

**THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON THE LIVELIHOODS
OF KARAMAJONG WOMEN AND CHILDREN: KATWE SLUMS.**

“A WOMAN IS A WARRIOR”



**Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of Masters in Anthropology of
development.**

Department of Social Anthropology



MARIAM NAMIRO

Namiiro2k1@gmail.com

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my mother Mrs. Aisha Bukirwa and my daughter Arianna Ruth Kirabo and brother Ahmed Juma Lugolobi Jr. To my mother and brother thank you for caring for my daughter when I was studying. Thank you all for your prayers and encouragement. God bless you.

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Abstract

The emphasis of my research is on the socio-economic livelihoods of the Karamajong women and children. In this male-dominated and impoverished region of Uganda, the women's burden is particularly heavy in terms of the socio-economic survival of their households. This has led to increase in the women's workload which has put them at a greater risk of abuse such as rape or transactional sex in exchange for work, money and food. This has forced many to migrate to urban centers such as Katwe in search of employment and a better life for their families and themselves.

Similar to other Ugandan women, the traditional gender roles of the Karamajong are influenced by tradition as well as constantly changing social and economic dynamics. Traditionally, women as well as their roles are considered subordinate to men. The women roles lean towards community and household needs as; housekeeping, child childcare, and cooking while the men control the economic matters of the family. The men control resources and exercise great control over women. These cultural attitudes in Uganda towards gender limit the role that women can or aspire to play in the social and economic livelihoods. This limits their ability to engage in economic activities to improve their incomes, assets or capabilities, and to contribute to the well-being of their families and most importantly their children. However, as a result of the 30 years of tribal conflict and famine in Karamoja women have taken the initiative to migrate and start an alternative method of livelihood survival.

I look at how migration impacts on their survival, their experiences on the journey to Kampala and the strategies they adopt in order to survive while in the Katwe community. Due to this migration, the way of life of the Karamajong women and children has changed from the traditional way of being child bearers and carers to bread winners of their households. This is vividly expressed in their songs and words. They now compare their livelihood strategies to that of warriors. They believe that just like the men were referred to as warriors when they went out to hunt and raid cattle they

have also become warriors by becoming the bread winners of their households. As illustrated in this song;

Remain here, be free in Kampala

Wife of Kabode, be free in Kampala

Mother of Nakoya, be free in Kampala

Mother of Isharon, be free in Kampala

Remain mother do not go. [Field notes]

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(a) MAP OF UGANDA SHOWING KARAMOJA AND KAMPALA DISTRICTS FROM GOOGLE MAPS



(b) MAP OF KARAMOJA FROM GOOGLE MAPS



CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

My thesis presents the findings of a research study examining the socio¹-economic² impact of migration³ on the Karamajong women and children. The thesis is aimed at adding to the existing body of knowledge of migration among the Karamajong but particularly concentrating on how this migration affects the livelihoods⁴ of women and children since there is little existing knowledge concerning Karamajong women and children. The research was carried out in the household or place of residence of the research participants -Katwe slum⁵ and their work places that is; the streets of Jinja Road and Kampala and markets as Owino and Nakasero market where these women and children work to earn a living.

As I walked into Katwe zone just a few kilometres from the center of Kampala, the ground is muddy and black due to lack of proper drainage systems. The environment has a strong smell due to the garbage that has been littered all over the place. Women in torn and dirty clothes with either baskets of beans, greens, oranges, mangoes and fish on their heads depending on the season of the food produce and a small child carried on their backs and another following from behind also dressed in torn clothes with different colour and size of shoes one black and the other red as they make their way from the market. The morning is a busy trade time for these women as they sell the things that they buy from the markets at 6am. They have to make sure that they have sold everything by 10am in order to go and take on other work duties either on the streets, domestic chores and other work outside Katwe slums. This kind of work helps sustain the women

¹ Social refers to relating to society or its organisation

² Economic pertains to the process by which tools, techniques, resources and human labour are organised

³ Migration is the movement of people from one locality to another.

⁴ Livelihoods are means of securing the necessities of life especially to support existence especially financially.

⁵ A slum is a heavily populated urban informal settlement characterised by substandard housing and squalor. It lacks reliable sanitation services, supply of clean water, reliable electricity, timely law enforcement and other basic services.

and children in Katwe slums and their families left in Karamoja. Lucia one of the research participants asserts that;

In Karamoja, the warrior⁶ is the man who carries the gun but here in the city the women are the warrior. We come to the city with the children to survive and also look after our husbands at home. It's us who feed the men from the money we make. It's better to leave the men behind to look after the household. We travel to Kampala to work just like the men used to leave Karamoja to go and raid cattle in the neighbouring districts. They made raids and came back with cows and sometimes with nothing. Similarly we travel here to make money sometimes we return home with money and gifts and sometimes with nothing. (Lucia, Research participant, July, 20th, 2015)

Among the Karamajong raiding is both a socio-cultural as well as economic activity. Cattle are of great importance for survival in Karamoja. There is a constant need to increase herds that are depleted as a result of drought, famine, and disease as well as raids from other pastoral groups like the Pokoto and Turkana of Kenya. According to Stites and Akabwai;

This practice serves to redistribute wealth and food within the region and across its porous borders, and to hedge against future ecological uncertainty (Stites and Akabwai, 2009, pg.18).

According to Akabwai and Ateyo raiding also serves as a mechanism for maintaining livelihoods and a traditional way to acquire the assets needed to pay bride wealth as well as gain social status (Akabwai and Ateyo, 2007, pg.25). It is from this regard that the women now compare travelling to Kampala to work to cattle raiding. They argue that the work they do in Kampala serves the same purpose as the raids done by the men. They say that; by sending money home they are participating in redistribution of wealth and food with their kin in Karamoja. Most of the money they send

⁶ Warrior refers to someone who is brave or experienced and embraces courage, compassion, discipline and training.

home is used by the relatives or husbands to buy more cattle, food, as well as land and also take care of other household needs. The money sent home is also used as a way of paying bride wealth for those families that do not have cattle. Agnes one of the research participants affirms that;

In 2010, when my son was going to marry his wife he had to join me in Kampala in order to earn the money he needed for the bride wealth. The girl's family wanted 10 cows as bride wealth or its equivalent of eight million shillings. We engaged in all kinds of work ventures as begging, picking bottles for sell, metal scarp, brewing alcohol and carrying luggage in order to raise the money that was needed. After one year we were able to raise half the price of four million. We negotiated with his in-laws who agreed to take the partial payment for the bride wealth in order for the wedding to take place. They us asked to sign and commit to paying the balance after the wedding in instalments until the complete amount was paid. (Field work notes)

Most of the respondents agreed to the fact that the money they earn helps their sons and male relatives to pay bride wealth. They said that; traditionally the families would ask for cattle but now a new trend of converting the value of the cattle requested for to money has risen up. Families appreciate bride wealth in terms of money because it gives them a new social status of being wealth. Since the bride wealth given by the groom is announced to every during the wedding ceremony. Gloria one of the teenage responds had this to say;

When my sister was getting married she brought home a rich man who gave my father a lot of money. Everyone in the village admired her because they came with many cars; they gave my father a car and my sister. They brought a lot of things like sugar, bread, cooking oil and many other things. The whole village stayed at our home for a week. During the council meeting my father was elected as the leader of the council meeting. I wanted to maintain the social status of my father and

our family. So I also run to Kampala in order to find a rich husband to marry me. (Field notes)

The change in the traditional bride wealth customs in the Karamoja society has elevated the social status of those who have money in the community. The people who are mostly elevated are the women and children who return home with new looks, cars and money. The money has in this sense elevated the social status of the women as raiding did in the traditional setting.

1.1 BACKGROUND

According to Conard Phillip Kottak, the Karamajong are historically and traditionally a pastoral people whose lives are organised around their pastoralist nature. They orient their economies around animal domestication of cattle, goats and supplement it with activities as plant cultivation and most recently with mining minerals like gold and marble mining along Mt.Moroto. For most pastoral groups of East Africa such as the Masai, Turkana and Karamajong animals- cattle are a means rather than an end of production. He further discusses that;

East African pastoralists maybe considered typical of human populations who live symbiotically with herd animals and derive food and other necessary items from their herds. Herds supply East Africans with milk and other dairy products. (Kottak, 1942, pg.46).

Pastoral communities depend on milk, cattle, blood, meat and leather for social, economic and political survival. Cattle are used for ceremonial purposes as bride wealth and funerals which makes meat readily available most of the time. They have two patterns associated with adaptation to this kind of life these are; transhumance⁷ and nomadism⁸. In Karamoja like in other pastoral groups- Masai and Turkana of Kenya there is use of different

⁷ Transhumance involves movement of herd animals throughout the year as pastures in different areas and at different elevations become available.

⁸ Nomadism refers to people or tribe that has no permanent abode but moves about from place to place, usually seasonally and often following a traditional route or circuit according to the state of pasturage or food supply.

grazing techniques in the dry and rainy season. The research participants said; there is more movement in the dry season as result of lack of pasture and water to feed the animals and people. This brings about the division of labour in the households. Women and girls remain in the household, look after the children, collect firewood, fetch water and cultivate crops. Men and boys supervise the grazing and protection of the herds. This is relevant when the group is using the transhumance strategy which they supplement with agriculture- women plant crops. When the nomadic strategy is applied the entire population- men, women and children move along with the herds and engage in the same activities. According to Kottak, the nomadic pastoral groups maintain trade relations with plant cultivating groups that they encounter during their movements. The plant cultivators use their surplus produce to trade with the herdsmen for cattle produce like milk, meat, leather and blood and the herdsmen trade their animals for food. (Kottak, 1942, pg.48)

In this pastoral community marriage is transmitted through patrilocal⁹ linkages- when a woman is married she leaves her home to join her husband's group. The husband pays cattle to the woman's family as a form of bride wealth. A number of cows from 10 to 100 are paid by the husband to the woman's family. In the 20th and 21st century, bride wealth is also being paid in terms of cash for those who are educated or have relatives in other countries or cities. Stites, Akabwai, Mazurana and Ateyo discuss this deeper in their research and they argue that;

Marriage in Karamoja involves the exchange of cattle as a bride price payment from the man to the family and clan of the woman. Being officially married "with cattle" gives man recognition as an adult member of his clan and the ability to participate in decision-making within the manyattas and kraal. A woman who is married with cattle becomes an official member of the man's clan. Boys inherit the herds of their fathers when they die and assume the duties of their dead

⁹ Patrilocal refers to a social system in which a married couple resides with or near the husbands parents..

fathers in the household. (Elizabeth Stites, Darlington Akabwai, Dyan Mazurana and Priscillar Ateyo, 2007, pg.5)

This inheritance practice does not favour the girl child and women. A woman who has only girls for her husband is under looked by the community and relatives. Upon the death of her husband, the brothers to the husband take over the, family, cattle and the rest of the property of the deceased. The widows are also passed on to their brothers-in-law. This has resulted in increased conflict and tension in the home between the brother's wife and the widow who has been inherited. This conflict leads to the girls fleeing the home for Kampala. From Aploti's story this is seen vividly;

I run away from home after the death of my father. The clan decided that my uncle should take over my father's property and take care of my mother and sisters. My uncle took over the house with his wife and his children. My sisters and I had to stop school because my uncle was using the money from the cows to pay for school fees for his children and take care of his wife. (Aploti Research participant, July, 26th, 2015)

From this story one can tell that many of the children on the street run away from Karamoja to escape mistreatment and domestic violence from relatives who have inherited their property and cannot take care of them and provide for their needs.

1.2 MIGRATION

From the background above its clear that migration among pastoral groups is not a new phenomenon. It's in their social and economic tradition to migrate seasonally to find water and pasture for their animals and find food for themselves. However, in the 21st century pastoral trends especially in Karamoja of Northern Uganda are changing from traditional to modern ones as more and more Karamajong are migrating to find alternative means of economic livelihoods and survival. This is as a result of a number of factors as; domestic violence, poverty, climate change, insecurity, intervention from government and Non-government organisations in the pastoral

communities. In Karamoja particularly, the main changes are attributed to loss of cattle and lives, insecurity, domestic violence, the disarmament policy by the Uganda Peoples Defence forces, Kony war, education, and climate. All these factors have in turn led to migration and a shift in the socio-economic livelihoods of the Karamajong especially the women and children.

It is from this background that I derive my passion to research on the impact of this modern trend of migration on the socio-economic livelihoods of the Karamajong especially the women and children. The increased migration of Karamajong women and children from Karamoja to urban centers as Kampala, Jinja, Mbale and many other cities is on the rise. Their increased presence on the streets and slums of the urban centers is now a common phenomenon. Kampala, the capital city of Uganda in particular receives numerous Karamajong migrants. The presence of migrants is widely discussed everyday on news and makes headlines on local newspapers as seen in this report in the New Vision- the country newspaper of Friday May 06 2015;

Uganda street children are found within the city area and major urban centers countrywide. Kampala has the highest number, comprised majorly of Karamajong families with their children. (New Vision, Friday, May, 06, 2015)

The available literature focuses primarily on traditional migration patterns and reasons for migration of the Karamajong in general to urban cities and forced government returns and rounding offs by the government as Elizabeth and Darlington put it in their research carried out in the areas of Mbale and Moroto;

Attention of National and district government officials aims at primarily stopping or reversing the trend of out migration – with on-going efforts to return people to their places of origin or newly created settlements in areas deemed better suited for agriculture. (Elizabeth Stites and Darlington Akabwai, 2012, pg.4)

Relatively little in depth material has been published concerning the socio-economic impact of migration on the livelihoods of the Karamajong women and children who occupy the slums of Katwe in Kampala Uganda. My research focuses on detailed specific information on the socio-economic livelihoods of the Karamajong women and children. Having been in the field from June 20th 2015 to January 16th 2016 I observed, witnessed and participated in the activities that these women and children employ to better and sustain themselves. My field work included visits and unstructured interviews with the women and children in their households located in Katwe slums. Their work places that is; the streets of Kampala and Jinja Road, Markets of Owino and Nakasero and for those who work in homes as domestic help. The main focus is to provide in depth information on livelihood strategies and the ranges of jobs that they do to support their continued stay both on the streets and Katwe slums, their experiences on the journey to Kampala and in establishing themselves in Katwe slums. The division of labour in the household and the existing social networks that are maintained these migrants between Katwe and Karamoja. How they meet their social and materials needs. This was done through participant observation and unstructured interviews. In areas where I had access, I followed the informants to work and back to their places of work and for those who worked in people's homes doing domestic chores I relied on information and stories from the research participants. Participant observation and unstructured interviews were used throughout the research period.

