

**Movement, home and identity: dilemmas of urban internal
displacement in Kampala, Uganda**

by

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Abstract

The conflict that ravaged Northern Uganda for two decades led to displacement of nearly two million northern Ugandans. The majority remained within the country borders fleeing into IDP camps, towns and cities. This thesis explores urban IDPs' practices in a migration process and, furthermore, how this process is influencing the notion of home and identity which in turn have an impact on the discussion on solutions to displacement. The empirical data in this thesis were collected in Acholi Quarter, Kampala, using qualitative methods in a period of three months from August to beginning of November 2012.

Some of the urban IDPs first moved into camps and then later migrated further to Kampala, while others moved directly to the city. However, common for all migrants was the importance of the social network as a factor enabling them to migrate. Many years away from their place of origin has made them adopt new strategies in order to survive in the urban context. The 'new' life in Kampala has inevitably influenced their notion of home and identity. It was a difference between the younger and the older generation's understanding of home as they related to the past, present and future in a different way. Their identities changed accordingly in a frequent negotiation involving choices of accommodation or resistance of new worldviews. The impact of the changing notion of home and identity has led to an ambivalent attitude to return.

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1.0 Introduction

The majority of the population in Northern Uganda has been displaced as a direct or indirect cause of the conflict which lasted for two decades. Although the estimates differ, it is assumed that approximately 1, 8 million people fled into the established camps or to towns and cities. When the conflict effectively ended in 2006, many displaced embarked on a process of return. By January 2012, only four camps were remaining, housing some 30, 000 internally displaced persons. Now, most people have moved back to their area of origin, yet, there are an estimated 300 000 to 600 000 displaced people living in Kampala (Cohen and Deng 1998, RLP et al. 2010, Klein 2012). This thesis focuses on the processes of migration in terms of decision-makings and changing notions of home, identity and everyday life in a protracted displacement situation. Below I will argue for the relevance of the chosen topic. Secondly, a brief discussion of the key concepts is outlined as a general introduction to the topic following a presentation of my research questions.

1.1 Approaching the topic

The scope of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the world is vast and dominating research is mainly focusing on those who are living in camps. Those displaced in urban areas, however, is to a large extent ignored by governments, international actors and researchers, often due to either convenience or ignorance (Bakewell 2008, Refstie 2008). Urban IDPs in Uganda are IDPs per definition. However, the IDP label is in practice reserved IDPs in camps as a result of the government's approach to control the IDP population and to keep them in the established camps in Northern Uganda. Consequently, protection and assistance to urban IDPs has been limited.

In Uganda, the government faces an increasing problem of rapid population growth in the urban areas. The government of Uganda (GoU) has therefore declared that greater attention needs to be directed towards this phenomenon which is a compounding factor to a complex disaster picture (ReliefWeb 2012). According to Lyytinen (2009), rural-urban migration and internal displacement is strongly inter-related. Her argument is supported by the UNHCR which emphasizes the need to look at displacement in an urban context and in order to find solution to the problem one should, among others, change the ways in which solutions are

conceptualized and understood (Lyytinen 2009). Furthermore, much research on displacement is too focused on categories, concepts and priorities promoted by policy makers which in turn has led to many irrelevant studies as researcher's approaches overlook large groups of forced migrants and the complexities and heterogeneity existing within this group (Bakewell 2008). As mentioned above, urban IDPs in Uganda are not considered as IDPs as a result of convenience to the GoU which has resulted in exclusion from assistance and return and resettlement programs in addition to research and assessments of needs (Refstie 2008). However, their identity as displaced from the north is prominent in their 'new' community in Kampala causing dilemmas regarding solutions to their displacement (Refstie 2008). In geography there has been an increasing focus on migrants' own perceptions, and the impact of migration over time, space and place on people and societies (Birkeland 2003). The importance of IDPs' own experiences and perceptions are indeed relevant, politically, socially and economically. Narratives enable us to understand how the narrator makes sense of and articulate his or her situation which is essential in order to deal with, in this case, protracted displacement (Anthias 2002). Also Mooney (2003) stresses the need to explore IDPs' own perspective on their state of displacement. She further recognizes the complexities of return in relation to the notion of home. In this study I aim to break away from policy relevance and in due course explore the urban internally displaced persons' own perceptions and experiences of their situation and future aspiration. Yet, for practical reasons I will use terms and concepts generally perceived as categorizing and policy focused which will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

The aim of my study is to explore IDPs' ability to maneuver within their preconditions and, secondly, the linkages between movement, home and identity. An understanding of these processes enables us to say something about how the IDPs relate to different solutions to their displacement. Furthermore, the discussion in this thesis is embedded in the understanding that people have agency and constantly interact with the surrounding structures. Through this interplay, people's perceptions and meanings are shaped and reshaped, a process affecting their lives in various ways. Refugees and IDPs are often perceived as victims of their predicament who passively suffer from displacement. Without romanticizing displacement, I discard this perception and, alternatively, focus on how the IDPs strategize to overcome their predicament.

1.2 Forced migration

“Displacement remains arguably the most significant humanitarian challenge that we face”

UN General-Secretary Ban Ki-moon (UNOCHA 2013)

In recent times, we have moved from ‘refugee research’ to ‘forced migration research’ in order to broaden the term and include all forms of forced migration not covered by the refugee convention (Tete 2011b). Forced migration is a complex and controversial phenomena which usually refers to displacement of people due to political, environmental and developmental reasons. A ‘forced migrant’ is being used as a catch-all label of people who have been forced to leave their homes or homelands (Turton 2006). Turton questions and discusses the conceptualization of forced migration as “unitary, scientifically coherent and yet policy-relevant...”(Turton 2006:13) and claims that it is heavily based on policy convenience rather than on scientific findings. He further argues that the combination of ‘forced’ and ‘migrant’ is contradictory in the sense of meanings of each word. ‘Forced’ apparently means that one has no choice, whilst a ‘migrant’ implies choice and human agency. The best way to work this out is to think of a forced migrant as a ‘purposive actor’ set in specific social, political or historical situations. The distinction between forced and voluntary migration is difficult since decisions to migrate usually are a response to a set of external constraints and predisposing events in which choices and compulsions are embedded (Turton 2006). However, the discussions in the migration discourse are to a great extent revolved around forced and voluntary migration as two opposites where the latter concerns movement due to economic opportunities and the former, by contrast, concerns movement due to fear or threats, and the search for safety. In Africa, the realities show several incidences where a distinction between the different types of migrants is unclear. The causes and consequences of the different types of migration also show socio-political and economic factors specific to African historical context. In post-colonial Africa, the number of armed conflicts, mainly civil and ethnic conflicts, increased destroying the already fragile economy and development systems. The concurrency of multiple conflicts on the continent led to a constantly shift in focus, from one refugee crisis to the other which resulted in many unsolved refugee situations. Consequently, they developed into protracted situations where the displaced people lived in ‘limbo’ in temporary settlements for years (Rwamatwara 2005).

1.2.1 Internal displacement

Figures from 2011 indicate that 42, 5 million people in the world are displaced due to war and conflicts. The number of refugees is decreasing but the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) has never been higher. The most recent report estimates that 28, 8 million people are displaced within the borders of their own country (IDMC and NRC 2013). Moreover, in Africa, there are almost four times as many IDPs as there are refugees (NRC 2012). The working definition of an IDP was first granted by the UN in 1992. Six years later the definition was amended (Dubernet 2001):

“[I]nternally displaced persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border.” (UNOCHA 2001:1)

It was not until 1998 the very first world count of IDPs was published (Dubernet 2001). Despite the fact that internal displacement is an old phenomenon (Bennet 1998) such issues surfaced at the end of the Cold War as internal strife and state collapse caught the attention of decision-makers (Dubernet 2001). New approaches to mass displacement developed of which “in-country protection” and early repatriation” were reflecting the new ideas of humanitarian intervention. In addition to this, the Western world’s positions to asylum seekers hardened during the 1990s in order to prevent refugee flows, which in turn has contributed to an increase in the number of IDPs worldwide (Dubernet 2001).

There is no international convention that protects IDPs’ legal rights, such as the one covering international refugees, meaning they are not entitled to assistance and international protection of the UNHCR. Since they remain within the country borders IDPs are defined to be under the jurisdiction of the government and, thus, have no other rights than those shared with their fellow citizens. Ironically, it is often the government which is unable or unwilling to protect its displaced citizens. Moreover, the similarities between refugees and IDPs are many despite the differentiation. Being a stranger in the host community, not knowing the language or the culture, and animosity rooted in ethnic origin, etc. are experiences often shared by displaced people (Brun 2008). The fact that IDPs have special needs was recognized when the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement was formulated in 1998. It was developed to meet the challenges of deprivation, hardship and discrimination faced by many IDPs. The Guiding

Principles, however, is not a binding instrument but is a reflection on human rights and humanitarian and refugee laws (UNOCHA 2001). However, in December 2012, a new continental convention came into force, the African Union Convention on the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, also called the Kampala Convention. This instrument binds governments to provide IDPs with protection according to human rights. The Kampala Convention was signed by seventeen African countries with Uganda as the first to ratify it. Internal displacement is a continuing source of instability and tension for African states. Hence, the Kampala Convention was developed as a means to deal with internal displacement in an African context. Not only does it recognize the responsibilities of the states but also addresses those of NGOs and AU (UNHCR 2013, UNOCHA 2013).

The IDP as a special category is debated among humanitarian actors as such recognition can be problematic. Should one provide assistance and protection on the basis of vulnerability or category? Provision by category may cause disregard for other vulnerable groups and foster inequity and conflict as the IDPs may be perceived as 'privileged'. Even so, IDPs generally do have special needs. Loss of family ties and deprivation of housing, work and education is typical for situations of displacement. Moreover, IDPs are also proved to be particularly exposed to violence and suffer high mortality rates. According to UNHCR (2006), special attention to particular vulnerable groups has been useful in order to enhance their protection, and to call upon humanitarian actors and governments to take responsibility for them. It should be noted that not all IDPs are considered to be in this group. The labeling of people as IDPs involves including some and excludes others. A common understanding of IDPs and refugees is that they are 'out of place' and are only temporary residing in the area. This tends to exclude IDPs from certain entitlements which they otherwise would have if not labeled as displaced. An example from Sri Lanka shows that the IDPs were excluded from certain entitlements since they were not registered as residents in the area. Another problematic issue when it comes to labeling, or categorization, is the exclusion of those who are considered as migrating due to work, environmental change, etc. Moreover, there are also those who lack the resources or due to their physical condition are unable to move are being excluded from the IDP category (Brun unknown).

Not only individuals suffer from internal displacement, the socio-economic system is also transforming. Areas from which people flee are being demolished and left so over time. Infrastructure sometimes needs to be rebuilt, the fields might have overgrown and houses burnt down. This impedes development and reconstructions, meaning a restoration of

societies can take decades (UNHCR 2006). Even host communities in which IDPs may be living for years, can suffer extensive damage in terms of land and resource conflicts and security problems (Jacobsen and Landau 2003).

1.2.1.1 Displaced in the city

We tend to think of displaced people as residing in camps or refugee/IDP settlements (Jacobsen and Landau 2003). Many IDPs, however, do not move into camps but to cities and towns. In fact, the number of IDPs residing in urban areas is increasing and it is not necessarily a matter of choice *per se*, as is the apparent perception of many governments and policy actors (FMR 2010). The fact that governments and other actors sometimes categorize urban IDPs as (economic) ‘migrants’ can be a matter of convenience to them in terms of avoiding responsibility (UNHCR 2006). Although a number of studies on urban displacement is emerging, too little is known about IDPs’ situation in urban areas. There is no precise number of urban IDPs and there is also lack of information on their demographics and basic needs. A reason for this knowledge gap is the difficulty of distinguishing urban IDPs from other urban dwellers. The IDPs often move into slums and blend in with the locals and, in addition, the lack of documentation as an IDP makes identification of urban IDPs problematic. In some cases, with time, return is no longer an attractive option and IDPs morph into economic migrants. As mentioned above, the ‘privileged’ category as an IDP might cause conflicts and is particularly applicable in areas such as slums. Since most slum dwellers face similar hardship and challenges, special assistance to IDPs can cause a feeling of inequity and discrimination among the other slum dwellers. The migration of displaced people into slums may further exacerbate the vulnerability of slum dwellers already living there as they already suffer from inadequate water supply, lack of or poor sanitation facilities, limited access to land, work and shelter. Furthermore, competition for resources and livelihoods can lead to clashes between the slum dwellers (FMR 2010). In the view of the above, “the challenges faced by those displaced into urban areas and by those seeking to protect and assist them” is highly complex (FMR 2010:2), and can be identified as problems on three levels. On the practical levels there are challenges in identifying IDPs. Questions regarding the debates on voluntary versus forced migration, and when displacement ends complicate the matter on a conceptual level. On the ethical level concerns are linked to the distinction between IDPs and other poor experiencing similar hardships (FMR 2010). Thus, profiling of urban IDPs is a complex process as identification and counting is difficult.

In their article, Jacobsen and Davies (2010) argue for a profiling of urban IDPs in the world. The number of IDPs residing in cities is uncertain and estimates range from 16 % to 50 %. Yet, the figure is too high to ignore. Moreover, they argue that without any clarification regarding urban IDPs it is impossible to design and implement policies protecting and assisting them during and after conflict. Lastly, in the context of an increasing urban population, IDPs are believed to play a significant role in hampering development in urban areas “where their fear of identification leads them to avoid civil registration and where overcrowding, competition for scarce resources and joblessness provide a magnet for urban crime” (Jacobsen and Davies 2010:13).

1.3 Protracted displacement

Two third of refugees and IDPs are trapped in protracted displacement and many of those live in exile in urban areas. Although there have been more focus on refugees in protracted situations rather than IDPs, the circumstances of forced migration are, to a great extent, experienced similarly. A protracted IDP situation is characterized by long term separation from the homeland and a life in limbo (FMR 2009). The IDPs’ life may no longer be at risk nor their need be urgent, yet basic rights and needs may still be unfulfilled like those of essential economic, social and psychological concern (UNHCR 2006, Long 2011). The UNHCR defines such situation as one where populations of more than 25, 000 have been displaced for five years and more (FMR 2009). This definition has been criticized for its focus on figures and time. Some argue that protracted IDP situations should rather be identified on the basis of the absence or failure of solutions to such long term displacement (Brun unknown) as “a reliance on figures... bears no relationship to the fact that governments retain primary responsibilities toward all of their citizens in all circumstances” (UNHCR/Brookings-Bern Project 2007:2). Alternative definitions of protracted IDP situations have been suggested, describing such situations as a) where the processes for finding durable solutions is stalled, and/or, b) where IDPs are marginalized as a consequence of violations or a lack of protection of human rights, including economic, social and cultural rights (UNHCR/Brookings-Bern Project 2007:2).

Humanitarian actors face a complex challenge when finding solutions to protracted displacement in urban areas. Often, IDPs residing in cities are unwilling or unable to return and would rather try to integrate in their temporary areas of residence. Others are hindered to

return because the situation of their place of origin is insecure or the material conditions are worse than in the city slums (FMR 2010). In some displacement situation one can find “a whole generation born in their ‘temporary’ urban location” (FMR 2010:16). This has consequences on several levels in society, some of which will be discussed later in the thesis.

1.4 Solutions and end of displacement

The main challenge in cases of protracted displacement remains assessing and supporting durable solutions (IDMC and NRC 2013). Policy makers on forced displacement operate with the concept of durable solutions to displacement which comprise repatriation, resettlement and local integration. These three solutions were developed by UNHCR but the attractiveness of each of the solutions has changed with time, to a large extent influenced by geo-political circumstances. The understanding most policy makers have today is repatriation as the best solution (Brun 2008). The conceptualizing of the solutions, however, is not necessarily applicable or rooted in reality as IDPs’ own perceptions and expectations are not taken into consideration when conceptualizing central policy terms regarding their situation (Tete 2009, Lund et al. 2011). Often solutions are imposed on the IDPs without any consultation and identification of their needs (Lund et al. 2011). Moreover, another problematic issue is the varying interpretations of when displacement ends by policy actors. This issue has increasingly been addressed by different actors and has, indeed, resulted in different conclusions. For instance, according to the Global IDP Database, the number of internally displaced persons in Guatemala is estimated to range from zero to quarter of a million. Mooney (2003) talks about three sets of criteria, each which can be used to determinate when displacement ends. Cause-based criteria relates to the circumstances which caused the displacement, and when these circumstances has ceased to exist or changed one can say internal displacement has ended. Another approach is to focus on solution-based criteria, meaning that displacement ends when IDPs have returned or resettled. Lastly, needs-based criteria emphasize the point of time when IDPs’ needs and vulnerability no longer is related to their displacement. It should be noted that these criteria are complex and that none of these are exclusively. As in the case of solutions-based criteria it may be highly problematic in terms of degree of safety in returning area, (re)integration assistance, property compensation, access to social services and infrastructure, etc. (Mooney 2003). When using the concepts of ‘return’ and ‘integration’ I will not adopt a policy focused understanding but rather understand the concepts on a subjective level as my IDP informants seemed to be talking

about these issues based on their own experiences and perceptions. Yet, I find it relevant to touch upon the policy narratives concerning these concepts for the reader to get a broader understanding of what is considered to part of the 'regime' the IDPs often have to relate to.

1.4.1 Return

According to Uganda's National Policy on Internally Displaced Persons, IDPs are free to move anywhere. In this view, the right to return is also a part of this. It is strongly envisaged by governments and political actors working with displacement that IDPs return to their place of origin, and is also desired by a large number of IDPs to various purposes (Brooking Institute 2008, Tete 2009, Lund et al. 2011). "[T]he discourse on the 'right to return' is fed by a medley of issues, not least of which are essentialist ... conceptions of home, ... policy narratives ... and also some displaced persons' own desires to return" (Tete 2009:57). Laura Hammond (1999) also criticizes the narrow understanding of 'return'. She argues that when people return to their 'homeland' they are not necessarily returning to something familiar. 'Return', she claims, is a term "riddled with value judgments that reflect a segmentary, sedentary idea of how people ought to live, what their relation to their 'homeland' should be, and ultimately how they should go about reconstructing their lives once the period of exile ends" (Hammond 1999:230). In consequence of the multifaceted concept of home as discussed above, 'return' is equally complex. Displaced people's desire and aspiration to return to their place of origin has often a nostalgic sense to it. In the case of IDPs who want to return but left at young age, and have spent most of their lives in camps or other settlements, necessarily have to be influenced by their parents' and elders' memories and emotions of the past (Tete 2011a). Moreover, Suzanne Tete argues: "[Return may also be] heightened by their continued alienation in the host community where they feel a strong inclination to maintain a 'a home away from home' ..." (Tete 2011a:4), despite the pressure from other displaced to return home. Inability to speak the local language, lack of access to jobs, discrimination and general hostility towards the 'visitors' are factors affecting IDPs' desire to return (Tete 2011a).

1.4.2 Integration

The goal with integration used to be assimilation where in-migrants, or the minority, through a process, developed from being 'strangers' and face exclusion to be completely assimilated into the host or majority society by giving up their old identities. This view was based on the essentialist thinking of 'place' proposed by the Chicago School of sociology, which popularized the concept of integration as a policy framework. Now, through refugee studies

and racial and ethnic studies, a reconceptualization of 'integration' has developed, one which is more applicable in a Global South setting (Brun 2008), in accordance to the non-essentialist understanding of place, home, identity, etc.

