refugees were relocated from ranch 18 and were redistributed in ranch 1 and 37 and ranch 18 is now for Bududa survivors.¹⁸⁴

Ranch 18 is the most current, undeveloped and infertile of all the ranches making up the settlement. It is also the furthest from the available social services units¹⁸⁵ and this makes it lag behind in terms of development and refugee livelihood.

The Sudanese refugees, who were first brought to Kiryandongo arrived in the early 1990's and were settled in ranches 1 and 37 which are fertile with healthy vegetation and wildlife.¹⁸⁶ These received between 1.2 to 4 hectares of land in the fertile ranch 1 and 37, depending on size of family members per home.¹⁸⁷ This helped them to get good harvests to support their families in terms of food and income generation from the sales of their harvests.¹⁸⁸ Other refugees who came to Kiryandongo in mid-1990 were settled in ranch 18 where more than 45 percent of the

land is rocky or swampy.¹⁸⁹ This was recognised by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees' mission in 2000 when her official noted that much as there was land in Kiryandongo but ranch 18 was, infertile and not good for agriculture. He recommended that some refugees therein needed to be relocated to another area where they could do farming for self-reliant in the future.¹⁹⁰

This therefore means that fertility is vital in promoting food security and refugee integration. Nevertheless, about 60 percent of the refugees in Kiryandongo refugee Settlement reside in ranch 18, and though through pain but they are able to meet their basic needs and non-food needs by engaging in small economic activities especially farming. The policy does not restrict refugees in camps as it allows them to move freely and relate with members of the host community. According to this has contributed to integration and promotion of peaceful co-existence with the host community.¹⁹¹

Therefore this means that Kiryandongo was chosen for refugee settlement due to the peaceful nature of her nearby communities, the existence of government vacant fertile land, the good climate and political stabilities in the area and its remote nature. This is in line with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees' policy of advocating of refugee settlements in rural and remote areas.¹⁹²

These findings are in line with those of earlier researchers like Norwegian Refugee Council who observed the same ecological and social characteristics of the area that made it habitable.¹⁹³ This made it good area for settling of both refugees and Internally Displaced Persons.

Farming forms the main backbone for the economy of people in Kiryandongo refugee settlement. There exist a number of non-government organisations in Kiryandongo refugee settlement. These provide aid to the refugees, as well as employment opportunities to non-refugee citizens of

Kiryandongo refugee settlement and the neighboring communities. These among others include;; Give Direct, AFI, RLP, ACF, ACCORD, Windle Trust Uganda (WTU), Feed the Hungry, WPDI, AIRD, Young Women Christian association (YWCA), Nippising University, SHA, Uganda Red cross society (URCS), BRAC, Real medicine foundation (RMF), PATH, World Food Programme (WFP) and Kiryandongo district local government (KDL), Others are, Medicins San Frontiers (MSF), Oxfam, InterAid Uganda (IAU) , Trans psychosocial Organisation (TPO), among others. These organizations have helped the refugees to be more organized.¹⁹⁴

2.5.3 Conclusion

This chapter began by explaining the geographical setting that defined Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement in terms of location that made it a destination of different categories of refugees, the chapter indicates that Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement was part of the government ranching unoccupied land, and the United Nation High Commission for Refugees with its policy called for refugee hosting states to establish settlement area in rural places preferable on government owned land, to ensure refugee policy and self-sustainability through offering them land for farming and avoiding the urban related dilemma. This policy made the government choose Kiryandongo area for refugees and internally displaced persons.

The chapter locates the origins of Kiryandongo as a geographical setting stating that it originates from the Congolese who came with the Luo and surprisingly they were eating the insects called ‘ndongo-pallar’ and the place came to be called “Kiryandongo” meaning a place where people eat Ndong insects.

It has further the origins of its main county of Kibanda as well as Kigumba describing the history of the people of Kiryandongo district before 1950, the coming of the Polish refugees, displaced by World War II, the coming of the Maragoli, the land tenure conflicts that ended into the demarcation of the 39 ranches in Kiryandongo area and leaving ranch 1, 37 and 18 unoccupied creating rooms for establishment of the Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement.

It also shows how the coming of refugee and internally displaced persons has led to economic and social developments of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement and her neighboring communities. With the sandy loam soils and favorable rainfall distribution that favors agriculture in cassava, millet, groundnuts, cattle and goat rearing, refugee self-reliance was promoted. With the work of government, United Nations High Commission for Refugees and other non-government agencies, Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement has become a significant settlement in the social, political and economic development of Kiryandongo district and Uganda as a whole because Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement plays a significant role in refugee studies because it is a model settlement of other refugee settlements in Uganda.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE ORIGIN, GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF KIRYANDONGO REFUGEE SETTLEMENT

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with the geography and history of Kiryandongo refugee Settlement. It provided an entry point into the refugee settlement by describing its location, the people and the general history of the area that later became a refugee settlement. The purpose of this chapter is to trace the origin, growth and development of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement. Specifically the chapter describes the flows of refugees in Kiryandongo area, how they settled and their eventual relationship with the host community.

There a number of factors that does explain the origin of Kiryandongo refugee settlement. When the settlement was founded, refugee flows in Kiryandongo described its growth. Later refugee relationship amongst themselves, host community, government, UNHCR and her partner agencies, among other factors described the development. Therefore, all the entire elements above are argued simultaneously as follow.

A number of laws and policies have been developed by the government of Uganda since 1962, to ensure safety of refugees. This section discusses how these laws and policies influenced the flow and settlement of refugees in Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement. These policies influence the life of refugees while in the settlement and make them have complete rights as human beings. Such treatment makes them feel worthy living and to a certain extent appreciate the host state for securing refugee lives and rights.

3.1 Kiryandongo during the Colonial Period

The conflicts between the British and Bunyoro Kingdom weakened Bunyoro and eventually made the British gain control over her land. These turned Bunyoro land into crown land and when it became government land, she converted part of it into a refugee settlement. Kiryandongo is part of the ancient Bunyoro Kitara Kingdom. As already mentioned, by 1850, Bunyoro was one of the powerful kingdoms in the interlacustrine region which later became part of the British East African protectorate. During the colonial period, Kiryandongo was under the administration of Masindi district, one of the 17 districts of the Western province of the British Protectorate government.

In the 1860's, Bunyoro received her first European visitors, whose coming marked the beginning of her decline. The visitors were British explorers and included Grant, Speke and Sir Samuel Baker.¹ Baker first came in 1864 and returned in 1872 as a British official representative. In this capacity, he declared Bunyoro a tributary state of the British which triggered Kabalega and Banyoro into a fight against the British. In this war Baker and his troops killed many Banyoro and set ablaze on Kabalega's palace as well as nearby villages. This fracas made Kabalega struggle for the Bunyoro he had just succeeded from Kamurasi who was king of Bunyoro between 1852 and 1869.² This marked the initial stages of the colonial influence over Bunyoro and Kiryandongo region.

Despite this intrusion, Kabalega ruled up to 1898. During his rule, he tried to reorganise the lost glory of Bunyoro-Kitara by training and arming his army called Abarusula. He also embarked on wars of recapturing Toro and Chope.³ Unfortunately, at the initial stage of fighting Buganda, the British colonialists arrived and allied with Toro and Buganda against Kabalega.⁴ Kabalega decided to resist the British and his resistance began on April 29, 1872 after Baker built his

headquarters at Masindi to prepare for the annexation of Bunyoro Kitara.⁵ The British captured Bunyoro on May 14, 1872.⁶ This was followed by full blown exploitation of Bunyoro mainly through the trade in Ivory.⁷ This annoyed Kabalega who ordered the Banyoro to sell their ivory to him, which annoyed Baker. In turn, Baker demanded food from Bunyoro chiefs to feed British soldiers whom he then commanded to attack Bunyoro.⁸ This resulted into the 27 years' war which ended on April 9, 1899 with Kabalega captured and exiled on the Seychelles Island.⁹ The provinces of Buyaga and Bugangaizi that belonged to Bunyoro were annexed to Buganda which left Bunyoro with only Hoima and Masindi districts.¹⁰

The continued British invasion of Bunyoro reduced her population from 2,500,000 to 400,000 people.¹¹ Colville's massacres in the seven years' military mission affected trade, farming and cattle rearing which caused famine, diseases and epidemics.¹² In the four years that followed the establishment of British colonial rule over Bunyoro, Gregory, a British geologist who had come to East Africa estimated that, Bunyoro's population had reduced by a forth.¹³ Large tracts of fertile land were set aside and made game reserves, the British enforced cash crop growing in mainly cotton and tobacco instead of food crops which favoured the British more than the Banyoro, and the British also encouraged their troops to loot and raid villages throughout Bunyoro.¹⁴ The raids aimed at getting food for the troops.

The British also imported syphilis which grew into an epidemic disease that affected Bunyoro's economy along other injustices.¹⁵ All these made the land of Bunyoro; including Kiryandongo to be taken over by the colonial government from 1954. By 1899, Ternan had officially declared that all un inhabited land in Bunyoro region be taken by British colonial government, which was seconded by Johnson who converted all ancestral farms and grazing lands in Bunyoro into British property in a colonised Uganda.¹⁶

Additionally, the British grabbed over 5 square miles, issued land titles and made it part of Buganda. These became the lost counties. As a result, the remaining land that previously yielded farming and livestock produce turned wild, sparse and infertile.¹⁷ Buyaga and Bugangaizi were however returned to Bunyoro after the 1964 referendum.¹⁸ Bunyoro and other Kingdoms were then abolished by Obote I, in 1967 which greatly weakened Bunyoro's military might, social and economy state.¹⁹ Even with the restoration of cultural institutions in 1993, Solomon Iguru's reign remained weak with only cultural powers but without political and administrative authority something that has made the once mighty kingdom strive to survive as reported by Mugenyi;

From 1967 when Obote I abolished kingdoms in Uganda with Bunyoro, the political, economic and social life of Bunyoro declined. The re-instate of traditional kingdoms in 1993 only tried to revive the cultural identity but with less influence on the political and economic state. This has rendered the kingdom to be too weak.²⁰

On April 3, 1898, the British enthroned Kabalega's son Kitahimbwa who ruled until 1902 while perpetuating British interests which was against the will of the people of Bunyoro-Kitara.²¹ A young Kitahimbwa was ill-advised to surrender to his elder brother Duhaga II. Duhaga II was officially recognized on September 17, 1902 after the occasional traditional rites and ruled up to his death on March 30, 1924,²² a year after the death of Kabalega who had been released from exile, and on his way back met members of Nyoro nobility, led by Prince Tito Gafabusa who had been sent by Duhaga II to pay their respects to the returning hero.²³ In his 22-year reign, Duhaga II faced different revolts from Bunyoro chiefs, famine throughout 1907 and 1908, outbreak of hunger and sleeping sickness in 1909 among others.

With the outbreak of World War II Bunyoro armies fought well in Africa as British allies, commanded by Kabeba,²⁴ which made Duhaga II be awarded the rank of M.B.E by King George V in 1918.²⁵

After the death of Duhaga II, Tito Winyi was installed as the new king of Bunyoro. He was a visionary king with great love of prosperity, peace and stability in Bunyoro.²⁶ He was a man of peace and a great royal diplomat among the kings of Bunyoro. In May 1933, he travelled to Buganda, Ankole, Kigezi, and Toro to know his fellow kings. He convinced them to love one another and encouraged them to break the traditional restriction where kings could not visit fellow kings. The act of diplomacy and honesty made him a popular amongst Banyoro and British who recognised his intellect, charisma and realism.

On October 23, 1933 the Bunyoro agreement was signed between Bourdillon of the British and Gafabusa Winyi IV of Bunyoro.²⁷ This agreement guaranteed British protection over Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom including Kiryandongo, during war and restoration of numerous Omukama's royal privileges.²⁸ This means that the British used this agreement to gain control of Bunyoro's land including Masindi and Hoima where Post-Colonial government established refugee camps like Kiryandongo refugee settlement. This was mainly because the British wars had depopulated most parts of Bunyoro and most of the fertile lands had been left unoccupied, and above all they were remote and distant from the populace. This means that refugees could effectively be isolated and cut off from associating with unauthorised people.²⁹ However, after two decades, the 1933 Bunyoro agreement was promulgated, which led to the signing of the 1955 Agreement between Winyi and the British. This agreement preserved and reaffirmed Omukama's privileges like recognition of the Omukama as a "fountain of honors," to bestow the high-prized distinction of the Abajwaara Kondo order. These were recognised as an old-established order of distinction in Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom and Omukama's prerogative to bestow the distinction of membership of this order upon any Protectorate native, for rendering any service of outstanding

merit to Bunyoro-Kitara.³⁰ Winyi was also awarded a British knighthood, further highlighting the value of the sovereign's role in creation of the modern Bunyoro Kingdom.³¹

The UN convention on the status of refugees was founded on July 28, 1951 but began officially on April 21, 1954 although she retained the name 1951 convention. After its operationalisation for some years, Uganda as a state ratified to it in 1976.³² In 1987 Uganda again ratified the 1969 Organisation African Unity (OAU) Convention on Refugees which enabled her to strengthen her refugee policy.³³ After becoming a member, Uganda began hosting a number of refugees from her neighboring countries like Sudan especially from the present day South Sudan, Zaire which later become the Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya and Rwanda. The conflicts in Uganda's neighbouring countries produce an average of at least 161,000 refugees per year.³⁴

This has made Uganda in general and Kiryandongo in particular to play an important role of hosting such refugees. Having ascended to the United Nations High Commission for Refugee policy which advocated for the establishment of refugee settlements in rural areas, Uganda saw Kiryandongo as a safe place to host refugees. Such a rural setting was safer to manage them against the dilemma that they may cause if put in urban centres.³⁵ It is by this policy that the Southern Sudanese refugees were brought and settled in Kiryandongo due to its remoteness.

According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, the idea of settling refugees in rural areas, was passed in 1960's during the influx of South Sudanese refugees in Uganda.³⁶ It avails opportunity to humanitarian agencies to offer relief basic needs like food, shelters, health care, education, water, and sanitation effectively until self-sustainability is achieved.³⁷ Rural settlements further assure refugees of government security and land for food productivity through Settlement Commandant who effectively runs it on behalf of the government. The

commandant implements the affairs and makes accountability of the refugee settlement which promotes effective service delivery and income generating opportunities to the refugees.³⁸

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees calls upon refugee hosting states to go for rural settlement mainly on government gazetted land as a way to encourage refugee integration into the host communities because the policy ensures allocation of plots to refugees for farming.³⁹ Since the land is remote and owned by government, there is also limited land conflict which promotes safety refugees and cordial co-existence with the host community which promotes refugee integration.

Therefore, keeping refugees in gazetted settlements was the best way to control them since it could limit militarism and killing off the would-be threat due to their rural and gazetted nature. Such establishments are common in underdeveloped countries for security reasons⁴⁰

Additionally, refugee settlements, such as Kiryandongo are located in remote and isolated places for inaccessibility by other people and to ensure effective repatriation of the refugees without any other cultural and social mixing with the nationals when time deems fit for the repatriation process.⁴¹ All these became basis for government's settling of different refugees into Kiryandongo refugee settlement.

Unfortunately, in 1960's Obote I abolished Kingdoms in Uganda, including Bunyoro kingdom, which Obote claimed that her land board always caused tension between central government and Bunyoro kingdom, as was noted by the report of World Bank in 1962.⁴² This gave the Post-Colonial government of Uganda an upper hand over ownership of land of the abolished kingdoms. Obote I also ousted all traditional rulers from their thrones. Nevertheless, Kingdoms remained in the hearts and minds of the people in their respective areas until 1993 when

Museveni restored kings on their thrones and kingdoms re-confirmed by the 1995 constitution.⁴³ A lot of square miles of land covered by Savannah vegetation in Bunyoro-Kitara were then converted into forest reserves including Panyadoli.⁴⁴ Out of the initial 37 ranches created,⁴⁵ three ranches namely 1, 18 and 37 were gazetted as Kiryandongo refugee settlement.

In mid-1990's Winyi died a destitute of his throne, having retired from public life after the usurpation of his rights and prerogatives by the various functionaries of both Obote and Amin regimes.⁴⁶ After Winyi's death, Gafabusa was enthroned as Omukama of Bunyoro-Kitara Kingdom in 1994. However, despite his restoration, the control over land remained in the hands of the government of Uganda. This influenced her to convert part of it into Kiryandongo refugee settlement. Therefore, it should be noted that Bunyoro's resistance against the British was the beginning of the loss of her autonomy to the British. The wars led to massive loss of Banyoro lives as well as displacement thereby creating a lot of unoccupied land and because of the existence of this unoccupied land Kiryandongo refugee settlement was established to occupy that land. Nevertheless, the two Bunyoro agreements of 1833 and 1855 were a turning point in the history of Bunyoro as the British used them as legal elements to gain control over land in Bunyoro, which gave the post-colonial government legality to determine what to do with Bunyoro's land, thus designing part of Bunyoro land in Hoima, Masindi and Kiryandongo for refugee settlement.