I paid close attention to the economic activities, expenditures, social networks, decision making in the households before and after migration took place and those in the households of Katwe slums and gender-referring to the socially constructed roles ascribed to women and men on the basis of sex- female and male. I thought to learn more about the gender, skills and age aspects that shape and influence the livelihoods of these migrants. Through observation and participation in their work I was able to

analyse the labour distribution, systems and decision making processes. I also sought to analyse the links among the dimensions of social and economic livelihoods. Participant observation enabled and increased my understanding of how assets are acquired and owned (financially, socially, physical and capital assets within the households). While exploring the networks formed both on the streets, Katwe slums and other work places I looked at how these networks influence access to work, trade, socialisation and accommodation among the women and children. During the process of the research I also took note of the existence of two groups of street children that is; the accompanied-who are mainly Karamajong children whose mothers or elder siblings watch over them from a stone throw. The unaccompanied- who have no family or sibling looking out for them. I looked at how they maintain social networks on the street and Katwe slums because these networks are very important when it comes to survival on the streets and the slums. The migrants said these help when it comes to getting jobs, socialising and sense of belonging, security and financial assistance as well as help in the integration process on the streets. One research participant-Innocent had this to say;

Children on streets include those who maintain good family ties and often return home in the evening. It also includes those completely detached from their families who live in gangs in temporary make shift shelters. Children of street families who are permanently on the streets and regard the streets as residential estates and form gangs for physical and emotional support, identity, security and relief from life and anxieties within their groups (Field notes 16th October, 2015.)

The women and children regard the streets as a work place and for those who have no home or family as both a work place and a home. Those with homes return home to hand in the money they have collected to their mothers or elder siblings. Those with no homes keep the money or deposit it on their mobile phones and later find a place to sleep at the corner of the street or unfinished buildings at the end of the day.

1.3 OBJECTIVE

The objective of the research was to better understand how migration affects the lives of the Karamajong women and children. Analyse the way decisions to leave Karamoja are made-who makes the decision and age of the women, the age and sex of the children the women travel with, the social networks they are part of and how they help them sustain their livelihood in the Katwe slums. The economic activities the women engage in and how they spend the money they make once they are in Kampala. Also explore what happens after the women make that bold step to leave Karamoja their home to come to a faraway place. These women and children migrate to a new environment without the required skills for the jobs in Kampala and little or no education. Is this of benefit for them alone or for their households as well and how best does this migration empower these women and children and is it a viable and sustainable way to live. The aim is to understand the challenges and benefits of migration on the women and children in Katwe slums socially and economically.

1.4 ENTERING THE FIELD

On the 13th June 2015, I travelled back to Uganda to start my field work. I was anxious because I did not know where I would start from. I still had so many questions after the proposal discussion with my supervisor. At the same time I was happy because I was going home after one year to see my daughter, family, and friends and also enjoy the food and sun. At 21.30 pm I landed at Entebbe International airport after an eight hour flight from Bergen. Upon seeing my family especially my daughter I was relieved to find them health and happy. We drove to Kampala city at 11pm and arrived 1.30am in the morning. We talked through the night and I ended up sleeping the next day in the morning. After sleeping I woke up and had lunch with the rest of the family and gave them the presents I had taken for them. On Saturday afternoon, I prepared the books and material that were to be used during the course of my field work.

On Monday morning I took a 'boda – boda'¹⁰ from home to Makerere University. I started from Makerere because my lecturers there have done research and would give me advice. After four hours of discussion I boarded a taxi to town and one hour later I walked to Katwe slum. On reaching Katwe I looked lost and confused, people walking and running past me. The smell of air was unpleasant with rotten rubbish all over the place, sewage crossing through the small roads, polythene bags, plastic bottles, pineapple, sweet banana, sugar cane and matooke peels littered everywhere. Congested houses for the most part built out of wood with iron sheets almost falling off the roof and sewage flowing just at the entrance of these houses. As I observe the place, one boy passes by running and minutes later another group of people comes chasing after him. On seeing this I asked a lady who was also following them what had happened and she said the boy had stolen some one's phone. Luckily for me I understood the language- Luganda that they were speaking. This brought back memories of Norway where its peace and calm. While still in my thoughts I was almost knocked down by a man. As he passed by, he shouted; "useless people, she doesn't have anywhere to go." I came back to reality after this incidence and continued walking through the area. After many hours with no one willing to talk to me I came across a local food joint called "mama Annet". This was crowded with many people because it was lunch time so I decided to stop and sit down. I sat and looked at their one paper menu as I listened to people talk about their lives, families and work. People came and went but I stayed and continued watching. The owner of the place approached me and asked me why I was not leaving since I was not buying anything. I responded by telling her I didn't know what to eat, so she made a choice of food for me- matooke, rice, greens and ground nuts. The food was good but the plates it was served on were very old and the forks almost rusted. I decided to eat with my hands so I could spend more time and by the time I finished the joint was empty. I paid my bill of 3,000 Uganda shillings and left. By this time I was too tired to go on so I decided to head back home. I came to this place the whole week and by the end of the week Annet was interested in knowing about me and

¹⁰ Boda-boda is a term used for motorcycles that are used to transport people in the city.

what I was doing in that area. I told her I was looking for work and she laughed, she said; “madam why would you look for work in this place when you are looking very nice? What kind of work will you do here?” At the mention of this I realised I had to change my appearance and look like the people in the area. In this place one wears the same clothes for more than one day simply because they see having many clothes as a waste of money. I continued coming to the food joint and with time I earned the trust of Annet and we became friends. She told me she was born in Katwe and at the age of 18 years her parents died. She started looking after her younger siblings and three years later she met her husband Geoffrey. They got married after a year and he gave her the money to start the food business in order to help with the household bills. She talked to me with ease about herself, husband and family as well as her business. With my continued presence the people got used to me and would talk to me with ease. From this place I met many people who later agreed to be part of my research and also helped me in finding other research participants. After gaining the peoples trust I came and went without anyone being rude or insulting me since they considered me one of them. I was happy because I had finally found my way in the Katwe community. After a month I asked my research participants if it was okay to follow them to their place of work. They agreed with ease and gave me the time they start work. I adjusted my schedule to fit into theirs and I started coming at 6am every day. Going to the markets with them was easy but the main challenge was on the streets. On the first day on the street one man driving by said; *‘why would a nice looking girl like you be on the streets find a man to get married to.’* [Field notes] When I narrated the incidence to one of my lecturers at Makerere he advised me to change my dress code. He said;

“Change your dressing from nice jeans and blouses to torn jeans and blouses that are old and put on a dirty hat on the head. I always have different field work clothes depending on the research topic. He also suggested; cut off your hair or unplait and leave it uncombed.” [Mr. Odongo, Lecturer Makerere.]

Following his advice I went back to the streets and I was successful. Dress code plays an important role in the social differentiation between those from urban and rural areas. Dress code depicts the variations in wealth, economy, specialisation and power in the Kampala community. Also the different activities and physical attributes set the differentiation of the inhabitants of Kampala and Karamoja. The people in Kampala dress in clean, neat clothes and comb their hair. On a normal week day the dress code is formal wear of suits and office wear and weekends there is a dress down to something informal like jeans and t-shirts with open shoes. For the Karamajong the daily way of dress is town clothes and most times bare feet with uncombed hair. The dress code sets apart the two groups in terms of work and social place. The Kampala inhabitants work in active commerce, administration, government, markets places while the rural inhabitants of whom the Karamajong are part work in farmers, kraals, fishing and most recently on the streets. These life styles set the pace for the availability of social, political and economic services. In order to become part of the research participants and fit in their group I had to dress and look like them. I also decided to put on a hat to avoid coming in contact with my former work mates who work for a company on of the streets where I was stationed- Kampala road. I did this to avoid criticism from them, people coming Europe are given a social status in the Kampala community. They are admired and people love associating with them, finding me dressed in torn clothes meant I was mentally disturbed to my former work colleagues or that I was lying to them that I had travelled to Europe to study.

1.4.1 THE FIELD SITE

According to a report by the ministry of Lands, Housing and Urban Development;

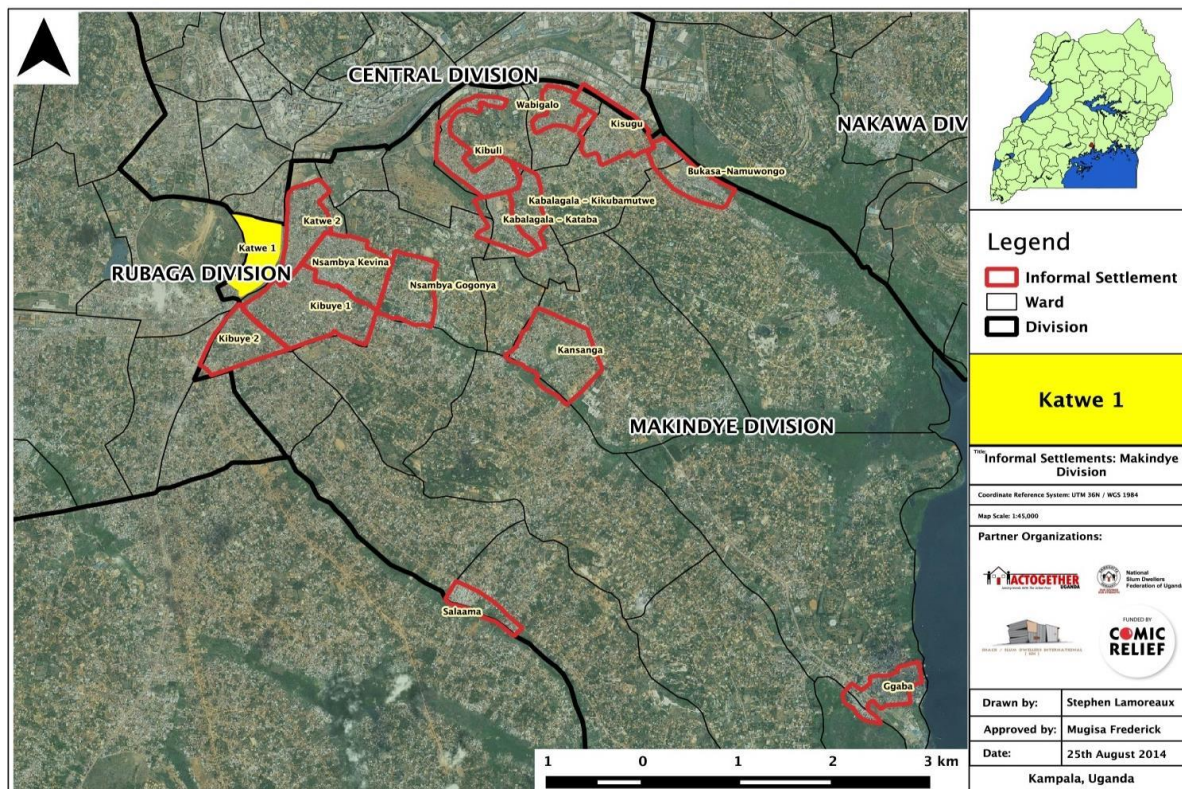
“49 % to 64 % of the urban population lives in slums. They give a total of 1.58 to 2.1 million people as slum residents in Uganda. The ministry blames the increasing rate to migration as a result of people leaving rural areas to come to urban

areas”[report from the ministry of land, housing and urban development, 2012.]

My fieldwork was in Katwe slum one of the eight largest slums in Uganda. It is located in Makindye zone and is bordered by Nakasero to the North, Nsambya to the east, Kibuye to the south east and Ndeeba to the south as well as Mengo to the west. Katwe is approximately 3 kilometres from Kampala’s central business district. The slum consists of people from all of Uganda and people from other countries who are affected by war in their countries. The settlement is made up of makeshift structures that are homes for over 800 people of which 300 and more are children. Katwe comprises of a variety of languages and cultures. The commonly spoken languages are Luganda, Swahili complimented with other languages as English, Arabic. Katwe is both a business and residential area. Main businesses in this area include; metal fabrication, shops selling food stuffs like maize flour, beans, peas, cooking oil and many other items, second hand electronic shops, metal scrap, prostitution in the day and night and petty thievery. Some residents like Annet own food joints, they cook and sell food here and late in the night use these joints as homes for sleeping.

Katwe has been a slum from the colonial time of building the railway from Kampala to Kasese to date. However, in the 21st century land is being sold and brought by cooperate business areas. This has led to development in the area- these new buildings include; Equity Bank headquarters, Orient bank, Tropical, Bank of Africa and Stanbic banks. Telecommunications have set up place in the area these include Airtel and MTN Uganda. These have boosted the businesses in Katwe by offering loans and bank account opening where these people keep their money. Most of the research participants agreed that the presence of these financial institutions has boosted their economy through loans and sending money to loved ones quick and cheaper.

(c) MAP OF KATWE SLUM FROM GOOGLE MAPS



1.4.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF INFORMANTS

The study was based on Karamajong women and children. The women in the age bracket of 20-40 years, teenage girls and boys aged 12-19 years and minors from 1 year to 11 years both at their residence and places of work for those involved in wage labour. A total number of five men were included in the sample of the research participants in order to have a representative view of the men. These are families of women and their biological children struggling to survive. Those that have children who are not theirs get them from their friends in the village. These women who have children that are not theirs pay the families of the children money in return. My original plan was to work within the Katwe slums but I realised I would not get a clear understanding of the social and economic activities of these women and children unless I followed them to their places of work in order to get first-hand information through participation. There is an organised division of

work in the home. The girls start with doing the work at home that is cleaning the house, washing utensils and washing clothes for the rest of the members in the home. The mothers go to the markets with the very little ones to purchase items to sell like oranges, vegetables, fish, clothes, shoes, beans, sweet potatoes and cassava. The boys start with picking metal scrap, old mineral water bottles, carrying luggage for people in taxi parks. After doing the morning chores they move to the streets at around 12 pm to begin begging. However, for families that have young ones from 1 – 6 years they take them to the streets 6 am with one elder sibling supervising them from a distance. Some of the residents of Kampala take pity on them and give them some coins and others just abuse them. Some walk passed them commenting on the failure of the government to distribute resources evenly across the country.