1.5 Research questions and outline of the study

As mentioned earlier, the main aim of this study is to explore how urban IDPs in Uganda maneuver within the framework related to them, i.e. the social, political, economic and cultural structures. Furthermore, since the conflict in Northern Uganda was considered to have ended in 2006, I find it interesting to know why there are so many people who fled from the conflict still remaining in Kampala. On the basis of this I have two sets of questions. The first set seeks to explore why and how the IDPs ended up in Kampala, and how their experiences and perceptions have influenced how they think and act. More precisely, my first set of research questions are as following:

- 1. How and why did the IDPs migrate to Kampala? And, how do they strategize in the urban context?*

Protracted displacement situations are problematic and make the discussion on when displacement ends even more problematic. People who have been displaced for many years may be described as being in 'limbo' or 'in-between' as they may not have reached what is considered a sustainable or durable solution. As mentioned above, I will not focus much on such policy terms. Rather, what I find more interesting is how the IDPs continue to move forward in various ways despite a possible feeling of temporality. "The changing and multiple relations between places caused by displacement must have implications for the way we think about solutions" (Brun unknown: 18). Yet, there is a common assumption that an IDP's desire to return is based on his or her wish to go back home to the place where one belongs (Tete 2009). Many years away from the place of origin inevitably results in new knowledge, connections and experiences as part of the migration process. In other words, perceptions change meaning that notions of home are being reshaped together with the notion of identity. In this view, I would like to explore the role of identities in IDPs' experience and perception of their situation. Hence, my second set of research questions is:

- 2. How has displacement changed the notion of home and identity? And, what implication does it have for the discussion on solutions?*

In order to broaden the understanding of IDP practices, the most relevant themes in the Ugandan context are presented in Chapter 2. Following in Chapter 3, the theoretical perspective of this thesis is discussed. Furthermore, before presenting and discussing my findings, a presentation of how I collected the data and reflections of methods are illustrated in Chapter 4. Each of the research questions are discussed in separate chapters, respectively Chapter 5 and 6, but are closely interlinked. However, in order to structure my analysis it was necessary to divide it into two chapters.

2.0 Contextualizing urban internal displacement in Uganda

To understand the context of internal displacement in Uganda and the people involved, it is necessary to look at the past and current situation in the country. With this in mind we have a better foundation as to understand the ‘regime’ the IDPs act within which in turn enables us to get a broader understanding of the IDPs’ meanings and actions. In the following sections I will present a brief historical background of the conflict which was the underlying cause of displacement, following an overview of internal displacement situation in Uganda during and after the conflict.

2.1 Historical background of the conflict

Many political analysts claim that most African conflicts are rooted in colonial legacy (Rwamatwara 2005). In the case of Uganda, the colonial heritage has strongly influenced the tensions between the ethnic groups as a result of the classic “divide and rule” strategy was used by the colonizers. The Acholis and other ethnic groups from the north were more or less exploited while the Baganda in the central regions were benefiting from investments and planning by the British. Consequently, problems have occurred after Uganda achieved its independence as people have come to identify themselves with their ethnic group rather than with the nation state of Uganda. Many Ugandans blame the Acholis for the wrongs visited upon the civilians during the last Obote regime. The perception that the army at that time mainly consisted of Acholis has contributed to this general belief, despite the fact that it was a Langi-dominated army. Some goes as far saying that Ugandans support the suffering of the Acholis in the North. Correspondingly, some Acholis actively believe the government and Southerners are systematically stigmatizing them in order to take revenge (IDMC 2004, IDMC 2012a).

In the course of the conflict between the LRA and the GoU many lives have been disrupted. In addition, the damage of the socio-economic and political structures of Uganda due to the conflict will long be embedded in the Ugandan society. Similarly, the root causes of the conflict are embedded far back in time, as early as the colonial period (Van Acker 2004). During the colonial period the Acholis (and other ethnic groups from the North) supplied the

country with most of the manual labor and was a source of army recruits as the northern tribes are usually taller and have a powerful physique. After independence in 1962 the political power positions comprised politicians with northern origin. By democratic means came Milton Obote and his Uganda's People's Congress to power. During the following years he undermined other political parties including non-northern ethnic groups. Obote was eventually deposed by Idi Amin in a military coup 1971. Amin had tacit support from UK, US and Israel after Obote started building relations with USSR. He happily implemented policies suggested by his Western allies and his own peoples – the Lugbara from the North-west. Amin turned out to be no better, in fact even worse, than Obote. His rule was characterized by killings, abuse, repression and economic mismanagement. During the years in power Amin made a shift in his political stand, and was backed by Libya's Gadaffi. In 1979, Amin's rule came to an end when he was toppled by former president Obote. With Tanzania as his ally he reorganized and returned his peoples to prominent positions. During the previous years insurgences had sprung up, including Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA). Obote quickly tried repressing these insurgences causing battles between his army and other insurgences (Oliver and Atmore 1994, IDMC 2004).

Museveni wanted to challenge Obote because of what he claimed to be a rigged election in 1980. Another motivation factor was the desire to represent politics that favored his people and other Southern ethnic groups after 18 years of northern rule. But the year before Museveni came to power a coup d'état of Acholi General Tito Okello put an end to the regime of Obote. However, Okello's regime turned out not to last for long, and in 1986 Museveni and NRA defeated Okello and his Acholi-dominated army (Oliver and Atmore 1994).

After Museveni became president there were several Northern rebellions which waged low level war against his regime in the Acholi region. However, in 1988 a peace accord was mediated between the rebellions and GoU. Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), with the Acholi Jospheh Kony in command, originated from another armed Acholi movement that felt marginalized by the GoU. Kony's goal is to overthrow Museveni and rule Uganda in accordance to the "ten commandments". Over the years Kony's political goals have become increasingly difficult to understand as attacks and killings by the LRA of his own tribe has been frequent (Doom and Vlassenroot 1999, IDMC 2004, UNHCR 2010, IDMC 2012a, IDMC 2012b, Store Norske Leksikon 2013a, Store Norske Leksikon 2013b). However, since the Juba Peace Talks between LRA and the GoU started in 2006 a number of agreements have

been signed and it has been relative peace in Northern Uganda. Yet, in April 2008 Kony failed to sign a final peace agreement and withdrew with his forces into the jungle of DRC (RLP et al. 2010).

2.2 Internal displacement in Uganda

"The conflict in northern Uganda is the biggest forgotten, neglected humanitarian emergency in the world today."

- *Jan Egeland, UN Undersecretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator (ReliefWeb 2003).*

After Uganda gained its independence in 1962, it has frequently suffered from civil conflicts. In addition to insurgencies, cattle raids, establishments of national parks and recurrence of natural disasters have also contributed to forced migration. It is, however, the conflict between the Government of Uganda (GoU) and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) that has caused the most widespread and protracted situation of internal displacement (IDMC and RLP 2006). Figures from 2006 reveals that only 30 000 displaced Ugandans fled outside the country (UNHCR 2006) while approximately 1, 8 million resided within the borders as internally displaced (IDMC and NRC 2013).

Two decades of conflict has brutal impact on the population in Northern Uganda. The Acholi region was particularly hard hit whereby thousands of civilians were victims of killings, mutilation, cannibalism, abductions and other atrocities. People were forced to beat, murder and eat fellow Ugandans, and many children were abducted in order to become laborers, soldiers or sex slaves (IRIN 2004). 90 % of the population in the region was relocated during the conflict, and each and every household has suffered from abduction, death, displacement, poverty, and/or illnesses, etc. (UPFI 2013).

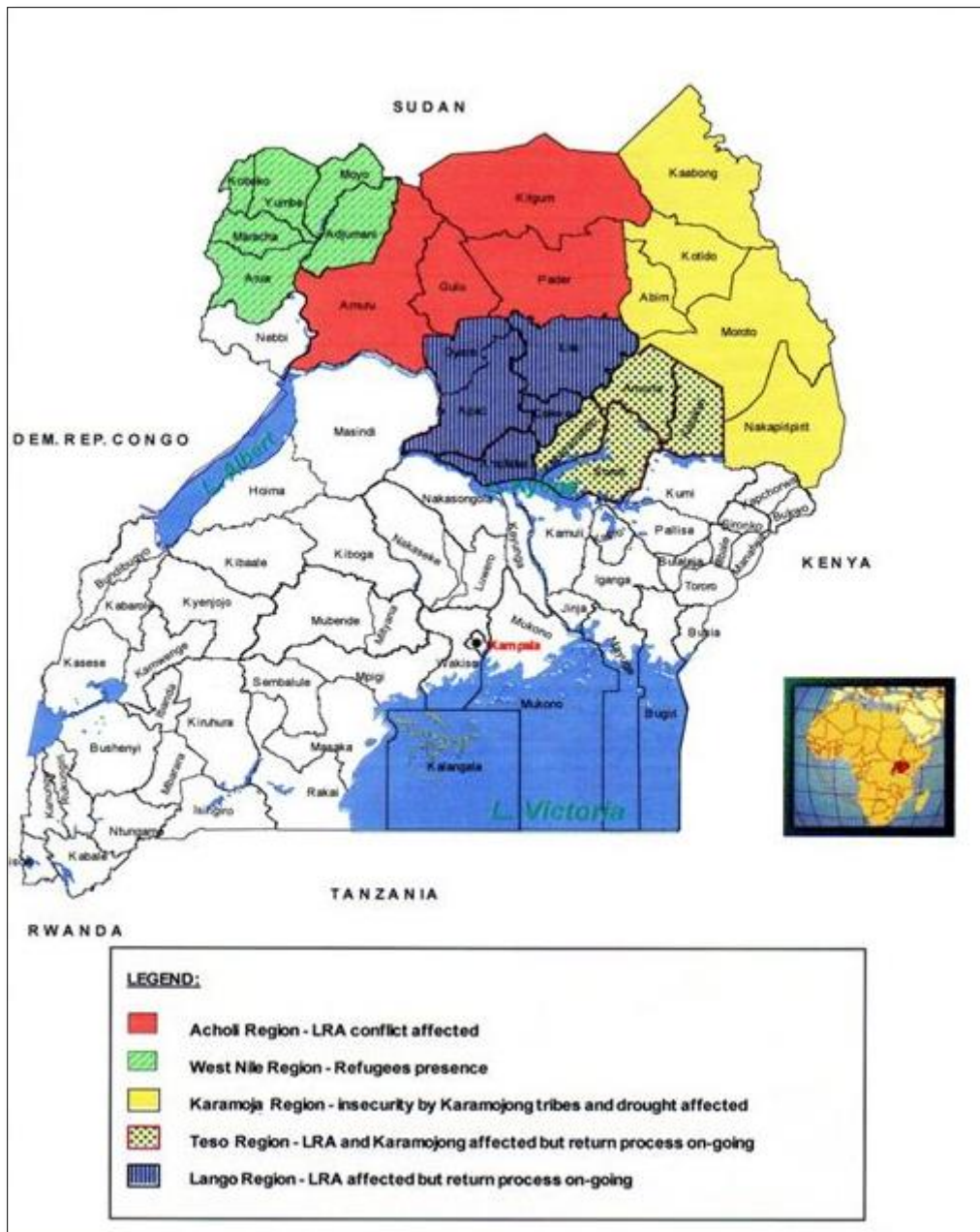


Figure 2.1: Map of districts affected by conflict in Northern Uganda (The Peace and Conflict Monitor 2010).

2.3 The post-conflict situation in Northern Uganda

The lack of recognition of the severe circumstances due to the conflict might have caused the protractedness of the conflict which lasted for more than two decades and remains the longest insurgency in Africa (RLP et al. 2009). Jan Egeland's statement in 2003 brought some attention to Northern Uganda but in spite of the increase in humanitarian assistance, the majority of the population remained displaced in 2006. They were still living under extreme

conditions in camps reliant on food aid. After his return to Northern Uganda in 2006, conditions were “totally unacceptable and intolerable”, Egeland uttered (HPN 2006). Although conditions have improved after 2008, Northern Uganda still suffers severe damage on all levels as a direct and indirect cause of the conflict. In Acholi sub-region, 90% of the population left at some point during the conflict which resulted in a shattered economy in the region. Agricultural production which used to account for 90 % of the export earnings has been hampered by insecurity. Nevertheless, recent security improvements in Northern Uganda have allowed displaced farmers to return and resume cultivation. In order to get the economy up and running again, president Museveni has introduced a policy with the purpose of reducing inflation while the production and export earnings increase. Restoration and recovery of Northern Uganda is greatly dependant on aid from international donors. In particular Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Ireland and United Kingdom had donated aid funds designated to development purposes in Northern Uganda (Dagne 2011). In fall 2012, however, it was revealed a misuse of NOK 80 millions, of which should have been funding a recovery plan, by several corrupt government officials (Regjeringen 2013). The ruling party, NRM, has never been popular among the northerners following years of marginalization (Dagne 2011). This disclosure of corruption probably did not boost the GoU’s credibility among the northerners, or any other Ugandan citizen for that matter.

The security improvement in the northern region has allowed the majority of former displaced to return. However, the scope of this movement has caused challenges in Northern Uganda as it has outpaced the development process which has been characterized by confusion among central and local governments and international actors on roles and responsibilities. A significant number of returnees have not moved back to their villages but ‘resettled’ in transit sites, smaller camp areas nearby. Also the pace of return in the different sub-regions in the north varies. In Acholi sub-region, which was hit the hardest by the conflict, only 24% of the people have returned in 2008, whilst in the Lango sub-region the majority has returned. These patterns show that the return process is complex and not simply a one-way movement from the camp to the village. Many choose to stay in the transit sites due to the access to different services which have not yet been developed in their villages of origin. Inter-mobility between the camp, the transit site and the village, however, is prominent. Although most camps have officially been closed by now, there are still people residing in there. The camps are important locations of access to clean water, schools and health services. Low quality or absence of schools in the villages has caused separation of children from their parents as they are left

behind in the camps in order to remain in school. Also, after many years of displacement, the camps have developed to be trading centers where people continue to do business after the closure of the camps. This inter-mobility has blurred the distinction between returnees and IDPs which has made interventions complicated and in turn impeded development activities in the region. Many families have delayed the departure because of lack of basic services in the villages. A tragic result of poor social service delivery took place in Lango sub-region where almost all former displaced people had returned by the end of 2007. Insufficient food supply and limited access to basic services led to an increase in malnutrition and mortality rate. Despite the harsh conditions in the camps, many people became accustomed to the basic services available there which they necessarily did not have access to prior to displacement (Oxfam 2008). With the challenges of this complex inter-mobility in mind, 30 000 Ugandans are still considered as internally displaced as of April 2013. However, this figure does not include those residing in rural host communities outside camps and in urban areas (IDMC and NRC 2013).

As people return home, land becomes an increasing issue. Most of the land found in Northern Uganda is held by customary tenure. Clans have been allocated areas of land and land distribution is managed through informal rules enforced by traditional clan structures. People have custody to land and are not necessarily considered to own it. For such a system to work it is reliant on stability in the social order on all levels. Many years of displacement has led to a diminished knowledge of customary land law including the rights of widows and orphans who count for a relatively large proportion of the northern population today. Another consequence of protracted displacement is trespassing on land. Many have returned to their village only to find someone else digging on their land. This has been a major source to feuds and disputes. The weakened formal legal structures, e.g. local councils, have also suffered from social disarray and are often corrupt. Thus, land related issues are a big challenge in post-conflict Northern Uganda (Oxfam 2008). This has in some cases led to secondary displacement (or migration) (IDMC and NRC 2013).

2.3.1 Ugandan policy framework for IDPs

The National Policy of Internally Displaced Person (the IDP Policy) was adopted as a means for ensuring the rights of IDPs in a national context in August 2007. The policy draws on the UN Guiding Principle on Internal Displacement of 1998, and aims to ensure that IDPs enjoy

the same rights under national and international laws as other Ugandans. It establishes rights of IDPs, the roles and responsibilities of various governmental and non-governmental agencies. The IDP policy attempts to integrate IDP issues into all aspects of government planning and programming (Bigirimana 2013). The policy promotes the right to voluntary return in safety and dignity but the understanding and commitment to this concept, however, has differed (UNHCR 2010).

In 2007, a planning framework, the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP) for implementation of the IDP Policy in Northern Uganda was launched. It was a three year plan with a goal to “consolidate peace and security and to lay the foundation for the recovery” from conflict and the promotion of development in Northern Uganda (GoU 2007:vii). Together with other stakeholders the GoU seek to achieve four strategic objectives 1) consolidation of state authority 2) rebuilding and empowering communities 3) revitalizing of economy and 4) peace building and reconciliation (GoU 2012). In an evaluation of the PRDP in 2011 the GoU highlighted that they were on course to achieve these objectives, though objective 1 and 2 had been more successful than the 3 and 4 (Bigirimana 2013).

At the time of launching of PRDP, the estimated cost for three years was 606 million dollars. There were, however, disagreements about this figure which later turned out to be too modest. The GoU claims economic trends overtook this figure, while Oxfam stated it was an underestimate from the very beginning. The funding mechanism of the PRDP has been confusing to funders who consequently held back on their financial commitments. This has delayed the implementation together with lacks of instructions and information to the local authorities, the main implementing (GoU 2007, Oxfam 2008).

2.4 The ‘protected villages’

In the course of the conflict more than 1, 1 million IDPs were confined into over 150 camps in the Acholi region alone (UNHCR 2010). The GoU could not manage to protect their citizens spread in villages and towns in Northern Uganda and, therefore, established IDP camps, or ‘protected villages’, in order to facilitate the army’s ability to protect them and to defeat the LRA. The challenges of protecting the IDPs in the camps were solved by establishing security zones around the camps limiting the IDPs’ mobility in that they could only move a short distance away from the camps. By moving into camps many had to make a trade-off where they gave up their freedom of movement in order to be protected. In retrospect, it turns out

that IDPs' need for protection was not fulfilled in these so-called 'protected villages' (FAFO 2005). Uganda People's Defense Forces (UPDF) barracks were established in the camps in order to ensure security and maintain peace within the camps. Despite this, the camps were frequently exposed to attacks by the LRA and other crimes (Wegner 2012). Not only did the UPDF fail to protect the IDPs, they also committed crimes themselves like rapes, beatings, torture and killings. It was revealed in reports from the camps that particularly girls and women were victims of severe human rights violations. Examples on UPDF soldiers who demanded sex from women in exchange for protection, shelter and food have been documented, and also how parents gave away their girls to marry men who in turn could provide their family with their needs (HPN 2006). In another perspective, to many Acholis, the evacuation from Northern Uganda was broadly perceived as a strategy of the GoU to deprive them from their land. Many northerners believed that they were confined in camps in order for the GoU to control the Acholis (RLP et al. 2010) – a perception that “was reinforced by the camps' continued vulnerability to attack, poor living conditions, and the UPDF harassment of the civilian population, including the restriction of movement outside of camps” (RLP et al. 2010:10). Also, land grabbing in Acholi region by powerful government officials in possible partnership with commercial farmers have reinforced the Acholis's perception of the enmity of the GoU (UPFI 2013).

Over-congested camps resulted in very poor conditions and a moral degeneration among the Acholis. Up to 72 000 people lived in a space of only one square kilometer. Families of 6-8 people lived in 1, 5 meter radius huts. The crowded condition in the camps resulted in loss of all privacy and dignity. The living conditions imposed and prevailing over years in the camp have also had severe affect on the Acholi culture in regard to value systems and family structures which have been destroyed. Humiliation and abuse have relentlessly led to high suicide rates within camps. A survey conducted in camps revealed that 85 % of the (former) encamped IDPs suffer from trauma and depression (UPFI 2013).



Figure 2.2 : Kitgum IDP camp viewd from above (photo: K. Burns, with permission from USAID).

2.5 Urban displacement in Kampala

In contrast to those confined in camps, the IDPs who fled to urban areas remained widely invisible (RLP et al. 2010). There are mainly nine slum areas in Kampala where IDPs live but the most known is Acholi Quarter in Kireka-Banda which has the highest concentration of Acholis (Refstie 2008). A report shows that many IDPs in Kampala have stayed there for two decades. These are slums with poor housing, hygiene and drainage systems (Mubangizi 2009). As mentioned earlier, due to lack of profiling, the number of urban IDPs is unknown, yet the estimates range between 300 000 and 600 000. Despite the fact that the freedom of movement is enshrined in both the Ugandan Constitution and in the National Policy of IDPs, IDPs have been penalized for having availed themselves of this right by moving to Kampala. The lack of acknowledgement of urban IDPs as IDPs has resulted in a lack of assessment of their situation in the city slums, hence, their rights and needs have been ignored for many years. Assistance has not been given to them neither in the time of conflict nor in the process of return. Officials have expressed concerns that some of those who migrated to Kampala

from Northern Uganda did so for economic reasons rather than for reasons related to the conflict. Moreover, the difficulty of identifying sincere IDPs and distinguish them from other slum dwellers has been another reason for them not wanting to embark on a profiling of urban IDPs, according to officials. In fact, the GoU have chosen not to grant organizations permission to conduct profiling of reasons such as the fear of endless claims for assistance and compensation from slum dwellers (RLP et al. 2010). The GoU's focus on control rather than rights has resulted in a big gap in policy and practice between IDPs residing in camps and those in cities (FMR 2010). Urban IDPs suffer from a general assumption that they are economically better off than encamped IDPs, and that they have reached a durable solution in the city (RLP et al. 2010). "According to the Framework for Durable Solutions, IDPs are considered to have reached a durable solution when they have either returned to their place of origin, have locally integrated in the areas in which they initially took refuge, or have settled or integrated in another part of the country and no longer have displacement-specific needs" (FMR 2010:32).

