

MAKERERE UNIVERSITY

HISTORY DEPARTMENT

THE BANYARWANDA CITIZENSHIP QUESTION IN UGANDA

A CASE STUDY OF NTUNGAMO DISTRICT 1959-2002

BY

TWINE SAID

B.A (Hons) MUK, P.G.D.E MUK

A DESSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT  
FOR THE REQUIREMENTS LEADING TO THE A WARD OF THE  
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY OF  
MAKERERE UNIVERSITY.

NOVEMBER 2008

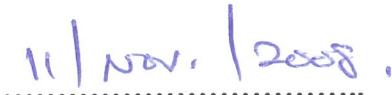


## DECLARATION

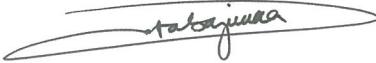
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**TWINE SAID**

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**DR. SIMON RUTABAJUKA**

Date: ..... 

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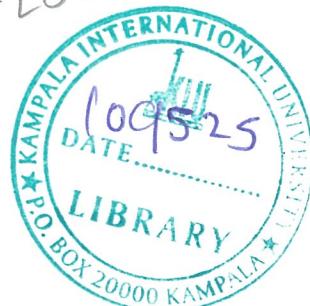
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**DR. GODFREY ASIIMWE**

Date: ..... 



## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this book to my family especially my surviving parent Beatrace Keirungi, my dear wife Amina Twikirize and my children Hakim Twine and Salma Komugisha .

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:**

I thank my Supervisors DR Simon Rutabajuka and DR.Godfrey Asiimwe who tirelessly guided me until the completion of this dissertation.

On the same note, I thank Mr. P. Ndebesa Mwambustya and Mr..Fred Tanga Odoi both of history department of Makerere University, who continuously encouraged me to complete this course.

More regards go to Sister Winfred Rubanzana who did type-setting of this work and guided me until the completion of the book.

Related to the above, I appreciate the patience exerted by management of the Kampala International University to maintain me on their staff list since 2003 awaiting for the award of my Master of Arts degree in History of Makerere University.

## ABSTRACT

The Study is about the history of Banyarwanda Citizenship question in Uganda. The 1959 Rwanda revolution left many refugees of Batusti scattered in Ntungamo district. They have negotiated for formal Ugandan citizenship since then but the rules and policies of Uganda governments since independence have not worked in their favour.

The work summarises the constant attempts of Banyarwanda refugees to acquire Ugandan citizenship since 1959 -2002. This involved trial to overcome social, political and economic hurdles. Failure to achieve the Ugandan citizenship rights, they had to fall back to their usual position as refugees. Their attempts were always let down by constitutional terms of Uganda regulating rules and policies of the country.

Methodologically the research used both qualitative and quantitative methods. 80 respondents of varying ages between (14-60) years were selected from both sexes and interviewed for this study. This primary data were supplemented by secondary sources got from various libraries in Kampala, newspapers, parliamentary archives and Ntungamo District information office.

In the findings of the study a number of suggestions were put forward to end the escalating Banyarwanda refugee crisis in the Great Lakes Region. One of the vital issues voiced loudly by respondents is that the Rwandan government should harmonize ethnic unity between the Bahutu and Batusti. This will help them to share the limited resources and end constant refugee incursions out of their country.

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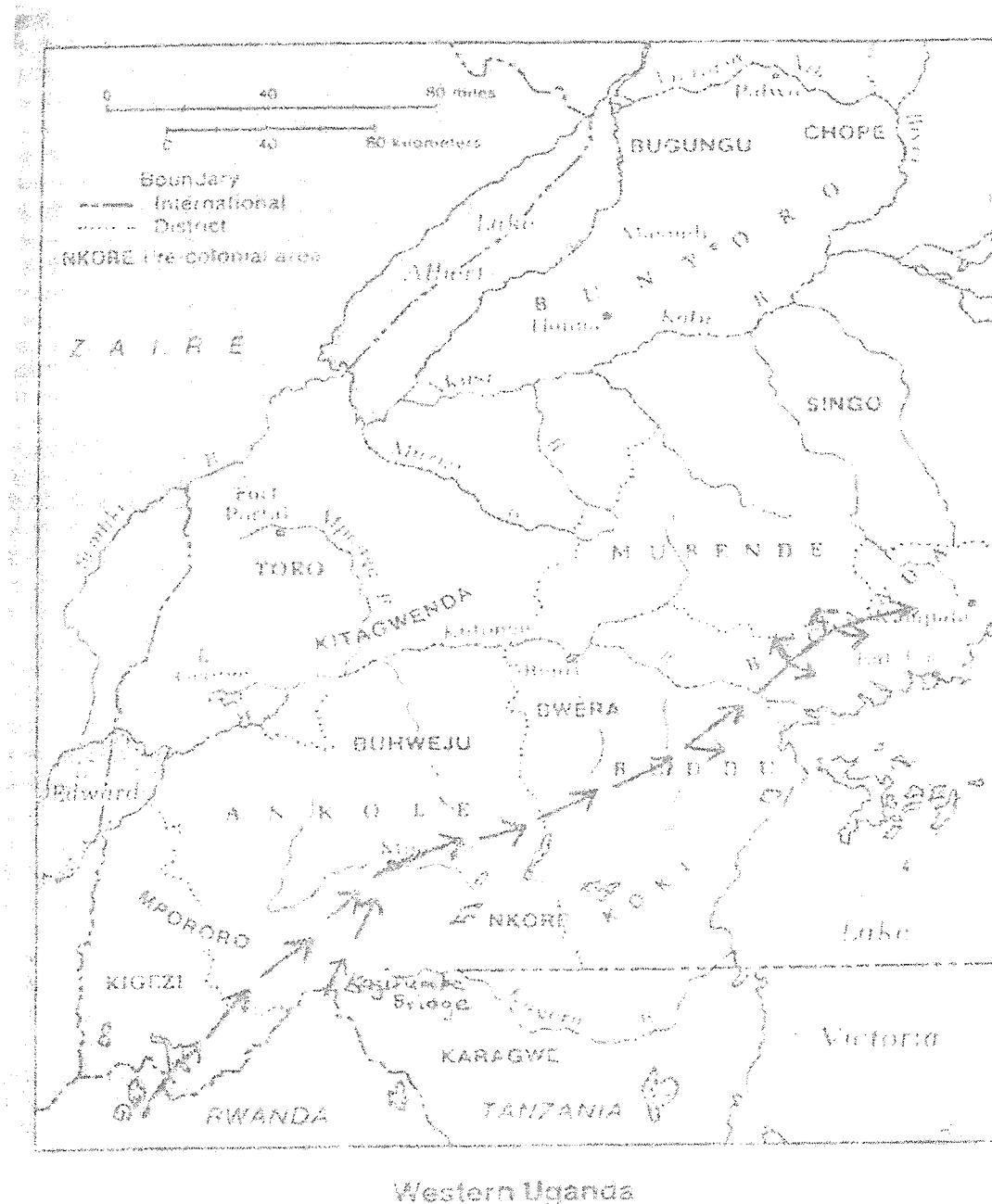
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SOURCE:  
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Source: JASON W. CLAY , August 1984

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

This study is about the long drawn (1959 – 2002) citizenship problem in Uganda of the very large community of the Banyarwanda ethnic group. It is not common for migrant ethnic communities to experience citizenship problems within their host countries over very long periods of time.

However, where and when it has occurred it has always been a very complex and sensitive problem. Conflicts and contradictions underline both the options of naturalization into citizenship and that of these foreign communities (Pinychwa 1995).

Granting or denying citizenship to particular and usually significant large ethnic communities is not only a question of law, politics, economies, religion, ethics or history. It is usually a problem that is compounded by, among others, resources such as land and other factors such as competition for political, social and economic opportunities (Nzongola 1996). The question of the citizenship of the people of the Banyarwanda ethnic community in Uganda has a long history complicated by the issues mentioned above as well as the contemporary internal political dynamics in Uganda and at the wider inter-lacustrine regional level.

As Mamdan (2001) observed, the Banyarwanda are the single largest ethnic group in the whole of the East African region. This fact bears a lot of connotations in the socio-political and socio-economic dynamics of their integration in the neighbouring countries.

#### 1.1.1 The Banyarwanda

The term Banyarwanda refers to the people who lived in the kingdom of Rwanda around which was borne the present state called Rwanda. The Banyarwanda speak one language and apparently were initially under one centralized political authority. The Banyarwanda were however constituted of two main different ethnic groups –Bahutu and Batusti (Prunnier 1995) .

Colonial boundaries drawn across the East and Central African region distributed the Banyarwanda into five different countries. The two main Banyarwanda countries are Rwanda and Burundi. The Congo (DRC) took a sizeable number while Tanzania and Uganda took small of these Banyarwanda (Kamukama 1993).

The term “Banyarwanda” as a result of this background has a double-edged meaning. On one hand, it implies the citizens of the nation-state of Rwanda. On the other, it refers to the people of the ethnic community that uses the “Kinyarwanda” language, who are distributed into the five different countries of Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

There is, however, a tendency for the nationalist implication of this term referring to the citizens of Rwanda to override the ethnic reference even when the relevant context is the later and not the former. Thus, in these countries, whenever the identity of the Banyarwanda comes into perspective, there is a tendency to deny them the citizenship of the nation-states other than that of Rwanda and this imply that they are all citizens of Rwanda.

The community of the Banyarwanda migrated into Uganda as economic refugees, pastoralists, target labourers, seasonal workers and later as political refugees (Watson 1991). Under each of these categories, the Banyarwanda entered Uganda and each category did so at different times between 1920 and 1973. The majority of the Banyarwanda came from Rwanda and Burundi, with Tanzania and the Congo contributing a minority (Sanyu 1995).

### **1.1.2 The Ugandans**

The people of Uganda were socialized during and after the colonial period. They recognized each other as fellow nationals belonging to Ugandan local ethnic groups in the country. There were various foreigners in Uganda like the Nubians, the British, the Indians, the Jaluos, Arabs, Somali, Congolese, and the Banyarwanda. All these were never recognized as naturalized citizens even though they lived in Uganda for decades in large numbers and were incorporated in the country’s socio-economic and political roles (Bowles 1970).

On the part of the various Governments that have reigned over Uganda, there has never been a popular, sustained, and pro-active policy to naturalize into citizenship any section of immigrants in Uganda. Thus Indians who became Uganda citizens under the 1962 constitution were considered as foreigners and expelled by presidential Decree in August 1972. This had been anticipated earlier.”It’s the Asians to identify themselves as British subjects or Ugandans. Time will speak for its self” (Uganda Argus 18<sup>th</sup> 1959).

Nubians who migrated as early as 1896, 1902, 1914, 1926 and those who came after 1971 from southern Sudan were all expelled by popular mob action in 1979 with no government protection. Banyarwanda were expelled by the government and UPC functionaries in 1982-1983 (Kabwegyere 1992)

### **1.1.3 The Citizenship Question**

The “citizenship question” arises in the history and process of the modern nation state building. It is part of the wider subject that is referred to as the “national question”. The “citizenship question” is also described as the “nationalist” or the “nationality” question and is addressed under the wider theme of “nationalism” (Bowles 1970).

After resolving the controversies of national sovereignty as opposed to external rule (colonialism), foreign control and domination (self-determination), the final critical issue in nation building is that of nationality. It is the determination of who the owners of the country are; this is the same as the citizenship question. Before independence (for colonized countries), the question of citizenship is usually not resolved (Coleman 1966).

According to Frolov (1994) the national question is one of the liberation for the nationals of a country from internal and foreign interests. The national question is also one of the establishing of the conditions for free development of the nation. Citizenship is therefore part of a wider subject in the politics and history of a country.

Large immigrant communities are usually conceived as obstructing the development of the host states. Banyarwanda may also be seen as an obstacle to the free development of the nations in the Great lakes region. Under the above circumstances, the question of who will be and who will not be a citizen will be influenced by issues like who will develop the country and for who will it be developed for? The basis of addressing citizenship integration policy is always underlined by strong emotional rather than logical considerations (Bowles 1970).

Nationalism, from which the citizenship question evolves, is a principle of bourgeois ideology and politics. It does advocate for isolation, exclusiveness, mistrust, and even enmity for the non-citizens of the country. Nationalism carries elements of chauvinism, contempt for the other nationalities and autonomy. It therefore restricts the citizenship question to very narrow and distinct historical, racial, ethnic, linguistic and even religious scope(Coleman 1966).

Ethnic nationality, from which the citizen question is also borne, is one the forms of community of people which evolves historically from the clan, linguistic and ethnic society. Ethnic nationality is community at the higher level of people occupying a specific territory. It is defined, though not exclusively, by a common language, culture, heritage, history, collective name and political allegiance. To widen the scope of citizenship, it often requires compromise on several of the above elements of nationality. This enables multi-ethnic nation states like Uganda to survive with many cultures (Atkinson 1994).

Citizenship as a strong value started with the USA in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the rest of the world, it is a post world war II development. Citizenship still has a more meaningful value for the highly developed countries than the poor ones. Therefore citizenship is defined by rights, duties and loyalty rather than family, clan language and ethnicity.

As a concept, citizenship is still being questioned even in the most developed states. Equal rights for all citizens even in USA are hardly fifty years old. The questions of naturalization still linger in the corridors of power in both the big and the small states, though not with equal zeal and controversy (Coleman 1966).

Citizenship is however more of legal, constitutional and rights borne concept. It is not even standard across all the countries in the world. For ex-colonies like Uganda the concept of citizenship is an idea enshrined in official government books in the capital city and in courts of law. It is not a reality in the minds of all the people and in the culture of some communities and neither has it been strictly respected in all polices of several Governments over time (Mamdan 1996).

Quite often each nation state sets its standard requirement for one to attain citizenship rights. In Uganda however this is varying since the 1962 constitution. The amendment of the constitutions e.g. in 1966, 1995 all have come up with adjustments on this issue but all respect rights of an ancestry, time for family inclusion in the boarders of Uganda, marriage and kingship rights of a person born out of Uganda (Mutibwa 1992).

A true citizen must possess civil, political and economic rights within his nation – state e.g has a right to own land, vote and be voted to power, rights to employment, contribute to the economy through taxation and freedom to carryout business with full protection of the state (The Constitution of Republic of Uganda Chapter 3 1995: 14).

In spite of the above, the “citizenship question” is a critical social, political, and economic issue in any country and in the local communities. To many nation – states resources and opportunities in the country are first and foremost owned and intended to serve the citizens as a priority or even exclusively (Kasozi 1999: 56).

Where the resources and opportunities are limited to the extent of not being minimally sufficient or where there is intense competition and conflict for them, the non-citizens are defined as not being eligible. The “citizenship question” is therefore to some extent essentially one of the contexts to which the non- citizens should not access resources in the country. On the surface though, it is the duty of ruling government to define who is a citizen and who is not a citizen (Frolov 1994).

Among the Rwandese paramount problems is the population density and lack of access land. In deciding to cut away a portion of the Kacyera National park for human habitation the new government concluded that ensuring sufficient land for returnees superceded the importance of maintaining the pre-war boundaries of this space reserved for wildlife (Rudakubana 2000:47)

#### **1.1.4 Ntungamo district**

The NRM Government established the present Ntungamo district in 1993. Under the decentralization policy, the purpose of establishing a district status in this specific area was to increase and improve the delivery of public services and to mobilize development locally. However the political and historical reasons for establishing each particular new district have been different (Uganda Local Government Report).

The history of the area, which became Ntungamo district, is that it was until 1962 a gazetted game reserve. Only the areas bordering the present Rukungiri, Bushenyi and Kabale districts were inhabited. The Uganda government authorities gazetted the game reserve in 1963 so as to open the area to organize large scale ranching.

The opening up of the area coincided with the second round inflow of Rwandese refugees in 1962 and 1963. The 1959 refugees had not come with cattle and many settled in the camps in 1962 and 1963. Later thousands of new Rwanda refugees flocked to Uganda with their cattle. They remained in the newly opened up area of the present Ntungamo District, it was then a county under the present Mbarara District. They did not stay in refugee settlement camps (District Local Government Report 1993).

Since the present Ntungamo district area was opened up for cattle ranching many other Ugandan cattle keeping Banyarwanda from the borders of kisoro district moved in. To these were added a fairly large section of non-refugee pasture land settling Banyarwanda from Tanzania in the period from 1967 up to 1971. The district has therefore been built around an area predominantly occupied by Banyarwanda of varying citizenship backgrounds (Clay 1984).

At the formation of Ntungamo district ,many people from Bushenyi (Kajara county) and Mbarara(Ruhama county)contributed the majority. Some areas were already populated whereas

the bulk of the land was curvaceous as a game reserve. The already populated areas were the current Kajara county that was occupied by Banyankole . The sub-counties of Kayonza and Ruhama were also already populated by Bakiga , Banyarwanda , Bahima and Bairu cattle keepers (The Uganda local government report 1993). (See map 01 pp viii)

Though there have been intermarriages and other uniting interactions there is still a strong perception of citizens and non-citizens status in Ntungamo district. There is also no local district level or wider national level policy for addressing the tension between the citizens and non-citizens in Ntungamo district. The local citizens and non-citizens confront each other over citizenship. There is no law or ethics that guides their interactions to minimize tension.

## **1.2 Background of the Problem**

### **1.2.1 Pre-Colonial Uganda**

Elements of the pre-colonial concept of a citizen have combined with the absence of the internalization of a modern citizenship concept. The people of Uganda therefore still use the pre-colonial attitudes to pre-determine the appreciation of the citizenship of members of their local communities (Atkinson 1994).

### **1.2.2 Colonial Rule (1894-1960)**

Under British colonial rule, there was the big concept of citizens of the wider British Empire. This concept did exclude the Banyarwanda and the Congolese from Uganda more than it did exclude the migrants from Sudan, Kenya, Tanzania, and Zambia which were all under British rule. However it stopped short of naturalizing the British Empire citizens and thus like their Rwanda and Congo colleagues they also remained aliens in Uganda (Gregory 1991)

The British colonial policy of indirect rule in Uganda prevented the total integration of non-locals in any region of the country.. The Banyarwanda, Nubians, Indians and other foreigners in Uganda who could otherwise have been integrated socially under colonial rule were subsequently not. Thus colonial rule created and left unattended the problem of the citizenship of immigrant communities (Obote 1960).

### **1.2.3 Towards Independence (1960-62)**

The process of granting Independence to Uganda as a sovereign nation-state was so abrupt that it did not allow for the process of nation building. The radical calls for independence started in 1952, the promises for considering independence were made in 1955, pressure for independence mounted in 1958-9, the country got internal self rule in 1961 and independence in 1962 (karugire 1980).

According to the theory of nation building there must be a process of consolidating a common heritage, a common history or a common destiny. Though elements of a common history and destiny existed in Uganda towards independence, they were not consolidated either by a common leader, political party or any other uniting process. Thus even amongst the native ethnic groups and worse for the immigrants groups, the independence process in Uganda did not address the citizenship question (Bowles 1970).

