FROM DEPENDENCY TO INDEPENDENCE: A SALUTOGENIC PERSPECTIVE ON THE EXPERIENCES OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED YOUTH BY WAR IN NORTHERN UGANDA

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ABSTRACT

Background: Internal displacement of people is becoming an important issue all over the world calling for international and humanitarian attention due to its association with violation of human rights. Although the phenomenon is felt across the globe, African continent also shares a big percentage of the number of people who are internally displaced. Research shows that today, about 13.5 million people are internally displaced on the African continent. Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Sudan and Burundi are still the most leading countries with a big number of IDPs totalling to millions.

Uganda is also among the countries with a large number of IDPs and as a result peoples’ well-being has been affected in different ways. These include, sexual abuse, torture and violation of their human rights. All these have both short term and long term implication on the health and well-being. While in the camps, people depend on hand-outs from humanitarian agencies and governments. However, after the war, camps are closed and people are left to return to their communities to begin a new life on their own. Previous research looked at displaced persons in camps with less focus on how these people survive when camps are phased out and they return to their communities to live independently.

Overall objective: The overall objective of the study was to attain an understanding of the experiences of the FCRs in their transition from dependent life in the camp to independent life in their communities, and to gain knowledge about the resources they dwell on to thrive.

Research questions: What are the stressors experienced by the young FCRs? 2) What are the resources that the young FCRs apply to thrive? 3) How do communities contribute to the integration of young FCRs in their communities? 4) How do government and non-governmental programmes contribute to the thriving of young FCRs with independent life in their communities?

Theoretical framework: A salutogenic theory by Antonovsky was applied which focuses on factors that support human health rather than factors that create diseases. With the main components of salutogenesis thus Generalised Resistance Resources (GRR) and Sense of Coherence (SOC), the researcher was able to attain knowledge on what factors help the young FCR’s to gain better health and wellbeing in spite of their life challenges experiences.
Methodology: This qualitative study adopted a phenomenological approach. Data was collected in a time frame of three months from July to September using focus group discussion and in depth individual interviews. Semi-structured interview guides were used in all the interviews with the help of research assistants. Two translators were used to translate the research instruments from English to local language (Acholi). A recorder was used and notes taken during all the interviews. All the recorded interviews were transcribed and later retranslated into English language. Atride-Stirling’s thematic network analysis was used in throughout the data analysis process. The researcher attained permission from Norwegian Social Science Data Services (NSD), Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST), and from Gulu district. Informed consent was obtained from the participants.

Results and discussion: The study identified a number of stressors that affect the FCRs. Some of these stressors include poor state of public hospitals and schools, financial difficulties, agricultural challenges, health problems, and social challenges. Though the young FCRs face these challenges, they have some resources at their disposal that help them to thrive. These are; availability of public schools and hospitals, income generating activities, supportive relations, and support from government and non-governmental organisation.

From the salutogenic theory perspective, the findings highlighted that despite the stressors the young FCR’s are facing, they are able to identify resources at hand, view a meaningful life thus worth investing in. All these helped them to move towards positive health and well-being. In addition, the findings were discussed in relation to the existing literature.

Conclusion: The young FCR’s had a lot of resources at their disposal that helped them to thrive in their communities. These resources include, availability of public schools and hospitals, income generating activities, supportive relations to mention. Furthermore, the study revealed that majority of the participants could be having a strong sense of coherence which enabled them to utilise resources at disposal and find life worth an investment. All these components of SOC encouraged them to strive and move towards positive health and well-being.
**ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CDC</td>
<td>Centre for Disease Control</td>
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<tr>
<td>FCRs</td>
<td>Former Camp Residents</td>
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<td>GRRs</td>
<td>Generalised Resistance Resources</td>
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<td>HEPRO</td>
<td>Health Promotion Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally Displaced People</td>
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<td>LRA</td>
<td>Lord’s Resistance Army’s</td>
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<td>MDGs</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental Organisations</td>
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<td>NSD</td>
<td>Norwegian Social Science Date Services</td>
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<td>NUSAF</td>
<td>Northern Uganda Social Action Fund Project</td>
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<td>PRDP</td>
<td>Peace Recovery development Plan</td>
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<td>SOC</td>
<td>Sense of Coherence</td>
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<td>SSA</td>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>USAID</td>
<td>U.S. Agency for International Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>UWESO</td>
<td>Uganda Women’s Effort to Save Orphans</td>
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<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organisation</td>
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UGANDAN TERMS
Watoto church……………… Born again church

Compassion Uganda…………Christian voluntary organisation

Bonabassome……………… Free education for all

Bagagawale……………… Prosperity for all

Kulembeka .................. wealthy for all

Entandikwa……………… Capital for all
CHAPTER ONE

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

As a result of civil wars, internal displacement of people has become an increasing phenomenon across the globe. This has caused a humanitarian crisis due to the challenges it poses to people. Having been internally displaced for many years can pose physical, social and economic challenges to the Former Camp Residents (FCRs) when they return to their community (Alden, 2009; Jansen, 2011). While some FCRs are managing with life in the community and are even thriving, others fail to manage and opt to leave their communities and go to urban areas to move on with life.

The effects of displacement the FCR’s experience may include sexual assault, forced labour and violation of their rights which calls for international and national attention (Hampton, 2014). In 1998, the community of different nations came together with an aim of providing humanitarian aid and protecting the rights of IDPs. The UN Guiding Principle was then created to manage the operation of IDPs and to ensure that rights of these people are not violated. However, it was not legally binding and that limited its operations (Kälin & Schrepfer, 2012). After the UN Guiding principle, the African Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons was formed (the AU Convention). It must be noted that this convention was the first continental legally binding instrument. Its aims were to protect the internally displaced people from different forms of torture and ensure that their rights are respected (Abebe, 2010).

Globally, many countries such as Srilanka, Colombia, Turkey and Kosovo have experienced the challenge of forced internal displacement due to wars between states, regions and communities despite its challenges to the people. In the African continent also, research shows that there is an increasing number of people who are internally displaced due to wars. For example, in 2002 the number of internally displaced persons was estimated to be about 5 million and today the number has increased to an estimate of 13.5 million people, (Hampton, 2014). DRC, Congo, Angola and Burundi are some of the African countries registered for having the biggest number of IDP’s (Hampton, 2014).

Uganda has also been immersed in the problem of containing IDPs due to the war in Northern Uganda which lasted for about 28 years. By 2005, approximately two (2) million people were
living in more than 200 camps for internally displaced people in northern Uganda (Gelsdorf, Maxwell, & Mazurana, 2012). While in the camps, people are exposed to a number of devastating situations which cause a lot of suffering and affect their health (Dolan, 2013). For example, the Lord's Resistance Army abducted many children, youth and women who were subjected to forced labour and many lost their lives (Hampton, 2014).

1.2 Problem statement

The civil war in Northern Uganda led to the creation of IDP camps. After many years of the war, the Ugandan government weakened the Lord’s Resistance Army’s (LRA) activities that forced the rebels to flee to Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Central African Republic (CAR) (Hampton, 2014; Joireman, Sawyer, & Wilhoit, 2012). This move prompted the government to decommission or close down some camps for people to go back to their communities to start to live independently (Joireman et al., 2012; Pham, Vinck, & Stover, 2005). Tuathail (2010) argues that not all displaced people especially the youth prefer to go back to their communities after the decommissioning of camps. The majority of the youth who transit from the camps face problems in finding decent jobs in their quest for survival. They lack micro credit assistance to start up small scale businesses and also lack both emotional and social support from their families due to forced displacement that scatters their families (Hampton, 2014; Joireman et al., 2012). Despite these hard conditions, some of the youth continue to stay on with life in their community (Horn, 2009). However, reviewing the existing literature, it is obvious that most of the research focus on problems people face in camps. Little is being done by researchers to look into the resources the young former camp residents dwell on to cope with life when they return to their communities. This is a big gap that needs to be given research attention.

1.3 Context

The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), also known as the Lord's Resistance Movement, was a heterodox Christian rebel group which operated in the northern part of Uganda (Joireman et al., 2012). The LRA sought to destabilize and overthrow the government of Uganda. Formed in 1992 and led by Joseph Kony, unbridled brutality such as rape, torture, and murder became the group's modus operandi in the almost many years of its operation in Uganda. Starting in the mid-1990s, the LRA was strengthened by military support from the government of Sudan which was retaliating against Ugandan government support for rebels in what would become South Sudan (Atkinson, 2009). The Lord's Resistance Army fought with the National
Resistance Army which led to mass atrocities such as the killing and abduction of many people especially children, youth and women. The government created what was called ‘protected villages’ for the safety of people (Gelsdorf et al., 2012; Hampton, 2014).

Conditions in camps that are created negatively affect people. For example, overcrowded housing, poor health, malnutrition and child sexual abuse which have great impact on the health of IDPs are some of these conditions (Checchi, 2006; Miller & Rasmussen, 2010). Olaa (2001), argues that the displacement of people in northern Uganda led to the erosion of traditions and culture which weakened the relationships that used to unite and keep families in harmony. Moreover, the ‘forced encampment’ limited their movements to access their land for cultivation, which compelled them to sell the assets they had in order to meet their family needs (Gelsdorf et al., 2012). This situation left them in poverty and brought a lot of stress to them (Gelsdorf et al., 2012).

Recognising that the young FCR’s had some challenges, a national Peace Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP), and Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF) programme were created by the government to assist the war victims who were in precarious economic circumstances with infrastructural construction, credit facilities and livestock. The PRDP also aimed at increasing small scale enterprises to address youth unemployment challenges and by 2006 the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) was rolled out through which financial assistance was given to the youth to start businesses (Dolan, 2008).

When the Lord's Resistance Army started operating from neighbouring countries, Uganda Government together with development partners started a program to re-settle the IDPs and re-integrate them into their communities. This initiative was initially welcomed by most of the displaced people because they were given financial and material support to re-locate to their previous homes. In spite of these efforts by government and other allied agencies, there is still a lot to be done in order to support them to live independently. This study is therefore to explore some of the stressors and resources of a group of young former camp residents who have been re-integrated into their communities.

1.4 Literature on former camp residents

Internal displacement of persons is a phenomenon that involves violation or abuse of human rights. This is an issue that has called for international attention. A study by Hampton (2014) indicates that most internally displaced people face a lot of problems such as sexual abuse,
abduction of children and youth in countries such as Angola, Sudan, Burundi and Uganda where a large number of people have been forcefully displaced. Hampton (2014) maintains that some of these challenges that internally displaced people face while in camps, become part of their problems even when the return to their communities. The author argues that sexual abuse poses long term effects to the victims. Also, research by Amon-P’Olak, Lekhutlile, Meiser-Stedman, and Ovuga (2014), points clearly that girls who were sexually abused while in captivity or in the camps are often stigmatized or rejected by their fellow community members when they return because they are regarded as spoilt youth.

Hampton (2014) and Cohen and Deng (2010) argue that though internal displacement of people in war torn areas has been increasing, donor agencies tend to focus on situations of saving lives of people. The authors argue that these agencies do not go beyond that to intervene in reintegration and provision of self-support after the wars and their funding for reintegration is always minimal and short term. This has an effect on the number of people that benefits. Most of the research conducted across the globe in relation to IDP camps put emphasis on the effects of camp life on people. Although all these studies are very crucial in the research discipline, few studies have been conducted to understand the challenges of the young former camp residents and the resources they apply to thrive. Additionally, there is a gap of not evaluating the phenomenon from the theoretical perspective.

1.5 Definition of key components

According to Jesse (2005), the youth are referred to young adults who are above 18 years up to the age of 30 years. For this study, I will refer the young former camp residents to mean the youth as defined by Jesse.

Thriving can be referred to as a person’s ability to understand the environment and be able to recognise the potentials available to be able to make a positive change in life (Spreitzer & Porath, 2014). The researcher will be referring to these authors to mean thriving.

Health and wellbeing are key concepts in health promotion and are used interchangeably. Health refers to “a state of complete physical, mental, and social wellbeing, and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity” (To, 2003, p. 17).
1.6 Overall objective, sub objectives and research questions

1.6.1 Overall objective

The overall objective of the study was to attain an understanding of the experiences of the FCRs in their transition from dependent life in the camp to independent life in their community, and to gain knowledge about the resources they dwell on to thrive.

1.6.2 Sub objectives

1. To explore the stressors experienced by the FCRs.
2. To examine the resources the young former camp residents apply to thrive.
3. To understand the role the communities play in integrating the FCRs into their community.
4. To understand the role the government and non-governmental organisations play in integrating the young FCRs.

1.6.3 Research Questions

1. What are the stressors experienced by the young FCRs?
2. What are the coping strategies that the FCRs apply to thrive?
3. How do communities contribute to integration of young former camp residents in their communities?
4. How do government and non-governmental organisations programmes contribute to the coping of former camp residents with independent life in their integrated community?

1.7 Structure of the study

The study is divided into six chapters. The introduction is chapter 1. Chapter two comprises the relevant literature on the FCRs drawing on salutogenic approach where key concepts of the theory are highlighted, and how it can be applied to the FCRs. Chapter three presents the methodology part and chapter four highlights the findings from the study. The findings of the study are discussed in chapter five. In this section, discussion of findings in relation to existing literature, and discussion in relation to the salutogenesis theory are presented. The discussion part is followed by the sixth chapter which comprises of the conclusion and the recommendations.
2.0 Literature Review and Theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction to Literature Review

This chapter highlights the overview of the literature on stressors that the FCRs face in their community and the resources they utilize to thrive irrespective of the challenges they face. It must be noted that some old literature has been cited in the study because most of the studies available are strictly on the camp life and only a few look into how the FCRs manage life when they return to their community. However, the researcher is aware of the need to use updated literature. The last part of the chapter presents an overview of salutogenic theory of health.

2.2 Literature on stressors

2.2.1 Poor state of public hospitals

Poor health systems due to poor facilities and lack of skilled personnel are factors that affect people’s experiences of health and well-being in post conflict areas. It is argued that in post conflict areas most of the infrastructure such as buildings and machines are destroyed, skilled medical personnel are killed, and financial resources meant for health systems channeled to military expenditure (Waters, Garrett, & Burnham, 2009). Prevention of diseases under poor conditions can be a challenge. As a result, primary health care becomes impossible to the poor and this has an implication on their health (Petrose et al., 2016). Approximately 12 million people die in Africa every year and there is no clear understanding of the disease that caused their deaths. Efficient health care delivery system thus depends on adequate personnel, efficient transport and equipment (Joloba et al., 2016; Petrose et al., 2016; Petti, Polage, Quinn, Ronald, & Sande, 2006). In the case of Uganda, Xu et al. (2006) observe that non-availability of drugs in the hospitals means that people have to go to private pharmacies to buy medicine. With the poor economic conditions of people in post war areas, getting money to buy medicine is difficult and makes it hard for them to access the prescribed medication and as a result, their health is affected.

2.2.2 Poor state of public schools

The Ottawa Charter 1986 outlines schools as one of the fundamental requirement for one to achieve better health. The charter argues that in order to achieve health, education gives a
foundation for people to take control over their health (WHO, 1986). The quality of school facilities such as classrooms and science laboratories directly affect children’s performance. On the one hand, students who study from schools with high quality facilities, such as science laboratories, furniture and classrooms, are more likely to be focused, orderly and serious in their academic work. On the other hand, students who study from schools with poor facilities tend to lose concentration and perform poorly (Uline & Tschannen-Moran, 2008; Uline, Wolsey, Tschannen-Moran, & Lin, 2010).

Nishimura, Yamano, and Sasaoka (2008) claim that though the Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme was intended to provide free education, this is not the case in practice. According to them, although there are no school fees, parents still have to pay for school uniforms and lunch. Considering the financial difficulties of people in the post war areas, these expenses are a challenge for most parents. As a result, some parents take their children to help them work on their farms in order to raise the money needed. This increases student absenteeism and hence affecting their performance (Nishimura et al., 2008).

2.2.3 Agricultural challenges

When people in post war areas return to their communities, they commonly face challenges regarding agricultural production. Such problems include land infertility, land conflicts, irrigation problems and incurable diseases.

Post war areas face the problem of land infertility as a result of lack of application of fertilizers. The cost of fertilizers in Sub Saharan Africa (SSA) is extremely high as a result of transport problems due to poor roads. Furthermore, there are no supportive credit schemes to offer them small loans to buy the fertilizers (Mairura et al., 2008; Owona, 2008; Vitousek et al., 2009). As a result, farm productivity is reduced and this may reduce the household income and cause food crisis (Davies, Pollard, & Mwenda, 2010; Hanjra & Qureshi, 2010).

In many parts of the world, people face problems related to land distribution and land conflicts. These conflicts can take place on inter or intra levels (between communities or nation or within communities or nations). Several scholars opine that non regularization of the distribution of land among communities or families causes land conflicts (Boone, 2013; Lund & Boone, 2013; Sikor & Lund, 2010). More so, Mabikke (2011) and Lund, Odgaard, and Sjaastad (2006) argue that the death of elders who used to help in locating land boundaries is one of the reasons for most of the land conflicts in the African continent. In most rural areas, trees and stones are the
major features that mark land boundaries. However, during wars, stones are removed, trees are cut, and elders die, making it hard for the returnees to locate their land and conflicts arise (Mabikke, 2011). Deininger, Ali, Holden, and Zevenbergen (2008), argue that in order to minimize land conflicts, clear policies and clear demarcations that give people full ownership over land needs to be put in place. This increases land access and hence increases on farm inputs, household incomes and therefore reduces poverty rates. However, Jacobsen, Marshak, Ofori-Adjei, and Kembabazi (2006) argue that though land registration and acquisition of land titles are very important as far as minimizing of land disputes is concerned. The process of acquiring these land titles is still inappropriate in Africa due to bureaucratic obstacles and high costs involved. People have to pay taxes for the land, pay a surveyor to survey the land and make payments to the land offices. All these payments and delays limit people from applying for the land titles and this has hindered land conflict resolution processes.

