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REFUGEE WOMEN'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP: EXPERIENCES, CHALLENGES, AND OBSTACLES IN NYUMANZI AND MAAJI II REFUGEE SETTLEMENT, UGANDA

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my grandmother, who I will forever be grateful for. I also dedicate this thesis to the women and young girls in Nyumanzi and Maaji II settlements, as well as other settlements, who have gone beyond their vulnerability to amplify their voices. This thesis is also to the workers in refugee settlements striving to build resilience, empower and give hope to young girls and women to achieve their full potential despite conflict and vulnerability.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ABBREVIATIONS / ACRONYMS

CRRF	Comprehensive Refugee Response Framework
IRRI	International Refugee Rights Initiative
LC I	Local Council 1
LC II	Local Council 2
LC III	Local Council 3
LC IV	Local Council 4
LC V	Local Council 5
LC	Local Council
LEAP	Leadership, Empowerment, Access, and Protection
NDP	National Development Plan
NGOs	Non-government organizations
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
REF	Refugee Engagement Forum
ReHoPE	Refugee and Host Populations Framework
RLP	Refugee Law Project
RRP	Refugee Response Plan
RWC I	Refugee Welfare Council 1
RWC II	Refugee Welfare Council 2
RWC III	Refugee Welfare Council 3
RWC	Refugee Welfare Committee
RWC	Refugee Welfare Council
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNWOMEN	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
UNHCR	United Nation's High Commission for Refugees
UWONET	Uganda Women's Network

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ABSTRACT

Uganda hosts the biggest number of refugees from the neighboring countries including South Sudan, Somalia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. A large share of these refugees is hosted in Uganda's Adjumani district. Refugees as a whole face several vulnerabilities that the Uganda government and UNHCR are concerned with. However, the challenges faced by women are particularly of concern. Hence, placing women at the center of leadership in refugee responses remains one of the most critical ways through which engendered needs of women refugees can be addressed. The approach ensures that women's voices of welfare reach the decision-making table and are acted upon to address women's rights even in the refugee context.

This study, therefore, investigated the experiences, challenges, and obstacles of women in leadership positions within the refugee settlements of Nyumanzi and Maaji II in Adjumani district. It also sought to establish the role of different actors in enhancing refugee women's political participation in the settlements. This was accomplished through answering the following research questions; (1) what are the challenges to gender equality in elected representation and (2) what roles do different actors play in fostering women's political leadership in refugee settlements?

The study was descriptive. I chose a case study to obtain in-depth information about the target area. Informed by the constructivist research paradigm, the research adopted a qualitative methodology and a qualitative research method of in-depth interviews.

From the study findings, it can be concluded that; the achievement of gender equality was first paced through the establishment of a 50/50 gender quota in the settlement refugee councils. However, these quotas did not necessarily lead to improved representation for all women refugees. It was also found that there are divergent views presented by men and women about refugee women's participation in leadership, some of which were sexist. The study hence recommends that there is a need to focus on optimal refugee women participation in leadership and decision-making rather than absolute numbers. Also, rather than a needs-based focus on improving refugee women's welfare and representation, women's empowerment groups should be supported and, female networking and partnership should be supported. Furthermore, a human rights focus should be addressed.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction to the Study

Conflict leaves deep scars in a country. According to the UNCHR (2019), the refugee crisis is growing at a fast rate from 430,000 displaced persons in 2015 to over 1.36 million as of 2018. In the refugee context, up to 50% of the people are women and girls who are stripped of their government, societal protection, and family (Martin, 2004). Rather than a short asylum, the situation is often more of a long exile characterized by harassment and offenses even the female refugees have reached a place of protection (ibid.). As of November 2021, Uganda was hosting 1,563,604 refugees which is the largest refugee population in Africa (Calabira, 2021). In these crises, women and children are affected by a considerable magnitude of gender-based violence (Mcginn, 2000). This is including rape, which has resulted in the negative consequences of sexually transmitted diseases, mental health problems, and trauma (Ward & Vann, 2002).

It can be assumed that part of women refugees' problems might be alleviated if they had better representation in governing bodies of the settlement in which they live. According to Baguma (2020) women leaders in the refugee, context is an important step toward the protection of refugee women's rights, lobbying, and advocacy for resources as well as achievement of gender equality. This is also listed as a key intervention in the achievement of SDG 5 on equal opportunities (UNWOMEN, n.d.). Despite the uniquely harsh conditions refugee women face, most research on women's empowerment focuses on the situation of women in general and does not sincerely consider the experience of female refugees (Hoff, 2019: Oxfam, 2019: REACH Uganda, 2019; Baguma, 2020). Such oversight has led to gaps in our knowledge about how to help women attain political representation in such dire settings. This research hence sought to understand the gender inequalities that hinder women's political participation in refugee settlements. Women are always viewed as political outsiders whose participation in public spheres depends mainly on their reproductive role as mothers (Tarchi, 2021).

The study further sought to investigate the experiences of women in leadership positions in refugee settlements and the contextual factors that influence their leadership experiences. Another aspect was to understand the role of different actors in enhancing women's political participation. This was accomplished by answering the following research questions: (1) what are the challenges to gender equality in elected representation within refugee settlements? And (2) what roles do different actors play in fostering women's political leadership in refugee

settlements? Whereas a lot of literature on women's empowerment and leadership has been general in terms of considering all women in society, the context of empowerment and leadership for refugee women has been understudied.

To investigate the research questions, I conducted fieldwork in two refugee settlements in Uganda where democratic elections are run to elect settlement leaders. I found that there was a 50/50 representation of women and men in the Refugee Welfare Council (RWC) leadership structure. Despite mechanisms in place for women's engagement in leadership, there were different perspectives on women's leadership including sexism. To improve refugee women's welfare and representation, the study recommends focusing on optimal refugee women's participation in leadership and decision-making rather than symbolic representation, supporting Women's Empowerment groups, and strengthening networking and partnerships.

1.2 Background to the Study

Women's participation in politics has been internationally recognized as an important measure of women's status in a given country. Women's equal participation in political life is widely believed to be a necessary condition for the overall process of women's advancement (Bari, 2005, p. 2). Over the years, the United Nations (UN) has initiated several efforts and programs to improve women's participation in political life throughout the world (UNWOMEN, n.d). In 1945, the principle of equality between women and men was recognized in the Charter of the United Nations and later in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

The first international legal instrument to recognize equality between women and men in exercising and enjoyment of political rights was however the 1953 UN Convention on the political rights of women (UN, 1953). Subsequently, the UN Decade for Women (1975-1985) promoted the inclusion of women in development programs, which led to the establishment of women's organizations and their global networking (Inglehart & Norris, 2003, p. 3). In addition to those efforts, there was the ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women [CEDAW] (1979) and many global conferences, including the 1985 Nairobi Women's Conference, the Vienna World Conference (1993), which recognized women's rights as human rights (ibid).

These were followed by the Cairo Conference on Population and Development (1994), the UN World Conferences on Women (1975, 1980, 1985, 1995, 2005, and 2010), the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and now the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

In 1995, the UN held a conference in Beijing on the status of women globally (UN, 1995). This benchmarked the international gender equality agenda. During this time, it showed that women did not have equal opportunities as men in various areas including other politics and education despite recovery from the 1975 social-economic crisis (UN, 1995). One of the inequalities identified was the under-representation of women in politics. This led to the conception of the Beijing declaration and the platform for action to address women's political representation by obligating member states to ensure women's participation in influence and decision-making (ibid.).

In Uganda, efforts have been made to domesticate international and regional gender equality commitments in national legislation. Policy and development programs including the Ugandan Constitution (1995); the Equal Opportunities Commission Act (2007); the Local Government Act (1997); the National Gender Policy (2007); the National Action Plan for Women 2016; Vision 2040; the 2nd National Development Plan (NDP); and the Domestic Violence Act 2010 have been established. The Local Government Act 1997 has the potential to strengthen women's participation in local government decision-making. The Electoral Commission Act 1997 mandates the commission to organize elections and cater to women's quotas (Uganda Parliament. n.d).

The enactment of Uganda's Refugee Act of 2006 was envisaged to enable compliance with refugee rights enshrined in the 1951 Convention, including gender equality (Frank, 2016). However, years down the road, despite the government of Uganda setting up structures to enhance the political participation of refugees in decision-making through the Refugee welfare council structures, refugee women in the settlement continue to be left out of participation in leadership (Annan et al, 2011; Ollek, 2007). Hence, this study seeks to ascertain the challenges that affect women's participation in these leadership roles and to find out the roles that civil society institutions are undertaking to address these challenges and advance women's empowerment.

1.3. Refugee Settlements

Krause (2014) notes that settlements are a type of refugee camp that encompasses a specific geographical area allocated by the government of the country of asylum and that they are more permanent than a typical camp. Although refugee settlements are generally located far from the country's main transportation routes, refugee camps are connected to the main road by a well-developed feeder road and have smaller roads and footpaths connecting them to

surrounding villages (ibid). The conditions in a settlement are better than those in a camp such as they are often less crowded and there are more economic resources available for the settlers (Mulumba & Olema, 2009). Nevertheless, refugee settlement programs aim to enable refugees to become more independent by allowing them to stand on their own two feet and integrate them into the framework of the host population (RLP, 2005a, 2006). According to the Refugee Law Project (2005b), refugees live in settlements with host locals and use social services provided by the host government and development partners such as the World Food Programme (WFP) and UNHCR.

1.3.1. The Refugee Context in Uganda

The refugee settlements in Uganda were established by the Office of the Prime Minister in partnership with UNHCR to enable refugees to become self-sufficient (Mulumba & Olema, 2009). The Directorate for Refugees under the Office of the Prime Minister, the Government of Uganda advances the Refugee Self Reliance Policy via the Refugee Act of 2006 (RLP, 2005b, 2006). In each settlement, a specific refugee household is allocated a certain amount of land to promote refugee economic self-reliance through agricultural activities (Mulumba & Olema, 2009).

While the land is allocated for self-sufficiency, host countries still prefer voluntary repatriation rather than local integration of refugees, hence making settlements an interim solution (Krause, 2014). Active settlements in Uganda today are among others Bidibidi, Oruchinga, Maaji (I, II&III), Parolinya, Rhino Camp, Kiryandongo, Kyangwali, Kyaka II Nakivale, Paralonya, Nyumanzi, Pagarinya, and Imvepi.

According to the UNCHR (2019), Uganda has for long been hosting refugees and to date is the top country for hosting most refugees in Africa and the 5th in the world. The refugees are from Eritrea, Somalia, South Sudan, Congo, Rwanda, Sudan Ethiopia, and Burundi. The refugees are hosted in 11 districts across the country and the capital Kampala (UNCHR, 2020). The refugee act and the refugee regulations of 2010 state that refugees have the right to freedom of movement with restrictions depending on the circumstances.

Uganda is a signatory to major international legal instruments protecting refugees, such as the 1951 Refugee Convention, the 1976 Protocol, and the 1969 Organization of African Unity Convention (OAU). While the CAR Act 1998 kept refugees under lock and key, Uganda passed a new law, the Refugee Act in 2006 which states the international standards for refugee

protection (Frank, 2016). The law observes rights such as freedom of movement and permits refugees to leave or return to the assigned settlements as well as access to employment and grants (ibid).

Refugees fall under the Directorate of Disaster Preparedness (DDP) and the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM)(OPM, n.d). While the OPM relies on the UNHCR for logistical and financial support, the government of Uganda is ultimately responsible for the welfare of refugees. However, UNHCR's strong commitment to refugees can sometimes obscure the fact that the government of Uganda has a fundamental legal obligation to promote and protect the rights of refugees. In the settlements, the OPM and the Ugandan Police are in control of the security of refugees.

1.3.2. Local Council (LC) Structure and the Refugee Welfare Council (RWC)

Uganda's system of government includes national and local governments with elections held at the different levels including, Presidential, Parliamentary, District, and Local Councils (Local Council, n.d). The Constitution provides for decentralization and a local government system, as set out in the Local Governments Act 1997 (Cap. 243). The leaders at the Local Council level manage villages, municipalities, sub-counties, counties, and district leadership (ibid). The LC1 is the lowest administrative unit, and LCV is the highest administrative level of local leadership, where LC1 presides over villages while LCV provides local leadership at the district level (Nakueira, 2020).

The Refugee Welfare Council (RWC) is a system that functions in refugee settlements. The functions are related to those of the local council system in Uganda and operate similarly to the formal court system. Unlike the Uganda local council structure, the leadership level of Refugee Welfare Councils begins at the village level and extends only to the sub-county level (ibid). The RWCs have three (3) levels of governance, including RWC I, RWC II, and RWC III. RWC I is represented at the block level, RWC II at the village level, and RWC III runs the council at the settlement level. Cases may be referred from RWCI to RWCIII. Council members are elected democratically through elections that are organized by the Prime Minister's Office (ibid). At the RWC levels, there are various committees, including the security and education committees, and the individuals in these committees represent various sectors and groups of people, such as women, children, youth, and people with disabilities. The RWC is a leadership structure in the refugee settlements that is elected and reports to the formal actors on issues

about response and management of injustices within the settlements (Hoff, 2019). Therefore, these structures act as linkages to the host community in information sharing and action.