Among the issues over which very little attention was granted in the abrupt (i.e 1961-61) run-up to independence was that of citizenship. At the time only the citizenship of the British (Europeans) and the Indians in Uganda was important. However, during the independence constitutional negotiations these two privileged foreign communities in Uganda were not even invited (Mamdan 1983).

The independence constitution recognized as natural citizens the ethnic communities that had existed in Uganda by 1962. This constitution did not address and did not resolve the citizenship of the various significant migrant communities that had been in Uganda some of them earlier than 1914 (Mutibwa 1992).

The Banyarwanda citizenship problem therefore has its background in the way Uganda proceeded towards independence. There was no struggle in which the Banyarwanda could have participated so as to win recognition as citizens in the new independent Uganda. There was little or no basis to force the indigenous Uganda to appreciate the Banyarwanda or other large foreign communities as citizens of the country (Refugee policy group 1985).

#### **1.2.4 The First UPC Regime Obote 1 (1962-71)**

During the post-independence regime in Uganda from 1962 to 1971, the problem of the non-citizen Banyarwanda was compounded rather than resolved. This was largely due to circumstances that were beyond the victims. The result was that hostility and distaste of the Banyarwanda increased among the indigenous Uganda ethnic groups. (Clay 1984)

The first problem was that upon Uganda's independence, there was renewed crisis in Rwanda. Thus there was another in flow of Banyarwanda refugees to Uganda to add to those who came in 1959 and their predecessors. There was a mix of the older generation of Banyarwanda migrants and the new refugees. This destroyed the chance of the old generation of Banyarwanda to assume Ugandan citizenship under the political terms of the independence constitution. They were all considered as one new community of refugees (Prunnier 1995).

The citizenship of Banyarwanda were further constrained by post-independent politics in Uganda most Banyarwanda were Catholics and the post-independence politics of Uganda were divided in political parties like KY (Kabaka Yekka) allied with protestants of UPC against the Banyarwanda Catholics for DP. Therefore the ruling party KY/UPC could not favour Banyarwanda in post independent Uganda (Nakayi 1993).

The post-independence Obote government was very unsettled in the power perspective. In the first years (1962 -67), the UPC alliance with KY was against DP over political leadership. In the second five years (1967-71) Dr. Obote was consolidating his personal hold over the ruling political party (UPC), the government, and the country as a whole. Obote expelled the Jaluo migrant factory workers and other labourers from Uganda in 1969 and thus by example, reflected that even the Banyarwanda had no right to stay (Karugire 1980)

#### **1.2.5 The Idi Amin Regime (1971 -79)**

During Amin's rule the citizenship question of the large Indian community in Uganda was emphasized using an executive policy order. The established citizen status of Indians was quashed and they were expelled. Nothing was mentioned under the Idi Amin regime on the

citizenship status of Banyarwanda. The question of their citizenship remained unclear (Gregory 1971).

The expulsion of Indians occurred after their citizenship status, allegiance to Uganda and dedication to the economic welfare and development of the country were questioned. There was no reference to the constitutional citizenship process, the people's rights or the law. This action on the Indians was a sign that any of the other two large foreign communities, Banyarwanda and Nubians who were Sudanese refugees in Uganda could also have their citizenship in jeopardy (Mamdan 1983).

During the Amin regime, one of the large immigrant communities was eventually to control the government and the state of Uganda from 1972 onwards. The Nubians controlled the government, the policy process and state coercive machinery in the army and the Para-military intelligence organs. From 1975 to the end of the regime in 1979, the Nubians at the helm in Uganda recruited Banyarwanda in the coercive organs (Bowles 1970).

There was also a visibly significant inter-marriage of Banyarwanda women by the ruling Nubians. Thus the two large immigrant ethnic communities in Uganda were now associated with power through inter-marriage and the hostility to them as non-citizens was shared.(Mudoola 1993).

There was no institutionalized legitimate progress in the resolution of the citizenship status during the Idi Amin regime. The coercive state suppressed any citizenship queries on the remaining two large foreign ethnic communities of the Nubians and the Banyarwanda. However, their dominant place in the Amin state machinery increased their visibility and hostility towards the end of their rule and this made them more vulnerable (Bowles 1970).

### **1.2.6 The Second UPC Regime Obote II (1980-1985)**

During the period up to 1986, the Banyarwanda and the Nubians citizenship prospects first suffered a setback, as they had been part of the Idi Amin regime. However, the Banyarwanda also participated in removing Idi Amin as they were heavily recruited into KIKOSI VITA, which

was organized by FRONASA. These were the Banyarwanda from the refugee camps and not those who were part of the free society (Karugire 1980).

The Banyarwanda involvement in the post-Amin Uganda state through the Army was opposed under the UNLF. The reason was that they were not citizens. They sided with the UPM against UPC in the 1980 elections and were identified closely with the NRM/A guerilla war where they played a major role (Mutibwa 1992).

It was not possible for the UPC Government to consider favorably or even at all, the citizenship naturalization of a community of immigrants who were identified with violent opposition politics in the country in the 1981- 1985 period. The consequence was the UPC government policy to expel non-citizen Banyarwanda from Uganda in 1983. There were other ethnic groups in the revolt against the UPC Government but only the Banyarwanda were expelled from Uganda ( Kasozi 1999).

### **1.2.7 NRM/A Regime (1986-To date)**

The NRM/A government, which took power in January 1986, was packed with Banyarwanda in its political and military rank and file. The victory of NRM/A and position of the Banyarwanda did not improve the prospects of naturalizing them as Ugandan citizens. Their rejection of automatic naturalization was voiced in the wider public and government circles until it was a political embarrassment to the country (Clay 1984).

The NRM/A Government enacted the law against sectarianism ostensibly to protect the Banyarwanda. The Banyarwanda non-citizens in the NRM/A Government and outside it did however opt to struggle to return to Rwanda rather than push for their naturalization into Ugandan citizenship. The Banyarwanda in Uganda started organizing their return rather than to organize their naturalization as citizens. This position made it difficult for the Banyarwanda who did not go back to Rwanda to press for citizenship when going back was open as RPF had taken power (kamukama 1993).

The 1990 attack by the Banyarwanda in Uganda on Rwanda and their subsequent victory therefore undercut any prospects of a citizenship naturalization policy. However many refugees who had properly integrated in Uganda could not go back to Rwanda after 1994 despite of the failure to attain citizenship rights in Uganda. This can be attributed to a number of conditions like;

- i) They were aware of a poor economy in Rwanda with few resources compared to Uganda.
- ii) They had invested a lot in Uganda and they remained behind to protect their economy.
- iii) This repatriation was quite voluntary. Uganda never forced them to go back unlike the case of 1982 -83.
- iv) They were conversant with continuous ethnic conflicts in Rwanda. They feared for the current expected Hutu invasion of Rwanda from Eastern Congo(Mamdan 1995).

### **1.3 Problem statement**

The study delves itself in the history of the unsolved question of the Banyarwanda refugees who came to Uganda in 1959 Rwanda revolution that left many Batutsi ethnic scattered in Ntungamo District. In Uganda these Banyarwanda Refugees have negotiated the idea of Ugandan citizenship since then but the Ugandan laws and policies regulating citizenship have not worked in their favour.

Despite of their fair intergration in Ntungamo District, they have been deprived of their rights by some governments that ruled Uganda since independence. Forexample land, right to vote and to be voted to power, denied radio programmes in Kinyarwanda language, accused of supporting governments in position etc. Such deprivations have precipitated this study.

### **1.4 Objectives of the study**

#### **1.4.1 Main objective**

The main objective is to analyze the Banyarwanda citizenship question by looking at historical processes and factors defining issues of citizenship of Banyarwanda in Uganda.

#### **1.4.2 Specific objectives**

- i) To examine the forces and their impediments which frustrated the naturalization process of Banyarwanda refugees in Uganda between 1959 – 2002
- ii) To examine the experiences of Banyarwanda refugees in Uganda in a historical perspective.
- iii) To examine the landmarks or the attempts by the Banyarwanda refugees to become Ugandan citizens during the period 1959-2002
- iv) To examine the specific experience of Banyarwanda refugees in Ntungamo district.

#### **1.5 Hypothesis**

The study will test the following hypothesis;

- i) It was possible for Rwanda refugees to acquire Ugandan citizenship.
- ii) It was not possible for Rwanda refugees to become citizens.
- iii) Rwanda refugees can live peacefully under the refugee status in Uganda for as long as they want.

#### **1.6 Methodology of Research**

##### **1.6.1 Research Design**

The study is a qualitative and quantitative. It was implemented through an investigation of the experience of Banyarwanda who arrived in Ntungamo area after 1959. The approach started with the current problem they face, an inquiry into what caused the problems and what problems they faced between 1959-2002.

The Research design used in this study is whereby the researcher employed a mixture of tools of data collection or triangulation in qualitative research.

The study was also cross – sectional as data was collected once from samples which belong to different ages. The approach was necessary because, as Bailey puts it;

“...a cross – sectional study is one that studies a cross – section of the population in a single point in time” (Bailey 1987:33).

### **1.6.2 Sample Size**

This was picked from the Study Population of Banyarwanda refugees in Ntungamo district. This sample size comprised of 80 Banyarwanda refugees who came to Ntungamo district in 1959-1962 and settled in Ntungamo area. They were of varying ages (14-60), sexes, religion, educational levels and occupation.

The sub counties of Rushere, Ihunga, Ruhaama, Rwikeiniro, Ngoma, Nyakyera, Kibeho, Kajaho, Kiyonga, Kabezi and Kyamate in Ntungamo District were chosen purposively from which a sample size of 80 respondents were obtained. These counties were the areas where the Banyarwanda refugees had scattered and settled.

The first stage was to visit the Ntungamo District C.A.O (Chief Administrative Officer) for permission to carry out research in the area under his jurisdiction. Sampling began at the district head office with some local administrators whose parents came in 1959 Banyarwanda refugee influx into Uganda. The researcher used a systematic sampling to select the target group. The researcher also used already existing sampling frame lists of Rwanda nationals in Ntungamo District population office although it was not expansive enough since many feared to declare their status to district local administrators.

A systematic sampling technique was employed for the following reasons:

It produced more even spread sample over the Banyarwanda population lists in Ntungamo District.

- i) This was necessary as the Banyarwanda were selected from different households.
- ii) The technique was the most appropriate as it ensured a fair representation of Banyarwanda population in Ntungamo District.
- iii) It helped to avoid negative bias which would have affected the findings of the study if the survey was generalized.

Of the 80 Banyarwanda selected respondents, some were more knowledgeable and fluent in English language. Others were practically experiencing the crisis of citizenship at the time of the

research. Also interviewed were some Banyarwanda who had come in Ntungamo District before 1959 but were facing challenges of citizenship question in Uganda.

Valuable information was received by the researcher about the successes and failures in acquisition of citizenship by the Banyarwanda in Ntungamo District.

These had witnessed the Banyarwanda evasion of 1982-83 out of Uganda and eventual return after an intensive screening in Rwanda by UNHCR. The district population secretariat and LC (Local Council) III, II and I provided a useful population sample size to the researcher. These provided vital information of the study. The researcher selected many sub counties for field research but the main areas of data collection were centred at Ngoma, Rwikineiro, Kitwe and Ruhama sub counties.

This was because these areas were sorted out as sub counties with Banyarwanda who arrived after 1959 and refused to join others in settlement camps. For the case of Kajaho near Oruchinga refugee settlement camp in Mbarara district, the Banyarwanda refugees were economically well off. Those who would get enough capital, they would leave the settlement camp and buy land from Ugandans and settle among the citizens. They became naturalized and integrated citizens of Uganda.

Data was collected using series of methods which included; semi- structured interview schedule, Focus group discussion, in-depth interviews, observation of various aspects of their day to day living and recording an examination of individual ethnic Banyarwanda in Ntungamo District.

### **1.6.3 Data Collection**

#### **The interviewer schedule:**

The main research instrument used in collecting data was a semi- structured interview schedule ( See appendix B)

The order of the interview schedule was made to ensure smooth flow of interviews. Care was also taken in designing in that the demographic particulars of the respondents came first. These were followed by more specific questions concerning the themes of the study.

Quality was also added to the instruments by creating a favourable atmosphere for the respondents by the assurance of confidentiality and by making sure that it is only the respondent who is interviewed independently without interference from other members of the household.

Before the interview schedule was used to collect data, its validity and reliability had to be ascertained. With regard to validity of the instrument, the researcher ascertained it at three levels. At first level, the researcher made sure that there were adequate questions constructed to cater for each research question.

At second level, the constructed questions were given to two referees knowledgeable in the topic of research ( Banyrwanda attempts to acquire Ugandan citizenship) who was also conversant with the Kinyarwanda language.

These two referees were asked independently to rate the relevance of each item.

Using a semi- structured interview schedule, the researcher was able to interview the Banyarwanda in Ntungamo District about their citizenship crisis and historical events in relation to their stay in Ntungamo District.

The interview schedule was organized in such a way to be able to cover the experience of Banyarwanda citizenship aspects and at the same time to find out the factors which hindered them from obtaining the Ugandan Citizenship rights. It also aimed at finding out the social cultural factors and beliefs that hindered the naturalization of Banyarwanda refugees into true citizens of Uganda.

These enabled the researcher to find out more information from respondents otherwise it would not have been easy to collect all the information that is presented in here from only respondents through the interview schedule alone.

Extra information was also collected using the documentary source with the available information regarding the citizenship crisis of Banyarwanda in Western Uganda districts of Mbarara and Ntungamo. These were obtained from Ntungamo district population office, the

office of the Prime Minister department of refugee directorate, Makerere University Main Library, Africana section, and Centre for basic Research (CBR) Library, Kampala.

However, cases of Banyarwanda refusing to be interviewed was common claiming that they were indigenous Banyarwanda and few agreed to have been refugees before. This could be remnants of 1990-94 Batusti repatriation influx back to Rwanda.

#### **1.6.4 Editing**

After each session, interview schedule was checked for completeness and thereafter the data was coded. The editing involved grouping the answers into categories and then number them. Since the information was collected using the unstructured interview schedule, the responses were analysed in terms of categories. Then the frequency count in terms of how many respondents gave a similar response in a category was carried out. These frequency counts were transformed in percentages.

Editing was done before the interview guide could be ready for coding, tabulation and analysis in order to ensure completeness, accuracy and uniformity. The researcher at the sport did editing after the interview and on quite busy days it was done at the end of the day.

#### **1.6.5 Coding**

Coding is a second stage in the data processing. Its intended to;

“ Clarify the answer into meaningful categories so as to bring out their essential pattern” (Moser and Kalton 1971).

This exercise was undertaken after editing in an attempt to reduce data from detailed form to summarized and understandable data. In coding, responses to open ended questions were made according to similarity of answers and judgments of the researcher.

The number of response of each category was then recorded. With questions having more than one response, the researcher constructed a coding frame for each question and counted the number of response to each alternative category. The researcher made an effort to show how the data obtained from the respondents was processed and analyzed.

There after data is organized in a proper and meaningful pattern in what now follows here under. The researcher attempts to describe how this important aspect of Banyarwanda in Uganda who came after 1959, have not fully repatriated back to Rwanda, living in the refugee settlement camps and Ntungamo district can be handled

### **1.6.6 Limitations of the study and the solutions**

The field work was carried out in the months of April 2004. In Western Uganda this comprises the first – rainy season of the year. One obvious impact of this season was that Banyarwanda farmers were busy trying to grow crops to prepare for July harvest while the cattle keepers were growing the pasture grass to prepare for dry season of July/ August 2004. Therefore other than the Easter Holiday the target population was mobile out side their homesteads for survival and were hardly traced. That is why I met around 80 respondents only.

Further, there was some suspicion and misunderstanding about the purpose of research. Being aliens who had even refused to go back to Rwanda with others after the genocide war 1990 – 94, they had on personal grounds left the refugee settlement camps, these feared to declare their time of arrival in Uganda and claimed to be indigenous Banyarwanda and earlier migrant labourers thus jumping out of my scope.

The financial constraints and time also limited the researcher's study on Banyarwanda citizenship question in Uganda. Owing to financial constraints and limited time, the researcher never carried out a pilot or pre-testing of the interview schedule. A small sample size was also selected due to financial and time constraints, which partly contributed to difficulty on the stage of data analysis.

Besides, the Banyarwanda respondents needed an assurance of confidentiality as they feared that this information could lead to their total expulsion from Uganda. The government of Uganda expects all the Tutsi refugees who came to Uganda in 1959 political revolution in Rwanda to have left the country voluntarily latest by 1995 following the return of peace in Rwanda after 1994. Even the Hutu who came to Uganda fleeing the genocide were expected to be settled in the refugee camps of western Uganda.

Therefore, the researcher had to spend a considerable time in trying to convince the respondents about the rationale of the study and the importance of keeping the information given in the interview with a lot of confidentiality.

In conclusion, these difficulties notwithstanding, the researcher was satisfied that the combination of the above methodologies used in the study yielded a reasonable satisfactory outcome of findings for the purpose of the study.

## **1.7 Significance of the study**

- i. This study is important because it focuses on one of the most important problems that Uganda has experienced and not resolved.
- ii. The study will place the Banyarwanda citizenship in Uganda in a national and local (Ntungamo district) perspective.
- iii. Their importance and effects on politics, economics and social relations of the problem of a large community of non-citizens will be explored.

## **1.8 Scope of the study**

### **1.8.1 Time scope**

The time scope of the study is between 1959-2002. This is the period when the influx of Rwanda refugees entered Uganda with cattle and occupied the present Ntungamo district. Though many were relocated in the refugee settlement camps of Mbarara district, they later found their way out into areas where their colleagues had settled such as Ntungamo district.

### **1.8.2 Political regimes**

The period of study covers all political regimes that independent Uganda has had since they have had to address the problem of the influx of first refugee group in Uganda up to the present (2002). The RPF government has tried to provide a lasting solution to Tutsi refugees in the Diaspora by forming a Tutsi – favoured government after 1994 and convincing them to return home. The RPF government period is part of the time scope of this study.

### **1.8.3 Geographical scope**

The geographical scope of the study is the whole of Uganda but focus is on Ntungamo district. The national character of the study is the general background of the politics, laws, other interest's forces and trends, which influence the fate of the Banyarwanda in Ntungamo district. This problem of the citizenship of large number of non-citizen communities is just focused on Ntungamo district but is common in many other districts in Uganda.

### **1.8.4 Subject scope**

The subject scope of the study is the process of integration from the status of refugees to that of citizenship for large immigrant communities. The study will trace the history of the developments, which have led to the Banyarwanda citizenship question in Uganda. The sub-items, of the subject scope include refugees, and citizenship as process. The framework of the subject scope includes the social anthropological, political and economic aspects of the problem of naturalizing into citizenship of large communities of the immigrants.

The study subject scope is history. The study will pursue the problem from the perspective of history. It will accordingly examine what happened, what it resulted to and the landmarks in the experience of the Banyarwanda refugees in respect of not becoming Ugandan citizens and the significance of those landmarks in academic perspective.