3.2 Refugee Groups, and Policies that have Favoured their Settlement in Kiryandongo

This section presents the different groups of refugees that arrived in Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement at different times. It brings to light the peculiar instances and circumstances that forced the refugees into Uganda, and later Kiryandongo, why they were put there and how they have finally made it what it is today.

3.3.1 Sudanese/South Sudanese Refugees

Sudanese first entered into Uganda as economic migrants who were seeking for labour in rubber and sugarcane plantations during the colonial period.⁴⁷ As a result, many of them ended up self-settling in different parts of northern Uganda especially in Moyo and West Nile.⁴⁸ After the independence of Sudan in 1956, the country experienced the longest civil war that made many Sudanese enter Uganda as refugees for safety.⁴⁹ This was between the northern white Muslims who were trying to impose the sharia laws to the blacks in the Southern region.⁵⁰ This war saw majority of the 174,000 refugees in Uganda being South Sudanese.⁵¹ These were followed by those displaced by the Anyanya guerrilla war led by Lagu.⁵²

These wars did continued until 1972 when the warring parties signed the Addis Ababa Peace Accord which restored sanity in South Sudan and her nationals returned home.⁵³ These were followed by more 9,000 refugees of South Sudan origin, and were settled in Kiryandongo refugee settlement in 1992 soon after its establishment.⁵⁴ These were part of the many Sudanese who were looking for family reunions that had been broken down by the European scramble and partition of Africa in 1880's.

Due to the fact that during the partition of Africa, Europeans did not consider ethnicity in the demarcation of countries' boundaries, people's social ties were broken and families antagonised. This affected many people along the northern Uganda and Southern Sudan border⁵⁵ and promoted cross-border movements from Southern Sudanese to start self-settling in different parts of northern Uganda.

However, the trend in forced displacement later reversed as the situation in Uganda forced several Ugandans to flee into Southern Sudan to escape retaliations after the fall of Obote and Amin governments in 1971 and 1979 respectively.⁵⁶ However, in the late 1980's Ugandan refugees were forced to return to Uganda after fighting in Sudan deepened and threatened their safety. This gave reason to other Sudanese fleeing the rebels of Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) who made furious attacks in March 1989,⁵⁷ to also cross into Uganda. They crossed Parajok in southern Sudan's Torit district into Kitgum in an Oxfam transit camp which forced the United Nations High Commission for refugees (UNHCR) to take some refugees to another camp in Adjumani.⁵⁸

As they continued suffering from Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and West Nile Bank Front (WNBF) attacks in both camps, the government decided to transfer them to the then Masindi, particularly Kiryandongo on the uninhabited land which Amin had gazetted in 1970's.⁵⁹ In early 1990's, government and UNHCR made arrangements and those refugees were ferried by lorry from Kitgum to the then Masindi district and placed in a transit camp at Kiryandongo before the establishment of refugee settlement.⁶⁰ In 1992 plots of land were allocated and families were moved out of the transit camp at Kiryandongo to the gazetted refugee settlement where they began to build homes and growing crops for their livelihood in ranch 1 and 37 as stated by a one Okello;

When we reached Kiryandongo, we settled in the refugee camp for the first year. In 1992-1994, Museveni government and UNHCR transported us to the respective plots. In these gazetted refugee settlement. Each single person was given 2 acres of land and a family that had many people, each member was given an acre. They then gave us seeds to start growing our own food.⁶¹

Due to the sharing of a common cultural identity with a common act of displacement, relocation from Kitgum to Kiryandongo led to increased unity amongst different groups of refugees mainly the Sudanese and Ugandan Acholis, Madi and the Lutuko.⁶² However, the Acholi people were dominant in the settlement which influenced other ethnic children to promote the Acholi cultural practices like songs and dances more than their own cultures.⁶³ This group had about 9,000 Sudanese refugees who were registered to start living at Kiryandongo.

The same group had about another 3,000 unregistered refugees who arrived in the settlement after the 1995 cut-off date and completion of registration.⁶⁴ These were not registered because they arrived later when the settlement was declared closed to new arrivals apart from those reuniting with immediate family members.⁶⁵ As soon as they arrived at Kiryandongo, the Oxfam withdrew and was replaced by other implementing partners of the United Nations High Commission for refugees and these were the Medicins Sans Frontieres.⁶⁶

Later the Medicins Sans Frontieres was replaced by InterAid in the Kiryandongo refugee settlement and this operated in the settlement up to the early 1997.⁶⁷ The arrival of the 3,000 more refugees in 1995 caused a lot of conflict among the Sudanese refugees and the host communities, other refugees and the internally displaced peoples. Most of these conflicts were associated with land.⁶⁸ This was because most of the new comers had no land to settle on and were encroaching on land of the registered refugees.⁶⁹

Additionally, they increased pressure on the provision of social services throughout the settlement. Some of the new arrivals lived on the mercy of the registered refugees for food and shelter.⁷⁰ Fortunately, the settlement was re-opened in 2014 to accommodate the huge numbers of refugees fleeing the South Sudan conflict of 2013.⁷¹

In 1996, 13,000 Sudanese refugees fled the attack by Lord's resistance army(LRA) on Acholi-Pii refugee camp and were relocated to Kiryandongo refugee settlement, far from the Sudan border.⁷² In this attack, one hundred refugees were killed, according to a Sudanese refugee leader interviewed by the press.⁷³ Many of these had come and joined their relatives many of whom were already in Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement. On arrival at Kiryandongo, government and United Nations High Commission for Refugees organised to return them to Achol-Pii, where they had been registered.⁷⁴ This planed return was intended to reduce congestion at Kiryandongo. But with food shortages at Kiryandongo refugee settlement, other refugees opted to return to Achol-pii for food ratios.⁷⁵

These refugees in Kiryandongo had fled Sudan as early as 1989. However, when the Lord's Resistance Army continued to attack their Kitgum transit camp, they were moved to Kiryandongo refugee settlement for safety. These reached Kiryandongo in 1999 and were registered together with those who resisted being returned to Acholi-Pii settlement. This was after been told that Kiryandongo was 'full' and that she was unable to host new arrivals.⁷⁶As a result, there was a lot of discontent among the refugees who did not think that they were new arrivals. On August 5, 2002 more brutal attacks were made by the Lord's Resistance Army rebels on Acholi-Pii camp that was accommodating 24,000 refugees. They killed about 60 refugees and abducted 19 people including 4 members of the international rescue committee.⁷⁷

The survivors escaped from Achol-pii settlement and walked to Lira at the emergency reception centre of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.⁷⁸ After a few days, government of Uganda made arrangements and transported them to Kiryandongo refugee settlement.⁷⁹

The 16,000 Sudanese refugees who reached Kiryandongo refugee camp led to overcrowding and deterioration of sanitary conditions.⁸⁰ On reaching there, they found over 12,000 refugees of South Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo origin. They were registered and medical centres were set up to administer healthy onto them, plastic sheeting and other basic needs were provided and officials began planning safer long term location.⁸¹ The registration exercise was conducted by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and World Food Program. This was intended to ascertain the number of refugees in Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement and to identify the internally displaced persons who may have come along with the refugees.⁸² Those who missed out on registration faced relocation.

The Ugandan government, through Moses Ali, the then Minister for Disaster Preparedness planned the relocation exercise. Government wanted to resettle the Achol-pii refugees to West Nile.⁸³ However the plan first failed as after two weeks, the government and UNHCR transferred 8,800 Acholi-Pii refugees to a new home at Kyangwali since Kiryandongo was just a temporally settlement for them.⁸⁴ The relocation of the 15,200 refugees who had remained in Kiryandongo refugee settlement was to be decided by October 2002 after negotiations between government and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.⁸⁵

The relocation intended to solve land disputes in Kiryandongo refugee settlement. After all that, a new field office was set up at Hoima to coordinate and monitor the activities and wellbeing of refugee activities in both Kiryandongo and Kyangwali refugee settlements.⁸⁶ This aimed at promoting effective service delivery through constant and effective follow up by the field officer.

Meanwhile, on September 2003, the Ugandan government relocated 16,000 refugees that previously lived in Acholi-Pii settlement from Kiryandongo refugee settlement to Nebbi and Yumbe districts in West Nile region.⁸⁷ This is where new camps had been established since Acholi-Pii refugee settlement had been closed earlier. This relocation exercise ended on September 8, 2008 under the supervision of the then Minister for Disaster Preparedness.⁸⁸

The Sudanese settlement in Kiryandongo refugee settlement was made possible by refugee Act which was passed in 2006. This Act gave refugees right to own property, right to transfer assets, right to education, right to own land and engage in agriculture, industry, handicrafts and commerce.⁸⁹ Other rights include; right of association in non-political and non-profit making associations, right to access courts of law for legal assistance in line with the laws of Uganda, and all forms of rights for refugee children and women.

The same Act encouraged refugees to apply for permission to allow members of their families to enter and live with them in Uganda for purposes of family reunion.⁹⁰ By this law, many refugees especially South Sudanese, Kenyans and those from other countries have been encouraged to enter Kiryandongo where many of their relatives had already been settled by the government of Uganda and UNHCR.⁹¹ This has swelled the number of refugees in Kiryandongo refugee settlement where they are assured of assistance from their relatives and friends who are from insecure settlements.⁹²

The flows of refugees into Kiryandongo refugee Settlement were influenced by the protection and safety expected through the laws and their relatives who were there before. This was supported by Gizaza who states that;

We came to Kiryandongo to reunite with our brothers and sisters who came before. We were fed up of war in South Sudan and our relatives here were safe and protected. We had no option but to follow them so that we get both psychological and physical safety.⁹³

Therefore, the safety provided by the Refugee laws made many refugees to be brought to Kiryandongo, and those who brought themselves, to apply for a refugee status.

Additionally, refugees while in Kiryandongo settlement, have a right of free movement guided by the laws of Uganda. This preserves national security, order, health, morals and protection of other people's rights and freedom in Uganda.⁹⁴ Such rights made refugees in Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement feel comfortable. This was ascertained by a one Pimer who states that;

Life is easier here in the settlement, we have a lot of freedom because we are treated like Ugandan citizens when it comes to law. We freely associate with Ugandan nationals, in courts, we have a team of lawyers offered by Makerere University law project and we freely move in and out of the settlement. All these freedoms make us enjoy our stay at Kiryandongo.⁹⁵

Such freedom has promoted peaceful co-existence with the host community thereby promoting refugee integration.

Refugees, while in Kiryandongo, live in a designated settlement, where they are given care by government and United Nations High Commission for Refugees. However, they can lawfully seek permission from the Settlement Commandant to move in and back as they wish. Other refugees who are self-settled can also seek for permits from the Office of the Prime Minister to move within the country and they can renew their movement permits after every three months. Okello supports this by stating that;

Although we stay here in the camp but we are free to move in and out. We always ask for permission from the settlement commandant and go to Bweyale and come back. This enable us to get paying jobs like digging for the nationals and we get money to improve our lives. Even those refugees who are self-settling all over Kiryandongo come and seek or renew their permits and are free to move anywhere within Uganda provided the permits are not expired.⁹⁶

Such a liberty although limited, has made Kiryandongo a favorite place for the refugees therein, because they can do what they what, provided they are in line with the guiding laws. This has benefited the host community through getting cheap services like digging from the refugees.

Uganda's Refugee Act of 2006⁹⁷ and refugee regulation⁹⁸ encourage integration of refugees. Refugee whose application is granted, are allowed to relate with the people of the host communities where the refugee settlement is located. This is done by allowing freedom of movement, the right to work and access to public services in order to allow refugees to improve their livelihood, and right to own lands. However, refugees are allowed to sell or lease land allocated to them within in the settlement,⁹⁹ because it is government's land that can be re-distributed depending on her need and will. This is in line with what one of the refugees stated that,

When we reached here and confirmed that we were refugees, we were given land but not allowed to sell it, we are allowed to move and freely associate with the local people. This has created us friendship and work through which we have improved our lifestyles. No way, you can be allowed to move when your status is not confirmed, it is outside the laws governing the refugees here in the settlement.¹⁰⁰

This is in line with the Uganda refugee management approach that treats refugees as its own nationals. Uganda gives refugees land for settlement and farming, work permits and moving permits.¹⁰¹ She also accords them access to healthcare, right to education, free interaction with the host communities among others. Such freedoms are rare in other countries' refugee management making Uganda's Kiryandongo favourable to the refugees from across corners of East and Central parts of Africa.

Uganda also has an open door policy which allows refugees to come in without many barriers.¹⁰² The same policy accords refugees freedom of movement and access to work which make them enjoy their basic right as humans.¹⁰³ This policy has been a big boost to the many refugees and their children who flee their countries of origin while assured of safety and protection against their different forms of persecution.¹⁰⁴ This was supported by Ayor, who states that,

Coming to Uganda as refugees was not a burden, there were not many restrictions. Even after settling here in the Kiryandongo Settlement, we face no threats of oppression. We

are safe with our children, we move freely in and out of the settlement and we equally share the same treatment as the Ugandan national. We feel at home.¹⁰⁵

Therefore, the flexibility of Uganda's policy on refugees has played a significant role in ensuring safety and rights of the refugees. This has promoted effective integration and peaceful co-existence between refugees and the host community.

Much as there have some hardships faced by the refugee hosting countries today, Uganda has been resilient and persistent. Nevertheless, the open door policy needs support of international community if it is to succeed especially in third World refugee hosting countries. This can be done through sharing costs and burdens while working closely with the host states.¹⁰⁶ Developed countries can offer security to refugees through police training and facilitation which can be in form of allowances and strengthening law and order in areas where refugee settlements are located. They can also help in disarming armed refugees as well as separating them from civilian refugees and above all, maintaining the civilian and humanitarian nature of asylum.¹⁰⁷ All these will result into effective service delivery to the refugees in the settlement as well as improving the general refugee policy in the country.

By such laws, December 16, 2013, saw Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement continue hosting more than 25,060 South Sudanese refugees, which caused more pressure on land and other facilities.¹⁰⁸ Further, out of 21,848 who were scattered in nine different settlements in northern Uganda, were also relocated to Kiryandongo settlement.¹⁰⁹

The ever increasing number of refugees from South Sudan, made government to plan for more land for settlement of more refugees in the near future.¹¹⁰ As a result ranch 18 was demarcated and added onto ranch 1 and ranch 37. The added land was made an extension of Kiryandongo refugee settlement to reduce congestion in the primary ranches.

As a result, by December, 2014, a total of 21,848 refugees were transferred from the reception centre to their respective plots in ranch 1 of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement.¹¹¹ These were part of the 130,000 refugees who escaped the economic and political conflict in pre and post-independence South Sudan violence between the president Garang and the vice president Machar.¹¹² The post-independence Sudan war displaced about two million people, mainly children and women.¹¹³ The rest scattered in various settlements, such as Dzaipi in Adjumani district, Elegu.¹¹⁴

The arrival of this group of refugees in Kiryandongo swelled the numbers of refugees in the settlement. This made the United Nations High Commission for Refugees increase their service provision. Nevertheless, service delivery was affected since supplies were less than the number of refugees that needed to be catered for. Such a program transformed Kiryandongo refugee settlement into being a model settlement in the general study of refugees in Uganda as confirmed by Quinto that;

Most of the new caseload of refugees coming are coming to reunite with their relatives and friends. When they come, they always first stay with their relatives for some time until government allocated the plots of land. Many officials for refugees from other camps always come here to learn more about how such arrangement is managed. This has made Kiryandongo refugee settlement a model settlement in Uganda.¹¹⁵

As other settlements learn more about refugee management, it transforms the general studies on refugees in the entire country of Uganda. This makes the refugee policy of Uganda to be one of the world's most progressive refugee management.¹¹⁶ It is the same reason why Uganda is one of the top countries in hosting refugees across Africa and the world.¹¹⁷ Such laws and policies made Kiryandongo a destination of a number of refugees. This was because the refugee management system would reduce government expenditure onto these refugees as well as reducing the economic burden from the UNHCR and partner agencies.

The same laws have promoted legal integration of refugees into the host communities through free interaction with members of the host community which promote peaceful co-existence with the host community improving the co-existence with the nationals.¹¹⁸ This has made Kiryandongo a safer destination to a number of refugees. In addition to that, rights of women refugees have been observed to prevent gender discrimination and protection of economic, social, cultural and civil human rights as guided by the constitution of the republic of Uganda.