2.5.1 Acholi Quarter

Acholi Quarter is located in the suburbs of the eastern edge of the capital Kampala, in an area called Kireka-Banda. The site has got its nickname from the predominately Acholi population residing the area where it is estimated to live 10 000 people. Ever since the conflict began and people were forced into displacement in the mid-80s, a steadily in-migration of Acholis have been taken place. Some claim that the area was given to them by the Kabaka, the King of Buganda, (RLP 2008) while according to official documents the area is leased from Kireka Estates by National Housing and Construction Company (NHCC) (Refstie 2008). The uncertainty and confusion regarding the landownership is widespread among the residents which in turn leads to rumors of eviction and forced relocation. In April this year it was announced that NHCC is to construct 3000 houses in the area in order to upgrade the area which is currently considered a slum. According to the plans the estate will also have a school, a health center, a recreation center and a shopping area in addition to new roads. The first set of houses will be built for low-income households and sold to those on a mortgage scheme. However, the poor living in the slum is most likely not able to afford a mortgage or rent making their future uncertain (Sanya and Sempijja 2013).

Acholi Quarter is quite different from other slums in Kampala in sense of the physical characteristics. The settlement lies on a hill with an almost panoramic view of the city which creates a feeling of not being in a congested city slum. Because of the large extent of extraction of minerals the landscape consists of many steep hills and narrow passages which may cause disasters in terms of landslides and other deadly traps.

3.0 Theoretical perspectives and concepts

“Without theory, there is nothing to research.”

Silverman 1994:1 in Kitchin and Tate 2000:33

Theory includes a set of concepts which are useful in order to explain a particular phenomenon. My theoretical approach was developed by identifying some concepts before conducting the research. During and after the research concepts were modified, omitted and added. In this chapter I will present and discuss the theories and concepts on which I base my analysis. This will fund the basis of my understanding of the collected data and the focus of this thesis. The theories dealt with below (Norman Long’s and Anthony Richmond’s) both builds on Anthony Giddens’s theory of structuration. His conceptualization of ‘structuration’ takes account of human behavior as “constrained and enabled by the structuration processes within which degrees of freedoms of choice are limited” (Richmond 1988:20). Most political actors operate with categorizations of internally displaced and homogenize individuals who act and react differently to particular circumstances; they see the individual as abstract, and ignore the embedded knowledge, values and traditions (Cohen and Deng 1998, Long 2001). By using actor-oriented perspectives I acknowledge the dynamics and interaction between the IDPs and the enabling and constraining structures they relate to. In the last part of this chapter I present the concepts of home and identity which I use in order to deal with my research questions. Lastly, a triad linking the main concepts of this thesis, movement, home and identity, is being illustrated.

3.1 Actor-oriented perspectives

The actor-oriented perspectives developed as a critical response to both the structuralist focus and the individualist focus, which tend to focus on either external or internal factors and how it influences and determines the actors’ actions. The actor-oriented perspectives, however, emphasize “the interplay and mutual determination of ‘internal’ and ‘external’ factors, and relationships, and which recognizes the central role played by human action and consciousness” (Long 2001:13). Structuralists claim that development will happen on the expense of the poor and those who fall behind or out of the process. When this happens it will

create an uneven web of economic and political relations. Thus, a development process will only benefit the strongest and richest, while those who fall behind will be forced into “cooperation” where they have little or no power to make decisions regarding their own lives, and, consequently, reduce their autonomy. Norman Long argues that it is not theoretically satisfactory to base one’s analysis solely on external determination (Long 2001).

The recognition of interplay between agency and structures is crucial in actor-oriented approaches in order to understand human action. Both opportunities and limitations to the actors involved are evident in this very complex interplay. Individuals are active actors, not passive recipients, who are conscious and respond differently to similar external and structural circumstances. The actors perceive these circumstances in various ways, and strategize and act based on those perceptions. Thus, it is not possible to generalize social change simply due to the fact that similar structural circumstances will influence actors individually and make them act in different ways (Long 2001).

Long deals with the concept of the ‘social actor’ and explain how it is different from the ‘individual’. The former is social entities in possession of agency which can be individual actors, networks, organizations, collective groupings, etc. A social actor is socially constructed and reflects lifestyles, cultural forms and rationalities existing in a society which Long refers to as discourses. In a social setting there are certain discourses. These discourses vary, and form “frameworks” of knowledge and action within a society. These discourses, or frameworks, are shared by people to lesser or greater extent. Actors in a society utilize the available discourses “in their search for order and meaning, and which they themselves play... a part in affirming or restructuring. Hence the strategies and cultural constructions employed by individuals do not arise out of the blue but are” (Long 2001:18) reflecting the available discourses in the particular social setting. Because social life always is based on a variety of discourses, actors always have alternative ways of to act. Thus, the individual is, through social constructions, transformed into a social actor (Long 2001).

An important concept in actor-oriented perspectives is ‘agency’. According to Long, “agency refers to knowledgeability, capability and social embeddedness associated” with the actions and reflections that shape individual’s actions and interpretations (Long 2001:241). Thus, individuals are capable and possess knowledge about their own situation, and based on that they are able to process experience and find ways of coping with life even under extremely constraining circumstances. Furthermore, agency can only be effective through social

relations, and networks of actors that are crucial to utilize one's agency. "The ability to influence others ...rests fundamentally on the actions of a chain of agents each of whom "translates" it in accordance with his/her own" needs and strategic actions (Latour 1986: 264 in Long 2001: 17). Thus, agency includes manipulation of networks of social relations, where the influences (e.g. claims, orders, information) to which the other actors get exposed to are items of interpretation and interaction (Long 2001).

It is important to note that agency is not a constant and universal concept. Agency needs to be understood within a cultural context. Knowledgeability and capability needs to be culturally interpreted to give the notion of agency a fulfilled meaning. In Long (2001), Strathern exemplifies how agency is constructed differently in an African culture, compared to Melanesian culture, where knowledge, power and prestige are attached to a person more or less permanently, and where personhood is tied to people's statuses and roles which "are viewed as influencing others by virtue of their positional relationship to them" (Long 2001:19).

Long also uses the concept of actor's 'life worlds' which he describes as the social world of a particular individual. Such worlds contain norms and values which are products of the individual's own processed reflections of and responses to relationships and experiences, and which are largely taken for granted in the everyday life. Actors' life worlds must not be understood as a cultural context in which conditions for thoughts and actions are shaped. Rather, a life world is a dynamic concept where the individual is continuously evaluating his/her actions through social interplay. Thus, actors actively, and continuously, construct and re-construct their own life world which is determining how he/she relates to a social setting. Recognizing and understanding individual's life world is important when one wants to understand the significance of external and structural forces at a local level.

Social interface is an important concept defined as a "critical point of intersection between different life worlds...where discontinuities exists based on discrepancies in values, interests, knowledge and power. More concretely, they characterize social situations wherein the relationship between actors become oriented around the problem of devising ways of "bridging", accommodating, or contesting each others' different social and cognitive worlds" (Long 2001:198 in Shanmugaratnam et al. 2003:12). Such situations may lead to interruptions and changes of actor's perceptions and interests, and so their life world.

As indicated in this section, there is a multiplicity of rationalities, desires, capacities and practices. Therefore, “social action and interpretations are context-specific and contextually generated” (Long 2001:50). One cannot ‘blackbox’ actors by categorize them, analyze them as one unit, and then achieve ‘true’ knowledge about their thoughts and actions (Long 2001). I need to get a grasp of and try to understand the IDPs’ perceptions, experiences, interests, and norms and values. This will give me an impression of how their life world is, and, further, how it is shaped through social interfaces. By studying situations where social interfaces occur I may be able to understand how the IDPs’ perceptions and interests reshape, and, consequently, continuously encounter ‘new’ interfaces. Thus, the concept of interface is especially useful in my study of a migration situation (Shanmugaratnam et. al 2003).

3.2 Migration theory

Migration cannot be dealt with by classifying migrants and their reasons for migrating. Already in 1958, William Petersen criticized the current migration theory and argued for an establishment of the central concepts and the interrelation between them. Further he suggests that migration cannot be analyzed “in terms of non-cultural, physiological factors, but must be differentiated with respect to relevant social conditions” (Petersen 1958:256). Although we have moved on from denoting academics’ statements as ‘laws’ (e.g. Ravenstein’s laws of migration), migration issues are still, to a great extent, dealt with based on classification and categorizations by drawing hard lines between types of migrants, causes, purposes, etc. (Petersen 1958). As I will show with the model below, migrants move across categories and factors influencing their migration changes in the course of the migration process. This draws on Norman Long’s theory on how there is reciprocal interplay between actors and structures.

3.2.1 Richmond’s reactive-proactive model

Richmond developed a theory and a model which shows a scale of proactive and reactive migration. On the vertical axis you find proactive migrants in the one end, typically professionals, retired people, and returnees and in the other end of the axis you find reactive migrants such as refugees and slaves. Those types of migrants have limited degree of freedom to choose, and include persons reacting to crisis caused by war, conflict, famine, economic collapse and other types of disasters. On the horizontal axis you find the degree of structural constraints and structural facilitations (Richmond 1993). “...that includes economic, political,

social, environmental and bio-psychological influences on individual and collective behavior giving rise to a process of structuration” (Richmond 1993:11), e.g. how these factors influences social relations among migrants, and between migrants and non-migrants.

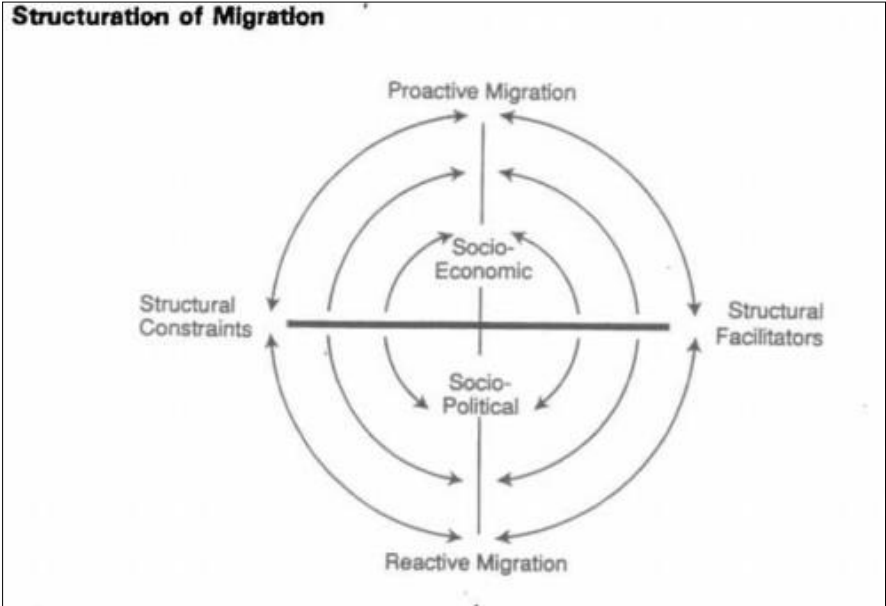


Figure 3.1: Richmond’s model of structuration of migration (Richmond 1993)

Reactive migrants are often exemplified by refugees, but as Richmond argues, IDPs fall under the same category, despite the fact that they do not cross an international state border and are not included in laws and conventions concerning refugees. They are often under the same circumstances but are reacting differently. The economic, political, social, bio-psychological and environmental factors influencing migrants usually occur in combination, or one leads to another. This is illustrated in Figure 3.2, together with the distinction between predisposing factors, structural constraints, precipitating events, enabling circumstances and system feedback (Richmond 1993).

Predisposing factors can be inequalities of wealth and resources between or within countries and regions. This increases the likelihood of migrants to move. Structural constraints are typically border controls, lack of state obligations to refugees and IDPs and state policies protecting own interests. Precipitating events entails unexpected and rapid changes in the economy or in the political, social and environmental situation, i.e. war, outbreaks of oppositional group activity, natural disasters (Richmond 1993). Generally, such an event “disrupts the normal functioning of the system and thus destroys the capacity of a population

to survive under prevailing conditions” (Richmond 1993:16). Sometimes enabling circumstances are necessary to generate reactive migration. Such circumstances may be relaxed border control after a collapse of a dictatorial regime, relaxed entry requirements,

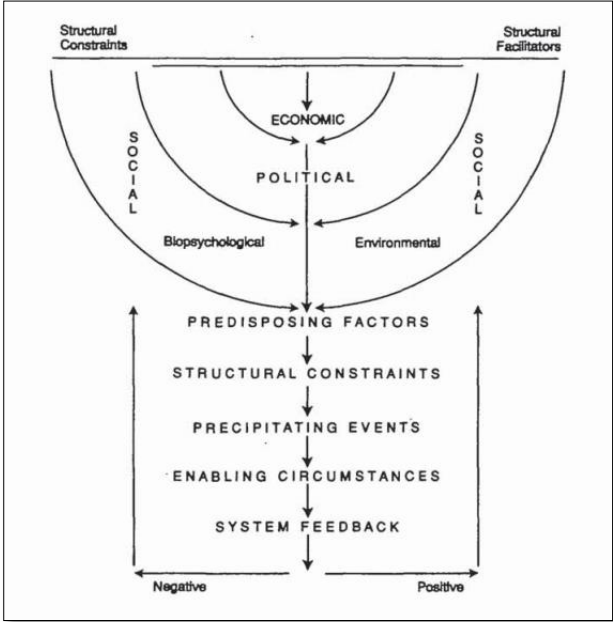


Figure 3.2: Richmond’s multivariate model of reactive migration (Richmond 1993).

establishments of refugee camps, implications of beneficial rights and policies, etc. The structuration processes occurring due to reactive migration have both negative and positive feedback effects on the relevant societies “and on the global system of which they are a part” (Richmond 1993:17). System feedback can for instance be restricting further arrivals after a rapid growth of reactive migrants to a country or area which is considered threatening to the stability of the host country or community (Richmond 1993).

3.3 Identity

Identity is shaped by social processes, and when crystallized it is maintained, modified and reshaped by experiences and social relations and change. An important factor shaping our identity is the social structure of our reality, but, on the contrary, also identities influence the social structure in different ways (Berger and Luckmann 2006). Judith Butler understands identity as a reflection of norms which exists within discourses, thus identities are formed in these. Yet, she ignores the impact of the individual’s agency in terms of “lived history, intersubjective relationships, and embeddedness in particular historical memories and places”

(Brun 2008:36). This understanding is in accordance to Norman Long's perception on the interrelation between the social actor and the relevant discourses as discussed above. A person, or a social actor, can utilize the different discourses in a society which can be considered to reflect his or her multiple identities. Furthermore, these identities can be used as a means for maneuvering in the everyday.

Collective identity is typically understood as individual's sense of belonging to a specific group based on culture, religion, ethnicity, gender, political stance, etc. We can feel a sense of belonging to different groups or collectives depending on what is relevant in the setting (Hylland Eriksen 2001, Jenkins 2007). Thomas Hylland Eriksen talks about identity as situational and absolute. Ethnicity, for example, in the daily life can be irrelevant. He uses the Norwegian-Americans in the United States as an example, where their identity only is an issue a few days a year during celebrations and rituals. The other days their ethnicity is not an issue. On the contrary, in some situations identity, and especially ethnic identity, is explicitly an issue. Ethnicity is a typical basis for categorization of people. Sometimes stereotyping and categorizing of groups causes the need to negotiate identities which can be regarded as a struggle between different views of relevancy (Hylland Eriksen 2007). In this sense it is useful to address Stuart Hall's distinction between identity and identification. He understands the latter as how society categorizes and pigeonholes people through recognition and misrecognition which, in turn, enable people to differentiate between who belongs and does not belong in a certain context (Brun 2008). This theory can be linked to migrant categorization as discussed above, and show that the way migrants see themselves and the way those defining them, such as host population, humanitarian actors, etc., see them do not necessarily correspond. Furthermore, Cathrine Brun argues:

“Ideas of identification and recognition are useful in the context of the emergence and meaning of the of the categories of IDP and host, and the effects of these categories in the negotiations over identity, belonging and the right to places” (Brun 2008:35).

Similarly, Richard Jenkins distinguishes between a 'group' and a 'category' as he argues that the former is an internal understanding on our own group identity, while the latter is an identity defined by others, outside our group, and which is imposed on us through a process of categorization. The group that is in the position to impose categories on others is usually those who holds the power, the majority or those who are representing the dominant 'referent culture' – often these factors concur (Jenkins 2003, Jenkins 2007, Koskela 2010). Identity

orientations refer to whether we use the internal or external environment in order to identify our self. With a personal identity orientation we use self-knowledge and self-analysis when defining our identity, while if social identity oriented it is the interactions with others that define our identity. A collective identity orientation is characterized by the use of a membership of a group as a means to define our identity (Carducci 2009). Jenkins talks about what he calls the internal-external dialectic which he uses to argue for the interaction between external and internal definitions of one self and how it shapes our identity. We should not underestimate the impact of others' definition on how we define ourselves. It is simply not enough to assert our identity; it must also be validated, or recognized, by those we deal with (Jenkins 2007). In this sense, we should also consider the power and politics of the processes of identity definitions. A majority or powerful institutions have great impact on defining groups and is often in a position to impose categories (Piacentini 2008).

Hylland Eriksen discusses the fundamental structure of ethnicity. It is not agreed whether ethnic identity is the basis of ethnic organization or the other way around. Abner Cohen in Hylland Eriksen (2007) argues that identity and the feeling of togetherness is created by social and political processes, particularly if groups are competing over scarce resources, hence ethnic organization is fundamental to ethnicity. Alternatively, some will claim that political organizations, for example, sponge on the ethnic we-feeling, so in this sense ethnic identity is the foundation.

Ones' sense of identity and belonging does not always correlate. Sometimes one may feel a sense of belonging and acceptance but not necessarily identify, and on the other hand, one may identify but not feel accepted and that one belong. Anthias problematizes the notion of identity by addressing the issue of multiple or multilayered identities which is highly applicable in the context of migration and translocation. Instead of treating identity in an exclusively social context, one should also emphasize the spatial aspect of identity and focus on location and positionality (Anthias 2007).

“Positionality refers to placement within a set of relations and practices that implicate identifications and ‘performativity’ or action. It combines a reference to social position (...as outcome) and social positioning (...as process). As such, it is an intermediate concept between objectivism and subjectivism, inhabiting a space between social constructionism and approaches that stress agency (Anthias 2002:501-502).

Thus, positionality is the intersection where structure meets agency and entails both processes of self-identification and social-identification. Translocational positionality is, according to Anthias, a good means for dealing with issues related to belonging. She argues that such issues can adequately only be addressed within a context and with recognition of variability in the sense that some processes lead “to more complex, contradictory and at times dialogical positionalities than others”, and this is what Anthias means by ‘translocational’ (Anthias 2002:502).