## **1.9 Definition of key terms**

### **Citizenship**

This is a right to protection of the individual by state. It's a right to utilize the resources of the state and claim to the national identity. It is a belonging to the community of a state. In Uganda, the various constitutions of 1962, 1967 and 1995 have legislated on citizenship in slightly different ways.

### **Banyarwanda:**

This is derived from the Bantu languages of south and western Uganda. It refers generally to people who speak the “Kinyarwanda” language as their mother tongue and who practice the customs of the people of the state of Rwanda.

**Refugees:**

According to the UNHCR statute of 1951, this term refers to;

a person or people who owing to a well founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race religion nationality (ethnicity) or political opinion is outside of his/her country of nationality and is unable owing to such fears of persecution or reasons other than personal convenience and unwilling to avail themselves to the protection of their country.

**National:**

This is a person or group of people who owing to their historical roots in a specific territory are defined as belonging and constituting the population of the state

**Constitution:**

This is a supreme law of state, which among the key issues defines the behavioral scope of the citizens.

**Freedom:**

This refers to the internal ability of making a choice of what one wants or the ability to reject what one does not like. Freedom entails making a choice while considering the interests of others.

**Non-refoulment principles:**

This refers to a situation when people leave their country to seek protection in another country; they are not supposed to be forced back when their country of origin is still insecure. United Nations organizations advanced this and it's the one that influenced calm stay of 1959 – 62 Banyarwanda in Uganda.

**State:**

This is a geographical territory where a nation and state are located.

**Nation:**

This is a people, state combination or institutions through which authority and power are exercised over people in a particular geographical territory or a country.

***Inkotanyi:***

Is used to refer to the RPF by both its allies and opponents. The term which means “fierce fighter” in Kinyarwanda

## CHAPTER TWO

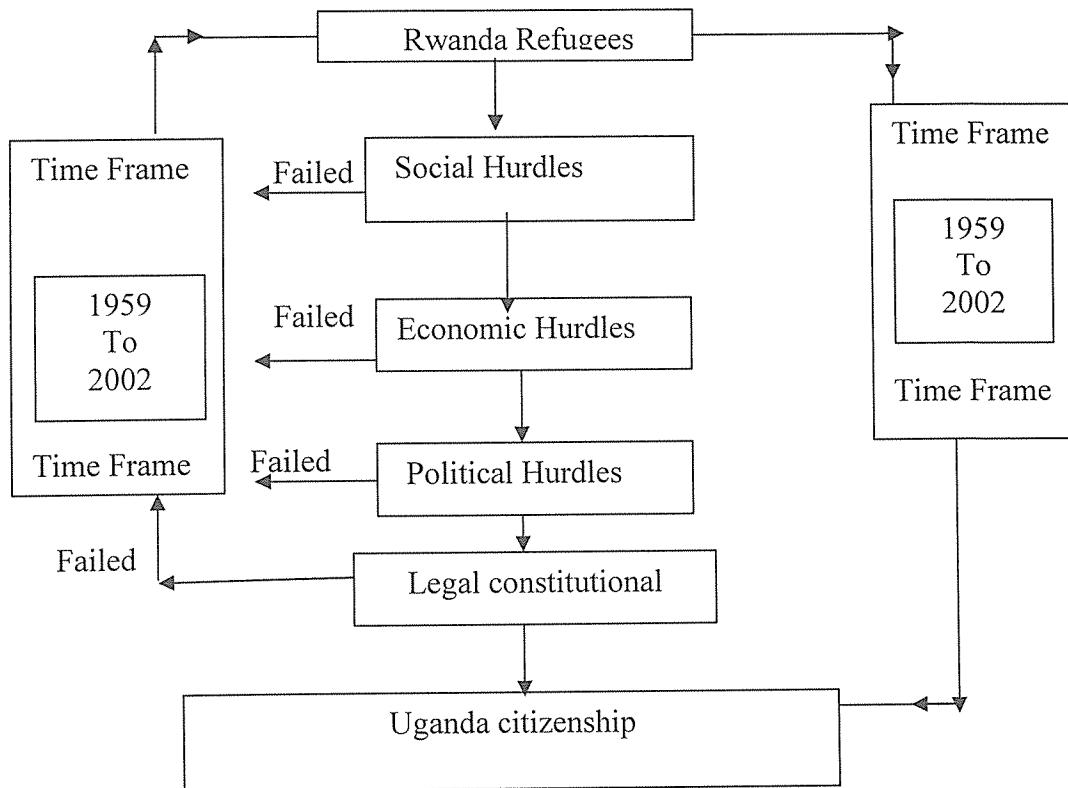
### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.0 Introduction

The main aim of this chapter is to review literature on refugees and their pursuit of citizenship in the host states. It discusses literature on the term refugee, citizenship, integration and ethnicity theories. It also reviews literature on migrant labour and how migration affected the Banyarwanda in Uganda especially those that arrived after 1959. The review of the literature makes a comparative assessment of other outstanding cases of citizenship crisis on the globe like the Asians in Britain, Asians in East Africa and refugee struggles elsewhere in Africa such as Banyarwanda in Congo. The Jewish and the Palestinian struggles are also discussed.

**FIGURE 02**

**2.1 Conceptual Model of the Naturalization Process of Refugees:**



This model indicates that the process of becoming citizen has to overcome each of the three hurdles until one becomes legally and constitutional citizen of Uganda. On the failure, they fall back and maintain the same level of Banyarwanda refugee status.

The time frame shows that the process has a time element and cannot be undertaken at ago. In the period 1959- 2002 some Banyarwanda refugees were getting integrated and naturalized as Ugandan Citizens while others were failing, a factor that motivated this researcher.

## 2.2 Refugee concept.

The term has a wide connotation, with both in space and time. Thus a refugee in one foreign country may not be refugee for the same reasons in another country. Refugees in one time period may not be refugees in another under the same circumstances in the same foreign country. After a certain period of time, they were integrated and they became citizens of the host state (Shacknove 1985).

The legal definition of a refugee is provided in both the UN (1951) and the OAU (1969) refugee conventions. The UN (1951) Refugee Convention in article IA (i) defines a refugee as;

Any person who is being persecuted for the reasons of race, religion, nationality, social group, political opinion and who as a result cannot enjoy the protection of his/ her Government (Clay 1984).

Much as this definition has considered many causes for refugee outflow in Africa the common cause of the refugee influx has been ethnic conflicts.

UN refugee Convention of 1951 is inadequate in its definition of refugees as it caters for a limited number of causes and cases of refugee out flows. The OAU refugees concept of 1969 observes that;

Every victim of aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events Seriously disturbing public order in his/her country is compelled to seek Refugee (OAU declaration of 1969).

It is clear that this definition is also targeting to help those persecuted by imperialism and like that of UN statute of 1951; it focused on the individual rather than the mass refugee situation hence a weakness in the definition.

The international agency which has the responsibility for refugees at the global level is the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) that was established in 1951 to provide assistance to refugees at the end of World War two.

According to UNHCR a refugee is;

Any person who owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race ,religion ,nationality, or political opinion is outside the country of his or her nationality and is unable or owing to such fear or for reasons other than personal convenience ,remains unwilling to accept the protection of that country or who not having a nationality and being outside the country of former habitual residence is unable or owing to such fear or for reasons other than personal convenience is unwilling to return to home (Baker and Zetter 1995:8).

Thus, inspite of international conventions governing refugees, each state is required to undertake to legislate as to who should be accorded a refugee status. The decision to offer protection to a refugee group should be taken in consideration to the costs, benefits, risk and opportunities to be met by the host government. All these conditions surrounding the refugee status work to delay or deny refugees citizenship rights in the host states (Shacknove 1985).

The term refugee means a foreign entity in a host society from the perspective of host states. They consider refugees as foreign entities and the term connotes the idea of non-belonging. The term refugee unlike the related ones like migrant and settler, bears an idea of non- integrativeness as it emphasizes belonging some where else (Zetter 1991).

The idea of considering refugee like a temporary situation and part of another society is the absence of a positive attitude towards integration policy. This belief is both on the side of refugees and the host community without proper integration. Refugee remains subjects of

functional forces within the host state. They will remain with a status of people in transit, awaiting return back home (Newbury 1988).

The refusal to integrate refugees in host states has created a circle of the refugee problem. For example during Obote II regime in 1981 –83, Banyarwanda refugees of 1959-63 were being hunted because of the cooperation with N.R.A. rebels of Y. K. Museveni fighting the Obote II government based in Luwero Triangle. This means that they were being chased to return to the country from where they were forced to flee in 1959 (Red pepper Newspaper 13<sup>th</sup>, April, 2006:16).

In some countries of asylum the Banyarwanda refugees were denied citizenship because of their speedy utilization of the host countries economic resources. In Congo for example, because of the wealth of Banyarwanda, by 1972 they had gained strong political positions close to President Mobutu. A Mututsi Bisengimana Rwema, for instance, became Army Chief of Staff in the then Zaire. This increased their hatred among the Congolese leading to their joining of the RPF 1990-94 Rwanda invasion (Nzongola – Ntalaja 1996).

After 1981 the Banyarwanda in Congo were not allowed to vote or to be voted to power. They were prohibited for holding public offices. In 1993 Banyarwanda in Walikole and Masisi zones north of Kivu in Eastern Congo suffered surprise attacks from the Nyanga and the Hunde the indigenous people of these Congolese areas (Ntalaja 1996).

The refugee crisis and circumstances of Banyarwanda appear similar to the 1946 – 48 war in the Middle East that led to creation of Israel as a nation-state. So many refugees were created in both the 1948 and the 1967 wars between Israel and Palestine trying to occupy the same country. They had communal conflicts based on ethnic differences (Brill 1995).

There has been very strong international legal diplomatic and political response to this crisis. After Israel won the war in 1948, the UN Security Council passed the Resolution 194 stating that the Palestinian refugees should be permitted to return or receive compensation. Israel accepted this as a condition to acquire membership of UN.

In 1949, the UN tried and persuaded Ben Gurion, the then leader of Israel, to accept the return of at least 100,000 Palestinian refugees in exchange for peace with the Arab states. But the Palestinians rejected this offer, as there was to be no compensation of their destroyed properties in the 1948 and the 1967 wars (Singer 2000).

### **2.3 Citizenship**

Basically, citizenship can be grouped into two categories. The civic and ethnic citizenship. Civic citizenship is a consequence of membership of the nation- state. Both the qualification for citizenship and the rights are specified in the constitution of the state (Mamdan 1996).

. The individual rights which are civil and political are properly laid down in the constitution of Uganda.

- (i) A true citizen of Uganda must be included in the main 56 tribes of this country.
- (ii) Their Grandparents might have migrated into Uganda before the independence time.
- (iii) They might not have come as political refugees from another country.

- (iv) They might possess true civil and ethnic rights of the country.
- (v) Must respect the National Anthem, flag, coat of arms and the Ugandan currency.
- (vi) Respect rights and freedoms of others.
- (vii) Pay taxes and receive services of the state without any discrimination.
- (viii) Protect and preserve public property.
- (ix) A Ugandan Citizen shall not hold the citizenship of another country (prohibition of dual citizenship)
- (x) His or Her grandparents might have been a member of any of indigenous communities existing and residing within the borders of Uganda as at 01/Febr/1926.(The constitution of the Republic of Uganda ,Ch.3 1995:14)

In contrast, ethnic citizenship is a result of natural membership in the native indigenous society. Ethnicity is a source of different categories of rights especially social and economic rights. These rights are not accessed individually but by virtue of group membership of the ethnic community. For example the right to use the local ancestral land (Valery and Kumar 1996).

Citizenship as an obligation has its roots in the famous ancient civic republican classical government of Greece in which political participation was consideration as a civic duty and an expression of the citizen's political rights. As a political being, the Greek man had to exercise his citizenship rights by participating in the political affairs of the state. This was articulated by the Greek philosopher Aristotle (Ruth Lister 1997).

Citizen as a concept refers to the membership of a community and about the relationship between individuals and the state within the community. This generates the complexity to the integration of refugees in the host state (Osler1997).

The idea of citizenship does not have a positive connotation for all groups of people within the same community. Those who have been victims of increasingly restrictive citizenship and immigration laws such as those in the UK and now move widely in the European Union (EU) in search of asylum in European countries.(Ruth Lister 1997)

It is natural for some people to enjoy full citizenship rights others are in a serious need of those rights and yet they dwell in the same geographical community. This explains why Banyarwanda in Uganda had to go back to their motherland in the 1990-94 war that caused the infamous genocide (Faulks 2000).

Citizenship rights are regarded as important to social solidarity and national identity. In china, people have developed normative theories in explaining what a citizen should expect. The rights and responsibilities of citizens in relation governments should not be conceived without fully considering the constraints in resources at the disposal of the state (Osler 1997:9).

Citizenship induces dependence and submissiveness between the individual and the state. Citizenship rights are essential tools in modern governance. They are a regulatory means of distributing social resources and maintaining the political order. This also reminds that, every individual has a citizenry role to play and should be respected. Basic features of a citizen include:

right to employment, basic education, and guarantee to basic living, care of children, right to have land, freedom of religion, and freedom of choice of marriage among others (Faulks 2000).

Traditionally, any person born in the UK or in its colonies possessed the British nationality immediately. But as former colonies gained their independence, this condition was changed. Therefore, a Canadian was thus a Canadian citizen as well as commonwealth citizen with the rights to vote and move freely in the United Kingdom. The situation changed during the 1960s when it was considered a mistake to have included colonial citizens in the same category as people from United Kingdom (Dumment and Nicol 1990: 216).

In 1948 the BNA (British Nationality Act) and in 1962 The Commonwealth Act both created anomaly as they placed British citizenship and immigration law under indiscriminative legal rights. Because of Britain's historical responsibility and commitment towards former colonies and the commonwealth states, the UK has been in some respects more generous than other European countries in granting the rights to non- citizens. This served to strengthen ties between British and its former dominions (Hansen 2000:207).

In 1981, a new British citizenship policy was established. This aimed at disassociating citizenship from immigration and make the position of migrants in UK secure. The immigration law in Britain has to be tightened in order to adjust domestically and meet the new European Economic Community (EEC) obligation. Before the introduction of the BNA of 1981, the status of the British subject applied to both the British Nationals and the Commonwealth citizens (Holmes 1978).

The British liberty of population mobility among the commonwealth nations, found many Asian scattered in the Colonial British East Africa. The integration and naturalization process of Asians in Uganda was therefore supported by the commonwealth policies unlike that of the Banyarwanda who arrived first as migrants and later (1957 –63) as refugees. Asian formed the majority of the prosperous middle class in the pre-and post-independent East African nations (Kahyana 2004).

What is at stake in Uganda is not so much question of their contribution or commitment but that of ancestry. The citizenship of Asians in Uganda is much considered and blamed on absence of their first generation in Uganda. The citizen status of Banyarwanda, just like that of Asians is much questioned not just because they are sabotaging the progress in East Africa but because they are perceived as foreigners in all cases. They are seen as strangers not supposed to plunger thier country of adoption. In Africa, the question of a citizen exploiter weighs less than that of a foreigner exploiter (Gregory 1971).

## **2.4 .Integration**

This is an important step towards attainment of citizenship rights in any country. Some Banyarwanda refugees were properly integrated but the legal and constitutional granting of citizenship rights was hard to achieve. The term integration refers to mix with and join society or group of people lawfully in attempt to suit in their ways of life, habits and customs (Homes C 1978).

Nevertheless, the process of the integration has come with its own costs where the available resources like land, food, drugs, job etc, that are meant for natives are shared with the foreigners (refugees). This is why UNHCR has greatly intervened in the exercise of settling down

Banyarwanda refugees among Ugandan communities. The Banyarwanda refugees refuse Ugandans to share some of their privileges from UNHCR which contributed to their citizenship crisis (Baker and Zetter 1995).

Other scholars have defined the term integration as a complete absorption of refugees by the asylum country through the legal process of naturalization. This means refugees are not confined to resettlement camps, as it is usually the case. They are provided with accommodation by an asylum country and assisted by the government and international agencies to settle down (Clay 1984).

Refugees always face psychological difficult task of how much to integrate into their host societies and whether they should take out citizenship rights or not. They fear to integrate completely because they always had hopes to return to their mother countries (Kasozi 1999:194)

The option of integrating the refugees into a host society is advocated by many scholars as the most appropriate solution for the refugee problem. One scholar argued that refugee influxes in Africa should be conceived as part of dynamics of emigration which is natural in the formation and the transformation of the society. He writes,

The contemporary migration phenomenon in Africa can be better understood within the context of the political and historical evolution of African societies. Emigration dynamics have to be analyzed within the context of current economic crisis, ecological disasters and on going political events and ethnic tension in the region (Adepoju 1993).

In many of his writings, Adepoju was advocating for integration and naturalization of refugees as the best solution in the host societies.

The UNCHR Commissioner while addressing the regional international meeting of refugee's issues in the Great Lakes Regions noted that one of the solutions of the refugee problem in the region would be to integrate them in countries of asylum. The Commissioner further noted that efforts to ensure that the refugees do not threaten the security of the host countries, and do not cause adverse socio- economic and environmental problems were worthwhile (sadaka Ogata 1989).

The Uganda Times served as the official government Newspaper .On Jan.11 the, 1982; Editorial Column A.M.Obote remarked that,

Most atrocities during Amin's era were committed by refugees ...with evidence that they voted in December 1980 general elections. Refugees have been found to flirt with terrorists in Luwero Districts and are responsible for the unrest there. Some refugees have proved a liability to the nation.If refugees particularly those from Rwanda ,do not reciprocate ,our hospitality as Ugandans may order their government to build camps for them....alternatively we tell them to go.... (Clay 1984:33).

This remark strongly concurs with the policy statement made by Sadaka Ogata the UNHCR Commissioner in 1989 in the Great Lakes Refugee Conference.

The commissioner also emphasized the need for the appropriate civil character of the refugees once they were integrated .They should copy and study developmental skills from the host states to go and build their own home country on return instead of causing violence in host states. (Sadaka Ogata 1989).

Furthermore, UNCHR country plan for Uganda lists integration as its long-term objective. The plan aimed to promote local integration and long term self-reliance of refugees. By streamlining

services into existing national structures continue multi-sectoral assistance with emphasis on self sufficiency for those who stay vigorously to promote skills training for refugees, with a view to make them more self-reliant (UNHCR Report, 1996).

These plans of UNHCR are justified by the unstable situation in their countries of origin, which makes voluntary repatriation very difficult. The crisis that cause the outflow of refugees show no signs of cooling down, therefore refugees are not expected to return soon.

According to the UNHCR document, integration of refugees has and is still, part of the policy framework of Uganda government. The documents shows that Uganda in the period January 2000 – December 2000 wanted to cater for a total of 196, 200 refugees. Among these 8,600 were the Banyarwanda refugees (UNHCR report, 1999).