According to the Universal declaration of human rights, Article 7 gives all people equal obligation to ensure protection of the law and advocates for no discrimination amongst people.¹¹⁹ Its Article 13 argues that all people have a right of free movement and stay within a host state as well as a right to leave or and return to his mother country. Article 14 adds that a person has a right to seek refuge and to enjoy all human rights in host countries without persecution and article 26 calls for the right to education.¹²⁰

Such clauses are important to refugees who are just forced to flee their country and seek refuge elsewhere. These are signs of better standards of living of refugees. The government therefore realised that while in Kiryandongo settlement, refugees will not turn out to be a burden to her, since the settlement would be complementing the gaps left by the government. With support of the Refugee Welfare Councils, refugee management and administration has been effected of this goal as confirmed by a one Quinto that,

Refugee Welfare councils with their different committees have secretaries for education, health, security and elders. These have always been the voices of voiceless refugee and have ensured that the problems met by the refugees reach concerned officers in the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and Kiryandongo district local government. This has improved sanitation and health, security and education through construction of schools, latrines and strengthening the rule of law.¹²¹

Therefore, through these Welfare Councils, the government and UNCHR have been in position to know the gaps and challenges in refugee management. Such findings have been the basis of determining how many more refugees the government can take to Kiryandongo.

Therefore, the pre-colonial trade between Uganda and Sudan that allowed constant movement of Sudanese in and out of Uganda, European scramble and partition of Africa in the 1880's that divided Uganda-Sudan boundaries without consideration of social and ethnic ties and the later outbreak of civil wars in the pre and post-independence Sudan made the Sudanese refugees look at Uganda as their safe avenue.

By 2019 when this particular study was carried out, Kiryandongo hosted a total of 64,806 South Sudanese refugees,¹²² in ranch 1 and 37, where UNHCR and government allocated the plots for settlement and farming. This is in line with the UNHCR report on Kiryandongo that by 2020; the settlement hosted the mentioned number of refugees.¹²³ However, by March 2021, the number of South Sudanese refugees in Kiryandongo was reported to have increased to 70,874.¹²⁴ This increase is attributed to the intermarriages amongst these refugees while in the settlement. Their stay in Kiryandongo promoted social-cultural development and transformation.

Therefore, Sudanese refugees play an important part in the history Kiryandongo refugee settlement, which resulted into the settlement being referred to as “Sudanese Refugee Settlement.”

3.3.2 Kenyan Refugees of 2007 Post Election Violence

The Post-election ethnic violence of 2007 in Kenya left 660,000 lives displaced within and outside Kenya.¹²⁵ Of these, 640 displaced families crossed into Uganda where they settled in

Mulanda transit camp. Other 6,500 Kenyans were transported by six buses of the UNHCR from Malaba to Mulanda.¹²⁶ The arrival of new caseload intensified violence at Mulanda.

The congestion at Mulanda caused pressure and that made a number of Non-government Organisations (NGO's) to withdraw their services from Mulanda transit centre. This made the United Nations High Commission for Refugees to plan relocation to Kiryandongo refugee Settlement.¹²⁷ As a result, some refugees were relocated from Mulanda to Kiryandongo refugee Settlement,¹²⁸ while others returned to Kenya and each returnee was given Kenyan shillings 37,000.¹²⁹ In May 2008, Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement received more than 1800 refugees who were part of the 12,000 who entered Uganda, escaping the 2007 post-election violence in Kenya.¹³⁰ This program was coordinated by Stefano Severe the United Nations high commission for refugees (UNHCR) representative in Uganda as the transit centre at Mulanda lacked the basic social amenities required for refugee settlement.¹³¹ They were taken to Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement to ensure effective service deliver.¹³² When the Kenyan refugees arrived to Kiryandongo refugee settlement, each family was allocated 2-8 acres of land on ranch 37 for them to carry out agriculture for self-sustenance. The World Food Program and the Food and Agricultural Organisation also gave out seed, sickle and a Panga each to affect the self-sustainability program.¹³³ These settled and utilised the land that belonged to the Sudanese refugees who had just been repatriated back to Sudan.¹³⁴

According to Aciro, when the Kenyan refugees arrived in Kiryandongo refugee settlement, they began cutting bush and grass near their allocated plots, built homes and prepared gardens for cultivation to be self-sustaining.¹³⁵ They looked at the opportunity of land as a great asset for refugees especially those who were landless back in Kenya. They started building permanent

homes of mud wall and grass thatched and embarked on growing food for trade.¹³⁶ The refugees also started as emphasised by one David Waweru was quoted before returning to Kenya that:

Like other people, I will learn how to farm...Many things changed my life and I have no choice but to stay in Uganda and learn to survive. My family does not feel ready to go back to Kenya and we have nothing there anymore.....¹³⁷

On settling in Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement, Kenyan refugees started looking for business opportunities. This is noted as 2,000 Kenyan refugees started mixing freely with the 7,000 Sudanese refugees and all the other people in the area.¹³⁸ Such liberty was made possible by the Ugandan laws that allow refugees to move and work within Uganda. This promoted harmonious living between the different categories of refugees and the host community which led to social and economic development. According to Quinto, many Kenyan refugees finally returned to Kenya by mid-2019 after sanity had returned home and a few that remained are scattered in ranch 18 and parts of ranch 37.¹³⁹ Their stay in Kiryandongo promoted integration, self-reliance as well as cultural diversification in the area.

The relationship between Kenyan refugees and people of the host communities is generally peaceful. Nevertheless there were minor clashes and disputes amongst the hosts and refugees mainly caused by access to wood, water and land for farming, stealing of crops and sexual plus gender based violence.¹⁴⁰ Others conflicts are caused by competition for jobs and conflicts over delivery of social services.¹⁴¹ However, the refugee agency held a number of meetings and explained to the refugees their rights which promote harmonious co-existence.¹⁴² Most refugee sent their children to any of the schools supported by the United Nations High Commission for refugees (UNHCR) within the settlement to learn alongside the children of the Sudanese refugees and Ugandans of the local community as confirmed by a one Okoth who stated that,

When we reached this refugee settlement, our children needed education and the best for us was

to take them to the schools within the settlement to access education with the Ugandans and the Sudanese who are already here. After all they are good schools with funding and support from both government and her relief partners especially UNHCR and Windle Trust Uganda.¹⁴³

This promoted co-existence between different refugee groups and the host community.

3.3.3 Rwanda Refugees

Since 1920 throughout the 1950s up to 1994 genocide, Uganda has had a history of hosting Rwandese refugees. These refugees settled in different parts of Bunyoro and Buganda, where they worked in agriculture, industries, ginning, brick works, cattle keeping, forestry as well as fishing.¹⁴⁴

Rwandese refugees entered Uganda running away from ethnic conflicts of 1959-1964 caused by the failure of Belgian colonialists to address their political mistakes.¹⁴⁵ This and other insurgencies made thousands of Rwandese to come to Uganda for refuge.¹⁴⁶ Most of these Banyarwanda refugees entered Uganda after Rwanda's independence. This followed the continued political and ethnic conflicts in Rwanda between the Batusti and the Bahutu.¹⁴⁷ This conflict resulted into crisis which made many to enter Uganda as refugees and settled in South Western Uganda particularly in Ankole.¹⁴⁸ They all settled on the land which had been allocated to them by the Omugabe under the colonial land tenure although they shared it with the local people but later spread in Mbarara.¹⁴⁹ According to Urusaro, Rwandese refugees moved to areas where their relatives had freely settled since 1930s. She adds that this eased their lives in the new settlements because they were accepted as brothers and sisters without fear.¹⁵⁰

But when Rwanda's Umwami Kigeri V was prohibited as an immigrant in Uganda, many Banyarwanda became criminals whose threats of assault, murder and illegal possession of guns made some of them convicted.¹⁵¹ The incidences made Obote 1 government to begin identifying

Uganda's Rwandese nationals from migrant Rwandese.¹⁵² Such an act resulted into naming the migrants as trespassers and nationals as beneficiaries in an independent Uganda, and when opposition increased on immigrants, Uganda government felt concerned and called it illegal as this was affecting the political stability of her nationals.¹⁵³

In 1964, the Parliament of Uganda passed the Alien Refugees Act to control the coming of more Banyarwanda refugees, their rights, as well as legal status while in Uganda.¹⁵⁴ These had increased pressure to the residents where the Banyarwanda were hosted and increased the speed at which they were acquiring land.¹⁵⁵ Due to being perceived as threats, they were restricted from settling in Oruchinga and Nakivale and this made them to occupy the Ankole King's mailo land across South Western Uganda.¹⁵⁶ In September 3, 1964, Bunyoro decided to assist the Rwandese refugees. This is in line with the confidential report, addressed to the permanent secretary by Katikiro of Bunyoro Kitara Kingdom in which the Rukurato of Bunyoro decided to assist Rwandese refugees from Kigezi.¹⁵⁷ It was therefore, by the virtual of this correspondence that the door to Rwandese refugees into Bunyoro sub-region was opened.

When the Rwandese refugees arrived in Bunyoro, in 1969 Obote decided to remove the unskilled foreigners who were mainly Rwandese from public employment to favour the nationals.¹⁵⁸ The action affected many of the Banyarwanda. However, before Obote's plan was implemented, Amin overthrew him from power which was good news in the ears of the Banyarwanda of Tutsi sect who then decided to join Amin's army to survive repatriation.¹⁵⁹ This became a blessing in disguise to the Rwandese refugees because it ended Tutsi oppression in Uganda. Unfortunately, the Tutsi happiness was short-lived because in 1972 Amin turned against the Rwandese in Uganda.¹⁶⁰ He did this because their home government supported Obote's rebels in which Museveni and Rwigyema were.¹⁶¹

It, therefore, means that Amin's action costed him because it made Uganda continue associating the Tutsi in Amin's brutal forces. As a result Amin was overthrown by a joint force of Museveni, Obote and Tanzania forces.¹⁶² In 1979 an interim Ugandan government was established with Museveni as the Minister for defense. Unfortunately in the 1980 general elections, Museveni lost to Obote and after two months, Museveni returned to bush and waged a guerilla warfare aiming at capturing Kampala.¹⁶³ This however helped the Banyarwanda to spray all over Bunyoro sub-region and Kiryandongo in particular.

In December 1983, 19,000 Rwandese were evicted from Rakai district and Nakivale. During the campaign against the refugees, Ugandans who were declared "Rwandese refugees" by locals of Ankole were also evicted from their homes.¹⁶⁴ The terror affected Mbarara, Rakai, and Masaka. By November 1982, about 40,000 Rwandese were evicted from the southern part of Mbarara district. Some refugees fled to Rwanda but some 4,000 were trapped at Marema Hill, on the side of Uganda along the border of Uganda and Rwanda.¹⁶⁵ It is also reported that in the process of eviction, Banyankole UPC operatives and National Security Agency (NASA) officers, killed 37 refugees and their 45,000 cattle confiscated.

According to Uwimbabazi, this conflict made them to escape from Nakivale to Kiryandongo which was by then Masindi district.¹⁶⁶ Obote's massive displacement made the Tutsi search for survival and when Obote forced them return to camps, they had to do so even when they never wanted.¹⁶⁷ This aimed at keeping them out of the politics of Uganda. Nevertheless, it failed. As a result, many Banyarwanda campaigned, registered and voted in the 1980 elections and even joined Museveni's camp in the post-election war.¹⁶⁸ However, Tutsi especially those who did not join Museveni also returned to camps as refugees in February 1982 which they had left during Amin's reign.¹⁶⁹ The action therefore made the Banyarwanda unhappy making Museveni to

recruit them especially Tutsi into his National Resistance Army (NRA) rebel group, hence forcing Obote continue to persecute refugees of Rwanda origin.¹⁷⁰ The others who had scattered in in Kyaka county and other parts of Western Uganda began military training under Rwanda Peoples Forces after which they, on October 1, 1990 launched a campaign to return to Rwanda.¹⁷¹

By August 1990, Rwandese refugee ranchers began fighting against their fellows who were squatters and these wars extended as far as mid-Western Uganda in the famous Luweero triangle particularly in Nakasongola.¹⁷² The conflicts fueled debates in the parliament of Uganda, over whom of the ranchers and herders were the beneficiary of ranches that were restructured. In the end Banyarwanda herders were branded as refugees and not citizens.¹⁷³ The same conflict expanded to affect the Rwandese in western Uganda where most of them were settling in camps of Kyaka I, Kyaka II and Rwamwanja.

Due to increased conflicts amidst population increase of Rwandese, Kyaka I was closed. This caused congestion in Kyaka II and the bad reputation for harbouring the Rwanda Peoples Force that invaded Rwanda in 1990-1994, made Uganda government insecure to host more Rwandese refugees. When new violence erupted in North Kivu in October 2008,¹⁷⁴ it spread to Rwanda, Rwandese refugees came to Kyaka II for asylum. This was because Uganda's open door policy made it easy for Rwandese refugees to enter Uganda than going to Tanzania or Burundi which were a little closer to Rwanda than Uganda.

These were worsened by the new fighting in Kivu that extended to Rwanda and forced 21,200 Rwandese to flee into Uganda.¹⁷⁵ In 2008, United Nations High Commission for Refugees then decided to transfer some Rwandese refugees to Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement as confirmed by one Sowagini that ,

We came from Rwanda and arrived in Kyaka II in around 2008. We reported to the Uganda Police that handed us over to the Office of the Prime minister (OPM) and the OPM then handed us to the UNHCR which transported us to Kiryandongo refugee camp and settled us here in cluster M, ranch 37 in 2008.¹⁷⁶

Although political and historical dynamics influence the implementation of refugee management and asylum policies in Uganda, but it has had no serious hardships because of its benefits to Uganda's government migration management.¹⁷⁷ Government gets benefits from foreign humanitarian aid in form of money and essential materials from international relief agencies. In turn, government offer material help to refugees in the settlement which improve refugee livelihood as a Rwandan refugee, Sowagini states that;

When we reached in in 2008, government and her relief agencies especially World Food Program and UNHCR gave us material needs. Such needs included food, medicine, beddings and other basic needs of life. The materials boosted our lives especially at a time when we had not begun our own harvests on the land that they gave us in ranch 37.¹⁷⁸

This indicates that the humanitarian agencies play an important role in the lives of the refugees in Kiryandongo refugee settlement. The accorded aid, once added on the refugee individual efforts improves refugee livelihood and general welfare, which make Uganda's refugee management and policy, achieve a broader meaningful purpose.

According to Akello, due to the history of wars between the Bahutu and Batutsi in Rwanda, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees decided to transport Rwandese refugees of Hutu ethnic group, from Kyaka region to Kiryandongo, which is far and safer than Uganda-Rwanda boarder, where these refugees would be a threat to both Uganda and Rwanda governments due to their psychological effects of war and adjacency to their country of origin. This was aimed at preventing them from revenge to their country, which would cause more instabilities and insecurity to both Rwanda and Uganda.¹⁷⁹ Today Uganda hosts about 20,000 registered Rwandese refugees,¹⁸⁰ including the ones living in Kiryandongo refugee settlement.

By February 2020, a total of 27 Rwandese refugees were recorded staying in Kiryandongo refugee settlement.¹⁸¹ After one year, in March 2021, Rwandese refugees had reduced by one refugee to and they were now 26.¹⁸² These were settling in ranch 37 from where the peacefully co-existed with the other entire refugee groups therein.

3.3.4 Congolese Refugees

Congolese first came to Uganda as Refugees during the second Congo war which ended in July 2003.¹⁸³ Most of them settled in different camps in Western Uganda such as Rwamwanja and Kyaka II. Others were taken further in mid-western Uganda in the Kyangwali settlement in Hoima district, Bunyoro region.¹⁸⁴ With the increasing number of Congolese refugees, Kiryandongo became one of the transit centres in mid-Western Uganda with Bubukwanga, Nyakabande and Matanda as the others in south Western Uganda.¹⁸⁵ These transit centres mainly accommodated excess refugees from Rwamwanja, Kyangwali and Kyaka.¹⁸⁶

After becoming a transit centre, in 2014, a group of 203 Congolese refugees were relocated from Kisoro to Kiryandongo refugee settlements.¹⁸⁷ These were followed by 410 Congolese who entered Kiryandongo refugee settlement using the boarder of Elegu and Kuluba. Since the arrival of this new caseload, more 104 Congolese entered Kiryandongo via the same borders.¹⁸⁸ By March 6, 2014, 6,269 Congolese returnees were noted and of the 4,732 Congolese refugees in Rwamwanja, only 51% were willing to return that year.¹⁸⁹ The 8,903 Congolese refugees and 203 prisoners of conflict who were not willing to return to Congo were relocated to Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement since Kyangwali and Rwamwanja settlements were already congested.¹⁹⁰

The prevailing peaceful co-existence guided by the Uganda refugee laws, secured the environment that later the Congolese joined to live in. This was supported by the 1979

convention on the elimination of discrimination against women, and the 1981 African charter on human and people's rights, to which Uganda is a member.¹⁹¹ This made the government to destine, Congolese refugees to Kiryandongo for a refugee settlement. There existed Sexual and gender based violence initiatives, which would organise community dialogues and sensitisation meetings, to end discrimination of women and girl refugees.¹⁹² This ensured safety of women and children who are regarded a weaker sex.