1.5 METHODS

Primary data was collected by the researcher from June 20th 2015 to 16th January 2016 through participant observation and unstructured interviews conducted with the research participants in the Katwe community. The interviews were done based on random sampling of informants. On a daily basis I travelled to Katwe at 6am and met with my research participants. From there I followed them to their different work places until we ended up at the last place of work- the street. They would leave the streets at 8 pm; this also meant I had to follow them back home to make more observation on what happened after work. I would then leave for home at 10pm. This went on for the six months I was carrying out field work. Unstructured interviews were used and these evolved out of my interaction with the research participants. These were easy to do because I had gained trust with the research participants and they opened up easily. They took place as I walked with the research participants to their places of work and at the end of the day when they were at home. It was easier to get more information over a meal, when purchasing items and late in the evening when they were discussing the events that transpired during the day. They compared the situation back home to the one in Katwe. Some said they were satisfied with

their new life because they were in charge of their live hoods. Others talked about missing home and their families. They hoped to find more opportunities to earn money and then return home and settle down. However, this kind of interviewing takes a lot of time since the participants are reluctant to talk about their experiences, sources of income and lives. Sometimes, they would start a conversation and end it half way and it would be hard to get them to talk about it again. I also didn't have time to sit down and write so I had to rely on my head to store the information since they did not want to be recorded. To keep records of the information I observed and heard I would take notes and also use my head. The moment I got home I would start writing down the stories I did not write down and also type everything onto the laptop. Sometimes it took longer than expected and I ended up writing till the wee hours of the night. As a result I slept less and other times I could not sleep at all. This got me very exhausted and tired the next day.

1.5.1 Sources of information

My main source was the women and children narratives. I used the national newspapers and video segments from NTV Uganda as a secondary source of information to gain information about the socio-economic impact of migration on the livelihoods of the Karamajong women and children. I read several newspapers and watched as many video segments that were uploaded on YouTube by NTV Uganda before, during and after returning from field work. I read both the New vision and Monitor which covered sections on the Karamajong. Although time consuming, I found these very useful sources of information. In addition, I used contemporary and historical academic literature on the Karamajong as well as other pastoral groups in East Africa like the Masai, Pokot and Turkana because of their similarities in culture.

1.6 Ethical Considerations

As a researcher carrying out research among a marginalised group of women and children I had an obligation to the persons who have

contributed to my research. The Karamajong are looked at as a marginalized group because they are confined to the lower caste of the society. As such they are denied involvement in mainstream economic, political, cultural and social activities. The colonial government of the British set the pace for the Karamajong people who are perceived as ‘primitive’¹¹ and Karamoja as no go area. The colonial government focused development strategies on areas of Uganda that had mineral resources and were easy to govern such as Buganda, Kasese, Jinja and other areas. According to Nsibambi Apolo;

The Karamajong elders rejected the introduction of formal education and wanted the white and African teachers to learn from them. The elders acted as the intermediaries between the gods and the people and they looked at the white teachers as enemies of the community who were evil. They refused the Karamajong children to engage in formal education and anyone who did was considered an enemy of the community. Even though the colonial and post-colonial governments tried to introduce formal education the Karamajong still rejected it. Which led to the common saying of the 1960’s and 1970’s saying of, “*We shall not wait for Karamoja to develop.*” (Nsibambi Apolo Robin, 2013, pg 178)

This is why when the late President Milton Obote did not see need to involve Karamoja in the social, economic and political development of Uganda. He saw the Karamajong as a ‘primitive’ people who were worth preserving. After one of his visit to the area he used the same statement; “*We shall not wait for Karamoja to develop.*” The late president did not see reason for the inclusion of Karamoja in the political, social and economic decisions of the country. This attitude by the post-colonial governments has affected Karamoja for the last 50 years. Karamoja has lagged behind socially, economically and politically. From this history, I knew that my research will have deep implications on the Karamajong women and children. Therefore before doing any interviews and taking notes I had to seek permission from

¹¹ "Primitive" refers to a society believed to lack cultural, technological, economic sophistication and development.

them and explain why I was carrying out the research. As Bagele Chilisa argues it out in her research;

A researcher especially dealing in indigenous and minority peoples issues should be concerned about their codes of conduct especially with the protection of the researched from physical, mental or psychological harm (Bagele Chilisa, 2012, pg. 86.)

Approval was sought from the informants and their names are not mentioned in the thesis, the names used are pseudonyms. Both verbal and written consent forms were given to respondents to confirm willingness to participate and to publish information that was given by them. The informants were assured that their names and identity was not to be revealed in the process of writing the research.

The research is also subjected to the Norwegian Social Science Data services code of ethics as it deals with the study of children whose rights have to be protected. It considers children and youth as important respondents and advocates for their inclusion in research. Hence, I was given forms to sign before going to the field and these forms bare the guidelines on how to handle children and youth. I was required to seek for parents' consent. I did and the parents signed consent forms before the children were approached and included in my research. I also verified the age of the children and youth and also sought their consent.

1.7 STRUCTURE OF THESIS

The findings will be presented in five chapters. In chapter one I give an introduction to the study, describing the data collection process and how I positioned myself as a researcher in the Katwe community. In chapter two I look at the traditional pastoral migration patterns of East Africa Pastoralists and the factors that lead to the migration of the Karamajong women and children. I make use of theoretical tools and other scholar perspectives to analyse the Karamojong livelihoods, gender roles and final migration to urban centers. In chapter three I present the personal life narratives of the

Karamajong women and children. In chapter four look at the Ugandan Informal sector, economic activities the women are engaged in, the division of labour among household members. The money the migrants earn and how they spend it to meet their social and material needs and how it supports their livelihoods in Katwe slums. Chapter five looks at how the migrants meet their social and material needs. Chapter Six is the final chapter with the summary and conclusion of the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 FACTORS FOR THE MIGRATION OF THE KARAMAJONG WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

In this chapter I look at traditional and modern patterns of pastoralists in East Africa and their traditional migration patterns. How these patterns affect the women and children since the research focuses on women and children. I also look at the factors that have led to the modern migration patterns of women and children.

2.1 HISTORY OF TRADITIONAL PASTORAL MIGRATION

Similar to the majority of African countries, the traditional gender roles of women in Uganda are influenced by tradition as well as constantly changing social dynamics. Traditionally, women and their roles are considered subordinate to those of men. The men control familial financial matters and the women roles lean towards community and household needs as; housekeeping, child childcare, fetching water and cooking. Ugandan women come from a range of economic and educational backgrounds. They have substantial economic and social responsibilities throughout the various traditional societies.

Women in both the rural and urban centers are the main laborers. The markets and streets of Kampala are filled with physically strong women, carrying water, food produce as cassava, potatoes, beans, oranges and vegetables, often with more than one child on their back. Their hands and feet are rough from tough manual labour. These women walk for miles to earn a living in terms of food and money for their families' survival. They are often parenting alone, looking after ten or more children. Many women blame this on the absence of men- many men run off with younger girls and for the Karamajong women they migrate and leave their husbands behind to look after the household.

The Research participants asserted that another important trigger factor for widows' migration was the tradition of being inherited by a brother-in-law, which frequently resulted in the man refusing to provide support for the woman and her children from her first marriage. They talked about the increased physical abuse by the new husband against the widow and her children. In many instances, women and in particular mothers were found to be key decision makers regarding out-migration. Women often made the decision to leave Karamoja alone or with children, often because they were neglected or abused by a male relative or husband. Several women interviewed at Katwe explained that they left after being inherited by brothers-in-law who were unable or unwilling to provide support for them or their children. Women play an important role in managing food security within Karamajong households, and may be more inclined to depart for economic reasons in difficult periods than their male counterparts. According to a research done by Arthur Stinchombe;

The institution of polygyny means that women would not fail to be married because of lack of husbands among the Karamajong. This is because of two reasons. The first reason is the death of men being above that of women due to the practice of warfare and raiding. Secondly, Polygyny facilitates the practice of widow inheritance because once a woman is married she becomes the property of the lineage into which she is married, if she is to get married again she has to get married to a brother of the deceased and not look outside for an unmarried man. If this happened it would lead to difficulties of marriage price and transfer of property rights. The institution of widow inheritance transfers the reproductive powers of a widowed woman to some other member of the lineage. This member is never her son but the brother of the man who dies. (Arthur L. Stinchombe, 1983, pg.201)

This is further explored in detail by NTV television segment on one of the reports that they carried out on a Karamajong woman named Lokwii Natalina;

Lokwii Natalina is a 28 year old Karamajong woman in Moroto district who has been widowed thrice and all her late husbands were brothers. Natalina was first married off at 16 to a man who paid her family 100 cows for her hand. Her first husband died and she was then passed on to his brother, who also subsequently died a few years later. Tragedy struck again and her third husband also died after a few years. When Lokwii's last husband died in 2007, her family sought to marry her off again, but she had had enough and run off to Moroto district. [www.ntv.co.ug/news/local/31/jan/2015]

This is done because the families of the husbands were the women or girls are married feel the women become their property. This is due to the fact that men pay for them with cows and thus they can do as they want with them. In order to escape such experiences most women run away from Karamoja after their first husband or second husband dies so that they get freedom to live their lives without being mistreated.

Women and girls in Karamoja are also subject to forced and early marriage, female genital mutation (FGM)¹² and a significant power imbalance between men and women. According to a report by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) there is an increase in (FGM) in Karamoja. According to the report, thousands of girls aged 10 to 15 years are being circumcised and then forcefully married. It further notes that hundreds of the teenage girls are exposed to HIV/AIDS as several of them are circumcised using the same knife (United Nations Population Fund, 2015). Many girls have run away

¹² FGM is defined as the partial or total removal of the external female genitalia for non-medical reasons. It is recognised as a violation of the human rights of women and girls.

from Karamoja and migrated to Kampala to avoid going through this suffering and pain. Amina's story further confirms this;

When I was in primary 5 my parents took me out of school to participate in the circumcision ceremony in my village in Shilo. When we were gathered in a room for the start of the ceremony, one girl- Akello told us of a story of her sister who died during the circumcision the year before. This sounded very scary for most of us so we decided to run away. We then came up with a plan to escape in the night while the elders were sleeping. Late in the night as the elders were sleeping we escaped and took the bus to Moroto. When we had just arrived to Moroto we met a group of other girls that was going to Kampala the following day so we asked them if we could go with them. They agreed and we followed them to Kampala. (Field notes)

Circumcision has been banned by the government but the Karamajong continue to practice this custom. According to Godfrey Mwakikagile;

Almost all Nilotic groups such as the Karamajong, Kalenjin, Masai and others practice circumcision. In these communities where it's practiced, even those who are against it succumb to the knife because there is much social pressure. The community exerts a lot of pressure on members of the community and failure to do so leads to exclusion in the community. (Godfrey Mwakikagile, 2009, pg.136)

The research participants argue that the practice is painful and thus they run away from Karamajong to the city where they are not compelled to take part in the practice.

In most African countries women's inability to effectively participate in, and take advantage of available development opportunities is rooted in the unequal gender relations that are defined by their social and production relations. Unequal control over productive resources, including land, results in women

having limited control over the products of their labour. Sandy Ruxton says that;

Women are the majority in the poorest groups in all societies, and that their experience of poverty consists not only of economic want, but also of social and political exclusion. For example, in many developing countries women earn on average only 60 to 70 per cent of what men are paid for similar work (and in Africa and Asia only 50 per cent). Women also work longer hours than men, with women's working hours estimated to exceed men's by about 30 per cent. (Sandy Ruxton, 2004, pg.2)

Just like their counter parts in other parts of Uganda, the Karamajong are leaving Karamoja in the greatest numbers to seek work as wage laborers in areas of Mbale, Moroto, Kampala and other urban cities. The increased migration of Karamajong women and children has roots in a series of factors at the household and community level, as well as in broader security-related trends that are occurring within Karamoja as a whole. These security effects have had a particularly strong impact within Karamoja most especially on the women and children. Elizabeth Stites and Darlington Akabwai critically discuss this in their research and they discovered this in the period of their research;

the act of disarmament in Karamoja has had what might be called unintended consequences, including increased insecurity for communities; stripping of essential and productive assets; the erosion of traditional mechanisms to cope with vulnerability and food insecurity; shifts in gender-based labor roles, responsibilities and identities; transfer of animal management responsibilities; and the collapse of the dual settlement and migratory systems central to the success of pastoral and agro-pastoral livelihoods. These consequences may have been unintended but not unpredicted; many occurred as recently as the 2001-2002 disarmament campaign which saw a sharp increase in attacks on communities following disarmament. (Elizabeth Stites and Darlington Akabwai, 2009, pg.10)

Over the years, migration of women and children from rural to urban areas in Uganda has increased as they search for new employment opportunities, better health services, education and security. However, the experience of the Karamajong women and children is unique as they are a marginalized and stigmatized community considered of low caste and thus denied participation in economic, social and political activities of the country from the colonial era to date. According to John Ssenkaaba;

Karamajong people have been historically marginalized and subjugated which treatment is evident since the rule of colonialists and even extended to the post –independence governments of the Republic of Uganda. (John Ssenkaaba; 2015; pg.VI)

However, with this kind of back ground the perspectives of Kampala residents towards the Karamajong migrants that manifests in their often violent, discriminative behavior and treatment has also not helped at all in making these migrants feel comfortable and welcome. Brenda, One of my friends found me on Kampala Road Street sided with the children and this is what she asked me;

Have you gone mad, after leaving Norway you have decided to become mad? What are you doing with those uneducated and dirty people? What can they do for? Will they give you a job? Stop embarrassing yourself and get off the street. (Field notes, August 1st 2015)

I could not really reveal to her why I was on the street so I just listened and bid her farewell. It was after my research and return to Norway that I told her why I was on the street. She was surprised but commended me for not letting my education determine my opinion on the Karamajong.

This group of migrants is viewed as culturally alien in Kampala and different from the majority of the population in Kampala. Kampala is a business and commercial oriented district with majority of the population educated. The

area is occupied by the Baganda who are an agricultural community with a different language spoken from the Karamajong. The Baganda have Luganda as their major language and English as a second language that is learned in schools while the Karamajong speak Kirijong and a few also speak Swahili. The Baganda are agriculturalists and most of the people are educated and hold office jobs from which they earn salaries and their own business for livelihood survival. However, these Karamajong migrants speak a different language- Kirijong. These migrants don't hold little or no education to help them compete for office jobs or money to start a business of their own. The study sought to examine how migration has affected these migrants socially and economically not from a Kampala centric view of an alien social class of people but from the point of view of the Karamajong women and children. It explores the social and economic factors that sustain these migrants' livelihoods. The strategies they have taken to earn a living and a better life and how this impact on their livelihood through the use of data collected from the field and secondary data from other scholars. I will use theories on gender, network and push and pull factors to examine the available literature and also add knowledge on the existing literature on work, women and children.