Conditions in exile are such that integration is often the best way for refugees to meet their material and psychological needs. The main advantage of integration especially in advanced host states is that, the refugees always return home with the technical knowledge acquired in the host states (Kasozi 1999).

The decency of a society is characterized by its capacity and its preparedness to provide shelter and protection to those who are deprived of this protection in their countries of origin. This is the moral basis of the policy of integrating refugees and granting them citizenship (Newbury 1988).

This also supports the idea of integration, naturalization and provision of citizenship of refugees in any host society. While receiving a noble peace prize on behalf of the UNHCR in 1995, UN Commissioner stated that;

Repatriation of refugees was no longer important because in many cases they simply cannot go back. Most of them dream of resettlement and that leaves the provision of citizenship and local integration as the only answer (Kasozi 1999:195).

In his address to the regional meeting on the refugee issues in the Great Lakes region, in 1998, the President of Uganda remarked that;

The cause of the current mass refugee problems were created under the colonial regimes that sharpened the tribal differences in the African continent, therefore the present effort should be to solve these problems without causing any discomfort to innocent refugees (Y. K. Museveni 1998)

The President further observed that the refugees should be prevented from causing problems both on the countries of origin and the host states.

Similar to the Banyarwanda in the diaspora, the Asian could not settle down completely and forget their homeland. In the words of the Uganda politicians Mr. Gombe- Mukwaya:

It is not the white people who have exploited us, we have within our midst the brown people, “The MUINDI” who continues to exploit us up to this day!!! We have only tolerated the Muindi because we thought they would change and become part of us. We know now after a bitter experience, that they will continue to exploit us as if we are cattle. Will we continue to tolerate this enemy within our midst for much longer, my brothers and sisters? (Nazareth 1972:72).

This case of Asians shows how the Banyarwanda Refugees cannot be offered a Ugandan citizenship rights because they will equally mistreat and exploit Ugandans similar to Asians.

As the Banyarwanda refugees had been wealthy in Rwanda before they were forced out , they had to work hard and own a lot of resources in the host countries. This caused them more problems as for instance in Congo where the indigenous people were envious of the Rwandese success and Congolese authorities denied refugees citizenship as a result (Ntalaja - Nzogola 1996).

The refugees did not have material resources superior to those of the local population. They lost everything they possessed as they fled into exile. Their only real advantage appears to have been UNHCR scholarships for secondary education (Watson 1991).

Refugee students argue that they have to excel academically because they have no alternative of development. This greatly helped them to attain civil service jobs in the Great lakes Region. In words of the refugee Christine Majagari. “We had no land, so we had to move with our heads our heads were our only capital” (Watson 1991).

This ambition enabled the Banyarwanda refugees to rise to superior positions quickly resulting into their resentment by the members of host society.

Similarly refugees from Israel and Palestine in the 1948 and the 1967 wars spread to the nearby states. Some were integrated but others were rejected. For example, Jordan has integrated Israel refugees in her West Bank ever since it signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1949. The Jordanian

Government insisted on the formation of quadripartite committee in which Jordan, Israel, Palestine and Egypt would negotiate the status of the displaced persons since the 1948 and the 1967 wars in the Middle East (Encyclopedia Judaica 1995).

The case of Banyarwanda Refugees in Uganda resembles that of the Palestinian refugees in Syria. Palestinian receives the same benefits as Syrian citizens. Palestinians have been integrated into the Syrian economy. The most desperate Palestinians are those living in Lebanon refugee camps. All the Lebanese Governments since 1948 have refused to grant them citizenship

The Lebanese fear that the permanent settlements of refugees most of whom are Sunni Moslem would upset Lebanon's tenuous religious and sectarian balance. Lebanon insists that all the refugees within the boarders must return to the Palestinians state or go elsewhere (Brill 1995).

## 2.5 Theories of ethnicity

Ethnicity is a key issue in defining the citizenship by descent and identify located in a nation state. It can be looked at as a major building block of a country. It is one of the civil and social instruments people use to claim the citizenship rights of a given country. Uganda for example has about 56 confirmed ethnic groups among which Bafumbira of Kisoro who speak Kinyarwanda language and migrant Banyarwanda are included (Mudoola 1993).

Ethnicity is a political phenomenon that involves the struggle for power among the social groups in defence of their collective interests.

It can further be considered as a process by which particular identities become salient and particular symbols are given political significance. The Ethnic rights are the symbols people use to access resources within their territories (Jean la Fountain 1967).

Anthropologists defined Ethnicity as a tribal identity and a potential source of unity and conflict within a nation-state. Ethnicity can be mobilized politically, socially, and culturally due to its identity and dimension. Besides this, ethnicity can be considered as a distinction based on interaction of ethnic groups which later transform their descriptions and identities as for example a Munyarwanda can shift to a Munyankole ethnic, a Muhororo, a Muhima in one situation and a Munyarwanda again to another. Therefore Ethnicity is not static, doesn't have fixed boundaries and it has an element of fluidity i.e. cultural transformation (Fardon 1987).

Colonial law in Rwanda went beyond legal pluralism to a set of institutionally entrenched discriminations. Civil law was radicalized and customary law was ethnicised. At the basis of two different political identities (the Rwandese and colonizers) race and ethnicity became pronounced where the alliance of the Batutsi and the Belgians marginalized the rights of Bahutu which resulted into 1959 Rwanda revolution (Kamukama 1993).

Citizenship in Uganda before and after independence was based on ethnic groups. A citizen was first a member of one of the indigenous ethnic groups before qualifying to belong to Uganda. This made African immigrants and non -African immigrants who were Englishmen and Indians unable to be identified as citizens (Gregory 1971).

The Uganda independence constitution of 1962 cited the ethnic groups which constituted the country's population and in essence the people who qualified to be citizens, subsequently constitutions of 1966 and 1967 had schedules indicating the ethnic groups, which constituted Uganda's population. These include;

Acholi, Alur, Bamba, Bagisu, Bagwe, Baganda, Bagwere, Bahehe, Bahororo, Bakenyi, Bakiga, Bakonjo, Banyankole, Bafumbira, Banyole, Basamya, Basoga, Banyarwanda (Labour, Immigrants), Batoro, Batuku, Batwa, chope, Dodoth, IK (Teuse), Iteso, Jie, Jonam, Japadhola,, Kebu (Okebu), Kuku, Kakwa, Karamojong, Kumam, Labwor, Langi, Lendu, Lugbara, Madi, Mvuba, Mening, Nangai, Napore, Nubi, Nyakawai, Oropom, Sebei, So (Tepeth), Suk, Vonompa, Banyabutumbi, Ike, Basongola, Batagwenda, Bakusu, Babwise, Pokoto, Bagunga and Banyaara (The Act of Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 3<sup>rd</sup> schedule, Article 10a 1995:190).

Under schedule 3 of 1995 constitution of Uganda, Banyarwanda are among the 56 ethnic groups in Uganda. Basically this refers to the indigenous Banyarwanda who came as colonial labour migrants in Uganda before 1959. Many others came to Uganda fleeing the Belgium harsh rule in Rwanda. They were also attracted by better manual wage labour in south-central Uganda (Richards 1952). The form of rule in Rwanda shaped the form of revolt against it. Indirect rule used by colonialist in Rwanda, led to re-enforcement of ethnically bound institutions of control to expel it from within. This reflects the adamancy of Batutsi rule in Rwanda that resulted into the 1959 revolution (Prunnier 1995).

Ethnicity came to be pronounced as a form of colonial instrument of intrusion in Rwanda. Colonialists allied with one "tribe" to exercise divide and rule policy that would keep the colonies divided suppressed, and easily managed. This was the pre- 1959 situations in Rwanda when the Batutsi were made collaborators with Belgians against the Bahutu which led to the 1959 revolution ( Mamdani 1996).

Ethnicity is socially constructed and often results into political hostility. Hence the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda which is a moment of the manifestation of ethnic violence cannot be said to emerge spontaneously but through specific social circumstances and manipulations of ethnic waves in Rwanda (Mamdani 1995).

In Rwanda , yesterday's perpetrators are today's survivors and both have to confront the problem of how to live together faced with identities inherited from the past, they must form new and common identities. Mamdani uses this paradox in the attempt to create better terms between the Bahutu and the Batutsi in the aftermath of 1994 genocide (Mamdani 1997:23).

The Banyarwanda citizenship crisis in Uganda had its deep origin from Rwanda where the Bahutu and Batutsi were two ethnic groups but living in the same country. Each group tried to dominate one another in terms of politics. It led to 1959 Rwanda revolution and Batutsi refugee out flow to Uganda (clay 1984).

Rwanda suffers a number of mythical histories one is the argument that suggests the people of Rwanda, the Bahutu and Batutsi, have different cultural and physical characteristics. It's alleged that the Bahutu are fundamentally alien to the Batutsi and that the Batutsi are Hamitic elements from North. The present conflicts are seen as carryovers from the early colonial conflicts and the issue is centuries old – “Batutsi domination of the Bahutu” ( Ssewakiryanga 2000).

Secondly, ethnicity theories in Rwanda put it that, the pre- condition for Batutsi survival is the Batutsi power. If the Batutsi lose power, they will also lose life. For this matter, the post –

genocide state is also a national security state like Israel. More to this, Batutsi and Bahutu will continue to be reproduced as separate and antagonistic political identities in Rwanda. Therefore, armed peace is the solution for Rwanda state (Mamdan 2001).

## **2.6 The Migrant Labour**

Migrant labour began early 20<sup>th</sup> Century to come to Uganda from Rwanda. Most of these were attracted by high wage labour of coffee farmers in south and central Uganda especially in Masaka region. This group of Banyarwanda by time of their entry into Uganda they were just target workers hoping to return home soon (Richards 1952).

The migrant labour question in Uganda, its origin and development can be analysed in the colonial context of the colonial policy which formed economic administrative and social political structures carefully designed to serve the interests of the metropolitan bourgeoisie. Colonial labour policy, though not uniform throughout the colonial period, it was determined by a variety of factors both internal and external in colonial Uganda whose paramount purpose was profit maximization (Rutabajuka 1989).

The biggest group of migrant labourers in colonial Uganda were employed in Buganda Kingdom in the growing of coffee and cotton cash crops. Most of these migrant labourers were attracted from the Belgium mandate territory of Rwanda and Burundi and the neighboring districts of Tanganyika and the south west Boarder of Uganda, who poured into the wealthy cotton and coffee producing country either as target workers of migrant labour settlers ( Richards 1952).

Files of Africans mostly dressed in rags and often with poor physique, were seen walking from South West boarder to the Centre of Buganda Kingdom. But after 1920, Lorries and buses owned by Africans and Indians were introduced to transport these migrant labourers. These vehicles were often over crowded. The number of these travellers from Rwanda had been roughly estimated at 100,000 a year for a number of years (Richards 1952). (See map 02 on page ix)

Migrant labourers into Buganda also included the Bakiga people from Kigezi, Banyankole and Banyoro among others. There was also immigrants' from eastern Uganda roughly categorised as "Kedi" a term used to describe travellers from the eastern province such as Badama, the Bagishu and Basoga groups. Baganda considered all these as "foreigners." Today these migrants have their grandsons in central Uganda due to the intermarriages and integration impact (Powseland 1957).

Other migrant labour into colonial Uganda came from the Sudan and Congo on the north-west border of the Protectorate. They travelled down Lake Albert by a steamer and then by road to sugar plantations and other occupations in Southern Uganda. These were the Alur and the lugbara from Belgium Congo, Southern Sudan tribes like the Dinka and Shilluk, the Acholi and Madi people from the northern province of the protectorate. They all found themselves in Buganda region as migrant labourers (Richards 1952).

Also migrant Banyarwanda in the Great Lakes region can be traced from the 18<sup>th</sup> century when a group of Banyarwanda, named Banyamulenge, occupied the islands of Lake Kivu, now part of Zaire ( Nzongola Ntalaja 1996). Demographic pressure in 1937-1955 periods pushed many Banyarwanda peasants into Wolikale north of Kivu. Thousands of these were later recruited in

colonial work of mining, transport and agricultural activities in Shaba, Manien and south of Kivu region ( Prunnier 1995).

After 1910, Belgium colonization of Rwanda, many Rwandese came to Uganda as migrants fleeing from oppressive Belgium rule. They were not skilled to be employed in higher offices of British colonial rule. They had no capital to compete with the Asian Businessmen in Uganda. Therefore, the only way for survival was to offer manual labour in Ankole by assisting cattle keepers and in Buganda where they were employed in coffee shambas. Because of their arrival time, these Banyarwanda easily integrated with Ugandan communities (Clay 1984).

In developed countries of Europe and America, Labour Immigration occurs in response to labour shortage of the receiving country. For example, the 20<sup>th</sup> century African Continent has witnessed labour outflow into Europe and North America (Canada) named as "Nkuba -kyeyo". These are Ghanaians, Nigerians, Ugandans and Kenyans among others. These Africans travel in developed countries either to earn higher wages from their labour or to attain gainful employment in their professions which they lack in their African countries.(Newvision Wed.14<sup>th</sup> ,July,2004) This appears similar to the 19<sup>th</sup> century labour migration from Rwanda to south-central Uganda.

Today opposition parliamentarians when they fail to get jobs for their voters in Uganda they struggle for Visas and send them outside the country especially in Japan ,London and Canada for "kyeyo". Honourables like Mabike Mukasa MP-Makindye West ,Erias Lukwago MP-Kampala Central among others. Migrant labour from African countries to developed world has

earned us a lot of foreign exchange despite of legality hurdles they face in those foreign countries (Newvision, Monday 09<sup>th</sup>, April, 2007).

According to the Journal African Events,

A comprehensive register of Uganda's skilled manpower today would probably show that there are many Ugandan, doctors, lawyers, educationists and engineers working abroad as they are in Uganda itself. It is often said of Irish that, they have helped to build every country in the world except their own (Kasozi 1999:195)

The imported labour in Europe from the nearby European states seems to be a temporary measure and are bound to go back when the economy of a receiving country recovers. Otherwise the employers become dependent upon wage labour, which only migrants can provide. This dependency institutionalizes the labour migration in a receiving country (Prichard 2001).

Migration of labour has encouraged the growth of under class people in the receiving nations resulting to racism. As a foreigner, migrant workers can be paid less and denied voting rights, social security and access to education plus health care. Such refugee kind of conditions was also common in Buganda migrant labourers from Rwanda which forced them to naturalize, integrate and enjoyed rights of a citizen in Uganda as granted by the independence constitution of 1962 (Gulliver 1955).

Some middle class workers lived in tightly controlled dormitories and were denied social rights. In Asian countries such as Singapore, obtaining equal rights to citizens is very difficult. Even getting married to a national cannot grant this foreigner citizenship (Mike Cole 1999).

However, some receiving countries take a humanitarian approach to migrants. Most Northern European guest workers programmes respect human rights. Such rights like freedom of employment, family re-unification and equal pay privileges after the probational period and years of probation varied from a country to another (Pritchard 2001).

With the spread of modernization to migrant workers in Buganda, they developed an attitude of labour resistance. Taking up land as tenants was one way migrant labourers resisted the exploitation by the ‘progressive farmer’. This has a potential danger of creating a group of landless Baganda peasants. If the process was not checked, it would lead to emergency of the uncontrolled population freed from means of production (Rutabajuka 1994).

The 1959 Rwanda political revolution that ousted ethnic Batutsi from power, they had to flock into Uganda in large numbers because of this history of migrant labour in central Uganda. They were assured of food, security and care by the indigenous and migrant Banyarwanda in Uganda. Today this has resulted into citizenship contention which has precipitated this study.

## **2.7 Citizenship Struggles in Africa**

In most cases, being a refugee one has to experience the stigma of being a alien. It means living in difficult conditions, which are not conducive for human existence. As such African refugees live a miserable life of suffering and pain. The kind of pain they experience is not necessarily physical but it is pain resulting from being rootless and mocked by others not in such circumstances.

To a greater extent, what they have been undergoing has had a negative effect on their lives, which made them to try and fit themselves in the host country as citizens after a failure of repatriation measures. For example in accordance with the report given by All African Conference of Churches (A.A.C.C) in Djibouti in 1987, many refugees were expelled by the Djibouti Government (A.A.C.C report 1987).

The Government of Djibouti claimed that refugees were not supposed to be discriminated against in employment in that country but the reality was quite the opposite. According to the A.A.C.C Report the difficult conditions of refugees in Djibout were further complicated by cruel Government policy on foreigners and indifference of United Nations High Commission for Refugees, office in Djibouti towards the refugees.

The UNHCR had abdicated its responsibility that made the refugees stay unprotected in the region (A.A.C.C report 1987).

Like Banyarwanda in Uganda the Mozambicans who fled to South Africa also faced the problem of harassment. In spite of the peace talks, which were going on between the government of Mozambique and RENAMO rebels, the refugee flow from Mozambique into South Africa went on unabated. They continued to cross the Kruger National park on foot into the South African homelands of Gazankulu, Kamgwawe, Lebowa and Kwazulu (A.A.C.C Report 1987).

Mozambicans in South African were regarded as “Prohibited Aliens.” They could be deported once caught. The Apartheid government in South Africa had regarded Mozambique government under Samora Machel as a collaborator of A.N.C rebels (A.A.C.C report 1991). In a similar note

Bahutu dominated government of J. Habyarimana had regarded R. P. A from Uganda as politically dangerous.

Whenever Mozambique refugees would be crossing the boarder of Mozambique and South Africa, through Kruger National Park, they could only be facing the likelihood of being killed by wild animals, but also attack by South Africa Defence Forces poised to shoot at every national of Mozambique crossing to South Africa. Therefore, much as some settled foreigners suffer citizenship crisis, some others are not given a chance to step on a foreign land for asylum (A.A.C.C.Report 1987).

The experience of refugees from Mozambique is a good example to show the dilemma of other refugees in Africa, especially the Banyarwanda in Ntungamo District of Uganda.

In Africa refugees may leave their homes in confusion and seek asylum in countries that are likely to be in total turmoil. In short refugees are often exposed to hard conditions of living or even danger in host country. They normally have no alternative because they are too poor to go to other better places. And they cannot go back in their homes of origin because of fear of persecution The host states always respected the principle of Refoulment (OAU 1969 Refugee Convention).

The unbearable conditions refugee encounter in their countries of asylum force them to try and integrate with the citizens of the host country so as to enjoy the privileges of the host state, which is also not easy to achieve and involves many social and political hurdles (Kasozi 1999).

Furthermore, in Africa, refugees are often settled in areas which have hostile physical environment a factor that forces them to try and turn into citizens so that they can live among the people of the host country on better fertile soils.

For example, the Ethiopian refugees were living in the dry places of western Sudan, Tang, Fugindo, Dimo and Assosa. The Government always blocked their integration process and yet their means of turning into citizens is not attainable (Adepoju 1993).

Nevertheless, African countries like Ghana have responded positively towards the demands of refugees in their country. Ghana has tried to integrate refugees into host communities and to naturalize them as Ghanaian citizens. For example, in 1990-91, about 6651 refugees were staying in camp, which is 20 miles west of Accra while Ghanaian families hosted over 2,000 refugees in 1992 (A.A.C.C. Report 1987).