Irrigation problems still remain a challenge in many semi-arid countries. A study by Rockström et al. (2010), argue that African countries are facing this problem due to lack of water harvesting systems for supplementary irrigation. As a result, farm productivity is reduced and this may lead to food crisis (Tirado, Cohen, Aberman, Meerman, & Thompson, 2010).

Diseases such as HIV/AIDS are widespread in developing countries which has an effect on agricultural sustainability and rural development (Mphande, 2016). Mphande (2016) opines that at the household level, sickness due to HIV infection leads to labour shortage and increased household expenditure in relation to medication and purchase of special foods for the sick people. This results into low agricultural productivity hence food insecurity and reduced income. The author further argues that people die as a result of HIV infection and the responsibility of taking care of their children is shifted to other family members putting a strain on the limited resources available.

2.2.4 Financial difficulties

One of the major factors affecting people’s wellbeing and life satisfaction is unemployment (Dolan, 2008; Dolan, Peasgood, & White, 2008; Macia, Duboz, Montepare, & Gueye, 2015). The authors state that economic difficulties are tagged with inability to provide basic necessities for the family. They further indicated that once one is in a poor economic condition, he or she will experience poor standard of living and is less likely to be satisfied with life. However, other studies indicate that not all people who are wealthy are happy either. They
argue that people who attach a lot of value to money are more likely to be less satisfied with life than those who do not. Money therefore, can be both a source of stress and relief, depending on the individual’s situation (Compton, 2005; Drakopoulou, 2008).

Furthermore, people’s dissatisfaction with life can result into low self-esteem and this has negative implication on both their behavioural and psychological wellbeing, (Amone-P’Olak et al., 2014; Kizza, Hjelmeland, Kinyanda, & Knizek, 2015). The authors argue that post war effects such as depression and unemployment often lead to behavioural problems, such as alcoholism and drug abuse. They stress that some people in post war areas use drugs and alcohol as coping mechanisms to offload the stressful moments in their lives. However, Sullivan and Pfefferbaum (2014) points out that alcohol and drugs do not provide a long term coping strategy instead, it rather provides a short term relief.

2.2.5 Social Challenges

Research suggests that war related negative experiences such as sexual violence and involvement in hostilities where the youth are made to kill their family members explain the reason for their stigmatisation and rejection when they return to their communities. Some of the community members look at females who had been raped and produced children with rebels as spoilt generation with no respect for the community social norms and culture. Sexual violence against women during and after war affects women in different ways. These include physical, emotional, death and sexual reproductive difficulties such as genital injury, fistula and contraction of sexually transmitted diseases which have long term effects on their health, (Mathers & Loncar, 2006). While some are viewed as people with rebel hearts, others are seen as spoilt (Amone-P’Olak et al., 2014; Corbin, 2008).

2.3 Literature on resources

2.3.1 Availability of public hospitals

Availability of well-equipped public hospitals with skilled personnel increases people’s access to good health. It is the government’s role to ensure that access to health to its citizens is less stressful in order to achieve the millennium development goals (Yates, 2009). Before 2001, in Uganda, what was in place was cost sharing in public hospitals. People were expected to pay for some costs in order to access medical care and this made accessibility to health by the poor very difficult (Xu et al., 2006). However, after 2001, the government abolished the cost sharing
policy and introduced free health care in order to reduce health inequalities and inequity, (Dzakpasu, Powell-Jackson, & Campbell, 2013; Orem, Mugisha, Kirunga, Macq, & Criel, 2011). This pro-poor health policy increased the access and utilization of public health care facilities. Considering the high poverty rate in Uganda, particularly in post war areas, policies aiming for free health care will improve the health of the poor if it means they can access hospitals and get free treatment.

The physical environment of the hospitals, the level of skilled personnel, and the quality of medical equipment are important in quality service delivery and for people’s experience of well-being (Nekoei-Moghadam & Amiresmaili, 2011).

2.3.2 Availability of public schools

There is a positive correlation between level of education and employment prospects (Maberry, Amanor-Boadu, Ross, & Zereyesus, 2014). Employment prospects depending on the level of education means that the illiterate or people with little education face difficulties of getting employed, especially in the formal sector. People who are educated have a higher competitive advantage in search for jobs and attainment of better payment than people who are not educated. Therefore education can be linked to well-being (Maberry et al., 2014). Lincove (2012) and Ekaju (2011) mention that UPE is a pro-poor policy which helps them to reduce on their expenditure hence a strategy to reduce poverty levels among people and inequalities.

2.3.3 Income generating activities

Abundance of land plays a critical role to its users as it gives them opportunity to farm on a large scale and this improves their output and household income. Comparatively, countries with abundant land have an edge over those with less land mass in relation to high scale production. Having land and making good use of it helps in the fight against poverty and as a result, increases household income which leads to good health (Deininger & Byerlee, 2011).

2.3.4 Supportive relations

Several studies show that support from the community, friends, family members, NGOs and government is vital in helping people in post war environments to cope with their experiences. This section highlights studies that indicate the support people in post war areas dwell on to thrive.
The communities that people in post war conflicts return to settle in are a vital resource, assisting them financially, offering counseling services and arranging meetings to help them feel part of the community (Annan, Brier, & Aryemo, 2009; Theresa S Betancourt, Agnew-Blais, Gilman, Williams, & Ellis, 2010; Kassam & Nanji, 2006; Kostelny & Wessells, 2013). The authors argue that the community constantly helps women in war torn areas to start up informal groups that meet to discuss their problems and possible solutions. In these informal groups, they also discuss how to get started with income generating activities to empower them economically (Kassam & Nanji, 2006).

The church, community, family, and friends are all seen to provide social and emotional support to people in post war conflict situations when they return to their communities. The religious beliefs and customs helps in reduction of psycho social problems like social exclusion and war related stress hence improvement of their mental and physical health. This is possible through counselling, church sermons and prayers they offer to the people that give them a positive mind and meaning of their lives and thus emotional stability (Theresa Stichick Betancourt & Khan, 2008). Support from friends and families are seen to be vital as far as coping with traumatic experiences is concerned. It provides both emotional and social support, and brings happiness, (Theresa Stichick Betancourt & Khan, 2008; Demir, Özdemir, & Weitekamp, 2007; Francis, Ok, & Robbins, 2016; Haller & Hadler, 2006; Kassam & Nanji, 2006). However, Bolger and Amarel (2007) claim that not all relations are helpful. They argue that some relations can be very stressful and this inflicts more pain than relief. Therefore, relations can be either a stress or a resource for the FCRs when they return to their communities.

In addition to the above, interventions of both NGOs and government are seen as significant resources in the integration of people when they return to their communities. Collier (2006), claims that it’s the governments’ role to ensure that people recover from after war crisis in terms of skills, income and counseling services and this leads to a decline in the risk factors associated with conflicts. Several studies highlight that integration programmes provided by these organizations, such as short-term vocational training and community sensitization, help people to be economically independent and to provide basic needs. This results into better standards of living and hence improved well-being (Annan et al., 2009; Brueggemann, 2013; Stark, Ager, Wessells, & Boothby, 2009).
2.4 Theoretical Framework

The theory of Salutogenisis was used in this study to get an in depth understanding of the coping strategies of the former residents of IDP camps in their transition from dependent life in the camps to independent life in their communities.

According to Becker, Glascoff, and Felts (2010), Salutogenisis dwells on the origins of health rather than what causes diseases (pathogenic). Salutogenic model of health is credited to an Israel American sociologist Aaron Antonovsky. The theory shows that in life, people go through different conditions of stress and diseases which become part of their lives. However, in such stressful exposures, some people break down while others survive.

The core concepts underlying the theory of Salutogenisis are Sense of Coherence (SOC) and Generalised Resistance Resources (GRRs). Sense of coherence is defined as;

“a global orientation that expresses the extent to which one has a pervasive enduring though dynamic feeling of confidence that (1) the stimuli from one’s internal and external environments in the course of living are structured, predictable and explicable; (2) the resources are available to one to meet the demands posed by the stimuli; (3) these demands are challenges worthy of investment and engagement” (Antonovsky, 1987, p. 19).

The Sense of coherence manifests a person’s perpetual orientation to life and the degree of preparedness to deal with stressful situation, (Eriksson, Lindström, & Lilja, 2007). They argue that the universal comprehensibility of life is that, it is organised, controllable and coherent. Sense of coherence is composed of the following three elements: comprehensibility, manageability, and meaningfulness.

Comprehensibility, the cognitive component, has to do with the way we interpret environmental stimuli that we encounter in life and the meaning we attribute to them. There is a positive correlation between sense of coherence and orderliness, predictability and explicitly of the stimuli encountered (Lindström & Eriksson, 2006). Manageability, the behavioural component, according to Eriksson et al. (2007) refers to the perceived adequacy of the resources an individual has to be able to deal with the demands of life. Whilst Meaningfulness, the motivational component, means the affective appraisal of life as sensible and worth investing in (Lindström & Eriksson, 2006). This motivates people to make decisions that will help them to overcome the challenges at hand. Antonovsky regards this component as the most
important because it involves identifying specific valuable areas in life. He argued that resources may be available but viewing life worth an investment is the most motivating part that can lead the individual to achieve the other components of SOC.

The GRRs are defined as “biological, material and psychosocial factors that make it easier for people to perceive their life as consistent, structured and understandable” (Lindström & Eriksson, 2006, p. 241). According to Wolff and Ratner (1999), the GRRs refers to the array of resources that works against the volumes of stressful life events that a person is exposed to. The resources include among others material resources, knowledge, coping strategies and social support, (Antonovsky, 1987; Lindström & Eriksson, 2006). Strong Sense of Coherence makes it possible for an individual to view life worth investing in and therefore mobilise available GRRs especially in difficult situations.

Figure 1: The salutogenic model

The above figure shows other components of the theory. These include life situation, life course stress exposure and life experiences. Life situation refers to the overall circumstances a person finds him or herself in, for example one's gender, culture, age or choices one takes. Life course stress exposures refers to different kinds of stressors or challenges that people face in their lives such as diseases or wars. They may be chronic or acute. Both stressors and GRRs are generated from the life situation. The life experience is determined by the balance between life course stress exposures and GRRs. Life experience include consistency, underload-overload balance,
and participation. When a person utilises the resources at disposal, he or she will manage the life stressors which will lead him or her to a predictable life, balance will be experienced and increased participation. Conversely, when a person fails to utilise the resources at hand such as skills or support, he or she is likely to find life inconsistent. And this may limit his participation and ability to manage stressors making life hard. Therefore, life experiences are affected by GRRs and life course stressors.

According to Antonovsky (1987) stress and diseases are integral part of life situations but how one manages them is the most important element that will lead to better health. Antonovsky (1996) argues that individuals have varying choices in life that can either help them to improve or worsen their health. Therefore, when a person makes a better choice he or she is more likely to make good use of the available resources and this will lead him or her to better health and vice-versa.

The lives of the former young camp residents in the IDP camps in Uganda can be described as ‘double-edged sword’. Whilst in the camps, they faced life situations of overcrowded housing, poor health, malnutrition and child sexual abuse which results into traumatic situations of the people (Miller & Rasmussen, 2010). Yet, when they go back to their homes with almost nothing only to face poverty, social marginalisation, lack social and material support which makes them feel more stressed and this has an effect on their health and well-being (Roberts & Patel, 2009). To some, life outside the camp is so unendurable that they returned to different camps which were still existing and others to urban centres. Others stayed and tried to make a normal life for themselves, despite the difficulties. How life is managed outside the camps in their communities by a group of people is the prime focus of this research. The hope is that answers to these questions can give a deeper understanding of the GRRs that are available to them and how they make good use of them to thrive.

The former young camp residents who perceive that they have GRRs such as social support, availability of public schools and hospitals, and make good use of them are more likely to find life manageable, predictable and worth investing. This is a sign that their level of SOC is high. Their ability to identify the resources at hand and use them appropriately increases their SOC, which leads to quality of life. Most of the studies concentrate on the stressors of these camp residents with little emphasis on what enables them to cope with life in their transition form camp life back to their communities.
CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Methodology

Qualitative research can be defined as studies “seeking answers to questions about the ‘what’, ‘how’ or ‘why’ of a phenomenon, rather than questions about how many or how much” (Green & Thorogood, 2014, p. 5). Creswell (2014) argues that for a research to be regarded qualitative, it must possess certain characteristics which include triangulation, natural setting and reflexivity. Reflexivity requires that “researchers should subject their own research practice to the same critical analysis that they deploy when studying their topic” (Green & Thorogood, 2014, p. 23). To get an understanding of experiences and meanings that the participants attach to their condition as former camp residents, varying sources of data such as individual interviews and focus group discussions were used and the researcher played her role as contained in section 3.9.4. Field work was carried out from July to September 2015 at Patek village, which is where the young former camp residents of this study live.

3.1 Research design

This study adopted the phenomenological approach with the aim to understand the lived experiences of the participants. One of the advantages of phenomenological design is the "flexibility and the adaptability of its methods to ever widening arcs of inquiry” (Garza, 2007, p. 338). This opportunity helped the researcher to attain rich description of the phenomenon through application of different methods of data collection. Focus group discussions, in-depth individual interviews were used in order to attain a deeper understanding of the stressors young former camp residents in Patek village face and the resources they apply to survive in spite of the challenges. According to Giorgi (1994) and Finlay and Gough (2008), researchers should endeavour to always be conscious, vigilant and exercise high sense of integrity to ensure that their personal experiences do not affect the findings of the study. However, as pointed out by Giorgi and Giorgi (2008), it is impossible for a researcher to completely apply the principle of objectivity in phenomenological studies because the attitudinal change required of the researcher is contestable. For this research, I endeavoured to ensure that I put aside the previous knowledge I had about former camp residents and went into the field as neutral as possible, seeking information from the research participants.
3.2 Study area

The research was conducted at Patek village in Bobi Sub County of Gulu district, Northern Uganda. It is about 20km away from Gulu district on the Karuma- Gulu road. Bobi sub county shares boundaries with Alogi sub-county in the east, Koro sub-county in the North, Goma sub-county in the west and Apac district in the south. It was chosen because few studies are done in this locality and almost all them, as my search revealed captured the experiences of camp residents to the neglect of how the young former camp residents are surviving after returning to their communities. Another reason for its choice was that most of the research has been conducted in towns, disregarding the views of people in the hinterlands. This prompted me to go into this area to conduct my research to get the views of the rural people.

Map: 1 Showing Map of Uganda and Gulu district and Bobi sub-county.

3.3 Participant selection

In order to get an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon, purposive selection of the participants was used. Tongco (2007) states that purposive sampling is a situation where a researcher chooses the participants based on the qualities they possess. It is less time consuming and cost effective (Tongco, 2007). According to Green and Thorogood (2014) purposive sampling gives the researcher an added advantage to select participants capable of providing
accurate and valuable information for the study. However, Tongco (2007) warns that purposive sampling may not be free from bias more especially in situations where the informants give information with either hidden motives or give specific information to please the researcher. To overcome this, different methods such as cross-checking and triangulation can be used (Creswell, 2014; Green & Thorogood, 2014). To get the participants that fit the criteria for this research and to minimise the bias, different strategies and methods of data collection were applied.

Prior to the start of the research, I visited the site in order to recruit a gatekeeper and find interpreters who were native speakers of Acholi and well conversant with the language. Also it was for me to get knowledge about the research site. During the visit, I recruited the local council chairman at the village level as the gatekeeper and he introduced me to all the committee members. The selection of participants was done with the help of the local council chairman at village level who also worked as the gatekeeper. This is because he knows a lot of people within the community and being an elected leader, he is known by most people and has good relationship with most of them within the area. Therefore, he was a major resource in identification and recruitment process of participants for the study.

3.3.1 Participant inclusion

The participants included young former camp residents between the ages of 18-30 years, who once lived in the camps and later returned to their communities. A group of 8 males and 8 females participated in the study, and 6 in each group, were identified to participate in the individual interviews. Additionally, it included youth counsellor (these are elected youth representatives at the village level), and government representative at the sub-county level (these are also elected government representatives at each sub-county level). The government representative and the youth counsellor were between the ages of 45-49. Initially, the government representative was supposed to be the Regional District Commissioner (RDC) whose responsibility is to monitor government programmes at both regional and district levels. However, arriving in the field, the RDC advised me rather to interview the local council chairman three (government representative at sub-county) who enjoys much respect in the community as the elected representative. The rationale for choosing the local council chairman three was to get accurate information regarding government programmes, specifically in Patek village. The youth counsellor, being entrusted with authority by his fellow community youth through voting means that, he represents the youth and therefore would have the requisite
information and that really helped me to acquire the needed information regarding the youth. Majority of the participants were farmers and a few engaged in business and some were housewives. Majority of the participants were illiterates and a few who had attended school, did not exceed primary level. Majority of the participants were single. Some participants had biological children they were taking care of and others were taking care of their siblings. The government representative and the youth councillor are not included in the table below.