2.2 GENDER ASPECTS OF MIGRATION

According to Sandy Ruxton in her book *Gender Equality and Men, Learning from practice* written in 2004; she says gender and feminist theories support the view that due to the subordinate status of women vis-a-vis men in the familial, societal and cultural structures of both the sending and receiving societies, gender acts as a "filter". Boyd on the other hand asserts that gendering structural forces influence the migration and settlement experiences of women and men differently. Through the journey in search of opportunities, access to opportunities and finally the settlement in the new areas presents different socio-economic experiences and impact for women and children. Monica Boyd further asserts that;

Immigration laws and regulations of destination countries influence entry statuses of women and men migrants. Migrant women admitted as "dependents" may be placed in a legally dependent -- and potentially disadvantaged -- position in relation to men (Monica Boyd, 2003, pg.11)

According to the women interviewed during the course of my research. They said that; even before the migration they had already taken on the roles of the men to become the bread winners of their families back in Karamoja and held jobs with irregular and unreliable payments which were not sustaining. They made the decision to migrate to Kampala in hope of a better future. However, even in Kampala they have to string together a series of casual jobs to cover the daily expenses. They are responsible for their relative's domestic duties and other petty jobs like washing clothes and selling groundnuts, vegetables, soya beans, cigarettes, and sweets in order to earn a living. Ayoo, Opio and Kakisa assert in their research that;

It is the women who are usually the bread winners and as a result, they struggle to provide for their families by fetching firewood, burning charcoal, etc. to meet their demands. When these fail, they move out of the districts. (Sandra Ayoo, Robert Opio and Oliver T. Kakisa, 2013, pg 22)

It is from the money collected from these jobs that they look after the young children and send back home to the relatives they left behind for survival. Psychologically and physically the women are tough. Every time you talk to them about their lives, families and experiences they continually talk and point to God. They say God has protected and provided for them and their families. They say; 'we are not weak because of Him, we do not lack, we do not fall sick, we do not cry.' They show very little emotion and are very courageous and ambitious to achieve more and make their livelihoods much better each passing day. They talk and train their children to aim for more than they have. Those who can afford and want a better future for their

children have gone as far as enrolling their children in the government school- Katwe Primary School. Attending this involves parting with some money to pay for the scholastic materials and food for their children which impacts on the money the women can save. They are practically minded, and creative in the way that they use the little resources that they have. Those who are unable to afford to send their children to school, who are the majority, teach their children practical skills at home and places of work. They divide roles and days among themselves to train the teenagers and children to help them get a better future. The women are generous, kind, and ensure that those around them do not go without.



A picture of a woman and her child selling mangoes and groundnuts on the streets.

They are tired and napping as they wait for customers to stop and buy. These women engage in different work as domestic work before coming on the streets to engage in their own business. They do this as a way of supplementing their income.

Apart from being the sole bread winners, the women also mentioned the issue of social exclusion that existed in Karamoja. Social exclusion refers to being left out of mainstream society by systematically being deprived of opportunities for participation in economic, social and political processes. According to Ayoo; women are socially excluded from the ownership of productive resources in Karamoja, especially Moroto;

The women are socially excluded because of the perception that they are inferior to men. Their inferiority is determined by their lack of ownership of productive resources, in fact they are considered property of the men because of the bride wealth paid in marriage . (Sandra Ayoo, Robert Opio, Oliver T. Kakisa, 2012, pg.19)

Also in the social way of life of the Karamajong women and youth who are not initiated (circumcised) are not acknowledged in any form of social or cultural gathering. Women in Uganda face the highest risk of exclusion because of cultural biases, attitudes and social status. According to Mark S. Homan; culture in Uganda is one of the major causes of social exclusion of women. He asserts that;

Social exclusion affects the society of Uganda negatively. Women do not go to good schools; others do not go to school at all. Women are abused sexually because they are not valued and illiterate. They have remained poor and their contributions to development have not been valued or taken into consideration. (Mark S. Homan, 2015, pg 26)

Sandra Ayoo asserts that in most parts of Uganda women's views are not listened to and later taken into consideration. This is mainly because Uganda is a male dominated country and their views are more valued than those of women. They are looked at as inferior and excluded from decision-making and political engagements because society accords them little worth as she notes that;

Women's voices are not heard as loud as those of men because of the prejudice against women which affect their hearers respect to what they say (Sandra Ayoo, Robert Opio, Oliver T. Kakisa, 2012, pg.20)

The research participants argued that their views were never considered by their husbands. Mary argued that;

Of all the times I asked my husband to save money to take our children to school he silenced me. He always told me he was the head of the house and the decision was to be made by him. He thought it was better for the children to stay home and look after the cattle. My children cried and always asked me why they could not go to school like the other children in the community. This made me very sad so I decided to leave my husband and take the children with me to Kampala to make money so I could send them to school. (Field notes)

Based on Mary's story it's clear that most of the times these women just want their husbands to make better decisions that will help them as a family.

From the secondary data read most migration literature focuses more on who migrates and for what purposes, however there is not a lot of literature about gender-specific migration- (Boyd and Grieco 2003, pg.5). On the other hand Migration studies about expatriates tend to focus on males subsuming women as followers and dependents of their husbands (Thang Maclachian and Goda; 2002). However; this is not the case of the Karamajong women who migrate and have their children as followers while their husbands stay in Karamoja as dependents. The women migrate to Katwe in order to gain a sustainable economic livelihood and support themselves, their children, and for some their husbands and relatives back home. Thus in this thesis I focus on gender-specific migration of women and their children from Karamoja and its socio-economic impact on the livelihoods of these women and children.

Migration offers these women opportunities that include a chance to improve their economic and social status leading to improved life style and self-esteem. However, this exposes them to vulnerability through exploitation, human trafficking and abuse, (United Nations Report 2007). Most of the Karamajong women join the unskilled labor force such as domestic work, factory work, care work, petty trade and prostitution. This is because most jobs in Kampala acquire education and knowledge of the English and Luganda language – these are the main languages used in the office and labor market. This leads to poor working conditions, terms of employment, exploitation and low wages. According to a report by the New vision of Friday May 06 2015;

During the day many of these children engage in a variety of activities like carrying luggage, picking waste- scrap metal, rubber materials, plastic bottles that they sell to dealers, begging on streets, working in markets, loading and offloading as well as stealing. Some work as taxi touts while others in restaurants, washing dishes and related chores. (The New Vision News Paper, Friday May, 06, 2015)

According to the research participants, the traditional Karamajong livelihood setting involved seasonal migration because of drought and lack of pasture that were done by the men to establish networks outside Karamoja in case of need of assistance in times of trouble. They say the proximity of Karamoja to the Teso districts and the historical links between the Karamajong and the Teso people has historically allowed relatively easy movement between these two populations. Populations from southern Karamoja traditionally moved their herds into Teso pastures during the dry seasons, and established ‘stock associates’ or long-term—even multi-generational—connections between patriarchs across the district border. Individuals would return to their stock associates each year, and prioritized these

relationships for trade and exchange. People who out-migrated for casual labor on a temporary or seasonal basis often went to work for a stock associate of their family. Labor was provided in exchange for accommodation and sometimes cash or food to take back home. When drought was severe or households fell on hard times, Karamajong children would often be sent by their families to live and work with stock associates until conditions improved in Karamoja. According to a report by the International Organization for migration in 2014, migration in Karamoja has traditionally been part of the Karamajong livelihood system. The report argues that;

Traditionally, the Karamajong migrate to pastures in south and western Karamoja during the dry season. In the past, they also established kraals in neighboring sub regions like Iteso and Langi. A group of young men was sent ahead to obtain permission from local leaders to stay in those areas. Permission was usually granted, since it provided the hosts with the opportunity to trade with the Karamajong. This, at times, resulted in long-term relationships that lasted several generations. However, most Karamajong entered into more temporary relationships with their hosts. In these cases, the host would provide the Karamajong with food and assign them a plot of land for agriculture. In return, the Karamajong would lease their oxen to help their hosts cultivate their lands. When the Karamajong returned to harvest, they would end the lease of the oxen. This type of partnership was renewable if it proved beneficial to both parties. (International Organization for migration, 2014, pg. 21)

Julie's story further confirms the traditional way of doing things while she was still living in Karamoja under her parent's supervision and instruction. She narrates;

When my family didn't have enough food my father would send my sister and I to my uncle to work with people we called our relatives. Then we were 8 years old but later when we grew up we realized they were not related to us they were friends my father made when he would take the cows for grazing in the dry season. In 2009, the situation worsened with the disarmament and raids we had no food and money to survive so I asked my parents to allow me to travel to Kampala with my friend who had come to visit. That is how I ended up in Kampala, am happy because every week I send my family money for use. (Julie, research participant, 18th October, 2015)

Similarly, young boys would work as shepherds and girls would work in the agricultural fields, as domestics, or as child care providers. The labor of boys and young men was often required at home to look after the cattle of their own families, meaning that the proportion of females who out-migrated from Karamoja was often higher. Additionally, gendered divisions of labor means that there are more jobs for females (i.e., housekeeping, cooking, child care, fetching water, milking animals, farming, brewing and working in shops, making girls more adaptable employees than boys.

According to Elizabeth Stites and Darlington, the government disarmament policy has led to a breakup in the traditional gendered roles. The responsibility of sustaining for the household is shifting away from livestock – traditionally the domain of men – towards women and women's livelihood roles. The men who were the economic pillar of their households are kept in the houses under watch by the army. This has made them idle and unable to use their pastoral skills to provide for their families hence leaving the women as bread winners. She further asserts that this has resulted into lack of communication and understanding between the Karamajong and the army. This has also led to increased tensions and violence from the young men whose roles have been taken over by the soldiers (Elizabeth Stites and Darlington Akabwai, 2009, pg.17). As a result the women had to find alternative means of survival outside the household and Karamoja. Some

moved to Moroto and later were convinced by others to move to Kampala with their young children. Elizabeth Stites and Darlington Akabwai also illustrate this using an example from their research carried out among the Karamajong as seen below;

Only women are allowed to burn charcoal. If the soldiers find any man in the bush they suspect you and punish you. In the bad years past, men would have burned charcoal, cut grass and even cultivated the gardens near the forest. But now we are not allowed. Even if they find you planting with oxen alongside your wife you will be detained and your wife will be just left in the fields (Elizabeth Stites and Darlington Akabwai, 2009, pg.22)

This has led to the reversed traditional gender roles of the men and women and as result led to increased migration.

The research participants talked about the disarmament initiative (2001/2007) which further exacerbated the insecurity in Karamoja and undermined already stressed livelihood strategies and coping mechanisms. Research participants spoke of murder, rape, torture, looting and burning of manyattas by the Uganda Peoples Defense Force during the on-going disarmament activities. Several research participants said that young people or the entire family had left Karamoja in recent months due to the negative consequences of the recent disarmament exercises by the Uganda Peoples Defense Force, which were often followed by devastating raids by enemy groups. James Bevan gives an account of the years of the numerous government-led disarmament initiatives that had been launched in Karamoja, which have included; 1945, 1953, 1954, 1960, 1964, 1984, 1987, and 2001. Apart from the years shown he shows the ones that occurred after 2001. He shows that the disarmament initiative was launched again by the UPDF in the first half of 2006 and was ongoing until the end of 2007 (James Bevan, 2008, pg.54). He says that none of the initiatives have proved effective in reducing armed violence in the region. In fact, the most recent

disarmament initiatives appear to have had an escalatory effect on violence. According to James Bevan the 2001 initiative is highly relevant to the reaction of the Karamajong to the most recent (2006–2007) disarmament attempts. He asserts that the programme was relatively well planned and appears to have gained the support of a number of Karamajong groups. He shows that the Bokora, for instance, voluntarily surrendered up to 44 per cent of the projected number of arms in their possession, while the Jie and Dodoth surrendered an estimated 27 per cent and 20 per cent, respectively. However, he argues that the 2001 initiative proved damaging for subsequent disarmament initiatives because of its failure on several counts. The programme was initially voluntary, however; the operation became forcible after a fixed period of time. In some cases, this involved violence by the UPDF, which alienated many communities—notably those where some members had voluntarily been disarmed. To further illustrate this fact is a report by Simon Peter Longoli on News aired on the National Television -NTV Uganda—under the segment the Karamoja News. This segment was about Aramtori a resident of Loroo Sub County in Amudat distirict who had this to say when interviewed;

I lost 295 cows to the Uganda Peoples Defence Force (UPDF) when they raided Loroo in January last year, after a Pokot raid of Matheniko County in Moroto district. I am setting camp here at Parliament until my cows are brought back. The UPDF raided my cows; they either give them back to me or give me money to buy other cows. I am a peacemaker and my cows and others of peaceful men amounting to 3,500 have been taken by the UPDF. I come to Parliament to meet the President or those in authority over my cows, mismanagement of the disarmament process and injustices in Karamoja (Simon Peter Longoli a Karamoja reporter for NTV, January, 2016)

Traditional migration theories focus on push and pull factors and network theories and rarely look into the gendered dynamics and perspectives. I have

seen the gender reality play out in the course of my field work and how it has affected the livelihoods of the women and children as well as their families. In some cases this means family reunification and establishment in Katwe or another urban city like Mbale or Jinja. Migration plays a major role in the economic and social transitional process and contributes to higher incomes and better living conditions for these women and children. However on the other hand these migrants face many difficulties as police arrests, health issues as unwanted pregnancies and death. Migration to these migrants is seen as a better option to improve their standards of living but what is over looked is the high human costs to women as they are put in vulnerable positions with increased gender inequalities, lack of protection and sense of belonging.

2.3 DECISIONS TO MIGRATE: HOUSEHOLD VERSUS INDIVIDUAL

The household strategy theory contends that; households and not individuals make decisions about migration (Massey, 1990). According to the proponents of this approach, people act collectively not only to maximize expected income but also to minimize risks for the members of the kinship unit. Households control risks to their economic well-being by diversifying the allocation of household resources such as family labour (Lieby & Stark, 1988).

However, according to Boyd and Grieco review of the neoclassical economic models and the push-pull demographic models of the 1970's and 1980's, migration is seen as the outcome of individual decisions. The responsibilities of women as wives and mothers (and the role of men as breadwinners) are thought to influence the decisions of women. These gendered responsibilities explain why women are less likely to participate in migration decisions or in the labour force of the host country when they join their husbands. (Monica Boyd, Elizabeth Grieco, 2013. pg.1) According to Shawn Malia Kanaiupuni; family considerations create different migration risks for men and women throughout the life course. She asserts that migration research has labelled

women as 'secondary' or 'associational' migrants, who's "decisions are a consequence of the decision made by the primary movers" She says that migration research emphasizes women's participation in stage migration strategies where they later join husbands, the primary purpose being family reunification rather than economic gain .According to her men are more often single or traveling alone and are usually regarded as economically motivated travellers. In many regions, a traditional division of productive and reproductive labor encourages married women and those with young children to remain home while men migrate (Shawn Malia Kanaiaupuni, 1999, pg 5-6).