## **2.8 Conclusion**

The Case of Banyarwanda refugee citizenship crisis in Uganda and in Ntungamo district in particular have a bearing in other countries of Africa and the rest of the world at large. This chapter wraps up conceptual model that shows procedure used by refugees in the struggle for Ugandan citizenship, Refugee as concept, the theories of citizenship, Attempts of Banyarwanda Refugees Integration in Uganda, the theories of ethnicity, Cases of migrant labour and related citizenship struggles in Africa.

# **CHAPTER THREE**

## **THE BANYARWANDA REFUGEE STRATEGIES TO ACCESS RESOURCES IN NTUNGAMO DISTRICT**

### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter explores the strategies of Banyarwanda Refugees in their attempt to acquire Ugandan citizenship. It is based on information from respondents in Ntungamo District. It is also drawn from documents that show that there were a number of attempts in which Banyarwanda refugees tried to acquire citizenship in Uganda in line with accepted international policy. This experience is analyzed in the historical framework of the relations between Uganda and Rwanda from 1959-2002 and political events in Uganda during in that period.

### **3.1 Main Demographic features of respondents**

#### **3.1.1 Education**

The Banyarwanda refugees now scattered in Ntungamo District, have had their basic educational level as primary level and few adult education for the interested groups. Some few even aspired for further education and went to European Universities especially to Belgium and France as a Neo-colonial strategy, French language influence and donor fund for technical development of former colonies.

Otherwise about 50 out of 80 respondents could write and read English because of the primary level education they attained either in the camp or outside in settlement areas with the sponsorship of UNHCR. The products of this education benefit were employed by some

governments in Uganda. This support the hypothesis that Rwanda refugees can live peacefully under the refugee status in Uganda for as long as they want.

### **3.1.2 Religion**

Religious factor helped some Banyarwanda to be easily integrated and naturalized by various regimes in Uganda since independence time. For example in Amin time, those refugees who converted to Islam were easily promoted and given higher offices in the Government ( Kasozi 1999).

Most Batusti refugees, encountered in this study belong to a cross section of religious dominations. Very few were Muslims and these had been converted to Islam after staying within the Ntungamo District communities. Christians were the majority but Catholics outnumbered the Protestants. The Orthodox were also very few.

This variation can be illustrated by the table below;

**TABLE 01**

**VARIATION OF RELIGIOUS LINES AMONG BANYARWANDA REFUGEES IN NTUNGAMO DISTRICT**

<b>Religious Affiliation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Catholics	45	60
Protestants	24	30
Orthodox	4	05
Islam	4	05
Total	80	100%

**Source: Field Data**

Almost 60% of the respondents agreed to have been Catholics. This was due to the historical nature of colonialism in Rwanda, until independence time Rwanda was under the colonial control of Belgium majority of whom were Catholics. Possibly this is why in 1980 general elections in Uganda, some Batutsi who bothered to vote were on the Democratic party side as this party was formed on the basis of Catholics.

Moslems encountered in this study were as many as 5% otherwise Rwanda as a country did not have many people believing in Islam at the time refugees came to Uganda. These few Moslems still were converted into Islam during the time of Iddi Amin because from colonial time to present, this was the regime that closely worked hand in hand with the Banyarwanda.

They were favoured and others attained immeasurable levels of integration. In Amin's time one had to become a Muslim as a measure of acquiring a big political post, others were promised a lot of money once they converted into Islam. Otherwise, Islam had few followers among Banyarwanda both at home and in the Diaspora that brought Islam. Besides the Arabs history at the coast of East Africa in early 19<sup>th</sup> century did not affect Banyarwanda. The use of same worship places is a sign of fair integration although the constitution denied them approval as true citizens of Uganda.

### **3.1.3 Social status of the respondents:**

Most of them confirmed to have been married. Though fluent in Kinyarwanda language, most of them as well do speak Runyankole –Rukiga language.

This easy means of communication enabled these respondents to intermarry with the Ugandans.

This further increased the level of integration in Ntungamo District.

Sixty Percent (60%) of respondents were properly married men and women. Most of them had witnessed the Banyarwanda crisis of 1982-83.

Fourty percent (40%) were single and unmarried men and women but above 22 years of age.

Most of them were born in Uganda by Banyarwanda refugee parents.

Sixty percent (60%) includes the cases of intermarriage .Banyarwanda refugees considered intermarriage as an opportunity to integrate with ethnic groups in Ntungamo District and a means of accessing resources.

### **3.2 The Resettlement of Refugees in Uganda:**

Most respondents did not settle in refugee settlement camps when they arrived in Uganda.

Almost 84% of the filled questionnaires confirm to have stayed outside the settlement camps since their arrival in Uganda.

Ntungamo District was used as a base for resting of Rwandese refugee influxes after leaving Rwanda before they were later transferred to refugee settlement camps like Nakivale, Oruchinga, Kyaka I and II and Kyangwale. Banyarwanda at this base in Ntungamo District scattered and mixed up with their fellow indigenous Banyarwanda before they could be transferred to refugee settlement camps. It's this group that formed most of the respondents the researcher encountered in the field of study.

**TABLE 02****SETTLEMENT PATTERNS OF REFUGEES IN NTUNGAMO DISTRICT:**

<b>Stayed in camp</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
No	67	84%
Yes	13	16%
Total	80	100%

**Source: Field Data**

Eighty Four (84%) of the respondents, when arrived in Uganda, did not settle in the refugee resettlement camps

A total of only 16% had ever lived in the refugee settlement camps and later these came to stay in Ntungamo District due to many factors like;

- i. Search for land to graze their cattle because of limited space in refugee settlement camps.
- ii. Problem of diseases in the refugee settlement camps especially malaria and sleeping sickness. These refugee settlement camps were located in deep areas of Mbarara district and other parts of Uganda that had been rejected by other ethnic groups because of poor climate and infertile soils.
- iii. The quarrels and conflicts within settlement camps among the Batusti refugees themselves was another factor for refugee desertion of the settlement camps.

- iv. Desire to have better education in Ugandan Secondary schools outside the refugee settlement camps made them to stay in Ntungamo District.
- v. Some refugees were businessmen .Therefore the need to expand their market and business made them to stay outside the refugee settlement camps

### **3.3 Culture**

Culture is vital as far as naturalization of refugees in Africa is concerned. John Babiiha aged 43 a former refugee now a local resident of Rushere sub-county in Ntungamo District observed that:

The former Banyarwanda refugees now integrated in Uganda society came to Uganda way back in 1950s and 1960s. Although they are now living in a foreign country, they are not completely cut-off culturally. Being a Bantu people themselves and speaking a Bantu language, which has many common elements with the languages spoken locally, they are settled in areas of the country where they share common characteristics with the local people including marriage practices (The Group Focus Discussion 12<sup>th</sup> April 2004).

The researcher found out that for quite sometime, the Banyarwanda had more or less integrated because their culture was not very much different from the hosts. The refugees were far from Rwanda and never disturbed their country of origin. Therefore, they never influenced the relations between Uganda and Rwanda negatively.

Further refugees had to change names or add on another Kinyankole name in order to appear as a naturalized Ugandan. In regard to this search of identity and nationality one former Rwandese refugee said that:

... You become meek, you lose yourself as a person, and you hide away from your culture. I had to change my name, and took up a Kinyankole name in order to get a place

in Ugandan secondary schools ... I felt bad when I changed my name. But if I had not changed it, the headmaster would not have offered me a place ... (Watson 1991:9).

Banyarwanda talk with distress about having first to lie and bribe in order to get a Ugandan passport many were upset in 1989 when a Munyarwanda refugee who was an officer in NRA was refused a Ugandan passport. Even serving in NRA successfully which work many Ugandans detest, could not erase that non-belonging element. Greatly this encouraged these Banyarwanda to try and regain their nationality.

In an interview with a former refugee George Kayanda 44 of Ngoma Subcounty, the issue of land was very important in the naturalization process of Rwandese refugees. He observed that;

In the period from 1962-1970, it was very difficult to acquire land outside the refugee settlement camps because the then government was very sensitive on land issues. We were confined to only refugee settlement camps although some of our colleagues acquired land slowly until we were absorbed into the Ugandan society (Focus Group Discussion 28<sup>th</sup> April 2004).

Other respondents observed that, they were not able to acquire land outside the refugee settlement camps until 1970 decade. Even the security of their land was non - existent. The respondents said that they were unable to acquire other permanent properties like plantations, company shares and Ntungamo municipal council area buildings. However, they concluded that, their offspring were able to freely occupy vacant land outside the refugee settlements.

Their land acquisition was mainly temporary and conditional. This was largely in areas of public land. The respondents noted that they did not acquire land in the midst of the indigenous communities. This meant therefore that their land occupations or acquisitions did not bring them

closer to the indigenous societies at the time. They simply occupied vacant unutilized land mostly on semi-permanent basis. It was easier for them to occupy land which was seemingly unwanted but they still could not legitimize the ownership.

Their off springs became landed people but without security. The researcher observed that those who kept cows did not even bother to identify with any permanent land posts. Many were total nomads; others maintained fixed homes while grazing on the unoccupied fields. For the majority of their colleagues, legitimate and acquisition opportunities either did not exist or were not a priority as long as there was vacant land they could occupy.

When the second generation of Banyarwanda went into business they were careful to conceal their identity. When asked why this was the case, the respondents said that their nationality and refugee status could cost them business either officially through the authorities or socially by the community boycott of their businesses.

On the issue of land, it is important to note that, this hindered complete naturalization. Banyarwanda refugees were constantly reminded that one day, they must leave the land of the indigenous people. Indeed in the 1980s, the UPC Government functionaries chased those refugees who had acquired land to either return to Refugee settlements camps or go back to Rwanda. Some of those refugees opted to join armed rebellion in Uganda with their eyes set to acquire means to return to Rwanda.

### **3.4 Education**

The issue of education is very vital in determination of the naturalization process in Uganda. The chances were available particularly in training beginning with the 1960 decade. There was training in rural farming co-operatives and trade at the various rural community development centres. These courses were offered free of charge by the Uganda Government but non-citizens could not participate. It was only those who disguised as citizens that seized those opportunities.

The off-springs of the refugees however were able to access the education particularly in Catholic schools which were operated by the missionaries. They were even assisted with the school fees at the primary level. Since education opportunities were based on merit, the children of the refugees proceeded to senior secondary schools if they passed.

Some of the refugee could afford to pay for their children in primary schools. They even proceeded to colleges depending on capacity to pay fees. During the 1970 decade, citizenship was no longer an issue in accessing schools. So those who could pass exams and could pay fees attended schools of their choice. Those who could proceed to higher education were accepted in vocational schools without any problem.

Although they were allowed to access education facilities, in few cases the discrimination of non- citizens did not end. In some cases, they could not get bursaries, scholarship and other public community education facilities. In their schools they were always identified as non-

citizens by fellow students sharing education facilities did not break the barriers of not being citizens of Uganda.

Although Banyarwanda refugees especially their offspring's achieved a meaningful levels of naturalization in Uganda through education, other factors cited earlier hindered its completion. Instead education was used to mobilize other refugees to struggle for their return to Rwanda. This affected negatively the relations between the two states and the entire Great lakes Region.

### **3.5 Politics**

The political conditions in Uganda were unpredictable and therefore some refugees could not determine the course of events in relation to their naturalization or repatriation. Ruhambari Yafesi one former refugee had this to say;

We were prevented from maintaining the political organization to which we belonged before being forced to flee. We were also prevented from joining any other exile organization of a political or social nature, which would help us while in Uganda. The political leaders who had fled with us to Uganda were forced to flee to third countries of Asylum. This attempt was to completely depoliticize our community so that we appear like people who simply fled to this country without a cause (Interview at Ngoma 16<sup>th</sup> April 2004).

The period 1960 to the late 1970s was a time to find alternative ways to survive. This is when some naturalization levels were achieved. The political environment in Uganda changed especially in the wake of the civil wars of 1979 and 1980s. During the 1980 general elections, they were not prevented from registering as voters and indeed they participated in elections which attracted them another dimension of hatred from Obote II.

But to their surprise both the refugees and the Banyarwanda Uganda citizens were defined by the new Government after the 1980 general elections as politically unacceptable in Uganda for two main reasons.

- (a) They were accused of voting for oppositions, Democratic Party while some few supported UPM (Uganda Patriotic Movement).
- b) They were also later, associated with participation in the NRM armed rebellion against the UPC Government based in Luwero Triangle.

Because of these two reasons, Banyarwanda communities were persecuted and forced to join the rebellion against Uganda Government. With the fall, of The UPC Government the Banyarwanda seized the opportunity to organize within Uganda since NRM Government encouraged them to do so, in an interview with Phillip Besimire a close relative to the refugee, he observed that;

The relation between Rwanda and Uganda in 1986 –1990 hinged on refugees. The Uganda government recognition of the political Association of Rwanda refugees soured the relations with Rwanda. This was increased by passing of an ant-sectarian law in 1989 which ruled out the discrimination of Rwanda refugees

( Besimire of Kitwe town 24<sup>th</sup> April 2004).

The law (interview April 2004) nearly legitimized the naturalization of Banyarwanda failure in practice. Although the NRM Government tried to legitimize their integration into the Uganda society, it was a total failure because these refugees consciousness could not settle for anything less than political power in their home country. Complete naturalization had failed and therefore they planned, mobilized and carried out an armed attack on the Habyarimana Government, which they overthrew in 1994. In an interview with Samuel Nujoho of Rwekineiro Sub-county, the following evidence was recorded.

The cost of our eventual return was as high in terms of human life, the politics of Rwanda, stability and security in the whole region. It was a four-year war in which, more than 10% of the population of the country were killed. The war displaced from Rwanda to Tanzania and Zaire more refugees than those who intended to return from Uganda. When it was finally over, only a few Banyarwanda refugees in Uganda returned. Most of us who were doing well remained in Uganda. The returned were mainly the peasant farmers and herdsmen many more who had naturalized did not return to Rwanda. In the end it was more of a Batutsi return or capture of power in Rwanda rather than a huge repatriation of refugees (Interview at Rwekineiro 18<sup>th</sup> April 2004).

The above submission and earlier evidence shows that some refugees indeed were naturalized in the Ugandan society. But because of the politics some did not fully acquire the naturalization of Uganda. This raised their political consciousness to fight their way back. As a result, the international implications of a failed naturalization culminated into genocide, and the generation of more refugees into the entire Great Lakes Region.

### **3.6 Attempts to acquire the Ugandan Citizenship**

Most of the post – 1959 Rwandese entrants into Uganda attempted to acquire the Uganda citizenship through formal procedures but they failed. In Ntungamo district, the respondents suggested a number of reasons of why their local leaders could not officially forward them to acquire the citizenship rights of the Uganda Government. For example.

- a) Committing atrocities on Uganda during the Amini's regime. Most Banyarwanda had been recruited into the State- Research Bureau to spynet for Amin.
- b) Exterminating the life of Innocent and prominent traders in Uganda out of business, malice and jealousy.
- c) Grabbing land in pain from the Uganda citizens especially in Amin's time.

- d) Perpetrating cattle thefts and killing of the owners of the cattle especially after the general elections of 1980.
- e) Collaborating with Amins forces against liberation forces (UNLF) in 1979. This was because they had feared of Obote's return into Uganda. Towards the over throw of Obote (1) 1971 he had planned to carry out a census of Banyarwanda and later expel them back to Rwanda.
- f) Campaigning, registering and voting in 1980 elections and yet they were not citizens. Most of them voted on the side of DP as Catholics while others voted for UPM that was lead by Y.K. Museveni.
- g) Supporting the rebel group against the Government of Obote II from 1981- 1985 all worked to deny the Banyarwanda a chance to be offered the citizenship of Uganda. They were only maintained in the status of naturalized group standing all risks of being thrown out of the country.

In Ntungamo District, data collected respondents confirm to have tried to get the citizenship rights of Uganda but with a minimal success. This can be shown by the table below.

**TABLE 03:**

**PERCENTAGE OF BANYARWANDA WHO TRIED TO ACQUIRE UGANDAN CITIZENSHIP**

TRIED	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	66	82%
No	14	18%
Total	80	100

**Source: Field Data**

A total of 82% of the Rwanda refugees have ever tried to apply for acquiring the Uganda citizenship. If it was not possible for Rwanda refugee to become citizens, they would not have tried to apply for acquiring the Uganda citizenship. So we reject the first hypothesis that it was not possible for Rwanda refugees to become citizens.

In a Focus Group Discussion in Ngoma Sub County chaired by Kazinda John a former refugee. It was observed that when NRM won the civil war of 1981-85, many more among the Banyarwanda refugees were recruited into the army and security services.

They held very high posts in the security and other arms of NRM government in the 1986-90 periods. They became exposed to economic advantages and become a wealthy group. They resulted into the resettlement of their status. In all these developments, the Rwandese (Batutsi) refugees never lost their identity and organizations.

They always nursed ambitions, to go back home as the Uganda population was increasingly becoming skeptical about their strong influence in the NRM Government. This situation was aggravated by the fact that, even Y. K. Museveni has gone against his ten (10) years promise on a resident Munyarwanda to become a true citizen of Uganda.

According to one respondent Nzabona Nicholas, Veteran in Ntungamo Town Board, he remarked that:

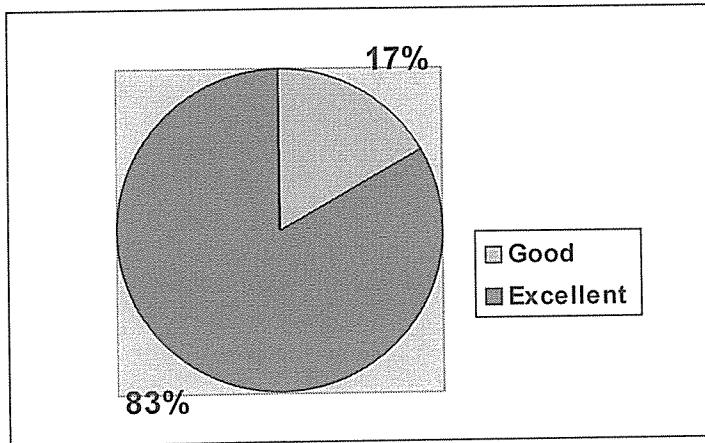
The government intended to make a clear policy on the problem of the Banyarwanda refugee status and the intention was to give them land as a family unit and assimilate them into the local population (Interview at Ntungamo town 20<sup>th</sup> April 2004).

This respondent did not see it as a major problem and said that the refugees would not have feared the government's intentions. This affected relations between the two countries because there were very many Rwandese who were ready to leave because of political problems and come to stay in Uganda. Rwanda wanted Uganda to adopt these Banyarwanda as their citizens which UPC Government could not do.