3.3.2 Exclusion

FCR’s who did not return to their communities but instead went to urban centres after the camp phase-out policy were excluded and the youth who had not returned to the village for more than two years were not part of the study.

Table: 1 Overview of the participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonyms</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Educational qualification</th>
<th>Marital status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Achiro</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>House wife</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akello</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Farmer and tailor</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akao</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achii</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abalo</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Business lady</td>
<td>Primary five</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayao</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oboyo</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opio</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Boda cyclist and farmer</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okia</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okot</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Married</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omona</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Business man &amp; farmer</td>
<td>Primary six</td>
<td>Single</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Okello  Male  27  Farmer  Primary two  Single
Aber    Female  19  Farmer  Nil  Single
Apili   Female  21  Housewife  Nil  Married
Ota     Male    28  Farmer and tailor  Nil  Married
Oti     Male    26  Businessman  Primary four  Single

3.4 Setting

The interviews were carried out in the participants' homes and at places where they felt comfortable, like in the shade of trees. Focus groups for young FCRs were carried out at the local council chairman's home under the shade of trees whilst that of the government representatives was carried out at his home under the shade of a tree (resting place/common meeting place in the area). Though the venues were comfortable enough, there were few interruptions from the noise made by chickens running around and also from children of female focus group participants but that did not affect the quality of the recordings I took from participants.

3.5 Research instruments

According to Green and Thorogood (2014), focus group discussions give the participants an opportunity to open up their views especially sensitive issues. This is because as they are in a group, people tend to realise that what they have experienced is also experienced by others which encourages them to freely open up and express their views compared to one on one interviews. Two focus group discussions were conducted with each comprising eight participants. The focus group discussions were held before individual interviews to help identify key former camp residents for individual in-depth interviews, and to build rapport with them within the limited time of two months.

The two focus groups consisted of young former camp residents, one for males and one for females. The reason for making them separate was to be gender sensitive because women in African context generally do not speak freely in the presence of men because they tend to feel shy and inferior. A semi structured topic guide seeking to understand the stressors that the young former camp residents face, the resources at their disposal to cope with life, and their
experiences after returning to the community was used. The details are found in the attached appendix I.

Another reason for choosing focus group discussion was to open up to the possibility of useful information coming up in the group discussions that I might have overlooked in the interview guide. According to Green and Thorogood (2014), focus group discussions have their own challenges, like that of some group members dominating the discussion and failing to include or take seriously other members’ views. To minimise the challenges of FGD's, I gave all participants equal opportunity to express their opinions by allocating equal time to each participant and reminded them before every meeting that all members are equal and all their views are important for the study. This was done to minimise the emergence of dominant members and to prevent others from being ridiculed by their colleagues.

The focus group for males was conducted on the first day of the interviews but for the females, it was conducted two days later. The discussion started with general introductions (name, age, marital status, occupation). When it reached my turn, I also told them that I have an Acholi boy-friend from the same region and that very soon I would be their “sister in-law”, indicating a family relation. When I did so, they got excited and became very free, allowing us (me and the research assistant) to present the study and get their consent. Consent forms were signed, ground rules set and the discussion started with a prayer, led by one of the Anglican participants. After the focus group discussions, and with the help of the local council chairman, I was able to recruit participants for the in-depth individual interviews.

In-depth individual interviews were another instrument used to collect data for the research. Green and Thorogood (2014) and Gibson and Brown (2009) maintain that using semi structured interviews gives the researcher an opportunity to probe further and in such situations, other topics may emerge which can give a more holistic view of the phenomenon. In total, Eighteen (18) participants were interviewed with each interview session lasting about 45 minutes. Out of this number, sixteen (16) participants were young former camp residents, one youth community leader and one government representative. All the interviews were conducted with the help of research assistants who also helped with the translation.

3.6 Research assistance

Uganda is a multi-lingual country consisting of different ethnic groups who speak different languages. I come from a different ethnic group and speak a different language from the
interviewees. Therefore, I hired two university graduates (one male and one female) who had experience in data collection and who are Acholi native speakers to assist me in interviewing the participants and in the translation of the research instruments such as interview guide, consent forms and information of the participants. The two assistants were born and raised in Gulu but they did not know the participants personally. I worked with them all through the focus group discussions and individual interviews. Working with the research assistants with similar ethnic backgrounds as the participants was an asset because the participants were more relaxed and free in their interaction. I believe that this free interaction helped me attain more detailed data than if I had not brought someone from outside to assist. Though I did not understand the language of the participants I believe that the data given to me by the research assistants after transcription was the exact information from the participants.

3.7 Data Management

To avoid missing important information from the focus group discussions, I asked permission to use a tape recorder, which was agreed to by all the participants. This enabled me to review the responses of each participant in case of any doubt in relation to what had been said in the interviews. All the recordings from focus group discussions and individual interviews were transcribed and saved on my personal password protected laptop. For backup purposes, transcriptions were saved on a memory stick, which was kept in a locked cupboard. None of the transcribed documents contain names of the participants and its only pseudonyms that are used to maintain confidentiality and to protect the informants.

The interview transcripts will be stored on my personal password protected laptop for a maximum period of two years after my thesis submission, in case of any follow up or review of the report.

All the transcriptions were done while in Gulu and this was to ensure that the research assistants did not remain with any research material with them and this helped me to achieve the principle of confidentiality as promised the participants. The interviews and focus group discussions conducted by the male research assistant in Acholi were transcribed and translated into English. Then after, the same transcriptions in Acholi were translated by the second translator, and vice versa. This was done to compare notes from both and to ensure that the translated transcriptions had not changed meaning. However, due to time limit, this was only possible for the focus
group discussions and when I realised that the changes were minor, I did not consider it for the individual interviews.

3.8 Data analysis

The major reason for data analysis is to generate sense and attain meaning out of the data collected of the phenomenon under the study (Creswell, 2014). For this study, Attride Stirling’s thematic network analysis which "seeks to unearth the themes salient in a text at different levels, and aims to facilitate the structuring and depiction of these themes" Attride-Stirling (2001, p. 387) was adopted.

Different steps were applied to enable the analysis.

1. To get familiar with the data, I thoroughly re-read the transcripts and made notes, which helped me better understand issues raised by the participants.

2. Codes were developed from the data until there were no more new emerging issues. A total of 50 codes/ basic themes were generated and organised on a different sheet in relation to the objectives.

3. The 50 basic themes were also grouped according to similarities in order to generate the organising themes. This was also done in relation to the research objectives. This generated a total of five organising themes under stressors and five organising themes under positive resources.

4. The organising themes were then organised in relation to the objectives and the themes that emerged. This resulted in three global themes: (1) Stressors and (2) positive resources.

5. Using the global themes that emerged from the data, the researcher presented the findings section using the participants’ quotations to provide an in-depth understanding of the experiences of the young former camp residents in Patek village, Gulu district, Northern Uganda.

3.9 Trustworthiness

The aim of both qualitative and quantitative researchers is to produce credible works as much as possible. This is done by ensuring that there is validity, reliability, generalizability and reflexivity (role of the researcher), in order to ensure that their findings are accepted in the research discipline.

3.9.1 Validity

Pilnick and Swift (2011, p. 210), define validity as "the issue whether the researcher's account truly reflects what actually happened (i.e. is it accurate?)". Green and Thorogood (2014),
Pilnick and Swift (2011), and Creswell (2014) note that to achieve validity, the researcher must apply different strategies, which include triangulation, spending prolonged period in the field, and reflexivity. To ensure validity for this study, I applied different methods of data collection such as focus group discussions, individual interviews in order to triangulate the data from the different categories of participants. I also spent two months in the field and played my role as a researcher (refer to role of the researcher in section 3.9.4).

3.9.2 Reliability

Green and Tones (2013) define reliability as "the extent to which research techniques will produce consistent results regardless of how, when, and where the research is carried out" (p. 493). There are different ways to improve reliability. These include; 'close attention to 'good practice' in the field, accurate note taking and transcription and discussing your coding with colleagues'" (Green & Thorogood, 2014, p. 229). For this study, I paid close attention whilst in the field, took notes and used a tape recorder in order not to miss out important information. Also, during analysis I discussed codes with my colleagues and my supervisor.

3.9.3 Generalisability

Generalisability can be defined as "the extent to which findings from a study apply to a wider population or to different contexts" (Green & Thorogood, 2014, p. 250). Shenton (2004) argues that qualitative research suffers marginalisation because it is negatively tagged as "non-generalisable" due to its small number of participants involved and 'particularity' of its environment. However, Denzin and Lincoln (2009) argue that though each study may be unique or different, the same findings may be used as an example that can represent other situations. Additionally, Green and Thorogood (2014), argue that the most important element in qualitative research is to look at the results, understand them and extract the inferences or lessons that can be applied in other settings. Resources of the young former camp residents are explored in this study. Available literature shows that the issue of IDP camps establishment is a common feature in war affected regions across Africa. Though the research is centred in Uganda, the findings of this research may give insight into experiences of the youth in other countries who have been residents of IDP camps before. Additionally, though the research is on IDP camps, it can be applied to people in similar situations like refugee camps or victims of natural disasters using the salutogenic model. My findings are also situated within the broader framework of available literature and that is a measure that increases generalizability.
3.9.4 Role of the researcher

Qualitative research values the researcher as a key instrument in collecting, analysing and interpreting results. It further requires the researcher to put aside his or her experiences that may interfere with the interpretation of the participants' experiences (Green & Thorogood, 2014). Therefore the inability of the researcher to put aside his or her skills may affect the validity and reliability of the information making the research irrelevant or stale. Based on the assertions of the authors above, I recruited those who had been involved in qualitative research with different organisations and had skills in that area of research. Also, the “Research Methods” course from Health Promotion (HEPRO) Class equipped me with skills as a qualitative researcher. It also helped me to consciously put aside whatever perceptions and experiences I might have had about young former camp residents and focused on the participants’ narratives.

Coming from abroad to conduct research in my home country and particularly with illiterate participants placed me in powerful position relative to them as they saw me to be a highly educated lady. I explained the importance of the research to the participants that it was purely academic and that they were most valuable as far as the research was concerned. This helped me to build rapport with them and also made them to freely interact with us a factor that minimised the relative power. Also, being a lady who was interviewing young males could have interfered with their free interaction with me. Because ladies in some African contexts are regarded inferior to men so I had reservations that they might not feel comfortable to share their experiences with me. To counterbalance, I recruited a male research assistant from the area who assisted me throughout the process of conducting interviews and focus group discussions which worked perfectly well for me because they were able to answer all questions as required with the research assistants.

My young age was also a factor influencing my interaction with participants, especially the government representative (RDC) at the district level. It was initially difficult getting the government representative’s attention because he thought that I was a job seeker. It was after writing a letter to him that contained the explanation of the purpose of the study and my status as a student at the University of Bergen that acted as a measure that made him see me as a responsible person and therefore referred me to the Local council (LC iii) for further assistance.
Some of the issues under the study evoked emotional feelings of the former camp residents since some of them were abducted at one time and others had been victims of rape and child soldiering. This made it hard for some FCRs to freely share their experiences for fear of being emotionally affected. I made sure I avoided such topics and in the event of such issues emerging inadvertently in the process of the discussions, I tried to console them and gave them an option to discontinue the discussion on that particular issue and provided them with a short break before I changed to another issue to be discussed.

The participants were informed before every session of the discussions or interviews that participation was voluntary because the study was purely meant for study purposes and not for material gains. However, refreshments were served after each focus group discussion because they took long and we finished discussions when people were hungry.

3.10 Ethical aspects.

The practice to attain an approval from the ethics committee prior to the start of the study is considered as a "good practice and code of practice" (Green & Thorogood, 2014, p. 69). These authors state that such practices are yardsticks to ensuring that participants' rights and freedoms are protected. In order to ensure that the research participants’ rights were protected in this study, permission was sought from the Norwegian Social Science Data Services before travelling to the field. I also got clearance from the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST), a national body responsible for conducting research in the country. Additionally, I got clearance from Gulu district and from the local council chairman Patek village before I started conducting research.

According to Green and Thorogood (2014, p. 70), informed consent refers to "the principle that individuals should not be coerced, or persuaded, or induced, into research against their will, but that their participation should be based on voluntarism, and on a full understanding of the implications of participation". Prior to their participation, the participants signed informed consent detailing the reason and content of the study and they were reminded of their rights, anonymity and confidentiality of information. However, considering the African stereotype, 'If you want to hide something, hide it in the middle of a book' indicating that Africans do not like reading, I wanted to make sure they knew the content of the informed consent form. Thus, before each session I read out loud the consent forms and explained in detail the content and
their rights before they signed. Participants were informed about the interviews sessions two weeks before the interview in order not to interrupt their schedules.
CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Results

4.1 Introduction to results

In this section, the experiences of Former Camp Residents (FCRs) are highlighted. This is to bring to the fore what the real life situations are for these FCRs after they returned from the camps. Therefore, the stressors they face in the integration process are explored together with the resources at their disposal to cope with life in their community.

Though the young FCRs have some positive resources at their disposal, there are also a lot of stressors that affect their daily lives. This section outlines some stressors that the young FCRs battle with to be able to make a better living. They include poor standards of public services, financial difficulties, agricultural challenges, health problems and social challenges. The stressors of the young FCRs are at the same time the resources which are presented below.

4.2 Stressors

4.2.1 Poor standards of public schools

Poor standards of schools were mentioned to be one of the difficulties the young FCRs faced. As much as they value the availability of public schools, and their current living conditions as better compared to what they had in the camps or when they had just returned to their community, the young FCRs still complain about poor standards of the public services, such as primary and secondary school programmes. In their views, these so called free Universal Primary Education (UPE) and Universal Secondary Education (USE) programmes would have been good if all the services were actually free of charge and adequate staff and facilities, such as qualified teachers and fully equipped classrooms as well as toilet facilities were available.

"Though schools are provided, the standard of the schools are too poor... Some teachers do not show up and children end up missing classes." Akello.

"The schools that are provided by government are of poor standards. Science teachers are always absent and this makes our children to miss classes. This affects their performance because they cannot compete with children from private schools where teachers are always present." Akao.

“Most UPE and USE schools lack adequate logistics such as furniture and classrooms. You find some schools still conduct classes under the trees and this affects their
children’s performance. In Gulu here, there are some schools which still lack some classrooms and in times of rain or hot sunshine the classes are disrupted” Omona

“There are some schools which have no laboratories where students conduct practical classes. This makes it hard for students to perform well in science classes and yet science subjects are compulsory” Okot

"How can a child from a school where classes are held under trees compete with other schools where children are provided with all the basic necessities? "Aber

The participants mentioned that absenteeism of teachers makes their children miss a lot of contact hours with their teachers and this affects their learning outcomes. Poor and inadequate facilities such as science laboratories make learning very challenging because they cannot compete favourably with children from private schools who study from better facilities. This, they believe, affects their children’s performance which makes their future prospects to remain uncertain.

4.2.2 Poor state of public hospitals

Poor state of public hospitals was also mentioned as one of the problems the young FCRs face in the area. The male participants commented about poor health facilities in general. In this section, I will focus more on the views of females as they were more expressive on this topic than men given their needs in relation to reproductive health. The women mentioned particularly the maternity wards, which they said was in a poorer state than the rest of the hospital. According to them, mothers who give birth are at high risks of getting infections with negative health effects. They lamented about their insufficient care, poor treatment, lack of facilities such as beds and water systems, absence of medical staffs in the hospital and extortion of money from them by some medical personnel.

"The hospitals are still lacking basic facilities. Some wards like the maternity one has less beds. Women after giving birth are discharged immediately in order to create space for others." Akao, 22 year old female who has given birth to two children in a public hospital.

Akello, a female aged 18 years, who took care of one of her friends who was to give birth in the public hospital commented,

‘We ladies, are in danger. When you go to the maternity wards, you feel like crying because of the poor state they are in. Not even water for mothers to bath after delivery.’
Absence of hospital staff to provide the services required makes it hard for people to access medical care. Additionally, poor facilities such as lack of diagnostic machines hampers the work of medical personnel because it makes it difficult for doctors to check the diseases the patients are suffering from. This may result into poor medication and hence recurrence of diseases which has a direct negative impact on their health.

4.2.3 Financial difficulties

4.2.3.1 Unemployment

Unemployment as a challenge for survival was frequently brought up during my conversations with the young FCRs. All the participants complained of lack of employment opportunities and this was attributed to the war and the many years of their stay in the camps. According to them, the camp life denied them access to education that would have helped them to attain employable skills needed in the job market.

"With this Uganda of ours, where can you get a decent job without education?" Okia.

"Though we have high levels of unemployment, having education increases one's chances of getting a job." Opio.

To them, failure to attain education means failure to earn a living. This was revealed during the focus group discussion when majority of the participants said that even to run a business education is necessary to calculate losses and profits.

"Why do you think many youth are failing in business? It is because when they start shops, they think every sale made is profit." Omona.

"Businesses also need some education. In my business, some times when I am to add stock, I have to calculate how much I need and how much I have in order to prioritise the goods I am to buy to put in the shop." Abalo.

Discussions with the females revealed that failure to attain education limits one’s opportunities in life because they believe that without education, one cannot be successful. A few years ago, people would come from the cities to look for house maids to work for them and the only people who would take the work were those who had not attained any education. These days, even people who look for house maids want those ones who have attained formal education and can speak English so that they can do homework with their children. Females who have not attained education at all but have tried to search for jobs to earn a living commented,
"I have been looking for where I can work as a house maid during the day in order to earn some money but everyone I contact ask for my level of education. Because I tell them that I cannot read and write, I have failed to get a housemaid job." Akao.