3.4 Home

A home is usually connected to a built form such as a house which provides people with shelter. More importantly in the setting of this thesis, home is a place where one can feel secure and centered and which expresses people’s sense of self to less or greater extent depending on class, gender, ethnicity, etc. Moreover, a series of feelings and attachments are embedded in the concept of home which is a complex matter of spatialities. In the 1970s and 1980s, however, the theoretical framework of human geography was mainly based on Marxism which to great extent ignored the concept of home and found it irrelevant in such studies. This view changed when the human geographers promoted the importance of home in terms of comfort, belonging and as a grounding of identity (Blunt and Dowling 2006). In their book, Blunt and Dowling refer to Dovey who argues that home “indicates a very special relationship between people and their environment, a relationship through which they make sense of their world” (Blunt and Dowling 2006:11). A sense of place, however, can be both positive and negative whereby the former creates a sense of belonging while the latter leads to feelings of a lack of belonging to a place (Attanapola 2006). According to Tuan in Holloway and Hubbard (2001), we need to know a place intimately in order to develop a sense of place, e.g. home. Furthermore, the intimate knowledge required is gained over a long period of time. Eventually we will feel deep emotional ties to the place, making it an extension of us as individuals (Holloway and Hubbard 2001). However, Malkki stresses that we must not ignore “the multiplicity of attachments that people form to places through living in, remembering, and imagining them” (Malkki 1997a:71-71 in Brun 2008:28).

“In so far as a nation state system exists, a highly territorialized sense of place and an essentialist notion of home remain the reality in policy and in practice [Thus,] the

challenge to policy makers is to incorporate in repatriation initiatives refugees' [and IDPs'] own meanings, perceptions and expectations of home (Tete 2009:52, 57).

The essentialist understanding of place and, in turn, home is criticized as not taking the increasing mobility of people into consideration. Mobility does not mean that people lose their culture or their identity, even in the case of forced migrants who are often seen as being victims of 'uprootedness'. They do not become powerless because they have to flee for any reason. As stated before, we should, however, be careful with romanticizing displacement as refugees and IDPs are individuals who experience their situation differently (Brun 2008). home does not necessarily mean the same to all IDPs as all people do not have similar experiences of a place (Attanapola 2006). The notion of home can vary depending on age, gender, role, etc., and is a complex matter (Porteous and Smith 2001). Also, understandings of home can shift in the course of a given setting, e.g. protracted displacement, meaning it is a dynamic concept influenced by a variation of factors (Blunt and Dowling 2006).

When thinking about the past it is often the memories of home and childhood which come to our mind. According to Tuan, it is often difficult to apply the word home in the present reality of life, and is more applicable when talking about the past, or even the future. Social change can often lead to intense nostalgia, and is usually strongest during periods of significant change of the social or physical environment surrounding us (Porteous and Smith 2001). As a result of increasing mobility, "nostalgia for home has become endemic" (Porteous and Smith 2001:40). Moreover, idealization is often entailed in nostalgia, such as an ideal image of home. "Home can also become embodiments of fantasies, the manifestation of an ideal that is realistic or not and, as such, provide a place of escape..."(Porteous and Smith 2001:40).

3.5 Operationalizing and linking theories

The widespread character of sociopolitical causes for forced migration has resulted in victimization of so-called forced migrant populations. They are often approached and represented as passive and traumatized victims rather than actors struggling to overcome victimization (Korac 2009). In my study I aim to show that the IDPs have and practice their agency in order to make the best of the situation even in extremely limiting circumstances. In order to answer my first sets of research questions on why and how IDPs migrated to Kampala and the adopted strategies, it will be useful to get an understanding of how they

perceive their situation in terms of what they find constraining and enabling. Hence, I will explore the dynamics of agency and structures. Anthony Richmond's approach recognizes the interplay between agency and structures, and allows me to study the factors influencing a reactive migrant such as an IDP (Birkeland 2003), and also how the degree of force change over time. I will focus on the multivariate model of reactive migration Figure 3.2 because IDPs are considered to fall below the horizontal axis, although there is no hard line dividing proactive and reactive migrants. The model is useful in order to understand why and under what circumstances people move, thus, how their lives are determined by enabling and constraining structures. Clearly, this approach is inspired by actor-oriented perspectives and correlates well with Norman Long's theoretical approach which recognizes the dynamics of change and 'agency' (Long 2001).

An actor-oriented approach recognizes the individuality embedded in people in terms of values, knowledge, experiences, etc., and rejects categorizations and generalizations. Nevertheless, political and humanitarian actors dealing with internal displacement tend to draw on categories, e.g. IDPs. Behind such categories lies an assumption that being an IDP entails the same in every society and to every IDP. The passive image of IDPs does not consider the embedded individuality which influences how IDPs perceive themselves and their situation. Such categorization of IDPs also indicates that their status as IDPs is determining how they identify themselves. This is a deceptive assumption as everyone, including IDPs, has multiple identities from which he/her defines his/herself. One needs to consider the fact that the IDP had perceptions of him/herself also prior to the current situation as displaced. Hence, he/she acts based on these different social categories or identities. How the IDPs define themselves and how they are being defined by others will be useful in dealing with the matter of social positionality. Moreover, micro-macro processes which have shaped and reshapes their identities must be uncovered in order to make sense of them. Such processes also include policy narratives, host population narratives as well as personal experiences and perceptions.

In an IDP situation, one which is generally perceived as consisting of constraints rather than enabling possibilities, it is particularly interesting to know how individual IDPs, and collective groups such as the Acholis, practice their 'agency', thus, how they strategize to overcome their predicament. In order to do so I need to identify their knowledgeability, capabilities and social embeddedness which are influencing their actions and how they interpret and experience these actions. It will be necessary for me to get knowledge on what

they do (or not) and how they perceive these actions, for what reason and purpose. Social network is a no less important factor in practicing agency, and in a situation such of the IDPs in Kampala where networks and familial and cultural structures are likely to have changed in accordance to their migration process, it is particularly interesting to explore the impact of networks on their lives. It will be essential to get a wide understanding of the processes of social change the IDPs experience which constantly influence their social identities, values and knowledge. IDPs' migration process have inevitably impacted their agency but also their 'life world' is an important part of the IDPs' everyday, in fact it is determining how a person thinks and acts. As a researcher I need to assess how the IDPs respond to external structures and how they rationalize their actions and thoughts within the surroundings (Long 2001).

A situation of displacement means one has been forced to move from the place of origin to another. Accordingly, it is a situation characterized by rupture and change and where social discontinuities exists in terms of "discrepancies in values, interests, knowledge and power" (Shanmugaratnam et al. 2003:12). In this view, the concept of 'social interface' is relevant. The IDPs' social worlds will frequently encounter with other people's social worlds and in turn reshape perceptions, interests and relationships (Shanmugaratnam et al. 2003). In order to identify these social interfaces I need to get a grasp of what their values, interests, knowledge and powers are and how a reshaping of these have come about in the course of their displacement. An insight into the IDPs' lives and culture before they came to Kampala as well as their current lives will therefore be essential in this case.

In order to understand the parts of the processes of forced displacement in the case of urban IDPs in Kampala I believe non-essentialist concepts of 'identity' and home are required in addition to the above theories. I will use these concepts as a means to answer my second set of research questions which seeks to explore notions of home and identity and its implications on solutions.

The concept of home is particularly important since political and humanitarian actors' main focus is on the right to return home. However, the political and humanitarian notion of home may not correspond with the one of the local actors, in this case the urban IDPs. As discussed above, we need to abandon the essentialist notion of home and rather recognize the dynamics of the concept and the IDPs' different perceptions of home. A perception may naturally be reshaped in line with the processes of change IDPs go through during a migration process. In this sense it will be important to know the IDPs' own meaning, perception and expectations of

home as this is likely to affect how they perceive their situation. Their memories of the place of origin, future aspirations as well as their perceptions of the current ‘homes’ will be vital in order to understand home in this context. Moreover, a sense of home and identity is inevitably interlinked. By using identity as a concept in my analysis I want to see how the IDPs’ individual and collective identities have been shaped and reshaped through the migration process. In order to do so I will have to get a grasp of the discourses, or the norms, they relate to, their experiences of negative and positive sense of place and home, and other people’s perceptions of the IDPs. Also, how they perceive themselves in relation to others will be of importance in this sense.

My chosen approach includes different theoretical concepts which can explain the migration process. The model outlined below (Figure 3.3) visualizes the interconnectedness of the subtopics in my analysis, home, identity and movement are all influential factors in creating and shaping the migrant’s perceptions and experiences, hence, how they practice their agency. Migration theory enables me to understand how the IDPs’ movement was initiated and motivated, and moreover the changing characteristic of such a process. Theories on home will provide insight into the home-making process in a displacement situation and how a notion of home is shaped. While theories on identity will shed light on how people relate to places and people in a migration process. The individual migrant is maneuvering in a nexus of the notion of home, the notion of identities and movement.

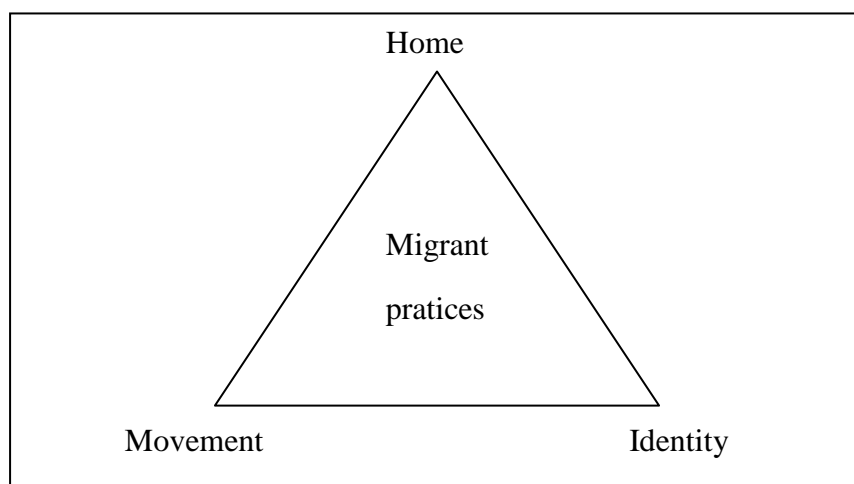


Figure 3.3: The interconnectedness of home, identity, movement and migrant.

4.0 Methodology

Methodology can be denoted as principles and practices used to acquire knowledge of particular phenomena (Kitchin and Tate 2000). As my study concerns internal displacement where I seek to explore migrants' practices, experiences and perceptions of their situation, I will naturally use a qualitative approach. In this chapter I will present and discuss the qualitative methods used in the study, and also describe the fieldwork process. Finally, reflections on the fieldwork process will be addressed.

4.1 Qualitative methods

By emphasizing human meanings and experiences we acknowledge the subjectivity of knowledge (Tete 2011b). The complexities this acknowledgement involves resulted in that geographers started drawing on ethnographic methods. Ethnographic methods were incorporated into human geography in the 1970s as a critique to quantified human geography. Positivist geographers overlooked "the complexities of different people's experiences of everyday social and cultural processes" (Crang and Cook 2011:7). Ethnographers adapted a variety of methods such as participant observation, in-depth interview and focus group discussion as means to achieve a holistic approach to their research. These methods help us to understand people's experiences and everyday lives (Crang and Cook 2011).

Qualitative methods allow in-depth interviews and group discussion which I believe is the best way to attain in-depth knowledge about IDPs perceptions and experiences regarding their situation of displacement (Flowerdew and Martin 2005) . These methods correspond well to my theoretical framework which involves theories and concepts acknowledging the importance of actor narratives as presented in Chapter 3. One cannot acquire knowledge on practices, identities and experiences by "blackboxing" groups of people. Each individual has his or her own life world and relates differently to settings (Long 2001). Nevertheless, the knowledge I acquired in the field is subjective, and influenced and shaped by the social relations between the actors involved, for example the researcher-informant relationship (Thagaard 2009).

4.2 Establishing a network

As Crang and Cook (2011) state, the first step in such a study is to develop contacts in the (physical and academic) area of interest. The fieldwork was conducted in Kampala, Uganda over a period of three months, from August to beginning November 2012. My initial plan was to focus on IDPs living in Acholi Quarter which was finally decided on when I found my “gatekeeper”. I am aware that the time constraints of the semester required less time than what may be ideal for this kind of field study. I feel, however, I managed to collect valuable data within the limited time of fieldwork and utilize these in my discussion and then to come up with a conclusion. The reader must of course keep in mind the implications of the limitation of time may have on the result. For example, the interviews were done in one session as I did not have time to follow up with more and in this way could not revalidate or cross-check the information given to me.

Having been in Kampala the year before I knew to some extent what was expecting me when I arrived. However, the process and the outcome of the fieldwork itself were hard to predict. Before going to Uganda I had no particular organization to work with as I had hoped. Despite the fact I had been in contact with an organization beforehand I struggled to get in touch with them when I came to Uganda. I sent e-mails to several other organizations I thought could be working with urban IDPs issues or something alike. Most of the e-mails bounced back and addresses were obviously no longer in use, neither were most phone numbers I found on the Internet. The initial phase of my fieldwork was definitely the most difficult and stressful one as I struggled to find potential contacts and “gatekeepers”.

Conducting research in Uganda requires a research permit approved by the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST). My first challenge started when the UNCST required I had a local institution of affiliation. As I had a strong desire to work with one particular organization I used a lot of time on phone calls, visiting their office and preparation for meetings and writing internship application. If I got an internship they would handle the research permit and be my institution of affiliation. After a failed attempt to communicate with them I figured I had to find another solution. With a little guidance from my supervisor I eventually contacted the Department of Geography at Makerere University which kindly helped me with the research application process.

The person who eventually gave me access to my study area, Acholi Quarter, was a former colleague I worked with last time I was in Uganda. I met him coincidentally at the office where

we used to work together where he told me about a new project he was working on located near Acholi Quarter. Agreeing on meeting the coming week I visited the project which is part of a bigger organization called Life in Africa (LiA). They work with women from Acholi Quarter who make paper bead products and jewelry which LiA sells abroad. Their office is a house with a fairly big compound where the women meet, usually every Friday, for social interaction and other activities. My former colleague introduced me to the manager who gladly welcomed me to use the office building as meeting place for my interviews and discussions. We figured the office is a good place since many IDPs living in the Acholi Quarter are familiar with the place.

4.3 Sampling

My initial plan was to talk to people who recently had moved from an IDP camp to Kampala. Although I asked some of my informants where I could find these people, they seemed almost impossible to identify. Instead I interviewed both IDPs who had lived in camps and those who had not. A qualitative study does not require big samples. Moreover, the point is not to find a representative sample but an illustrative sample (Flowerdew and Martin 2005). During my fieldwork I interviewed 10 women and 9 men who originated from Northern Uganda but now lived in Acholi Quarter (see Appendix 2), in addition I talked to other actors and representatives related to IDPs. Another interesting source was the boda boda drivers (moped taxi drivers) who I had many talks with as we were driving to Acholi Quarter or other places. Naturally, I also got in discussions with my local friends about IDPs and their situation. The last two months of the fieldwork I also lived with an Acholi woman who grew up in Kampala who told me about her experiences.

There are many areas in Kampala which have a high density of urban IDPs but I chose the Acholi Quarter because it was the one I had read most about and is the most prominent IDP area in Kampala. I also assumed that there were almost only Acholi people living there which later proved not to be all correct. In addition, Acholi Quarter was not far from where I stayed during my fieldwork. In the process of the interview phase I considered doing interviews in another IDP dense area in Kampala as it would be interesting to know if they have notable different experiences and perceptions than my informants in Acholi Quarter. I concluded that this would require a whole new establishment of a contact network which I felt required more time than I had at my disposal. Consequently, it is possible that my findings might be

relatively unilateral. In addition to the field study I did in Kampala it would be interesting to visit the villages up north where my informants originate from, and want to return to. This might possibly have given me a more holistic understanding by discovering new relevant information on my topic. Regretfully, I found it too time consuming to establish the contacts I needed and to travel to Northern Uganda.

Before I arrived in Uganda I was confident that I would find an organization which could help me find informants and from then I planned to use “snowballing”¹. The former went as planned but since my translator was from Acholi Quarter and part of the IDP community I did not have to use “snowballing”. Most of the female informants were women who I had met at the Friday meetings at the LiA office. It was suggested by the manager of LiA that I could interview some of the women. Later, when the translator job was assigned to one of the women at the meeting it was her who mobilized my informants. This may have had implications for the material collected in the field as she might have chosen informants who shared her opinion. The information given to me in the field was to some extent biased. On the other hand, different perspectives were presented to me during the interviews, particularly in the interviews which allowed an immersion into specific topics. I informed my translator I wanted ten women and ten men. She then identified the informants and arranged interview sessions with each of them. This was a “purposive sampling” in a sense that my informants were able to contribute to the understanding of my research questions (Bui 2009).

Approximately half of my IDP informants spoke English, while all spoke their native language of Acholi.

Informants representing organizations and local groups were chosen both intentionally and randomly. Meetings with one of the organizations were arranged in advance over phone calls and e-mails after having been put in contact with them by a colleague. Others I met randomly at meetings where IDP related organizations and groups were represented. At these meetings all spoke English. I find it difficult to categorize my IDP informants based on the information they gave me but perhaps the most obvious distinction can be made between men and women. Moreover, young, and mainly unmarried, women can be categorized as another group of informants who tended to have similar response. In the tables below, basic characteristics of my informant are presented. For a more detailed overview see Appendix 2.

¹ “Snowballing” is when the researcher use one informant to introduce him to the next and in this way builds up layers of informants (Flowedew and Martin 2005).

Male IDP informants in Acholi Quarter					
Age	Marital status	Years in camp	Years in K'la	Work	Perception of home
21	Married	10	3 months	No job	Owning land
29	Married	-	12 (on/off)	Odd jobs Paper beads	Owning land and cattle
34	Married 4 children	2	15	Paper cutting Stone quarry	Economic freedom
39	Married X child	0	18	Stone quarry	Place of birth "Where your people are"
42	Married X child	9	5 months	No job	Freedom; access to food, water, medicine, land
44	Married 8 children	0	26	Security guard	Owning land
45	Divorced	0	10	Security guard Paper cutting	"Where your people are"
50	Married 8 children	0	23 (on/off)	Odd jobs Stone quarry	Freedom
55	Married 16 children	0	55	No job	Relatives

Female IDP informants in Acholi Quarter					
Age	Marital status	Years in camp	Years in K'la	Work	Perception of home
25	Married	14	3	Paper beads Tailoring	Owning land
25	Single 3 children	Few months	9	Paper beads	-
26	Married 2 children	5	-	Paper beads Tailoring	-
27	Married 3 children	0	10 →	Paper beads Stone quarry	Freedom Safe surroundings
30	Divorced 1 children	13	13	Stone quarry Tailoring	Relatives Place of origin
30	Married 5 children	1	15	Stone quarry Paper beads	Place of birth Motherland
33	Married 6 children	0	22	Stone quarry Paper beads	Place of origin
40	Widowed 5 children	1	13	Stone quarry Paper beads	Place of birth "Where your people are" Owning land and cattle
43	Married 9 children	0	211	Stone quarry Paper beads	Motherland No discrimination
45	Divorced 6 children	2	20	Stone quarry Paper beads	Owning land Relatives Place of birth

Figure 4.1: An overview of IDP informants showing the basic characteristics.

4.4 Observation

When doing observation the aim is to get an understanding of how the informants live, act and relate to each other in their natural environment. There are different forms of observation. Participating observation is when the researcher lives among his or her informants and tries to participate in their daily activities on an equal footing as them (Thagaard 2009, Crang and Cook 2011). Non-participating observation is a more passive method where the researcher goes to the field to observe on a daily basis, and then later go back to her or his own environment. During observations the researcher is able to study the informant's actions and relations among those living there in their environment. However, the presence of the researcher might be influencing the informants in various ways (Thagaard 2009). I started out with non-participating observation which took place throughout my fieldwork.

Learning the activities carried out in the culture or society can improve the researcher's role. If the researcher is perceived to have a higher position than those studied, he/she may be tested before getting accepted (Thagaard 2009). An example on the latter I got one day I was walking around in the Acholi Quarter talking to some people who worked at a stone quarry. I drew a lot of attention when I started talking to a young woman having her lunch break. Workers asked me if I was hungry and whether I had ever tasted rice and beans. Some threw comments in Acholi and laughed. After a lot of commenting and laughing I was offered to have a taste from the young woman's plate, probably checking if a white woman would eat such food. I ate a couple of spoonfuls to their amusement, and even got applauded. After that I felt they were more interested in talking to me and curious about what I was doing there. Walking around in Acholi Quarter observing people and their activities I felt I got a more holistic picture of the urban IDPs' situation. Seeing the danger and the harm in working on the stone quarries and the fellowship amongst the IDPs also gave me an impression on how their everyday life is and the hardship they are experiencing in the city.