According to most respondents in this April 2004 study, most Banyarwanda feel they should stay in Uganda permanently as is illustrated by the pie chart below:

## PIE CHART: 02

### THE RESPONSE OF BANYARWANDA TOWARDS ACQUISITION OF UGANDA CITIZENSHIP



Source: Feild Data

These estimates can be interpreted by the fact that the NRM Government has given a political comfort to all those Banyarwanda refugees who failed to repatriate to Rwanda after the Genocide. The refugees were not happy to remain unrecognized as citizens of Uganda while the circumstances were quite favourable and the standards of living quite relatively good. The government in Rwanda would not persecute them if returned, but they were contented with their life in Uganda.

This is why 83% indicated it excellent to stay in Uganda while 17% considered it good. Within the group of 17% one respondent a former refugee at Kyamate observed that:

It is not a simple matter just rubbing out a refugee status and giving them citizenship, because anytime circumstances could change and we would be harassed again. I would not buy land outside the settlement. Even if we were made citizens, we would be marked.

You will not find any Banyarwanda refugees in high positions of the army, apart from those who have lived here early this century and cannot even speak our language. (Mahooro Deodant 22<sup>nd</sup> April 2004).

This idea is related to that of another respondent at Nyakyera Trading Centre who remarked that;

Some people are very ignorant and believe in segregation. If they want to say something they say, he is a Munyarwanda. The question of our citizenship is very complicated and not very popular ( Kiviri 27<sup>th</sup> April 2004).

Therefore much as the Banyarwanda are struggling for formal citizenship of Uganda, they are quite skeptical of their security as Governments change hands.

### **3.7 Evidence of attempts to integrate Banyarwanda refugees in Ntungamo district:**

The idea of integration is a step towards acquisition of the citizenship to Banyarwanda. The local leaders of Ntungamo District have on many occasions tried to integrate the Banyarwanda refugees. They could not make them qualify as true citizens of Ntungamo District due to the Government standing policy in provision of citizenship rights to the foreigners. While conducting this field study majority of the respondents admitted to having witnessed attempts by the local leaders of Ntungamo District to integrate them among the Ugandans.

This can be illustrated by the figure below:-

**Table 04**

**INTEGRATION OF BANYARWANDA IN NTUNGAMO DISTRICT**

Valid	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	80	100
No	0	0
Total	80	100

**Source: Field Data.**

Hundred Percent (100%) of the respondents agreed that the District Senior officials and local council leaders attempted to integrate them in the local communities. This is proof to support the second hypothesis that Rwanda refugees can live peacefully under a refugee status in Uganda at the same time; it rejects the first hypothesis which states that it was not possible for Rwanda refugees to become citizens of Uganda. Once the integration step has been taken then they would wait for constitutional approval to be full citizen of Uganda.

Between 1959-2002 different Governments have reacted towards the integration of Banyarwanda at different levels, for example; in the Obote I Government the levels of integration were quite low because they had considered this refugee case as temporary. Amin's Government tried its best to integrate the Banyarwanda due to the friendly relationship Amin had developed with Banyarwanda as well as the President J. Habyarimana of Rwanda for example; Amin's

Government gave jobs to the refugees, educated them and tried to integrate them into the Ugandan Society.

The conditions created by Idi Amin encouraged many refugees to leave the settlement camps and live as ordinary citizens of Uganda. The post 1979 UNLF Government could not integrate the Banyarwanda who had been in support of Idi Amin's government. Likewise the 1980–85 Obote II Government was against the idea of Banyarwanda integration in Uganda because of the reasons already stated.

Never the less it's important to note that there were sections of people in UPC Government who wanted the refugee to be repatriated back to Rwanda. But they too would have liked to see the Rwandan Government facilitating voluntary repatriation. On the other hand there was another group of Rwanda refugees which wanted to be integrated.

It has been observed that when the NRM won the civil war of 1981-85, many more of the Banyarwanda refugees were recruited into the army and security services. They held very high posts in security and other arms of NRM Government in the 1986- 1990 period. They exploited economic advantages and became a wealthy group.

They were a very significant and a powerful group within Uganda's post 1986 government resulting into the resettlement of their status. In all these developments, the Rwandese (Batutsi) refugees never lost their identity and organization. They always nursed ambitions to go back

home as the local population was increasingly becoming skeptical about their strong influence in the NRM Government.

### **3.8 Conclusion.**

In conclusion therefore, the collected data largely concurs with the hypothesis that Banyarwanda refugees can live peacefully in Ntungamo District under refugee status for as long they want without any formal citizenship rights.

The data collected also largely rejects the first hypothesis that it is not possible for Rwanda refugee to become Uganda citizens.

This is true because although they were not offered formal citizenship rights, most of them were firmly integrated while others were turned to naturalized citizens although this comfort varied from one regime to another since the independence time.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **BANYARWANDA REFUGEES EXPERIENCE AND CHALLENGES IN NTUNGAMO DISTRICT**

#### **4.0 Introduction**

This chapter explores the challenges and problems experienced by Banyarwanda Refugees in Ntungamo District in period 1959-2002. It is based on information from respondents in Ntungamo District. It is also drawn from documents that show that there were a number of attempts in which Banyarwanda refugees tried to acquire citizenship in Uganda in line with an accepted international policy. This experience is analyzed in the historical framework of the relations between Uganda and Rwanda from 1959-2002 and political events in Uganda during that period.

The prospects of the Rwanda refugees to acquire Ugandan citizenship were dependant on the ruling Government. Therefore different regimes created different levels of Banyarwanda integration in Uganda. In an interview with Kamuhanda, the chairman of LCIII Rwekiniro sub-county in Ntungamo District, a naturalized Munyarwanda in Uganda, had this to say:

Banyarwanda were harassed by Obote I, favoured by Amin, mistreated by UNLF and Obote II Governments but are now supported by NRM Government of Y.K Museveni. When he goes, Banyarwanda will possibly be persecuted again (Chairman LC III April 2004).

With regard to this, most of the respondents who were interviewed by the researcher preferred to maintain their current status of informally naturalized refugees in Ntungamo District.

**TABLE 05: THE 2004 GENERAL FEELING OF THE BANYARWANDA REFUGEES STAYS IN NTUNGAMO DISTRICT**

Indication	Frequency	Percentage
Comfortable	70	88%
Not comfortable	10	12%
Total	80	100

**Source:** Field Data.

Almost 90% of the respondents enjoyed staying in Ntungamo District permanently. They have forgotten the mistreatment of 1982-83 because of the current political leadership in Uganda which has favoured them. Compared to the Obote II government, they have been fairly integrated.

Therefore the hypothesis that Rwandan refugees can live peacefully under the refugee status in Ntungamo District for as long as they want is accepted. That is if the Ugandan governments can permanently favour them.

According to Catherine Watson (1991:9), after the incident of 1982-83, it became difficult to find a refugee who admits to wanting a Ugandan citizenship. Most emphasized that they would still feel insecure. On a similar note, one refugee at Oruchinga camp, he said; "Even if I was turned into a citizen under this Government I might not be under the next one..." (Ngabikire Charles 30th April 2004).

At this time, many Banyarwanda in Uganda longed to go back to Rwanda for nationality identity. The trials of life in Uganda had caused many refugees to romanticize Rwanda, a country

known little about as one young male refugee who lamented;” If I could go there, I would build a large house, here we are living in a small one ...” (Watson 1991:7).

The comfort which the respondents of this research have today in Uganda makes them forget such scaring life of 1982-83 Obote II’s government.

#### **4.1 Means of livelihood.**

According to data collected in April 2004 in Ntungamo District, many Banyarwanda former refugees were peasants involved in cattle keeping and crop growing.

Some other respondents were carrying out business on a small scale-retail businesses. Most aged men 50-70years admitted to be surviving on income from their sons and daughters who were well educated and employed in Uganda Government and abroad especially in France and Belgium.

Otherwise the former Banyarwanda refugees confirm to have had challenges of getting posts in local administration e.g. local council elections. Banyarwanda refugees tried had to win elections in Ntungamo District in case of being nominated with a Ugandan. They have been sidelined as refugees in all corners of life. Their land ownership in Ntungamo District is questioned.

Most respondents were in the age bracket of 22 –58. These were both male and female. Some study period and collection of data was conducted partly in the days of Easter weekend in April 2004. This enabled the researcher to get the working group that is always on business journeys.

They were always persecuted despite of fair intergration .Forexample they were not protected against torture,cruelty,inhuman,degrading,punishment, treatment ,lacked freedom from slaverly,right to recognition as a person in law and freedom of thought ,conscience and religion.It was this persecution that led to their organization of RPF that invaded and occupied Rwanda in 1994(Muggah 2006:109).

#### **4.2 Migrant and refugee respondents:**

The data collected revealed that some respondents were once refugees while others have never been refugees but they were Banyarwanda. These were also interviewed as they provided vital information of the study.

**TABLE 06**

**SHOWING THE REFUGEE STATUS OF THE RESPONDENTS:**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Migrant	14	17%
Refugees	66	83%
Total	80	100%

**Source : Field Data**

Ntungamo District had a composition of different sets of Banyarwanda. Some belonged to Mpororo group, others came in fleeing the Belgium harsh rule, others came in migrant labourers, and these have never been refugees this group comprised of 17% of the respondents while those who settled in Ntungamo District following the 1959 –1964 refugee's influxes constituted 83%. When others were taken to the settlement camps in the present Mbarara District some had settled in Ntungamo District among the fellow indigenous Banyarwanda

Many Rwanda refugees left the camps and came to stay with ethnic groups because of reasons like:

- I. Need for expanded pasture land. Most Batusti refugees were pastoralists and land in settlement camps was limited.
- II. Epidemic diseases in newly remote refugee established camps in Mbarara district and Toro was another factor. The common diseases included malaria and sleeping sickness.
- III. The conflicts in the refugee settlement camps between Batusti themselves in competition for resources and also misunderstandings with their camp leaders also lead to their shift to Ntungamo district.
- IV. Desire to have secondary Education outside the settlement camps. Much as UNHCR provided primary and secondary education within settlement camps, still refugees preferred to join Ugandan system of education outside the camps.
- V. Some refugees were business people and therefore to expand their businesses for better profits they had to integrate themselves with ethnic groups in Ntungamo district.

According to information the researcher got from the archives of Uganda's foreign affairs ministry, it was observed that Rwandese refugees in the post 1959 period estimated between 40 – 70% were of Batusti ethnic group who fled Rwanda between 1959 –1964. These form 83% of the respondents of this survey.

#### **4.3        Period of migration**

According to the respondents' information, the Banyarwanda in Uganda arrived at different times. Some were the indigenous Banyarwanda included in the boarders of Uganda during the 1911 and 1926 colonial boundary demarcations.



Another group came after 1926 and these were fleeing from the Belgium harsh rule. Most of this group included the Bahutu who survived by offering manual labour in Ankole and Buganda. Today most of their descendants are scattered in central Uganda—in the Luweero District.

Respondents argued that; the Tutsi were not among the fleeing migrant labourers because they were initially favoured by the Belgium colonialists at home. Most of them worked as colonial cadres and local chiefs in Belgium colonial government.

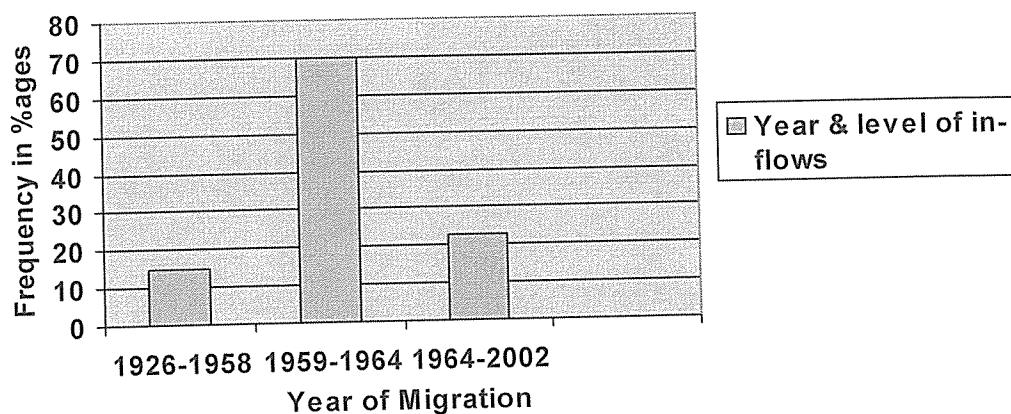
The political revolution of 1959 and the crisis of 1963/3 also made many others to come to Uganda for asylum. This formed the largest group of the researcher's respondents estimated at 65%. These were mainly the Tutsi whom the Hutu had toppled in the 1959 political revolution.

In 1973 the Government of Kayibanda a moderate Hutu who had ruled Rwanda since 1959, lost the leadership to another group of Hutu led by Colonel J. Habyarimana a hardliner Hutu. The 1973 political crisis in Rwanda also generated more refugees to Uganda.

The last major group of Rwanda refugees came in 1990 –1994 running away from the Batutsi dominated Government after the genocide. Most of these were Bahutu “Interahamwe militias” and other innocent Bahutus who had participated in the Rwanda genocide. They first settled in Tanzania and Congo later began to shift to Uganda and today most of them are residing in traditional refugee settlement camps of western Uganda. Others have integrated in Uganda communities as farmers and traders. Their educational background in Rwanda has not allowed them to get professional jobs in Uganda

Between 1926 –58, Banyarwanda influx was a small component comprising of only seventeen percent (17%) because these movements were voluntary and optional. Although there was Belgium mistreatment of labourers but they had some political stability unlike the 1959 –64 and 1964 –2002 period that contained violent ethnic political revolutions. This trend is reflected in the graph below.

**GRAPH 01  
BANYARWANDA MOVEMENTS INTO UGANDA, 1926-2002**



Source: Prunnier 1995.

#### 4.4. The transportation method

Most respondents revealed that they came to Uganda by foot. This group comprised 83% of the respondents while a few, 17%, came by road. These were only transport systems used by all groups of Banyarwanda in Uganda and Ntungamo District in particular.

The 1959 political revolution and 1990 –94 genocide war were too scaring to make these refugees plan to use any other better form of transport. Foot transport was the option for the

majority and that is why after crossing the boarder, many had to stop in Ntungamo District and try to integrate themselves among the Ugandans.

More to this the majority of Banyarwanda were cattle keepers. Some had to risk and come with their animals. Foot transport was appropriate since these fleeing Rwandese could not hire lorries to load their animals to Uganda.

#### **4.5 The response of Ntungamo people towards refugees:**

Uganda had open policy in the laws regulating the entry and settlement of foreigners, the Banyarwanda refugees were accorded a positive response in 1960s which attracted many mistreated Bahutu and Batutsi ethnicities that kept fleeing to Uganda until 2002.

**TABLE 07**

**RESPONSE OF NTUNGAMO ETHNIC GROUPS TOWARDS REFUGEES**

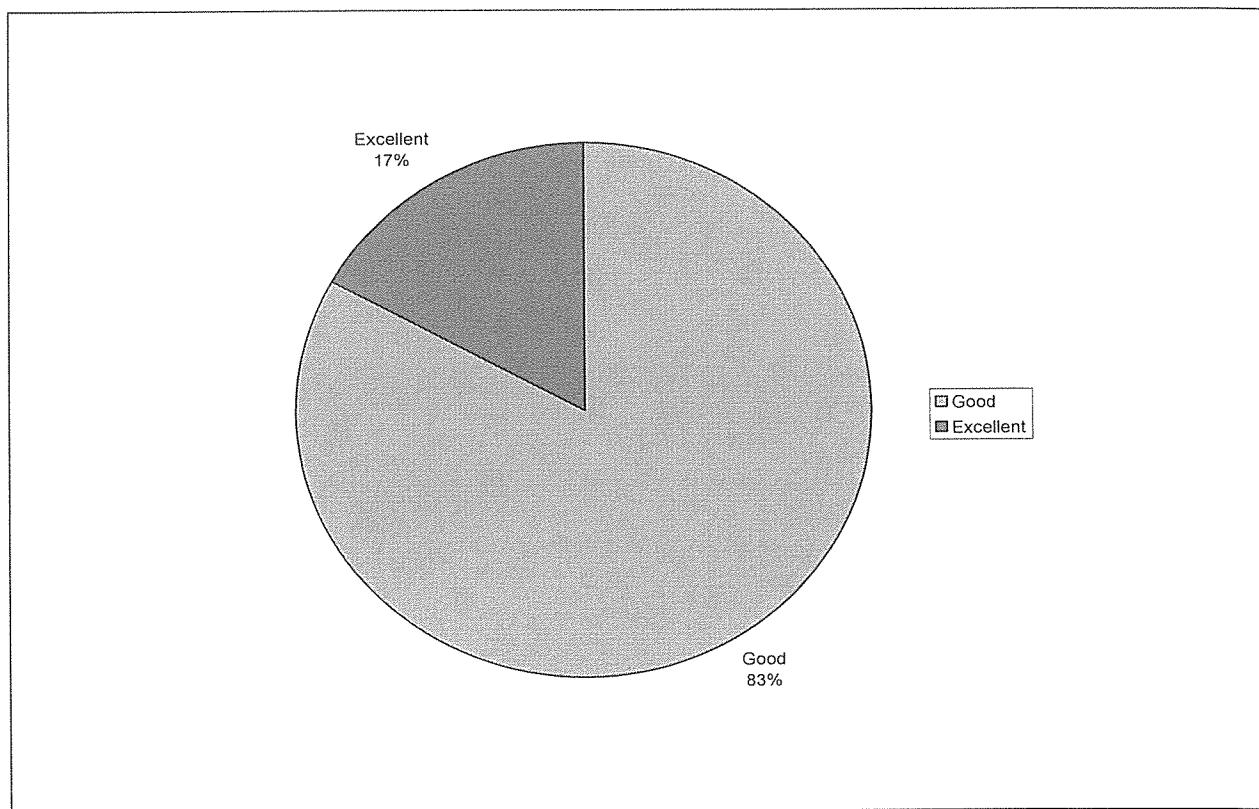
<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Good	66	83%
Excellent	14	17%
Total	80	100%

**Source: Field Data.**

The Eight Three Percent (83%) of the respondents acknowledged that the response of Ugandans was good to them at the time they arrived. This is another proof to adopt the hypothesis that the Rwanda refugees can live peacefully under the refugee status in Uganda.

This can further be illustrated by the pie chart below:

**PIE CHART 02 UGANDAN CITIZENS RESPONSE TOWARDS RWANDA REFUGEES:**



**Source: Field Data**

The Ugandan response towards the advent of refugees in the country was positive to a large measure.

However in the Obote II regime (1981-85) the response towards Banyarwanda in Uganda was poor because Obote hated them for three reasons mainly:

- (a) In 1971 they supported Idi Amin when he took over power from him (Karugire 1980).
- (b) In 1980 General elections, Banyarwanda had supported UPM (Uganda Patriotic Movement) a party led by Y.K Museveni..
- (c) After 1981, a rebel group based in Luweero triangle led by Y.K Museveni terrorized the country and Banyarwanda were considered to be supporters ( Mutibwa 1992).