"..Jobs that used to be for the uneducated people have been taken by educated people. I don’t know in five years from now how uneducated people will survive without job opportunities." Okot.

The participants indicated that had it not been the war that resulted into camp life where they had no access to schools, they would have attained education. In their narrations, restriction of their movements while in the camps denied them chances of attaining education. Failure to attain it significantly reduces their chances of attaining a better paying job to enable him or her live an average standard of living.

4.2.3.2 Insufficient Income.

Farming and rearing of cattle is the major source of income for the people of Patek village. However, sometimes the yields are not as good as expected due to drought and infertile land. This makes it hard for them to provide basic necessities for their families leading them to poverty. Ten out of the sixteen participants in their narration stated that, failure to provide basic necessities is equated to poverty and it leads to disrespect in the society. Also, they commented that getting a lady to marry may be difficult for poor people. Other participants agreed that respect and marriage are associated with money and therefore some parents stop their daughters from marrying poor men.

"I had a boyfriend who was poor but loved me. When I took him to my parents, they rejected him and I had to leave him. They recommended for me one from a rich family whom they regarded to be respected and we got married but am not happy." Achii.

Opio a male aged 25 years, a boda boda cyclist (motorcycle business) commented;

"I have delayed to marry because I have no money”

In Uganda generally, there is the attitude that poverty means lack of choices, including finding a suitable spouse. Parents want their daughters or sons to get married to people from rich families. Therefore, Opio’s poor family background and being a farmer and a “boda boda” cyclist makes it hard for him to make some choices including marital decisions. This assertion made by Opio was supported by other five participants who were not yet married.
4.2.4 Agricultural challenges

4.2.4.1 Land conflicts

The young FCRs attach a lot of value to land because it is the major resource they have despite the challenges they have in accessing it. However, due to lack of clear land demarcations in most rural areas, land conflicts arise amongst people. This came up as one of the stressors that affect the young FCRs in the focus group discussions and individual interviews. In most cases, conflicts arise as to who owns a particular piece of land. The young FCRs being people who have experienced prolonged war, their fear is that even small issues could become potential triggers to serious dispute situations. To some of the participants, land conflicts had affected family relations to such an extent that living together in the same community is difficult. Nine out of the participants said that they were facing this problem and their relations with other family members has gone sour that they do not greet one another. Land conflicts are seen as a serious threat to social support among family members, which is crucial for their survival.

"The land conflicts have worsened my relationship with my uncles and my other family members. My relatives want to take control of our land which belongs to our parents. Because we are against them, they have developed hatred against us." Ota.

"Our uncles who are interested in our fathers land hate us. We cannot interact freely with them." Apili

When I talked to the community leader about the cause of these land conflicts, he said that many parents of these young FCRs had died during the war. That, these young FCRs were living in the camps with other family members. Therefore, after the war, and upon their return to this community with some elderly family members who had survived the war, they (elders) took advantage of the absence of their (FCRs) parents and took over ownership of the land that belonged to their (FCRs) fathers. However, he commented that land conflicts are now minimal compared to when they had just arrived in the community. This is because the community leaders have put up local measures of land demarcation and agreements that show ownership of the land and its measurements. The community leader indicated that these land agreements are recognised by all members in that community. He maintained that, the Acholi communities are organised in a way that at each community level, leaders are selected to help keep law and order, resolve conflicts whenever they arise and also ensure that good morals are practised in the community.
"The land conflicts have now reduced. There are a few cases that have not yet been resolved. The community leaders are doing a great job to reduce these conflicts.” Kika.

4.2.4.2 Land infertility

Another factor mentioned by most of the participants was that the land is no longer as fertile as it used to be making farming very difficult. Poor yields lead to poor harvests because of lack of income to buy inputs like fertilizers for the crops. The infertile land makes living very difficult since most families in this village depend on farming for their survival. According to one of the government representatives, the government has tried to provide modified seeds in order to improve on their yield but the success registered is still minimal. He commented, "Through government programme of NAADS National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) people are provided with improved seeds to help boost their farming.” Koka.

Apili a farmer who depends on agriculture as her major source of income said, "NAADS has helped us with better seeds. This has brought some relief since almost everyone in this community depends on farming.”

Though this government programme (NAADS) is aimed at helping all people from poor backgrounds and those that have been affected by war, six participants regarded NAADS as a failed programme. For example, Aber who is a farmer and comes from a poor background commented that this programme was helpful for the first two years but as years went by, they started distributing fake seeds that have not helped them to improve on their yields.

"At first this programme gave us better seeds which improved our yields but after two years, the same people were distributing us with fake seeds. Can you imagine that now we have the worst yields?” Aber.

Majority of the participants indicated that the poor economic status makes it hard for them to buy fertilizers to increase the soil fertility and the government programmes which provide fake seeds to the farmers even make it harder for them to improve their yields and this results into low productivity.

4.2.4.3 Irrigation problem

The young FCRs lamented on irrigation problems due to unpredictable rainfall patterns which make it hard for the determination of the right planting time. Availability of modern irrigation facilities could have eased the problem but they are non-existent and they depend largely on rain fed agriculture. Though without any scientific explanation, the young FCRs in their local understanding have been having a belief that deforestation is the cause of the climatic change
in the area. In their observation, they compared how the situation was before and after the war. They indicated that before the war, trees were everywhere and therefore the weather conditions were favourable and predictable. However, after the war, when they returned to their communities deforestation has become a common activity due to high demand for trees for firewood, charcoal and building of houses. As a result of these factors, drastic weather changes are rampant and therefore rains and hot sunshine come at unexpected time.

"You can see it is planting time but there is no rain. We have to wait for it because now the soil is hard and no water in it to help seeds to germinate. We do not have irrigation facilities to enable us do farming any time we want." Okot.

"Farming is almost everybody's source of income in this village. In order to get good harvests, we depend on the rain. If rain does not come, them we are in problems." Achii.

"Right now I don't know when I will start planting because there is no rain. Last year, the rains came late and no one harvested what they expected." Akello.

Unpredictable climatic change is a common problem to people who depend on rain fed agricultural practices for their survival. However, in the case of the young FCR’s, they are more vulnerable because they cannot afford other improved methods of farming due to their economic status.

4.2.5 Health problems

Six out of the 16 participants commented about poor health due to sickness caused by HIV/AIDS that limits them from engaging in energy driven activities like farming which is their major activity for survival as earlier discussed in section 4.2.4.1. However, this requires good health which explains why the FCRs in both the focus group discussions and individual interviews, raised greater concerns about the rampant cases of diseases as one of the challenges they face in their lives. HIV/AIDS was mentioned as a serious health concern because it is a non-curable disease and because it is a poor population affordability and inaccessibility to drugs becomes challenging. In expressing their concerns, they said that income and farm yields have reduced due to poor health. Omona and Akao who mentioned that poor health was a challenge to them and that the major cause of it was due to the hardships they went through while in captivity. They mentioned for instance that, their poor economic conditions compelled them to have sex with any man that came their way without thinking of the health consequences which ultimately caused some of them the disease of HIV/AIDS.
"My poor health limits my ability to engage in economic activities. I cannot engage in farming throughout all seasons. Am always in the hospital due to sickness. This has affected my engagement in farming and yet it’s my major source of income." Akao.

"I find it difficult to engage myself into business because of my poor health. I have spent two years sick and my business is not moving on well because of my absence. It needs a lot of supervision " Omona.

According to the participants, poor health means inability to engage in other productive economic activities. Some participants mentioned that illness limits their ability to engage in energy driven work such as farming. This therefore affects their income.

Commenting further on the diseases, they mentioned another strange disease called ‘nodding syndrome’ (a brain disease), which affects mostly children. Majority explained that with their economic status, having a child with a disease that has no cure, such as the nodding syndrome, is so stressful.

"My second born child is always down because of this nodding syndrome. I am worried because it has no cure. And when you go to the hospital they tell you there is no medicine." Oboyo.

"My friend has a child who is suffering from nodding syndrome so she neither farms nor does business because she is always home taking care of the child. "Achiro.

Majority of the participants in the focus group discussions highlighted that though having a child with such a disease is stressful in itself, remaining at home taking care of the child instead of working only adds to an already stressful. This makes it difficult for them to earn enough money to take proper care of their families and as a result, their well-being is affected.

Mental troubles caused by the traumatic experiences from being abducted and later left to survive in the camps was also one of the stressors that most of the young FCRs lamented about. They narrated that while in the camps and in abduction, they went through traumatizing experiences that they have never forgotten. This has caused a lot of insecurity at heart.

"Sometimes I wake up at night and start talking uncoordinated things. This affects my sleep and I feel very bad." Aber.

"When you reflect about what happened before while in captivity, I just get headache and hate myself. I feel like killing myself." Ota.
When I probed them more in order to get a deeper understanding of what causes such distresses, the males could not offer specific underlying reason for that but attributed it to the overall experiences they encountered. The females were however, of the opinion that sexual abuse while in captivity was one of the worst things that has ever happened in their lives and attributed their distressful conditions to it. They further explained that even some of them wished attending rehabilitation centres to help offload such memories but those facilities are not available in their community. According to the participants, these mental troubles make it hard for them to engage in income generating activities that are profitable and can impact positively on their economic conditions. They explained further that socialising with others in the community is a difficult phenomenon as a result of this problem. This limits their opportunities of getting support from other members because they see them to be social misfits.

4.2.6 Social challenges

4.2.6.1 Stigmatisation

Majority of the participants lamented about the challenge of stigmatisation from some of the community members. As a result of their past experiences as child soldiers and former abductees, majority of the community members still do not want to associate with them because they view them as bad people. In this case, I am putting much focus on female participants to show the vulnerability of women in war situations with regards to sexual harassments and the acquisition of sexually transmitted diseases. Majority of the female young former camp residents commented that because they were sexually abused, some of them ended up producing children at a very tender age and others acquiring diseases such as HIV/AIDS. These experiences make other members of the community to despise and reject them thinking that they are bad ones. This is because they are seen to have lost dignity and caused shame to the whole family and the clan. Ayao, a female aged 22 years and Apili, a female aged 21 years indicated that they had been raped by the rebels while in captivity and had produced children,

"Some members of the community don’t take us to be part of them. They think that because we came back from captivity with children that we had produced with rebels makes us bad people." Ayao.

"We don’t know why some people behave like this to us and yet we also did not want to be sexually abused by the people who took advantage of us. We are rejected by some
members of the community for contracting HIV through rapes from the rebels. They don’t feel free to interact with us. They really don’t sympathise with us” Apili.

While interviewing one of the community leaders in the individual interview, he said,

"Some community members are still rigid. They still don’t consider these youth to be part of them. This is a very bad attitude. We have done our best to sensitize them but some have not changed their perceptions towards them.” Kika.

4.2.6.2 Problem of alcohol abuse

Additionally, three out of the sixteen young FCRs are into alcoholism and drunkenness and when I asked them why they engage in such behaviours, two out of the three who are into alcohol abuse explained that there are some of them who cannot withstand the problems they are facing in the community. Thus alcohol abuse can be seen as a control mechanism against the effect of the stressors. Even though they see drinking as a bad habit, they indicated that sometimes when they are into drunken mood they are relieved of the effects of the stressful situation.

"When you are drunk, you forget all the worries and even feel happy. We really feel relieved when we drink alcohol" Ota.

"After my boda boda work (cyclist), I take some sprits to get high in order to forget all the problems I have." Opio.

While interviewing the government representative and the community leader, they both indicated that even though members of the community sometimes do take alcohol, the case of the FCRs is worse. They explained that the young FCR’s addiction to alcohol is one thing that has made them face challenges such as financial difficulties within the community. They narrated that almost all the youth that are so much into alcoholism should have instead been engaged in productive ventures such as farming so that they are not regarded as failures in the community.

"If you look at the youth who over drink, most of them have failed to engage in any income generating activity. They are not married and have no responsibilities at all." Kika.

"Most of these youth who drink alcohol do not work and they hardly earn anything. They spend most of their time in bars." Koka.

To these leaders, alcohol abuse was seen as one of the reasons the young FCRs have failed to succeed. The question here however is how to reconcile the stance of the FCRs who have
intimated that taking alcohol brings relief to them and the position of the leaders who think that alcohol consumption is a factor of their economic predicaments.

4.3 Positive resources

Despite challenges, the participants in this study were found both willing and capable of taking advantage of whatever resources at hand. These resources help them to manage the stressors they encounter in their community and move on with life. This came to light during my interaction with them in both the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions.

4.3.1 Availability of public services

4.3.1.1 Public hospitals

Maintaining good health is vital in everyone’s life. To the young FCRs good health means being able to get healthy food, have access to better medical care and be able to engage in daily activities without any hindrances such as illnesses. However, this is possible when basic health care facilities are in place in order to attain medical care whenever the need arises. Though in section 4.1.1 some of the participants commented that having access to public hospitals with no facilities is a stressor, the majority expressed that availability of these government health services and having access to them in the area contributes significantly to their health needs. Nearly all the participants credited the government for the good job done in providing free health services at each sub county which has saved them from moving long distances to access health facilities. They mentioned that the proximity of these health facilities has helped them to easily access medical care and this has improved their health. They recounted how life was at the time they had returned to the community. They experienced frequent sicknesses and there were no proper medical facilities at their disposal. Ten of the sixteen participants said that health facilities such as HIV clinics are now available for them. Having access to these clinics alone is a positive aspect in their lives, they stressed. Also, they reported that the establishment of the health facilities like the HIV clinics was a huge relief for them because some contracted HIV in the camps.

"We are lucky that these HIV clinics are available and we have access to free ARVs."
Okia.

"Life in this community is better now. We have health facilities amidst us. We have got HIV clinics in the area provided by different NGOs." Oboyo.
Majority of the participants in both focus group discussions and individual interviews said that even though some participants have indicated that the facilities are not up to expectation, and will need improvements, they are better compared to what was experienced at the time they had just returned from the camps. They can now access medical facilities which has improved their health. The government representative at the sub county level was of the opinion that the provision of the free health facilities brings health access to the doorstep of the poor people thus improving their living conditions

4.3.1.2 Public schools

As much as some young FCRs complained of the poor standards of the education programmes (the UPE and the USE), twelve out of the sixteen participants said that the free education is what enables them to let their children go to school. They said that though the government does not cater for all the school costs, its intervention in sharing the costs with the parents has relieved them. They mentioned that because of the war, they did not get the opportunity of education for themselves. Therefore, one major hope they expressed was education for their children. This free education has enabled the parents to save some money out of their earnings instead of spending it on fees and that has helped them to improve on their incomes.

"We are so privileged to have primary and secondary schools nearby. All our children can access education at no cost. This has helped us to save the little earnings we get for further investments" Okot.

"The free education is a relief to some of us who earn little because private schools are too expensive. The little income from the harvests cannot pay the fees and buy all scholastic materials for more than two children in private schools so these UPE and USE have helped a lot." Ota.

The government representative highlighted on the educational programmes in place and their achievement. He said that the government programmes of education for all ’Bonabassome’, have reduced illiteracy rate in the community. He stated

"UPE and USE are aimed at eliminating illiteracy in Uganda. And 90 percent has been achieved." Koka.

The participants mentioned that the UPE and USE programmes by the government has positively impacted on their lives and this has enabled them to cater for other basic necessities for their families.
4.3.2 Freedom to engage in agriculture

Enjoyment of freedom of movement is of prime importance to all FCRs because it enables them to engage in farming and rearing of cattle. They mentioned that they are now free to visit their friends and relatives which was impossible while in the camps. This issue of freedom surfaced prominently in both the individual interviews and focus group discussions. They reported that during their stay in the camps, there were a lot of restrictions on their movement which were limited to the camps’ territory and that denied them access to their land. They indicated that now they are free to move making it possible for them to engage in farming and rearing of cattle and this has improved their household income and hence enhanced the quality of their lives.

"Now we enjoy freedom of movement. We can now do farming on our own land and produce food for our families. Those who are involved in businesses can move long distances to carry on with their trade. This has helped us to be self-reliant and improved on our standard of living" Akello.

"We enjoy freedom of movement. While in the camps, we were confined in one place and we could not access our land to do farming. But now, we are free to do farming on our land and this has reduced on food insecurity." Omona

The participants indicated that free movement in the area is of prime importance to them because it provides them the opportunity to engage in different activities such as farming which they believe has helped them to generate income and food hence improved wellbeing for their families.

Also included in the narrative in relation to economic improvement was their ability to cater for their children's school needs such as buying scholastic materials such as books, uniforms etc. and being able to cater for their families. They indicated that though UPE is a programme that provides ‘free education’, parents are supposed to cater for some of the costs such as school uniforms and other requirements for the children. Reporting on this, eight out of the participants stated,

"Now we are in better positions of taking care of our children because of our ability to engage in business activities as opposed to that dreadful time when we used to rely only on hand outs." Omona.

"My family is ok now. I can provide them with all the basic needs and pay school fees." Okot.
"Now I am able to pay for my 3 children in school from the income I get from my brewing business." Akii.

Participants also highlighted that they are able to make savings out of the economic activities they have initiated through the financial assistance from government. Reporting on this, four of the participants were of the opinion that life was improving for them.