In retrospect, one of the most important parts of my fieldwork was my presence at the Friday meetings. Every Friday I went to LiA's office where some of the Acholi women used to meet in the afternoon to make paper bead products and record their savings. Initially I was hoping that they would get used to my presence and that I could join their conversations. They mostly spoke Acholi to each other so it was hard for me to know what they were talking about. Accordingly, I was just sitting there folding and rolling paper beads with them, and

sometimes talked to a couple of the women whose English was adequate enough to do so. Some of these women later became my informants.

4.5 Interview

Observation is often combined with interviews(Thagaard 2009). Interviewing is the primary tool used in qualitative research; from structured interviews to semi-structured and unstructured “conversations” (Crang and Cook 2011).This is a suitable method for gaining information on how the informant experience and perceive himself or herself and his or her surroundings (Thagaard 2009). Unstructured or semi-structured interviews are described as a conversation with a purpose, letting the informants describe and explain their lives in their own way. These kinds of interviews also open for discussion and topics that the researcher may not have thought of but which are relevant for the study. During an interview the researcher may also perceive the informant’s body language and tone of the voice while talking. However, if the researcher is from another culture and/or is not familiar with the language it is difficult to give an objective interpretation - if that is an aim (Flowerdew and Martin 2005). I mainly conducted semi-structured interviews using my prepared questions as a guide (see Appendix 1) which easily could lead to the informant talking freely and I got new interesting information.

For my two first interviews I mostly kept my note book closed as I hoped it would make the situation less formal and since it was my first time to do this kind of fieldwork I wanted to get the feeling of how it was. I also wanted to be more open to what topics the informants were willing to talk more about and whether there were some questions or topics they were more reticent about. Even though I tried to make the situation informal and be more like a conversation, it was me asking the questions and them answering. My translator was sitting next to us elaborating on some topics where he thought I should know more. The informant knew some English but probably felt more comfortable expressing herself in Acholi, something I discovered at the end of our conversation when I was left alone with my informant and we were forced to speak in English to each other.

After my two first interviews I began a more intensive interview process. Instead of meeting at the office I went to do the interviews at the informants’ home or workplace. I always had with me the same note book and interview guide where I took notes and added questions underway. Gradually I began to know most questions by heart which made it easier to keep he

interview flowing and the interview more flexible. I also got better at adapting the questions to each informant as I was not afraid to forget a question which perhaps was not necessary or important to ask every informant. In the process of the fieldwork I discovered the issue of “return” was a recurring topic, which made me adapt the interview guide to explore more about this issue. During the interviews I did not use a tape recorder but took as many notes as possible while the informant was talking. This choice has led to limitations regarding quotations. I did, however, manage to write down a few during some of the interviews which I found interesting at time.

I always started the interviews with small talk and proceeded with telling them who I was and that I wanted to ask them about their life in Kampala and their migration process. I made sure to inform them that they would be anonymous; in terms of not using their names in the dissertation. In addition, I made sure to tell my IDP informants that if I asked inappropriate or uncomfortable questions they should feel free not to answer or withdraw from the interview. Nevertheless, I felt they spoke freely to me. Occasionally, I felt naïve or even stupid when asking some of the questions, particularly if I followed up with a “why?” on an answer which was evident. Considering the quality of the data I did not want to assume any answers to my questions but rather ask my informants. I also told my informants to feel free to ask me questions underway if they had any. Most of them did not.

Some informants were very talkative while others were more shy or reticent. The interviews lasted from 20 minutes to almost 3 hours, some ending up in political discussions with several participants. Naturally, each interview is different depending on the informant, the connection between the informant and me, the interviewer, and the surroundings where it is being done. Sometimes it is important to consider in which direction the informant is taking the interview. However, it is also important to find a balance between keeping the interviewer’s focus and letting the interview take its own direction (Flowerdew and Martin 2005). One of my informants had written down several pages about his experiences before and during the war and started to read it out loud to me before I got to ask any questions. Another informant always tried to steer the interview into discussions about political issues. Since we were sitting outside doing the interview people came and listened to what we were talking about and sometimes joined our conversation. Also during some of my other interviews people were sitting in the same room listening or babies and children were getting fed or were running in and out of the house. Sometimes I felt that the children functioned as an “icebreaker” or made the interview less formal as I usually took a “break” from the questions talking about or to the

children. Even though my translator always made sure to explain to the informants that they could not expect any help from me and that I was just a student doing research for my dissertation, I got a few questions whether I could provide their children with school fees or speak their word to governments and organizations.

4.6 Group discussion

By arranging a group discussion I hoped to encourage informants to discuss selected topics which could reveal perceptions and meanings that did not surface in the interviews. I also wanted to see what elements of the topic were of greater concern than others. The group discussions were planned in the very end of my fieldwork which created a limitation of time to undertake them. It resulted in one group discussion with 6 women, one translator and one co-secretary (in addition to me). I found it very hard to prepare and facilitate a discussion as I had limited time and access to competent assistants. Half of the participants were former informants and all had been mobilized by my translator. The discussion was arranged on a Friday afternoon, a time the women otherwise usually meet for some social interaction. The timing was assessed as the best as another day and time would probably result in some women not showing up.

I found the group discussion, however, very challenging. Even though I tried to explain what the purpose of the discussion was and how it would go about, I felt I failed to carry out a successful and fruitful discussion. It was particularly an elderly woman who dominated the discussion with stories of her experiences. Everyone seemed to agree with her and avoided telling about own experiences and opinions. When I specifically asked another woman what she thought about the issue we discussed, she said she agreed with 'Jajja' (the elderly woman) since she had more experience on that. In retrospect, I might have gained more of a group discussion if the participants were of same age.

4.7 Use of language and translation

Before I went to Uganda I talked to a former researcher who had done fieldwork in the Acholi Quarter. As many IDPs in the Acholi Quarter do not know English very well I would need a translator. During a Friday meeting at the office I was introduced to the woman who later became my translator and assisted me in mobilizing informants. She was a 26 year old lively

woman who had lived in the Acholi Quarter for several years with her family. She had moved to Kampala because of the war in Northern Uganda, thus she was “inside” the community. It seemed to me she was a well regarded woman and knew many people in the area. She had no experience being a translator or assistant but spoke fluently English. When using a translator one need to be aware of potential problems, i.e. biased response and lost information (Jacobsen and Landau 2003). As the Acholi language was completely unknown to me I had no guarantees that what was said during the interviews were directly translated or if my translator left out information which could be relevant to my research.

Before starting the interview process I told her about my thesis topic and what I wanted to know more about, I also gave her some guidelines on how I wanted to do the interviews. Despite that, I continuously had to remind her to translate exactly what the informant and I said as I sometimes suspected she failed to do so. In addition she was very eager to elaborate on the informant’s answer which most of the times were enlightening to me. On the contrary, these elaborations were sometimes confusing as I did not always know whether it was the informant who said it or the translator herself. After the interviews we sometimes went back to her home where she started to prepare food and we discussed different topics. She was very open and honest and I felt I could ask her almost anything. On the other hand, the fact that she was an IDP herself made me hold back on some of my assumptions and suspicions which I felt could affect our relationship in a negative way.

The researcher is often gaining the informants trust if being introduced by an “insider” (Flowerdew and Martin 2005). Through my translator I got access to many informants who I most likely never would have talked to if I had a translator from the “outside”. After a few intensive weeks in the Acholi Quarter I started to pay visits to some of the families who my translator had introduced me to earlier with whom I had many informal conversations. Visiting their homes and meeting them as they went about their everyday lives provided me with a ‘foundation’ for how to more precisely interpret the information they had given me in the interviews. In this way I felt it gave me a more holistic understanding of their situation.

4.8 Positionality and ethical issues

“...qualitative analysis is a creative process, depending on the insights and conceptual capabilities of the analyst” (Patton 1999:1190)

Interpersonal relationships, interpretations and experiences are considerations we need to reflect on in qualitative research (Dowling 2000). It has been criticized for its non-objectivity, therefore an emphasis on reflexivity is an important part of such studies. The outcome of the research is not only influenced by observations made and questions asked but of a variety of factors such as positionality, power and knowledge. Relationships in the field are being affected by gender, culture, values, class, age, skin color, beliefs. Moreover, not only is the relationship between the researcher and the researched significant in shaping the research but the researcher's outside life and academic view is also determinant (Crang and Cook 2011). As Crang and Cook put it, "research is an embodied activity that draws in our whole physical person, along with all its inescapable identities" (Crang and Cook 2011:9).

As a white student coming from Norway it was impossible for me to "blend in" in the Acholi Quarter. On the other hand, I believe my former experiences in Uganda made me more equipped in the sense that I knew how to behave, dress and talk to locals in order to not appear too different. Nevertheless, I always felt like an outsider during my fieldwork. The fact that I had a translator who was an insider made it possible for me to have a different relationship with the informants compared to a situation where both of us were outsiders. I usually came to the Acholi Quarter alone and then walked around with my translator or other locals. Not being seen with an organization or associated to one was probably in favor of the relationship between me and the informants. However, when interviewing an elderly man I was asked if the government had sent me. In the course of the interview he eventually understood I was not representing the government and spoke more freely.

According to Dowling (2000), power intersects qualitative research in various ways. One can exercise power through knowledge which can be denoted as indirectly or directly. Knowledge is, for example, used in policy making which may have a direct impact on people's lives. Knowledge as indirectly powerful can be illustrated in research where you present your informants' actions and stories. Your presentation is likely to influence readers how they think about your informants (Dowling 2000). In my thesis I use terms like 'IDP' and 'protracted displacement' which can be perceived as categorizing and imposed, and since I aim to move away from, precisely, such 'blackboxing' using these terms may seem contradictory. Moreover, 'protracted displacement' is a process which makes it difficult to pinpoint when a displacement situation is protracted or not and, furthermore, the complex question on when displacement ends also makes it problematic to pinpoint such situations. Nevertheless, I have chosen to use the term 'IDP' about my informants who originate from

Northern Uganda and live in Acholi Quarter in order to distinguish them from other non-IDP informants. Despite the complexities embedded in the terms mentioned above, I am using them out of convenience for both the reader and me as a writer.

Power is also entailed earlier in the research process. In the field we create “situations whereby people (yourself included) are differently situated in relation to social structures” (Dowling 2000:29). Furthermore, Dowling talks about different ‘speaking positions’ the researcher and the informants occupy. The parties involved in such setting have different intentions and roles, and also “different capacities to change situations and other people” (Dowling 2000:29).

My identity as an unmarried young woman without any children created a gap between me and some of my informants as we found it difficult to relate to each other’s situation. This was of course reinforced by our completely different background. In settings where I interacted with some elderly women, we adopted a form of a grandmother-granddaughter relationship where they were more concerned about how I was doing and asked about my family, leaving little room for me to ask my ‘typical research questions’. In interviews where the connection between me and my informant was rather ‘superficial’, it seemed to me that I was in possession of more power than the informant. Whilst in interviews where I felt more connected to my informants the power was to a greater extent leveled.

Westerners are usually associated with resources which, in some cases, affect the power relation between people. In order to try to even out typical differences between white foreigners and local Ugandans, I ate with them, learned a few phrases in their language and avoided taking moped taxis which is more expensive than buses, and if I did I made sure to stop a distance away from the Acholi Quarter. Although I tried to cover my “resources” in different ways and inform them on what they could expect and not, I sometimes felt it affected the relationship I got with people. Dowling (2000) refers to Kim England who identifies different power relations which researchers often experience. In a potentially exploitative relationship the researcher is in a position where he or she has greater power than the informant. England’s understanding indicates an exploitation of the research informant by the researcher. From another perspective, the question of who intend to exploit who in such situations can be discussed. I sometimes felt that people approached me with an intention to develop a ‘potentially exploitative’ relation to me as a white person which could be perceived as a potential gain of some kind for them rather than for me. Even though I did not get that

impression from my selected IDP informants, I cannot know if their intentions for agreeing to do an interview might have been more than just helping a student or share their stories. Thus, in some situation, the power the researcher holds can be perceived as benefiting to the research informant.

Dowling (2000) points out confidentiality and informed consent as two important ethical issues in research. Some methods involve asking or seeing things which concerns the informants' personal life experience. The researcher is responsible for not exposing the collected information to anyone else. In this study, the collected data was kept under lock at all times. My IDP informants are kept anonymous as agreed due to the personal and sometimes sensitive information they gave me. Though, confidentiality did not seem to be of concern for my informants. In the settings where the issue of anonymity was not addressed I will not use the name of the person or the organization.

Before going into the field I was comfortable with my decision on not to give my informants any form of payment for letting me interview them. But when I started the interviews with the IDPs I discovered that many of those who worked on the stone quarries stayed at home that day waiting for me to come. As compensation for lost labor I felt a need to thank them after the interview giving each informant a bar of soap. Intentionally I did not say anything about the compensation in the beginning of the interviews as that could affect the quality of the data. On the other hand, I cannot know whether the informants talked to each other and in that way knew they would get compensation.

When doing interviews and asking people about their experiences and perceptions one cannot simply expect that everything is a "fact". The stories they tell are recasting of the past which means they are shaped in forms of memory, sometimes elements is left out and others stressed. In addition to this, informants are "constantly referring outside the frame of the research encounter" (Crang and Cook 2011:11). The circumstances of an interview might have an impact on the reliability of the information, as people may lie or leave out something due to the fear of a listening neighbor, husband etc. (Patton 1999). Some of the interviews with the men were done in places where other men were listening. In those interview settings, I got the impression my informants sometimes felt uncomfortable and were reluctant to answer or elaborate on some questions. Inconsistencies and contradictions did occur during the data collection. However, an interesting point in these cases is try to understand why and

how it has come to this and, furthermore, what influence this might have (Crang and Cook 2011). At the same time, most of my informant's answers were underpinned by others.

Since the required methods in a qualitative research involve social interaction, personal perceptions, knowledge and experiences are inevitably shaping the outcome. Thus, my motivations and expectations determine the knowledge which is being produced in interaction with my informants (Dowling 2000). Moreover, the informants' subjectivity is similarly influencing the knowledge produced. Relevant to this is the concept of 'intersubjectivity' which "refers to the meanings and interpretations of the world created, confirmed and disconfirmed as a result of interactions...with other people within specific contexts" (Dowling 2000:31). Before conducting my fieldwork I had read quite a few reports and articles on internal displacement in Uganda, formulated research questions and a question guide. This shaped my expectations and motivations in the field. Some of my questions and topics I thought was interesting and important turned out to not be of concern to my informants. Other topics, which I initially did not pay much attention to, were repeatedly addressed by my informants and influenced the knowledge produced and in turn the outcome of my study.

4.9 Data analysis

The analytical process relates to how the researcher develops an understanding of the collected data. It is useful to start this process as you are undertaking the research as a means to assess if the methods used and topics addressed give you relevant information (Thagaard 2009). In the course of fieldwork I tried to identify patterns by categorizing and coding my data making a matrix (see Appendix 2) in which a limited amount of themes were used. These themes were further used as a basis to develop more abstract ideas and thoughts on the topic.

Since I did not use a tape recorder but a notebook, I had to do a quick assessment of the information the informants gave me on what I thought was relevant to my study and not. Even though I felt I managed to note down most of what they said it should be taken into consideration the affect such method has on the study. Furthermore, the quotations noted down are also characterized by my assessment of relevancy at the time of the interview, discussion or conversation.

5.0 Migration strategies: decision-making and life in an urban context

This chapter describes the causes of flight and how the interplay between force and choice shaped the IDPs' decision on when, where and how to flee. Anthony Richmond's theory will be used to demonstrate that a distinct line between force and voluntary cannot be drawn in a so-called 'forced' migration process. Although the underlying cause of flight might have been the rebel attacks, we should not underestimate other motivations triggering the IDPs' flight and how they create opportunities in a rather limiting situation. The second part of the chapter will deal with precisely this latter issue; the IDPs' maneuvering capabilities within the IDP regime. The focus is on the IDPs' own perceptions of their current life in Kampala and future aspirations. Furthermore, I will discuss the impact of the IDPs' discourses and the factors facilitating and constraining their lives drawing on Norman Long's actor-oriented theory.

5.1 Decision-making in a migration process: choice vs. force

There were multiple causes to what triggered people's flight in Northern Uganda. The most frequent reason among my informants for having to flee was rebel attacks in the village, killings and the fear of abductions. The LRA rebels burnt down entire villages including people's houses, livestock and crops. The villages in neighboring districts of the Karamoja sub-region were in addition to rebel attacks vulnerable to attacks and cattle raids from the Karamojong (IRIN 2001).² A male informant who remained in the village despite rebel attacks eventually had to flee when the Karamojong came and took his cattle.

"When they [the Karamojong] took my cows I could not cultivate my land anymore. I wouldn't have food if I stayed behind."

Man, 29, Acholi Quarter

In a matter of minutes most of the IDPs got their homes taken away from them as the LRA attacked the village. When the rebel attacks escalated in Northern Uganda in the 1990s, the GoU were not able to defend their people against the LRA and established 'protected villages'. The constant insecurity and lack of safety drove most of the IDPs to camps, while

² I often heard during my stay in Kampala that the Karamojong believe that all cattle in the world belong to them and, thus, are entitled to anyone's cattle.

others went to Kampala. When they came to the camps they had little or nothing with them and family members were often dispersed. The first years people mainly lived in tents or other provisional housing in the camp, according to some of my informants. A former encamped IDP said that after two years in the camp she and her family started to collect materials to build a hut in which she lived. Due to the congestion in the camps, fires, unintended and intended, sometimes caused severe damage. One of my informants' hut burnt down after three years in the camp. At this point she decided to move to Kampala with her child. The decision to flee is always made in contexts whereby people feel threatened in some way. Negotiation between elements of force and choice within their predicament are an important aspect in decision-making linked to forced migration (Korac 2009).

A few of my informants described the encamped life as similar to being in a prison where you could not move around freely inside or outside the camp. The established security zones were limiting the IDPs mobility (see Chapter 2). Despite the presence of the UPDF, attacks by the LRA still occurred. Even the UPDF soldiers sometimes committed violent crimes against the IDPs and raped the women. Women were especially exposed to danger in the camps.

Migration has a great effect on women's health in various ways, including sexual abuse by inhabitants and others in camps (Carballo et al. 1996). The HIV rate among Ugandan IDPs is six times as high as in the general population, according to UNHCR (2006). There was no work and although there were a few schools, the educational quality was poor. Moreover, access to food was usually completely out of the IDPs' control as they could not go outside the camp during the worst period of the conflict, thus, it was in the hands of the World Food Program and NGOs. However, in the camps located in less war-affected areas where peasant in nearby villages were still able to cultivate food, IDPs could, if they had money, buy food instead of depending on food rations from organizations. The supply of food was often scarce. He would rather be killed than starved to death in the camp, an informant said. He had moved beyond the security zones to find transport to Kampala. As IDPs moved into camps to attain safety, they had to make a trade-off between giving up some of their freedom of movement and control over their own lives, either voluntary or forced (FAFO 2005).

The restrictions of living in the camps seemed to be an important aspect to many for moving further on to Kampala. About half of my informants had been in a camp but moved on to Kampala. Though there did not seem to be one specific incidence that triggered their secondary migration, reasons can be linked to a process of 'awareness' of the situation. In the heat of a conflict people usually have to make hasty decisions (Korac 2009) like those who

fled their villages during rebel attacks, and sought safety in the camps as recommended by the government. The atrocities the IDPs were exposed to in the camps together with the restrictions can be seen as experiences that built up and trigger a secondary migration. In addition, the perception among many Acholis that the evacuation from Northern Uganda was a means to deprive them from their land (see Chapter 2), can be underlying in the decision-making.