After 1986 in Museveni's government the situation turned positive again to Banyarwanda refugees. Having supported him in the National Resistance war, they gained special positions after 1986 in the NRM Government of Uganda. The 1990 Rwanda Patriotic Front (R.P.F) invasion of Rwanda had a great support from the NRA (National Resistance Army), than other states of Great Lakes Region (Mamdan 1995).

This was a price paid to them for having supported Y.K Museveni in the National Resistance war. This repatriated most educated Banyarwanda who occupied big posts in the Uganda Government especially in the army and state house.

The refugee integrated Banyarwanda control a proportion of the Ntungamo wealth e.g. herds of cattle, they own acres of land, they intermarry with the Banyankole in the area, they pay taxes to the government of Uganda among others.

According to the respondent Mr. Katirimba Bright aged 55 of Ngoma sub county in Ntungamo District, in Obote I's government (1962-66-1971) there were no serious attempts made to

naturalize the Rwandese refugees in South West Uganda because they had taken their case lightly as a temporary problem. They only attempted to settle them down hoping that soon the situation in Rwanda may normalize and they go back home.

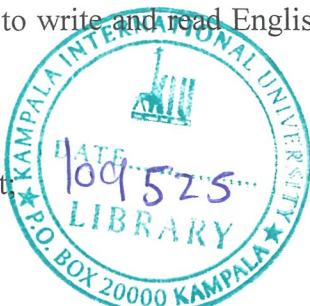
In the Government of President Idi Amin Dada, relations between Uganda and Rwanda were quite good. The data collected in this study through a Focus Group Discussion, advance a number of reasons why there was improved relations between the Government of J. Habyarimana and Colonel Idi Amin.

- (i) Both were self-proclaimed life Presidents for the nearby two Great Lakes states.
- (ii) They had become presidents almost at the same time of early 1970s and needed to protect one another.

This made Idi Amin to integrate the Banyarwanda refugees into the Ugandan society which made them drop their plans of destabilizing Rwanda a country headed by his friend. This attitude made them feel more hospitable in Uganda up to the end of Idi Amin's regime. Many of Banyarwanda had got jobs in investigation department of Idi Amin like the State Research Bureau.

By 1979, the UNHCR estimated 50,000 refugees within the settlements and 30,000 were working outside the settlements in the South West Uganda. Many Banyarwanda were encouraged to have education on UNHCR funds. After knowing how to write and read English some were allowed to get jobs in the government of Uganda.

In the words of Foster Nyakirama aged 62 a former refugee, he said that:



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The conditions created by Idi Amin regime encouraged quite a number of us to leave the refugee settlements and live as ordinary Ugandans. This was followed by the introduction of French in the media and the expansion of the French language in the secondary schools. This encouraged us to excel and got scholarships to study in European universities where French is taken as the main language of instruction (Ngoma 16th April 2004).

Similarly, in words of Chango Machyo a Presidential advisor in Uganda supported the above submission and noted that;

... the Amin's regime greatly recruited these refugees into the civil services and security service of Uganda. At the end of Amin's regime in 1979 they were part of the state and the social life of the country through inter-marriages and living within the Ugandan population ( Mutibwa 1992).

The UNLF and Obote I Government served to delay this naturalization process of Banyarwanda refugees encouraged by the Government of Idi Amin. Obote's government mistreated the Banyarwanda and this was climaxed in their expulsion of 1982 –83. Although they came back later after two years, but they lost a great deal of assets and properties. For example, the UNLF records estimated the eviction of about 40,000 people with a right to claim Ugandan citizenship and 31,000 people registered with the UNHCR as refugees. This caused a lot of problems.

Africa by far registers the highest incidence and severity of refugee and Internally Displaced Peoples(I D P) millitarisation in the world.This is common in east,central and west Africa where political instabilities and civil wars are very rampant(Muggah 2006).

The 1986 Museveni's Government worked to end the problem of refugees in Uganda by formation of Amnesty council,a body that attracted Uganda nationals from Sudan, Congo and all

corners of the world. Meanwhile talks for repatriation of Banyarwanda refugees began in Arusha between Y. K Museveni and J. Habyarimana with other delegates from the Great Lakes Region. Before RPF would invade and capture Rwanda Hutu dominated government.

Nevertheless, the naturalization process of Banyarwanda refugees was faster than before as some Banyarwanda refugees were given community responsibilities in the Local Council System of Ntungamo District. Having supported president Museveni in the National Resistance war, after 1986 there were no more noted harassment cases of Banyarwanda refugees until 1994 when the law of Banyarwanda repatriation was passed. Still this remained voluntary since there was no Munyarwanda refugee harassed for not returning to Rwanda.

The Rwanda Government view on the refugees was very different. According to the Daily Nation (1986) reporting what the Rwandese ambassador had said at the OAU summit: ‘The Government view is that Rwanda was not in the position to offer voluntary repatriation to any refugees who needed to live on their land’ (Daily Nation 04<sup>th</sup>, June, 1986).

The Rwanda Government could not confess to the world that some political reasons preventing it from receiving Batutsi refugees back home. Rwanda hoped that Uganda would follow the example of Tanzania and recognize all Rwanda refugees as citizens.

In 1986 a conference was held on Africa’s refugee crisis by CIMADE, INODEP and MINK and a Rwandan refugee gave a paper titled “What does Sanctuary mean in Africa?” He said that

naturalization that took place in Tanzania was partly in exchange for Rwanda's financial participation in the construction of a hydroelectric plant in Tanzania and negotiations took place without consulting the refugees concerned. Thus he said:" They have been sold in Africa, already been naturalized in Uganda. Are we to be pushed out today and driven to despair?" (CIMADE Report 1986).

He concludes that:

More and numerous are the Rwandese who seek repatriation. Less wish to settle and integrate in Uganda. In ethnic clashes refugees have the most to loose. Refugees play scapegoats in troubles and this hostility is sometimes extended to expulsion (CIMADE Report 1986).

This is an indication that Banyarwanda were not certain of permanent stability in Uganda and they much wished to go back. Its this nationality desire that resulted into the 1990 –94 ethnic genocide due to forced repatriation.

#### **4.6 Nationality:**

In an interview with Jimmy Kazoora (38) a councilor in Ntungamo District, and a former refugee, the issue of nationality was identified to have caused complications in the politics of both Rwanda and Uganda. He Observed that;

Much as some refugees were integrated into the Ugandan society, they still maintained their desire to be Rwandese nationals hence making them to be with the leg in Uganda and another in Rwanda. This has caused complications in relations between the two states. For instance, when an important event is taking place in one of the two states like elections, census or anniversary like in April 10<sup>th</sup> 2004 when Rwanda was celebrating ten years of RPF rule in Rwanda and remembering the genocide victims, many Banyarwanda from Ntungamo had crossed to Rwanda to attend the function (Kazoora16th April 2004).

This would be termed as dual citizenship in case Banyarwanda were fully recognized as citizens of this country.

To qualify as a refugee ,then the stateless person must stand in a relationship to the state which is broadly comparable to the relationship between a citizen and her country of nationality.Because of the notion of a former habitual residence ,its intended to establish a point of reference for stateless refugee claimants that is functional equivalent of a country of nationality.It implies some degree of formal responsibility for protection of putative refugee(Muggah 2006:61)

#### **4.7 Employment**

Another factor that frustrated the naturalization of Rwandese refugees was employment. The researcher found out that Banyarwanda refugees were however partially integrated in the employment sector of Uganda as far back as 1970 by Idi Amin. Idi Amin is believed to have done it for selfish interests i.e. to appease them and settle in Uganda to deter them from destabilising the Habyarimana Government who was a friend to Amin. Well educated refugees got access to good jobs in order to get wealth. Later these wealthy refugees used it to support an armed struggle against the Habyarimana Government between 1990-94.

With the fall of Idi Amin regime however, the situation became different as some of the respondents argued that for a long time, the policy in Uganda was to deny them employment but since the prospects for returning to Rwanda were not clear at the time, seeking employment became a necessary option. This remained a destabilising factor as naturalization became a problem after Idi Amin.

After 1979, the only opportunities that were open to the Rwandese were in the rural agricultural sector, where the pay was extremely low. Employing a Rwandese refugee in the public sector in Uganda in the 1960 and the 1980 decades was almost a crime. The best option was to disguise as Ugandans. As a result the offspring's of the respondents drifted into the lowest ranks of employment in Uganda.

Indeed, the 1960 decade was bad for them and many left employment in offices for subsistence agriculture in the rural areas. This is why the Catholic Church allowed many Banayarwanda to live on Catholic land in Buganda on humanitarian grounds.

The offspring's of the refugees tried to break into the labour market after 1986 when the NRM captured power. The NRM has its high ranks the refugees and because of its Pan African ideological stand, the Banyarwanda felt a relief of discrimination. They had some successes, but were unable to shake off the stigma of not being citizens. Many were able to get jobs in both the private and the public sectors.

Their workmates and employers were however always conscious of the factor that they were non- citizens. Their status as refugees, made them insecure in the jobs and the army. Their training was affected, army internal secrets were hidden from them which further affected their deployment for operation.

In other words employment did not help them to acquire complete naturalization in Uganda. This made their consciousness to return to Rwanda increase day by day.

This indicates how these Banyarwanda still feel that their nationality is Rwanda. Even if one has become a naturalized Ugandan, this double-standard attitude cannot allow the Uganda Government to give him/her a big Government responsibility in case where there are other Ugandan true citizens who can do the work efficiently. This has greatly denied them citizenship of Uganda and has greatly affected their naturalization process. Rwanda Government has always accused Uganda of meddling in its internal affairs. In the period for elections in Rwanda, all the boarder avenues from Uganda has to be closed to control malpractice by former refugees who always run back to their mother country Rwanda.

#### **4.8 Problems faced by Banyarwanda in Ntungamo District**

According to most respondents, Banyarwanda have problems in Ntungamo District of feeling that they are aliens. The political liberty, in Museveni's government has almost made them forget their problems under the 1980- 1985 Obote II regime. The figure below illustrates the current comfort enjoyed by the Banyarwanda in Ntungamo District.

**TABLE 08**

**THE LEVEL OF BANYARWANDA FACING PROBLEMS IN NTUNGAMO DISTRICT**

PROBLEMS	Frequency	Percentage
YES	14	17%
NO	66	83%
TOTAL	80	100%

### **Source: Field Data**

According to the table above, 83% of the respondents don't have problems in Uganda and Ntungamo District in particular. This proves the hypothesis that Rwanda refugees can live peacefully under the refugee status in Uganda (under N.R.M government) for as long as they want. Despite of this current comfort, Banyarwanda refugees in Uganda have had problems since 1960s. For example the attempts by the "Inyenzi" "army to restore the Batutsi government in Rwanda through the armed struggles in 1967 –1970 period.

This greatly affected relations between Uganda and Rwanda. The refugees become a security threat, to Uganda. They began mobilizing to go back home and Uganda as host country to the refugees was looked at by Rwanda as a hostile country supporting submissive elements against it. This scared the Obote I Government and it planned a forced repatriation of these refugees. In 1969, Obote carried out their census but lost his Government in 1971 before he could implement his plans.

It was revealed during this study that, the 1969 census was the starting point of the modern political organization of the refugees basing in Uganda to make a forceful return to Rwanda. The refugees have no alternative but to find ways and means to go back home. They had to find means in which they did to get a homeland.

Obote's Government has demonstrated how Uganda was not willing and that it was unreliable to expect it to naturalize these refugees as Ugandans. This consequently brought problems to the

two countries of Rwanda and Uganda, as there was a sensitive issue to tackle collectively. Throughout Amin's regime, Banyarwanda, were comfortable in Uganda. They had supported Idi Amin when he was in power and therefore, there was positive cooperation between the Banyarwanda refugees and Amin's government.

However, with success of 1979 liberation war, a new era characterized with lack of peace invaded the Banyarwanda refugees in Uganda. For example they were evicted in 1979-83 from the lands which they had acquired outside the settlements. This had a multiplier effect on the relations between the two countries. According to documents in the country office of the UNHCR, it was observed that;

The eviction and displacement of a large number of Banyarwanda including some 40,000 people who claimed Ugandan citizenship and 31,000 people registered with UNHCR as refugees caused a problem on the international scene.

(UNHCR report 1984)

It further points out that, it was not an Internal Affair to Uganda but an interstate affair between different countries. Unlike the expelled Asians from Uganda in 1972, Rwanda refugees did not go to Europe. They were all confined in nearby areas of East Africa since Habyarimana had refused them right of return to Rwanda. The reasons for their eviction were complex and were both political and economic. The economic reasons were related to land, the larger areas which the Banyarwanda pastoralists grazed their cattle, both within and beyond the limits of the settlement aroused envy of the growing population of Ankole. Rwanda refugee's wealth was also a cause of hatred and the ultimate denial of citizenship rights in Uganda.

In Ngoma sub county, one elderly local resident remarked in a Focus Group Discussion that; “when the Banyarwanda were forced out, the land was quickly taken by the Banyarwanda, who also enriched themselves by seizing cattle and other possessions of the Banyarwanda” (Focus Group Discussion 25th April 2004)

This shows how envy and malice from Ugandans created a big problem to the Banyarwanda refugees. The political conflict between the Uganda Government and the refugees is further illustrated by an elderly catholic priest at Kibeho Nora Nungyaki who made the following observation.

First Banyarwanda were mostly catholic and the opposition Democratic Party (DP) was identified with the Catholics. They first came under suspicion for this collaboration in 1969. The elections that returned the UPC and Obote into power in December 1980 were characterized by malpractices and Obote’s new Government turned on the DP and other opposition groups as early as 1981. By this time the Banyarwanda were double suspects, because they were threatened by Obote during his first term of office ( Nungyaki 24th April 2004)

Banyarwanda refugees were further accused to have supported Amin’s coup of 1971. As a result they were branded as enemies of the New Government. Secondly, the Banyarwanda refugees were evicted, those in Ankole, the home of Museveni, leader of the major section of the armed resistance to Obote during his second Presidency because the Banyarwanda and the Batutsi resemble Museveni’s sub-ethnic group of Bahima in Ankole. They were all taken as rebels fighting Obote’s Government.

The UPC Government was taking action to take all Banyarwanda refugees back into the settlements. By this time, Obote was out of the country but eventually, he issued a statement on 29<sup>th</sup> October, 1984 apparently designed to address the international concern.

I want to assure the chairman, councilors, Uganda and the rest of the world that there was no Government approval, scheme or decision for persons of Rwandese origin to be uprooted from amidst the Uganda population. I also urge the country as well as the world, that the Government of Uganda ..... will not pursue such a policy (Speech by H. E Obote 1984).

But no practical steps were taken to reverse the actions of the UPC functionaries. The deployment of the Special Force Unit of the army confirmed the evictions had the approval of the Presidents' office. A week after the President's settlement, the chairman of Mbarara District Councilors, County and sub-county Chiefs. He told his audience that:

I summoned you to inform you that the battle to collect and return the Rwanda refugees to their places is over and to thank you for the work you have done. What remains now is to scrutinize refugees that might have stayed behind and raid villages of the fellow refugees ... I am glad to tell you that our exercise was performed perfectly well even if there were sporadic incidents which did not please us e.g. our two youths and one policeman were killed. This is not negligible. The good thing is that we won the battle through blood of our friends (Ugandan Times 18<sup>th</sup> June 1995).

These are kind of tense problems the Banyarwanda went through in Obote II regime. These ups and downs forced most Banyarwanda to join Y. K. Museveni in the Bush war waged in the Luwero Triangle Central Region of Uganda.

This determination provided background for the present Batutsi stability and settlement in their home country- Rwanda.

#### **4.9 Conclusion**

Different governments in Uganda since 1960 have treated the Banyarwanda differently. But it was NRM (National Resistance Movement) among others that greatly favoured Banyarwanda. This can be evidenced by 1990-94 support NRM offered in a forced return of Banyarwanda to Rwanda.

# **CHAPTER FIVE**

## **5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1 Introduction**

These chapter summaries what had been mentioned from chapter 1 to chapter 4. This chapter offers significant lessons that are in this dissertation. It offers conclusions and recommendations of what to be done in order to address the refugee citizenship crisis that is escalating year after year in countries of the world especially in Africa.

### **5.2 Conclusion**

In essence, the Banyarwanda citizenship crisis in Uganda was aggravated by the two countries (the host and the recipient). It stemmed from the unwillingness of Uganda government to accord the refugees full rights as citizens of Uganda while the Rwanda government denied them the right of return. They were caught between two denials; which made the refugee community generate a destructive R.P.F militant movement that resulted into 1990-94 genocide.

Largely the problem of ethnic emerging from the egoistic needs among the politicians was proved common in most countries. Such countries have no systematic procedure of changing leadership. A case of 1959-64 Rwanda political revolution and that of 1990-94 has generated a lot of refugees in the Great Lakes region, the case of Jews and Palestinians in the Middle East, the case of Asian scattered in the Diaspora subjected to discrimination as non-citizens, the Banyarwanda in Eastern Congo who began flocking the area as early as 1880s today they are still subjected to the citizenship questions etc.

A great deal of citizenship crisis in the world will keep on increasing if the international community does not take stern measures to prevent politicians from fighting anyhow. Take a recent case of Middle East when President George Bush of U.S.A unilaterally attacked Iraq on pretext that President Saddam Hussein had industries for chemical weapons and yet Iraq is not a

super power. This has caused immeasurable losses; henchmen of Sadam Hussein are now refugee subjected to citizenship questions in many countries of their asylum.

The problem refugee faces vary according to different countries of asylum as states hold differed policies on refugee status. Similarly, different regimes come with different responses towards refugees from a certain country for example Somali refugee jumped Kenya and Sudan came to a third country Uganda.

Banyarwanda refugees in Tanzania were offered citizenship rights but not in Uganda. More to this the Banyarwanda refugees in Uganda were greatly integrated into the Ugandan communities in Iddi Amin regime than that of UNLF and Obote 11. Refugees in the Diaspora are exposed to related sort of harassment once they have not been incorporated as citizens. For example they are segregated by ordinary citizens, the government in power denies them equal economic opportunities, those outside the settlement camps, they are allocated the barren lands for farming etc.

The case of 1990-94 R.P.F Invasion of Rwanda was greatly caused by denial of citizenship in their countries of asylum and yet they were contributing greatly in the economic development of such states. As one scholar commented. "Taxation without representation is the great pain faced by the non-citizens on the globe" (Blair 2000)

Thus the international community should reduce the requirements for one to become a citizen of another country. This would check the rate of such enforced repatriation movements and their bad effects in countries of the world.

Many people assume that when one becomes a refugee, he stops to think rationally. Loss of freedom and human rights cannot be permanent and forever. This can be disapproved by the present government leaders of Rwanda most of them were Batutsi refugees in Uganda since childhood. Search for their nationality made them to have enough education first, before they could liberate their home country from Bahutu dominated government.