"…we are able to save some money for other requirements." Abalo.

"Life is good now. I have the business (shop) where I earn from. So at the end of the month, I save some money." Omona.

According to the young FCRs, saving some of their income at the end of the month gives them the opportunity to expand their businesses which they explained has improved on their income because their profit margins have also risen hence being able to live good lives as they are now able to buy their basic things like cooking utensils and also their desired clothing which was previously difficult for them.

4.3.3 Abundant land

In spite of the land conflicts and the infertility of the land which were mentioned as challenges, all the participants mentioned that land in abundance was another resource they have at their disposal. The explanation of the FCRs on how the land conflicts are resolved is in line with that of the community leader in section 4.2.4.1, page (35). The participants believe that resolution of the land conflicts is a step forward in having a complete access to their land for farming. During the interviews, majority of the participants mentioned that agriculture, both on small scale and large scale, is their main source of survival. Employment in the formal sector was seen as impossible because of lack of education.

"You see we have plenty of land at our disposal which we utilise to get food for our families and even for economic purposes." Okia.

"We have plenty of land. You can see it yourself. We grow ground nuts, beans, millet and many other crops." Okot.

"With this vast land, we can do all farming that one wishes to do." Akello

Referring to land being a resource to them, when I asked the community leader what resources these FCRs depend on to thrive, he commented,
"The major resource that they depend on is land. You see we are well endowed with Chunks of land. Majority of them now have access to their land and this has helped them to do farming some on small scale farming and others on large scale farming."

Kika.

The community leader indicated that access to land by the rightful owners has been their major aim and that majority of the community members are now free to access their land without any restriction or conflict. There is a positive correlation between level of education and employment prospects therefore their illiteracy status is seen as a hindrance to them to get employed into the formal sector.

4.3.4 Income generating activities

Apart from farming, there were other income generating activities that the young FCRs were engaged in. These activities include retail shop businesses and “boda-boda cycle” business.

The young FCRs said that through government programmes such as the ‘Bonabaggagawale, Entandikwa and Kulembeka’, they receive capital at reduced interest rates to empower them economically. This has helped them to start and maintain their businesses which has improved their household income and consequently improved their standard of living.

"There is generally improved knowledge and economic capacity. People now start their own businesses and are able to maintain them. As a result of this, we enjoy life in our community unlike when we had just come back from the camps. This is indeed a positive sign of our economic improvement" Oboyo.

"We are now economically independent because of the government’s financial assistance. Life is enjoyable and this will make it hard for the rebels who are now operating from our neighbouring country Sudan to come and recruit people amongst us to join them. It has enabled us to acquire business management skills that we never had and that actually helps us a lot.” Okello.

All the participants confirmed that these businesses have improved their income hence improved their wellbeing.

4.3.5 Women empowerment

In addition to the above resources that have been mentioned, the young FCRs also indicated that women empowerment is a great policy by the government that targets women who are marginalised in the society. According to the participants, one of them is wealth creation
programme where the government with the help of the local council chairman identifies female youth in the community who can make good use of the opportunity provided by the government. After identification the beneficiaries, they are given cows, goats or pigs to rear.

"You are given for example high breed cows for free and anytime it produces a female, you pass the female that is been produced to another member. It is after passing it on that the original cow becomes yours." Abalo.

This has improved on our standard of living through having milk for our families and even selling the remainder and other products like ghee, a product from cow milk. This programme according to the participants has helped to improve their household income to take cater for their basic needs like food and clothing.

4.3.5 Supportive relations

Supportive relations were reported to be vital ingredients in the lives of these young FCRs. Included in this, they mentioned the community, churches, friends, and family relations. During both focus group discussions and individual interviews, the participants discussed how the community helped them in different ways and these will be presented below.

4.3.5.1 Community

The community supports the FCRs in their integration in many ways such as economic support, restoring and maintaining good morals, emotional support, and sensitisation programmes. This section elaborates on each of those measures aimed at facilitating their integration.

According to the FCRs, the community plays a vital role by offering economic support in times of bereavement by helping them to buy coffins and to cater for funeral expenses in general. In Uganda, when a person dies, the bereaved family is expected to arrange for a big celebration to commemorate the life of the deceased. Few FCRs have sufficient means to manage everything alone and community support economically or in kind is seen as vital.

‘‘When I lost my brother, the community fed people from the day we announced his death up to the end of burial. They really helped me because I would not have managed without their support.’’ Opio

‘‘The community bought for us a coffin when I lost my child and bought food for people who were at home with me to support me emotionally. That was the time that the harvests were poor so food and money were scarce.’’ Akello
In explaining further on the ways the community assists them, they stated,

"This community is greatly supportive to us. They actually support us in cases of illness for myself and even my children by providing us means to reach health centres and sometimes giving us small cash donations." Akello.

"This community helped me to buy a coffin when I lost one of the children. They provided a lot of support including food for the mourners. "Achii

When I interacted with one of the community leaders about their role in integrating these young FCRs, he mentioned that the community helps them financially in times of need. He commented.

"...in times of loss of a family member, the group members (self-help youth groups) come and support each other for example, buying of coffin and feeding the people on the day of burial." Kika.

Another participant showed gratitude whilst explaining how the community supports them. He said,

"Sometimes they also support me with seeds to plant and refund when I do harvest. Sometimes they even lend me money if I request and I would refund at any time that is convenient for me." Oboyo.

In addition, all the participants in both the individual interviews and focus group discussions gave the community credit in restoring the morals, which they felt had degenerated. Camp life was described as stressful and anarchical as people lived their own lifestyle without regard to order. This was explained as due to the fact that people had come from different places and without prior knowledge of one another. Even elders were not respected in the camps, as they were strangers to one another. With no one to guide them, many engaged in unwanted (and even illegal) activities, such as sexual abuse and rape. These, in some cases, resulted in sexually transmitted diseases like HIV/AIDS. When the young FCRs returned to their community, the community members took the initiative to ensure that the morals that had degenerated could be restored through meeting sessions and punishing the wrong ones to ensure discipline.

"They help us in ensuring that the better morals are restored. They go further to punish those whose morals are not good. And if they fail, they chase you from the village. This has helped us to behave well." Opio.

"The community guides us on how to behave well through meetings and self-respect. The society is now at peace because now all ladies respect one another." Apili.
According to the participants, better morals are some of the things that have attributed to their thriving. They indicated that after their return to the community, the member’s impression about them was that they were a spoilt youth without respect to the social norms and cultural values. This was mainly emphasised by the female participants who said that some of the community members still view them as a wasted generation because of their past experiences. In this case, the community’s notion of better morals was for the youth to show respect to the elderly and live a chaste live.

When I interacted with one of the community leaders about their role in integrating these young FCRs, he mentioned that the community helps them in inculcating good morals. The former camp residents recounted how helpful the community groups (self-help youth groups) have been to them. These self-help youth groups are community organised groups where ten or more people come together for the common interest. They meet regularly and solicit small funds for the benefit of the group members. They provide assistance to one another in many ways in times of need. In addition to what the community leader mentioned, this was emphasised by two participants out of the sixteen participants said,

"You see when you lose a family friend, these self-help groups within the community come in to help you. They support you emotionally and financially. For example they bring food for people at the vigil, buy the casket and be there with you until the burial time. Such trying moments are difficult." Okia.

"When you lose a loved one, the community members come and stay there with you. They really support you." Aber.

Majority of the participants mentioned that the community members even visit them in their homes in order to know how they are faring. To them, this is a sign of togetherness and it helps them feel a sense of belongingness and being loved.

"The community leaders come to talk to us when they hear that we have problems. They visit you as a committee to help you." Okello.

"When I had family problems with my husband, the community leaders intervened and helped us to resolve our differences." Apili.

All the participants said that the community sensitisation programmes initiated by the government but implemented by the community locally through public meetings have equipped them with knowledge that has been useful to them with regards to maintaining good health. Under this programme, they are educated on good hygienic practices like personal
cleanliness as well as that of their environment. Through these programme, they explained that they now know most environmental diseases like cholera and malaria. Most of the participants were of the opinion that health is wealth because without it, there is nothing that can be done especially for them being farmers. Cleaning their surroundings has become a hobby for them because they explained that when one’s environment is clean, the direct beneficiary is nobody but the occupant. This was emphasised mostly by the female participants who said,

"We used to fall sick but now it's rare to hear about sanitation related diseases because the community has accepted the sanitation programme initiated by the government."

Achii.

"The sanitation programmes have really helped us. Diseases like cholera, dysentery are history in this village. Our environment is always clean since we now take control of our sanitation." Apili.

4.3.5.2 Church

The role that the churches plays is also of significance in integrating the young former camp residents. They provide financial assistance to them and their children in terms of offering scholastic materials such as uniforms, blankets, books and giving out scholarships as well. To the young FCRs, this assistance has helped them to be able to send their children to school and that has relieved them of their worries.

"The churches, especially the Watoto church has helped our children by providing school materials to them. For example, they give them uniforms, books and even some children are sponsored to higher levels of learning.” Ota

"...churches still provide assistance to our children who cannot cater for their educational needs like uniforms, books and other essential items." Okot.

"They even solicit funds for us from different organisations like “compassion Uganda”. This group helps children from poor families with beddings like mattresses, bed sheets and blankets. "Akello

The churches also offer counselling services to the young FCRs. This is done on humanitarian grounds where the young FCRs go to church for counselling on specific days of the week. They indicated that such counselling services that are offered help them to maintain emotional equilibrium and this has assisted them to move on with life after such emotional torture they experienced whilst in captivity.
"Churches provide counselling services through both church services and even organised meetings for the youth to share their experiences and possible solutions." Okot.

"Churches do home visits to check on people and comfort those who are in great emotional pain. This is done on humanitarian grounds to ensure that its people are moving on well. For example, when you miss church services twice a month, the church committee sends some members of the church to check on how you are doing." Achii.

The participants however indicated that the way they perceive religion differs. This is due to differing personalities they possess and value they attach to it.

4.3.5.3 Family and friends

The young FCRs also lauded the support that the family members give them. They mentioned that sometimes they get help in terms of provision of basic needs such as clothing and food. To them such assistance helps them to move on with life.

"My maternal aunt visits us in our home and brings some clothes and other school materials for my siblings. This helps me to use the money I would have bought clothes and other scholastic materials for purchasing other basic needs for the family. I am so happy for the support she provides to us." Opio

In addition to the material assistance provided to the young FCRs by their families, they also mentioned that the frequent visits by the family members were so influential in integrating them. In their narration, they mentioned that these visits by their relatives make them feel a sense of belongingness. This issue of family member’s visits to our home is,

"Good I feel happy when my maternal aunt who once in a while checks on us and provides a few of necessities to my siblings who are still school going." Opio.

Friends were also regarded to be a positive resource to the FCRs. Visiting each other, alternating farming days amongst themselves were reported to be the activities that helped them to enjoy life. Some of the participants reported that being with reliable friends was what made them happy. Ten participants out of sixteen participants mentioned that when they have emotional troubles, friends are the immediate resource for advises and counselling.

"When I have a problem and share it with a friend, I get relieved and in most cases get better advises." Omona.
"When you are worried of anything and you share it with friends, you feel the problem is half solved." Ota.

According to the participants, friendship means that problems at hand are solved and hence better life.

4.3.6 NGO and Government interventions

In this section, different avenues in which the government and the NGO’s help the young FCRs to thrive in Patek village are discussed. These include, reconciliatory programmes, information creation and awareness and provision of training skills and utilisation of talents.

4.3.6.1 Reconciliatory programmes

Majority of the young FCRs explained that the government reconciliatory programmes were very helpful in their integration. With these programmes, workshops are being organised where counselling services are provided and emphasis on how to live peacefully with one another as sisters and brothers encouraged. More so, the participants indicated that some programmes such as Second Northern Uganda Action Fund (NUSAF2) have helped them to improve on their income earning opportunities and ensure that the basic socio-economic services are in place. One of the government representatives said that the government has done its best in integrating these young former camp residents as far as the reconciliatory programmes are concerned. He said that,

"There are many government reconciliatory programs such as peace recovery and development plan for Northern Uganda (PRDP) through NUSAF2 (Second Northern Uganda Action Fund) for example" Koka.

The participants mentioned that these programmes have impacted positively their lives through improvement of their livelihoods.

4.3.6.2 Information creation and awareness

Awareness creation was also another resource that made the young FCRs days better. Getting right information from the appropriate authority at the right time was also seen as a prominent factor in the lives of these former camp residents. All the females in both focus group discussions and individual interviews agreed that access to sensitisation programmes organised by the government and the civil society was a major boost to their life improvement. According to them if you access the right information at the right time saves you from a lot of problems
either economically or socially related. They observed for instance that the family planning sensitization programmes by the government have been useful to them because they gain a lot of experience and put into practice and is yielding positive results.

"We now access knowledge from different people organised by the government. For example every month, we have health workshops to sensitise us about different health related aspects like family planning." Achii.

"Family planning has really helped us. You produce at the time you feel is comfortable for you and you are ready for it. Before these programmes, you would find you are pregnant when you have not planned for it" Apili.

Additionally, most of the young FCRs explained that their orientation towards child upbringing and the number of children to give birth to has really been changed as a result of these programmes. They narrated that they now understand that if you give birth to few children and take good care of them, it is far better than giving birth to many to increase your burden of taking care of them when your economic status cannot support a large family. In their narration, they revealed that sometimes people do certain things because of ignorance and once they get the right information they quickly make amends and adapt easily to the changes they have effected for themselves. They said that their lives in the camps were not the best to be remembered about as it created difficult situations for them to have access to information that would impact positively on their lives.

"Life in the camp was hell. Nowhere one could access educative knowledge." Achii.

"Life was really hard for us. We never had chances of getting such educative programmes." Aber.

### 4.3.6.3 Provision of training skills.

Majority of the young FCRs also mentioned the assistance the non-governmental organisations like United Nations Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and United States Agency for International Development (USAID) provide them in their lives in terms of technical skill development. These agencies, according to the participants, give them technical skills training like tailoring and provide them with tailoring machines after the skills trainings. They stated that this move by the NGO’s is empowering them economically as they are able to get money for sewing people's clothing and that of their children. This skill enhancement approach, the participants believe helps them to integrate and fit well into the community. For them, being
economically independent was a better measure for determining how well a person can be fitted in a positive way within society.

"During my free time, I design dresses for people. It helps to add on my income. This income helps me to cater for some of the basic needs" Akello.

“The skills I have gained from these programme helps me to add on my income especially during harvest season when we have less garden work. I always do some tailoring jobs for people and earn some little money for kerosene, salt and soap. Akao

Additionally, the young FCRs reported that the programmes have helped them to fully utilise their naturally gifted talents and physical capabilities through the skills they have acquired. They said that even though they are young FCRs, they do not see themselves in that light of being unable to make it in life. The programmes, according to these young FCRs, really made understand that they can cause a positive change in their circumstances. These programmes included the vocational schools and institutions that aimed at preparing them to be job creators other than job seekers. According to the participants since they had not attained formal education to acquire jobs in the formal sector, this was a better strategy for them.

"I do tailoring business. It is where I get food for the family and take care of my two children as a single mother." Ota.

Majority of the participants indicated that such technical skills have helped them to be economically independent hence improved their household income and their standard of living.
CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction to discussion

In this chapter, the discussion will be done by relating the findings to relevant literature and to the theory of salutogenesis. The first section includes discussion in relation to the literature and the researcher's reflections. The researcher discusses the stressors the young FCR’s face in their community in relation to the positive resources that they use to overcome these challenges to be able to move on with life. The rationale behind this order of discussion is because the resources that majority of the young FCR’s have at their disposal are at the same time the stressors of few young FCR’s. So in order to bring out a clear picture of the phenomenon, the researcher decided to discuss the findings in this perspective. The second section involves the discussion in relation to the theory of salutogenesis. This dual approach of discussing the findings in relation to literature and theory gives a clear understanding of the stressors the young former camp residents face, the resources they apply to manage life in their communities.

5.2 Discussion of stressors and resources

5.2.1 Poor state of public health facilities and availability of public facilities

Maintaining good health is an essential factor in people’s lives in all situations. This is achieved when people have access to health facilities that are well equipped in both personnel and material resources. In the case of some of the young FCRs at Patek village, the situation looks different because the health facilities in the area were one of the difficulties they lamented about. They intimated that some of the facilities were below standard and also there was lack of logistics and medical personnel in the hospitals. This means that even if patients go to these hospitals for medical care, the probability of accessing treatment will be limited. Infrastructural, equipment and lack of skilled personnel appear to be a major problem to countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Studies by Joloba et al. (2016) and Petrose et al. (2016) confirm that the major problems that most African countries face in relation to health is lack of equipment, transport and skilled personnel. The authors argue that most of the health facilities in Africa do not have machines to diagnose diseases like malaria and tuberculosis. Even those that have the machines, most of them are non-functional which has two implications
on the people. First, access to proper care is limited and this has a debilitating effect on their health. Also, it can affect measures of disease prevalence in the population (Joloba et al., 2016; Petrose et al., 2016).

One issue that emerged in relation to the young FCRs’ notion that the health facilities were of poor state was that whilst the men were talking in general terms the women were very specific in their assertion that the facilities were poor. For the women, the maternity wards were in bad shape because there were no beds and mattresses. The situation was so bad to the extent that not even water was available for the nursing mothers to bath their babies and to wash their clothing to be in a hygienic condition. This assertions by the young FCRs correlates with Orem et al. (2011) where the authors argue that the government health facilities in Uganda are still in poor state due to poor funding. This affects the supplies such as drugs and also leads to low and irregular salaries of the personnel. As a result, the health facilities cannot be maintained in a clean environment and health practitioners lose motivation to work creating a negative implication on people’s health.