In a couple of cases the IDPs had been escorted by the UPDF which had provided them with transport to the cities. One of the men told me about how he managed to move to Kampala with a means of transport which he said was quite common. In the Acholi culture the tradition of burials is important. When a person dies he or she should be buried in his or her home village. Acholis living in Kampala will therefore be transported to their village in Northern Uganda, and usually family, friends and other acquaintances follow to pay their respect to the deceased. Naturally, people will have to return to Kampala and if you have the connections you can get a lift with them. In the case of the man mentioned above, it was his mother who arranged his transport. He did not know the people who gave him the lift but had a relative in Kampala who helped him on arrival. Another man's movement to Kampala was also arranged by his mother who paid his bus ticket and drew a crude map of Kampala and where his sister lived. When he arrived in Kampala he did not know where he was and it took him one day to find his sister's house.

One of the women I interviewed felt forced to move from her village into the camp, yet she claimed to have moved from the camp to Kampala by choice. Even though the underlying reason for migrating was the conflict, her perception of her movement shifted along the way. In line with Richmond's argument, the statement of this woman shows that reasons and purposes for migrating change. Migration is a process in which structure and agency interplays. Even if the structural constraints remain more or less the same, the actor interprets and reacts to these constraints in a different way as he or she gains experiences and knowledge through social interplay, or social interface as Long (2001) calls it. Thus, agency is dynamic and affected by the structures which are experienced as constraining or enabling and have negative and positive impact. In the same way as agency, the dynamics of migrant categories also need to be considered.

Often the IDPs had a relative in Kampala, like an uncle or a sibling, who could help them when they arrived. Social network was to many an important factor when deciding to migrate

to Kampala, that be relatives or ethnic relations. In the interviews they told about living with relatives in a period of a few weeks to several months. A woman said she lived with her brother's family a month or two before she moved to a house nearby, partly because of lack of space. At first it was her brother paying the rent but eventually she managed to pay herself. The above narratives are typical for forced migrants. Social network and connections are often an essential determinant in migration processes (Korac 2009) and, moreover, necessary for the ability to exercise agency (Long 2001). Many of my informants used their connections (usually relatives) to get information about Kampala before arrival. Also financial support and accommodation in their initial phase and work and social connections were often provided by relatives.

Of those who had talked to their relatives before they left the camp or the village knew that life in the city was hard since the living expenses were high. For them, however, safety was the most important and almost none of them said they had any other expectations before they came to Kampala. Yet, some of the IDPs interviewed had made their migration choices partly based on hopes of getting a job or continuing in school in Kampala.

“When I first came here [Kampala] I thought it was going to be a good life because there was no war. I wanted to get an education because the schools here are good... but I failed. Next year I will send my children to ‘jajja’ in the village so that I can save money and take a course.”

Woman, 25, Acholi Quarter

A 21 year old man I interviewed had come to Kampala from a camp three months ago. He came to ‘visit’ his uncle who he still stayed with at the time of the interview, and said he hoped that the uncle would pay for him to go to school in Kampala. When I asked if his uncle had decided whether to support him with education or not, it turned out that he had not asked him yet. Now he was just in Kampala to visit his uncle. The young man thought the life in Kampala was much better than in the camp but eventually he wanted to return to his village. Expectations in migration decision-making vary and depend on the migrant's access to information from the migrant network, status, education, etc., (Korac 2009, Sabates-Wheeler et al. 2009). Furthermore, expectations are also most likely to change in the course of the process. Meeting with new realities in the host community, hence, can influence the migrant's choices and goals as the discourses in which they maneuver change (Long 2001, Sabates-Wheeler et al. 2009).

This initial phase of their migration process is typically termed as reactive migration in that the IDPs had extremely limited freedom to choose. IDPs reacted differently to the LRA attacks as structural constraints and facilitations were interpreted and utilized differently and in this way influenced their maneuvering capabilities. The establishment of the IDP camps was an enabling factor which generated reactive migration of many IDPs (Richmond 1993). IDPs' reactions to the structural constraints imposed on them in the camps led them to a decision to move further on to Kampala with a purpose to improve their lives. In this view, the IDPs' motivation to regain control over their lives can be an argument indicating that their migration entails some degree of choice and therefore can be regarded as proactive too.

The stories outlined above show how agency "is embodied in social relations and can only be effective through them" (Long 2001:17). Social networks were an important source of information about work and housing issues in Kampala. Psychological and material support was to many IDPs necessary when arriving in Kampala and it was provided to some extent through the connections they had there (Korac and Gilad 2001).

5.2 Images of the past and future aspirations

The amount of time the interviewed IDPs had lived in Kampala varied from three months to 26 years. Despite the different time perspectives all but one felt displaced. Moreover, they all had, to various degrees, a desire to return to Northern Uganda one day. Most of them were young when they left their village and were not able to compare their village life to the life they live today as they were in a different stage in life. However, the image of village life as easy with an abundance of foods was strongly inscribed in their minds. A woman who left the village when she was 9 years old said:

"It is easier to be a villager because you don't need so much money. If you have land you can just dig in the garden and you have food for your family."

Woman, 25, Acholi Quarter

"Life in the village is very good. ...They have everything; they don't need to buy anything. Sometimes when my family comes to visit me they bring for me food so that I can feed my children."

Woman, 43, Acholi Quarter

On a seminar on the implementation of the national IDP policy representatives from Adjumani district in Northern Uganda had another perception of the situation. According to a man from the Elderly Forum, the life in the villages is far from easy nor is there an abundance of foods. Villages have begun to settle but a variety of essential structures are still lacking. For the returned IDPs in Adjumani the new start is tough. After many years, even decades, in Kampala it can be difficult to get used to the life in the village again. Limited access to education, health services and food due to failed crops makes it hard for those who are used to have access to these things in the big cities, he said. A study conducted by the GoU and partners revealed that children and youth who grew up in or near towns and cities and away from their parents' home village might have difficulties adapting to the rural life as they were used to have basic services nearby (IDMC and NRC 2012).

“Those who think that life in the village is easy and does not require money have not been back in many years. Time has changed.”

– Man, Elderly's Forum,

Adjumani

It seemed that the oldest IDPs, who were married and engaged in some sort of livelihood activities while still in the village, were more negative to their life in Kampala. They nostalgically talked about their life in the village and about what was and how it would be the day they return. They were also to a greater extent planning their return. The Acholi culture is patriarchal. The husband owns the land, and the wife usually has to follow her husband wherever his land is. Hence, many of the men wanted to go to the village to build the house and begin cultivating the land before the rest of the family came moving there. Another man was planning the opposite; he wanted to send his wife and children to the village while he remained in Kampala to earn money to start over again in the village. Rent and food were expensive in Kampala so it would be cheaper to send his family to the village, he thought. A woman who had a son in the university prioritized paying for his tuition fees rather than saving up for the return. Her son was soon to graduate and anticipated he would consequently get a job. The cultural norms dictate that children support their parents financially when they get a job, so she hoped to return in the course of 2014. A couple of the men wanted to move back as soon as possible but were afraid of the expectations and pressure put upon them by the people in the village. When you come from Kampala people expect you to have money, they said. One of them had to hide inside the house when he visited the village as he did not want everyone to see he was there. During the time I have spent in Uganda the expectations

and romanticism of a life in Kampala and other big cities have been evident as people tend to think the city offers easy access to work and wealth.

The younger IDPs also repeated what the elders said about access to food and how cheap it was in the village but were less specific about housing and livelihood activities. They were more oriented to the future in an urban context. A young, single mother of three thought about sending her children to their grandmother in the village while she earned enough money to attend an IT course in Kampala. A widowed mother of six children said she would like her life in Kampala better if she had the capacity to take better care for her children but for now she wanted to return to her village where her relatives were. The function of the extended family as valuable social capital seems to be an important issue regarding return or integration, and perceptibly cannot be replaced by another social network to the same degree. Suzanne Tete (2011b) refers to the anthropologist named Hage in her thesis who states that people choose to migrate from one place at the point when they feel existentially stuck or, put in another way, going ‘too slowly’ or ‘nowhere’. Even in situations dominated by uncertainty about what awaits them at their destination people chose to migrate. This can partly explain why some IDPs have a more positive attitude to their life in Kampala and a possible future there, while others focus more on return as they feel they are not ‘going anywhere’ in the city.

It was of course a variation among both the youngest and the oldest IDPs in how they balanced their desire for return and their life in Kampala. Interestingly, a young female informant claimed she did not feel displaced yet she wanted to return to the village. Also, she considered her home to be in the village where her people were, but thought her life in Kampala was fair and liked her way of living. I will further discuss such ambivalent perceptions in the next chapter. Contradictory attitudes like this were also revealed by Roger Zetter (1994, 1999) in his study on Greek-Cypriot refugees in Cyprus. The idea of returning home to Northern Uganda was a dominant theme among the Acholis in Kampala. Even though the youngest IDPs interviewed had some personal experiences of their place of origin, they were very young at the time of flight and seemed to construct the notion of their place of origin as home based on the older IDPs’ memories. The ‘myth of home³’ mainly created by the older IDPs can be a way for the younger IDPs to sustain, or build, connections with the

³ In his article, Zetter introduces the concept of the ‘myth of return’. He recognizes that ‘return’ is closely linked to home and concludes: “...what is mythologized is not return *per se*, but home.” (Zetter 1999:6)

past. Moreover, the focus on return home was an important part of the discourse within which IDPs in Acholi Quarter maneuver. As Long argues, it is the discourse available to the social actor which forms the framework of knowledge and action (Long 2001). The IDPs' reference point when talking about the images of home was their village, or place of origin. Many IDPs experienced transition and adapted to the socio-cultural and economic context in which they lived, as will be shown below, yet the 'myth of return' seemed to dominate the orientation. Zetter (1999) explained this co-existence in his article based on the situation of Greek-Cypriot refugees:

"...the simultaneous occurrence of transition and the attempts to restore the past, can only be explained by reference to the preceding conditions before exile and how these are replicated, subliminally, in exile. Thus, return constitutes the process, whilst the myth constitutes the reference point, home, which the refugees [or the IDPs] use to locate themselves after continuity with the past is fractured. For different families, both the need to sustain the myth of the return, and the process of transition and adjustment to the present dislocation, are contingent on how more or less important the [past, present or future] are to them." (Zetter 1999:10-11)

The constant strive between reality and the ideals of the myth, as Zetter (1999) denotes it, affects the IDPs' ability to adapt and capabilities to maneuver within their predicament. Moreover, the protracteness of their displacement have made the return process more complex as the IDPs have lived in one or more places with a perception that their stay is temporary. But at the same time they have established connections and some sort of a life there. In the next section I will discuss how they adopt strategies to reconstruct what they seem to find more important, that be the past, present or the future. The narratives outlined below show how some IDPs have responded more 'progressively' than others, who seemed to be stuck in the past. Some IDPs were more reluctant to transition while others expressed a positive way of thinking.

5.3 Strategizing within the economic-political structures

In her master thesis Refstie (2008) reveals that IDPs in urban areas in Uganda suffer from the lack of recognition from the government, and that it is mainly the IDPs residing in the camps who have been included in the policies concerning IDPs, i.e. the National IDP Policy and PRDP (see Chapter 2). The urban IDPs are rather "seen as economic migrants or as former IDPs who have reached a durable solution" to their displacement (Refstie 2008:i). Solution or

not, the fact that most IDPs live in severe poverty in slum areas cannot be denied and is undoubtedly affecting their lives in different ways.

A repeatedly stated reason for not returning was the lack of money for transport and a new house. Many of the villages were burned down and/or plundered by the LRA during time of war. Now many IDPs need assistance in the return process in terms of construction materials and transport for the family. Close to 70 % of the IDPs who remained in the camps up to recent years have received return kits provided by the government while IDPs residing in urban areas have not been receiving the same opportunities (IDMC 2012c). In February 2008 State Minister of Relief, Disaster Preparedness and Refugees, Musa Francis Ecweru, visited Acholi Quarter promising transport back home to those who voluntarily want to return to Northern Uganda (Refstie 2008). My IDP informants had not heard of his pledge or anyone who had benefitted from it. The GoU's official statement is that the urban IDPs are economic migrants or IDPs who have reached a solution to their displacement. According to a profiled organization working with IDP related issues, they were not given the permit to map and identify IDPs in Kampala. The uncertainty about identification of urban IDPs was most likely the main reason why the GoU did not grant the permit, the representative from the organization said. They fear that more people than the actual IDPs will claim to be displaced and in that way the government will have to assist and compensate more people than what they can manage and afford. According to two of my informants a person who has lived on and/or cultivated a land for more than ten years can claim compensation if he for some reason is deprived of his land. It appeared that some of my informants waited to return until they had to, for example as a result of eviction, and hung on to the conviction that they then would get some kind of compensation. This can be seen as a strategy in the process of return where they use the system to get a form of assistance to move back without having to be recognized as, or deal with the category of, IDPs. My informants were very ambiguous when talking about their status as IDPs as this was a category which was supposed to include them according to NGOs, researchers and other outsiders, while from their own perspective seemed to be a category they did not necessarily dominate their identity. This issue will be further discussed in Chapter 6. None of my IDP informants knew the national IDP Policy and the PRDP existed. They appeared to have a very narrow view on the government's responsibilities. The fact that a government should protect and serve their citizens in various ways is not widely perceived as the case but rather that it is there to build and develop the country in parallel to people's

lives. Many people's focus is more on the physical aspect of development and not social development in terms of protection and rights which enable humans to develop as a person.

A general perception among many IDPs I talked to was that the GoU had done what they can during the time of war and did not have any further expectations from the government in terms of assistance based on their status as IDPs. On the other hand, it seems that of those who were unsatisfied with the GoU were so due to a lack of aid and assistance to slum dwellers and other poor in general. The GoU should ensure free primary education to all and more jobs, they said.

5.4 Adopting new livelihood strategies in an urban context

After being, to some extent, forced to leave their homes in Northern Uganda, the IDPs had begun to regain some sense of control over their lives. Through adaption and creation of income-generating activities they had constructed a sort of meaningful everyday in Kampala. Agriculture was and still is the mainstay of the local economy in Northern Uganda though production has been reduced due to limited access to land and general insecurity (The European Union 2013). The IDPs stressed that digging in the field was a big part of the Acholi culture and missed the freedom to do so. They were frustrated over the fact that they were not able to use their skills in Kampala. As a result, they had developed a few non-agricultural niche businesses. In Acholi Quarter they found masses of minerals which they utilized to their advantage. In the time when IDPs just started to settle in Acholi Quarter the demand for property and work were not as high as today so the IDPs who had savings could afford buying pieces of land. They started to cut out blocks of stones which they crushed into gravel. As their business developed they hired other Acholis to work for them. The majority of the people I interviewed work in the quarries every day, while others from time to time. Working in the stone quarries is hard and harmful work. Extractions of the minerals over many years have created steep hills, unstable ground and lose stone blocks. Many people have been injured and killed by falling blocks and by losing the grip while climbing up the hills with heavy blocks. Crushing the stones manually into gravel without any protection has caused a lot of eye and respiratory damages. The IDPs report on people who have gone blind and had trouble breathing due to the crushing. One of the women I interviewed had to quit working at the quarry as she now had trouble breathing. Another one still worked there despite respiratory problems. In addition to these problems were the constant cuts on hands and feet which sometimes got infected. The profit from the hard work was little and barely

enough to support a family. As the minerals are diminishing every day the fear of losing their income worried the IDPs.

“When the mineral ends I will go back to my village. I need to care for my children. I came here because of the war, now my village is settled and I can go back.”

Woman, 43, Acholi Quarter



Figure 5.1: Workers extracting minerals in Acholi Quarter (left photo: Camilla Våset Møllerop). Workers at the stone quarries often suffer from injuries (right photo: with permission from Scott Cressman)

The IDPs who only sometimes worked at the stone quarries stressed that they did so if the times were critical and the need for money was severe. Some families also had their children work in the quarries after school and in the holidays as a supplement to the inadequate family budget. Even some of those who had worked there almost every day the last years uttered it was only interim. This might indicate a feeling among the workers in the quarries that this

was 'low-status work' and a conviction that this is only temporary – until they return, find another job or their children can provide for them – function as a survival strategy.

Another niche business was making of paper beads and jewelry. Even though these beads were produced in other parts of the country too, it was nationally known that the best paper beads were made in Acholi Quarter. Wherever I walked in Acholi Quarter I could see women rolling the beads and making different products out of them. The paper was bought cheap on the markets in Kampala. The piles of paper were then handed over to the men who cut the paper with cutting machines in return for some money. Many of my female IDP informants collaborated with an organization which had connections on the European market. At the time I did my fieldwork the market for paper beads was more or less saturated and their businesses were going slowly. The women then often complemented with other small jobs like tailoring and working at the stone quarry. However, the competition among the tailors was tough, and in addition to the increasing popularity of second hand clothing, it was not a reliable income alone. A woman who worked at a tailor shop could only go when she had money for transport as the shop was located several of kilometers away from her home in Acholi Quarter. Most days she did not sell any of her clothes and came home with less money than what she went with that morning. It was an insecure and risky business for her.



Figure 5.2: Woman in Acholi Quarter dries strings of paper beads. (Photo: With permission from Scott Cressman)

Freedom was frequently mentioned during the interviews and often associated with access to work, money and food. Most of the informants expressed little or no belief in themselves achieving a career in the city as they felt they were not competitive on the job market here without any education. It seemed to me that it was difficult for them to be creative and come up with alternative income generating activities. They were very restricted by the thought of not having enough money to start or invest in another business. Some of the men were particularly obsessed on what they could and could not do. A man who was once a successful baker had lost his job years back. Now, even though he had no job, he was persistent that he would not do anything else but bake, as that was his profession. Another man used to have a job that paid 150 000 Ugandan shillings a month but since he needed 300 000 a month to cover his expenses, he quit his job and now stayed at home. Unlike these men, I talked to a few others who said they would take whatever job they could get. These variations in attitudes show how people react differently even though they face similar hardship in finding work and

generate enough income to provide for themselves and their families. Many of the men who had a job were or had been a security guard, or had odd jobs like porter and construction work. Formerly, the Acholis were used as soldiers and laborers due to their powerful physic, and they are still attractive in jobs which require physical fitness. One of my informants was puzzled when he, among 70 other applicants, had been chosen and offered a job as security guard. Surnames that begin with an O or A indicates that you are Acholi. Some of the older male IDPs claimed that made it difficult when they applied for jobs or to get through in other formal processes. On the contrary, when talking about her experiences, an educated Acholi woman who grew up in Kampala, said she had never felt discriminated on the background of her tribalism. Moreover, it had never been an issue of discussion among her Acholi friends. The difficulties of finding a job as linked to discriminatory practices seemed to be a perception among the older men and not so much among the women interviewed. Observations and verbal information attained during my fieldwork, revealed, not surprisingly, that women more actively engaged in activities which contributes to the family's well-being in terms of cooking, upbringing, and attempts to earn some money. Mainly men were seen sitting on stairways, under trees and in the bars drinking. One of the men said:

“The Acholi people are hard-working people, the women more than the men. ... [He further explained unemployment among the Acholis in Kampala by saying:] We have the skills but the material is not there.”

- Man, 55, Acholi Quarter

5.5 Strategizing within the social structures

The GoU offers free primary education to all school-aged children from 2002 (IDMC and NRC 2012). However, in practice this is not the case. Attending school requires uniforms, books and the majority of education institutions demand school fees to cover teaching expenses and other running costs. Prior to the conflict, Northern Uganda was the area that received the least resources in order to maintain and develop the education system. In the times of conflict, educational services in the camps were provided by governmental and non-governmental organizations. In relation to the process of return going on in Northern Uganda now, a study on education services reveals that schools in the IDP camps were preferred by parents over the schools in the villages. Consequently, many returnees left their children in camps where they could attend a school. Notably, the quality of education in the camp schools

was also poor as there were few, overcrowded classes and they had difficulties finding teachers who were willing to teach in the camps (IDMC and NRC 2012).