It is on such a background that, United Nations High Commission for Refugees brought 53,434 refugees from Rwamwanja where they had camped after entering Uganda. These were part of the general Congolese refugee population of 205,400 that entered Uganda by the end of 2015.¹⁹³ The group was transferred because there was a major expansion going on in Rwamwanja and Kyaka II settlements. The protracted nature of refugees in Western Uganda had also resulted into land conflicts between ranchers and pastoralists. Such conflicts could not give refugees complete peace. The swelling population of refugees in Rwamwanja and Kyaka II settlements sparked off the relocation to Kiryandongo refugee settlement. This is affirmed by one of the refugees that:

We left North Kivu province of Eastern Congo and entered Uganda in 2012. On arrival, we reported to the Uganda Police which took us to Office of the Prime Minister. We were handed over to the UNHCR which transported us from Kyaka II settlement which had excess refugees, insufficient food ratio and water supply. We were taken to Rwamwanja but it was also under expansion. UNHCR then transported us to Kiryandongo refugee settlement in and settled us in Cluster K ranch 1.¹⁹⁴

On arrival at Kiryandongo, United Nations High Commission for Refugees distributed the 26 Congolese refugee families of 102 persons each, to their planed plots of land allocated for settlement and farming in the settlement ranch 1.¹⁹⁵ This brought the increasing figure of new arrivals relocated to the settlement villages to 21,848 refugees from 5170 families.¹⁹⁶

In 2017, the refugee and host population empowerment strategic framework (ReHoPE) was introduced by the government of Uganda. This was done to reinforce refugee integration and host community.¹⁹⁷ As a result, the strategy has increased efficiency of refugee responses through supporting both the host communities and refugees, so that they concentrate on long-term development strategies. ReHoPE also used government policies to empower communities and harmonise existing approaches to supporting communities in refugee hosting areas including Kiryandongo.¹⁹⁸ The arrangement has ensured that refugees and the host community live peacefully with one another which has promoted a positive attitude of local people towards the refugees. Refugees are now looked at as agents of peace and development in the area unlike before ReHoPE. There are now a number of organizations and businesses that are jointly run by refugees with the members of the host population, something that has transformed Kiryandongo community.

Additionally, government has also adopted the Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF). This policy has addressed the gaps in refugee management as well as support to refugees through unifying and strengthening assistance initiatives from local, national, and international organisations to refugee.¹⁹⁹ The Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework (CRRF) has emulated the Uganda's ReHoPE Strategy by supporting government plans towards refugees, through global cooperation.²⁰⁰

It has also promoted collaboration at a national, regional, and international scene. This has been done by supporting Uganda's refugee population that is due to the increasing emergency situations in the region, that result has increased the refugee population in Uganda.²⁰¹ Such has made government of Uganda and United Nations High Commission for Refugees refer a number of different refugees to Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement as it is known for its refugee

management strategies which have attracted a number of officials from other refugee camps to emulate.²⁰² After according them refugee status, they are given pieces of land to for settlement and farming empower them for self-sustainability,²⁰³ and are always settled far from the boarders with their home countries.

Much as these refugees wanted to settle along the borders of their mother countries and the host countries, the government of Uganda was hesitant about this because she looked at refugees as a political threat.²⁰⁴ According to the government, refugees can easily destabilise the relationship between the sending and the host states in case such states are against one another. This is because some rebels camouflage as refugees to wage guerilla warfare on the host state.²⁰⁵ By December 2018, Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement hosted 15,635 refugees of Democratic Republic of Congo origin. These comprised 5% of the 312,699 total Congolese refugees that Uganda hosted by then.²⁰⁶

By February 2020, only Kiryandongo refugee settlement had remained with 213 Congolese refugees.²⁰⁷ In March 2021, it was recorded that the number of Congolese refugees in Kiryandongo refuge settlement had increased to 233.²⁰⁸ Most of them are settling in ranch 1, Cluster K and a few others scattered in other parts of the settlement.

After the all groups entered Kiryandongo, they were settled in three ranches namely 1, 37 and 18. Ranch one is made up of 9 clusters and each cluster homes 65 families, ranch 37 comprises of 9 clusters labeled (EE) and ranch 18 which is made up of 8 clusters with each cluster housing 65 families on 200 X 200 meters each.²⁰⁹ However after the influx of refugees of South Sudanese origin, cluster (EE) was renamed cluster “G” This is where many of the Sudanese Nuel people are settled. The increase or decrease of land given to the refugees depended on how big the

family being given. On the other hand, ranch 18 mainly accommodates internally displaced persons (IDPs) from Bududa.²¹⁰ This was supported by Okongo, who stated that,

The internally displaced persons from Bududa were put in ranch 18 because it is in a location that was nearer to their home ancestry- Bududa. This area was the only unoccupied part by then. Other ranches had been occupied by the earlier refugees especially the South Sudanese.²¹¹

This means that refugees are settled within the settlement while considering their ancestry, cultural ties, history of their coming and their general wellbeing. This is because such an arrangement plays a significant role in their co-existence especially before getting used to the settlement. This is important in promoting peaceful living amongst them.

3.3.5 Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) in Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement

Although this chapter is purely looking at refugees but it is not limited to individuals but generally looking at Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement as a geographical space. Additionally, the study scope of 1954-2018 gets the internally displaced persons part of the scope. Therefore, hosting internally displaced persons makes it imperative for this study not to exclude them in this study of History of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement.

The internally displaced persons who were brought at Kiryandongo refugee settlement are in two categories.

The first group of internally displaced persons was generated by internal conflicts especially in Northern Uganda, as a result of the rebel activities of the Lord's Resistance Army since 1990's. It is recorded that by September 30, 2000 Uganda had a total population of 639,760 internally displaced persons of which 5,000 were in Masindi.²¹² There has been much political instability in northern Uganda particularly in Acholi, Gulu and Kitgum where government and Uganda People's Defense Forces (UPDF) had failed to defeat the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), rebel

activities from the late 1980s. These created insecurity between 1993 and 1998 accompanied by high rate of poverty and developmental gap between northern Uganda and other parts of Uganda.²¹³ All these have created displacement that has generated many IDPs in the country. The internally displaced persons (IDP) who settled in Kiryandongo were mainly transferred from Acholi and others from Bududa where they suffered landslides in 2010 and 2018.²¹⁴ The 20 years armed conflict between the government of Uganda and rebels of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in northern Uganda and failure of the February 2005 peace talks between the government of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army.²¹⁵

The Uganda people's Defense Forces launched the "Operation Ion Fist" to hunt the rebels as far as South Sudan, which forced Lord's Resistance Army rebels to return to Uganda. According to one of the survivors, when the Lord's Resistance Army returned to Uganda, they were bitter than before. They attacked, killed and kidnaped people especially children and raped women from a number of camps.²¹⁶

Therefore, United Nations High Commission for refugees decided to relocate the internally displaced persons of Acholi to Kiryandongo refugee settlement where they could easily cater for them with their Acholi brothers of Sudan origin.²¹⁷ These were followed by other internally displaced persons who were the victims of the landslides of Bududa that occurred several times. The government of Uganda, collaborating with the United Nations High Commission for refugees realised the need to relocate them. Kiryandongo refugee settlement looked the safest and nearest Settlement area given its location in the near west direction from Bududa.

3.3.5.1 IDPs from Acholi-Pii Settlement

The failure of the government of Uganda to wipe out the Lord's Resistance Army contributed to more suffering of people in Northern Uganda. As the LRA claimed to be fighting Museveni but they instead targeted civilians, not excluding the refugees whom they constantly killed.²¹⁸ This was even made worse by the heavy-handed and ineffective way the Uganda people's defense force waged wars against abduction in northern Uganda.²¹⁹ Out of this number, over 20,000 IDPs particularly survivors of the 2002 August attack of the Lord's Resistance Army rebels on Acholi-Pii camp and were relocated to Western Uganda, an attempt that was done in three phases.²²⁰

Phase one involved relocating 17,000 IDPs from Rachkoko to Lira gathering centre and phase two was to transport them from Lira to Kiryandongo where they were settled temporarily.²²¹ On reaching Kiryandongo, they swelled the number which made the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and World Food Program carried out a registration exercise. This aimed at establishing the number of refugees, and to identify the number of internally displaced persons who may have come along with these refugees.²²² By the end of the registration process, it was found out that 12,000 were refugees from Sudan and Congo.²²³ After that, the United Nations Refugee agencies decided to offer medical facilities, plastic sheeting and food to the new rivals.²²⁴ This was aimed to avoid conflicts with those who had stayed there before.

The relationship between the internally displaced persons and other refugee groups was cordial because they all shared a common history of wars; repeated displacement and Acholi-Sudanic identity which made them look at one another as brothers.²²⁵ Such shared identities strengthen the bond between the internally displaced persons and the refugees in Kiryandongo refugee settlement. After a time while staying in Kiryandongo Refugees Settlement, one third of the

24,000 internally displaced persons from Acholi-Pii settlement were relocated from Kiryandongo to Kyangwali refugee settlement.²²⁶ Two weeks later, government and United Nations High Commission for refugees continued with the relocation by transferring 8,800 Acholi-Pii refugees to their newly planned home at Kyangwali.²²⁷ This was also the third and final phase of relocation that involved transporting 20,000 joint numbers of refugees and internally displaced persons from Kiryandongo refugee settlement, which was a resting centre to Kyangwali. This was done by 10 trucks of the United Nations High Commission for refugees and International Organisation for Migration with help of other 50 hired trucks.²²⁸ Then government embarked on plans to relocate others back to northern Uganda.²²⁹ After completion of all relocations, Kiryandongo refugee settlement remained with 5000 internally displaced persons from Acholi Pii settlement and are settling in ranch 18.

3.3.5.2 IDPs from Bududa

The second group of internally displaced persons was generated by natural landslide in Bududa of 2010 and 2018. On March 1, 2010 heavy rain poured in Nametsi parish in Bududa region.²³⁰ These landslides made government relocate 600 household survivors to Kiryandongo refugee Settlement in Western Uganda.²³¹ The process was full of corruption as many Bududa victims had to bribe government officials to be relocated to Kiryandongo.²³² Nevertheless, the relocation was done and the IDPs were settled in ranch 18 as confirmed by a one Wanzira that,

We were transported from Bududa to Kiryandongo after we survived the landslides of 2010 in Nametsi Parish in Bududa. When we reached here, we were put in ranch 18 to start a new life. At first we felt isolated and left but we are now used to the new environment and life is moving on.²³³

These landslides killed 400 people and displaced other 5000 as well as destroying a lot.²³⁴ The massive destructions by the landslides led difficult conditions in Bududa which made government relocate them to Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement.²³⁵

This plan saw six hundred (600) families being relocated to Kiryandongo as ascertained by the chairperson of Bukalasi sub-county.²³⁶ However, before the start of the relocation exercise to Kiryandongo, the government established a temporary camp at Bulucheke which housed these internally displaced persons up to May 2010 when it was closed.²³⁷ Its closure limited and delayed relief supplies like food and finance amidst the overpopulation. According to one of the survivors, the government first relocated the victims to Bukalasi Health Center and Bududa Hospital until when she bought more land in Kiryandongo.²³⁸ Later when government secured more land in Kiryandongo, these internally displaced persons were transported into their allocated settlements. On reaching their new homes, internally displaced persons were given land, a house and food for a period of six months to allow them ample time to rebuild their lives.²³⁹

According to Nakirya, the relocation exercise was conducted by the Office of the Prime Minister and it began by sending 60 elders from Bulucheke to Kiryandongo to do a survey of the place where their people were to settle.²⁴⁰ This was ascertained by the Minister for Disaster Preparedness on national Television program known as NTV tonight as he reported that:

Government was taking 60 leaders from Bulucheke camp to first go for two days and see then come back and tell the rest how the place was. We couldn't take people before they hear from their own people confirming. When the elders come back, they will address their people and then government will start the relocation exercise.²⁴¹

The relocation exercise was coordinated by the Office of the Prime Minister, which first sent a delegation on August 25, 2010 to visit Bulucheke transit camp to get representatives who could survey Kiryandongo area on September 1, 2010, before the actual resettlement exercise could begin.²⁴² After ascertaining the destination, the relocation exercise started, being conducted in two phases with the first phase of internally displaced persons taken to Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement, in which social amenities such as schools and health facilities, road networks and

other facilities had been established.²⁴³ One of the internally displaced persons adds that when they arrived at Kiryandongo refugee settlement, they were first housed in tents offered by Uganda Red Cross as construction of internally displaced persons permanent houses went on.²⁴⁴ The government of Uganda in collaboration with Habitat for Humanity constructed more than 253 houses to cater for these internally displaced persons.²⁴⁵ Rather, the first batch of these internally displaced persons to be evacuated from Bulucheke comprised of 406 people from 89 households.²⁴⁶ On arrival at Kiryandongo, each family was given 2.5 acres of land for farming and agricultural inputs. This aimed at promoting self-sufficiency.

Internally displaced persons were also fed for 6 months as they prepare to plant their own foodstuff.²⁴⁷ The settlement of internally displaced persons was characterised by a number of challenges; for example, government did not want to take big numbers which would become a big problem to her, after their settlement at Kiryandongo, many of them were threatened with eviction by people who claimed that they owned the land on which government had settled them,²⁴⁸ and others argued that they could not stay at Kiryandongo due to challenges in education and healthy as schools and health facilities were distant from where they settled.²⁴⁹ Such challenges made the Bududa victims uncomfortable with being distributed in a different area.

This affected their ancestral connections, kinship, friendship and social networks,²⁵⁰ since government did not consider such factors in the relocation process. Additionally, government did not make thorough inquiries into people's culture with the local leaders to ascertain if the victims were eligible for relocation.²⁵¹ This made a number internally displaced persons uncomfortable in Kiryandongo. This in addition to the fact that many of these internally

displaced persons were missing company of their families back home, made about 450 decided to go back to Bududa. According to Nambetsh:

Three quarters of the IDPs that were relocated to Kiryandongo went back to Bududa and they are settled in Nametse Parish. Bududa district local government chose to adopt urbanisation which the parliament of Uganda endorsed. This aimed at effectively harboring the people of Bududa.²⁵²

After ensuring internally displaced persons settlement in Kiryandongo, government then embarked on plans for the second batch that had remained in Bududa. These were to be taken to Butaleja and parts of Tororo that were free from floods.

Their relocation was favored by the formation of Regional Durable Solutions Secretariat (ReDSS) in March 2014. This was formed to pattern United Nations High Commission for refugees in maintaining focused momentum and engaging of member states in finding everlasting solutions displacement of people,²⁵³ and to identify different needs of refugees in East and African region. ReDSS is managed by a group of 11 non-government organisations constituting the steering committee.²⁵⁴

ReDSS helped to coordinate different needs of internally displaced persons by acting as agent provocateur in implementing policies on lasting solutions for displacement in affected communities in East and horn of Africa.²⁵⁵ The coordination by the ReDSS has played a leading role improved joint learning, research, support advocacy, policy development, capacity building as well coordination for effective management of internally displaced persons in Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement. As a result they are in position to grow their own food which supplement on the humanitarian assistance got from World Food Program, World Bank and United Nations High Commission for refugees.

In conclusion, Kiryandongo refugee settlement policy is governed by Uganda refugee laws and policies that favour refugees' well-being and livelihood. With the Uganda refugee Act of 2016 that gives refugees a number of rights, just like other Ugandan nationals, the support from the international relief agencies like World food program, United Nations High Commission for refugees, ReHoPe among others have made refugee lives worth.

With support of protection and safety from the international community and laws, Uganda's refugee management has played a key role in making Kiryandongo refugee settlement a destination to a number of refugees in the Eastern part of Africa and Africa at large.

These made the government transfer, 5,000 survivors of Bududa new slides lands were relocated to Kiryandongo in November 2018.²⁵⁶ As landslides re-occurred in Bukalasi sub-county, a number of people were affected and about 53 Bagishu were displaced.²⁵⁷ This increased the number of IDPs from Bugishu to 10,300 in Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement, as many followed their relatives who had been transported by the government of Uganda to Kiryandongo refugee settlement.²⁵⁸ The transportation was done by a joint force of the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), United Nations High Commission for refugees (UNHCR), Red Cross and UPDF.²⁵⁹ The relocation was overseen by a rescue committee led by Komujuni. This was organised by the government of Uganda working with the Office of the Prime Minister, and they relocated 1,323 IDPs from Bulucheke to Kiryandongo.²⁶⁰

However, despite all the efforts by government and the eventual movements of a large number of IDPS to Kiryandongo, the victims found life harder. Land in Kiryandongo was found to be infertile compared to that back in Bududa and yet majority of the IDPS were generally

farmers.²⁶¹ To make it worse, the land that was accorded to them was not adequate compared to what they possessed in Bududa as one Namukose stated that,

At Bududa we had our own land which we inherited from our ancestors. It was big enough for us to farm and have enough food season after season but when government brought us here in Kiryandongo, she gave us just a few acres of which the land is less fertile as compared to our home land. This has greatly affected our livelihood socially and economically.²⁶²

The IDPs also suffered from other economic challenges, traumatic psychological and socio-cultural problems.¹³¹ All such conditions forced some of them to return to Bududa as they claimed that government had abandoned them in Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement.²⁶³ However, on their return to Bududa, more landslides reoccurred and government started planning for long term solutions.