The young FCRs also brought out the issue of extortion of money from them by some medical personnel as one of the stressful conditions in the hospitals. This assertion of medical personnel taking money from these women undermines the issue of free health care for the people and puts their health in jeopardy. This is in line with a study by Orem et al. (2011), where they indicated that as a result of poor government funding and poor government policies, the health personnel use extortion as a mechanism to survive because of the low and irregular remunerations. This makes access to health more stressful and discourages the poor people from going to seek for medical care (Aiyar et al., 2013).

Even though some of the young FCRs commented about the poor state of the health facilities as a stressor, for most of them, the availability of health facilities in the area is a factor that has a positive impact on their lives. Proximity of health facilities to the people where they no longer go to long distances to access health care as they indicated in the findings section (4.2.2) was indeed a relief to them. This notion by the young FCRs about proximity is in line with Orem et al. (2011) study which stipulates that the decentralisation of health facilities in Uganda at the sub-county level benefits people in two ways. One, it saves them from transport costs to travel to access the services and this reduces their expenditures hence a way of eradicating poverty. Two, proximity of facilities increases people’s accessibility to the services and this improves their health (Orem et al., 2011).
Also, most of the young FCRs were of the opinion that abolition of user fees by the government being a pro-poor policy has made accessibility to health by the poor easy and this has an implication on their health. It also helps to achieve the MDG 5 of maternal health, and reduces health inequalities (Dzakpasu et al., 2013; Orem et al., 2011; Xu et al., 2006). With their poor economic condition, free access to health, as these authors have stated, reduces their health expenditure and makes their access to health care less stressful. The government representative at the sub county level was of the opinion that the provision of the free health facilities brings health access to the doorstep of the poor people thus improving their living conditions (4.3.1.1). The assertion of the government representative corroborates that of the FCRs that availability and accessibility of public health facilities helps them to attain good health which enables them to engage in many income generating activities such as farming and hence an improvement in their wellbeing.

5.2.2 Poor state of public schools and availability of school facilities

Availability and having access to schools with better facilities is every one’s right. However, for some of the young FCRs in Patek village, the situation is different. The public schools in their area bring stressors rather than relief to them. For these few participants, these schools are characterised by lack of facilities such as furniture, toilets, learning materials, meals and teacher absenteeism which affect the academic performance of the students. A study by (Uline et al., 2010) supports the concerns of these young FCRs about the lack of facilities. The young FCRs said that when children have lessons under trees, classes are always disrupted by rains and hot sun shine. All these weather conditions in most cases are unpredictable and therefore, in the rainy season, schools are sometimes closed which implies that syllabuses cannot be completed at the end of the year. This is likely to make students lose concentration and interest in studies a factor that may affect their performance negatively. As indicated by Uline and Tschannen-Moran (2008) and Uline et al. (2010) the quality of school facilities directly affects children’s performance. Their findings highlight that students whose schools have better facilities, are likely to perform better in English and Mathematics as compared to those without the facilities.

Even though the UPE programme is a pro-poor programme intended to offer free education to all the people, the programme is not completely free. Nishimura et al. (2008) state that the UPE and the USE programmes are still not meeting the expectations of people especially in Rural Uganda because under the programme, it is only the tuition fees that is subsidized, other costs
are borne by parents or guardians. Looking at the financial circumstances of these former camp residence it will be very difficult for them to bear the extra cost like school uniforms, exercise books and putting up the building structures at their own cost. This is a challenging situation for people who are re-establishing themselves. Also, it is a case of inequality in access to education because whilst the young FCRs’ counterparts in towns have full access to infrastructure needed for better education, those in the rural areas have no access to those facilities. This may explain the reason for the schools under trees with its attendant problems.

As much as some participants mentioned that the UPE programme was not helping them, majority of the participants indicated that the programme was laudable. Access to educational facilities was also seen by most of the FCRs as meaningful to their lives. For most of the young FCRs, education plays a pivotal role in the development of an individual's political, economic and social status. In this vein, the government's decision in establishing schools in the community was commendable. For instance, in their understanding, there is a positive relationship between level of education and economic condition. This view is supported by Zereyesus, Ross, Amanor-Boadu, and Dalton (2014), in Ghana where the authors stated that a positive link exists regarding ones level of education and his or her economic status. Therefore, the UPE and USE policy of free access to education has impacted positively on the lives of the FCRs in two ways. Firstly, it will have been very difficult for them to pay school fees looking at their economic conditions. Secondly, when their children are educated they believe will help in breaking the cycle of poverty as they will get employable skills to be able to get jobs thereby helping the families through their earnings. These views expressed are well related to findings of Lincove (2012) and Ekaju (2011) where the authors mention that universalising the primary education is one way of eradicating poverty through reduction on their expenditure. The authors argue that UPE programme being a pro poor programme will help their children to attain life-long learning skills that will liberate them from ignorance and make them self-reliant.

The young FCRs mentioned also that the free education provided to them was a major relief since they regarded it as one of the determinants of health. They indicated that once one is educated, there is the likelihood of attaining a better paying job and also be able to get knowledge and skills that can help them manage business. This leads to improved income which has linkage with well-being and better health. This argument is supported by Kassam and Nanji (2006) and Tones, Robinson, and Tilford (2013) findings which stipulate that education is rated one of the high ranked determinants of health. The authors asserted that
education acts as a conscious awareness mechanism that helps people to practise health promoting behaviours that can lead them to better health. All these lead to good health. This assertion is also supported by the Ottawa charter of WHO (1986) which indicates that education is a right to everyone and once one is educated, there are higher chances of him or her taking control of his health. Though the young FCRs were not able to enjoy the right to education themselves, they mentioned that knowing that their children are getting education enables them to move on more happily in their lives.

The establishment of the UPE and USE as stated by most of the participants as a relief, corroborates that of the government’s representative where he stressed that those initiatives were measures that have been taken to assist families in educating their children and the young FCRs are also direct beneficiaries since the programme is non-discriminatory. This statement from the government representative reafﬁrms what most of the participants indicated. That the UPE and USE are avenues of relief for them as found in section 4.2.1 of the findings chapter. Once some evidence exists to conﬁrm the concerns of a majority of the FCRs and government representative who think that the programme is helpful, it means that government has to improve on the standards so that all people see it as a relief.

5.3 Agricultural challenges and coping mechanisms

A number of stressors in relation to agriculture that the young FCRs face and some coping mechanisms that help them to overcome them are discussed in this section. The stressors include, land conflicts, land infertility, irrigation problems and diseases. The coping mechanisms are community leaders’ interventions in helping to solve land conflicts, freedom of movement, and government interventions through NAADS and availability of HIV clinics in the area.

5.3.1 Land conflicts and community leader’s interventions

Issues of land distribution and land conflicts have been major problems in many parts of the world. These conflicts can take place on inter or intra levels (between communities or nation or within communities or nations). The problem the young FCRs have is that there are no laid down procedures for land distribution at the levels of families and access to land in most cases is due to inheritance. As stated by Lund et al. (2006), Sikor and Lund (2010), Lund and Boone (2013) and Boone (2013) that non regularization of the distribution of land among communities or families is the reason for most of the land conflicts around the African continent. The young
FCRs are facing the same challenge in their community. Before they went to the camps, they had no legal documents that showed ownership of their land. They depended on community elders who would help in identification of land ownership in case land conflicts came up. But after returning from the camps, some of the parents and elders who knew the demarcations had died making the determination of the land ownership problematic. The young FCRs’ notion is well articulated in Mabikke (2011) study where the author argued that in post war areas where elders who are used as witnesses die, conflicts arise between family members. Lack of proper documentation makes it hard for the young FCRs to claim ownership of their land for farming a factor that results into conflicts between families and community members.

What needs to be noted however with regards to the issue of land is that the sentiments about land appeared to be a problem to the men as none of the females mentioned lack of available land for farming as a stressor eventhough the women also engage in farming. This is because mostly, land is being owned by men and women only get it for crop cultivation from the men. As indicted in section 4.2.1, the young FCRs main source of income is subsistence agriculture and without land, farming is impossible. The implication of their inability to get access to land for farming is that their economic conditions will worsen since they do not have other alternative income generating activities that they can rely upon for sustenance (Deininger et al., 2008).

As much as some of the young FCRs are still facing the problem of land conflicts due to lack of clear land demarcations and ownership documents, majority of them and the government representative indicated that the problem had been minimised compared to when they had just returned to the community. The way they have managed these conflicts is elaborated in the results section 4.2.4.1. Resolution of these conflicts has increased young FCRs’ access to land and therefore helps them make good use of it. Consequently, their income has increased because of higher farm productivity hence better well-being. As argued by Toulmin (2009), locally grounded systems of land demarcations are still the most effective means of land distribution mechanisms in Africa. They are cheap, simple and easy to implement and this gives the marginalised group of people such as the poor to also get an opportunity to have ownership of land. The author argues that these local land distribution arrangements also lay foundation for the central government in case there is need to formalise the land registration policies. All these arrangements reduce land conflicts and increase access to land by the poor who are the majority and as a result poverty is minimised. However, Toulmin emphasises that these local
arrangements need thorough checks and balances to ensure that the local powerful people do not take advantage of the systems at the expense of the poor.

Furthermore, the young FCRs indicated that they have freedom of movement and freedom to do agriculture which has also helped them to thrive. They reported that during their stay in the camps, there were a lot of restrictions on their movement which were limited to the camps’ territory and that denied them access to their land. However, after returning to their community they became free to move to everywhere they wish. Therefore, free movement combined with resolution of land conflicts made it easy for young FCRs to access their land. This has made it possible for them to engage in farming, rearing of cattle and other businesses such as retail shops and “boda boda” business as found in the findings section 4.3.4. The young FCRs explained that their involvement in agriculture enables them to earn some income which helps them to cater for some of their children's school expenditures and make savings for future purposes. Such income generating activities improve one's economic standing which consequently reduces poverty and hence improved well-being. This is similar to the findings of Deininger and Byerlee (2011), study where they argued that abundant land and having access to it gives the owners an opportunity to farm on a large scale, where the use of better methods of farming are possible. This ultimately increases the output and makes the fight against poverty possible leading to good health.

5.3.2 Land infertility and abundant land

The young FCRs also indicated that the infertile nature of the land compounds their problem in agriculture in the area of crop cultivation. Deforestation, continuous intensive farming and lack of fertilizers were mentioned to be the major causes of soil infertility. The concerns of the young FCRs are well articulated in Mairura et al. (2008) and Davies et al. (2010) where they indicated that continuous cultivation of land without application of fertilizers and soil erosion are some of the causes of soil infertility. These authors indicate that the land infertility reduces the yields in crop production which leads to a decline in the household income and hence increased levels of poverty.

More so, high cost of farm inputs like fertilizers is a difficult situation that the young FCRs find themselves in and this is well situated in Vitousek et al. (2009) where it is mentioned that the cost of fertilizers in Africa is extremely higher compared to prices in other continents. This is the challenge the African farmer faces and more especially the former camp residents who
have just returned to their community for resettlement. Comparing the economic situation of the young FCRs that does not tally with their responsibilities, buying such expensive fertilizers poses a very big economic challenge to them.

Though land may be infertile as indicated in the findings section 4.2.4.2, the young FCRs emphasised that they have abundant and low levelled land which makes it easy for them to do farming on large scale and apply better methods of farming (4.3.3). They highlighted that since agriculture was their major source of income, they attach a lot of value to land. This assertion is in line with Deininger and Byerlee (2011) findings which indicate that having abundant land and making good use of it gives the users the opportunity to apply better methods of farming and consequently farm production increases. With abundant but infertile land, the majority of the young FCRs mentioned that the government was helping them with modified seeds and fertilisers through NAADS programme which has improved on their soil fertility hence increased their crop production and household income.

5.3.3 Irrigation problem

Lack of irrigation systems has also been a bane on the economic circumstances of the young former camp residents. They lamented about the unpredictable rainfall patterns that have made life hard for them since their farming depends solely on rain. As a result, they cannot determine planting seasons and this has caused negative effect on their farm productivity. Activities like bush burning and felling of trees are rampant in Uganda leading to deforestation in some parts of the country particularly Northern Uganda. This has an effect on the climatic conditions leading to unpredictable rainfall patterns (Davies et al., 2010). This makes farming a risky enterprise because most farmers rely on rain fed agriculture. This also affects the achievements of the millennium development goal of reducing poverty and hunger (Tirado et al., 2010). Also, the FCRs believe that the irrigation challenge could be the likely cause of their financial constraints since all of them depend on rain fed agriculture for their survival. A study by Rockström et al. (2010) and Tirado et al. (2010), argue that rain fed agriculture in most dry areas requires availability of complementary irrigation facilities. The authors argue that farmers who depend on rain-fed agriculture always face challenges of reduced farm productivity and this increases malnourishment and poverty levels. African countries continue to remain outside the bracket of the achievements in the global reduction of hunger and poverty because many people in Africa still face extreme hunger, famine and acute food crisis (Hanjra & Qureshi, 2010).
5.3.4 Diseases and availability of HIV/AIDS clinics

Another factor that directly links to agricultural productivity is the health status of some of the young FCRs. My interaction with them revealed that some of them were suffering from many diseases, a condition which also affects productivity. For instance, some of them suffer from HIV/AIDS infections that makes it difficult for them to engage in agriculture. The young FCRs poor health reduces their time for farming meanwhile farming is a seasonal activity which needs proper timing in relation to rainfall and planting of seedlings. Ill-health of the young FCRs makes it difficult for them to start their farm activities at the right time even when the rains have come. This creates a situation where some of them miss some seasons which reduces on their productivity and that also leads to food insecurity. This supports Mphande (2016) study where they mentioned that HIV/AIDS is associated with food insecurity because the infected people in agricultural driven economies cannot engage in crop production which brings about low outputs. This then makes their conditions worse because accessibility to drugs and food will be a major health related issue they will be confronted with.

As much as some of the young FCRs commented about the problem of HIV/AIDS, majority of the FCRs indicated that health facilities such as HIV clinics are now available to them. Having access to these clinics relieves them of falling sick all the time. It also enables them to get medication Anti-RetroViral (ARVs) for free at the right time and this has increased on the number of people who seek for medication. Access to the drugs leads to the retention of people who are on medication and consequently helps them to live positively. Also, proximity of the health facilities and access to health related information through sensitization programmes organised by the community members on how to take good care of themselves was essential. All these have helped them to live healthier and happier lives. This is in line with Bedelu, Ford, Hilderbrand, and Reuter (2007), where they indicate that creation of HIV services near people motivates them to seek for the services and encourages them to continue with the medication and this improves their health. But, the authors criticise the approach of providing ARVs at the hospital level arguing that it limits people to access the medication because of fear of stigmatisation. In the case of the young FCRs, proximity of HIV/AIDS clinics and access to treatment at no cost has helped them to live stronger, healthier, and happier life. This is because they have already been stigmatised in the community as their HIV status is known so their major concern is not stigmatisation but access to medication that will keep them healthy.
5.4 Financial difficulties and coping mechanisms

Another great challenge the young FCRs are facing is unemployment since they would have preferred to get employment in the formal sector. The major cause of unemployment was the war and the camp life where movement was restricted making education impossible for them. Therefore, they were unable to acquire skills for employment. They believe that because agriculture is associated with a lot of challenges with some beyond their control, their dependence on it could be the cause of their poor economic status. Unemployment is a factor that makes people unhappy and they lose self-esteem and that negatively affects their behavioural and emotional well-being. The experience of the young FCRs is similar to studies by Dolan et al. (2008), Pickett and Wilkinson (2015) and De Fazio et al. (2016) which indicate that unemployment is one of the stressing factors that negatively affect people's health. They state that the unemployed remain idle and cannot provide basic necessities to the family which brings about unhappiness and low self-esteem.

As part of measures to deal with the economic circumstances of the young FCRs, the government of Uganda rolled out economic intervention measures in terms of financial assistance in transforming the lives of the people. These economic mitigation processes improve on their house hold income and helps in reduction of risk of further conflicts according to the young FCR’s. The government gives capital to the young FCRs in form of loans at reduced rates to enable them to access financial assistance since most of the financial facilities do not give out loans to people without security in the form of surety. So because it is hard for young FCRs to access money from financial facilities such as banks, the young FCR’s mentioned that the government initiative was laudable. It takes the form of small loans schemes given to the young FCRs by the government as seed capital at a reduced interest rates and live stocks donations for rearing. This according to the young FCRs is helpful in reducing their economic burdens. Collier (2006), states that the inability of governments to assist the people to recover from after war crises in terms of income increases the risks of further conflicts. The author asserted that governments’ effort of ensuring that their economic growth and development are improved after war is paramount. What this implies is that when government improves its growth and development through different programmes people will be capable of venturing into different income generating activities which will increase their income and they become contented with life. In the Ugandan situation, the young FCRs intimated how different programmes such as "Bonnabasome, Bagagawale, Entandikwa" by the government have
helped them to venture into different income generating activities that have improved their incomes. This has made their life enjoyable in their community and it will make it hard for the rebels to recruit young people into their folds and that consequently reduces the conflict risks.

Also, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have been of tremendous assistance for victims in difficult circumstances in terms of empowering them economically in the resettlement process. For instance, UNICEF and USAID have been in the fore front of taking up the responsibility to bring relief to victims of disasters such as wars, earth quakes and floods. It is also evident that they initiate resettlement economic programmes like carpentry, sewing and baking for victims of wars or natural disasters in many parts of the world (Brueggemann, 2013). Also, the FCRs mentioned UNICEF and USAID as NGOs that have been offering them support to become economically independent through the establishment of skills acquisition and enhancement programmes like sewing, carpentry and also financial assistance like micro finance to establish their own businesses. This relates to Brueggemann (2013) where the author mentions that NGOs are major economic tools to thousands of victims of political violence, natural disasters through the initiation of programmes like baking, vegetable gardening, poultry keeping and a host others for the beneficiaries to gain some economic strength. Indeed, if the skills of these young FCRs are enhanced or if they acquire new skills it will make them self-reliant and their economic status will also be improved so they will be able to control their own future. As the author stated, the goal of such assistance is to foster self-reliance either at the individual level or at the community level.

In addition to the above measures, the findings indicate that the community support to the young FCRs is tremendous. They indicated that the community provides financial and social support to them. The financial support according to the young FCRs takes the form of loans at reduced interest rates enabling them to fight poverty. This is consistent with Kassam and Nanji (2006) study in Pakistan where they assert that the community always encourage women refugees to start up informal groups where they meet and discuss their problems, and even be able to discuss how to begin income generating activities. These informal groups created by the women not only help them to be economically empowered but also to avoid excessive worries and this improves their health and well-being.

The young FCRs’ lack of employable skills with the problems they encounter in their farming makes them see themselves in extreme poverty condition which was expressed by the young FCRs to mean lack of access to basic needs such as food, shelter, clothing and medical care.
The major source of income for the young FCRs is farming which has its own challenges as indicated in results section 4.1.2. These challenges reduced their harvests and added on their low income that does not tally with their responsibilities of fending for their families, paying school fees and medical care. In my interaction with the participants, I witnessed the elements of poverty within the community. This was during the focus group discussions when some of the FCRs came with their children. Almost all the children were dressed in tattered clothing and others were half naked. To me, this was a clear sign that some of these young FCRs could not even afford clothing for their children. Furthermore, they indicated that some of them could not afford two meals a day (lunch and supper) for their families. The inability to provide basic necessities for their families puts them into worries and they become dissatisfied with life that makes them view it as meaningless. Similar observations done by Macia et al. (2015) confirm that economic difficulties tagged with an inability to access basic needs have negative direct impact on one's well-being and life satisfaction. According to these scholars, poor standard of living, followed by poor economic conditions, are more likely to cause dissatisfaction with life in general and this has an implication on their health. However, contrary views from other scholars cannot be dismissed. Several scholars indicate that not all people who are wealthy are happy. They argue that people who attach a lot of value to money are more likely to be less satisfied with life than those who do not. Money can instead be a source of stress rather than providing relief (Compton, 2005; Drakopoulos, 2008). However, having money according to the FCRs brings relief to them instead of stress which goes contrary to the notion of the authors.

5.7 Social challenges and coping mechanisms

5.7.1 Revengeful hearts and thoughts

At the time of the research, the young FCRs still harboured revengeful thoughts and feelings which make them so depressed because their targets for revenge are the rebels who killed and maimed their relatives. However, it is not possible for them to get the rebels which may lead to depression and bizarre behaviours or actions such as suicide thoughts. Amone-P Olak et al (2014) indicate that War Experiences (WE) such as witnessing of violent situations, sexual abuse, involvement in hostilities are precursors to suicidal ideations (suicidal thoughts). They stated, at the time of their research, that 3.2 percent per 100,000 people represents the prevalence rate suicidal attempts in Africa. This reflects Ovuga, Boardman, and Wassermann (2005) findings where they show that there was higher prevalence rate of suicidal ideations in Adjuman a district in Uganda due to political turmoil and bad social and economic
circumstances which is consistent with the findings of this research. Therefore, as much as the young FCRs are battling with poverty in this community there is also the issue of suicide that lingers in their environment because of the factors as mentioned above that make them prone to suicidal ideation. In the African context, suicide is seen as particularly shameful and undignified. In many places in Uganda, when a person commits suicide, the body is first beaten and taken to a faraway place for burial because they believe this is a bad omen to the family.

However, as stressful and difficult the situation appears to the young FCRs, they are able to identify and utilise the resources available to them and that helps them to thrive. They indicated that having reliable and understanding friends is a blessing. To the FCRs, maintaining such friendship means that their problems were solved because friends help them to come up with different problem solving avenues. For example, the constant visits to them by their friends, sharing problems and secrets and alternating farming days amongst themselves are the avenues through which they survive in their community irrespective of the challenges they are encountering.

Though some studies argue that some relationships with friends do not help people in stressful moments to thrive because the support is reciprocal as in Bolger and Amarel (2007), for FCR, close friendship helps them build confidence and self-esteem which has a positive impact on their well-being. This assertion is consistent with Annan et al. (2009) and Demir et al. (2007) findings that having caring and supportive friends builds ones confidence and this increases happiness. They indicate that friends are a source of inspiration to their colleagues whenever they face problems or feel they need any guidance or help. Also, Sadler, Sarre, Tinker, Bhalla, and McKeivitt (2016) argue that in situations of adversities, friends play a vital role in providing psycho-social support which leads people to quality of life and health.

Additionally, the counselling services, the sermons and prayers that the church offers the young FCRs are factors that help them in ensuring that they maintain ‘emotional equilibrium’ and become happy. This is done by doing away with negative thoughts of both the physical and emotional torture they experienced during the war or in captivity. A study by Francis et al. (2016) and Haller and Hadler (2006) indicate that the gatherings at worship places during prayer time, sermons and the daily ceremonies that were organised for them created a strong bondage amongst them which helped them to live as brothers and sisters. This bondage helps to relieve them of their emotional disturbances. The young FCRs indicated that whenever they go to church, they gain hope and reduce on their mental distresses through the sermons.
Eventhough majority of the young FCRs value the support gained from religion, research by Francis, Ziebertz, and Lewis (2003) which shows that there is no correlation between happiness and spirituality cannot be undermined. However, Francis’s study was critiqued by other scholars claiming that the study did not put into consideration the key aspects of happiness such as personality differences. For example the author undermined the issue of individual personality differences in relation to happiness and religiosity. People have different personalities and how they attach to religion and happiness makes them perceive the happiness aspect differently. Therefore, for the FCRs, their individual personality differences and the value they attach to religion makes religion a source of their relief and happiness. This makes Francis’s study inapplicable in relation to the FCRs.

5.7.2 Rejection and stigmatization

Trust and the feeling of belongingness among members of a community are very important for their peaceful co-existence. However, the young FCRs suffer stigmatization and rejection from some community members because of their past experiences as child soldiers, former abductees and killers. The FCRs reported that some of the community members still look at them as youth who are spoilt and have rebel hearts of killing and therefore do not interact with them. This rejection makes them lose confidence, self-esteem and therefore affects their pro-social behaviour negatively. This assertion is in line with the studies of (Theresa S Betancourt et al., 2010; Corbin, 2008). They indicated that rejection from community, lack of social support from family members and lower levels of pro-social behaviour are challenges that the youth who have been in captivity but later return to their community face. Therefore, it becomes difficult for them in terms of adjusting to life in their community compared to those who have been given social support and are not rejected.

Also for the young FCRs, the support from the family and some community members is invaluable. They mentioned, for instance, the frequent visits to their homes and material and social support in times of bereavement by the community members make them feel loved and a sense of togetherness. This helps to dispel the notion of being rejected and has a positive impact on their health. Similar studies by Theresa S Betancourt et al. (2010) and Annan et al. (2009), indicate that the family and the community play critical role in integrating the youth when they return to their communities. They noted that FCRs who are welcomed by their family members when they return from captivity feel happy, loved and less hostile than their colleagues who are not welcomed.
All these post war stressful environments can result in aggressive behaviours and anti-social behavioural factors that make it hard for the young FCRs to enjoy life in their communities. Consequently, a few of the young FCRs involve themselves in alcoholism as a means of managing the stressful conditions that confront them. For instance, they mentioned that failure to get enough income to cater for their families worries them and this makes them resort to the taking of alcohol as a control mechanism against the effect of the stressors. This is similar to findings from Kizza et al. (2015) and Amone-P’Olak et al. (2014) where they argue that post war difficulties such as depression and unemployment expose people to different behavioural problems such as alcohol and drug abuse. This has negative effects on their health. A study by Caetano, Vaeth, Mills, and Canino (2016), Jones-Webb, Karriker-Jaffe, Zemore, and Mulia (2016) and Popovici and French (2013) also mention that unemployment with its related challenges leads to binge drinking. The authors argue that people who are confronted with different stressors, taking alcohol will relieve them of their emotional and psychological problems which gives them relaxation.

5.9 Discussion in relation to the salutogenic theory of health

The theoretical framework for this study is the salutogenic model. This model puts much emphasises on application of proactive measures to enhance and improve health rather than focusing on the prevention of diseases (Becker et al., 2010). The model believes that challenges are part of life but how people view them, and be able to utilise the resources at hand to manage them (challenges) is the most important element (Lindström & Eriksson, 2006). I will highlight the life situation of the FCR’s, the stressors they face, the GRRs that help them to view these stressors as manageable, comprehensible and meaningful (SOC) hence capable to move towards better health.

5.9.1 Life situation

The life situation these young FCRs encountered was the experiences of the war which resulted in the destruction of property, a ruined economy, loss of family members and finally being located to the camps as residents. The camp life limited their movements and they had to depend on handouts for survival. This limited their ability to start up informal sectors where they could earn a living. This made it hard for them to provide basic needs to their families a factor that took away their happiness which has long term negative effects on their health.
5.9.2 Stressors and Generalised resistance resources

In the findings, it was clear that the young FCRs life situation exposes them to a number of stressors and these include; poor standard of public services, financial difficulties, agricultural challenges, health problems and social challenges such as stigmatisation and rejection. The young FCRs indicated that some of these stressors such as financial difficulties and poor health facilities were phenomena that were of great concern to them resulting in unhappiness.

Even though they were faced with these challenges, the FCRs had a lot of resources which they used to their advantage to be able to cope with their situation. These resources include the existence of amenities, economic empowerment, supportive relations, government interventions and the interventions of non-governmental organisations. These resources available to the young FCRs are referred to as GRRs which according to Lindström and Eriksson (2006) are the biological, material and psychological elements that facilitate people's perception about their lives as comprehensible organised and consistent. Lindström and Eriksson (2006), asserted that if a person has resources at his disposal, chances of managing life challenges are higher compared to the ones without resources. However, he clarified that it is not just the existence of resources that is important but how the individual is able to use and reuse them. These GRRs at the disposal of young FCRs yielded a sense of coherence (SOC) where they are able to construct in their minds that they are capable of managing the situation. In this case, the young FCR’s sense of coherence and their ability to utilise the resources is influenced by their life experiences (Antonovsky, 1996).

5.9.3 Life experiences

The life experience is a three dimensional phenomenon which includes degree of consistency, under load/overload balance and participation.

5.9.3.1 Degree of consistency

Consistency as it relates to the theory of salutogenesis is the extent to which life becomes predictable within the context of the environment one finds himself/herself. The young FCRs have abundant land on which they can engage in farming. Their engagement in farming is a repetitive economic activity which they do for their survival. They know the seasons for planting, harvesting and through this activity they are able to get food for their families and some income to pay for their children's fees. This makes the life for the young FCRs more...
predictable. Additionally, knowing that they have support from their friends, family relatives, church, community members, government and nongovernmental organisations also adds consistency to their lives and therefore they can predict the consequences of their actions.

As much as they live in a predictable and consistent environment, they encounter stressful situations in their quest for survival. For example, some of the young FCRs indicated that some community members despise them because of their past status as child soldiers and members of the rebels. This has a counter effect on their notion of consistency and made life difficult for them. Also, though there is abundant land on which they do farming, the unpredictable climatic conditions makes farming very difficult for them. For example, they indicated that the non-predictability of the weather makes it hard for them to predict the seasons. This is a natural hazard that the young FCRs have no control over which consequently affects their farming and productivity.

5.9.3.2 Under-load over-load balance

In situations where people have more resources that outweigh stressors it results into under load balance whilst where stressors outweigh resources it results into over load balance, (Antonovsky, 1996). For the young FCRs, though they had positive resources at their disposal which they put into good use in order to survive, the resources are not enough and are of poor standard to help them to overcome the challenges they face. This means the stressors still existed an indication of overload balance (more stressors than resources). For instance, findings showed that the young FCRs had public amenities such as schools and hospitals at their disposal a factor that helped their children to access education and medical care for free. However, the same resources turned to be challenges to them. For example, the schools were in poor conditions in term of infrastructures. There was also inadequate furniture and teachers were always absent which made it hard for their children to attain better education. In the case of hospitals, the findings showed that the young FCRs were happy for the good job done by the government in providing health centres at each sub county. However, in their arguments they lamented about their (hospitals) insufficient care, poor treatment and absence of medical staffs. Therefore, these assertions made by the young FCRs indicate that though the young FCRs have the resources, they are not enough to meet all their needs since human needs are insatiable. This means that there can never be enough resources to satisfy human needs. However, the findings highlighted that in spite of the stressors they were facing with limited resources, they were able to thrive.
5.9.3.3 Participation

One cardinal factor about sense of coherence is its strength. A strong sense of coherence is achieved through engagement in decisions that are of prime importance to the society in which one finds himself (Lindström & Eriksson, 2006). For these young FCRs to develop a strong sense of coherence, they needed to identify and make use of the resources at their disposal because this is the basic principle in salutogenesis. How the young FCRs life situation helped them to develop a strong sense of coherence is not far-fetched. For instance the young FCRs had problem of capital to initiate business activities which was a stressful condition for them. In order to overcome the problem of lack of capital for business setups some of them borrowed money from the community members to start their own businesses. In addition to this, some of them joined NGO’s that provided them with small loans to start their own businesses.

Furthermore, the FCRs are within a social context of living in a community. They therefore involve themselves in community activities like funerals and other ceremonies which help them to overcome some of the life challenges. For example, the community helps it members during bereavement which helps them economically and socially. From the social perspective, they get the feeling of belongingness and mutual trust from their engagement in the activities of the community.

Attendance of church services where they give themselves to God also helps them to be spiritually strong a factor that helps them to build a strong sense of coherence to be able to deal with the challenges that they face as FCRs. Through their attendance to these church services they are able to discuss their problems with other members for solutions.

As much as the above factors have the potential of helping them to build strong SOC, some of the FCRs still have problems in acquiring credit facilities to start their own businesses. What this implies is that this category of FCRs will develop weak sense of coherence which will ultimately affect how they will move towards good health.

5.9.4 Sense of Coherence

Obviously, one has to remain healthy if he is able to move on with life even if there are challenges. The ability of an individual to move towards a healthy life has a direct relationship with the strength of his sense of coherence, (Antonovsky, 1987).
Antonovsky (1996) stated that the SOC has three interactive parts that will work to enable a person move towards health. These parts are comprehensibility, manageability and meaningfulness. Movement towards health is achieved when one’s SOC is strong. How these three components apply to the FCRs is discussed below.

5.9.4.1 Comprehensibility

Antonovsky (1996, p. 15) describes comprehensibility as the “believe that the challenge is understood.” This means that the FCRs must understand their life situation and put it in proper context. It shows in the findings that FCRs are in a society that has systematic patterns of living, that is a structure predictable and explicable (Antonovsky, 1987). The FCRs at Patek village live in a society where pathways for dispute resolution are present. For example, in a typical dispute situation within a family the elders in the family will deal with it but inter family conflicts are dealt with by the chief of the community. Also, the society offers opportunities for borrowing and paying without interest. How inheritance is done is known by the FCRs. That is why in the findings most of them were complaining that their lands were being taken after the demise of their parents. It is just clear here that the FCRs are living in a community that is structured. Once it is structured, it is easy to predict the outcome of the actions that one takes.

5.9.4.2 Manageability

This is when one assesses the situation to determine whether there are available resources to deal with the stressors (Antonovsky, 1987). Looking at the young FCRs, they are able to identify the resources within their immediate environs to deal with their stressors at hand. They understand that stressors are unavoidable in their lives so the best thing is to carve out mechanisms to deal with them. For instance, some of them rely on credit facilities to commence their businesses. The ability of the young FCRs to be involved in multiple avenues to keep on with life is an indication that they believe they can manage the situation even with the difficulties they experience.

5.9.4.3 Meaningfulness

Whether the young FCRs see their life situation as meaningful depends on the extent to which they have the motivation or willingness to cope with life’s challenges as FCRs. Relating the concept of meaningfulness to the young FCRs is to ascertain whether they see life as
meaningful and will therefore be desirous of maintaining good health. For them, life was meaningful because though they had challenges they tried to seek resources to deal with the challenges.

In the findings chapter, it was noticed that one of the resources the young FCRs used to deal with the stressful conditions was the church. Attendances to these church services makes life meaningful to them as they listen to the sermons where issues of forgiving one another are preached and this softens their hearts and they become spiritually strong to move on.