However, in the case of the Karamajong the women are travelling alone with the children while the men remain in Karamoja. The women are the primary migrators and they make their individual decisions to move. Mary asserts that;

I had to leave my husband at home looking after the family as I travelled to Kampala. I was invited by my friend in Kampala who had found a house keeping job for me. I saw this as an opportunity to make money to better the economic status of our family. (Field notes)

Stites also argues that; in Kobulin community in Moroto, North Eastern Uganda, most of the returnees interviewed said they had made an individual decision to leave. Many women and children make personal decisions to leave their homes to search for better opportunities and others flee from sexual violence often being inflicted on them in communities like Kobulin and Moroto where there is widow inheritance and forced marriages. Such women are often leaving without consulting or making a decision as a household (Elizabeth Stites, 2007, pg. 8).

Individual and family level factors, most women and children left Karamoja for a combination of reasons, loss of livestock, a series of poor harvests, death of breadwinners or key family members, poverty, and the weakening

or collapse of social safety nets. When these shocks occurred simultaneously or in succession, individuals or households found that they were unable to meet their livelihoods survival needs. In nearly all cases of people interviewed, the livelihood situation and health status of the individual or household had been in steady decline prior to departure. In most cases of outmigration, the final trigger event was the death of the bread winner in the household which caused other people in the household to leave their homes.

In this thesis I seek to expand on the existing knowledge of individual and household theories by focusing on the migration of Karamajong women and children. I examine the socio-economic impact of migration on the livelihoods of the Karamajong women and children. I illustrate that migration is both an individual choice and household's collective decision to better the household's economy and standard of living.

2.4 SOCIAL ASPECTS OF MIGRATION

The migration network theory is of sociological and anthropological origin – (Castles and Miller, 2009, pg.10). This theory attributes migration processes to personal, cultural and other social ties both in the sending and receiving communities. In migrant-sending communities, information about jobs and living standards elsewhere is transmitted through personal networks such as relatives, friends and neighbours who migrated. In receiving communities, people from the same community or who speak the same language often help their fellow men and women to migrate, find a job and adjust to a new environment. Kritz and Zlotnik argue that;

The development of such networks is dependent on historical, geographical and political ties, which existed before migration started.^{13'} (Kritz M.M, Lim, L.L and Zlotnik, H, 1992, pg.14)

Scholars in the study of international migration have recognized the role of social networks or migrant networks as an important force in explaining the perpetuity of international migration (Massey, 1987, Boyd, 1989, Massey et al, 1993, 1994, Portes, 1995). They argue that the chance of migrating is higher for those migrants whose relatives or siblings have migrated first. In many aspects the Network theory is applicable to the case of Karamajong women and children who migrate to Kampala. Most of the informants' interviewed said;

When we first came to Kampala we were given housing and financial support by our fellow Karamajong. They supported us by giving us food and a place to stay for the first two weeks. However, some of us just travelled without any links or promise of jobs but with hope that something will come up to earn a living from.¹⁴ (Field work notes August 17th 2015)

The research participants argued that it was much easier when they had someone to help them in the receiving community. They said that way it is easier to find work and also somewhere to sleep.

According to Laumann; network relationships can be based on the principle of complementarity- (Laumann et al 1978, pg.462) which occurs in a situation where actors who differ from one another in terms of access to resources, personal characteristics and ascribed attributes decide to enter in a partnership which is beneficial to all parties involved. In the case of the Karamajong women and children they are part of a larger network of groups that help them survive and earn a living in Katwe. Informants discussed the disproportionately high rates of out-migration as a snowball effect- whereby one person follows the next who follows the next and so on, resulting in the out-migration of a network of people connected through their clan associations, villages of origin and extended families. These networks initially existed through a system of stock associates going back

generations; today these linkages appear to be most often through word of mouth when one person returns home temporarily or sends word of work opportunities in Katwe and other areas surrounding Kampala. These networks have leaders who bring information to the rest of members on where they have seen jobs and others have gone ahead to recommend some of their peers for jobs at their work places. These relationships are sustaining in the sense that it is through these networks that they are able to earn a living, escape from police round offs as well finding food to eat and a place to sleep. One of my interviewee Gumperom had this to say,

During the common wealth summit when police was rounding us off the streets we were able to escape referring to himself and his brother because one of the leaders of the street children in Kibuye was on the streets alerting us to leave because the police was making arrests. (Field notes from informant on Jinja Road Street)

After establishing such networks in Katwe when they return home they bring with them a relative or friend back to the city. They initiate them in the system and help them to settle and start a new life. They educate the person on the skills needed to survive on the streets, run from the police and which organisations such as Katwe Youth Development Association to run to for help if arrested and they also give them numbers to call in the event that they are arrested. Innocent one of my informants says,

In October I was arrested by the police and the bananas I was selling were eaten by the police. I was kept in custody for a week and they charged me for being a thief because on the patrol car that night they got one man who was stealing. I was desperate but was released after another friend from the street was arrested and called Elvis one of the workers at an Organisation that works with street children. Elvis came and paid for our bail- word is he is a former street child who helps other street children in trouble. (Field report notes from informant in Katwe slum)

From my field study and observation it is clear that the networks the Karamajong women and children make outside the Karamoja area help them to have a sense of belonging which helps them in survival tactics both in their social and economic endeavours of livelihood. Hence the theory helped me to analyse how these social networks shape and influence the social economic livelihoods of the Karamajong women and children living in the Katwe community. Social connections to people within migrant community represent an important resource that can be utilised to assist in the migration process, communication and economic processes among the migrants. When one is part of a social network they transform the network into a connection of relationship that can be used by any of the members in the network to facilitate migration for relatives or siblings in the sending community and to gain employment and have a sense of belonging when they first arrive to the city and in a way have a community that they belong in case of trouble. Thus studying networks linked to individuals. Families and households helped to understand migration as a social and economic product but not as an individual decision by people. Boyd has this to say about the network theory,

Thus, studying networks, particularly those linked to family and household, permits understanding migration as a social product-not as a sole result of economic or political parameters but rather as an outcome of these factors in interaction. (Monica Boyd, 1989, pg. 642)

The thesis goes to show that being socially connected to a relative, sibling or friend who migrated creates a migratory information feedback mechanism where people in the same network act as vessels of information to potential migrants in the sending community in this case Karamoja which also affects the socio-economic way of livelihood of those involved in the process.

2.5 PUSH AND PULL FACTORS OF MIGRATION

Key informant talked about insecurity as the main push factor from Karamoja. They talked about 1975 as the first year of substantial numbers of people out-migrating, and explain that the early 1970s through the early 1980s was a particularly harsh period. They said that during this period human security was eroded, by the military under Obote II and the Lord Resistance army under Kony war. Muhereza Frank Emmanuel (1998) says there was a dramatic shift of events when the fall of Idi Amin in 1979 provided the Karimojong with an entire armoury from Moroto barracks. He says that the Karamajong started raiding and terrorizing the neighbouring areas of Olilim (Lango) and Usuk (Teso) through the 1980s with their new fire power. As result of this he asserts that; the Obote II government responded by placing units of special militias on the borders between Karamoja with Lango and Teso in order to contain Cattle rustling. However, this was contained briefly until rifts developed between the Acholi (led by the late Okello Lutwa and Bazillio Olara) and the Langi (led by President Obote himself) which led to the July 1985 overthrow of the Obote II government.

Muhereza further asserts that;

To bolster their front against the National Resistance Army (NRA), which had been waging a guerrilla war against Obote's government, when the NRA defeated them in 1986, the Karamajong fled with all their arms back to Karamoja and fuelled a new wave of rustling in the region. Massive internal raids erupted in Karamoja between 1986 and 1989 and cattle rustling reached heights never before seen in the history of the region. (Muhereza Frank Emmanuel, 1998, pg. 5)

His study further shows that, over the years, the majority of the Karamajong warriors have acquired modern automatic and semi-automatic rifles from the civil wars that have engulfed the region for several decades. He confirms that the Karamoja herders use these guns to defend their animals from raiders from both within and outside Karamoja, as they search for dry

season grazing resources. However, his study shows that they have occasionally turned against the unarmed populations wherever they go to graze in the dry season. This has also led to highway robberies, cattle rustling in neighbouring districts, raping women, and sometimes senselessly killing of innocent people. The research participants confirmed this by saying that there was retaliation from the neighbouring communities that the Karamajong had invaded. This in turn has led to unending insecurity in the region and open attack from their neighbours. As result they have lost a large number of livestock and people in this period. It is important to note that livestock holdings allow households to mitigate and withstand economic shocks. When households lack livestock they are significantly more vulnerable. The migrants interviewed at Katwe listed three main factors that underpinned their initial decisions to leave Karamoja: the intensification of intra-tribal wars and insecurity in the region.

Lowell and Findlay (2001, pg. 3); suggest that not only has the demand for skilled labour in developed countries increased but also pull factors such as “better wages and employment conditions, recruitment and cheaper transportation,” which encourage skilled migrants to seek jobs and opportunities in developed countries. However, with the limited social and economic opportunities available to most persons in Jamaica, the lure of the lifestyle in developed countries is difficult to ignore, Parkins suggest that;

Economic decline, widening inequality, increasing poverty, social displacement, crime and political crisis have been the main drivers of migration. (Natasha Parkins, 2010, pg. 24)

The pull factors such as better wages, good social and health services and employment opportunities in the case of Kampala district have led to the increased migration of the Karamajong women and children to Kampala in order to better their social and economic way of life. Informants interviewed said that, migration took place as result of pull factors such as better wages and employment conditions, cheaper transportation combined with push factors as poverty, social displacement, crime, health and political crisis as

the main drivers of migration of the Karamajong women and children to Kampala in order to better their social and economic way of life. According to Natasha Parkins in her study in Jamaica;

The major push factors influencing migration include, but are not limited to general crime and violence, an unstable economy which in turn affects an individual's social and economic opportunities and career advancement. (Natasha Parkins, 2010, pg. 24)

Considering the field notes gathered it's for sure that the networks they have made in both the Katwe community, the streets and their sending community in Karamoja gives the women and children an easy way to survive and live on the street, Katwe community as well as travelling home and talk about the good life they are enjoying to their peers and also earn a living to take care of siblings and families back in Karamoja.

In the view of the informants interviewed, migration also took place as result of pull factors such as better wages and employment conditions, cheaper transportation combined with push factors as poverty, social displacement, crime, health and political crisis as the main drivers of migration of the Karamajong women and children to Kampala in order to better their social and economic way of life. According to Natasha Parkins in her study in Jamaica;

The major push factors influencing migration include, but are not limited to general crime and violence, an unstable economy which in turn affects an individual's social and economic opportunities and career advancement. (Natasha Parkins, 2004, pg12)

During my field work interactions with the women and children most of them talked about abuse- rape by relatives and employers which led to trauma in the Karamoja community among their peers hence their decision to leave and migrate to Kampala for a fresh start in a place where no one knew them. Others talked about socio-economic problems as exclusion, discrimination, limitations to access health care and exploitation by

employers. The teenage boys and girls were exploited by their employers since they are not educated- because they are not educated they do more domestic work like washing clothes, cooking, cleaning compounds and cleaning houses. However, the employers many a times fail to pay them their wages and are deny them access to food and water in the homes that they work in. The teenage girls talked about being raped by their male employers who asked them to stay quiet and not say anything to anyone or they would kill them if they said anything to anyone so because of fear they said nothing. Many of them said they ended up pregnant and with sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV/AIDS. The majority of research participants argued that some of their counter parts ended up dead because they did not have the money to seek medical care. This was as a result of lack of pay and other just committed suicide because they lacked the will to live. Those who survived found an escape route through migration, one girl's story Nakato stood out;

My friend was raped by our boss and the boss threatened to kill her if she said anything to the madam of the house. Little did she know she was pregnant, when she learnt she was pregnant she told the boss and he still threatened to kill her so she took a tin of tablets that she found in the house and ended up dead. (Field research notes in Katwe; August 28th 2015)

This is the plight of many of these women and children that leads them to migrate to Kampala to look for a better future for themselves and their families.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 PERSONAL LIFE NARRATIVES

In this chapter I capture the stories of the research migrants about leaving and arriving in Kampala. In order to have an empirical base that is more inclusive I give an account of individual life stories of some of the research participants. These stories will help to give a clear picture about the relationship between the individuals and the households and work places. These will give a basis about their motivations and emotions in terms of social action. I also discuss the transport and movement patterns of the migrants after arriving to Kampala. Mary Jo Maynes, Jennifer L. Pierce, and Barbara Laslett in their book *Telling Stories* argue that;

Personal narratives—autobiographies, oral histories, life history interviews, and memoirs—are an important research tool for understanding the relationship between people and their societies. Gathering examples from throughout the world and from premodern as well as contemporary cultures, they draw from labor history and class analysis, feminist sociology, race relations, and anthropology to demonstrate the value of personal narratives for scholars and students alike. (Mary Jo Maynes, Jennifer L. Pierce, and Barbara Laslett, 2008, pg.1-2)

They further argue that telling stories calls attention to the subjective and intersubjective character of the analysis of personal narratives. They claim that unlike many approaches to social scientific and historical analysis the insights that personal narratives analyses provide flow from tapping into subjective takes on the world (those of narrators, analysts and readers). In this regard I explore and include the narratives of the research participants in order to present their own views as they narrated them during the field work interaction

3.1 NARRATIVES

These are the stories that the research participants told and I was able to record word for word during the course of the research about the experiences of the migrants while in Kampala.

3.1.1 INNOCENT;

I made 13 years last week but I still cannot remember when I first came to Kampala. All I can relate with is what my mother has told me, she says we came here when I was 5 months old. She brought my brothers, sisters and I to the city after my father passed away. She could not find work in Karamoja to earn money to look after us. My father's brothers and relatives took all the cattle and divided the property we had amongst themselves. (Field notes September 1st 2015)

From Innocent's story it's clear that he did not have much of an experience. This is because the decision to come to Kampala was made for him and he was too young to make sense of the whole journey.

However with Lucia and David there is a lot to learn and explore from their experiences from the start to their final destination of Katwe.