LC And RWC Structure in Adjumani District
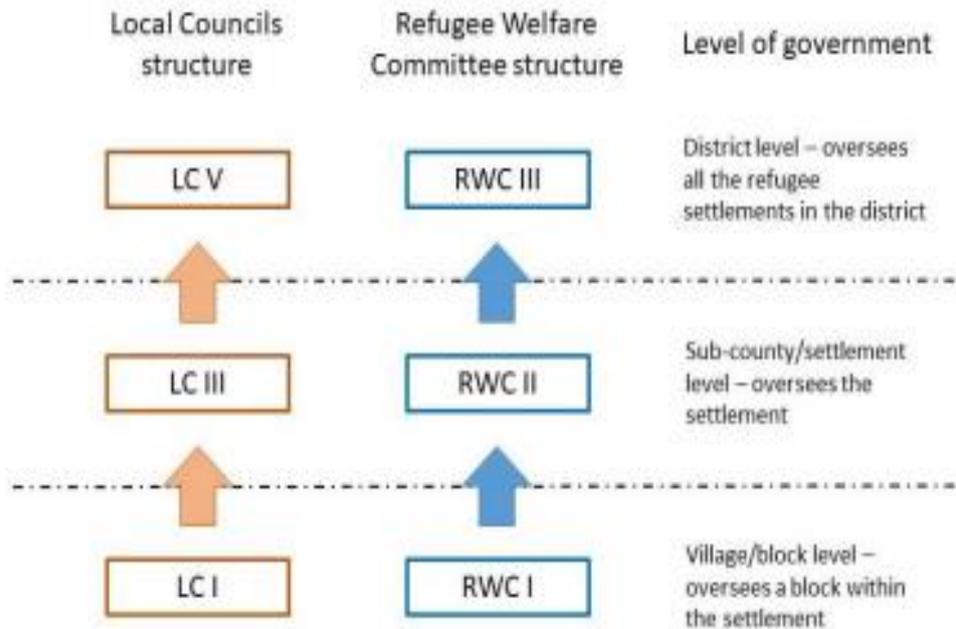
FIGURE 1 LC AND RWC STRUCTURE IN ADJUMANI -SOURCE: SARA DE SIMONE, 2021

1.4. Overview of Adjumani District

Adjumani district is located in the West Nile region of Uganda. The district hosts the largest number of refugee settlements with a total number of (19) settlements (REACH Uganda, 2019). Adjumani district currently accommodates over 215,736 refugees (UNCHR, 2021). The settlements include those that were established in the 1980s during previous Sudanese civil wars, while others were established recently to accommodate refugees who fled South Sudan after July 2016. Refugees make up 55% of the district's population (ibid).

A map of Uganda showing the refugee settlements
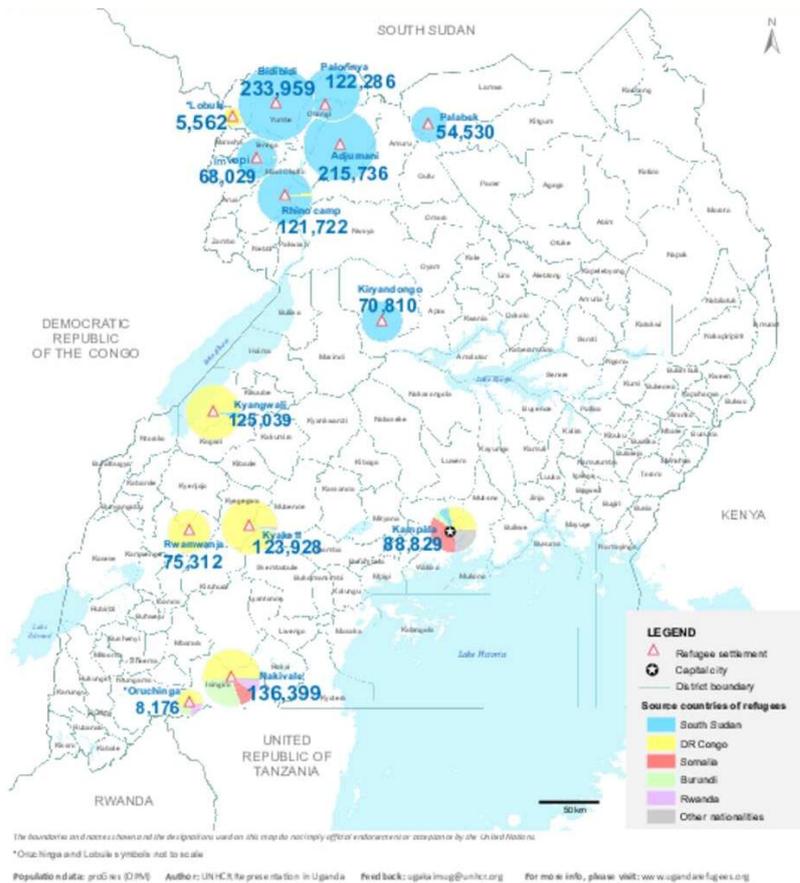
FIGURE 2 A MAP OF UGANDA SHOWING REFUGEE SETTLEMENTS-(SOURCE: UNHCR, 2022)

1.5. Problem Statement

While there are frameworks for enhancing women's participation in leadership and decision-making, there are still persistent gaps for women. Theorists have pointed out social, economic, political, and cultural factors that significantly hinder women's political participation (Kadaga, 2013). Such factors as less access to education, non-participation in the labour force, preoccupation with unpaid care at home, and patriarchy limit opportunities for women in the political sphere.

Just like challenges faced by women in leadership more generally, female refugees in settlements or camps experience limited power influence in policies and administrative decisions that affect their lives because their knowledge of their problems is seen as biased, limited, and subjective (Kaapanda & Fenn, 2000). Women in such situations are portrayed as the "truer" refugees, which in effect reduces them to the level of a toddler with no agency or responsibility (Turner, 2000). Therefore, their individuality and identity are reduced to the

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homogenous group of "victims," unable to advocate for themselves, powerless, and inconsistent.

Despite the government of Uganda setting up structures to enhance the political participation of refugees in decision-making through the RWC structures, refugee women in the settlement continue to be left out of participation in leadership (Annan et al, 2011; Ollek, 2007). In situations of economic and political change, Matuka (nd.) argues that the benefits of this change cannot be adequately reaped if women are "left behind". Moreover, it has been recognized that women have an untapped reservoir of resources whose capabilities should be better utilized (ibid). When women attempt to attain a position of power, they are disadvantaged for economic reasons such as low-paying jobs and limited access to credit necessary for successful campaigns. The expectations placed on women to maintain order in the family and take care of the children and household make a political career unbearable. In some cases, the decision to run for office may end in divorce (ibid).

This study seeks to establish the challenges that affect female refugees' participation in settlement leadership roles and to find out the roles of that different actors are undertaking to address these challenges and advance women empowerment. This information is key to undertaking policy, program, and project interventions to be able to address the challenge of gender inequality in representation by the refugees. This not only helps to foster the rights of women in decision-making but also to leave no one behind in the achievement of sustainable development goal number five which seeks to ensure gender equality by 2030.

1.6. Purpose of the Study

To examine and identify experiences, challenges, and obstacles to refugee women's political leadership in Nyumanzi and Maaji II refugee settlements in Adjumani district in Uganda, filling a gap of knowledge for policymakers and researchers alike.

1.6.1. Specific Objectives

To ascertain the challenges to gender equality in elected representation within Nyumanzi and Maaji II refugee settlements in Adjumani district in Uganda.

To find out the roles of civil society organizations and other actors play in fostering women's political leadership in Nyumanzi and Maaji II refugee settlements in Adjumani district in Uganda.

1.6.2. Research Questions

1. What are the challenges to gender equality in elected representation within Nyumanzi and Maaji II refugee settlements in Adjumani district in Uganda?

2. What roles do different actors play in fostering women's political leadership in refugee settlements?

1.7. Scope of the Study

The study focused on examining the challenges to gender equality in elected representation and the roles civil society organizations and other actors play in fostering refugee women's political leadership. It was conducted within Nyumanzi and Maaji II refugee settlements in Adjumani district in Uganda. It was conducted between February and May 2022.

1.8. Significance of the Study

With the increasing discourses surrounding female statuses globally, the findings will address some issues at different levels.

The results from the research will help Civil Society Organizations in improving project programming such as increased synergies with the promotion of women empowerment and increase of women refugees in leadership positions.

The Outcome of the research will also be shared with the Office of the prime minister (OPM) of the Adjumani District. This will be beneficial to them to identify areas in which they can intervene as a project for the district in fostering women's leadership in the refugee context. In addition, it will provide an opportunity for the district stakeholders to invest more in women's leadership in the refugee context as a sustainability plan for addressing gender inequality.

The host communities in Adjumani district will get the opportunity to have their concerns forwarded at different levels for discussion through this research.

The academia in the areas of refugee studies will also be boosted. The study will aid the academia understand the refugee experiences and support an effective response. It will in addition also generate areas of further research to better understand the issue of refugees and refugee women's participation in leadership positions.

1.9. Key Definitions

Leadership is the ability to inspire a group of individuals to achieve a shared vision (Dion, 1968).). Kort (2008) notes that 221 definitions of leadership say the same thing - leadership

means that a person gets other people to do something. She argues that the definitions differ in how leaders influence their followers and individual participation in the goals of the organization or group, just like Prentice (1961) half a century ago defined leadership as the achievement of a goal through assistance from people.

Women's political participation refers to the ability of women to participate equally with men in all phases and aspects of politics and decision-making.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an account of what has been published by scholars concerning the study of women's representation. This information is obtained from textbooks, journal articles, and research reports. It is presented, critically analyzed, questioned, and evaluated by the researcher to identify existing gaps. While much of the literature on women's empowerment and leadership has focused on all women in society, refugee women's empowerment and leadership have been unstudied.

2.2. Women's Engagement in Political Leadership

Despite most countries' efforts to embrace democracy, achieving gender equality in multiple political arenas has proven to be a difficult challenge. Furthermore, gender equality in terms of political involvement and leadership is still a work in progress.

The impediments to women's political engagement in Somalia are similar to those faced by women in other African countries, such as male elders dominating authority. Women have no place in clan politics, and women's business is to care for their families (Adamu & Mekonnen, 2009). This is important to note since female refugees already bring their knowledge of the experiences of politics and women in politics to Uganda.

In Uganda, the government has been in support of women in politics who have faced discrimination in the past owing to socio-cultural, economic, and illiteracy concerns. There has been a lot of work done to empower women and involve them in management, decision-making, and political engagement (Beatrice, 2000, Mwaka & Banya, 1994). The President of the Republic of Uganda has spoken out in support of women and various policies have been implemented by his government (ibid). Institutions have been built, for example, the Ministry of Gender Labour Social Development and the political party women's league. These directly affect women's political lives and enable them access to organizations where political power is centered. Affirmative action is in effect, with one spot at all levels from the local council to parliament reserved for a woman.

Women participate relatively little in politics and national leadership in South Sudan, where these refugees are from (Sherwood, 2012). A lack of ability that is greater than training gaps prevents many parts of South Sudan and rural Sudan from contributing to politics (ibid).

Given the poverty that characterizes refugee settlements, refugee leaders are not entirely capable of exercising their autonomy in their duties and can be readily swayed by the settlement authority (Zakaryan & Antara, 2018). Many times, rather than being operational, their duties were regarded as symbolic. Although leaders are called, they get no feedback (ibid).

Moreover, refugees and asylum seekers are prohibited from participating in formal political activities, such as voting in national and local elections as well as joining political parties in Uganda (Bekaj & Antara, 2018). Long-term refugees' chances of citizenship are likewise severely limited due to difficulties in the legal framework. Despite the lack of official political participation, Refugee Welfare Committees and refugee-led CSOs play a limited but important role as consultative entities on behalf of the wider refugee community in Uganda (ibid).

Refugees' willingness to engage in Ugandan politics is frequently shown through lobbying for issues relating to refugees rather than through direct involvement in the country's politics because of the prohibitions on official political participation (Zakaryan & Antara, 2018). The current forums that enable refugees to interact on a civic level concentrate on significant but surface-level issues like interactions between refugees and host communities and sensitization. Refugee women frequently engage in advocacy work centered on problems connected to overcoming daily obstacles in Uganda (ibid). This reflects the narrative that South Sudanese women have about the factors impacting their engagement in civic and political activities (ibid). Their involvement is typically confined to meeting their family's requirements, which seldom makes it possible for them to get involved in issues that are not immediately relevant to them (ibid).