Later, the Government of Uganda set up various measures to affect the rescue of internally displaced persons (IDPs) especially after the 2018 Bududa landslide. These aimed at mitigating and preparing the resettlement process. The program involved resettling some of the survivors into Kiryandongo refugee settlement and providing a long term solution to those at risk of future landslides.²⁶⁴ The program aimed at answering charitable emergencies and helping the affected people of Bududa origin to reconstruct their lives. The survivors were to get a new hope, recovery and to rebuild their future as a way of promoting human right to live.

However, the low lands of Kiryandongo area did not complement lives of these internally displaced persons (IDPs) who were used to the highlands. The “embalu” (Circumcision) social norm that was never observed in Kiryandongo also made it hard for the Bagisu to stay comfortably in Kiryandongo.²⁶⁵ The Bagishu argued that even if the “embalu” would be conducted while in Kiryandongo but it would lack cultural vigor that characterised the social ritual in Bugisu. All these made the Bududa victims who were relocated to Kiryandongo

uncomfortable. Therefore, although their relocation was successful but their permanent stay in Kiryandongo was short-lived before they returned to risky prone Bududa.

Kiryandongo refugee settlement was sought of due to her management policies that were well designed. According to Quinto,

Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement is a model settlement in refugee management and policies in Uganda. People move from other refugee settlements and refugee camps across Uganda to come and learn about refugee management every year. This makes this settlement a centre of refugee studies.²⁶⁶

Therefore, the existence of refugee management policies and the presence of land which the government had secured to use for resettlement finally made her decide to use it for settling the Bududa landslide victims. United Nations High Commission for refugees (UNHCR) then transported them and were settled in Panyadoli ranch 18.²⁶⁷ Kiryandongo had plenty of government owned land and it was highly heterogeneous with various ethnics groups.²⁶⁸ The ethnic mix made the Bududa victims comfortable as it made them not to feel out of place. A combination of all these factors and the adjuscence of Bududa and Kiryandongo, made the government to destine the Bududa victims to Kiryandongo refugee Settlement.

3.3.6 Conclusion

In general, therefore this chapter has analysed how the Kiryandongo area developed into a refugee settlement from the time of Colonial rule. In the first placed, the chapter discussed how the British wars against Bunyoro were a leading factor in depopulating the area which created plenty of uninhabited crown land, which the post-independence government converted into ranches that developed into settlement zones of different groups of refugees hence making Kiryandongo easy to settle refugees without much opposition from the local communities.

The settlements began in 1840's when the British Colonial masters settled here, the refugees and displaced people during World War II. With the closure of Nyabyeya and Kojja, the British chose to settle Polish refugees in the "free" land that had been acquired in Kiryandongo. The fertility of the land made the government to plan for a settlement since it could enable refugees to have a sustainable economy through agriculture which would reduce on the government burden through expenditures.

In this chapter has also showed that the settlement of refugees in Kiryandongo was facilitated by different refugee laws and policies that were set up by Uganda government, and others that were adopted after ascending to the United Nations Refugee act. Such policies made Kiryandongo a model settlement and a destination for a number of refugees from Uganda's neighbouring war-torn states, as well as internally displaced persons (IDPs) from both Northern Uganda and Bududa. To show the importance, unique status of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement over time, this chapter has analysed the different flows of refugees from various counties.

This means that Kiryandongo has become a cosmopolitan area. Since the study aimed at looking at Kiryandongo as geographical area, the internally displaced persons (IDPs) that were settled in this area have also been analysed to show their contribution to the total-some growth of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement and the host community.

While some of these internally displaced persons (IDPs) were a result of war, such as the Acholi from northern Uganda, others were as a result of natural disasters as was the case of the Bagisu from Bududa and other parts of Bugisu. With all those factors, Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement has become a home to a number of refugees from different neighbouring countries of the great lakes region of East Africa and Africa as a whole. It has at the same time hosted a good number

of internally displaced persons (IDPs) from other parts of Uganda, giving the area a special consideration as refugee and internally displaced persons (IDP) Settlement.

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CHAPTER FOUR

CHANGES AND TRANSFORMATIONS IN KIRYANDONGO AFTER THE ARRIVAL OF REFUGEES AND IDPS.

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter described the origin, growth and development of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement. It discussed the place of Kiryandongo during the colonial period, how Kiryandongo evolved into a refugee settlement, the Uganda refugee laws and policies and how they influenced the flows of refugees into the area. This chapter examines the changes and transformations that have taken place in Kiryandongo as a result of the arrival of refugees in the area. The chapter specifically looks into positive and negative changes to the lives of the people of Kiryandongo, the neighbouring communities and Uganda at large.

4.1 Social Cultural Changes

Regarding the diversity of transformations within people's thinking and living, the settlement of refugees in Kiryandongo has had significant changes on the demographics of the region, culture and various social sectors such as education, health, sanitation among others.

4.1.1. Demographic and Cultural Changes

In terms of population size, distribution, sex composition and age, Kiryandongo area was sparsely populated because her original population had been reduced by the British wars of occupation of Bunyoro.¹ Additionally, before 1990, the number of migrants in Kiryandongo area was still low. The total population of the entire district of Kiryandongo was 83,405.² The above factors left some of the land vacant, prompting government to demarcate it into government

ranches. From 1990 onwards, refugees continued flocking into Kiryandongo which increased the population of the area.³ The refugees came to Kiryandongo at different times for different reasons. Besides refugees, the area also received thousands of internally displaced persons (IDPs) as observed by Okot who noted that,

We came here in 1993 when the place was sparsely populated but when more refugees were brought from 1996 onwards, and later the IDPs, the place became extremely overcrowded due to population pressure. This caused hygienic problems that badly affected the refugee girl-children.⁴

The increase in number of refugees brought about family unification amongst refugees which strengthened unity, culture and family bondages especially Acholi from South Sudan.⁵ The growth in population of refugees led to intermarriage between them and the Banyoro resulting into formation of new cultures.⁶ Such cultures include wearing long dresses that cover the whole body and related drumming and music culture. The area has also been settled by Azande, Banyarwanda, Lendu, Madi, Lugbara, Bachope, Bagishu, Kikuyu and Dinka. In addition to increasing the population, the coming together of these groups has increased intercultural relations and co-existence with the natives of the local population.

The intermarriages and increased migrations of both refugees and internally displaced persons into Kiryandongo led to emergence of many languages as well as cultural diversity. Initially the people of Kiryandongo spoke Runyoro-Rutoro, the native language of Bunyoro.⁷ However, the influx of refugees and has increased the number of languages spoken Kiryandongo, for example Rutooro, Runyankole, Luganda, Luteso, Langi, Lugbara, Lugishu, Masai and Dinka, Congolese and Kinyarwanda. This has made the place linguistically heterogeneous. These languages have led to the development of a sustainable line of communication and understanding of one another. The same languages have enabled people of different origins to share different opinions about certain things with other tribes. This has widened individual knowledge about the way they

perceived other people's cultures which has promoted co-existence through appreciation of other people's cultures. As a result there has been cultural diversification in the area.

Therefore, the heterogeneous setting of Kiryandongo area which came as a result of the area being a refugee settlement explains the social cultural differences that exist in north western Uganda. Kanimba adds that this heterogeneous nature has promoted cultural diversity through learning different cultures, norms, values and customs of other societies.⁸

One cultural change that has been documented is music. Currently, there are song lyrics that deal with Sudanese conflict, displacement and insecurity in northern Uganda, and other forms of music that played vital role in the lives of refugees.⁹ The songs are played in chapels, rituals and in public accompanied by drums, stringed adungu and pianos.¹⁰ Such music greatly improves socialisation and social ties between refugees and the host people through competing in musical forms like Zairean lingala, American pop music and many vernacular language songs.¹¹

They further asserted a wide range of knowledge for changing roles and social relations of women as well as portraying women's roles, visual and behavioral aesthetics.¹² This has strengthened inter-ethnic relations within the settlement leading to a growing sense of identity through the Apite and Otole, Larakaraka and Dingidingi dances among the different sexes and age groups within and around the Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement.¹³ For instance, one of the residents notes that;

We have learnt a lot from the refugees mainly the Sudanese refugees. At first we used to fear them thinking that they are hostile but now we freely relate with them. We sometimes compete in dances and music through which we understand some of their cultures and behaviors. This has helped us to stay with them peacefully. We are happily staying together.¹⁴

This proves the good co-existence between the refugee caseloads and the people of the host community.

However, due to differences in culture and norms, there have been some hostilities amongst the refugees and sometimes with the host communities in Kiryandongo and her neighbours. In relation to this, one of the refugees emphasised that;

Intermarriages are common amongst refugees and the host community. Some refugees of different origins also intermarry especially the Sudanese. But Sudanese from Eastern equatorial have remained with their hostile and fighting nature. When an Equatorial refugee marries a Ugandan national, they want everything to be paid at once. They are too demanding and sometimes are strict with their marriage requirements.¹⁵

Such hostilities have created tension among refugees of different origins as well as the Ugandan national especially those who are not in position to pay dowry at once.

However, despite the hostilities between these refugees, the intermarriages have bonded them together. This is supported by Makuel who stated that:

We are always strong and united by the intermarriages between us (Refugees) and the local community. Though at times we have fights and some hostile refugee tribes, the intermarriages amongst us have always made us to remain strong.¹⁶

Refugee flows in Kiryandongo refugee settlement have led to increase in the population from 83,405 of 1991 to 187,700 in 2002.¹⁷ The number continued to rise as by 2012, population increased to 317,500 people and by 2014; it had gone to 268,188 people.¹⁸

4.1.2 Access to Education

After the arrival of refugees, the education response plan for refugees and host communities (ERP) made refugees and children of the host nationals to study together, both within and outside the camp. It also gives refugees right to free, quality and compulsory education, at both primary and secondary level as well as equal access to higher education.¹⁹ According to the policy, universal education for refugees and host community should be affordable, achievable and

schools, be nearer the settlement. This is so in order for children to learn and prepare a future for themselves and their communities as well.²⁰

Unfortunately, before the arrival of refugees, Kiryandongo area lagged behind in as far as education is concerned. There were complications regarding the registration of the few schools in Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement.²¹ Additionally, accessing help from the district education office was difficult which in turn greatly affected the education in the settlement as observed by Ateenyi:

Before the coming of refugees into Kiryandongo, we had few education institutions and were in sorry state. Many girls and boys could not go to school and those who afforded could also drop out due to early pregnancy and drug abuse. The coming of refugees was to our help because when they came, modern schools were established to offer education to them. But we also send our children to the same schools. This has reduced school dropout due to early pregnancies and drug abuse.²²

Therefore, the coming of refugees enabled the host population to have their children get quality education.

To extend education services to the refugees, a number of schools were set up. These included among others, Bidong Primary school, Canrom Primary school, Panyadoli Hill Primary school, Beth Cole Nursery School and Arnold Nursery School.²³ A local initiative by the Sudanese in the diaspora, called the Equatorial Civil Fund (ECF), founded a Self Help secondary school.²⁴ Bidong primary school was built in ranch 1; Canrom Primary school was built in ranch 37, Panyadoli hill primary school in ranch 18 and Arnold primary school in ranch 1. Later the UNCHR constructed Victoria primary school in ranch 1 and Butenga primary school in ranch 37. The refugees also constructed Bakhita primary school and later the Kiryandongo refugee community constructed Good Shepherd primary school which was commissioned in January 2019.²⁵

Each primary school has between 2000-4000 pupils. This eradicated illiteracy amongst the refugees and the local people of Kiryandongo. Langoya states that in 2016, the government came up with a system where each nursery school had to be attached to a primary school.²⁶ There are also two secondary schools that serve over 2,251 students including refugees and nationals. These are Panyadoli Secondary School (PSS) that was started as a refugee community school but later transformed into a government school receiving some government grants. This has improved teachers' welfare leading to quality services to the schools within the settlement. Through partnership between WIU and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, Kiryandongo High School (KHS) was founded as an alternative to Panyadoli Secondary school. This saved refugee learners and nationals from moving long distances to Panyadoli. For progressive education, they also established a vocational wing of Panyadoli Secondary School. It is run by Windle Trust to ensure that students receive vocational training as part of their secondary education.²⁷ According to Okello,

Education was a problem, but with the coming of more refugees, refugee parents constructed Panyadoli Self-help Secondary school. Teachers in this school were from South Sudan. The School is now supported by government and United Nations High Commission for Refugees.²⁸

These facilities are used by both the refugees and the host community. Panyadoli Vocational Training Institute (PVTI) has 30% of the population being Ugandan nationals from the host community, 20% of the school going children are also Ugandans from the neighbouring community and are taking part in sports development.²⁹

Therefore, the community is no longer struggling with educational services as it used to do before the coming of the refugees. Donation of books by United Nations High Commission for Refugees, throughout the settlement has benefited refugees and the Ugandan host nationals who use the same facilities.³⁰

Primary and secondary educations have been made free since government of Uganda introduced the Universal Primary Education program. However due to limited finances by government, all primary schools within the Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement have been taken up by Windle Trust Uganda, a non-government sector.³¹ Windle Trust Uganda also provides scholarships in secondary to the best performing students and scholarships from government or well-wishers are also in place for tertiary institutions.³² All these have resulted in tremendous development in the education of refugees.

According to Okello:

At first, education was a problem but United Nations High Commission for Refugees constructed Arnold primary school and Bidong Primary both in ranch 1, Canrom primary school in ranch 37 and Panyadoli hill primary school in ranch 18. Later UNHCR also constructed Victoria primary school in ranch 1 and Ematong primary school in ranch 37. The community also constructed Bakhita nursery and primary school and Panyadoli Self-help secondary school. At first teachers were from South Sudan but now schools are supported by the government and United Nations High Commission for Refugees³³

The above statement clearly shows that Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement led to the establishment of many educational facilities in the area.

Although the education centres were established to offer education services to the refugees, they have also benefited the host community. These centres have also provided employment opportunities to the people from the host community. A respondent noted that:

These schools have not only helped refugees but they have helped us in the community. I am a cook here at one of these initially refugee constructed schools. My children also go to the same school where I work despite the fact that they are not refugee in this area.³⁴

further Mwanamwolwo noted that;

A number of schools were established to enhance education of children of refugees especially the Southern Sudanese refugees. At first, the schools enrolled only a few refugee students as majority of them were opting for Ugandan schools outside the settlement. However, as of today, both children of the natives and those of the refugees use these facilities.³⁵

Besides the education achieved by the refugees and the local community in the area, there has been community sensitisation about people's rights as well as sex education. As a result this has led to harmony and reduction of sexual abuse within the refugee settlement and the community at large. Community awareness campaigns were also held to ensure effective child-protection and were attended by 56 participants who included 14 males and 42 females.³⁶ InterAid Uganda (IAU) also sensitised 1,466 children in Panyadoli Hill primary school and Bidong primary school on child protection namely children's rights, intertribal unity and sexual gender based violence.³⁷ Many teachers, members of staff of the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) and Save the Children also participated in the exercise for effective service delivery since they could continue disseminating the learnt knowledge. This improves service delivery to the refugees and the host community.

Additionally, other 150 secondary school students were also enlightened about human rights, the importance of unity among tribes and reporting any form of sexual harassment and child abuse. Follow-up and counseling of peer educators was conducted and caregivers sensitized on the importance of education.³⁸

Apparently, the schools in the refugee settlement support over 9,809 children in nursery, primary and secondary. Beth Cole Nursery School supports 1,158, Arnold Nursery School 975 children, Can Rom Primary School 3,589 pupils, Arnold Primary School 2,908 pupils and Panyadoli Self Help Secondary School 1,179 students.³⁹

Therefore, the establishment of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement has promoted literacy of both refugees and Ugandans in the host community. This is because many schools have constructed by government and others by private entrepreneurs. Currently, the district has 56 nursery schools, 136 primary schools, 36 secondary schools, 1 BTVET school and 2 technical schools.

These include 80 government and 151 private schools, 203 day and 4 boarding and 24 day and boarding.⁴⁰ Of all the above schools, Kiryandongo refugee settlement has only 5 primary schools and 1 secondary school.⁴¹ This shows that the refugees are benefiting more from the schools of the host community ore especially those who are self-settling. However, the support of schools in the settlement by government, UNHCR and Windle Trust gives an advantage in terms of quality and service delivery which makes it better than those outside the settlement. Nevertheless, they are affordable, nearer and open to all ethnicities which allow social and cultural interaction hence good co-existence of all people. All these have been of great value in transforming refugees and Kiryandongo as a host community.