3.1.2 Lucia;

I vividly remember running away from home at the age of 15 years. My father came home and told my mother to prepare me for marriage because he had found a husband for me. My mother was worried and sorry for me because she wanted me to have a better future than she did. My father said I was going to stop going to school and the cattle he would receive would help him pay school fees for my younger siblings. I was scared and in tears the whole night and my mother said nothing. The following day she called me aside and gave me 60,000 Uganda shillings. She told me that was my bus fare to Kampala and a piece of paper with a phone number for her friend in the city. That evening she pretended to send me to the shops, when we got out of the house she

bid me farewell and wished me good luck. I walked for one hour before reaching the road where the bus that goes to Moroto stops. I waited for 45 minutes before the bus arrived and at 10 pm we started the journey to Kampala. We arrived in Kampala the next morning; I was in a strange place with no money, food, water or a home to go to. I spent the day and night roaming the streets of Kampala with nowhere to go. I returned to the park in the night and found people were still there. I asked for help but no one was willing to help so I left the park and went back to the streets. As I was standing on the corner of the streets a man approached me and asked me if 'I was selling'. I did not understand what he meant, but he asked me to follow him. Out of desperation I followed him and he led me to a dark corner. He told me he would give me 1000 Uganda shillings if I sold him sex. At first I was scared and tried to run away but he held my hand tight and tore off my clothes. He raped me and after that he threw 500 Uganda shillings beside where I was lying. I was terrified and ran as fast as I could. I found a corner in the hallway of the building near a dustbin and spent the night there. The next day I used the money to call the number my mother had given me. It is at this point that I met Annet who introduced to her business-prostitution. She said it was easy and I did not have to pay anything, I just had to use my body and brains. I did not communicate with my mother for long because I was scared to tell her the work I was doing because I was ashamed of myself. I returned home after four years and my mother had forgotten about me. She thought I had died, but she was happy to see me and gave me a warm welcome. (Field notes September 15th 2015)

From Lucia's story it's clear that her mother wanted to help her escape a bad situation by sending her away. Instead she put her in danger and ended up in a worse situation. From her experience it's clear that the kind of work these women and children engage in is not out of choice. It's a survival mechanism when they arrive at the final destinations that they did not anticipate when coming to Kampala. However, most of them say these

experiences help them to become strong and ready to work to make their lives better. Others do it because they have nowhere to go and want to make money to help their families that they left behind. They do not want to go back home as failures. Most of the research participants said that in their first four months in Kampala they engaged in begging and prostitution in order to earn a living. They said it was easy to earn money from the two because they did not need to inject money to start the business. They asserted that after these months they were able to set themselves up for trade in vegetables and food stuffs. They were able to buy a mobile phone, rent a shared room and start buying produce from the market for selling. The produce from the market helped them to make more money and with time they would go back home baring gifts for those they left back. However, on return from Karamoja they came back with a younger sibling and others came with children of their friends of about two years. I asked why they came back with the young children when they knew the hardships in the city. They responded by saying it was easy for people to give the young children money on the streets because they felt pity for them. Others said the young children are easy to train and do not disturb them at all. From the money they make they only provide food and a place to stay for the children. After a period of three years or more if they make good money they can take them to see their relatives and also take some money and home necessities. This situation is well illustrated by;

3.1.3 David's story;

One day my mother's friend came back from Kampala. My mother asked her if it was possible to take me with her. The lady – Diana her name when in Kampala, said she would take me if my mother gave her the transport fare. She also told her to escort us to the bus station since there are a lot of security checks by government. The lady and my mother agreed and on the day we were to leave she said we could not go because there were raids in Kampala. The police were taking everyone off the streets and sending them to the collection center in

Kampiringisa. We left after a week and my mother escorted us to the bus station. The journey was very long and I slept until we got to Kampala. On arriving to Kampala everything was different, there were a lot of flash lights, many people, vehicles and different colours. There were big and small vehicles, 'boda- boda' and so many people moving up and down. We went to Diana's home and she told me to call her mother otherwise I would end up in prison. That day we stayed home and she said we had to wake up early the next day. We ate bread and took a cup of tea for dinner; I slept on the floor since there was only one bed in the room. The next day she woke me up at 5am and we walked towards Kampala road. She put me in a corner with a bowl and told me to start begging like she had taught me the day before. I was scared and did not know what to do so I just put out my hand and those who took pity on me gave me some money. She brought me food that she had picked from the dustbin at the other corner of the street where there is a restaurant. When it came to evening she told me to do my best and raise as much money as I could otherwise I could not go home with her. After six month she realized I was not doing as well as she had expected. She packed me up and returned me to my mother in Karamoja. She complained to my mother that; I was lazy and not ready to learn. She gave my mother 10,000 Uganda shillings and left me there. My mother was very angry with me; she quarreled and abused me day in and out. After a week I realized I could not take it any more so I decided to look for money to return to Kampala. Luckily for me one of the neighbor's sons had returned and he was going back to Kampala I asked him if I would go back and he covers half my transport fare. I told him I would work for him to pay back the transport money with interest. He agreed and that was my second trip to Kampala. I made as much as I could from begging on Jinja and Kampala road streets. I paid off my debt and began working for myself, after one year and a half I could afford to pay rent, food, clothes and buy a mobile phone. After 8 years I returned home to find my family, I found my mother and siblings with no food. I brought food and the

necessities which made my mother proud. She was so happy that she asked me to take my sister with me on return. On leaving I left her with my mobile phone to ease communication between us. From that day we do not have to go home all the time. We send her money using the mobile money services on the phone (Field notes, September, 18th, 2015).

Research participants argued that they want to live a better life with their families. All they need is for the government to give them some startup capital and return to Karamoja. They said that Karamoja would be a better place if the government would give them a helping hand at the end of the day. Others said; *“if the good things we see in Kampala were in Karamoja we would not come to the city- good things referring to transport, hospitals and food and clothes.” (Field Notes)*

3.2 MOVEMENT PATTERNS

In the beginning it was hard to travel from Karamoja and back because of the poor transport system. It's now much easier because the government has constructed roads and the transport fare of 60,000 Uganda shillings is affordable. Some research participants said they had to wait for about a year before travelling to Kampala this was because they did not have the money they needed to pay for the transport fare. They had to first make some money through selling fruits, charcoal, firewood and vegetables. While others did not have to wait since a relative in Kampala paid for their transport fare. After collecting enough money for transport and necessities like food and clothes for the people back home. Most research participants said they felt more comfortable travelling home on big and special days like Christmas, Easter and New Year. This is because during this time of the year there is little activity on the streets. Most people travel to the village to spend the holidays with their families. Auma's story illustrates the movements further;

I work hard to earn money every single day. I communicate with my family using a mobile phone. I live in the city with my son- Gumperom who helps me around the household. We divide the work amongst ourselves to make as much as we can. He collects scrap and begs on the street while I sell market products like oranges, vegetables, beans and later in the day I join him on the street. We eat once a day to save money to help educate his brothers and sisters back home. Every Christmas we travel home with a lot of money, food and clothes for the people at home. After the 1st of January we travel back to Kampala to resume work. It is good to spend such important days with your family. My husband is always happy to see us because we come back baring gifts for him and the others. He now owns more cattle and is respected by the people in the community. (Field notes September 20th, 2015)

Research participants said they want to spend time with their families but also have to earn money to give them a better life. The children interviewed said they approached their parents to suggest that they out-migrate to generate food and cash to help the family survive. Others said they look at migration as a means to keep themselves alive in times of extreme hardship and hunger in Karamoja. The children said their parents are aware and approve of their leaving on a temporary basis. Others however, said that they left without the blessing or even knowledge of their parents. Married women migrants said their husbands were happy with the outcome of their decisions because they have helped elevator the social and economic statuses of their husbands. The women send money to their husbands who buy land and cattle which are a sign of prestige to the Karamajong. The men then encourage the women to continue working in the city and also take the elder children in order to make more money to elevator the prestige of their families.

3.3 MEANS OF TRANSPORT

The main means of transport is primarily bus or lorry. Migration takes place after saving enough money for the fare by the individual or the

household. Lorries are preferred because they are cheaper, and traders are usually willing to carry a load of people after unloading goods in trading centers such as Matanyi, Kangole and Iriiri. Research participants asserted that Matanyi is known as the collection center for children and women travelling to Moroto and Kampala. They have a known bus agent-Tidus- he provides free transport to the women sometimes through sexual favors and others times they pay him money. Iriiri road is a walking distance and difficult but for those who cannot afford the transport fare from Matanyi they use the Iriiri path. They walk for a week before they get to the main road at Moroto then they get a bus from there to Kampala. Girls and women reported selling firewood to accumulate enough cash for their transport fare. People who do not have adequate fares and have relatives in Kampala often are able to get rides 'for free', and their fare is then paid by a prospective employer at the end of their journey or with sex favors. Others said they moved with the livestock traders, whose movements are well known in Karamoja. Both today and in the past, traders and other migrants serve as a communication and exchange network between labor migrants and their families. These traders provide transport, information from the city to relatives and goods.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Majority of Karamajong women and children are attracted to Kampala mainly by social, economic, political stability, domestic markets, good roads, health services and good climate. In this chapter I present research findings on household activities, expenditure and savings. These are accounted for from the money the women and children make from petty trade- selling vegetables, oranges, grass hoppers, groundnuts, sorghum, and cigarettes, money collected from begging both on Kampala and Jinja road, domestic work in other households- washing clothes, caring for children and cleaning houses and prostitution.

4.1 Uganda Informal sector

The kind of work the research participants are engaged in is called informal work and falls under the informal sector of Uganda. The case of the Karamajong women shows that women participate in street vending as a way of economic survival. These women have moved from being agro-pastoralists to engaging in trade and informal employment. The migrants fall under one of these groups; married women who are supporting a large family because they are the sole breadwinners, single teenage girls with children to look after, widowed and divorced. These migrants whether in whatever group they fall under have a heavy economic burden. They have children to look after with so little money got from the economic activities they engage in while in Kampala. Some research participants said they cannot get better jobs because they have primary and below levels of education. The few that have secondary education do not have professional training. Looking at their levels of education the younger migrants have higher education than the older ones. According to Winnie V. Mitullah;

The informal sector is nearly the largest employer in Uganda accounting for 13 per cent of the labour force as compared to 5.3 per

cent in the formal sector. The growth of the sector dates back to the military regime of Idi Amin that resulted in economic dislocation and mismanagement of the economy. Amin's expulsion of Asians disrupted Uganda economy. Instead of replacing the Asian entrepreneurs with a structure that would foster economic development, a bureaucratic structure that fostered vandalism of the abandoned Asian establishments was installed. In all the case studies, women dominate street vending. This is due to the limited economic opportunities for women in both rural and urban areas, gender bias in education, and augmenting husbands' income. Besides these facts, street vending has a special appeal for women due to its flexibility. Women can easily combine street vending with other household duties, including taking care of children. (Winnie V. Mitullah, 2003, pg .4)

4.2 Cost of living

In Uganda it is said that a Ugandan survives on a dollar a day that is around 3,500 Ugandan shillings. But this is not the case as I discovered that most of my research participants are not able to spend that much in a day because of the many necessities in the home. They agreed to spending only 1,500 Uganda shillings or less on all the necessities of the day. One of the interviewee Achen shared her economic earnings and savings for her family of five for the month of October. According to the World Bank 2015, the Ugandan population survives on less than \$1.90 a day according to the International prices. (World Bank, 2015). Research participants argued that most times they cannot afford to get food or shelter which is the basic need for one to survive in the city. According to the research participants it is very hard in their first months in the city since they have not acquired any money as yet so they have to survive on make shift homes and food they pick from garbage bins. I was interested in finding out why the research participants decided to stay in Katwe upon arrival. They responded by saying;

We would also like to access the best basic utilities like food and shelter but we cannot afford it. We don't have the money to go and leave in those areas that are for the rich referring to areas as; (Kololo, Naguru and Entebbe). Even after we have stayed in the city for about a year we still cannot afford to stay in those areas. (Field notes)

They further said that in order to survive in Katwe they have to work hard, manage many jobs and wake up very early. They said they had to wake up early and work many jobs because they did not want to waste any hours of the day. A research study entitled Review of Street Trade in Africa done by Winnie V. Mitullah shows that trading life in the street is quite difficult based on street surveys she carried out in Ghana and Johannesburg. She asserts that;

It begins as early as 4.30 am and ends as late at mid night depending on the country and city. A recent survey of 7,500 informal traders in Johannesburg, indicate that traders work on average between 8 to 11 hours a day, but in 8 certain areas like Alexandra township the hours are much longer. A study of street vending in Ghana points out that trading begins between 4.30 am and 9 am with majority arriving at 7 am. Closing business occurs between 5.30 and 6 pm due to lack of lighting which makes vending sites insecure, especially for women. In Kenya, street vendors begin work as early as 5.30 am but trade until around 9 pm. Those trading late are located in areas with concentration of people such as transport nodes, bus parks/stops, clubs and other night spots. In Ghana, where street food has become popular due to the need for women to save time in food preparation, street vendors operate from all strategic locations at all hours of the day and night. They serve customers with spicy foods and beverages at reasonable and affordable prices. (Winnie V. Mitullah, 2004, pg. 8)

Like their counter parts in other parts of Africa the Karamajong women also wake up early. Some of the research participants quoted the popular proverb; *“the early bird catches the worm”*. They said this proverb is a

common reminder that in order to make it in life they have to sacrifice sleep and go to work early in order to get the best fruits and vegetables for sell. Those who work on the street asserted that sometimes it is easy to get money from people when they are still in a good mood. They believe people are in a better mood during the morning hours than the evening after a stressful day. Achens story further illustrates this clearly illustrates this.

Achen's story;

I wake up 3.00am every day to organize the children and myself for work. We wake up pray and ask God for a better day full of blessings. After this everyone reports to various duties either in the market, Taxi parks, households and streets. I sell vegetables, beans, eggplant and oranges in the Taxi Park in the morning. Around 12pm I leave to go and wash and clean houses for my employer. The boys go together to Jinja Road to beg while the girls sell ground nuts and sorghum on Kampala Road. At around 9pm we all return home and the children hand in their earnings for the day for keeping. We start preparing the meal for the night, after this Akol my younger son is put to sleep. My other children Alice, Eric, Esther and I leave him in the house to go and make some money. We go to the near pubs and wait on customers. The girls and I get customers first; it takes longer for my son. At times he doesn't get any customers and has to go back home earlier than the rest of us. We do this work until 3am and return home to have a bit of sleep before waking up to start the next day. The money is not so much but it helps supplement what we make during the day. (Field notes October 1st 2015)

The women and children adapt to the Katwe and street environment through the skills and habits they learn from the society in order to survive socially and economically. They are aware of what happens around them through observation and experience from what others in their community do especially the adults. For those Karamajong children born in Katwe they learn to beg even before they can talk. Most of the learning is done from

peers, relatives, mothers and other members of their community. The women and elder siblings train and mold the young ones on livelihood survival techniques. This stimulates the behavior of the child and he learns to communicate with his peers and people in the society. At an early age the children face social and economic hardships which make them strong and determined to make themselves better.