The formation of committees served to encourage political participation Refugees formed and participated in these community-based committees with the goal of having an equal number of male and female delegates in order to foster participation, autonomy, and self-reliance (Krause, 2014). Unfortunately, in an environment where embracing women as leaders is difficult, it is easy to overlook their strong leadership qualities and dismiss them as flaws. In reality, misconceptions about how women leaders have made it harder for women to get into and stay in positions of leadership (Ahikire, 2004).

Whereas a lot of literature on women's empowerment and leadership has been general in terms of considering all women in society, the context of empowerment and leadership for refugee women has been understudied. There are several women leaders in refugee settlements in

Uganda whose experiences and challenges have not been documented. Additionally, in the context of refugees, organizations supporting women's leadership have had several projects which need to be further studied to deduce evidence of their impacts in terms of descriptive and substantive refugee women's leadership.

The absence of such vital information leaves a gap in evidence that is important for policy formulation on improving welfare and participation for refugee women's leadership. This study will therefore address this gap by studying the experiences, challenges, and obstacles of refugee women leaders in Nyumanzi and Maaji II settlements. It will further shine a light on the efforts of actors and their impact on improving refugee women's leadership. This will cover the information gap and provide evidence for programme and policy intervention.

2.3. The Effects of Cultural Factors on Women's Leadership

Leadership has long been associated with masculinity, and the perception that males make better leaders than women is still prevalent today.

Women's advancement to top leadership is hampered by cultural ideas about men and women's responsibilities, just as it is in politics (Pandor, 2006). Traditional beliefs and cultural attitudes about the position and status of women in society are still strong and women who are part of this system find it difficult to break free from this culture and custom for fear of being shunned (Sadie, 2005). Despite their education and employment opportunities, women's roles are typically those of a housewife. The male, on the other hand, is the breadwinner, the household's head, and has a right to participate in public life (Sadie, 2005).

In Uganda, the traditional views of women place them in a subordinate position to men (Lubega, 2000). Traditional Ugandan practices and norms perpetuate the belief that a woman cannot do what a male can. For instance, a Ugandan proverb from the Runyankole / Rukiga tribe states that "the woman grinds the flour but doesn't decide which ox must be butchered" (ibid). This explains why women in Uganda frequently lack a role in decision-making in the home, in the public realm, and control over revenue, even though they contributed the labor.

In the patrilocal social institutions of South Sudan, women have fewer privileges than men and are essentially owned by them (Krause, 2014). Additionally, due to current customary rules, it is challenging for women to get out from under the weight of their various child-rearing responsibilities, domestic responsibilities, and the psychological barrier of being treated as

second-class citizens (Sherwood, 2012). In addition, many women have a dim view of gender and the idea of equality (ibid).

Krause (2014) argues that imposing western ideals to alter refugees' mindsets and gender issues appears to be difficult, and as a result, cultural change and processes require initiative and the flexibility of refugees to choose approaches.

In many countries, the socialization of the female child is equally to blame for women's perceived inabilities (Ayodhya, 2022). Children are socialized to learn about gender roles as they grow up (Mulumba 2005). This shows the status accorded to women, beginning with the birth of a girl, as compared to the birth of a boy, and the status of males in society. The boy child is nurtured for leadership positions in many cultures, whether at local or national levels of governance, in business, public, through rituals and rites of passage. Kassa (2015) noted that traditional beliefs held, that childcare and kitchen work was solely female tasks, as opposed to partaking in activities outside the home. There is a division of work between men and women, with women performing domestic duties and males performing outside duties. Women were discriminated from religious organizations and religious leadership, resulting in a negative impact on women in society as well as a limited role in public and political life.

In South Sudan, women are only given a little amount of decision-making authority starting at the household level. This societal expectation affects how women relate to and engage in leadership activity with males (Jayasinghe et al., 2020). Culturally, Sudanese women of the Dinka tribe are barred from engaging in leadership. They are further not allowed to speak in the presence of men (Bekaj & Antara, 2018). This is confirmed by Jaeckle and Georgakopoulos (2010), who notes that on many levels, men in the Dinka society are regarded as having more worth than their female counterparts. They furthermore noted that, in Dinka villages, young males are taken to see elders learn about the culture's social norms and customs. Boys are celebrated upon birth since they are regarded as the family's and culture's future. Dinka women on the other hand are socialized to be men's wives (ibid). This is clear that women are seen as property and are referred to as spouses, mothers, and caregivers. Due to patriarchy, men dominate decision-making spaces. Women who desire to be leaders are mocked for wanting to be ambitious and immoral, as a result, women become shy and have low self-esteem. Thus, this affects women's empowerment in refugee leadership as the women are laid back to engage in decision-making due to cultural hindrances.

Clans are male- and age-oriented, as seen by patriarchal and patrilineal social structures (Krause). Younger community members are expected to show respect for the elderly men, who make the decisions. Women are essentially held by men and the children of the husband's family because of the patrilocal marriage arrangement. Assets and possessions are not passed down patrilineally; fathers give their properties to their sons and only permit their daughters and wives to enjoy them (ibid).

Krause (2014) argues that by putting more emphasis on women's empowerment, gender inequality can be reduced. Gender inequality results in inequities and power imbalances between men and women. Only by taking into account the roles and relationships between women and men can this be resolved. Women's status in society cannot be separated from men's status because gender relations involve both. In addition to taking on conventional roles as well as new ones, women also assumed home leadership roles and participated in politics, changing both the social standing of women and the dynamics between them and males (ibid). As a result, it is impossible to separate women's empowerment from the process of displacement or from initiatives for providing aid to refugees.

The context of refugees that are hosted in Maaji II and Nyumanzi settlements is not any different. Just like other societies in Uganda, they are a highly patriarchal group of people. However, unlike in South Sudan, Uganda specifically has many laws and policies that seek to improve women's leadership and address gender discrimination. Therefore, this study will seek to understand and document how the refugees, particularly the men how will cope with these guidelines and how their reactions affect the improvement in women's leadership in the refugee settlements.

2.4. Social-Economic Factors and Women's Leadership

Women's societal positioning in socioeconomic areas harms their participation in political leadership. When women take on decision-making roles, they are frequently burdened with the triple gender roles. Women's domestic responsibilities, according to (Sawer, 2000; Yoon, 2005), bar women from political ambition. Women are stated to be involved in a variety of activities, especially when they acquire leadership. The burden of both leadership and family responsibilities makes it difficult for a woman to continue in leadership, despite her desire to contribute to her success in leadership (Baguma, 2020). Khasalamwa-Mwandha, (2021) notes that refugee women are engaged in excessive workload. Refugee women have occasionally performed tasks that are typically done by men, such as herding and milking cows (ibid).

Cultural expectations and worry about refugee women performing difficult masculine tasks partly due to female-headed households explain women's engagement in economic activities than choosing to go for leadership ones. This is critical as the decision-making power of women is reduced since they spend more time doing care work.

Similarly, education is also a particularly powerful predictor of political participation according to Burns et al. (2001). People are propelled into new socioeconomic situations, which might change the nature of their vulnerability, as well as their access to resources, institutions, and associations. Depending on the social context and institutional and policy frameworks of the host country and community, relocation into a new region either narrows or widens the resource base for refugees. Higher-educated refugees, for example, have greater job objectives and aspirations and hence choose secondary migration to cities or wait for resettlement in third countries (Lindley, 2006). With a significant gender imbalance, South Sudan's education statistics for women and girls are among the poorest in the world. Women's literacy rates are 19% while the overall adult literacy rate is 27%. Compared to boys, girls are less likely to enroll in school and are at a higher risk to leave early (UNESCO, 2019). In comparison to males and boys, women and girls have historically had lower literacy rates (UNCHR, 2020). Awareness campaigns and female child education initiatives, appear to have had a little good impact on women as initiatives' results and effects did not improve the women's influence in communities (Krause, 2014). Hence, women have continued to get lower social roles as compared to their male counterparts. Therefore, the proportion of women who are capable of holding leadership positions may decline as a result of low levels of educational achievement among women and girls.

Otieno (2012) noted that economic factors play a significant role in women's participation in political leadership and that the availability of resources such as money is the main indicator of women's participation in political leadership. The lack of incentives to motivate RWCs is one of the most important issues refugees confront (UNHCR report on Uganda, 2019). RWCs leadership is voluntary in nature of the activity and there is a need for incentives to motivate people involved in refugee welfare leadership (Nakueira, 2021). Yet, in order to get humanitarian aid, the majority of refugees must reside in settlements (Khasalamwa-Mwandha, 2021). Many people are heavily reliant on food aid, yet some have the opportunity to raise their own food. Humanitarian needs persist despite the high degree of uncertainty in the assistance that is given. Limited access to and control over both monetary and non-assets are

characteristics of poverty. The purchasing power of refugees and their host communities is typically insufficient to sustain thriving economic growth (ibid). The informal and private sectors are a major source of income and support for many refugees. Those who have employment options work sporadic, temporary jobs with scant social safety. Because their economic engagement is unstable, the majority of refugees have very limited income-generating capacities (ibid).

Nakuera (2021) further notes that while RWCs are undertaking their duties on the referral of criminal cases such as rape to police, there is a delay in feedback from the authorities. She notes that it has made refugees lose trust in the leaders following complaints such as health facilities lacking drugs, food ration decreases (especially during the epidemic), and a lack of water supplies serving a thousand households (ibid). Larsson (2019) adds that there is limited support for the RWCs and a lack of coordination among the RWCs at all levels with only air time and training sessions offered for execution of work. She noted that when the RWC I is unable to handle a matter, it is frequently sent straight to either police or RWC III, bypassing the RWCII committee. This is clearly demotivating due to being uncoordinated.

Refugees are able to work lawfully in the local labour market, travel about with a fair amount of freedom, as well as access basic social amenities like primary schooling and healthcare (Zakaryan & Antara, 2018) as stated in the article 30 (2) of the Refugee Act 2006. However, due to the settlements' distant and sparsely populated position, there is a lack of economic and physical facilities (Khasalamwa-Mwandha, 2020). The refugees' ability to travel outside of settlements is hampered by the great distances, a lack of public transportation, and expensive transportation costs. The necessity for travel authorizations, a lack of start-up funding to enable them to establish themselves outside the camps, and a lack of support systems to serve as a safety net for the weak present significant challenges on their path (Kaiser, 2006; Hovil, 2007; IRRI, 2015).

The nature of resources required by refugee women to access leadership offices might be unique due to their vulnerability and residence within the settlement environment. The study sought to establish these resources and examine how possible for refugee women to access them, to fully participate in leadership. The research also investigates the nature of education given to girls and women in the settlement, including the topics and methodology of delivery to ascertain its relevance to leadership. This information is important to inform the nature of

support that women's refuge settlements need, and which bottlenecks need to be addressed for refugee women to fully participate in leadership.

2.5. Role of Actors in Refugee Women's Leadership

The vulnerability experienced by refugees has attracted some state and non-state actors to improve the welfare of refugees across various aspects of life. It is a global responsibility for individuals, institutions, and states to undertake interventions to create peace and stability to prevent forced migration. However, in the event that forced migration occurs, it is equally important that their rights be protected. One of such rights is the right to participate in aspects that affect their welfare including leadership (Martin, 2018).

NGOs, community-based organisations, and self-help groups help to fill the gaps left by a lack of state competence and neglect in order to address socioeconomic issues and poverty. Others were founded at the behest of NGOs and civil leadership to partner with development partners, NGOs, as well as government projects. In order to further empower and strengthen women in their struggle for the right to be seen, heard, and counted, among other women's organisations, including Uganda Women's Network (UWONET), Forum for Women in Democracy (FOWODE), and the International Federation of Women's International Peace Centre (WIPC) were established as autonomous spaces (Guma, 2015). Some community-based organisations and groups formed voluntarily in response to the poor socioeconomic condition (Omach, 2016). Feminist and women's groups and movements have a long history of opposing prevalent patriarchal hierarchical models of leadership, despite receiving little financial support and frequently facing opposition to advances made in women's rights (Wakefield, 2017). Through their work, CSOs, notably faith-based organisations (FBOs), also train the police on SGBV and try to raise awareness of its hazards in the settlements. To maximise the social impact of their activities, CSOs and FBOs collaborated closely with local and traditional leaders. Training traditional leaders to mobilise their communities' support for refugees as part of this (Liebling et al., 2020).

Idembe and Musa (2011) also note that it is a civil society's role to respect, promote, and protect human rights and social justice. This is accomplished when CSOs adopt methods and actions that promote human rights, such as the right to work with dignity, the right to good employment, and the right to growth and equity for all people, regardless of gender or sex (ibid). In the same line Murage (2017), argues that Gender-equity organisations are working

towards women's inclusion in national, state, and municipal leadership positions that are hampered by traditions, cultural hurdles, and preconceptions.