Eventhough they complained of being poor, they have not remained economically redundant and are tilling their lands for crop production. They explained that they are able to pay their children’s school fees through these low profile economic activities of subsistent agriculture. Meaningfulness is also related to engaging in societal decisions, according to (Antonovsky, 1996). For the young FCRs the youth self-help groups was an immense contributory factor to their happiness thus making life meaningful to them. In spite of the difficulties that the young FCRs face in staying within the community, life appears to make meaning to them so they will want to remain healthy.

5.9.5 Movement towards health

The strength of one’s sense of coherence determines his or her movement towards health, (Antonovsky, 1996). The strength of the FCRs SOC will determine their movement towards health. Section 4.1.5 of the findings chapter indicates that some of the FCRs had resorted to alcoholism as a mechanism against the effects of the stressors. Though alcohol relieved them from stressors for a short time, it does not provide lasting solution to the problems and also, it has its negative effects on health. Therefore, those who had resorted to alcohol had a weak sense of coherence that could not enable them to utilise better resources to lead them to better health. The FCRs who relied on resources such as support from friends, family, church and community had a strong sense of coherence that helped them to overcome most of the challenges they were facing. Those are the ones capable of moving towards better health, (Lindström & Eriksson, 2010). These authors argue that though these resources do not bring lasting solutions, they help people to move on with life without causing long term effects a factor that moves them to better health, (Antonovsky, 1996). Therefore, the salutogenic theory is applicable in the life experiences of majority of the FCRs in a sense that irrespective of the
challenges they are facing (4.1), majority of them are capable of utilising the resources at hand which has helped them to move towards better health (sense of coherence).

5.10 Limitations

This study registered a number of limitations which the researcher believes could have enriched the output.

First and foremost, the language barrier was one of the challenges the researcher faced. This is well explained in section 3. 6.2. Language barrier is a complex issue that once not handled rightly can change the meaning and interpretation of the phenomenon. In this case, the researcher did not know the language of the interviewees/ participants and therefore the use of the translators, could have changed the meaning of some of the questions and therefore resulting into attaining responses different from the aims of the study. More so, the use of research assistants (section 3.6.3) could have also affected the responses that the participants were giving. The fact that the research assistants were interviewing in a language the researcher did not know, they had relative power over her. She entirely depended on them for almost all the interviews and transcriptions which means that they had all the powers to do the interviews and transcriptions in favour of their interests. This could have affected the probing of participants in order to elicit for more information.

Another limitation could be the change of the gate keeper as indicated in section (3.3). The change of the gate keeper at the last minute posed a challenge to the researcher because it was hard for her to crosscheck that the participants that the first gate keeper had selected for the study were the same participants the second gate keeper had chosen. More to this, another limitation in relation to the gate keeper was him being multi-tasked. The gate keeper had several roles to play such as a ‘gate’ to the participants, a participant and an organiser for the meeting venue. This could have strained him making him not to perform well in some areas. For example, because he was the only one I relied on for the participants and organising venues, he was always present while interviewing other participants. When it reached his turn for being interviewed, he kept on referring to the responses that other participants had given which the researcher believes could have affected his responses.

Due to the limited time, the researcher believes that she did not build full rapport required for people to build trust to freely open up. Though the researcher tried to visit the place a week prior to the commence of the interviews, use research assistants who were specifically from
Gulu, and always began meeting sessions with casual talks, she believes that building rapport is a gradual process that requires long time in order for people to build trust to freely interact with you. Lack of proper rapport building could have affected the free interaction between the researcher and the participants which could have influenced the responses.

Lastly, the study involved a small number of participants. However, having adopted a phenomenological design, the researcher was able to attain a deeper understanding of the lived experiences of the FCRs in transition to independent lives in their communities.
CHAPTER SIX

6.0 Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1 Conclusion

The study aimed at attaining a deeper understanding of the stressors the young FCRs in Patek village face, and the resources they dwell on to thrive in their community. This was possible through the implementation of a phenomenological approach and theory of salutogenesis which dwells on the origins of health rather than what causes diseases. Four objectives were addressed. Objective (1) to explore the stressors experienced by the young FCRs. (2) to examine the resources the FCRs apply to thrive in their community. (3) to understand the role the community play in integrating the young FCRs (4) to examine the role the government and non-governmental organisations play in the integration of the young FCRs. To achieve the objectives, the following research questions were addressed. What are the stressors experienced by the young FCRs? What are the resources that that the FCRs apply to thrive? How do communities contribute to the integration of the young FCRs? How do government and non-governmental organisations programmes contribute to the thriving of the young FCRs in their community? This was possible through use of focus group discussions and in-depth individual interviews with the help of semi-structured interview guides.

The findings revealed that some of the resources that the young FCRs had represented the stressors of few of them. For example, availability of public hospitals in the area was seen as a resource to the majority. This was because, they believed that having a nearby health facilities and having access to them was a resource in two ways. First, it saves them from going to private facilities where they are to pay exorbitant consultation fees. Considering their poor financial condition payment of such high medical bills is impossible. Secondly, it saves them from travelling long distances to access medical care with risks and costs involved like transport costs. On the other hand, findings revealed that eventhough the majority were happy that these public facilities were helpful, some argued that they were a source of stress to them. They highlighted that the poor state of these facilities such as lack of equipment and inadequate medical staff, were putting their lives at risk because they could not access proper medical care.

Also, findings show that the availability of government education programme, UPE, meant to ensure education for all, was another resource they value as far as integration is concerned. Majority of the participants revealed that the education programme was one of the elements that gave them hope for their children’s future and they believe that if their children attain
education, it will widen their job seeking prospects and they will be able to attain better paying jobs in the formal sector. The young FCRs believe that when their children get better paying jobs in future, they can take care of them in their old age. Despite seeing the programme as a resource, findings revealed that some participants viewed the programmes as sources of their stress. The results showed that though these programmes were aimed at providing free education, they were not free in practice. The findings intimated that the government catered for only school fees and the parents are supposed to pay for some of the school materials which makes life hard for them.

The findings show that the young FCRs were facing economic challenges and this has an effect on their health. Many of them explained that they were involved in rain fed agriculture as their major source of income which also poses a lot of challenges to them. Rain fed agriculture coupled with problems of irrigation and unpredictable rainfall make it hard for them to predict the seasons. This affects their farm output and also reduces their incomes. The young FCRs attributed this to the climatic change caused by human activities such as bush burning and the felling of trees for firewood and charcoal in the area making deforestation widespread in the area.

Another stressor revealed in the findings was the unemployment problem. They intimated that having no education denied them chances of accessing employment skills that would have enabled them to access better paying jobs in the formal sector. The results revealed that unemployment could be a reason why some of the young FCRs were engaging in un-acceptable behaviours such as alcohol abuse due to being idle. Also, the findings revealed that the young FCRs were still facing challenges of rejection and stigma which caused some of them to lose self-esteem which has negative effect on their health. Other stressors that were worrying the young FCRs include land conflicts, stigmatisation and irrigation problem. Despite the stressors the young FCRs face, the findings showed a number of resources that they utilise to their advantage to overcome these challenges.

Freedom of movement was also a resource that the FCRs valued in their lives. The findings showed that this helped them to engage in different income generating activities which have increased their income. Abundant land and having access to it was also mentioned as one of the major resources they had at their disposal despite the challenges they had with it. For example, land was their major resource for income since they solely depended on agriculture
for their survival. Having abundant land has helped them to do agriculture on both small scale and large scale. This has helped them to improve on their household income.

Supportive relations from friends, church, relatives, and community members were considered to be valuable resources in their lives. Findings indicated that this support was not limited to the social context but also emotional, economic, spiritual and moral support. These forms of support have helped them to overcome the challenges of stigmatization and revengeful thoughts through counselling services and this has improved their emotional stability. Also, the findings show that the financial support the participants got from their friends, community and church helped them to offset their financial burdens and this reduced their worries. This has an effect on their health.

Non-governmental organisations and governmental interventions were indispensable in their integration process. Programmes such as family planning, vocational training programmes such as carpentry, have helped them to maintain good health and produce a number of children that they can manage to take care of without too much constrains.

In salutogenesis theory, the ability to view life worth an investment and utilise resources at disposal are the most important elements that lead people to better health. Findings suggest that the FCRs have a strong sense of coherence that helps them to move towards positive health. The findings reveal that the FCRs understand the stressors they face. This gives them motivation to utilise the resources at their disposal and view life worth an investing their energies to deal with the stressors.

It is obvious that this study has made contribution to knowledge in the scientific discipline by pointing out the experiences of young FCRs from their perspectives with a focus on those who are thriving. This has therefore significantly contributed in feeling the gaps in the literature in relation to FCRs especially from the domains of those who have returned to their communities for resettlement.

6.2 Recommendations

One of the recommendations for this study will be improvement in the standards of universal primary education and universal secondary education systems. Though there is relatively free education provided by the government, it should improve on the standards and try to control on teacher absenteeism and also improve on the school feeding since some children were complaining of poor meals at school. The government should also have to provide furniture
and other learning materials and also improve on the infrastructural outlook of the schools. In some of these schools, children still sit on the floor and some classes are still conducted under trees due to lack of classrooms and chairs. Once children are studying in the above mentioned conditions, their concentration could be affected resulting in poor performance. Improvement in health sector should be done, so that the people could live healthy lives. In an attempt to achieve better health conditions for the people, they should be part of the system by involving them in decision making processes so that they feel empowered to take control of their health. Government and other non-governmental organisations are making efforts in the health sector by putting in place health facilities. However, if logistics like medicines could be easily available in the health centres and health workers are easily accessible to them it would make their stay in their area enjoyable.

Government should make follow ups on the money (small loans) given to the beneficiaries. A situation like this arises when the people are just recipients of the funds without having any contribution regarding how the whole funding system works. If government works in partnership with the people through a bottom-up approach by allowing them to formulate their own mechanisms of the funds usage, it becomes more binding on them to ensure that their own procedures work. But the top-down approach is the reason for some of these policy initiatives becoming defunct right from their initiation because they lack the synergy needed for a collaborative functioning between the government and the people.
References


Miller, K. E., & Rasmussen, A. (2010). War exposure, daily stressors, and mental health in conflict and post-conflict settings: bridging the divide between trauma-focused and psychosocial frameworks. *Social Science & Medicine, 70*(1), 7-16.


Appendices
Appendix (I): Interview guides

Focus group discussion guide

Tell me about how life is in this community?

How was life at the time of transition from camps to your this community?

How is life now?

Has life changed in anyway?

In what way?

What are the stressors that affect your lives?

What resources are at your disposal that help in coping with life?

What is the experience after returning into this community?

How do parents or elders view the young former camp residents?

What has government contributed to your integration?

Individual interview for the young former camp residents
When did you come back into this community?

What was it like when you came back?

How do you find life outside the camp?

What are the stressors that affect your life?

Probing question. What causes them?

In what way do they affect you?

What resources do you use to survive?

What is your experience with independent life?

What do you hope to become 5 years from now?
How does the community contribute to your integration?

How do government programmes contribute to coping with independent life in your integrated communities?

Individual interview for the community leader
What is the good way to treat former camp residents?

What are the stressors that these former camp residents face?

What resources do they dwell on to thrive?

How do communities contribute to the integration of former camp residents?

Individual interview for the government representative
What is your role in relation to the integration of young former camp residents?

What is the best way to treat them?

What are the programs that have been put in place by the government to help the former camp residents cope with new life?

What does the government hope these young former camp residents to become?

Are there any programs that the government has for these young former camp residents?

Appendix (II): Table: 2 Structure of codes/themes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basic themes</th>
<th>Organising themes</th>
<th>Global themes</th>
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<td>Poor standards of public services</td>
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<tr>
<td>Poor state of hospitals</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>Financial difficulties</td>
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<td>Insufficient income</td>
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<tr>
<td>Land conflicts</td>
<td>Agricultural challenges</td>
<td>Stressors</td>
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<td>Land infertility</td>
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<td>Irrigation problems</td>
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<td>Health problems</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diseases</td>
<td>Health problems</td>
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<tr>
<th>Social challenges</th>
<th>Availability of public facilities</th>
<th>Freedom of movement</th>
<th>Income generating activities</th>
<th>Supportive relations</th>
<th>Government and Non-government interventions like USAID AND UNICEF</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stigmatisation</td>
<td>Presence of hospital</td>
<td>Presence of schools</td>
<td>Freedom to engage in agriculture</td>
<td>Agriculture and rearing of cattle</td>
<td>Community</td>
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<td>Problem of alcohol abuse</td>
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<td>Churches</td>
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<td>Family</td>
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<td>Friends</td>
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<td>Recconiliatory programmes</td>
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<td>Information and creation awareness</td>
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<td>Women empowerment</td>
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<td>Government and Non-government interventions like USAID AND UNICEF</td>
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</tbody>
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Appendix (III): Study permissions
Gulu District

GULU LOCAL GOVERNMENT
P. O Box 1 Gulu - Uganda

June 25, 2015

Prudence Beinamaryo

RE: CLEARANCE TO CONDUCT STUDY RESEARCH

This is to confirm your request and also provide approval to carry out your research study in Bobi, Village Gulu District. Your research among the Young Former Camp Residents shall be carried out under the supervision of the village LCI Chairperson who shall also accord you any other assistance that you may need in this regard.

Should you require any additional support that is otherwise not provided at the Village level, do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours sincerely,

Bekunda Johnson
CHIEF ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER
Norsk samfunnsvitenskapelig dato-tjeneste AS
NORWEGIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE DATA SERVICES

Margurite Daniel
HEMIL-senteret Universitetet i Bergen
Christiegt. 13
5015 BERGEN

Vår dato: 10/05/2015
Vår ref. 43409 / 3 MIB
Dens dato: Dens ref.

TILBAKEVELT PÅ MELDING OM BEHANDLING AV PERSONOPPLYSNINGER

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 10.05.2015. Meldingen gjelder prosjektet.

43409 From Dependency To Independence; A Salutogenic Perspective Of The Transition Of Internally Displaced Youth By War In Northern Uganda
Behandlingsansvarlig: Universitetet i Bergen, ved institusjonens øverste leder
Daglig ansvarlig: Margurite Daniel
Student: Prudence Deinamayo

Etter gjennomgang av opplysninger gitt i meldeskjemet og øvrig dokumentasjon, finner vi at prosjektet ikke medfører meldepikt eller konsesjonsplikt etter personopplysningslovens §§ 31 og 33.


Vedlagt følger vår begrunnelse for hvorfor prosjektet ikke er meldepiktig.

Vennlig hilsen

Katrine Utaker Segadalen

Marianne Hegetveit Myhren

Kontaktperson: Marianne Hegetveit Myhren tlf: 55 58 25 29
Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering
Kopi: Prudence Deinamayo prudenceb13@gmail.com

Dokumentet er elektronisk underskrevet og generert ved elektronisk godkjenning.
UNCST permission: Uganda
Appendix (IV): Consent forms

Consent form for the former camp residents

The relevance of the study has been read and explained to me. I have understood it and I have been informed that am free to participate and can withdraw any time I feel I no longer want to be part of the study.

I have been told that my name will not be revealed anywhere in the report and no one can trace me for any information said for this cause. The recordings will be destroyed after the information has been extracted from it.

Name

Signature

Date

Consent form for the government representative

The relevance of the study has been read and explained to me. I have understood it and I have been informed that am free to participate and can withdraw any time I feel I no longer want to be part of the study.

I have been told that my name will not be revealed anywhere in the report and no one can trace me for any information said for this cause. The recordings will be destroyed after the information has been extracted from it.

Name

Signature

Date

Consent form for the local council

The relevance of the study has been read and explained to me. I have understood it and I have been informed that am free to participate and can withdraw any time I feel I no longer want to be part of the study.

I have been told that my name will not be revealed anywhere in the report and no one can trace me for any information said for this cause. The recordings will be destroyed after the information has been extracted from it.

Name
Appendix (v): Explanations of the study
To the youth
This study is in fulfilment of the requirements for the master of philosophy in health promotion. It is a programme I am currently pursuing at the University of Bergen, Norway. This project aims at exploring the coping strategies the young former camp residents apply to thrive in their integrated communities. I have a strong belief that you will enrich my data with a lot of information regarding the study since you know them better than me and I am to learn from you in this phenomena.

The completed thesis will be submitted to my department of the University of Bergen-Norway.

This interview will take about 45 minutes and all the information discussed in the focus group discussions and individual interview, and recorded will not revealed anywhere and your names will not be indicated in the report.

Participation to this study is voluntary and you are free to withdraw whenever you feel you no longer want to be part of this study. You are also free to answer the questions when you feel like answering and if not, you are free not to do so.

Feel free to read and sign this form if you agree to participate.

Thank you for your co-operation

Prudence Beinamaryo.

Tel: 0701801768

To the Local council chairman
This study is in fulfilment of the requirements for the master of philosophy in health promotion. It is a programme I am currently pursuing at the University of Bergen, Norway. This project aims at exploring the coping strategies the young former camp residents apply to thrive in their integrated communities. I have a strong belief that you will enrich my data with a lot of information regarding the study since you know them better than me and I am to learn from you in this phenomena.

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Thank you for your co-operation

Prudence Beinamaryo.

Tel: 0701801768

To Government representative

This study is in fulfilment of the requirements for the master of philosophy in health promotion. It is a programme I am currently pursuing at the University of Bergen, Norway. This project aims at exploring the coping strategies the young former camp residents apply to thrive in their integrated communities. I have a strong belief that you will enrich my data with a lot of information regarding the study since you know them better than me and I am to learn from you in this phenomena.

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