Every person has freedom to live conducively. This is why African and International refugee law emphasizes naturalization settlement or the integration of refugees when the quick means of repatriation fails. Even the countries of origin should encourage refugees to come back home for example most scholars agree with the view that if president J. Habyarimana of Rwanda had attracted the Batutsi refugees back home earlier, possibly he would still be alive and Rwanda Genocide of 1990-94 would have been skipped.

It's because of such lessons that his successor president Kagame is trying his level best to attract all Bahutu refugees of 1990-94 genocide war including "the Interahamwe militias" back home to deny them a chance of organizing rebel insurrections against Rwanda in their countries of asylum.

Further more, a person can hide his origin, his status and his language but cannot hide his identity. When a person considers face labels, social execution of the daily duties, racial debates in a community discussion and physical outlook, can sense one's identity.

Their identities led to their discrimination and this forced them to struggle and regain their nationality of Rwanda. Ugandan Citizens could easily identify Banyarwanda refugees.

The denial of human rights does not make one lose his identity otherwise the Banyarwanda in the Great lakes region would not have succeeded in building up a great force that successfully invaded Rwanda in 1990-94. This denial instead encouraged them to fight hard and regain their nationality.

The Banyarwanda citizenship question resulted into loss of many lives on their forced return to Rwanda in search of their nationality. For example, when RPA crossed the Uganda boarder into Rwanda, it lost its political innocence in more ways than one. The journalist who followed RPA like Catherine Watson an American living in Kampala, Charles Onyango Obbo and Gerald Prunnier commented that; "... there were hardly any people in the liberated areas. Only 2,500 – 5,000 remained in an area where a million of people had previously lived" [Watson 1991] Indeed some people had to be sacrificed for the establishment of Tutsi government in Rwanda in 1994.

Furthermore, the genocide has created a new type of state in Rwanda, a state marked by two convictions. First the post- Genocide state consider itself morally responsible for the safety and security of every living Batutsi, globally and not just in Rwanda. In this sense it is a diasporic state like Israel.

Secondly, this state believes that the precondition for Batutsi survival is Batutsi power. If the Batutsi loses power, they will also lose life or go back to exile as refugees. The painful circle of refugee out flows from Rwanda must be controlled. In this sense, the post genocide state is also a national security state like Israel of Middle East. Putting these lessons in practice indeed, Batutsi and Bahutu will continue to be reproduced as separate and antagonistic political identities in Rwanda. This makes a political and an armed peace agreement quite important between the two races in Rwanda and in Diaspora.

It can further be concluded that the Banyarwanda citizenship crisis in the Great Lakes region and the tension that characterizes post Genocide Rwanda resemble a Volcano more than anything else. When RPA crossed the Congo boarder in 1997 up to Kivu province in search of interahamwe the forward march was like that molten Lava which tends to destroy every living thing in its path.

R.P.A Seemed determined to extinguish all “the interahamwe Bahutu” in cross boarder camps. This study further sets the nucleous for the citizenship crisis of Banyarwanda in the Great lakes region. This crisis further is not about to entitle one to resources, but it entitles him to enter the struggle for resources. This is why Banyarwanda has been on crisis of cross boarder citizenship between Uganda and Rwanda.

Comparatively this can be related to United States children of slaves who are struggling to be recognized as Americans, African Americans. In the U. K children of immigrants from colonies, demand that they become recognized as black British nationals.

In South Africa the children of privileged immigrants / British (yesterdays colonizers) now recognizes that it black Africans who will be entitled to enter the struggle for resource and now

these whites and coloured too demand to be considered as African citizens. Democracy in this sense entailed the expansion of citizenship in all horst states.

Therefore, this study should help scholars to define who is indigenous or not. Who is a settler, how do the settler become natives and when? What should be the basis of rights in political community? How do we reform a state that is divided up? etc.

In short, steps for formal acquisition of citizenship must be followed after which the foreigner had to be good, charitable and a political. Otherwise a state citizen on the other hand remains a citizen whether he is a thief or rebel. He can only become a bad citizen but not a bloody foreigner.

Most research questions have proved the hypothesis right that Banyarwanda refugees can stay in Ntungamo District and Uganda in general for as long as they want. This is so because according to the majority respondents, their denial of citizenship has not deprived them the essential needs of life.

### **5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS:**

Given the history of ethnic violence in Rwanda, its unlikely that refugees will actually return without assurance as on their life security back home. Therefore, parties and institutions involved in power sharing in Rwanda, integration of returnees in the amnesty programmes, should be very clear to them first. For instance, the current situation of Bahutu militias in Eastern Congo forests.

Once the two combatant parties agree to ceasefire and the political frame work for the proceeding arrangements is reached on, a regional conference of governments involved should be convened including members of O.A.U, UNHCR and UNO. This is likely to lessen the intensity of Banyarwanda citizenship crisis in the Great Lakes Region.

Uganda government should re-visit its policy planning for forced repatriation of all Banyarwanda outside the refugee camps and those still in camps who came in Uganda around 1996. It's a human process that can easily get out of hand particularly in a situation where the application of citizenship definition in Uganda is not yet popular. While many Banyarwanda refugees have contributed significantly in the development of Uganda.

Rwanda should create avenues to receive her nationals scattered all over the Great Lakes region. However, the repatriation will increase already great pressure on Rwanda's national park the only remaining reserve land in the country. Despite of this land crisis, many refugees feel militarily entitled to parkland, often complaining that Rwanda government has treated animals more better than them.

**Note:** Never the less, any on this direction would be highly explosive, as many Banyarwanda not just refugees would want this land. Rwanda its neighbours, the OAU and the UN should establish satisfactorily resolution for 30 year Rwandese refugees that have caused citizenship crisis in the neighboring countries. Attaining the goal will necessarily require those refugees and their leaders in all countries form an integral part for peace discussion which would end citizenship crisis of Banyarwanda in the Great Lakes region.

The government of Rwanda should even proceed to implement the important reforms it has proposed which can attract all its nationals back home. It should appear impartial in its process of power transition arrangement where ethnics and viable political parties in Rwanda are catered for. This will attract its nationals involved in citizenship crisis all over the globe.

While many Banyarwanda refugees have contributed significantly to Uganda, most are now ordinary people seeking to survive, care for their families and develop themselves but not

minding on political dominion of Uganda,. The idea of fairness, political maturity and non secretarianism need to be considered especially on those stateless people who have stayed in Uganda for almost 30 years now. As article 15 of the universal declaration of human rights provides that;

“every one has the right to nationality. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his/her nationality.....” (Constitution of Uganda 1995) Therefore a realistic solution must fully be provided to account for the legitimacy of Banyarwanda citizenship scattered in Burundi, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Congo etc ”.

The historical imbalance between the Bahutu and Batutsi should be corrected, if this periodical refugee incursions and crisis is to be brought to the end. The historical formation of Bahutu and Batutsi in Rwanda is that, though speaking same language, the Bahutu and Batutsi were not of the same ethnic identities. Before and in colonial time, Bahutu was a subject identity,an identity of all subjugated to power in Rwanda. For example, all the forced labour in colonial Rwanda was reserved for Bahutu tribe, the Batutsi were left free. Numerically Bahutu are many than the Tutsi. This political imbalance should be corrected if a lasting solution is to be attained in the ethnic crisis of Rwanda.

The world leaders in particular, the leaders of Ntungamo district should appreciate that true multiculturalism is possible. The case of indigenous Ugandans who voted Jay Tana a Ugandan Asian to the sixth parliament as youth representative for eastern Uganda region shows that it is possible to iron out racial prejudices and that it is possible for races to become accommodative to one another.

Although he pulled out voluntarily later but Ugandans had trusted him with their votes despite of being a foreigner by nationality. This became more convincing considering the fact that the same Ugandans had racial frictions with Asians since 1962 independence time and it reached its climax in 1972 when President Iddi Amin of Uganda expelled the Asian and only came back after 30 years.

Finally the local administration of Ntungamo district is commended for allowing the Banyarwanda refugees to co-exist with the Ugandans. Although the elements of a citizens and non-citizens can not naturally disappear among people in the same community but this is quite minimal in Ntungamo district especially in the post 1986 N.R.M government.

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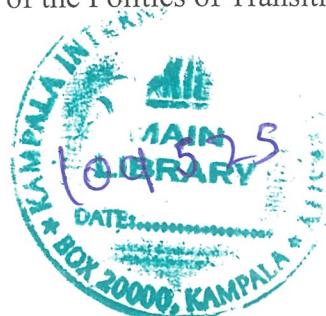
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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A

#### LIST OF INDIVIDUALS INTERVIEWED, IN APRIL 2004 AND PLACES OF INTERVIEWS

NAME	AGE	PLACE
1. Mawati Grace	29	Ntungamo Town Board
2. Byabazaire	34	Ruhaama
3. Kajura Andrew	36	Ruhaama
4. Mahooro Deodant	40	Kajara
5. Majagari Christine	41	Kyamate
6. Babiiha John	43	Rushere
7. Kayanda George	44	Ngoma
8. Najuho Samuel	42	Rwekiniero
9. Besimiire Philip	36	Kitwe
10. Kazoora Jimmy	38	Ntungamo Town Board
11. Katare Paul	33	Kahunga
12. Namara Edith	28	Nakivale
13. Kagooro Andrew	31	Rwekeiniro
14. Serunfuna George	58	Nyakyera
15. Higiro Protazio	34	Ruhaama
16. Agaba Charles	48	Kabezi
17. Ruhambari Yafesi	62	Ngoma
18. Ndyayebwaki Mary	52	Kakukuru
19. Kakuba Daniel	40	Rushere
20. Tumwine Abel	23	Rushere
21. Katambi Amos	36	Ntungamo Town Board
22. Wimana Annet	28	Kajara
23. Kasasirs Gregory	34	Kiyora
24. Rubondo Anderea	26	Kibeho
25. Kakwirwa Charles	40	Kafunjo
26. Bwire Enoth	24	Ruhaama
27. Kamuhanda Agrey	38	Rwekiniro

28. Kasyagure Lydia	32	Rwentobo
29. Bwende Bosco	29	Kiyora
30. Tugume Obadia	32	Kajaho
31. Rwemereza Ezra	41	Ngarama
32. Ampaire Richard	36	Ruhaama
33. Kamugisha Jack	32	Kajara
34. Kamwine Enid	35	Kyamate
35. Matakiro Ibrahim	32	Kibeho
36. Mahooro Grace	36	Kitwe
37. Kyizirimpa Abel	27	Rukoni
38. Katirimba Bright	38	Ngoma
39. Hakiza Asuman	24	Nyakyera
40. Twesigye Alex	31	Kahunga
41. Bwiragura Scovia	32	Kibeho
42. Mukatetera Roy	28	Rwekiniro
43. Nyakirima Foster	40	Ngoma
44. Mujuni Adrian	28	Ntungamo Town Board
45. Muhakanizi Deo	35	Ruhama
46. Orikyiriza Johnson	28	Rushere
47. Rubanzana Abdu	44	Rwentobo
48. Mukabera Joy	45	Rwekiniro
49. Nzabona Nicolas	42	Ntungamo Town Board
50. Muzahura Adidia	26	Kajara
51. Rwamatego Amos	48	Ngoma
52. Bujara Faith	32	Ruhaama
53. Kataha Alfred	28	Ihunga
54. Bonabana Gloria	30	Rushare
55. Ngabikire Charles	41	Oruchinga
56. Nzabarinda Joseph	38	Ngarama
57. Mugume Enoth	30	Ntungamao Town Board
58. Tashobya Obadia	27	Rwekiniro

59. Nzamwita Deogracious	25	Kibeho
60. Nzaana Amos	42	Kiyora
61. Rubagumya Zabloni	47	Nyakyera
62. Tumwine Didas	28	Rwentobo
63. Mungyerera Charles	30	Kafunjo
64. Birungi Fiona	33	Kajara
65. Kamugisha Ian	47	Kahunga
66. Kabunga Baptist	26	Rushere
67. Habimana Albert	34	Ihunga
68. Nteziyaremywe James	24	Kibeho
69. Ruzindana Amos	20	Ngoma
70. Owimana Rachael	34	Rukoni
71. Nungyaki Nora	48	Kibeho
72. Butera Ambrose	37	Kahunga
73. Ntawobona Miria	28	Rubale
74. Kobushekye Gregory	37	Kyamate
75. Ntarushokye Yasin	33	Rwentobo
76. Gakwavi Obadia	43	Ihunga
77. Ndagabanye Galaciano	37	Nakivale
78. Byosya Possiana	28	Kajaho
79. Mutesi Hope	29	Oruchinga
80. Ngarambe Vincent	28	Rushere
81. Katasya Rosio	30	Nyakyera
82. Mkankuranga Deodanta	31	Kibeho
83. Kazinda John	30	Ngoma
84. Majagari Samuel	29	Rwekiniro
85. Kiviri Aggrey	31	Nyakyera Trading Centre

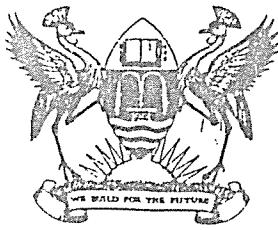
## Appendix B

### BUDGET VS ACTUAL EXPENDITURE

Particulars	Items	Budget UGX	Actual UGX
<b>Stationary (a)</b>			
Ruled paper	2 reams	16,000	16,000
Photocopying papers	2reams	16,000	16,000
Flash Disk	1	100,000	50,000
Pens, Pencils, Folders, Box files		50,000	60,000
Punch and Stapler	2	40,000	50,000
<b>Sub total</b>		<b>222,000</b>	<b>196,000</b>
<b>Support Service (b)</b>			
Support Assistant	1	250,000	200,000
Data Analyst	1	500,000	500,000
<b>Sub total</b>		<b>750,000</b>	<b>700,000</b>
<b>Others Services ( c )</b>			
Transport fee		400,000	200,000
Internet, Literature and Subscription to Journals		200,000	150,000
Library fee		250,000	80,000
Photocopying expenses		100,000	60,000
Typing and Word processing		550,000	40,000
Telephone / Airtime		120,000	70,000
<b>Sub total</b>		<b>1,520,000</b>	<b>500,000</b>
<b>Grand Total (a + b + c)</b>		<b>2,492,000</b>	<b>1,396,000</b>

**MAKERERE**

P. O. Box 7062 Kampala, Uganda  
Cables: "MAKUNIKA"



**UNIVERSITY**

Tel: 256-41-531841

Office of the Head  
**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY**

Your Ref:

Our Ref:

17 March 2004

**TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

**RE: M.A. RESEARCH PROJECT**

This is to certify that Mr. TWINE SAID is a bonafide student of the Department of History reading for Masters Degree in Arts.

The above named student is registered for M.A. Research Project. A major requirement of this course is to conduct field research in a prescribed topic. The registered topic for the above named student is

"The question of Banzi-Rwanda  
Citizenship in Uganda? A case  
Study of Ntungamo District 1969-2002.

This topic is crucial to the understanding of the development process in Uganda.

Any assistance accorded him will be highly appreciated by the Department of History.

Dr. Godfrey Asiimwe  
Head, Department of History

Please render  
him with necessary  
assistance he requires.

O.G. STATION No. 5 P  
DATE 30/4/2004  
Box 5.

Noted  
for our concern  
to note also your  
views as far as  
where possible opinion  
are likely to be held.  
Very sincerely yours  
Godfrey Asiimwe  
Date 30/4/2004

Dear respondent,

I am a student of Makerere University doing a masters Degree in History.

I am pleased and privileged to have identified you as a resource person on the topic of my research entitled;

**"THE BANYARWANDA CITIZENSHIP QUESTION IN UGANDA -1959-2002"**

**A CASE STUDY OF NTUGAMO DISTRICT**

It's my humble submission that you respond to my academic plight towards enabling me acquire a masters Degree in History of makerere University. This questionnaire is anonymous and all information given to me shall be treated with maximum confidentiality.

Yours faithfully



.....  
TWINE Saidi  
RESEARCHER

1. i) Have you ever been a Refugee?

a) No

b) Yes

c) I don't Know

d) I hope to be

ii) If yes, from which country?.....

2. i) In which year did you leave your country?

a) 1911-1926

b) 1929-1958

c) 1959-1964

d) 1964-2002

3 i) When you arrived in Uganda did you settle in Ntungamo District?

a) I don't know

b) Yes

c) No

d) No answer

ii) If No, in which district did you settle in first?

.....

- 4 i) When you arrived in Uganda, did you settle in a Refugee Resettlement camp?
- a) No
- b) Yes
- c) I don't Know
- d) I don't remember well,
- ii) If yes, in which camp?.....  
.....
- iii) If no name the village, sub county and county where you settled.....  
.....
- 5 i) How was the response of Ugandans (the host county) at the time of arrival?
- a) Bad
- b) Good
- c) Average
- d) Excellent  -
- ii) If good, which group of Ugandans/ state body or an International body that received you?  
.....
6. i) How are you feeling as a Refugee staying in Ntungamo District?
- a) Okey
- b) Bad
- c) Moderate
- d) Out of place

ii) If Bad suggest your best option for thorough settlement

7 i) Have you ever tried to acquire the Ugandan citizenship?

a) Yes

b) No

c) I don't want

d) I will try

ii) If yes, what challenges are you meeting?

iii) If no, why don't you want to acquire one?

8 i) Are you a naturalized Refugee Ugandan citizen?

a) No

b) Yes

c) I don't want

d) I hope to be

ii) If yes, mention some steps you took and the Ugandan office that helped you to acquire a citizenship

iii) If no, mention some hurdles blocking you from being a naturalized Refugee in Ntungamo District

9. i) Do you enjoy staying in a host state permanently?

a) No

b) Yes

c) I don't want

d) No answer

ii) If yes, what benefits do you have in Uganda?  
.....

iii) If no, mention the alternative place of your favourable choice for repatriation and why?  
.....

10. i) Are there some problems you are facing in Uganda and Ntungamo District in particular?

a) Yes

b) No

c) Perhaps

d) I don't know

ii) If yes, list these problems  
.....  
.....

11. i) Have the protection bodies helped you to solve such problems?

a) No

b) Yes

c) I don't know

d) Fairly

ii) If yes, which body that has helped you greatly  
.....

12 i) Do you think you have contributed to the growth of Ntungamo District?

a) I don't know

b) Yes

c) No

d) Perhaps

ii) Specifically in which aspect?  
.....

13 i) How do you relate with the local leaders of Ntungamo District?

a) Well

b) Fairly good

c) Bad

d) No answer

ii) If bad, what could be the causes?  
.....

iii) If yes, what could be the facilitating factors?  
.....

- 14 i) Have the Ntungamo District top officials local council leaders attempted to integrate (Naturalise) you in their community?
- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) I don't know
- d) Possibly
- 15 i) Are your future plans done according to your current style of living in Ntungamo District?
- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) I don't Plan
- d) Possibly
- ii) If no, then why?  
.....
- iii) If yes suggest and list some of your plans  
.....

Thank you very much for the information given.

End



D217  
S 25  
2008