Kannisto (2020) notes that the Global Refugee Forum for example serves as a venue for advocating women's and girls' gender-specific concerns. She further adds that UN Women and other well-intentioned organizations are also pushing for a set of commitments that offer services, protection, and resources needed to fulfill the rights and gender needs of refugee women and girls, (ibid). UN Women recognizes and promotes achievements that promote women's and girls' equitable involvement and leadership, refugee responses, and long-term solutions.

This is critical for women's empowerment because it establishes the foundation for promoting women's competence and strength. According to UNCHR, this empowerment is a process by which women in disadvantaged positions enhance their access to knowledge, resources, and decision-making. They subsequently increase their understanding of community engagement to gain control over their surroundings (ibid). Sirleaf (2013) notes that in order to boost participation levels across the board, especially among women, so that they can compete better on a national and regional basis there is a need for continuous education, capacity building, and skilling for women

In Uganda, it is illegal for refugees to participate in formal political activities such as voting in national and municipal elections or forming political parties. Long-term refugees' opportunities for naturalization are likewise severely limited due to difficulties in the legal framework (Zakaryan & Antara, 2018). Despite the lack of official political participation, RWCs and refugee-led CSOs play a limited but active role as consultative entities on behalf of the larger refugee population in Uganda.

The Ugandan government has now incorporated refugee management and protection into its national development planning framework (NDP II 2015/16 – 2019/20) (Collinson & Schenkenberg, 2019). The comprehensive refugee response system is led by the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) with UNHCR support. It includes both humanitarian refugee responses (emergencies and long-term situations) under the Refugee Response Plan (RRP) and development-oriented interventions under the UNDAF, such as the Refugee and Host Populations Framework (ReHoPE). The OPM and the Ministry of Local Government co-chair the CRRF Steering Group, which is supported by a CRRF Secretariat, and guides the CRRF's

execution (ibid). As a result, the Ugandan government fosters and promotes refugees' "self-reliance" by creating opportunities for a development-based approach to refugee assistance (Crawford, et al., 2019).

The roles of actors in refugee settings have largely been documented in reports and Uganda has been praised as a model for her interventions concerning refugee-hosting, wellbeing, and development. This study approached the study of these roles with a critical eye. It studied the impact of interventions in line with the creation of representation for refugee women in Nyumanzi and Maji II refugee settlements.

2.6. Theoretical Framework

The researcher adopted the theories mentioned below as points of reference and departure in the findings from the research. The aim was to compare these theories with the findings from the refugee context and as a starting point of the analysis.

2.6.1 The Feminist Political Theory and Concepts

A feminist perspective will be taken in this work to highlight gender inequalities and to take a critical look at women's leadership in a refugee perspective. Patriarchy and gender quotas are two recurring terms discussed in the context of feminist theories. Feminism is a set of ideological interventions that address unbalanced and aggressive interactions between people based on real or imagined socioeconomic, political, cultural, or biological disparities (Hyndman & de-Alwis, 2008, p. 87). Feminist political theorists attach crucial importance to women's positioning to bring different perspectives as well as experiences to politics compared to men counterparts (Phillips, 1995). In the same line, Mbire-Barungi (1999) argues that feminism cannot be generalised, but there are underlying similarities that can be discovered by looking past political posturing and concentrating on the reality of women's actual experiences. Liberal scholars hold a variety of positions depending on how they are defined, but in general, they support principles and programs such as freedom of speech, press, democratic societies, international cooperation, religion, civil rights, free markets and gender equality, and secular governments (Crenshaw, 2017). One of the views advocated by scholars is gender equality. Gender equality refers to equal rights, opportunities, and responsibilities of women and men and young girls and boys while taking into account the diversity of different groups of women and men (UNWOMEN, n.d.). The influence of feminist scholarship, campaigning, and activism on various social and political spheres, such as home discourses on gender and sexuality and political power structures, has in fact been a significant force for change (Guma,

2015). Nevertheless, Guma (2015) argues that as long as Ugandan feminists fight for their political liberties, more systemic sexist acts will be committed in response. This would mean that in order to get better results, women would need to reconsider traditional (and even modern) approaches.

Therefore the core contention is a matter of fundamental constitutional rights, including everyone's equal opportunity to run for office and to hold political influence. A significant portion of aid is also allocated to programmes that seek to advance democracies, some of which aim to boost women's political engagement and influence (Askeland, et al., 2020).). In order to ensure that efforts to expand female representation will have the desired effects, it is important to examine barriers to women's participation that are related to the types of projects or programmes. This is because the understanding of women's access to politics must be prevalent. The study used the feminist political theory to analyze refugee women's positioning and experiences in politics and how programmes and projects enhance refugee leadership.

The theory is crucial to the study since it connects a variety of explanatory factors to women's status and the role of actors in advancing women's leadership. Here, the Feminist theory is a starting point that emphasizes the gender perspective and the relationship between men and women. Gender, patriarchy, age, and biological characteristics, according to liberal feminists, contribute to women's oppression. These and other variables are used in this study to explain challenges of refugee women leaders in the RWC.

Additionally, the concepts of feminist theory in association with women's representation is further discussed in the concepts below. This will be further discussed with the gender quotas and the concept of patriarchy.

2.6.2. Gender Quotas

Gender quotas, according to Huges et al (2019), are policies that specify a minimum number of women who can be nominated or elected to a policymaking body. State-mandated gender quotas often compel women to produce a particular percentage of candidates or fill a set number of seats. Gender quotas have resulted in more opportunities for women to participate in politics (Goetz, 1998). They play according to Yoon (2004) a crucial role in increasing the proportion of women in African parliaments where gender quotas appear to have a significant impact. Gender quotas enhance women's representation by 12.76 percent despite a little increase in numbers (ibid).

In Uganda, the quota system was implemented by the incumbent party during the transition years, also known as the movement era, which lasted from 1986 to 2006. (Oloka). During this time, candidates were chosen based on their merits, with political parties excluded from the voting process. The quota system is enshrined in Uganda's constitution (Republic of Uganda), which stipulates that the parliament must include at least one female representative per district, as well as representatives of workers, youth, and persons with disabilities as determined by the parliament. Similarly, the clause assures that one-third of local government's members in the five-inter council system is reserved for women and initiates affirmative action for other marginalized groups (ibid.).

On the other hand, according to Beauregard and Sheppard (2021) prior studies on support for gender quotas place a strong emphasis on government intervention and attitudes toward gender equality as reasons. They argue that sexism, including both hostile and benevolent variants, plays a dual role in determining support for policies that attempt to expand the representation of women in politics, though in different ways. Inaddition, Grubbs et al (2014) note that women are seen as special and deserving of preferential treatment, which is a characteristic of benevolent sexism. Although benevolent sexism ultimately leads to gender inequality and worse treatment of women, on the surface it seems to give women the advantage (ibid). It is possible that a woman with a strong sense of entitlement would support viewpoints that gave her access to the advantages and special consideration offered by benevolent sexist viewpoints (ibid).

2.6.3. Patriarchy

The patriarchal system, in which males have decision-making power, lies at the root of the limits that women experience in leadership (Sadie, 2005). The concept of patriarchy is a concept that has been discussed by feminists on the subordination of women. In both the public and private arenas, patriarchy refers to male dominance (Sultana, 2010). The power connection between men and women is sometimes referred to as "patriarchy" by feminists. As a result, patriarchy is more than a name; feminists utilize it as an idea, and like other concepts, it is a tool for understanding women's reality (ibid). The socioeconomic factors also show how men and women occupy various positions in the political system. Men have a benefit because economic and social resources are frequently converted into political resources, such as legitimacy and the ability to fund political rivalry (Ahikire, 2004). Women's household responsibilities consume the majority of their energy and time, leaving them with little energy,

leisure, or mental freedom to engage in the creative tasks that males in the public arena always perform. Therefore, female political candidates in Uganda are compelled to show that they are entering public life practically (Ahikire, 2004). They must maintain a public image of not opposing the patriarchal social structure, which leads to new types of subordination in election processes (Ahikire, 2004). Women are obliged to kneel before speaking to the electorate during campaigns, in some regions of Uganda. This is a continuation of the cultural custom that requires women to kneel before men whenever greeting or speaking to them (ibid). While trying to establish their moral rectitude, female candidates give in to a conservative and patriarchal agenda. So that their domestication might become even more entrenched, women permitted themselves to be sidetracked from tackling global challenges (ibid). Men's support of women's voices in debates, particularly on gender issues, continues to be a strategic move (UWONET, 2013). Despite decades of gender advocacy, an increase in the number of women in leadership, and a constitution that prohibits discrimination based on gender, among other gender equity policy improvements, the country still lacks gender equality.

Gardsbane et al (2022) note that the complexity of a woman's position at a specific moment within her larger environment is embodied by her decision to endure, resist, engage informal sources of support, seek help from a service provider, or formally report to the LC1, police, or court. Regardless, a woman encounters personal obstacles while in positions of power in all circumstances. She must overcome humiliation and negative pressure from a variety of sources, such as family, community leaders, and others who either minimize, justify, or might ignore the maltreatment.

The perception that women are inferior to men influences the likelihood of being discouraged which raised the likelihood of not participating in leadership (Ahikire, 2004). The relationship exists within or under certain conditions of nonparticipation because one is a woman (ibid). Therefore, this is clear that there is a link between women's subordination and women's participation in positions or statutes and how negatively this affects decision-making. Individual affected by one or more barriers leads to low participation because their experience is limited.

The research used the patriarchal notion to analyze how men's material power has led to their supremacy over women in society, and thus their dominance in political leadership.

Examining barriers to women's engagement in the aforementioned projects makes sense since efforts to improve female representation must be supported by awareness of women's access to politics in order to produce the desired effects. I will use the previously specified theoretical representational points of departure to analyse the study's findings. My goal is to apply them to the findings and examine which hypothesis most closely matches the findings. For instance, I will compare the findings with the theoretical framework provided in this chapter, as well as the earlier findings.

2.7 Conceptual framework

Creating a conceptual framework entails coming up with ideas for relationship between study variables and illustrating those relationships visually. The framework below illustrates relationships as used to inform various aspects of this study.
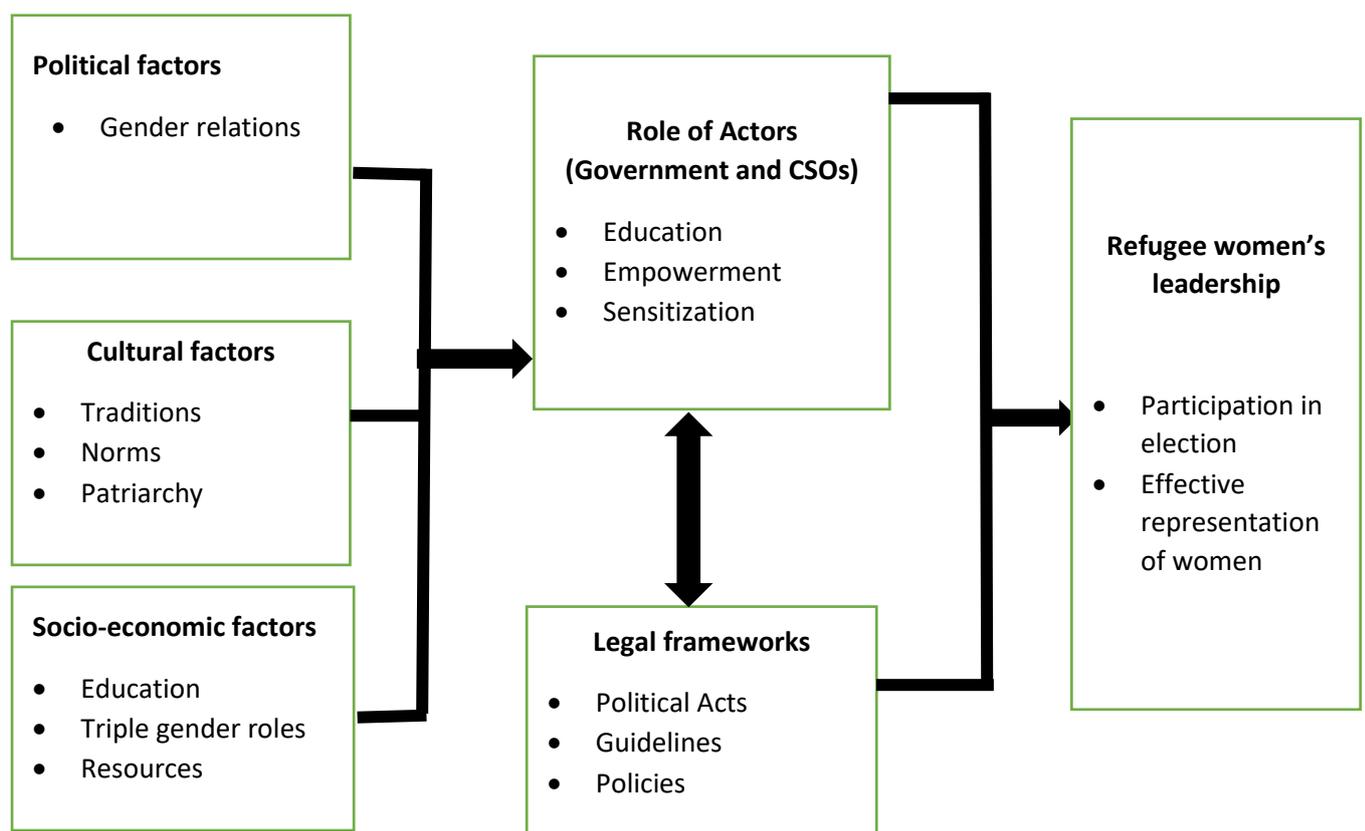
In context of this research, the society where refugees' women live highly affects their way of way of life bases on cultural including patriarchy, norm and traditions, along with socioeconomic elements including education, gender roles and resources. This is also not

helped by a political system with unsupportive gender relations, with a belief that women are not meant to be leaders. As such, the inability of refugee women to participate in societal decision making even at the lowest level is exacerbeted.

However, because these factors adversely affect refugee women representation, they call for intervention of actors to change negative perceptions about women, to build women competence and empower them to take be resilient and able to take on leadership decisions. There is a mutual relationship between the actor's roles, as the actors work is based on current policies in line with refugee women interventions. But, the findings of the actors on what works and what does not work in achieving adequate refugee women intervention may cause changes in policy to ensure that best practices are implemented in that field.

Overtime, the work of actors is able to cause change in terms of increasing refugee women participation in elective politics in their settlements, as well as ensuring that they have capacity to effectively represent fellow women in decision making within the settlement.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

This chapter lays out a framework for how the research questions of this study are answered. It includes the research design, methods of data collection, target population, sampling criteria, data collection process, transcribing, and data analysis methods. It further explains the ethical considerations followed in the study, challenges that limited the study as well as how they were addressed.

3.2. Study Design

The study was descriptive. This design shows what a situation is and what it feels like to live in that particular situation (Rubin & Babbie, 2013). Therefore, this study was meant to describe the experiences, challenges, and roles of civil society in fostering women's participation in leadership within Maaji II and Nyumanzi refugee settlements in Adjumani District in Uganda.

It was a case study to obtain in-depth information about the target area. A case study combines observation of the behavior, attitudes, and perceptions of research participants (Yegidis et al, 2012).

This study was done within a specific period from February to June 2022. The study was qualitative to guarantee flexibility and adaptation to conditions in the field. However, some quantitative data were obtained from secondary sources to reinforce the primary data.

3.3. Research Paradigm

This study is informed by the constructivist research paradigm. According to Amineh & (2015) constructivism is the process by which people sense out their experiences. It is associated with the qualitative research approach because it seeks to understand a phenomenon under study from the experience of the participants or the point of view of a respondent using qualitative data collection tools. This study devoted itself to understanding and interpreting the meanings attached to action concerning the empowerment of women refugee leaders in Nyumaniz and Maaji II settlements. This research paradigm also supports the acquisition and documentation of experiences of people who leave in certain realities in this case the refugee settlements. Hence, it was used to derive in-depth information from the study respondents using a flexible methodology. Researchers spend enough time with participants in natural settings to be convinced that they are capturing the facts of the phenomenon under investigation (Adom et al, 2016). Constructivist work has a fundamental drawback in that it spends far too little time

in research settings (Adom et al, 2016). The data from the study is used to do inductive data analysis. Using reasoning or logical data analysis methodologies, conclusions are made from the collected data (ibid).

3.4. Data Collection Method and Tools

Qualitative research methods were chosen for this study. Myers (2013, 8) notes that a researcher can understand the experiences and perspectives of the participants and the broader context in which they work and live. In addition, the qualitative approach was preferred because methods, such as interviews allow me to explore in-depth the experiences of interviewees, in this case, the experiences of female refugee leaders and actors.

The method used for this research methodological approach was to interview. Magnusson and Marecek (2015) note that interviews provide an opportunity for information flow in the interest of the researcher and that it is a good approach to unveil cultural and personal meanings that are hard to identify in other ways.

In-depth interviews with respondents are often used for research that examines how individuals perceive and comment on a particular phenomenon. The goal of this method was to therefore allow the participants to describe how she/he perceives the subject under study. Additionally, the actual goal of in-depth interviews is to describe as comprehensively as possible the different perspectives of a specific population group on a specific topic (Naurin, 2011, P, 99-100).

3.4.1. Interview Guide

The interviews were guided by an interview guide. The researcher made a list of questions that are important to address but phrased in such a way that they can be answered in ways other than just yes or no. The interview guides were designed based on the research questions so that it can collect adequate data for the study. Two interview guides were designed, one for the leaders of the refugee settlements and another for the actors in the field of women empowerment within the refugee settlements. The interview was intended to be a conversation in which the order of the items in the interview guide may change as the conversation progresses and the interviewee may add new items as needed. As noted by Magnusson and Marecek, (2015, P, 47-48), it was expected that this structure would lead to complex material and would allow for in-depth analysis through probing and prompting. This way, my research questions were adequately answered. The questions that were asked were based on the feminist theory that has been discussed above. In this way the interview guide, that can be found in the

appendix, covers topics of the feminist understanding and at the same time ensures the interview is guided in such a way tha enables the researcher to adequately answer the research questions.

3.5. Target Population and Sample Size

The study targeted 17 respondents who included current leaders, former leaders, and civil society organization workers in Nyumazi and Maaji II refugee settlements in Adjumani district.

Adjumani district was chosen because as of May 2019, it hosted 18 refugee settlements, which is the highest of any district in Uganda, with over 200,000 refugees residing there (REACH Uganda, 2019). The refugee population made up 55% of the total population in the district (ibid.).

3.5.1 Profile of the study area

3.5.1.1 Nyumanzi Refugee Settlement

This refugee settlement was established in January 2014. Her occupants majorly originate from South Sudan and are mainly of the Dinka, Madi, and Nuer tribes (UNHCR, 2020). It has an estimated total population of forty-three thousand people including children, women, and men. It is estimated that 35% of the refugees are women and 47% are children. The occupants are supported by various organizations including; UNWOMEN, UNHCR, Lutheran World Federation, Building tomorrow, and UNICEF which provide food, shelter, education, healthcare water, sanitation facilities, and empowerment programs among others (UNHCR, 2020).

The settlement has only 3 primary schools, hosting over four thousand pupils daily (Nyumanzi Refugee Settlement, n.d.). It is served by one health public health unit. The relationship between the occupants and the host community is volatile one. On 13th December 2019, UNHCR, the UN Refugee Agency released a statement on the tragic loss of lives that followed clashes between refugees and the host communities (UNHCR, 2020). The violence that claimed four lives started after a Ugandan man was found dead in the vicinity of the settlement on 10 December 2019. The refugees in the settlement are mainly farmers who majorly grow crops for food and sell some to obtain income.

3.5.1.2 Maaji II Refugee Settlement

Unlike Nyumanzi refugee settlement, Maaji II settlement was established as early as 1997. Its role was to host an influx of refugees, still from South Sudan due to a massive civil war. By

then, the settlement hosted an estimated population of thousand five hundred refugees (UNHCR, Jan 2019-Dec 2020). In the early 2000s, the settlement also suffered a great deal of attack from the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebels headed by Joseph Kony during the war in northern Uganda, causing further suffering, loss of life, and property to the occupants. The settlement covers an area of thirty-three hectares split into two blocks of administration.

Currently, the settlement houses an estimated total population of seven hundred thirty refugees, of which 30% are women and 42% are children (UNHCR, Jan 2019-Dec 2020). This settlement houses two major tribes of Nuer and Dink. It is also supported by various organizations including; Gesellschaft für international Zusammenarbeit, World Vision, UNHCR, Lutheran World Federation, Building tomorrow, and UNICEF which provide food, shelter, education, healthcare water, and sanitation facilities and empowerment programs among others (UNHCR, Jan 2019-Dec 2020).

The major source of income is crop farming which is done majorly based on household food security and the remainder is sold. The refugees are however being educated on how to start a profitable business to increase their household incomes.

With such a study area, the researcher was able to derive adequate information on how women refugees are participating in leadership, to influence decisions that affect their livelihood.

The refugee welfare leaders serve to identify and respond to issues raised within the settlements. The roles among others include creating awareness and mobilization, promotion and engagement of groups to precipitate issues related to protection. The RWC structure has 3 levels including RWC 1, RWC II, and RWC III where RWC 1 represents the Block level, RWC II at the village level, and RWC III at the settlement level.

Adjumani district was chosen because as of May 2019, it hosted 18 refugee settlements, which is the highest of any district in Uganda, with over 200,000 refugees residing there (REACH Uganda, 2019). The refugee population made up 55% of the total population in the district (ibid.).

Table 1: Below is the structure and composition of the Refugee Welfare Council

Position/Title	By sex
Chairperson	O
Vice-chairperson	F
General Secretary	O

Secretary Of Women Affairs	F
Secretary For Security And Mobilization	O
Secretary For Production And Environment	F
Secretary for Disability and Persons with Special Needs	O
Secretary For Health And Wash	F
Secretary For Education And Children Affairs	F
Secretary For Youth And Sports	O
Opinion Leader Female	F
Opinion Leader Male	M

Source: Settlement Commandant, OPM Adjumani district

> **Key**
> O: Open seats for both men and women
> F: Affirmative action seats for women
> M: seat for men

The CSOs and government play a role in preparing women for political participation. These institutions include UNWOMEN, UNCHR, Refugee Law Project, and Lutheran World Federation as well as the office of the Prime minister.

3.5.1.4 List of Actors and mandate

Name of the institution	Mission	Actual activities
Office of the Prime minister	lead and enhance National Response Capacity to Refugee Emergency Management	Coordinate and organize general elections in the refugee context Build capacities of candidates in the refugee settlement Community sensitization
UNWOMEN	To ensure that South Sudanese women and girls affected by crises lead, participate in, and benefit from relief and response services.	Subgrant to CSOs (Refugee Law Project, Overcomers, Lutheran World Federation) and OPM on activities related to women's leadership
Refugee law Project	To empower asylum seekers, refugees, deportees, IDPs, and host communities to enjoy their human rights and lead dignified lives	Capacity building on leadership skills, conflict resolution, gender mentorship training on ICT learning visits such as International Day of Women day attendance

UNHCR	Promoting the full enjoyment of rights and international protection standards throughout the displacement cycle.	Subgrant to CSOs and government Coordination monitoring and Evaluation

3.6 Demographic information

3.6.1 Respondents' age[1]

Of the 13 respondents studied from the current and former RWC leaders, 5 were between the ages of 26-30 and 6 were between 31-35 years old. Only 3% were above 50 years. Younger leaders were also more able to identify conveniently than their older counterparts during the data collection. Nonetheless, this was a reflection of the youthful populations within the settlements, where the majority of leaders are also in the same age bracket.

Of the 4 institutional staff interviewed about the roles of their agencies, 2 were between the age of 25-30 years, while the others were in the age bracket of 35-40 years. This was also not surprising given that Uganda's current workforce is 80% youthful (18-35 years).

3.6.2. Respondents' Sex

Of the 13 leaders interviewed during the study, 8 were females and 5 were male. The study targeted the females to better understand and explain their experiences in the refugee leadership platforms. Of all the four civil society and government staff interviewed, 3 were female and one was male, also chosen purposefully because of their knowledge in the field of gender and women empowerment.

3.6.3 Level of Education

1 of the 13 leaders interviewed had primary education as the highest qualification. 2 had secondary, 2 had tertiary education, 2 with Tertiary level, 3 held diploma degrees, 2 had bachelor's degrees and 3 did not have any education. The leadership of the RWC is not based on the level of education of a candidate. This could further be explained by the significant education challenge faced during the conflict, and the lack of adequate school facilities in the settlements that face girls to drop out of school.

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[1] The list of respondents can be found in appendix six

3.7. Sampling Procedure

Convenience sampling was used to identify Thirteen (13) current and former local leaders from each of the blocks in Numanzi and Maaji II settlements. This method is frequently used in social work because it is less expensive and other methods may not be appropriate in certain settings (Rubin & Babbie, 2013). It is used when respondents are considered readily available to the researcher (Yegidis et al, 2012). In this study, it was used because of the absence of an accessible sampling frame in the study area and because it required minimal resources to implement. To make the information representative, respondents were picked from across the selected settlements, and care was taken not to overgeneralize the findings to increase their reliability and viability.

Four (4) people from civil society organizations and the government were purposefully chosen as actors advancing women's leadership in refugee settlements. This method is based on the researcher's judgment and the purpose of the study (Rubin & Babbie, 2013). Samples are selected because they can offer unique approaches, knowledge, perspective, or experiences about the topic of study (Yegidis et al, 2012). This study, it was used to select respondents with the particular knowledge, experience, and expertise on the issue of women empowerment and gender equality in leadership within the refugee settlements.