Children in school and the education service in Kampala in general were of particular importance to my IDP informants. Parents who have children in school hesitate to move back to the village where the education system is poor. Lack of competent teachers and crowded class rooms, or no class rooms, were of concern to the parents. Even though most parents struggled with the high cost of school fees in Kampala they preferred urban schools over rural schools. Some mothers feared that if the children were to attend school in the village they would not reach a desirable level of knowledge. The literacy gap between rural and urban schools in Uganda is significant (Zhang 2006). Also, children in the village are more likely to drop out of school due to early marriage or to help dig in the field. Parents had experiences with teachers who used the pupils to dig in their private garden during time of school which they found unacceptable. The IDPs who were in school when the conflict escalated had their education interrupted and none of them has ever completed school. Only one of my IDP informants was accompanied by his parents when they fled to Kampala to escape the LRA attacks in the village. When arriving Kampala the need to earn money to survive was bigger than going to school. In some cases where the IDPs had relatives in Kampala with whom they stayed, they felt obliged to help out at home or earn money to contribute to the family economy. All of my informants lacked complete education and sounded resigned when talking about it. This lack created a perception of themselves as inadequate to get another job than the one they already had. Moreover, they did not see how they could have a future in the city without any education.

Hence, parents' emphasis on children's education could be a reaction to a feeling of powerlessness, and also a failure to re-establish continuity with the past. The future, however, they believe they can have more control over. Despite all the negative aspects of their life in Kampala, the children's education remained a priority to many of my informants. The IDPs are exercising their agency by adapting and maneuvering within their predicament by which they, to some degree, feel limited.

Also health issues impact migration processes, and vice versa. IDPs who came from camps to Kampala reported on poor sanitation and health facilities in the camps. Outbreaks of diseases were frequent and people were dropping dead like flies. Also, HIV spread fast due to an increasing frequency of rapes and sex trading. IDPs expressed their concerns about how the

conflict and displacement has poisoned the Acholi culture as many now have lost their morality. In Northern Uganda today the HIV/AIDS prevalence is 9.1%, three percentage points above the national average and is believed to have been fuelled by population mobility, prolonged displacement and weakening social structures”. The availability of health services for example is a vital factor for IDPs to decide when to move back and who should move back (The European Union 2013). The IDPs knew that the lack of health services in the village could have fatal consequences on their lives but a few of them were willing to take that risk by moving back. Another woman expressed her gratefulness for living in Kampala where there were doctors available when her newborn were sick and had to stay in the hospital for several months. An obvious predisposing factor in their migration process is the differences in access to services between Northern Uganda and Kampala, in particular the educational institutions and health services. The low level of development in the north leads to a slow return process of the IDPs who want to move back to Northern Uganda. The above statements show how differently my informants responded depending on the experiences and knowledge embedded in them.

6.0 Identities and belonging

In the previous chapter I presented an insight into the IDPs' life in a so-called protracted displacement situation. In this chapter I look further into the impacts such a situation have had on how the IDPs think about a solution to their displacement. Central in the question of solutions is home and sense of belonging which in turn is closely interlinked with identity. Therefore, in the following sections I explore how the IDPs' identity has been reshaped during years of displacement and the effects of this on their meanings and perceptions of a possible return or integration process.

6.1 The feeling of displacement

The fact that most of the IDPs would not have been in the current situation if it was not for the conflict, created a feeling of displacement and injustice among my informants. Even though there are chances for them not having a better life in the village if there had not been a conflict, they live with the uncertainty of not knowing what their life could have been like. Their tough life in Kampala makes it easy to think that the grass is greener on the other side. Some of those who had been in the IDP camps before they came to Kampala thought their life in Kampala was better. While another woman felt her life in Acholi Quarter was like living in any other camp because the people she lived amongst came due to the conflict. The feeling of being displaced can also be amplified by the IDPs' preconceived perception that their stay in Kampala initially only was temporary. This has prevented them doing the investments they normally would have done in a permanent situation. It is likely that the uncertainty regarding landownership and eviction (see Chapter 2) over several years have contributed to the idea of their migration as only temporary which in turn has hindered them in establishing deep emotional ties to the place. However, an IDP informant had been thinking of buying a house in Acholi Quarter for many years but the fear of eviction had forced him to postpone the investment. Another man bought a house at the time he came to Kampala and now wanted to sell so he could use the profit to return to his village, however, it was a bad market for selling due to the talk of eviction and confusion around landownership.

The fear of being evicted from Acholi Quarter was present in most informants' daily life. At the same time it was a problem they did not seem to be able to deal with at that point. One man waited to return to the village until his family got chased from Acholi Quarter. Some had

heard rumors that people had to leave Acholi Quarter sometime next year (2013), and were preparing to earn enough money to be able to start a life in Northern Uganda. Though eviction was an underlying concern in their everyday life, most of the informants said they did not have a plan or strategy if that day would come. A frequent response to the eviction issue concerned expectations from the GoU to pay compensation to the residents in Acholi Quarter, or at least cover transport costs back to Northern Uganda. During my last weeks in Kampala, the executive director of Kampala Capital City Authority, Jennifer Musisi, vigorously took action in reorganizing the city by force evictions and demolitions of several buildings had been built on illegal terms. According to a Ugandan newspaper, interviewed IDPs living in Acholi Quarter now fear that they might get evicted as they live there on unclear legal terms (Otto 2012). The land is owned by the Kabaka (the king of Buganda) and was donated to the Acholis several decades ago, many of the IDPs claimed. Further research after returning from the field showed that this was not necessarily true (Sanya and Sempijja 2013). Nonetheless, Acholi Quarter is an attractive area for real estate brokers. Consequently, residents feared that the Kabaka eventually would sell the land leading to eviction of those residing in the area. The surrounding areas are privately owned and the landowners have already evicted families as a consequence of real estate development (RLP 2008, Mubangizi 2009). If eviction of the IDPs in Acholi Quarter one day will be put into practice, it can in turn constrain their degree of freedom to choose, and result in forced relocation or a secondary migration. On the other hand, such structural change can enable the IDPs depending on the knowledge and perceptions embedded in them (Long 2001). Moreover, such a situation can modify their understanding of themselves, and both subjectively and politically change their status or migrant category. Richmond terms this kind of rapid change as a precipitating event (Richmond 1993).

6.1.1 Social position in Kampala

The Acholis in Kampala were very cohesive. Acholi Quarter was a well established settlement of people where they had schools, medical clinic, shops and restaurants. An elderly man always corrected me when I referred to the place as the Acholi Quarter; it was now called ‘*Lede*’ because it was not only Acholis living there but a diversity of tribes. He had grown up in Kampala and among my informants he was the only one married to a Muganda⁴ and spoke the local language, Luganda. The children of IDPs who had spent their entire or most of their lives in Kampala spoke Luganda but their parents did not. The adults felt it was not necessary

⁴ Muganda is the singular form of Baganda.

to know Luganda since they mostly socialized with Acholis. Almost one year could pass without having to go outside Acholi Quarter, two women told me, though, it can be discussed how literally I should interpret that statement. In situations when it was necessary to know Luganda they used their children or adults who knew the language. This is a strategy for coping with the problems they encounter in their everyday life. One of the women confirmed my suspicion that it is also in large a matter of pride;

“I would never speak Luganda to a Muganda. ... People are proud, [both the] Baganda and [the] Acholis.”

Woman, 25, Acholi Quarter

According to the elderly man, Kampala had changed a lot over the years, especially after Museveni and NRM came to power in 1986. The Acholis were not treated equally as the other tribes after that. Attitudes of the non-Acholis were influential in the question of a possible return or integration process. Many of my informants had experienced discrimination from the locals in their everyday life, and also from the government. At the market people harass them by calling them “*Kony*” or tell them to go back to their land, or vendors sometimes refuse to sell them what they need. Many referred to things that happened several decades ago and seemed sometimes bitter on other tribes. They felt that members of the Acholi tribe were discriminated and treated differently than members of other tribes in Uganda, both by the government and non-Acholi citizens. These perceptions are most likely rooted in historical events which have shaped the discourse of my IDP informants. As Wang et al. imply, migrants, also internal migrants, often experience stigmatization because of their ethnicity, social status, etc. This has usually negative effects on the IDPs’ quality of life but the benefits of living in that area sometimes outweigh the stigma they face (Wang et al. 2010). Moreover, stigma and discrimination appeared to have reinforced the Acholis’ collective identity based on ethnicity. In a general social perspective, my IDP informants’ identity is mainly defined based on ethnicity or tribalism. However, among themselves, where ethnicity is not an issue, they are being defined on different grounds such as age, gender, marital status, education, etc.

The categorization of my informants as IDPs has largely, if not fully, been a category imposed on them by political actors who have been in the position to do so. During my fieldwork in Acholi Quarter I rarely heard my IDP informants actually using the term ‘IDP’ about themselves. Only in situations when talking about policies we used that term. It was obviously not a category my informants used among themselves or identified with. However, they were

sometimes forced to assign to the IDP category as that was how the government, NGOs and other political and humanitarian actors categorized them. In this view, we should take into account Jenkins' argument on the impact of people's categorization, or definition, on how we define ourselves which should not be underestimated (Jenkins 2007). Moreover, this categorization also indicates that the IDPs are 'out of place' in Kampala underpinned by discrimination from the local non-Acholis. In addition, the fear of eviction has been present in their everyday life over a long period of time. These experiences inevitably affect their sense of belonging in a negative way and, hence, their identity.

6.2 Sense of belonging

“Belonging is a dynamic emotional attachment that relates individuals to the material and social worlds that they inhabit and experience. It is about feeling ‘at home’ and ‘secure’, but it is equally about being recognized and understood.” (Wood and Waite 2011:201)

My impression of the Acholi community in Acholi Quarter was that the social solidarity among them was strong. It was often revealed in conversations their focus on tribalism, where they distinguished between “us”, the Acholis, and “them”, the other tribes. Rooted in the history of Uganda (see Chapter 2), tribalism has been and still is an issue concerning most people. Tribes were often generalized and treated as a homogenous group in terms of what characteristics they had, e.g. strong, ugly, smart, promiscuous, hard-working, etc.

Malkki presents the term “accidental communities of memory” which refers to “a biographical, microhistorical, unevenly emerging sense of accidental sharings of memory and transitory experience” (Malkki 1997:91). She further exemplifies such a community with people who have fled a particular war, lived together in a refugee camp, or who have other common experiences. According to Malkki, these accidental communities consist of people who not necessarily would have met otherwise but share experiences that create a sense of togetherness or belonging to a specific group of people:

“People who have experienced such things together carry something in common – something that deposits in them traces that can have a peculiar resistance to appropriation by other who were not there. These momentary, out-of-the-ordinary periods of shared history can produce (more or less silent) communities of memory that neither correspond to any ethnologically recognizable community, nor form with any inevitability.” (Malkki 1997:92)

On the basis of the conversations I had and impressions I got during my fieldwork I would say that the common experience as IDPs in Kampala, outside their “natural setting”, and what it brings with it, has further strengthened the Acholis’ social solidarity and their sense of togetherness and ethnic belonging. This creates a big gap between the IDPs and the host community which in turn has an impact on integration and the desire to return to their place of origin (Malkki 1997, Wood and Waite 2011). As Wood & Waite (2011) suggest, sense of belonging is a crucial element regarding inter-group relations. It can minimize tension between groups but alternatively it can also function as a basis for conflict or discriminatory behavior. In the case of Acholis in Kampala, their sense of ethnic belonging enforced by discrimination from non-Acholis has created tension.

6.3 Sense of home

According to Blunt & Dowling the sense of home is often shaped by our childhood memories combined with our aspiration for the future and the experiences we have had (Blunt and Dowling 2006). The majority of my informants were children or youth when they had to flee from their village due to insecurity. They lived with their parents or caretakers who were farmers, and home was, to most of my informants, strongly related to land and owning land. The Acholi culture is to a large extent based on cattle herding and agriculture which has provided food and income to Acholis for generations (FAFO 2005). In Kampala a piece of land is very expensive and, due to the high population density, also hard to find. To dig in the garden was an activity that made many feel at home and free, the IDPs claimed. Noteworthy, most of the youngest IDPs did not remember much of their lives in the village since they were very young at the time they had to leave. The notion of home can therefore seem to be heavily influenced by the older IDPs’ notion. On the other hand, in Acholi Quarter they have engaged in activities that have become a big part of the modified modern version of the Acholi culture in Kampala, e.g. stone quarrying and paper beads making. Several of my informants expressed that they felt more or less at home in Acholi Quarter and that they to some extent lived in an Acholi culture. Social and cultural attachments have been important for IDPs who chose to settle in Acholi Quarter. Furthermore, a sense of home is grounded in the activities that go on in a place rather than in the place per se. Similarly, in a post-conflict Sarajevo, Bosnian returnees attempt to reestablish homes by finding a place of relational identification and develop a place of cultural attachment, and create a sustainable livelihood (Jansen 2009).

That is what many IDPs have done in Kampala and in that way created a process of modification of the Acholi culture and people's identities.

Among my informants, memory of collective loss was present. Loizos proposes, displaced people's reluctance, in his example the Greek Cypriot refugees, to call the temporary places they have lived in for many years their home is a matter of "identification of their attachment with their place of origin and an emphasis on property rights and the injustice of being made 'homeless'..." (Loizos 2009:69). However, some did feel 'at home' in Acholi Quarter, to bigger or lesser degree, but they usually used the term home when talking about their village. Although it might seem contradictory, "homemaking practices change the way we experience and think about home, whereas home as an idea may still maintain a different meaning" (Brun 2012:428). Marita Eastmond (2006) refers to Graham and Khosravi who distinguish between 'the cultural-spiritual home' and 'the practical home'. This may illustrate how the IDPs assign different values of home to the village and to Kampala, and in this way form multiple attachments to places.

Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 5, nostalgia was expressed by most of my informants which can be explained by the change they had gone through and the hardship they experienced in Acholi Quarter. Nostalgia for home often involves an idealization of home and may provide the IDPs a place of escape. However, they expressed a variable grade of nostalgia whereby the younger IDPs seem to have a stronger connection to Kampala and a vaguer bond to the village than their fellow IDPs who were older. This can, among others, be related to the fact that house and land were important elements of home to many of the informants, and since the younger IDPs never had a house and land of their own, their sense of home were largely situated to Kampala. Moreover, developing emotional ties to a place require time. The fact that the youngest IDPs had spend the majority of their lives in Kampala, or away from their villages, explains their sense of place related to Kampala as home. A young female informant said Kampala was becoming her home since she could not relate to Northern Uganda much anymore. The variation of nostalgia among the informants may also be linked to the perception and experience of their life at the time when the interviews were conducted as the understanding and the sense of home is dynamic and influenced by different factors (Blunt and Dowling 2006). IDPs with strong relations to their past and whose images of home are idealized may be reluctant to develop a positive sense of place and belonging in that such images often will function as a comparative and emphasize the current disorientation and the situation as inadequate. The feeling of collective loss, as

mentioned above, and the wish to recapture social networks and restore lost cultural identity, such as traditions and rites, may be another factor hampering a positive attitude to Kampala (Zetter 1994). Such imaginaries were present among some of my informants who said they missed doing traditional activities like digging in the garden and eating around the fireplace. Some women also mentioned the mutual trust in the communities in the villages where their children could play safe and eat with their neighbors if the parents were away working in the field.

6.4 Traditional social structure

Parents were concerned their children would lose or forget their culture as they lived among a diversity of tribes in Kampala, and did not have access to land where they could learn how to cultivate.

“My children don’t want to go back to the village. They know how to speak Acholi but they don’t know the traditions. (...) They don’t know how to dig.”

- Woman, 45, Acholi Quarter

In a report on agricultural recovery in Northern Uganda (NUARP) it was revealed that the conflict, together with deaths due to AIDS, has led to a knowledge gap in terms of traditional agricultural practices (The European Union 2013). Furthermore, there was general agreement that growing up in the city was harmful to the children. Poverty and limited space in the slums of Kampala created an unhealthy environment, physically and mentally. Children and youth got exposed to drunkards, prostitutes, crime, TV and filthy music that influence them in a negative way, according to some of the mothers. Congested housing and steep hills created from extraction of minerals limited the children’s playground and made the area unsafe.

My informants had different views on whether the Acholi culture had changed due to conflict and displacement. A few claimed their culture had remained the same with no change in role patterns or morals, while others were upset over the breakdown of their cultural values. The imposition of distress during the conflict and post-conflict years had led to a demoralization of the Acholi society, some claimed. The majority of Acholis have experienced atrocities and in addition to exposure of the mixture of lifestyles in the camps and in Kampala they had been deprived of their traditional Acholi culture, a male informant said. Young girls used to be able to walk around safe and no one would touch a girl below the years of 25. Now girls would get

raped all the time and stealing is common as men had lost all respect for other people, was the perception among some of my informants.

“It will take a long time for Northern Uganda to restore. The culture has changed completely [and] it is like people live in an immoral society. That is our problem now...”

Man, 28/29, Acholi Quarter

The NUARP report states the same phenomenon of disruption of social norms in the Acholi society as a consequence of conflict and protracted displacement (The European Union 2013). Furthermore, it says that

“...scattering of families/clan members in the camps; have weakened family, village and clan leadership structures and contributed to a breakdown of the moral order and social norms that once held people together. Unstable living conditions in the IDP camps, unemployment and a breakdown in traditional livelihoods and a reversal of roles have fostered the adoption of negative coping mechanisms and led to a cycle of social problems including: alcoholism; child abuse, delinquency, domestic violence, promiscuity, prostitution, sexual violence and family disintegration.” (The European Union 2013:12)

There was a claim that the traditional social structure changed on different levels in society in terms of roles and responsibility within the household, and the roles and power of clan leaders and elders. The years of conflict and displacement have brought about separation, abductions and killings of family members. Many of my informants had relatives in Kampala with whom they stayed or from whom they got help in their initial months or years in the city. A male informant lived with his sister's family the first period in Kampala but eventually got kicked out as they could not afford to have him there anymore. The reality in the city was different than in the village where people were welcoming and hospitable and did not care how long you stayed. War and displacement have had a severe impact on the traditional care system which also was uncovered in a report from 2012 where elderly and vulnerable family members suffer due to IDPs' lack of commitment and capacity to care (IDMC and NRC 2012). The Acholi community was originally a hospitable and caring community but in an urban context has become more individualistic. Similar to what Zetter (1994) found in his study among Greek-Cypriot refugees, nonmonetary exchange seemed to be an important symbol of trust and solidarity in the villages. Images like this were frequently stated and used to idealize the lost past.

“People always expect something in return. You owe people, and people owe you.”

Man, 39, Acholi Quarter

In the course of change, the IDPs’ identities take shape, and reshape, in interplay with their sense of place and belonging. The experiences of a place and the activities people engage in are influential in how they perceive the place and themselves (Attanapola 2006). My study revealed that it was mostly women who expressed a positive attitude to the city life from time to time, especially non-married young women. Easy access to facilities like computers and Internet together with vocational courses was brought up as positive aspects of living in Kampala. One of the women tried to teach people in her village about Internet when she visited. Many of my female IDP informants were members of a saving group. This was a security for the women in situations where they needed to lend money. One woman even said she kept the saving a secret from her husband. In Kampala, it was accepted that women were unmarried and lived without a husband. There were a few of the women who had divorced from their husbands after they came to Kampala. Because of her marital status a divorced woman hesitated to go back to the village as it was not accepted that she was unmarried. A single mother said she liked the fact that she could live alone and have the freedom to do what she wanted to as there was no one telling her to sweep the floor or cook. The modification of the traditional social structures due to years in Kampala has ‘loosened’ a series of constraints formerly assigned women as part of the Acholi cultural identity. These narratives show that the women feel more independent and that they have raised their awareness. Their identities have changed because the discourses in Kampala within which they act have reshaped them.

My translator said she would never move back to the village, and that she went “crazy” after a week of visit to her village. That life was not for her anymore, she said. Similarly, Vidal in Brookings Institute (2008) found that displaced women living in cities in Colombia were reluctant to return as they perceived the city having more opportunities and could offer them a life of equality to a greater extent than the rural areas. Processes of migration are closely linked to processes of reshaping gender roles and provide new opportunities for social change. Thus, “displacement or a loss of place, in specific circumstances and contexts, can be experienced as freedom from the preestablished sociocultural norms of the native society...that often constrain individual behavior and actions” (Korac 2009:7).