4.3 Division of work

Carol's story;

To have equal roles and ensure enough money is made a day. We all go out to work every day, the tasks for the day are discussed in the night. I give out the work, the time and the target amount each one of us has to achieve for the day. It has to be this way so that we are all motivated to work and do the different jobs. We all take turns on doing the market work so that the children learn the trade. However we all meet at the street after our different early morning jobs. Cleaning of the house and cooking is done by both the boys and girl, they each take turns at doing that. I want all of them to learn all the work we get our hands on incase one falls sick. (Field notes)

The day for these women and children starts at 3am. They walk from their homes in Katwe to the city center, some end up in the markets, people's homes and the streets. The days' work is assigned the previous night by the mother or elder in the home. Children are entrusted with individual and group tasks for the day. Regardless of the age they are all expected to return home with money at the end of the day. When a child does not return with money they are denied dinner and yet it's the only meal that they have in a day. Others are beaten by their parents or elders who collect the money. To avoid all these every individual works hard in order to meet the target set for the day and sometimes make more than what is required for that day. Those

who were brought in from Karamoja by their parent's friends are often returned to their parents in case they fail to make any money or hit the needed target for the week or month.

Unlike the traditional gender division of labour roles in the Karamoja setting, here roles are distributed basing on age and skills and all members of the family are involved. The changes in roles are a strategy used to enable the family to earn as much money as possible for their survival and all their dependents. The tasks for the days are alternated so that each member of the family gets the opportunity to learn all the skills required for the different jobs available. The women come up with orderly and coordinated ways of earning money by engaging all members in the family in the economic activities. This is done by maintaining time tables and a book to show what was earned the day before, who made the target for the day, who did not meet the target and the different skills each member is good at. This gives the mother the opportunity to monitor and control the children and as such consideration for division of work is based on age and skills.

4.3.1 Division of work based on age

The young children are usually given the work to beg on the streets since people take pity on them and are easily convinced to give them money. All women in Katwe would love to have a child especially those below the age of 4 years as a family member. For those who can give birth they have as many as three and for those who cannot, they travel back home to ask their friends with children to give them theirs with promises of sending them money in return. The friends give them their children and set an amount for the money they should be sent every month. Having a young child is a good strategy to earn as much money as possible. The set amount for these children is 15,000/- a day and at the end of the day they get a meal when they return home. Those of 6- 12 years are assigned to watch over the young ones as they also beg on the street, However, these are engaged and assigned other duties like picking beans, food and charcoal that falls in the markets. They collect these food items because the family depends on these

as food for the whole family. The children have to be vigilant to collect these items and they also pick the left-over food thrown away by the restaurants. When they take the food home the whole family eats that as the meal for that day. The teenage girls and boys are involved in more work like scrap metal picking, prostitution, domestic work and selling food items from the market. The household work is done by everyone apart from those of ages 4 and below. James' story confirms this fact;

When I was younger my mother used to carry me on her back to the market. After purchasing the food produce she needed to sell she would hand me over to my sister. My sister would place at a corner of a street and move a way for an hour and return after. She would ask her friends to watch over me. When I grew up at the age of 6 my mother had my younger sister and I also had to take care of her. My sister moved on to work as a domestic help with mother. They would come later in the afternoon to join us on the street. Later in the evening we would walk home and have dinner. After this my mother and sister would leave us locked in the house because they had to go out. (Field notes)

The nature of work and its distribution of work is the same in all the households. The cycle and patterns of work are the same each week, month and year for all the family members.

4.3.2 Division of work based Skills

Mothers easily identify which child has the best skills for the different jobs they engaged in as a family. During the months of the year when there is more money to earn as; January, July and December. The children with the best skills especially in begging are placed on the streets accompanied with the younger ones. In this way the people take pity on the young child and older one goes through the traffic easily and quickly to beg from many as people as possible. Akello one of the research participants had this to say;

After three years on the streets, it's now easy for me to identify if someone is going to give me money. The moment I put out my hand and look at that person's face am able to tell if they are going to give me something. If not I move on to the next car before my colleagues get to it. I have to make a decision very quickly otherwise before I lose the next person to a colleague. Am proud of my ability but am able to collect a lot of money and make my mother happy. (Field notes)

From the interactions made with the participants it clear that the way work is structured is in its self an economic survival technique. This helps these women and children survive in the Katwe community and their families back home.

4.4 Sources of income

Peter Hammond notes in his research; 'everyone derives their livelihood from selling something to the market' (Peter B. Hammond, 1965, Pg.96). In the case of the Karamajong women and children they sell anything that can earn them money which includes engaging in sex for money. This is the plight of these migrants in a bid to survive and earn a living. The research participants said that they are trained for agro-pastoral production. They said this is a great disadvantage since their skills are not transferable to a Kampala in which expertise and specialized education is required. The In order to survive the migrant women and children usually engage in low paid manual labour while others find alternative income generating activities that may also be illegal. The research participants said that there are few skills that they come with from Karamoja that can help them survive economically. These skills include; women and girls brewing local alcoholic beverages, domestic work for the local and selling of fruits and vegetables. This makes it easy to acquire employment in markets where they help carry, sort and measure produce, or sell charcoal. I use the example of Achen's family because from the data collected all the research participants showed the same patterns of livelihood in both earning, spending and saving. Achen has two boys, Akol 6 years and Eric 12 years and two girls' one of the girls

Carol is 13 years and Esther 16 years. She says everyone in the home is involved in different activities in order to generate enough money.

(i) Table showing Household activities and earnings for Achen's family for 5 months: July to November

Activity	July	August	September	October	November	Total
Petty trade	100,000/=	50,000/=	80,000/=	100,000/=	200,000/=	530,000/=
Domestic work	100,000/=	50,000/=	80,000/=	70,000/=	100,000/=	400,000/=
Begging	450,000/=	300,000/=	150,000/=	150,000/=	300,000/=	1.350,000/=
Metal scrap	25,000/=	40,000/=	25,000/=	30,000/=	60,000/=	180,000/=
Carrying luggage	37,000/=	80,000/=	20,000/=	10,000/=	100,000/=	247,000/=
Prostitution	20,000/=	70,000/=	50,000/=	100,000/=	200,000/=	440,000/=
Total	532,000/=	490,000/=	245,000/=	590,000/=	660,000/=	2,517,000/=

Each activity brings in its own amount of money as illustrated in the table above. The earnings keep changing depending on the month. This is due to many factors as, Children going back, rainy days, months when there are tourists in the country and Festive seasons months like December when there is Christmas.

Prostitution

Prostitution in Uganda is illegal however these migrants still engage in the trade. The migrants involved are of both sexes. Both sexes engage in the activity because of the existence of clients of both sexes. Families take part in order to boost their income. However, not much is collected from this since the prices are negotiated between the seller and the buyer. Usually the sellers take on the price of the buyer since there are many people on the streets where this business is done. The more clients one gets the more money. It is much better to agree as quickly as possible in order to make as much money as possible.

Children going back to school

When children are in holiday there is more work for those who do domestic work in people's homes. This is because they have more clothes to wash, more cooking and cleaning in the house hold. When the children are at school there is less work. Washing of clothes is done over the weekend and cleaning the houses is done every after two days.

Rainy days

The rainy days are not good for those who are in the begging business. This is because people are not walking on the streets and the children cannot go into the traffic to beg. These days are also unfavorable for those who carry luggage because the rain reduces on the people carrying goods and heavy luggage. On the other side it is good business for those involved in prostitution since they get more customers when it cold. The customers are willing to pay double the amount they usual pay.

Tourist Months

The months of July, November and December have many people coming into the country for holiday. It's a good time to earn money for the children on the streets. This is because these people on holiday especially the Whites feel pity for these children and give them money. Others go to the length of going to supermarkets to buy them foodstuffs and clothes.

A picture of children begging on Christmas day



Festive seasons and holidays

During the festive seasons people are in a good mood and happy. They usually feel pity for the women and children on the streets and give them some money. Increased presence of Ngo's like Raising voices, Retrak and Uganda Hearts Vision giving food supplies to the people in the slums. These organize special Christmas parties for the people in the slums on Christmas and Easter. They give the women and children food packed white polythene bags. They usually serve rice, beans, meat and a soda. This is a time that these women and children look forward to. However, on some holidays in December they make less since people travel to the villages to spend time with their families. This reduces on the money they earn since offices and restaurants are closed. This forces some of them to also travel home and spend time with their families. Gloria's story illustrates this more;

In December 2014, I made a lot of money. God was good to me because there were many people on the streets. I managed to collect 325,000/= from the street during the day. In the night I had many customers to who paid me well. On normal day they pay 3000/= a night per hour, this time a got good customers who paid me 20,000/= each for the nights I spend with them. This year, referring to 2015, has not been good year for me. It seems everyone has gone to the village to be with their family. I did not make plans to go home because I thought I would make money like last year. (Field notes January 3rd 2016)

Most the research participants look forward to these festive seasons because they earn more than they do during other months of the year. This enhances their earnings, way of life in terms of housing, eating and saving. The children migrants who participated in the research said; *'begging is a good business since there is no energy involved.'* (Field notes)

A research entitled Child Migration from Karamoja done by the International Organisation for Migration in 2014 also confirms the fact the children enjoy begging. The children they interviewed also confirmed to the fact that begging is good and encouraged by their parents. These are some of the responses they got from both the children and mother;

Begging is good because there is no energy wasted." FGD participant, Lokopo. This income is apparently large enough to justify the practice of "leasing" children to others, as a mother who migrated to Kampala with her daughter recalls: "Sometimes I would go with the child to beg, and sometimes my Karamajong friends would rent her out. They cheated me and brought me little money, so I took the child back." Parent of a child migrant, Lopeei sub-county, Napak District. (International Organisation for Migration, 2014, 31-32)

The report goes ahead to explain that even though the participants considered begging as good, it may expose them to violence from city

dwellers and authorities. Although profitable, street begging attracts the attention of authorities and towns people who do not welcome these children in their city.

4.5 Household Expenditures

The survival strategies and techniques of the women are developed from their day to day activities and earnings of the day or month. From their earnings they come up with ways of spending and saving focusing on the priorities of their families. In terms of food to purchase the cheapest food but is able to satisfy the family. A typical meal consists of beans, posho [from maize flour], cassava and sweet potatoes. Cassava and sweet Potatoes are many times taken without any kind of source but with water. This is done in a bid to save money to acquire land and animals in Karamoja. Land and cattle give one status in Karamoja so much is saved to buy these back home. I will use the expenditures of Achen's family to illustrate this in the table below.

(ii) Table showing Household expenditures

ITEM	JULY	AUGUST	SPETMBER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	TOTAL
Food	162,400/=	100,000/=	50,400/=	60,000/=	100,000/=	472,800/=
Rent	50,000/=	50,000/=	50,000/=	50,000/=	50,000/=	250,000/=
Clothes	205,000/=	No purchase	No purchase	No purchase	No purchase	205,000/=
Charcoal	57,000/=	No purchase	20,000/=	No purchase	60,000/=	137,000/=
water	6,000/=	6,000/=	6,000/=	6,000/=	6,000/=	30,000/=
shoes	30,000/=	No purchase	No purchase	No purchase	No purchase	30,000/=
Savings	21,600/=	334,000/=	118,600/=	474,000/=	534000/=	1482,200/ =
Total	532,000/=	490,000/=	245,000/=	590,000/=	750,000/=	2,607,000 /=

Achen says she spends money mostly on food, rent, charcoal and water because they are the most important necessities. She says things like clothes and shoes are not so important since someone can wear the same cloth for months. She however says it's very important to buy shoes and clothes in December especially for Christmas because this is the time they return home. They have to dress nicely when travelling and when they are home so that people do not despise them. Like Achen, most of the research participants confirmed to saving money that they send back home to their husbands and Families. This money helps them to boost the social and economic livelihoods of their families. Division of labour based on gender, in Karamoja the boys and men's work is looking after cattle while women's work is digging, weeding, harvesting, threshing grains, collecting firewood, fencing the home, brewing, fetching water, cooking and child bearing and upbringing. However in the case of Kampala everyone in the family participates in all the activities that help earn money. Work is not distributed based on gender; everyone should learn the different skills needed.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 MEETING THE SOCIAL AND MATERIAL NEEDS

In this chapter I look at the social and material needs the migrants are able to cater for with the money they earn from all their economic activities. I show that the women and children have to prioritize on the needs they have to cater for. The women and children consider food, water, rent, saving and communication in form of mobile phones as the major necessities. Joseph is 7 years of age and he has been working on the streets since he was born. He says sometime he wants to have nice clothes and shoes like the other children he sees passing him on the streets. However, he says this is not possible because the money he makes is used for the basic needs for him and his sister Cece who is 3 years. He says that they try as much as they can to help their mother to earn the money they need to buy land in Karamoja. Joseph narrates his predicament;

We all have different social and material needs as a family but we concentrate on the basic needs. The money we earn is used to buy only the necessities that my mother sees as important. The rest of the money is saved so that we can buy land once we return to Karamoja. We are required to work a lot so that we earn a lot of money. My mother promised that after we have made enough money she will be able to take us back to school. (Field notes).

Like Joseph other child participants want the same basic necessities but they cannot have them. For those with parents, the decision on what should be purchased is made by the parents. Those who take care of themselves also cannot afford them because they have to pay rent and buy food for themselves. Smith does not have his family in Kampala but he also cannot get everything he needs. He says;

I would love to save money to go to school, buy nice clothes and shoes, eat nice food and live in a good house. However what I earn from begging and scrap is not enough to sustain myself and also take care of

my siblings in Karamoja. I have postponed all these until my sisters finish school (Primary School). Am sure after this they can make their own money or get someone to marry them. (Field Notes)

5.1 Food and Water

Research participants said; as members of a household the members of a family can only afford to have one meal a day in order to cut on the costs of food and water. Those sharing a room and are not related usually eat out before coming home and for those who cannot find food they sleep on empty stomachs. A meal for a family mainly consists of posho (*maize flour*) cooked with tomatoes and salt on a regular basis because it's the cheapest meal and takes little time to prepare. However; when they get some money the mother then buys a kilogram of beans they eat for three days served with posho. For those with no family they buy a chapatti and beans sold on the street and return to the housing establishment just to sleep. Opio says that;

When I came to Kampala in 2001, I didn't know anyone so had nowhere to go. After a few months I managed to get money through begging and rented a room for 30,000/-. However, due to economic difficult I could not afford to pay the rent so I asked three of the boys that I was working with on the street to come and stay with me. They agreed on the basis that we would share the rent every month. This made easy for us to have a home and a place to sleep after a long day of work. (Field notes)

Like Opio majority of the children who have no family to stay with said this was a better option and they felt secure.

The women assert that; water is brought at 100/= a jerry can and this is used for cooking food, washing cups and plates. However, when they have money and can afford they buy two to three jerry canes so that they can wash and bath. For those that can afford at all they wait for the rain and collect water in contains that they store. If it does not rain for a long time they use the water from the sewerage systems.

5.2 Health

They say a woman is a warrior and a survivor. With prayers God keeps us and our children free from diseases, death and harm. So for us health is not something we have to worry about. We live each day as it comes and leave the rest to God. (Field notes)

These women entrust their health to God and they believe that God is always watching out for them. They say that whether they seek treatment or not if a day comes and they are die its part of God's plan. They believe no one can change God's plans even with medication and treatment. The aspect and mighty of God is embedded in their religious belief in traditional religion. In the 21st century many Karamajong have converted to Christianity. However, they still practice traditional religion and belief in their deity 'Akuju'¹⁵. They believe that he resides in the earth and they communicate with him. 'Akuju' is believed to bless the people in all aspects of their lives especially their Health, social and economic life style.

Migration has had a great impact on the health of these women and children- migration is in and of its self not a risk to health. It has been shown that it is the conditions associated with the migration process that contribute to the vulnerability of individuals to health risks. For those who seek treatment from hospitals they were impressed with the existence of clinics everywhere. They said they get good treatment from Kampala City Council Hospital and within a few days they get better and resume their daily duties. As Jessica comments;

It's easy me to access medical care when I need it but it's not very common for me to go to the hospital. At least the clinics and hospitals are very many in Kampala compared to Karamoja where you have to walk for long before getting treatment. (Field notes)

¹⁵ 'Akuju' is a word used to mean Karamajong supreme God

However these women and children lack education on Health. As many women and teenage girls engage in trading sex for economic survival. In Katwe slums it is common for girls to become sexually active at a much younger age than boys, causing the rise of HIV/AIDS to become even more pronounced. According to Rogers Kasirye Rogers Street children face a number of health and social hazards including early unwanted pregnancies and consequent crude abortions, birth complications, drug effects and risk HIV/AIDS infection. (Kasirye, 2004, pg.5) In addition to Rogers the World Health Organisation asserts that HIV/AIDS is the second leading cause of death, and would most probably rank first as a cause of death in this age group by 2003 (UNAIDS/WHO Global Report on HIV/AIDS Epidemic, 1998). Older men are breaking long-established social customs and choosing younger and younger girls to become their sexual partner in order to avoid catching HIV. In doing so, these men are in fact infecting them with HIV. HIV prevalence among 13–19 year old girls is at least 10 times higher than in males of the same age. Moses' story of his sisters is a clear indicator of this;

My two sisters used to sleep with different men. Some days they would have more than three men and on other days more. One day one of them became sick, because we did not have money we could not take her to the hospital. After a while we had to leave her home and then one day she died. My other sister Joan said she died of HIV which made her cry. When I asked her what the matter was, she said she was also going to die. (Field notes)

This is the plight of these women and children as they forge a way to survive in these slums. They do everything within their means to earn a living and improve their livelihoods which has also cost them their lives in the process.

5.2.1 Toilets

According to my research informants there are only 10 toilets in the area. For one to use the toilet they have to pay money each time they use it. Otherwise they have to wait and go to Jinja Road Street where the Kampala City Council constructed toilets that they use for free. For one to use the toilet for a 'short call' they part with 300 Uganda shillings and if it's a 'long call' they part with 500 Uganda shillings. This is not good for people who have a big family because each member has to pay this amount of money before using the toilet. So some wait for the night and defect in the sewerage drainage system or wait for the next day. Others opt to use a basin; they collect everything in a basin and pay once in the morning. They leave the basin outside but sometimes the contents are poured by the animals that pass on their verandas in the night. This increases the rate of diseases like diarrhoea and cholera which has claimed many lives in these slums. Comparing data from another research done by Sundal in 2010 on the Karamajong living in Kisenyi shows a similar trend to those living in Katwe. As she illustrates in her discussion below;

The landlord also charged additional fines and beatings if children's faeces were left in the building. Young children often defecated directly on the ground. Sometimes in the same locale residents used for sleeping and eating. (Sundal Mary, 2010. Pg.77)

Such ways of life aggravated the already bad health conditions of the people. These places at times become bleeding places for disease as Cholera, dysentery. These diseases stress the economy of the migrants as they have to spend money on treatment. There is also of money since the sick person cannot go out to work and needs someone else to care for them and

5.3 Mobile phones

Communication is through the use of mobile phones. However, they do not keep account of expenditure on airtime; they load on a monthly basis. This is because mobile phones have three purposes. The mobile phones are used

for communication, saving money and keep track of members of the family or groups. Research participants said mobile phones are important and are necessity for their day to day work. Esther one of the research participants said;

I own a double line phone with two different network sim card and all my friends also have the same. I use the MTN number for the mobile money services; I deposit my money at the end of the week and also use it for sending money to my mother back home. I use the warid line for making and receiving calls. In order to make cheap calls I load airtime and activate free calls- 'pakalast'. (Field notes)

This is a common trend for all Ugandans; they all carry more than one mobile phone. One for calls and for mobile services, they go for the cheapest network for calls. Most use Warid telecom because it enables one to activate warid minutes commonly known as 'pakalast' that they can either use for a month or week without loading airtime all the time. Esther says this helps her save a lot of money and she says she only loads airtime when it's urgent. She doesn't have the money to waste on buying airtime.

5.3.1 Mobile money services

All research participants I interacted with owned phones. They said phones were a secure and easy way of keeping money. When sending money home they use the mobile money service of MTN Uganda which they say is cheap to use and also secure. MTN Uganda is major Mobile money service provider in Uganda with its head office is in Johannesburg. It offers mobile services as; calls, data, sms and mobile money services. According to the MTN website, MTN Uganda started its Mobile Money service, in March 2009. Within a year, 600,000 Ugandans had signed up. It further explains that due to their aggressive recruitment drives to win more subscribers, the service has more than 1.6 million users including the Karamajong (MTN Uganda website). It boasts of full visibility in all parts of the country with Mobile money kiosks and the fact that their network reaches 85% of Uganda. This makes it's a favourite mobile network in the country that is

used by all Ugandan citizens. Research participants said it's the best option for mobile money service because of its low rates on withdrawing and sending money. The Karamajong women and children say it's much cheaper to use the mobile service than travel home. Travelling home costs one about 120,000/= to go and return yet sending and withdrawing money only takes 10,000/= at most when sending a lot of money. This has also strengthened their ties with people back home and also helped them develop. By sending money home the people they left behind especially their husbands acquire food, land and cattle which improve the social and economic status of the family.

5.3.2 Mobile phones as a Connection for Jobs

Mobile phones are also used to communicate amongst themselves in the city. Phones also act as a network for connection to jobs and for warning when the police are making arrests. Achen said that;

When I had just come to the city I was sad because I could not communicate with my daughter and husband in Karamoja. After 2 months of work I bought a phone which helped me to communicate with them. If I need something I call them and when I need to send money it's easy to send. The money I save is sent to my husband at the end of the month for him to purchase land and cows. I do this because for fear of thieves breaking into the house and taking the money. I deposit the money on the phone because it remains safe even when the thieves break into the house they can't access the money. (Field notes)

To stress this more, another lady Janet says;

It has been of great help to me. I use it to keep and save money from my businesses and when am ready to use it I withdraw it anywhere. Since I don't have a family in Karamoja, am keeping my money so that I can

buy land when I return to Karamoja. I guess two years from now I will return and settle in Karamoja. (Field notes)

From this, one can clearly see that mobile services have been a great way to help the women and children sustain their livelihood in Katwe and the streets. Hughes and Lonie also argue that mobile money through an increasingly large mobile phone user base provides a platform that could potentially be leveraged to service the financial needs of the poor. They argue that in the developing world, where the reach of banking infrastructure is severely limited, mobile money services are of great importance since they can reach more people faster and cheaper. (Hughes and Lonie 2007; Lyman, Pickens et al. 2008; Mas and Kumar 2008; Morawczynski 2009).

5.4 Education

After looking at the family's expenditure I did not see anything on education, toilets and health. This caught my attention since I consider these necessities of life as well. I got a clear explanation from my research participants because to all these were not important necessities. These were my discoveries as I carried out my field work in regards to these three aspects.

Adoy says;

I have always dreamed to go to school someday. It's hard right now because my mother cannot afford it and I have to help her earn money. The money we make is sent home to help my siblings to go to school. I hope one day we will have enough money so that I go back to school. If I go back to school I want to become a pilot and travel around the world. Give a better future to my mother, buy her a house and take her to see other places of the world. (Field notes)

Adoy dreams of going to school someday as many of his peers in Katwe and on the streets. However; their plight is they cannot afford it even with the existence of Katwe Primary school owned by government. They cannot go because they have to help their parents with earning a living.

The women want to see their children enrolled in school but they cannot afford it. The children have to work with their mothers to earn money to support the family. This puts the mothers in a dilemma because they want their children to be educated and be better than they are. However, they say this has proved a big challenge because if the children go to school it reduces on the flow of income. The women say they cannot do one job because they survival on multiple jobs in order to earn money for survival. They believe it's better to train the children with practical skills which they teach them in the home. They believe these are more important in one's life since they provide them with the knowledge to make money and survive socially and economically. Carols asserts that;

I would love to see my children go to school but how will I manage to look after them. After all they spend long hours at school doing nothing. It's also very expensive to buy books and everything that these schools ask for. Am hoping I can take them maybe someday in the future after we have made enough money. (Field notes)

Just as the women I agree that it's every child's right to acquire an education. From the women's point of view education is a key factor in order to advance economically but they cannot afford to send their children to school. As result the women resort to teaching their children from home. They teach them skills on how to beg, engage in prostitution and how to buy and sell things from the market.

5.5 SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

Grace speaks of her friends on the street;

I met most of the girls I work and walk with on the streets. I heard them speak the same language as me so we became friends. They help me plait my hair and I plait theirs. When they learn of work opportunities they usually tell me. We also talk about things like men and how we work with them to give us money. We do not play because we use all the time we have to make money. (Field notes)

Much of the social life of the women and children is at the work place. Socialization for the children is done on the streets where they meet their peers. They do not have time to play because they are there to work. They however know each other's names and where they stay. For those who live in Katwe they move together when they going and coming back from the streets.

For the adult women socialization is done in the market place, streets and households. The women make friends with the people that they buy things from and create close relationships with these people. This is because when these relationships are well maintained it's easy to get things for selling and pay for them after getting money. On the streets the friends they make help them look out for their children when they are not on the streets. For those who do not have children they usually request their friends to lend them their children to help them beg and then pay them at the end of the day. When interviewed Margret had this to say;

When I broke my legs and I could not move so I asked my friend Alice to lend me her son. He would beg for me as I sat in the shed and watched him. One day some white people came to Katwe and were giving out wheel chairs for the needy. I was happy because this would me but it was hard because I needed some to push me. I requested to Alice to keep her son, he pushes me from Katwe to Jinja Road and back to Katwe every day. The money we make is divided between her and me at the end of the day. (Field notes)

Socialization for these women is a survival mechanism. Relationship are made and maintained to help them in their economic and social way of life.

Research participants said it is very important to make friends who will help you in times of hardships. Some of the research participants said they are alive because they get food from their friends. The young research participants said they are part of a group on the street. They say this is a major point of socializing and finding jobs. They join groups of people with the same interests, age and sex because these are vital in learning the skills of earning money on the streets. Others said they use these groups to talk especially when they feel lonely and want to give up on life. These groups act as a support system for the women and children. According to the World Health Organisation report; the members tend to protect each other in the face of gang wars, police arrests or other risky situations (WHO, 2000:18). It further explains that; “Experienced street children teach new comers how to survive. Members of the group share food, clothing, shelter, information and psychoactive substances” (WHO, 2000:17). The children said that they rely on their friends for protection while others joined organised gangs. These gangs have their own designated territories where a certain gang is not supposed to cross over to other territories. These gangs have hierarchy and are leader by a leader- usually this leader is someone who has lived on the street for a long period of time. They also have spokesperson and they usually hold meetings in order to forge way forwards for members of the group.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter I will give a brief description of what the research is about. I will give areas where further research and knowledge is required in the conclusion.

6.1 Summary

The primary aim of this study was to investigate and provide a clear understanding of the impact of migration on the socio-economic livelihoods of the Karamajong women and children in Katwe. The research included places of Katwe where the migrants stay and other areas like Kampala and Jinja road streets and the Owino and Nakasero markets because these are the areas where the women and children carry out their economic activities for survival. The two had to be included in order to get a better understanding of the women's work. These areas offered the best case study because the highest number of Karamojong women and children can easily be found. The study concentrated on the women and children because of their increased presence on the streets.

While the traditional gender roles of home caring, agriculture and child care have not been strange the new dimension of new gender roles of women becoming sole 'bread winners' generates new attitudes, expectations and status for the women and children. I show how the reversed gender roles from home caretakers to bread winners as the husband take on the household duties has affected the family institution. The women now also refer to themselves as 'warriors' just like the men did in the traditional setting. I discuss how these changes have helped the women to improve their socio-economic livelihoods and those of their families. How the women have been able to save and buy land and cows back home in Karamoja.

By discussing the economic activities the women and children are engaged. I show that these migrants are satisfied with their new livelihoods and are

ready to work and establish themselves in the city. The women prefer to stay in the city and make money and go back home just for holiday and acquire more land and cattle in the village. It shows that the city gives the women more opportunities and status as opposed to when they are in Karamoja.

6.2 Conclusion

The limited time of six months in the field made it hard for me to get data on what the government is doing to cater for the wellbeing of the women and children in Kampala. Therefore there is a compelling need for research on how the government can help the women and children live comfortably in Kampala without forcing them to return to Karamoja. The government can carry out research on how best they can help these women and children settle down in Kampala. They can seek the opinion of these women and children before coming up with the strategies to resettle them in Karamoja.

Also there is need for knowledge on information of how the Karamojong men perceive the idea of the women and children being on the streets. What this means for the men who are supposed to be the heads of the families. There is also need to know why few men and at times none take part in the migration to the city.

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