3.8. Data Collection Process

After the approval of the research tools by the supervisor, the researcher proceeded with the data collection. It took one month of field sessions both in Kampala and in Adjumani district. The researcher used existing authority structures as entry points to conduct the data collection on the research topic. The interviews were written in English. However, the researcher had a translator to help in translation while in the settlement.

3.8.1 Transcribing

The transcription of the interviews began after they were conducted. It is regarded as a crucial phase in the data analysis process. Transcribing the interviews takes time, and according to Bryman (2012), the conversion of speech into words must be precise. Because of ethical concerns, respondents were asked at the start of each interview if they agreed to be recorded using a digital voice recorder, which in this case was a phone. However, 3 out of the 17 respondents rejected being recorded. The researcher did the transcriptions because it is more customary for researchers who perform their transcriptions to begin examining the meaning during the transcription process (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). To preserve the sense of the

quotes while transcribing and so protect the validity of the results, a careful and word-for-word translation was used.

3.9. Data Analysis

The primary data obtained from the field were analyzed for interpretation to conclude. Step-by-step thematic analysis was used to analyse the data that came from the interviews, which involved reading the transcriptions numerous times, creating codes, reviewing, and recognising themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). According to Braune and Clarke (2006) this kind of method helps the researcher to identify, anaylse and note patterns which are the themes within the data.

This methodology involved transcribing interview responses into a matrix with respondent identification details and what they answered to various questions. The researcher then summarized the findings and drew quotations out of them for clear analysis.

Themes were selected from a prior set of research questions and the recurrence of an issue in the data collected (Cohen et al., 2002). A theme is defined as a significant pattern in the respondents' responses that relates to the research question and exhibits a common tendency in the data, but because there are no specific guidelines, a researcher's justification for identifying the themes is essential (Braun & Clarke, 2006) .This method enabled the researcher to provide a chronological flow of the research findings and interpretations. After reviewing the data repeatedly, a few basic concepts that kept coming up across the full set of data were noted and turned into initial codes to make it simpler to sort the pertinent data from the entire set. Following the initial analysis, the original codes were divided into possible themes and sub-themes. All the information pertinent to each topic was then separated, and the initial codes that weren't pertinent to any of the themes were set aside. The purpose of classifying and categorizing the data into themes, according to Hitchcock and Hughes (1995), is to investigate the relationships between the data to uncover interpretations and to start with the analysis.

Quotes were also captured in analysis to expose peoples' understanding and feelings about the reality that they experience regarding the topic of study.

3.10. Ethical Considerations

When conducting social research, one significant ethical dilemma that arises is the researchers' need to strike a balance between their goals to find the truth in their findings and the fairness and values of their sample (Cohen et al, 2007). People's willingness to participate, as well as the researcher's and participants' trustworthiness and secrecy, also had to be ensured

(Silvermann, 2005). Hence, the ethical issue of confidentiality, informed consent, and interview repercussions as suggested by Cohen et al (2007) was critical.

Given the subject matter, the researcher used both official and unofficial gatekeepers to have access to potential respondents (Aluwihare-Samaranayake, 2012). During the data collection, the primary focus of ethics was on the interaction between the researcher and the respondents as well as on maintaining the social wellbeing of the respondents.

The researcher wrote an official letter to the Office of the Prime Minister both at the head office in Kampala and at the host refugee district for permission to conduct a study within the Settlement and the community at large. When documenting experiences or stories, for purposes of confidentially, the researcher did not use the actual names of the respondents to anonymize the individuals as suggested by (Roth & Unger, 2018). Concerning taking pictures and recordings, the researcher sought consent from the respondents. Respect for respondents was upheld through voluntary participation. Explanations on what the study was about were provided so that people make informed consent to take part in the study.

3.11. Study Limitations and How They Were Managed

There is limited academic literature on refugee women's leadership in humanitarian action. The researcher conducted the study inductively using sources from studies on women's leadership from a broader perspective.

During the fieldwork, the research was affected by technical problems of recording using a phone. The researcher did not have professional equipment that could capture voices clearly without being affected by unfavorable weather. This was due to the fact the interviews were conducted in open space and wind and rain disrupted the interviews on most occasions. Nevertheless, the researcher took notes in the move to capture voices following the technical problems with equipment.

Some of the respondents did not respond to the request for an interview in person. The researcher also used online interviews including telephone discussions, Zoom, and WhatsApp to reach out to the respondents.

Another crucial point to consider is the language barrier which influenced the interview process to some extent. Some of the respondents especially those within the settlements were not able to communicate in English. This, therefore, required a translator to translate. In the move to

make the research successful, the researcher identified an individual within the settlement that could communicate in English and the local language to aid with translation.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF STUDY FINDINGS/RESULTS

4.1. Introduction

This chapter documents the findings of the study. It is arranged thematically based on themes developed from the research questions and those identified due to the recurrence of specific issues during the data collection process. Specifically, this chapter gives context to the study areas by describing them and describing the demographic attributes of the respondents. Results are presented based on emerging themes that constantly came out during the data analysis process.

The study set out to firstly examine the experiences of refugee women in political leadership within the refugee settlements of Nyumanzi and Maaji II in Adjumani district in Uganda. It sought to understand the representation of the women's welfare council agenda within the refugee settlements. As earlier noted, both settlements have an equal representation of men and women on the refugee welfare council, with certain positions dedicated only to female candidates in a 50/50 quota system. The study answers the question of if such a model of affirmative action or quota system makes the women's voice stronger on the decision-making table.

Secondly, the study sought to examine the role of different actors in enhancing refugee women's political participation in refugee leadership within the settlements. Here, information was gathered on programs implemented by the existing state and non-state actors in the refugee settlements, with a critical eye on not just the outputs of the programs, but the long-term positive or negative impact of the efforts on women empowerment for leadership in the refugee settlements. The discussions here also examine the notion of ambivalent sexism as a reaction from men to the rise of women leaders in a predominantly patriarchal setting.

Study Aim	Description	Themes
Overall	Examine and identify experiences, challenges, and obstacles to refugee women's political leadership	All
Objective 1	Challenges to gender equality in elected representation	Theme 1. Challenges to refugee women's leadership Subthemes:

		• The 50/50 Gender Quota Model in RWC • Women Versus Men's view about the 50/50 Quota system • Community Views about Women's Participation • 50/50 Quota System Versus Performance of Women Leaders
Objective 2	What roles do different actors play in fostering women's political leadership in refugee settlements?	Theme 3. Role of actors in enhancing refugee women's leadership Subthemes: • Institutional Roles in advancing Women's Refugee Leadership • Sexism and Women's Refugee Representation

4.2 Theme 1: Challenges to refugee women's leadership

Under this theme, it emerged from the data gathering the obstacles and challenges that refugee women noted as bottlenecks to achieving their leadership roles.

4.2.1 The 50/50 Gender Quota Model in RWC

As indicated in Table 1 above, the council has 12 positions, 6 of which are specifically reserved for females, one specifically for males and the other 5 are all open to both sexes to contest for them. The idea behind this was to ensure that at all times, there is a 50% representation of women on the RWC. In response to this, KI 5 noted that:

"*It is good that the RWC has Quotas for women's participation. It is a platform for engagement and a woman's voice on it pushed the refugee women's agenda to the decision-making table. We have been able to realize welfare improvements like a health center improved due to women's representation in RWA*".

It was implied in this quota that men would automatically take up the rest of the open positions. However, after the 2021 elections, there is an overall 51% representation of women across settlements in Adjumani district (Settlement Commandant, OPM). In fact, of the six blocks in Maaji II, three women are chairpersons at the RWC I level.

This is a perfect model of descriptive representation for females. Descriptive representation focuses on creating a critical mass of individuals on a decision-making table in order to influence decisions. Relatedly, gender quotas play a critical role in increasing women's participation in leadership (Yoon, 2004). The 51% representation of women is indeed higher than the 30% mass suggested by the Beijing platform as being the threshold number for individuals to be positioned in leadership (UN,1995).

The RWC is an alternative system of governance implemented within refugee settlements. The refugees elect leaders to serve as liaisons between the OPM, service delivery partners, and refugee communities (Hovil, 2007). RWC structures are a non-political mirror of the local council system of Uganda and are positioned to complement the work of the OPM.

It was further noted that these are not established by law, but they confine refugees to settlement-specific issues, such as ensuring that food rations are distributed properly and mediating household or community-based conflicts as they arise (Bekaj & Antara, 2018). The RWCs also play a key role in implementing physical protection and access to justice for refugees in their communities. They are the first contacts for refugees when an issue occurs, and it is through them that the communication chain is triggered during such an instance. In a similar view Sara* noted that

"*It may be a social structure that has no legal binding but certainly, it is respected and plays a key role in keeping the settlements organized and secure*".

RWC IIIs of the settlement mirror the work of districts, RWC IIs operate at the sub-settlement level and RWC I represent the blocks/villages.

4.2.2 Women Versus Men's view about the 50/50 Quota system

The study found that there is an appreciation of the equal opportunities approach for both men and women to participate in leadership.

According to feminist theory, both females and males are equal and should have equal access to representation without discrimination based on gender (Crenshaw, 2017). Hence, as emphasized by the feminist theorist, the women respondents' heeded praise on this quota system, as a means to reduce the inequality they would face if the RWCs were male-dominated. Interviewee KI 6 stated that:

"*Gender-Based Violence here is steadily reducing over the past three years because men know that they will be held to account if they are reported as GBV perpetrators to the RWC since it has enough women to advance women's rights*".

Surprisingly, even in this strongly male-dominated study area, all the men who participated in the study were supportive of the 50/50 gender model of the RWC. They contended that having women on the council was key for equitable decision-making within the settlements, especially in the distribution of benefits received from donor institutions. One of the male respondents KI 4 said:

"*The women are more honest than men, they help us to handle the distribution of the benefit while we do the mobilization and organization tasks in the process of distributing benefits*".

However, they expressed strong concern about the ability of women to perform their traditional domestic roles, while at the same time participating in leadership. As in most African communities, men traditionally do not engage in domestic work, which is a reserve for females (Krause, 2014). This is hence a potential area of conflict as women are still required to effectively perform their domestic duties at home.

4.2.3 Community Views about Women's Participation

During the study, it was also established that the community has divergent views about women's participation in elective politics and leadership roles. As noted in the concept of patriarchy, the barriers that women face in leadership are a result of the patriarchal system, in which men hold the reins of authority (Sadie, 2005). This is also in agreement with the study by Jaeckle and Georgakopoulos (2010), whose findings showed those leadership roles as regarded as masculine. This is hence a potential area of conflict as women are still required to effectively perform their domestic duties at home. Being a majorly patriarchal setting where the role of women is often confined to the home, it is still strongly perceived that women should not take on roles outside the home (Jaeckle & Georgakopoulos, 2010). Community members who hold this belief see the rise of females to leadership positions as a failure of the men to take charge. Interviewee KI 12 noted that:

"*So you want the women to go to the meetings and the men to cook? Or your husband to attend to the children as you walk around the settlement all day, working?*"

It was further found that the image of women as the more affected victims during times of conflict also had an impact on their ability to take on leadership positions and decision-making in the refugee settlement. This image makes women appear very vulnerable and of lesser strength than men. Hence, limiting women from taking on leadership roles, or even being accepted as good leaders (Sherwood, 2012). During the interview responded K 17 said,

"*many men and women underlook our capacity as women leaders because they think about us as weak, vulnerable, and unable to cope with 'tough' times. One person even warned that one time, I will be abused sexually or physically as I walk around to do my work because am just a woman moreover*".

The researcher also noted that programs aimed exclusively at giving women leadership roles were perceived by some refugees, including women themselves as a threat to family unity. This was in agreement with the findings of Krause (2014) who he noted that the perception that women are meant to take on household work, and look after the children and the husband meant that once a woman takes on a leadership role, she will fail to have time for the domestic work. Therefore, this would result in domestic violence with the husband and unguided growth of children into indisciplined characters, hence breaking families.

However, a significant section of the respondents in the Nyumanzi Refugee settlement perceived that women were good enough leaders like men. Some even described women leaders as empathetic, honest, and kind, making them better than men.

On another note, while guidelines for refugee elections as mandated by the government of Uganda to organize the elections, the study found that in Nyumanzi, it was resolved at the community level that clans take on leadership. The study found that the Dinka ethnic group which solely occupies Nyumanzi settlement is further divided into five (5) clans. These 5 clans agreed and resolved that every clan is allowed to lead every two years. This resolution is intended to ensure that all clans are involved in leadership. These clans include Duk, Bor, Twich east, Brazelgzale, and Apadang. My argument is that whereas the resolution achieves its intended purpose of equal opportunities for representation, the study found that this model risks leaving out potentially good women leaders during periods when their clans are not in power. The researcher did not find any existing literature in this regard.

"*The Dinka tribe is very organized in their cultural system.....when they came to us with this resolution, we did not object to it*" Omara*, OPM.

The advantages and disadvantages of this model of leadership need to be studied in the refugee context.

4.2.4 50/50 Quota System Versus Performance of Women Leaders

The study found that while the government of Uganda intended to increase refugee women's participation in decision-making, some of the male leaders were not in support of the affirmative action system. A male leader in Maaji II noted that some of the women in positions of power are not able to articulate and address issues.

"Even my vice, she cannot read and write, even if I leave the office for her, she cannot run the office" (KI 4).

On further analysis, the study found the following as hindrances to women's refugee political leadership. The Negative Perception of women's leadership ability is one of such factors. This issue was raised by both men and women themselves alike. To the females, this majorly had to do with the level of confidence and esteem. The results matched the findings of Krause (2014) in his study about refugee women empowerment where he found that a significant majority of women in the refugee settlement did not believe that they can take on leadership responsibility. This meant that they were psychologically disempowered which in effect reduced their ability to argue out ideas with men and hence reduced their capacity to influence decisions on the RWC. In response, Sara* said that,

"*the challenge of esteem among women here is a big one. They do not believe they can lead. They have internalized being second class persons and are comfortable there*".

Studies have shown that gender quotas enable women to access positions that would have otherwise been held by men (Goetz, 1998). The community view of women in leadership within the refugee settlement questions the existence of representation in the 50/50 quota system. The study further interrogates this aspect to gather evidence of if the descriptive representation was indeed bearing fruits of welfare improvement for the women in Nyumanzi and Maaji II Refugee settlement.

Other studies have shown that an increased number of female representatives is likely to increase attention to issues that directly affect women's welfare (Baguma, 2020). With this in place, this brings a question on whether the gender quotas entail participation and performance of women in RWC.

Gender roles: The study found that women refugee leaders are burdened by triple gender roles of reproduction, production, and community. As established by Khasalamwa-Mwandha, (2021)), many refugee women are the heads of households. The domestic role of women as careers of family means they have limited time available to take up responsibilities. Women find themselves deeply involved with family care which affects their capacity to adequately execute their roles as leaders. This is also in agreement with scholar Gardsbane et al (2022) who emphasize that cultural underpinnings of role expectations, patriarchy, and social norms allocate females to only domestic life. The implication here is that standing for leadership for refugee women creates a challenge for balancing between their leadership roles and domestic roles. This was confirmed by a respondent who said that:

"*balancing work and family affairs is an issue. Men will call women leaders incompetent because they believe women still have to attend to family, which limits time for active leadership*" (KI 5).

The domestic roles also hindered the ability of women to seek and or attend leadership and empowerment training organized by civil society organizations (Krause, 2014). This is because their time is prioritized towards meeting their domestic responsibilities than accessing knowledge and empowerment to take on other roles in society. During the interview, Juliet* said that,

"*what we sometimes notice is you might mobilize women but due to their household chores, they might not turn up. If you may mobilize 100 women, maybe 70 turn up. So, when you try to follow, they will say this one has either gone to the garden or has gone to look for food for the children*".

Competence:

Education was found to be a key determinant of competence. According to Oxfam (2019), education does not only give leadership skills to women but also further improves their confidence and trust in community members. Krause (2014) also urges that interventions on women's education did not increase the influence of women in communities. Respondents in the study argued that the higher levels of education, the higher the political participation, knowledge of politics, and ability to execute roles. As such, illiteracy among women in Nyumanzi and Maaji II refugee settlements was found to be a serious bottleneck to their influence in leadership. It was found that there is limited access to secondary schools for girls

in refugee settlements and hence many of them do not have the skills to adequately implement the leadership roles.

4.3 Theme 2: Roles of Actors in women's leadership

The second study theme relates to the second research goal and looks into the roles of actors in advancing refugee women's leadership.

4.3.1 Institutional Roles in advancing Women's Refugee Leadership

The study intended to also describe the role of various state and non-state actors in addressing women's leadership challenges in the refugee settlements of Nyumanzi and Maaji II refugee settlements. Uganda, having nearly the largest number of refugees in Africa, has had a considerable number of efforts by community-based organizations, Non-Government organizations, and state actors to address leadership inequalities in refugee settlements. The organizations, working with the office of the Prime Minister and community-based organizations in implementing a program called "the LEAP" which is specifically aimed at empowering the women in refugee settlements. The study analyzed these efforts to generate evidence of their impact on the intended goal. I also analyze the theoretical basis of service provision to see whether it does not reinforce benevolent or hostile sexism toward beneficiaries.

4.3.1.1 Leadership training:

One of the key interventions developed is the training of aspiring women leaders. An intervention by UNWOMEN started in 2019, to create a pool of women to take on the quota positions and who would be able to contest for the open positions too. As argued by Sirleaf (2013), women were more likely to improve leadership over time if well trained and this reduces or later closes the leadership gap in favor of women. In partnership with RLP, LWF, UWONET, OPM, and Overcomers women's group, UNWOMEN has established training programs in the LEAP project where they identify potential women leaders and begin to groom them to be leaders through leadership training, economic empowerment programs, and furthering their education. Through this, the program can produce quality women leaders, who are confident enough to take on leadership responsibility in the settlements. To confirm the impact of the initiative, some of the respondents noted that,

"I know of seven women who have gone through this training to become elders and this inspires me" (KI 11).

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"The way things are done in Uganda is different from our country. We had training by the OPM and other organizations which made us motivated to become leaders to serve our people. For campaigns, we held meetings under a big tree that is where I stood and said I wanted to be a leader and people did not reject me" (KI 6).

The study found that there was specific gender importance in such training as they bring out specific leadership traits distinct to women. Indeed the training programs were yielding the goal of creating a pool of women leaders.

Education of the girl child was also established as a long-term strategy for leadership improvements among women. With schools having been built by tomorrow, the leap program champions have sensitized refugees on the importance of girl child education in the refugee settlements.

"We are glad that "building tomorrow" has built a school for us, we try to ensure our girls attain education. One time, they will be leaders either here or back at home" (KI 12).

The program is currently increasing its effort in advocating for the construction of secondary schools to further the education of girls. Meanwhile, many girls have obtained scholastic support to obtain both primary and secondary education (UNHCR, 2020). Others have been supported to obtain diplomas and other higher levels of education. This is empowering women with the knowledge to take on leadership positions. These initiatives are in tandem with what Sirleaf (2013) recommends on advocacy for the education of women and girls in order to increase participation in leadership at all levels. However, the study found that the open positions in RWC III were still a preserve for men: This is clear that there are perceptions on what positions women can vy for regardless of the seats open for both men and women. Just like Ahikire's (2004) women are only compromised to take on leadership on grounds of patriarchal structures resulting in the subordination of women in election processes.

"Since 2015, only three women had attempted to stand for those positions. Only one woman has won the position in 2019" KI 6.

"Since 2015, only three women had attempted to stand for those positions. Only one woman has won the position in 2019" (KI 6).

By implication, the training were still short on capacity building for women and confidence building for them to be able to take on the men effectively in an election for open seats (Krause,

2014). During the interviews, the actors noted that some of the reasons is the dwindling fund base for humanitarian work which results in limited reach or long-term effects of empowerment initiatives. During the interview, Rebecca* noted that,

"You know this kind of work is temporary that runs at least for a minimum of 6 months depending on the magnitude of the crisis. So the initiatives put in place may bethe short term"

Another shortfall in trainings was that the women who were trained were now competing with each other for quota positions, sometimes in unpleasant ways that created disputes. It was found that some of the women could no longer come together to discuss issues of concern to them because of this political conflict between them. This in the long run affects the gender discussion in the refugee settlements. There was no effort found to address this emerging challenge.

4.3.1.2 Attitude change:

It was found that sensitization of communities on leadership and the role of women as leaders have also beea key interventions in a change of attitude. This is aimed at breaking the cultural and traditional beliefs that still place women in society at "home" rather than in leadership. This intervention happens in all the blocks of Nyumanzi and Maaji II settlement. The OPM for example with support from UNCHR and UNWOMEN facilitates community sensitization in all the blocks of the settlements. This is intended to challenge the status quo of cultural perceptions that hinder women's participation in elective politics. These sensitizations target the men to change their perceptions of women as domestic carriers so that they can allow them to take on leadership.

"This way, husbands can allow women to challenge for leadership and other men are more willing to listen to women without any bias of gender" Rebecca*, UNCHR.

According to feminist views, the promotion of partnerships and civic rights enhances gender equality (Crenshaw, 2017). The strategies of sensitization included organizing groups and champions of women empowerment. This is done to widen the reach of the program's message on women's empowerment and sustainability. There are several women groups in the refugee settlements that have been set up. The groups meet regularly to obtain training from the facilitators. These groups have mobilized the much-needed political capital for women to stand for elective politics (UNHCR, 2020).

The champions of women empowerment have also been key in continuously spreading the message of the importance of having women in decision-making positions and this is reducing the negative attitude towards women leadership in the settlements (Krause). It was established that there has been a significant shift in attitudes toward women's leadership. Men in the study were more willing to accept women to take on leadership positions now than was found in 2013 (UN Women, 2015).

Nevertheless, contrary to what meets the eye, it was found that the roles of women leaders on the RWC are considered supportive. This deprives women of opportunities to fully discuss and influence decisions. This attitude whereas not perpetrated by men in words or actions is a product of internalized beliefs that women have had for ages in a male-dominated space (Sultana, 2010). Just like Ahikire's (2004) argument that women's bowing before addressing electorates is an indicator of the continuation of cultural customs, the same in the refugee context that these reinforce this belief by not speaking within meetings and only waiting to speak when called on to do so by the men on the RWC.

4.3.1.3 Protection programs:
Attaining equality between women and men and eliminating all forms of discrimination against women is fundamental in addressing the leadership question. Even though they frequently encounter opposition to the advancements in women's rights and receive minimal financial backing, feminist and women's organisations and movements have a long history of fighting the prevalent patriarchal hierarchical structures of leadership (Wakefield, 2017). This puts a human rights approach at the forefront of the effort to build women leaders. Ward and Vann (2002) argue that violence experienced by women during conflict and in the refugee, settlements affects psychological wellbeing. This is broken down into aspects including lowering their confidence and belief in themselves.

The study found some measures for reducing gender-based violence in refugee settlements. It was found that gender-based violence was disempowering women, making them more vulnerable and unable to take on roles of leadership. However, with education, sensitization, reporting, and prosecution of perpetrators of gender-based violence, the vices have reduced and hence creating more freedom for women to participate in leadership. As noted by Liebling et al (2020), efforts by CSOs and other actors are also educating the public about the risks of SGBV in settlements and offering police training. In addition, through partnerships, this involved preparing traditional leaders to mobilize their communities' support for refugees.

This was perhaps the most successful intervention in the refugee settlement. UNWOMEN (2017) reported that physical gender-based violence and sexual violence in Nyumanzi refugee settlements had reduced by 32% and 59% respectively.

4.4. Sexism and Women's Refugee Representation

The study established that even when the efforts of civil society were yielding positive results, traces of elements that reinforce ambivalent sexism were identified. Grubb et al. (2014) define ambivalent sexism as a combination of both benevolent and hostile sexism. Benevolent sexism is where women are viewed as a weaker sex that has to be protected out of mercy and goodwill while Hostile sexism views women as manipulators who seek to obtain benefits and control men in various activities (Grubbs et al, 2014).

In this study, it was established that the community had now differentiated some women into two groups and treated them differently on grounds of sexism. Some women were viewed as using the capacity built in them to strengthen their control of men, and hence the reaction to this was hostile sexism. This included the use of demeaning verbal insults on such women, to break their dignity and portray them as social misfits who disrespect the status quo. The other category is women who were viewed as fair, innocent, caring, and gentle, and the men have to protect them at all costs. This also informed a reaction of women being treated as second citizens in a supportive role to men, and as such a property to be protected by their men. These are the women who were not perceived as a threat to the status quo.

As further found by (Grubbs et al, 2014), ambivalent sexism affects how men view women and how women view fellow women. Indeed, sexism is not only practiced by the men, but by women too on their fellows. During the interview, a respondent noted that:

"Unmarried women leaders are sometimes referred to as "prostitutes" who cannot get men to marry because of the characteristics of courage and strength to take on men in the fight for equality."

Whereas sexism of all forms has been seen to reduce achievement in gender equality and or equity, no efforts were established by the study to deal with such sexist notions. This could be reducing the rate of achievement of women's representation in refugee settlements of Nyumanzi and Maaji II.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This is the last chapter of the study and it shows the summary of findings, major conclusions drawn by the study findings, and recommendations of the study findings.

5.1. Summary of the Findings

The study successfully achieved its purpose of answering the two research questions;

(1) what are the challenges to gender equality in elected representation and (2) what roles do different actors play in fostering women's political leadership in refugee settlements?

For question one, the study established four major challenges to gender equality in elective representation in Nyumanzi and Maaji II refugee settlements: competence, attitudes, triple gender roles, and cultural challenges.

The issue of the perception of women as key victims in conflict was found to be disempowering and lowered their esteem. Hence reducing their active participation in political leadership. The perception of women's political leadership regarding their competence in both settlements was to be a blocking stone towards their performance or roles as leaders. This in the long run affected their interest in influencing decisions because of their low levels of education. The triple gender roles were another hindering factor that affected women's participation in leadership. This is because women spent their time doing care work, which the community perceives as their main role hence less time allocated for politics.

In answering the second question, the study established seven key roles that institutions are engaged in to foster the participation of women in elective representation within refugee settlements. These included; Training potential and aspiring women leaders, Sensitization of communities on leadership and the role of women as leaders, Organizing groups and champions of women empowerment, Advocacy, Educating the girl child, Economic development, and Protection programs.

Whereas there were key achievements registered in addressing the challenges, there were still persistent bottlenecks that affect women's participation in elective politics in the refugee settlements. These challenges including the occurrence of Covid 19, the uncertain security situation in refugee settlements, dwindling funds, and limited capacity in the management of

local community-based organizations have affected the timely achievement of gender mainstreaming.

5.2. Conclusions

This study main aim has been to examine and identify experiences, challenges, and obstacles to refugee women's political leadership in Nyumanzi and Maaji II refugee settlements in Adjumani district in Uganda. The research focused on two questions namely; (1) what are the challenges to gender equality in elected representation and (2) what roles do different actors play in fostering women's political leadership in refugee settlements?. The main findings of this thesis in relation to this goal and research topics will be covered in this final chapter.

feminist political theory and the overarching concepts is what this study's theoretical foundation consists of.

5.2.1 Challenges to gender equality in elected representation within refugee settlements

While much of the literature on women's leadership has focused on all women in society, the context of empowerment and leadership for refugee women has received less attention.

Whereas there has been steady progress in bridging the gap between males and females in elective representation in the refugee settlements, the study concludes that this achievement has been very slow. It also emerged in the study that while some women fight to advance participation in elective representation, their efforts are countered by fellow women and men groups. The "pull her down" syndrome by fellow women has discouraged women to participate in politics because of cultural views that women should be assigned to their domestic roles, including caring for children.

The study further concludes that patriarchy is still deeply embedded in the social norms of the refugees just as it is in many African societies. Throughout the research, it was noticed that both men and women regardless of their backgrounds still believed that men and women had different roles to play in society with women supposed to take care of homes, while the males take on the leadership and protective roles of the community.

5.2.2 Roles played by actors play in fostering refugee women's political leadership

The study concludes that even though refugees are excluded from participation in formal political institutions in Uganda, RWCs and refugee-led civil society organizations play an active role as consultative bodies on behalf of the refugee communities. Women have been

enrolled on these platforms and this is increasing women's elective representation in the settlements.

The study also concluded that unintended effects of refugee women empowerment by actors are affecting the ability to foster refugee women's leadership. It was also found during the study that men felt left out in some aspects by the actors. This is mostly during planning by development actors and governments who only focus on women's rights and empowerment. The study noted that the unintended goal or initiatives by different actors could potentially lead to other forms of structured inequalities.

5.2.3 Results generalization

The researcher concludes that whereas refugee committees are diverse, their principle of gender equality in representation on the decision-making table is cross-cutting through all diversities. As such the findings of the study reflect a lot of what is happening elsewhere in refugee settlements, particularly in Uganda, the Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan, and the African continent at large. The findings can hence have a positive effect on improvement in the leadership representation of refugee women, particulainwith refugee settlements. For examplele, the RWC structure of leadership and gender quota in that structure can be adapted by refugee agencies and Countries to improve wwomen'srefugee representation indecision-makingg.

Last but not least, I hope that my study can help strengthen the empowerment of refugee leaders in the post-conflictt environmenof of other refugee settlements across Uganda and throughout Africa by replicating lessons learned and best practices.

5.3. Recommendations

From the study, these were some of the recommendations for the advancement of women's leadership in refugee settlements.

There is a need to expound on studies regarding refugee women's political leadership. This will aid in contribution towards the academia and programme design, planning, and implementation.

The focus should be on optimal refugee women's participation in leadership and decision-making. Placing women at the center of refugee responses remains one of the most critical ways through which gendered needs are addressed. The approach ensures that women's

leadership and voices prevent future conflicts, both in displaced settings and in their countries of origin. When refugee responses are appropriately gendered and planned, they become a useful tool for social cohesion and bridging distrust among host and refugee communities. This allows understanding to develop between each other.

There is a need to engage Women's Empowerment groups. Women groups in the refuge settlement are key actors inwomenn empowerment and grooming of women leaders. International and local agencies have supported the establishment of several women groups. The groups work on issues of health, legal, sexual, and gender-based violence counseling, and referrals to local service providers. These groups can now be able to act as change agents in mentoring women leaders and improving financial support and human resource need to foster women's participation in elective positions.

Additionally, there is a need to increase long-term, flexible financial support for refugee women's economic empowerment, including support for organizations that are transforming thegender-discriminatoryy barriers to women's economic inclusion.

I also recommend networking and partnership for women leaders as learning platforms. Women's organizations in the refugee settlements should come together and speak with one voice. This gives them stronger bargaining power and that way they can achieve more. Women also know the problems that their fellow women are facing, and it is only through these organizations they will be supported accordingly either through mentorship or networks with which they can work in. There should be a connection between refugee organizations to share, learn and build solidarity and action for refugee women's leadership.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix one: Letter from the Gate keeper

THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER

PLOT 9-11 APOLLO KAGGWA ROAD. P.O. BOX 341, KAMPALA, UGANDA
TELEPHONES: General Line 0417 770500, Web: www.opm.go.ug, E-mail: ps@opm.go.ug

In any correspondence on this subject, please quote No: *OPM/R/107*

February 28, 2022

Ms. Flavia Ajok,
University of Gothenburg

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT AN ACADEMIC RESEARCH IN NYUMANZI & MAJI 1 REFUGEE SETTLEMENTS.

Your letter on the above subject dated 24th February, 2022 refers.

This is to inform you that, access has been granted to conduct an academic research entitled *"Refugee women's political leadership: experiences, challenges and obstacles in Nyumanzi and Maji 1 refugee settlement"* starting 7th to 16th March, 2022.

By copy of this letter, the responsible officers are requested to accord your team the necessary assistance and you are also requested to observe the rules and regulations governing the Refugee settlements and MoH guidelines on COVID 19 pandemic.

After completion, share a copy of your final report with OPM on email: **refugeepartnership@opm.go.ug**

Douglas Asiimwe
FOR: PERMANENT SECRETARY

C.C. Refugee Desk Officer– Adjumani
C.C. Settlement Commandant– Adjumani Settlements
C.C. Flimsy File

OPM Vision: A Public Sector that is responsive and accountable in steering Uganda towards rapid economic growth and development.

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Appendix two: Letter of information

LETTER OF INFORMATION

Dear Sir/ Madam,

Greetings!

Thank you for taking interest in my research. My name is Flavia Ajok. I am currently pursuing a master's degree In International Administration And Global Governance at the University of Gothenburg.

My research topic is titled: ***Refugee women's political leadership: experiences, challenges, and obstacles in Nyumanzi and Maji 1 refugee settlement.***

The study seeks to understand the gender inequalities that hinder women's political participation in refugee settlements. It further seeks to investigate the experiences of women in leadership positions in refugee settlements and the contextual factors that influence their effective political participation in leadership. Another aspect is to understand the role of different actors in enhancing women's political participation in the refugee context. The result will aid in identifying areas for intervention for advancing women's political leadership in the refugee context.

Your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw anytime as there is no penalty towards your decision. The interview sessions will be in a calm environment and will not take more than an hour. The study is intended to engage 20 participants both females and males. You will be requested to participate at your own places of convenience. You will neither be paid to participate in the study nor be expected to pay anything to take part in the study. However, in the event you have to incur travel costs from your village to participate in interviews, a small fee will be provided to cover your transportation. I will not use your name when reporting on interview and your answer will only be seen by me. You will be anonymous in my report.

For Further information, do not hesitate to contact me via (+256 779203249), or my supervisor, Kristen Kao via +46 31-786 33 53/ kristen.kao@gu.se or Marcia Grimes: the thesis coordinator, University of Gothenburg on +46 31-786 41 38/ marcia.grimes@pol.gu.se.

Yours Sincerely,

Flavia Ajok

Appendix three: Consent

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Refugee women's political leadership: experiences, challenges, and obstacles in Nyumanzi and Maji 1 refugee settlement.]

Statement of agreement to participate in the research study

- I……………………………………… hereby confirm that I have been informed by Flavia Ajok about the nature of the research.

- I may, at any stage, without prejudice, withdraw my consent and participation in the study.

- I understand that at any stage, I may withdraw my consent in the study.

- I heard the aim and nature of the study that I understood in a letter addressed to me (Participant letter).

- I understand that I will not benefit directly from participating in this research. I agree to my interview being audio-recorded.

- I understand that the results of the study, including personal information about my name, age, sex, and initials will be processed anonymously in a study report.

- I understand that disguised extracts from my interview may be quoted in the dissertation.

- I understand that signed consent forms and original audio recordings will be retained in by the researcher until August 2022.

- I understand that important new knowledge developed during this research that may relate to my participation will be accessible.

- I understand that I am free to contact any of the people involved in the research to seek further clarification and information.

_____   _____   ____   _____

Full Name of Participant   Date   Time   Signature / Right Thumbprint

I, _____ (name of researcher) confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the nature of the above study

Signature of researcher

--   ---------------------

Signature of researcher   Date

Appendix Four : Interview Guide

Personal Information

Could you tell me little about yourself?

- Name/ Respondent I.D…………………………………….
- Age: a)18-2 b) 26-30 c)31-35 d) 36-40 e) 41-45 f) 46-50 g) 51+
- Marital status: a) Single b) Married c) Divorced d) widowed e) any other specify ………………..
- level of education: a) Never been to school b) Primary c) Secondary d) Tertiary e) Any other…………..
- Position held…………………………………
- Constituency …………………………………...
- Date…………………………………………..
- Location…………………………………………..
- Sex…………………………………………

Warm up questions:

- What are the gender inequalities between men and women in political participation?

Women's representation

- Have you ever participated in elections before?
- If so, how many times have you participated in the general elections?
- Have you actively participated in elective positions? yes or no
- if yes, what position did you run for in active service? what position did you hold for those who once participated.
- what motivated you to join political leadership? did you get any help when you were running for office? What was that process like? How did you go about generating support? What challenges did you face?
- What are the obstacles to women's political participation in your community? Do they participate in elections? Do they run for office? Are there any advantages to being a woman running for office?
- In your own view, are there certain cultural practices or social norms that hinder women's participation in political leadership?
- What challenges and obstacles do women refugee welfare council leaders face?
- what do you think can be done to promote effective participation of refugee women in political participation?

Appendix five: Interview guide for Actors

Personal Information

Could you tell me little about yourself?

- Name……………………………………………………………………..
- Age: a)18-20 b) 26-30 c)31-35 d) 36-40 e) 41-45 f) 46-50 g) 51+
- Sex: a) Female b) Male
- Organization/ institution……………………………………………
- Date……………………………………………………………………..
- Location:…………………………….

Warm up questions:

What are some gender inequalities between men and women in political participation?

Government and Civil society Organisations

- What role has your organization/ institution played in promoting women's political participation in the last 4 years in the refugee settlement?
- Are there programmes for increasing women's representation in political participation?
- What are the main activities that your organization has undertaken to promote political participation of women in selected settlements in Adjumani district?
- What kind of support do CSOs and government give to women vying for elective positions?
- What are the community views about women's participation in politics as candidates?
- What are the enabling factors to women's political participation?
- What are the hindering factors to women participation in political leadership?
- What measures do you think can be done to increase female representation?
- What challenges has your organization faced in promoting women's political participation?

Appendix six: List of respondents

Name	Sex	Role	Location
Sara*	F	Programme Coordinator	UNWOMEN, Adjumani district
Juliet*	F	Programme Manager	RLP, Adjumani district
Omara*	M	Asst. Settlement Commandant	OPM, Adjumani district
Rebecca*	F	Programme Manager	UNCHR, Adjumani district
KI1	M	Youth leader	Maaji II
KI2	M	Youth Leader	Nyumanzi
KI3	M	Security	Nyumanzi
KI4	M	Youth Leader	Maaji II
KI5	M	Chairperson RWC II	Maaji II
KI 6	F	Secretary for Disability and Persons with Special Needs	Nyumanzi
KI7	F	Chairperson	Maaji II
KI8	F	Block leader	Maaji II
KI9	F	Block leader	Nyumanzi
KI10	F	Vice Chairperson RWC II	Maaji II
KI11	F	Opinion Leader	Maaji II
KI12	F	Block leader	Maaji II
KI13	F	Vice Chairperson RWC II	Maaji II