4.1.3 Health Facilities in the Area

According to Taga,⁴² Kiryandongo area had challenges with her health status due to the shortage of enough health facilities. The whole district depended on Kiryandongo general hospital commissioned in 1974.⁴³ However, by the time the refugees arrived, the hospital was poorly stocked with limited staff and serious medical referrals of refugees and nationals were made to Masindi and Gulu.⁴⁴ Later Kiryandongo health centre was also established. Despite this, the two health facilities could not offer effective service to the entire Kiryandongo, and worse of all it involved moving long distances.⁴⁵

The arrival of refugees in Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement was followed by the coming of Medicins Sans Frontieres as implementing partners of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees⁴⁶ which improved health service delivery to the refugees and host community. Medicins San Frontieres provided safe drinking water to the refugees, medical care, vaccination and mental health support to the victims of sexual violence and other health related services to

both the refugees and needy members of the host community. These services were confirmed by a one Langoya, who noted that;

When we reached here, Medicine San Frontieres provided us with health services like vaccination, mother to child health care and clean drinking water. People could come from the neighbouring community for vaccination also.....⁴⁷

As noted, the services were accessed by both refugees and people neighbouring Kiryandongo

Refugee Settlement as further confirmed by Okello:

We came here in 1992 and InterAid could often visit our homes to find out the needs of our children. They provided clothes, availed us with drinking water, guided and counseled us in personal hygiene and sanitation and could even go and do the same in schools.....⁴⁸

Therefore, the existence of only Kiryandongo general hospital created the demand for more health facilities especially after the arrival of refugees in Kiryandongo refugee settlement.

Among those constructed are: Panyadoli Health Centre III, Nyakadoti health centre II and Panyadoli Hills health centre II.⁴⁹ This was confirmed by Giramiya, who observed;

In the 1990's the United Nations High Commission for Refugees also established Panyadoli Health centre, which is a grade III health centre. She aimed at extending effective health to refugees. It is a well-stocked medical facility in terms of beds, medicine and workers. Panyadoli health centre III was established primarily for the refugees but it also treats Ugandan nationals from Kiryandongo and neighbouring districts.⁵⁰

Ajonye also added that,

People move from across the neighbouring districts to get treated here. Some are self-settled refugees outside the settlement and others are Ugandan nationals but they all get services in these health facilities without discrimination.....⁵¹

Treatment facilities in the health centre within the settlement are supplemented by drug kits and supervision from the district health officials.⁵² However, staff salaries are paid by United Nations High Commission for Refugees.⁵³ All this aimed at making the health standards better for all the people of Kiryandongo and neighbouring districts in order to promote quality services.

On the same note, a non-governmental organisation, ‘Saving Grace’ located behind Palorinya Hills and affiliated to the Protestant Inland African Church, also donated a health centre ward to Panyadoli health centre III.⁵⁴ The ward accommodates over 30 beds for children.⁵⁵ Mirembe adds that,

More medical personnel and support staff were recruited to work hand in hand with those from Kiryandongo district local government and United Nations High Commission for Refugees. This effected health service delivery to the refugees within and outside of Kiryandongo refugee settlement as well as the local people of the host community.⁵⁶

More health centers were built for example Panyadoli Hill Health Centre II and Nyakadoti Health centre II and Diima health centre III.⁵⁷ Other health centres constructed are, Kigumba health center III, Kaduku, Diika and Apodorwa, Kitwara, Mpumwe and Yabwen health centers.⁵⁸ Kiryandongo district health team then embarked on medical check-ups and immunisations after realising that malaria, diarrhea and respiratory tract infections were the commonest diseases affecting the refugees.⁵⁹ Such attempts improved the lives of the people as confirmed by one of the refugees;

When we reached here, Kiryandongo health personnel always came to our respective homes. On many occasions, they carried out general body medical check-up, sprayed mosquitos and treated our water and gave us deworming tablets. We were healed of many diseases.....⁶⁰

Such programs played a big role in improving the health of not only the refugees, but the host communities in Kiryandongo.

In addition to providing health care, employees of the above health centers also embarked on health education in order to prevent diseases among refugees and the host community.

Working with their partner teams such as InterAid Uganda (IAU), International Rescue Committee (IRC), Trans Psychosocial Organisation (TPO), Action Africa Help (AAH) and Refugee Welfare Council (RWC), the health teams enlightened people on cholera and other

waterborne diseases.⁶¹ With help of hygiene promoters, refugees and UNHCR, they launched a malaria campaign which reached many refugee homes.⁶² InterAid Uganda (IAU) referrals from the reception centre to Mulago for further treatment.⁶³

Health education was also conducted to promote hygiene. The attendants were sensitised on the value of household latrines, drying racks, rubbish pits, jigger prevention and personal hygiene.⁶⁴ All these improved the general hygiene of the refugees and nationals in Kiryandongo refugee settlement.

Immunisation of children against polio and measles went on throughout Kiryandongo refugee settlement and the neighbouring community. Doses for vitamin A and deworming of children were all administered.⁶⁵ Immunisation program improved the lives of the refugees and the local people of Kiryandongo refugee settlement.

According to Okello;

All refugee children and children of the host community were immunised of polio, measles and other killer diseases. This improved the health status of the population. They also encouraged us to keep hygiene and sanitation to avoid cholera and malaria.⁶⁶

In addition to the health facilities in the settlement, refugees also have access to other health facilities within the district.

Apparently Kiryandongo district runs 25 health facilities, which include Kiryandongo general hospital, 8 health centre III's and 16 health centre II's that are either government or Private owned.⁶⁷ These have improved the health status of both refugees and the host people.

The other area that has been improved by the refugee settlement in Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement was the increased supply of water. This was done by sinking boreholes across the settlement,⁶⁸ supplemented by daily water trucks from Masindi port. This ensures access to water by those staying far from the bore holes. WASH activities were promoted throughout the

settlement,⁶⁹ and latrines were excavated and constructed in different refugee households.⁷⁰ This inspired more refugees to construct latrines. As a result, 21% of households built latrines which improved health conditions of the refugees.⁷¹

By December 2018, supply of safe drinking water was at an average of 18.7 liters per person per day throughout Kiryandongo refugee settlement.⁷² On the average water supplied in the settlement, 3% of it was provided through water trucks.⁷³ All these improved the livelihood of the refugees and the neighbouring communities who fetched from those boreholes. A one Kirasiki stated in support of this that,

Water is no longer our problem in the settlement because we have a number of boreholes within, trucks bring water every day and this has helped us in our domestic work and improving our hygiene. Our neighbours also come for water freely because we have a good relationship with them, they also help us in many ways. So we have no problem with them.⁷⁴

Refugee leaders, working with Kiryandongo District Local Government (KDLG) and United Nations High Commission constructed boreholes in ranch 37. These availed of safe drinking water and water for irrigation of their crops like cassava, sweet potatoes, beans, maize, ground nuts, sunflower, tobacco and cotton, which they grow for sale.⁷⁵

This enabled refugees and the host population to promote commercial agricultural production.⁷⁶ They also constructed latrines in refugee homes in ranch 1, all of which improved refugee health and sanitation.⁷⁷ This therefore shows that water sources established benefited both refugees and the Ugandan nationals of Kiryandongo.

These findings are in line with information obtained from Kiryandongo district local government which indicated that drilling of boreholes, rehabilitation and setting up of wells was part of the district annual work plan.⁷⁸

4.2 The Refugees and the Economy in Kiryandongo

The Settlement of Refugees in Kiryandongo has transformed its economy in various ways. The major change and transformation of refugees was on land. There was increased food production in the area, as the Settlement is well established with land divided into plots, on which refugees cultivate crops.⁷⁹ The refugee produce added on that of the host community has promoted food security in the area. This was ascertained by Kyokusiima;

Since the refugees came, they have benefited our economy. They are involved in farming, and produce own food that supplement the relief food from UNHCR. This has increased production which has benefited the area economy since there is food security. Both refugees and non-refugees of the host area exchange produce for what they cannot produce themselves.⁸⁰

In addition to the above, 74% of the refugees in Kiryandongo engage in agriculture. They grow both food and cash crops. There is also livestock rearing and fishing, all done by half of the number of refugees in Kiryandongo refugee settlement.⁸¹ Each refugee family was given 2.5 acres of land for farming and was given, agricultural inputs like seeds for planting.⁸² Government fed them for 6 months as they prepare to plant their own foodstuff.⁸³ This increased food production and food security amongst the refugees in Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement. Such food security benefited the host community as well because surplus food was always sold to the neighbouring community as Okello, commented that,

When more refugees came, the United Nations high commission for refugees supplied us with seeds to grow more food. We got more harvests and many of us in ranch 1 and 37 sold our maize to the Ugandans around Kiryandongo. We got money in turn which we used to buy meat or bread and our sales enabled us to have some money.....⁸⁴

This increased food production in the area which promoted sustainability and self-reliance.

Refugees in Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement grow maize in large quantities and sell it to World Food Program. They also grow are millet, sorghum, beans, cassava, groundnuts, field peas, Irish

potatoes, bananas, tomatoes, cabbages and sweet potatoes. These are grown alongside cotton, tobacco, coffee and as the main cash crops cash crops⁸⁵. Such utilisation of land increased food production amongst refugees which promoted self-sustainability and food security.⁸⁶

With the arrival of more Sudanese and Congolese refugees in 2014, two farming groups in Kiryandongo were formed.⁸⁷ These comprised of 50 refugee women and men who directly benefited from the support provided by United Nations High Commission for Refugees and its partners. These farming groups grew vegetables and other crops to enhance their livelihood and self-reliance.⁸⁸ This enabled refugees to have balanced diet which helped them to fight malnutrition. The variety of food also improved livelihood which benefited the local people of the host and neighbouring communities.⁸⁹ This was because many of them joined the farmers' groups in which they excessed produce and sold it to the non-refugees in Bweyale town as a one Akout said;

The coming of those refugees has helped me and a number of people here in Bweyale because we used to buy food especially maize and vegetables at a cheaper price then we could also sell these them at slightly higher prices...⁹⁰

This means that the refugee farmers' groups also benefited the people of the neighbouring communities because they accessed refugee produce and refugees earned income as well which boosted the economy of Kiryandongo as a whole.

Additionally, many refugees grow much food than what they consume but with an aim of selling the excess. This is because they have enough land for cultivation, which promotes food security.

According to Kamalebe,

Many refugees in Kiryandongo grow many types of food and in variety with the aim of having enough for their homes and to sell the surplus produce to have money and buy what they don't have. They sell much maize, groundnuts and millet to Bweyale, Kigumba, Kiryandongo and other neighbours.....⁹¹

This means that agriculture plays a significant role in the trading network of the settlement's supply to the surrounding areas.

Before the coming of refugees, the people of Kiryandongo practiced farming but on a subsistence scale. They grew crops like millet, sorghum, beans, sunflower, simsim, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, cassava, maize, cotton, tomatoes, cabbages, tobacco, coffee, onions, soya bean, peas, pineapples, rice, ground nuts and banana. 60% of the people practiced agriculture.⁹² These later supplemented livestock and fishing.⁹³ They also reared animals like goats, sheep and cattle. These are kept alongside small-scale activities like pit sawing; saw milling, jiggery manufacturing, cotton ginning, and furniture, processing of hides, skins, oil and grain milling.

However, the refugee flows into Kiryandongo enabled farmers to grow surplus products for both sale and subsistence consumption for the population. This promoted generation of income and access to food amongst the people of Kiryandongo which improved refugees and host people's livelihood.⁹⁴

Many farmers of Kiryandongo area were also able to access national and international markets for their produce.⁹⁵ There was food security since the already available food was supplemented by relief agencies that distributed packed food to the refugees. In some cases refugees sold part of their food received from relief agencies so that they may buy other essentials that they lacked, such as shoes, clothes, kerosene, matchboxes. This is in line with what Kamalebe stated that,

I used to sell some of the food given to me by United Nations High Commission for Refugees and her partners so that I get money to buy milk, bread and meat. Sometimes, I wanted to change diet some days and that is what I could do. It really improved my well-being.⁹⁶

This improved their livelihood as refugees as they could get money and buy what they did not have. On the other hand, the local people who sold goods to the refugees also generated income.

This implies that refugee settlement in Kiryandongo benefited both refugees and the people of the host area. These findings are in line with what Mwangi observed that whatever is distributed could be sold, including the products of development projects around refugee settlements. This is true because trees planted to provide fuel to refugees could be sold.⁹⁷ This form of trade allows the native population to benefit from humanitarian aid which helps to prevent jealousy from one another. It is further an indicator of development of a viable town which could possibly support some refugees when humanitarian aid can no longer be availed by refugee agencies.⁹⁸ It is by such that Bweyale transformed into social and economic centre that makes it be one of the major trading towns in Kiryandongo and Western Uganda at large.

Therefore, Kiryandongo being a farming community from far back, natives took advantage of their presence at the initial stages to cultivate more food since they had enough land yet the demand for farm products was steadily rising. To support this, Ocen stated that;

Native farmers acquired more land to grow more crops especially maize and cassava to meet the food demands of that time. This was due to the increase in population especially after the arrival of refugees. Those farmers benefited a lot from their sales because maize and cassava gained market which was not there before.⁹⁹

Farming households therefore improved their standards of living through utilising their profits to purchase wealth indicators like radios, bicycle and motorcycle. Although these looked like luxuries but they changed the status of the general population of Kiryandongo area. These findings are in agreement with Kwame¹⁰⁰ who found out that refugee camps are concentrations of different human resource which promote trade through the nature of the basic economic activities therein.

On the same note, Mwangi¹⁰¹ also states that before reaching Kenya, some Sudanese refugees in Kakuma had settled in the South-Western part of Ethiopia where they developed trading networks. The Itang camp's dwellers also carried out different commercial transactions with their

neighbouring Nuer shepherds and farmers of the Sobat and Pibor Rivers. He adds that the re-sale of food aid was also carried on up to the Jokau and Nasir localities in Sudan.

In the same way, there exists keeping of animals and the commonly domesticated animals are sheep, cattle, and goats. This is in line with a one Okello, who stated that,

Refugees in Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement keep goats, chicken and sheep. In addition to that, they also grow maize, soya beans, beans, sunflower, ground nuts and simsim. They have bulls that are sometimes rent for digging and in return they get money.¹⁰²

Therefore, despite Kiryandongo being a refugee settlement area, normal economic activities are carried out in the area. These have kept people's livelihood stable.

The existence of cottage industries in the area has promoted small-scale industrial activities, which have benefited the refugees within Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement and the host community. These include sawing, saw milling, cotton ginning and production of jaggery, furniture, processing of hides and skins, oil and grain milling.¹⁰³ These industries have been promoted due to the presence of Hydro-electric power. Budongo Saw Mills and Kinyara Sugar Works employ many people in Kiryandongo including refugees. Through these activities, refugees produce goods for sale and food for their home consumption thus reducing their dependence on humanitarian aid as well as expanding their businesses¹⁰⁴

Other refugees do small retail businesses while working as casual laborers to get more income for their livelihood and promote refugee social-economic independence. This was ascertained by Athiek that,

We grow both food crops and cash crops. We mainly grow maize, beans, ground nuts and sweet potatoes to ensure we have enough food to feed our families and in case we have any surplus, we sell it and get money. This supplement the money we obtain after selling cash crops which are mainly sunflower, cotton and tobacco.¹⁰⁵

Most of the refugee produce is sold in Bweyale trading centre, located on the main road. It is one of the nearest towns to Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement. Refugees participate in trade in Bweyale market. While there, they sell pots, mats, crafts fish, millet, groundnut paste, sorghum, cassava, tobacco, green vegetables, simsim and many others which they sell at Bweyale town market in addition to snacks, pancakes and waragi,¹⁰⁶ in the market that is held twice a week.

Some refugees own shops in Bweyale town and participate in selling of maize grains and milled flour. Others run milling machines, lodges and drug shops, sell clothes, shoes, handbags, goats' meat, beef and other goods.¹⁰⁷ This is in line with what a one Jok stated that,

I have enjoyed selling my produce in Bweyale market. I have been able to sell my surplus Food stuffs and got money to buy medicine and to cater for my family's basic needs. I have also been able to buy a bicycle which eases my movements.¹⁰⁸

In addition to agriculture, the refugees have also contributed to the growth of trade in Kiryandongo. Prior to the coming of refugees, Kiryandongo had no competitive business venture because of the low population that explained the low demand for a variety of goods as is stated by Kamalebe that;

There was no serious commercial business before the refugees came because there was no high demand for goods due to the low population. The coming of refugees increased the population in this area leading to the increase in demand of basic needs.¹⁰⁹

The coming of refugees therefore developed commerce and trade amongst refugees and the host people of Kiryandongo. This is seen in the days of market when a number of refugees move from all corners of Kiryandongo area to participate in trade at Bweyale town where some refugees are the owners of businesses.¹¹⁰ Bweyale has developed into a busy trading centre due to the arrival and participation in market by the refugees and internally displaced persons since 1990s.¹¹¹

The findings are in agreement with findings agree with those from Kyangwali refugee camp where Werker¹¹² stated that due to refugees, there developed a trading centre with a number of shops selling grains, imported goods, sodas, beer and cigarettes.

Other findings in same line are those of Liberian refugees in Ghana where markets for agricultural goods seemed hard before the arrival of refugees but when they finally arrived, there was creation of market in the townships around the refugee camps.¹¹³ Real medicine foundation report of 2018¹¹⁴ also indicated Aber Pauline who graduated in tailoring and garment cutting at Panyadoli Vocational Training Institute and started her workshop from which she does sales in Bweyale market.

All the above confirm that the settlement of refugees in Kiryandongo partly promoted trade in the area. The trade has benefited the host country since such trading activities are a source of local government tax.

According to Okello, earlier before the arrival of 2,000 Kenyan refugees into Kiryandongo, the level of transactions was low because every home could produce what was enough for their sustainability.¹¹⁵ However, their arrival opened up new opportunities because they started looking for business opportunities within and around Kiryandongo. They started mixing freely with the Sudanese refugees and all other people in the host community. They were favoured by the Uganda refugee laws that allow them to move and work within Uganda.¹¹⁶ Therefore, in looking for the businesses, sales increased due to the demand of farming goods. This led to increased prices of goods which benefited the host community especially those who grew crops. This also helped the non-farming neighbouring community since they could purchase and get what they could not produce by themselves. This improved the livelihood of refugees and the

neighbouring communities through exchange of goods and income. This is emphasised by Okulla;

I used the money I came with from home and I started up my own business. I cooked maize and sold it in Bweyale. I moved on foot looking for buyers. I sold this maize even to the neighbouring communities at a reasonable price and i got more money which I used to buy what I did not have¹¹⁷

The growth of trade in Kiryandongo improved the general economic status of the refugees and the general population of Kiryandongo and her neighbouring communities. This is because, the incomes generated from the trade improved their status as Namugenyi stated that the income got from his sales helped her to widen her business and to construct her house.¹¹⁸

This is in line with what Werker¹¹⁹ stated that in most cases refugees acquired capital to start-up businesses with goods or money brought from home, loans, own-labour production or payments from abroad. Refugees, host-country families and businesses are all key factors that create income spill overs through spending money on goods and services that are supplied within the local economy. This was also noted with the increase in refugee population in Tanzania where it resulted into increase in prices of some commodities in some markets for example legumes, bananas, plantations and milk.

On the other hand the inflow of aid did put down pressure on prices in legume markets.¹²⁰ Refugees also create income spill overs in other parts of Uganda where refugee camps and settlements are located. This occurs when households and traders buy goods and services outside the local economy.

The coming of refugees in Kiryandongo promoted urbanisation. Before the creation of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement, there were limited shops and economic activities were less, but the existence of refugees has transformed Bweyale town¹²¹ from a rural setting to an urban centre. This was acknowledged by a one Rute, who stated that,

I and my family came to Bweyale when it was still a semi-rural place; it had less than 10 shops and it was not as busy as it is today. But with the coming of different groups of refugees with different economic activities, Bweyale town has transformed and looks to be the heart of Kiryandongo district as far as trade activities are concerned.¹²²

This was further supported by Diri;

When we first settled in Kiryandongo, it was not yet a refugee settlement. The place was too rural since it had few shops and scattered homes. People could move from distant surrounding places to come and buy small merchandise from the few existing shops. Later they transferred us to respective plots here in the settlement, since then more shops were built and its now an urban place.¹²³

Therefore, the existence of refugees and a refugee settlement has transformed Kiryandongo from a rural to an urban outlook. There is now a very lucrative businesses going on in Bwayale town as it is a traffic stopover for vehicles moving to and from the north. This has offered different economic opportunities to refugees, and internally displaced persons (IDPs) from the districts of Gulu, Pader, Kitgum and nationals of the surrounding communities. This is because they are in position to transport their agricultural commodities from the respective farms to areas of market.

The settlement of refugees in Kiryandongo increased labour supply in the area. When refugees entered Kiryandongo, many of them began looking for casual jobs to generate income to supplement relief items and food supplied by government and development agencies. Some refugees provided manual labour on farms owned by the local, or carried luggage to markets, while others worked in markets to earn money. This was ascertained by Longoya, who stated that,

On our arrival here, we used to move out and dig for the neighbours in return for money. On the market day, we could go to Bweyale town, carry luggage and get more money to buy whatever we wanted. It generally kept our life moving and it made us feel at home because with money, we could get every basic need of life.¹²⁴

Using the refugees as laborers on the agricultural farms also increased production which boosted trade and commerce as well as the welfare of the farm employers and employees. For example Okello noted that:

A Kenyan man Waweru refused to be repatriated back to Kenya because he was used to Kiryandongo where he could grow his food and work for people in the neighborhood to get money.¹²⁵

The labour supply created by the refugees increased productivity of the farmers as it helped the farm owners to increase their market output.¹²⁶ Further still, providing labour to the host community also benefited the refugees through improved incomes. According to Langoya,

We always go out there and provide labour on agricultural farms of the local people. We Help them in farming, weeding and harvesting of their produce. When they sale their goods, they pay us in good sums. When we get our money, we are able to buy our basic needs and necessities. This has helped us to improve our standards of living as well as co-existing with the host community.¹²⁷

All in all, the influx of refugee labour into a local economy has been a stimulus to businesses and production to the host community.

More businesses were made for example, a young lady Esther used the little money she had got from selling her crops, bought materials and started a business of treating women hair while looking for the clients by her.¹²⁸ Although she worked under a tree near her home but she earned and continued to save so that she could open up a shop. Other graduates from Panyadoli vocational training institute (PVTI) also provided work to many refugee youths and unemployed nationals in Kiryandongo.¹²⁹

The existence of Panyadoli Vocational Training Institute (PVTI) has also provided solutions for economic problems to refugee youths and host people. She has promoted this through maintaining youth participation in vocational training skills like tailoring, carpentry and brick lying.¹³⁰ The institute has helped to fuel the generator that supports the gadgets of hair dressing

and sewing machines all of which have engaged youths in various activities.¹³¹ Through the youth livelihood fund, youth skills and supporting youth council activities of group dynamics, there has been promotion of socialisation and culture which has reduced redundancy amongst the youths.¹³² A number of women councils have also been supported and people within and outside of the refugee settlement have been sensitised on gender related issues.¹³³ This has helped to limit other social problems in the community such as unplanned pregnancies, drug abuse and other injustices. This is affirmed by Lujang;

A number of youths have been equipped with skills in tailoring and brick laying. Many of us have gained from the youth groups because through different youth groups, we have learnt and known a lot about our culture. These have made up productively busy.¹³⁴

Through various vocational skills, youths have begun income generating activities that provide them and host neighbors, basic needs. This is in line with Mwanamwohlo who noted that graduates from Panyadoli vocational training institute have been provided with startup kits, which they can use to startup businesses for themselves, which has expanded to benefit the multicultural population of Kiryandongo.¹³⁵ This has transformed Kiryandongo since this type of the population joins competition in the labor market leading to economic development.

The findings are in line with previous results from Tanzania where the shift in demand caused by the refugee population benefited producers¹³⁶ and the effects of Congolese refugees on the Ugandan population.¹³⁷ Nevertheless, refugee population widened employment opportunities amongst both refugees and the host population.

Trade and commerce have also greatly improved. For example, a number of employment opportunities have been offered by Budongo Saw mills and Kinyara sugar works, which has benefited many refugees in Masindi.¹³⁸ These findings are in line with what Mwangi found out

that in mid-1970, Ugandan refugees in Southern Sudan led to supply of cheap labour which helped in increasing farming output.¹³⁹ However, this was not the case for the Kakuma and Dadaab camps in Kenya because of being located in a semi-arid environment with a density population of fewer than 0.05 inhabitants per hectare.¹⁴⁰ This explains why there was reduction of local wages since farming could not blossom.

Whereas increased population created employment opportunities in Kiryandongo, some individuals became unemployed. Like other Ugandans who struggle for jobs after school, refugees in Kiryandongo face the same. The Uganda's 2006 Refugee Act provides refugees, a right to employment but finding it is harder. Even with higher education levels, unemployment has remained a challenge to refugees.¹⁴¹ This was evidenced in Schalit's findings in which he noted a parent, member of Parents Teachers Association (PTA) that,

There is no job for refugees here. In most cases, like me I'm accredited, and I'm not working. We try to work, we try to apply. Maybe sometimes the answer they give you is that you are refugees, we are giving you everything free, what do you want. So completely even graduates they are here, there is no job. They are keeping us as the foreman, but they are not giving us jobs... I completed but now I'm here, jobless. But I know I cannot blame anybody because of the war in our country. I cannot blame anybody... And that is a problem, because we have some people here who can do something from this. I remember during the first time we were here, during the 90s, they were given jobs... but it is not the case here.¹⁴²

Such difficulties of getting jobs by refugees, even if educated, makes refugees to see no value in education hence losing focus on education. This agrees with what was stated that unemployment is one of the major problems associated with refugee influx.¹⁴³

The settlement of refugees in Kiryandongo has also led to improvement of infrastructure in this area. Before the coming of refugees in Kiryandongo, the area did not have developed transport routes as Namugwanya states that,

Before the arrival of refugees in Kiryandongo, this place had a poor transport system. There were no modern roads as most of the routes were feeder roads of the main Kampala-Gulu highway. With the arrivals of refugees, a number of roads were constructed and others

rehabilitated. This has eased mobility of both refugees and nationals of the host community as well as the refugee agencies like the United Nations High Commission for refugees and World Food Program.¹⁴⁴

Therefore, the sparse population therein did not make road construction a priority. The arrival of refugees in the post-colonial period however has led to general infrastructural development within the area as seen with the construction of different roads.¹⁴⁵ These include the upgrading of Panyadoli-Kimogoro road measuring 13 kms, maintenance of Nyakadoti-Tecwa road of 9.4kms and maintenance of Bweyale-Panyadoli 9km road.¹⁴⁶ These roads and many others have benefited both the refugees and the host community through easing mobility.¹⁴⁷ The roads are also used by refugees to move to Bweyale market to sell their agricultural produce or buy other basic needs as one Asunta stated that;

We move on foot from here at Panyadoli to Bweyale to buy or take our goods to the market. Bweyale market attracts many people from different parts of the district. So we are happy for the government because the roads are not only easing our movement but through them, we are generating money through our sales as well as purchasing whatever we want.¹⁴⁸

Refugees led to overcrowding in Kiryandongo after more arrivals, in August 2002. This group was of Sudanese refugees and Ugandan internally displaced persons from Acholi-Pii settlement.¹⁴⁹ These, added on the already existing population caused population pressure, which resulted in land conflicts. It further increased pressure on social services in Kiryandongo, leading to risks of diseases due to poor sanitation.¹⁵⁰ This made the government and United Nations High Commission for Refugees to relocate the excess refugees to Hoima, Arua and Yumbe districts where there was still vacant land.

4.3 Refugees and Politics in Kiryandongo

The settlement of refugees in Kiryandongo has transformed leadership and governance in a number of ways. Whereas the refugees are under the office of the Prime Minister, in the

settlement they are controlled by the settlement commandant who is answerable to the senior commandant who reports to Kampala headquarters.¹⁵¹ This was confirmed by Okongo that,

In the settlement administration, refugees are controlled by the settlement commandant who reports to the senior commandant. The senior commandant then reports to the Office of the Prime Minister in Kampala and the United Nations High Commission for refugees. The settlement is divided into ranches; 1, 37 and 18 and each ranch is under a ranch leader. The ranch leaders are directly under local council three chairpersons of Kiryandongo district local government.¹⁵²

This means that although the ranch leaders are under the Office of the Prime Minister and United Nations High Commission for Refugees, they are supervised by the local government administration.

For effective service delivery, every ranch is sub divided into a number of clusters and each cluster is under a cluster leader who reports to the ranch leader.¹⁵³ All refugee leaders participate in electoral politics within the settlement. Ugandan nationals working in the settlement are not permitted to engage in refugee politics.¹⁵⁴ Refugees contest for and are elected within their respective clusters and ranches. The elected leaders act as voices to the voiceless refugees and work with Kiryandongo district local government to address the problems faced by refugees.¹⁵⁵

Some of the ranch leaders are Abraham Majot Wut who is in charge of ranch 1 and Ernest Omuti who leads ranch 37.¹⁵⁶ These are assisted by a number of cluster leaders like Ocen Paul of (CI S), Isaac Franco(CI K), Waraga James (CI E), Rufina Kamalebe(CI G), David Deng Aruei(CI M/R) among others. These work hand in hand with the Refugee Welfare Council (RWC) leaders who include Bongo Minjackson (RWC 1, CI P), Diri James (RWC 1, CI I), Joseph Lemin(RWC 3, CI D), Suleiman Abubakar(RWC2, CI A) and others.¹⁵⁷ These among other leaders help in the social, economic and political wellbeing of refugees through linking them to the government representatives within the settlement.

Gender equality is considered in refugee leadership as women have representatives on different refugee committees. They have nine members on different committees for purposes of balanced gender representation.¹⁵⁸ Rufina Kamalebe is one of the female leaders. She is the cluster leader of cluster CI L.¹⁵⁹

The Office of the Prime Minister, camp commandant and the cluster leaders are assisted by the refugee welfare council (RWC).¹⁶⁰ This is comprised of a number of refugees and different committees. The committee includes secretaries for education, health, security, elders among others. The committees are obliged to look into the needs of the refugees and report their grievances to the respective offices. The same committees further ensure that government laws are observed by refugees and in case of abuse of any law, the committees handle at their level. However, where it is beyond their powers, they refer them to the cluster leaders to handle or refer.¹⁶¹ This was supported by Deng stating that;

In case refugees break particular laws, they are fully apprehended by the respective committees. In case it is beyond them, committees refer to the cluster leaders, ranch leaders up to the Office of the Prime Minister. Through that hierarchy, refugees can be presented to courts of law. They also have lawyers from different organisations. Some refugees have their own lawyers depending on their status. The lawyers are provided by the refugee law project-Makerere branch.¹⁶²

This means that refugees are fully guided by the laws of the republic of Uganda and when convicted of any offence, still they are punished following the Ugandan laws.

External management of Kiryandongo refugee settlement is headed by the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) followed by the refugee implementing partners (IPs) and the Police. Although these three institutions are external to the refugees but they directly assist the internal institutions like the Refugee Welfare Councils (RWC) religious and tribal leaders.¹⁶³ They do so through ensuring law and order as well as harmonious co-existence. Maya adds that;

Refugees are monitored by the refugee welfare councils. They also have a number of women representatives and 9 committee members on the Refugee Welfare Council with secretaries for education, health, security and elders. These leaders are able to raise voices of the refugees and work hand in hand with Kiryandongo district local government to ensure that they address the problems of the refugees.¹⁶⁴

Such leadership structure has empowered refugees with leadership and management skills. This is because they can contest and exercise their leadership skills. It has also helped in ensuring law and order as every individual has a subordinate to report to and following the laws as guided by Uganda's constitution. Furthermore, it has promoted refugee democracy within the settlement because refugees have a right of choosing their leaders for a given term. Through the refugee committees, refugees have accessed right of education, security, worship and culture. These have strengthened refugee sense of belonging.

4.3.1 Refugees and the Security of Kiryandongo

Prior to the arrival of refugees, Kiryandongo was a stable area. This was because Uganda's independence ended colonialism which had destabilised the place in their wars against Bunyoro.¹⁶⁵ Refugees however re-introduced conflicts, partly because some refugees for example those of Sudanese origin came with memories of chaos and brutalities that characterised their departure from home.¹⁶⁶ According to Okony, refugees of the same ethnic background are living harmoniously in their respective clusters, but those originating from Eastern equatorial sometimes have violent forms of culture.¹⁶⁷ These mainly exercise a lot of physical, sexual emotional and economic violence that mostly affect women and children.¹⁶⁸ This is evidenced by almost 77% of refugee families in the settlement who undergo psychological distress.¹⁶⁹ The level of violence against children makes them grow up with hardened behaviors which are a security threat to refugees and host community. This was supported by Okony, who stated that,

Sudanese from Eastern equatorial are very hostile. They have remained strange with their fighting culture of the upper Nile. They fight their fellow Sudanese who come from other parts of Sudan

and when it comes to refugees from other countries, they even become worse. They beat children and rape women which cause conflicts with families of the victimised.¹⁷⁰

This has made the host community, look at refugees as a threat to the community of Kiryandongo. Nevertheless, not all refugees are a threat to Kiryandongo host community. Some of them are peaceful and this explains the cordial life of integration exercised in the area.