The Acholi community has remained cohesive but the lack of resources to maintain their traditions together with influences from surrounding lifestyles and cultures, have reshaped

and even created new identities of the IDPs, and resulted in a more ‘modern’ version of the Acholi culture. In this view, it is clearly an interplay between structures, or discourses, and actors. Based on processes of modernity, such as migration, individualization and interconnectedness between cultures, Woods & Waite (2011) stress the need to reconsider the meaning of identity, family and influence of migration as emotional attachment to ethnicity, culture and religion which generally are articulated as the most important affiliations. Anthias (2007) is also addressing the importance of broadening and modifying the conceptualization of identity by including the spatial aspect because people are mobile. Regarding sense of belonging she says: “It is increasingly important to think of sense of belonging in terms of precondition for quality of life, and not purely in terms of cultural initiation or cultural identity” (Anthias 2007:20).

6.5 Negotiating identities

As described above, displacement has in various ways and degrees generated a shift in skills, knowledge, attitudes and identities. Nevertheless, the IDPs’ sense of belonging to their tribe and culture is strong. The focus on tribalism among Ugandans seemed to be significant in identification and categorization of people. Ethnic identity is therefore often an issue in interaction with people from other tribes. The IDPs continuously had to negotiate their identity when moving outside Acholi Quarter as the general perception of Acholis, and IDPs in particular, by the poor and uneducated was that they were the less civilized people who did not belong in Kampala. A Basoga woman who lived in Acholi Quarter made it clear that she did not want to be mistaken for an Acholi as they were poor and uncivilized people. Before a couple of my female informants were going to town to run some errands they made sure they were clean and dressed nicely in order to show others that also Acholis could look smart.

“They don’t think we can dress like this and look smart [laughing]. ... They just think we are villagers.”

Acholi woman, Acholi Quarter

As mentioned earlier, it could go one year without some of the IDPs moved outside the Acholi Quarter. By being among other Acholis who were in the same situation as themselves, they did not have to negotiate their identity to the same extent since they were the majority in the area, and in this sense the ‘referent culture’. Yet, it should be noted that the Acholi culture in Kampala has changed to some extent and have adopted parts of the modernity process. As

presented above, particularly the young female IDP seemed to perceive the urban context as beneficial to them. In this respect, it can be relevant to address the sense of belonging versus the sense of identity. In the case of the younger women, they had a strong sense of belonging to the Acholi culture and wanted to maintain the connections to their villages in Northern Uganda. Yet, it seemed they could not fully identify themselves with the traditions and practices of the Acholi culture in terms of women's role in the household and the agricultural way of living. This shows that lived experiences and relationships through time and place are central to the people's identity. Moreover, these women illustrate the issue of multiple identities meaning that they maneuver by utilizing the discourses available to them (Long 2001, Anthias 2007).

These women could not fully identify with the traditional Acholi culture. The modern lifestyle they had adopted does not correspond with the traditional culture that dominates in the villages in Northern Uganda. At the same time, neither did they identify themselves with other locals in Kampala by whom they felt marginalized. These women were in-between two cultures – too modern for the traditional Acholi culture and too uncivilized for the 'urban culture'. Similarly, Attanapola's (2006) study on female EPZ workers' rural-urban migration on Sri Lanka revealed the women's feeling of being in-between two cultures as a result of lack of recognition from either culture. This in-betweenness they are experiencing is, however, a result of the processes of social-identification and self-identification, or what Anthias (2002) refers to as positionality. Regarding the women's sense of belonging to these different cultures, Anthias further talks about translocational positionality whereby she stresses the need to take into account the complexities and possible contradictions a migration process might lead to. Because the women have undergone a process of spatial movement, from their villages to the city, their positionality has been influenced not only by a social sense of belonging but also a sense of belonging to place in a negative or positive way.

6.6 Ambivalence of solutions

The narratives outlined in Chapter 5 and 6 indicate contradictory attitudes towards return. It seems that the wish to return to Northern Uganda is a myth to some of the IDPs. The dominating focus on return is an important part of the social solidarity among the Acholis in Kampala, and is vital in the sense of togetherness. Moreover, issues of pride and the wish to maintain the cultural bond are also factors amplifying return. Simultaneously, some of the IDPs also express a positive attitude to Kampala and the opportunities it represents, and see a

future in an urban context rather than in the village. Since the youngest IDPs have vague memories of the village life it is hard for them to imagine a practical life there. Also some of the older IDPs have gotten used to the way of living in Kampala which influences the degree of urgency of return. The migration process and the duration of the IDPs stay away from their places of origin have resulted in ambivalence regarding return or integration. Their identities have been heavily influenced by the experiences and knowledge they have gained in the course of the migration process as they continuously have encountered with new social interfaces, i.e. situations wherein the actors involved either choose to accommodate or resist each others' world views (Long 2001, Shanmugaratnam et al. 2003). In the same way as their identities have changed, so has their notion of home. The dynamics of home and identity need to be taken into consideration by political and humanitarian actors in their approach to aid and assistance of IDPs. Return to place of origin does not necessarily mean that they return home to something familiar as their notions have likely changed (Hammond 1999). Furthermore, neither is integration a straight-forward process as people do not abandon their identities and assimilate into the host community. Integration is a complex process involving discrepancies in values, interests, knowledge and power, which in turn lead to dilemmas of continuity and transition.

7.0 Concluding remarks

This thesis has focused on forced migrant practices in a protracted displacement situation focusing on the interconnectedness of movement, home and identity. The long lasting conflict in Northern Uganda caused a mass flight of nearly two million northerners of which an estimated 300 000 to 600 000 still live in Kampala. With the Acholi sub-region as the area hit the hardest, my study has been based on the urban IDPs residing in Acholi Quarter, Kampala. In the analytical chapters of this thesis processes of migration have been presented exemplified by the empirical findings from an illustrative sample of IDPs in Acholi Quarter. In the following sections I will summarize my findings and present some general conclusions in order to answer my research questions.

In the initial phase of the migration process the decisions on when, where and how to move were extremely limited. Some IDPs fled into established camps where they after a while chose to leave and migrate further on to Kampala. It was, however, their agency that enabled them to embark on a migration journey towards Kampala, either directly from the village or as a second migration. It is difficult to distinguish between reactive and proactive migration as the line is blurry. Moreover, reasons and motivations for migrating are dynamic as we have seen in the case discussed in this thesis. In order to exercise their agency, the IDPs depended on social networks and connections. Solidarity among the Acholi IDPs in Kampala has remained strong and the issue of return, which at first glance seemed to be a collective desire, turned out to be a complex matter involving dilemmas of continuity of the past, transition and adaption. Close links to co-ethnics were not only important in the initial phase in Kampala but turned out to be central in maintaining a sense of continuity with their past. Simultaneously, an establishment of home in Acholi Quarter and adaption to the urban life has taken place since their arrival. New strategies have been required as an attempt to maintain some degree of normality and to gain control over own life. Furthermore, a situation which initially was perceived as strange and temporary has turned into an everyday life. Consciously or subconsciously, the IDPs have gradually reconstructed life, place and identity over years in displacement. This process has inevitably had an effect on IDPs' identities and their sense of belonging and home, thus, how they relate to their past, present and future.

Despite the rural-agrarian origins of most of the IDPs, they have adapted to the urban context to a greater or lesser degree, and developed new niche businesses. Although these jobs are

low-waged and many of the IDPs struggle to get the ends meet they are the most important sources of income to many IDPs. As business was slow at the time, people were longing for a life in the village in their own houses, surrounded by crops and a society in social coherence. The enmity from many non-Acholis residing in the area, partly historically rooted, has led to difficulties for the IDPs to establish bonding and bridging contacts with local non-Acholi in Kampala. Lack of recognition from and interaction with the local residents in the area are factors of significant impact on IDPs' sense of belonging and sense of Kampala as home.

The economic and social hardship IDPs face in Kampala serves to emphasize that return to Northern Uganda will improve their life quality considerably. Even those who left at young age, and have little or no conception of a life in the village, claim that return will be the ultimate solution to their predicament. This seems to be a perception inherited from the older generations which have a strong nostalgic bond to their past life in Northern Uganda. Closer study reveals, however, that the majority of the young women interviewed are positive to their life in Kampala. This attitude is mainly based on the perception of Kampala as a place that represents possibilities and prosperities, and allows women to be more independent from the man. There are two prominent factors which the IDPs claimed to hamper their return; one reason is related to the lack of resources and knowledge to reconstruct a home in the village. Many IDPs barely manage to provide daily meals for their family, even less do they have the capital to arrange transport to the village for all family members and rebuild the house. The uncertainty of trespassing to former land and the condition of the former house makes a return process complicated. Furthermore, the access to and quality of health and education services in the city is of great importance to many IDP families with the children's education particularly in focus. The notion of home has changed accordingly to how the IDPs experience and perceive their life in Kampala. Age was obviously a determining factor regarding their sense of Kampala as home; the younger generation sees a future in an urban context simultaneously as they feel the need to maintain ties with their place of origin which they do by holding on to the notion of the village as their cultural-spiritual home, while the practical establishment of home is in Kampala. The older generation, however, sees a future in their past, thus, they are not able to relate to the future in an urban context. They have a rather negative sense of Kampala as a home to which they feel a lesser degree of belonging. The lived experiences and how the IDPs relate to their past can therefore be perceived as closely linked to notion of home and, consequently, the willingness to adapt and integrate or

return. As Long (2001) points out, people react differently on similar circumstances based on past experiences.

In the course of the migration process, the IDPs' identities have been challenged. First of all, despite the cohesive Acholi society in Acholi Quarter, the cultural and social structures have been modified. Thus, living in Kampala has removed the IDPs from the cultural and social structures within which they grew up, or at least spend their initial years, influencing the available discourses and, hence, their identities. Adapting to a new rhythm of life reshape their sense of identity and the connection they have with their culture of origin. Among the oldest IDPs interviewed, continuation of cultural identity was important for their well-being. Being able to enjoy owning land and activities such as farming are claimed to increase the feeling of being an Acholi. Moreover, self-worth is also believed to be promoted by such activity as their skills would be put to use again. This perception of deprivation led to a feeling of displacement in Kampala, and perceptions that return to Northern Uganda would be the solution.

Viewing IDPs as active agents who acts individually can provide us with a broader understanding of their situation and thereby identify their needs and future aspirations which are useful in designing relevant policies and in the question of when displacement ends. Moreover, a migration process involves interplays between (and within) structures and agents. The protracted displacement situation is characterized by difficult decisions, conflicts of interests, sacrifice and much ambivalence. This reflects the complexities of displacement over many years, and the challenges the IDPs sometimes deal with. The need for continuity and change is constantly negotiated in encounters with other people's lifeworlds. In this process of interplay, agents' perceptions and meanings change and reshape in line with the notion of identity and home.

The above summary of my findings have answered my two sets of research questions from which I want to draw some general conclusions. Social, political, economic and political structures influence and shape the IDPs' lives. However, also they, as active agents, are able to influence their lives by exercising their agency through adopting new strategies and utilizing the resources available to them. Furthermore, I believe I have proven the reciprocal influence between movement, home and identity, all being shaped by the structure-actor interplay. By problematizing the concept of home and identity I have shown that notions of these concepts are dynamic and in frequent change depending on a multiplicity of factors on

different levels. Thus, no one have the same notion of home or identity. This accordingly influences how the IDPs think about solutions to their displacement.

Today there is an understanding among political and humanitarian actors dealing with internal displacement that return to place of origin is what is needed to solve the problem of displacement. It should, however, be of concern to these actors how the internally displaced persons' themselves perceive their situation, and furthermore, how they wish to solve their problem, if that is their perception. In this respect, it would be useful to acknowledge that IDPs are a heterogeneous group reacting differently on similar circumstances, and also that notions of home and identity are continuously shifting.

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Appendix 1

Questions for IDPs

Background

1. Name, age, sex, location (in Kampala), marital status, children, education, work, language, tribe?
2. What part of Uganda are you from/ your place of origin?
3. When did you come here?
4. Who did you go with?
5. What was your main reason(s) for flight? Push-factors
6. What was your main motivation for coming to Kampala? Pull-factors. Did you know people here before you came? Was it like you expected?

Migration pattern

7. Did you go directly to Kampala? Why and how?
8. If not, what was your route? (Try mapping it) How long did you stay in each place? Who decided where to go when? Do you have any contact with the other places? If yes, what kind of contact (people, network, buried relatives, work relations, properties)?
9. If stayed in IDP camps, where (map it)? For how long? How was your life there, can you try to describe it? How many lived there?
10. Why did you leave the camp? How many remaining? What kind of people? Do you know where the other former camp-based IDPs have gone? Was it a specific thing that made you leave that specific time (camp closed, lack of food, other threats)?
11. How come did you choose to come to Kampala, and not return to “place of origin”?
12. Did you make any considerations before you left for Kampala?
13. How are you managing in Kampala? (income-generating activities) Are you sending money to relatives in other places? Do you receive any money from relatives?
14. Have you been to “place of origin”/Northern Ug after you came to Ug? Why, why not?

Identity and positioning

15. What was your role in the family/household/community before you left “place of origin”? Did this role change during the flight? If yes, how? What is your role now?
16. Can you describe your life here in Kampala (a typical day, good things, bad things)?
17. What are the main differences between the life you have now and the life you had before you left “place of origin”? Did your life change over-night or did this happen gradually? How do you feel about the changes that have happened to you? What are the negative aspects? What are the positive aspects?
18. Are you satisfied with your life in Kampala? Why, why not? What components do you need to be able to enjoy life?

19. What is home to you?
20. How do you feel about returning to “place of origin” (repatriation)? Is that your plan/intention? Why? Why not? How do you feel about living in Kampala in the future (integration)? How do you feel moving to another place (resettling)?
21. Do you still think of yourself as an IDP? Why, why not?
22. Do you speak Luganda? If yes, how did you learn it? If no, do you think that would make your life easier?
23. How do you feel Kampala residents (the locals) are treating you?
24. How do you feel about the way the GoU is handling the IDP situation?

Appendix 2

G/A	Marital status	Accompanied by	From camp (years)	Years in K'la	Pull	Push	Work/income	Desired solution	Why	Obstacles	"Home"	Feel displaced	Other notifications
F 26	Married Two children	Uncle	Yes (5)		Freedom Possibilities	Rebel attack Lack of food, security	Paperbeads Tailoring	Return	Hard life in K'la Fear eviction	Money Land uncertainties Son in school	-	Yes	GoU does nothing
F 25	Married		Yes (14)	3		Rebel attack	Paper beads Tailoring	Return	Easier in the village Cheaper	Money Housing Land	Owning land	Yes	Fair life, likes what she does. "K'la almost like home"
F 30	Separated	Her child	Yes (13)	13	Relatives Possibilities Husband Safety	Rebel attacks Death and sickness	Stone quarry Tailoring	Return	Digging for own food Cheaper	Children in school Likes the modern life	"Your home is your home" (about her village) Relatives	Yes but didn't go by force to K'la	Registered as K'la citizen 2006
F 45	Separated 4+2 children		Yes (2)	20	Heard about Acholi Quarter Safety	Rebel attacks Lack of food	Paper beads Stone quarry	Return Open for integration if better life	Has land Cheaper Not depended on money and others	Money to transport and start	Owning land Relatives Place of birth	Yes	Children don't like village, don't know the traditions Gained new skills

									Fear eviction				b/c had to find new way of living
M 42	Family in village	Alone	Yes (9)	5 mont hs	Children in K'la Want to cont. school	Rebel attacks Camp closed – lack of food and medicin es	Camp leader	Return	Easier life	Fear Kony and Karamojon g	Be free, access to water, food, medicine, land	No	Visiting family in K'la GoU has done their best
F 33	Married 6 children	Grandmoth er and brother	No	22	Safety Work (stone quarry)	Rebel attacks Killed her family	Stone quarry Paper beads	Return Resettlem ent (in neighbori ng district)	Cheaper Better educatio n wise	Money Quality of edu.	“Home is home” Two children in village	Yes	UPDF escort to K'la “I feel like a visitor here” Fairly satisfied with her life in K'la. Don't remember the life in the village. GoU has done their part, in Acholi quarter don't care b/c it's king's land.
M	Married	Alone	Yes	15	Safety	Abducti	Paper	Return	Cheaper	Money	Econ.	Yes	UPDF

34	d 4 children		(2)		Invitation from uncle	ons Rebel attacks	cutting Stone quarry		Has land	Children in school Housing	freedom		escort to K'la Would'nt have gone to K'la if he knew the life here Comparing life during the war and K'la, K'la better. However, village now settled, better there.
M 45	Separated	Brother	No	10	The capital city, job possibilities	Abductions	Security guard Paper cutting	Return	Cheaper Land	Money Children in school	“Where your people are”	Yes	Not in K'la by choice. GoU failed to protect us and our properties. K'la for safety reasons but job possibilities also important – business centre.
F 25	Single mother	Alone	Yes Few	9	Safety Sister in	Rebel attacks	Paper beads	Integration	Education	Saving money for	-	Yes	Don't want to learn

	3 children		months		K'la Continue edu.		Stone quarry (before)		reasons Woman's life easier in K'la Gaining new skills	attending course Hard to succeed			Luganda – don't need it.
F 40	Widow 5 children	Her children	Yes (1)	13	Sister in K'la	Rebel attack Lack of food and money	Stone quarry Paper beads	Return	Easier life Cheaper Agriculture Fear eviction	Money for transport	Place of birth Where your people, land and cows are. Owning land/house	Yes	Abused by Baganda. GoU should pay transport back home. Never been back.
M 50	Married 8 children	Two random young men to Moroto Alone to K'la	No but in Moroto for 3 years	23 on and off	Sister in K'la Continue edu. Safety Work	Feared abduction	Stone quarry Before day-to-day jobs, security guard	Return	Relative's Cheaper	Money Housing Access to food Children in school	Freedom	Yes	Expect GoU compensation if evicted, referring to the constitution Built house in K'la instead of village due to insecurity
M 29	Married		Yes Also,	12 on and	Safety	Rebel attacks Abducti	Day-to-day jobs (porter,	Return	Cheaper Has land	Money Housing	Own land, cows, goats	Yes	Expect GoU compensati

			Lira on and off	off		ons	constructi on, builder) Paper beads						on if evicted, referring to the constitution · Athletic skills got him scholarship – eventually had to quit b/c of lack of facilities.
F 30	Married 5 children	Boyfriend	Yes (1)	15	Brother in-law in K'la	Lack of food, edu., work Fearing violence and abduction	Stone quarry Paper beads	Return	Cheaper Has land Agriculture	Money	Place of birth Your motherland	Yes	Had to move to a smaller house due to inflation
F 43	Married 7+2 children	4 children	No	21	Sister in K'la Safety	Fearing abduction	Stone quarry Paper beads	Return (when minerals finish)	Cheaper More friendly	Money Children in school/uni.	Your motherland No discrimination	Yes	Is now used to the life in K'la Owns part of the quarry Expecting compensation if

													evicted
M 21	Married	Alone	Yes (10)	3 months	Uncle in K'la Better life Education Job	Lack of food, money	No job	Return	Agriculture House and land	Money Fearing Kony and Karamojong	Owning land	Yes	"I don't have any power to plan for my future." GoU want to close the camp
M 55	Married 16 children	Born in K'la	No	55	-	-	No job Before baker	"Return"	Relative's Home Heritage (properties, father role)	-	-	-	Discrimination in K'la Focused on tribes and politics
M 39	Family in village	Wife and 1 child	No	18	Brother in K'la Safety	Rebel attack	Stone quarry	Return	Land Family Cheaper GoU might give them cows in village	Money	Place of birth Your people	Yes	The Acholi culture in K'la different due to money.
M 44	Married 8 children	Mother	No	26	Safety Uncle in K'la	Cattle raids Attacks	Security guard	Return	Cheaper Owns small land Children in school	"Money expectations" from the village after living in K'la	Where you own land	Yes	Speaks Luganda Married to a Muganda. Continuous money pressure stresses him

F 26	Married 2+2 children	Relatives	No	8	Safety	Felt insecure	Paper beads	Integratio n	Likes the lifestyle in K'la better	Discriminat ion	-	Yes and no	“When I go to visit my family in the village I want to go home after three days” The poor environme nt in AQ has bad influence on the children
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