

Disaster Studies Chair Group

MSc. Thesis

**The Influence of Social Networks on Post Conflict Livelihoods in Gulu
Northern Uganda**



The influence of social networks on post conflict livelihoods in Gulu Northern Uganda

Eva Mutenga

Thesis submitted for the partial fulfillment of the degree of the MSc. Program:
International Development Studies (Sociology of Development)

Supervisor:

Dr. Ir. Gemma van der Haar

*Wageningen University and Research Centre 2012, The Netherlands
Reg No 850403592090*

Abstract

Conflict and displacement bring changes to people's lives which impacts on their social relations and livelihoods. Men and women become vulnerable in Gulu Northern Uganda displacement contributed to the erosion of social networks in particular interpersonal relations. This study explores how social networks of men and women in Unyama Gulu who did not return to their villages (post encampment) shape their livelihoods. Recourse to social networks is among the known strategies adopted by individuals in trying to cope and build or enhance livelihoods. Data was collected through in-depth interviews, observations and focus group discussions. The analysis reveals interpersonal relations play a role in individuals' livelihood coping activities and in post conflict it is more of friends/neighbours relations that are taking over the role of kinship relations.

Keywords: Conflict, displacement, social networks, livelihoods, interpersonal relations

Acknowledgements

I am heartily thankful to my supervisor, Dr Gemma van der Haar whose encouragement, guidance and support enabled me to develop an understanding of the subject.

I am grateful to NRC Uganda Country Director for giving me the opportunity to do an internship with their organization. It was a good experience next to the support they provided in the carrying out of my thesis field work. Without the wealth of information, from the men and women in Unyama Gulu, it would be impossible to complete this thesis. May the readers of my work help me to appreciate them. Not least, I am in debt to the Netherlands Fellowship Program for its financial support to my masters studies in general and this thesis in specific.

I am also thankful to my family for their support for my work. To Estella Nabalayo and Naomi Ferrotte you guys were great (my Gulu sisters) my pillars of strength when I needed to unload my emotions and frustrations.

To my Father, Itai, Fidelis, Regina, Tabitha, Donald thank you all for your emotional support and encouragements I love you all!!

Above all to God be the glory!!

List of acronyms

AIDS	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
ARV	Antiretroviral
CBD	Central Business District
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
IDPs	internally displaced persons
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
NRC	Norwegian Refugee Council
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
TASO	the AIDS Support Organization

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	2
Acknowledgements.....	3
List of acronyms	4
Chapter 1: Introduction	7
1.1 Background to the Conflict	8
1.2 Humanitarian support and conflict related urbanization: Gulu Town.....	10
Chapter 2: Research Design	13
2.1 Problem Statement:.....	13
2.2 Research objectives and Questions	14
2.3 Conceptual Framework.....	15
2.3.1 Social Networks and Social Capital	16
2.3.2 Livelihoods, Coping and Vulnerability.....	17
Chapter 3: Methodology.....	22
3.1 Types of data collection and sources.....	22
3.2 Location of Fieldwork.....	25
3.3 Complexities during the Fieldwork	27
3.4 Introduction to the key-informants	32
Chapter 4: Social networks and position of men and women before and after the war	36
4.1 Interpersonal relations.....	36
4.2 Position of men and women in relation to vulnerability	41
4.3 Networks and livelihoods.....	44
4.4 Conclusion.....	45
Chapter 5: Getting by in Gulu town	47
5.1 Livelihood coping strategies	47

5.2 Life after Encampment.....	47
5.3 Bonding Social Capital.....	53
5.4 Vulnerabilities leading to Exclusion	56
5.5 Future processes to improve livelihoods	62
5.6 Conclusion.....	63
Chapter 6: Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendations	66
6.1 Discussion and Conclusion	66
6.2 Recommendations	71
References	73
Appendices.....	78

Chapter 1: Introduction

This study concerns how individuals who are former Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and did not return to their home areas/villages construct their livelihoods in Gulu town in Northern Uganda. The Lord Resistance Army's hostile activities in Uganda saw 1.8 million individuals become internally displaced in 1996 (Atkinson, 2009). War can bring a lot of changes in a society; the conflict in Northern Uganda resulted in destruction of homes, lives and general socio-economic activities. Every household at least suffered the effects of the conflict in terms of abduction, death, displacement, poverty, sicknesses and loss of income, livelihood, homes, food, healthcare and education (Kindi, 2010). Northern Uganda has remained stable and secure following the signing of the cessation of hostilities agreement between the Government of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army on 26th August 2006; this has clearly improved the humanitarian situation and led to the return of people to their villages. It is important to note that not all people have returned to their villages. As such one of the emerging questions that come to mind is how these individuals have reshaped their livelihoods in the post conflict situation.

Next to the traumatic experiences, the war caused many other problems in the society or intensified the already existing problems. The network of the (extended) family relationship is destroyed due to the war and there is an increased lack of trust in social relations. Issues of poverty and high unemployment rate are also prevalent and exacerbated by conflict. People had to abandon what they called home to come to the camps. Now some are finding it difficult to return or have found it easier to stay and make a living in the town. Prolonged conflict which results in mass displacement of individuals brings changes to people's lives and impacts on their social relations and livelihoods. The target population for this research was on the former displaced people in Unyama, Gulu town, Northern Uganda who did not return to their villages post encampment in 2007. Focus was made on how they have managed over the years, the transformations in their livelihoods and what role social networks have played in their lives. Recourse to social networks is among the known strategies adopted by individuals in trying to cope and build or enhance livelihoods. Individuals draw on social networks from kinship relations, friends and neighbours, groups and organizations for assistance in times of need. The study shows that social capital is not a given it is a resource that one has to invest in, in order to benefit. However, investments in social capital can be constrained by several factors, considering the general perception that social capital is important for accessing and strengthening other capitals. It is interesting to hear the stories of individuals on how they

construct their livelihoods and how social networks play a role if any of these activities. The general lack of social networks may constitute to a limitation in the possibilities for the men and women to find a livelihood.

1.1 Background to the Conflict

Uganda is a country in East-Africa, with over 30 million inhabitants (see country map in appendix 1) and borders South Sudan, Rwanda, Kenya and Democratic Republic of Congo. In the Northern provinces of Uganda, also referred to as Acholi land, there was a brutal and unrelenting war since 1988. The rebel army was led by a rebel leader Joseph Kony that named itself the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). For 20 years members of the LRA killed or mutilated thousands of innocent civilians (Pfeiffer and Elbert, 2011). It began in 1986 with the takeover of power by Yoweri Museveni, who is still the current President of Uganda. A number of groups from the north of Uganda fought the central government. Initially, these were primarily popular rebellions, but this changed when the main rebel group, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), began targeting civilians (Horn, 2009). The LRA became known for using extreme violence to instil terror into the general population. Museveni was the first president since 1966 who was not from the North. Prunier, (2004) sees social marginalization as one of the prime motivators of the conflict; however the actual causes of the conflict are diverse and will just mention a few as some dates back to the colonial period.

Contemporary wars are increasingly fought within state borders, placing civilians more and more in the centre of the battlefield, and are marked by strategies targeting civilians, resulting in numerous civil casualties and devastating consequences on societal life (Goodhand and Hulme, 1999). The Uganda conflict is such a new war and resulted in encampment of civilians, which was the most significant characteristic of the conflict involving the LRA and the Museveni government. The conflict was characterised by killings, mutilations of limbs, lips, noses, arms, ears, hands, legs and toes, massive displacement, abductions of innocent children and devastation of property and infrastructures. Families were destroyed and children were abducted as child soldiers and as sex slaves; the social relations were dismantled as people moved into different camps.

In 1996 in a bid to protect civilians from attacks by the LRA all people in the villages were ordered by the government to leave their village within 48 hours. It was argued that people were forced into camps as a military strategy to deny rebels access to food and recruitment, as well as a way to protect people from abductions (Horn, 2009). However, the IDP policy as Horn

notes was hastily implemented; life in these camps was marred by squalid conditions where the struggle to protection from disease, poverty and starvation became a daily nightmare.

This armed conflict led to gross violations of human rights of civilians, destroyed infrastructure, adversely disrupted social service delivery systems, paralysed economic activity and caused social disintegration, thus retarding economic and human development in the north Shaw and Mbambazi in (Nhema and Zeleza, 2008). Services in the camp largely collapsed; there was virtually no civilian policing, inadequate water supplies and sanitation facilities, limited access to health care, massively over-congested primary schools and limited access to secondary education in the camp setting. Camps were overcrowded with huts close together. All the social problems that existed before the conflict (high number of HIV/AIDS orphans, domestic violence and sexual abuse and exploitation) intensified by conflict, displacement and camp life. With each year spent in the IDP camps the residents became increasingly dependent on food relief and more despondent as they watched the familial and cultural fabric of their lives deteriorate (Allen and Schomerus, 2006).

The Acholi people in Northern Uganda have lived in a situation of desperation, fear, hopelessness, deaths and uncertainty for the last 20 years. In early 1997, World Food Programme relief was delivered to 110,000 people in 'protected' IDP camps(Ochola, 2007). 'By 2003, more than 80% of the population of war-affected parts of Northern Uganda lived in over 200 camps. The rest lived in the main towns. The total number of people living in IDP camps then was estimated at over 1.5 million'(Dolan, 2005).

In the camps, the men and women hoped to find safety and some chance of survival, and prayed for a peaceful end to the conflict. The government and the LRA signed the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement in 2006, but in spite of peace efforts, Joseph Kony, the illusive leader of the LRA, refused to sign the final peace agreement. 'By the end of 2011, due to improved security, most of the 1.8 million IDPs in camps at the height of the conflict had returned to their area of origin or settled in new locations', (IDMC, 2012).

The women have equally suffered from being subjected to acts of violence, human rights abuses, rape, losses of their dear ones (children and husbands) and homesteads. Even though the guns have been relatively silent, since the signing of cessation of hostilities agreement, the wounds and effects remain deep rooted,(Ochola, 2007:1).The women are now living with shame of stigma and dehumanization due to losses of their human dignity in the IDP camps (ibid).

In 2006, when the government announced the beginning of camp phase-out in Northern Uganda, the majority of internally displaced persons had high hopes of living a better life in their original homes. That hope, however, faded as the former IDPs met many hurdles in their return process. To some the conditions in the villages are four-times worse than in the camps (McCord, 2009).

The villages were destroyed when the people fled to the camps, so they are returning to a place with no homes, no food, and no clean water and far from humanitarian aid. Other people are still in the camps because they need time to sort out their land issues so that they can return, since land is the only tangible asset that the community is looking at for survival. This is the case for many widows and orphans who cannot recover the land of their deceased husbands and fathers (IDMC, 2010). Some have chosen to become partial returnees whereby they stay in town and at the same time they maintain their village homes and only go there for farming.

1.2 Humanitarian support and conflict related urbanization: Gulu Town

Gulu is the biggest town in northern Uganda; it is the North's central business district (CBD). Since 1996, when the government put into effect a policy that turned out to be the long-term forced displacement of hundreds of thousands of Acholi peasants throughout Gulu District, there was a rapid response among relief agencies to the displacement into Gulu town and some of the nearby camps. The town was central to the supply and management of the camp network, which costs donors US\$200 million a year (Branch, 2008). The humanitarian industry today provides formal and informal economic opportunities for the surplus population, however bad some working conditions are.

Before displacement, Gulu had been characterised by a small urban core of a few streets surrounded by widely spaced buildings and houses in the surrounding area, mostly near the main roads. "This changed dramatically in 1996-1997 when thousands of displaced people moved into Gulu – mostly those without skills, resources or family or social connections and needed to survive in Gulu", Branch, (2008).

"Those empty spaces that the owners would agree to rent out became filled with grass-thatched mud huts built by the displaced. A large number of mini-camps sprang up in the open spaces around the municipality: small dense clusters of huts, microcosms of the massive camps that had sprung up around trading centres throughout the district.

New neighbourhoods were created, as people from the same home areas would often stick together and create new urban settlements of their own” (ibid: 5)

Gulu became a centre for forced displacement and a place of voluntary flight by peasants during peak times of violence because of the relative security it offered.

In the first years of war, Gulu town was attacked on occasion by the rebel groups, but from 1990 onwards it has remained for the most part immune from the violence of the war in the countryside. ‘Even if the edges of town or specific government buildings were attacked, the centre of town itself was generally considered safe’, (Branch, 2008:2). The conflict, however, opened Gulu to a large contingent of other ethnic groups and humanitarian actors. Post-conflict Gulu is a very cosmopolitan town with a diverse and growing population, contributing to economic recovery from the conflict. Over the course of the war Gulu town has changed ‘from a small provincial and district capital, one in which the local economy was based almost entirely upon access to state resources, to a centre for war and humanitarian economy, in which the local economy is based almost entirely on access to foreign aid and to a lesser extent war profits’, (Branch, 2008).

The demographic changes resulting from displacement as well as the adverse conditions in the camps such as congestion, diseases, alcoholism, domestic and gender based violence, poverty, among others, increased incidences of widowhood and female headed households (Branch, 2008). As a result, a significant number of displaced people were unable or unwilling to return to their pre-displacement homes in the villages. In this situation, Gulu has become a haven for large numbers of the dispossessed, excluded and victimised, and the population of Gulu town has remained high. The expansion of Gulu’s economy has advanced in step with displacement, precisely because of the economic opportunities created in town by the humanitarian industry, which was established to sustain the displacement camps since 1996, and especially since 2000 (Branch, 2008). Today the town of Gulu has continued to expand and more aid organizations are coming in as the emergency organizations are exiting. UNHCR, NRC, ARC, WFP have all exited Northern Uganda but other development organization have come in, especially to support individuals in their areas of return. The support ranges from seed packages, cash transfers, and micro-enterprise projects to support in building schools for children. The offices of the departing organizations have been taken over by new organizations but the town has continued to expand as more banks, supermarkets and other institutions are entering the town for business purposes. Construction of hotels, places for leisure and houses are the spectacle of the town. As will be mentioned in the chapters that follow, some of the respondents are brick makers supplying bricks and others are involved in stone quarrying. All this entails opportunity for individuals to get employment or pursue a livelihood as long as they have the skill or what it

takes. The population of Gulu I can say has continued to increase even today in post conflict as more and more people feel safe and take advantage of the opportunities that are being offered.

Chapter 2: Research Design

2.1 Problem Statement:

Civil war and political violence affect the wellbeing of populations and research on the impact of conflict on this wellbeing has become increasingly popular. Livelihoods are changed as a result of prolonged violent conflict resulting in the breakdown and possibly creation of new social networks. As is the case with Northern Uganda, there are different groups of populations: those who are returning, former IDPs who did not return to their villages and those who have already been living in the area displaced by the conflict. In this case it becomes difficult to identify who is displaced and who is not. Urban centres like Gulu are interesting to look at because they are in between the size of a town and a city, but also between a town and rural area. This is interesting because urban economies offer a wider range of economic activities and livelihood options than rural communities, which especially enlarges possibilities for income generation. Gulu town is popular for its humanitarian economy; since the INGOs established themselves in the town in 1996 the town has grown. The town has become a safe haven for most people and even today others displaced have not returned to their homes.

However all groups have been affected by the conflict one way or the other and basically rely on their social networks to build and have a continuity of their livelihood. The challenges faced by individuals in post conflict situations include a lack of assets, broken down networks due to displacement and significant uncertainties in particular in regard to the decision to return to their place of origin. Individuals are vulnerable to a number of issues and have considerable difficulties to ensure housing, protection and the means to generate a livelihood.

Nonetheless it is important to realise that post-conflict transition periods offer new opportunities as well. Bouta et al (2005:77) argue that conflict societies 'often have an opportunity to undergo a transformation in the security, political, and socioeconomic realms where livelihoods can be reconstructed by individuals in urban spaces with the use of social networks'. Social networks are the core of how people make do in urban spaces. They are hubs of information, employment, food access and accommodation. Therefore it can be assumed that social networks are the starting point of how livelihoods are pursued in post conflict urban centres and facilitate individuals to access resources (Scoones, 1998). However, social networks have influence which can be positive or negative on the livelihood of individuals; it can increase or decrease the resources available to the livelihood of the individual. Depending on the network some have mutual benefits but some are exploitative, hence imbalance in the benefits.

A number of studies have been written on macro rather than micro issues of how individuals respond to processes of transformation in the reconstruction phase of disasters, there is a lack of information about ordinary people's insights and perceptions or the meanings that people attribute to events, institutions or policies (Richards, 1996, 2005). Uvin, (2001:99) in Koster (2008:6) argues that most scholars seem interested either in understanding how conflicts could occur or in determining their macro-level impacts. Few look further ahead and study the phenomenal challenges faced by governments and inhabitants. 'Neither micro-level evidence on individual and household livelihood portfolios and coping strategies in times of war and shortly after, nor the outcome of such strategies, are given the attention they deserve', (Koster, 2008:6).

This thesis is intended to address this gap in knowledge by examining the question of what individuals do in post conflict urban spaces and what the results are of their activities and strategies, with specific focus on livelihoods and social networks. This will be done by looking at the ability of individuals to mobilize resources through social networks in urban spaces, e.g. through kinship networks, extended family, friends, neighbours and community groups, because these are a source of socio economic support for households.

The target population for this research was on the former displaced people in Unyama, Gulu town who did not return to their villages. This is interesting to understand how they have managed over the years, what have been the transformations in their livelihoods and what role social networks have played in their lives. For the purposes of this research I specifically looked for those who were displaced by the government in 1996 and forced into camps surrounding Gulu town and over the years have moved out of the camps and have established residence in Gulu town and have not returned to their areas of origin.

2.2 Research objectives and Questions

This study is about the way people in post conflict urban spaces might make use of social networks to implement their livelihoods; it generally aims to understand how different people within society are affected by conflict and the responses they develop in order to rebuild or continue with their livelihoods. Therefore the research intends to identify the influences that social networks have on the livelihoods of individuals in post conflict urban centres by understanding their activities and coping strategies to secure a livelihood. Post conflict offers opportunities for continuation and reconstruction of livelihoods for those who were affected directly or indirectly and had their livelihoods changed.

Research Questions

The research has emphasis on establishing livelihoods in post conflict urban centres it is necessary to frame questions based on the perceptions of those former IDPs living in the centre based on their experiences hence the overall research question is:

- How do social networks shape options of former IDPs to construct livelihoods in post conflict Unyama, Gulu town?

Specific Research Questions

- 1) What are the perceptions and understanding of these individuals on their networks and livelihoods?
- 2) What are the meanings that they give surrounding the influence of social networks on their livelihoods (if at all there is an influence)?
- 3) What are the processes (existing and future) are there that can “improve their livelihood situation”?
- 4) How are social networks that people get involved in organized, ‘how do people manage networks in light of different styles, values, interests, ethnicity and identity etc.?’
- 5) How do these networks influence the vulnerability and the possibilities of the men and women
- 6) Have networks been used as strategies to overcome or mitigate exclusion (access to jobs, markets, education)
- 7) What are the concrete coping strategies that individuals adapt, what are the advantages and limitations of these strategies?

2.3 Conceptual Framework

This section discusses the major concepts that guided this study and how they are related. The discussion revolves around three core concepts: livelihoods, social networks and social capital in post conflict areas. Urban centers with their fast growing pace can be uncondusive to society cooperation because of high levels of individualism; social networks and trust can be more difficult to develop and sustain in this scenario. In many cases, interactions between parties are not repeated and therefore there is no incentive to develop reciprocal relations (Dobbs,

2001:26). Long, (2001:54) further notes that 'networks evolve and transform over time and different networks are crucial for pursuing particular ends and engaging in certain forms of action'. With this in mind my thesis will explore more on the social networks; how they are linked to post conflict livelihoods. However, it is also crucial to keep in mind that given the non-static nature of social networks one can expand their networks in different directions Long, (2001). Social networks have a value which can be positive or negative. The social interactions (interpersonal relationships) lead to constructive or destructive outcomes which have an influence on livelihoods. Individuals in urban spaces are forced to seek support from their networks or establish networks to sustain their livelihoods.

2.3.1 Social Networks and Social Capital

Social Networks are defined as the connection or relationship of two or more actors. However Portes, (1995:8) defines it as:

sets of recurrent associations between groups of people linked by occupational, familial, cultural, or affective ties...they are sources for acquisition of scarce means, such as capital and information, and they simultaneously impose effective constraints on the unrestricted pursuit of personal gain.

In this definition he mentions the function and possible influences of a network. Focusing on post conflict urban centres where people have to try and organize their livelihoods these centres may act as spaces of refuge offering safety to populations who have had their livelihoods changed. 'A common response is to fall back on community-based social networks and family ties' (Nombo, 2007:29).

The definition by Portes allows me to focus on networks and be able to explore the mechanisms by which people capture or contain benefits of the networks in the re-establishment of livelihoods in post conflict urban spaces. To develop a better understanding one cannot talk about social networks without mentioning the social capital which is the value that is obtained from the social network. Social capital is a much debated and difficult to define concept. Authors such as Bourdieu, Coleman and Putman have referred to it as the information, trust, and norms of reciprocity inherent to an actor's social networks, which, if one is able to mobilise these networks, facilitate mutually beneficial collective action (Woolcock, 1998). Social capital resides in relations of trust, reciprocity and exchanges, common rules, norms, sanctions, connectedness, networks and groups (associations) Lee et al, (2005), however all these are found in social relationships, networks and actors. Coleman (1997) emphasizes the fact that these social relations have high levels of obligations and expectations such that people do things for each that they expect to and trust to be repaid. Bourdieu (1986) agrees with Coleman

that social capital is made up of social obligations; people derive their social capital from their membership of a group such as a family or kinship group. The material or symbolic exchanges within these groups produce these obligations and the amount of social capital depends on the size, quality and linkages of the network. The ability to transform social capital into conventional economic gains depends on the nature of the social obligations and connections and networks available to you.

Putnam, (1993) sees social capital as a distinct form of public good embodied in civic engagement and he highlights that self-sustaining associations together with trust enable coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit. Putnam, (2000:22) notes 'that bonding social capital is good for undergirding specific reciprocity and mobilizing solidarity....bridging networks, by contrast are better for linkage to external assets and for information diffusion'. Bonding social capital is, as Xavier de Souza Briggs puts it, good for 'getting by', but bridging social capital is crucial for 'getting ahead'. Woolcock, (2001) expands on social capital when he notes that it resides in connectedness and networks i.e. bonding- strong links between people with similar outlooks and objectives (kin, ethnic or religious group); and manifest in different types of associations at local/community level. Linking is the ability to engage in vertical connections with external agencies and organisations, to influence policies or draw down on their resources. Capacity to bridge and link generates progress and innovation.

Nombo, (2007) explains social capital as something that can be used to diminish individuals and households' vulnerability to poverty and a means to sustain livelihoods, therefore the extent to which individuals can make claims on social networks depends on their ability to build up their social capital which is referred by Long (2001:132) as 'the ability to mobilize their resources on demand'. Also he makes it clear that social networks are not all positive there are negatives that are embedded in them like conflict and exclusion meaning that the reciprocal relationship has possibilities of 'requests for help or demand for loyalty being rejected'.

2.3.2 Livelihoods, Coping and Vulnerability

Livelihoods refers to people's means of making a living 'a livelihood comprises the assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social capital), the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household' (Ellis, 2000:10). This however is the broader definition of livelihoods which also has been expanded by the DFID to come up with a livelihoods framework. All this is important but the real need is to focus on the processes which are the ways in which

individuals utilize and combine their assets to obtain food, income and other goods and services, in the context in which they live. 'People's choice of livelihood strategies, as well as the degree of influence they have over policy, institutions and processes, depends partly upon the nature and mix of the assets they have available to them', (EFSA, 2009). There is need to have a combination of these assets in order for one to achieve 'positive' livelihood outcomes – that is, to improve their quality of life, survival and future well-being.

The relationships with other members of the community and networks are very important as well to help individuals establish livelihoods. Social networks play a big role in coping strategies for individuals, Koster, (2008) because they can extend their networks into different directions which can in turn mean more livelihood coping options hence reducing their vulnerability.

Blaikie et al, (1994:9 cited in Rueben et al, 2007), vulnerability is 'the characteristics of a person or group in terms of their capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the impacts of natural hazard', this definition can also be extended to cover man-made disasters as well e.g. conflict. The common idea of vulnerability of a person or group depends on external factors, such as the environmental context in which people live. However Chambers, (1989) noted that it also depends on the specific characteristics of the person or group, such as age, sex, marital status, and employment status. This internal dimension of vulnerability Brons et al, (2007) is a result of lack of access to specific capitals (human, social, financial). This can be common in post conflict scenarios. However the ability to cope depends on the individual's capacity to deal with the crisis which is essential, for them to be able to escape from insecurity and keep their livelihoods sustainable. This is in relation with agency which is

the capacity to anticipate opportunities (local as well as wider societal change) and create opportunities (by connecting different levels, mobilizing different resources, aligning, or creating space for experiments and learning), to create new interlinkages between a wide range of heterogeneous elements (human as well as no-human, social as well as material) into a configuration that works, considering that this enrolment needs to be carefully balanced and negotiated, Wiskerke and Roep, (2007:20).

Long, (2001:16) describes agency as being embodied in social relations and can only be effective through them furthermore it entails the generation and use or manipulation of networks of social relations and the channelling of specific items.

Access to livelihood resources is a constraint this may result in the exclusion and inclusion of certain individuals to certain resources because 'internal vulnerability is a complex socially (as well as politically, environmentally, and economically) constructed processes', Frerks and

Bender, (2004:194, cited in Koster, 2008). This also means, as Anderson and Woodrow, (1989) correctly argue, that vulnerable people are not 'helpless victims'. This relates to agency and coping strategies because individuals' capacities to deal with crisis depends on the existence and magnitude of the shocks. For this study vulnerability is looked at in the line of social and economic status of the target groups (former IDPs in urban centres) in post conflict. It is also worth mentioning that while the concept of vulnerability is often used as synonym for poverty, the two are not the same. Vulnerability is just one of the causes of poverty and not its symptoms (Agong, 2008). However due to resource constraints the poor are among the most vulnerable, to fall below the poverty line.

Livelihoods and networks have been changed, individuals have experienced these issues, how do they re-establish themselves in urban centres because as Long, (2001:135) notes 'certain aspects of a person's network may be developed from scratch, such as those based on friendship or occupational criteria'. In the context of the post conflict urban centre it offers opportunities to construct new or extend networks henceforth what are the available relationships for individuals and how do they organize access to resources and rebuild their livelihood assets. It has to be noted that there is a lot of debate on livelihoods as is noted by Scoones, (2009:16) that much livelihoods analysis centres on the basic question of how different people gain access to assets for the pursuit of livelihoods however the issues of unequal power relations and unequal access to resources are overlooked, (Kaag et al, 2004). For the research focus was on the processes individuals are involved in to forge livelihoods than the assets themselves.

Social Exclusion

Exclusion includes processes by which social groups or individuals are excluded from full participation in any aspect or activity (social, economic, political, economic, cultural, etc.) It is, often connected to a person's social class, educational status and living standards and how these might affect their access to various opportunities; social networks can be forums of exclusion and inclusion (Kharel, 2008). Burchardt and Piachaud, (1999:229 in Grand, 2003:2) note that 'an individual is socially excluded if (a) he or she is geographically resident in a society, (b) he or she cannot participate in the normal activities of citizens in that society, and (c) he or she would like to so participate, but is prevented from doing so by factors beyond his or her control'.

There are different social, economic, educational, political and cultural diversities found in urban centres I look into the households for these issues how far social networks have gone in

excluding or rather including them in rebuilding their livelihoods. The definition of social exclusion in Silver, (2007) makes explicit things which people may be excluded from which are livelihood, secure permanent employment, earnings, property, credit or land, housing, minimal or prevailing consumption levels and education skills. A lack of all these and more add up to one being vulnerable and not being able to secure livelihoods. The process of social exclusion can be seen as a two way dynamic: being excluded by the society the individuals have returned to, as well as self-exclusion from the society. Sam and Berry, (1996 cited in Silver, 2007)) expound on this when they note that social exclusion has been associated with poor positive adaptation where individuals who are excluded tend to be shut off or cut out of both traditions, having few or no connections to develop positive social support and recognition.

There is need to look at the opposite of social exclusion which is social inclusion, a process which ensures that those at risk of poverty and social exclusion gain the opportunities and resources necessary to participate fully in economic, social and cultural life and to enjoy a standard of living and well-being that is considered normal in the society in which they live (Kharel, 2008). Social inclusion is a process to combat social exclusion henceforth for my research will be looked at from the point of view of how those excluded construct networks to overcome the exclusion.

Chapter overview

Chapter 1 Information will be provided of the country, its brutal war and the influence of all this on the displacement to camps in 1996 by the government of Uganda. This background is an important basis to understand more of the current situation of the life of the former displaced persons in Unyama trading centre in Gulu.

Chapter 2's will provide the research design which encompasses problem statement and the conceptual framework. The research questions and objectives will also be discussed in this chapter

Chapter 3, text will lead the reader to the actual fieldwork. It provides information about the research location, the situation in the field and the contact, interaction and my experiences in the relation with the informants. Then it brings the reader closer to some individual former displaced persons through introducing them.

Chapter 4, I bring the reader to my findings and analysis of my data. It is important to know more about the position of displaced persons before, during and after the war situation which led to their forced displacement in 1996.

a description will be given of the different existing social networks before the war, which have influence on the life of the participants. Then a rough sketch will be given about the position of the men and women interviewed and their vulnerability. This chapter will end with a sketch of how social networks influence the livelihoods of these people.

Chapter 5 gives special attention to the position of the participants after the war. It represents the most occurring changes in the social networks which have influence on the displaced livelihoods, why some of them ended up remaining in the camp and settling around the trading centre when others returned to their villages. It represents what influence the war had in this. From there in combination with the former chapter this chapter brings us to a list of all the founded coping strategies in a certain context what influences the participants why they do what they do. It appeared that there are also other aspects that have influence on why the participants have remained looking at their coping strategies and issues of social exclusion.

Chapter 6 gives the discussion and conclusions, followed by recommendations, mainly meant for aid organizations which resulted from all the findings and experiences during the fieldwork period.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In this chapter I will bring the reader closer to the process of my field work. I will give a reflection of the research then go more in-depth on how I organized my fieldwork and contact with the women and men. I started the organization of my field work at the moment when I stayed in Gulu, because I did not have contact beforehand with any organization. Contacting the men and women was not an easy job, because I had to organize first meetings myself without a translator. The difficulties I met during my fieldwork will be summarized.

As an introduction to the next part of the thesis, to get a better understanding of the lives of some of the men and women I give a short introduction of the cases of my six key- informants.

The approach for this research is a case study which focuses on ‘understanding the dynamics present within a single setting’ (Huberman, 2002:8). Thus, case studies can yield useful information and contribute uniquely to the pool of knowledge in individuals, organizations or social phenomena. It allows an ‘investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristic of real-life events’ (Yin, 1994:14). Huberman and Miles (2002:9) further explain that ‘case studies usually involve all data collection methods such as archives, interviews, questionnaires, and observations’, as such allowing the why and how questions to be answered in the real life context of events.

3.1 Types of data collection and sources

Case studies were carried out on specific individuals within the population in order to elicit a more detailed understanding of adaptive responses/ coping strategies/, and to gain insight on change processes. The research collected multiple storylines rather than attempting to generalise from one individual to the whole community, or from one community to the region at large. This was done by the use of (un) structured data collection and ethnographic observation methods. The use of primary data was prioritised, although secondary data such as reports and policy documents was used for providing background contextual information (for example on demography, local institutions, or interventions).

Data for this research was collected within a period of 5months, from November 2011 to March 2012. As mentioned in the above paragraph the qualitative methods for data collection were chosen because they allow one to explore the local situations, individual livelihoods and social networks gathering in depth information.

I did an ethnographic research on former IDPs in Unyama trading center Gulu. I used multiple research techniques for data collection. I give a short summary of the used methods how I have done this in practice, how I encountered the former IDPs and their reaction will be elaborated in this chapter.

(Participant) Observation

Participant observation is a method that I used in order to understand people's culture, behaviour, traditional beliefs, activities and strategies of survival in their daily lives.

I lived for 5 months in a small community in Gulu town called Kasubi, between the local people. It helped me to gain a better understanding in how everyday life of the average people in Gulu is organized, especially of an extended family. I lived next to such a family and had intensive contact with another family, who did the washing for me.

I spent a few hours 3 times a week together with one of my key informants on different moments of the day. I did the daily activities together with them, which include shopping, cooking, taking care of their children, visiting other people. I never spend an entire day with them; because Unyama is 15 minutes away from Gulu town and for security reasons I could not reside there. However on some days I spent nights with one of my women informants.

Semi-structured Interviews

I carried out interviews with formerly displaced individuals men and women. I focused my conversations on a wide range of people I met and of course on my key informants on different issues related to my research questions. I always had a topic list in my mind. My focus topics changed after some time, depending of my data analysis, to get more in-depth understanding. I recorded the responses after every day. Every 2 weeks I analysed all my gathered data and found important topics, which determined my next focus. I also did informal interviews with organizations who work(ed) with IDPs and livelihood issues.

Key Informant Interviews

The key informants were basically NGOs working on livelihoods interventions and displacement issues, Government agencies (local staff), and various formal and informal networks in the area. The issues that were explored in these interviews included: History of the town (before and after the conflict)

- Social relations
- People's livelihoods strategies in the post conflict Centre
- Location of those coming/moving back into the Centre

- Ways of coping with livelihoods insecurities

Short Life Histories

Life histories are defined by Watson, (1976:127-128) as ‘the way a person conceptualises the stream of experience that constitutes his life as he knows it, in accordance with the demands and expectations he and others impose on the act of relating that life’. They involve a combination of exploration and questioning within the context of a dialogue with the informant Thompson, (1981). These life histories helped me to understand the background of how my respondents got to be in the camp gaining an understanding of the life cycle of the people in question. The life histories gave a relation to their contemporary life experiences with regards to their social networks and livelihoods. Looking at the aspect of why they decided not to return to their areas of origin and decided to live in Unyama.

Focus Group Discussions

In the start these group discussions had not been previously planned by me. The women and men together with my first interpreter organized the first meeting in the form of a group discussion. It appeared that the men liked this way of talking and would organize these types of meetings whenever I met with them I had two different groups, the brick makers and the *bhoda bhodas* (local transport motor bike system). The focus groups though initially not planned for became an asset as they brought out some information that a participant would have forgotten so they filled in some of the blank spaces. They also helped in the sense that some men were comfortable to meet with me when some other people were present.

Desk Study

Secondary sources of data were used to provide background demographic and livelihoods development information during the past years to provide a historical context for the study’s findings. The data sources enabled me to explore questions on institutions, on social exclusion, coping strategies e.tc.

Data recording and analysis

Raw data was recorded in a digital voice recorder. This data was later transcribed in English. Where respondents did not permit the use of the voice recorder, sketch notes were taken and recorded as field notes. These field notes were immediately transcribed mostly in the evening after fieldwork. Pictures were taken wherever and whenever granted permission by the respondents. Field data were analysed through the thematic content analysis Hammersley and Atkinson, (2007); (Green and Thorogood, 2009). The themes represented the selected cases

guided by research questions. The content of my field notes were sieved and given codes regarding their relationships to the cases, concepts, and research questions.

3.2 Location of Fieldwork

Data collection took place mainly in and around the trading centre of Unyama in Gulu town. (See location on map appendix 1). Gulu town is the main Central Business District in Northern Uganda. The Lord's Resistance Army is from the Northern region of Uganda, during the last period of the conflict, Gulu was place of refuge it was safer than the villages. Because of this, people living in and around Gulu were confronted with a lot of displacement, destruction and trauma. Unyama is a neighbourhood with a trading centre 10km from Gulu central business district; it is also an area with a former IDP camp which was established there in 1996. The camp used to have approximately 7 000 IDPS from surrounding villages and beyond. This camp is still home to some individuals and households who have different reasons for not returning to their place of origin before encampment. The reasons range from being vulnerable, having no place of origin, terminal illness as well as land disputes in the villages. All these make it impossible for them to return. I chose this location after it was difficult for me to identify returnees in the urban centre-as mentioned previously. I went to the field without the current knowledge of the location except the history of the country which was mainly to do with the conflict. Methodologically I did not prepare on how I was going to find my respondents hence it proved difficult as I assumed that it is post conflict so there are bound to be returnees. I realised that in the urban centre returnees are not located in one place and the majority of returnees are those who have gone back to their villages. Some of the former IDPS have incorporated themselves in the local urban environment around the trading centre and difficult to identify.

Mitchell, (2001) notes that the cornerstones of fieldwork involve reflecting, accepting mistakes and modifying plans, the methodology was inadequate to guide me to identify my targeted respondents therefore I had to accommodate the field reality. Gulu is the biggest town in the North of Uganda during the war as much as people left the town it was more of people coming to the town from villages to seek refuge from the LRA and abduction. Through conversations with local people I then realised there was a camp close to town were and some people were still residing in the camp. NGOs have also stopped supporting those people still residing in the camp their focus is now on the returnees to attain durable solutions. Talking with ARC, World Vision and NRC staff they said that all those people are used to being in the proximity of town such that they don't want to be villagers anymore. This information led me to decide to focus on the people who did not return to their villages because of different reasons.

Organization of the Fieldwork and Process of meeting my Informants

I entered Gulu quite unprepared in terms of where to live and how I would organize the contact with different informants. I assured myself that I would find and meet possibilities while in the field. I was convinced that by going there, I would meet people who could provide me with information of local possibilities. My internship organization Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) helped me find accommodation in Gulu in a neighbourhood called Kasubi which is a mix of a village and town houses. This place is approximately only 5minutes to NRC office on a motor bike taxi.

The first three weeks I mainly took my time to get familiar with the context, before I really started to make contact with my key-informants. In town the population is mixed, there are those who moved from villages and got integrated into the town population, those already residing in town and other people who are not from the North who work for NGOs and other companies or institutions. This presented a challenge for me to identify who is a returnee, former IDP or stayee. The neighbourhoods which people reside depends on their income as such its intermingled but there are cheap neighbourhoods where the low income people reside. The people working for NGOs reside in the centre of town because they can afford the rentals as such neighbourhoods are based on income status and also the quality of the house. For example I lived in a neighbourhood surrounded by huts but the house was modern with running water and electricity so my rent was a bit high in a low income area. In short the populations are intermingled.

However as mentioned earlier I decided to look at individuals who did not return to their villages, residing in Unyama which is a low income neighbourhood. Some of the individuals I chose are still residing in the former camp facing eviction and some have established homes either owning them or renting. Respondents consent was sought before interviews and use of the digital voice recording device. The confidentiality of the respondents is important in this study. Therefore I have used synonyms instead of real names to hide the identities of respondents.

I needed formal permission from the municipality to visit and interview the participants for my research. Because I went alone the internship organization played no role in my gaining access to the research area and participants.

Gaining access to respondents is incredibly difficult. According to Barakat and Ellis,(1996) the researcher has to be cognisant of who has the power to grant access. In my case it was the municipality district administrator, however as much as they did not have issues with my research they had views about my respondents which Thomson, (2009) notes as government

interference. Their interference was as a result of their perception that I was not supposed to do my research with a group of women because they are prostitutes. Gatekeepers can stop the access process into some parts of the sample and prevent introductions to certain key informants who can provide valuable information due to political and personal reasons (Gambeson, 2000). In this case the authorities have personal and administrative reasons which include wanting people to move out of the camp so that they can go ahead to demolish the huts. The authorities are not so much interested in the people residing in the camp, instead they just want them to relocate or return to their villages.

3.3 Complexities during the Fieldwork

During the period of the fieldwork and in the contact with the men and women I encountered some difficulties. I had to find my way on how to deal with this and tried to find out about the background of these difficulties. This background and explanation also gave me important information in understanding practices. Below I describe some of the most striking problems experienced

Language

Although English is the second language in Uganda, only a few of the men and women I spoke with were able to communicate fluently with me in English. I, on the other hand, cannot speak 'Luo' which is the most spoken local dialect in the North of Uganda, so in part it seemed I had to rely on translators and my own interpretation of the things that were said. After a while I learned to understand the greetings and some words in the local language but not enough to communicate fluently. Finding the right translator was not an easy task. The first translator had a different schedule from mine. Hence she was not always available the moments I needed her. Sometimes I really thought an experienced interpreter would have made a difference who also could give me some more background information on certain moments. Sometimes she would not want to translate all of the discussions and did not understand why I asked so many questions about a certain context and habits. I experienced how important it is to prepare working together with an interpreter and to have an understanding of each other's method of working.

The first time I went to Unyama I went without a translator it was a more pragmatic approach: when I used available people who spoke both English and the local dialect around the women I was interviewing to translate. This did not work much I only managed to get first time introductions with the women because my 'translators' English was just basic.

Meeting with informants

The Acholi people are generally hospitable and welcoming to outsiders, hence it was no problem for me to organize meetings with my informants. It was accepted that I visited the men and women at any time of the day. Making a fixed appointment, however, was nearly impossible as they have their own interpretation of time. As a result the only way to make an appointment was simply by informing them that I would come in the afternoon or in the morning. Sometimes it frustrated me when my informants were not punctual but I realised that this is their context, their way of living so I am the one to adapt to the daily practice of living with what the day brings. This reminded me of how frustrated I used to be when I first arrived in Netherlands adapting to punctuality and after getting used to it I had to again relax my punctuality.

I chose my respondents randomly once I got to the camp I first talked to the women that I met sitting outside their houses just having informal conversation which was an introduction of my intentions. Also, finding the right individuals to interview or observe can be challenging especially if the study is on individuals that are not connected to an organization (Feldman et al., 2003). This is because as much as people left during the conflict the majority of returnees are in the villages and these are the former IDPs who were in the camp. I chose the camp because it is close to town and it was easy for me to identify my 'new target population'. One of the respondents has a brother who lives outside the camp but also used to reside in the camp that made me realise that it is not only those in the camp who did not return. There are people who have left the camp to reside in better houses than the camp huts around the trading centre. This provided a distinction between these two groups such that those outside the camp face different issues than those residing in the camp. In other words they are better off because they can afford renting better housing than the camp.

I chose for my research six key-informants to get as broad as possible a picture of men and women in Unyama. The variation in position, gender and place of residence provided me with a point of comparison for the different stories. It provided information on how the same people who lived in the camp managed to move out and rent alternative accommodation better than the camp. It made clear that these individuals share a common history but their positions today are different but in a way the same. Their levels of vulnerability are different as some have managed to harness social networks and capital to enhance their livelihoods.

My respondents were willing to talk as long as it was not about prostitution; they talked about their livelihoods freely because to them it's interesting to talk to an outsider about their livelihoods and coping strategies. Typically during the visits to Unyama many a times they wanted to do the meetings/talks with me in a group. My informants steered me towards a

'focus group discussion' which I had not planned for. They would fill in gaps in information for each other which goes to show that they were free to share their lives with me.

With those six key-informants I believe my findings will be a good presentation of the men and women living in Unyama who did not return to their villages in 2007 when the return process began.

Rumour, gossip and 'lies'

Initially when I introduced myself to the local government authorities in the area to seek permission, they discouraged me to talk with the women in the camp. Their reason was that these women are prostitutes that is why they are still in the camp. This as Thomson, (2009) notes access and government interference in one's research. This triggered my curiosity to make contact with them and hear their side of the story as Fujii, (2009) says 'rumours can stand in for knowledge'. In my mind I was thinking the women have prostitution as a livelihood or coping strategy to income constraints. When I talked to the women about prostitution it was a different story this is when I realised that filtering out what is true, what is gossip and what is really false is not at all easy! I later realised that the way to treat rumours or lies is to find out why the rumour was created and what it meant and was used for. Lillian is an example she has 5 children with 4 different men so it gets confusing and one cannot really say whether she is a prostitute or she is unfortunate with her choice of men. The women called it lies that there is prostitution in Unyama, the authorities say it is the truth that is why they have plans to evict them from the camp. The rumour borders between a lie and invention by the government authorities. The women were angry that these lies are even affecting their children in school that they are now being labelled 'children of prostitutes'. Basically the rumours or lies have led to serious quarrels and dispute in the community. The effects of it all has been reproaches between the authorities and the women and their children in school are suffering stigma as they are now being called 'names'.

Talking to several people about prostitution made me realise that in Acholi it is not acceptable behaviour however they also would not say much about the women being prostitutes they would just mention that it is a quarrel between those women and the local authorities. In fieldwork there are things that people just don't want to discuss with an outsider because they consider it private and personal. It is difficult for one to remain impartial and to retain an analytical standpoint. Fuji, (2009) notes that try to gather information from both sides to present an impartial picture.

These images and ideas of prostitution are a stereotype which informs exclusion by the society because it is shameful and socially unacceptable. The women are not included in any NGOs or

government support because they are residing in the camp. This limits their access to opportunities that they are entitled to. The authorities because they are the ones with information of these women prostituting are in a position to deter any support going to them because access to the community is through the local authorities. The coping strategies are limited to the networks their neighbours in the camp.

The relationship

Research in a community is always interlinked with some kind of personal involvement from the researcher. In my opinion a researcher cannot be fully objective, without any bias. Barakat and Ellis, (1996) note that it is difficult to avoid collecting data that fits into a preconceived notion of the situation however a researcher has to maintain a balance and constantly adjust their perspective. For sure my personality, feelings and mood, and the fact that I am young for sure had its influence on the behaviour and the responses of the people I related to during my stay in Northern Uganda. On the issue of the women being prostitutes I tried to have an open mind and gathered information from both sides, but never got anything conclusive on the issue

When I arrived in the North everyone assumed I was from the south of Uganda because am light skinned more than the Northerners. People would greet me in the Southern languages which I did not understand. After I tell them I am not from the South then they would try Swahili thinking am from Kenya or Tanzania. I later realised that in Uganda introductions are followed by the tribe one belongs to, there is pride in one's tribe. To me it was confusing because in Zimbabwe we hardly talk about tribes so they would ask me which tribe are you. Even now when I think about it I can't really say which tribe I belong to. It amazed them that I am from Zimbabwe and everyone would ask after the 'famous' president of my country Robert Mugabe. It amused them that I was doing research, to them most researchers who come from other countries are white, but they were welcoming and nice. The professional people would want to talk politics with me about my country the economy and how my fellow Zimbabweans back home are managing. They would laugh about my country's currency especially about the fact of having a 10 trillion dollar note.

On the first day of my field research in Unyama the local authorities just took me around the camp explaining how it was established, some of my informants saw me such that when I then made contact with them they thought I was there to provide support for them. I told my interpreter to explain to them that I am a student doing research so that they remove all expectations about payment for the interview, or in another way getting a bonus like food or drinks. After a while, when I better understood their poor livelihood and little possibilities, I could deal with the reality that they are trying to get resources from all the possible sources they meet, and I am for them one of these resources.

Sometimes my informants also wanted to make use of my access to information they would ask me of options for improving their lives and situation or possibilities and asked me to assist them. I experienced how they struggled to organise their livelihood and to face all the problems. Listening at many of their stories I very often caught myself with a feeling of remorse. I had to constantly tell them I am a student researcher and sometimes I referred them to organizations that I have heard in the area that could help their situation. It made me realise how dependent individuals are to NGO support such that they even wanted me to even go to the organizations on their behalf which again made me think they are my informants in the hope that I might bring them some form of support.

Role of Internship

The internship was quite helpful to my research because it helped me to have practical knowledge to the understanding of livelihoods. I was attached to the Norwegian Refugee Council's livelihoods and food security project. Livelihoods are about processes that people go through to access the assets and capitals that form a livelihood. This helped to understand the livelihoods pursued by my respondents and realised that for NGOs there are certain livelihoods that are negative however the individuals understand it as making a living because it provides income for their lives. It is through this organization that I managed to get in touch with other NGOs that work in the area that provided information for this research. Through the interaction with the workmates they provided some details about the conflict and the area I was doing my research. The organization was also of necessity because I accessed internet and printing which cut my field costs. Some days during the week they provided me with transport going to Unyama instead of using the local transport.

Limitations to the research project

Time: The observations were not on a 24-7 basis. Due to the activities of the women and men coupled with my internship as such there was limited possibility to get a good picture of all of the social relations.

Next to this I felt too a time limit to spend long days with the men and women, because organizing everything by myself and getting my daily needs appeared to cost me quite some time and a lot of energy. On the other hand this experience also gave me information on what problems people meet when they have access to little resources and they want to organize something.

3.4 Introduction to the key-informants

In the following introductions I depict the characteristics of the different key-informants and their social context. (I promised them not to expose their real names)

Table: 1 status of respondents

Name	Age	Sex	Marital status	Resident location
Vicky	40	Female	Widow	Camp
Michael	21	Male	Single	Camp
Florence	44	Female	Widow	Camp
Nighty	37	Female	Widow	Camp
Walter	37	Male	Married	Unyama
Allan	32	Male	Married	Unyama

Vicky, 40

I spent a lot of time with Vicky during the time of my research because she works at her brother's bar some nights but she was at home in the afternoon most of the time

Vicky has 3 children from different men and looks after 3 orphans who are her brother's children. He was abducted by the rebels during the conflict. She does not remember her birthday but she thinks she is 40 maybe because she has never attended school and grew up in the village. She came to the camp in 2001 after her aunt and the white man she was staying with passed away. Life has been difficult for her because her husband was a soldier and she did not see much of him during the time they were married. She last saw him in 1999 and she is not sure whether he is dead or alive. Her in-laws are not supportive but her relatives from her side have told her to stay in the camp while they try to mobilize materials

to construct a hut for her and her children.

She works in her brother's bar at night which she says they co-own (would not explain the terms of ownership) but still she would refer to it as her brother's. The brother resides outside the camp houses across the road. She also does some casual labour and her parents allow her children to visit them in the village during the holidays.

Michael 21

Because of his age he is interesting how he came to the camp as a teenager and now he is a young adult he has learnt most of life's lessons from such that the idea of returning to the village is not appealing.

He is the first born in his family and he came to the camp when he was 14 years old when parents divorced in 2003 his mother decided to move into the camp, he dropped out of school in Primary 7 because during the time of the conflict children were not safe in school. So the mother decided he stays at home and be safe from abduction by the rebels. Now he cannot continue with school as he has become the bread winner for his siblings because his mother is terminally ill HIV+. He has done quarry work, casual labour and selling charcoal as ways of getting income.

His Father has not been supporting them since they left the village in 2003, his major reason for not returning is that he does not have land because his Father kind of disowned him and his siblings and even if he were to go he does not like the village life and he has ways of surviving in town that he has learned over the 8 years since he came to the camp

Florence, 44 years old and has 5 children.

She is interesting because she did not want so much to talk about her past she would have long silences when the conversation shifted to her past

She did not tell me a lot about her life history, every time when I tried to talk about this she would start crying so she would talk about things she liked. I realised some of the topics were sensitive to her. She told me she came to the camp in 2004 after her soldier husband died. The husband was from Eastern Uganda and she is from the North. She was chased

away by her in-laws and decided to move back to her ancestral home where she found all close relatives had moved to camps. Her relatives are willing to help her with a piece of land to build a hut if she can raise the materials for the construction. This is difficult for her considering that she has five kids of which the eldest has dropped out of school and is helping taking care of the other siblings still in school. Her husband left her HIV+ and this makes it difficult for her as she is limited to the kind of activities that she can do for income. She has a permanent job washing dishes at selected hotels in town but the money is not enough and staying in the camp is cheap for the time being because she is not paying rent. But if she is evicted renting a place will strain her budget.

Walter, 37 years old and has 4 children.

He is one of the people living outside the camp, he was accommodating and willing to talk to me whenever he was not working

He came to the camp with his family in 2003 when his child was 8 years old and the abductions of children by the LRA were increasing so for the safety of his children he had to move. He has land in his village but for the sake of his children he is trying to make a living in town because there are more opportunities for them especially education. He goes to the village to visit his family during holidays and farms a piece of the land when he is able to. Renting in town is expensive but they are managing because his wife sells vegetables in the market. He is a transport operator (bhoda-bhoda)

For him camp life has been restrictive there were curfews

His child could not attend school during the camp time

He believes he can still improve his education and to run a thriving business

Allan 32 years old and 3 children

He is a brick maker and came to the camp in 2001 and was among the first people to leave the camp in December 2001 because his uncle was sub-renting his home to him. He also partly returned to his village which is 3 miles from Unyama and goes to farm during the wet season together with his wife who is a tailor at the centre. Life has not been easy since the war started because when he moved to the camp he had just married and his child was a few months old. The conditions in the camp were limiting as a man he is supposed to be bread winner however camp life reduced them all to idleness. For himself he thanks God that he did not succumb to alcoholism during this time. He also maintained relations with his uncle who at times provided material support.

Nighty, 45 years old and has 7 children

She is a vocal woman and proud of what she is able to do for her children though not enough but she tries. Nighty came to the camp together with her husband in 1996 and her ancestral home is in Kitgum which is another district in the North of Uganda. Her husband died in 2007 and left her with 5 children she has since had 2 other children with different man. Of her 7 children the 3 eldest have stopped going to school and the young ones who are in primary school are the ones attending. She is residing in the camp and has an understanding with the private land owner who has asked her to pay rent of 50 000 shillings approx. 15 euro a month. They used to pay 10 000 shillings per year.

She does not have close relatives she only has clan brothers from her Father's side of the family. She trained during the camp time to be a tailor and has since managed to buy herself a sewing machine from savings doing casual labour and petty trading activities.

She is also involved in a savings group which is for people living with HIV or have sick children

Chapter 4: Social networks and position of men and women before and after the war

To understand the influence of the war and the vulnerability of men and women interviewed and why they ended up not returning to their villages, I will look at social capital first from the interpersonal level referring to social relations that people have with family, friends and neighbours then, at the community level, referring to membership in community groups, looking at the changes that can be seen over time in their situation. These changes can tell something about the reason why some of them chose not to return to their villages. Lastly I end with a summary of the most important aspects which had influence on the vulnerability of men and women before the war, to understand the position, possibilities and vulnerability in the current time. Three factors have been identified that have shaped people's networks i.e. conflict, displacement and town life. In this conflict people were displaced and resided in camps for almost 10 years henceforth they were separated from friends and relatives and during and after the camp time they again established new networks of friends and neighbours.

4.1 Interpersonal relations

The known moral obligations involved in kinship networks supposedly functions as recourse for social support for their members, di Falco and Bulte, (2009), but that is not the case with the respondents. They acknowledge that before the war the social networks and rules between/amongst people were quite strong. From the discussions it can be summarised that men and women were embedded in a quite clear system of obligations and opportunities, with friendship, kinship, and community membership as well as patron-client relations. The breakdown of these relations can be due to a number of reasons but in this case the prolonged conflict and encampment of these individuals left them fewer resources on which to draw support from.

Kinship Relations

According to Niehof, (2003), kinship refers to relationships based on birth, marriage and to relationships framed in this idiom. From the focus group discussions kinship support used to be reliable even if there was variance in the nature of support depending on the economic position of the kinship member and the resources at their disposal. As Woolcock (1998) notes kinship

has some obligations for its members. These obligations may include sharing and claiming assistance from relatives during difficult times. One of the participants notes that:

We had real relatives before the camp when my husband was alive we would visit and call on each other for help however it's not because they do not want to help it's that they also are having some problems

This statement illustrates that there is an understanding that to some extent it's not that relatives do not want to help; it is because they are also facing some challenges as well. Henceforth despite the importance of kinship it is because of economic problems they lack income to build on their kinship relations. The contemporary way of life in an urban setting is dependent on money. This has forced people to focus only on their close family members who they know are able to reciprocate.

Marriage brings with it an extended family which can be said adds to one's kinship relations though there is no biological decent but it extends one's family network of relatives to call upon in times of need. Marriage as viewed by the women during a focus group discussion provides some security and resources) and capabilities for accessing livelihoods. It is kith and kin that provide everything from empathetic advice to health care to capital and labour for productive work Wellman and Wortely (1989), according to the respondents some of them used to have such relations before the conflict and encampment this was a reliable network. In the research area notable changes in the functioning of extended family support system were found. The changes noted by the respondents are that because of encampment relatives were not often able to keep in touch and play their role to provide assistance. The major reason being that, widespread poverty and low incomes that individuals have they cannot count on their relatives for help because they are also in the same situation.

Some of the women interviewed share a common feature in their lives they do not have husbands. As mentioned before being married gives a woman a certain status and even her livelihood are not constrained that much. According to these women before the camp they used to have land with their husbands and homes but now because they have lost their husbands to death or divorce they have been rendered landless and homeless by their kinship relations. This is majorly because in Northern Uganda under customary law which is mostly recognised in the village's women are not allowed to own land and as International Alert (2010) notes they may have user rights, through their husbands, but lose them on separation, or in the event of his death. This reflects the position of some of the women still residing in Unyama camp, they cannot return to the village because they do not have access to land. They are unable to access their land more so to construct huts and open up land for farming purposes in the village. Their kin relations are not as supportive as expected and are available for just the

social interaction. Families lost crucial members during the conflict such that it has somehow contributed to the breakdown in kin networks as those who used to hold it together are no longer available to do so. Florence explained that if her father were still alive she would have been given a piece of land for her and her children. Her uncles however are not willing to provide her land henceforth she has to continue residing in the camp.

Kinship has been celebrated as a successful indigenous institution in Africa however in some situations I found it to be otherwise. The post conflict scenario in Unyama has indicated that kinship relations are increasingly losing their value role of providing a safety net for its members. Explicit here is the fact that people have become more individual, as one respondent mentioned *We are now living an urban life it is difficult to help someday because everything needs money, it is possible to help but only selected family members and friends who can be trusted.*

Kin availability and geographical proximity used not to be a problem before the conflict. There were regular visits and when possible occasional remittances, now people just meet at funerals and other important family gatherings. The respondents attributed this to the fact that as much as they themselves are facing challenges in terms of livelihoods it might also be the case with their kin. The friends that they interact with in their livelihood activities and have resided longer in the urban environment noted that:

Here in the town kin relations often disappear and are minimally available for social interaction

The urban environment does not support kinship relations there is no continued effort to work on the social capital as such it keeps losing its grip. People become more self-centred and focus on their on issues of making a living. The respondents have argued that this is the lifestyle of people in town has among other things increased the break-up of family ties and increased individualism coupled with the effects of war and displacement which separated relatives. The life in town is based on money and ways to access it. This they attribute to the fact that in the struggle to access a sustainable livelihood one is directed towards those networks that influence access to money. Henceforth a relation without money is not inclined to ask for assistance from the one who has because the possibility of receiving it are very low. The claims and obligations of kinship are now accessed at a minimum the social norms of not expecting reciprocity have been eroded. The kinship relations have become more like friends and neighbours relations as elaborated in the next paragraph.

Friends and neighbours

Neighbours and friends are a source of support to individuals in good times and also times of crises. These are voluntary relations based on reciprocity maintained for borrowing and lending money for food, medical expenses and other problems is another way of providing assistance among friends and neighbours (Nombo, 2007). In the villages neighbours were there and ready to help in times of emergencies and exchanges were mainly based on trust which is built-up because of continues interactions. The failure to reciprocate means one cannot be trusted result in ending or constraining of the friendship and neighbourliness. Trust relations are based on the belief that others might help them in the future if need be henceforth absence of trust and failure to reciprocate results in strained networks.

Nowadays we have friends but mostly with people we have similar problems with, in times of need they just offer emotional support and information on livelihood related issues and when they can material support

The statement above illustrates that there is more of reliance on friends and neighbours especially with those that share a similar situation. There is a shift from relying on relatives for support in times of need to relying on friend and neighbours. In the friendship relations people who share a similar situation will understand when failure to reciprocate or pay back a loan occurs, however if it's a friend or a neighbour who has a different life situation they will probably look at the failure as being dishonest therefore mistrust as previously mentioned.

For the people residing outside the camp their friends are the people they work with and they are in the urban setting where one does not have to interact with the other unless there is need to do so. Trust between friends and or relatives has been greatly reduced which is attributed to the conflict, displacement and town life worsened by the economic condition. As has been mentioned before, the conflict resulted in displacement leading to people getting separated and losing their network linkages. Kinship relations are loosened because of distance, lack of communication and loss of critical members of the kin relation. Individuals invest in new networks as not only kin have been lost but friends and neighbours are changed as well. Though one's kin remain the same the relationship changes from being close and supportive to being rarely available.

One of the respondents believes that what causes mistrust is the bad economic situation because of low incomes one is forced to borrow and failure to pay is inevitable and it is difficulty to approach the same person one has borrowed from in the past hence the result is people are seen as unreliable. On the overall I observed that people's economic issues have an effect on the interaction and capability of material or financial exchanges with their friends,

neighbours and relatives. They however agree that to be involved in financial exchanges there has to be trust that the money will be repaid other forms of assistance like food are extended to the network and are popular than cash. The silent rule for friends and neighbours relations is reciprocity. This suggests that reciprocity is important in friendship networks and can be effective in dealing with the day to day problems that people might face

Lending and loaning relationships

Lending and loaning relationships are also part of social networks and built on norms of reciprocity (though unbalanced) and trust. They were another source of support in the villages before the camp time and even in the town. Shop owners in the village used to provide goods to trusted persons for paying later.

I remember those days we used to agree with the shopkeeper to provide him with sim-sim or groundnuts in exchange for household supplies like sugar salt, cooking oil, soap etc.

These were also based on kinship relations or friendship even in the village working in someone's field there was some relationship when people would work in exchange for food and cash or other basic household items. Money lending relations in the town are difficult because of lack of trust. In most cases there is need to have relations with someone who is trusted by the money lender. In these relations, the rules are strict because there is guarantee of payment which is required failure to do so results in loss of important households' assets to the patron. In most cases the people would not want to be in patron client relationship because of the high cost of repayment attached. However now in the urban centre the repayment of loans is higher than in the villages because the interest charges are almost the amount loaned. The shop owners do not provide goods on credit but money lenders are available and the respondents mention that they hardly involve themselves because the chances of not being able to pay back are high.

Community Organizations/Groups

Community groups from my research, these were not formal basically were established through friendship ties to assist each other in case of problems or any other issues requiring support. These local organizations were mostly farmer groups or cooperatives, neighbourhood committees, and savings groups and were based on trust relations. For example informal group savings whereby participants make regular contributions to a common fund which is given to a contributor in turn, one of the participants described her group of friends which was not cash based but material support of household items to a member in times of sickness,

death or need. Each member was obligated to contribute something even if it meant taking from your household it could be soap, sugar salt or fetching water, the group provides support and assistance to members in the event of death (Nombo and Niehof, 2008). During that time the groups were sustainable, the respondents expressed that before the war and encampment there was real synergy in community groups and they were able to benefit from each other, sharing labour, food and other resources. It was a way of increasing the social capital and resources as a group. Because of this they were better able to access resources. Looking at the situation now with limited financial means, it hampers them to be able to be involved in such groups or contribute the obligatory financial contribution. As a result it consequently, deprives some of any consistent support they may gain from their social capital to cope with economic hardship, as social capital at the community level can no longer support vulnerable people (Nombo, 2007). The men on the other hand did not so much involve themselves in community groups unless there was something of financial value to benefit and mostly they would join the more formal groups organized. I think men generally do not trust each other to have informal groups that involve money.

4.2 Position of men and women in relation to vulnerability

Social networks are based on kinship, friends and neighbourhoods which are an important resource for individuals. However with conflict socioeconomic subsistence networks are also destroyed, leaving the most vulnerable—such as women and children—destitute and with minimal recourse for even their daily survival, (Kumar, 2000). In these cases it is assumed that the extended family and the community at large will assist households socially, economically, psychologically and emotionally when they are faced with difficulties. However this is not usually the case because in some cases they contribute to the vulnerability of individuals

When individuals have limited access to education, assets and resources; and limited access to credit and, marketing facilities, and health facilities they experience excessive vulnerability. The most vulnerable group is the women and men who are uneducated and at the same time HIV+, lack financial support which places their livelihoods in an insecure position resulting in vulnerability. The men and women because of lack of adequate education to some extent they are vulnerable because they are not able to be formally employed in jobs that require educational qualifications.

The active kinship relations today are much rarer with most kin only vaguely known about...this has exposed the individuals of even the empathetic support they used to enjoy with

their kin', (Wellman and Wortely, 1989). This has created some vulnerability because people no longer have a support system to assist them to bounce back from life shocks. As much as the people could mention a number of kinship relations the value of these especially towards their livelihoods has reduced immensely. This lack of kinship relations has more or less been replaced by friends, neighbours and community groups. Respondents residing in the camp who are mostly divorced and widowed were found to have most friends than relatives that they can rely on. Vicky a key respondent despite herself having a considerable number of relatives who are potential sources of assistance unfortunately she does not receive any support towards her livelihood except on a social interaction basis when her parents allow her children to visit them during holidays once or twice a year. The men residing outside the camp however have received considerable support from some of their relatives. One responded rents a house from an uncle and was introduced to the transport business by that uncle.

The fact that people acknowledge that they used to get assistance from kinship relations during times of need to pursue livelihoods reflects that these relations are still considered an important source of support even though their availability has reduced. Therefore the mere lack of support from these relations has rendered these people vulnerable also evident in their expressions and yearnings of life before the camp when they used to have '*real relatives*'. The personal interviews reveal that the conflict and the time spent in the camp increased the reduction of people's reliance on relations. Looking at the camp life which will be elaborated on in Chapter 5, people were restricted movement for safety reasons because of the abductions on civilians by the LRA. One finds that communication and contact with other relations outside the camp was cut off. Henceforth the respondents stress that to re-establish or reconnect with these relations post-encampment has been a hassle as they say that people became more concerned about their immediate families only.

Social Networks and women's marital Status

The issue of the marital status of the women has a bearing on their household's socio-economic vulnerability. As stated by a participant during the FGDs with the women: '*when my husband divorced me, he divorced me and the children*'. In other words, divorced women face the burden and workload of the household headship alone, without any contribution from the ex-husband, i.e. the father of the children.

In the context of this research marital status refers to women who are single, living in common with partners, divorced, widowed. An unmarried woman is not socially desirable in the African culture the same applies for the Acholi in Northern Uganda. Circumstances have left women

without husbands as previously mentioned because of death or divorce. This has exposed the women to vulnerabilities the resultant factor being they do not have access to land which according to customary law they no longer have because they do not have husbands anymore. It is an acknowledged fact that the number of women headed households' increases during conflicts and post conflict times, (International Alert, 2010). Though is clearly stated and noted that women have a right to inheritance and ownership of land and property. This is certainly not the case with this group of women, customary law has been seen to deny women the right to own or inherit land, housing and property in their own names, deny married women a share in assets upon dissolution of marriage, and deny widows the right to inherit land and housing. In this case the kinship relationship is not being supportive or extended to the one in need it is being denied hence depriving the women a means of livelihood.

It is my own relatives that do not want me to own land... with the increase in the sale of land that is going on nowadays they would prefer to sell than give me access

Because the women are not married this has now denied them the right to inherit or own land, and lack of education has generally reduced their chances to meaningful livelihood income-earning opportunities and cash within their own communities. At most they likely engage in prostitution and transactional sex to cope with economic hardship and are exposed to AIDS risks. Petty trading has become a livelihood option for these women selling fruits, vegetables, charcoal, clothes and labour.

Even though some are HIV positive that does not mean they do not need the land it's a place home base for their children in case of succumbing to the worst which is death. It is not only women who are facing this land disownership, even children because they are left with their mothers even when they grow up and need land. It is difficult for them to claim land from both the maternal and paternal side of their families. Lack of land is not only the reason for not returning but also the uncertainties of starting over in the village

At least here in town I know how to get food and income for my family...though it is not much but I am surviving with my children

They chose to be vulnerable in town rather than to go the village where they have mapped survival strategies. As single women they have learned how to feed their families and look for income

I have learned to fend for my family; I do casual labour I always find ways to make sure that there is food for my children even if it means getting a loan which I am not sure I will be able to pay back

One woman talks of polygamy which is a highly regarded arrangement and a man can marry as many wives as he can afford. The man is always the head of his family and his authority is virtually unquestionable. Polygamy is acceptable in the Acholi culture but for Nighty she could not accept her husband taking a second wife she chose not to return because she would rather be 'divorced' and be an outcast in the family than be in a HIV+ polygamous marriage living in the village. Nighty cries she does not understand her husband taking a second wife whilst he knows they are terminally ill'. This is a question she does not know how to answer.

The position of men and women differs proportionately with the access to resources that they have. The women in the camp are more vulnerable than those with homes outside the camp because their lives are full of uncertainties. Every day they live with the fear of being evicted by the municipality or the land owners. The greatest vulnerability stems from the relation which the women have with their landowners. These landowners are the people who used to own the land before the government decided to make it a displacement camp in 1996, henceforth post encampment they are claiming back their land. It's an informal arrangement with no time frame. Again the uncertainties have become part and parcel of their daily lives. It is not only from the landowners but the authorities as well; some of the women have an understanding with the land owners and are paying monthly rent to the land owners. The question of coping comes to mind as one thinks of how are these former IDPs making it in this urban environment setting. The capacity of these individuals to cope with these uncertainties will be discussed in the following chapter addressing the research question: What are the concrete coping strategies that individuals adapt, what are the advantages and limitations of these strategies and the role of social networks?

4.3 Networks and livelihoods

For some of the people they have benefitted from their relations with their relatives, for one of the respondents his uncle has been a 'real 'relative providing him and his family accommodation the other learnt the transportation business. Conversations with the women and men indicate that the absence of a supportive kinship network has influenced them into other livelihoods options some which are not socially and environmentally acceptable by the Government and NGOs as they cause damages like deforestation and soil erosion. The activities include charcoal burning, brick making and casual labour.

The information from the interviews suggests that it is basically friendship and neighbours that have influenced the livelihoods paths that individuals have taken. *My friend/neighbour is the one who was selling charcoal; initially I was not interested as you can see its dirty filthy*

business. At the end of the day it is all about making a living and providing for their children's education. The influence that social networks have on individuals livelihoods differ from person to person. Some of the respondents admit that their livelihoods have been directly influenced by their kinship relations example of Walter who says: *'I practiced how to ride a motor cycle using my uncle's bike he taught me how to operate the business. Now I rent my own bike and soon might be in a position to buy my own'*. However it also has to be mentioned that the influence of networks can be unplanned observing from others who are not even in their circle of networks can inspire someone to do the same. The support of friends and neighbours is more visible and has influence on the livelihood of most of the respondents. Their livelihoods are almost the same as some have even groups in which they perform the same activities e.g. for casual labour people go in groups and work on someone's land harvesting, planting or digging.

4.4 Conclusion

The people of Northern Uganda have suffered displacement, dislocation, and the fear and terror brought about by a long and brutal civil war. Such circumstances of fear and destruction necessarily impact on family structures, social networks, and the social capital in the community Nordstrom, (2006) I agree with Nordstrom that social capital and networks been destroyed by the conflict as is evident in the findings of this research. Kinship and friendship relations impose obligations to provide assistance to other members based on the principle of reciprocity. When members are no longer able to contribute as expected there is disruption of interpersonal relations in this case due to conflict, displacement and town life. Individuals lose their access to the social support provided by the informal networks. As pointed out by Beuchelt *et al*, (2005) mutuality is the main motivation for helping each other, and when not guaranteed or anticipated, support is limited. Conflict and displacement contribute to the erosion of individuals' networks because they separate people whether by death or distance. Because of this people establish and invest in new networks and as indicated before friendship and neighbours are taking over the role of kinship relations.

Lack of trust has affected the viability of social networks, necessary for building social capital, one of the assets necessary for helping individuals and their families to cope with problems. The findings indicate that because of extreme hardships and economic problems reciprocity may cease to be possible and the relations of mutual help become hard to establish and the result is individualism. This has affected the influence such networks used to have on the livelihoods of individuals. Kin relations were available to support each other however the post

conflict scenario in Unyama has shown that in urban centres kin relations (the former IDPs) have been replaced by friends and neighbours as the former are found to be less and less available to the members in need. The information from the respondents shows that compared to men women have more reliance on these networks of friends and neighbours i.e. assistance with material support or anything that can improve their livelihood options as they have to deal with the day to day survival of the family. The absence of critical members of the family e.g. the head of the family or kin relations because of death or dispersal because of the conflict is another reason why this kin network is losing its influence.

The data collected indicates that money has gained precedence over exchanges in-kind, which were previously important in maintaining mutual relations. Most of the respondents regard money to be the most important assets in any relations in the urban centre. For the respondents because of limited opportunities to earn money, unemployment and low returns from other livelihood activities they are unable to maintain some of the relations that might influence their livelihoods positively. Accessing such networks require people with stable incomes and are able to sustain and contribute to the growth of the network.

Chapter 5: Getting by in Gulu town

5.1 Livelihood coping strategies

Life after encampment is shadowed with uncertainties the individuals I talked to during my research told their concerns of deciding whether to return to their villages or continue with the life in town. These decisions of return are difficult to make after almost a decade of encampment one has to decide to return to the old or make something new. The capacity of these individuals to cope with these uncertainties will be discussed in the following chapter addressing the research question: What are the concrete coping strategies that individuals adapt, what are the advantages and limitations of their networks? Networks help people to cope with their day to day livelihood activities in that they intervene at one's point of need. This chapter gives special attention to the position of the participants after the war and encampment. It represents the most occurring changes in the social networks which have influence on their livelihoods, why some of them ended up remaining in the camp and settling around the trading centre when others returned to their villages.

5.2 Life after Encampment

From the focus group discussions carried out there was high consensus that post encampment life is 'easy'. The respondents say they have more time and freedom to pursue various livelihood activities beyond the 5km radius which was allowed whilst living in the camp. The army maintained a curfewed security zone around the camp, allowing residents out for only a few hours each day (Stites et al., 2006:4). Those who ventured beyond the security zone or violated the curfew ran the risk of being attacked by the LRA or accused of being a rebel or a rebel collaborator by the Ugandan military (Bøås and Hatloy, 2005). Idleness was the major activity in the camp the respondents mention having no cash income and on rare occasions when they would have sold their WFP rations or risked leaving the camp to get firewood or charcoal to sell. International Alert, (2010) supports this when they note that 'as the conflict dragged on, the commercialisation of relief items, such as *posho* (maize flour), beans, cooking oil and household equipment began to develop, with women selling rations to buy other necessities for their households which were not provided by aid organizations'.

According to the respondents livelihoods have improved a great deal after the camp time there is room to expand and do anything to gain income as long as the resources are available.

Hygiene and sanitation has improved for those outside the camp because they are now better able to manage their own compounds. As for those still in the camp it has also improved since there are less people residing there. Some have taken over the huts left by the others which are still in better shape compared to their own.

I think that the time spent in the camp reduced the productive capacity as some men and women reported that for the first time they were “doing nothing” i.e. unemployed no income activity or field to work in. The men explained the pain of being a helpless provider with nothing to offer your family is depressing. Figure 1 portrays the respondents’ greatest obstacle to achieving a livelihood during camp time.

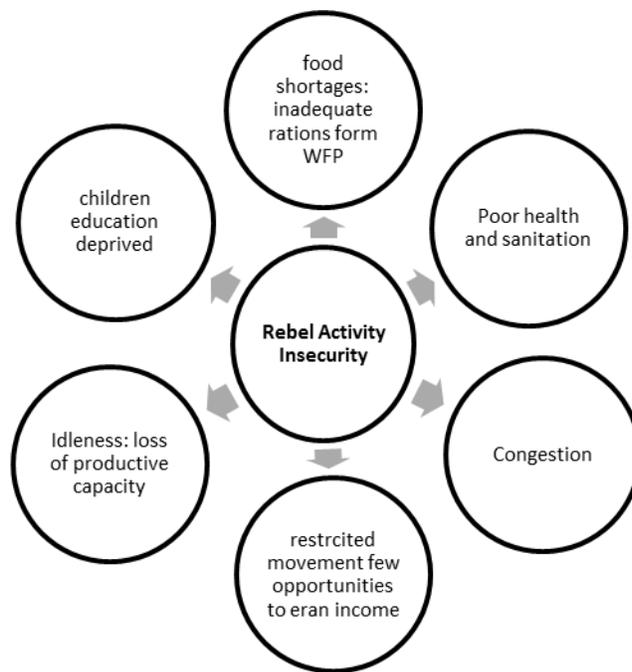


Figure 1: *Life in the camp*

The figure above illustrates the issues surrounding life in the camp that better explains the individual’s explanations on how life is better post encampment. Yes they still face difficulties in their day to day activities but for them they say it is better. They allude this to the fact that now they have a choice of being idle or working for their families. Their children are now able to attend school without the fear of being abducted. The men in the transport business placed emphasis on freedom of movement being able to work late into the night without fear of being suspected to be a rebel or being abducted as well. They are free from congestion and sharing huts with their children because of the congestion found in the camp. Michael a key respondents shared a hut with his mother and sibling for close to 8 years and now they each have their own hut in the camp.

Michael is in his youth years he lives with his HIV+ mother and sibling in the camp. He mentions that he knows more about the camp urban environment than his village. The prospects of him returning are difficult because he sees himself as the head of the family as he is the one who works and brings income for their survival. He makes a comparison to the services that he finds important and that area available and accessible to his family if they continue residing in town. For him the nearby primary school and the health centre for both his mother and sibling are the critical institutions that are not yet closely available in his village....The quality of the services provided by these institutions may not be very high, but people have become used to having them within close range. According to Michael he began to be responsible for his mother and sibling at young age when the Father left. He remembers his mother being sick for sometime when he was 14 years old and he had to make decisions of providing for themselves. He says he is better able to provide for his family in town than in the village as he does not know much about farming.

The above example clearly demonstrates that the issue of the issue of returning is not only about the land but also about one examining their situation and deciding weighing what will be best for them and their families. In the case of Michael the quality of the services provided by these institutions may not be very high, but he has become used to having them within close range. His mother can access easily her monthly dose of ARVs and his sibling can attend school and at least access education which he failed to attain because of the conflict. On the other hand it is important to note that in some of the villages some of these basic services are non-existent an article by the Internal displacement monitoring centre (IDMC) they note that “For various communities, impediments to accessing functioning basic services, coupled with limited or unfavourable productive economic prospects in return areas, represent the biggest challenges to the achievement of sustainable return and reintegration.” The lack of key services including health care, justice, food security and social support I would agree are a reason for individuals preferring to remain in town for easy accessibility to the services.

Livelihood Dynamics

The post-war period witnessed a further expansion of cash-related activities by women and men, as circumstances continued to propel them to the head of family survival strategies, International Alert, (2010). Women and men are individually and collectively engaged in farming, trade and business, and paid employment for the improvement of their well-being. Prior to the conflict most of the respondents mentioned that they lived in homesteads, and reared livestock; agricultural production was the predominant economic activity. Today they live in town and are involved in various livelihood activities, as mentioned before some are

influenced by their networks. Their activities range from sale of firewood or charcoal, fruits and vegetables, basic commodities, transportation, brick making, casual labour.

Petty Trading

Petty trading is basically a small scale hawking of garden produce to food and non-food items and in Unyama it is the cheapest way of buying food as the packaging is done for households and individuals in poverty. As an occupation, trading is the most important non-farm activity and an occupation that dominates most peri-urban economies of Africa, Egziabher, (1994 in Little, 2000). I realised that this was a serious business were the poor can also enjoy a good meal and access basics for the household without spending a lot of money. For example one can buy a tea spoon of salt, a cup of sugar and a table spoon of cooking oil. Which is different in the formal markets were such commodities are sold in huge quantities at a price the poor cannot afford petty trading simply fulfills the notion of 'to trade to eat', (Little, 2000). In post conflict individuals engage in petty trading, Stites et al., (2006) provides examples of the commodities sold that include firewood and charcoal during the dry season, and wild greens and seasonal fruits during rainy seasons

Women comprise the majority of market stall holders and vendors, selling cereals, vegetables, fish, other foodstuffs and second-hand clothes. Some of the women are registered vendors in the local market and some are not as for them it is a seasonal livelihood strategy. The Unyama market were these women and a few man sell their merchandise began as a free access market to anyone selling anything until in 2007 when the municipality authorities took over and made an official and formalised market. The traders pay a user fee to the market secretary someone contracted by the municipality to do that on their behalf. Access to the market as a seller is depended on what u want to sell and people are charged accordingly. But usually the minimum is 2000 shillings a week.

Florence is a single mother she buys and sells fruits and vegetables from Gulu central market. On a good day she can get 5000 to 10 000 shillings 'profit, depending on how good the day is. On average her daily food expenses are about UGX 4,500, so sometimes she makes enough to feed her family and sometime she gets more than enough. Her oldest children 14 and 10 years old assist her at the market somedays when they are free from school so that she does other livelihood activities. She does not mind her children working because for her they contribute labour for the well-being of the family and this ensures that they have food on the table and scholastic materials. She is also a member of a bol'cup which is Informal saving and credit arrangement, this is a group of 5 women friends with a steady income the recruitment she

explained lies in one's reputation because if one defaults there is no legal way to solve the matter. However they contribute 5 000shillings each every end of month and give to one group member so it does on a rotational basis.

The story of Nighty is no different from most of the women and men interviewed. They all do not only maintain one livelihood activity but they diversify. This diversification is seasonal and because they seek to have income/cash everyday they have learnt to be diverse and be flexible in their activities. This diversification is what is defined by Ellis, (2000) as construction of diverse portfolio of activities and assets in order to survive and to improve their standard of living. Henceforth it is normal for one to be involved in all the activities that have been mentioned before i.e. casual labour, petty trading, formal/informal employment all that matters I believe is that at the end of the day they have income.

Casual Wage Labour

A number of women in the camp are involved in casual labour this is basically working in a person's field and getting paid on a daily basis or weekly. The minimum amount the women get is 5000 shillings a day. The women sometimes do individual and group digging. Group digging ensures the job is done fast and saves time for them to move one to other activities. Those who are into casual wage labour do it mainly during the planting and harvesting season as there will be a lot of labour required in the fields. As much as this is a way of gaining some cash for their families it is viewed by development organizations as a negative coping strategy. This is attributed to the fact that whilst one is working in another's field they might as well work on their own field and produce their own food.

Some of the respondents are also into stone quarrying for construction companies in Gulu. This is because since the end of the conflict there has been an increase in the construction of business infrastructure and houses. This activity is done when all other livelihood activities are not profitable because it is hard labour and requires a lot of energy. It involves breaking stones into small rocks that are required for building houses and buildings. This quarrying needs a group of well trusted friends and neighbours and mostly to reach the quantities required by the companies or individuals it takes a couple of days. Henceforth with untrusted friends they can take the stones at night and sell them without the knowledge of other group members. I would argue that to some extent this is exploitation of these people by the construction companies as the people would be using hammers and not machines to break the stones and they buy them at a cheap rate than from the companies that are into stone quarrying.

Transport Business

The Bhoda bhdas as they are popularly known in Uganda are the public transport system of using a motorcycle. The men interviewed are resident outside the camp one of them owns his motor cycle. The others hire on a weekly basis and it cost 60 000shillings which is manageable during the holidays and other peak seasons. Some of the men and their families are partial returnees as they have land in their villages which they go to farm during the planting season so that they don't have to buy some of the food staff like groundnuts, sim-sim and pigeon peas. As I have mentioned before the uncertainties of the future have directed men and women to make decisions on whether to reside in town or not.

Brick Making

Brick making is a livelihood activity that some individuals have taken up though it is not a good coping strategy because it leads to the cutting down of trees for firing bricks this leads to deforestation. However this does not stop individuals from undertaking the activity as it brings more income than any of the activities mentioned. However it involves a lot of working i.e. moulding the bricks fetching firewood to burn the bricks until they are dry and ready for sale. This is a lucrative livelihood activity and the men interviewed work in groups i.e. of people they hire to work for them. The respondents have managed to build their own homes from their own bricks and they mention that NGOs and the Government have brought in brick making machines that do not require using firewood. However the respondents stress that the challenge is they do not bring enough for everyone they select to participate in the training programmes.

The technique of brick making fired bricks according to Acan, one of the respondents '*appears simple but there is a lot of experience required to make high quality products*'. They further mentioned that the skill is learnt from someone. They mentioned that the youth are fortunate that they are able to learn in vocational schools. For these men they learnt from watching and working for other people they know relatives and friends. Acan believes that with enough savings he may be able to but a machine however his major concern is the education of his children which is his reason of putting up in town after the conflict. Emphasis is investing in their children's education is of importance because the respondents believe that it pays off the long run. Barrett *et al*, (2001) agrees with this when he notes that educational attainment is one of the most important determinants of non-farm earning in rural Africa, especially in more remunerative salaried and skilled employment. Even if the respondents themselves are not educated enough they have the knowledge of the benefits of education for their children. This

is evident in their always mentioning that most of the income they get goes towards children's education.

The respondents pointed out that the camp time made them realise that if they were educated enough they would have been in a better position to seek other alternatives or moved to other towns to seek employment and now they are educating their children Education equips people with 'the skills to process information, identify economic opportunities and take advantage of them', (Lassibille and Tan, 2005: 107).

5.3 Bonding Social Capital

Social capital resides in connectedness and networks of bonding- strong links between people with similar outlooks and objectives (kin, ethnic or religious group); and manifest in different types of associations at local/community level, (Woolcock, 2001). I understand this to be the point when individuals realise their capabilities and ability as human beings they can recognise their potentials to connect and create links that impact their livelihoods. The connectedness enables them to link and combine their assets and be able to generate capacity to deal with the crisis which is essential, for them to be able to escape from insecurity and keep their livelihoods sustainable

Bol'i Cup

Social capital is of course not restricted to membership of kin groups. People maintain relationships with friends and neighbours, and a variety of groups and organisations can be found in Unyama. Many an afternoon is spent visiting friends and neighbours. Moreover, most of the respondents the women mostly indicated that they were members of one or more groups or organisations. This may seem like a small proportion, but it is important to realise that membership in voluntary organisations is both beneficial and costly. For some, entry fees and regular membership fees need to be paid, as is the case with the different associations or groups available in Unyama.

Village savings and loan schemes are very common in Northern Uganda and are called *Bol'i Cup* ("drop something in the box") and can be done weekly, monthly or bi-monthly depending with the group agreement. Group formation is basically made up of trusted friends and individuals. It not formal it is in response to women's own initiatives, members pool an amount of money for onward lending to individuals to realise investments in businesses such as the sale of foodstuffs, charcoal and any other needs that are necessary to the member, with the profits

shared. However the savings groups for others are not possible to join as one respondent notes that:

I know the Bol'i Cup arrangement is good but where will I get money for weekly contributions. Getting money for daily food is a problem, how will it be possible to get the money for the group's contribution?'

It is worth noting that the loan saving arrangement is not beneficial to some people as indicated by the statement above. Joining the group is voluntary and requires commitment however the burdens and workloads that people might have in their search of income may limit their levels of commitment. I would want to argue that the issue of trust is important when joining groups that involve monetary contributions in many a case, individuals have lost their monies to greedy corrupt members. As will be illustrated in the example of Nighty below who belongs to a *Bol'i Cup* of HIV+ mothers.

Nighty is HIV+ and is a member of the *Bol'i cup* for women who are HIV+ or have children who are sick. The group has 52 members and their formed it as way of coming together and try and cope with the challenges they face as women living with HIV. The group has helped her many a time when she falls ill and cannot do the activities that usually give her income. The other year in 2010 she recalls when the profits were shared she was excluded because her payments had been erratic throughout that year. She borrowed money form the group until her 'rights' were exhausted such that the members would only assist her individually emotionally and those who could also gave her financial support. Her child had been sick and she had borrowed heavily from the group such that her loan outweighed her contributions. She is grateful to the group because the members understand and were very supportive during that time of need. She joined the group through a friend who was also in the group and she acknowledges that at first she did not know much about the rules of the group because they are not written down. They have verbal agreements and what is recorded is only the amounts that members contribute or borrow from the group. What they do is simple accounting and one member keeps the records and the money.

Though membership is voluntary there is always the risk of defaulting members as a result of declining income thus the case of Nighty indicated above she defaulted on payments as a result of circumstances beyond her control. However that did not get her sacked from the group the 'policy' for this group is if a member defaults 3 months they have to make up for them or risk not getting their share of the profit at the end of the year. This group is Nighty's strong network linkage the members are experiencing almost the same difficulties such that even when she defaulted she remained a member of the group.

Micro- Finance group

This is a version of the men's *Bol'i Cup* but is more formalized it is membership based and the membership is by recommendation from a member of the group. The men see it as a loan security because it's not only cash that is loaned out items like plastic chairs for functions, cement, motor cycles and any other items that the members would have agreed on order for the purposes of loaning out. The men look at their group as uplifting because the loaning is attributed to leading one to be self-reliant e.g. when one hires a motor cycle they should be able as mentioned before to pay the fee for hiring and also save some money to buy their own. I see it as an encouragement to borrow with the intent to pay back.

Bhoda- Bhoda Association

The men in the motor cycle transport business have a formal association in Unyama which has approximately 80 members it has been in operation for the past 4 years and this is the 5th year so it quite established. To some extent it is also an insurance company because it pays for medical fees if one is involved in an accident. Members make a weekly contribution of 1000 shillings. Again it's a safety net were they borrow money to hire the motor cycle or if one owns it for servicing. This is a group that they can safely fall back on as long as one's weekly contributions are in order. The group deals with issues related to the bhoda bhodas only and do not serve any other purposes like assisting members in solving problems of everyday care and subsistence.

Religious groups

Participation in religious groups was reported to be important for spiritual growth and a sense of belonging. There are various religious groups Muslims, Roman Catholics and Protestants. They all have smaller groups of individuals who pray together providing have spiritual guidance and support to each other. Amongst the members of the small groups there is no material support that is offered. However, the respondents mentioned that occasionally the Church can offer assistance to the poor and the needy ones.

Aid Organizations

After and during the war many international aid organizations intervened in Northern Uganda. They mainly focused on relief programmes and durable solutions for returnees to the villages after the conflict. These organizations have contributed to the growth and urbanization of Gulu town. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Gulu used to be a small insignificant town in the North but with the conflict and the coming in of aid organizations a lot of infrastructure has been

constructed and a number of services previously absent from the town became available e.g. major banks, private hospitals supermarkets to mention just a few. The bottom line is this created a conflict induced urbanization such that some individuals identified opportunities in town and have joined the urban population rather than returning to their villages.

Besides bringing assistance and relief to the displaced and those in need the AID the organizations were and still are a new important network with which people wanted to be linked with. The many organizations brought employment in society as they needed manpower to do food distributions to approximately 1.8 million IDPs in camps at the peak of the conflict. Besides food distribution there are other programmes that NGOs offered to the displaced from food to psycho-social support IDMC, (2012).

It is good to note that the many aid organization did a lot of good during that time of suffering but because the people were idle because of the insecurity of the conflict, they created a kind of dependency on the money and assistance these organizations bring in. This did not really work towards stimulation of the creativity of the people themselves. Coulter, (2006) notes that 'A post war society infused with so many humanitarian aid, and practically governed by the 'NGO dollar', many people have become dependent on this type of assistance'. From the interviews with my respondents whenever they talked about coping the women in the camp felt that they would cope better with the support from NGOs. This reflects a diminishing self-confidence and no belief in one's capacity to cope without support form NGOs.

As much as the NGOs create a dependency syndrome they have done some good in the lives of the individuals especially in the research area. There is a local health centre which is just a walking distance, schools and boreholes for clean water all these facilities have been made available by NGOs for the benefit of the people. The respondents living with HIV/AIDS expressed their gratitude to The AIDS Support Organization (TASO) an HIV/AIDS organization that has been able to provide them with Antiretroviral drugs every month and treatment of any other diseases associated with HIV. The organization deals with counselling and testing, home-based care, provision of ARVs and prevention activities.

5.4 Vulnerabilities leading to Exclusion

Exclusion from accessing certain networks/ is often connected to a person's social class educational status and living standards. This research found cases of individual exclusion i.e. failure to access networks on the basis of having no income and qualities to be part of a particular network. A number of individuals especially women were found unable to access or

join networks that involve monetary contributions. The existence of Active exclusion is also found in this area where the women in the camp are excluded from support from government or NGOs by the municipality authorities as a strategy to make them leave the camp.

The paragraph below is a summary of the different aspects of vulnerability perceived and often mentioned by the men and women in the study area:

- Lack of alternative opportunities to get a livelihood
- Illiteracy and lack of support and possibilities to pick up education
- Lack of community and family support
- The care for their children, without support from the father of the children. There is not enough support (e.g. justice system) to make the men responsible
- Stigmatization by the local authorities (women in the camp)
- Lack of a start capital and support to start viable businesses

The individuals feel that these aspects keep them in a position of a vulnerability which is a situation that they are unable to escape. Due to economic constraints their daily survival is shrouded with a lot of uncertainties which are further enhanced by the lack of alternative options to get a livelihood. This has resulted in the individuals following a number of livelihood activities. The major asset in livelihoods is money and most of the networks in urban centres are based on monetary contributions by members. Henceforth the ability of one to contribute also influences the benefits they are able to get. Therefore as much as these centres are safe havens and offer opportunities I believe that they are also spaces of exclusion where individualism is highly practiced. Individualism is part of exclusion, one focuses on oneself and what is of benefit to them without the inclusion of others.

While it is generally assumed that individuals experiencing difficulties in their livelihood and accessing income activities rely on their social networks to cope daily, The findings from this study show that social networks do not provide sufficient and reliable support to help individuals and their families sustain their livelihoods. Networks are supposed to have an influence of how individuals make do in post conflict towns. In Unyama-Gulu it is a different scenario as will be shown in the following paragraphs.

Stigmatization of the women still residing in the camp: Strategy to exclude:

Single women form a particularly vulnerable group in the society of Northern Uganda, especially when they do not have male family members on whom they possibly can fall back. Stigmatization is often mentioned as one of the major problems the women in the camp experience from the municipality authorities. The authorities have labelled the women

prostitutes for reasons which range from wanting the women to leave the camp to the fact that the women are not married. However the women have felt that this has given the society a view of them being outcasts and has affected their families as well because their children are also now being made fun of by other children in schools. Stigmatization of the women also restricts the future possibilities of their children. Prostitution does not fit in the norms and values of their society other people in the community do not want to associate much with them such that even to approach the higher authorities of the municipality is difficult for them because they have to go through the officials who have labelled them prostitutes.

According to the women during focus group discussion this issue of prostitution has gone too far such that the police have been sent on occasion to the women's houses in the night knocking at their doors searching to see if there is any prostitution going on. The women felt that this is a dehumanizing way of treating them because they understand that because of their vulnerability they are being treated like criminals. One of the women notes that *"there are a lot of thieves in this area well known but not even one day have we heard that they have been raided during the night"*. The major reason that the municipality authorities are doing this is to chase the women away from the camp so that they can sell the land as some of them are owners of some of the land or are doing it on behalf of the land owners. She goes on to mention how embarrassing it is to be called a prostitute by young children calling after you.

Residing in the camp is a vulnerability that has resulted to the stigmatization and exclusion of women in the camp. As mentioned in the previous chapter the municipality authorities side-line them when it comes to giving support from NGOs or Government. . As evident in the discussion stigmatization has constrained their access to financial and livelihood resources from NGOs, Government and other social groups. Chapter 4 also makes note of the fact that the municipality authorities are intentionally side-lining those living in the camp from benefitting from any programmes as a way of ensuring that they leave the camp.

However during these discussions some of the women had plans to leave the camp either return to their villages or find alternative accommodation in the town. All these are future processes that they are working towards achieving because leaving the camp provides a better chance of them developing a sustainable livelihood without stigma surrounding it. By the time I left the area one of my respondents Achoyo had left the camp already and was now renting a house.

Illness:

Being HIV+ has impact on the lives of individuals especially women. This gives a limitation to what they can do when it comes to jobs. Florence works in a local hotel washing dishes that's the limit of strenuous work she can do. Her body is no longer physically strong to do other work which might involve heavy lifting e.g. casual labour on farms and stone quarrying. As discussed above, formal and informal social networks cannot provide sufficient support to buffer the crises experienced by most of the HIV/AIDS-affected and other vulnerable individuals. However, since many friends and neighbours are experiencing similar problems their support is unreliable and inadequate. Individuals can hardly cope given the weakening of social networks brought about by HIV/AIDS and other socio-economic stress. The urban setting provides Florence with proximity to health centres where she can access medication easily. Though she is excluded from viable livelihood activities she is not idle she does the jobs that she can and takes care of her children.

Poor alternative options to organize an independent livelihood

There are only a few possibilities to get a livelihood in a poor post conflict society as Northern Uganda, with a high number of unemployment. The available options for these men and women are the negative coping strategies of casual labour and charcoal selling. These are always available because people with farming land always need labour and people always need charcoal for cooking. Most of the women and men need support and funding to start productive business, like selling cloth, transport, environment friendly brick-making or catering. When they do not get funding the future life will be the same for them as it is now. The amount of money they earn in casual labour, does not give them enough basis to start something new, especially not when they have to support their children.

Lack of Education:

The important reason for talking about education is to direct attention to the links between assets and the options people possess in practice to pursue alternative activities that can generate the income level required for survival. For example lack of education means low human capital and this prohibits the individual from activities that require a particular level of education or skill attainment for participation in them, (Nombo, 2007). The lack of formal education has seen the men and women being unable to apply or get formal employment which requires some education and skill either with the government or the private sector. The lack of education I can say is a hindrance to access social networks that can influence a sustainable livelihood activity for the individuals. The women gave me an example of teachers

and nurses in the area who have groups where they give each other big amounts of money for investment or business ventures on a rotational basis. The women reflected that because they don't have those formal jobs and lack education henceforth they are unable to be guaranteed a monthly income or more so join groups that have future and some sustainability.

Low social network:

An impoverished network can be because of poverty and rejection. A low social network, with mostly superficial contacts, and little mutual commitment can limit access to resources and development possibilities. This can keep them stuck in the vicious circle of staying active in the casual labour and charcoal selling, due to little or no alternatives. Norman Long and Michael Portes talk in this case about limited social capital. The groups that people are involved in (mentioned in chapter 4), I view them as having some certain aspects that have effects on individuals. These aspects can be taking an example: if one is in a group which needs financial or material contribution the failure to provide automatically means one is excluded from the benefits. Even joining the group if one does not have what it takes to join the group it means they cannot be involved in the activities of the group no matter how much they will be interested. Henceforth the social network of a person remains low one remains vulnerable. *Group membership is also limited to man only or women only as indicated in chapter 5* women groups are self-help groups that have grown out of local circumstances to meet the specific needs of women, to address day-to-day economic needs and constraints and to improve the household well-being. Men on the other hand are more involved in groups that have more future benefits and provide room for diversity in the benefits like the formally registered saving-and-credit group.

Furthermore individuals in the study area have little or no ties with their family/relatives. Support from kinship relations is also not forthcoming Chapter 4 refers to these loose ties as sources and contributions to the vulnerability of individuals specifically those in the camp. This lack of support from kin has in some way increased their economic problems and it kind of provides a view that these networks are overrated or in any case losing their meaning and value as safety nets for individuals to fall back on in times of need.

Group Exclusion:

The men have less trust in having informal groups they mention that it is not profitable for them. This gives less trust and at the end less cooperation between the network members. In comparison to the women to men, women were found to participate more in informal social networks. The women there look more motivated to work together and they know a lot more

from each other. I place this within the framework of a kind of coping strategy. It makes their life on that moment easier and bearable and fits in a day to day practice. Though women groups help members to 'get by', they were found to command fewer economic resources than men. Though these networks are based on reciprocity the individual's income proved to significantly determine membership in groups.

Not sufficient and feasible skill training programmes:

The training programmes were often too short and they lack variation and differentiation in the types of trades/crafts they offer. The accessibility of the skill training programmes appeared to be too limited. Some of them told me they did not want to enter these programmes, because of lack of trust, the feeling the organizations only will help them for a short time and leave. Most are uncertain and lack trust to go to present organizations who can offer them support. In advance they already have the feeling to become rejected.

It also appeared to be difficult to fully rely and trust on the support of the training programmes. One of the skill training programmes stopped half way because of lack of funding money.

Michael entered a training programme to repair radios in 2007 which was being supported by AVSI an international NGO. This was a skills training programme one which he saw at that time as being able to supplement the gap in education for him not having attended secondary school. However much he was interested the programme lost funding mid-way through the training. There is not much he can do because he cannot afford to enrol in an electronics training course. Sometimes he repairs radios for neighbours and friends but it's not professional as he does not have a certificate to as evidence of his qualifications.

The training however not sufficient is a stepping stone to something, as Michael is using the knowledge and skills provided during that time to make income. This indirectly adds to his experience and knowledge and in future he will be more experienced.

For those living outside the camp they have better opportunity to access trainings than those still residing in the camps. NGOs are no longer supporting people in the camps their focus is more shifted towards the returnees. In Unyama because of the issue with the municipality authorities NGOs support is directed away from those in the camp as a way of trying to push them out. Therefore they are basically excluded from any support whether government or NGO.

5.5 Future processes to improve livelihoods

Bridging social capital

Having contacts with other groups besides the one which one belongs to create an opportunity to interact with others and access external resources. Putnam, (2000) close ties are necessary to help group members cope on a day-to-day basis, but these ties sometimes may not be very useful in helping the members to get out of their hardships. The men's *bhoda-bhoda* association has contacts/links with other similar associations in the different areas. As such there is the sharing of information from fuel prices, transport fares, to anything that can make the individuals involved in the business make a profit.

Most of the groups identified are exclusive to certain people i.e. people who live in one area and share similar challenges. There are no links with other groups outside that area. More so even within that area there is no links between and amongst groups. As explained in chapter 5 the groups that the individuals are involved in have more of bonding than bridging social capital. Though some of them are in mixed groups e.g. the men's group is made up of people who are former IDPs and those who are not. This is different from the women's groups. Looking at the women in residing in the camp their groups are mainly composed of people in the camp who have similar situations they do not have links with other groups to share information or experiences on how best to make improvements for success to establish viable livelihood activities. The lack of connections with other groups cannot be overlooked, perhaps this is due to the fact that they are not yet well established and have limited resources. I think that since the individuals have experienced a number of shocks from the conflict and the life in the camp henceforth members 'get by' but lack the connections (bridging social capital) that could help them 'getting ahead'.

However I have seen that some of the individuals have a potential to move from *getting by* to *getting ahead*. For example the men in brick-making would want to form an association like that of the *bhoda-bhoda* so that they have loan schemes with minimal interest to improve and expand their businesses.

Education:

There is one of the men who is enrolled in an adult learning programme and in the group discussion encouraged the others to do the same because with education it opens up one to limitless opportunities and enhances capacity and knowledge.

Walter is a father of 4 children in his late 30s He just attended school up to primary 7 in all his life. However he has always been interested in school such that his major reason for bot returning was for his children to access better education. He wants his children to have a better chance in life than he did. He has managed to enroll for an adult learning programme and his aim is to at least acquire a secondary education certificate. He will be writing his examinations next year. He laughs that his children do not see the point of him getting educated. He looks back at the time the conflict ended that the Government was looking for people to employ for different jobs and the qualification was just a secondary certificate which is an opportunity he missed because he lacked the certificate. He realizes that the access to education is free and that he has nothing to lose but everything to gain by getting an education. He points out during the discussion that he has improved his understanding of English since when he started the programme this will help him more as he looks at buying his on *bhoda-bhoda* that he will be able to buy more and hire them out. His wife has been very supportive she is a vegetable vendor in the market and supplements the husband's income.

For the respondents education is one of the important things that they value and kept emphasizing on for their children. Education provides a wide range of opportunities to access different networks professional and non- professional. Walter believes that at the time of the conflict if he was educated his life would have been different. I think that with education one is in a position to have long term prospects for a sustainable livelihood. Education is broad but which ever education one is able to access from academic to vocational education access to any mentioned is a way of mitigating exclusion to formal jobs or trades for livelihood development.

5.6 Conclusion

Associations with groups or friends or kin in similar situations are good as people tend to trust each other because they share something in common.

Coping strategies approach has emphasis on the agency i.e. people design their coping strategies according to both pragmatic and subjective considerations. Among the former are the level of available human and financial resources and skills and the strength of local social networks, while among the latter are perceptions of the security situation and people's own past experiences, (UNDP Uganda Report). Coping to the respondents is being able to adjust according to the changes happening in one's life. With what they have been through since the conflict they say that one develops resilience and a spirit of hope that drives them to seek coping strategies and survive. A Gulu University lecturer mentions in one interview that when

disaster strikes humans always find a way of coping even if it's negative. The one thing that has kept them going is hope of a better future for them and most importantly especially their children. Despite the cost of displacement on individuals I think it has offered an "opportunity for a fresh start" to some individuals. Looking at the participation of men and women in voluntary groups I think it's from a need to fill in the gaps that are not provided by the government and NGOs sometimes because of lack of access. The participation is a way of coping, an agency that evolves around people with common problems. The linkage then influences somehow the livelihood activities that one is likely to pursue. I agree with the World Bank, (2000) that voluntary groups are an indicator for such capital Long, (2001) emphasizes that if harnessed well they provide beneficial support which can help poor people to escape poverty. The findings in this chapter also highlight the post conflict livelihood activities pursued by individuals interviewed are predominated by 'getting by' than any other future processes except for the children's education.

Networks are important and they indeed can make a difference but without financial backing they become ways of assisting people just to get by in an urban centre. Being involved in networks be it friends and neighbours or community groups has assisted individuals interviewed to cope. Because it is through their networks that they get certain livelihood activities like casual labour or stone quarrying. Networks are seen to make a difference in some individuals coping as they provide access to certain resources. As mentioned by men in transport business for them to be able to hire the *bhoda-bhodas* they rely on friends and contacts with the owner. For some their kin have played a role in them to access accommodation to rent outside the camp. Networks are an important aspect of people's lives as found in this research they have offered material and emotional support towards individuals constructing their livelihoods. In groups individuals have done casual labour, have savings groups and have been available to offer support to friends in need.

The type of networks one attaches to determine the benefits they are going to get. In this research it was found that bonding social capital is beneficial but not enough to meet most of the individuals' needs. Lack of bridging social capital results in fewer opportunities for the poor to escape from poverty, as is the case in the study area. I agree with Woolcock & Narayan, (2000) that it is a combination of bonding and bridging social capital that allows the communities to confront poverty and take advantage of new opportunities. The bridging of social capital was found to be lacking in the study area except for 2 of the groups which are exclusively male. The *bhoda-bhoda* association and the micro-finance group which have links with other groups of the same nature in other towns are more sustainable than the groups women are involved in. The women's groups as has been emphasised are there to ensure their day to day survival the general reason is basically a lack of resources to expand and make the

network more sustainable. Exclusion from the more formal and sustainable networks i.e. (registered formal networks) in my view has the effect of individuals forming the less formal groups that are sustainable in their own way as a way of overcoming challenges. The less formal networks have flexible rules and regulations and the demands are manageable. When one is socially excluded in the process of trying to mitigate this exclusion they then follow the livelihoods activities of some individuals even though they are not in a particular network.

As much people have been excluded that have tried to mitigate that by being part of groups that support them if not material benefits then emotional support. The absence or lack of kinship relations has been taken over by friends and neighbours as is evident in Chapter 4. Henceforth a combination of networks and other aspects of survival have had influence over how individuals follow certain livelihoods.

Chapter 6: Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Discussion and Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to get a better understanding of the life of the men and women in post conflict northern Uganda Gulu who did not return to their areas of origin after the conflict and encampment ended. Particularly, understanding their vulnerability and how their networks have influenced their livelihood options to coping. During my five months in Gulu, I collected qualitative data about the lives of men and women in Unyama looking at their livelihood activities and networks. The findings show the influence that social networks and other factors have on the livelihoods and coping of individuals in post conflict urban centres. As with other kinds of capitals, social capital is not equally available to all (Portes, 1998). This is made explicit by the ways in which people make their living. The data gathering was focused on finding answers to the major research question:

- How do social networks shape options of former IDPs to construct livelihoods in post conflict Unyama, Gulu town?

This question was answered through specific research questions listed in Chapter 2 and will be referred to in this section. The chapters 2, 3 and 4 give more information about possible influences of social networks on the livelihoods of individuals of the men and women in Unyama.

I looked at the possible changes in the social network over time. I only focused on the changes during, and the time before encampment in 1996 that is approximately the last twenty years, knowing that aspects in the past also had their influences in particular on the lives of the respondents. The conflict which led to the encampment was/is one of the most important reasons why these individuals are in a position of vulnerability. In their stories you can hear there is not only one simple reason why they have stayed in the urban centre. Each individual have their story to tell and the common thing is the conflict/encampment made changes in their lives. Many people said to me it was laziness and that the women in the camp simply did not want to return to their villages, but after talking to them it appeared there was more. Some would say they are in a 'better off' position being in town than in the village. In this research, the most founded recurring issues that face these individuals are: poverty, lack of livelihood possibilities; lack of education, different exclusionary social practices like women being unable to access land because they are widows or divorced these issues place them all in the bracket of vulnerability. A number of changes took place during the period of encampment such that

some realised they were HIV+ and that was a reason for them to stay in the urban centre for proximity to health centres. Many others stayed for the sake of their children to access better education and have a chance of a better future and sustainable livelihoods.

I focused on the most important social networks which appeared to influence the position of young men and women in Unyama, divided into three different periods: pre-war time, during; right after the war and the situation in the period of my fieldwork (successively described in chapters 4 and 5). These changes brought me closer to understanding the reasons why the men and women decided to stay in Unyama and not return to their villages in 2007. There are striking changes in the kinship relations of individuals over the years. They have been and are being replaced by friends and neighbours.

The findings of the research show how the grounds on which kinship support is based are undermined by the prolonged conflict and encampment as well as other factors. Kinship relations are social relations that are seen to be reflected by feelings of obligation and moral claims. Most of the respondents indicated that support from relatives has greatly diminished over the years since encampment began in 1996. The levels of expectation of support and the moral obligation from these relations are close to non-existent as it is not assured. However some of the respondents understood it in the context of economic challenges that they are facing are also affecting their relatives. Friends and neighbours in a way have taken over the role of kin relations though it is still more of emotional support than material.

In chapter 5 the current context of the men and women in Unyama is more closely examined. It gives more information about their limited networks and difficulties concerning trust, and reciprocity which affects access to resources. In an ideal situation proximity to relatives enables persons in problems to get emotional and material support. However, it was found that the increasing economic difficulties and the effects of the conflict which led to the dispersal of kinship networks and the deterioration of family support systems has made it difficult for continuity and sustenance of these relations. This applies also to the reciprocity with friends and neighbours. The principle of reciprocity on which the functioning of social networks is based, becomes difficult to apply when individuals within one social network are facing the same challenges as the other. Henceforth the friends and neighbours in Unyama are there to offer emotional support and at rare occasions some material support.

Reciprocal arrangements for sharing of available resources through gifts, loans of cash, food, and labour between relatives and community members have been documented as an important way for people to access resources and cope with problems, Nombo, (2007). Inability

to reciprocate and prolonged need for assistance are discouraging to helping individuals and households in problems. The existence of vulnerabilities possessed by individuals (Chapter 5) have been indicated by this study as resulting in them being unable to join or maintain their participation in social networks for lack of resources to invest in them. The consequence for this has been individuals are deprived any form of support from these networks.

The values and norms underpinning these social networks seem to be changing Coleman has mentioned that values and norms of social networks to be that of reciprocity trust etc. The statements made by the respondents reveal the change, that there is more of individualism and less trust. This is all attributed to the urban environment which is more private and individuals only enter into networks that are profitable and beneficial. The post conflict-encampment economic problems coupled with high rates on unemployment have made a contribution to the change in norms.

The problem is that there are different types, of social capital and networks, to some, 'creating social organisations is equal to creating social capital' Cernea (1993:24 cited in Uvin 1998:168). Putnam, (1993a) suggested that the construction of social capital is best served by the creation of weak horizontal ties, such as membership in voluntary organisations, rather than strong horizontal ties, like kinship relations and friendships.

The research confirmed the general idea that urban centres are havens of safety and opportunity however there are challenges that vulnerable individuals encounter in the construction of livelihoods and at times social relationships and functioning come into play. Recourse to social networks is among the known strategies adopted by individuals in trying to cope and build or enhance livelihoods. Individuals draw on social networks from kinship relations, friends and neighbours, groups and organizations for assistance in times of need. The findings presented in Chapter 4 and 5 demonstrate that in conjunction with other socio-economic challenges, prolonged conflict and encampment trigger the breakdown of reciprocal relations that are vital for individuals in times of crises. This makes them vulnerable i.e. individuals who have no safety net to fall back on. Henceforth certain networks can determine which livelihood an individual is able to pursue for example the groups for labour either casual labour or stone quarrying. However this is not necessarily the case some individuals pursue livelihoods because they observe what others outside their network are doing like the brick makers who learned just by joining strangers who were already in the business and now they are doing it on their own.

The noticeable coping practices (treated in chapters 4 and 5) are mainly based on 'getting by' especially on the side of the women residing in the camp. The option available to most of them in their livelihood activities is casual labour on farms in nearby villages and petty trading of charcoal and vegetables. A lot of the coping strategies are connected with a poor society, where everyone is trying to survive and to take the few opportunities to get access to resources for their daily needs. In chapter 4 the current context the respondents are involved in a variety of livelihood activities some with their networks of friends and neighbours, groups and individual so as to provide for themselves and their families. Even if some of the activities are negative like charcoal making and brick making to them it's making a living as long as they make an income.

During and after the conflict/ encampment these 'single' women were forced to survive a lot of hard realities and to take responsibility for their children and the livelihood of the family most of all to deal with the vulnerability of being HIV+. The findings show that women bear the brunt associated with HIV/AIDS impacts and other economic crises and shocks. The effects of the epidemic are seen to have had a hampering and an influence of how individuals cope and it has influenced their livelihoods activities. Because of lack of resources HIV/AIDS-individuals are unlikely to participate in social networks and groups, which do not acknowledge their status and more so if the network is not of benefit to them and unable to respond to HIV/AIDS-related problems. The discussions with the women brought out the fact that because of their illness they are limited in the livelihoods they pursue. Basically in this situation social networks have less influence on the livelihoods they follow. Their illness dictates what they can or cannot do in terms of coping and making a living. More and more women had to rely on themselves rather than the broader networks involving others who are not infected or affected by the illness.

Stigmatization by the local authorities is active exclusion referring to the women as a prostitute has had some negative effects on the lives of the women residing in the camp. Prostitution is not acceptable in Acholi culture and the background of this negative treatment of the women is partly based on (according to the women) that some of the authorities own the land or have connections with the landowners and want to sale the land for profit. The harassment is meant to chase them away and make it look like they left of their own accord.

This stigmatization gives them a quite isolated position and can have big influences on their livelihood possibilities. The extent has gone as far as the authorities managing to exclude them from any support and assistance coming from the NGOs and Government. This is perceived by the young women as one of the biggest problems in their daily life which decreases their social contacts, support and other opportunities. Though other members of the community that I talked seemed not to have an opinion on the issue as they would just call it a situation between

the authorities and the women, I just observed it as an unwillingness to discuss the issue with an outsider.

The study found out that bridging social capital and education are processes that are able to ensure an improvement in the livelihoods of the respondents. Compared to men, women were found to participate more in informal social networks. Though women groups help members to 'get by', they were found to command fewer economic resources than men.

Failure to access a network is a challenge that they encounter every day and find ways of mitigating. It becomes explicit in this chapter 4 that networks are beneficial to those who make contributions most importantly monetary. The result is that there is an influencing and at the same time no influencing (on the part of those who are unable to contribute) of one's livelihood by these networks.

Grootaert *et al*, (2004) note that like, other assets and resources, social capital is essential to social and economic growth therefore social capital can help build human capital and access other forms of capital and thus contribute to household welfare. Formal and informal social networks are expected to play a significant role in reducing individual vulnerability. The study shows that social capital is not a given it is a resource that one has to invest in, in order to benefit. However, investments in social capital can be constrained by several factors, considering the general perception that social capital is important for accessing and strengthening other capitals. In post conflict scenarios there is great need to rebuild and create it and Northern Uganda is no exception.

The research found that women need informal networks to cope with different problems in the day to day living and their participation in women's groups enables them to access resources that they otherwise would not have been able to get alone. As discussed in chapter 4 there are differences between the social networks of men and women. As some authors have indicated that women are more likely to be involved in informal exchange relations with relatives and friends than men who tend to rely more on formal relationships, (Mayoux, 2001). However as much as they women are involved in networks there is a general lack of them mixing with other groups. Like Putnam, (2000), I would like to argue that there is need to invest in 'bridging' social capital. Chapter 4 makes mention of how bonding social capital results in individuals managing to only 'get by' a strategy that allows them just to survive from hand to mouth and in the end does not improve their situation. Bridging social capital can be created through people's membership in mixed groups and networks that extend beyond people's own boundaries and where people from different socio-economic backgrounds and gender are able to come together. In this manner I agree with Lee *et al*, (2005) that, experiences may be shared, social

connections broadened, and new norms constructed. Unyama is a community made up original inhabitants of Unyama and those who did not return to their villages post encampment. However those residing in the camp in particular have networks that just involve themselves only but for those residing outside the camp they have managed to join networks with other groups for example the Finance group and the *bhoda- bhoda* association. This study also highlights the dynamics between social capital and other assets necessary for livelihoods generation, showing that lack of social capital prevents people from accessing other livelihood resources.