The existence of insecurity at local levels is low due to the strict screening and besides that they are also being handled by the local authorities in the area. According to Nattabi;

Refugees are always not allowed to participate in national partisan politics. They do politics at their level as refugees which does not call for participation of Ugandan nationals. This has prevented the national partisan pressure that results into political conflicts that are always a threat to the country's security.¹⁷¹

This has made their stay in Kiryandongo a positive change and if handled in accordance with desire for refugee global security, refugees can promote justice and accountability through providing facts on war criminals from the sender countries. Ajonye adds that,

Although the arrival of refugees increased the population, crime, lawlessness and social unrest, The Uganda Police maintained law and order. She even captured the victims of Sexual Gender Based Violence drug addicts and all criminals and were paraded before the courts of law which restored public order amongst the refugees and people of Kiryandongo.¹⁷²

Therefore, refugees stay in Kiryandongo has helped to transform the rule of law. This has made refugees and host population to live harmoniously, under the guidance of Police and local government. This has intercultural relations which led to security and stability in the area.

They were rape, domestic violence and forced marriages, as the commonest forms of crimes. They were caused by differences in power among men and women, poverty and alcohol abuse.¹⁷³ According to Makuel,

Rape, defilement, physical assault and general crime were common amongst refugees and some used to be done by nationals onto refugees. Police did a good work to eradicate such injustices and survivors received medical care and were always counseled by the Sexual gender based violence personnel.¹⁷⁴

Office of the Prime Minister, InterAid and United Nations High Commission for Refugees held talks with refugees. This resulted into inclusion of refugees and empowered them, which ended into the policy of having refugee leaders who helped fighting against the above crimes.¹⁷⁵ This was also supported by Okello;

Since we began the election of ranch leaders who link refugees to Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), district leaders and the government, they report about, social injustices and on refugees, which are always addressed. This has reduced cases of instabilities and criminalities on refugees and the host community.¹⁷⁶

Such transformation has promoted the general well-being of people's livelihood in Kiryandongo.

4.3.3 The Refugees and Environment in Kiryandongo

Before Kiryandongo became a refugee area, there was scarcity of population. This was due to the fact that it was a cattle ranch, part of which government gazetted to be used for settling refugees.¹⁷⁷ This means there existed small pieces that had human settlement.

The settlement of refugees in Kiryandongo led to environment degradation. The coming of refugees increased the population which resulted into massive cutting of trees for purposes of charcoal burning as well as bush clearing for agricultural activities.¹⁷⁸ As a result of these activities, Kiryandongo lost over 60% of its forest cover. The same was also observed by Mulumba that, in the early 1990's, after the arrival of South Sudanese refugees, there was rampant cutting down of trees.¹⁷⁹ As a result it affected the health of the people in the community as there was reduction of rainfall and the cutting of traditional natural herbs. The increased deforestation has affected the natural environment and wild life negatively as observed by Okello;

When we came, we found the place bushy but we cleared the bushes and cut down trees to get

charcoal, firewood as well as establishing our homes and gardens. Our women and girls fetched firewood for fuel and men cut trees for charcoal which we sold to get money for other basic needs. Later we could not get a single rainfall which affected our livelihood.¹⁸⁰

Much as deforestation affected the environment, the product of deforestation prepared conducive atmosphere for human settlement as refugees got space to construct houses and gardening.

Deforestation further, led to climate change which has reduced the water table leading to water shortage especially during the dry season due to the hilly terrain covered by thick bushes and forests.¹⁸¹ The most affected refugees and internally displaced persons are those in ranch 18 which is rocky and non-productive.¹⁸² The finding is in agreement with what was found out in Ghana where Liberian refugees experienced massive deforestation of trees which led to a water shortage because water resources were depleted.¹⁸³

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the changes and transformations that have taken place after the settlement of refugee in Kiryandongo area focusing on economy, politics and social life in terms of population social services and environment. Much as changes and transformations have come along with some negative implications, but the positive considerations have been of great value addition to both refugees and the host population. The chapter has established that when refugees came into the area, there were changes such as growth of academic institutions, health centres, roads, employment of people, and growth of market centres, security and general wellbeing. These have promoted refugee integration and co-existence that has also benefited the nationals of the area and the neighbouring community.

However, whereas nationals of the host area have benefited, with refugees being in a rural area, the settlement has allowed Uganda government authorities and international organizations to

bring more refugees. Although their basic subsistence needs, like health care, schools, and other services, benefit the host community, they become barriers towards quick integration of refugees. This creates competition in the labor market, increase in food prices, and others basic needs, which can be negative transformation to the host community.

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CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This dissertation investigated the history of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement from 1954-2018. The research was conducted in the settlement's three ranches namely ranch 1, 18 and 37 and the neighbouring community. The central concern of the study was to trace the origins and History of the Kiryandongo Refugee settlement, the different flows of refugees in Kiryandongo Refugee settlement and the changes and transformations that have taken place in the area after the arrival of the refugees.

The research was particularly motivated by the prior studies on refugees of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement, for example Schalit,¹ Kaiser² and Nambuya *et. al*,³ among others, that have provided generalised information on the refugee phenomenon in Uganda. Other studies on refugees for example Schneiderheinze and Matthias,⁴ give accounts of the socio-economic effects of refugee influx on host communities and the government of Uganda such as pressure on social services.⁵

In contrast, other scholars like Nassali⁶ centers on social protection, Ayine and Nuwategeka concentrated on land suitability, whereas Attilio⁷ focused on Child abuse, and generally how refugee integration into the local population can reduce on the pressure on government.

Although such information builds a literature on refugee studies in Uganda, there is no account analysing the history of Kiryandongo Refugees Settlement, despite its historical significance as a model Settlement of refugee management as well as a destination of numerous flows of refugees

from various countries and internally displaced persons from different parts of Uganda. Through analysis of the historical documents and examination of empirical data using observation, archival sources and oral interviews,⁸ this research has attempted to re-construct a history of the settlement, to inform refugee studies, why, when and how Kiryandongo refugee settlement was established. The dissertation presents the fact that patterns of historical linkages between Uganda and Congo hatched the name Kiryandongo. This came as a result of the historic act of the Congolese who used to eat the “Ndongo” pallars which were inedible according to the Banyoro. This made it be called “Kiryandongo” literally meaning a place where people eat “Ndongo” insects.

Whereas the earlier migrations of South Sudanese visa vie the colonial effect of partition separated the Acholis to put some in Northern Uganda and others in South Sudan. When wars erupted in Sudan, many Acholis from Sudan entered Uganda looking for family re-unions. On entering Uganda, they later joined their relatives in Kiryandongo making it be called Kiryandongo Sudanese refugees. Kiryandongo as a place was chosen due to factors like the availability of unutilised land which Bunyoro had leased to the British Colonial government for 49 years. The place was relatively fertile and unoccupied, its proximity, but fairly distant from all boarders, to the various groups of refugees that were settled therein. Whereas oral information from key informants presents the experiences and accounts of how the name Kiryandongo came about, documents give the reasons why of all places, Kiryandongo was selected to host refugees and the eventual they flown in and out. It is on this background that this chapter concludes the work accomplished in this dissertation.

The dissertation begins by illuminating the fact that, during the pre-colonial period there were several movements of Congolese into Chope, the modern Bunyoro Kitara Kingdom from whom the name Kiryandongo was derived.

It continues with chapter two in which it notes the political economy of the area in the pre-colonial period, the coming of Europeans and later the British wars of occupation, that reduced Bunyoro's population leaving large tracts of land unoccupied. Eventually in 1933, the British used the Bunyoro agreement to gain access to land in Bunyoro in Nyabyeya, to which she settled the Polish refugees in 1840's.

By 1950, 11,000 many Polish were repatriated to Britain, Austria, United States of America, Canada, France, Argentina and South Africa.⁹ In March 1951, the International Refugee Organisation was dissolved, when Uganda still had over 350 Polish refugees, most of whom were widows, children, and mentally sick poles. These could not be allowed by any country and therefore, the British had to take care of them. When Uganda became part of the United Nations convention on refugees in 1951 and its Organisation of African Unity protocol in 1976, government chose to establish a refugee settlement in her former cattle ranching land of Kiryandongo. When Nyabyeya and Kojja camps were closed, the Polish refugees were then relocated to Kiryandongo with Africans who had had illegal sexual affairs, government chose to relocate them to her free land that she had acquired from Bunyoro, to continue isolating them as a of punishment.

Kiryandongo rural locality confirms the United Nations High Commission for Refugee's quest that refugees be settled in rural areas, and on government owned land on which they can live without hindrances from enemies, nationals and to promote self-reliance.

Chapter three analyses the flows of refugees in Kiryandongo area, their settlement patterns and relationship with the host community. The flows explain the growth of the settlement in terms of size, and the relationship amongst refugee, host community, government, United Nations High Commission for Refugees, her partner agencies, among other factors, described the development, changes and transformation in terms of social services. This is made possible by the refugee laws and policies developed by the government of Uganda since 1962. The same policies have helped the internally displaced persons who are settling there, by empowering them in leadership through their leadership structures of refugee welfare councils, within the settlement.

Chapter four has established that the coming of different groups of refugees has had a number of changes and transformation on the host area. The arrival of refugees has increased the supply of social services, as a number of schools, hospitals and other social amenities have been established to add on what was there before. Although they were set up to benefit refugees, but they are used by the host communities as well, something that has promoted integration and peaceful existence between different refugees and people of the host community.

All in all, the findings suggest that Kiryandongo was hatched out of the historic relations with the Congolese migrants from whom the name was got. The pre-colonial political economy created much inflow of other tribes which created heterogeneity of the area. The British colonial wars paved way to vast land that post-colonial colonial government turned her land. When Uganda became a party of the international refugee laws and policies, she chose to establish a refugee settlement on, part of her remote land, to settle refugees from different neighbouring countries.

Refugees played a key role in the Kiryandongo's attainment of a district status, and refugees have promoted Kiryandongo district in a way that when one mentions Kiryandongo, everyone thinks of refugees.

Additionally, Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement is also unique in a way that it is the only refugee settlement hosting both refugees and internally displaced persons, and has enough land as compared to other refugee settlements in Uganda. This can be observed with the 20X20 metres piece of land given to each family as well as an acre to the larger families.

The study has established that as refugees arrived in Kiryandongo, there were a number of changes and transformation especially through interconnectedness in social services, for example, between health and education. Improvement in health services has resulted into effective learning and teaching, as education service can be done and achieved by healthy people. This has resulted into effectiveness in social services. Although the changes and transformations have mainly been positive, but there have been negative changes like pressure on social services, crime and lawlessness due to population increase in the area. This is not to mean that all the changes were as a result of refugees. Their coming just led to more changes and transformations. Perhaps if the same changes were to occur, it would happen at a slightly later date than it did. The coming of refugees into Kiryandongo explains the changes at that particular time. It shows elements of continuity and changes in leadership therein, socio-cultural changes and general livelihood of the refugees and the host community. This is so because refugees influenced transformation of the area in ways that can be appreciated. These have given government light to plan for future refugees, which is good for general studies on refugees in Kiryandongo, Uganda and Africa at large.

Historicizing Kiryandongo refugee settlement has opened up a new chapter in the overall studies on refugees in Uganda and Africa. The study will be a future reference to scholars, who will want to historicise other refugee settlements in Uganda and African region. This will help in understanding the general welfare of refugees and the people in the host community. This gives government and partner agencies, a clear plan for resources, protection or even more external help in terms of funding, which promotes mutual relationship in regional and continental geopolitics.

5.1 Conclusion

The question of refugee phenomenon is and will remain a global, continental and national puzzle to be filled and answered by both sender and host states. It does not matter whether refugees are political, social or economically motivated because it remains that sender countries play a leading role in this phenomenon.

This does not mean that host countries do better than the former, because as they host refugees from other countries, many host country nationals are also running for refuge in other countries. This is due to social, economic or political disorders in their mother countries. This even becomes worse when it comes to Africa where poor governance, dictatorship, lack of democracy, poverty among other causes of refugee crisis, is the order of the day. It therefore becomes a clear manifestation that both sender and host countries apportion equal responsibilities in keeping to scene this global crisis.

Although many countries host refugees in form of a favour, the reasons for such assistance are economic. This is because they get relief funding from refugee agencies like United Nations High Commission for refugees and her partners. This makes the refugee question a political

puzzle even when they may have been motivated by economic or social factors. Even mere migrants may end up applying for refugee status, which is in most cases granted by the host government. As a result, the determination of a refugee status benefits the host government economically and the individual applicants socially. In the end, host countries benefit more than the sender countries.

In some instances host countries grant refugees, a status of self-settlement as a way of reducing her budget. But still, host government earn from them through the revenues charged from their activities. The desire by host states to continue harbouring refugees because of the output, versus the sender countries' poor government policies that make their people run away to seek refuge outside their mother country, make it a myth to answer the refugee question. Therefore, the fracas surrounding the question of refugee studies make this particular study on Kiryandongo worth noting.

5.2 Area of Future Research

Whereas this study has investigated the history of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement, why and how it has evolved over time, it has ended with 2018 and has not labored much in analysing the events that have taken place from 2018 up to date. Additionally, there is need to do more research on the negative impacts of refugees in Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement and the neighbouring community in general. With the population pressure that refugees caused in Kiryandongo, a number of refugees were relocated by government of Uganda and United Nations High Commission for Refugees to Kyangwali and others back to West Nile.¹⁰ This constitutes a legitimate area for further research by other scholars into the later camps. Such studies will transform the general study on refugees in Uganda, whose refugee policy is a model,

in the East Africa region. As Uganda's refugee laws and policies advocate for self-settlement, self-reliance and integration, it is imperative that the government of Uganda, United Nations High Commission for Refugees and other relief agencies ensure policy effectiveness for the betterment of refugees and the host communities. This will improve the general scholarship on the study of refugees in Uganda, Africa and the World.

Therefore, I intend to explore at the doctoral level, how self-reliance and quick integration of refugees can be fully effected, for the benefit of refugees, host communities and government at large.

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**APPENDIX A: Interview guide for elderly residents of Kiryandongo refugee settlement.
(Preferably 60 years and above)**

Introduction.

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Joseph Kaboggoza, a Masters student of History at Kyambogo University. I am now at the stage of data collection needed to accomplish my academic research on a topic “History of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement camp, Kiryandongo district, Western Uganda 1954-2018.”

You are one of my respondents randomly selected to participate in this study by accepting to be interviewed. The purpose of this study is entirely academic and the information you will give me is absolutely confidential. The data will only be necessary in acquiring the information pertinent to the above topic of research. The interview will take 40-60 minutes and you are free to withdraw any information that you feel necessary to. The interview is purely voluntary and you can refer me to any other person whom who feel to have relevant information to this particular study.

Section A: Personal information.

1. What is your age?
2. What is your age?
3. Which tribe are you in?
4. Are you a Ugandan?
5. How many years have you stayed in Kiryandongo?
6. What is your occupation?

Section B: Origins of Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement and different Refugee Trends

1. What is your country of origin?
2. In which year did you arrive in Uganda?
3. How many people were you in a group?
4. How did you move up to this place?
5. How did the name Kiryandongo come about?
6. How did you find the people of Kiryandongo?
7. Are there any land conflicts between you and the host people?
8. What cultures, tribes and languages are spoken in this area?

Section C: Changes and transformations that occurred after refugees' settlement in Kiryandongo Settlement.

Part one: Economic Changes

1. What kind of aid do you receive from UNHCR and her partner agencies or government?
2. How does the aid you receive have any impact on the society you live in?
3. What economic activities do you engage yourselves in?
4. How did you acquire this land?
5. Do you hire/hired for labour by other households to help you on the farm?
6. Which crops do you grow?
7. Do you sell the crops you grow?
8. To whom do you sell your crops?
9. How do you and the community benefit from your farming?
10. What other economic activities do you participate in?

Part two: Environmental Changes

1. What land type is this?
2. How did you acquire the land on which you settle?
3. What type of fuel do you use for cooking?
4. Why do people engage in clearing trees around this place?

Part three: Social Changes

1. How has the host community reacted to the influx of refugees to this area?
2. How are refugees managed within this refugee settlement?
3. Has there competition for land between the refugees and the host population in this?
4. How do refugees interact with members of the host community?
5. What are the most common crimes registered in your area?
6. What is the relationship between refugees, internally displaced persons and the host community?
7. Which group of people has the highest crime rate in your area? Refugees or Host population
8. How has the settlement of refugees led to provision of more social infrastructure in this area?
9. What impact has refugee settlement have in Kiryandongo camp to the locals in the area?
10. What recommendations can you put forward to mitigate the negative impacts of refugees in Kiryandongo refugee settlement camp?

Part four: Political Changes

1. How are refugees administered while in this settlement?
2. Do refugees participate in politics? If yes how?
3. How do refugees react on the laws of Uganda?
4. How do refugee leaders (In case any) serve refugees?
5. Which agencies are partnering the government in administering the refugees?
6. Which other person do you think can be of help to me?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION.