

Returning Home: Post-Conflict Livelihoods in Northern Uganda*

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Abstract

Wars and civil conflicts, and their associated displacement of individuals, have substantial destructive impacts and are extremely disruptive to the livelihoods of those affected. Given the large number of displaced people worldwide and the major changes associated with displacement and resettlement, the transition from Internally Displaced People's (IDP) camps home and the determinants of livelihoods in this setting are crucial for guiding appropriate policy responses. This paper investigates the labor market changes associated with displacement and resettlement from Internally Displaced Peoples camps in Northern Uganda. In 2005, 911 households who were living in 32 IDP camps in Northern Uganda were sampled and interviewed. These households were re-interviewed in 2007 during a period of transition and resettlement in the region. At that time, some sample households had already relocated home, while others were in temporary satellite camps, and others remained in one of the original IDP camps. These households were interviewed again in 2011, several years after resettlement. Therefore, the panel dataset contains information from households while they were displaced, during the transition home, post-resettlement, as well as recall data from before displacement. The findings suggest that unemployment remains high amongst formerly displaced individuals at a level similar to what it was in 2005 during displacement. The paper also finds differential impacts of conflict and displacement on labor market participation by gender.

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1 Introduction

Wars and civil conflicts, and their associated displacement of individuals, have substantial destructive impacts and are extremely disruptive to the livelihoods of those affected. Conflict-induced displacement is prevalent. In 2005, there were 8,661,994 refugees worldwide (UNHCR 2007). At the same time, the number of internally displaced people, at 23,700,000 (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre 2005), far exceeded the number of refugees. Uganda had the third largest population of internally displaced people in December 2005 with 1,740,498 people internally displaced according to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian. Given the large number of displaced people worldwide and the major changes associated with displacement and resettlement, the transition from Internally Displaced People's (IDP) camps home and the determinants of livelihoods in this setting are crucial for guiding appropriate policy responses.

During displacement, individual livelihood strategies likely change because of changes in opportunities. In many conflict-induced displacement settings, livelihood opportunities are reduced due to insecurity and movement restrictions. Displaced rural households often lose access to land and are, therefore, unable to engage in their primary income-generating activity prior to displacement; farming. However, for rural displaced households, the increased population concentration in IDP and refugee camps often creates new opportunities associated with urbanization, including increased trade. Given these significant changes associated with displacement, there are likely to be changes in livelihood strategies that continue after resettlement. This paper investigates the post-resettlement livelihood strategies of rural Ugandans and the association between livelihood strategies and experiences of conflict and displacement.

In 2011 in a fragile post-conflict environment in northern Uganda, individuals have returned home after years of living in IDP camps. There have been many challenges surround-

ing this return. Concerns have arisen regarding land rights (Adelman and Peterman (2012)), the provision of social services, including health and education, and changes in livelihoods. The welfare of households is largely determined by their income generating abilities. Given prolonged displacement in the semi-urbanized setting of an IDP camp and resettlement land disputes, differences in livelihood strategies have arisen in the largely agrarian rural population. Understanding these differences, their consequences for household welfare, and their association with experiences during conflict and displacement are crucial for policy makers.

The impacts of the resettlement process on labor market outcomes are identified using panel data from two districts¹ in northern Uganda during displacement (2005), during resettlement (2007), and post-resettlement (2011), as well as, recall data prior to displacement. The exogenous nature of aspects of the conflict, displacement, and resettlement in northern Uganda enables the identification of the effects of household conflict experience and the duration of displacement on post-resettlement livelihood strategies. The panel dimension of the data allows for the identification of changes over time in variables of interest, including labor market participation, while controlling for time-invariant individual and household characteristics.

The exogenous nature of dimensions of the conflict and resulting displacement have previously been argued and demonstrated by Lehrer (2010), Blattman and Annan (2010), Adelman (2012), and Bøås, Morten and Anne Hatløy (2005). The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), the rebel group operating in northern Uganda during this period, lacks clearly defined motives and objectives and, as such, attacks by the rebel group appear to be exogenous of individual and household characteristics that may determine livelihood outcomes. The fact that the LRA operates in many small units resulted in different areas being attacked at different points in time. This in turn led to differences in the timing of displacement across the region. Similarly, the timing of resettlement, which was largely dictated by the timing

¹The two districts are Lira and Pader districts as defined by 2005 boundaries.

of the closure of IDP camps, is also likely to be exogenous of individual characteristics. As such, the identification of consequences of the timing of resettlement and the total amount of time displaced can be identified.

The findings suggest that unemployment remains high amongst formerly displaced individuals at a level similar to what it was in 2005 during displacement. The paper also finds differential impacts of conflict and displacement on labor market participation by gender. While female labor market participation is affected by their conflict experiences, that is not the case for men. Moreover, though both male and female labor market participation are affected by their resettlement experiences, only female labor market participation is affected by the duration of their displacement.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 introduces the conflict and prolonged displacement in Northern Uganda. The data is described in section 3. Section 4 describes the empirical estimation strategy and provides evidence of the assumptions underlying the estimation method, in particular, the exogenous nature of aspects of the conflict and displacement. Results are reported and discussed in section 5. Section 6 concludes with a summary of the findings and a discussion of the policy implications.

2 The Context: Conflict and Displacement in Northern Uganda

The conflict in northern Uganda arose from divisions between the north and south of the country. When the current president, Yoweri Museveni, and his southern-based army took power in 1986, a rebel group, the Lord's Resistance Army, led by Joseph Kony, formed claiming to represent northern grievances. Though initially claiming as its objective the overthrow of the southern-based government and the ruling of Uganda by the biblical Ten Commandments, the LRA lacks a clearly articulated political agenda. Its stated aim became

to purify the northern population through violence; declaring that civilians needed to be punished for accepting the government's rule. The LRA also has a spiritual component. Kony is a self-proclaimed prophet who claims that God instructs his actions.

The LRA has tortured, raped, murdered, mutilated and abducted members of the northern population. Children and youth are abducted and forced to become soldiers, laborers, porters, and child brides. Some are taken for years; others for a few hours or days. Some are allowed to leave; some escape; while others are captured by the Ugandan People's Defence Force (UPDF), the Ugandan military, and eventually freed.

In response to this insecurity over 80 percent of the population moved, either voluntarily or forcibly, to Internally Displaced People's camps. Due to the threat of attack, camp residents were largely confined to camp boundaries; leaving the majority of the population without access to their homes and land. Security zones were created as perimeters around each IDP camp restricting the movements of camp residents from the camp in which they lived. This left most households dependent on food aid for survival. The United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) provided food rations to all camp residents.

Referred to by the Ugandan government as 'protective camps', most IDP camps were established around pre-existing villages or trading centers near military detachments. The process of camp formation is discussed further in section 2. IDP camps have been described as "sites of semi-urbanization of rural life." (Bøås and Hatløy, 2005, p.11). Occupations changed dramatically for both men and women while they were displaced. Prior to displacement, the large majority of individuals in rural Northern Uganda practiced small-scale agriculture (Lehrer (2010)). During displacement, land access was restricted and individuals relied heavily on aid, particularly food aid, and entered into different income generating activities.

Prior to displacement, women generally did not perform income generating activities but were responsible for household tasks, including the growing of crops for household consumption (Bøås and Hatløy, 2005, p.16). Agricultural land, livestock, and the income they

generated were predominantly controlled by men. Men also made decisions about all family income including that earned by their spouses (El-Bushra and Sahl 2005, p.15). However, roles changed significantly with displacement. In the IDP camp setting, women continued to perform the majority of domestic tasks while most also participated in income generating activities. In 2005, 71 percent of women participated in some form of labor market activity in the 7 days prior to the interview date. The primary activity of 58 percent of those women was in agriculture while the remainder were casually employed brewing, collecting firewood for sale, selling food, as a porter, and performing odd jobs. Furthermore, 17 percent of women whose primary activity was farming had also performed non-farming related work in the past 7 days.

In the sample, men's labor market participation practically mirrored that of women. 72 percent of men in the sample were involved in any labor market activity in the 7 days prior to the interview, with the primary activity of 55 percent of them in agriculture. The remaining 45 percent were casually employed brick making, making handicrafts, in security, as a porter, burning charcoal, collecting firewood, and performing odd jobs. Moreover, Lehrer (2010) finds that men in older IDP camps were significantly less likely to work than those in newer IDP camps and that displaced men were significantly influenced by the behavior of other men in the IDP camp in which they lived regarding labor market participation. This response was not observed in women.

In August 2006, the Government of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army signed a Cessation of Hostilities Agreement. Further negotiations continued until February 2008. However, in April 2008, Joseph Kony, the leader of the LRA, failed to appear to sign a final peace agreement. Nevertheless, the security situation in Northern Uganda has significantly improved since the signing of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement. The LRA is no longer operating in the region and people living in IDP camps have left, with most returning to their ancestral homes. However, the LRA has not been defeated and has since attacked

villages in the Central African Republic, Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

With this increased security, IDP camps have been closed and individuals have resettled. The resettlement process was lengthy and the timing of resettlement varied by district and within IDP camp. Frequently, households moved first to ‘satellite’ camps before transitioning to a permanent location; often their ancestral land. Figure I depicts the number of internally displaced people in northern Uganda in both 2006 and 2009 according to UNHCR (2009a). By 2009, all displaced individuals in the Lango sub-region, including Lira district, and 74% of the displaced population in the Acholi sub-region, including Pader district, had resettled. By 2009 all of the 61 IDP camps in the Lango sub-region had officially closed while none of the IDP camps in the Acholi sub-region were yet to officially disband (UNHCR 2009b)).

3 Data Description

3.1 Sampling

The panel dataset spans 2005-2011 and contains information from households while they were displaced, during the transition home, post-resettlement, as well as recall data prior to displacement. The first round of data was collected in northern Uganda from October to December 2005². The sample was drawn entirely from households living in IDP camps in Lira and Pader districts³ in northern Uganda. Thirty-two IDP camps were selected for the study with 16 in Pader and 16 in Lira⁴. Households with primary school-aged children, aged between 6 and 17, were randomly sampled. The sample consists of 911 households in 2005.

²The data was collected as an evaluation of two alternative food for education programs by the International Food Policy Research Institute with assistance from Makerere University School of Public Health in Kampala, Uganda.

³Using 2005 boundaries.

⁴In 2005, there were 22 IDP camps in Lira district (excluding 16 camps in Lira Municipality; the urban camps) and 30 IDP camps in Pader district. In Lira, the IDP camps in the sample comprised 86% of the rural camp population and 66% in Pader (UN OCHA IDP camps population as of February 2006 (MAPPADER-200603-01 & MAPLIRA-200603-01)).

These same households were re-interviewed in March and April 2007 during a period of transition and resettlement in the region. At that time, some sample households had already relocated home (44% of sample households, primarily in Lira district), while others were in temporary satellite camps, and others remained in one of the original IDP camps. These households were interviewed again in 2011, several years after resettlement. By 2011, some of these households had split and re-formed into more than one household. Data collection in 2011 was conducted in two phases. First, a tracking survey was undertaken to determine the location of sample households as well as the existence and location of baseline household members who had formed new households (split households). In the second phase of data collection in July and August 2011, 1122 households were reinterviewed which created the third wave of the panel dataset.

3.2 Sample Characteristics

Sample measures of conflict and displacement are presented in table I. Prior to being interviewed in 2005, 66% of sample households had a family member killed as a result of the conflict and, on average, each household lost 2 family members. Moreover, 35% of households had one of its member abducted by the LRA. In line with the conflict having been more intense and prolonged in Pader compared to Lira district, these three measures of household level conflict intensity are more severe in Pader compared to Lira district.

On average, households report being displaced from their homes for 53 months; 4 years and 5 months. There is considerable variation in displacement duration, particularly by district. On average, residents of Lira district were displaced for 27 fewer months than those in Pader. This is consistent with the expansion of the conflict from the Acholi region of Gulu, Kitgum, and Pader, to surrounding areas, including the Lango region of Lira district. Therefore, displacement began later in Lira district. Moreover, resettlement began earlier in Lira district. At the time of the resurvey in 2011, households in Lira district had been

resettled for, on average, 59 months, compared to 47 months for households in Pader district. Therefore, the district of residence is controlled for in all estimation specifications.

On average households' ancestral lands are located near the IDP camp in which they resided with a mean distance of 4.87 miles. Though at first glance this appears to be a short distance, households had considerable difficulty accessing their homes due to the additional security threats they faced when leaving the camp boundaries. As described in Section 2, labor market participation and income generating activities of both men and women changed drastically during displacement. This paper investigates whether these changes in labor market participation and the diversification of income generating activities has persisted after resettlement and whether they are associated with experiences during conflict and displacement.

4 Methodology

Household and individual exposure to conflict and displacement may vary within a region on a number of dimensions, including direct conflict experience, such as, attacks, injuries, abductions, and deaths, as well as, differing displacement experiences. Individual responses to these events may also differ. This paper analyzes the impacts of conflict and displacement experiences on labor market outcomes after resettlement. The empirical strategy relies on the exogenous nature of certain aspects of the conflict in northern Uganda, the forced displacement of households, and the phased disbandment of IDP camps to identify their impacts on labor market outcomes.

The primary outcome of interest is labor force participation of individuals aged 15-65 as measured by whether they had participated in any income generating activity in the seven days prior to being interviewed in 2011. We investigate whether participation is affected by displacement duration, conflict experience, time since resettlement, and whether impacts

differ by gender. The reduced-form estimating equation of interest is

$$pr(y_{ic}) = \alpha + \beta z_{ic} + \delta x_{ic} + \lambda Pader + u_{ic} \quad (1)$$

where the subscript i refers to the individual and c refers to the 2005 IDP camp of residence. y_{ic} is a dummy variable that takes on the value of 1 if the individual reported engaging in any income generating activities in the seven days prior to being interviewed. The coefficients of interest are β , the coefficients on the conflict intensity and displacement measures. Conflict intensity at the household level is measured by whether the household had a family member killed as a result of the insurgency, the number of members killed, and whether the household had a member abducted by the LRA. The displacement measures include the duration of displacement, in months, and the time since resettlement, in months. x_{ic} is a vector of individual characteristics, including the age of the individual and their literacy status.

In order to generate unbiased estimates of β , z_{ic} must be uncorrelated with the error term, u_{ic} in Equation 1. The exogenous nature of dimensions of the conflict and resulting displacement have previously been argued and demonstrated by Lehrer (2010), Blattman and Annan (2010), Adelman (2012), Adelman and Peterman (2012), Adelman et al. (2012), and Bøås, Morten and Anne Hatløy (2005) while examining the impacts of aspects of the conflict and displacement on several different socio-economic outcomes including labor market participation, political participation, child health, education, and land access.

The data provides some evidence of the exogeneity of the intensity of the conflict, the duration of displacement, and time since resettlement in the estimation of labor market impacts. As in Adelman and Peterman (2012), this is accomplished by testing whether observable characteristics, x_{ic} in equation 1 are determinants of conflict and displacement intensity (z_{ic}). These results are reported in table II. In a linear probability model, column (1) shows that there is a small but significant association between age and whether an

individual has had a household member killed as a result of the conflict. Columns (2) shows a weakly significant relationship between gender and the number of family members killed as a result of the conflict, while column (3) demonstrates no relationship between observable individual characteristics and whether a household member was abducted.

Columns (4) and (5) investigate the relationship between individual characteristics and displacement measurements and show that only age has a small but significant impact on both displacement duration and the timing of resettlement. These weak relationships between the observable determinants of labor market outcomes and the measures of conflict and displacement are consistent with existing research demonstrating that the conflict in northern Uganda was largely unrelated to individual characteristics. However, given the few significant relationships, these observable characteristics are included in all analysis.

5 Results

Summary statistics from 2011 post-resettlement data suggest that unemployment remains high amongst formerly displaced individuals. After resettlement, at the time of the survey, 74% of sampled individuals between the ages of 15 and 65 engaged in some form of income generating activity in the 30 days prior to being interviewed. Of the individuals who did engage in any income generating activity, the mean number of days worked was 23 out of the previous 30. There are no significant differences in the likelihood of working or in the number of days worked between men and women in the sample.

Unemployment remains virtually unchanged from 2005, when individuals were largely confined to the boundaries of the IDP camp in which they lived. In 2011, 69% of individuals aged 15 to 65 in the sample engaged in any income generating activity in the 7 days prior to being interviewed, with no differences between men and women. In 2005, the corresponding percentages were 72% for men and 71% for women.

After resettlement, the primary occupation of both men and women remains in agriculture, as it was prior to displacement. Farmer, livestock owner, or agricultural laborer was the primary occupation of 93% of women and 91% of men aged 15-65 who stated that they had an occupation. The relationship between labor market outcomes and conflict and displacement experiences is explored further in Tables III and IV.

Table III presents the results for men. Columns (1) - (4) show no relationship between individual conflict experiences or displacement duration and labor market participation. However, columns (5) - (6) demonstrate that male labor market participation is affected by resettlement. Columns (5) and (6) show that men who have been resettlement for longer are more likely to be working. Column (6) includes both displacement duration and resettlement time as explanatory variables as the two variables are related. An increase in displacement duration will cause a reduction of resettlement time in instances where individuals have been displaced at the same point in time. The findings show that a one standard deviation increase in resettlement time of 15 months, increases the likelihood of working by 6 percent points for men. The results for women, however, are quite different.

Table IV shows that women who have lost more family members as a result of the conflict are less likely to have worked in the seven days prior to being interviewed (column (2)). A one standard deviation increase in the number of family members killed reduces the likelihood of engaging in income generating activities by 5 percentage points. Column (4) shows a negative impact of the number of months displaced on labor market participation. A one standard deviation increase in months displaced, of 53 months, decreases the likelihood of engaging in any income generating activity by 11 percentage points. Moreover, column (5) demonstrates that an increase of a similar magnitude in labor market participation associated with increased time since resettlement. However, once both resettlement time and duration of displacement are included in the analysis (column (6)), both coefficients become insignificant though the magnitudes of their impacts remain virtually unchanged.

6 Conclusion

This paper provides convincing evidence of differential male and female labor market changes resulting from conflict and displacement in northern Uganda. In 2011, unemployment remained high amongst formerly displaced individuals in northern Uganda, at a level similar to that of 2005 when individuals were living in Internally Displaced People's camps and when movements were restricted. However, female labor market participation has increased since displacement and has remained at its 2005 level.

While female labor market participation is affected by conflict experiences, this is not the case for men. Moreover, though both male and female labor market participation are affected by their resettlement experiences, only female labor market participation is affected by the duration of their displacement. These results have important implications for guiding policies targeting recently resettled households.

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A. IDP Camp population in 2006 and 2009 by sub-region

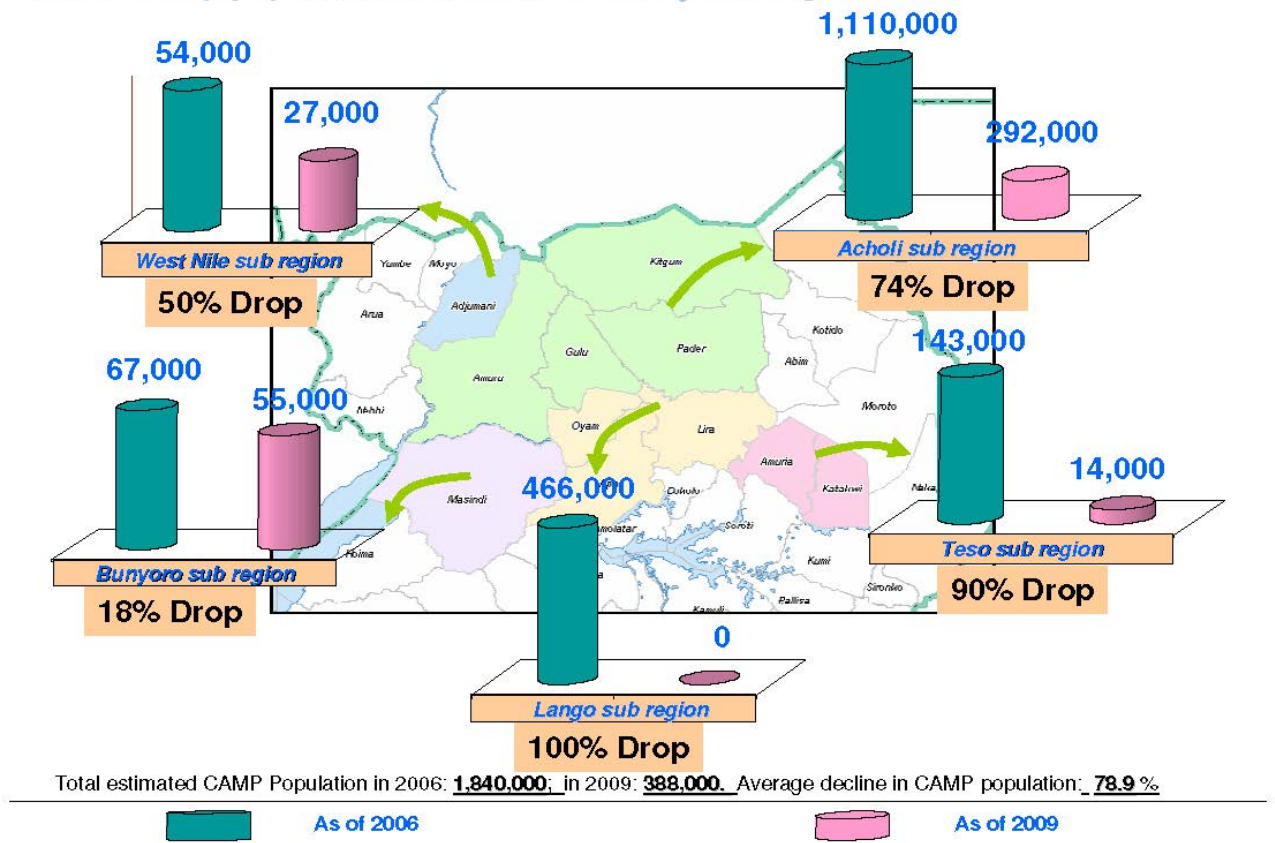


Figure I: UNHCR (July 2009)

Table I: Conflict and Displacement Characteristics

	Full Sample	Lira District	Pader District
Conflict Intensity			
Proportion with Family Member Killed	66.14	63.62	68.50
Number of Family Members Killed	1.97 (2.56)	1.94 (2.77)	2.01 (2.35)
Proportion with Household Member Abducted	35.47	27.68	42.92
Camp Characteristics			
Total Months Displaced	52.78 (24.66)	39.48 (15.61)	66.23 (24.73)
Distance of Home to Camp (miles)	4.87 (4.16)	4.63 (4.40)	5.10 (3.92)
Total Months Resettled	53.29 (15.38)	59.23 (10.36)	46.58 (17.12)
Number of Households	953	466	487

Notes: Standard deviations are in parentheses.

Table II: Determinants of Conflict Intensity and Displacement Duration

	Family Member Killed	No. of Members Killed	Household Member Abducted	Months Displaced	Months Since Resettlement
Age	.002*** (.0008)	.011 (.007)	-.0006 (.001)	.094** (.04)	-.083*** (.024)
Gender	-.016 (.017)	-.300* (.169)	.024 (.019)	.029 (.707)	-.223 (.448)
Literacy	.025 (.024)	-.09 (.175)	-.006 (.033)	.109 (1.258)	1.013 (.767)
Pader	.027 (.04)	-.104 (.286)	.171*** (.05)	28.261*** (3.519)	-13.079*** (1.638)
Constant	.538*** (.04)	1.851*** (.427)	.294*** (.059)	34.972*** (2.54)	62.205*** (1.356)
No. of Observations	1459	1456	1457	1512	1512
R ²	.007	.003	.032	.318	.191

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the 2005 IDP camp level. * significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Table III: Male Labor Market Participation, Conflict, and Displacement

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Family Member Killed	.025 (.045)					
No. of Family Members Killed		-.002 (.003)				
Household Member Abducted			.016 (.04)			
Months Displaced				-.001 (.0009)		.0004 (.001)
Months Since Resettlement					.004*** (.001)	.004** (.002)
Age	-.0001 (.001)	-.0002 (.001)	-.0001 (.001)	.00007 (.001)	.0003 (.001)	.0004 (.001)
Literacy	.052 (.036)	.051 (.036)	.055 (.035)	.057* (.034)	.055* (.033)	.055 (.033)
Pader	.041 (.049)	.041 (.049)	.043 (.047)	.086 (.059)	.094* (.05)	.089 (.058)
Constant	.631*** (.07)	.652*** (.064)	.639*** (.068)	.689*** (.066)	.408*** (.093)	.374*** (.142)
No. of Observations	638	637	639	666	666	666
R ²	.005	.005	.005	.009	.016	.016

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the 2005 IDP camp level. * significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.

Table IV: Female Labor Market Participation, Conflict, and Displacement

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Family Member Killed	-0.05 (.042)					
No. of Family Members Killed		-.021*** (.007)				
Household Member Abducted			.001 (.032)			
Months Displaced				-.002*** (.0006)		-.0004 (.001)
Months Since Resettlement					.003*** (.001)	.003 (.002)
Age	-.002 (.002)	-.002 (.002)	-.002 (.002)	-.002 (.002)	-.002 (.002)	-.002 (.002)
Literacy	.026 (.05)	.025 (.051)	.017 (.05)	.031 (.048)	.024 (.049)	.024 (.049)
Pader	.023 (.051)	.019 (.052)	.025 (.048)	.069 (.055)	.063 (.045)	.07 (.053)
Constant	.791*** (.084)	.797*** (.083)	.763*** (.082)	.824*** (.082)	.561*** (.126)	.603*** (.169)
No. of Observations	534	532	537	554	554	554
R ²	.007	.019	.004	.01	.015	.015

Notes: Standard errors are in parentheses and are clustered at the 2005 IDP camp level. * significant at 10%, ** significant at 5%, *** significant at 1%.