6.2 Recommendations

Out of my findings and conclusions I want to give some recommendations which can be of use to the local and international organizations and communities who work in Northern Uganda. I will also recommend some aspects for further research to get a broader understanding of the lives of men and women who do not return to areas of origin after life in the camp.

In my experience and opinion it is not possible to organize one single programme for ‘the whole group’ of men and women who do not return to their villages post encampment. It is clear that the conflict and encampment affected the women and men differently. In the post conflict some managed to move out of the camp and some still reside there. These individuals have ideas to improve their lives and they have been in close contact with aid organizations for the past 20 years such that they know that the programmes are short term and bring minimum benefit. The major reason for wanting to be in contact with aid organizations is they provide food or other short term relief; it gives them something. However the danger of this all is dependency and it does not bring out the agency and innovation in individuals

Aid organizations need to provide support for individuals who do not return and not assume that since a higher percentage have returned they ignore the rest. They become the forgotten group most of the literature is written about people remaining in camps are the elderly and handicapped so there is need for aid organizations and government to know that there are families and able bodied people who decide not to return and need support as well.

Since the government is also involved and is left the responsibility they should also play their role and obligation to support these individuals

The government of Uganda has made considerable efforts on gender equality however gender equality and women's access to land needs to remain on the agenda of governments and organisations. The inheritance law pertaining to women inheriting land need to be made aware to the general populace especially in the villages where customarily still plays a role in undermining women's access to land. It is necessary to strengthen existing community groups such as women groups, savings groups, to enable them to provide the necessary assistance needed by individuals to cope with the challenges they face in post conflict urban centres. This can be done through the strengthening ties between a diversity of groups in the community and outside to allow for access to better and sustainable opportunities of ideas and on livelihoods.

Recommendations for further research:

- The question on exclusion was partially answered by this research. Henceforth further research on the forms of exclusion that exist in post conflict urban areas towards people who do not return to their villages. The findings can be used for individuals to be included in programmes despite their status or position.
- More research is needed with a focus on understanding the coping strategies of *HIV/AIDS in post conflict urban areas amongst people who do not return to areas of origin post encampment* .The findings can be used in the start-up of offered support programmes on sustainable livelihoods
- Research on rural networks compared to the urban networks in post conflict scenarios

References

Allen, T. and Schomerus, M. (2006) *A hard homecoming lessons learned from the reception centre process in northern Uganda an independent study*

http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNADI241.pdf

Agong R.B, (2008) *Exclusion or Inclusion! Where do we stand? Impacts of HIV/AIDS on Participation of HIV/AIDS Affected Households in Group Labour Exchange Activities, The Case of Uganda Oil Seed Producers and Processors' Association (UOSPA)* MSc Thesis, Wageningen University Available at: <http://edepot.wur.nl/663>, Accessed on 25 July 2011

Atkinson, R, (2009) *From Uganda to the Congo and Beyond: Pursuing the Lord's Resistance Army*, International Peace Institute, NYC

Barakat, Ellis S, (1996) 'Researching under fire issues for consideration when collecting data and information in war circumstances, with specific reference to relief and reconstruction projects', *Journal of disaster studies management*, Blackwell publishers

Barrett, C.B., T. Reardon, and P. Webb (2001) 'Nonfarm Income Diversification and Household Livelihood Strategies in Rural Africa': *Concepts, Dynamics, and Policy Implications*, *Food Policy* 26(4): 315-331.

Berlage, L, Verpoorten M, and Verwimp P, (2003) *Rural Households under Extreme Stress: Survival Strategies of Poor Households in Post-Genocide Rwanda*, a Report for the Flemish Interuniversity Council and the Belgian Department of International Cooperation under the Policy Research Program

Bernard, H. R. (1995) *Research Methods in Anthropology*, London: AltaMira Press.

Beuchelt T., Fischer I., Korff R. and G. Buchenrieder, (2005), Social Networks as Means of Information Exchange and Risk management - A Case Study from Northern Vietnam, Paper presented at Tropentag, "The Global Food & Product Chain – Dynamics, Innovations, Conflicts, and Strategies", University of Hohenheim, Stuttgart, Germany: Center for Agriculture in the Tropics and Subtropics & ATSAF

Branch A, (2008), *Gulu town in war... and peace? Displacement, humanitarianism and post war crisis*, Crisis States Working Papers Series No.2, Department of Political Science Columbia University

Bouta T, Frerks G, and Bannon I, (2005) *Gender, Conflict, and Development*, Washington, D.C.: The World Bank

Brons J, Dietz T, Niehof A, & Witsenburg K, (2007), *Dimensions of Vulnerability of Livelihoods in Less-favoured Areas: Interplay between the Individual and the Collective*. In: Ruben, R., J. Pender & A, Kuyvenhoven, Sustainable Poverty Reduction in Less-favoured Areas

Bøås, M, and Hatløy, (2005) A, *Northern Uganda IDP Profiling Study*, UNDP

Chambers R and Conway G (1992), *Sustainable rural livelihoods: Practical concepts for the 21st century*, IDS Discussion Paper 296, IDS, Brighton

Coulter, C. (2006), *Being a Bush Wife, Women's lives through war and peace in Northern Sierra Leone*, Sweden, (PhD) Uppsala University.

Changing Fortunes: Women's Economic Opportunities in Post-War Northern Uganda (2010)

Investing in Peace Issue No. 3 [http://www.international-](http://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/publications/201009ChangingFortunesWomensEconomicOpp.pdf)

[alert.org/sites/default/files/publications/201009ChangingFortunesWomensEconomicOpp.pdf](http://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/publications/201009ChangingFortunesWomensEconomicOpp.pdf)

Dobbs J.L (2001), *Planning space for democracy and civic engagement*, MSc in Planning, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Ellis, F. (2000) *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*, Oxford University Press.

Finnström, S. (2006a) *Wars of the Past and War in the Present: the Lord's Resistance Movement/army in Uganda Africa*. 76(2):200-220, Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis

Frerks, G. and S. Bender (2004) '*Conclusion: Vulnerability Analysis as a Means of Strengthening Policy Formulation and Policy Practice*', in: Bankoff, G., G. Frerks and D. Hilhorst (eds.) *Mapping Vulnerability: Disasters, Development & People*. London: Earthscan, Pp. 194-205.

Fujii L. A, (2009) *Interpreting truth and lies in stories of conflict and violence*, *Journal of Peace Research* 2010 47: 231

Grand J. L, (2003), *Individual Choice and Social Exclusion*, London, Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion, London School of Economics

Grootaert, C. et.al (2004), *Measuring Social Capital: An Integrated Questionnaire*, World Bank Working Paper No. 18

Haan A, and Maxwell S, (1998) *Poverty and Social Exclusion in North and South*, IDS Bulletin Vol 29 No 1

Horn, R. (2009), *Coping with displacement: problems and responses in camps for the internally displaced* *Intervention*, Volume 7, Number 2, Page 110 – 129

Huberman M, & Miles M, (2002), *the Qualitative Researcher's Companion*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications

Kaag *et al* (2004), *Ways Forward in Livelihood Research in Globalization and Development: Themes and Concepts in Current Research*, eds. D. Kalb, W. Pansters and H. Siebers. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Kindi F.I (2010) *Challenges and Opportunities for Women's Land Rights in Post- Conflict Northern Uganda*, MICROCON Research Working Paper 26

Klever M, (2010), *the road to certainty is uncertain, Uncertainties and coping strategies in the development process of food chains which act in a niche market for agriculture nature products*, MSc Thesis, Wageningen University

Kharel Y. P, (2008) Social exclusion of ethnic minority farmers in Nepalese co-operatives, MSc Thesis, Wageningen University

Koster M, (2008) *Fragmented Lives: Reconstructing Rural Livelihoods in Post-Genocide Rwanda* PhD Thesis, Sociology of Consumers and Households, Wageningen University

Lassibille, G. and J.-P. Tan (2005) '*The Returns to Education in Rwanda*', *Journal of African Economies* 14(1): 92-116.

Lee J, Árnason A, Nightingale A, and Shucksmith M, (2005) *Sociologia Ruralis*, Vol 45, No 4 p.269-283

Little, P.D. (2000) *Selling to eat: petty trade and traders in peri-urban areas of sub-Saharan Africa* http://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNACL390.pdf University of Kentucky
And Institute for Development Anthropology

Long, N. (2001) *Development Sociology; Actor perspective*, London: New York, Routledge

Mayoux, L. (2001) '*Tackling the Down Side: Social Capital, Microfinance and Women's Empowerment in Cameroon*', *Development and Change* 32.3: 435–64

Mitchell M.H, (2001) *Geographical Review*, Vol. 91, No. 1/2, *Doing Fieldwork* 311-321, American Geographical Society

Nombo, C.I, (2007), *when AIDS meets poverty Implications for social capital in a village in Tanzania*: PhD. Thesis, Wageningen University

Ochola, F. -presentation: *How to ensure that reparation do not further stigmatize Victims, particularly children*, 1st & 2nd March 2007 in The Hague
<http://www.redress.org/downloads/events/StigmatizeVictimsFO.pdf> accessed on 18 May 2012

Pfeiffer and Elbert (2011), PTSD, depression and anxiety among former abductees in Northern Uganda, *Conflict and Health* <http://www.conflictandhealth.com/content/5/1/14>

Portes, A. (ed.) (1995), *the Economic Sociology of Immigration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation

Putnam R.D, (1993) *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy*, Princeton University Press

Returning to Uncertainty: Addressing Vulnerabilities in Northern Uganda
<http://www.fafu.no/nyhet/return2uncertainty.pdf>

Richards P, Bah K, Vincent K, (2004), 'Social Capital and Survival, Prospects for Community-Driven Development in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone', *Community-driven development conflict prevention & reconstruction* Paper no. 12

Roep D., Wiskerke J. C, (2007). 'Constructing a Sustainable pork supply chain: A case of techno-institutional innovation', *Journal of environmental Policy and Planning* 9 (1), 53-74

Rudie, I. (1995) 'The Significance of Eating: Cooperation, Support, and Reputation in Kelantan, Malay', in: W.J. Karim (ed.) *'Male' and 'Female' in Developing Southeast Asia*. Oxford, UK: Berg Publishers. P. 227-247

Scoones, I. (1998) 'Sustainable Rural Livelihoods: A Framework for Analysis', *IDS Working Paper* 72, Brighton: IDS

Silver H, (2007), *Social Exclusion: Comparative Analysis of Europe and Middle East Youth*, Available at: <http://www.incluso.org/manual/social-inclusion-and-social-exclusion-explained> (Accessed on 1 August 2011)

Salih M. E (2009), *Refugees and Access to the social Services: The Impact of Social Exclusion on the Formation of the Sudanese Refugees and Immigrants Organization in Egypt*, MSc Thesis, Wageningen University

Thompson P, (1981), 'Life histories and the analysis of social change' pp 289-306 in Bertaux, D. (Ed) *Biography and Society*. California: SAGE Publications

Thomson S, (2009), 'That is not what we authorised you to do...': Access and government interference in highly politicised research environments. In Chandra Lekha Sriram, John C. King, Julie A. Mertus, Olga Martín-Ortega and Johanna Herman, eds. *Surviving Field Research: Working in violent and difficult situations*. London: Routledge, pp. 108-124.

Uganda Peace Foundation Initiative <http://www.ugandapeacefoundation.org> Accessed on 17 October, 2011

Uvin, P. (1998), *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda*, USA, Kumarian Press

Van Acker, F. (2004), 'Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army: the New Order no One Ordered' *African Affairs*. 103(412) pp. 335-357.

Watson, L. C. (1976) Understanding a Life History as a Subjective Document: *Hermeneutical and Phenomenological Perspectives Ethos*, 4 (1) pp. 95-131

WFP EFSA Report 2009

http://documents.wfp.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/manual_guide_proced/wfp203244.pdf accessed on 21 December 2011

Woolcock M, (1998), 'Social capital and economic development: Toward a theoretical synthesis and policy framework', in *Theory and Society*, 27, pp151-208

Yin R. K. (1984), Case study research: *Design and methods* pp 13-26, Beverley Hills, Sage Publication

Websites

<http://www.ugpulse.com/heritage/traditional-marriages-in-uganda-nyom-the-acholi-marriage/739/ug.aspx>

<http://www.internationalpeaceandconflict.org/profiles/blogs/the-journey-of-leaving-idp> peace and collaborative development network: 8 May 2012

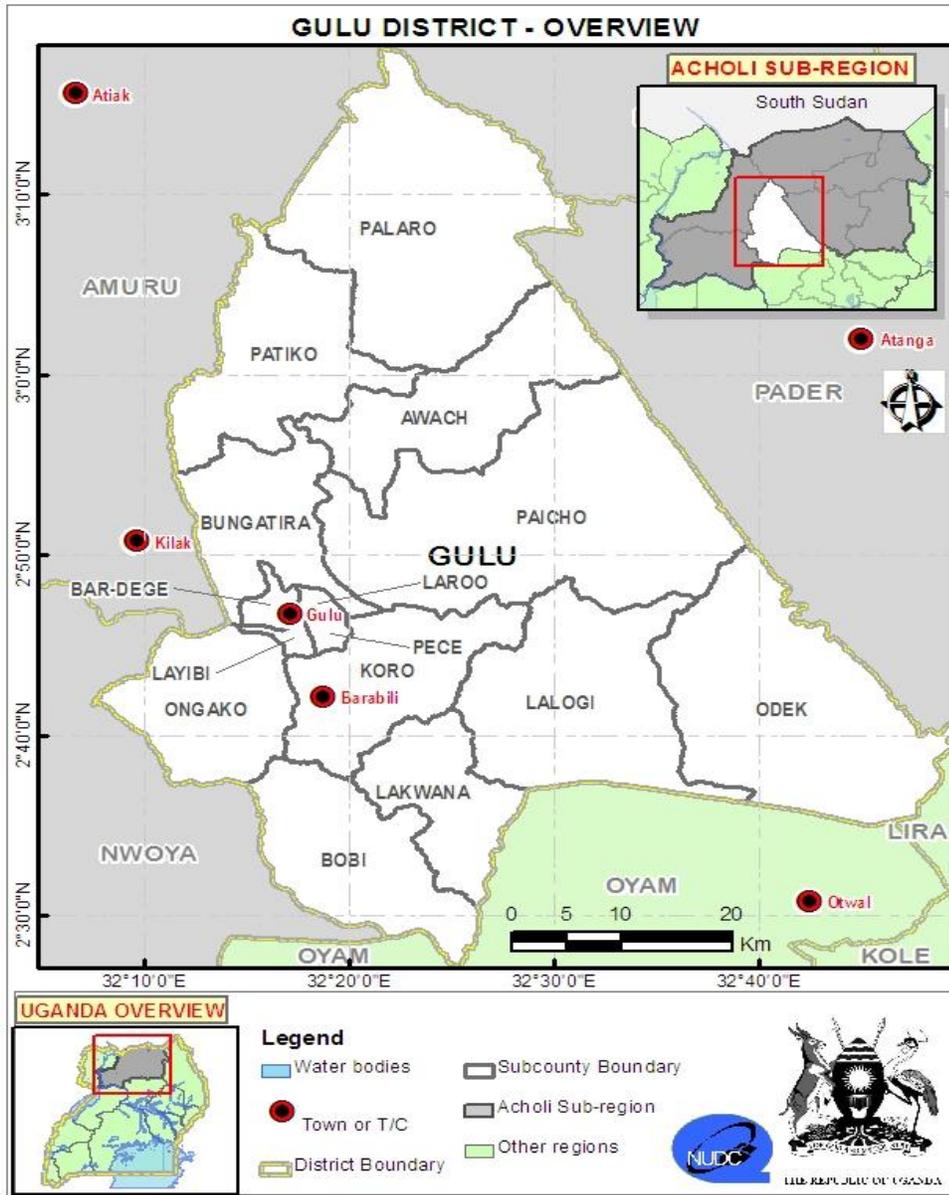
[http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/\(httpInfoFiles\)/4670ACB0F6276351C12579E4003668A6/\\$file/global-overview-africa-2011.pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004BE3B1/(httpInfoFiles)/4670ACB0F6276351C12579E4003668A6/$file/global-overview-africa-2011.pdf)

Appendices

Annex 1 : Map of Uganda and its boundaries



Annex 2: Map of Gulu



Annex 3: