MUKASA NORMAN 2015 VIOLENT CONFLICT AND FORCED DISPLACEMENT

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VIOLENT CONFLICT AND FORCED DISPLACEMENT

A Comparison of Family Size Dynamics and Women's Power in Uganda

Dissertation presented by

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Ph.D in International and Intercultural Studies

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Abstract

CONTEXT: Globally, more than 1.5 million people are affected by violent conflict and nearly 43 million people are displaced by violent conflict. In Uganda, the population of the north suffered two decades of violent conflict that left more than two million displaced. However, little is known about the effect of this conflict on the household dynamics. It is important to understand whether exposure to the conflict in Uganda is associated with the family dynamics and participation of women in the paid workforce and reproductive decisions after the conflict.

METHODS: The analysis uses quantitative and qualitative primary data collected in 2013 by the researcher in six districts of Uganda: Gulu, Pader, Lira, Luweero, Mukono and Wakiso. The exposure to conflict is measured by residing in the conflict area and time spent in IDP camps. The study also compares experiences of conflict-affected and non-affected individuals. For quantitative analysis, Chi-square, independent t-test and ANOVA statistics are used to explore association and group differences. Additionally, the logistic regression was used to estimate the odds of having a small ideal number of children, the odds of being married early, women's odds of having more children than their ideal and women's odds of having paid work. For the qualitative data, thematic analysis of in-depth and key informant interview was done.

RESULTS: The exposure to conflict inversely affected the actual number of children and ideal family size ($t = -4.60$, $P < .001$ and $t = -2.42$, $P < .05$, respectively). Secondly, early marriage was at 27 percent in the non-conflict-affected compared to almost 40 percent of conflict-affected counterparts. Thirdly, over three-quarters of the conflict-affected women had attained their exact ideal family size preference. Fourth, among women who had paid-work, the percentage of women who ever resided in IDP camps almost doubled that of the never resided in the IDP camps category. The results show that the exposure to conflict increased odds of early marriage, especially in the case of women, and experiences of early marriage in the conflict-affected communities were more brutal compared to non-conflict affected subjects. The regional exposure to conflict and prolonged stay in IDP camps doesn't significantly affect personal Ideal family size preferences. But, economic coping strategies during the violent conflict significantly increase the odds of having a smaller ideal family size. The qualitative and quantitative findings altogether confirm the formulation of new gender specific socioeconomic norms of work in the conflict-affected communities. They also confirm that the structural and social factors limit women's power and have a very robust effect on family dynamics.

CONCLUSIONS: The exposure to conflict--as assessed using currently available measures--is not consistently associated with differences in family dynamics in Uganda, unless when conflict-coping strategies are considered. Thus, exposure to violent conflict could alter family dynamics through change in gender roles and due to increased women's entry into the paid workforce. Moreover, the relationship between exposure to conflict and early marriage can best be understood from individual experiences of young mothers. Future research is needed to understand the situation of war-affected child-mother and there is a need for further studies to use different measures of exposure to conflict to estimate changes in the family dynamics.

Resumen

CONTEXTO: A nivel mundial, más de 1,5 millones de personas se ven afectadas por los conflictos violentos y casi 43 millones de personas desplazadas por estos conflictos. En Uganda, la población del norte sufrió dos décadas de conflicto violento que dejó más de dos millones de desplazados, pero poco se conoce acerca de lo mucho que esto afecta la dinámica familiar y de la capacidad decisión de las mujeres en el hogar. Es importante entender si la exposición al conflicto está asociada con las dinámicas de familia y la participación de las mujeres en el ámbito familiar y reproductivo tras el conflicto.

MÉTODOS: El análisis utiliza datos primarios cuantitativos y cualitativos recogidos en 2013 por el investigador en seis distritos de Uganda: Gulu, Pader, Lira, Luweero, Mukono y Wakiso. La exposición a los conflictos se mide por la residencia en la zona de conflicto y el tiempo pasado en los campamentos de desplazamiento internos. El estudio también compara las experiencias de las personas afectadas por el conflicto y no afectados. Para el análisis cuantitativo, los estadísticos Chi-cuadrado, t-test independiente y ANOVA se han utilizado para explorar las diferencias de asociación y de grupo. Además, se utilizó la regresión logística para modelar las probabilidades. Para los datos cualitativos, se realizó el análisis temático de las entrevistas en profundidad y también se llevaron a cabo entrevistas a informantes clave.

RESULTADOS: Atendiendo a los datos estudiando podemos afirmar en primer lugar que la exposición al conflicto afecta negativamente al número de hijos en la familia ($t = -4.60$, $P<.001$) y a la preferencia por tenerlos ($t = -2.42$, P.05). En segundo lugar, sólo el 27 por ciento de las personas no afectadas por el conflicto tenían probabilidades de estar casadas antes de cumplir 18 años en comparación con casi el 40 por ciento de las afectadas. En tercer lugar, el 73,5 por ciento de las mujeres que habían residido en un distrito afectado por el conflicto y el 82,6 por ciento de las mujeres que habían sufrido un desplazamiento prolongado, eran propensas a tener menos hijos de los deseados inicialmente. En cuarto lugar, el número de mujeres que habiendo residido en un campamento de personas desplazadas (IDP) ejercieron un trabajo remunerado casi duplica al de las mujeres que nunca habían residido en un IDP. Los resultados obtenidos ofrecen evidencias acerca del incremento las probabilidades de matrimonio precoz y matrimonio infantil durante el conflicto, especialmente en el caso de las mujeres son más brutales en las comunidades afectadas. La efectiva exposición al conflicto o la prolongada estancia en los campos de desplazados internos no afecta significativamente a las preferencias de tamaño familiar ideal. Pero, las estrategias de afrontamiento económicas durante el conflicto violento aumentan significativamente las probabilidades de tener un tamaño de familia más pequeño. Nos encontramos con que las mujeres afectadas por el conflicto tenían más probabilidad de participar en el mercado de trabajo remunerado, en comparación con las no afectadas. Tanto los resultados cualitativos como los cuantitativos confirman que en las comunidades afectadas por el conflicto se han formulado nuevas normas socioeconómicas que afectan a las relaciones de género en el mercado laboral y en la familia, pero el impacto no es suficiente para revertir las condiciones estructurales y sociales que influyen en la capacidad real de decisión de la mujer. .

CONCLUSIONES: La exposición a los conflictos (como se evaluó utilizando medidas las disponibles) - no está asociada consistentemente con el deseo de tener familias más pequeñas o con la capacidad de mujeres para lograr el tamaño de familia deseado en Uganda. La experiencia adversa del conflicto violento podría alterar el comportamiento familiar y reproductivo de las mujeres directa o indirectamente a través de un cambio en los roles de género y un incremento de la participación femenina en el mercado laboral. Por otra parte, la relación entre la exposición a los conflictos y el matrimonio precoz se puede entenderse mejor cuando atendemos a las experiencias individuales de las madres jóvenes a través de métodos cualitativos. Se necesita investigación adicional para comprender la situación de las madres precoces afectadas por el conflicto, así como también es necesario utilizar medidas adicionales de exposición al conflicto para confirmar o contrastar los hallazgos realizados en la dinámica de tamaño familiar

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Research, Research problem and Propositions

Globally, more than 1.5 billion people are affected by violent conflict and instability (World Bank, 2011), and 42.5 million people are forcibly displaced, often as a result of persistent and new conflicts (UNHCR, 2011:2). Over 26.4 million of the forcibly displaced are said to be internally displaced within their own countries (IDMC, 2011:8). Moreover, 54 per cent of the people in conflict and unstable countries are classified as poor compared to 22 per cent in low income countries (World Bank, 2013). With these figures and more, macro-level analysis of impacts of violent conflicts has reported violent conflict to be "development in reverse"; these conflicts obliterate human and physical capital and push countries back into the past (Collier et al. 2003). Added to that, about 13.5 million young women and married men before their 18th birthday are most likely to be in countries that are characterized by poverty and conflict (UNFPA, 2012).

These situations of violent conflict and instability are frequent in Sub Saharan Africa and come with serious consequences. Forced displacement is one of these consequences. Forced displacement is perceived as an utter violation of human, economic, political and social rights (Moser and Clark 2001: 32). This form of displacement can lead to refugees moving to other countries or internally displaced people within the same country; it can be temporary and or permanent displacement. Some displaced people receive relief aid while many more do not. Despite the large number of those affected by conflicts and the lengthy period of displacement, little is understood concerning individual behaviours within the family dimension in conflict-affected and long-term displaced populations.

Conflict prevention could be the most effective means to prevent individual and household war related problems, but when this can't be accomplished, interventions and recovery programmes are essential to reduce the impacts on people's lives. However,

the quality of data on conflict-affected and displaced population—mostly at the individual / household level—needs to be improved, which makes it difficult to study correlates of various outcomes (Justino, 2009; Singh et al, 2005:248).

This study attempts to understand the *extent of the effect of exposure to the LRA conflict on women`s (dis) empowerment, measured via changes in individual behaviours related to family size, marriage and women's power to attain family size and paid work in selected communities of Uganda.* It also attempts to *understand how appropriate the effect of exposure to conflict is for `reconceptualising` individual behaviours related to family size, marriage and women's power within the household in post-conflict communities.*

Essentially, the study capitalises on the differentiated nature of LRA conflict in Uganda (exposure to conflict by district/region) and the random nature of forced displacement in the northern region (temporal exposure to the IDP camps) as exogenous variables on individual behaviours—which represent family dynamics and women's power. This study attempts to understand family dynamics through analysing two indicators: ideal family size and age at first marriage. It attempts to understand women's power through analysing three indicators: women's participation in family size decision and paid work, and their attainment of family size goal. Qualitative results are used to support or refute the analysed relationships between exposure to conflict and individual behaviours.

Previous macro-level research has shown that violent conflict negatively impacts common measures of fertility behaviours. For instance, a change in the sex ratio due to a higher number of war deaths of men than women affects the "marriage market" (Louis, 1966 cited from de Walque, 2006; de Walque, 2006; Shemyakina 2009; Abramitzky, Delavande and Vasconcelos, 2011). The decline in birth-rates is found to arise as "temporary adjustment" to the uncertainty of the war times (Caldwell, 2004). One explanation may be that the effect of war on fertility behaviours may depend on the adverse consequences experienced and the characteristics of the affected population (Hill, 2004). Other macro-level studies put emphasis on both war and socioeconomic distress factors (Lindstorm and Berhanu 1999; McGinn, 2000; Agadjanian and Prata 2002). The argument in these studies is that social and demographic factors such as age, socioeco-

nomic status, education and urban/rural residence, as well as access to services, rather than conflict and its effect appear to influence fertility behaviours (McGinn, 2000). In addition, the effect of violent conflict on family size may be direct—through civilian casualties, forced migration and psychological stress— and indirect—through a generalized deterioration of socioeconomic conditions and social disruptions (Agadjanian and Prata, 2002:215). Urdal (2010) identifies channels through which conflict may affect fertility, and claims these channels vary with the type and duration of a given conflict. The channels range from the individual level (loss of children, partner and kinship, women's employment) to regional effects (destruction of health infrastructure and regional employment) and to demographic issues (change in sex ratio, change in number or characteristics of unions). While these aggregated level measures capture the overall population´s fertility behaviours, there remains a possibility that these indicators do not capture the day-to-day impact of violent conflict on people's lives. Thus, one challenge, then, is to investigate the individual-level foundations of the relationship between family size behaviours (preferences, decisions, attainment) and violent conflict.

Over the past years, the increase in violent conflict in sub-Saharan Africa during the post-colonial and post-Cold War era has been frequently discussed (Collier and Hoeffler, 1998, 2002, 2004). These violent conflicts have tended to target civilian in ways that directly or indirectly have an impact on family size and marriage. For instance, Tyner (2009) reveals many cases on how war may affect population size through voluntary rape[1], and violence related to conflict. Rehn and Sirleaf 2002 eloquently describe how women, in war, are physically and economically left with little choice but to engage in sex work in exchange for food and shelter, in some case sexual violence is orchestrated at the hands of those who would have protected them (government soldiers or international intervention forces). Rehn and Sirleaf, Machel (1996) also note that during war, women are raped, tortured and sexually abused in the presence of their husbands. Therefore, there is a possibility that fertility behaviours change in times of conflict as a result of brutal experiences, or arguably following the change in social norms, making sex outside of marriage more common, fostering the loss of family planning

[1] In Rwanda, it is estimated between 2,000 to 5,000 birth resulted from the genocide rape and violence (Tyner 2009, cited from Nowrojee, 1996)

infrastructures, and lowering opportunity costs for a final time (McGinn, 2000; Schnidler and Bruck, 2011).

It is also found that conflict and insecurity may encourage child marriage (International Planned Parenthood Federation, 2006; UNFPA, 2012). For instance, the militia-perpetrated child abductions and forced marriage have been discussed in the cases of Liberia, Uganda, Sierra Leone, and the Democratic Republic of Congo (cf. Carlson and Mazurana, 2008; Annan, et. al., 2009). The core focus of these kinds of studies is, but not entirely, on the nature of sexual-abuse and violence, change in social norms, and unintended childbearing. However, there is still limited empirical evidence about the effect of the LRA conflict and displacement on early marriage (cf. Schlecht, Rowley and Babirye, 2013), which hardly compares affected conflict and non-affected groups in the post-conflict setting.

El Jack (2003) shows that women and men suffer violent conflict abuses and traumas, disruptions and loss of resources, but the impact of these consequences is experienced in different ways and women often suffer disproportionately. Despite the evident suffering of women, a growing body of literature underscores also the change in gender roles induced by violent conflict and displacement in Sub Saharan Africa as exhibiting that women actually gain substantial power in the household as men relinquish theirs (El-Bushra, 2003). But this line of debate draws caution that the ideological underpinnings within these war societies do not necessarily change with the change in gender roles (El-Bushra, 2003).

Notably, this effect of war on gender roles has long been evident; women took up socially conceived male roles during and after the American civil war (Massey, 1966) and the Second World War, for instance in Canada (Pierson 1986), in Nottingham and Nottinghamshire (Clements, 2008) and other European countries. In the same way, emerging research on conflict and gender issues in developing countries' claims that the negative effects of the conflict, especially those related to the labour market, cause change in gender roles and identity (Sorensen, 1998; El-Bushra and Sahl, 2005). One possibility is that women affected by conflicts become household heads and/or take on the breadwinner roles, in turn, women’s decision making in the household substantially improves (Bop, 2001; El Bushra et al, 2002). Another scenario is that, as a household

coping mechanism, female participation in the labour market increases during and immediately after the conflict (Kumar, 2001; Zukerman and Green, 2004; Kondylis, 2007, 2010; Justino and Verwimp, 2008;; Shemayakina, 2009;;; Verpoorten and Serneels, 2010; Lehrer, 2010; Menon and Rogers, 2011; Petesch, 2011). Notwithstanding the perception that women's entry into the labour market in the conflict time may be a coping mechanism, the potential improvement in women´s agency and general family well-being due to their engagement in paid work is well established (Sen, 1999; Kabeer, 1994, 2001). This potential increase in women´s agency is also linked to changes in fertility behaviours.

Particularly, some studies have observed an increase in women's economic power during displacement and camp livelihood. The main finding is that displacement affects men's possibility to work, but increases the women's chances of joining the labour market, as observed in northern Uganda (Lehrer, 2010) and post-war in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Kondylis, 2010). In IDP camps ordinary activities like farming are abandoned due to land scarcity (Ssewanyana et al., 2007), so that many women become more inclined to trading than farming (Bozzoli, Brück, Muhumuza 2011b; Brück and Schindler, 2009). However, the gains by women are indistinct—there are possibilities that the sustainability of women´s work in the aftermath of the conflict is limited by the strenuous structural barriers (International Alert and EASSI, 2010). Therefore, the question of whether conflict effects, like forced displacement, may substantially empower women through increased female labour force participation, and intra-household bargaining is undergoing rigorous debate (cf. Calderón, Gáfaro,, and Ibáñez,2011) . Still, although prevention and resolution of conflict seem to be one of the most appropriate solutions in order to diminish negative consequences of conflicts, recent approaches are engulfed with many challenges. Understanding the ways and the extent to which conflict influences the formulation of new gender specific socioeconomic norms may inform short-term efforts to provide opportunities for women's empowerment during post-conflict situations and recovery.

Internally displaced persons are affected by the violent conflict in various ways. The violent conflict leaves IDPs without property— for instance, complete loss of household assets (Bundervoet and Verwimp, 2005; Shemyakina, 2011; Fiala, 2011).

The livelihood in the camps is often poor. Camp livelihood has been associated with poor living condition and poor health conditions (Verwimpand van Bavel, 2005; Roberts et al., 2009; Fiala, 2011). Moreover, IDPs are subjected to numerous violation of human rights and the risk of losing their cultural and social identities is high (Ferris et al., 2011). In the case of Uganda, two decades of a protracted conflict and forced displacement in the north of the country left 2 million people, which is almost 90 per cent of the Acholi region in internally displaced persons´ camps for five, ten or more years; (IDMC, 2008). The debate on the consequences of these events on the individuals/households continues. However, limited research tackles the underlying family size related behaviours. For instance, the extensive review of literature on the cost and impacts of forced migration of the refugee studies centre at Oxford University, 2011 found 480 articles on the cost and impacts of displacement. In the category of studies on Northern Uganda, about 34 articles were reviewed by the Center regarding internally displaced people. The majority of these articles concentrates mostly on welfare, health, relief assistance, refugee economy, ex-combatant and forced abductees, and livelihoods (cf. Singhl, 2001; Ssewanyana 2006, 2007;; Vexler, Oxfam int., 2007; Werker, 2007; Fiala, 2009, 2011; Bozzoli and Brück, 2011; Singhl et. al, 2005), yet only one article by Karunakara,2004 focused on displacement and fertility in West Nile.

1.2 Justification of the Research

The most outstanding work on gender roles and identities in conflict communities, including Northern Uganda by El-Bushra provides a crucial observation. El-Bushra meticulously concludes that although their study found clear changes in gender relations—such that women had taken on "greater and more extensive responsibilities at the household level while men substantially relinquish theirs"— nonetheless the ideological foundations of gender relations had almost not been affected at all and may even "become further reinforced through conflict" (2003:264). This conclusion was reached due to the observed absence of institutional changes which would provide women with decision-making power to match with the acquired new and more proactive roles. This implies that the notion that women's power in the post-conflict setting increases is still debatable in terms of the ability of women to convert the responsibilities and decisions within the household [that they gain during the conflict setting] into substantial empow-

erment. From the point of view, there is a need for broad interlinked evidence on the relationship between conflict and individual behaviours of gender interest. An understanding should be attained by analysing conflict-affected and non-conflict-affected individual reaction to family size preference, marriage, women's decision and attainment of their family size goals and participation in paid work which may depict a broad spectrum of social, economic and psychological aspects that are affected by violent conflicts.

According to the World Vision publish reports (2013), 46% of girls in Uganda are married before the age of 18 and 12% before the age of 15; this makes Uganda the 16th among the 25 countries with the highest rates of early marriage. Child marriage is a human rights violation, a public health challenge and an empowerment and development barrier (Mathur, Greene and Malhotra, 2003). Moreover, there is need to understand the relationship between violent conflict and child marriage given that actors in recent conflicts target and draw civilians—especially young girls and boys—into sex slavery and abduction (McKay, 2004; Machel, 1996 and others). Despite the attention on child marriage, defined as marriage before 18 years of age (UNFPA, 2012) seems to increase in conflict-affected and poor economies, little research is devoted to understanding the extent to which the LRA conflict and displacement really accounts for the increase in child marriage in Uganda. Evidently, the most recurrent study of early marriage and relationships in Northern Uganda by Schlecht, Rowley and Babirye, (2013: 235) states that: "There has been limited research that examines factors which promote and mitigate this practice [early marriage] in conflict and post-conflict settings."

The number of studies considering the effect of forced displacement on livelihood, health and wellbeing outcome of displaced and non-displaced groups is increasing (Lehrer, 2010; Kondylis, 2010 and others). Their argument seems to be that displaced people's social norms on labour market behaviour of men and women tend to show a higher increase in women's labour participation than men´s, but the duration of displacement seems to have a limited impact (Kondylis, 2010; Lehrer, 2010). The studies on fertility among refugee women show a decline in fertility (cf. Verwimp and Van Bavel, 2005). However, studies on change in individual behaviours related to marriage and family size behaviours among displaced populations compared to a non-displaced

are scarce. Yet the psychological, social, economic and political implications displacement that affect the household may also have a substantial effect on one's ideal family size, marriage decision or age, participation in family and labour decisions. This current study attempts to add some understanding of this argument by considering IDP displacement and duration in IDP camps as main explanatory variables.

El-Bushra (2003:264) concluded that the relationship between gender and conflict is a "complex subject that requires further in-depth study." Additionally, the previous research is confronted with a challenge of the potential deficiency of precise questions due to the use of open-ended processes of oral testimonies. Thus, this research incorporates the quantitative approach to explore relatively precise questions that are supported or refuted by real life experiences (qualitative data). We claim that the triangulation of methods is more appropriate. Thus, the mixed method approach used in this study is an added value to the exist research that either takes an econometric modelling approach along or other studies which solely apply personal experiences to understand the relationship between conflict and individual behaviours, more specifically when tackling gender related issues.

1.3 Methodology

This research takes an ontological position that there is no single reality when it comes to understanding the impacts of conflict on the individual behaviours related to family size and women's power in the household. Therefore, we claim that as human behaviour is associated with complexity (e.g. hidden structural and cultural violence) causal modelling may benefit from an understanding of process explanations of real life systems. Thus, adopting pluralistic approaches seems more appropriate to the study (see Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). Epistemologically, the research is positioned between positivist and realist—this enables the research to provide both outcome oriented approach (deductive approach) and conceptualizing the reality to understand the current phenomenon (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). Methodologically, the study uses one quantitative method (survey design questionnaire) and two qualitative methods (face-to-face in-depth and key expert interviews). Triangulation of methods was selected to have precise questions and a deeper understanding of the research problem while ensuring

validity (Maxwell and Loomis, 2003; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009; Creswell and Plano Clark (2007). Therefore, the advantage of the approach taken is that, first, the qualitative and quantitative data are collected at the same time (simultaneously), which reinforced the understanding of theory and real life systems—dimensions within the conflict-affected and non-affected could be followed-up with the qualitative tools. Second, during interpretation, the research integrates quantitative data with extensive discussion of the social processes and subjective interpretations (Maxwell and Loomis, 2003:266).

In practice, before going to the field, a district matching process was done. We matched the districts of Uganda by violent conflict events using the Armed Conflict Location and Events Data-ACLED dataset (Raleigh et al., 2010). Based on the results of this pre-fieldwork analysis, the researcher selected six districts in which the field research was to be carried out. Three of these districts were classified as conflict-affected—Gulu, Pader, Lira while the other three were classified as non-conflict affected—Wakiso, Mukono and Luweero. The rationale for classifying these districts was to establish a control group of non-conflict affected respondents. The field research was carried out in 2013 (from June 30st to 30th August 2013). As mentioned before, both qualitative and quantitative data were collected simultaneously. The quantitative sample consists of 333 subjects: 66 male (19.8 percent) and 267 females (80.2 percent); these were randomly selected from thirty three villages within six districts. The majority of the sample was of female participants because most of the relationships of interest focus on the women. A survey questionnaire with structured questions was used for precision. The qualitative sample composed of 25 participants to the in-depth face-to-face interview as well as 16 key experts were interviewed (further details are provided in chapter four). Purposive sampling and snowballing techniques were used to select participants to the in-depth and key experts respectively (more justification for the choice of techniques is given in chapter four).

For analysis, the analysis uses quantitative and qualitative primary data collected in 2013 by the researcher in six districts of Uganda: Gulu, Pader, Lira, Luweero, Mukono and Wakiso. The exposure to conflict is measured by regional exposure to the conflict area and temporal exposure to IDP camps. Chi-square, the independent t-test and ANOVA statistics are used to explore association and group differences. For, em-

pirical results, the logistic regression was used to model odds of having a small ideal number of children, women's odds of having more children than their ideal and women´s odds of having paid work. Due to the high correlation between exposure to conflict by the district and exposure to conflict by the time spent in IDP, we consider a unified interpretation of the effect of exposure to conflict by region/district and temporal exposure to IDP camps, but these two variables are separately analysed in the regression. On various occasions, we include the conflict, coping mechanisms—through economic engagement—in the regression analysis; this approach is seemly new and provides insightful and significant findings on how the predicted effects are valid. In most of the regression analyses, the study controls for demographic characteristics, empowerment pathways and social factors

1.4 Outline of the Study

This dissertation consists of seven chapters in total which are building on each other in order to develop the findings from the research. The layout is as follows.

Chapter one provides the foundation for the thesis. It introduces the research problem and research issues. Then it justifies the research, presents the definitions, a brief account of the methodology and its justification, the structure of the research dissertation and the limitations of the research. The main objective of this chapter was introduced the research problem, "set the scene" and outline the structure of the research.

Chapter two provides the contextual background analysis of the study. It presents a host of factors situated as a matrix. The gist of the discussion is to provide an understanding of the regional difference, gender imbalances and the main consequences of the LRA conflict on the people of Northern Uganda in relation to other communities of Uganda. The chapter demonstrates that despite the milestones achieved in Uganda's gender equality debate, the gender rhetorical agenda has not matched the outcomes as seen in the assessment of socioeconomic indicators. The chapter also shows that the impact of the two decades of conflict in northern Uganda affects the livelihood of people and regional growth, such that across many indicators the northern Uganda is fairly poor. Nonetheless the conflict-affected communities are rapidly catching-up after the end of the conflict. This chapter relies heavily on data from the Uganda national bureau

of statistics, the CIA, ILO and WHO databases. It also uses the ACLED project data set to generate statistics on the conflict events and fatalities.

Chapter 3 presents the review of previous work; it is divided in two parts. The first part reviews the nature of violent conflict and its impact of the household/individual. In doing so; it focuses not only on economic and demographic literature, but also tackles, in-depth, the literature from gender and conflict studies. The later espouse social and psychological consequences of war and displacement on individual behaviour and wellbeing which hold the main argument of the study. The argument is that as long as the consequences of conflict and displacement affect the gender roles and decision making within the household, the effect of exposure to conflict needs further studies to understand the relationship between violent conflict and individual behaviours. The second part reviews the literature on empowerment. The review embarks on the concepts of power and agency to connect women's empowerment to fertility. It ends with a conceptual framework of the current study.

Chapter 4 presents the methodological presentation of tools and procedures used in this study. The chapter starts by elaborating the methodological positions taken; it justifies the choice of a mixed method study approach based on philosophical arguments. It continues to substantiate the triangulation of methods adopted by the study—the quantitative and qualitative tools used. Here, the steps taken by the study are elaborate—that is to say, district matching, fieldwork, and data analysis. To select the conflict-affected and non-affected district, an external dataset of ACLED was utilised, such that, the evidence of fighting events justifies the selected of studied areas—the chapter elaborates this procedure. The sample size, sampling methods and the limitations therewith are also discussed—the profile of the research subjects is presented according to the two research methods employed—quantitative and qualitative. The data collection process and instruments are described in details and justification for concurrent collection of quantitative and qualitative data is presented. The chapter ends by describing and elaborating the descriptive statistic, variables and the data analysis process.

Chapter 5 and 6 comprise the exploratory and empirical results of the study. Chapter 5 gives an overview of the association between variables and group comparison of variables of interest. Chi square statistic is use to test independence or association

between variables and both the independent t-test and ANOVA are used to assess the groups differences. To be exact, the differences in Ideal family size behaviours across groups are explored using Anova and independent t-test. Here, the main emphasis is paid to differences across exposure to conflict and gender categories. As well, the chi square statistics is used to explore significant association between: 1) attainment of the Ideal family size and variables of interest across the exposure to conflict and gender categories. 2) Temporal exposure to displacement camps and variables of interest. The results of this chapter inform the regression analysis in chapter 6.

Chapter 6 presents the results of empirical data analysis using logistic regression and linear regression analysis. The main explanatory variable is exposure to conflict, which is expressed both as regional exposure to conflict—based on the district of residence—and temporal exposure to internally displaced persons´ camps (IDPs)—based on time spent in IDPs. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the relationships between exposure to conflict and the four outcomes of individual behaviours related to the basic decision making aspect within the family—these outcomes are: family size desires, age at marriage, women´s entry into the paid labour market and their attainment of family ideal. These outcomes of individual behaviours are also used to emphasis women´s empowerment. Additionally, the effect of demography, social status/empowerment indicators and proxies for social values are used as control variables in the analysis.

Chapter 7 is the final chapter of this study. This chapter presents a discussion and conclusions of the research findings. The chapter also includes a summary of the study´s contribution to the literature and future research lines, the practical implications and limitations of the study.

1.5 Delimitations

The study uses the indicator of Ideal Family Size (IFS) to provide complementary information about fertility decision-making (Testa, 2012) —the assumption is that decision making also depicts empowerment. This study utilises IFS to estimate aspects of individual family size behaviours. Both personal IFS and general IFS are observed. Personal IFS refers to *"childbearing preferences at the individual level, but under ideal conditions.* General IFS refer to childbearing preferences at the normative level; this

underscores the societal ideal or norm. However, this use of ideal family size has some limitations. One of the limitations of this study is how all non-numeric responses to the ideal number of children were treated. We took Upadhyay and Karasek`s, the approach of "setting non-numeric responses to the mean ideal number of children." The rationale being that these respondents were likely to have a variation in preferences similar to the rest of the sample. It is widely observed that thinking about one's ideal number of children is a complex process, and for some it is difficult to process a numeric response (Upadhyay and Karasek, 2012:89), this was sometimes the case in our study sample. Additional factors at the individual, family, community and national level that were beyond the scope this analysis may be associated with some of the dependent variables. In the case of women's ability to achieve desired family size, some out-of-the- scope factors may be important. First, at the individual level, factors like the husband's influences and characteristics, loss children, partner and kinship may have a bearing on the current results. Secondly, community and national level factors like access to reproductive service, policies on abortion, the destruction of health infrastructure and regional employment and cultural difference may demand more consideration. Thirdly, the demographic issues like change in sex ratio change in the number or characteristics of unions are also likely to be of importance to future studies. For early marriage, factors like cultural norms, rural-urban differences and regional income disparity were out of the scope of the study.

Taking the human rights approach, child marriage is defined as marriage at less than 18 years. Taking this position contrary to the country average age at marriage may limit our interpretation of the local reality. According to the 1995, 2000/01 and 2006 Uganda Demographic and Health Surveys, the average age at first marriage ranges around 17.5, 17.8 and 17.8 respectively. Yet more than 6 million girls were married before 16 years based of the The 2002 Uganda Population and Housing Census The socio-ecological approach may be interested in the average age at marriage at national to contextualise the findings.

Related to the above, although considering selected the target group of 18-54 years for the quantitative responses could be appropriate in the normal case of studying actively reproductive and productive group of individuals, the context of the study in-

volves conflict-affected regions and rural settings were reproductive activities starts at an early age. Some individuals at the age of 15-17 year many may still have contributed valuable information to the study's concepts, especially on the situation of this age group, which is now excluded from the study.

The sample size of the study is non-representative, even though the district matching was done prior to the study and a simple random selection technique was applied to the quantitative data. The sample size is relatively small to for enabling e generalisation of the findings to the entire population of the studied region. However, the plurality of research methods adopted attempts to mitigate this limitation of external validity. Additionally, the objective of the research was to understand the trends and relationships between exposure to conflict and the selected individual behaviours. This objective was reached with the approach taken.

The study assumes a random nature of displacement in northern Uganda due to government- forced migration of conflict affected people to `protected villages`--internally displaced persons' (IDP) camps. Notably, the definition of IDPs considered in this study category the IDPs as persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, but have not crossed an internationally recognized state border. In this study, temporal exposure to IDP camps is considered as evidence of intensity of armed conflict and exposure to situations of generalized violations of human rights (cf. UN Commission on Human Rights 1998). However, there is a possibility that the reasons for displacement and most importantly the duration of stay in IDP camps are motivated by other factors rather than forced displacement due to the government policy of creating "protected village" to secure the population under threat. Such differences in motivation of migration/displacement may affect the current interpretation of the finding. Additionally, the scope of the study does not allow the result to disentangle the cost and impact of the host and hosted populations or underpinning to underpin the nature of encampment as

closed and open displacement.[2] These details may have a bearing on the result, but are left for future studies.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter laid the foundation for the thesis. It introduced the research problem and research issues. Then the research was justified, definitions were presented, the methodology was briefly described and justified, the research structure was outlined and the limitations were given. On these foundations, the dissertation can proceed with a detailed description of the research.

[2] The encampment in northern Uganda was not a closed one—where the displaced are completely separated from the local populations and benefit from humanitarian assistance provided by external actors, it was rather between closed and an open encampment—open encampment is where displaced population live in camps, but able to move and trade inside and outside of the camp. (See Oxford refugee review centre, June 2011)

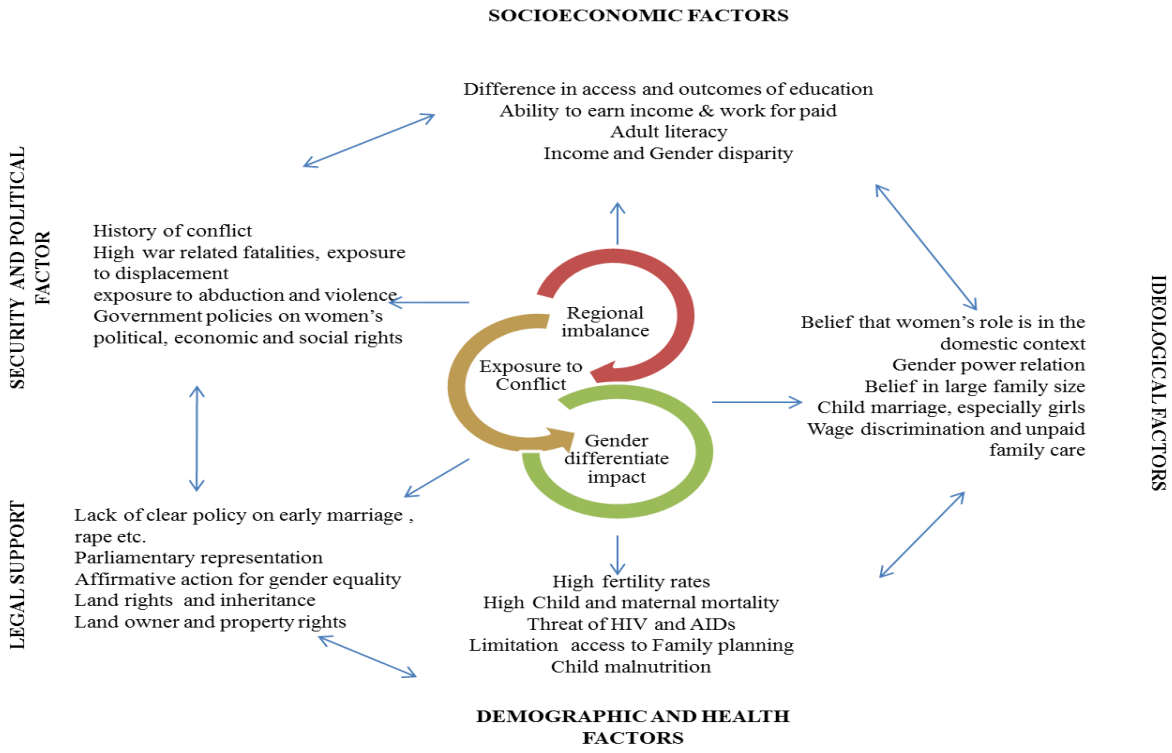
CHAPTER 2

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY AREA

2.1 Introduction

The context of this study can be visualised through an interlocked matrix of various socioeconomic, demographic, health, ideological, security factors and the legal infrastructure. These indicators implicitly exhibit regional and gender imbalances, as well as different limitations that accumulate from war related insecurity (See Figure 2.1)

Figure 2.1 Contextual Background Matrix



Source: Own elaboration

The discussion that follows will elaborate the components of the matrix above in order to give a full picture of the background to the study. The discussion of these components will depend largely on statistical data in the public domain.

2.2 Situating the Contextual Background

The study assumes that the best way to situate the background to the studied area is through focusing on the matrix´s three core dimensions: gender difference, regional difference and the impact of violent conflict. But first we highlight the general overview.

2.2.1 General Overview

Uganda has an area of 241,039 square kilometres and is administratively divided into four regions: central, eastern, northern and western, which constitute 112 districts (UBOS). Although less developed and less populated, the north of Uganda is the largest region. The northern region covers 35 per cent of the total land surface of Uganda; it's followed by central (25%), western (23%) and eastern (16%) regions (UBOS, 2006).

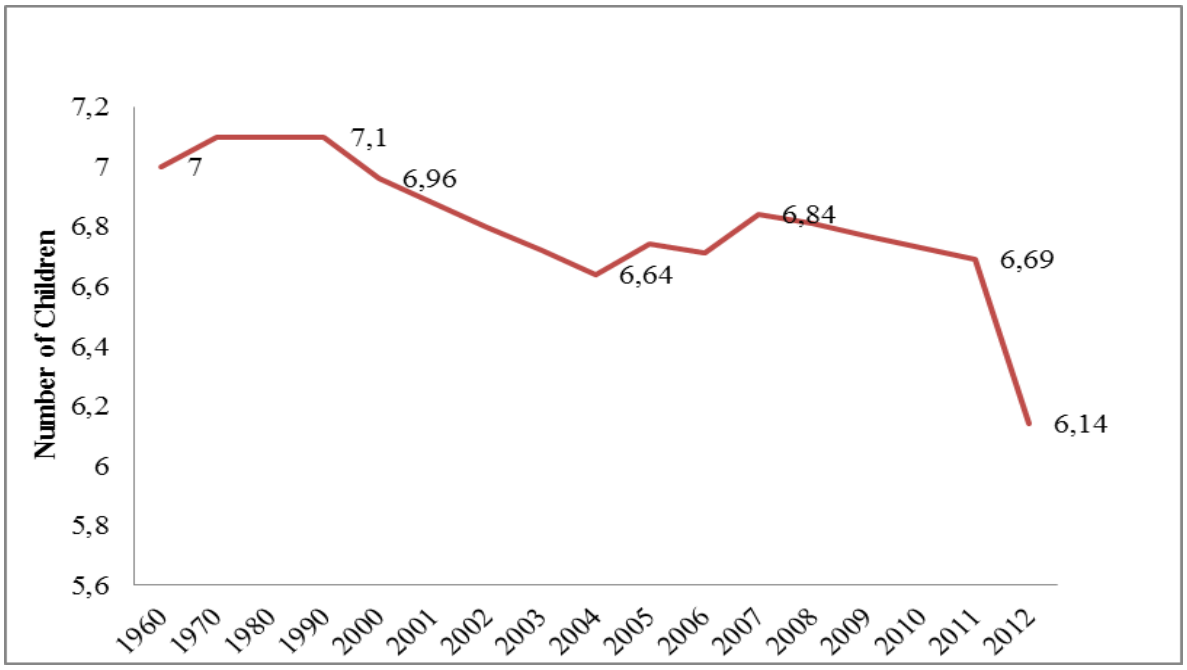
Uganda's population has been constantly growing. The annual population growth rate between 1969 and 1970 was 2.6 per cent, which decreased to 2.5 per cent between 1980 and 1991, but then, it increased to 3.2 per cent between the years1991 and 2002. Reports of the World Development Indicators show that around 1969, the population of Uganda was 9.5 million, which increased to 23.3 million in 2000. Currently, the population is estimated at 33.6 million.[3]

This population growth is matched by a relatively high fertility rate. By the time of independence (1962) the fertility rate was 7 children (see Figure 2.2). Yet by 2012 the estimated total fertility rate[4] of Uganda was 6.14 average numbers of children born per woman. The high TFR in Uganda (above the population replacement threshold of two children per women) may indicate difficulties for families. For instance, there are high chances that families with a high number of children encounter difficulties to feed, to educate their children, and it becomes harder for the women to enter the labour force.

[3] See CIA world fact book and UDHS data 1969, 1989, 2000 until present
[4] The value is an average number of children that would be born per woman if all women lived to the end of their childbearing years.

In the 70s and early 80s the growth of the economy and the provision of social services such as education and health care were seriously affected by civil unrest.[5] Since 1986 the economy has been constantly growing. The country registered a 5 per cent of gross domestic product per annum from 1962 to 1970. The growth in GDP varied between 5.6 per cent and 7.1 per cent per annum between 2006 and 2011 (UBOS, 2006, 2011).

Figure 2.2 Total fertility-rate in Uganda



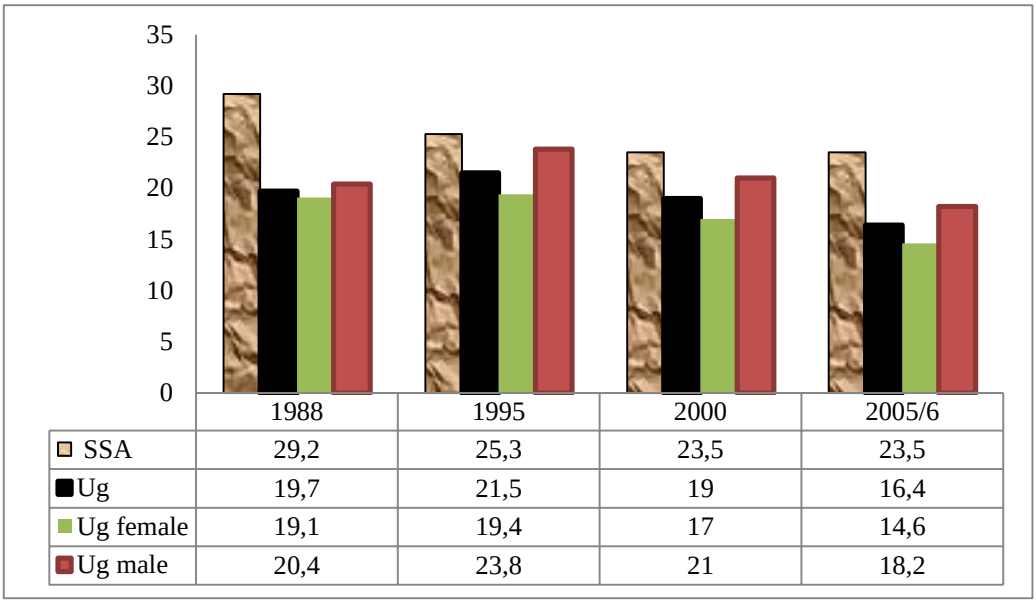
Source: CIA world fact book and UDHS data

However, the increasing general growth of the economy was happening hand in hand with an increasing level of income disparity. The impressive growth of 7.9% per annum between 2001/02 -2008/09 (UBOS, 2006) and poverty declined from 38.8% in 2002/03 to 31% in 2005 /06 and to 24% in 2009/10. This decline in poverty happened when the Gini coefficient was rising over the years. Recently, the Gini coefficient—indicator of income inequality— is 0.426 compared to 0.365 in 1992/3; 0.347 by 1997/8; 0.395 in 1999/00 (UBOS, 2002 and 2009/2010).

[5] The armed conflicts included Amin's coup of 1971 and 8 years of military rule; the unrest from 1980-1986—this included a guerrilla war by the National Resistance Army that took place in the southern part of Uganda.

Where there is an income disparity, health indicators are compromised. Child malnutrition[6] in Uganda has been declining both in terms of under-five stunted growth (from 48 percent in 1988/9 to 33 percent in 2011) and under five under weigh (from 20 in 1988/9 to 14 percent in 2011). Under nutrition prevalence in Uganda affects over 2 million children under 5 (DHS, 1988/9, 2000/1, 2006, 2011). The highest prevalence of malnutrition at birth is associated with high fertility rates, short birth intervals, young maternal age and maternal malnutrition. The prevalence of malnutrition in females is lower than that of the males. Note that, the average prevalence of malnutrition in Sa-haran African countries is higher than that of Uganda (see Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3 Malnutrition Prevalence (% weight of children under 5)



	1988	1995	2000	2005/6
SSA	29,2	25,3	23,5	23,5
Ug	19,7	21,5	19	16,4
Ug female	19,1	19,4	17	14,6
Ug male	20,4	23,8	21	18,2

Source: World Bank and World Development Indicators

2.2.2 Gender Challenge: The Mismatch between Rhetoric and Outcomes

In Uganda, like most of the sub-Saharan African countries, women face a wide range of challenges, for instance, discrimination, low social status and lack of economic independence. Kyomuhendo and McIntosh, 2006 provide an in-depth analysis of wom-en, work and domestic virtue in Uganda 1900-2003. They elaborate on numerous fac-

[6] Prevalence of child malnutrition is the percentage of children under age 5 whose weight for age is more than two standard deviations below the median for the international reference population ages 0-59 months.

tors affecting women in Uganda.[7] They maintain that in most cases the women's discrimination is visible in all sectors of life; this reduces their power to act independently, acquire education, escape poverty, and attain self-reliance. Despite the vigorous debate and enactment of policies concerning women, there are numerous micro-level challenges embodied in the structural and cultural discrimination. For instance, the complexities of marriage (how to move from one marriage to another) are unfair to the women; sexual-based violence against women is rampant with limited arbitration; the norms of inheritance privilege males etc. (Kyomuhendo and McIntosh, 2006). Since the late 1990s, proposals and debates of gender equality have ensued at political levels. But what are the milestones then? See

Table 2.1for the summary of breakthroughs within the gender struggle in Uganda.

Table 2.1 The milestones of the gender equality struggle in Uganda

Achievements	Remarks
In 1985 committed itself to CEDAW without any reservations.	Uganda has actively participated in the International Conferences on women.
In 1986, creation of the Ministry of Women in Development, Now, called the Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development	Through the ministry nation action plan for the advancement of women and the 1997 Development of the National Gender Policy passed to advocate for the mainstreaming of gender policies and planning.
1995-96 Uganda has committed itself to implement the Beijing Platform for Action.	Preparation for Beijing and after Beijing led to the formation of several other women´s organizations such as the Uganda Media Women's Association, East Africa Initiative for the Advancement and Uganda Women's network among others. 1996--Domestication of the Beijing plan of action through the National Action Plan for Women
The national constitution 1995	Articles 21 (1-3), 33 (1-6), and 180 (1b) providing for the equality of both gender categories and outlawed all practices that impinge on the rights of another person (also promoting the gender equality). (See Source: The 1995 Constitution of the Republic

[7] Kyomuhendo and McIntosh, 2006 elaborately detail the economic, political, ideological definition of a good woman's virtues, demographic and health factors.

	of Uganda, 1995)
Affirmative action stipulated in the constitution 1995	The Local Government Act (Local Government Act 1996) stipulates that women must occupy 30% of all positions of the Local Council structure while people with disabilities occupy 20% of these positions (a man and woman). Addition of 1.5 points for girls' entry into government tertiary education institutions, and 30% representation at local councils and district women representatives in parliament.
Universal Primary Education (UPE) implementation in 1997	Government sponsorship of four children per family (two of whom must be girls)
Land Act in 1998	Recognition of women's land rights

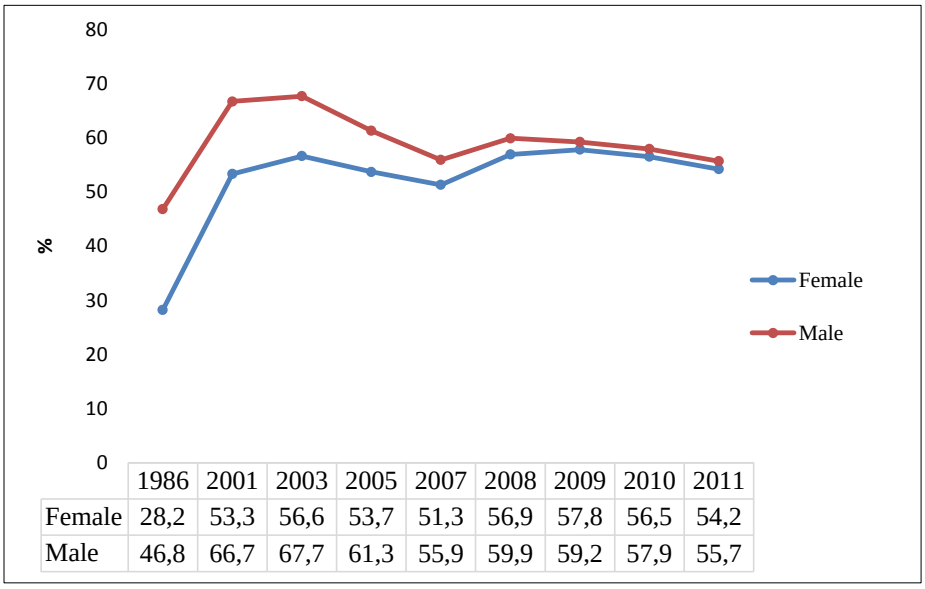
Source: Own elaboration

In the summary above, the National Gender Policy and National Action Plan for the Advancement of Women are two policy documents that stipulate the commitment of the government of Uganda to gender issues. The government's concern through these policies documents is to address poverty, increase income generation and economic empowerment; promote reproductive health and rights; provide a legal framework and decision making; and promote the girl child's education. On the political front, the national constitution of 1995 provided gender equality and outlawed all practices that impinge on the rights of another person (GoU, National Constitution, 1995). Moreover, the Local Government Act stipulates that women must occupy three out of ten of all positions of the Local Council structure—a special seat for a female youth and one female out of two councillors with disabilities are provided (GoU, Local Government Act 1996, Cap. 243). Affirmative action also demands for a district women representative and 1.5 points added to girls entering tertiary education.

For the mentioned and other achievements, it is worth seeing the state of gender imbalances and a snapshot of indicator of women's empowerment within the household to try and determine whether the progress on the policy front matches the outcomes commonly associated with women's empowerment. First, the outcomes of education are differentiated by gender. Education is one of the most important means of empowering

women with knowledge, skills and self-confidence necessary to participate in the development process (Sen, 1999; Kabeer, 2001). The available data show that statistic of *participation in education*—for instance, ratio of female to male enrolment— and efficiency of education—for instance level of intake for grade one—are fairly balanced by sex or in some cases the percentage of girls is more. However, this doesn't correspond with the *educational outcomes*. For instance, data on primary completion of boys and girls between 1986 and 2011 suggests that boys have a greater chance of completion and progression to secondary level, however, this gap has been closing over time (See details in Figure 2.4)

Figure 2.4 Primary completion-rate by sex



	1986	2001	2003	2005	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Female	28,2	53,3	56,6	53,7	51,3	56,9	57,8	56,5	54,2
Male	46,8	66,7	67,7	61,3	55,9	59,9	59,2	57,9	55,7

Source: WDI and UNESCO data[8]

In the same light, we turn to adult literacy and find that males are ten percent points more likely to be literate compared to the women (see Figure 2.5). As earlier noted, the outcomes of adult literacy, which is defined as the percentage of people ages 15 and above who can, with understanding, read and write a short-simple statement about

[8] Figure 2.4 illustrates "primary completion", which is calculated by taking the total number of pupils in the last grade of primary school, minus the number of repeaters in that grade, divided by the total number of children of official graduation age.

their everyday life (see UNESCO definitions), demonstrates the gender rift in education outcomes in Uganda. The men are more likely to be literacy than women, across time (from 1991 to 2010). Moreover, males are more likely to be literate across all age groups (See the Gender and Productivity survey report, July 2009:29 with evidence of literacy in 2007/8).

Figure 2.5 Adult literacy rate by sex (ages 15 and above)

	1991	2002	2006	2010
Female	44,8	58,9	62,1	64,6
Male	68,2	78,3	81,4	82,6

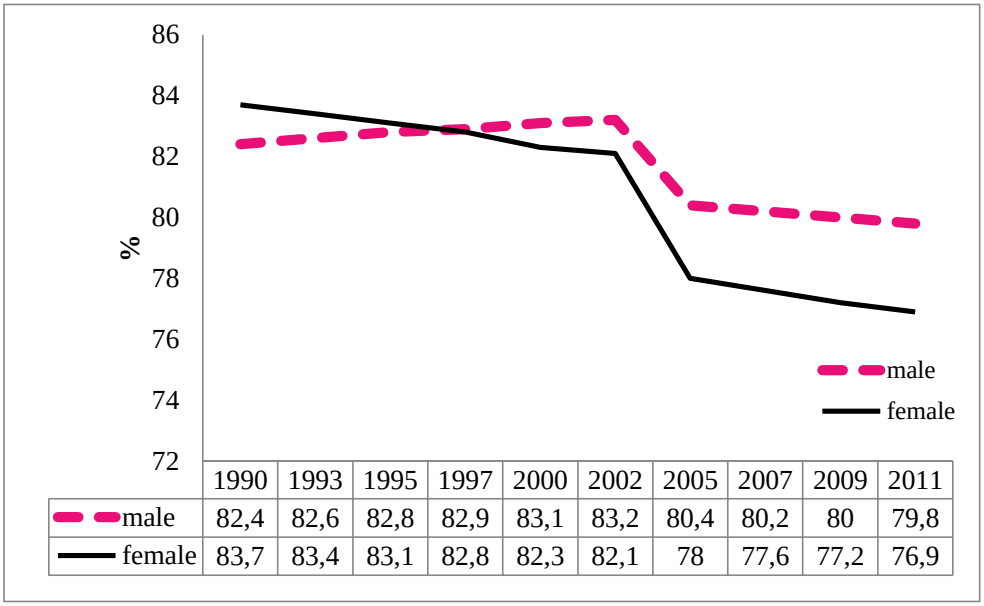
Source: WDI and UNESCO data

Labour force participation is a tricky indicator in rural communities.[9] Considering all types of employment, including agricultural, industrial and service the difference between female and male labour force is not stiff. However, such data hide the structural differences. It is only after digging deep into the nature of labour contribution by each category that one comes to terms with the differences—the gap in the labour participation rate seems to be widening than closing (see Figure 2.6).

[9] According to the definition used by WDI Labor force participation rate is the proportion of the population ages 15-64 that is economically active: all people who supply labor for the production of goods and services during a specified period

Although the female labour participation is seemingly high[10], the differences across paid or un-paid work contain the structural differences. The Gender and Productivity Survey 2009 showed that nearly half of the women in rural areas are part of the unpaid family workers, especially toiling on farms while only 18 percent of the men in the labour force were classified under the un-paid work category.

Figure 2.6 Labour force participation rate (AGES 15-64)



	1990	1993	1995	1997	2000	2002	2005	2007	2009	2011
male	82,4	82,6	82,8	82,9	83,1	83,2	80,4	80,2	80	79,8
female	83,7	83,4	83,1	82,8	82,3	82,1	78	77,6	77,2	76,9

Source: World Bank and WDI-ILO data

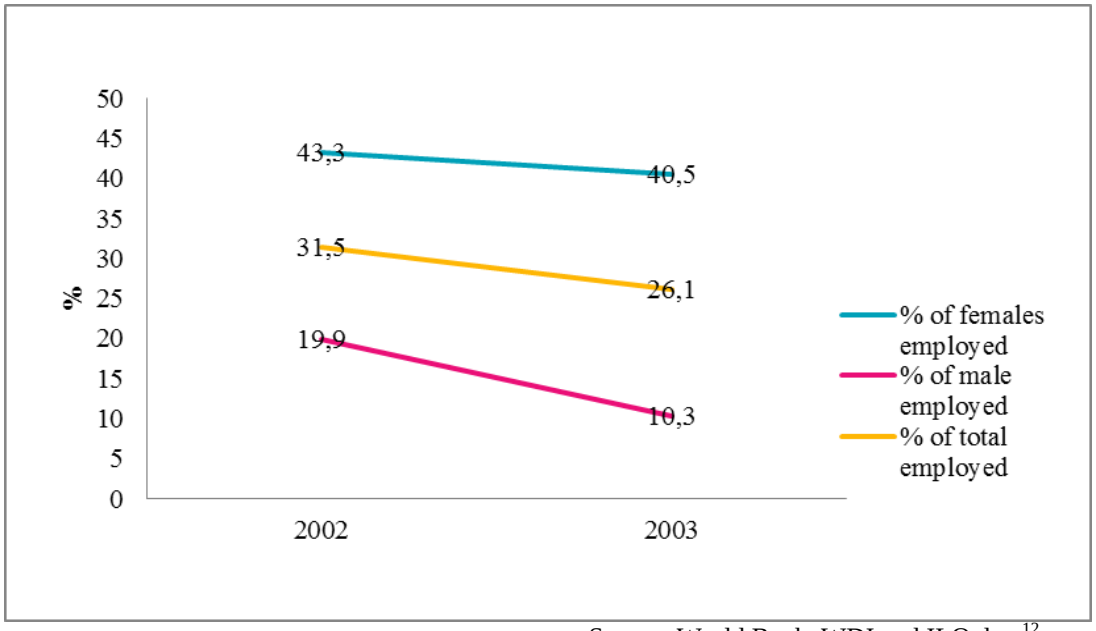
The other point is that agriculture accounts for 70 per cent of the labour and about 75 per cent of women were employed in the agricultural sector by 2009. That aside, the median salary for men is about double that of women—therefore, the majority of the women are in the informal sector and they occupy the low paid job (GPS, 2009). For better visibility of the differentials, the contribution to family work by sex is provided in Figure 2.7.[11]

[10] Note that the majority of employed women are in the informal sector and are more likely to have lower levels of education.

[11] Contributing family workers by definition of WDI are those "workers who hold "self-employment jobs" as own-account workers in a market-oriented establishment operated by a related person living in the same household."

The available data suggest that more than half of the women are contributing to family work. This percentage dropped by only 3 points between 2002 and 2003. This statistic implies that the gap between female and males contributing to family-work increased between 2002 and 2003, rather not decreased and in both years the number of males contributing to family worker is less than a quarter of their category.

Figure 2.7 Contributing family workers (% of the employed)



Source: World Bank, WDI and ILO data[12]

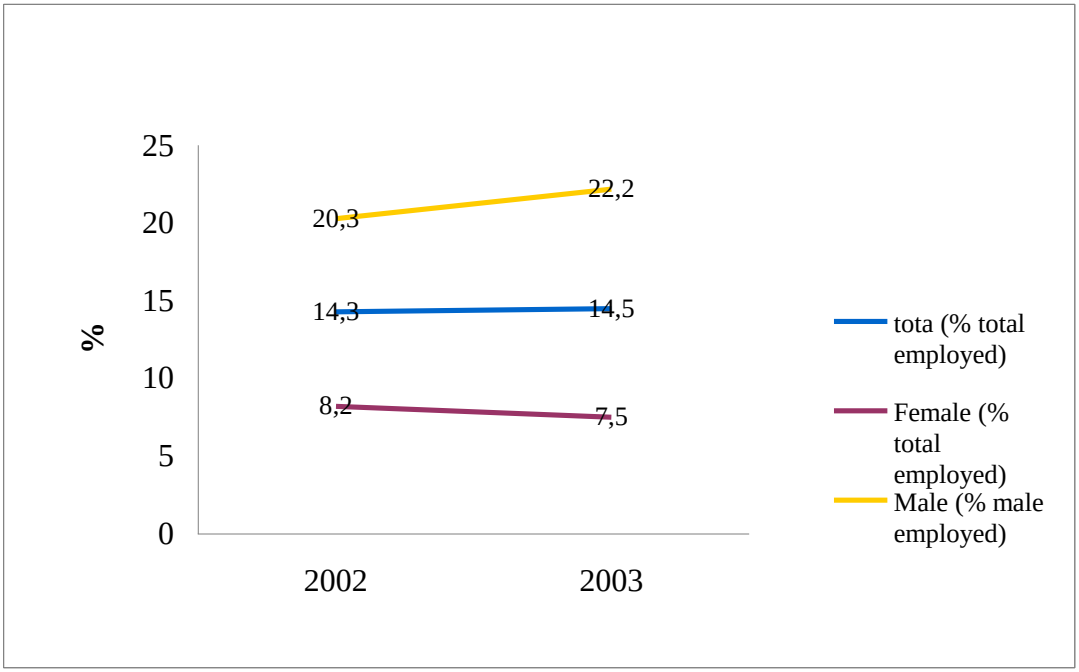
Furthermore, the percentage of wage and salary workers can provide additional information. Figure 2.8 presents the gender differences in the period 2002-2003. The statistic of 2002, 2003, 2005 and 2009 are available, but the years 2005 and 2009 are not disaggregated.[13] Women workers who hold paid employment holding with an explicit written or oral contract, as a percent of total employed women are far much lower than contracted wage or salary male workers, as a percent of male employers. Between 2002 and 2003, the percent of males in wage and salaried worker group increased from 20.3 percent to 22.2 percent as the percent of women in wage and salaried work fell

[12] Hours spent on household activities vary substantively by gender. The Gender Productivity survey 2009 report demonstrated that women spend 59.4 hours per week on the various household activities compared to 5.9 hours of their partners.

[13] The total number of wage and salaries worker were 18.2 percent in 2005 and 23.6 percent in 2009, all expressed as percentage of total employed (World Bank , World Development indicators/ Last updated April 23, 2013)

from 8.2 to 7.5 percent. The main concern is that, generally, men are most likely to have wage and salaried employment than woman.

Figure 2.8 Wage and salaried workers (% of employed)



Source: World Bank and World Development Indicators[14]

Women's empowerment based on access to assets, power relations in the household and marriage rights is substantial for understanding gender equality. First, although the government through the 1995 constitution opposes cultural rigidities and provides for affirmative action, there are gender differentials, which shape the struggle of women in Uganda (Obbo, 1981). Thus, women's ownership and control of assets is often determined by patriarchal traditional norms and low economic status of women (Kyomuhendo and McIntosh, 2006). The DHS, 2011 indicates that more young women are unlikely to own a house or land: individual ownership of houses and land is common to rural than in urban areas; women in the northern region have a high potential of owning house or land; the percentage of women of above secondary education without land and house is higher than those with no education; more women in the higher quartile have no house and land compared to counterparts in lowest quintile. So ownership of assets is

[14] Wage and salaried employees include those workers who hold the type of jobs defined as "paid employment," where the incumbents hold explicit (written or oral) contract.

influenced more by rural-urban differences than the socioeconomic status of women (UDHS, 2011:244-225).

Second, the affirmative action of 1.5 additional points for girls' entry into government tertiary education institutions, provision of 30% representation for women at local councils and prioritization of district women representatives in parliament has not yet delivered household gender equality. For instance, the UDHS, 2011 findings suggest that two in five of married women reported that their husbands primarily make decisions on their own health care, major household purchases, and about visits to their family or relatives.[15] In both the 2005/6 and 2010/11 demographic health surveys, women in the poorest households were more likely than women in wealthier households to make all types of decisions. The educated were neither autonomous in those decision making areas (UDHS, 2011:227). Studies show that inability for women to negotiate and influence the nature of the relations and decisions within the household signifies limited autonomy (Rowlands, 1995; Kabeer, 2005).

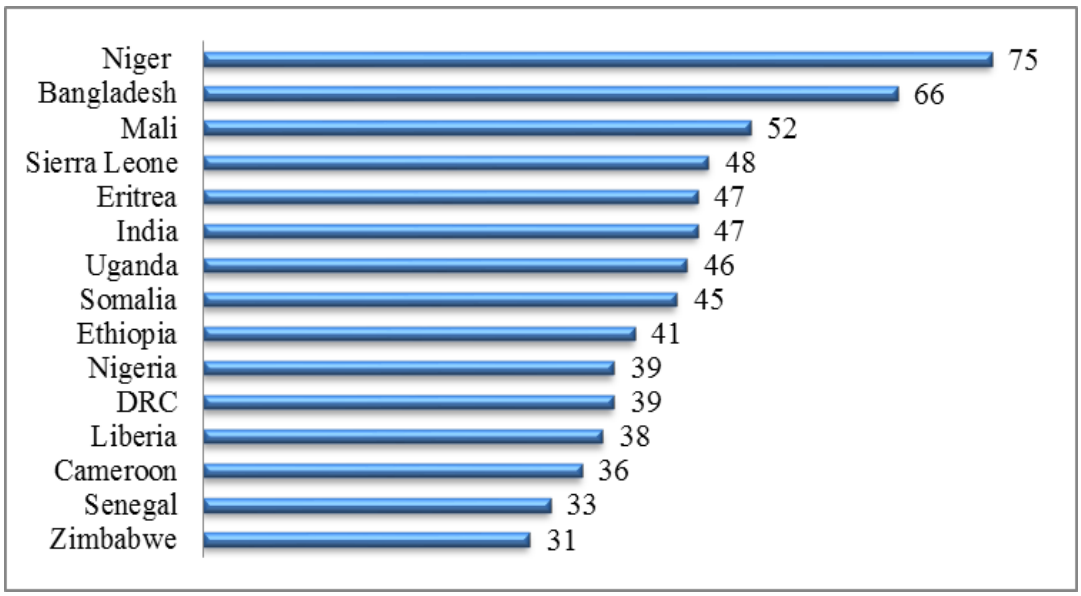
Third, the difference in normative expectations (power relations) associated with each gender is a typical way of examining unequal power relations. The DHS seeks information from women and men to whether a husband is justified in beating his wife in five situations: if she burns the food, if she argues with him, *if she goes out without telling him*, *if she neglects the children*, and *if she refuses to have sexual intercourse with him*. The findings of DHS show that: 1) the figure of women who agreed that at least one reason as sufficient justification for wife beating declined from seven out of ten women in 2006 to six out of ten women in 2011. 2) Women with a primary education were more likely to accept wife beating. 3) Six out of ten men from the northern region were most likely to agree with at least one reason for hitting or beating a wife.

Lastly, Child early marriage in Uganda continues to affect gender equality. Child marriage is defined as marriage before 18 years of age, and it's associated with poor health and social outcomes for women and girls (Schlecht, Rowley and Babirye 2013:234). According to the Gender and Productivity Survey (2009), *at least 44 per*

[15] In the 2011 DHS, a quarter of the married women reported that they made solo decisions on their own health care and visits to family or relatives, and a fifth reported making solo decisions on major household purchases.

cent of women in Uganda get married before the age of 18years. However, this was an improvement from 56 per cent of all married women who were married before the age of 18 years in the mid-1990s (see UDHS, 1995). The differentials in age at first marriage are sharp across gender and region. For instance, by 2009, women in rural areas got married at a much younger age compared to their male counterparts. Almost half (46 per cent) of females in rural areas got married before the age of 18 years compared to only 33 per cent in urban areas. The evident impacts of early marriage include for instance increased risk of domestic violence, high drop-out of school and low levels of education, [16] high fertility rates and high maternal mortality rate. Early marriage also increase, the inability of young females to contribute to the decision making within the household (UNFPA, 2012; Schlecht, Rowley and Babirye 2013). The UNFPA, 2012 report presented 41 countries with 30 per cent or more of women (20-24 years old) who married or entered into union by 18 years, 2000-2011. This report shows that Uganda has a 46 per cent prevalence of child married (based on DHS data), it comes after Somalia—45 per cent, which is slightly above Eritrea—47 per cent, and India—47 per cent, see (Figure 2.9).

Figure 2.9 Child marriage in per cent by selected countries



Source: UNFPA (2012) data

[16] Details can be found in Jensen and Thornton (2003). Early female marriage in the developing world, Gender and Development 2003;11(2):9–19

2.2.3 Regional Imbalances: The "North-South" Differences

In 2007, a year after the cessation of hostility, the peace, recovery and development plan (PRDP)[17] for northern Uganda rolled-out. The Implementation of the PRDP 1 was launched by H.E. the President of Uganda on the 15th of October 2007, but started in 2009 till 2012, when the PRDP2 was also rolled out. Independent studies, for instance the Alert international´s (2012) study entitled "monitoring the impact of the PRDP of peace and conflict in northern Uganda"[18] found that respondents in the Northern region "expressed confidence in sustained peace and security in their communities", which was a general picture of optimism.

However, their study demonstrates that 1) access to economic opportunities was elusive. 2) Even in the absence of the LRA insurgency in northern Uganda, "its legacy remains visible and alive in the minds of the local populace". The legacy of the conflict was visible through the current recovery challenges and physical and psychological wounds amongst the people.

The PRDP profiled northern Uganda classified sub-regions (see Table 2.2) based on the intensity of the conflict and transition/recovery processes. The North West was classified a post-conflict area [characterized by ending the armed rebellion, returning to normal and in need of development investments]. The North central was classified armed rebellion area [characterized by on-going armed rebellion in some districts with spill-over effects in need of emergency and stabilization]. The Acholi and Lango sub-regions (northern region) experienced more displacement due to the LRA war. The statistics in the table show that Acholi had a relatively low life expectancy and the HIV/AID rate almost double that of other sub-regions. The Acholi sub-region was hit the most and longer (especially districts of Gulu, Kitgum, Amuru[19], and Pader) than other areas of Northern Uganda (cf. NUS, 2004; Human Rights Watch, 2005). Notwith-

[17] The PRDP is a comprehensive development framework by the Government of Uganda, which is a coordination framework, along which all donors, government and other development activities in Northern Uganda should be harmonized and monitors. And, is represents a 3-year comprehensive development plan which mobilizes and allocates additional resources to the region in order to ensure economic development among communities in the North.

[18] The study's report is available online http://www.international-alert.org/sites/default/files/Uganda_PRDPNorthernUganda_EN_2013.pdf

[19] Amuru district was cut-out from Gulu district in July 2006, so we considered the old Gulu district including Amuru.

standing the excessive attacks in the Acholi sub region, it remains the epicentre of Northern Uganda while Karamoja remain the least development (cf. Ssewanyana, Kasirye and Obwona, 2006: Ssewanyana, Younger, Kasirye 2007).

Table 2.2 The North-South divide in Uganda

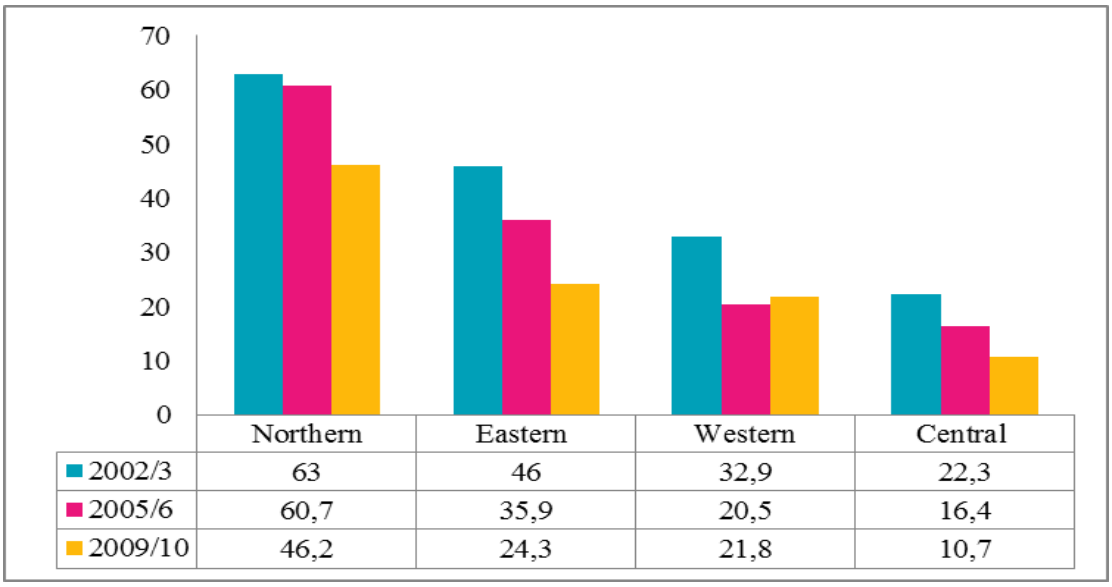
Sub region	Districts in the sub-region	IDP Pop. 2005 (thousand)	Life Expectancy 2002 (Years)	HIV/AIDs-2004/05 (%)
NorthWest (West Nile)	Arua, Koboko, Nyadri, Adjumani, Moyo, Nebbi, Yumbe	380	44.3	3
North central (Lango and Acholi)	Gulu, Amuru, Kitgum, Pader, Lira, Dokolo, Amolatar, Apac, Oyam, Masindi and Buliisa	2,563	44.3	9
North East (Karamoja, Elgon and Iteso)	Moroto, Kotido, Abim, Kaabong, Nakapiripirit, Kapchorwa, Bukwo, Sironko, Mbale, Soroti, Kumi, Bukedea, Pallisa, BudakaKatakwi, Amuria, Kaberamaido	223	48.6	4
National statistics	All the rest	N/A	48.1	6

Source: PRDP (2007)

The difference in socioeconomic welfare across regional provides more evidence to the north-south divide. In 1999/2000, 65 percent of the people in northern Uganda lived below the poverty line—this was the highest proportion by region across the country (Okidi and Mugambe, 2002). The effect of the long standing insecurity in the north was partially responsible for chronic poverty. Lwanga-Ntalea and McClean, 2003 also mention that the categories of the chronically poor, which, include the disabled, widows, chronic poor married women, street kids and orphans, the elderly, the landless,

casual labourers, refugees and the internally displaced—characterize northern Uganda (UNDP, 2000).[20] Moreover, in 2006, only 3 percent of the people in the central dwelled in huts; 31 percent in the east; 22 in the west compared to 68 percent dwelling in a hut in the north (Uganda National Household survey 2005/6). Nonetheless, after the conflict, recent findings show that the northern part of Uganda presents the biggest percentage dive out of poverty due to the end of the LRA war, but the majority of the country's chronically poorest still resides in the northern region[21], see (Figure 2.10).

Figure 2.10 Poverty levels in Uganda by regions



	Northern	Eastern	Western	Central
2002/3	63	46	32,9	22,3
2005/6	60,7	35,9	20,5	16,4
2009/10	46,2	24,3	21,8	10,7

Source: UNHS, 2002/3, 2005/6, and UDHS, 2011

In other measurements, according to a Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance report, 2010, the northern region had the worst indicators of malnutrition between 2001 and 2006. The prevalence of underweight declined between 2001 and 2006 in all regions of Uganda except the north. Within the same years, the prevalence of stunting was

[20] Statistics and detailed information is available in the World Development Report 2000/2001. Attacking poverty. Washington, World Bank.

[21] See presentation by Rosemary Kaduru Executive Director Development Research and Training (DRT), Uganda entitled Strategies for eradicating poverty in LDCs: Findings from research by the Chronic Poverty Research Centre presented in The Fourth United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries 10 May 2011, Civil Society Forum session

also high in the eastern and northern regions. Equally, the prevalence of underweight declined in all regions except the north.[22]

In social services, the regional imbalance in education is also stiff. The northern region, especially the Karamoja region had the worse education attainment indicators in 2011 (DHS, 2011). The median years of education completed for Karamoja were 0.0, Acholi region (which include the study regions) were 4 years for West Nile were 3.6 years compared to 6 years in the central or almost 9 in the capital city, Kampala. The men are more educated than women in all categories (DHS, 2011). As well, the percentage of literacy among women is also high in the central (about 78 percent) and Kampala (about 91 percent) compared to 48.8 in the north (largely Acholi and Lango, the study areas).

Poverty, low attainment of education and insecurity are accompanied by high fertility and early marriage. The regional disparities demonstrate that the total fertility rate in the central is 5.7 children per woman; in the east it is 7.4 per women while in the north it is 7.9 children per woman (UDHS, 2002). Moreover, a higher proportion of women in Northern Uganda get married before the age of 17 years.[23] The high early marriages in northern Uganda are common due to poor conditions, breakdown of the family, and lack of education which was exacerbated by conflict; this affected the views, perceptions and behaviours of youth around relationships and marriage (Schlecht, Rowley and Babirye 2013).

2.3 Impacts of the LRA Conflict in Northern Uganda

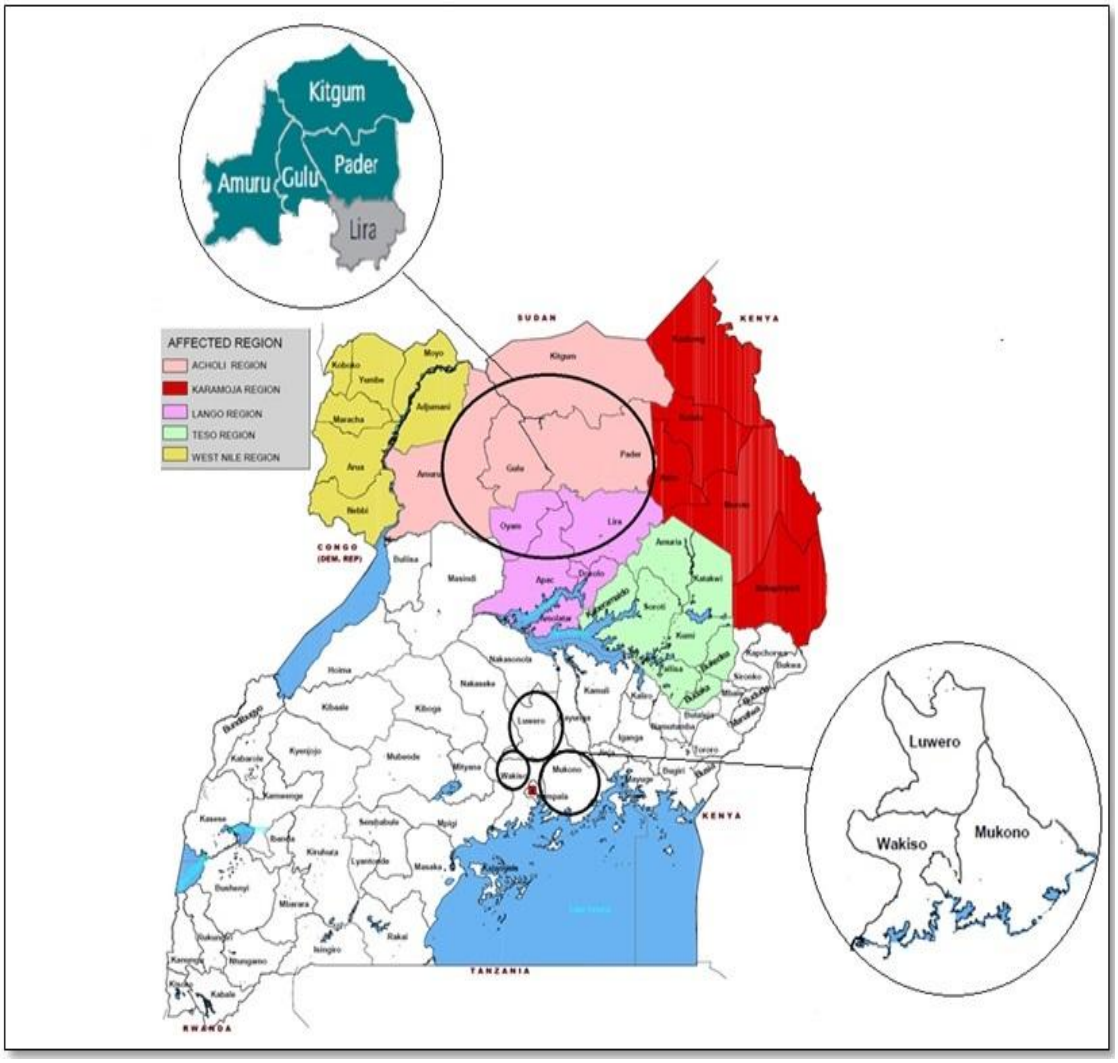
The study attempts to measure exposure to conflict based on both regional exposure to the conflict and temporal exposure to the IDP camps. The Lord's Resistance Armed rebel group (1986 -2006) orchestrated one of the longest protracted civil war in

[22] See pages 11-13 of the FANTA-2. *"The Analysis of the Nutrition Situation in Uganda."* Food and Nutrition Technical Assistance II Project (FANTA-2), Washington, DC: AED, 2010.
[Available at http://www.health.go.ug/hmis/public/nutrition/Uganda_Nutrition_Situation_Analysis.pdf]
[23] See the Uganda Gender and Productivity Survey: analytical report, July 2009

Uganda. [24,25] The LRA war disproportionately affected the northern regions of Uganda, but was exclusively confined to the Acholi region – i.e. Gulu, Kitgum and Pader districts (Bøås 2004). The conflict-affected and non-conflict affect districts are extracted outside the map ().

Figure 2.11).

Figure 2.11 Map of Uganda



Source: OCHA maps—conflict-affected areas (August 2007)

[24] The emergency of civil unrest in Uganda is associated with insufficient resources (see Deininger, 2003), the hypothesis of greed as a determinant of civil war can be one explanation to the civil unrest (see Collier and Hoeffler, 1998).

[25] The war is said to have persisted due to complacency and limited capacity of the government forces; involvement of external actors on the border—mainly the Sudanese government and the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) (see Van Acker, 2004)

The history of war in Northern Uganda is long and complicated, and its root causes are embedded in Uganda's troubled past (cf. Finnström, 2003; Bøås, 2004). The official beginning of the war is related to the resistance to the overthrow of the Government of Tito Okello Lutwa by the current president, Museveni's National Resistance Army in 1986 (GoU, 2005). This civil strife in Northern Uganda unfolded in phases (see the summarized timeline,

Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 A brief timeline of insurgency in Northern Uganda

Phases	Groups and Period	Remarks
Phase I	Uganda Peoples Democratic Army (UPDA) March 1986/July 1988	Former Uganda's National Liberation Army (UNLA) soldiers who retreated from Kampala to Acholi-land
Phase II	The Holy Spirit Movement (HSM) Late 1986/End 1987	The group was headed by an Acholi Woman, Alice "Lakwena", who seized the opportunity of the UPDA's demoralization.
Phase III	UPDA and Severino Likoya Jan 1988 - Aug 1989	The remnants of UPDA continued until in 1988-signed the peace accord for amnesty
Phase IV	The Late 1988 – Feb 1994 Army, Joseph Kony, Uganda National Rescue Front (UNRFII)	Three factions ensued: UNRF in West Nile joined NRM/A government; The UNRF II forces enjoyed the hospitality of the Sudanese government. Joseph Kony formed his own group first known as the Lord's Salvation Army, and then the United People's Democratic Christians Army (UPDCA), and in 1992 renamed the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA).
Phase V	Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) Joseph Kony March 1994 – 2006	LRA committed atrocities, abduction—since 1987, the March 1994 to present. Over 1.8 million people were displaced. A "cessation of fire" agreement was reached in 2006.
Phase VI	The International efforts	The elusive leader of the LRA and the LRA generals were classified terrorists hunted to face the ICC. The hunt from Kony is supported by the United Nations and African Union and the United States Army Special

Forces personnel.[26]

Source: GoU (2003) and NRC (2012)

The most peculiar elements about the LRA war were: First, the motivation of the LRA rebels (now classified as a terrorist group) was still unclear, even though it is alleged that they intended to overthrow the ruling government in Uganda to protect the Acholi culture and rule Uganda in accordance with the ten commandments (Norwegian Refugee Council, NRC, 2012). Second, it was a neglected war as described by Jan Egeland (the United Nations Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs).[27] Thirdly, it displaced 1.8 million people for five years or more, such that the return home process started in 2006 (Internal Displacement monitoring Centre, IDMC, 2012).

2.3.1 Statistic of Conflict Intensity in Northern Uganda

The statistics account, in this section, is based on the data on Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED) on all violence in Uganda combined—ACLED is directed by Prof. Clionadh Raleigh (University of Sussex). The ACLED is designed for disaggregated conflict analysis and crisis mapping. The dataset covers over 50 developing countries, including events that occur within civil wars and periods of instability. These data contain information on: dates and locations of conflict events; specific types of events including battles, civilian killings, riots, protests and recruitment activities; events with a range of actors, including rebels, governments, militias, armed groups, protesters and civilians; changes in territorial control; and reported fatalities.

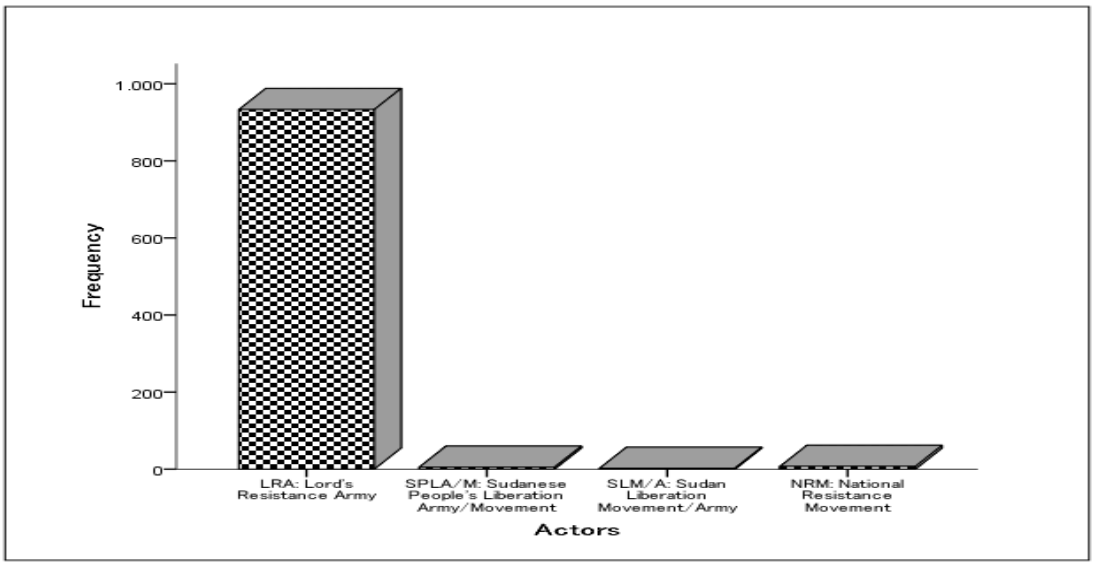
The war in northern Uganda had numerous actors. The LRA war against the Ugandan government involved Sudan government (from around 1993–94) and Sudanese rebel group (Sudanese People´s Liberation Army (SPLA), which marked the be-

[26] Find exclusive information in the Act of US Congress; *Lord's Resistance Army Disarmament and Northern Uganda Recovery Act of 2009 - S. 1067,* 5 January 2010.
[27] He described the war in Northern Uganda as "the biggest forgotten, neglected humanitarian emergency in the world today."

ginning of more than a decade of fighting involving Ugandan troop on Sudanese soil. The Sudan government is alleged to have extended support to the LRA.[28] In the

Figure 2.12, this study uses the ACLED data to track the frequency of fighting event attached to each actor. The comparison of the frequency of fighting events of the four actors in the northern Uganda conflict show that the LRA rebel´s activities were more prevalent than other actors—that is, SPLA/M, SLM/A, and the government forces, NRM.

Figure 2.12 Total fighting events by actors

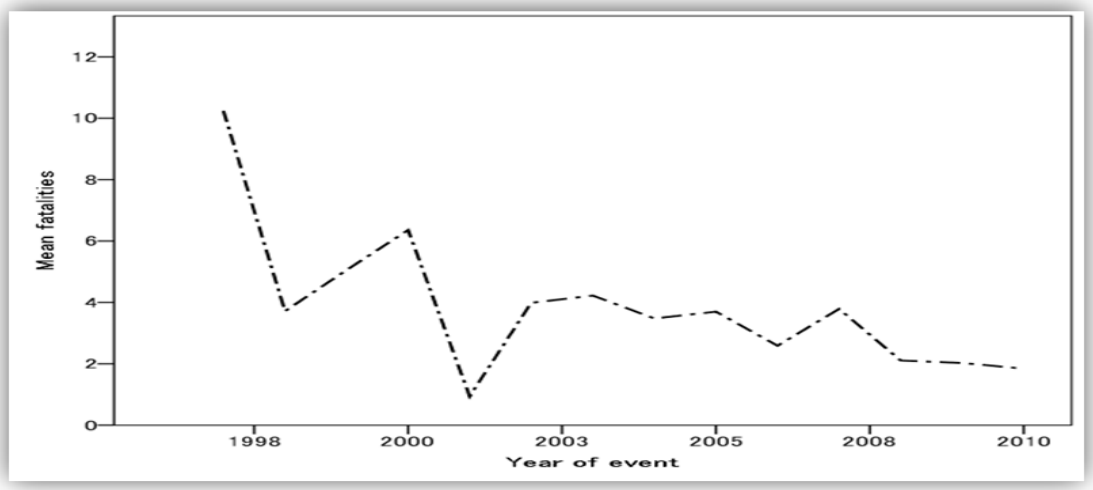


Source: ACLED data set

The war was characterized by recurrent violence followed by periods of relative calm (cf. Finnström 2003). As seen in Figure 2.13, the highest fatalities between 1997 and 2010 show that the fatalities were higher in the second half of the 1990´s and the first half on the 2000´s.

[28] Mareike Schomerus notes that: "By 1993, the Sudanese government of Omar al-Bashir had turned the LRA into a significant actor in Khartoum's efforts to crush the southern rebellion." Page 10 in the article *"The Lord's Resistance Army in Sudan: A History and Overview", first published in September 2007 in the Small Arms Survey, Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva 2007*

Figure 2.13 Violence fatalities 1997-2010

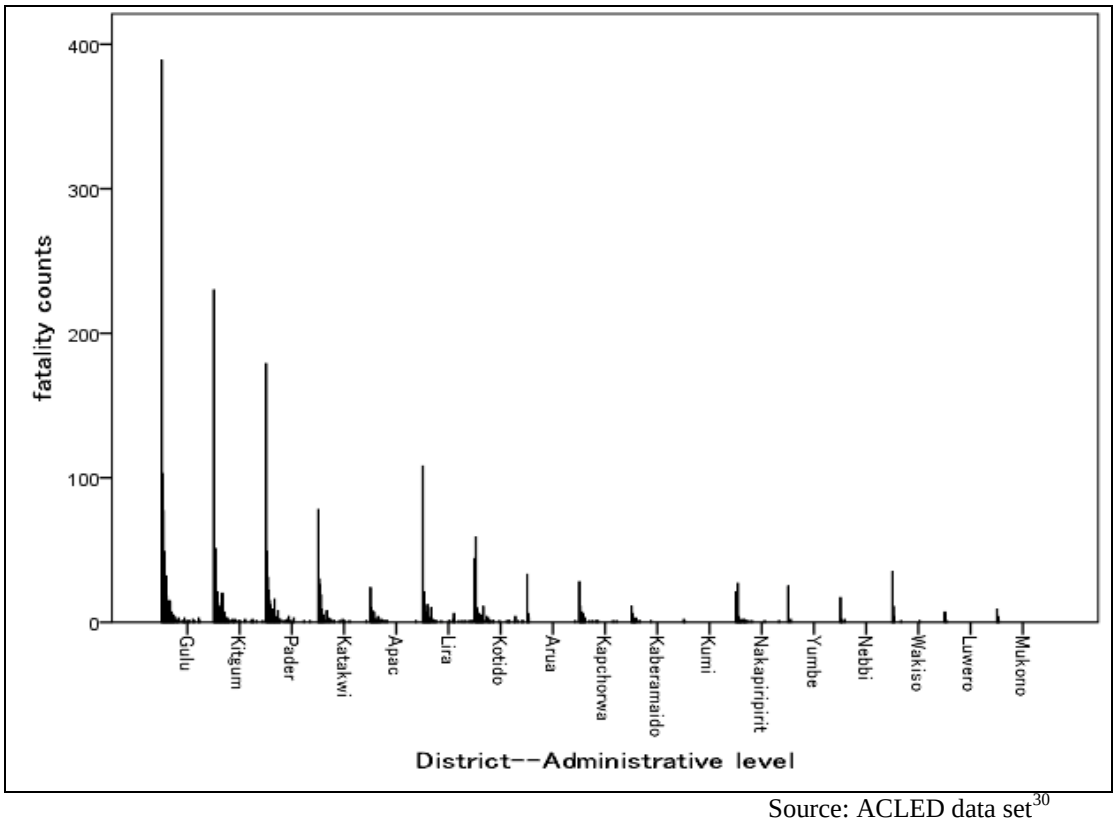


Source: ACLED data set[29]

Even though we couldn´t disaggregate the fatalities by gender, it is often cited that death as a direct consequence of war affects more men in the battlefield than women. Meanwhile women are much more likely to suffer indirect consequences of the conflict—violence against women, reduced access to food, poor hygiene, health service and displacement during and after conflict (Hoeffler, 2008). In the interest of comparing the LRA conflict-affected areas/districts, the study selected three conflict-affected districts–Gulu, Kitgum-Pader, and Lira and three non-conflict-affected districts—Luweero, Mukono, and Wakiso. In figure 2.14, the conflict-affected districts were at the extreme end with the highest fatalities while the non-conflict-affected were also at the opposite end of the lowest fatalities—almost negligible.

[29] The highest peaks of violence were registered between 1997-1999 and 2002-2004. The fatalities were statistically associated with years, but this association was weak. (X2 (915, N = 4109) = 1795.513, p =.000, Cramer's V (0 .171).

Figure 2.14 Violence fatalities and districts of interest

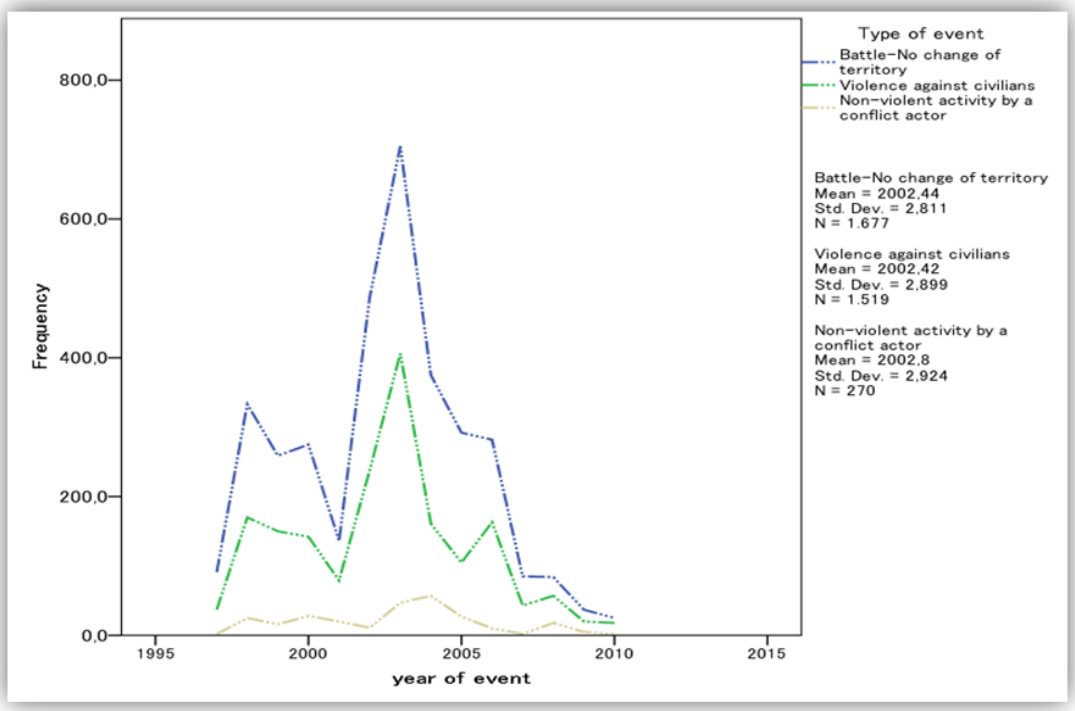


Source: ACLED data set[30]

The statistic of the conflict events and time (Figure 2.15) also show that battles without change of territory had the highest frequency. In these battles, civilians lost their lives and raids were made by the rebels against civilians. The literature on LRA activities in the villages shows that crops of civilians were harvested by the rebels and civilian were abducted as porters to carry them. Civilian livestock--like goats, sheep e. t. c--were slaughtered by rebels. So, the implications of the conflict events are far reaching. According to the Figure 2.15, there were more battles with no change of territory and violence against civilians around 2003-2004, but also 1997 and 1999. Following these attacks on civilians, the aforementioned government policy of "protected villages" led to internal displacement. The cost and impact of internal displacement to the people of northern Uganda is not precisely known.

[30] The figure shows fatalities of all fighting—LRA and other type of violence in the period 1997 to 2010.

Figure 2.15 Total fighting events by year



Source: ACLED data set[31]

2.3.2 Assessing the Costs of the LRA Conflict in Uganda

> *"Since the 2006 signing of a cease-fire agreement between the government of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army [the rebel group].....The overwhelming majority of the 1.8 million internally displaced people (IDPs) who lived in camps at the height of the crisis have returned to their areas of origin or resettled in new locations… […] The return process has been marred by land conflicts, sometimes leading to violence." (NRC, 24 May 2012)*

The impact of the war on people in northern Uganda was long and multidimensional.

Table 2.4 attempts to summarize the impacts (especially health related impacts) by grouping them into lethal, non-lethal and indirect conflict effects. This section will evidence how the LRA war impacted the communities along these three categories.

[31] The years and fighting events were strongly associated. This association statistically significant and strong and (X^2 (90, N = 4109) = 1757.437, p =. 000, Cramer's V (0.267).

Table 2.4 Categorization of the effects of conflict

Categorization	Examples	Impact measured through outcomes
Lethal violence	Death and injuries lead to Demo-graphic change, disability	Death of males compared to females in the battlefield leads to changes in sex ratio, and affects marriage. May also lead to changes in household structure. Coping mechanism—such as, entry into women´s labour force and long-term decision making (change in gender roles and
Nonlethal vio-lence	Sexual violence, sex slavery, rape, torture and abuse, displacement	Poor IDP camp livelihood; night commuting of children including girls. Rape, sex slavery and moral decay may lead to increase in prevalence for HIV/Aid, SGBV etc.
Indirect	Shock, disease, malnutrition-long –term impact on children	Impact on future adult health, fertility; free-dom of movement, access to schooling. Social costs, land conflicts etc.

Source: Own elaboration

There are limited statistical justifications of most of the impacts in the table above, however, the LRA conflict caused indiscriminate killing, abduction, conscripted children into rebel activities, looted and maimed civilians. The existing information suggests that following the war in Northern Uganda, an estimated 90 per cent of the population in the Acholi sub-region shifted to "protection villages" as a result of gov-ernment policies in 1996 (cf. Bozzoli, Brück and Muhumuza, 2011). By 2005, about 250 IDP camps existed in Northern Uganda (MFPED, 2006). A report by the coalition of more than 50 Ugandan and international NGOS (The Civil Society Organizations for Peace in Northern Uganda (CSOPNU)[32] found that more than 2 million civilians were sheltered in above 200 displacement camps in northern Uganda.

The process of return from IDP camps was gradual and correlated with poor live-lihoods. Out of the 1.8 million IDPs in Uganda, in 2007, some 579,000 returned to their village; in 2008, about 603,000; in 2009, some 408,000 IDPs; and in 2010, about 303,000 IDPs return to their villages. This left the IDP population of 126,000 IDPs, but all have returned to their villages (cf. UNHCR Yearbook 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, and

[32] The coalition includes Oxfam International, Care International, Norwegian Refugee Council, Save the Children, and International Rescue Committee as well as national and community based organizations.

2010). In all welfare indicators captured by the NUS, 2004 Acholi lagged behind and Non-IDPs scored far better than IDPs. The livelihood in IDP was different from non-IDP resident. The NUS, 2004 demonstrated much of the difference. For shelter in IDPs, a big proportion is made of un-burnt bricks with mud walls (86 per cent). Almost all housing units in the IDP camps have earth floors (98 per cent). Among IDP residents, the major source of lighting reported was the "tadooba"[33] However, thanks to the relief efforts, latrine coverage was better in IDP Camps (89 per cent) compared to non-IDP households.

The social costs are hard to estimate, but rape and abduction of adults and children hard short and long term effect. The disappearance of young boys and a girl was traced retrospectively by the NUS, 2004. More male than female were reported to have disappeared—above 75 per cent were males and 25 per cent female. The Table 2.5 is an extract from the NUS, 2004 report; it demonstrates that about 1.3 million household members (about seven per cent of the total population in the northern region survey reported) had at least one family member who had disappeared since 1992. According to the findings, the Acholi lost (26 per cent) almost three times more people than the northern region on average (6.6 per cent) (NUS, 2004:79).

Table 2.5 Disappearance of household members since 1992 in the north

Sub-region	Total households	Affected households	Percentage of households reporting disappearance
West Nile	365,886	9,563	2.6
Acholi	231,198	60,026	26.0
Lango	299,156	15,312	5.1
Teso	335,744	4,825	1.4
Karamoja	125,835	491	0.4
NUSAF Region	**1,357,819**	**90,217**	**6.6**

Source: Northern Uganda Survey report (2005)

The number of abducted women, men and children cannot be accurately stated, but estimated. More than 20,000 boys and girls were abducted by the rebels for conscription, sex slavery and porter roles (see report by CSOPNU). IDP life was character-

[33] Tadooba is a local kerosene lantern that is commonly used in the rural areas.

ized by vulnerability –for instance, indiscriminate attacks on civilian, shambled livelihood, impoverishment and lack of freedom in the camp´s lifestyle; this brought to question the citizenship of men and women in Northern Uganda (Oosterom, 2011). With almost 20 years of displacement, "communities and livelihoods were changed; new trading and commercial junctions developed within the camps, and many children and youth grew up knowing only displacement." (Schlecht, Rowley and Babirye 2013:235). The coping mechanism varied, as shown in the Table 2.6.

Table 2.6 Distribution by coping mechanisms

Coping Mechanism	West Nile	Acholi	Lango	Teso	Karamoja
No help	88.4	53.7	81.7	47.9	80.3
Received help/gifts	8.3	45.9	16.4	34.4	15.8
Sale of assets	1.9	0.2	1.8	13.0	3.0
Borrowed/received formal credit	1.0	0.0	0.0	2.7	0.1
Others	0.4	0.2	0.2	2.0	0.7
Total	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**	**100**

Source: Northern Uganda Survey report (2004)

The table 2.6 confirms that according the NUS survey done across northern Uganda, the conflict-affected people coped by private means and some gifts. The majority of the people reported not to have received formal help—relief aid.

Apart from the IDPs, generally, the livelihood of people in northern Uganda was characterized by shocks.[34]Among the five regions of northern Uganda (Acholi, Lango, Iteso, West Nile and Karamoja) covered by the Northern Uganda survey 2004, the Acholi and Karamoja sub-regions had the highest incidence of household shocks (99 per cent) while the Lango sub region had the lowest proportion (89 per cent). In these categories of shock, rebel attacks emerged as the most serious household shocks (36 per

[34] Shocks include rebels, raids, drought/famine, inability to work in the fields, medical costs, death of important cash income earner, funeral expenses, hailstones, heavy rainfall, and flooding, theft, untimely rains, family dispute-argument and others

cent) followed by drought or famine (32 per cent). So it implies that the Acholi region, where most of the sample of this study was selected, the people witnessed more rebel raid/famine than all other regions apart for Karamoja. Precisely, Acholi received the highest per cent of rebels/raids of 69.5 per cent compared to the west Nile (11.5); Lango (37.6 per cent); Teso (30.5 per cent) and Karamoja (46.6 per cent) (NUS, 2004:64-6).

Emotional stress and post-traumatic stress disorder affected the individual well-being in Northern Uganda—witnessing death and other stressing events led to psychological effects, but the interventions were short lived (Isis-WICCE, 2001). Thus, most of the population was susceptible to stress disorders. An empirical study done by Roberts et al. (2008) in the district of Gulu and Amuru (two of the most conflict-affected districts) found that, out of their sample, three quarters (75%) of their respondents had witnessed or experienced the murder of a family or friend, two thirds (64%) of their respondents had witnessed the murder of a stranger or strangers. More than half (56%) reported having been beaten or tortured. More than 40% reported having been kidnapped and 14% reported having been raped or sexually abused. Over half (58%) of respondents had experienced 8 or more of the 16 trauma events covered in their questionnaire. They found many factors strongly linked with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression.

Returning home from IDP camps was largely encouraged by IDPs experience of cultivation and access to land in the return area. Returning was limited by access to camp services compared to the return area--lack of infrastructures and services in the return area (Bozzoli, Brück, and Muhumuza, 2012). According to reports by humanitarian organisations and the Ugandan government—that is, reports by IRIN, Oxfam, IDMC and the 2005 Northern Uganda internally displaced persons profiling study—the tension related to claims land rights or loss of land among returnees were numerous. This implies that an individual´s possession of land in the return-villages was one of the most defining components of better welfare, sustainable reintegration, and settled livelihoods for returning households. The widows, orphans, elderly and female headed households suffered more than any other group from the land crises in the post-conflict period. This only added to the problems of chronic poverty, idleness and loss opportunities that characterised the IDPs livelihood (Bøäs and Hatløy (2005).

2.4 Conclusion

The second chapter has elaborated the contextual background to the study. It has provided the argument that gender imbalance, regional difference and differentiated effects of conflict present a complex background in the area of study. The next chapter presents the state of the art, literature review in the fields related to the research problem.

CHAPTER 3

LINKING VIOLENT CONFLICT, GENDER AND EMPOWERMENT

3.1 Introduction

The chapter reviews the relevant work on the impacts of violent conflict with a motive of highlighting the link between violent conflict, gender and women's empowerment. The main concepts reviewed in the chapter are violence, the impact of violent conflict, and gender and women's empowerment. The growing work on displacement and violent conflict in relation to fertility is given priority. The first part of the chapter reviews the relevant concepts, theoretical paradigms and policy orients evidence of the effect of violent conflict on the individual/household reproduction and production roles. The second part of the literature review chapter delves into the concept and theoretical discourse of gender and empowerment. It focuses, in detail, on the fertility behaviours as a function of women's empowerment. Finally, the conceptual framework is presented and justified.

3.2 Violence, Violent conflict and Gender: Analysing the Concepts

The terms; conflict, violent conflict and armed conflict are sometimes interchangeably applied. In this study, we consider to use the term violent conflicts mostly because of its extensive appeal to a wide range of conflicts with violence. *The study takes Justino`s 2009 consideration of violent conflicts as a multidimensional phenomenon covering a range of intensities of violence from riots to wars, which consist of a broad range of actors, including victims, perpetrators, bystanders, and free-riders, amongst others.* In the case of northern Uganda, the type of violent conflict was a protracted civil war. According to Waldmann, civil wars are "large scale armed conflicts of substantial duration (a minimum of 1,000 battle deaths per year) fought between two or more groups within a state for the purpose of gaining, dividing, or fragment control of government (Waldmann, 2003:291). Meanwhile, the armed conflicts are defined by

numerous articles in Journal of Peace Research 1993–2009 as "contested incompatibility that concerns government or territory or both where the use of armed force between two parties results in at least 25 battle-related deaths. Of these, two parties in an armed conflict, at least one is the government of a state" (Gleditsch et al. 2002: 618-9).

The concept of violence is often used interchangeably with conflict. Kalyvas (2000) reviews extensively the logic of violence in civil war and deals with the slippery use of the term *violence*. The concept of violence has been used widely in gender studies, sociology, political science, economics and other disciplines. This study's review concentrates on Galtung's theory of violence due to its cross cutting nature and relevance to the current study—i.e. when violence is construed in the notion of a triangle—direct, structural and cultural violence.

In the interest of this study, conflict is used to distinguish *conflict-affected* from *non-conflict-affected* groups. However, given that the actual difference between active conflict and that the early stages of post-conflict phase is not sort of clear, *conflict-affected* depicts "a setting in which mass violent conflict and insecurity [were] prevailing features" (Brück and Schindler, 2008).

The concept of gender cuts across most of the fields today. Regarding the definition, this study focuses on the exhibited difference between men and women "embedded in social relations" (cf. Kabeer, 1994).[35] Connell also maintains the similar position as Kabeer that gender relations are social relations—they are not fixed or immutable (2002: 9-10). This debate is dealt with later in this review, but for now, four aspects are considered in the definition of gender as used in this study: 1) "Gender" is not synonymous with "women" 2) Gender is not a question of cultural patterns. 3) Gender is something done, actually done in social life, not something that exists prior to social life 4) Gender is envisioned as a structure that conditions practice–thus gender is influenced. Taking this line of thought, the reproduction of gender inequality is not just in the household arena, but through a range of institutions. These institutions include the international community, the state and the market—thus understanding of differences in

[35] Social relations are historically and culturally contingent (see Glenn, 1999)—they varies between societies and over time unlike biological difference; they constitute other forms of social difference like age, class, and race so on.

power relation in a given society facilitates the detection of the injustices intrinsic in the existing relations (Moser 1989, 1993).

3.2.1 Violence: Direct, Structural and Cultural Violence

> *"I see violence as an avoidable insult to basic human needs, and more generally in life, lowering the real level of needs satisfaction below what is potentially possible" (Galtung, 1990:292).*

Galtung's articulation of direct, structural, and cultural violence offers a unified framework within which all violence can be seen (Galtung, 1969, 1990, 1975). In his theory of violence, he makes a clear distinction between structural, cultural and direct violence. These concepts are connected in three interrelated forms of violence (structural-cultural-direct) where structural violence is at the left end and cultural violence is at the right end of the base of a Triangle invisibly while direct violence is visible at the vertex.

Direct violence (physical and/or verbal), is visible as behaviour in the triangle while Structural (or indirect) and cultural violence "are present in society in more subtle, but not less damaging ways". (Confortini. 2006:335). According to *Galtung's violence triangle* (1969), cultural and structural violence cause direct violence. Direct violence reinforces structural and cultural violence. Direct violence in its classic form involves the use of physical force; killing or torture, rape and sexual assault, and beatings. Johan Galtung, further, describes direct violence as the "avoidable impairment of fundamental human needs or life which makes it impossible or difficult for people to meet their needs or achieve their full potential…"[36]

Cultural violence is the prevailing *"symbolic sphere" of daily existence*—it includes religion, ideology, art, language that one has been taught or come into contact with since childhood and that surround the daily life with the power and necessity of violence. This cultural violence "can be used to justify or legitimize direct or structural

[36] Verbal violence, includes humiliation among others

violence."[37]The main component is that "cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look, even feel right or at least not wrong" (Galtung, 1990:291). Galtung continues to list ways through which cultural violence works: first "changing the moral colour [perception] of an act from red/wrong to green/right, or at least to yellow/acceptable" second, "by making reality opaque." Thus, one doesn't see violent act or fact or at least see it as something else but not violence" (Ibid, 1990:192). Forced/early marriage, in the case of this study, could take the course of what Galtung describes in his theory above.

Structural violence[38] exists when some groups, classes, genders, nationalities, etc. are assumed to have, and actually have, more access to goods, resources, and opportunities than other groups, classes, genders, nationalities, etc. This unequal advantage is built into the "very social, political and economic systems" that govern societies, states and the world. Galtung notes that violence exercised in the structural form is such that victims may not even be aware of what is going on and incapable of organizing any form of defence, implying that the relation is asymmetric.[39]

Caprioli, when reviewing Galtung´s theoretical position of structural and cultural violence in relation to *Gender Equality and Civil Wars,* postulates that gender is a pivotal aspect of structural and cultural violence as it forms the basis of structural inequality in many societies (Caprioli, 2003). The multifaceted nature of gender discrimination determines the roles, power relationships, responsibilities, expectations, and access to resources that accrue to men or women—on this point Galtung notes that systematic exploitation becomes part of the social order (Galtung, 1975). Certainly Caprioli (2003) applies the four components (Exploitation, Penetration, fragmentation and stigmatization) of Galtung's model of structural violence to gender inequality; she presents evidence that structural violence through gender inequality exhibited in high fertility rates is associated with interstate conflict.

[37]Galtung includes empirical science and formal sciences in symbolic spheres that make up aspects of culture. Including things like stars, crossed; flags, anthems and military parades; inflammatory speeches and posters can to signify culture See. Galtung, J. (1990:291).

[38] Structural theorists attempt to link personal suffering with political, social and cultural choices, they explore how political, economic and cultural structures result in the occurrence or avoidable violence, often portrayed as the deprivation of basic human needs

[39] See the text by Galtung entitled *Peace research, education, action* in the Security Dialogue.(Security Dialogue 1972 3: 101)

Galtung´s violence theory is discussed by Confortini, in the work entitled "Galtung, Violence, and Gender: The Case for a Peace Studies/Feminism Alliance". The work of Confortini postulates a confrontation to the ideas of Galtung with feminism. The author proposes to enrich the Galtung's theory by seriously tackling issues of *power and gender*. Power and gender according to Confortini are "essential to an understanding of violence as a process through which (violent) social relations are built, legitimized, reproduced, and naturalized."

Confortini´s claim is that Galtung's theory should be improved by considering the following: 1) "incorporate notions of gender as a social construct embodying relations of power." 2) Addressing the gendered dichotomy of categories that shape people's thought of the worlds, which are central "to the production and reproduction of violence at all levels". 3) Gendered language defines the occurrence or non-occurrence of seeing different visions of the social world. 4) Violence is responsible for the production and definition of gender identities. This focus on gender as a *social construct* and taking gender as a *serious category of analysis*, Confortini claims, is essential to arrive at a "violence-free society" rather than temporary solution and approval of attitudes to violence as natural.

Galtung's theory and Confortini's gender claim—of focusing on power and gender— are essential to our understanding of violence in the contemporary wars since systematic rape and sexual abuse in war have become extensively used as a strategy of war to demoralize or intimidate the community under threat.

In the light of the above, violence during armed conflicts should be seen in the broader context, where understanding should be generated to perceived war against civilians as orchestration of other forms of violence. For instance, at the peak times of the LRA war in northern Uganda, the LRA rebel group used violence on civilians as a weapon of war (Human rights watch report 1997). Young girls were forced into sexual slavery and forced marriage—these are forms of early marriage forced on youth, mostly girl—through acts of brutality committed by rebels and other actors. The structural violence associated with early marriage is associated with the exploitation and stigmatisation (cf. Galtung, 1975 and Caprioli, 2003). That is to say, early marriage of girl can lead to deprivation from education, which reduces their chances for acquiring a vocation

or career; it may lead to increase in social isolation and extreme poverty; and girls forced to marry at an early age are likely to be less empowered in the household—they lack the ability to make fundamental life choices.

Furthermore, some of the violence is reported to have come from the government forces in Northern Uganda that were meant to protect the population, but engages in prostitution, rape and sexual violence (Human rights Watch, 1997). This kind of behaviour has also been cited in the case of the peacekeeping troops in various conflict regions (Zuckerman and Greenberg, 2004).

The environment of armed conflict often causes insecurity and displacement, which may legitimise structural and cultural violence to some degree. For instance, the war in northern Uganda introduced a phenomenon of "night-commuting" of unescorted young boys and girls —moving from villages to town in order to avoid being abducted by LRA rebels. This insecurity increased girl's exposure to violence, especially sexual violence and unintended pregnancies. The literature shows two things: 1) Early marriages in northern Uganda increased due to violence caused by the armed conflict (Liebling-Kalifani at. al, 2008:178). 2) The conflict increase risky behaviours like prostitution, rape and abduction; this may explain the high prevalence rate of HIV /Aids in the northern region—Gulu, Kitgum, Lira, Apac, Arua, Moroto and Nebbi districts—compared to the rest of the country (Isis-WICCE, 1998, Isis-WICCE, 2001; Okello and Hovil, 2007). The empirical study by Rujumba and Kwiringira, (2010:1) found evidence that associates high HIV prevalence rates in Northern Uganda to risky sexual behaviours and conflict-induced violence. The study is based on 12 focus group discussions in Pader District. Rujumba and Kwiringira conclude that insecurity led to congestion in the camps leading to moral degeneracy, rape and defilement, prostitution and poverty which increased vulnerability to HIV infection. They found that the cultural drivers of HIV and AIDS were; widow inheritance, polygamy, early marriages, family expectations, silence about sex and alcoholism.

The violence theory of Galtung, including the above mentioned cases of gender-based violence is linked to dis-empowerment or deprivation of capabilities [which is important to this study]. In this way, violence often inversely affects basic human needs, including the freedom to be or to do what one values. Such that violence in all its forms

leads to the deprivation capabilities, like life, free mobility, food, bodily integrity e.t.c. and in turn affects the individuals´ behaviours.

3.2.2 Violent Conflict and Gender: The Theoretical Arguments

In the economic field, the literature on violent conflict has three cornerstones: 1) Macro-level literature—which seeks various explanations for the causes of violent conflict (for instance, "greed and grievance" by Collier and Hoeffler (2002, 1998; "socio-political motives" Collier, 1998, abundance of resources, weak institutions etc..). 2) Game theory approaches—which claims that individual´s identity is composed of individual and collective identity and perception, thus participation in violent conflict follows an incentive of a representative agent or group to engage in violent conflict (Gupta, 1990 and followers). 3) The emerging field on micro-level impacts of conflict—this is important to the current study—draws on the impact of violent conflict on the micro-level, especially household. For instance, defining the direct and indirect effects (Stewart and Fitzgerald, 2001; Keen, 2001), estimating mortality rates (de Walque, 2006); assessing post-conflict poverty, income and consumption at the household level (Justino and Verwimp, 2008, Luckham, et al., 2001); analysing assets, expenditure and differentiated gender impacts in health status, education, (Akresh and Verwimp, 2006; Shemyakina, 2006); examining gender roles and identities during and after conflict (El-Bushra, 2003 among others).

In the peace and conflict studies, the gender and violence theoretical rift follows the essentialist and constructivist arguments. The essentialists trail a belief that "there are certain qualities that women have because of their reproductive role". For instance, research has claimed that women tend to express attitudes that are more negative to the use of force in various contexts (cf. Frankovic 1982; Tessler and Warriner 1997). So the essentialist argument is based on attitudinal differences that are supposedly inherent in the biological sexes.

Following the work of feminist scholars—for instance the influential work of Cynthia Enloe (see her book entitled Bananas, Beaches and Bases) —the debate on the war and gender has changed (cf. Steans, 2006:1). This gave audience to the second argument, to which this study leans. The emphasis, in this second argument, is that gender

roles and their accompanying attitudes are socially constructed. Hence, it is referred to as the constructivist argument. The constructivist argument relates to "how attitudes to violence and the use of force may be influenced by socially constructed gender roles" (Melander, 2005: 698). In this case, the narrative is that women dislike, and men´s tendency to like violence have less to do with the biological sexes (essentialist argument), but more to do with certain definitions of femininity and masculinity to which men and women identify (constructivist).

Within these perspectives, the war/peace dichotomy and women/peace nexus is under constant debate. Feminist work has challenged the distinction between "war front" and "home front" and the war/peace dichotomy. The *war front* concerns the "masculinised heroism" in battle and the *home front* concerns "feminisation of domestic care and peace". In the later, the researcher concentrate on testimonies of women´s experiences of extreme suffering in war, but whose suffering is invisible (Enloe, 1989).

Tickner's work postulates that boys and men are prepared for the potential function as warriors, whereas women are assigned the role of caring and nursing; these gender roles legitimize the subordination of women. The functioning of these divided gender roles, For instance, masculinity stresses the necessity and honour related to violence. Thus nurturing the violence as defending of one's name/demeanour and the interests of the group—the warlike role of man and boy. Moreover, femininity is defined more in terms of submission and empathy— the subordinated category (Tickner, 1992, 2001).

However, Steans (2006:48) attempts to locate the double moral-standards in the women/peace nexus, by noting that only the "few men who take part in war can be said to make war." Thus, according to Stean, it would be hard to find support for such essential claims, which associate war with men and masculinity, and peace with women and femininity. Thus, men´s natural capacity for violence and aggression may not be universal, but it generates from gender roles and identities (Tickner 1992, 2001; Goldstein 2003). Steans concludes that liberal strategies which promote women's equality, yet disregarding profoundly embedded gender inequalities and deeply ingrained gender ideologies are unlikely to go very far in promoting peace (Steans, 2006:61).

Despite the numerous lines of the debate mentioned above, *gender relation and conflict* is a key focus to this review:

The dynamics of armed conflict suggest that it primarily men who are conscripted or killed in battle, but the women constitute the majority of civilian casualties and suffer to as caregivers, due to a breakdown of social structures (El Jack, 2003 and Bryne, 1996). El Jack (2003: 11) laments that: *"The construction of the identities of women in their gendered roles as 'mothers' and 'guardians of the culture' implies they are 'victims', thus justifying the intensified use of power and violence to 'protect' them."*

However, women are continuously cited in current literature as actors in various processes of during and after the violent conflicts in two ways: first, wars don´t end with the cessation of hostilities; women pick up the pieces and cope with terrible psychological, physical and emotional damage suffered by people. Secondly, women are left with the responsibility of catering for the household welfare and are most like to constitute the highest population group in the refugee or displaced people´s camps (Vickers, 1993). Moreover, there are examples of women as active combatants or supporters of 'oppressive' states and examples of men as also directly targeted in armed conflicts-- they make up the majority of casualties. This means that by making assumptions about the behaviour of women or men in the conflict one may risk naivety and short-sightedness.

Typically, gender analysis in armed conflict draws emphasis on the differences between women and men in relation to their gendered activities, their needs, their acquisition and control of resources and their access to decision-making processes in post-conflict situations. The studies that apply a gender analysis-- to understand how social upheaval may lead to more equitable relationships between men and women-- make a standpoint that "social upheaval might open a door to the changes positive changes (Cockburn and Zarkov, 2002: 11), though in reality sometimes these positive changes are long coming. The optimal position could be arrived at if the social upheavals provide a "clean slate to start again and ask some fundamental questions about what kind of society is wanted and how gender relations will function within it" (El Jack, 2003)

A bridge report by El Jack prudent explains the gendered impacts of armed conflict, which are illustrated with the examples of gender-based violence (GBV) and forced displacement. The report makes this remark: *"The impacts of armed conflict on gender relations are significant. Forced displacement and gender-based violence (GBV) are two examples of impacts that are not inevitable outcomes of armed conflict, but rather are deliberate strategies of war that destabilise families and communities"*

El-Jack, 2003 provided a good account of how displacement is a source of human rights violations and results in distinct types of disadvantage for both women and men. In the same light, Moser and Clark 2001 also expresses forced displacement as the clearest violation of human, economic, political and social rights and of the failure to comply with international humanitarian laws. Physical and sexual violence, particularly against women is also discussed by El-jack, 2003 among other. The review deals with the cost and impacts of displacement in detail later-on.

More evidence suggests that women's vulnerability to forms of violence should put bodily integrity at the top of the agenda of consequences of armed conflict on women. Here, women are frequent targets of sexual violence, sometimes by the armies or peacekeeping body that are seeking to protect them (Machel, 1996, Rehn and Sirleaf, 2002; El-Bushra and Sahl, 2005). Literature also shows that apart from rape perpetrated by the enemy force, other actors—like government forces and intervention forces, as well as men subjecting women to aggression and rape in the communities at times of war (Rehn and Sirleaf, 2002). In feminist account, as Steans (2006:58) observes, warfare-induced violence, for instance, rape, sex slavery, etc., is construed as the connection between masculinity, militarism and violence.

3.2.3 The Key Impacts of Violent Conflict: Policy Oriented Evidence

Kumar, 2001 in the book *"women and civil war: impact organizations and action"* prudently suggest five broader characteristics of all intrastate conflicts relevant to women and gender relations. First, warring parties deliberately inflict violence on civilian populations; the international norms of protection of civilians are violated. This trend of civilian death alters the demographic composition and social relations. Second, civil wars displace a vast number of people. The overarching level of displaced disrupts

livelihoods, causes physical insecurity, migrations. Third, women's identity is redefined by their participation in the civil wars—women are both perpetrators and victims of violence. The fourth characteristic is that intrastate wars deliberately destroy infrastructures, increase poverty and cause starvation that affect women and children, as much as men. (Kumar, 2001:7).

In light of Kumar´s observations, the aftermath of violent conflict perpetuates social change and structural transformation following social, demographic effect and coping strategy effectively (See Bouta, Frerks and Bannon, 2005). These induce transition at all levels. The first case of such transition was the "second world war gender-push", where, in post war countries, the "added work effect" emerged in Germany and England. Women become involved in so called *men's work*--working outside the home due to the remarkably high absence of men. The analysis of the state of "British women 1939-49" in a doctoral thesis of Clements, 2008:163 asserts that: "an overview of women's lives during this period [1939-49]… include dramatic changes in employment, social activity and political representation. The war brought deprivation and loneliness for many, but also opportunities and radically altered life chances for some."

Therefore, the relationship between gender and conflict is emerging as a critical analytical approach (Harcourt, 2009; Caprioli, 2000; Byrne, 1996; El Jack, 2003, Hudson, 2009 and Hudson et al., 2009). The main themes include, but are not limited to female combatants, gender based violence, formal and informal peace processes, the legal framework and the rehabilitation of social services and community-driven development (see Harcourt, 2009; Byrne 1995; El-Bushra and Pizza Lopez 1984). As well, emerging quantitative and qualitative work dominates the themes of relationship between gender and causes of conflict (Caprioli 2000, Hudson 2009, Melander (2005) and on impacts violent conflict on gender roles at the micro level (El-Bushra and Sahl, 2005; Justino, Cardona, Mitchell and Müller, 2012; Buvinic, Gupta, Casabonne, and Verwimp, 2013; Petesch 2012).

The review will prioritise three policy oriented lines of work on the effect of conflict on individual behaviours and welfare. This is a growing line of research, so three existing models are presented:

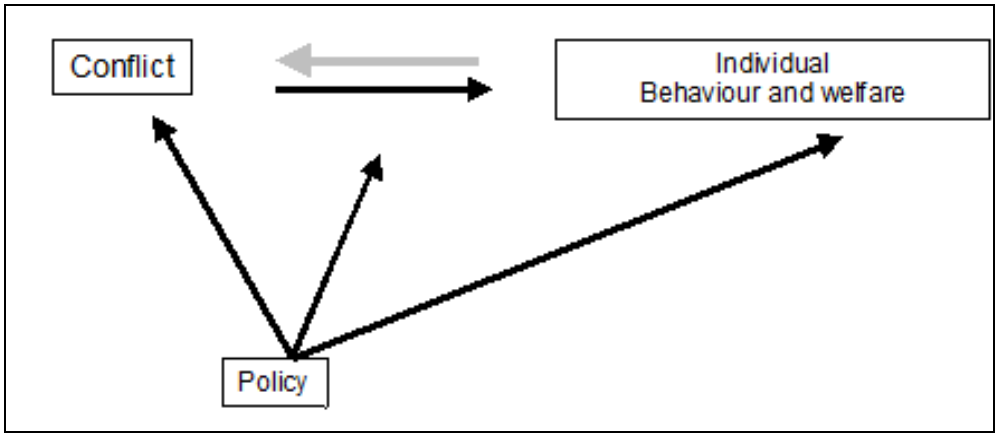
1) The model developed by Brück, Justino, Verwimp and Avdeenko 2010—commonly used by researchers at the Households in Conflict Network (HICN).

2) The framework that demonstrates the channels of effects of conflict on gender from the research of Buvunic, Das Gupta, Casabonne, Verwimp, 2013.

3) The linkage between violent conflict and gender expectations by El-Buhra, 2003.

Brück, Justino, Verwimp and Avdeenko 2010 among others—provide a model regarding the relationship between conflict and individual welfare and behaviour (see Figure 3.1). The model is built on a micro-level analysis, with the assumption that "conflict originates from individuals' behaviour and their repeated interactions with their surroundings, in other words, from its micro-foundations." (cf. Verwimp, Justino and Brück 2009:307). The model suggests that conflict affects individual behaviours and welfare as much as the latter can lead to conflict. According to this model, policy interventions have a multiplier effect, either through influencing the relationship between conflict and individual behaviour and welfare or influencing each of the two components separately.

Figure 3.1 A model of conflict followed by the households in conflict network



Source: Brück, Justino, Verwimp and Avdeenko (2010)

Using this model numerous researches have confirmed that in addition to the taking lives and destruction of infrastructure, violent conflicts also affects the long-term

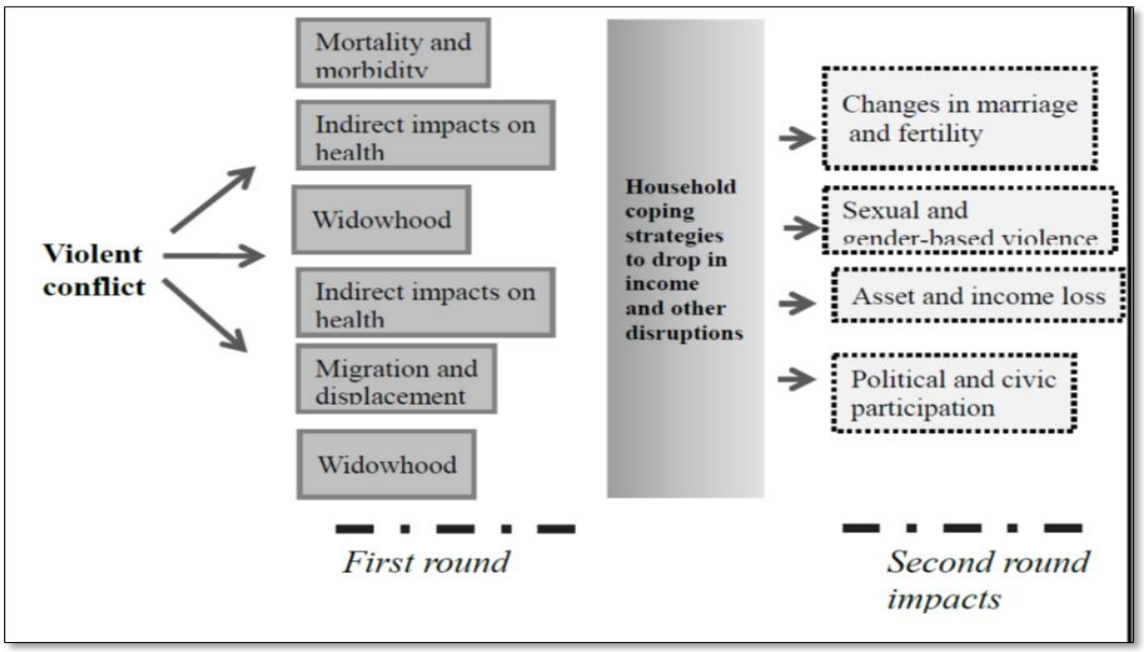
growth path of a country and the dynamics of the household (cf. Verwimp, Justino and Brück 2009). While most typical analyses of conflict adopt a regional, national or global perspective, often using country-level data, Verwimp, Justino and Brück 2009 takes an explicit micro-level approach. The model and the *A Micro-level perspective of violent conflict* by Verwimp, Justino and Brück 2009 allow for the understanding of conflict dynamics and its effects on society. For instance, in the following lines: *"violence against civilians, the agency of civilians during conflict, the strategic interaction between civilians and armed actors, the consequences of displacement, the effectiveness of coping strategies and the impact of policy interventions."* (2009:307).

Buvunic, Das Gupta, Casabonne, Verwimp, 2013 provide a framework that identifies both the differential impacts of violent conflict on males and females (first-round impacts) and the role of gender inequality in framing adaptive responses to conflict (second-round impacts). They postulate that first-round impacts operate through various channels of the effect of violent conflict on gender (see Figure 3.2). The first round effects are such that:

> *"War's mortality burden is disproportionately borne by males, whereas women and children constitute a majority of refugees and the displaced. Indirect war impacts on health are more equally distributed between the genders. Conflicts create households headed by widows who can be especially vulnerable to intergenerational poverty" (Buvinic, et al.,2013:110)*

The second round effect—for instance loss in asset and income due to the disruption of markets, infrastructure destruction and damage, sexual and gender-based violence, change in fertility and marriage—arise as an output of household´s coping strategies. Second-round impacts can provide opportunities for women in various area of household and community participation—for instance, entering into the labour force as paid worker, joining local or national political movements as well as increasing women´s (men´s) civic participation. The second round impact as seen in Figure 3.2 may include changes in marriage and marriage norms, and fertility behaviours; the loss of income and previous resources provokes coping mechanism. However, Buvunic, et al. (2013:1) observe that the impacts of conflict are diverse and can either increase or decrease pre-existing gender inequalities.

Figure 3.2 Channels depicting the effect of violent conflict on gender



Source: Buvunic, Das Gupta, Casabonne, Verwimp (2013)

As coping strategies, women's traditional household roles change. "Women respond to decreases in household income by increasing their hours of work, entering the labour force, or adjusting their time and effort in the home" (Buvunic, et al. 2013:4). There is a wide spectrum of economic literature that concentrates on coping mechanism, but little research work on the subject exist in relation to conflict effect on micro-level (cf. Justino, 2009). Although in Buvunic, et al. 2013 focus on *first* and *second* round effect, in other literature on impacts of conflict, the distinction is rather made between *direct* and *indirect* effects. These concepts are almost the same. The direct effects consist of killing and wounding, while the indirect effects on human welfare are related to war-induced changes in economic, social, and political life (Keen, 2001; Stewart and Fitzgerald, 2001).

El-Busha models a framework of linkage between violent conflict and gender expectations. This is one of the most cited work on conflict and gender roles and identities (cf. El-Bushra et. al. 2002; El-Bushra, 2003; El-Bushra and Sahl, 2005). El-Bushra, 2003 observes that in all the six cases of conflict-affect countries—Uganda, Angola, Mail, Sudan, Somalia, and Rwanda—women's economic responsibilities increased within the household. In some cases the changes went beyond the household to include

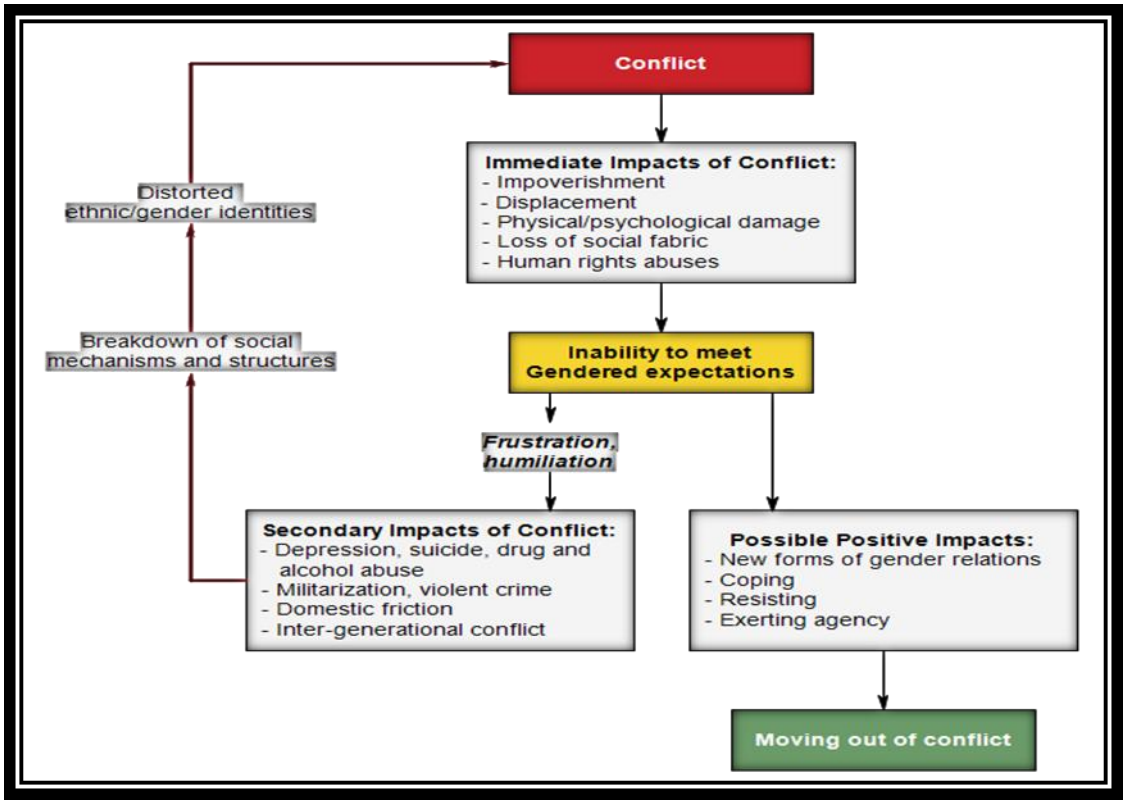
women's increased participation at community level. The reasons varied from case to case: in Uganda men no longer had access to economic resource—agricultural land—they had before the violence. For instance, in urban areas of Sudan and Angola, women that were displaced by conflict started income generating activities. In Mali and Uganda displacement seemed to open access to new skills.

El-Bushra (2003) found changes in marriage practice and sexuality, for instance, in Uganda and Rwanda, there was a general increase in women's ability to decide who to marry and increase in their legal right to property—perhaps this was reinforced after the loss of a husband or following the new women's roles as breadwinner. Thus, some women gained more autonomy in the household. The study reported that women who had lost their husbands due to genocide in Rwanda where less "traditional" in outlook compared to married couples. These changes coupled together may apparently imply an increase in the ability of women to decide on family issues.

According to her analysis, women's increased economic influence could lead to increased respect and greater decision making power within the household. But this economic gain on the side of the women, seemed to also cause fear among the men—as they lost their breadwinner roles to the women. El-Bushra draws emphasis that men's attempt to recapture the stage may lead to violence in the household.

The study by El-Bushra and Sahl (2005) linked immediate impacts of conflict to (in) ability to meet gender expectation. The ability to meet gender expectations (positive impact) comes to new forms of gender relations, coping strategies and exerting agency, but due to static gender ideologies the gender power relations never changed. El-Bushra notes that the inability to meet gendered expectation (negative impact)— for instance, men inability to fend for the family leads to frustration and humiliation, which is likely to force men into secondary impacts, and mostly negative impacts; this has a possibility of igniting further violence (see illustration below by El-Bushra, 2003).

Figure 3.3 Linkages between violent conflict and gender expectations



Source: El-Bushra (2003)

3.2.4 Impact of Violent conflicts on Children: the Stolen Future

In a renowned report by Machel (1996) on *The Impact of Armed Conflict on Children*, a deep analysis of the plight of children in war-affected is provided. The report is the result of a two-year process of research and consultation undertaken by Graça Machel, the Secretary-General's Expert on the subject and a former Minister for Education in Mozambique. The observation of the report from 30 or so armed conflict all over the world is that millions of children are caught up in conflicts in which they are not solely bystanders, but targets. First, some become victim to a general onslaught against civilians. Secondly, some die as part of a deliberate genocide. Third, other children suffer the effects of sexual violence or hunger and disease associated with multiple deprivation caused by armed conflicts. Fourth, it is even absurd that thousands of young people are exploited as combatants. Machel emphasizes that:

> *"An estimated 300,000 children are still participating in armed combat. Children in 87 countries live amid the contamination of more than 60 million landmines. At*

least 20 million children have been uprooted from their homes. Girls and women continue to be marginalized from mainstream humanitarian assistance and protection. Humanitarian personnel continue to be targeted and killed. Millions of children are abandoned to cope with the multiple and compounded effects of armed conflict and HIV/AIDs. Hundreds of thousands of children continue to die from disease and malnutrition in flight from conflict or in camps for displaced persons." (1996:53)

The author also emphasises that power and greed can never be an excuse for sacrificing children. The increase of wars that target children as porters, wives and combatants have left the entire stakeholder as an accomplice. The report notes that:

".....No one -- not the United Nations, not regional organizations, not governments, nor civil society groups -has moved quickly enough or done enough. The international community, in all of its manifestations, must adopt a new sense of urgency."

The effects of war on children suggest that armed conflict deprives the children of their human rights. The convention on the rights of the child demand that a child must have the right to life, the right to be with family and community, the right to health, the right to the development of the personality, and the right to be nurtured and protected. The armed conflict violates these rights (cf. UNICEF,).

Child soldiers have increased in wars within sub Saharan Africa. These children are often introduced into support functions. The boys often serve as porters or as messengers while the girls prepare food and attend to the wounded. The girls are also often forced to provide sexual services and to married soldiers. Evidence shows that both boys and girls are forced to join the battlefield—they are deliberately exposed to horrific scenes and forced to commit atrocities against their own families to severely detach them from their communities (Machel, 1996; McKay and Mazurana, 2004). Other author as well agree that in contemporary wars, attacks targeting civilians, including children, are high (McKay and Mazurana, 2004; Bennett et. al.1995; Borzello, 2007). For stance, Bennett and others based their work on testimonies of representative of 200 gathered from 12 countries to find out that brutal consequences of war on civilians are

on an increase (Bennett et. al.1995 iv, 282). Annan et al. (2008: vii) found in their survey on Uganda youth in Northern Uganda that: "Females forced to become the wives of LRA members report significantly more overall violent events." Following these events, the effect of modern war on young people is complex. Boyden and De Berry´s (2005, xii) observes that children and youth, their families and communities emerge as the invisible victims, but also perpetrators.

In Uganda's case especially, the LRA is known to be a notorious rebel group, it targeted civilians, including young children (Borzello, 2007). To the children and youth of Acholi, armed violence led to a situation of "night commuting"—where young girls and boys moved from villages to trading centres every night in fear of LRA raids. This forced children in remote villages to walk for miles to spend nights in nearby towns their safety, and then return to their homes or go to school during the day. It's estimated that 35,000 children made this night-trek to escape atrocity (UNICEF, 2005). The agony and the effect of the war to young girls and boys can be summarized in this text from the United Nation story entitled Uganda: Child Soldiers at the centre of mounting humanitarian crisis:

> *"The 18-year old rebellion of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) against the government has forced over 1.6 million Ugandans - half of them children - to flee to squalid and overcrowded camps in order to escape wanton attacks and killings…. This is a war fought by children for children - minors make up almost 90% of the LRA's soldiers. They are brutalized and forced to commit atrocities on fellow abductees and even siblings. For those living in a state of constant fear, violence becomes a way of life and the psychological trauma is incalculable. Some 40,000 "night commuters" sleep under verandas, in schools, hospital courtyards or bus parking places to avoid the snare of the LRA."*[40]
>
> *United Nations, 2004*

[40]See the United Nations publication of the 10 stories the world should hear about, entitled; Uganda: Child soldiers at centre of mounting humanitarian crisis. It is available at http://www.un.org/events/tenstories/06/story.asp?storyID=100.

As mentioned above, in the LRA war, like many contemporary African wars, young women and girls participate not only as coerced or abducted victims—targeted by the rebel groups, but sometimes as voluntary fighting forces (Blattman and Annan, 2010,). Due to this, the last two decades have seen an upsurge in research on the effects armed conflict on young women and girls (McKay and Mazurana, 2004; Annan et al., 2011;Ochen, 2013). Through the raids, the LRA abducted young girls and boys. Most of the abductees were under 18 years of age, almost 30,000 children were abducted, of which 30 percent were girls—"children abducted by the lord's resistance army become slaves: their labour, their bodies and their lives are all at the disposal of their rebel captors" (Human Rights Watch 1997). However, the most accurate numbers are unknown. Annan et al, 2008, found in their survey in Northern Uganda that: "Abduction has been under-reported: we calculate that at least 66,000 youth between the ages of 14 and 30 were abducted." They also note that: "Levels of abduction [were] immense: more than a third of male youth and a fifth of female youth report abduction by the LRA."

Moreover, on return from rebel captivity, child-mothers, and their children are not only faced with stigmatization and rejection, but are haunted by their experiences and deprivation from every aspect of life— freedom, schooling, health needs among others (Apio, 2007). Note that even the boy face challenges on return, but different from young girl or women. Due to this, the last two decades have seen an upsurge in research on the effects armed conflict on young women and girls (McKay and Mazurana, 2004; Annan et al., 2011;Ochen, 2013).

The violation of human rights of children is not limited to rebels, but also government armies and peacekeepers (cf. McKay, 2004). In the LRA case, the commanders picked, and distributed these young women among themselves at their ease, in other situations, child mothers would be reallocated to other man—rebels too—after the death of their husbands (cf. Ochen, 2013). From the feminist perspective, these young women were used as objects for fulfilment of male power, dominance—rebel males were in psychological, social, sexual and physical control of the lives and future of these child mothers. The brutality and sexual violation had long-term effects: for instance, "sharing and re-sharing" of young women among rebel ranks didn't only lead to their mistrust of men in general, which had a negative stain on their future relationships (Ochen, 2013).

3.2.5 Assessing the Costs and Benefits of Displacement

The study is more concerned with forced migration. Forced migration is often discussed in the literature in reference to two categories: "refugees" and "internally displaced persons" (Here after, IDPs). Particularly, the study's interest is on IDPs. The United Nations defines IDPs as "*persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border"* (OCHA, 2004). The above definition is appropriate in the case of Uganda were major of the people in studied district of northern Uganda were forced into open-closed encampment with the border of Uganda.

Most of the literature pertains to the impacts on refugee populations, while a growing number of studies are starting to explore the correlates of various outcomes among internally-displaced populations (IDPs). A majority of these studies are qualitative and relying upon experiences of displaced people while a few apply quantitative or mixed-methods. Most of the quantitative studies considering big sample (large N) are on IDPs in Colombian, Northern Ugandan, Darfur and refugees in Palestinian. These studies include, In Columbia Attanasio et al (2005), and work by Ibañez throughout the 2000s; among IDP in Northern Uganda, Lehrer (2010); among Sudanese and Uganda refugee (Singh, 2001; Singh et al., 2005) among others.

Attempting to visualize the key impacts of displacement have been covered in a number of studies, this study provided a summarised Figure 3.4. In this figure the review puts the displaced person in the centre of all the components identified in the literature review on impacts of displacement. It is upon these components that various researchers have capitalised to analyse the cost and impacts of displacement.

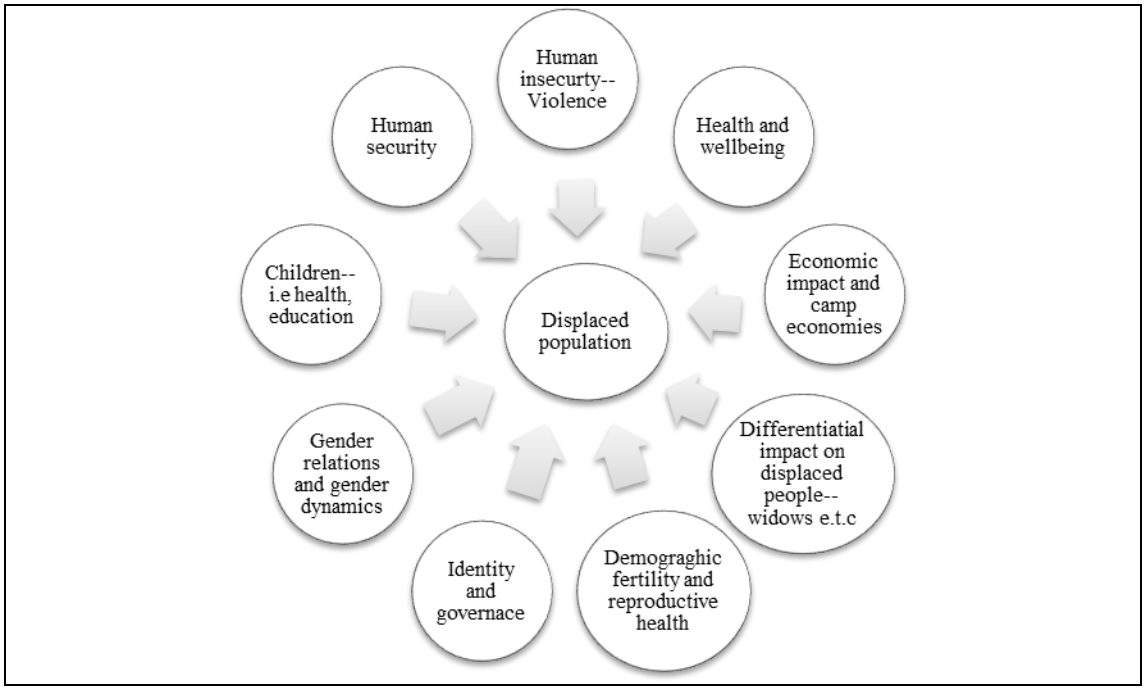
For instance, gender relations and dynamics in the conflict suggest that sexual and gender-based violence and displacement are two components through which an understanding of how the conflict impacts women and men is visible (El Jack, 2003). In the specific case of northern Uganda, sexual and gender-based violence was identified as

the third security threat among IDPs (Vexler, Oxfam Int., 2007). Displaced persons, especially women, may face higher domestic sexual abuse, which has consequences of physical injuries and psychological distress on victims. In the long run the risk of STDs and HIV/AIDs is increasingly high within the displaced people's communities (cf. reports on IDPs, GoU, 2011).

In the area of health and well-being, the displaced people are increasingly exposed to trauma and mental health. As well, due to the limited level of consumption, the children are likely to be malnourished—this increases the risk of maternal and infant mortality. Specifically, Fiala found that the consumption of meat decreased among IDPs in Northern Uganda—the researcher observed that child malnutrition among displaced children in northern Uganda would have a long-term effect on child development (Fiala, 2009). Therefore, the general health amongst IDPs coupled with limited economic growth potential of households is a human security concerns. The general in IDP camps is related to exposure of displaced people to new illnesses in transit and host environments, poor sanitary infrastructure and/or over-crowding, and limited access to clean water and healthcare services.

The fertility outcomes and reproductive health of displaced person depend partly on the sex ratio, age profile and marital status of the displaced population. Forced displacement directly or indirectly impacts upon the population structure, household composition and fertility of displaced populations. The factors of displacement that affect fertility outcomes include family separation, experience of child death and reduced access to food (Karunakara, 2004). Moreover, early marriage may increase among displaced population (Other studies on displacement and fertility are reviewed later). Randall, 2004 compares pre-displacement and post-displacement fertility of 8,270 individuals and provides a conceptualisation of the impacts of displacement on fertility outcomes. Randall looks at biological, biosocial, psychological, socioeconomic and political economic forces that affect demographic outcomes among displaced persons.

Figure 3.4 Key impacts on displaced population



Source: Own elaboration

The studies show that children in displacement face both the short and long-term negative impacts of displacement. But in the long-run some studies identify a range of positive opportunities. Congestion in the IDP camps affects the health of children, but also poor conditions in the returnee communities have a negative effect on the health of both children and adults. Bozzoli and Brück (2010:1) note that children in IDP camps and returnee exhibit the same morbidity rate. The unsafe drinking water in the returnee locations counteracts the positive health effects of decongested camps. The relationship between education and displacement shows that displaced children may be withdrawn from schooling to attend to family members, work within the home, engage in child labour or enter into early marriages. In this case, particular programmes evaluations, like *food for education* in northern Uganda demonstrate how interventions can remedy school-drop-out in camps (Alderman 2008; Lehrer, 2010).

On identity and governance, positive and negative impacts are identified in literature. Displaced people are likely to develop a sense of collectivism—that is to say, people develop a sense of (new or strong) identity based on closer ties in the camp liveli-

hood. In some cases, new leaders may emerge following socio-political self-administration in the camps (Oxford University, 2011:58).

Regarding *human security*[41] and violence, numerous scholarships suggests mechanisms through which displacement affect and reshaped human security. The concerns of human security are around food security and livelihood, and different types of violence. For instance, Adelman et al, 2008, Lehrer, 2010 study the food-for-education programmes in Northern Uganda and shows its effect on the livelihoods. Moreover studies like Hovil, and Moorhead (2002) assess the impact of violence *on the lives of displaced communities—ie. Pader district; they* use testimonies to document the continued insecurity and violence experienced by the displaced persons.

Among IDPs in northern Uganda, Fiala (2009:1) finds that households which originally had little or no assets were likely to be positively affected—in terms of asset value, but all other households are negatively affected—had a 17% and 26% decreases their value of assets. Ssewanyana et al (2007:1) finds that IDP displacement to have no significant impact on expenditures—in the case of "better off household who lose the most….when forced to move to a camps".

The effect of displacement on women´s entry into paid work is a growing field. Some studies postulate a positive effect of displacement on women´s labour participation, but a negative effect for men. For instance, Lehrer's (2010: ii) study of IDPs in Northern Uganda explores the impact of displacement on labour market participation. The findings are that the longer the existence of the camp to which people moved, the less men work. In contrast, women's labour market decisions are not influenced by the age of the Internally Displaced People's camp in which they live.

In general the characteristics of displaced population—gender, age, family size and composition, physical ability, educational levels, existing skills, and nature of social networks—determine the ability of the individuals to respond to challenges of different

[41] The term human security is highly debated. The United Nations Commission on Human Security (2003) defines Human Security as "protecting vital freedoms. It means protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and situations, building on their strengths and aspirations. It also means creating systems that give people the building blocks of survival, dignity and livelihood"

phases of displacement (Oxford University, 2011:45-6). As well, the nature of displacement also matters—for instance, collective mass displacement, in the case of Uganda compared to individual and household based displacement in Colombia have different impacts on the population.

The same review aforementioned highlights three points: First, "a relatively small number of qualitative and quantitative studies have drawn on empirical data to evaluate the economic and social impacts on displaced and hosting communities [both local and national]" secondly, there is "no comprehensive analysis of the overarching costs and benefits of a specific process of displacement on all stakeholders across all levels." Thirdly, most of the existing literature tends to "elide impact studies with general situation reports outlining the living conditions of displaced and host populations and subsequent evaluations of humanitarian/development programmes". Thus, there is absence of a systematic methodological framework drawing on "a comprehensive and meaningful" number of indicators to estimate the costs and benefits of displacement.

3.2.6 The Impact of Conflict and Displacement: Case Evidence

The case studies reviewed here concentrate on case by case findings regarding the impacts of displacement on women's work, social participation and marriage dynamics.

In Colombia, studies undertaken by Calderón and Ibáñez (2009); Calderón, Gáfaro and Ibáñez (2011) among others debate whether it's possible that "conflict empowers women". They found that in the case of Columbia, due to conflict, internally displaced women increased labour market participation in comparison to those who were not displaced. Calderón, Gáfaro and Ibáñez (2011:1) observe that: "displaced women work longer hours, earn wages and contribute in larger proportions to household earnings relative to rural women who remain in rural areas". Nonetheless they find questionable linkage to empowerment when they consider several indicators; they conclude that "their [women] greater contribution to households' earnings does not strengthen their bargaining power."

In Cambodia, the evidence specific to the violent conflict impact suggests that the brutality of the Khmers Rouge regimes/war affected marriage decisions (Heuveline and

Poch (2006). The authors compared the stability of marriage, which took place under the Khmers rouge regime (communist party of Kampuchea in Cambodia) compared with the stability of marriages in adjacent periods. They embarked on three main destabilizing factors on marital stability in Cambodia: the radical reformation of marriage under the Khmers rouges (KR); the imbalanced gender ratio among marriageable adults, resulting from gendered mortality during the KR regime; and, after decades of isolation from the west, a period of rapid social change. They highlight that the effect of the strenuous environment matter more to marital stability than the condition under which spouses were initially paired.

Kondylis´s (2007) study of the post-*war Bosnia and Herzegovina* (BiH) looks at the relationship between *Conflict-induced displacement and labour market outcomes.* This study uses a longitudinal data source. She focuses on selection, gender and labour market participation. Her study finds positive selection into displacement, where more "able" individuals in terms of labour market outcomes are more likely to be displaced, and that displaced Bosnians men and women were less likely to be in work relative to "stayers". The study finds higher unemployment for men, decreases in women's participation with no effect on unemployment once selection was accounted for. The rational provided by the author is that the informality of the labour market in BiH and the destruction of networks are the most plausible explanations for the high cost of displacement in terms of labour market outcomes, and help to explain the lack of an effect on participation for displaced men. She postulates that differences in selection suggest that the experience of war was highly drawn along gender lines and that sociological and cultural factors may also play a significant role.

In a doctoral dissertation, Lehrer 2010 investigates men and women's labour force participation and children's education outcomes using original data collected in Ugandan Internally Displaced People's (IDP) camps in 2005 and 2007. The author uses multiple data source: 1999 Uganda National Household Survey, 2005 baseline study, 2007 resurvey interviewing 76 per cent of the baseline households among other. Lehrer exploits the random nature of the conflict and mass displacement in the region to identify their impacts on behaviour, for instance: 1) the impacts of the food for education programs on primary school participation, cognitive development, and learning achieve-

ment. 2) The impacts on labour market participation. Lehrer found that the longer the existence of the camp to which people moved, the less men work. In contrast, women's labour market decisions were not influenced by the age of the Internally Displaced People's camp in which they live. .The argument is that the development of gender-specific social norms was related to idleness created by displacement than lack of opportunities: therefore, a decline in the percentage of men working in a camp leads to a reduction in the probability that a given man works of the same magnitude. (Lehrer published more than three separate articles from this dissertation, See Lehrer 2009, 2010)

Colin O'Reilly´s 2014 study uses the Living Standards Measurement Survey 2009/10, 2010/2011, and 2011/2012 coupled with the Ugandan National Panel Survey 2005/2006 to assess the impact of returning home from displacement on household consumption, and household assets. The study's findings of 2006 and 2010 indicated a widening gap between returnee households and the non-returnee comparison group in the first four years of return, but that trend was reversed when the study considered the period 2010 to 2012, with high statistical significance. The study suggests that the initial gap in assets was consistent with estimation of a negative impact of displacement, but in the long-run the results support the theory of recovery from displacement via capital accumulation.

In Nepal, Pant, Bijan and Kay (2011) in their study of citizenship rights and women's roles in development in post-conflict of Nepal found that despite human rights abuses, the ten-year conflict in Nepal brought aspects of empowerment to women, changing their role in the family and community, and began to assert their rights as citizens. They relied on the data on women's participation in community development projects to examine how far development agencies in the post-conflict period had succeeded in further women's citizenship rights, and in giving voice to women's concerns and participation.

In sierra Leone, Bellows and Miguel 2009 used information on the voting, attending community meetings, level of political knowledge-ability and engagement in community maintenance project to two groups –those in households that experienced mortality, injury or displacement due to war and other who didn't- they found that those exposed to war effects were more likely to participate in local collective action and to

be politically active. So then specific dimensions like the political equality suggests that political transitions have triggered women's increased participation in civil and political life- the increased role of women in the post-conflict reconstruction often leads to commencement of organizations and networks of or/and for women. Mackenzie, Megan (2009) and Hussainatu, Abdullah, Aisha, Ibrahim and king (2010) focused on the historical trajectories of women's empowerment in Sierra Leone. They highlighted changes that took place in women's lives and the avenues that opened up in Sierra Leone in the time of peace-they find evidence of significant pathways of empowerment in post-conflict Sierra Leone.

De La Puente (2011) studied women's leadership in camps for internally displaced people in Darfur, western Sudan. The paper analyses the potential offered by conflict to transform traditional gender roles and emphasizes the importance of ensuring that humanitarian response international NGOs acknowledge the often ignored role of traditional female community leaders and support women's leadership opportunities more broadly. While Blattman, 2009 found that in Uganda the abduction and ex-combatant – during northern Uganda two decades rebel was- where during the post-war period more political engaged in voting community leadership among, equally when Oosterom (2011) focused on perceptions and practices of citizenship experienced in the post-conflict situation of the Acholi region in northern Uganda. The findings conclude that women have less opportunity to engage in decision-making and realize citizenship rights, something which stems from social-cultural factors well as men were trying to re-establish their authority and doing this by perpetuating stereotypes about gender roles, which deny women equal voice.

In general, some post-conflict nations now top the world on women's representation at national level; for instance, Rwanda has 48.8 per cent of parliamentarians being women. Elsewhere, in South Africa about 32.8 per cent of the political representation is in the hands of women, and Mozambique, Angola, Nepal, Macedonia, and Burundi, which are all post-conflict countries, appear to be among the top 25 countries with 29 per cent or more seats held by women. Moreover, in Liberia and Sierra Leone transitional government introduced women staffing, quotas, and gender specific services (cf

Tripp, 2009). Whilst that is the case, we can't overstate these findings on political participation at national level, the bargain power of women at household is utterly low.

3.2.7 Assessing the Impact of Violent conflict on Fertility

The literature on war, humanitarian crisis and fertility has been dominated by demographers. Most of the literature that links conflict to fertility comes from the relationship between uncertainty and shock on fertility. However, a small number of studies investigate the determinants of fertility in (post-conflict economies (for instance, Henry 1966; Agadjanian and Prata 2002; Woldemicael 2008). A review of research in this field is provided by Hill (2004).

For example, Festy (1984), in his detailed description of the decline of births during the war, postulates that feasible births declined while desired births remained constant. Festy concludes that "the decline of births during hostilities can be seen as a 'mechanical' consequence of the impossibility of procreating, rather than a deliberate attempt to avoid giving birth in such a troubled period".

Caldwell´s (2004) exhaustive analysis of 13 social crises that ranged from the 17th century English Civil War to the fall of communism concluded that the drop in birth-rates were mostly temporary adjustments to the uncertainty of the times.

Lindstorm and Berhanu 1999 study the impacts of conflict on fertility in Ethiopia. They find a sharp temporary decline in fertility during the early years of violent conflict and famine, which was followed by a rebound in fertility. They suggest that Ethiopian couples postpone births as a strategy to avoid impoverishment in the short terms, thus forego the long run benefits that could accrue to them if fewer children are present to secure their own livelihood at old age. However, Lindstorm and Berhanu don´t consider possible differences in impact of war across different segments of the society, like Agadjanian and Prata 2002.

Agadjanian and Prata 2002 examine the temporal variations in the effect of civil war on reproduction together with variations across areas of residence, socioeconomic groups and parity levels. They use data from the national survey-- two years after the end of the outbreak of war in Angola. The research claims that the effect of war and

socioeconomic crisis are related because war conditions may influence demographic behaviour and outcomes both directly—through civilian casualties, forced migration and psychological stress— and indirectly—through a generalized deterioration of socio-economic conditions and social disruptions (2002:215). Their aggregate level study suggests that "Angola's fertility drops during hostilities peak and rebounds in the periods of relative peacefulness, and that these fluctuations are stronger in regions more affected by the fighting than in less affected ones." (2001:329). They conclude that there were no indication that the war wielded any lasting and direct impact on trends in Angola's fertility beyond its generally inhibiting effect on any improvements in social welfare that might otherwise have encouraged some fertility decline.

McGinn (2000), using a reproductive health approach, found that social and demographic factors such as age, socioeconomic status, education and urban/rural residence, as well as access to services, rather than refugee or displaced status in itself, appear to influence fertility desires and health behaviour with respect to reproductive health concerns. McGinn espouses that no common fertility pattern emerges among refugees.

In a more elaborate way, Hill (2004) suggests that Humanitarian crises vary widely in nature and setting, but the variation implies that the affected population experiences one or more of the following adverse consequences: direct exposure to violence, witnessing violence, loss of family members, displacement, food scarcity, increased exposure to communicable diseases, reduced access to health services, plus a range of other socioeconomic setbacks. The effects of conflict/humanitarian crises on fertility will depend on the adverse consequences experienced and on the characteristics of the affected population. In a largely natural fertility population (that is, a population whose fertility-related behaviours do not vary substantially by achieved family size), effects on fertility can be expected to be largely involuntary, except perhaps for changes in the incidence of induced abortion. In contrast, a population with a substantial level of fertility control changes in use of contraception corresponds with changes in fertility preferences (concerning both timing and ultimate family size) resulting from the crisis may be substantial. (For an extensive return of the effect of humanitarian crisis on fertility (cf. Hill, 2004).

De Walque´s 2007 study examined the long-term impact of genocide during the period of the Khmer Rouge regime (1975–79) in Cambodia. The article argues that the very high and selective mortality of the period had a major impact on the population structure of Cambodia. De Walque found that both fertility and marriage rates were extremely low under the Khmer Rouge, but recovered immediately after the regime's collapse. De walque found that the age and education differences between partners tended to decline following the shortage of eligible men.

Other studies include, Verwimp and Van Bavel (2005) who explored the drivers of fertility among Rwandan refugee women and found a decline in fertility. Randall (2005) who found that Tuareg people in Mali maintain constant patterns of fertility and age of marriage in a time period characterized by inter-ethnic conflict and change. Some studies focus on the immediate health consequences of conflict, which, in turn, may have indirect consequences on fertility (e.g. Bozzoli and Brück 2008; Bundervoet et al. 2009; Verwimp and van Bavel 2005).

Recent studies show that due to the high prevalence of death, the pressure to replace the deceased children and warriors influences family size. But still, fertility/family size could fall as a result of stress and uncertainty of displacement which makes childbearing a hard option (McGinn, 2000 p. 174). In the former, shortage of young men due to war deaths is likely to induce young women in early marriage and having children earlier (Schindler and Brück, 2011)..). Implicitly the marriage market is bound to be affected by the conflict.

Vandenbroucke, 2014 studied the relation between fertility and Wars, focusing on the case of World War I in France. This study attempted to examine why the birth rate in France fell by 50 percent. Vandenbroucke builds a model where the war changes the environment facing a household along three dimensions: (i) a positive probability that a wife remains alone; (ii) a partially compensated loss of a husband’s income; (iii) a temporary decline in productivity, followed by faster growth. The analysis is based on prewar data and found that loss of expected income associated with the risk that a wife remains accounted for 91 percent of the decline of the birth rate. The model also predicts an increase in the birth rate after the war, influenced by a catch-up effect.

Also, war and humanitarian crisis are connected to fertility/family size through early marriage and exposure of young girls and boys for sex and violence. For instance, in northern Uganda, internal displacement of thousands of civilians from their home, abduction and sex slavery exposed girls to early sex, rape and HIV infection (Westerhaus et al., 2007, 1184-5). The prevalence of sexual and gender-based violence is difficult to measure, and may be much harder to measure in a war-affected population (Mcgin, 2000). Tyner (2009) divulge into many cases on how war may affect population through voluntary rape, and violence. Rehn and Sirleaf 2002:11 eloquently describe how women, in war, are physically and economically left with little choice but to engage in sex work in exchange for food and shelter, sometimes at the hands of those who would have protected them (government soldiers or international intervention forces). They also note that women are rape and tortured in the presence of their husbands and relatives, pregnant women are beaten and raped by individual or gangs.

Swiss et al., 1998 interviewed a random sample of 205 Liberian women and girls in several sites in Monrovia, Liberia for their experiences of sexual violence by soldiers or fighters— half of the women reported some form of violence, while 15% reported rape. Another WHO study in Monrovia interviewed 450 women and similarly found high levels of sexual violence. They found that one third of the sample reported rape while they found that about 85 per cent of the rapes took place during periods of active fighting.

The most compelling study is that of Urdal that provides channels through which the effect of conflict on fertility varies with the type and duration of a given conflict (Urdal, 2010). The channels range from the individual level (loss children, partner and kinship, women's employment) to regional effects (destruction of health infrastructure and regional employment) and to demographic issues (change in sex ratio, change in number or characteristics of unions). At the individual level replacement fertility may be driven by requirements on household composition to perform various agricultural tasks and to secure a livelihood of mothers at old age. Meanwhile, fertility may decline during conflict because of the devastating effects of trauma on reproductive health, the break-up of marriages and widowhood, displacement, the separation of spouses, the loss of financial ability to support more children, and the loss of health infrastructure, mal-

nutrition, high child and maternal mortality. Most of these studies adopting aggregate factors (malnutrition, child and maternal mortality e.t.c.) concentrate more on the aggregate perspective, hence neglecting the scale of the structural changes induced by mass violent conflict. [The structural changes induced by conflict have been highlighted in the gender focused research, for instance, change in women´s economic role, decision making in the household among others].

3.3 Women's Empowerment: The Traditional Theory and Emerging field

This section does not only review the concept of women's empowerment, but also presents the tenets in the discourse of empowerment at individual-level as complex—both as outcomes or process--to evaluate both theoretical and policy dialogue. Elaboration of the positions taken is done to understand how the current study fits into the larger body of literature on linkages between women's empowerment, fertility behaviours and violent conflict.

3.3.1 Welfare to Empowerment: Introduction

The Gender and development policy framework has evolved through complex *negotiation and academic processes*—from the welfare agenda till the famously used empowerment approach (Harcourt, 2009). In the 1950s, women in the development (WID)[42] discourse emerged. The idea of WID, thereafter an approach, was borne out of the influence of the work of the famous Danish economist Boserup, 1970 on third world development processes. [43] The WID included the welfare approach. The criticism of welfare approach was that: First, it limited the focus to the practical needs of women alone (Moser, 1993; Buvinic, 1983). Second, the approach was deficient of any motive to question or change the traditional roles of women; it was seen to project women as passive rather than active citizenship (Wieringa, 1994).

[42] WID was coined by the women's committee of Washington, DC (Moser, 1993:2).
[43] Boserup, focused on three core aspects: division of labor in agrarian villages, sexual division of labor in towns with sector, economic movements accompanied by economic development. Where she concluded that the process of development affects women's position and situation through sexual division of labor that deteriorated the status of women—other authors in this area of women and development are Buvinic, 1983; Moser, 1989, 1993; Tinker, 1990; Kabeer, 1994, 2001; Sen, A., 1990, 1999 ff; Sen, G., and Grown, (2013).

Gender and development (GAD)[44] was a change in focus to *gender* rather than *women*—as Moser, 1993 notes, it was a change from the perception of women in reference to *sex* (biological differences from men) to gender (social relationship between men and women). So it was driven by the focus on women in relation to men, and the way gender roles are socially constructed. GAD did not only focus on economic needs, but also questions of power between women and men (Harcourt, 2009), it's aimed at the practical and strategic development needs through challenging existing power relations. GAD approach involved consolidation of mainstreaming approach in all policies and programs to emphasize empowerment and Human Rights. In brief, The GAD approach, firstly, identify the unequal power relations between women and men. Secondly, it re-examines all social, political and economic structures and development policies from the perspective of the gender differentials. And third, it recognizes that achieving gender equality and equity demands "transformative" change in gender relations from household to global. Within GAD, the empowerment approach ensues. From here-on the main focus is on women´s empowerment.

3.3.2 Empowerment –Theoretical and Methodological Consideration

Empowerment is identified as a principal theoretical approach to gender and development (Alsop, Bertelsen and Holland, 2006) and a key concept for women to remedy inequalities and achieve better and fairer distribution of resources within the household, community and national level (Kabeer, 1994, 1999, 2001; Oxaal and Baden, 1997; Malhotra, et al., 2002). The empowerment theory links individual wellbeing with the broader social and political environment.

The most widely used definition of Empowerment is by Kabeer. Kabeer observes empowerment: as*"....expansion of people's ability to make strategic life choices in the context where that ability was previously denied to them."* (Kabeer, 2001: 40). She stresses that there is a risk of measuring women's empowerment either as transformation within the existing 'norms' or keeping the status quo in some dimensions. Other

[44] Policies based on GAD approach are emblematic of the UN World Conference on Women in Beijing 1995, Millennium Development Goals and the Paris Declaration and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

definitions attempt to operationalize empowerment as a process and or outcome in itself (Malhotra et al., 2002). Whereas, Amartya Sen perceives that women´s empowerment should alter *"the relations of power… which constrain women's options and autonomy and adversely affect health and well-being"* (Sen, 1993). Thus for empowerment to become a meaningful concept, it should be understood as a process of change (Czuba, 1999). As well, empowerment is conceived as: 1). multi-dimensional—it occurs within familial/interpersonal, sociological, psychological, economic, and political, legal etc. 2) a social phenomenon—occurs in relationship to others, and a process—along a continuum. 3). Occurring at various levels, such as individual/household, group, and community (Malhotra, et al., 2002:13).

3.3.3 The Concept of Power

The construct "empowerment" has it´s thrust in the idea of power. Some authors have argued power, primarily, as *zero sum*s–where one wins and the other losses. A zero-sum conception of power means that power will remain in the hands of the powerful unless they give it up. The other form of power is the *non-zero sum,* where one person's gain is not necessarily another's loss.

Traditional social science emphasizes power as an influence and control, originating from human action. For instance, power is often related to our ability to make others do what we want, regardless of their own wishes or interests (Weber, 1946). This dominant-power comes in the form of: *Power over, which* can be demonstrated in three ways: First, one actor may dominate the other and in the end takes the dominant category, such power is negative and controlling -– husbands in this case may exercise '*power over*' the Subordinate others – the wives. These social actors are categorized into the *powerful and powerless* because one surrenders the decision making apparatus to another (Dahl, 1971). Nonetheless, conflicts between actors are inherent in the process of reaching decisions. The second way of expressing *power over* is portrayed as a movement from overt to covert expressions—setting the agenda (Bachrach and Baratz 1970). In this regard, there is evidence of reaching a decision making situation, but use of tactics for legitimization of some voices and discrediting others is at play. The third nature of *power over* is illustrated in the work of Lukes (1974) who illustrates *power over* arising from manipulation of the consciousness of the less powerful, so that they are inca-

pable of seeing that a conflict exists—in this way avoidance of direct conflict in decision making is avoided. [45] Lukes observes that power is inherent in the interest of the powerful. Thus by using false consciousness, the power possessed by one actor, say husband, distorts knowledge of the truth to the other-say the wife. [46]

Related to Lukes position, Sen states that legitimisation of unequal power relations comes with the weaker party being an accomplice. The Noble prize winner Sen. Amartya in his work entitled "Gender and Cooperative Conflicts" (1987, 1990) rightly puts it that historically acute inequality has sufficed for the reason that… [T]he underdog comes to accept the legitimacy of the unequal order and becomes an implicit accomplice" (Sen 1990:126). On the other hand, Agarwal 1997 provides an adjacent approach to *gender and cooperative* approach of Sen. The bargaining approach—as a framework for analysing gender relations, includes explanation how gender asymmetries are constructed and contested.—Agarwal addresses gender differences in intra-households bargaining power in relation to subsistence setting were command over land has special importance and governs social norms—which inhibit informal specifications of bargaining. These social norms are very elusive. . The bargaining approach and the gender and cooperative conflict approach attempt to complement each other.

Contemporary research on power has opened new perspectives that reflect aspects of power that are non-zero-sum, but shared, collaborative and mutual in nature. There is *power with, power to and Power within* (Rowland 1997: 12 -13).[47] Rowland finds that for power-within "…. control becomes internalized…., [Here] overt use of power [power over] is no longer necessary"-thus the oppressed party, say the women, can own up her opinion and come to believe that she has no opinion of her own thus concedes to the other or the societal dimension of power. Moreover, *Power to* enshrine in generative

[45] Steven Lukes prepositioned a theory of power referred to as the third-dimension of power. Lukes foresaw power where people are subject to domination and acquiesce in that domination. Although critiques indicate that the theory denies the agent's privileged access to their own reason of actions. One aspect in Luke's argument is that people willingly comply in the patterns of normative control thus attempting to locate the sense of freedom or autonomy in relationship to patterns of power that exist. (For a detailed review, see the article of Keith Dowding of the London school of economics and political science titled Three-dimensional power: A discussion of Steven Luke´s power: A radical view Political Studies Review 2006 Vol 4 136 -145)

[46] Lukes 1974 postulates that power will be seen and understood differently by people who inhabit various positions in power structures

[47] Rowland challenges women's empowerment research in her book titled Questioning Empowerment -the book is a shortened and edited version of her PhD thesis that explores the concepts and practices of women's empowerment in Honduras.

and productive power. Rowland illuminates that power to generate a portion in one or equips one with that ability to achieve beyond existing boundaries. Meanwhile *Power with* refers to collective action, recognizing that more can be achieved by a group acting together than by individuals alone – in case of gender, for instance, women may *adhere to the condition/virtues of a "good wife" in the homes yet collectively she uses women grouping as an avenue to challenge subordination by their husbands.*[48] However, there are other ways of modelling power than these.

Hayward (2000) in giving value to individual and group identities situates power and power relation differently (from those reviewed earlier on). Hayward observes power not in terms of instruments that the powerful agents use to prevent the powerless from acting freely, but rather focuses on power as *social boundaries* that, together, define *fields of action for all actors* (ibid 2000:5). Hayward says, to *de-face power* is to emphasize that social boundaries to action circumscribe all social action. Thus, mechanisms as *social boundaries or power-boundaries* define and delimit *fields of action* (ibid 2000:12), and link power to freedom and power relation.

3.3.4 Feminist Perspectives on Power

Power is clearly a central concept of feminist theory. Nonetheless, the literature on power is marked by widespread disagreements over how the term *power* should be understood. Allen, 2014 reviews the tenets in feminist approach to power and identifies three main ways in which feminists have conceptualized power: 1) *power* as a resource to be (re) distributed; 2) *power* as domination, 3) *power* as empowerment. We look at each of these feminist positions below.

Power as a Resource: Liberal Feminist Approaches

Liberal feminists view power as a positive social resource that ought to be fairly distributed. The conceptualization of power in form of a resource has followed the un-

[48] This component is enshrined in the debate on the powerlessness (or power) which is vast and different , on this Kabeer suggests common factor within the empowerment of women that as women many of they are all constrained by she single out as the norms, beliefs, customs and values for which societies primarily differentiate between women and men (Kabeer 2000, p.22). Mosedale 2003 p.3 elaborates that variation of women's powerlessness (or power) are generated by culture and overtime manifest through women's lower incomes relative to men, relative survival rates of girl and boy children and as well in severe restrictions on women's mobility.

derstanding of power as a *positive social good* that is unequally distributed amongst women and men. The goal of feminists who understand power as a resource is redistribution of this resource such that women will gain power equal to men. The work of liberal feminists which follows this conceptualization of power as a resource includes that of Mill (1970) and Okin (1989). Okin maintains that power is "critical social goods", in a way that the gender-structured family unjustly distribute the benefits and tasks of household life between husbands and wives. In this argument, power is seen by Okin as a social good—which permits the perception of power in aspects like work (paid and unpaid), power, prestige, self-esteem, opportunities for self-development, and both physical and economic security. These host socially constructed inequalities (Okin, 1989:136).

Power as Domination

The feminists have often postulated an understanding of power not only as power-over, but as a specific kind of power-over relation that is illegitimate or unjust--*oppression, patriarchy, subjection* etc. Among the group that sees power as domination, Young is one. Young criticizes the distributive model and propagates conceptualizing power not as a resource, but instead as a relation of domination. Young argues against perceiving power in distributive model terms, which is, as something that can be possessed, but advocates for a view of power as a relation, not something that can be distributed or redistributed. According to Young, the distributive model is obstructive to understanding the structural topographies of domination. This is because social relations are strongly explained by "domination and oppression" (Young 1990).

The feminist use *domination* to refer to unjust or oppressive power-over relations; this has followed approaches like: Phenomenology; Radical feminism; Socialist feminism; Post-structuralism; Analytic philosophy

Phenomenological Feminist Approaches: Beauvoir seems to be the emblem of feminist phenomenological approaches to theorizing male domination. Beauvoir argues that whereas men have assumed the status of the transcendent subject, women have been relegated to the status of the immanent *other*—she [the female] is inessential as opposed to the essential while the men is the Subject, he is the absolute — she is the other

(Beauvoir, xxii). She maintains that women are oppressed because they are conditioned to assume the status of the other, doomed to immanence (xxxv). In this way, the cultural and social conditions deny women the transcendence because they are bound to immanence even though they are capable of transcendence as self-conscious human beings.

Radical Feminist Approaches: The radical feminists tend to understand power in terms of dyadic relations of dominance/subordination, often conceived almost as the relationship between master and slave. The work of MacKinnon symbolized the postulation of domination to understand gender difference—MacKinnon say through the domination argument that men are powerful and women are powerless by definition. "[The] difference is the velvet glove on the iron fist of domination. The problem is not that differences are not valued; the problem is that they are defined by power" (MacKinnon 1989, 219). In this case, male domination is pervasive and women are powerless, such that female power is "a contradiction in terms, socially speaking" (MacKinnon 1987:53) — the critic is that MacKinnon´s denies women's agency and presents them as helpless victims (cf. Butler 1997).

Socialist Feminist Approaches: Marx is said to overlook women's reproductive labour in the home and the exploitation of this labour in capitalist modes of production. The traditional Marxist account of power, domination in the model of class exploitation--domination results from the capitalist appropriation of the surplus value that is produced by the workers—it is considered gender-blind (see, Rubin 1976 among others, see review by Allen, 2014). Due to the gender-blindness, socialist feminists favour a dual system theory (see, Eisenstein 1979). The dual system theory considers the centrality of male domination or patriarchy--gender oppression of women and the system of the mode of production and class relations produces the class oppression and work alienation of most women (Young 1990:21). The outcome is retaining the Marxism theory of economic and social relations, basically unchanged, but on to it a theory of gender relations is merely grafted (see critic from Young 1990: 24).

Intersectional Approaches: The goal of inter-sectionalist is to develop a single framework for analysing *power* that encompasses gender, class, and race-based subordination, and their complex interconnections. They intersectional approach promotes analysis of

"interlocking systems of oppression" to explore macro-level connections linking systems of oppression such as race, class, and gender (cf. Allen, 2014).

Poststructuralist Feminist Approaches: Post-structuralist feminist's work has been inspired by Foucault (cf. Foucault 1977, 1978, and ff). To Foucault "power is everywhere, not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere" (1978:93). Foucault's analysis of power has arguably been the most influential discussion of the topic over the last thirty years—he offers a "micro-physics" of modern power (1977:26) --how power flows through the capillaries of the social body. Foucault maintains that, "power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth" (1977:194). Many other scholars like Judith Butler draw insight from his analysis. Butler expands further on the Foucault´s notion of subjection (see Butler, 1997:2).

Analytic Feminist Approaches: The analytic feminist approach revolves around the work of Cudd, who notes that oppression is based on group condition, harm condition, the coercion condition and the privilege condition. In group condition individuals are subjected to unjust treatment because of their membership—as a result, individuals are systematically and unfairly harmed as a result of such membership (harm condition). The harm suffered is related to unjustified coercion (coercion condition); in turn the coercion yields the privilege condition. Therefore, Cudd defines oppression as "an objective social phenomenon" drawn from the four conditions (Cudd 2006, 23).

Power as Empowerment

Most of the feminists who embrace this transformative or empowerment-based conceptualization of power plainly define it as an ability or capacity and present it as an alternative to the male dominant notions of *power-over*. Hartsock suggests that the feminist theory of power is that of understanding of power "as energy and competence rather than dominance" (Hartsock 1983:224). Here *power* is perceived as capacity or empowerment. Various strands in the discussion of power as empowerment and the position taken by this research are presented below.

3.3.5 The Approach to Empowerment Taken

Kabeer defines *power* as the ability to make choices, and *dis-empower* as to be denied choice (1999, 2001). Empowerment then includes *a process of change* in which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such ability. [49] For choice to constitute power, the choices have to be *strategic life choices*; these are critical choices for one to live the life they want (strategic life choices or first order-choices may include, whether to marry and who to marry, or whether to have children and how many children to have). In the same light, Alsop, Bertelsen and Holland, 2006:10 states the empowering process involves enhancing an individual‘s or group‘s capacity to make effective choices such that choices are made and then to transform those choices into desired actions and outcomes. This power should increase freedom of choice and action to shape their own lives (cf. Narayan 2005:4).

Kabeer, 2001:437 conceptualizes power as being comprised of three interrelated dimensions: *resources, agency and achievements*. Resources include material and various human and social resources that heighten the possibility to exercise choice—access to resources reflects rules and norms which give different actor's authority.[50] These resources, according to Kabeer, can be “actual allocations as well as future claims and expectations.” The agency refers to the ability for one to define and act upon goals. This agency is often operationalized as decision making[51]—this agency can be exercised at the individual and collective level.[52] In a practical sense, resources encompasses the capacity or facilitating factors that allow women to exercise agency, entitlement to and ownership of land and income, and position within the household, membership of community organizations.

At this point, Kabeer and Amartya Sen, 1985, 1999 ideas converge. Sen considers Resources and agency as *capabilities*. Sen 1999:190 observes that “understanding the

[49] For quantification of choice, Kabeer claims that choice must imply the possibility of alternatives; such that empowering someone's ability to exercise meaningful choice is essential (Kabeer, 2001:437)
[50] Acquiring of resource is governed by social relations in institutional domains within the society, such as family, market, community (Kabeer, 2001).
[51] Agency can mean bargain, deception, manipulation, subversion, resistance and cognitive like analysis and reflection (Kabeer, 2001:438)
[52] Kabeer elucidates on the positive negative agency, which grounds the discussion in this review of power to—positive agency and power over—negative agency

agency role is central to recognizing people as responsible persons […] we act or refuse to act, and can choose to act one way rather than another." The agency of an individual is considered to be strongly determined by people's individual assets (such as land, housing, livestock, savings) and capabilities of all types: human (such as good health and education), social (such as social belonging, a sense of identity, leadership relations) and psychological (self-esteem, self-confidence, the ability to imagine and aspire to a better future), and by people's collective assets and capabilities, such as voice, organization, representation and identity.

The agency construes women's relative power in reproductive decision making and achievements of Ideal family on another. Literature on family size behaviours suggests that in contexts where gender norms dictate that women shouldn't participate in family size decisions, they need a level of resource and agency to make reproductive choices and achieve Ideals—implicitly power in sexual relationships has an effect on reproductive health outcomes and decisions (Blanc 2001; Upadhyay and Karasek, 2012). Reproductive decision making between partners is, however, a critical part of agency and important precondition for preventing coercive sex (Jejeebhoy and Bott, 2005).

Achievements are the outcomes of the exercise of choice, such as the use of health services or enrolment into school; these are determined by resources and agency. These achievements occur within an opportunity structure. The opportunity structure composes of both the institutional climate and the social and political structures/context of formal and informal rules and norms within which actors pursue their interests—the opportunity structure is related to power and agency. Interaction between agency and opportunity structure leads a process of "increasing-power" (Kabeer, 1999; Narayan, 2005; Alsop and Heinsohn, 2005; and Alsop, Bertelsen and Holland, 2006).

3.3.6 The Relations between Empowerment and Fertility Change

In general, fertility in developing countries is suggested to be influenced by the socio-economic status of each woman and her spouse (age, ethnicity, religion, education and employment), partnership characteristics (marital status and duration, polygamy), knowledge of and access to contraception, local characteristics (including health infra-

structure and child mortality), and institutional arrangements (such as social support mechanisms). (Schindler and Brück, 2011:3).

It is important to note the long standing hypotheses of fertility in the developing world; although they may not necessarily apply to family size behaviours of conflict-affected people. Clay and Vander Haar`s (1993) review shows that there are three prominent themes in fertility research on Third-World settings, which maintain that parents in Third-World settings often prefer a high level of childbearing in order to improve their own social and economic well-being. These themes are: the old-age security hypothesis (cf.Willis 1979; Nugent, 1985), the social-mobility hypothesis (cf. Sobel, 1985) and wealth-flows theory (Caldwell 1978).

Other prominent models include the quality-quantity trade-offs and or opportunity costs (Becker and Lewis 1973; Becker 1981) and the models of female empowerment and resources access (Cf. Handwerker 1988, 1991). A detailed review of various fertility theories is done by Kaplan, (1994).

This review will draw emphasis on the model of female empowerment and resources access. The resource access theory (Handwerker, 1991) shows that deeply rooted cultural values cannot explain why fertility continues to be high, say in Africa—unless structural limitation in social relations[53] are well understood. *Power relations*[54] attached to resources ownership limited the possibilities of one (especially women) to act. The access to resources determines relative power of social actors. According to Handwerker, the relative power of actors generates "both social properties and moral percept" that interpret behaviors of individuals in acceptable ways. Access to resources provides opportunities, the existence of opportunities gives power to people who did not have it—it's likely to take power away from those who had it, this shift in power has what Handwerker calls "moral ambiguity and conflicting moral perception". In a gender

[53] Handwerker, 1991 suggests that individuals or organizations/structures that either stands between the other or the resources that a person needs to live *(act as a gatekeeper*), or that constitutes a means, or channel through which that person can gain access to resources, have power over the other.
[54] Handwerker considers that *power* is ability to influence or control the behavior and beliefs of others even without their consent.

perspective, the balance of obligations and the reversed flow of materials benefits may create conflict.[55]

Summarily, children constitute an investment activity for women with less access to resources, whose material wellbeing is dependent either directly or indirectly on their children. (High fertility may be a means that women (and men) can use to gain access to resources). Implicitly children stop to function as resource channel when resource access opportunities increase and become a function of skills and competences (the effect of education and paid work contributes to skills and competence (cf. Kabeer,2001; Sen, 1999). The exceptions are that increase in people's standard of living may increase fertility, not lower it. Education is likely to have no effect on fertility unless women use it to accumulation resources to surpass the resources that accrue directly or indirectly through children (Handwerker, 1991).

Following Handwerker 1991, 1993 findings, Women's educational attainment is a function of improved employment opportunities; education together with expanding employment opportunities has everything to do with change in fertility. But education attainment by itself self has little to do, especially in developing economy context. Handwerker demonstrates that fertility transition is a function of women's power—Handwerker's argument is that high fertility in African is because African women have not been empowered to pursue goals independently of their childbearing capacity. Handwerker, 1989 claimed that family planning alone can't stop women in developing countries from having large families, but rather for improved access to resources can induce women to control their fertility. But social relations matter—the hierarchies of power and power relationships, if having many children increase her access to resources (entitlement through children), she will have more and the reverse is likely to occur.

The agency theoretical narrative focuses on women not as passive recipients of welfare-enhancing help, but active agents of change. Sen, 1999 suggests that agency role must be as much concerned with women's wellbeing. He laments: "not only are

[55] Such conflict may be in form of domestic violence, overtly or covertly manifested (Kabeer, 1994, El-Bushra and Sahl, 2005; Nassbaum, 2000 among others from different field sight, at length, this conflict of power as men loss control over the economic or social control of the family).

we well or ill, but also we act or refuse to act, and choose to act one way rather than another." Women's work outside the home and earning an independent income tends to have a clear impact on enhancing the social standing of women in the household and society. There is more visibility and voice in women's contribution to family because of being less dependent on others (Sen, 1990: Kabeer, 2001). The "agency role of women" is also particularly important for the reduction of fertility rates Sen 1999:198.

The high birth-rate adversely denies substantial freedoms through persistent childbearing and childrearing routinely imposed on women—in Asia and Africa. Enhancement of women's status and power is likely to reduce birth rates. Thus, there is a connection between women's wellbeing and women's agency.

What education may do is to raise the horizon in which women visualize themselves at a higher level where excess childbearing impedes that horizon. And, educated women are more likely to access more family planning information or knowledge. In such, educated women tend to have greater freedom to exercise agency in the family decisions, including the issues of childbirth and fertility (Sen, 1999:199). Women's property rights also have a similar effect on fertility through an increasing female agency (Sen, 1999; Kabeer, 2001; Nussbaum,). Perception of entitlement—individual contribution and appropriate entitlement—of women are bound by circumstance like women's ability to earn an independent income, to work outside the home, to be educated and to own property. So if this perceive entitlement is high, women's agency and voice can influence private and public discussion on topics, including acceptable fertility rates (Sen, 1999:193).

3.3.7 Women's Empowerment, Violent conflict and Recovery

The debate of women´s empowerment after conflict is growing and less clear. Following a study of 125 women who had lived through violent political conflict in four middle-income countries—Colombia, Indonesia, Philippines, and Sri Lanka--, Petesch, (2011) found two aspects to reflective women´s empowerment arising from violent conflict:

"First, the women living in communities directly affected by violent political conflict rated more highly on empowerment measures than the women living in communities that did not experience conflict. Second, once the violence drew to a close, the set of conflict-affected communities that experienced the most rapid recovery and poverty reduction were also characterized by more empowered women than the set of conflict-affected communities with lower rates of poverty reduction" (Petesch, 2011:i)

Petesch uses life stories and a conceptual framework of empowerment, which draws on the "interaction between *women's agency* and *the opportunity structures* present in their [women] communities." In her analysis for a women to attain a rating of *substantially empowered*, she had to "exercised independent control in at least three of the following areas: (a) education, (b) work, (c) marriage and childbearing, (d) nonfamily friendships, (e) membership in a local group, or (f) political engagement." Her findings suggest that although conflict and recovery bring great suffering, they as well presented "new opportunities for many women as traditional local structures, livelihoods, and gender norms [are] disrupted."

El-Bushra and Sahl in a study supported by ACCORD provide comparative study ofthe impact of war on gender relations in five communities, each from a different conflict-affected country in Africa. In all five cases, war reduced men's economic roles while "propelling women into greater economic activity" (El-Bushra and Sahl, 2005:87). They observe women´s gain of authority in the household, but not in the wider community.

Kumar (2001) studies six countries and finds that the effect of war on women led to higher rates of female economic participation, mainly in agriculture and the informal economy. And, that there was increase in women's political participation and collective action across the case study countries during the conflict, but women withdraw from most of the public life after the conflict and men reasserted authority in those positions.

The report by Bridge (El Jack, 2003) states; "… small gains women obtain during displacement do not necessarily translate to more equitable gender relationships. These gains are usually not accompanied by any overall changes in the gender paradigm of

gender differences, leaving the women with new roles to fulfil but no institutional leverage to fulfil effective." In the delineation, Brück and Vothknecht´s (2007:1) review suggests that present of high rates of domestic violence are indications of likely rollback of women´s gains during conflict and a return to the pre-war gender roles.

Plan International (2008:32) the static nature or reinforcement of traditional gender role of protection: "… in times of political, economic and social uncertainty there is a strong tendency to revert to traditional values which appear to provide protection to women and girls…..which may exclude them from external activities such as friends, going to clubs and even going to school."

Women in post conflict dominate the civic organisation like a church group, self-help e.t.c (Kumar, 2001; Rehn and Sirleaf, 2002). They also enter the national stage. Tripp (2009) found that in Rwanda women's organizations sprung as a result of changes in women's condition and new consciousness. For Tripp' s analysis, during post-conflict, new constitutions and legal frameworks are set up that favour women, elections are held with more women's representation, spontaneous development and reconstruction activities lead to new employment opportunities, and transition to 'democracy' can allow for discussion of equal rights for women and men (Tripp, 2009). However, large empirical studies on civic participation of females are lacking due to an absence of social cohesion or social capital and political engagement studies or information. Bellows and Miguel (2006, 2009)find a causal relationship between exposure to violent conflicts and civic engagement—and development of new institutions in conflict-affected communities. Even though it is argued that women are most likely to be socially engaged in civic groups within conflict-affected communities, in some case, like in Uganda, Deluca and Verpoorten (2011) found no significant differences in social engagement between female and male respondents.

In general, the argument is that during armed conflict and displacement, women start to replace men as breadwinners, since many male partners leave home for war. This trend espouses new socioeconomic norms around work and household decisions (Bop, 2001; de Walque 2006; El Bushra et al., 2002; Kumar, 2001; Menon and Rogers, 2011; Shemayakina, 2009; Zukerman and Greenberg, 2004). Therefore, the economic role of women's during and (shortly) after the conflict can facilitate promotion of gen-

der equality after the conflict. However, these opportunities are often the low skilled jobs and in the informal sector (Kumar, 2001; Sorensen, 1998; Women for Women, 2010). Yet, in some cases, women´s decision in the household is temporary, whereby the conditions eventually return to the pre-war gender roles—and some dimensions of power relation suggest that the ideologies are static (El-Bushra, 2003; Abdullah, Ibrahim and King, 2010).

3.4 Conceptual Framework: Violent conflict, Family dynamic and Women´s Power

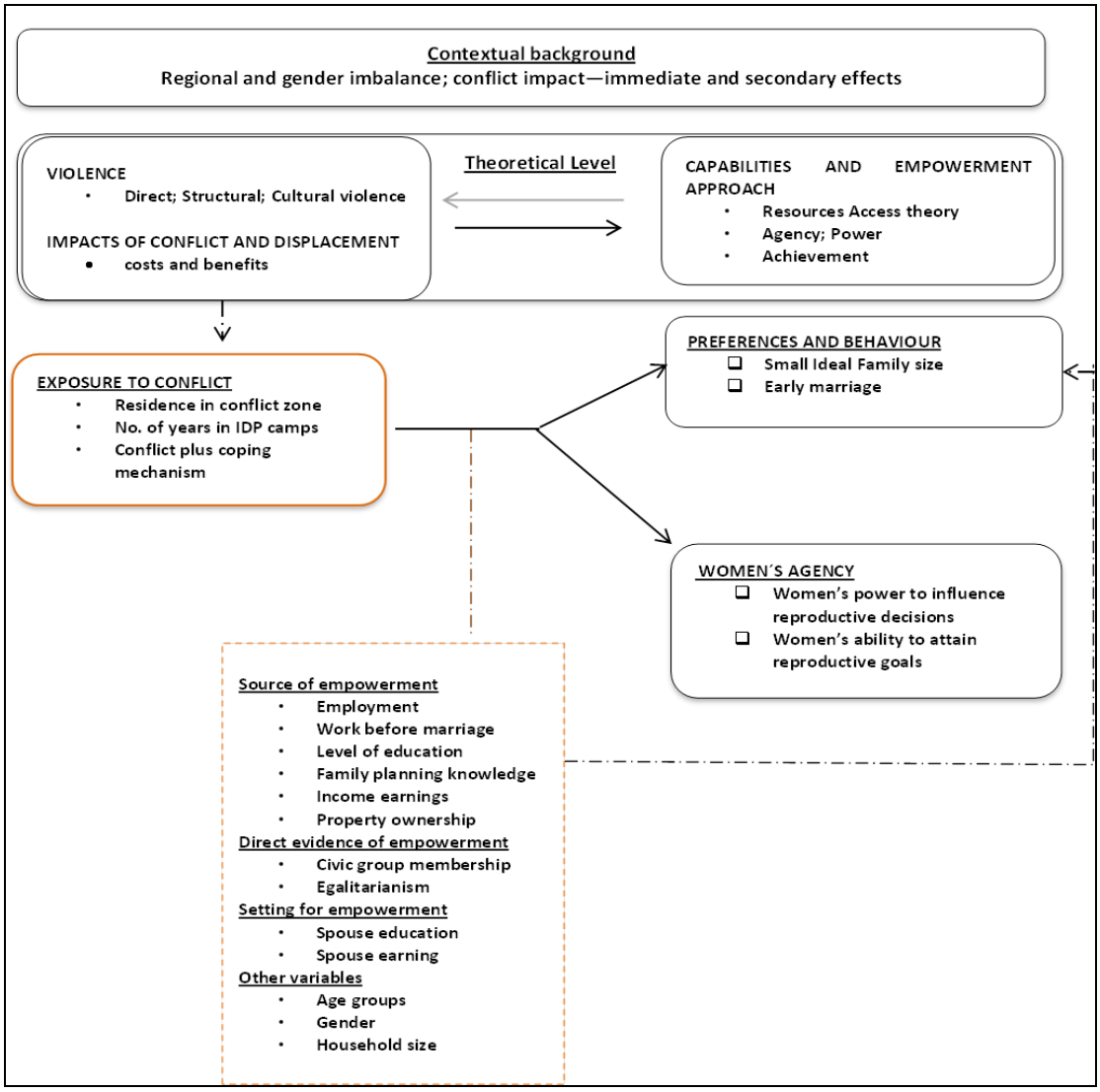
Violent conflicts shape the lives and are shaped by the behaviours of individual—related to family dynamics and women´s power. The conceptual framework, laidout in Figure 3.5, considers violent conflict as direct violence (Galtung, 1969), which within the context of direct violence reinforces structural and cultural violence while the latter as well cause direct violence (Ibid, 1975, 1990). So direct violence is the visible form of violence, yet structural and cultural violence are invisible or tend to be (see details in point 3.2.1of the literature review chapter, page 47ff). Violence is seen as deprivation of human needs (Galtung, 1990:292) or deprivation of freedom to be or to do what one values (Sen, 1999 ff)—this is how violence is related to the empowerment approach—for instance women´s agency and resources (the capabilities). Sen, 1999:15-17 states that deprivation of freedom pertains to denying the processes that allow freedom of actions and decisions, and the actual opportunities the people have within their personal and social circumstances.

In Figure 3.5 the framework of the study shows the main effect measured by: exposure to conflict zone, displacement in the IDP camps affects the processes and opportunities that allow freedom of action and decision. The effect of exposure to conflict may affect the existing asymmetries of power within the structure such that freedom and power to access resources is gained by those who never had it before. Nonetheless, the violent conflicts may potentially destructs various production inputs that the average level of entitlement is likely to decline (cf. Stewart and FitzGerald, 2001). Therefore, conflicts may change the entire regimes and institutions—thereby affecting the overt and covert incentives and/or constrain people's daily lives (Verwimp, Justino and Bruck,

2009:308). Within conflict-affected communities, agency and resource may depend on individual's coping strategies—the centrality of coping mechanisms is visible in the framework, whereby coping strategies during conflict may affect the preferences and behaviours as well as women's agency. For instance, the coping strategies, like finding an economic activity in the camp or during war time, may negatively or positively affect post-conflict preference from children and the chance of early marriage of young women etc. Positive coping strategies may come with increase women's engagement in paid work and family size decisions. Clearly, the existing evidence suggests that coping strategies and activity choices which are related to the markets enable households (and individuals) to make welfare gains (Bozzoli and Bruck, 2009).

The effect of the conflict is assumed to be linked to the social, economic and political impact of violence and displacement on the household/individual unit (Brück and Schindler, 2007). For instance, the direct and indirect effects of conflict (see Keen, 2001) affect the boundaries of the household, the activities and gender roles (see Justino, 2009; El Bushra, 2003). The effects of the conflict often forces women to adopt new roles notably as household heads or breadwinners (Bop, 2001, 19–34; de Walque 2006; El bushra et al, 2002; Kumar, 2001).

Figure 3.5 The conceptual framework of this study



Source: own elaboration

Menon and Rogers, 2011; Schnidler, 2010; Shemayakina, 2009; Zukerman and Gren, 2004). Women take up the economic earning roles during and (shortly) after the conflict—such that labor market participation during and after the conflict increases in ways that were never existing in the pre-war, while men´s labour participation declines (see Kondylis, 2008-, Lehrer, 2010), however in the low skilled jobs and in the informal sector (Kumar, 2001; Sorensen, 1998). There is limited research connection the conflict and displacement to family size behaviour, this framework attempts to demonstrate a

linkage—between conflict and displacement, plus coping mechanisms and fertility or marriage behaviours. These are seen as preference and behaviours as well as agency.

In the framework, Figure 3.5 above, the individuals/household while reacting to the new challenges are likely to be constrained in their choices of coping strategies and activities. In such situation, women and men have to cope—some studies find that people's coping strategies are related to their entitlements like land and other assets (Brück and Schindler, 2007).Clearly, coping strategies are critical to how that household advances. The inability to cope may affect the possibilities of communities/households/individuals to move out of the conflict choice of activities to earn a livelihood while the ability to cope may elevate the possibilities and choices of groups and individuals.

The experience of violent conflict and its legacy in the post-war period may influence the way women and men perceive the environment in which they live. Thus exposure to conflict may inform research on what exposed and non-exposed individuals expect their future wellbeing to be or their family size preferences. Any supportive policy intervention to improved security and post-conflict development aid may allow war-affected women and men to rebuild assets and livelihoods to the level of the non-war affected counterparts (Bozzoli, Brück, and Muhumuza, 2011). This implies that if Individuals benefit from recovery, they are likely to be optimistic.

The effects of the conflict may change the people's marriage norms—girls and boys may marry-off earlier and family size preferences change directly or through sources of empowerment and social effect. In some case, the new gains –economic roles, increase in civic group participation among others--may be permanent that displacement or post-displacement may leads to weakening or reinforcement of traditional patriarchal values. There may be negative effect of women's power in the household, for instance, men's attempt to reassert their position through domestic violence (El Bushra, 2003).

The plausible outcomes are that conflict may influence the actual choices of family size, marriage behaviours, and women's labour participation and also shape the formation of family goals within their opportunity structure—the opportunity structure

provides options to individuals, which not only influence their actual choice but also shape their formation of goals and preferences (Burchardt, 2009). Moreover, the framework assumes that family size outcomes would be influenced by the change in social relations due to conflict and post-conflict dimension in the household.[56]

The sources of empowerment, setting of empowerment and evidence of empowerment (See Figure 3.5) may be affected by the conflict indiscreetly (this channel is not covered by the current research). However, the effect these aspects are controlled for in the analysis. Theoretically, a smaller ideal family size seems to be a plausible result of women's empowerment—the more empowered women will desire more roles beyond motherhood and greater opportunities for themselves and for her children. However, limiting family size to the desired entails not only resources and access to control method, but also a change in social factors.

This implies that for women to influence reproductive goals, their level of empowerment is a pathway through which high women's power and resources stimulate their desire for expansion of "life opportunities" and reduce their "ideal number of children" (Upadhyay and Karasek, 2012). This requires that women have the ability to make this strategic choice (cf. Kabeer 2001). A woman's ideal number of children and ability to attain that ideal is likely to be affected by her social and demographic characteristics. Such as, age, household asset, social networks, and husband's characteristics.

3.5 Research Problem and Hypotheses Elaborated

The scholarship on the impacts of violent conflict has focused on various ways conflicts may affect the individual or household dimensions. Macro-level research has shown that violent conflict negatively impacts common measures of fertility behaviours (Louis, 1966; Lindstorm and Berhanu 1999; McGinn, 2000; Agadjanian and Prata 2002; Hill 2004; Caldwell, 2004; Verwimp and van Bavel 2005; de Walque, 2007; Shemyakina 2009; Abramitzky, Delavande and Vasconcelos, 2011). This macro-level analysis

[56]. Social relations are not fixed or immutable; they can and do change through factors such as macro changes and human agency. They differ between cultures; they constitute other forms of social difference like age, class, and race, among others (Kabeer, 1994).

often overshadows structural and social factors at the micro-level. However, the emerging research on the effect of violent conflict suggests that individual behaviour and welfare are affected in gender disproportionate ways (El-Bushra, 2003; El-Bushra and Sahl, 2005), and household coping strategies employed during the conflict matters (Justino, 2009; Buvinic et al., 2013). So, given that gender roles and identities are likely to change the household decision making and welfare there is a need for empirical studies to understand the possibilities of women´s empowerment in the post conflict communities. This study adds a number of dimensions to the literature by exploring the link between violent conflict and family size behaviours, entry into marriage, women's participation in paid work and Ideal family size in the conflict-affected and non-conflict-affect communities of Uganda.

The research problem is presented with two questions in an attempt to investigate the cause-effect relationship as well as studying the experiences of individuals and key experts. These questions are presented below:

- To what extent does the effect of regional and temporal exposure to the LRA conflict influence individual behaviours regarding family size, marriage and women's power to attain family size and paid work in six communities in Uganda?

First, the study argues that ideal family size in itself depicts decision making, and in turn women's empowerment. The effect of exposure to conflict- and IDP camps on individual's opinions regarding IFS provides information on both direct and indirect effects of violent conflict on family behaviours. The direct effects are often negative. On other hand, the indirect effects include conflict-induced women's participation in paid work and decisions within the household. The objective of this question is to examine the effect of regional and temporal exposure to armed conflict on ideal family size preference, entry into marriage and women's participation in paid work and attainment of family size ideal. The regional exposure to conflict is based on the matching of districts in Uganda in conflict-affected and non-conflict affected. Meanwhile, the temporal exposure to conflict is sought using the time an individual spent in IDP camps.

- How appropriate is the effect of exposure to conflict for `reconceptualising` individual behaviours related to family size, marriage and women's power within the household in post-conflict communities?

The objective of this question is to seek experiences of individuals affected by the conflict and those not affected by the conflict on their household dynamics in order to draw parallels between the exposure to conflict and individual behaviours related to family size, marriage and women's power in the household.

From those questions the study draws the following hypotheses for the quantitative analysis:

H.1a). There is a significant negative effect of exposure to conflict on family size preferences, in an ideal situation.

It is hypothesized that conflict-affected individuals will prefer a smaller ideal family size than non-conflict affected because of the negative experiences of the conflict or due to the post-conflict empowerment of women. So, if conflict negatively affects the goals and preferences of the conflict-affected respondents, they are most likely to prefer smaller family sizes (H1a). But also, the effect of war on resources, which are often male dominated, may change gender relations, thus increase women's power in conflict-affected compared to non-affected communities. To most demographers, the effect of war on fertility behaviours is seen as temporary uncertainty (Caldwell, 2004), where the fertility outcomes arguably depend on the adverse consequences of war experiences and on the characteristics of the affected population (Hill, 2004). This effect varies with the type and duration of a given conflict (Urdal, 2010). The effect of the conflict through loss of income and temporary decline in productivity may cause the postponement of marriage or postponement of birth within the union (cf. Agadjanian, 2001).

H1b) Positive coping with the conflict and displacement—through social and economic mechanism—is associated with preference for small ideal family size

Among the conflict-affected group, the study hypotheses that in an ideal situation economic coping with the conflict will negatively affect the preference of conflict-affected respondent (H1b). The coping strategies employed by conflict-affected groups

have a potential to influence the post-conflict livelihood and welfare—this may lead to substantial empowerment, especially to the women (Justino, 2009; Buvunic et. al., 2013).

H.1c). There is an inverse relationship between empowerment indicators and family size preferences, but social effect variables are positively related to family size preference.

The hypothesis is that more empowered women will have a smaller ideal family size than less empowered women because having fewer children will allow them greater freedom to pursue life opportunities (H1c). Yet the social values—related to gender inequality and community influence on childbearing—tend to increase individual preference for large family size. The preference for large families is related to the existence of hierarchical social relations, which reduce women's access to resources and permit their preference for large family size as a channel of social and material wellbeing (Handwerker, 1993).

H.2a). There is a positive relationship between exposure to conflict and early marriage.

H2b). There is a negative effect of social status indicators—education and asset-based wealth on early marriage.

H2c) Positive coping with the conflict and displacement—through economic mechanism—is negatively associated early marriage

Shemyakina, 2009:7 suggests that "following a large scale armed conflict, the age of entry into marriage may be affected in either direction." This argument rests on the explanation of the effect of violent conflict on the marriage market. There are two likely scenarios. On one side, if more men die during war, fewer men are likely to be available and the waiting and searching time women take to find a suitable candidate implies that many women may not be able to get married as early as prior to the war. This position supposes an increase in the average age at marriage for the cohort of women exposed to war (cf. Louis, 1966; de Walque, 2006). On the other side, if there are more available women for each available man, this may lead to a decrease in the average age

at marriage as younger women enter the marriage market to seize on the value of their youth (Shemyakina, 2009). However, the marriage market approach does not figure-in forced marriage and war-violence like rape, sexual slavery, which may equally induce involuntary-early entry into marriage. The studies that focus on child marriage from human right perceptive and gender studies emphasise the negative effect of war on reproductive behaviours and the welfare of young women (cf. Machel, 1996, UNICEF, 2005; Schnidler and Bruck 2011). Thus, our hypothesis follow that, exposure to conflict and temporal effect of displacement increases the likelihood of early marriage (H2a). The conflict may reduce early marriage in cases of positive coping with the conflict (H2c).The other hypothesis suggests that deprivation of opportunities—measured by social status indicator— increases early marriage (H2b). This later effect may be indirectly enhanced by the conflict and displacement, but it is also a general effect common in rural and poor communities.

- H3a) There is a positive relationship between exposure to conflict and women's participation in paid work.

- H3b) Women's involvement in paid work significantly varies by marital status, social status/empowerment and social values related to gender roles.

- H3c) Positive coping with the conflict and displacement—through economic mechanism—is positively associated women's participation in paid work.

The study hypothesises that conflict-affect women are more likely to have paid-work than non-conflict affected—the increase in women's entry into the labour market may as well be a coping mechanism (H3 a, c). This effect may be temporary due to the dominant effect of social norms of work among other factors. Generally, following the violent conflicts and displacement, men are postulated to be unemployment and women are often found to increasingly engage in informal work or petty trade during war and displacement (El-Bushra, 2003; Kondylis, 2007; Lehrer, 2010). Depending on the measure of displacement, the longer the time spent in displacement camps, the less men work while women's labour market decisions are hardly influenced by the time spent in displacement. Lehrer (2010) observes the relationship between the age of the Internally Displaced People's camp in which people stay and labour participation, and El-Bushra

(2003) compared different communities affected by war, they observe a phenomenon of developing gender-specific social norms arising from idleness than lack of opportunities: such that men are more likely to be idleness, women are reported to engage in petty businesses within the displaced camps.

- H4a) There is a positive relationship between exposure to conflict and women's ability to influence family size choices /options.

It is also hypothesized that more empowered women will be more likely than less empowered women to limit fertility to their desired number of children because they have the agency and resources to take the actions needed to achieve their desired fertility.

- H4b) There is a positive relationship between empowerment indicators and the power of women to influence fertility choices /options

- H4c) There is a positive relationship between empowerment indicators and attainment of IFS goals

The only avenue that conflict may affect women's attainment of ideals is when they constrain their ideals to the living number of children. The study argues that access to resources provides opportunities; the existence of opportunities gives power to the people (say women) who did not have it (Handwerker, 1990, 1991). If women in the conflict-affected communities are more engaged in household decision making and having increased resources due to increased participation in paid work, the conflict-affected women are hypothesised to have a high likelihood to attain their ideals.

Indicators of women's social status and social values depict the social effect on the attainment of women's family ideals. Such that, where children constitute an investment activity for women, their material wellbeing is dependent either directly or indirectly on their children. (So, high fertility may be a means that women (and men) can use to gain access to resources). Thus, children stop to function as resource channels when resource access opportunities increase and become a function of skills and competences. In this argument, female-empowerment increases the women's agency and ability to attain their ideals.

To answer the second question, the study also sought individual experiences through face-to-face and key expert interviews. The questions were the following:

In order to follow through with the second question regarding the appropriateness of the effect of exposure to conflict for reconceptualising the individual behaviours related to fertility behaviours and welfare, much concern is paid to gender dimensions. The individual and key informant interview questions were linked to the theoretical position that: 1) devastating effects of violent conflict, psychologically, socially and economically affect reproductive behaviours, entry into marriage and norms of work. The decision surrounding these behaviours depicts women´s empowerment. 2) The livelihood in displacement camp is characterised by widowhood and the loss of financial security, which is likely to negatively affect fertility and welfare (Schnidler and Bruck 2011). 3) The experiences of war are mainly horrifying. Violent conflicts may affect the population through organized rape, abduction, sex slavery and violence (Tyner, 2009; Rehn and Sirleaf 2002; Machel, 1996). 3) Re-examining gendered effect of war and displacement is needed to contribute to the growing literature on increase in women´s economic roles and involvement in household decision making during and after the violent conflict (El-Bushra, 2003; Petesch, 2011; ff see literature review chapter, pages 56-60).

3.6 Conclusion

The literature review chapter has presented a broad volume of research on violence, violent conflict. The scholarship on the effects of violent conflict has concentrated on the field work that present an unsettled debate on the substantial empowerment of women arising from conflict, post-conflict and recovery. The work on relationships between fertility and conflict or displacement has also been reviewed. The orthodox women´s empowerment debate has also been reviewed in brief. Lastly the a conceptual framework for the current study has been developed and the research problem as well as the study`s hypotheses is elaborated.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the methods and tools adopted, and the processes applied at different stages of the research journey. The chapter includes the following sections: 1) research paradigm; 2) description of the data, subjects, sampling procedure, which is presented in a step by step process (from the district matching of the criteria of selecting individual respondents); 3) description of the instruments or specific data analysis tool for testing the hypotheses 4) data preparation procedure for the establishment of the types of analysis. This chapter, in that case, serves as a link between the conceptual frameworks developed for this research (chapter 3) and the analysis chapter (chapter 5).

4.2 Research Paradigm

This research takes an ontological position that there is no single reality when it comes to understanding the impacts of conflict on the household/individual unit. The study adopts pluralistic approaches to derive knowledge because real life systems are overly complicated to allow for mathematical modelling to explain all the real world systems, even though such modelling provides specific assumptions about the phenomenon or structures of it (see Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). In this way, the research doesn´t intend to yield a single and definitive truth (Neuman, 2011:112), but takes alternative scenarios to give the deeper understanding of the—impact of conflict on various household/individual outcomes—research problem (Morgan, 2007). This brings to the research, what Neuman calls an explanatory critique, where theoretical views of social reality may be apparently different from prevailing beliefs and harbour practical, moral, and political implications.

Epistemologically, the study is positioned between positivist and critical realist—the positivist epistemological position applies deductive, outcome oriented approach to the phenomena of interest while critical realist approach differs from the positivist posi-

tion by the conceptualization of reality, with a prospect of introducing changes (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998). Here, the current study attempts to understand the impact of violent conflict on women and men in rural setting and how that influences their individual behaviour on family size and women´s agency related to paid work and family size. This epistemological position seems; first, to generate better clues of how and why (person experiences) armed conflict affects gender roles and the spectrum of participation of women in reproductive preferences and other milieus of individual freedom, like influencing of reproductive decisions, and women´s work outside of the home. Second, as human behaviour is associated with complexity (e.g. Hidden structural and cultural violence), causal modelling may benefit from an understanding of process explanations.

The methodological position of this study emphasizes the application of mixed methods[57]. The multi methods approach seek to provide reflexivity of social world views. Moreover, Creswell and Plano Clark (2011:2) refers to the mixed method as a research designs "that includes at least one quantitative method (designed to collect numbers) and one qualitative method (designed to collect words), where neither type of method is inherently linked to any particular inquiry paradigm." In a simple way, Teddlie and Tashakkori, 1998 define mixed methods as the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches in the methodology of a study. The study undertakes a mixed method approach because it provides relatively more insightful meaning to different levels or units of analysis by what is called "nesting" one method within another method (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998, 2003; Creswell and Plano Clark (2007), and a deeper understanding of the research problem while ensuring validity (Maxwell and Loomis, 2003; Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009).

The research, therefore, will benefit from both deductive and inductive approaches—abductive approach, which includes positivist-realist paradigm (Creswell, 2003; Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003). In this study, data collection and analysis of quantitative and qualitative were conducted independently and were only brought together during

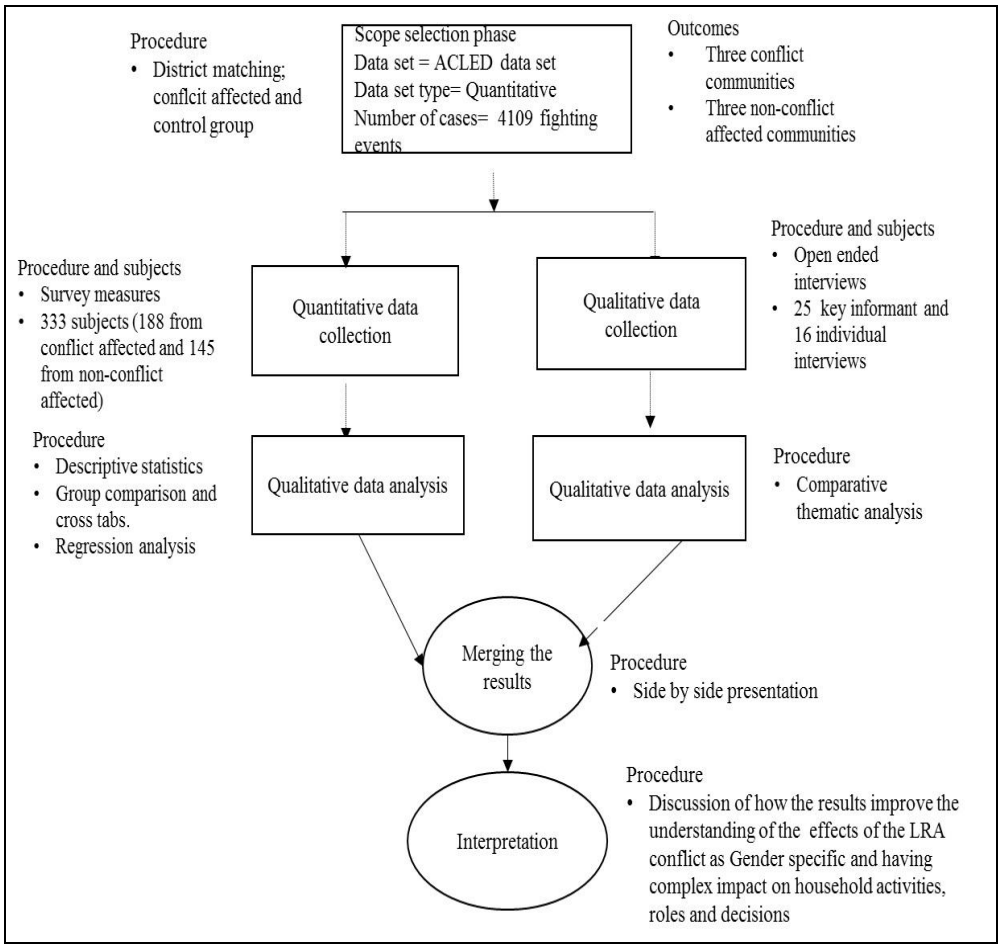
[57] The history of the "multi methods or mix method" approach can be traced from Campbell and Fiske 1959, but the concept of triangulating data sources as a means of convergence across qualitative and quantitative methods is said to originate from Jack, 1979 (Creswell, 2009).

interpretation; the two types of data are only converged to examine facets of the research problem (Creswell and Plano Clark (2011:79-81). The abductive approach seems appropriate for this study for two reasons; first, the qualitative and quantitative data are collected at the same time (simultaneously), reinforcing theory and real life system views. Second, the research integrates quantitative data with extensive discussion of the social processes and subjective interpretations (Maxwell and Loomis, 2003:266-7).

4.3 Applying a Mixed Method Approach

In order to relate the two different types of information, this study selected and analysed the quantitative and qualitative concurrently and separately from each other. Both types of data were equally important for addressing the study´s purpose. After the initial separate analysis, the study merged two types of results in a side by side way. So at that the point of linking the results appears during analysis and the interpretation in the discussion section. For a visual illustration, see Figure 4.1 below:

Figure 4.1 The display of the mixed method approach applied by the study



Source: Own elaboration based on Crewswell and Plano, 2007

4.3.1 District Matching and Primary Data

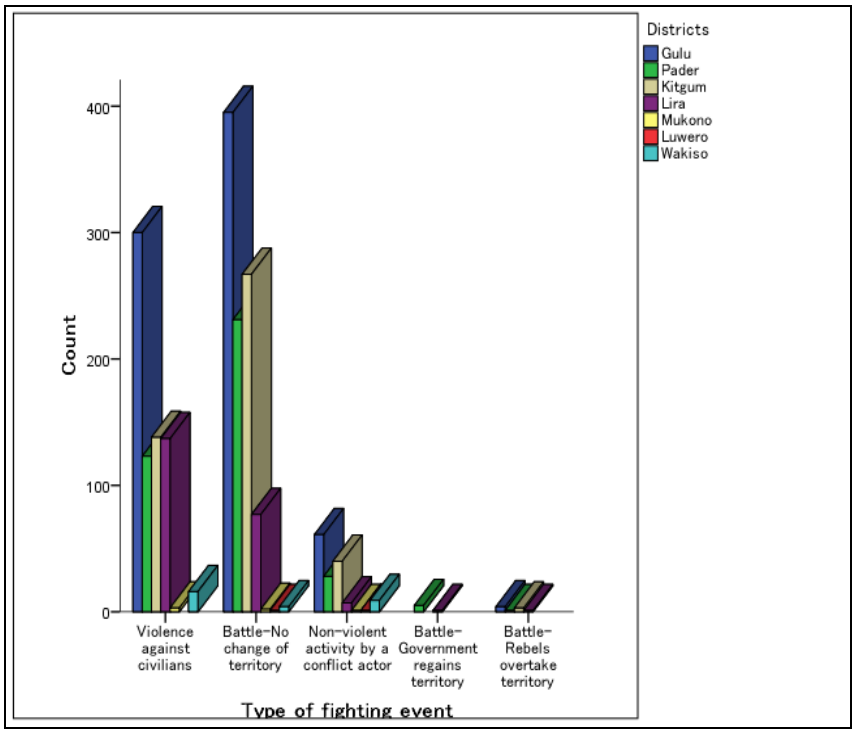
Before going into the field the Armed Conflict Location and Events Data-ACLED dataset (Raleigh et al., 2010) was used to match districts of Uganda by conflict effect. The aim was to purposefully select conflict affected communities systematically based on evidence of fighting events. However, the main source of data for the study is a dataset generated from primary data collected (from June 30st and 30th August 2013). The sampling criteria and procedure, subjects, and process of data collection and analysis of this fieldwork data are explained later in this chapter.

4.3.1.1 Matching the Districts by Exposure to Conflict

The ACLED Dataset is based on conflict events and temporal location derived from a variety of sources, including reports from developing countries and local media, humanitarian agencies, and research publications (Raleigh et al., 2010). The dataset has a total of 3466 fighting events was reported; these were spread across different administrative levels (district / sub counties/ villages) of Uganda) from 1997-2010. Of recent there are more conflict studies are using ACLED dataset.[58] The dataset distinguishes between five types of events: battle resulting in no change of territory; battle resulting in a transfer of territory to the rebel actor; battle resulting in government forces recapturing rebel held territory; rebel base or headquarters established; rebel activity that is not battle related (for instance, LRA presence/civilian killings in an area). Thus, this data was useful for generation of frequencies and selection of regions, district and villages from which the sample was drawn. The frequencies (Figure 4.2) indicate that three districts of Acholi (Gulu, Pader and Kitgum) and one district of Lango (Lira) experienced the high frequencies of fighting events, as related to LRA and military forces of Uganda (1986-) compared to the rest of the country. This reveals that, considering battle and non-violent events, and or violence against civilians, the percentage of fighting events associated with war-battle field were in Gulu, Pader-Kitgum and Lira, but not in Mukono, Wakiso and Luweero. Various type of violence against civilians was reported in Wakiso—most of these are urban riots, yet the study´s interest is the LRA events. Summarily, it is observed that the association between the type of fighting events and location—administrative level one/district level—was very strong and significant. (X^2 (324, N = 4109) = 2910.338, p =. 000, Cramer's V (0.344).

[58] The publications which use ACLED data include, the discussion papers of Bozzoli, Brück, and Muhumuza, 2011 on "Activity choices of internally displaced persons and returnees from post-war northern Uganda"; a geographically disaggregated analysis of Hegre, H., and Raleigh, C. A. (2007) about "Population size, concentration, and civil war"; and a typescript of Weidmann, N. B., Hegre, H., and Raleigh, C. (2006) on "Modeling spatial and temporal patterns of civil war".

Figure 4.2 Total fighting event counts at administrative level one



Source: ACLED data set

The frequency led the research to focus on Gulu, Pader-including parts of Kitgum, and Lira as conflict affected communities. The control group/districts, Wakiso, Luweero and Mukono—non- conflict districts were indicated (apart from not being conflict-affected, the sampled village had to have relatively the same per capita income as the conflict affected). This strategy of using fighting frequency is not unprecedented; it has been used by other researchers (for instance, Verwimp and Bavel, 2013—in their investigation of exposure to violent conflict on the completion of primary schooling, use three measures of exposure to violent conflict 1) the length of child exposure to massacres and to the civil war; 2) The number of times the child had to move residence forcibly during the massacres and the civil war 3) number of years the child spent in a displacement camp).

4.3.1.2 Research subjects by location

The total sample consisted of 333 subjects: 66 male (19.8 percent) and 267 females (80.2 percent). The sample was selected from thirty three villages within six dis-

tricts (three LRA conflict affected and three non-LRA conflicts affected); this made-up the quantitative component. Moreover qualitative data were obtained from sixteen key informant interviews and twenty five one-on-one in-depth interviews. The table below presents the sample and communities studied. After that a detailed account of the sub counties and villages from which the entire sample (for quantitative and qualitative techniques employed) was drawn is presented systematically.

Table 4.1 Classification of the sample by location and data collection techniques

District (*f*=6) /villages (*f*=33)	Data collection method and sample		
	Quantitative	Qualitative	
	Individual structured questionnaire (A)	Individual in-depth interviews (B)	Key informant interviews (C)
Gulu/Amuru	60	5	5
Pader/Kitgum	78	10	2
Lira	50	n/a	4
Mukono	58	5	n/a
Wakiso	60	n/a	3
Luweero	27	5	2
Total sample	**333**	**25**	**16**

Source: Own data

Conflict-affected communities

Gulu District[59]

In Gulu, the fieldwork was carried out in three sub counties of Amuru (Atiak; Lamogi; Pabbo) and the Kaunda market area. Within these three sub counties, nine villages were selected based on district matching to fighting event (explained under district matching above) and conflict history. In Pabbo, two villages (Paomo, Otong) were selected; In Atiak, one village (Ogoro) were selected; In Lamogi 6 villages (Alokolum, Obiya East, Tochi, Wii aworanga, Kati kati,and Akwo Kwee) were selected.

[59] Gulu district was mapped in accordance with the conflict era boundaries before redistricting, thus Amuru was counted as part of Gulu.

A total of 60 one-on-one structured questionnaires were randomly administered in these nine villages. Five individual interviews held. Six Key informants were purposively selected using a snowball technique. These Key informants included officials from Gulu women´s economic Development and Globalization (GWED-G), Welt Hunger, NGO forum Gulu, and Justice and Peace Commission.

Pader District

The fieldwork in Pader was done in two sub counties, namely Lapul, and Pajule. 78 questionnaires were randomly administered in three villages; the two villages (Lila, Aywee west) within Pajule and one village (Lacani village) within Lapul-Ogole parish. In addition, ten individual interviews and three Key informant interviews were conducted. The key informants were from the local School (head teacher) and local council officials, these were purposively selected.

Lira District[60]

The field work was done in four sub counties (Aromo, Apala, Ogoro and Agweng), these have a history of the internally displaced people´s camps. 50 respondents were randomly selected from ten villages. Three villages (Abia, Abiting, Amonomito) in Aromo; one village (Obim) in Apala; two villages (Bar Kea upper villaje, AcengKongo) in Ogoro; four villages (Wii- dam, Obanga Pe-wany, Acelela (B), Loka-Amor) in Agweng. Additionally, One FGD and three Key informant interviews were purposively selected from leading NGOs and peace building organization. The key informants included Lira NGOs coordinator forum, Radio WA and Local officials.

Non- conflict effected communities

Based on the district matching a control group (non-conflict affected) of three districts (Wakiso, Mukono, Luweero) were purposively selected. The selection was based on per capita income equivalent areas in the south non-conflict affected region. The

[60] Lira district was mapped with consideration of the bigger Lira in conflict time Therefore, Aletbong and Otuke were included, but note that todate: Alebtong district was carved out of lira– became operational on 1 july 2010, while Otuke district was carved out of lira - is currently a district, carved out of lira in 2009

selection was based on the data published in the "Where are the Poor? Mapping Patterns of Well-Being in Uganda: 1992 and 1999". The essence was to have a relatively homogenous sample for comparison on the basis of exposure to conflict. The non-conflict affected sample was drawn from the following villages within the districts.

Wakiso District

The fieldwork was done in two sub counties, namely Kakiri-setema and Masulita. 60 questionnaires were administered randomly to respondents from four villages, namely Ssala, Luwunya, Kakooge and Kalonger. Five Key informant interviews were held with local officials.

Mukono District

Two sub counties were selected, namely Kyampisi and Nabbale. 58 questionnaires were administered randomly to respondents from four villages, namely Namere, Buliiji, Kakinzi and Bulijo. There were no Key informant interviews sought, we held five individual interviews and one FGD.

Luweero District

One sub counties were selected, namely Butuntumula. 27 questionnaires were randomly administered to respondents from three villages, namely Lumonde, Kito and Kikunyu. One FGD and individual in-depth interviews were held in Lumonde and Kikunyu villages.

4.3.2 Characteristics of the Quantitative Sample

Table 4.2 shows the overall characteristics of the respondents (quantitative component) in terms of their age, sex, education, income, and occupation. The information in table 4.2 reveals that a majority of the respondents are females, between 25 to 34 years of age, have received at least eight years of education (primary level) and the majority of the respondents were primarily farmers. Moreover, a large proportion didn´t know their income (estimated monthly earning). However, among those how knew their monthly earning, one third of the sample earned less than 50, 000 Ugandan shilling (approxi-

mately 18 dollars) a month while less than 20 per cent of the group who knew their earning, earned above 150,000 Ugandan shilling (approximately 55 dollars) per month.

Table 4.2 The demographic characteristics of the respondents to the structured questionnaire

		Frequency	Valid Percent
Sex	Female	267	80.2
	Male	66	19.8
	Total	333	100.0
Exposure to conflict	Non conflict	145	43.5
	Conflict	188	56.5
	Total	333	100.0
Age groups	18-24	56	16.8
	25-34	113	33.9
	35-44	85	25.5
	45-54	79	23.7
	Total	333	100.0
Level of education	Illiterate	33	10.5
	Primary	175	55.9
	Secondary	81	25.9
	Tertiary above	24	7.7
	Missing	20	
	Total	313	100.0
Actively working	Unpaid work	206	61.9
	Paid work	127	38.1
	Total	333	100.0
Occupation type	Small-scale	76	22.8
	White-collar	38	11.4
	Casual operations	37	11.1
	Farming	175	52.6
	Total	333	100.0
Income	Less Shs. 50,000	70	32.4
	Shs.50, 000-100,000	68	31.5
	Shs.100, 000-150,000	41	19.0
	Shs.150, 000+	37	17.1
	Don´t know	117	
	Total	216	100.0

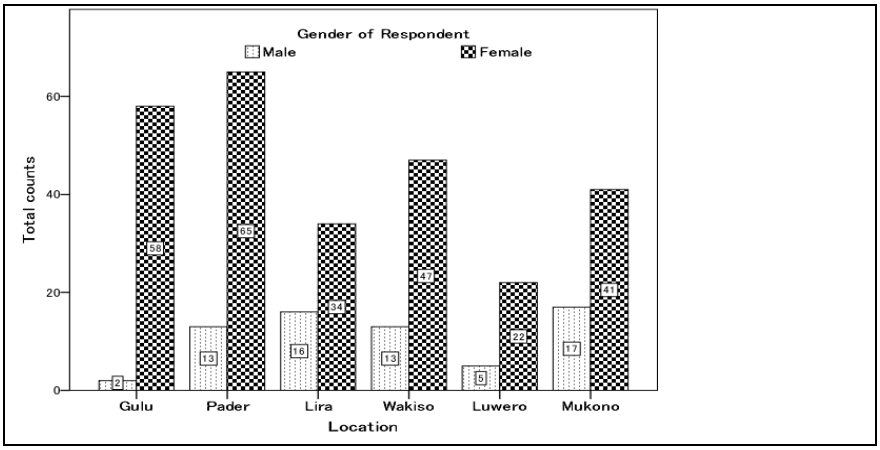
Source: Own data

Given that the conflict effect is central to the analysis, the sample was balanced across the exposure to conflict. The conflict district had a total of 188 (56.5 percent) while the non-conflict was 145 (43.5 percent).

4.3.2.1 Sample distributions clustered by sex

The results in Figure 4.3 Respondent's location clustered by sexFigure 4.3 provides a breakdown of gender categories by district/communities. In each district/community, the females exceeded 65 percent of the area sample of the quantitative data: in Gulu, females were 58 (96 percent); in Pader, females were 65 (83.3 percent); in lira females were 34 (68 percent); in Wakiso the females were 47 (78 percent); in Luweero the females were 22 (81.5 percent); and in Mukono the females were 41(70, 7 percent). Most of the respondents both male and female categories were married (66.2 percent). Fewer men reported being divorced or widows or separated compared to women. The definition of marriage was narrowed to having a formal relationship, which implied a relationship acknowledged by family or church or civil authorities. It was hard to establish or define divorce and separation due to legal limited in rural areas of Uganda, thus it depended on the respondent.

Figure 4.3 Respondent's location clustered by sex

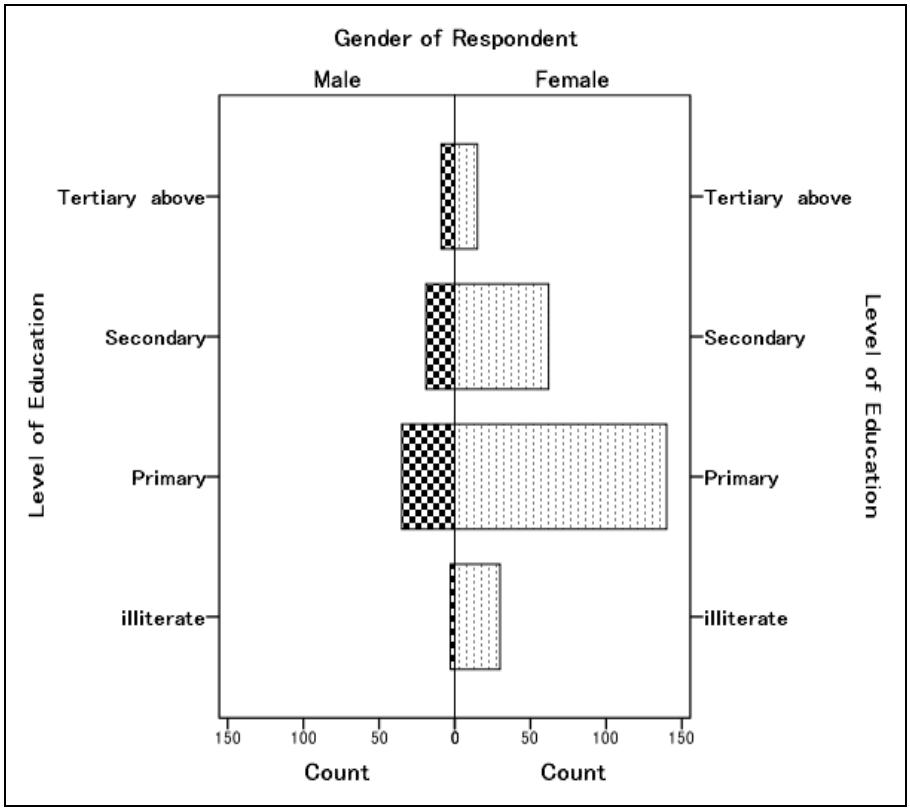


Source: own elaboration

The majority of the sample 175 (55.9 percent) had attended at least eight classes of schooling-primary level. Specifically, within the gender categories, respondents with primary level of education were: 53percent of the female sample and 56.7 percent of the

male sample. The majority of the illiterate respondents were females: out of the 33 illiterate respondents, 90.9 percent were females while 9.1 percent were males, see Figure 4.4 below.

Figure 4.4 The distribution of level of education by gender

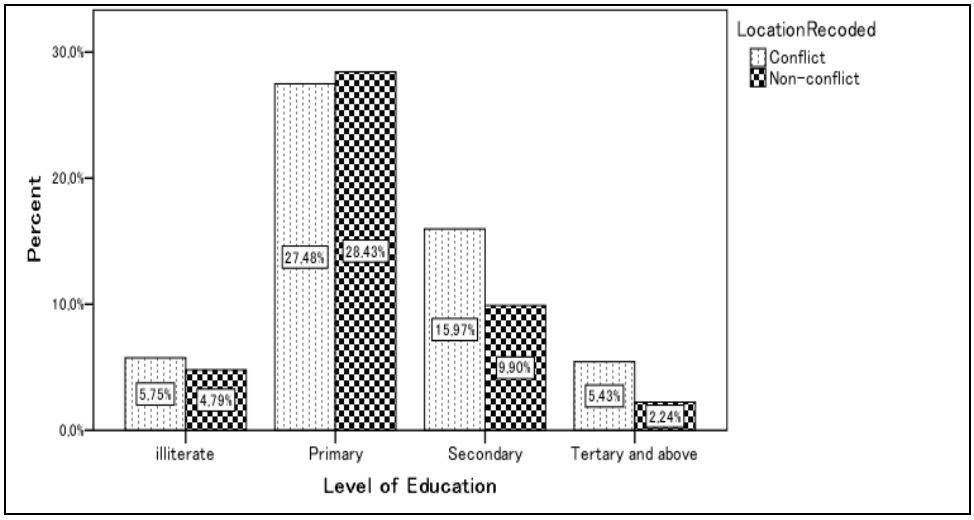


Source: Own elaboration

4.3.2.2 Sample distributions clustered by location (exposure to conflict)

Here, the female or male samples across the conflict affect and non-effect was equal: out of the total male sample of 66 (19.8 percent of the entire sample mentioned above), 31 (47 percent) were from the conflict area while 35 (53 percent) were from the non-affect whereas for the female out of 267 (80.2 percent of the entire sample mentioned above), 157 (58.8 percent) were from the conflict and 110 (41.2 percent) were from the non-conflict. Figure 4.5 reveals that across the region a major of the respondents had attained primary level of education, only about a third of the respondents had attained secondary education and above. Also, Figure 4.5 demonstrates than there were more illiterate respondents from the conflict communities than in the non-conflict communities.

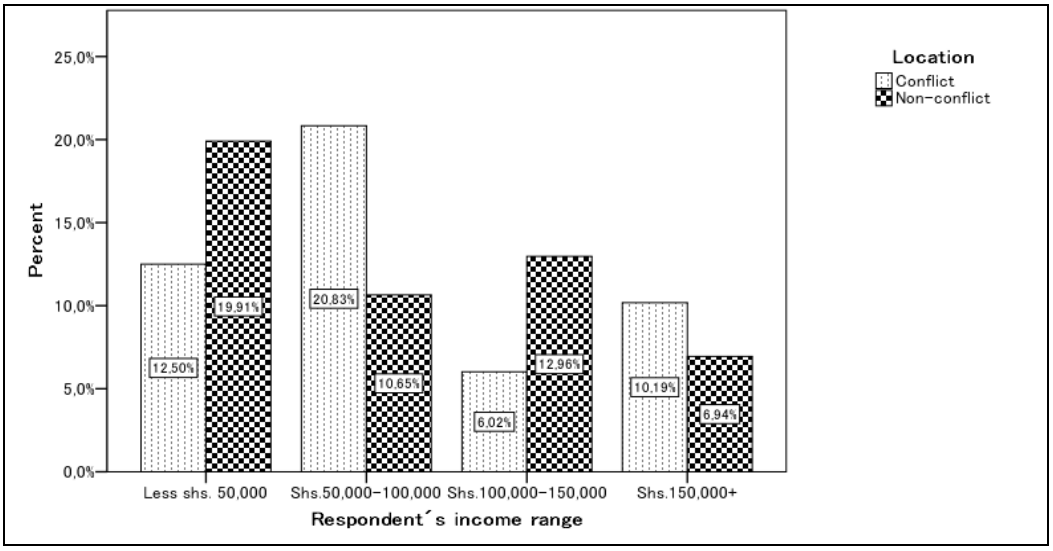
Figure 4.5 Sample distributions according to level of education clustered by location



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 4.6 splits communities across income levels. It shows that in the conflict region a majority of the respondents earned between 50,000 to 100,000 Uganda shillings, while those in the non-conflict region; a majority earned less than 50,000 Uganda shillings and a relative number between 100,000 to 150,000.

Figure 4.6 Sample size distribution according to level of income clustered by location



Source: Own data

4.3.2.3 Reliability and validity of the data

The data set pertain to a cross sectional design –data collected from a number of cases to establish the variation across cases. This design facilitates examination of relationships between variables, not across time. Moreover, this data was collected simultaneously. This may create problems in assessing causal relationships between variable, thus internal validity is low. However, external validity is high due to the fact that the sample (for the quantitative data) was randomly drawn. Additionally, two groups; one exposed to the conflict and other non-exposed to the conflict can counter the internal validity problem. The high response rate of 92% for female and 65% for male on the survey questionnaire ensures some level of reliability with the data.

4.3.3 Characteristic of the Qualitative Sample

For easy recruitment of key informants the researcher participated in local meetings; including, a women's SACCO workshop in Wakiso district[61] and a Village saving loan association workshop by CESVI in Lira. The analysis made from these discussions enhanced revisions in the quantitative questionnaire instrument. Coding of all observations was done consciously and embedded within the theoretical perspectives (cf. De Munck and Sobo, 1998). No monetary or other inducement was offered at the time of recruitment; however the researcher's affiliation with a European university helped to gain cooperation from (would-be) participants. Notably, participants were given a general idea of the matters to be discussed, but they were not given any indication of the specific topics to be discussed. Such advance participants´ notification facilitated fruitful discussion due to the fact that participants are sensitized on several subject matters (Stewart and Shamdasani, 1990).

The key informant group consisted of 16 informants: 11 of whom were from the conflict affected districts of Gulu, Lira and Pader while 5 were from the non-conflict districts. By sex 7 were males while 9 were female. Most of them were actively engaged in gender and development issue at government (local and national) as well as in the civil society community.

[61] I attended a committee leadership meeting of a women´s development group called WADDIDAN in July, 2013

On the other hand, in-depth interviews were obtained. These interviews allowed the research to access a richer information that asks, "Why?" and "By what process?" to be sought. It also allows for interaction with the participants´ perspectives. The majority of these participants (72 percent) were female. Out of all the participants, 72 percent were from the low social economic position. See more of the characteristics below.

Table 4.3 Characteristics of face-to face interview participants

	Description	**Number of Participants *f*=25**
Age groups		
	18-24 years	7
	25-34 years	12
	35-44 years	6
Gender		
	Female	18
	Male	7
Socioeconomic status (SEP)		
	High SEP	1
	Middle SEP	6
	Low SEP	18
Marital status		
	Child Mother- (girls who had a kid while below 15 yrs.)	6
	Married	10
	Divorced/Separated	6
	Cohabiting	3
Region		
	Conflict affected	15
	Non-conflict affected	10

Source: Own elaboration

4.3.4 Sampling Procedures

Random sampling was used for the individual respondents to the structured questionnaire while purposive sampling with the use of the qualitative tools. The research took this course for two reasons: 1) the studies lacked any existing sampling reference frames with information on exposure to conflict 2) the triangulation of research methods demanded a mixture of sampling techniques.

4.4 Individual Sampling

The sample to which the researcher administered the questionnaires was randomly selected. Therefore, to harness a representative sample, a simple random sampling technique was used—this simple random sample should not be taken as to mean a representative sample. The simple technique was a process of skipping at least one homestead every after a successful interview or call. This technique is practically appropriate in the case of rural neighbourhoods, where there is hardly any clear information to generate a reliable reference frame.

4.4.1.1 Criteria for Random Sampling

The criteria utilized to randomly select the individual sample to which the one-on-one structured questionnaire was administered were:

1) The individual had to have satisfied the category “ever been married”. This was synonymous to an individual having “ever lived with a partner”. Precisely, the respondent's ability to answer questions on childbearing required a sample of individuals who had “ever been married”.

2) The randomly selected sample had to be within the range of 18-54 years old. That is, it included women (and men) in their active reproductive and productive stage. The rational was that the respondents were not to be legally considered children or that whose opinions about childbearing are not compromised by old age. Clearly the majority of the omitted age groups is either school going children and youth or elderly people, based on Uganda’s age structure and life expectancy rates.

3) There was focus on individuals residing in rural setting. The rational of these criteria are three: first, a typical rural household represents the majority of Uganda (up to 80%); Secondly, in the context of Northern Uganda, the intensity of the civil war was much felt in the rural setting where people migrated to IDP camps in massive numbers. Third, poverty and strong male dominant attitudes are much inherent in the rural setting.

4.4.1.2 Sampling of Key Informants and In-depth Interview Participants

From the interactions and rapport built by the research in the workshops and community gatherings attended in the first week of the fieldwork, a contact list of possible key informants was developed. The targeted key informants included NGO and community-based organization leaders, local government officials and women's community associations.

This list of key informants was continuously enriched by snowball sampling technique.[62] The snowball technique helped to increase contacts, as each contact knew other with the same profile, characteristics or in the same community activities. The number of contacts increased with each contact met (Morgan, 2007). The following steps were taken using the snowball technique to refine the Key informant list:

- The researcher drafted activities and participation agenda (tentative).
- The researcher approached actors and asked for contacts.
- After acquiring contacts, the researcher requested contacts to participate.
- The researcher continued to snowball with contacts to gain more stakeholders
- The pool of contacts was increased to ensure diversity in profiles of persons involved in the snowballing exercise.
- The researcher noted issues emerging the set-up of community groups, which would be included in discussions.

[62] Snowball technique comes from the analogy of a snowball increasing in size as it rolls downhill (See Morgan (2008) *The sage encyclopedia of qualitative research methods*. Sage publications, pp. 816–817).

Individual respondents to the in-depth interview were purposively selected. These were respondents who were extremely affected by conflict, but could not fit into the criteria for individual structured questionnaire or individuals that preferred in-depth discussion and or sharing of their experiences.

4.5 Instruments

The instruments utilised are: structured questionnaire and open-ended tool guide for in-depth and key informant interview.

4.5.1 Individual Structured Questionnaire

The individual (interviewer administrated) questionnaire consisted five areas: (1) Demographic characteristic of the sample (2) Socioeconomic status (3) Conflict context or exposure (4) respondents´ perceptions of their decision-making on childbearing and marriage (5) active involvement in a social group (See Appendix 1). Through a random sampling (to be detailed in the sampling section below), individual women (or men) between 18-54 years, who were *ever married* and living in the *rural setting* were selected. The questionnaire was pretested, which led to substantive change. The individual structured questionnaire was pretested in Gulu—for the conflict affected area and in Wakiso—for the non-conflict affected area. Ten pre-tested individual questionnaires were administered by the researcher along with a local research assistant. The purpose was to discover the major flaws in the questionnaire: language, timing, easy and consistent in response to the questions on the side of the responder. The study relied on the guidelines of Presser et al., 2004:110) for identification of questionnaire problems.[63]

4.5.2 Interviews: Key Informants and Individual face-to-face Interviews

The study developed theme-related guideline protocols for face-to face and key informant interviews. In details:

[63] These authors assert that flaws can be detected by dominance of respondents that elicit answer like "don't knows" or refusals or by some other visible consequence which interviewers can observe when asking the questions (e.g., hesitation or discomfort in responding).

4.5.2.1 Individual In-depth Interviews

The face-to face interview tool was open-ended, flexible and inductive (See Appendix 2); this facilitated a deeper understanding or making sense of how women (and men) experience and how they perceive their participation in the family size decisions, work and civic groups within the context of the rural setting. The research interviews keenly focused on experiences during and after the conflict period; this technique gave voice, and positioned the respondents in charge contrary to the researcher-centered approaches; thereby providing reflectivity.[64] The face-to-face interviews guideline protocol consisted of four open-ended questions, and the interviews lasted between 15 to 40 minutes.[65]

4.5.2.2 Key Informant Interviews

The Key informant contributions and observations were a basis for elaboration of other tools (individual interviews guide). The key informant interview protocol consisted of open-ended questions (see appendix 3) covering a broader spectrum of aspects—ranging from conflict-experiences and interventions to post-conflict and peace-time dynamics. Given that key informant are not suitable for hypothesis testing or asserting causal model (De Munck and Sobo, 1998:46), tape recording and a notice coding system was used to note events, process, and discussions, all with a conscious mind of the theoretical models. Key informants provided *thick descriptions and insights on hidden cultural and contextual dynamics* (De Munck and Sobo, 1998: 43).

4.5.3 Fieldwork Process and Addressing Challenges

The data collection process took place between June 30st and 30th August 2013, more follow-up calls were made in September of 2013. Before the fieldwork, the following phase were tackled: 1) Specifying the research problem and hypotheses 2) review literature about the variables and the kind of information to be sought, it included designing the tentative instruments, and 3) considering the reliability and validity of the

[64] Although the interview didn't take a typical life story research method, participant's narratives of processes portrayed such. (cf. Thompson p. 2000 the voice of the past: oral history, 2nd ed. oxford: oxford university press)
[65] The research fronted probing questions as follow up. At the end of the interview, the participants were given a voice, by asking them: "would you have anything that you'd like to add at this time?"

research methods and tools; 4) psychometrically tested questionnaires were consulted in the formation of this study´s questionnaire and protocols.

4.5.3.1 Field Processes

In the field, the first week was marked by creating rapport. Interactions with NGO leaders working in the regions of study and local administrators at the district level and local levels were made by the researcher. As well, the researcher attended two NGO workshops and two communities based organization briefings in in Gulu and Lira to interact and understand the area of study. These were important strands for rapport (cf. Legard, Keegan and Ward, 2003). Pre-testing was done. All changes arising from the pre-test process were added to the individual structured questionnaire.

The rapport process and workshops helped the research to apply a snowball technique, with which a contact list of possible key informants was built. The process also aided the research to find homogeneous cases. Some key informants helped to supply the research with contacts of would be participants.

The researcher recruited two local people (a female and male university graduates) as research assistants. The role of these research assistants was more about translation, easy navigation and helping out on rapport. The female research assistance was purposeful recruited to limit bias and increase response rate given that the researcher was a male. This reduced the rejection and non-response rate, specifically for sensitive questions.

Administration of the questionnaire was done by the researcher. This was advantageous. This strategy of self-administering of questionnaires was chosen as appropriate due to its ability to achieve accuracy, cost effectiveness, time saving and easy adaptability (Fowler, 1995).

4.5.3.2 Ethical considerations

The sampling strategy had to follow generally agreed ethical aspects. Informed consent of the participants was followed both in the individual survey questionnaire and the qualitative data interviews. Ethical cover page was provided. For these ethical reasons a paragraph composed a statement seeking informed consent of the participant,

acknowledgement of confidentiality, and volunteers´ liberty to skip any question were placed on the initial page of the questionnaires. In the research area authorization of the local administration was sought and highly valued. During one-on one in-depth interview the female research assistance was briefed and trained on the objectives and the purpose of the study as well as on the procedures/ guidelines. Uncooperative and troubled respondents were given the right to quit or answer only what was convenient to them, and that they were not coerced in whatever way to participate.

4.5.3.3 Sample limitation

It is very important to note for the readers that the sample selected for this current study is not a representative one. Therefore this will limit the ability to generalise the study´s findings to other cases of conflict-affected and non-conflict affected groups. Yet, still the study sample is not a typical convenience sample, but a mixture of *available sample based on simple random selection, purposive sampling of face-to face interviewees and snow balling of key informants.* This implies that the results are likely to suffer from low external validity.

However, as explained above, the approach taken allows the researcher to obtain basic data and trends regarding the studied phenomenon. This sampling technique is also useful in documenting that the studied phenomenon occurs within a given sample – conflict-affected and conflict non-affected. The intent is to detect the relationships among exposed and non-exposed to conflict individuals.

4.5.3.4 Approaching some challenges

The research minimized selection biases. The study samples were identified through a systematic process: ‘matching the districts or constructed control was based on administrative level exposure to conflict. Administrative level includes districts, sub counties and villages. Thus the non-conflict affected administrative units were used as a control group. Certainly the use of this strategy was also due to lack of baseline information that could have facilitated other methods.

Triangulation of the methods was used in data collection in order to overcome challenges attributed to one method or another, but above all because ontologically the

impacts of armed conflict on household decisions and gender roles don´t have a single reality. The quantitative method provided cause and effect analysis while the qualitative approaches unveiled the perceptions and understanding of the processes that informed the research on the processes, behaviours, and contexts as they are perceived by women (and men) under study. This integrated approach provided for reliability, and involvement of various levels of analysis (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2007).

We ensure the content and context specificity in the research. It requires the construction of the subject´s views with the researcher´s dialectical analysis of the responses in order to cultivate out hidden structures that inhibit power relations and conflict exposure impacts. The research´s qualitative approaches followed ´free´ and probing interviews. This emancipates the respondent (women´s experiences) and reduces the researcher-respondents bias (cf Harding 1986, 1987). Reflectivity based on dialogue between the inquirer and those who are subjects of inquiry was critical (cf. Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009).[66] The essence here is to understand as much as possible women´s participation in social life (Harding, 1987:2; Kabeer, 2001) and achieve an understanding of the hidden complexities of the real world through rapport (Holmwood 1995:413).

Involvement of the subjects was crucial. The researcher stayed in the local villages in the research process and was involved in workshops and conversations. This was intended to consider cultural sensitivity. To enhance a fluidly participation, a local female resistant assistant was recruited.[67] The assistant researcher certainly aided the translation and reduced the biases attached to cross gender interviewing.[68]In this way, we address the critical aspect of male bias on the sensitive subject (Padfield and Procter, 1996:364).

[66] Reflectivity requires "careful interpretation and reflection" such that all references to empirical data are the results of interpretation –reflection turns inward towards the person of the research thus becoming an interpretation of the interpretation. (Alvesson,& Sköldberg (2009: 6)

[67] An embodiment consequence is addressed by researchers saying that the embodied self of the research comes with experience of sexuality; emotions etc. that may affect the fieldworker´s and informant´s feeling and nature of responses. (cf. Warren Carol and Hackney Kay Jennifer (2000:21) Gender Issues in Ethnography 2nd Edition, Qualitative Research Methods Series 9 Sage Publications)

[68] Speaking the language of the interviewee properly in crucial, thus to avoid mistakes and misunderstanding arising from lack of fluency in language an interpreter is required (Rubin J.Herbert and Rubin S. Irene, 2012 Qualitative Interviewing: The Art Hearing Data 3rd edition Sage Publication)

4.6 Descriptive Statistics

The frequency of categories is used to display the distribution. Apart from the continuous variable and order variables, the mean value of each dummy variables reported here is a proportion (relative frequency) of cases coded 1 and its complement (the proportion of cases coded 0). See Table below.

Table 4.4 Descriptive statistics (frequency and percentages)

				Range		Scoring	
Variable	**Categories / freq. and %**		**method/unit**	**min**	**max**	**Mean**	**SD**
Marriage at less than 18 years	1=Married at less 18 0= married at 18 and above		Dichotomous	0	1	0.326	0.47
Personal Ideal family size (IFS)	1= less than 5 children (average IFS=5.15) 0=Average IFS and above		Dichotomous	0	1	o.41	0.49
Participation in rep decisions	1= High Participation, 0= otherwise		Dichotomous	0	1	0.41	0.49
Ability to attain ideal IFS	1= more than ideal 0= less the ideal		Dichotomous	0	1	0.35	0.48
Conflict exposure	1=exposure, 0 otherwise		Dichotomous	0	1	0.56	0.50
IDP Time	Years		Continuous	0	20	3.58	4.50
Age group	18-24	56 16,8					
	25-34	113 33,9	Age groups	1	4	2.56	1.03
	35-44	85 25,5					
	45-54	79 23,7					
Education	1=Illiterate (0 yrs.), 0 otherwise		Dummy	0	1	O.10	0.30
	1=Primary (8 yrs.), 0 otherwise		Dummy	0	1	0.53	0.50
	1=Secondary (12yrs educ.), 0 otherwise		Dummy	0	1	0.24	0.43
	1=Tertiary above (13+ yrs.), 0 otherwise		Dummy	0	1	0.07	0.26
Income of Respondent (Ugx. shs. in thousand)	1= < 50 (Ugx shs.), 0= otherwise		Dummy	0	1	0.32	0.48
	1= 50-100(Ugx shs.), 0= otherwise		Dummy	0	1	0.31	0.47
	1= 100-150, 0= otherwise		Dummy	0	1	0.19	0.39
	1= >150 (Ugx shs.), 0= otherwise		Dummy	0	1	0.17	0.38
Paid work	1=paid work, 0 otherwise		Dummy	0	1	0.38	0.49
Work type	1=Small-scale		Dummy	0	1	0.23	0.42
	1=white-collar		Dummy	0	1	0.11	0.32
	1=Casual operatives		Dummy	0	1	0.11	0.31
	1=Farming		Dummy	0	1	0.53	0.50
Household Assets	Zero to seven assets		Counting index	0	7	2.48	1.45
Egalitarian attitudes	Zero to three ranking		Counting index	0	3	2.19	0.75
Traditional attitudes	Zero to three ranking		Counting index	0	3	1.62	0.84
Gender	1= female ,0 = otherwise		Dummy	0	1	0.80	0.4
Age at birth[69]	years		Continuous	13	36	19	3.36
Active member	1= Active, 0=otherwise		Dummy	0	1	0.63	0.49

Source: Own elaboration

[69] For most of values of age at birth and at marriage in analysis, we report median not mean because median age is more robust, more resistant to such errors than the mean.

Mean personal ideal family size (IFS)

Ideal family size represents the number of children one desires to have in an ideal situation. Childbearing preferences are difficult to measure since they depend on different factors, including social norms, personal circumstances, and evolve with age and the number of children already born to parents. To get a prudent understanding of these different factors, we sought both *personal views* on ideal number of children, a more *general view* on the ideal family size. This approach adopted from various surveys on childbearing behaviours, such as the Eurobarometer surveys carried out in OECD countries.[70]

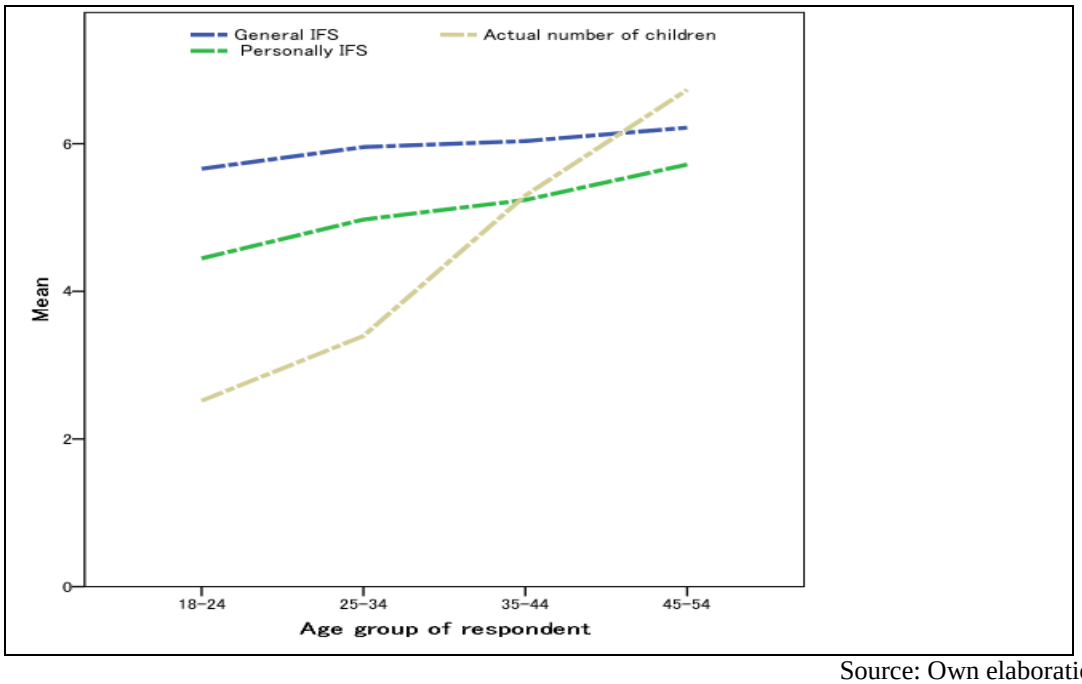
The mean personal ideal family size reflects "Personal ideal family size reflects childbearing preferences at the individual level but in absence of any possible obstacle, that is, under ideal conditions" (Testa, 2012:7). The descriptive statistics (see Table 4.4 above) show that less than half of the sample (41 percent) preferred to have less than five children, in an ideal situation.[71] The average number of children preferred was 5.15. To seek the IFS, the respondents were asked: "*And for you personally, what would be the ideal number of children you would like to have or would have liked to have had?"* (See the questionnaire in Appendix 1). This measure is commonly used in demography studies to understand family decision making in studies on women´s empowerment (Upadhyay and Karasek, 2012).

On the other hand, general ideal family size refers the more general view on the desired number of children in the community. It depicts the social norms and effect on childbearing. To seek this outcome, the respondents were asked *"Generally speaking, what do you think is the ideal number of children for a family?"* (See the questionnaire in Appendix 4.1). The GIFS was more than six children on average. The Figure 4.7 below shows that when clustered by age groups: the GIFS is higher than the personal IFS for all age groups, although GIFS and IFS attempts to converge among old cohorts. The actual number of child the sample respondents have systematically increases with age

[70] See the OECD Family Database www.oecd.org/els/social/family/database
[71] Note that the non-numeric responses, in this case, were treated as having the mean IFS and the mean GIFS

group; this the actual number of children increases with from three children in the 18-24 years group to more than six children in the 45-54 age group.

Figure 4.7 The relationship between IFS and actual number of children

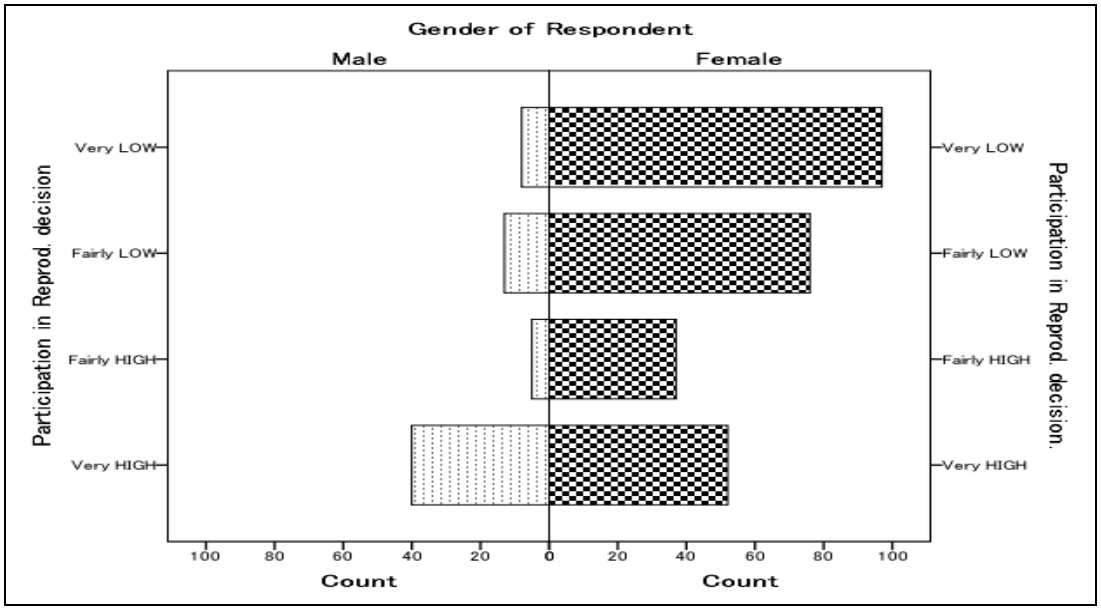


Source: Own elaboration

Participation in reproductive decisions

The analysis considers only the female sample on this variable. The variable is a measure of autonomy in relation to decisions regarding family size. Moreover, the study intends to assess the relationship between female-empowerment and fertility behaviours through self-reported participation base on a subjective question: *"How can you describe your participation (by knowledge/use of reproductive control) in a decision on the number of children you have?"* The responses were obtained by a four point Likert scale ranging from very high (scoring 1) to very low (scoring 4). Despite the uneven split of men and women in the sample, the trends show that more men had high influence in the reproductive decision than women, (see Figure 4.8). A majority of the men reported having very high influence in reproductive decision making while a majority of the women reported having very low influence in reproductive decision making.

Figure 4.8 Participation in reproductive decisions by gender



Source: Own elaboration

For analysis through binary logistic regression the scale was recorded into: high and low participation, and operationalised as a dummy. The descriptive statistics Table 4.4 show that 41 per cent subjectively reported high participation (when very high and high are combined) in reproductive decision.

Ability to attain the ideal family size

Like the previous variable, here, examination of this outcome was limited to the female sample because the intent is to address the hypotheses related to women´s agency in attainment of their ideals. The ability to attain ideal was calculated as: *"The woman's number of living children minus her ideal number of children."* Wherever the value was more than zero, it was coded as having more children than the stated ideal and the reverse is true. In the descriptive statistic (Table 4.4 above), 35 percent of the women in our sample had more than their ideal IFS. All non-numeric ideal number of children were coded as not having children than their stated ideal. This calculation is consistent with earlier work relating empowerment and ideal family size (Upadhyay and Karasek, 2012). The variable was operationalized as a dichotomous measure of whether a woman had more living children than her reported desired number of children. Upadhyay and Karasek, suggests that the ability for a woman to limit her fertility to her

ideal "necessitates intensive, on-going effort to use contraception and to control fertility over her reproductive life, which may be possible with a high degree of agency and resources" (2012:6).

Exposure to conflict

Exposure to conflict is measured using two indicators: *(i) ever residing in conflict district*, (response was yes/no, but recoded into a dummy variable 1= exposure, 0= otherwise) *(ii) period of residence in IDPs* (captured as the years spent in IDP camps, which varied from 0 to 20 years). The summary of the descriptive statistic in Table 4.4 show that 56 per cent of our sample had lived in the conflict-affect communities. And, the same descriptive statistic table shows that the average time spent in the IDP was 3 and half years. The rational of using area of residence is justified in the nature of the LRA conflict, which was area differentiate (See that statistical evidence in the background chapter, page 35 ff). The essence of focusing on displacement is practical; all households in the selected LRA conflict affected areas were subjected to displacement irrespective of social and economic status (due to the 1996 government policy in these areas for moving civilians forcefully from their homes to "protected village/ internally displaced camps"). The implication was that displacement was not idiosyncratic or individually, but general to all the population in the conflict-affected areas of Acholi, Northern Uganda. Thus there was likely to be no sample selection bias in the nature of displacement in Uganda (cf. Bozzoli, Brück and Muhumuza, 2011).

Paid work

The main interest of this variable was to know whether the respondent works for pay or not. For the women, the ability to work for pay, especially outside of the house has a remarkable impact on women´s empowerment (Kabeer, 2001; Sen, 1999 and many others). In this analysis, paid work is treated as a dummy variable taking the value of 1=paid work, 0 = otherwise. The descriptive statistics in Table 4.4 suggest that 38 per cent of the sample was affiliated to paid work. To understand the categories of work, the measure of work participation was further sought using work/occupation category. In the analysis, four categories of paid work are treated as dummy variables: small scale is

a dummy that takes the value 1=Small-scale and 0= otherwise (23 percent of the sample were affiliated to small-scale work), white collar job is also a dummy taking the value 1=white-collar and zero otherwise (11 percent of the sample were affiliated to white collar jobs); casual work is as well a dummy taking the value 1=Casual operatives and 0 for otherwise (11 percent of the sample were casual labourers); farming is the other category taking a value of 1=Farming and 0 if otherwise (53 of the sample were farmers).

Coping mechanism

The responses on coping mechanism/strategies, were solicited from a limited sample of conflict-affected individuals (*f*=188). The information on coping strategies was sought through the question: "*How did you and your household sustain livelihood during the time you were in the camp/during conflict?" The options were*: *1) selling assets; 2) sending children to live elsewhere; 3) getting children from school to work for wage 4) formal borrowing; 5) informal borrowing; 6) help provided by relatives; 7) seeking help from Local government 8) relief from Local government or relief organization*. The statistical frequencies of coping mechanisms applied by the respondents show that over 80 per cent of conflict-affected respondents depended on relief aid. Other popular means of coping are starting a self-employed/economic activity (32.6 per cent) and depending on relatives (31.6 per cent). The utilisation of information on coping mechanism is a new attempt by this study. Previous studies demonstrate that the impact of war on livelihoods forces affected people to cope with the situation differently, which affect their expectations, preferences and gendered norms (Justino, 2009; El-Bushra, 2003). This literature is the rational for our consideration of coping strategies in this analysis.

Level of Income

Income was measured is expressed in Uganda shillings (Ugx shs.). The respondents were classified by groups of their reported monthly earnings, and later operationalised as dummies variables. The groups include: *(i) Less than Shs. 50,000 takes a dummy variable of* 1= < 50 (Ugx Shs.), 0= otherwise (32 per cent of the sample) *(ii) Shs 50,000-100,000 takes a dummy variable* 1= 50-100 (Ugx Shs.), 0= otherwise (31 pre-

sent of the sample *(iii) Shs. 100,000 -150,000 take a dummy variable* 1= 100, 000-150,000 0= otherwise (19 per cent of the sample); *(iv) Shs, 150,000 and above which takes a dummy variable* 1= >150 (Ugx Shs.), 0= otherwise (equal to 17 per cent of the sample).[72] The limitation to this measure of welfare is that respondents in the rural setting, like the study areas, can hardly state their monthly earning.

Household Asset index

The asset-based wealth measure is the most appropriate indicator of welfare in the rural settings. The study sought where the individual had some of the enumerated household assets in his/her household. Household asset ownership in this case measured the physical resources rather than ownership in terms of control. Here, a more parsimonious approach was taken by developing an additive index for these household assets. The index takes the value of 0 if a respondent indicates zero positive response in all the 7 household assets up to 7 if the respondent indicates YES to all 7 household assets. The descriptive statistics in Table 4.4 show that, on average, a respondent had between 2 to 3 household assets out of the seven elicited on the index. However, the index was broken into categorical groups and in some cases; ownership of land was treated independently.

Welfare expectations

The welfare status of an individual was solicited using two questions that sought the opinions of women and men in conflict and non-conflict affected communities: *1) which of the following statements best reflects your household situation during the last 10 years or during the LRA conflict? 2) Which of the following statements best reflects your household situation now?* The responses to each of these questions were three transitory statements: *a) your situation did not/does not allow you to make any plan for the future. b) You knew/know what you would be doing in the next six months. C) You had/have a long-term perspective of what your household would be during the following 1 or 2 years*

[72] Approximately, One US dollar is equivalent to 2,500 Uganda shillings (Ugx). Therefore, 50,000 Ugx is approximately 18 USD and 150,000 Ugx is approximately 55 USD.

A variable called *welfare expectation* was created denoting the expected change in the welfare position of an individual between two measured time points (during and after conflict). In such a way, at each one part, an individual would have been: *(i) Surviving day by day (ii) Secure for 6 months a head (iii) Much Secure for 1 or 2 years to come.* The statistics suggest that, out of the sample, 55.2 per cent of the sample was better-off–had progressively changed between the two points, 39 per cent was even—had not changed between the two points, and 5.8 per cent was worse-off—had a reverse change between the two points.

Level of education

This variable takes two measures influence on the distribution of resources and autonomy in individual and social term. It is suggested by the literature that education influences fertility through women's empowerment (Mason, 1987; Jejeebhoy 1995). Also, Cochrane's (1979) reviewed education and fertility and identified pathways through which education might influence their fertility. In this study, level of education is measured in four categories: In Table 4.4 it is shown that 10 per cent of the sample was illiterate, 53 per cent has primary education, 24 per cent had secondary education and less the ten per cent had tertiary and above level of education. For the analysis, these levels of education are operationalized as dummy variables (i) illiteracy which takes a value of 1 = Illiterate (0 yrs.), 0 otherwise (ii) primary level dummy takes a value of 1=Primary (8 yrs.), 0 otherwise; (iii) secondary level dummy takes a value of 1=Secondary (12yrs Educ.), 0 otherwise; tertiary above dummy takes a value of 1=Tertiary above (13+ yrs.), 0 otherwise. For the empirical analysis the two categories were establish: having post-primary level of education or below post-primary—only 37 per cent of the sample had post-primary education. .

Attitude about sex roles

The early 1980´s authors such as John Caldwell (1982) and Nancy Folbre (1983) first described how patriarchal family systems act to maintain high fertility. Moreover,

evidence shows that in places where gender stratification[73] is less extreme, fertility tends to be lower, contraceptive use higher, and child survival greater (Mason, 1995). In the study, we adopt the Likert scale on attitudes towards gender roles mainly used in world value survey—the scale is a cross cultural measure to assess complex context of attitudes towards gender roles. However, Constantin and Voicu, (2014) maintain that the use of this type of scales for measuring gender roles is suitable for testing relations between attitudes towards gender and other theoretical concepts, but not useful for comparing the level of support for gender equality across countries/societies. Having this limitation in mind, the scale adopted attempts to capture respondents level of agreement/disagreement towards six different aspects: *(i) A working mother can establish a just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work (ii) A pre-school child is more likely to suffer if his\her mother works (iii) All in all family life suffers when the woman has a full time job (iv) Both men and women should contribute to the household income; (v) Ideally, the woman should stay at home to look after the children while the man goes out to work; (vi) Family life often suffers when men concentrate too much on their work.* To operationalise this question in variables, first, the question was categorized into two groups: e*galitarian* and *traditional* attitudes (three options each). Second, the score was recoded into binary form: agree or disagree. Under *egalitarian attitudes* to gender roles (a) working and non-working mother can secure the same relationship with her children (73.3% agreed); (b-) both men and women should contribute to the household income (92.8% agreed); (c-) Family life often suffers when men concentrate too much on their work (52.9% agreed). Whilst under *traditional attitudes to gender roles* a-) A pre-school child is more likely to suffer if his\her mother works (73.3% agreed) b-) All in all family life suffers when the woman has a full time job (64.8% agreed) c-) ideally, the woman should stay at home to look after the children while the man goes out to work (24% agreed). Finally, we opted for a more parsimonious approach by developing an additive index for these attitudes. The index takes the value of 0 if a respondent indicates zero agreement in all 3 options up to 3 if the respondent agreed to all 3 options. The majority of the sample

[73] See, Gender stratification or its sub-components such as female autonomy (Dyson and Moore, 1983), women's empowerment (Schuler and Hashemi, 1994), women's control of material resources (Cain, et al., 1979), or their freedom of movement (Morgan and Niraula, 1994).

agreed to more than two out of the three egalitarian statements whereas large number equally agreed to less than two of the traditional attitudes. The observation is that the respondents didn´t take a squarely egalitarian or squarely traditional position—this yield comparison problems as mentioned by Constantin and Voicu, (2014). So we rather don´t compared the level of gender equality across conflict-affect and non-conflict-affect groups, but effect of attitudes o gender role on individual behaviours—family size preference, women´s participation in paid work and attainment of ideals.

Age at first birth and age at first marriage

There are two theories on effect of conflict on age at marriage [which, again, don´t match the case of conflicts that continuously target civilians—young boys and girls—, like the case LRA]: the first argument is that war increasing insecurity and exposes young girls to early sex and marriage—generally poor and war-affected communities are likely to have high levels of child married (UNICEF, 2005, 2012). On the other hand, authors that use retrospective analysis of cohorts, like Shemyakina (2013:303) argue that women who reach marriage age during or soon after the conflict and lived in war-exposed zones are less likely to enter marriage compared to women who lived in less war-affect areas and women who reach their prime marriage age before the start of the conflict. And that the effect of migration during the war influences delayed entry into marriage. Generally, marriage age tended to be low for rural women and women with less education. Indeed, in addition to educational attainment, traditional values, place of residence affect the trends in time of first marriages in developing countries. Moreover, massive violent conflict, like civil conflicts affect the age at marriage and age at first birth. In our sample the median age at first birth was 19 years standard deviation of 3.36; and the median age at first marriage was 18 years with a standard deviation of 3.42.

Civic participation

In the case of women's empowerment, civic participation increases women's self-esteem and vision of a future; it also increases their mobility and visibility in the public sphere; in some case civic groups in form of saving or credit groups increase the eco-

nomic security; within the household, civic engagement may improve the status and decision-making power of women within the household (Kabeer, 1999, 2001). This research posed the question "Are you an active member of any local/community based Group?" To which the response was Yes/No. Literature on the impact of conflict on social participation asserts that attending community groups increases autonomy and freedom,[74] increases the possibilities and the voice of women (Kabeer, 2001). Bellows and Miguel (2009) found the individuals whose households directly experienced more intense war violence are robustly more likely to attend community meetings, more likely to join local political and community groups, and more likely to vote.

Gender

Because the main focus of this current study is on the women, the majority of the sample was made up of females. The descriptive statistic in Table 4.4 shows that 80 per cent of the sample was women. Most of the analysis in chapter 5, pages 138ff and chapter 6, pages185ff are assessed across gender categories to analyse the mean differences and association of variables of interest across gender.

Partner's characteristics

The analyses controlled for the effects of the husbands characteristics, which are measured by the husband's education, education level, and husband's income status.

Socio-Demographic variables

Age: four age groups were constructed, (18-24) took a value of one, (25-34) took a value of two and (35-54) took a value of three.

Marital status

This variable describes family arrangements. It was sought in five categories, namely, Married, Divorced, Separated, Widow, Cohabiting.

[74] The existing literature suggests that individuals whose household directly experienced intense war violence are robustly more likely to attend community groups and community meeting (see Bellows and Miguel, 2009).

4.7 Data Analysis

We conducted the analysis in several steps. First, we described the characteristics of the sample. We recoded various variables, estimated the means and frequency rate and associations. Second, this is based on the conceptual framework –outcome 1). The ideal number of children (as continuous variable) and having the less than the average Ideal family size (as a dichotomous variable) –we use of regressions to estimate effects of exposure to conflict while controlling for other factors. The final multivariable model should include the exposure to the conflict measure together with the other covariates. 2) Ability of the respondent to have the number of children they want (dichotomous variable) - will use a logistic regression. 3). Early marriage is analysis at dichotomous variable, using less than 18 years at marriage as the cut-off point and also as continuous variable using age at marriage. 4) Participation in the family size decision is treated as continuous variable (based on the likert scale scores) in the regression analysis. 5) Participation in paid work is treated as a dichotomous (paid work or non-paid work) variable in a logistic regression analysis.

Missing data: analysis of missing data was carried out to understand the pattern of the missing data. The patterns were substantiated to avoid bias and a decrease of the statistical power: the missing values were high on questions of income –many rural individual hardly knew their monthly earning or annual benefits from social groups. Other missing values were in the questions related to the partner's level of education and income –again, many respondents were unaware of the partner's earning and education history. In the analysis we take a pair wise deletion of missing is take from the present study rather than list-wise; this is because list-wise deletion method would result in inadequate sample size or loss of meaningful data.

Outliers: for our scale variables –age at birth, age at marriage, IDP time spent and ideal family size, etc. –, we use scatter plots to visualise the outliers. All outliers usually indicate an important range of the data; therefore we decided not to eliminate them from the final analysis.

Normality: most variables included in this study are dichotomous or continuous. Normality of continuous variables (childbearing behaviours—personal IFS, General IFS

and ability to attain family size; IDP time; age at marriage; age at birth) is an important assumption in the independent t-test and multivariate analysis. (Tabachnick and Fidell (2001) suggest examination of skewness, kurtosis, where the value of skewness and kurtosis should be within the range of -2 to 2 when the data is normally distributed. As well, histograms, and normal Q-Q plots were done for variables that were to be added into the model. For dichotomous variables, Tabachnick and Fidell, 2001 suggest deleting dichotomous variables with an extremely uneven split (i.e. 90-10 split, i.e.: 90% agree and 10% disagree) from the correlation and/or regression analyses because the scores of cases in the smaller category are more influential than scores in the category with the majority of cases.

Forth, analysis of text data began doing a verbatim transcription of the recoded interview. All identifying names of individual participations were changed in pseudonyms. The transcribed data was coded into systematic categories based the guidelines on Gibbs, 2008. The data analysis process took into consideration not only context and content analysis and development of themes, but attention was also paid to ensure interpretive validity, and explanatory validity. The end point is to find an inductive theoretical argument to comprehend and enhance gaps in the quantitative findings.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter presents and justifies the methods and tools used for data collection and analysis. Using these methods the data are analysed and results are presented in the next chapters; chapter 5 and 6.

CHAPTER 5

DATA EXPLORATION

5.1 Introduction

The overall objective of this chapter is to analyse the significant difference across gender categories, regional exposure to conflict and duration of forced displacement. To demonstrate this difference, attention is paid on individual behaviours, such as ideal family size, women's ability to attain ideal family size and their participation in the labor market. The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section presents the existing mean group differences in family size behaviours—actual number of children, Ideal family size (IFS) and community/general Ideal family size (GIFS). The second section provides the comparison of mean difference in IFS between groups; the independent t-test statistics is used when two groups are analysed or the ANOVA analysis is used for several groups to determine the existence of differences. The third section presents the results the chi-square test of independence between women's ability to attain the Ideal family size and variables of interest. The fourth and last section of the chapter analyses the differentiate effect of exposure to conflict and assesses the effect of time stayed in IDP camps.

5.2 Variation in IFS across Gender, Exposure to conflict and Paid work

The findings reported here are estimated using the independent sample *t*- test with a motive of finding out if the group means are significantly different from one group to another or if they are relatively the same. In cases where the variables have significantly different means, we conclude that there is an effect of the variables of interest on the family size measure across the compared groups.

5.2.1 Gender and Family Size Dynamics

Table 5.1 shows that men had a relatively high reported IFS and high actual number of children than women. However, women reported a relatively higher general IFS, which implies that women felt that the community view of ideal family is slightly high (6 children) as compared to men (5.9). Unfortunately, none of these mean differences across gender were statistically significant (at $p <. 05$).

Table 5.1 Results of the independent t-test for gender on family size behaviours

	Female	Male	t	df	p	d
No. of children (M, SD)	4.37 (2.42)	5.06 (3.13)	-1.66	85	.100	-0.24
Personal IFS (M, SD)	5.10 (1.67)	5.20(1,66)	-.432	329	.666	-0.06
General IFS (M, SD)	6.0 (1.86)	5.94 (1.85)	.240	327	.811	0.032

Source: Own calculations and data [75]

5.2.2 Exposure to Conflict and Family Size

In table 5.2, the results show that the actual number of children is significantly associated with exposure to conflict (T_{259}= -4.60; P value=. 000<. 05. The effect size is moderate (0.5). There was a high likelihood that respondents not exposed to the conflict have a higher IFS (mean of 5.37) than their counterparts in conflict exposed (with a mean of 4.93), which was significant (T_{329}= -2.42; P value=. 016<. 05), but the effect is small (0.20). Finally, even though respondent in the conflict affected communities had a higher community view of acceptable number of children (mean of 6.06) compare to non-conflict affected (mean of 5.95), this mean difference wasn't significant. The results suggest that individuals affected by the conflict preferred smaller family size and actual number of children.

[75] The mean difference between male and female on the family size behaviors (number of children, personal IFS, General IFS and ability to attain family size) is examined using an independent t-test

Table 5.2 Childbearing behaviours and exposure to conflict

	Conflict affected	*Non-affected*	*T*	*df*	*p*	*d*
Actual no. of children (M, SD)	3.94 (2.17)	5.26 (2.88)	-4.60	259	.000	-0.52
Ideal family size (PIFS) (M, SD)	4.93 (1.71)	5.37 (1.56)	-2.42	329	.016	-0.26
Community view GIFS (M, SD)	6.06 (1.88)	5.95 (1.817)	.315	327	.753	0.06

Source: Own calculations and data [76]

5.2.3 Paid-work and Family Size

In table 5.3, affiliations to paid or non-paid work doesn't present significant mean difference in actual number children. Whereas, personal IFS and general IFS present significant difference in means across paid and non-paid worker: respondents affiliated with non-paid jobs were significantly more likely to have higher personal IFS (with a mean of 5. 46) than those being paid for work (with a mean of 4. 46); this effect was medium (0.56). Similarly, subjects affiliated with non-paid work had a significantly higher likelihood of reporting more community view of family size (community influence) (with a mean of 6.25) than those affiliated to paid work (with a mean of 5. 57), though the effect was small (0.37).

Table 5.3 Childbearing behaviour and work affiliation

	Paid Work	*Non-paid*	*t*	*df*	*p*	*d*
Actual no. of children (M, SD)	4.29(2.299)	4.65(2.740)	1,27	301	,206	0.14
Personal IFS (IFS) (M, SD)	4.56(1.61)	5.46 (1.601)	4,925	329	,000	-0.56
General IFS (M, SD)	5.57(1.86)	6.25(1.807)	3,258	327	,001	0.37

Source: Own calculations and data [77]

[76] The mean difference was estimated using an independent t-test the effect size was measured by the Cohen's *d* test.
[77] The mean difference was estimated using an independent t-test the effect size was measured by the Cohen's d test.

Based on this exploratory analysis, we can suggest that: first, the influence of the community on family size (general IFS) is negatively affected by one's affiliation to paid work—thus, any intervention to increase people's chances to work for paid, especially women, may offset the community influences for large families. Second, in the context of this study one's gender didn't significantly affect the actual number of children, IFS and GIFS behaviours, even though women preferred smaller family size, and the social norms of childbearing strongly affected women`s ideals compared to men. Thirdly, exposure to the conflict seems to have a fundamental effect on all family sizes behaviours except the community view of what IFS should be. This finding may imply that violent conflict affected the actual number of children that the respondents have through increased mortality and the family size desires are affected by conflict-induced change in gender roles and destruction of the market. But violent conflict doesn't affect the ideological norms of having large family sizes (the effect is based on GIFS as an indicator of community effects).

From here onwards, the focus is placed only on personal ideal family size, associations between personal ideal family size (IFS) and other factors are done with a focus on gender, exposure to conflict and work affiliation.

5.3 Ideal Family Size Analysed: Group Comparisons

Using IFS as the outcome variable, the study explores the relationship between desire for children in an ideal situation and six variables: household assets, income, and work affiliation, level of education, age and attitudes to gender role. The findings are generated using the independent sample *t*- test and one way ANOVA statistics. Note that more focus is made on mean difference across exposure to conflict area, and gender—in the analysis of each of the six variables mentioned above.

5.3.1 Mean IFS and Asset-Based Wealth

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of access to household assets on personal IFS. The seven household assets considered are Radio, TV, Bicycle, Mobile phone, Motor cycle, Motor vehicle, and Land. The results show that there was a significant effect of ownership of household assets and the individual's desire for chil-

dren, in an ideal situation (F (3. 327) = 5.498, p =. 001). Clearly, the Tukey post-hoc test for multiple comparisons, (see table 5.4), indicates that respondents owning zero assets out of the seven assets sought were significantly more likely to desire large families compared to all the other groups: owning 1-2 assets, p =. 004; owning 3-4, p =. 000; and those owning 5-7 assets, p=. 001 Therefore, this asset-based wealth measured by ownership of basic household assets demonstrates that individual with poor livelihoods are associated with preference for more children, in an ideal situation.

The relationship between poor livelihood—measured by asset-based wealth—and preference for large family size is related to socioeconomic limitation and the belief in children as social security for the future. Given the compound effect of rural setting and poverty, the preference for children is not likely to be based on the cost of having another child, but the contribution that the child would make in future to the livelihood of the parents—the old-age security hypothesis (cf.Willis 1979; Nugent, 1985) and wealth-flows theory (Caldwell 1978) of fertility transition.

Table 5.4 Group statistics and multiple comparisons within asset holding groups

(I) HH asset groups	(J) HH Asset groups	Mean Diff. (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Owning zero assets (M = 6.22, 95% CI [5.66, 6.79)	1-2 assets	1,179*	,342	,004
	3-4 assets	1,129*	,342	,006
	5-7 assets	1,722*	,447	,001
Owning 1-2 assets (M = 5.04, 95% CI [4.76, 5.32)	Zero assets	-1,179*	,342	,004
	3-4 assets	-,050	,195	,994
	5-7 assets	,543	,348	,402
Owning 3-4 Assets (M = 5.09, 95% CI [4.82, 5.37),	Zero assets	-1,129*	,342	,006
	1-2 assets	,050	,195	,994
	5-7 assets	,594	,348	,322
Owning 5-7 assets (M = 4.5, 95% CI [3.9, 5.10)	Zero assets	-1,722*	,447	,001
	1-2 assets	-,543	,348	,402
	3-4 assets	-,594	,348	,322

* The mean difference within the group is significant at the 0.05 level.

Source: Own calculations and data

Further analysis follows below to find out to what extent asset-based wealth significantly affects reported IFS in case of differentiated exposed to conflict area and gender.

5.3.1.1 Mean IFS and Number of household assets by conflict exposure

Base on exposure to conflict, two groups are analysed: conflict affected and non-conflict affected (group statistics shown in table)[78]. Among conflict exposed respondents, the mean IFS differed significantly across household asset owned, ($F_{(3, 183)}$ = 6.304, p =. 000). Yet among non-conflict the effect of household assets owned on IFS was not significant, ($F_{(3, 140)}$ = 1.261, P=0. 290) (see table 5.5). The results (Tukey post-hoc multiple comparisons, not graphically presented here) show that possession of household asset makes a significant difference in IFS between conflict affected than among non-conflict affected subjects: a respondent in the conflict area without assets was likely to have a higher preference for children (IFS) compared to another in the same area owning 1-2 assets, p= 001 or owning 3-4 assets, p =. 003 or owning 5-7 assets, p =. 003. However, all comparisons in the non-conflict affected group were not significant, although, individuals with less or no household assets were more likely to prefer more children (high IFS).

Table 5.5 Group statistics and ANOVA for no. of assets and IFS by exposure to conflict

Conflict exposure and asset holding groups		Mean	S. D	95% CI for Mean		F	P value
				Lower	Upper		
Non-conflict affected (N=144)	Zero assets	6,50	,707	,15	12,85	1,261	,290
	1-2 assets	5,55	1,597	5,11	5,98		
	3-4 assets	5,31	1,570	4,95	5,67		
	5-7 assets	4,77	1,363	3,95	5,59		
	Total	5,37	1,563	5,11	5,63		
Conflict affected (N=187)	Zero	6,20	1,472	5,59	6,81	6,304	,000
	1-2 assets	4,71	1,647	4,36	5,07		
	3-4 assets	4,85	1,707	4,42	5,27		
	5-7 assets	4,23	1,589	3,27	5,19		
	Total	4,93	1,712	4,68	5,17		

Source: Own calculations and data

[78] The test of Homogeneity of Variances, as assessed by the Levene´s test for equality of variance, was not violated in both non-conflict affected (P=0. 373) and conflict affect groups (p=0. 563).

5.3.1.2 Number of household assets and IFS by gender

The ANOVA results (table 5.6) show that mean IFS differences across asset-based wealth (no. of household assets) of female respondents differed significantly ($F_{(3, 261)} = 5.232$, p =. 002). On the contrary, there was no significant mean difference for male respondents based on one´s ownership of assets ($F_{(3, 62)} = 0.884$, P=0. 454) (see table 5.6). The Tukey post-hoc test for multiple comparisons (graph not presented here) was also done, it suggests that on average women who had zero household assets were more likely to report higher IFS compared to their counterparts with more assets. Illustratively, women with zero assets reported a larger IFS than their counterpart with 1-2 assets p= 003 or those with 3-4 assets, p =. 006; as well as those with 5-7 assets, p =. 005. All multiple comparisons of male´s mean IFS differences within their group was not significantly affected by the number of household asset owned.

Table 5.6 Descriptive statistics for mean IFS and asset ownership by gender

Gender and asset holding groups		Mean	S. D	95% C I for Mean		F	P
				Lower	Upper		
Male	Zero	6,00	,000	6,00	6,00	0,884	,454
(N=66)	1-2 assets	5,53	1,506	4,70	6,37		
	3-4 assets	5,23	1,750	4,63	5,83		
	5-7 assets	4,64	1,646	3,69	5,59		
	Total	5,20	1,657	4,79	5,60		
Female	Zero	6,24	1,480	5,63	6,85	5,232	,002
(N=265)	1-2 assets	4,98	1,687	4,68	5,28		
	3-4 assets	5,05	1,615	4,73	5,36		
	5-7 assets	4,33	1,303	3,51	5,16		
	Total	5,10	1,665	4,90	5,30		

Source: Own calculations and data [79]

[79] Present only the one way Anova results. The male column for zero assets is small, <5 counts, however the effect was not significant even when categories were merged.

In the case of conflict-affected communities, asset-based wealth significantly affected the ideal preferences of women and men. Women and men exposed to conflict by area of residence, significantly preferred less children if they had one or more household assets. This may imply that if conflict-affected communities benefit from recovery to acquire assets, the catch-up effect in term of asset-based wealth may significantly and negatively affect their ideal for family size—all other factors constant. Meanwhile for gender, the ownership of household assets significantly affected the family size ideals of women, but not men. This may imply that if a woman has the opportunity to have access to household asset, her preference for children is likely to be negatively affected.

5.3.2 Mean IFS by Income Level

Although the one-way ANOVA test for mean differences of IFS across income levels (less than 50,000 Uganda shillings; between 50,000 -150,000 Uganda shillings; and above 150,000 Uganda shillings) showed significant differences ($F_{(2,\ N=104.941)} = 4.030$, $p =. 021$), the Tukey post-hoc comparisons (not presented here) were not robust.[80] Further analysis is made to find out the significant mean differences of IFS across income groups among subjects exposed to conflict and gender categories.

5.3.2.1 Level of income and IFS of exposure to conflict

The levels of income didn´t explain the mean IFS difference in either conflict or non-conflict affected subjects. [81] The main problem that was faced when using this income as a measure of welfare was that a large percentage of the sample responded with I "do not know," when asked their monthly earning. The take-away here is that in rural communities, estimation of individual income should be done using other means, but not directly seeking a numeric figure. Nonetheless the difference in income across gender had some statistical importance, as analysed below.

[80] It was only subjects earning less than fifty thousand Ugandan shillings who reported significantly higher IFS than those who earn above that, other comparisons were not significant. In this indicator, many respondents don't know there monthly salary.

[81] The results of a one way ANOVA (not presented) showed no statistical significance for both conflict affected respondent ($F_{(2,\ 48,978)} =0.901$, $p = .413$) and the non-conflict affected respondents $F_{(2,105)} = 1.238$, $P=0.294$) across income levels.

5.3.2.2 Income level and IFS by gender

The results (table 5.7) show that the mean difference of IFS between income groups of males differed significantly (F (2, N= 52) = 7,305, p =.002) .The implication is that the difference in level of men's income affects their family size ideals. Men with more income significantly desire less number of children. It suggests that the men in the high income group are likely to invest more in the welfare of the children thus they consider the cost of having another child—which is high. Further testing of comparisons within the groups by Tukey post-hoc test (table not presented here) suggested that: a male higher income earners (150,000 above Ugandan shillings) reported significantly lower IFS compared to the lowest male income earner (less than 50,000, p= 005 and those earning 50,000-150,000, p =. 003). The mean IFS difference between female income groups was not significant (F (2, N=156) =2. 428, P=091). All multiple comparisons of mean IFS difference between female income earning groups were not significant, at <. 05. This effect is most likely to arise because rural women are most likely not to earn a monthly income, thus their ideals for family size are not significantly driven by income earning, but by ownership of household assets. The limitation to this conclusion of the relationship between gender and income is that more than two third of the sample didn`t report a numeric figure of their incomes.

Table 5.7 Group statistics and anova for income levels and IFS by gender

Gender and Ideal family size		*Mean*	*S. D*	*95% CI for Mean*		*F*	*P value*
				Lower	Upper		
Male	Less 50,000	6,00	1,537	5,02	6,98	7,305	,002
(N=55)	50 -150,000	5,75	1,578	5,14	6,36		
	150,000+	4,13	1,187	3,48	4,79		
	Total	5,36	1,637	4,92	5,81		
Female	Less 50,000	4,98	1,762	4,52	5,45	2,428	,091
(N=159)	50 -150,000	4,40	1,498	4,07	4,73		
	150,000+	4,48	1,209	3,93	5,03		
	Total	4,62	1,582	4,37	4,87		

Source: Own calculations and data [82]

Looking at the results by gender, asset-based wealth proved to have more impact on women´s preferences for children/behaviour (table 5.6 above) whereas the income difference (Table 5.7) significantly explains the men´s childbearing behaviour in rural setting. But in both these measures of welfare—asset and income—, respondents within the better welfare bracket prefer smaller family size and the reverse is true.

5.3.3 Labour Participation and IFS

The literature reviewed by this study suggests that participation in paid work affects fertility decision making and fertility outcomes. It is therefore assumed that women's participation in paid work has a fundamental impact on their preference for children and involvement of women in family size decisions. Implicitly, women's agency and power to engage in decisions within the household increases with their increased participation in paid work—especially work outside the home (Sen, 1999; Kabeer, 2001). In our sample, generally, women with paid work were most likely to prefer small IFS. However, further examination of the relationship between individuals with paid work and non-paid work across exposure to conflict and gender was done.

[82] The mean IFS difference across income levels of women was not significant at <. 05, p=. 091. This is like to have been due to over reporting of "don´t know" or fault reporting of incomes for rural populations.

5.3.3.1 Work category and IFS by exposure to conflict

The results of an independent t –test (table 5.8) shows that the main difference in the IFS by engaging in work was higher and only significant (at p<. 05) for conflict affected subjects $t_{(185)}$ =4. 229, p=. 000. The mean IFS for non-conflict subjects engaged in paid and non-paid was not significant, $t_{(142)}$ = 1.797, p=. 074, even though working in non-paid category increased the likelihood of the respondent having a higher preference for children (5.50) compared to the paid work counterpart (4.97). The explanation could be that in the conflict-affected communities, respondents that had paid-work, especially women, had more access to resources (compare to their counterparts), so as to dissuade from preference for many children as a means of physical/material wellbeing. This effect may also arise from conflict related distribution of other means of resources like land, such that *the childbearing norms are not influenced by land resource but trade and paid work; this may change the ideal family size behaviours of the people.*

Table 5.8 Group statistics and independent t-test for work categories and IFS by exposure to conflict

Exposure to conflict and IFS		Work participation	Mean	S. D	t	P	d
Non-conflict affected (N=144)	IFS	Non-paid	5,50	1,586	1,797	,074	0.35
		Paid work	4,97	1,443			
Conflict affected (N=187)	IFS	Non-paid	5,41	1,624	4,229	,000	0.62
		Paid work	4,39	1,656			

Source: Own calculations and data

5.3.3.2 Work category and IFS by gender

Women's work outside the home or for paid had a significant influence on their preference for children unlike men's work for paid. The results of an independent t-test (table 5.9) show that in the female sample, there was statistically significant difference in IFS for respondents who were engaged in paid work [M=1. 006, 95%CI [0.610, 1.403], $t_{(263)}$ =4. 992, P=. 000. The difference in mean IFS for males engaged in paid vs. non-paid was not significant, M=0. 446, 95%CI-. 393, 1.285], $t_{(64)}$ = 1.061, p=. 292, even though male subjects who participated in non-paid jobs had a higher likelihood of

reporting large IFS than their counterpart in paid-work category. The results here suggest that paid-work largely reduces women's preference for children, but not necessarily that of men. This is often related to extra visibility and decision making of women in paid-work within the household; this is due to their access to income and information relevant for confronting the social ideals of having many children among others factors.

Table 5.9 Group statistics and independent t-test for work categories and IFS by gender

Gender and IFS		Work engagement	Mean	S. D	T	P	d
Male (N=66)	IFS	Non-paid	5,37	1,670	1.061	.292	0.27
		Paid work	4,92	1,631			
Female (N=265)	IFS	Non-paid	5,48	1,588	4.992	.000	0.63
		Paid work	4,48	1,604			

Source: Own calculations and data

5.3.4 Mean IFS and Education

The result of a one-way ANOVA test (table not shown) for differences in mean IFS across three education levels (illiteracy, primary, secondary, and tertiary) show that mean IFS significantly differed across level of education, (F (3,307) = 5.592, p =. 001). The effect size partial eta square was small, (. 052)[83]. The Tukey post-hoc comparisons (table 5.10) of IFS across groups of respondents classified by level of education indicates that respondents with primary education reported significantly higher IFS compared to respondents with secondary level of education, p =. 002 or those with tertiary and above, p =. 014. The comparisons of IFS between subjects with secondary and tertiary above were not statistically significant at p<. 05. But, generally, higher level of education corresponded with lower IFS.

[83] The frequency of illiterate respondent of 11 percent could distort the findings, by ignoring the illiterate group, the reported IFS reduces with increase in level of education

Table 5.10 Multiple comparisons across education levels

(I) Education level	(J) Education Level	Mean Diff. (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
1 Primary	2 Secondary	,744*	,216	,002
(M = 5.36, 95% CI [5.12, 5.59)	3Tertiary above	,981*	,348	,014
2 Secondary	1 Primary	-,744*	,216	,002
(M = 4.61, 95% CI [4.24, 4.98)	3Tertiary above	,237	,371	,799
3 Tertiary above	1 Primary	-,981*	,348	,014
(M = 4.38, 95% CI [3.78, 4.97)	2 Secondary	-,237	,371	,799

Source: Own calculations and data[84]

5.3.4.1 Education and IFS by exposure to conflict

The ANOVA test results (table 5.11) for mean IFS difference, across level of education, was significant for both conflicts affected, ($F_{(2, 149)} = 3{,}564$, P=0. 031) and non-conflict affected subjects ($F_{(2, 123)} = 3{,}659$, p =. 029). The Tukey post-hoc (alpha (0.05) for multiple comparisons (result table not shown) suggests that IFS for respondents with primary level of education in non-conflict affected regions were most likely to have higher than that of respondents with secondary level of education, p=. 031. Therefore, across the conflict and non-conflict sample grouped across level of education; there was a noticeable decline in mean IFS with increase in level of education, even though statistically significant difference appeared only between having the primary and secondary level of education in non-conflict affected sample. Having a tertiary level of education didn't have any significant impact on conflict affected or non- affected respondents´ IFS. The results suggest that education has a robust effect on ideal of family size in general, but we see that having at least post-primary level of education has a more significant effect on the ideal of family size in the context of our sample. Yet, tertiary or higher education doesn't make any much significant difference in people's ideal.

[84] CI= 95% confidence intervals of the means. Judgments were made on three education levels, the illiterate group was not considered.

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

Table 5.11 Group statistics and ANOVA for level of education and IFS by exposure to conflict

Conflict exposure		Mean	S. D	95% CI for Mean		F	P value
				Lower	Upper		
Non-conflict affected (N=126)	Primary	5,60	1,528	5,28	5,93	3,659	,029
	Secondary	4,77	1,668	4,16	5,39		
	Tertiary +	4,86	1,215	3,73	5,98		
	Total	5,36	1,582	5,08	5,64		
Conflict (N=152)	Primary	5,10	1,609	4,76	5,45	3,564	,031
	Secondary	4,51	1,685	4,03	4,99		
	Tertiary+	4,18	1,468	3,42	4,93		
	Total	4,81	1,647	4,55	5,07		

Source: Own calculations and data

5.3.4.2 Level of education and IFS by gender

Having more than primary level of education was significantly influential on both women's and men's reported IFS.[85] The ANOVA test (table 5.12) shows that the mean IFS different across level of education was statistically significant for both gender groups: for female ($F_{(2, 212)}$ = 3,471, p =. 033) and (F (2, N=26,076) = 15.533, P=0. 000). Moreover, multiple comparisons by the Tukey post-hoc test showed that females with primary level of education had a significantly higher IFS than the counter parts having a secondary level of education, p=. 033. However, there was no significant difference between women having secondary education with those having tertiary and above levels of education. For males, a man having a primary level of education was likely to have significantly high IFS than his counterparts with higher levels of education: secondary, p=. 017; and tertiary level of education, p =. 002. These results suggest that educated women and men constrain their ideals to smaller family size. This outcome may be connected to ability of the educated fellows to access to resources, information and the challenge the traditional values for large family sizes. Nonetheless, this effect is gendered at very high levels of education; among the highly educated individuals, women have higher preference for children, which means that unlike men, highly educated women don´t necessarily prefer smaller family size or are not necessarily independent regarding reproductive decisions.

[85] The finding led to construction of a dummy variable "post-primary education", which takes into account having lower than primary education or above primary education

Table 5.12 Group statistics and ANOVA for level of education and IFS by gender

Gender and education level		Mean	S.D.	95% CI for Mean		F	P Value
				Lower	Upper		
Male	Primary	5,77	1,330	5,31	6,23	15,533	,000
(N=63)	Secondary	4,58	1,895	3,67	5,49		
	Tertiary+	3,78	,833	3,14	4,42		
	Total	5,13	1,641	4,71	5,54		
Female	Primary	5,25	1,629	4,98	5,52	3,471	,033
(N=215)	Secondary	4,62	1,614	4,21	5,04		
	Tertiary+	4,73	1,580	3,86	5,61		
	Total	5,04	1,640	4,82	5,26		

Source: Own calculations and data

5.3.5 Demographic Variables and IFS

The results of the ANOVA test (table 5.13) shows that IFS differed significantly across the age groups, (F (3, N=327) = 7,471, p =. 000), the effect was moderate (partial eta square, 0.64). The results tell us that the generational gap is one of the strongest determinants of individual family size preferences. At an early age of 18-24 years, the women and men prefer smaller family sizes than the older age groups. The logical explanation is that the modern values, increased higher education, and exposure to information dictate the opinions of the younger cohort. So, as it relates to gender, the young cohort of women are more educated and exposed to different social environment compared to the old cohort, whose education was low and values for many children (high IFS) as a channel for material wellbeing was high.

Table 5.13 Descriptive Statistics: Ideal family size and age groups

Age group of respondent (N=331)	Mean (S. D)	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared	Observed Power
18-24	4,45(1,583)				
25-34	4,94(1,618)	7,471	,000	,064	,986
35-44	5,25(1,487)				
45-54	5,72(1,757)				
Total	5,12(1,661)				

Source: Own calculations and data [86]

Further analysis of how respondents' IFS varied across age groups in case of exposure to conflict and gender follows:

5.3.5.1 Age group and IFS by exposure to conflict

The older generation reported statistically higher IFS compared to the younger generation in both conflict and non-conflict sample. The result of a one way ANOVA tests (Table 5; 14) examine the mean IFS difference between age groups for females; the difference across age groups differed significantly among non-conflict affected respondents (F (3, N=140) = 4,417, p =. 005) and conflict affected respondent alike (F (3, N=89,868) = 2.802, P=0. 044). Moreover, the Tukey post-hoc test result (table not presented) for multiple comparisons indicate that for conflict affected respondents the young generation (age group-14-24 years) was significantly more likely to have a low IFS compared to the very old generation (age group 44-54 years), p =. 010. Yet among the non-conflict affected respondents, the youngest age group (14-24 years) and second age group (25-34 years) had a significantly higher likelihood of reporting a smaller IFS than old generation (age group 45-54 years), p =. 044 and p= 0. 033, respectively. Therefore, generational differences seem to extensively influence the fertility desires; this effect may be related to the post-modern values, exposure to information and the increasing change in life styles from rural-based to (semi)urban ideals of family size. With these results, it is most unlikely that the difference across conflict-affected and

[86] The partial eta squared show effect size –Strong effect size (> . 14), moderate effect size (. 06-. 13), weak effect size (. 01 -. 05).

conflict-non-affected respondents is influenced by the age group difference—this effect will be controlled for in the empirical results (chapter 6).

Table 5.14 Group statistics and ANOVA for level of education and IFS by exposure to conflict

Conflict exposure and age groups		Mean (S. D)	95% CI for Mean		F	P
			Lower	Upper		
Non conflict affected (N=144)	18-24	4,60(1,352)	3,85	5,35	4,417	,005
	25-34	4,91(1,395)	4,49	5,33		
	35-44	5,68(1,572)	5,19	6,18		
	45-54	5,80(1,608)	5,31	6,28		
	Total	5,37(1,563)	5,11	5,63		
Conflict affected (N=187)	18-24	4,39(1,671)	3,86	4,92	2,802	,044
	25-34	4,96(1,757)	4,53	5,38		
	35-44	4,84(1,293)	4,45	5,23		
	45-54	5,62(1,954)	4,94	6,30		
	Total	4,93(1,712)	4,68	5,17		

Source: Own calculations and data [87]

5.3.5.2 Age group and IFS by gender

Older women reported statistically higher IFS than the younger generation of women, but all multiple comparisons of mean IFS difference within male age groups were not significantly different.[88] The result of a one-way ANOVA (Table 5.15) shows that the mean IFS difference between age groups for females differed significantly (F (3, N=261) = 7,402, p =. 000) and for males, the ANOVA test was not significant across age groups (F (3, N=62) = 0. 742, P=0. 531). To compare the mean IFS difference within age groups, the Tukey post-hoc test results (tables not shown) for multiple comparisons suggest that females younger groups-14-24 years and 25-34 years were significantly more likely to report lower IFS than the older generation (44-54 years). Unlike young males, young females significantly prefer smaller family sizes. This implies that the fertility preferences of women in this sample differ significantly across generations; in such a case policies that can help young women to attain there ideal family size may yield valuable results.

[87] Standard anova and Welch asymptotically F distributed were interpreted
[88] Notably, in this rural setting, the generation gap in social values of childbearing is strong and gender difference are eminent.

Table 5.15 Group statistics and ANOVA for age groups and IFS by gender

Gender and IFS		Mean	S. D	95% CI for Mean		F	P value
				Lower	Upper		
Male	1 18-24	4,50	1,852	2,95	6,05	0,742	,531
(N=66)	2 25-34	5,09	1,743	4,32	5,86		
	3 35-44	5,50	1,277	4,90	6,10		
	4 45-54	5,31	1,887	4,31	6,32		
	Total	5,20	1,657	4,79	5,60		
Female	1 18-24	4,44	1,556	3,99	4,89	7,402	,000
(N=265)	2 25-34	4,90	1,594	4,57	5,23		
	3 35-44	5,17	1,547	4,79	5,55		
	4 45-54	5,82	1,723	5,39	6,26		
	Total	5,10	1,665	4,90	5,30		

Source: Own calculations and data

5.3.6 Gender Roles and IFS

The results of the comparison of the difference across attitudes towards gender roles were not robust, but a conclusion can be reached that the higher the person agrees to male dominance of women in work or childbearing roles, the more likely s/he was to have a high IFS—which is more significant at high levels of agreement with gender dominance (see results of table 5.16). The results show that high dominance (agree to 2/3) compared to low dominance support the argument that the more acquiesced to dominant/traditional values the more likely an individual is to prefer a large family size and the reverse is true.

Table 5.16 Results of ANOVA mean IFS difference and gender role attitudes

Agreement to unequal gender roles		Mean (S. D)	95% CI for Mean		F	P
			Lower	Upper		
Dominant gender role attitudes (agree to male domination) (N=298)	Agreed to 1	5,37(1,668)	5,05	5,69	3,781	,024
	Agreed to 2	4,84(1,588)	4,58	5,10		
	Agreed to 3	5,33(1,661)	4,83	5,82		
	Total	5,11(1,644)	4,92	5,29		

Source: Own calculations and data [89]

[89] See individual questionnaire in Appendix 1—Agreed to 1, agreed to 2 and agreed to 3 imply that the respondent agreed to one or two or three statements of representing male dominant gender roles respectively.

The analysis takes a step forward to examine the difference in the IFS by agreement to dominance of male across exposure to conflict, gender as follows:

5.3.6.1 Mean IFS and dominance attitudes by exposure to conflict

Here, for non-conflict communities, the mean difference in IFS is significantly influenced by the tendency to support unequal gender roles, (F (2, N= 126) = 3.911, p =. 023). Yet, the same analysis of mean IFS was not significant in conflict affected groups (F (2, N=170) = 1,404, p =. 248) (see table 5.17). Although the difference in IFS was insignificant in conflict affected communities across groups based on gender roles, the preference for children tends to decrease with increase in sentiments of male domination; this is after considering those who agreed to two or three views of dominance.

Table 5.17 IFS and dominance/ unequal gender role attitudes by conflict exposure

Conflict exposure and dominance/unequal gender roles		Mean (S. D)	95% CI for Mean		F	P
			Lower	Upper		
Non-conflict (N=127)	Agreed to 1	5,78(1,388)	5,34	6,22	3,911	,023
	Agreed to 2	5,06(1,672)	4,65	5,47		
	Agreed to 3	5,90(1,334)	5,28	6,52		
	Total	5,43(1,571)	5,15	5,70		
Conflict (N=171)	Agreed to 1	5,12(1,785)	4,68	5,56	1,404	,248
	Agreed to 2	4,66(1,501)	4,32	4,99		
	Agreed to 3	4,88(1,774)	4,17	5,60		
	Total	4,87(1,661)	4,62	5,12		

Source: Own calculations and data

5.3.6.2 Mean IFS and dominance attitudes by gender

In table 5.18, the association between preference for large number of children among those who value male dominant gender roles was significant in the male's sample (F (2, N=58) = 3,565, p =. 035). The more dominant a man was, based on the Likert scale used, the more likely he was to report high IFS (6.17). On the other hand, even though the women's sample presented significant mean difference in views for gender roles (F (2, N=238) = 3,367, p =. 036), the direction was not clear: the mean IFS was not consistently decreasing as women reported less agreement with male dominance.

Table 5.18 IFS and gender role attitudes

Gender and agreement to attitudes of dominant/equal gender roles		Mean (S. D)	95% CI for Mean		F	P
			Lower	Upper		
Male (N=59)	Agreed to 1	4,80(1,874)	3,46	6,14	3,565	,035
	Agreed to 2	4,84(1,463)	4,35	5,33		
	Agreed to 3	6,17(1,528)	5,20	7,14		
	Total	5,10(1,616)	4,68	5,52		
Female (N=239)	Agreed to 1	5,43(1,645)	5,10	5,76	3,367	,036
	Agreed to 2	4,84(1,636)	4,53	5,15		
	Agreed to 3	5,03(1,623)	4,46	5,60		
	Total	5,11(1,654)	4,90	5,32		

Source: Own calculations and data

The above measure of gender equality values on work and IFS was recorded into egalitarian and non-egalitarian.[90]

5.3.7 Egalitarianism and IFS

Here, the conclusion is made that egalitarianism—believing in equal gender roles— is significantly associated with the preferred number of children. The Table (5.19) shows that the mean difference IFS based on groups of people with varying attitude on gender roles was significant (p=. 028). This implies that respondents who didn't agree to any egalitarian—support unequal gender roles-- had a high preference for children (5.59) as compared to those who agreed to at least one aspect of equal gender roles (5.03).

[90] The egalitarian views agreed to by respondents were categories into: 1) respondents who never agreed to any perception of equal gender role to mean non-egalitarian 2) those who agreed to at least one and more equal gender roles to mean egalitarian

Table 5.19 IFS mean difference in egalitarian attitudes

Egalitarianism and IFS	Mean (S.D)	t	df	p
Non-Egalitarian (zero agreement with equal gender role) (N=51)	5,59(1,857)			
Egalitarian (agreed to equal gender roles) (N=280)	5,03(1,612)	-2,212	329	,028

Source: Own calculations and data

Further analysis across the exposure to conflict and gender shows that all non-egalitarian respondents had higher IFS than egalitarian respondents. In detail, the conflict affect respondents had a statistically significant IFS difference (Table 5.20); this implies that in the conflict communities there was a higher likelihood that more egalitarian respondent had a small Ideal family size, which was also the case in non-conflict communities, but not significant.

5.3.7.1 Egalitarianism by exposure to conflict

In Table 5.20 the difference in IFS based on attitudes towards gender roles was only significant in the case of the conflict-affected respondents. This means that in the conflict-affected area, unlike in the non-conflict-affected regional, attitudes towards gender roles vary with preference for family size. In the non-conflict affected regions the attitudes on gender roles don´t account for the difference in IFS. This may imply that in conflict-affected, egalitarian individuals are more assertive of their position on family size behaviours than their counter part in the non-conflict affected regions.

Table 5.20 IFS and egalitarianism by conflict

Conflict and egalitarian attitudes		Mean	S. D	T	df	P
Non- conflict (N=144)	Non-Egalitarian	5,56	1,685	,674	142	,501
	Egalitarian	5,33	1,541			
Conflict (N=187)	Non-Egalitarian	5,62	2,041	2,240	185	,026
	Egalitarian	4,81	1,633			

Source: Own calculations and data

Lastly, the results in Table 5.21 show that neither was the difference in preference for children among egalitarian and non-egalitarian significant (at<. 05) among females nor among males. The results for difference in IFS of females show that woman that

demonstrated strong attitudes equal gender roles also have preference for a smaller family size compared to non-egalitarian counterparts.

5.3.7.2 Egalitarianism by gender

Table 5.21 IFS and egalitarianism by gender

Gender and egalitarian attitudes		Mean	S. D	t	df	P
Males	Non-Egalitarian	6,11	1,537	1,812	64	,075
(N=66)	Egalitarians	5,05	1,641			
Females	Non-Egalitarian	5,48	1,916	1,609	263	,109
(N=265)	Egalitarians	5,03	1,608			

Source: Own calculations and data

Again, based on Table 5.21, men who have strong attitudes for unequal gender roles are more likely to preference large family sizes because they tend to consider the women´s role largely as childbearing. In that way, the majority of men in rural communities believe strongly in male dominance and unequal gender roles.

5.4 Ability to Attain IFS Analysed: Bi-variate Analysis

The analysis here is limited to the female sample (*n*=267). The objective of this part of the exploratory sub-section is to explore the association between women´s ability to attain their reported IFS and variables of interest.

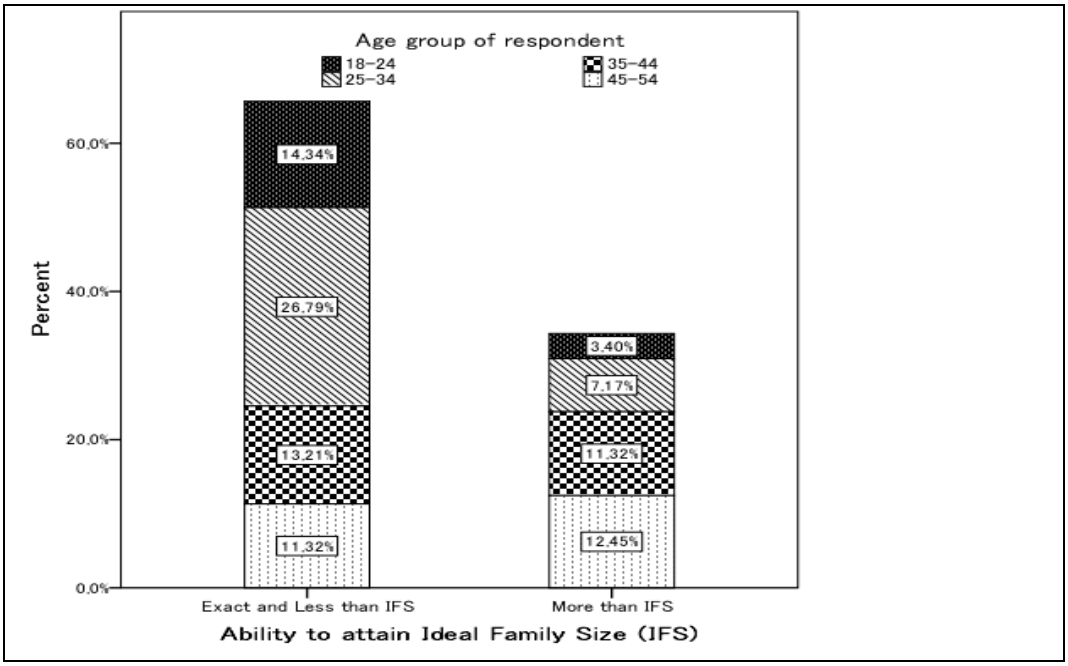
5.4.1 Introduction

The dependent variable in this sub-section is *the ability to attain an ideal family size* (ability to attain IFS, hereafter) —the details of how this variable was computed and recoded are available in the methodology chapter. For interpretation, *less than IDEAL* is when a woman had a family size she exactly expected or less than she expected, while *more than IDEAL* is when a woman had a larger family size than she expected. The two are employed, in this study, as proxies for the woman's ability to control or to effectively choose her expected family size.

The figure 5.2 demonstrates the dependent variable clustered by age group. Almost 66 per cent of the women in this sample (*N*=267) had their exact or less than their

reported IFS while 34 per cent of them had more than their IFS. As well, the majority of young women had less than their Ideal family size. This is logically because these young women are in their early reproductive phase. Therefore, the group of women that will be of interest to our analysis in the sixth chapter is that of the women aged 35 years and above.

Figure 5.1 Ability to attain IFS - by age groups



Source: Own elaboration

In this analysis, the chi-Square test for independence is used to determine whether there was a significant association between two variables. The results are reported with degrees of freedom and sample size in parentheses, the Pearson chi-square value, the significance level and effect size. For effect size, the reported phi and Cramer's V are classified as: weak in the range .15 to .20; moderate in the range .20 to .25; moderately strong in the range .25 to .30; strong in the range .30 to .35; very strong in the range .35 to .40. The Adjusted Residuals are included for variables with many categories (more than 2 in 2).

5.4.2 Income, Asset-Based Wealth and Ability to Attain IFS

The association between income and ability to attain IFS was not significant, such that, the ability to attain IFS for women earning the least income (less than 50,000 Ugx Shs) didn´t differ significantly from those earning higher incomes (earning above 50,000 Ugx Shs), χ^2 (2, N = 160) = 2,361, p =. 31[91]. On the contrary, household assets owned were significantly associated with women's ability to attain IFS: women with zero assets were most likely to have less than their reported IFS (92%) while those with more assets (3 and more) had more children than their IFS (44%) (See table 5. 22 below). The effect size of the association between women's ability to attain their IFS and their amount of household assets was moderate, as assessed by Cramer's V (0.223). The adjusted residual of the sub category of 1-2 (women owning between 1 -2 assets) was below 2; it could not be said with confidence that the percentage of women who had less than IFS (69.4%) is significantly higher than the overall average of 65.7% of the sample of 265 respondents.

Table 5.22 Attainment of IFS and number of household assets owned

		Number of Assets owned			Total
		Zero assets	1-2	3+ more	
Less than Ideal	%	92,0	69,4	56,0	65,7
	Adj Res	2,9	1,2	-2,9	
More than ideal	%	8,0	30,6	44,0	34,3
	Adj Res.	-2,9	-1,2	2,9	
	χ^2 (2, N = 265) = 13,210, p =.001			Cramer's V (0.223).	

Source: Own calculations and data

Specifically, the driving factor regarding the effect of assets seemed to be land ownership. In table 5. 23, women living in households that owned land (other assets constant) were more likely to have more children than their reported IFS (69.2%). Comparatively, women who reported living in households that didn´t own land were more likely to have less than their ideal (60.7). The association between ability to attain

[91] The results are perhaps affected by a low response to the income seeking questions. Many women didn´t know or perhaps didn´t want to revive their monthly income.

IFS and land possession was significant and had a moderately strong effect, as assessed phi value of 0.284.

Table 5.23 Land attainment of IFS

		The household is having a Plot of Land		Total
		Yes	No	
Less than Ideal	%	39,3	60,7	100
More than ideal	%	69,2	30,8	100
	χ^2 (1, N = 264) = 21,361, p =.000.		Phi value of 0.284	

Source: Own calculations and data [92]

5.4.3 Exposure to Conflict and the Ability to Attain IFS

Exposure to conflict was analysed in two ways: exposure by area of residence and exposure by time of residence in internally displaced camps (IDP). In table 24, a higher percentage of women who had lived in IDP camps between 6 -20 years were significantly more likely to have less than their reported IFS (82.6%). The adjusted residual of 4.3 shows the strength of association between the increased number of years in IDP residence and women having their exact or less than IFS. On the other hand, the women who had never resided in IDP camps (zero years) were most likely to have more than their reported IFS (43.9%). The effect of this association was moderate (. 277), as assessed by Cramer's V. The adjusted residuals suggest the sub-categories 3-5 years—for women who had spent about 3-5 years had the lowest effect. So, longer stay in IDP camps (6-20 years) forced the affected individuals to attainment their Ideal family size as compared to non-IDP respondents (See table 5. 24 below). The qualitative evidence of the difference between non-conflict affected and conflict-affected will enhance this finding.

[92] This indicator is based on the household owning land rather than the woman owning land.

Table 5.24 Ability to attain IFS and time spent in IDP Camps

		Time in IDP Camps (in years)				Total
		0 yrs	1-2 yrs	3-5 yrs	6-20 yr	
Less than Ideal	%	56,1	68,8	50,0	82,6	65,4
	Adj Res	-3,0	,3	-2,0	4,3	
More than ideal	%	43,9	31,2	50,0	17,4	34,6
	Adj Res	3,0	-,3	2,0	-4,3	
	χ^2 (3, N = 263) = 20.177, p =.000.				Cramer´s V.227	

Source: Own calculations and data

In table 5.24, women residing in conflict affected communities were most likely to have either their expected IFS or less than their IFS (73.5%) while women from non-conflict affected districts were much more likely to have more than their reported IFS (45.5%). However, the effect size of this association between living in a conflict affect community and the ability to attain IFS was small (. 197), as measured by the Phi. So living in an ever conflict affected community, in this case, makes it more likely that a woman has almost her expected (or a small) family size as opposite to women in non-conflict affected communities.[93]

Table 5.25 Ability to attain IFS and exposure by district

		Conflict exposure		Total
		Non-conflict	Conflict	
Less than Ideal				
	%	54.5	73.5	65.7
More than ideal	%	45.5	26.5	34.3
	χ^2 (1, *N* = 265) = 10. 3041, *p* =.001			
	Phi. 197			

Source: Own calculations and data

[93] Due to poor living conditions, and temporary shock married women tighten their preference for children to their actual number of children

5.4.4 Age and Ability to Attain IFS

There are two aspects analysed here: age group and age at first birth—as a dichotomous variable: 1) birth at less than 17 years, and 2) first birth at 18 above. For age groups, the generational effect on the attainment of IFS was statistically significant; this effect of age on attainment of IFS was strong. It demonstrated that the younger generation of women (age groups 18-24 years and 25 -34 years) were much more likely to have their expected or less than their expected family size. But the older generation of women (age group 45-54 years) was more likely to have more than their reported IFS/expected family size. (See table 5. 26 below)

Table 5.26 Ability to attain IFS and age groups

		Age group of respondent				Total
		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	
Less than Ideal	%	80,9	78,9	53,8	47,6	65,7
	Adj Res	2,4	3,3	-2,3	-3,5	
More than ideal	%	19,1	21,1	46,2	52,4	34,3
	Adj Res	-2,4	-3,3	2,3	3,5	
	χ^2 (3, N = 265) = 24,913, p =.000			Cramer's V	, 307	

Source: Own calculations and data

Another variable of interest regarding the influence of age on attainment of expected family size is the age at first marriage. The results (table 5. 27) show that women who gave their first birth at 18 years and above of age were more likely to have their expected or less than their ideal family size (69.3%) while those that gave their first birth at less than 17 years were much likely to have more than their expected family size (45.5); this association was statistically significant, although weak.

Table 5.27 Ability to attain IFS and age at first birth

		Age at first birth less 17 years		**Total**
		Less 17 years	18 above	
Less than Ideal	%	54,5	69,3	65,7
More than ideal	%	45,5	30,7	34,3
χ^2 (1, N = 265) = 4,816, p =.028			Phi , 135	

Source: Own calculations and data [94]

5.4.5 Level of Participation and Ability to Attain IFS

In this study, women's level of participation was sought in two ways: the woman's reported participation in family planning and the woman's subjectively reported involvement in family size decisions. As seen in table 5.28 the percentage of women who reported profound importance of family planning had a significantly higher likelihood of meeting their exact or having less than their reported Ideal family size (82.3%). At the same time, the likelihood of a woman having more than her ideal family size was significantly higher if she found family planning not to be important (43.8%). The effect size of the association of engagement in FP and attainment of IFS is moderately strong.

Table 5.28 Ability to attain IFS and engagement in Family Planning (FP)

		Engagement in FP		Total
		Very important	Not important	
Less than Ideal	%	82,3	56,2	65,9
More than ideal	%	17,7	43,8	34,1
χ^2 (1, N = 258) = 18,297, p =.000			Phi , 266	

Source: Own calculations and data

In the second measurement of participation, women who report high participation in family size decision (as an indicator of agency) within their household were significantly more likely to have their exact IFS or having less than their expected family size (70.3%). The association was weak, but statistically significant at <. 05 (see table 5. 29). The association suggests, then, that women's decision to be involved in making family

[94] This age indicator has lot to inform the study on the influence of early marriage and early first birth promoted by cultural factors and conflict effect on social structures–this will be count examined with qualitative data.

size choices is associated significantly with the ability to achieve their expected family size.

Table 5.29 Ability to attain IFS and participation in family size decisions

		Participation in family size decisions		Total
		High	Low	
Less than Ideal	%	70,3	56,2	65,5
More than ideal	%	29,7	43,8	34,5
χ^2 (1, N = 261) = 5,212, p =.022			Phi , 141	

Source: Own calculations and data

5.4.6 Work Affiliation and Attainment of IFS

The chi-square test of independence results (table 5. 30) was done. Women engaged in non-paid work were more likely to have less than their IFS compared to women in paid work. The association between these variables was significant, X^2 (1, N = 265) = 6,159, p =.013, but the effect size was weak. Due to this peculiarity, further associations are examined: 1) association between attainment of ideal family size and farming; 2) association between attainment of ideal family size and having worked after marriage; and 3) association between attainment of ideal family size and husband's work affiliation (farming or not).

Table 5.30 Ability to attain IFS and work affiliation

		Work affiliation		Total
		Non-paid	Paid-work	
Less than Ideal	%	71,3%	56,4%	65,7%
More than ideal	%	28,7%	43,6%	34,3%
χ^2 (1, N = 265) = 6,159, p =.013			Phi , 152	

Source: Own calculations and data

The association between a woman's attain of IFS and being a farmer was not significant at <. 05, (χ^2 (1, N = 265) = 3,568, p =. 059), but women in non-farming enterprise/activities were most likely to have their exact or less than ideal (71.3%) compared

to 60.3% of women affiliated to farming in the same categories of less than ideal IFS (table not provided).[95] This is arguably due to child labour demands in agriculture and the flexibility of time for childbearing that subsistence agriculture provides to women in the rural farm setting.

Table 5. 31 shows that the second aspect, a woman having worked after marriage, had a relatively strong effect size (phi. 363). The chi square test for independence shows that women who didn´t work after marriage had a significantly higher likelihood of attaining less than ideal family (83.9%), yet women who worked after marriage were much likely to have more than ideal family size (50.7%).

Table 5.31 Ability to attain IFS and women's work after marriage

		The woman worked after marriage		Total
		YES	NO	
Less than Ideal	%	49,3	83,9	65,5
More than ideal	%	50,7	16,1	34,5
χ^2 (1, N = 264) = 34,822, p =. 000			Phi , 363	

Source: Own calculations and data

Table 5.32 indicates statistically significant effect of the husband's type of work on the wife's attainment of ideal family size. Women whose husbands were not farmers had a higher likelihood of having less than IFS or their exact IFS (74.1%), yet those women whose husbands were farmers were much more likely to have more children than their ideal reported number of children (44.3%). So, the significance here suggests that the husband being a farmer or not a farmer is moderately associated with childbearing behaviour of the wife. This result was expected; especially due to the relationship between subsistence farming and illiteracy. It is also expected that women in farming households are likely to prefer more children and are more likely to have more children than their Ideal family size due to limited access to resources and existing asymmetries in social norms. Given that farming communities need more labour, it is quite common

[95] Rural women affiliated to subsistence farming would be more likely to have more children than their expected family size—due to the high likelihood of these women being illiterate and embrace more traditional values that value high number of children

that children provide such cheap labour—thus, the more children a farming household has the more likely it is to have extra and cheap labour.

Table 5.32 Ability to attain IFS and partner's affiliation to farming

		Partner is a subsistence farmer		Total
		YES	NO	
Less than Ideal	%	55,7	74,1	65,7
More than ideal	%	44,3	25,9	34,3
χ^2 (1, N = 239) = 7,998, p =. 005			Phi , 194	

Source: Own calculations and data

5.4.7 Gender role Attitudes and Attainment of IFS

The results (Table 5. 33) show that women who agreed highly to male dominance (based on statements depicting attitudes related to gender roles) were significantly more likely to have more than their preferred number of children (44%). Yet, those who agreed to almost no dominance statement were more likely to have their exact or less than ideal IFS (78.1%). The sub-categories of women, who agreed to extreme male dominance statements, were more likely to have a high number of children beyond their ideal family size.

Table 5.33 Ability to attain IFS and acceptance of dominance

		Counts of agreement with male dominance			Total
		Agreed to 1	Agreed to 2	Agreed to 3	
Less than Ideal	%	78,1	56,0	64,7	66,1
	Adj Res	3,2	-3,0	-,2	
More than ideal	%	21,9	44,0	35,3	33,9
	Adj Res	-3,2	3,0	,2	
	χ^2 (2, N = 265) = 11,224, p =.004			Cramer's V	, 217

Source: Own calculations and data

The results table 5.34 show that the association between attitudes on gender roles and attainment of IFS is not robust.[96] Based on the columns (agreeing to 2 and agreed to 3) depicting more egalitarian views on gender roles were significantly associated with

[96] In our interpretation, the adjusted residuals of agreed to 1 are below 2, so we neglect them

women having more than their IFS, while less egalitarian views were highly associated with women having less than ideal (75.2% in column agreed to 2, see table 5. 34). This association was relatively strong and statistically significant; it supports the study hypothesis that the higher the woman´s support for egalitarianism the more likely she would be to maintain her exact or less than ideal IFS. Gender roles related to income earning and equal participation in work are complex in a rural setting like the studied communities were traditional norms are cherished; this may have influenced the lack of robustness of the results of association between attainment of IFS and egalitarianism.

Table 5.34 Ability to attain IFS and egalitarianism

		Egalitarian counting index			Total
		Agreed to 1	Agreed to 2	Agreed to 3	
Less than Ideal	%	75,7	75,2	47,9	65,4%
	Adj Res	1,4	3,3	-4,5	
More than ideal	%	24,3	24,8	52,1	34,6%
	Adj Res	-1,4	-3,3	4,5	
	χ^2 (2, N = 260) = 19,953, p = .000				Cramer's V , 277

Source: Own calculations and data

5.4.8 Level of Education and Attainment of IFS

The association between ability to attain IFS and the level of education was not statistically significant, however a higher percentage of illiterate women were more likely to have more children than their IFS (see table 35). Women with secondary education were most likely to have their exact or less than their ideal number of children compared to their counterparts with tertiary education, but this association was not statistically significant. The conclusion here, which will be further developed in the discussion chapter, is that women's attainment of literacy has a more explanatory ability for differences in ability to attain their desired family size than having very high levels of education.

Table 5.35 Ability to attain IFS and level of education

		Education level				Total
		Illiteracy	Primary	Second-ary	Ter-tiary+	
Less than Ideal	%	46,7	67,1	65,0	60,0	63,7
	Adj Res	-2,1	1,3	,2	-,3	
More than ideal	%	53,3	32,9	35,0	40,0	36,3
	Adj Res	2,1	-1,3	-,2	,3	
	χ^2 (3, N = 245) = 4,613, p =.202					

Source: Own calculations and data

The results (Table 5. 35) present the association between the ability to attain IFS and illiterate. The results show that there is significant likelihood that illiterate women have more than their IFS (53.3%) whereas women with some level of education are more likely to have their exact or less than their ideal family size (68.1%). The association is significant χ^2 (1, N = 265) = 5,413, p =.020, but it´s effect is weak, as shown by phi=. 143. The explanation may be that education increases the opportunities available to the females and reduces their likelihood to follow the social norms of having large families as a channel of physical and material wellbeing.

5.5 Forced displacement, Gender and variables of interest: Bivariate Analysis

5.5.1 Introduction

One of the main arguments of this study is that temporal exposure to IDP camps has a substantial effect on the gender role and identities of men and women affected by the conflict. This section attempts to assess the association between temporal exposure to IDP camps and various indicators, with a keen focus on the women sample.

5.5.2 Residing in IDP Camps and Variables of Interest

The way conflict affected individuals varied. The results (table 5. 36) show that nearly 65 per cent of women and men, who had lived in areas affected by the war lost their property—farms and household assets, about 35 per cent lost their education, 21

per cent had been abducted—for a day, week or other for months or years. Regarding loss of education, Justino 2008 suggests that children are often needed in other activities such that older children may be required to leave education so as to replace adult males who have become fighters, died, or have been injured. For abduction studies like that of Annan et al, 2011 suggest that over 66,000 children at school going age were abducted.

The economic impact was high; about three in every four individuals in the conflict region had lost their property while less than one out of ten claimed to have lost jobs. The study found out that women were affected more than men in the case of loss of spouse/child, rape and disability: disability of some kind claimed about 10 per cent, and the women who lost their husband/ child for the two decades of the LRA conflict doubles the percentage of men in the same category. Men were slightly more vulnerable to abduction and job loss.). A much considerable percentage of 6.3 per cent of the respondents who reported to have been raped were women.

Table 5.36 Percentage distribution of the conflict affected sample by conflict effect

Nature of conflict effect (n=188)		% of "YES"	
		Male (n=31)	Female (n=157)
Lost education	[Yes=66, No=155]	35.5	34.4
Disability	[Yes=20, No=171]	9.7	10.6
Loss of Spouse/child	[Yes=36, No=155]	9.7	20.6
Loss of job	[Yes=7, No=184]	9.7	2.5
Loss of property	[Yes=123, No=67]	67.7	63.8
Abducted	[Yes=40, No=155]	22.6	20.6
Raped	[Yes=10, No=181]	0.0	6.3

Source: Own calculations and data [97]

This study found that conflict-affected respondents employed numerous coping mechanisms employed (see table 5. 37). The most frequently espoused coping mechanism was seeking help from "relief organization/ local government" (81.1 per cent). The results (table 5.37) also demonstrate that getting children out of school to work for wages was not a common option (98.9 per cent of the respondents report "no" to child la-

[97] Corresponding to yes/No response, each category/effect is express out of 100%, total respondents were 188 individuals from the conflict affected region.

bour as a coping mechanism), neither was formal borrowing (94.7 per cent, reported "no" to use of formal borrowing as a coping mechanism). Coping by self-employment accounted for 32.6 per cent; this was followed by seeking help from relatives (31.6) and informal borrowing (22.1 %), among others. The selling of assets as a means of coping was limited (13.2% of the conflict affected sample sold their assets for coping intentions).

The reviewed literature (in chapter II) demonstrated that the coping mechanisms in the conflict regions, especially, in conflict-induced displacement setting, leads to change in gender roles and household welfare (Justino, 2009). The new roles gained by women become pathways to more engagement in economic activities and decisions within the household (El-Bushra, 2003; Sorensen, 1998; Byrne, 1995).

Table 5.37 Percentage distribution of conflict affected respondents by coping mechanisms

Coping mechanism n=188	Yes [%]	No [%]
Selling Assets	13.2	86.8
Sending children to live elsewhere	16.3	83.7
Getting children from school to work for wages	1.1	98.9
Formal borrowing	5.3	94.7
Informal borrowing	22.1	77.9
Help provided by relatives	31.6	68.4
Seeking help from Local Gov´t and relief org	81.1	18.9
Work as self employed	32.6	67.4

Source: Own calculations and data

The time spent in IDP was the most parsimonious measure of exposure to conflict. Here, all the 188 respondents classified as LRA conflict affected had lived in IDPs, but their number of years/time varied. The table 5: 38 shows that the average time spent by respondent in camps. In Gulu, the average time spent in IDP camps was 5.48; In Pader, the average time spent was 7.53. In Lira, Lango sub region, the respondents had spent 3.22 years in IDP camps, on average. Yet among the control group –non conflict affected—the time spent in IDP camps was zero years, except in Luweero where the average time spent in IDP camps was half a year.

Table 5.38 Average time (in years) spent in IDP camps by location

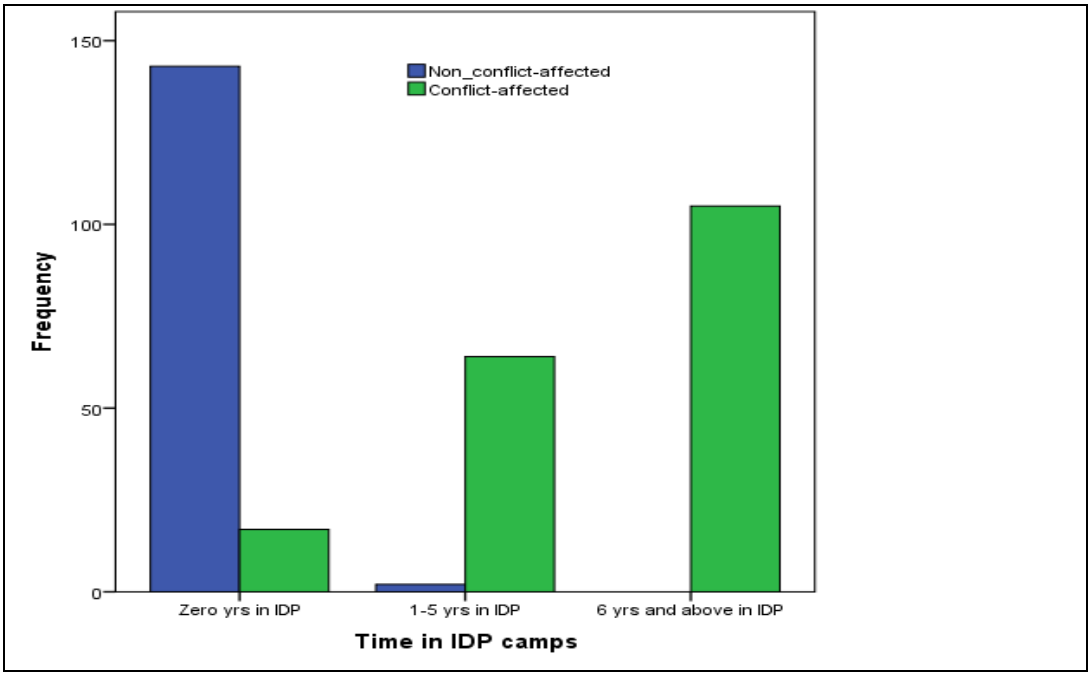
Name of Location	Statistic		
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min –Max (yrs)
Gulu	7.48	3.599	0 -15
Pader	7.53	4.877	0-20
Lira	3.22	1.898	0-6
Luweero[98]	.15	.534	0-2

Source: Own calculations and data

There was a strong association between residing in an IDP and having lived in conflict-affected region X^2 (2, N= 331) =261. 400, P=. 000 (Cramer V=. 889). To support this, among those who had zero years spent in IDP camps, 89.4 per cent (n=143) were non-conflict affected respondents and only 10.6% (n=17) were conflict-affected while among those who had spent 1-5 years in IDP, 3 per cent (n=2) were non-conflict-affected and 97 per cent (n=64) were from the conflict-affected region. All respondents (n=105) who had spent six and above years in the IDP camps were from the conflict-affected area (see figure 5.3 below).

[98] Displacement in Luweero was not connected to the LRA conflict. The time spent in IDP by year demonstrates the region differences; where the respondents in Acholi, and northern Uganda in general reported high period in IDP while respondents from Wakiso and Mukono reported zero years in the IDP camps.

Figure 5.39 Association between residing in a conflict district and being an IDP



Source: Own elaboration

Impact of time spent in IDPs is diverse. First, the analysis presents the association between time spent in IDPs and the indicators of family size behaviours. These indicators of family behaviour depict agency with regard to decision about having a small family size, ability to attain the Ideal family size goals and participation in family size decision; these have implications on women´s (and men´s) wellbeing and position within the family. The other indictor—married at less 18 years—depicts the deprivation of opportunities after marrying early; this is also related to wellbeing and agency. The emerging research on households affected by the IDPs suggests that in the aftermath of war, the number of widows increases—most of whom are vulnerable, the economic and social disruption may affect marriages and fertility and women are more likely to engage in decisions within the household following their conflict-induced entry into the labour market (see El Bushra, at al 2002; El- Bushra and Sahl, 2005; Justino, 2009 and others cited in chapter two). The studies reviewed (in chapter two) also suggest that conflict may increase early marriage. For girls, early marriage is related to health complications, violation of human rights; there is a high likelihood that girls will experience domestic violence and have less ability to make decisions within the household (Kabeer, 1998; UNPFA, 2005, 2012).

Below the study uses the bi-variate analysis based on cross tabulation to examine the associations between residing in IDP and the main outcome indicators:

The table 5.39 shows that around half of the women who had history of staying in the IDP camps for six years or more were most likely to be married before there 18th birthday. There was no much difference in preference for children based on residence or non-residence in IDP camps, however, 61 per cent of women who had spent 1-5 years in the camps were likely to have less than the sample average ideal family size of 5 children. There were 83 per cent of women who had a history of IDP camps residence for six years and above that had equal or less than the Ideal family size. Regarding subjective decision making, around 50 per cent of women that didn't have a history of residing in IDP camps (Zero years in IDPs) claimed to have high decision making on family size, while 82 per cent of the women that had spent six year and above in IDP camps reported to have low decision making when it came to family size. The difference between the entire sample and the women's sample was observed in early marriage and subjective decision making.

Table 5.39 Impact of residing in IDP camps on family size behaviour and marriage

Entire sample women and men (n=333)						
		Time spent in camps (yrs.)			**Total (%)**	**χ^2 P value**
		0 (%) 47.9	**1-5 (%) 19.9**	**6 + (%) 32.2**		
Less than average Ideal (<5) (n=329)	IFS ≥ 5	61	44	63	58	7.120
	IFS <5	39	56	37	42	.028
Married at less 18 years (n=326)	≥18yrs.	73	76	52	67	17.284
	< 17 yrs.	27	24	48	33	.000
Ability to attain IFS (n=329)	Equal/ less Ideal	55	63	80	65	16.937 .000
	> than Ideal	45	37	20	35	
Participation in re-productive decision (subjective) (n=326)	Low	46	64	76	59	24.081
	High	54	37	24	40	.000

Restricted to the women sample (n=267)						
		0 (%) 46	**1-5 (%) 18**	**6 + (%) 35**	**Total (%)**	**χ^2 P value**
Less than average Ideal (<5) (n=263)	IFS ≥ 5	61	39	66	59	10.398
	IFS <5	39	61	34	41	.006
Married at less 18 years (n=261)	≥18yrs.	68	69	52	63	8.395
	< 17 yrs.	32	31	48	37	.015
Ability to attain IFS (n=263)	Equal/ less Ideal	56	56	83	65	18.520 .000
	> than Ideal	44	44	17	35	
Participation in re-productive decision (subjective) (n=260)	Low	54	67	82	66	17.654
	High	46	33	19	34	.000

Own calculations and data

5.5.3 Women's marital status and Residence in IDPs

The majority of the women in the study sample reported to be married—in our case, marriage can be traditional or religious. Our findings support other literature which suggests that in the aftermath of the conflict the prevalence of widow is high (cf. published working papers of the Household Network; Sorensen, 1998; Buvinic et al., 2013). The study also found that there is a relationship between temporal exposure to IDP and marital status; that is to say, there were more widows (and cohabiting women) among respondents who had spent more than five years in IDP camps compared to oth-

er marital groups. But it can be observed that out of the total number of widows in the sample, the number that stayed in the IDPs was almost three quarters of that group and almost half of the widows had stayed in the IDP camps for six years or more. This suggests that the widows are more likely to be vulnerable and have poor livelihoods as a result of long displacement. Equally, the cohabiting women were most likely to face poor livelihood and more likelihood of staying in the IDP camps for long.

Table 5.40 Temporal exposure to IDP camps and marital status

		Time spent in camps (in yrs.)			Total	χ^2
		0 (%)	1-5 (%)	6 + (%)	(%)	P value
		47	19	35		
Marital Status (n=264)	Married	68	61	53	61	17.18
	Divorced	5	6	4	5	028
	Separated	12	8	6	9	
	Widow	11	12	20	14	
	Cohabiting	4	12	18	10	

Source: Own calculations and data

5.5.4 Temporal Exposure to IDP camps and Welfare

This section analyses the relationship between temporal exposure to IDP and welfare. It assesses how much exposure to IDP camps influences various measures of welfare-- asset-based wealth, income, subjective--. It also includes a subjective measure of expectations, which depicts subjective welfare expectations. Finally the association between residing in an IDP camps and reported individual income is also considered.

5.5.4.1 Asset-based wealth and subjective welfare

The table 5:41 below shows that there is considerable variation in ownership of assets (Radio, Land, TV, bicycle, mobile, motor cycle and motor vehicle) across time spent in IDPs. Around 70 per cent of the respondents who spent six years and more in the IDP camps had less than three household assets compared to only 41 per cent in the category of zero years in IDP camps; this difference was wider by more than four per cent points in the women restricted sample. Only 2 per cent of non-IDP camps affected respondents had none of the above elicited household assets compared to 20 per cent of the six and above category who had none of the assets elicited above. There was a four per cent point difference in the category of owning three and above assets, when com-

paring the entire sample to the women restricted sample. To sum up, the table suggests that residing in an IDP, particularly six years and above, appears to make significant difference to women and men´s ownership of assets and welfare.

Table 5.41 Impact of residing in a camp on asset-based wealth and subjective welfare

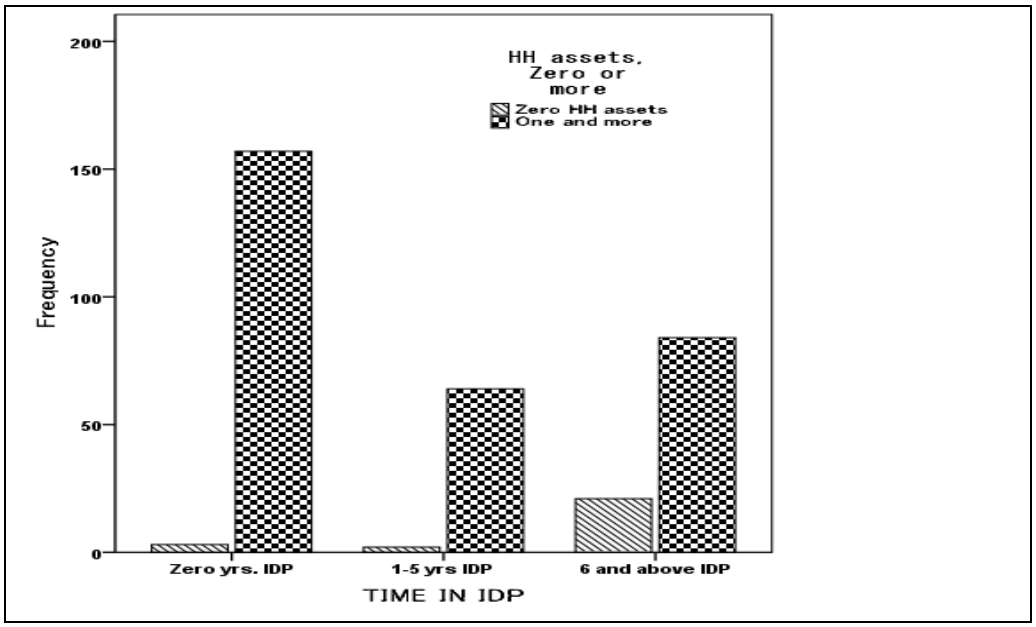
		Time spent in camps (in yrs.)			Total	χ^2
		0 (%)	1-5 (%)	6 + (%)	(%)	P value
		48	20	32		
Entire sample						
Owning Zero HH assets (n=331)	Zero HH assets	2	3	20	7.9	31.425 .000
	1 plus assets	98	97	80	92.1	
Owning three assets or more (n=331)	Less 3 assets	41	38	71	49	26.386
	3 plus assets	59	62	30	51	.000
Subjective welfare (optimism)	Even/ worse	74	24	20	45	84.376
	Better	26	76	80	54	.000
Female sample only						
		Time spent in camps (in yrs.)			Total	χ^2
		0 (%)	1-5 (%)	6 + (%)	(%)	P value
		47	19	35		
Owning Zero HH assets (n=265)	Zero HH assets	2	4	21	9	23.124 0.000
	1 plus assets	98	96	79	91	
Owning three assets or more (n=265)	Less 3 assets	46	47	74	56	18.663
	3 plus assets	54	53	26	44	0.000
Subjective welfare (optimism) (n=246)	Even/ worse	69	27	19	42	56.586
	Better	31	74	81	58	0.000

Source: Own calculations and data

On the other hand, the IDP camps history positively affected women and men´s optimism about the future after cessation of fire. In the table above, between 74 and 80 per cent of the respondents with history of residing in IDP camps expected to be better-off compared to 26 per cent in the entire sample and 31 per cent in the women's restricted sample in the category of zero years in IDP camps. There was a strongly significant difference in subjective welfare expectation in the study sample across time spent in IDP camps.

In illustration, for the entire sample (including men), there was a high likelihood that respondents who had stayed in the IDP camps for long didn't own any household asset out of the seven assets (radio, TV, bicycle, land, mobile, motorcycle, motor vehicle) (X2 (2,N=332) =31. 425, P<, 001, Phi. 308). See figure 5.5 below:

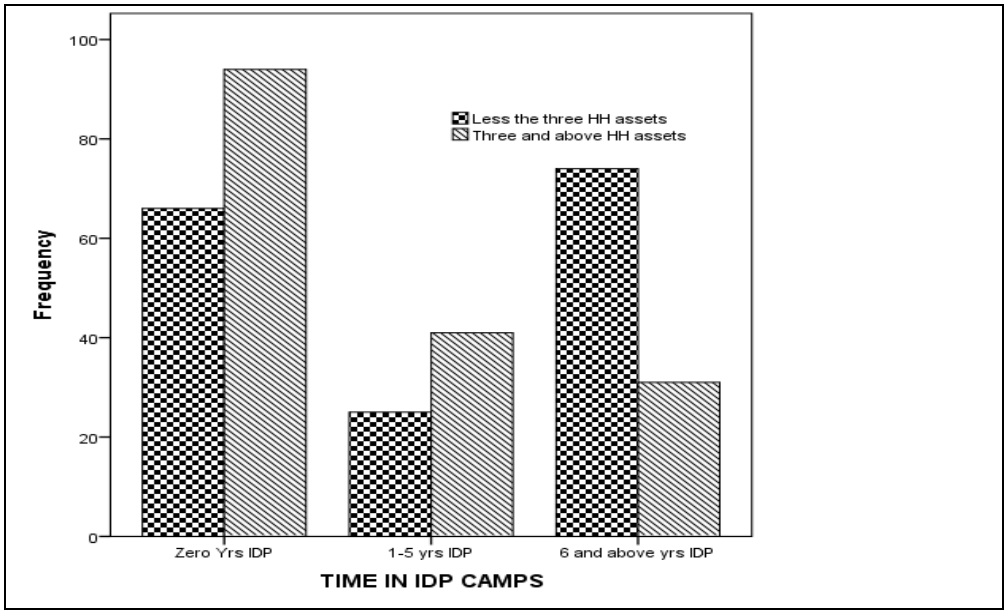
Figure 5.2 Association between asset-based wealth and time in IDP camps



Source: Own elaboration

It was also more likely that respondents who resided in the IDP camp for more than six had less the three of the seven household assets sought ($X^2_{(2, 331)}$ = 26.386, P<. 001 Phi.228). Therefore, by this measure of asset-based wealth, the IDP residents were more deprived compared to non-IDPs.

Figure 5.3 Association between asset-based wealth and time in IDP camps



Source: Own elaboration

5.5.4.2 Income and residing in IDP camps (female n=267)

The majority of the women in our sample were from the low income groups (less than Ugx. shs. 100,000). Only one out of ten women in the category of six years in the IDPs belonged to the highest income level (Ugx Shs 150,000). The difference between women from the non-conflict affected category (Zero years in IDPs) and those with 1-5 years in IDPs was visible in the middle income category (Ugx.shs 100.000 -150,000). Nonetheless, there is a limitation to the use of income earnings as a measure of welfare in our study, because most of the respondents were unable to disclose their income. This was either due to their inability to systematically report their monthly income or due to fear for disclosure of earning.

Table 5.42 Women's income and residing in IDP camps

		Time spent in camps (in yrs.)			**Total**	**χ^2**
		zero	**1-5**	**6 +**	**(%)**	**P value**
		(%)	**(%)**	**(%)**		
		55.3	23.0	21.7		
Income range	< shs. 50	43	32	23	36	12,552
(in thousands)	Shs.50-100	24	43	51	34	.051
(n=161)	Shs.100-150	20	8	14	16	
	Shs.150 +	14	16	11	13.7	

Source: Own calculations and data

5.5.5 Labour and Civic participation

The significant point observed by many previous researchers is that women who regularly leave the home to work find the opportunity of moving unaccompanied in the public domain than women who work within the home (Sen 1990; Kabeer, 2011). This freedom of movement also comes with civic participation. Women who are active members in social group have more plausibility to freely interact with fellow women on a regular basis. Such collective association increases the women´s power with (Thompson,).There is more literature in the peace and conflict research to suggest that conflict-affected women are more likely to engage in social groups and to participation in paid-work (See second world war effect on women in Europe and America; In Africa, see El-Bushra, 2003; Petesch, 2011; 2013). In our study Table (below) supports the aforementioned interpretation.

Table 5.43 Labour and civic participation and duration in IDP camps

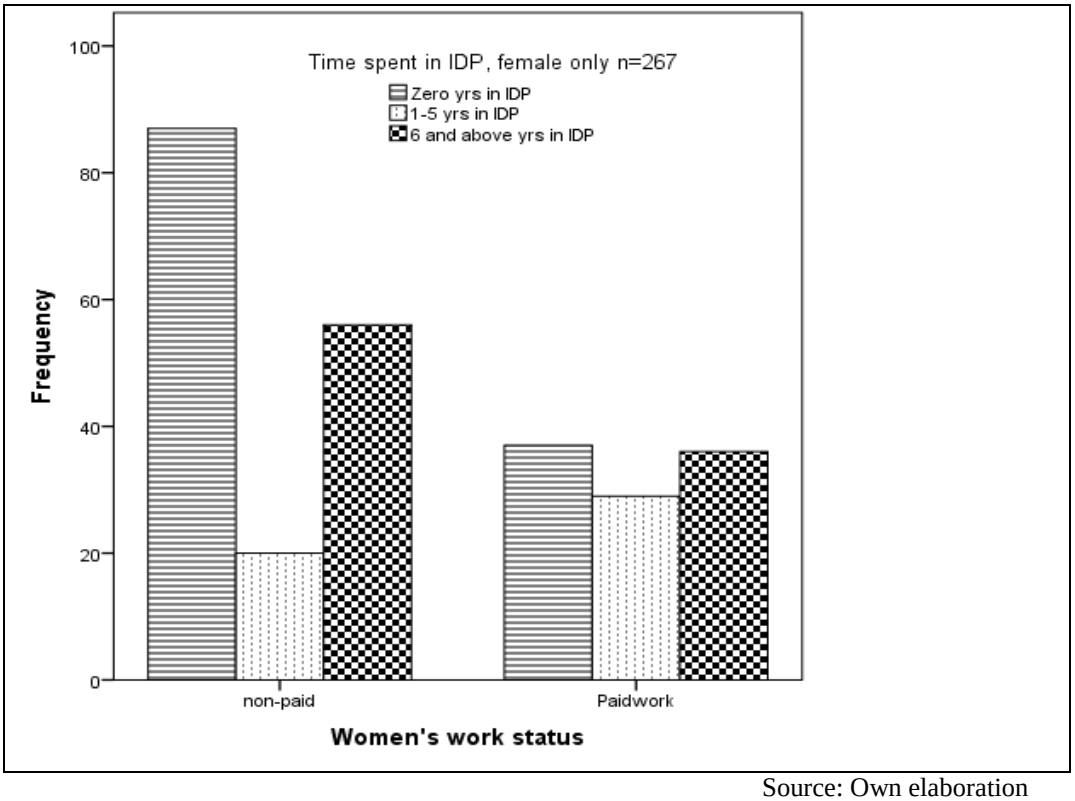
		Time spent in camps (in yrs)			**Total (%)**	**χ^2 P value**
		Zero (%)	**1-5 (%)**	**6 + (%)**		
		48.4	20.2	31.4		
Entire sample women and men						
Participation in paid work (n=331)	Non-paid	70	44	60	61.6	13.593
	Paid work	30	56	40	38.4	.001
Civic participation (n=332)	High	55	66	71	62.4	7,308
	Low	45	34	29	37,6%	.026
Female restricted sample						
Participation in paid work (n=265)	Non-paid	70	40	60	62	12.799
	Paid work	30	60	40	38	.002
Civic participation (n=258)	Active	46	65	72	62	7.186
	Inactive	54	35	24	38	.028

Source: Own calculations and data

From the above table, there were 30 per cent of women in the category of non-conflict-affected (zero years in IDP) in paid-work while there were 60 per cent of women with 1-5 years in IDPs and 40 per cent of women with six and above years in IDPs that had paid work. As far as civic participation was concerned, there were 65 per cent of women in the with 1-5 years in IDPs that were active in civic group and 72 per cent of those with six years and above in IDPs that were active members in civic groups

compared to 46 per cent of non-conflict-affected (zero years in IDPs). Women in the category of zero years in IDP camps were significantly more likely not to have paid work (($X^2_{(2,267)}$ = 12.799, P=. 002 (Phi.220). Remember that all these women are from a rural setting, where off-farm work is common for men. Studies show that women who belong to charity groups, NGOs, and small women groups command some position in the community (Kabeer, 2001).

Figure 5.4 Women's labour participation and duration in IDP camps



Source: Own elaboration

5.5.6 Attitudes and Perceptions

A further set of questions explored women views and opinions: Three questions elicited significant difference across exposure to conflict; in general an overwhelming majority of women across all categories of exposure to conflict believed in equal gender roles. There were 70 per cent of women in this sample who believed that a woman can combine work and childbearing roles, 62 per cent agreed that a family can be happy with a working mother, 92 per cent agree that women and men should contribute to the household. In the same vigour, an overwhelming 77 per cent of women disagree that a

women should keep the home as a men works, and a fair split was reported when 54 per cent agreed that family life suffers when a men over concentrate on work.

Table 5.44 Beliefs and perceptions (females n=267)

Traditional and egalitarian values		**Time spent in camps (in yrs.)**			**Total (%)**	**χ^2 P value**
		0 (%)	**1-5 (%)**	**6 + (%)**		
		46.8	18.5	34.7		
Woman can work and succeed in child care	Agree	66	76	82	73	8.197
	Disagree	34	24	18	27	017
Women can work full time and have a happy family	Agree	69	60	61	64	Not sig.
	Disagree	31	40	39	35	
Men and women should contribute to the household income	Agree	92	93	93	93	Not sig.
	Disagree	8	7	7	7	
Ideally, the woman can look after the children while the man goes out to work	Agree	25	38	14	24	10.039
	Disagree	75	62	86	77	.007
Family life often suffers when men concentrate too much on their work	Agree	66	56	31	53	30.966
	Disagree	34	44	69	47	.000

Source: Own calculations and data

The results (Table 5.44) show that 82 per cent and 76 per cent of women who had spent six year and above, and those who have spent 1-5 years in IDPs respectively agreed that women can work and succeed in child care roles compare to 66 per cent of their counterparts in the non-conflict affected group (zero years in IDPs). On the more traditional beliefs, 66 per cent of women in the non-conflict affected category (zero years in the IDPs) agreed that family suffers when the husband over concentrates on work to which 69 per cent of the women that spent six years and above in IDPs disagree. There was no statistically significant difference between affected and non-affected women on beliefs regarding the need for equal contribution of women and men to the family and women's full time work not harming the family. So, former IDPs are likely to support equal gender roles compared to non-IDPs.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has extensively explored numerous variables of interest, but emphasising the differences in gender and exposure to conflict. It has concentrated on ideal family size preference and women's attainment of ideals. It also assessed the effect of displacement on welfare measures and individual attitudes. It provides a basis for chapter six.

CHAPTER 6

ESTIMATING THE EFFECT OF VIOLENT CONFLICT

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the main findings of the study. It is organized in two sub-sections corresponding with the hypotheses. The first sub-section estimates the impact of exposure to conflict on family size preferences and early marriage. The second sub-section estimates the effect of exposure to conflict on women's agency and power related to engagement into the labour participation and attainment of family size ideals. In all the analyses carried out, the effect of the control variables is considered. The chapter also includes insights from the solicited experiences of respondents and key experts.

6.2 The Effect of Exposure to Conflict on Family Dynamics

The estimated results here are drawn from logistic regression models with two dependent variables: Ideal Family Size (IFS) and child marriage—based on age at marriage. As mentioned before, Ideal Family Size captures the childbearing preferences at the individual level, but under ideal conditions, that is, in the absence of any possible obstacles—this concept provides "complementary information about fertility decision-making" (Testa, 2012). For child marriage, we consider the human rights approach which considers child marriage as marriage below 18 years. Lastly these are measured in their correlation to exposure to conflict—measured by exposure in conflict-affected districts of residence and the time spent in IDP camps.

6.2.1 The Impact of Exposure to Conflict on IFS

Using the logistic regression, the study estimates the effect of exposure to violent conflict on Ideal Family Size (IFS) preferences. This logistic regression analysis estimates the probability of the respondent having less than the sample`s average IFS. The main explanatory variable is exposure to conflict. Given that the two indicators of exposure to conflict—district of residence (regional exposure) and time spent in IDP camps

(temporal exposure to IDP camps)—were highly correlated, the two measures are not introduced into the same regression analysis, but rather two separate regressions are run with the same specifications. That means that the results in Table 6.1 consider regional exposure to conflict (district of residence). Table 6.2 considers the temporal exposure to IDP camps (time spent in IDP) as the indicator of exposure a conflict. Meanwhile, Table 6.3 and Table 6.4 include the conflict coping strategies into the analysis. In all the mentioned analyses, the predictors and model specifications are the same.

The dependent variable and main explanatory variables elaborated:

In the sample, the average preference for children is 5.15 children per family. This means on average every respondent preferred to have 5 children in an ideal situation, and this depicts that our sample is largely rural. Based on the study's average IFS, the dependent variable was generated to depict having *less than the average IFS or* having the average IFS and above).[99] The use of a dichotomized variable for IFS is to minimize any inconsistencies in the data as well as better estimate data points for non-numeric responses. Considering the current sample IFS average mentioned above, the cut-off point for the dichotomous Ideal family size variable is set at 5 , which represents a relatively conservative measure allowing for a certain amount of personal decision making and choice, in addition to discrimination, all of which factors into family size behaviours. To state it clearly, IFS is categorized as follows:

1 = 0 – 4.00 (smaller Ideal size)

0 = 5.00 + (high Ideal family size)

The argument is that more empowered women will have a smaller ideal family size than less empowered women because having fewer children will allow them greater freedom to pursue life opportunities. This decision making and choice is perceived to have a strong correlation between family size behaviours and women's welfare, level of education, and employment. Thus a score of '1', in itself, represents substantial empowerment.

[99] This implies that the analysis tested for the probability that a respondent had less than the sample average IFS (Having a lower preference for children)

The distribution of the dependent variable across the sample (N=320) was that: 41.4 percent of the sample had less that the average IFS and 58.6 percent had the average IFS and above. This means that more than half of our study sample preferred to have five and more children in an ideal situation. In this setting, we are talking about a sample in which the value for having a sizeable family size is preferably eminent. The objective of using this dependent variable is to assess the extent to which residence in the conflict-affected district and or displacement influence the probability that one has less than the average preferred number of children (IFS). It is hypothesized that conflict-affected individual would prefer smaller ideal family size compare to non-conflict affected.

For the main explanatory variables, the distribution of exposure to conflict by the district was such that 56.5 percent of the sample had lived in one of the conflict-affected districts—Gulu, Pader, Lira—and 43.5 percent had not resided in a conflict-affected district (non-conflict-affected). As far as time spent in IDP is concerned, 48.3 percent had spent zero years in IDP (the control group), 20 percent had spent 1-5 years in IDP camps, and 31.7 percent had spent 6 years and above in IDP camps.[100] The distribution of conflict-respondents by coping strategies shows that 32.6 percent of the conflict affected individual copied not only by relief aid, but also established some kind of economic activities.

The models and results:

In the first regression results (table 6.1) the models explain up to 70 percent of the variation in individual family size desires in an ideal situation. The first model provides result on how much exposure by region,, one's socio-economic empowerment and individual characteristics explain the IFS desires, in this model 7.8 percent of the cases are correctly predicted and the model significantly (χ^2 (9, N=320) =70. 846, P=. 000) explained 26.8 percent of the variation in individual IFS desires. Moreover, included the interactions between gender and conflict, gender and employment, gender and education

[100] 10 percent of those who had zero years in IDP had lived in the conflict district therefore the two measures of exposure to conflict are run in different regression. The study expects difference in the effect of exposure to the outcome based on the measure of exposure to conflict used in the analysis.

in the second model improves the model`s predictive power to 71.3 percent, and the variation in the dependent was significantly (χ^2 (12, N=320) =78. 907, P=. 000) explained 29.5 percent of the. The third model included the social indicators (society effect of Ideals, Egalitarianism, Number of living children and civic participation) which significantly (χ^2 (16, N=320) = 125.037, P=. 000) predicted 78.1 percent of the cases correctly. This third model predicted 43.6 percent of the variation in the dependent variable (*having less than the average IFS.* Therefore, this implies that the specifications of each model, increasingly explained the variations in individual family size decisions.

The results (table 6.1) show that residing in a conflict-affected district (Gulu, Pader, Lira) increased the probability of having less than the average IFS. The effect exposure to the conflict by district tends to increase the chance that an individual prefers small IFS, even when asset-based wealth, level of education and demographic measures are considered. This means that no matter the social and demographic different between conflict-affected individuals, they are likely to prefer small IFS. Notably, the addition of variables for society norms of childbearing and social values based on attitude for gender equality affects the explanation of exposure to the conflict by district. *The overwhelmingly significant effect of social values implies the gender relations and social values for having more children strongly influence the individual behaviour and decisions of conflict-affected and non-affected individual. Again, in the case of conflict-affected individual, this means that conflict events hardly affect the social ideologies of childbearing in particular. These ideologies are static and host the structural limitation to women´s empowerment and gender equality within household decision making.*

Table 6.1 Logistic Regression Analysis of IFS preferences (regional exposure to conflict)

	Model I		Model II		Model III	
Independent variable tested	B (S.E.)	Odds ratio)	B (S.E.)	Odds ratio	B S.E.	Odds ratio
Residing in conflict district	.062 (.276)	1.064	.166 (.679)	1.180	-.022 (.731)	.979
Having 1-2 HH assets, ref. Zero HH assets	2.877*** (1.052)	17.759	2.866*** (1.058)	17.563	2.666** (1.084)	14.389
Having three + HH assets	3.156*** (1.057)	23.465	3.113*** (1.064)	22.481	2.877*** (1.091)	17.767
Having paid work	1.149*** (.273)	3.154	-.048 (.648)	.953	-.109 (.700)	.896
Having post primary education	.814*** (.268)	2.258	1.991*** (.672)	7.323	1.900*** (.731)	6.683
Gender [Female=1]	.213 (.328)	1.237	.371 (.560)	1.449	.228 (.594)	1.256
Agegroup18-24, ref 45-54	1.443*** (.412)	4.234	1.501**** (.421)	4.485	.813 (.522)	2.254
Agegroup24-34	.633* (.345)	1.883	.597* (.352)	1.817	-.032 (.426)	.968
Agegroup35-44	-.060 (.368)	.942	-.016 (.374)	.984	-.225 (.413)	.798
Gender by paid work			1.439** (.712)	4.215	1.413* (.775)	4.107
Gender by Six and above years in IDP			-.217 (.741)	.805	.033 (.806)	1.033
Gender by Having post primary education			-1.408* (.735)	.245	-1.225 (.798)	.294
Low Community effect lower than IFS (<6)					1.561**** (.299)	4.762
Egalitarian values (equal gender roles)					.322 (1.058)	1.380
Having lower than average living no. of children (<4CHLD					1.028*** (.343)	2.797
Civic participation (Yes=1)					.299 (.308)	1.349
Constant	-4.707**** (1.134)	.009	-4.801**** (1.184)	.008	-6.131**** (1.595)	.002
Observations		320		320		320
Model	$\chi^2(9)=70.846$,P=.000		$\chi^2(12)78.907$, p=.000		$\chi^2(16)=125.037$,P=.000	
Pseudo R		.268		.295		.436

Note: The dependent variable was *having less than the average IFS* (less than average IFS=1 having average IFS and above=0, P valve: * = p<0.1, ** = p<0.05, *** = p<0.01, ***** = p< 0.001.

Source: Own calculations and data

Also, results (Table 6.1, model II) show that the probability of those who experienced the conflict by residence in a war zone to have a smaller IFS increased (from odds ratio, 1.064 to 1.180) [the analysis consider IFS, not actual family size because the former expresses fertility decision making in an ideal situation]. This is the case when gender interactions—female with paid work, female that spent longer time in IDP, and female with post-primary education— were considered

Therefore, residing in a conflict district increases the probability that someone prefers a smaller family size—below the sample average of five children, especially due to the combined effect of property-economic disruptions by war and change in the structure of the household. The qualitative results suggest that the psychological effect of war is another candidate to explain the correlation between living in a conflict zone and the preference for a smaller family size. However, there was evidence that the social norms attached to childbearing decrease the probability that individuals who resided in a conflict-zone prefer smaller IFS. This was observed when the study controlled social variables, and it appeared that individuals who lived in conflict-affected districts were less likely to prefer more than the average IFS. This effect of exposure to conflict differs by gender when we consider prolonged stay in IDP camps—women were more likely to be affected by the community perception of ideal family size. This is partly because women were more likely to report high social influences of their family size ideals—that is, they had a small personal preference for children, but an exceeding high community ideal family size (GIFS) compared to men. So, as it will be discussed later, the ideologies related to childbearing and gender equality are almost not set-off by the experience of the conflict, perhaps they are reinforced.

The analysis also considers social status indicators. Among these indicators, asset-based wealth—measured by ownership of household assets—and having post-primary education had a more robust effect on the IFS. The measures of asset-based wealth (Radio, Television, bicycle, Land, Mobile phone, Motorcycle and Vehicle) increase the likelihood of having a smaller family size. This effect is robust, which means

that asset-based wealth increasing the opportunities for the individual and influence lower IFS. In the third model with all the predictors, an individual having 1-2 household assets compared to having zero assets was more than 14 times likely to have less than the average IFS (Odds ratio, 14.389) while one having three and above household assets compared to having zero assets was 17 times more likely to have less than the average IFS (Odds ratio, 17.767). Therefore, in this study, owning household resources suggests that wealthier individuals prefer small family sizes in an ideal situation. Having post-primary education increased the probability of preference for smaller IFS by more than 7 times, after including the interactions of gender and by more than 6 times after including social effects. So, as it will be discussed in details (in the discussion chapter), having post-primary education has a trickle-down effect on childbearing behaviours.

The results in Table 6.1 also show that the community norms of ideal family size strongly explained the variations in individual preference for children. Using the indicator of having more than the average GIFS of six children, the study finds that individuals that report more than the average community ideal family size were more likely to have high family sizes. This implies that where the community norms of ideal family size is higher than the individual average preference for children—note that in our case the average IFS is five children per family while the average GIFS is six children per family (see chapter 5)—, the social/community effect strongly and significantly influences the individual family size behaviours. It is also worst noting that the community norms for childbearing are gendered—such that, the women report a higher community ideal number of children (GIFS) than the men. Similarly, individuals who harbour more traditional attitudes of unequal gender roles have a higher preference for larger families.

The analysis in table 6.2 was based on three models. The block model-with only the constant had a 58.8 percent correct prediction. All the three models significantly increased the prediction capacity of the regression. The first model contains variables of exposure to conflict measure—time in IDP; the asset-based index of wealth; employment status; education measure and Gender and age.), it correctly predicted 70.4 percent of the cases. This model predicts 26.9 percent of the variation in the outcome significantly (χ^2 (11, N=318) =70.956, P=.000). The second model (contains the interaction between gender and conflict, gender and employment, gender and education) predicted

72.6 percent of the cases correctly. The model predicts 30.5 percent of the variation in the outcome significantly (χ^2 (13, N=318) =81.695, P=.000). The third model containing social indicators (having above the community IFS, egalitarianism, having more than the available number of children, civic participation) predicted 77 percent of the cases correctly and this model predicts 43.8 of the variance in the dependent outcome significantly (χ^2 (17, N= 318) =124. 950, P=. 000). *Thus addition of gender specific indicators, social status/empowerment measure and social effect proxies to the main explanatory variable—exposure to conflict—increases our ability to explain the changes in individual IFS preference.*

The results (table 6.2) also show the effect of exposure to conflict by duration spent in IDP camps—where we compare individuals exposed to IDP camps with non-IDP-exposed groups. The results are not significant, but suggest that exposure to IDP camps reduced the probability that one would prefer many children. However, prolonged exposure to displacement—residence in IDP for six years and more—provided mixed results. The results suggest that residing in the IDP camps for six years and more compare to non-IDP residence tends to increase the probability of having more than the average IFS. However, this effect does not hold for men, the results of the interaction between prolonged stay and gender suggest that it is only the females with prolonger stay in IDP that preferred large family sizes.

Although not significant, the results suggest that shorter stay in IDP enabled individuals to recover from the conflict and then in turn preferred smaller family sizes. Yet prolonged stay in IDP —i.e beyond five years left individuals, especially women, more vulnerable than the non-IDP counter counters hence their increased preference for larger family size as a source of social security. This is likely to be the best explanation because, in this sample, people who had over-stayed in IDPs (five years and above) were poorer—they had less scores on the asset-based wealth (also having zero household assets). Generally, as will be explained more in the discussion chapter, chronic poverty commonly associated with long stay in IDPs is in turn associated with higher value for large families as a means of socioeconomic support in future times. In this case, limited access to resources may explain both, the prolonged stay in conditions of IDP camps' and the preference for large family sizes.

Gender, as an analytical category, captures the complex matrix of social relationships within society. The study integrated interactions of gender with paid work, living in IDPS and having post-primary education in the analysis. It was found that women's engagement in paid work increased their chances of having less than four children—depicting higher agency attached to women's preference for smaller family sizes— - While women with post-primary education rather preferred more than four children, as their ideal. Women's prolonged stay in IDP camps increased their preference for children, but the effect was not significant. The correlation between women's prolonged stay in IDP camps and high preference for children may be related to their vulnerability and limited access to resources—which implies that their opinions are much likely to be influenced by social relations and ideologies that construe childbearing to women's material and social wellbeing.

The most outstanding finding here is that women who had resided in the IDP camps for longer were 78 percent (odds ratio .217) less likely to prefer a small family size compared to non-IDPs. This effect is statistically significant. This result is supported by the fact that the majority of women who stayed in the camp for long were vulnerable—mostly widows and cohabiting women. There is ample support of this finding from literature and our qualitative insight.

Table 6.2 Logistic Regression of IFS preference (temporal exposure to IDP)

	Model I		Model II		Model III	
Independent variables	B (S.E.)	Odds ratio	B S.E.	Odds ratio	B S.E.	Odds ratio
1 to 5 years in IDP, ref Zero years in IDP	.316 (.338)	1.371	.239 (.347)	1.270	.080 (.371)	1.084
6 and above years in IDP, ref ``	-.189 (.318)	.828	1.092 (.848)	2.981	1.090 (.980)	2.974
Having 1-2 HH assets, ref. Zero HH assets	2.731** (1.057)	15.344	2.695** (1.060)	14.807	2.605** (1.084)	13.536
Having three + HH assets	2.933*** (1.065)	18.789	2.881*** (1.068)	17.832	2.808** (1.094)	16.572
Having paid work	1.124**** (.269)	3.078	-.088 (.644)	.915	-.212 (.704)	.809
Having post primary education	.852*** (.269)	2.345	1.923** (.642)	6.841	1.763** (.692)	5.830
Gender [Female=1]	.244 (.329)	1.277	.525 (.549)	1.691	.347 (.574)	1.415
Agegroup18-24, ref 45-54	1.457**** (.412)	4.293	1.467*** (.422)	4.338	.720 (.524)	2.055
Agegroup24-34	.612* (.346)	1.845	.593* (.352)	1.810	-.091 (.429)	.913
Agegroup35-44	-.068 (.369)	.934	-.047 (.376)	.954	-.274 (.415)	.761
Gender by paid work			1.448** (.707)	4.252	1.507* (.777)	4.513
Gender by Six and above years in IDP			-1.530* (.892)	.217	-1.252 (1.030)	.286
Gender by Having post primary education			-1.281* (.709)	.278	-1.087 (.765)	.337
Having lower than community IFS (<6 GIFS)					1.483*** (.302)	4.406
Egalitarian values (equal gender roles)					.262 (1.054)	1.300
Having lower than average living no. of children (<4CHLD					1.091*** (.349)	2.976
Civic participation (Yes=1)					.318 (.306)	1.374
Constant	-4.521**** 1.141	.011	-4.690**** 1.182	.009	-6.035*** * (1.592)	.002
Observations	318		318		318	
Model	χ^2 (10)=70.956, p=.000		χ^2(13)=81.695, p=.000		χ^2(17)=124.950 p=.000	
Pseudo R	.269		.305		.438	

Note: The dependent variable was *having less than the average IFS* (less than average IFS=1 having average IFS and above=0, P valve: * = p<0.1, ** = p<0.05, *** = p<0.01, ***** = p< 0.001.

Source: Own calculations and data

However, a few points have to be made: 1) this effect was only significant before controlling for the community influence on IFS and the attitudes on equal gender roles. This may imply that the social effect on childbearing and cultural values related to women´s work and childbearing roles influence women´s preference for children more significantly than other factors including the main explanatory variable—exposure to conflict. 2) The effect of regional exposure to conflict and temporal exposure to IDP camps is disproportionate across gender as demonstrated by the interactions between gender and prolonged stay in IDPs, however, the result are mixed. To understand these complex dynamics, the qualitative insights provide evidence to psychological, social, and economic channel through violent conflict may effect on family behaviours (cf. qualitative data insights).

Just like in the previous results which consider regional exposure to conflict, consideration of temporal exposure to IDP camps confirms that asset-based wealth and having post-primary education robustly increase the likelihood for one to prefer less number of children. The most viable explanation may be that welfare limitations and social status affects individual childbearing preferences. Moreover, the interaction variables prove that women in paid-jobs strongly and robustly prefer a lower number of children, while women having post-primary level of education don´t necessarily prefer small family sizes.

Nonetheless given that conflict-affected women were more likely to have paid work (cf. the data explanatory chapter), the preference for smaller family size may also be due to the conflict-effect on women´s participation in paid work, which in turn affects their value for having more children. As explained before, individuals who are more culturally inclined would prefer large family sizes beyond the effect of conflict due to the effect of hierarchies in social relations. So, in this case, where conflict-affected women are more likely to have had paid work, if all factors remain constant,

women in conflict-affected regions are more likely to by-pass this social channel which values large families.

As far as age was concerned, individuals in the young cohort 18-24 were more than four times likely to have a smaller family size (see table 6.1 and 6.2) compared to the older cohort of 44-54 years. However, this effect was insignificant when social effect factors were added into the analysis.

The analysis in tables 6.3 and 6.4 introduces a measure of *conflict plus coping mechanism*. In the sample only 32.6 percent of the conflict-affected individuals (n=188) had copied with the conflict by engaging in some sort of economic activity. We analysed the difference between conflict-affected individuals that had copied positively with the conflict—via self-started economic activities— compared to the rest. This provided the analysis with two groups of conflict-affected individuals: one that employed economic coping mechanisms and another that don't—depended on relief aid, relative's support e.t.c. *The rational is that conflict-affected individuals who cope with the conflict by setting up economic activities during the conflict or in the camps demonstrate different attitudes and behaviours, and enjoy a better-off welfare in the post-conflict setting.* The analysis that considered coping mechanism and other variables (tables 6.3 and 6.4) explains over 45 percent of the variation in IFS.

The findings in tables, 6.3 and 6.4 provide a distinct analysis of the effect of exposure to conflict by considering the coping mechanism of conflict-affected respondents. Although various coping strategies were elicited—for instance, depending on relatives, humanitarian relief, selling assets and engaging in self-employment (economic activity), the focus is put on coping by engaging in economic activity compared to other mechanism—relief aid, relatives´ support etc. The study focuses on coping by economic engagement because the literature suggest that conflict and displacement in Northern Uganda cause a change in gender norms of work—women were more likely to engage in trade and business during and after the conflict (cf. El-Bushra and Sahl, 2005; Lehrer, 2010).Therefore, we analyse how the 32.6 per cent of conflict-affected individuals that coped with the conflict by engaging in economic activities behave in relation to IFS preferences compared to their counterparts. To achieve this, the analysis presented in Tables 6.3 and 6.4 considers in a single model two measures of exposure to conflict—

one that merely represents exposure to conflict (by district or IDPs) and another representing the interaction between exposure to conflict and coping by economic activity.

Table 6.3 Logistic Regression of IFS preferences (Temporal exposure to IDP camps)

Independent variables	B	S.E.	Exp(B)
Residing in IDP	-.857	.777	.425
Residing in IDP and coped by economic activity	.965**	.456	2.623
Having 1-2 HH assets, ref. Zero HH assets	2.567**	1.092	13.026
Having three + HH assets	2.663**	1.100	14.343
Having paid work	.206	.709	1.229
Having post primary education	1.944***	.741	6.984
Gender [Female=1]	.233	.599	1.262
Agegroup18-24, ref 45-54	.819	.532	2.268
Agegroup24-34	.020	.439	1.020
Agegroup35-44	-.137	.426	.872
Gender by paid work	.923	.795	2.518
Gender by Six and residing in IDP	.633	.810	1.884
Gender by Having post primary education	-1.256	.809	.285
Having lower than community IFS (<6 GlFS)	1.602****	.305	4.961
Egalitarian values (equal gender roles)	.392	1.100	1.480
Having lower than average living no. of children (<4CHLD	1.046***	.349	2.846
Civic participation (Yes=1)	.350	.306	1.420
Constant	-6.142****	1.634	.002

Observations (n)	=	318
Model	=	χ^2 (17, 318) =128.213,p< 0.001.
Pseudo R^2	=	.447

Note: Dependent variable is having less than average IFS coded so that Less than average IFS= 1 and 0=more than average IFSP valve: * = p<0.1, ** = p<0.05, *** = p<0.01, ***** = p< 0.001.

Source: Own calculations and data

It can be observed that economic activities which people engaged in during conflict were mostly informal trade. This informal trade dealt with quick to sell merchandise, daily life items like local brewing of alcohol, selling firewood, selling food and

crafts retail businesses e.t.c. Most of these businesses ensued even after the conflict and a majority of them were run by women (cf. qualitative insights).

Distinctively, the results in Table 6.3 suggest that residing in IDP camps had a negative effect on the IFS preferences—staying in the camp was associated with preference for large family size.

But, those individuals (32.6 per cent) who resided in the IDP camps and employed economic coping mechanism were more than two times likely to prefer smaller families (OR, 2.623). The rational could be that increased individual economic capacity, especially of women in the camps may have affected their social relations and increased their possibilities beyond the focus on childbearing as a channel for material wellbeing.

Among the control variables, Table 6.3 shows that individuals who had at least one household asset—used here as a measure of asset-based wealth— were more than thirteen times more likely to prefer less than the average family sizes (OR, 13.026 and 14.343). An individual having post-primary education was more than 6 times more likely to prefer less than the average family size (OR, 6.984). Moreover the social norms of childbearing —community IFS and living number of children— positively affected the preference for children.

Equally in Table 6.4, the results confirm the difference between exposure to conflict with coping engagement in economic activities and not. The results suggest that those who were in the conflict zone but coped with the conflict by starting some kind of economic activity were almost three times more likely to prefer smaller family sizes (OR, 2.793) compared to the reference group. This effect may suggest that other conflict-affected individuals that depended e.g. on relief help from relatives, but not starting up economic activities were more likely to prefer high IFS.

Table 6.4 Logistics Regression Analysis of Ideal family Preferences (Regional exposure to Conflict, coping)

Independent variables	B	S.E.	Exp(B)
Conflict district	-.602	.794	.548
Conflict district by conflict coping	1.027**	.443	2.793
Having 1-2 HH assets, ref. Zero HH assets	2.553**	1.090	12.847
Having three + HH assets	2.658**	1.098	14.270
Having paid work	.246	.719	1.279
Having post primary education	1.868**	.752	6.474
Gender [Female=1]	.343	.603	1.409
Agegroup18-24, ref 45-54	.859	.533	2.361
Agegroup24-34	.026	.438	1.026
Agegroup35-44	-.113	.426	.893
Gender by paid work	.881	.807	2.414
Gender by Six and residing conflict district	.280	.836	1.323
Gender [Female=1]	-1.171	.820	.310
Having lower than community IFS (<6 GlFS)	1.605****	.305	4.976
Egalitarian values (equal gender roles)	.362	1.106	1.436
Having lower than average living no. of children (<4CHLD	1.041***	.349	2.832
Civic participation (Yes=1)	.342	.309	1.408
Constant	-6.186****	1.635	.002

Observation (n) =	320
Model	χ^2= 130.554, df=17 p< .001
Pseudo R^2	.452

Note: Dependent variable is having less than average IFS coded so that Less than average IFS= 1 and 0=more than average IFS

P valve: * = p<0.1, ** = p<0.05, *** = p<0.01, ***** = p< 0.001

Source: Own calculations and data

The most important observation is that being able to have coped with the conflict through engagement in economic activities empowered conflict-affected individuals; especially women (also, cf. qualitative insight). Therefore, the highly significant results (See Table 6.3 and 6.4) of exposure to conflict plus economic coping may imply that through economic activities, as coping strategy, we find support for the hypothesis of this study—that there is an inverse effect of exposure to the conflict on ideal family size preference. Unfortunately, the analysis does not assess the difference of coping strategies across gender categories, but the qualitative results are used to provide light on the difference between women´s and men´s coping strategies. In general, negative effects of conflict destroy livelihoods may be associated with an increased desire for more children while one`s ability to cope through economic measures—however small the monetary contribution—may increase the decision making, especially for women and lead to constraining of family size desire to smaller family size ideals. *This means that our hypothesis that conflict inversely affects preference for children and empowers women to have smaller family sizes only holds when the individual copied with the conflict by engaging in some kind of economic affect during and after the conflict.*

In Tables 6.2 and 6.3, Women with paid work compare to their counter parts with non-paid work were more than 4 times more likely to have a smaller Ideal Family Size (Odds ratio, 4.215 or 4.107). This was evidenced when the interaction between gender and paid work was introduced in the second model: the previously positive coefficient (beta coefficient, 1.149) changed to negative (beta coefficient, -0.048.

The social effect factors had a very strong effect on the entire analysis and in each model. Individuals which were more egalitarian by supporting attitudes of equal gender roles (Odds ratio (OR), 4.762) were also likely to: have less than the society average Ideal Family Size (OR, 1.380); have less than four living children (OR, 2.797) and/or be active in a civic group (OR, 1.349). All these factors increased the probability of one having less than the average reported IFS/having less preference for many children. As argued before, a domestic environment of gender inequality and discrimination should increase the likelihood of a high ideal family size.

In both results presented in Tables 6.3 and 6.5, the female respondents were more likely to prefer a lower number of children than the male respondents (the effect was not significant), and the young cohort (18-24, years) were much more likely to have a higher preference for less children compared to the older cohort of 45-54 years (the effect was significant).

Table 6.5 Qualitative results on preference for smaller IFS

Main themes: psychological effects of war-violence, IDP camp effect, god's and husband's choice, education, poverty, social identity
• Ind. (n=7): "the poor conditions in IDP camps.." and " disruption caused by the war may make couples to prefer less children" • KI (n=4) the experiences of violence may coping a priority, and children are a liability • Ind. (n=5) [decision based on security situation] "… due to the situation of war..." • KI (n=4) people were thinking of survival during conflict, and safety of their existing kids. • Ind. (n=6 (females) "… depends on my husband…." • Ind. (n=3) = "… [We] raise the children god gives us…" • (n=5 (males) "… one must have a boy child…." • KI (n=16) state that education of the woman, but also the man determines their fertility desires. • KI (n=4) poverty doesn't permit people to change their belief in having many children. • KI (n=2) rural type of work cannot change family size. farmers may want more children for labour • KI (n=10) civic groups have an impacts on women's family/reproductive behaviours. • Ind. (n=1) "… Having another chance in school [education], with my kid…. I think about future goals with only one kid"
Sample: Interviews: (Individual) (n=25);Key informants (KI) (n=16)

Source: Own data

The results in Table 6.5 above will be discussed in details in the qualitative result (section 7.3, pages 238). However, the table highlights the six themes— psychological effects of war-violence, IDP camp effects, god's and husband's choice, education and poverty—dominated the face-to face interviews and key informant´s interview. The themes suggest that the conflict had positive and negative effects on the preferences of individuals, including childbearing preferences. The positive effects arise

from coping mechanisms employed. This effect is context specific and the ability to cope with the consequences of the conflict can`t be precisely measured. Moreover, the majority of the conflict-affected individuals unlike the non-conflict affected, established new identities, often associated to civic participation. Key informants raised the possible positive effects of civic group members on individual behaviours and the empowerment of women—this substantial empowerment may have an impact on family size preferences. The negative effects of exposure to conflict include the psychological effect of war-violence, especially rape and sexual violence on women's opinion about marriage. Poverty and loss of education could be both induced by war or rural setting. The face-to-face respondents perceived that their preference for children is determined largely by the economic factor; however some expressed the invisible power of the social structure—for instance reporting that their opinions on family size depend on God or their husbands.

6.2.2 Effect of Exposure to Conflict on Early Marriage

The results (tables 6.6, 6.7 and 6.8) estimate the effect of exposure to conflict on child-/ early marriage. Three analyses were carried-out: 1) considering exposure to conflict by the time spent in IDP as the main effect (table 6.6); 2) considering residing in a conflict district as the main explanatory effect (table 6.7; 3) including the interactions between gender and conflict-exposure (table 6.8). In the three analyses, control is done for, asset-based wealth (having 1-2 household assets and having 3 and above household assets), gender, having a paid job, having post-primary education, egalitarianism—as a proxies for attitudes to social norms of gender equality and welfare expectation of respondents. The dependent variable is being married at less than 18 years (it is a dichotomous variable, such that married at less than 18 = 1, married at 18 and above = 0). All the control variables were dichotomous. We use the human rights consideration of marriage below 18 years as early marriage in the logistic regression analysis Table 6.6 to 6.8, and we consider the continuous variable –age at marriage- in the linear regression, table 6.9 to assess the relationship between conflict and age at marriage.

The analysis considers the entire sample (n=303). The distribution of the sample across the dependent variable is such that: 32.6 per cent of the respondents were married at less than 18 years and the rest not. The distribution of the sample across exposure to

conflict by *the district of residence* was such that: 56.5 per cent of the sample was affected by the conflict (resided in conflict districts) while 43.5 per cent of the sample was not affected by the conflict. The second measure of exposure to conflict, *time spent in IDP camps, was* a categorical variable based on the range of time spent by the respondents in IDP camps. Three categories were generated from the range to constitute the variable, *time spent in IDP* (One to five years in IDP= 19.8 per cent, Six and above years in IDP=31. 5 per cent, Zero years in IDP=48 per cent).

The results show that temporal exposure to the IDP increases the probability of early marriage (being married before eighteen years). Residing in an IDP camp for 1- 4 years compared to zero years in IDP camps, had a positive effect, but not significant.

Table 6.6 Logistic Regression Analysis of Early Marriage (Temporal exposure to IDP camps)

Independent variables	B (S.E.)	Odds ratio
One to five years in IDP, Ref Zero years in IDP	.303 (.444)	1.354
Six and above years in IDP	1.496*** (.471)	4.466
Having 1-2 HH assets, ref grp. Zero HH assets	-1.406 (1.108)	.245
Having three + HH assets	-1.356 (1.111)	.258
Gender [Female=1]	2.412**** (.393)	11.155
Having paid work [paid job=1]	-.910*** (.343)	.403
Having post primary education	-1.526**** (.341)	.217
Egalitarianism [equality roles]	-1.222 (.814)	.295
Expected change wealth (better-off)	-.171 (.383)	.843
Constant	2.268 (1.381)	9.657
Observations (n)	300	
Model	2 Log L= 253.534 $\chi^2_{(9,300)}$=98.394, p< 0.001	
Pseudo R^2	.405	

Note: Dependent variable: married at less than eighteen years. Married at 18 below

= 1, married at 18 and above=0
P valve: * = p<0.1, ** = p<0.05, *** = p<0.01, ***** = p< 0.001.

Source: Own calculation and data

Meanwhile, an individual residing in the camps for six years and above had a significantly strong likelihood of entering marriage before his/her 18th birthday (OR, 4.46) compared to a counterpart of zero years in IDP camps.

In Table 6.6, the results confirm that females were over 11 times more likely to enter into marriage before their 18th birthday than males. Having post-primary education reduced the likelihood of women and men entering marriage early by 78 per cent (Odds ratio,.217). Moreover having paid work reduced men's and women's likelihood to enter into marriage early by almost 60 per cent (Odds ratio, .403). Summarily, it can be argued that having post-primary education and paid work offers not only opportunities for one to overcome social pressure towards early marriage, but also overcoming the structural limitation. In conclusion, these two—education and paid work—have an empowering component, especially to women who face asymmetries of social order—for instance unequal access to resources.

Results in Table 6.7 suggest that regional exposure to conflict—staying in conflict-affected districts like Gulu, Pader, and Lira—made it more than three time more likely for someone to enter into the marriage early. Exposure to conflict in itself, strongly and significantly increased early marriage. This is most likely due to the nature of the LRA conflict, which was characterised by brutal and targeting civilian, as well as the long duration of the LRA protracted war with abduction of young girls for sex slavery, the conflict.

In other word, based on this study exposure to the conflict zone increases the factors that support young girls and boys to get married early compared to their counter parts in non-conflict regions. This effect was significantly strong. Women and men in conflict-affected districts were more than three time likely to be married before their 18th birthday compared to non-conflict affected. It is most likely that the long duration of protracted war directly and indirectly forced young girls and boy into early marriage or early pregnancy [note that 80 percent of age at marriage in this sample was explained by age at first birth]. Directly the violence increased the likelihood that girls would face

sexual violence. Indirectly the war destroyed infrastructures like schools, health centres and social networks thus increasing the risks of early marriage. Equally, the economic challenges were likely to affect opportunities of youth and of their parents, thus permitting forced child marriage.

Table 6.7 Logistic Regression Analysis of Early Marriage (Exposure to Conflict)

Independent variable tested	B (S.E.)	Odds ratio
Exposure to conflict		
Residing in conflict affect district	1.204*** (.430)	3.333
Having 1-2 HH assets, ref. Zero assets	-1.780 (1.095)	.169
Having three + HH assets	-1.812*(1.092)	.163
Gender [Female=1]	2.457****(.394)	11.668
Having paid work [paid job=1]	-1.118***(.351)	.327
Having post primary education	-1.481****(.337)	.227
Egalitarianism [equality roles]	-1.299 (.817)	.273
Expected change wealth (better-off)	-.382 (.400)	.683
Constant	2.719** (1.372)	15.170
Observations (n) =	302	
Model =	-2 Log L=257.574 $\chi^2_{(8,302)}$=95.626, p< .001	
Pseudo R^2 =	0.390	

Note: Dependent variable: married at less than eighteen years. Married at 18 below = 1, married at 18 and above=0
P valve: * = p<0.1, ** = p<0.05, *** = p<0.01, ***** = p< .001.

Source: Own calculation and data

Two other variables turned negative and strongly significant in both the analysis considering exposure by district and the other considering exposure by IDP encampment. These variables were: having above post-primary education (odds ratios, .217 and. 227) and having a paid job (odds ratios, .403 and. 327). This implies that an individual having above primary education or a paid job was less likely to be married before his/her 18th birthday. The argument of delayed marriage is not feasible in the case of educated and individuals with paid work.

The assets-based wealth measures did not have a significant effect on early marriage. Therefore, the estimated wealth of an individual, based on ownership of household assets (radio, TV, mobile phone, bicycle, land, motorcycle and motor vehicle,) had a negative, but insignificant impact on the probability of entering marriage before the 18th birthday. Other variables in the analysis (egalitarian and subjective welfare expectations) did not have a significant impact.

Based on results in Table 6.8, two of the interactions between gender and indicators of exposure to conflict didn't significantly explain early marriage, apart from one (gender and having six or more years in IDP camps). Females that had lived in the IDP camps for long—five years and more—were 93 per cent less likely to enter marriage early.

Residing in a conflict district increased the chances of a female getting married at less than 18 years (not significant) while residing in the IDP significantly reduced the likelihood of a female getting married before her 18th birthday if the female had spent six years and above in IDP camps. Therefore the temporal exposure to IDP camps has differentiated impact on the entrance into marriage—the longer-term residents are much less likely to enter into marriage early. In the case of northern Uganda, the best explanation lies in the demography and vulnerability of long-term camp residents—as these are likely to be widows and landless individuals.

The interactions between gender and exposure to conflict (Table 6.8) tell us that females residing in a camp compared to those not residing in the camp had a reduced probability of entering into marriage before 18 years. However, this effect was only significant for long-term residents (six years and above in IDP camps). In the case of northern Uganda, most of the camps were located close to schools and trading centres—and it was most likely that social services in the camps were relative better than those in the villages—this could be the explanation for the less likelihood of prolonged stay in IDP to be associated with early marriage. However, we have to observe this finding cautiously, given that it is most likely that those individuals who stayed in the IDP camps for long were also likely to be widows and vulnerable groups, like the elderly. This challenges the previous assumption that the longer the stay in IDP the more likely a woman was to get married early.

Table 6.8 Logistic Regression Analysis of Early marriage (temporal exposure to IDP, Gender Interactions

Independent variables	B S.E.	Odds ratio
One to five years in IDP, Ref Zero years in IDP	1.439* .839	4.217
Six and above years in IDP	3.191**** .916	24.320
Having 1-2 HH assets, ref grp. Zero HH assets	-1.441 1.119	.237
Having three + HH assets	-1.356 1.122	.258
Gender [Female=1]	3.241**** .584	25.566
Having paid work [paid job=1]	-1.030*** .362	.357
Having post primary education	-1.687**** .355	.185
Egalitarianism [equality roles]	-1.277 .846	.279
Expected change wealth (better-off)	-.328 .408	.721
Gender by residing in conflict district	.734 .906	2.083
Gender by Six and above years in IDP	-2.683** 1.290	.068
Gender by One to five years in IDP	-1.992 1.226	.136
Constant	1.804 1.430	6.075
Observations (n) =	300	
Model =	-2LogL=247.655, $\chi^2_{(12,N=300)}$=104.273, p< .001	
Pseudo R^2 =	.425	

Note: Dependent variable: married at less than eighteen years. Married at 18 below = 1, , married at 18 and above=0
P valve: * = p<0.1, ** = p<0.05, *** = p<0.01, ***** = p< 0.001.

Source: Own calculation and data

The explanation for the significant relationship between regional exposure to conflict and temporal exposure to displacement on early entry into marriage is complex. Early entry into marriage for instance, as we will see in the qualitative insights, girls

that were abducted into rebel captivity were most likely to return with kids—even though such marriages were not "official", but forced. As well, girls that dropped out of school due to the destruction caused by the conflict also engaged in early sexual activities or risky behaviours like prostitution e.t.c. thus increasing the likelihood of early marriage. For young men, idleness and increased exposure or participation in the violence conflict reduced their opportunities and increased the probability of early marriage. Again, the conflict and displacement seem to have increased early marriages: directly through forced marriages, rape e.t.c or indirectly through structural disparities and limited opportunities. However, it is unclear how the conflict setting affected cultural norms of marriage, which also influence age at marriage in various ways—the effect here can go both ways.

Therefore, in a logistic regression (Table 6.6 to 6.8), estimating the determinants of early marriage--an individual getting married before his or her 18th birthday, it was established that early entry into marriage is gendered: Females were more likely to be married before their 18th birthday than males. It was found that both regional exposure to conflict and temporal exposure to IDP camps increase the likelihood of early marriage. The other significant variables in the analyses in Tables 6.6 to 6.8 were asset-based-wealth—measured by ownership of assets, level of education and earning some income from paid work; these had a negative effect on early marriage—meaning that increased access to resources reduced early marriage.

The study then considered to analyse the effect of exposure to conflict on age at marriage. The motive was that age at marriage explained almost 80 percent of the variation in age at first birth of the respondents in the study sample (see appendix figure)In Table 6.9 a multiple regression analysis was used to test if the exposure to conflict significantly predicted participants' age at marriage. The results of the regression indicated that ten predictors, including two main predictors of exposure to conflict explained a significant variance (R^2=.23.2, F(10,325)=9.489, p<.001) in the age at marriage/entry into marriage. It was found that time spent in IDP significantly predicted early marriage (β = .-.34, p<.05), as did time spent in IDP by gender (β = .35, p<.05) and living in a conflict zone.(β = ..1.10, p<.05). Among the control variables it was found that gender

significantly predicted early marriage (β = .-.4.0, p<.001), as did having post-primary education (β = 1.53, p<.001).

Table 6.9 Linear regression: Analysis of Age at Marriage (Exposure to Conflict)

Independent variables	Unstandardized Coeffi-cients		t-value
	β	Std. Error	
(Constant)	21.213****	.849	24.979
Residence in IDP	-.706	.619	-1.140
Gender	-4.002****	.560	-7.141
Time in IDP camp by years	-.343**	.163	-2.106
Time in IDP and gender	.350**	.149	2.355
Conflict and economic coping	1.100**	.500	2.202
Coping informal borrowing	.473	.544	.870
Post primary education	1.531****	.359	4.270
Paid work	.535	.359	1.489
Asset 1-2	.563	.687	.819
Assets 3 and more	.312	.712	.439
Observations (n) =	325		
Model =	F (10, 325)= 9.489, p < .001		
R^2 =.	.232		

Note: Dependent variable: age at marriage, P valve: * = p<0.1, ** = p<0.05, *** = p<0.01, ***** = p< 0.001.

Source: Own calculation and data

Women in general were significantly more likely to enter into early marriage, however this was not necessarily the case for women who had resided in IDP camps for a long time. It appears that a one year's increase in time spent in IDP camps significantly reduced the age at marriage for females and males combined by 0.343 years, yet it reduced the age at marriage of females by 0.35 years. These findings suggest that there is a substantial and robust negative effect of temporal internal displacement on female`s entry into their first marriages. The same effect was found by Shemyakina 2009 in Tajikistan. However, the same findings suggest that there is a substantial and robust positive effect of regional exposure to armed conflict on female`s and men`s entry into their first marriages. The type of coping mechanism employed by conflict affected individuals mattered. This findings suggest that a substantial negative effect of regional exposure to armed conflict on female`s and male`s entry into their first marriages, only exists were the individual coped by establishing an economic activity (from brewing alcohol to petty business that earner an income) during the conflict. In summary, these results suggest a differentiated effect of exposure to armed conflict by regional exposure to armed conflict compared to temporal internal displacement.

Among the other variables (Table 6.9), having a post-primary level of education had a substantial and robust positive effect on the age of women's and men`s entry into marriage. This implies that young males and females that dropped out of school were more likely to enter into marriage early. Among the conflict-affected group, this tells us that conflict-induced school drop-out is associated with early marriage.

Table 6.10 presents a summary of the themes of the qualitative results. As it will be elaborated in the section of qualitative insights (section 7.3, page 238ff), the exposure to conflict had a higher bearing on the likelihood of girls in the conflict-affected region, than boys to get married before 18 years. Worst still, the nature of conflict-induced early marriage is brutal and has long term psychological effects. On top of that, structural and cultural push factors were commonly cited causes of early marriage in both conflict-affected and non-affected regions. The study observes that the effect of residence in IDP on early marriage is mixed. The most outstanding drivers of early marriage concerning the residence in IDP camps were said to be structural limitation—like poverty, which are also common in rural settings. A minority of respondents reported

increased gender-based violence in camps as another avenue through which early pregnancy and child marriage arouse. Notably, it should be observed that some insights from qualitative results are case specific; they inform us about the experiences of war-induced child-marriage and its consequences like stigmatisation and discrimination.

Table 6.10 Experiences and Insights on early marriage

The main themes
▪ Key informants (n=13) agree that conflict exacerbated child marriage, especially among girls. "Did conflict increase early marriage, yes. But is it [child marriage] a new thing, No! The conflict made the situation for girls worse. The situation of failed schooling, displacement and idle men, poverty and the vanishing of our cultural child mentorships [social systems] during the conflict were responsible…." C KI Official Peace and Justice Commission, female
▪ Key informants (n=3) Child marriage is not only a problem of the conflict region,… the war simply repackaged [reshaped] early marriage . "The conflict changed what we knew as marriage procedures, in the normal procedures, parents would be alerted and formalities would be done, however, with the conflict, young boys and girls would start having sex together without the parents'
"LRA abduction and displacement led to early pregnancy for many girls as a result of forced marriage or rape, that is not the case today… we are now talking of development and reintegration of victims." C/KI, Pajule, sub county chief
"In the conflict situation children are more exposed to early marriage because they become vulnerable after people like teachers, friends and parents, they knew are not with them, social networks and institutions they could rely on are disrupted by war." head teacher Lacani P,S, Pader
▪ Key informants (n=4) invisibly of force child marriage as violence, but care for girl´s future or fear (community)
▪ (n=1)… if a girl is not going to school for up to 18 years and not married, the village will think she is not up to a good woman. "The problem is that one cannot stay with a girl who is not going to school for up to 18 years, the village will think she is not up to a good woman." NC, female Luwero
▪ Key informants (n=14) illiteracy, poverty, breakdown of social networks and support systems.

Source: Own data

6.3 Exposure to Conflict and Women's Power

The analysis estimates the effect of exposure to conflict on women´s power. Women´s power is measured as their capability to enter into paid-work and women´s ability to attain their ideal family size.

6.3.1 The Impact of Exposure to Conflict and Women's Employment

Using a logistic regression analysis (see Table 6.11), we analyse women´s employment. The results show that in comparison to residing in non-conflict-affected districts, having resided in the conflict-affected districts—Gulu, Pader, Lira, positively increased women´s probability to having a paid-work. Precisely, women in the conflict-affected districts were 3 times more likely to have a paid job compared to those in non-conflict affected districts (odds ratio, 3.548). This result, we assume, is related to the coping strategies that women and men developed during the conflict. As it will be emphasised in the qualitative insights (section 7.3 pages, 238ff) the long protracted conflict in Northern Uganda increased women´s acquiring of the breadwinner's role. Meanwhile, due to loss of resources, including farms and land following displacement, men suffered from idleness and emasculation (cf. El-Bushra, 2003).

According to the results in Table 6.11, women in the conflict-affected region—Gulu, Pader and Lira districts, who coped with the conflict by having an economic activity, were also three times more likely to have a paid job (odds ratio, 3.085). This reaffirms our hypothesis that regional exposure to conflict and temporal exposure to forced displacement positively effects women´s participation in paid work; it also suggests that this may depend on coping strategies applied by conflict-affected individuals. The implicit implication is that women´s engagement in economic activities as a means of coping with the conflict can lead to change in working norms of females and males. Meanwhile other coping mechanisms—like seeking help from relatives or dependence on relief aid may not necessarily provide an environment for change in gender roles and identities. .

Table 6.11 Logistic Regression Analysis of Women's Paid Work (Regional exposure to conflict)

Independent variables	β	S.E.	Sig.	Odds Ratio
Residing in conflict district	1.266	.380	.001	3.548
Conflict plus economic coping	1.126	.447	.012	3.085
Having post-primary educ.	-.779	.367	.034	.459
Having 1-2 assets	-.219	.554	.693	.804
Having three + assets	.438	.582	.452	1.549
White collar, ref. farming	2.128	.612	.001	8.396
Casual job, ref. "	.939	.506	.064	2.558
Age group 18-24, ref. 45-54	.394	.554	.477	1.482
Age group 25-34	.251	.442	.571	1.285
Age group 35-44	.327	.460	.476	1.387
Married, ref. cohabiting	.208	.547	.704	1.231
Divorced, ref "	1.835	.853	.031	6.268
Separated,ref "	1.630	.714	.022	5.104
Widows,ref "	1.216	.691	.079	3.375
Early marriage	-1.470	.432	.001	.230
Egalitarianism (equal gender roles)	.586	.327	.074	1.797
Constant	-1.509	.875	.085	.221

Observations (n) =	262
Model =	-2Log L= 265.804
	$\chi^2(16, 262)=83.542, p< .001$
Pseudo R^2 =	.371

Note: Dependent variable: women`s paid work coded so that Paid work=1and Non paid work=0

Source: Own calculation and data

Among other variables, categories of work positively influenced women´s paid work. For instance, in Table 6.11, women in white collar jobs were about 8 times and those in casual work were about 2 times more likely to have paid work compared to women in farming.

Marital status affected the likelihood of a woman to have a paid job. We compare all other marital groups to cohabiting women—note that the difference between cohabiting and other marital groups has significance in relation to gender relations within the household because cohabiting women have limited or no customary or legal entitlement to the resources of the partner as compared to the married, separated or divorced or widows in a normal situation. The results show that the divorced, separated and widowed women were significantly more likely to have a paid job compared to the cohabiting category. On the other hand, married women were not significantly more likely to have paid work compared to cohabiting women—. The result suggests that women´s engagement in paid work is related to single parenthood.

Moreover early marriage negatively affected the possibility of a women´s participation in the labour market. The explanation is likely to be that women who enter into marriage earlier are most likely to be less empowered, less educated, thus the limited access to resources and a low social status attached to early marriage may reduce the chance of those women having a paid job.

The results (Table 6.12), which include the interaction variables, confirm the same effect of regional exposure to conflict and coping with conflict by economic means as it was the case in Table 6.11. Precisely district exposure to conflict increased the probability of a women`s participation in paid work by 8 times while coping with conflict by engaging in economic activities during the conflict increased the possibility of a woman`s having a paid job by more the 2 times compared to the reference group. The main point to observe from results in Table 6.12 is that, interaction between marital status and residing in a conflict district has a positive effect on women´s entry in paid work--single-women were more likely to have paid work compared to women in a running-relationship.

Table 6.12 Logistic Regression: Women's Paid Work (Regional exposure to Conflict)

Independent variable tested	B	S.E.	Sig.	Odds ratio
Residing in conflict district	1.099	.437	.012	3.002
Conflict plus econ.coping	1.027	.450	.022	2.793
Having post-primary educ.	-.846	.373	.023	.429
Having 1-2 assets	-.359	.568	.527	.698
Having three + assets	.281	.606	.642	1.325
White collar, ref. farming	2.063	.616	.001	7.868
Casual job, ref. “	1.326	.555	.017	3.764
Age group 18-24, ref. 45-54	.456	.566	.421	1.577
Age group 25-34	.164	.459	.721	1.178
Age group 35-44	.241	.475	.613	1.272
Married, ref. cohabiting	.148	.564	.793	1.159
Divorced, ref “	1.783	1.162	.125	5.945
Separated,ref “	1.922	.947	.042	6.831
Widows,ref “	-.272	1.092	.803	.762
Early marriage	-1.608	.440	.000	.200
Egalitarianism (equal gender roles)	.734	.343	.032	2.084
In Conflict_district by Divorced	.204	1.384	.883	1.227
In Conflict_district by Separated	-.836	1.052	.427	.433
In conflict_district by Widows	2.196	1.086	.043	8.992
Constant	-1.161	.928	.211	.313

Observations	262
Model	-2 Log L=259,974
	χ^2 (19, 262)=89,372, P=.000,
Pseudo R^2 =	.392,

Note: Dependent variable: women`s paid work coded so that Paid work=1and Non paid work=0

Source: Own calculation and data

Clearly, the result the interaction between marital status and conflict suggests that the widowed women in a conflict district were more likely to have a paid –job by almost 9 times compared to cohabiting women (OR, 8.992). Yet divorced or separated women were not significantly different from the cohabiting groups. This finding suggests that all women are not exposed to the same forces which influence the entry into paid work.

Table 6.13 and 6.14 consider the effect of temporal exposure to IDP camps on women´s entry into paid work. The model presented in 6.13 predicts 76.9 percent of the cases correctly and the variable considered significant explains the variance in women´s engagement in paid work (χ^2 (16,260) =76.722, p< .001).

Table 6.13 tells us that exposure to IDP camps increased the likelihood of women to enter into the labour market by more than 2 times compared to non-displaced women (no exposure to IDP camps). In the same positive effect, exposure to a conflict region and coping by engaging in economic activities increased the probability of a woman to engage in paid work by almost four times compared to those in the conflict-zone who coped otherwise. This means that the chance of a woman to have a paid job in the conflict-affect regions was highly attached to the means of coping she applied.

Women´s subscription to certain social values also affects their possibility to enter into the labour market. The results in table 6.13 show that women labelled egalitarian (meaning that they agree to equal gender roles for males and females) are more likely to have paid job. This result is evidence for the linkage between attitude or social value and women´s engagement in the labour market.

Table 6.13 Logistic Regression Analysis of Women's Paid Work (Exposure to IDP camps, coping)

Independent variables	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)
Resided in IDP	.871	.354	.014	2.389
Conflict plus econ.coping	1.300	.444	.003	3.669
Having post-primary educ.	-,707	.360	.049	.493
Having 1-2 assets	-.328	.556	.555	.720
Having three + assets	.234	.579	.686	1.264
White collar, ref. farming	2.074	.597	.001	7.953
Casual job, ref. "	.806	.495	.103	2.239
Age group 18-24, ref. 45-54	.603	.544	.268	1.827
Age group 25-34	.367	.435	.399	1.444
Age group 35-44	.375	.455	.409	1.455
Married, ref. cohabiting	.146	.548	.790	1.157
Divorced, ref "	1.798	.847	.034	6.037
Separated, ref "	1.543	.721	.032	4.679
Widows, ref "	1.117	.690	.106	3.056
Early marriage	-1.368	.420	.001	.255
Egalitarianism (equal gender roles)	.582	.324	.072	1.790
Constant	-1.215	.884	.169	.297
Observation (n) =	260			
Model =	Log L= 270.667			
	χ^2 (16,260)=76.722, p< .001			
Pseudo R^2 =	.347			

Note: Dependent variable: women`s paid work coded so that Paid work=1and Non paid work=0

Source: Own calculation and data

The results in Table 6.14 consider the effect of temporal exposure to IDP camps on women´s entry into paid work, but add the interaction terms of women´s marital status and residing in IDP camps. Widowed women who had lived in the IDP camp are above sixteen times more likely to have a paid job than all other women. This affected the significance of the main effect (women who resided in IDP camps) while there wasn´t a significant chance that divorced or separated women with a history of IDP camp residence were likely to have paid-work.

Table 6.14 Logistic regression Analysis of Women's Paid Work (Exposure to IDP camps, coping)

Independent variables	B	S.E.	Sig.	Exp(B)
Resided in IDP	.381	.410	.353	1.464
Coping with conflict _econ. activity	1.188	.452	.009	3.279
Having post-primary educ.	-.864	.373	.021	.421
Having 1-2 assets	-.469	.580	.419	.626
Having three + assets	.081	.606	.894	1.084
White collar, ref. farming	2.054	.598	.001	7.801
Casual job, ref. “	1.320	.545	.015	3.742
Age group 18-24, ref. 45-54	.479	.552	.386	1.614
Age group 25-34	.168	.449	.709	1.182
Age group 35-44	.259	.471	.582	1.296
Married, ref. cohabiting	-.105	.563	.852	.900
Divorced, ref “	.852	1.092	.436	2.344
Separated, ref “	.943	.893	.291	2.568
Widows, ref “	-.930	1.083	.390	.394
Early marriage	-1.481	.425	.000	.227
Egalitarianism (equal gender roles)	.710	.339	.036	2.034
Reside in IDP by Divorced	1.852	1.517	.222	6.372
Resided in IDP by Separated	.619	1.081	.567	1.857
Reside in IDP by Widows	2.784	1.090	.011	16.176
Constant	-.442	.944	.639	.643

Observations (n)	=	260
Model	=	-2 Log L=262.350
		χ^2 (19.260)=85..039, p< .001
Pseudo R^2	=	.378

Note: Dependent variable: women`s paid work coded so that Paid work=1and Non paid work=0

Source: Own calculation and data

The results of the relationship between women´s education and paid work are mixed. First we need to understand that the majority of women in the sample had primary education, yet post-primary education does not necessarily reflect formal working skills. Secondly, most of the women were in trade and retail businesses, these activities don´t directly require education. Having known that, the results show that having post-primary education was not a guarantee for women´s involvement in a paid job. *For a better understanding, we consider work categories, women in white-collar job and those in casual work were more likely to have a paid job compared to women in farming category. This is in line with the hypothesis. This implies that women in the white-collar job or in the casual jobs are more likely to have access to resources and to possess a higher level of influence in the family.*

Moreover and like said before, women married at an early age (less than 18 years) were 77 per cent less likely to have paid work (OR, .230). On the positive side, women who´s attitudes favoured equal gender roles were to 79 per cent more likely to have a paid job (OR, 1.797).

In all the analysis on the relation between exposure to conflict and women´s labour participation the effect of age, as a control variable was not significant. There was no significant effect of age on women´s affiliation to paid work, although the lower age groups (Age group 18-24, 25-34, 35-44) were more likely to have paid work than the older age group in this sample (Age group 45-54 years).

The measure of welfare via the asset-based wealth indicator, suggests that there is a level at which required assets affect women´s engagement in the labour market. Having more than three basic assets increased the chance of a woman to have a paid job, but this effect was not significant. Nonetheless, having a certain level of security in assets, that is, having more than three household assets increased the chance of a woman´s affiliation to a paid-job.

6.3.2 Impact of Conflict and Women´s Attainment of IFS

A binary logistic regression was used to estimate the effect of exposure to violent conflict on women's attainment of the Ideal family size, while a control for the effect of empowerment and social factors was done. The effect of interactions between age (35 and above) and employment, residing in IDP camps, family planning and societal ideals/norms were included. The dependent variable, attainment of IFS, was generated as: *"The woman's number of living children minus her ideal number of children."* (See Ushma and Karasek, 2010). The outcome value was converted into a dichotomous variable: 1= more than the ideal, 0= equal to or less than the ideal. The distribution of this outcome across the women's sample (n=265) was that: 34.3 percent of women had more than their ideal number of children and 65.7 percent of women in the sample had less or equal to their ideal.

The dependent variable is: women's ability to attain the Ideal Family Size. The regression then tests the probability that a woman had more than her Ideal Family Size. Two procedures were taken: 1) two separate analyses were made each considering a different measure of exposure to conflict (exposure by district of residence (Table 6.16) and exposure by time spent in IDP camps (Table 6.15)). This was to cater for difference in exposure to conflict even within the conflict affected respondents. 2). Three models are presented based on difference in specifications derived from the theoretical background.

When time spent in the IDP was used as the measure of exposure to conflict, the block model (with the constant only) predicts 66.5 percent correctly. The first model in this analysis[101] predicts 77.5 percent of the cases correctly. The variables in the model predict 34.2 percent of the variations in the dependent variable significantly ($\chi^2_{(7,227)}$ =64.305p=.000). The second model included women above 35 years, a variable and it's interaction with family planning participation, paid work, IDP camp residence, and having a general IFS above the community average; it predicts 78.4 percent of the cases

[101] The first model contained variable of exposure to conflict, employment, education, participation in family planning and decision making.

correctly. The variables in the model predict 39.5 percent of the variations in the dependent variable significantly ($\chi^2_{(11,227)}$ =75.951, p=.000). The third model contains five variables which depict the social effect: number of living children, egalitarian variables, societal ideal family norms, partner's education, early marriage; it predicts 79.7 percent of the cases correctly. The variables in the model predict 52.4 percent of the variations in the dependent variable significantly ($\chi^2_{(16,227)}$ =107.738, P=.000).

The results (Table 6.15) show that residing in the IDP camp for more than six years reduced the probability of a woman having more than her Ideal Family Size (odds ratios, .416, .641, .704). This effect was robustly significant after controlling age and its interactions, and social effect on fertility goals. However merely staying in a conflict-affected district had the same effect yet not significantly (see Table 6.16). But controlling for conflict-affected women aged 35 and above (see interaction for women in IDP/conflict-affect district and aged 35 and more) shows that women in this category are more like to have more than there ideal family size.

Table 6.15 Logistic Regression: Women's Attainment of Ideal (Temporal exposure to IDP camps)

	Model I		Model II		Model III	
Variables tested	B S.E.	Odds ratio	B S.E.	Odds ratio)	B S.E.	Odds ratio
1 to 5 years in IDP, Ref Zero years in IDP	-.223 .432	.800	-.366 .454	.693	-.514 .500	.598
6 and above years in IDP	-.936** .416	.392	-1.447** .641	.235	-1.564** .704	.209
Having paid work	.731** .349	2.077	.680 .498	1.975	.836 .572	2.308
Having post primary education	-.388 .341	.678	-.259 .361	.772	-.068 .418	.934
High participation in IFS decisions	.505 .345	1.656	.492 .357	1.635	.093 .405	1.098
High participation in Family planning (FP)	-1.305*** .424	.271	-.098 .621	.907	.033 .682	1.033
Age 35 and above	1.701**** .340	5.480	1.167* .609	3.212	1.173 .819	3.233
Age 35 & > by high participation in FP			-1.925** .838	.146	-2.441** .946	.087
Age 35 &> by paid work			.177 .704	1.194	.248 .784	1.281
Age 35 & > by 6 and above years in IDP			.976 .839	2.655	.667 .912	1.948
Age 35 & > by community IFS			1.186** .503	3.273	.928 .848	2.530
Less than 4 living children					-2.003**** .469	.135
Egalitarianism (equal gender role)					-2.044** .978	.130
Having equal or above community IFS					1.109* .632	3.032
Have an ever schooled partners					.194 .675	1.215
Married at less 18 years					.897* .509	2.452
Constant	-1.184*** .396	.306	-1.262*** .445	.283	-1.318 1.126	.268
Observations (n) =	227		227		227	
Model =	$\chi^2(7,227)=64.305$, p< .001 -2 Log L=225.132		$\chi^2(11.227)=75.951$, p< .001, -2 Log L=213.486		$\chi^2(16, 227)=107.783$, p<.001 -2 Log L=181.700	
Pseudo R^2 =	.342		.395		.524	

Note: Dependent variable is women´s attainment of family size ideals coded so that 1= more than the ideal, 0= equal to or less than Ideal

P valve: * = p<0.1, ** = p<0.05, *** = p<0.01, ***** = p< 0.001.

Source: Own calculation and data

A woman with paid employment had a higher probability that she would have more than her IFS, in both analyses (odds ratios 2.077, and 2.207 in Table 6.15 and Table 6.16 respectively), however the effect was not significant after controlling for age and its interactions, as well as the social effect on fertility goals (the same effect was found by Upadhyay and Karasek, 2010 in their study on women's empowerment and ideal family size). This effect is also hypothesized in the resource access theory (Handwerker, 1991:61), whereby the rising standard of living may increase fertility desires instead of lowering them.

Participation in family planning, but not subjectively reported participation in family size decision reduced the probability that a women had more than her ideal family size by 72.9 per cent (0.271*100-100). However, this effect was more robust among women with 35 years and above, ever after controlling for social effects: women aged 35 years and above and participating in family planning were more than 85 percent less likely to have more than their ideal family size (both in Table 6.15 and 6.16).

Having a post primary level of education has a negative effect on having more children than ideal, but not significant.

The society's norms on ideal family size proved very influential, both to all the women and more to women aged 35 and above. As argued above, a household and social environment of gender inequality and discrimination is more likely to increase the probability of a high ideal family size and make it harder for women to attain that Ideal family sizes. A woman who perceives that the community ideal of childbearing (gender ideal family size) was more than 6 children was 3 time more likely to have more than her ideal family size (Table 6.15 and 6.16). Also women whose values where more egalitarian (equal gender roles in child bearing and work) were less likely to have more than their Ideal family size (odds ratios, .130 and .129 in table 6.15 and 6.16).

A woman married before her 18th birthday was more than two times more likely to have more than her reported ideal family size; this effect was not strongly significant in both analyses (Table 6.15 and 6.16).

In the second analysis (see Table 6.16), the effect of exposure to the conflict is measured by a woman's residence in a district that was affected by the conflict. All the other specifications of the model remained constant.

The block model (with the constant only) predicted 66.8 per cent correctly, so adding the study´s variables increase the predictive capacity to 81.7 per cent. The first model containing measures of exposure to conflict, employment, education, participation in family planning and decision making predicted 78.2 per cent of the cases correctly. And, 33 per cent of the variations in the dependent variable were explained significantly ($\chi^2_{(6,229)}$ =62.026, P=.000). The second model included interaction between women above 35 years and family planning participation, paid work, IDP camp residence, and having general IFS above the community average, it predicts 78.6 of the cases correctly. The model explains 38.2 per cent of the variations in the outcomes significantly ($\chi^2_{(10,229)}$ =73.701, P=.000). The third model contains five variables which depict social effect; it predicts 81.7 per cent of the cases correctly. The model predicts 51.3 per cent of the variation in the outcomes significantly ($\chi^2_{(15,229)}$ =105.342, P=.000.

The effect of regional exposure to conflict on women´s attainment of IFS (Table 6.16) did not differ considerably from those where exposure by time spent in IDP camps is used (Table 6.15). This may imply that all conflict-affected women faced similar limitations or potentials to attain their ideal family size. And, the difference in the potential to attain ideal family size between conflict–affected and non-affected women, based on these outcomes, are only significant in the cases of women who spent more than six years in the IDP camps.

Table 6.16 Logistic Regression of Women`s Attainment of Ideal (Regional exposure to Conflict)

	Model I		Model II		Model III	
Variables tested	B S.E.	Odds ratio	B S.E.	Odds ratio)	B S.E.	Odds ratio
Residing in conflict district	-.584 .360	.558	-.857 .526	.424	-.702 .594	.496
Having paid work	.792** .350	2.207	.806 .512	2.240	.845 .606	2.328
Having post primary education	-.399 .337	.671	-.270 .357	.763	-.129 .410	.879
High participation in IFS decisions	.502 .347	1.652	.478 .362	1.613	.096 .405	1.101
High participation in Family planning (FP)	- 1.514**** .405	.220	-.434 .579	.648	-.297 .633	.743
Age 35 and above	1.659**** .338	5.256	1.105* .642	3.019	1.378 .853	3.969
Age 35 & > by high participation in FP			-1.630** .793	.196	-2.176** .893	.113
Age 35 &> by paid work			.059 .729	1.061	.271 .829	1.312
Age 35 & > by residing in conflict district			.438 .725	1.550	-.096 .812	.908
Age 35 & > by community IFS			1.219** .496	3.384	.792 .824	2.207
Less than 4 living children					- 1.965**** .462	.140
Egalitarianism (equal gender role)					-2.048** .988	.129
Having equal or above community IFS					1.312** .626	3.713
Have an ever schooled partners					.182 .681	1.199
Marriied at less 18 years					.843* .498	2.324
Constant	-1.136*** .414	.321	-1.203** .480	.300	-1.458 1.123	.233
Observations (n) =	229		229		229	
Model =	χ^2 (6)=, 62.026, p<.001 -2 Log L=229.033		χ^2(10)=73.701, p<.001 -2 Log L=217.358		χ^2 (15)=105.342, p<.001, -2 Log L=185.717	
Pseudo R^2 =	.330		.382		.513	

Note: Dependent variable is women´s attainment of family size ideals coded so that 1= more than the ideal, 0= equal to or less than Ideal

P valve: * = p<0.1, ** = p<0.05, *** = p<0.01, ***** = p< 0.001.

Source: Own calculation and data

The main themes from the qualitative results on women´s ability to attain their Ideal family size are presented (Table 6.17). These themes draw more light on not only the effects of conflict, but also how women´s social and economic empowerment, access to services and institutions influence capabilities of women. The detailed discussion of these themes is done the section of qualitative insights (section 7.3, pages 238ff). In brief, the themes here elaborate the factors limiting or enhancing the capability of women to make family size decisions or attain their ideals. It was common that the majority of young women regretted childbirth during the war—this was certainly because the conflicts increase the risk of early pregnancies, and exposed young girls to early marriage. In other cases, armed conflict was reported to indirectly have affected the attainment of Ideals through deprivation of services—for instance escalated war disrupted normal flow of services, like reproductive health and education. On the other side, war and displacement gave some women a chance to engage in economic roles and women´s civic participation increased. Again, it was commonly noted by key informants that women´s income earning had a substantial influence of the gender relation and in turn the decisions and attainment of Ideals. In form of capabilities necessary for increasing women´s ability to attain family size ideals, the key informants emphasised the need for education of women through standard schooling or unconventional institutions—such as, civic groups. The individual and key informant´s observations strongly suggest that cultural and social barriers hold the women hostage to underdog positions when it comes to making decisions and attainment of family size ideals. Therefore, the ideologies that define social relations give the men privilege or women on reproductive decision and goals—this trend appears in all rural settings irrespective of exposure to conflict.

Table 6.17 Women's childbearing decision making and attainment of ideals (Qualitative)

The main themes
▪ Ind. (n=2) "I gave birth during the war, maybe I wouldn´t have [without the war]…..
▪ Key informant (n=10) during the peaks of the conflict, reproductive health service were not available. "Food and security come first, and reproductive health comes last in war situations" C/NGO forum official
▪ Key Informant (n=4) the issue of childbearing can be argued both ways. The war and displacement increased risky sexual behaviours and violence like rape e.t.c—this led to unintended birth. One can also say that due to death experiences, distress, fear and widowhood preference for child dropped and women preferred to the least number of children, as the better choice.
▪ Key informant (n=10) war and camps setting may have changed economic role but not power relation [decisions in the HH]—war-affected or non-affect women are less likely to confront issues of Ideal family size, especially if they don´t earn any income. "Decision making on child bearing is for the man, as a breadwinner" NC, Local representative, male/Mukono
▪ Key informant (n=16) decision making for children is still limited to the educated, and not all.
▪ Key informant (n=10) women´s institutional is associated with more decision making roles on family size.
▪ Key informant (n=6) –need to empower young women to bypass the need for children to feel their "womanhood/wifehood" "Schools are a basic institution of morality, and empowering girls for the future… girls' education increases the chance for smaller families and better well-being" KI-Head teacher, Lacini.
▪ Key informants (n=14) Cultural and social barriers hinder wives from intervening in family size matter.
▪ Ind. "I couldn't decide about having children because I was forced" NC, female

Source: own data

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the effect of exposure to the conflict on measures of family dynamics and women's participation in paid work and family size. The results of the qualitative data have presented how violent conflict and forced displacement impacts on attitudes towards family and gender roles as well as fertility behaviours. The effect of other factors has been considered. The results in this chapter are discussed in chapter seven below.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

The discussion will concentrate on the main effect—exposure to conflict, but of course the control variables will also be discussed. The reader should keep in mind that the results are limited in terms of generalization because the sample is non-representative; this means that we pay much attention to the direction of the effect, and whether this effect is supported or refuted by the qualitative data. In other words, we suggest that the results should be understood in their totality through the mixed method approach to appropriately discuss and reach valid conclusions. This chapter discusses the relationship between exposure to conflict and individual behaviours related to family size and women`s agency in achieving their ideal family size as well as participation in paid work. It then integrates the experiences from qualitative insights into the discussion to identify the appropriateness of rethinking the effect of exposure to the conflict on individual behaviours related to gender roles and women´s empowerment.

7.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Findings

Investigations regarding the effect of violent conflict on individual behaviours and welfare have primarily focused on macro-level aspects of economic, demographic and conflict studies or case studies stemming from the gender perspective. All these studies have provided valuable insights for research in this area. The current study attempts to add to this body of knowledge through examining the *extent of the effect of exposure to the LRA conflict on individual behaviours related to family size, marriage and women's power to attain family size and paid work in selected communities of Uganda.* This is to strengthen our understanding of *how appropriate the effect of exposure to conflict is for `reconceptualising` individual behaviours related to family size, marriage and women's power within the household in post-conflict communities.* The argument is that although aggregate measures provide easily interpretable results, they are less likely to inform us

about women's agency based on individual dimensions. For instance, they can't provide a picture of family behavioural change as experienced by the individuals—conflict-affected compared to non-affected.

All the hypothesized directions (See section 3.5 pages 95ff) were confirmed, a number of them were statistically significant, and others were not, however, in most cases the qualitative finds are used to corroborate additional explanation. The positive or negative signs represent the effect, they simply mean that the main independent variable increased (+) or reduced (-) the likelihood of the dependent variable (preference for smaller family size, early marriage, women´s participation, women´s influence of family size, women´s attainment of ideal family size) occurring. Table 7.1 summarizes the results of the effect of conflict on all the dependent variables.

Table 7.1 A summary of the effect of the exposure to conflict on the dependent variables

Main independent variable Tested	Dependent variables				
	Both women and men		Women´s		
	Preference for smaller family size	Early Marriage	Labour participation	Influence on Family size decisions	Attainment of IFS
Residing in conflict-affected district	(+)	(+)sig	(+) sig	(-) sig.	(+) sig.
Time in IDP camps (1-5 yrs.)	(+)	(+)	(+) sig	(-) sig.	(+)
Time in IDP camps (6+ yrs.)	(-)	(+)sig			(+) sig.
Conflict plus econ.coping	(+) sig	(-) Sig.	(+) sig	n/a	n/a
Women exposed to conflict/IDP	(+)	(+) /(-)	n/a	n/a	n/a
Widows exposed to conflict	n/a	n/a	(+) sig	n/a	n/a

Source: Own calculations and data[102]

[102] (+) means a positive effect was found, (-) means a negative effect was found

The study hypothesized that **there is a significant negative effect of exposure to conflict on family size preferences.** Considering our study's findings, the conflict-affected people traded-off large family size for a *smaller ideal family size (0-4 children per family),* the effect was not statistically significant. Yet focusing on another hypothesis--*Positive coping with the conflict and displacement—through economic mechanisms—is associated with preference for a small ideal family size*-- gave very strongly significant results. Conflict-affected individuals that sought economic coping mechanism showed to a significant extent more empowerment through the preference of smaller family sizes. However, those women and men who had stayed in the IDP for more than six years preferred larger ideal family sizes (above the sample average, 5 + children per family). The way exposure to the conflict may have affected IFS through psychological distress (see qualitative experiences in the qualitative insights below) and or through coping mechanism. As a coping mechanism, households adjust their livelihood strategies including childbearing. These adjustments vary across individual circumstances (age, life cycle, educational level, tasks) and changing context (for instance, women's work outside the home, social effect).

The study hypothesized that there is a **positive effect exposure to conflict on early marriage.** The results suggest that a long stay in IDP camps and residing in a conflict-affected community increased the probability of an individual; especially a **woman to marry/be married early** (considering the universal definition of early marriage as being married below 18 years). However, the effect of war on age at marriage was significantly dependent on the coping strategies applied by the individual respondent. Individuals that had coped with the conflict through engaging in economically productive activities were significantly less likely to be victims of early marriage. The possible reason for a higher age at marriage among respondents that engaged in economic activities during the conflict is likely to be that coping through economic activities increased the social status and material welfare of the conflict-affected individuals compared to their counterparts who had coped with the situation otherwise. Nonetheless, this explanation can only apply by offsetting war-related structural influences of early marriage, but not violence-caused influences of early marriage, like rape, abduction etc.

Additionally, we hypothesized that p**ositive coping with the conflict and displacement—through economic mechanism—is negatively associated with early marriage. The study found that economic** coping mechanisms among conflict-affected respondents reduced the likelihood of an early marriage. The economic coping strategies may be related to one's pre-war endowments, though—for instance, individual income and assets-- that permit the individual to utilise these endowments for economic activities. This implies that individuals who may have been less endowed in pre-war times, including women are likely to be engaged in and after the conflict in informal economic activities out of necessity.

On the other hand, delving into the gender and conflict interaction provided mixed results: women in conflict-affected communities in general, were likely to have been married early, but the effect was reversed for women with a history of residing in IDP camps. The qualitative results, tell us four things that could clarify the above mentioned effect of exposure to conflict in early marriage: 1) violence like rape and rebel raids affected people in the villages much more than those in the camps 2) camps were clustered around schools and medical centres so young boys and girls often attended schools. However, this is only the case for those conflict affected-groups which were residing in IDP camps, given Blattman and Annan found that among youth, specifically child soldiers, schooling fell by nearly a year (Blattman and Annan 2010). 3) The exposure to conflict compounded structural factors (like poverty, drop-out from schools, loss of social networks, etc.) With massive involuntary forces (like rape, sexual violence, abduction e.t.c), which increased the rate of child marriage (cf. Key experts and individual interviews). This finding is corroborated by various reports (cf. Machel, 1996, Human rights watch report, 1997, 2005; GoU, 2011). 4) There is a possibility that raids in the villages outside the camp and commercialization of sex in urban areas or the constant night commuting of young men and women from villages to the town for safety from rebel raids (overly report by key experts and individual interviewees) may be the plausible candidates to the increased probability of early marriage among conflict-affected individuals.

The difference in entry into marriage across women affected and non-affected by the conflict is statistically insignificant. However, the qualitative findings clarify that

the difference in age at marriage across conflict-affected and non-effect may not be statistically significant, but the nature in which girls are dragged into marriage during conflict differs significantly from peace times. Therefore, the experiences (section 7.3 pages 238ff.) may explain the magnitude of the problem of early marriage across conflict-affected and non-conflict affected communities more preciously. The study argues that unless one considers the experiences of conflict-affected compared to non-affected young women, the structural and social factors that cause early marriage of females in Uganda are almost universal that the difference may seem trivial.

Moreover, despite the highly significant level of women engaged in paid-work—earning income outside the home— in the conflict-affected communities, they subjectively reported low influence in the family size decisions compared to non-conflict affected women. The study hypothesized that there is **a positive relationship between exposure to conflict and women´s ability to influence family size choices /options.** Our findings highlight the complexities of measuring women's power—that is to say the ability for women to enter the labour market, as it was the case for a majority in the conflict-affected region, doesn´t guarantee high subjective influence on family size desires. Theoretically, empowerment is multidimensional and often there are faculties of decision making in the household dominated by the males—based on social relations of power. For instance child bearing may depict more static ideologies of male domination, notwithstanding the women's participation in paid work. Therefore, women's involvement in paid work may not necessarily increase women's power in decision making (Kabeer, 2001; Malhotra et al., 2002). This finding may exemplify the caveat made by El-Bushra regarding static ideologies. El-Bushra 2003, El-Bushra at al. 2002, El-Bushra and Sahl, 2005 found that women's decision making in the household increases during and after conflict, but some ideologies are static and permit continued male domination—with the possibility of an increasing form of violence. This study confirms that based on our study sample, family size decisions were one of those statically male dominated areas of gender relations despite women's increased footprint in the labour market within the conflict-affected communities. Nonetheless, in the specific case of conflict-affected women, the experiences suggest that a livelihood in displaced camps affected gender relation within the household—the environment was an *eye opener* for

some women to seek their human rights and to acquire skills and opportunities beyond relying on family roles, including childbearing.

The study hypothesized that there is a **positive relationship between exposure to conflict and the attainment of IFS goals.** The argument was partly that change in gender roles and women´s engagement in work during war in northern Uganda may have led to a match between desired and living children. Thereby, women would attain their ideal family goals. The study's results on the effect of conflict on attainment of Ideal Family Size are closely linked to Hill (2004) arguments. The author suggests that the effect of humanitarian crisis (in our case, internal displacement livelihood) depends on the adverse consequences experienced by an individual (s) and on the characteristics of the affected person (s). In the current findings, we have seen that women who were displaced in IDP camps for more than six years were significantly and robustly less likely to have more than their ideal family size compared to non-IDP counter parts. However, this effect was not significant for women who resided in the IDP camps for less than five years (average time spent in IDPs). The adverse effect of staying in the IDP camps directly or indirectly affects opinions of the displaced people on family size. Long-term stays are likely to have devastating effects associated with the death of loved ones, loss of properties etc., which increases women´s preferred family size. This is most likely to be due to linkage between long stayers in IDP with vulnerability (long stayer were likely to have a low score on the asset-based wealth index). Shorter stay in the camps is associated with higher individual and the collective women`s power and agency from entry into paid-work, which may support the relative preference for smaller family size.

The hypothesis that conflict-exposure positively affected women's economic roles (paid work) during and after the conflict was supported. In both the qualitative and quantitative results conflict-affected women were significantly more likely to have a paid job, however, the key expert contributions pointed out that these jobs were mainly low skilled and in the informal sector. Besides that, women affiliated to paid-work proved to influence increased women's involvement in reproductive decisions and a higher likelihood to prefer smaller family sizes.

The possibility to have a small ideal and attained family size seemed to be a function of women's power specifically women`s "opportunity to pursue goals independent

of their childbearing capacity". Most of the women whose access to resources was high were also more likely to assume a better social status and influence their fertility desires — hence women`s access to resources increases their ability to overcome asymmetries in social relation (c.f Handwerker, 1991). We found that about two third of the study's female respondents claimed that the decision of family size "… depends on my husband," and more than a half of the male respondents stated that: "… the family must have a boy child…." This may be a confirmation of hierarchy in social relations where children function as an important resource access channel only for women (cf. Handwerker, 1991). Therefore, the higher the dependence of women on male's "socioeconomic protection", or valuing the social norms for larger family size, the more likely are these particular women to have low social status, low material conditions and high number of children (Kabeer, 2011:7; Sen, 1999).

Work categories were directly related to the possibility for a woman to work for pay. Women in white collar jobs or those in casual labour/informal jobs were more likely to be paid for their labour compared to women in subsistence farming. Equally, as farming remains subsistence, women and men in the agricultural sector often prefer larger family sizes. Our observation is that women in the subsistence agricultural sector are less likely to work for pay and in turn are likely to prefer a larger family size. Often their desire for a large family size is due to their susceptibility to social-cultural pressure. Again, we know that the gender relations which favour male dominance reduce women's access to resources; this is often the case across almost all farming communities in Uganda.

In relation to the conflict and displacement, two forces exerted pressure on gender asymmetries related to women's work and ownership of household assets: First, women become increasingly more dependent on trade or commercial agriculture than subsistence farming in northern Uganda (Gulu, padre, and Lira) —this was not equally the case in the non-conflict affected south (Wakiso, Luwero and Mukono). Secondly, due to insecurity and displacement in northern Uganda, many households lost their land and land-related resources; this affected men much more than women due to the tradition of male ownership/inheritance of land. Other studies, confirm the negative effect of war and displacement on the agricultural sector and the land resources—that is, loss of agri-

cultural land and crops which is associated with instability and displacement challenged the gendered roles in the household (Boas and Hatloy, 2005, El-Bushra and Sahl, 2005). Again, in our study, loss of land and crops changed the landscape in a way that more women became traders and earned money outside of the home while more men became idle and lost their land resources. It is worth noting that prior to the conflict, in northern Uganda land was shared across family and clan lineage. Thus, women's access to land/income is limited (El-Bushra and Sahl (2005:14). Added to that, in Acholi, managing of farm earnings is related to gender relations—the income generated by women on the household land is controlled by men (cf. Key informant interviews). Therefore, the conflict somehow reversed the gender relation attached to ownership of land, by giving women in the conflict communities a chance to enter the labour market.

For men, the qualitative results support Lehrer´s findings that the culture of idleness amongst men in northern Uganda developed in IDP camps over time (2009:15). The quantitative result significantly supports the hypothesis that women in the conflict-affected area were more likely to have paid work and to earn some income. The majority of key experts testified that the men were idle in camps and more distressed with loss of farmland and the absence of male jobs, yet women struggled to start up petty trade. Other findings like, El-Bushra´s 2003 and El-Bushra and Sahl, 2005 claim that men were likely to be humiliated and frustrated by war-induced hindrance to their role as defenders, and breadwinners in the family, such that they would resort to alcoholism and idleness—and subsequently increase the chances of returning to violence. Comparatively, the key experts from non-conflict-affected communities—like Mukono, Wakiso and Luweero—reported strong male dominance in the households that few rural women actually earn a regular income or have worked outside the home.

Although the level of education was not as robustly significant as paid work and ownership of resources in explaining family size behaviours, its contribution is fundamentally important. Individuals, especially women that were educated were also equally likely to be more informed about family planning, more asset-based wealth and thus have a high social status. Therefore, education has a trickle-down effect on family size ideals, work and thus empowerment (Sen, 1999; Kabeer, 2001). Handwerker (1990,

1991) confirms the effect of women´s empowerment from education and employment on fertility rates.

Related to the above, women's attainment of their ideal family size goals strongly correlates with the resource availability, education level and the access or use of family planning. This linkage is also confirmed by Upadhyay and Karasek (2010) in their study of women's empowerment and ideal family size in Sub Saharan Africa. The overall interpretation could be that the agency generated from education above the primary level, women's ownership of resources and work outside the household increases the opportunity of the individuals—especially women, which in turn reduces the probability of early marriage, increases the desire for smaller family sizes and chances for women`s attainment of their family size goals.

The social effect—measured by attitudes about gender roles to work and child care, and social norms that favour large number of children—proved to affect other factors in the analysis. The supremacy of social factors was also supported by key experts' responses. The majority of key experts—in both conflict and non-conflict –affected communities--clarified that, in the rural setting, children are often a resource and men hold the privilege of deciding issues of childbearing as breadwinners/household heads while females are socially expended to give birth and care for the children. The implication of children being a resource access channel is that the parents, especially mothers, can only improve or maintain their material wellbeing when they accomplish the social, but not individual family size desires. Thus, the preference for large families is most likely (Handwerker, 1991). For this reason, women's paid work proves to significantly influence their IFS, even when social effects were added to the analysis. Our argument is also supported by Kabeer, 2001 and Sen, 1999, who assert that women's empowerment through paid employment outside the home influences fertility behaviours. Even though women may have had a lower preference for children in this current sample, they reported higher community ideal family size—this implied that they feel pressure from society to have more children. Therefore, the preference for smaller family size can only be achieved when the women have a high level of agency and access to resources within the existing normative structures. Keeping in mind that normative power and the authority men have over women in most cultures, education, work for paid em-

power women to challenge their socially constructed normative obligation (Kabeer, 2011, Handwerker 1991). In support of this argument, Blumberg´s 1991 focus on gender stratification and Sen's work (1999) emphasise women's agency role, both postulate that income under female versus male control can fundamentally change the family economy, including improvement in fertility outcomes.

7.3 Qualitative Insights: Evidence from Experiences

The psychological effect of war and family size behaviours

The conflict-induced violence in northern Uganda caused psychologically devastating consequences to specific groups of people, for instance youth (cf. Annan et al. 2011; Annan et al. 2008; McKay et al. 2011) and young mothers—especially the abducted (Ochen, 2013, Ochen et al., 2012). Based on our sample, almost every respondent in conflict-affected communities—Gulu, Pader, Lira, knew someone who was killed, or disappeared, or s/he had witnessed death and violence. We assume that the adverse effect of these experiences affected individual/household behaviours. The results of this study suggest that the psychological tension related to war had direct and indirect impact on the preference for children and marriage behaviours. Specifically, young women (and men) who experienced death of loved ones, abduction and sexual violence expressed psychologically distressed, which had a negative effect on their fertility desires/marriage prospects. One of the LC chairpersons interviewed gave a local perspective on the psychological impacts of the LRA war:

> *"Women and girls who witnessed the brutality during war fear men. During the war, they would be taken to become wives or porter for the rebels….. [And] many witnessed deaths, rape etc.…." C/ Key informant, Chairperson Pajule, Pader District*

We find evidence from face-to face interviews that almost all young mothers and widows, reported more psychological fear and social stigma in their reported experiences. In addition, their experiences psychological and social stigmatization connects their social and economic limitations to fertility desires:

"I need no more children, I can´t think of it. My daily worry is how to feed the ones I have, pay their school fees, look after their needs, I am the mothers and fathers after the war took their father" Widow, Amuru-Gulu District

"I saw my two sons being taken, this touched my life. They meant a lot to me… I can´t think of giving birth." Single mother, Pader District.

War-induced psychological effects are assumed to be case specific and temporary. We suggest they can also have long run effects depending on post conflict environment, social integration and recovery interventions. The limitation is that psychological effects are hard to estimate quantitatively as factors that may have a substantial effect on ideal family behaviours.

From the findings of the study, we can suggest that the LRA war and its psychological effects cause social and economic ruin of "normal family life". This finding is in line with macro-level literature on the effect of displacement or war on fertility, which maintains that armed conflicts lead to a temporary decline in fertility-rates (Lindstorm and Berhanu, 1999; Mcginn, 2000). In our sample, almost all the women that were adversely affected by war violence strongly portrayed a highly likely to have constrained family size ideals/preferred small family sizes.

Early marriage and exposure to conflict

The clear difference between child marriage in peace time and child marriage in war times is that the circumstances during the war are horrifying. However, the general factors that influence child marriage is structural limitations, like poverty, limited legal remedies and cultural norms that permit girl forced marriage. During the conflict, the increase in unplugged violence, abductions, sex slavery, destruction of political and social institutions and disparately poor livelihood raises the possibility of pregnancy and child marriage—both voluntarily and involuntarily. For stance, one ex-abducted respondent narrates this:

"When I refused to accept the sexual practice of the man [rebel], I was taken to the commander, who told the man [rebel] to beat me. I refused many times,

but……..He called me several times and cocked the gun to threaten me. I was forced to have sex with him." Female, 25 Years, Pader district

Most of the key informants emphasized that the situation of war leads to early marriage or the circumstance that favour early sex. During the LRA conflict in northern Uganda the circumstances that exposed young people to early marriage varied night commuting of young girls and boys for safety from raid to risky sex behaviours, like prostitution in town-centres (cf. McKay 2004; Okello and Hovil, 2007; Ochen 2013).

"I got pregnant in the bush [forced to have sex and married in the rebel camps when abducted], I came back pregnant...I suffered, yes! I lost all my future…." Female, 23 years, Pajule, pader district.

"The records of increase in HIV/AIDS in Northern Uganda speak to the fact that the war increased unsafe sex… rape, prostitution..." Director AIDs information centre, Lira district

"The society had changed…. Children were married off while young. Many girls started prostitution during the war. "Sex was cheap."." C/Key informant, male official at the NGO forum Gulu, Gulu district.

The effect of night commuting of young girls and boy, has not received enough focus in previous studies, neither in this current study. However, there seems to be a linkage between early marriage and war-induced night commuting. This phenomenon of night commuting led to daily trekking of unescorted girls and boy, sleeping in the town centres, exposed to all kinds of violence and social vices.

"LRA abduction, raids forced the young girls and boy to do night commuting this led to early pregnancy among many girls and early exposure to sex…, sadly, we don´t have many statistics…." C/Key informant, Pajule sub county official,Pader

Added to those girls abducted by rebels as a sex slave, many other girls in northern Uganda were forced into early pregnancies/marriage by the desperate poverty; diminished incomes and loss of property connected to the war (cf. Ssewanyana, Younger, and Kasirye, 2007). Due poor economic prospect's parents also forcibly married their girls

to old men not of their choice. Our results suggest that there is a connection between economic limitations during the war to increase the vulnerability of many girls, who were out of school to early marriage, for instance:

> *"It was in senior two…. In that crisis [war], I stay home for the first term, second term and on reaching third term, I got pregnant" (Female, 23 years, Pader district).*

The war can´t explain it all, the cultural ideologies permit that girls are forced into marriage due to cultural beliefs. For instance, it is perceived that "having a pregnant or a non-school girl (17 year-above) in the same roof [household] with the parents is culturally [or socially] wrong." This is a perception held in more rural settings. These hegemonic socio-cultural norms are often covertly expressed through social pressure—these are forms of hidden violence (cf. Galtung, 1975, 1991). In our study, some interviewees in both conflicts –affected and non-conflict affected communities mentioned the invisible power and effects of such practices. A key informant notes:

> *"We see many girls missing school because their parents have found men for them… it is a common occurrence here." C/Key informant— Lacani Primary school.*

An individual interview participant mentioned:

> *"There was nothing to do. I was persuaded to marry my ex-husband [15 years older than the respondent]. I then stopped going to school. I soon became pregnant." (female, 24 years, Lamogi Sub-county).*

However, the drivers of child marriage related to structural and social factors seem to be similar across conflict-affected regions and in the non-conflict-affected as mentioned. The ideological factors and economic limitation are almost similar across conflict-affected or non-affected rural areas. Due to the traditional ideologies and gender relations, parents are accomplice to early marriage of their daughters. For instance, in our sample, the community leader in Wakiso [non-conflict-affected district] provides her insight:

"A number of parents give away their daughters to rich older men for marriage… it can be for the good of their daughter [securing a future] or for their own good [in case of poor parents]…." NC/Key informant, female community leader, Waki-so districts.

The bitter pathways to transformation in welfare and gender roles

Considering the context, one can assume the women were more engaged in paid work in the conflict-affected communities than in the non-conflict-affected ones. There was evidence of change in economic roles in the conflict-affect households; this women´s entry into the labour market was reported to have been a coping strategy. It's worth to note that most of women who earned some form of income, also reported "difficulty" to either control their earning or make any crucial decision without their husband's or their husband's approval.

Given that education of girls (and boys) was affected by the war, the empowerment of young girls was at stake and early marriage was more likely to happen. From our key experts, a female local leader in Pader noted the *"it was difficult to educate our children, especially girls, due to the uncertain security situation."* Moreover, some of the respondents (women and men) in the conflict-affected region connected the war to their loss of education, for instance: a 26 year old woman in Kaunda market, Gulu said *"[we lost our education due to the war….] When one misses education, s/he can't do anything, yet having an education, opens doors to a better future."* It was noticeable that most of the women with a limited level of education in the conflict-affected communities often reported they dropped out of school to be connected with the war. However, in both conflicts-affected and non-conflict-affected communities, education is largely affected by economic limitations, long distances to schools and early pregnancies, and sometimes cultural limitations (discrimination) to girls' education.

The qualitative results support the effect of civic participation as a significant source of collective and individual empowerment. The majority of women in the conflict-affected communities were active members in civic groups (80 percent) than their counterparts in non-conflict-affected communities. Women who were active in civic groups were also more likely to have paid work outside of the home have more

knowledge of family planning, and to be more assertive on their preference. The most popular civic groups in the conflict-affected region where a form of "Village saving and loan associations (VSLA), which are locally, called *Buli Cup.* The enthusiasm to VSLAs was less in the non-conflict affected area—Wakiso, Mukono and Luweero—here, women were more likely to belong to social groups, but were not active members. The majority of the key informants attached active membership of women in civic-groups as an opportunity and space for self-growth:

> *"We try to make women know they have a voice, and we as women, also can speak… we can't bear children because we are told… [caution] But voice is not enough; it is also about skills, training and experience what other women are doing. This happens in women's groups." NC/ Key Informant, Woman Council, Wakiso district*

In our case, women in the conflict-affected region were more socially engaged and had no hesitation to report active involvement in social organizations. This finding is supported by previous studies on the link between exposure to conflict and social cohesion or formation of new institutions (cf. Bellows and Miguel. (2006). Increased participation in social groups may have been induced by war as a coping strategy. Thus, increased membership in a civic organisation among the conflict-affected communities may have been a means of consolidating social and economic opportunities—the benefits of active social participation include the development of self-esteem, cultivation agency and increased women's freedom.

The experiences support the notion that war and displacement affected some groups of women disproportionately. The widows and single child-mother were claimed to be the most vulnerable groups in the aftermath of the conflict—some deprived of land, stigmatised and economic marginalised (cf. Brück and Schindler, 2006; Justino, 2009). For instance, one of our key experts said:

> *"… Long after the war, widows and households led by children couldn't leave the IDPs, but stayed in the camps for handouts and survived on petty business… most of them couldn't access land of their deceased husbands or deceased fathers" C/ Key informant, Male – Cesvi, Lira.*

This means that the vulnerability of specific groups, like widows, child-mothers affects their wellbeing, such as land ownership and other resources. At this point, one key informant claimed:

> *"Widows and female headed households were more expected to stay in the camps due to lack of resources to start life anew" C/Key informant, female-GWEDG, Gulu.*

The reality is complex; many widows had to take on "male" as well as traditionally "female" tasks in order to support their family. In this case, there is a tendency to consider the widow as vulnerable, but it is not universally the case or at least it wasn't entirely the case in our sample. Therefore, there could be more to understand through to a deeper analysis of these specific groups, but that is outside the scope of our study. Nonetheless, previous studies focus on land issues in post-conflict northern Uganda and find the widow to be the most affected group (Cf. Land disputes threaten northern peace, IRIN, 2012).

In terms of change in gender roles, as mentioned before, the majority of key informants from the conflict-affected regions used the phrases: *"war increased women's breadwinner roles"* or *"the number of women doing petty business increased."* However, the increase in women's economic roles didn't necessarily imply their increased control of their hard-earned resources and involvement in all family decisions. For instance, the director of GWED-G in Gulu said:

> *"Right from conflict times, women are putting food on the table in many homes today...But men still control most of the resources."*

In the same perceptive, an official in the NGO forum in Gulu said: "Women dominated the petty trade in the camps… some sold their food rations [from relief aid] to raise capital, others brewed alcohol"…. "… During the war, women economically supported the family—children and their husbands"

Figure 7.1 Women and petty business after war

Source: own photo[103]

As change in economic roles of women relatively increased their household power relations, some men felt emasculated, often resorting to domestic violence. In our study, for instance, an official of the NGO forum in Gulu commented on the emasculation of men during the conflict, as below:

> *"Men, during conflict, and maybe now, ask for money from their wives… [Laughter], this is a culture that never existed..." C/ Key informant, Gulu district*

However, as mentioned before, the change in gender roles did not fundamentally change the patriarchal nature of the households; most of the married women faced the same limitations of power asymmetries despite their economic contribution to the household. For instance, one respondent stated that:

> *"I am the sole earner in the home nowadays; as my husband has no work, but still, he decides on everything in the home…." Femal,e 34 years, Lira district.*

[103] The picture show a group of women doing petty trade, waiting to pack waragi [local brew/spirit] on to a lorry—5 km out of Lira town.

A key informant noted that:

"Despite the increased visibility of women in work for pay during and after the war, when the men are angry at their inability to support the family, they take it out on the women. There are numerous social problems in homes where the women are working." C/Key informant, G-WED-G, Gulu district.

So, the above quotations, may explain why, notwithstanding the purported conflict related gains in economic and power relations of women in the household, our results on the effect of exposure to conflict on women's self-reported agency were in favour of non-conflict affected women.

Beside the limitation arising from static ideologies of gendered power, we can state with the caution that women's labour participation wasn't only increasing women's resource endowment, but also relatively solidified women´s agency in the conflict-affected group—this argument is supported by El-Bushra, 2003. However, in general women´s social status and access to resources increases their agency, we observe from the results that women testified to the importance of access to resources:

"…. At least I own this goat and a cow. If I have a problem someday… I can easily convert them into cash [money]" C/Female, 26 years, Gulu

"I feel that my life has improved because of the land, I have this land for me and my children's future" NC/ Female, 34 year, Wakiso

Most especially, women's ownership of resources, like land seems to be the most social and economic empowerment, though one can't look at a single asset in isolation, but when combined together with other assets, women's agency increases. This is supported by Petesch`s 2011 study on women`s empowerment arising from post-conflict and recovery—the author observes that the accumulation (or depletion) of assets can strengthen (or weaken) women's agency.

The majority of financially independent women reported husbands' neglect of family responsibility as their motivation towards self-independence. For instance, the Secretary for women in the Kaunda Market said:

"My husband was polygamous and abandoned his responsibilities; but because I had to care for my children, yet I didn´t have much level of education, I decided to start a life of my own; selling brooms during the war…..I moved into this market in 2002 with these local lamps and brooms…. Currently, I am part of the market leadership [a secretary for women]…."

Figure 7.2 An example of women's petty trade

Source: own photo

Such obstacles are not found only in conflict areas. Lack of access to education, struggling to maintain the family is a common challenge for women trying to enter labour markets in peace and conflict environments—the forces that lead uneducated women to enter the labour market relate to family wellbeing (Petesch, 2011:12).

In a way, the challenges that women face to maintain their family's wellbeing sometimes lead to resilience. The conflict destructed the market and social setting, forcing women to engage in "male roles". One of our key informants from the Justice and Peace Commission (JPC) in Gulu, Akello observed that the resilience that women had during the conflict has even increased in the post-conflict:

"What war did…. [Pause]… it forced women to be in charge of the homes, they didn't fold their hands to say "let me cry, I am poor and all that", they did something positive, for instance, starting petty trade…. Today [post conflict] you still find many women in business, and collective/commercial farming." C/Key informant, JPC, Gulu.

Critical divergences and converges between qualitative and quantitative data

Both the quantitative and the qualitative results agree on four issues: 1) the conflict only reshaped the act of child early marriage, but did not cause it as such. The statistics proved that there was a difference between mere residence in a conflict area and residing in IDP camps when it came to child marriage below ones 18th birthday. 2) The level of poverty shatters opportunities and this deprivation is a driving force for child marriage, irrespective of exposure to conflict. 3) Education and employment are crucial deterrents of child marriage; the qualitative data show that the level of parent's education is related to child marriage. 4) The insignificance of the effect of interaction between gender and conflict on early marriage in the quantitative matches the responses of some qualitative respondents who said that conflict simply "*repackaged*" child marriage but it's a long standing challenge. Thus, the differences between women in conflict affected community and their counterparts in non-conflict affected are reflected in the circumstances leading to child marriage, rather than the concept of child marriage.

However, some factors that were not statistically significant in the quantitative data were strong drivers of child marriage in the qualitative data. For instance, cultural/community norms (attitudes to equal gender roles, the community effect on fertility decision and outcomes) were overly cited in the qualitative, but in some cases were insignificant in the quantitative analysis. Cultural impediments are often "invisible" forms of violence that respondents to the quantitative Likert scale questions may have failed to rightful identify due to their cultural limitation, yet in the qualitative open-ended discussion sure narratives came up. Apparently, the violence related to child marriage was not seen as such or rather parents tend to perceive it differently—say as securing the future of the girls and linage (cf. Cultural violence by Galtung, 1975, 1990)

The qualitative data confirmed that women´s labour participation is characterized by low-paid, low skilled and often self-employed jobs in the informal sector. A few women were working in a previously male dominated work, for instance, trading across the border—Uganda-Sudan border, owning wholesale shops and "boda boda"/motorcycle businesses in the post-conflict region. From the in-depth interviews it was observed that: 1) the young women in the conflict had brutal experienced of war-induced rape, abduction, drop-out of school etc.—even when these young women

seemed to be coping, the scars of brutality seemed fresh in their minds. 2) Young married women—often cohabiting—were most likely not to own personal business or own any assets, but to work for other women or men in the markets or in other informal settings. However, the majority of conflict-affected women earned some pay for their labour compared to their counterpart in the non-conflict affected communities, who dominated farm type of employment. Even though a positive trend was observed in women's entry into the labour market, mostly in the conflict-affected communities, this was not enough to challenge the status quo (gendered ideologies).

In the quantitative results, women engaged in paid work had a high capacity for voice and agency regarding family sizes. This kind of women seemed to be more capable of asserting their opinions and to pursue goals beyond child bearing—prefer small families and tend to engage in technical or income generating activities. Based on work categories, apart from women in white collar job, women in informal-work outside the house (casual work) were likely to influence family size decisions compared to farm-oriented women. This suggests that economically active women at various levels of education or social status are possibility in more position to bargain within the household than women in the farming sector, and or illiterate (cf. Sen, 1993; Agarwal, 1997). However, our qualitative result showed that forms of paid work that empower women also leave them vulnerable to harassment and abuse in the household as a result of conflict in power relation. This finding is corroborated by what Kabeer (2011) observed in Bangladesh and EL-Bushra`s (2003) observation in communities affected by the conflict. .

7.4 Conclusions, Policy Implications and Suggestions for Future Research

Having described the basis and the findings of the study in the different chapters, it is now necessary to make some final considerations in order to bring these reflections to a close. In order to do so, this section is divided into three parts: theoretical conclusions, policy implications and perspective for future research.

Theoretical conclusions

As seen in chapter one and three, the effects of exposure to conflict on individual behaviours related to gender roles are less known. In the case of Uganda, it is necessary to rigorously explore the consequences that the conflict between the LRA rebels and the government of Uganda had on the family dynamics of the affected population. In this study, the estimated effect of exposure to conflict, suggests that ideal family size preferences and entry into marriage of conflict-affected individuals differ significantly from non-affected ones. Additionally, the triangulation of methods provides individual experiences and the key informant's views to confirm that during the conflict and displacement, women's decision making capabilities and access to resources within the household increase due to change in gender roles. In light of our results, we can argue that the behaviours related to the individual's production and reproduction at the familial level provides evidence about changes in women's capabilities in post-conflict setting. The theoretical position is that, if empirical support for changes in gender roles during the conflict is found, like in the case of this study, more research should consider conflict and displacement not only as a shock, but also as a phenomenon with long-term social, political and economic consequences.

Considering the violent conflict and prolonged displacement, as a process with long-term effects, we can point to the following theoretical conclusions:

First of all, the robustness difference of in women's entry into paid work found between conflict-affected and non-affected women suggest some fundamental change in gender norms related to work. Implicitly, if women in conflict-affected areas are highly active in the paid labour force, as shown by this study, in the long run, women's economic roles in the household influences their ideal family size preferences and their capabilities to access resources and make decisions.

Secondly, since our study emphasized coping mechanisms during the conflict in the analysis of women's participation in family dynamics and paid-work, we believe that a rigorous analysis of coping mechanism of conflict-affected groups could be relevant to understand the winners and losers (opportunities and social change) from a policy point of view.

Thirdly, there is a comprehensible relationship between the proximity to the conflict zone and an increase in early marriage. However, we have to keep in mind that the practice of forced marriage of girls is also driven by pre-existing limitations in access to resources and structural violence. Nonetheless, it is worth emphasising that the drivers of early marriage in the conflict-affected areas are for example, vehemently brutality of the conflict, rape, and abduction, and they are associated with socioeconomic deprivation induced by the conflict.

The macro studies focus on change in the marriage market as a result of a change in sex ratio after the conflict, but neglect those experiences of conflict-affected young mothers. Our findings suggest that the consequences of early marriage on the identity of the young mothers and their children have an outstanding effect, especially in the case of girls that were formerly abducted or raped.

We could say that these findings contribute to the existing knowledge. We saw that conflict-exposed individuals constrain their reproductive ideals and show fundamentally different gender norms of production in the household compared to non-conflict-exposed counterparts. Such findings point to the evidence that the change in gender roles and women's substantial socioeconomic empowerment in the post-conflict leads to a preference for smaller family size. Given that the preference for smaller family size can result from the shocking experiences of the conflict, the current study can't disagree with Caldwell's 2004 argument that war shocks create "temporary adjustment" in fertility outcomes, but we contend that changes in the household dynamics in conflict-affected communities have a prospective long-term effect on family size decisions. The temporary effect may only occur if the differences in IFS decisions and women's attainment of ideals which are due to stress and uncertainties of life during conflict and displacement (cf. Lindstrom DP and Berhanu 1999). But the long-term effect has something to do with women's power gained from a change in gender roles during the conflict and displacement (cf. Calderón, Gáfaro and Ibáñez2011; Lehrer, 2010; El-Bushra, 2003)

Despite that the potential effect of coping mechanisms during the conflict on micro-level outcomes is often ignored by previous studies, this study followed micro-level research which considered coping strategies (cf. Justino, 2009). The findings of our

study suggest that coping mechanisms fundamentally affect the household dimension directly through the women's takeover of the decision making in the household or indirectly through an increase in women's participation, for instance, by engaging in self-employment, rather than relying entirely on support from relatives, government and international relief aid. There was a remarkable increase in women's status in the post-conflict setting. Additionally, we confirm the effect of coping mechanisms on the age at marriage.

The qualitative results confirmed that when women acquired new roles, their ability to influence family dynamics was high. However, social factors related to gender inequality and strong community effect on individual preferences confirms the static nature of ideologies that support power asymmetries in gender relations. Following the line of argument that during the conflict women tend to take over the traditional roles socially assigned to men, with implies that despite women's increased economic roles in the household, we find that these acquired gender roles *do not change the fundamental beliefs that men have a supreme position in reproductive decisions* (Bop, 2001; El-Bushra, 2000; Meintjes, 2001; among others).

We contend that the increase in the bargaining power of women over familial relations is reflected primarily in family dynamics and capability of women to access resources. In this way, and based on the study's measures, the women in the conflict-affected areas seemed to have more bargaining power.

Policy perspectives

There is some policy related observations to draw from this study. First, policy makers frequently require information on post-conflict intervention, regarding household recovery from the conflict; such intervention ought to focus on women's agency. It is shown here that agency and welfare of women in the conflict-affected regions vary from non-conflict-affect counterparts—and also among the conflict-affected women. For instance, widows, separated women and, child-mothers—who are likely to be "co-habiting" according to their marital status—face greater challenges.

Secondly, the studies on conflict and post-conflict have a tendency of considering some groups only as vulnerable; for instance widows. This study found that even though widows are in a disadvantaged position, they are more likely to be working outside the home and for pay. In general, any policy agenda targeting to increase the well-being of women affected by conflict-affected has to consider the individual capabilities in order to increase personal empowerment. Nonetheless, any partial approach that ignores special intervention to victimised groups of child-mothers may engender long-term disempowerment of young girls in the conflict-affected regions. What is needed is both short-term relief and long-term programs to improve access to resources which improves women's capacity, and independence to bypass direct or indirect dependence on childbearing/children as a means to attain physical and material wellbeing.

On the other hand, a neglected group, which needs more attention, is the one of child-mothers. Most of the existing interventions to empower such young girls are misinformed and based on a short-term approach. The qualitative results of this study show that apart from those child-mothers engaged in petty trade or those who were lucky to continue with their education, all the other child-mothers had a very low social status and a high number of living children compared to others in their age group. These young girls and their children are discriminated and impoverished. The existing approaches to empower these young women—for instance the ones abducted, raped and forced into marriage during war-times—are overshadowed by not only limited research, but also lack of recovery resource tied to this specific group. The study observes that child-marriage requires complex solutions beyond relief intervention. Certainly, public-private investment may be a plausible solution given that the government's intervention is often constrained after conflict. For instance, setting up infrastructures for instance, vocational schools and standard education to child-mothers, rehabilitation centres; this may address the challenge of child marriage beyond legal measures, which have proven to be incapable of counteracting structural and cultural barriers.

The implications of exposure to conflict areas and internal displacement on the family dynamics, especially childbearing and marriage is less known in Africa. The socioeconomic welfare might encourage relative constraining of family size preferences of conflict-affected persons. The argument of this study acknowledges the correlation

between conflict and poverty as a limit to the capabilities of conflict-affected individual compared to non-conflict-affected. In this way, individual behaviour changes and agency related to coping strategies should be observed as an empowering force, especially the women. Our modest findings prove some gains on the side of women that policy makers should tailor ways to conserve and nurture through social programmes. But as well there is need to understand the challenges, like high early marriage induced by war, which short-term interventions and the existing legal system cannot remedy. For policy recommendation, then, the qualitative findings lead us to suggest that intervention requires long term social programs for instance related to child mothers, cohabiting women and widows, in which NGOs are not the sole participants, but in partnership with the government to enhance long term outcomes.

Delimitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Concepts of women's empowerment are diverse and hard to measure. Evidently, in our sample, the women in the conflict-affected region appeared to be significantly more visible in the labour market. However, they did not assert high influence in reproductive decision making, when compared to non-conflict affected women. First, this could arise due to the complexity of responding to subjective rating (between very high and very low) of the individual's capabilities. Secondly, general decisions on family size are attached to social empowerment and the ideologies, even in some cases when women are economically empowered. This may imply that within the existing institutions, men retained the privilege of influencing reproductive decisions despite relinquishing most of their gender roles in the conflict times. Therefore, a multidimensional scale combining reproductive and productive decisions could produce more robust findings as compared to one limited to reproductive decision.

Some conclusions about family size behaviours may be limited by various factors omitted due to limitations in the research. For instance, factors that may need further investigation are: the individual level (loss of children, partner and kinship), regional effects (destruction of health infrastructure and regional unemployment) and demographic issues (change in sex ratio, change in the number or characteristics of unions). These aforementioned factors might have a bearing on the results of the comparison of family size behaviours between conflict-affected and non-affected respondents present-

ed by this study. These factors could be very important for future studies that may apply a multi-level analysis. But such an undertaking may require the availability of a sizeable dataset and representative sample.

Even though this research has provided a better understanding of the effects of the LRA conflict, it is important to interpret its results with caution to avoid an overstating of causality. The generalization of these findings is limited, given that the sample wasn't a representative one, nevertheless a mixed methods approach in the study gives strength to the findings. With that in mind, this study's findings could help to identify interventions to conflict-affected women and men that have the potential to empower women and support pathways to gender equality in the household.

Despite our confidence in the external dataset of ACLED that was used to preselect conflict-affected and non-affected areas in Uganda, the data on fighting events didn't include village levels attacks, so we reinforced our methodology by randomly selecting the villages for our fieldwork research from those districts/Sub counties that we had statistically proven, using the ACLED data, to be conflict or non-conflict associated.

Our consideration of an arbitrary cut-off limit of 18 years to distinguish early marriage may come with some limitations. First, considering the average national age at marriage may offer different results. Secondly, comparing cases of early marriage based on experiences and not age at marriage may be more beneficial to social research. For instance, experiences confirm that conflict increases violent rape and sexual slavery during the conflict, a scenario different from peace times. Therefore, distinguishing early marriage in non-conflict affected areas from child-mothers in the conflict affected areas can offer more reasonable results.

Regarding forced displacement, the scope of the study did not allow for an understanding of the effects of conflict on the hosted population. Nonetheless, in our case, the assumption was that in the Acholi communities, where almost 90 percent of the population was displaced the differences between hosts and hosted population is trivial.

There are no clear models of analysing coping mechanisms apart from subjective reporting and seeking individual´s experiences as employed by this study. Meanwhile, the overall effect of coping during the conflict is influenced by individual demographic characteristics and the nature of exposure to the conflict. There is a need to create mechanisms of analysis that relate structural basis with individual/family coping mechanisms during the conflict with pre-conflict.

In addition to what has been mentioned above under the delimitations to the study, below are some suggestions for future studies:

Future studies are required to rigorously study family dynamics and women´s power after violent conflict, but considering conflict-coping mechanisms across gender categories or across groups of women of different marital status or social background. Such studies are vital to find interventions in the post-conflict setting which offer sustainable solutions and therewith possibility for recovery in the long-run.

Future research can embark on experiences of war-child-mothers and their children to increase our understanding of early marriage, and how distinct the consequences of war on young mothers in conflict-affected areas differ from cases in non-conflict-affected areas.

Despite the previous studies and this study´s contribution to a better understanding of gender roles after conflict, there is still less conclusive knowledge on how prolonged force displacement or violent conflicts, in general, affect family dynamics like marriage and family size preferences. Future studies need to use other measures of exposure to conflict and other indicators of familial dynamics. In this way, a better understanding of "women as victims" during the conflict, on one hand, and how coping mechanisms influences "women's substantial empowerment" during the post-conflict setting, on the other hand, can be found.

7.5 Conclusiones, Implicaciones Políticas y Propuestas de Investigación

Una vez descritos los datos y los resultados del estudio en los diferentes capítulos, es necesario hacer algunas consideraciones finales a fin de que estas reflexiones lleguen a su fin. Para ello, esta sección se divide en tres partes: conclusiones teóricas, implicaciones políticas y perspectivas para futuras investigaciones.

Conclusiones teóricas

Como se ha visto en los capítulos uno y tres, los efectos de la exposición a los conflictos en los comportamientos individuales relacionados con los roles de género son poco conocidos. En el caso de Uganda, es necesario explorar más a fondo las repercusiones que el conflicto del grupo rebelde LRA con el gobierno del país han tenido en la dinámica familiar de la población civil afectada. En este estudio, la utilización de metodología cualitativa ha puesto de manifiesto que el efecto estimado de la exposición al conflicto, sugiere que las preferencias de tamaño ideal de la familia y el matrimonio precoz de las personas afectadas por el conflicto difieren significativamente de las no afectadas. Además, la triangulación de métodos ofrece las experiencias individuales y las opiniones de los informantes clave para confirmar que durante el conflicto y el desplazamiento, las capacidades de decisión y acceso a recursos de las mujeres dentro del hogar aumentaron debido al cambio en los roles de género. A tenor de estos resultados, se puede argumentar que los comportamientos productivos y reproductivos del individuo a nivel familiar proporcionan a la investigación pruebas sobre los cambios en las capacidades de las mujeres en situaciones posteriores al conflicto. *La posición teórica es que si no se encuentra apoyo empírico a los cambios en los roles de género debidos al conflicto, se debe tener en cuenta dicho conflicto y el consecuente desplazamiento, no sólo como un shock, sino también como un fenómeno con consecuencias sociales, políticas y económicas a largo plazo.*

Considerando el conflicto violento y el desplazamiento prolongado como un proceso con efectos a largo plazo se puede señalar desde este punto de vista teórico, las siguientes conclusiones:

En primer lugar, la robustez de la diferencia de entrada al mercado laboral entre de las mujeres afectadas por el conflicto y las no afectadas sugiere un cambio fundamental en las normas de género relacionadas al trabajo. Implícitamente, si las mujeres en las zonas afectadas por el conflicto son muy activas en el mercado laboral, como se muestra en este estudio, al largo plazo, las funciones económicas de las mujeres influyen en sus preferencias reproductivas y sus capacidades de acceso a recursos y a la toma de decisiones.

En segundo lugar, ya que nuestro estudio hizo hincapié por una parte, en los mecanismos de afrontamiento de conflictos, y por otra parte en el análisis de la participación en las decisiones reproductivas de las mujeres y su acceso al trabajo remunerado. Por lo tanto, creemos que un análisis riguroso de los mecanismos de afrontamiento de los grupos afectados por el conflicto sería relevante para entender cuáles son los ganadores y los perdedores desde el punto de vista del análisis de las políticas.

En tercer lugar, existe una relación objetiva entre la proximidad a la zona de conflicto y el aumento de los matrimonios precoces. Sin embargo, tenemos que tener en cuenta que la práctica del matrimonio forzado de niñas es además impulsada por las limitaciones previas en el acceso a recursos y por la violencia estructural. No obstante, debe subrayarse que los conductores de los matrimonios precoces en las zonas afectadas por el conflicto son ejemplos vehementemente brutales de guerra, violación y secuestro, y se asocian con la privación socioeconómica inducida por la guerra.

Por último, los estudios macro se centran en el cambio en el mercado matrimonial, como resultado de un cambio en la proporción de sexos tras el conflicto, pero descuidan las experiencias de jóvenes madres afectadas por el conflicto. Nuestros hallazgos sugieren que las consecuencias del matrimonio precoz sobre la identidad de las madres prematuras y sus hijos tienen un efecto excepcional, especialmente en el caso de las jóvenes que fueron secuestradas o violadas.

Podría decirse que estos resultados contribuyen al conocimiento existente. Vimos que los individuos expuestos al conflicto limitan sus ideales reproductivos y muestran fundamentalmente diferentes normas de género en comparación con contrapartes no expuestas al conflicto. Estos hallazgos apuntan a la evidencia de que el cambio en los roles de género y el empoderamiento socioeconómico sustancial de las mujeres en el post-conflicto conduce a la preferencia por familias más pequeñas. Dado que la preferencia por una familia pequeña puede ser el resultado de la exposición continuada al conflicto, el estudio actual no puede estar en desacuerdo con el argumento de Caldwell 2004 que los choques de guerra crean "ajustes temporales" en los resultados de natalidad, pero aquí sostenemos que los cambios en la dinámicas familiares no se ven limitados sólo a un ajuste temporal sino que se ven extendidas a largo plazo. El efecto temporal sólo puede ocurrir si las diferencias en las decisiones *IFS* y el logro de las mujeres de los ideales son debidos al estrés y la incertidumbre durante el conflicto y el desplazamiento (cf. Lindstrom DP y Berhanu 1999). Pero el efecto a largo plazo tiene que ver con el poder de la mujer adquirido debido al cambio en los roles de género durante el conflicto y el desplazamiento (cf, Calderón, Gafaro y Ibáñez2011; Lehrer, 2010; El-Bushra, 2003).

A pesar de que el potencial de los mecanismos de supervivencia durante los conflictos que afectan a los resultados a nivel micro han sido ignorados en la literatura existente. En el caso de este estudio se dio seguimiento a otros estudios que consideran las estrategias de afrontamiento (cf. Justino, 2009). Los hallazgos de este estudio sugieren que los mecanismos de adaptación afectan directamente a la dimensión de los hogares a través de la adquisición de las mujeres del rol proveedoras, e indirectamente a través de un aumento de la participación de las mujeres, por ejemplo en el empleo por cuenta propia, en lugar de confiar en el apoyo familiar, del gobierno o en la ayuda internacional de socorro. Lo que tuvo un notable aumento en el estatus de las mujeres en el entorno post-conflicto. Además, se confirma que el mecanismo de supervivencia también afectó a la edad de matrimonio a posteriori.

La parte cualitativa confirmó que cuando las mujeres adquirieron nuevas funciones, su capacidad de influir en la dinámica familiar fue alta. Sin embargo, los factores sociales relacionados indican que las estructuras siguen siendo estáticas.

Siguiendo así la línea argumental de que durante los conflictos las mujeres tienden a hacerse cargo de los roles tradicionales asignados a los hombres, con implicaciones crecientes en funciones económicas, nos encontramos con que estos roles de género adquiridos *no cambian las creencias fundamentales que los hombres tienen una posición suprema en la decisión reproductiva*. (Bop, 2001; El-Bushra, 2000; Meintjes, 2001).

Perspectivas políticas

Hay algunas observaciones relacionadas con las políticas sociales que se pueden sacar de este estudio.

En primer lugar, los políticos frecuentemente requieren información sobre la intervención post-conflicto en relación con la recuperación de los hogares tras el conflicto; dicha intervención debe centrarse en la acción de las mujeres. Se muestra aquí que la capacidad de decisión y el bienestar de las mujeres en las regiones afectadas por el conflicto varían respecto a las contrapartes no afectadas y también dentro del propio grupo de las mujeres afectadas. Así que las viudas, separadas y madres prematuras que se enfrentan a mayores desafíos.

En conexión a lo anterior, los estudios de conflicto y post-conflicto tienen tendencia a considerar únicamente unos grupos como vulnerables, por ejemplo las viudas. Este estudio encontró que a pesar de que las viudas están en una posición de desventaja, son más propensas a estar trabajando remuneradamente. Este estudio argumenta que cualquier agenda política que intenta aumentar el bienestar de las mujeres afectadas por el conflicto, tiene que considerar las capacidades individuales para mejorar la autonomía personal. No obstante, cualquier enfoque parcial ignorante de la necesidad intervención especial para grupos victimizados de madres prematuras puede resultar en un des empoderamiento a largo plazo..

Concretamente, lo que se necesita es a la vez ayuda a corto plazo y programas a largo plazo para acceder a aquellos recursos que fomenten la capacidad de decisión y la independencia y así eludir la dependencia directa o indirecta sobre la maternidad como único medio para la consecución del bienestar físico y material.

Como se mencionó previamente, un grupo más descuidado, que necesita más atención, es el de las madres prematuras. La mayor parte de las intervenciones existentes para potenciar a esas jóvenes están mal informadas y son intervenciones a corto plazo. Los resultados cualitativos de este estudio muestran que, además de esas madres prematuras que participan en el pequeño comercio o que tuvieron la suerte de continuar con su educación, todas tenían un estatus social estable y un buen nivel de vida. El estudio señala que las madres prematuras requieren soluciones complejas más allá de la intervención de socorro. Ciertamente, la inversión público-privada puede ser una solución plausible dado que la intervención del gobierno es a menudo limitada después de un conflicto. Un ejemplo de buena intervención sería la creación de infraestructuras, cómo las escuelas de formación profesional y de educación estándar para las madres prematuras, centros de rehabilitación etc.; estas propuestas pueden hacer frente al desafío del matrimonio infantil más allá de las medidas legales, que han demostrado ser incapaces de contrarrestar las barreras estructurales y culturales.

Como las consecuencias de la exposición al conflicto y el desplazamiento interno, especialmente para la maternidad y el matrimonio son poco conocidas en África, e este estudio reconoce la correlación entre el conflicto y la pobreza como un límite a la capacidad supervivencia del individuo afectado. De esta manera, los cambios en los comportamientos individuales y sociales relacionados con las estrategias de afrontamiento se deben observar como una fuerza de empoderamiento, especialmente en las mujeres.

Nuestros hallazgos muestran algunos logros modestos alcanzados por las mujeres en el periodo de conflicto que los responsables políticos deberían adaptar a formas de conservar y cultivar el bienestar social a través de programas sociales. O retos, especialmente relacionados con el brutal matrimonio precoz y la alta tasa de violencia sexual inducidas por la guerra, que la política de intervenciones a corto plazo no puede remediar. Nuestra recomendación socio-política, por tanto, nos llevan a sugerir que la intervención requiere de programas sociales a largo plazo, por ejemplo en relación con las madres adolescentes, las mujeres que cohabitan y las viudas, casos en los que las ONG no deberían serlos únicos participantes, sino que en asociación con el gobierno podrían mejorar los resultados a largo plazo.

Acotaciones y sugerencias para futuras investigaciones

Los conceptos de empoderamiento de las mujeres son diversos y difíciles de medir. Así bien, aunque en nuestra muestra, las mujeres afectadas por el conflicto parecían ser más visibles en el mercado laboral, esto no sugiere una alta influencia en las decisiones reproductivas en comparación a las no afectadas por el conflicto. En primer lugar, esto podría surgir debido a la complejidad de medida de la escala de Likert. En segundo lugar, las decisiones generales sobre el tamaño de la familia se contraponen al empoderamiento femenino incluso en algunos casos en que las mujeres tienen el poder económico. Esto puede implicar que dentro de las instituciones existentes, los hombres conservan el privilegio de influir en las decisiones reproductivas a pesar de renunciar a la mayor parte de sus roles de género en los tiempos de conflicto. Por lo tanto, una escala multidimensional que combina decisiones reproductivas y productivas y no una limitada a la decisión reproductiva, podría producir resultados más concluyentes.

Algunas conclusiones acerca de los comportamientos de tamaño familiar pueden estar limitadas por diversos factores que se omitieron debido a las limitaciones de alcance. Por ejemplo, los factores que pueden necesitar más investigación son: a nivel individual (la pérdida de niños a causa del conflicto, el estatus marital, y el parentesco-familiar nuclear o extensa), a nivel regional (destrucción de la infraestructura de salud y desempleo estructural) y por cuestiones demográficas (cambio en la proporción de sexos, el cambio en el número o características de los matrimonios). Tener en cuenta estos factores sería muy importante para futuros estudios en que se puedan aplicar un análisis multinivel. Pero tal empresa requiere de la disponibilidad de un conjunto de datos importante y de una muestra representativa.

A pesar de que esta investigación ha proporcionado una mejor comprensión de los efectos del conflicto con el grupo rebelde LRA, es importante para interpretar sus resultados con cautela que evitemos exagerar. La generalización de estos hallazgos es limitada, ya que la muestra no era representativa, pero los métodos mixtos de enfoque utilizados por el estudio dan fuerza a las conclusiones. Con esto en mente, la constatación de este estudio podría ayudar a descubrir la intervención de las mujeres y las vías de apoyo a la igualdad de género en los hogares afectados por conflictos.

A pesar de nuestra confianza en el conjunto de datos externos de ACLED que se utilizaron para seleccionar las zonas afectadas y no afectadas por el conflicto, estos datos no concretaban los municipios y pueblos, por lo que nuestra selección fue aleatoria.

Nuestra consideración de un límite de corte arbitrario de 18 años para distinguir el matrimonio precoz puede venir con algunas limitaciones. En primer lugar, teniendo en cuenta la edad media nacional de matrimonio se podrían ofrecer resultados diferentes. En segundo lugar, que comparamos los casos de matrimonio precoz basándonos en experiencias individuales y no sólo en la edad media para contraer matrimonio, lo que tiene implicaciones más complejas a nivel micro.

En cuanto a los desplazamientos forzados, el alcance del estudio no permitió una comprensión de los efectos del conflicto sobre la población de acogida. Sin embargo, en nuestro caso, el supuesto era que en las comunidades Acholi, donde se desplazó casi el 90 por ciento de la población, las diferencias entre los desplazados y la población de acogida eran poco significativas debido a esta proporción.

No hay modelos claros para analizar los mecanismos de supervivencia al margen de la presentación de informes y las experiencias subjetivas. Mientras que, el efecto global del conflicto en la población expuesta está influenciado por las características demográficas y la naturaleza de dicha exposición. *Es necesario crear mecanismos de análisis que relacionen las condiciones estructurales previas con los mecanismos de afrontamiento individuales o familiares ante el conflicto.*

Las sugerencias claras para futuros estudios, además de lo que se ha mencionado anteriormente en la delimitación de nuestro estudio son:

Es necesario estudiar con rigor la dinámica familiar y el poder de mujeres después de un conflicto violento, pero teniendo en cuenta los mecanismos de confortamiento a través de categorías de género o de las diferencias en el contexto social. Estos estudios serían vitales para entender los aspectos multidimensionales del empoderamiento de las mujeres necesarios para realizar intervenciones post conflictos más sostenibles y que así posibiliten una la recuperación a largo plazo.

La investigación futura puede embarcarse en las experiencias de las madres prematuras que han sufrido el conflicto, ya que parten de una situación distinta de aquellas madres precoces que no lo sufrieron. Es de relevante necesidad llevar a cabo una investigación rigurosa de la naturaleza de éstas diferencias, no sólo para ellas sino también, y sobre todo, para sus hijos. Concretamente, de cómo esta situación provoca un impacto en el desarrollo social de los estos niños de madres expuestas al conflicto, en comparación a aquellos hijos de madres prematuras no expuestas.

A pesar de los estudios previos existentes y la contribución del presente trabajo a la comprensión de los roles de género durante y después del conflicto, aún hay poco conocimiento concluyente sobre las consecuencias del desplazamiento forzoso prolongado para la población en general y en particular para las dinámicas familiares. Los estudios futuros deben utilizar otras medidas de análisis de la exposición a los conflictos con el objetivo de diferenciar dos situaciones diferentes, como son "las mujeres victimizadas" por el conflicto, y aquellas "sustancialmente empoderadas". Y de esta manera poner estas categorías en relación con los diversos mecanismos de afrontamiento utilizados por las mujeres, durante el conflicto y/o post-conflicto.

7.6 Conclusion

The literature suggests that the violent conflicts affect women and men disproportionately, and that gender roles and behaviours are affected by the exposure to the conflict and displacement. This research has shown that the effect of exposure to conflict is more complex than the literature suggests. It has been evidenced that exposure to the conflict may directly or indirectly affect individual reproductive behaviours. As well, the change of gender roles in the household during the conflict is not supported by changes in social structures. Therefore, the effect of the conflict on measured outcome variables is significantly determined by coping mechanism during the conflict that individuals affected by the conflict apply. Our consideration of family dynamics like age at marriage, ideal family size and women´s attainment of the ideals set a foundation for further research about the effect of exposure to the conflict.

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GENERAL DATASETS AND SOURCES OF DATA:

1. Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED) – [http://www.acleddata.com/data/]
2. Africa Development group Bank (AFBD)-- [http://www.afdb.org/en/countries/east-africa/uganda/uganda-economic-outlook/]
3. CIA database [https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ug.html]
4. International Labour Organisation (ILO)-- [http://www.ilo.org/global/statistics-and-databases/lang--en/index.htm]
5. Integrated Regional Information Networks of the United Nations (IRIN) [http://www.irinnews.org/]
6. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) [http://www.internal-displacement.org/global-figures]
7. Norwegian Refugee Centre [http://www.nrc.no/]
8. OXFAM [http://www.oxfam.org/en/research]
9. UNDP [http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home.html]
10. UNFPA [http://www.unfpa.org/public/home/datafordevelopment]
11. UNHCR [http://popstats.unhcr.org/PSQ_POC.aspx]
12. UNICEF [http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/uganda_statistics.html]
13. World Bank [available at http://data.worldbank.org/indicator]
14. World Health Organization (WHO) [http://www.who.int/gho/en/]

APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: Individual survey questionnaire

Individual Behaviour after Conflict and Forced Displacement:
Ideal family size, early marriage and women's power in conflict-affected and non-affected communities of Uganda

Research Questionnaire administered between June and August 2013

This questionnaire is presented to you by a researcher or research assistant. The researcher is a student of Deusto University, Spain and the research assistant is a selected local person with a great deal of knowledge to the effect of this research and the local setting. S/he is carrying out a research on gender and development in post-conflict environment. You have been randomly selected to participate in this research. All the information obtained will remain confidential and will not be shared with any other person. We would very much appreciate your participation in the research, however participation is voluntary and you can choose not to answer any of the questions or all of them. We none-the-less hope that you will participate in this research since your views will be useful in informing gender responsive policies to support development in post-conflict environments. The results of the research will be important for the policy maker and civil community to improve the post-conflict programs and intervention.

NB: The target sample is limited to women (and men) age18-54 years who live in a (married or cohabiting) partnership at the time of the interview.

This questionnaire is strictly confidential and the information sought will be used for academic purposes only.

Region ……
Town/Village……Urban/Rural area……
Date of the interview……..……

SECTION 1: PERSONAL AND HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION
First I would like to ask you questions about you and your household.

In which of the following age groups do you fall? If respondent is less than 18 years, stop the interview	1=18-24 | 2=25 -34 | 3 =35-44 | 4 =45 -54
What is the gender of the respondent? The enumerator will observe and fill the gender	1= Male, 2= Female
What is your marital status?	1=Married, 2=Divorced 3=Separated 4=Widow 5=co-habiting 6=Others (Specify)……
Have you ever attended school?	1=Yes , 2= No
If yes, what was the highest level of formal education you completed?	1= Primary, 2= Secondary, 3= Tertiary e.g. vocational training, teacher training schools, nursing school etc 4= Under graduate level 5= Masters and above 5= Others (Specify)……
What is your religion?	1)Catholic, 2) Protestant, 3)Muslim, 4)Seventh day Adventist, 5= Pentecostal 6) Others (Specify)……

Which of the following things do you own? Please tick where applicable	

1= Yes (Do own)	2=No (Do n´t own)	
		Bicycle
		Radio
		Television
		Mobile phone
		Motorcycle
		Motor vehicle
		Plot of land
Others (Specify) ……		

SECTION 2: MIGRATION AND COPING STRATEGY	
During the last 10 years, did you ever live in an armed conflict affected zone/district?	1=Yes , 2= No
If yes, how did the armed conflict affect you and your household? Select as many as applicable	1= Disability, 2= Lost education, 3= displacement 4= Rape, 5= abduction, 6= lost property 7= Lost my job 8=lost my spouse/Child 9= Others, Specify…….
Did you have to leave your original home while fleeing this conflict (LRA)?	1=Yes , 2= No
If yes, where did you flee to?	1=IDP camp , 2= the town, 3= relatives in other regions 4=joined the rebels 5= outside of the country
If you or your family lived in an IDP camp, for how long did you live there?	Period ……
How did you and your household sustain livelihood during the time you were in the camp/during conflict? Select as many as applicable	1= sell assets, 2=send children to live elsewhere, 3= got children from school and sent them for wage employment, 4= formal borrowing, 5=informal borrowing, 6=help provided by relatives and friends, 7=help provided from local government or relief organizations, 8=work as self-employed, 9= increased agriculture labor supply, 10=Others, (specify)……..
Which of the following statements best reflects your household situation during the last 10 years or during the LRA conflict? One answer only	

	Your situation did not allow you to make any plan for the future.(You lived day by day)
	You knew what you would be doing in the next six months
	You had a long-term perspective of what your household would be during in the following 1 or 2 years
	Others, Specific ……..

Which of the following statements best reflects your household situation now? One answer only	

	Your current situation does not allow you to make any plan for the future.(You live day by day)
	You know what you will be doing in the next six months
	You have a long-term perspective of what your household will be during in the next 1 or 2 years
	Others, Specific ……..

SECTION 3: CHILDBEARING AND MARRIAGE

Now I would like to ask about your children

Do you have any children?	1=Yes , 2= No
How many children do you have? Write number, if none enter '00'	
How many are still living with you in your household? Write number, if none enter '00'	
How many are alive, but living elsewhere? Write number, if none enter '00'	
How many are deceased? Write number, if none enter '00'	

According to you, how important is each of the following in the decision on whether to have or not to have a\ another child?

Read out	Very important	Fairly important	Not so important	Not at all important	DK
Financial situation/cost of raising a child	1	2	3	4	5
Work situation of mother	1	2	3	4	5
Security situation	1	2	3	4	5
Financial situation of father	1	2	3	4	5
Availability of childcare	1	2	3	4	5
Having childcare leave	1	2	3	4	5
Housing condition	1	2	3	4	5

How can you describe you participation in decision on the number of children you have?	1=Very high 2=Rather high 3=Medium 4=Rather low 4= Very low
Generally speaking, what do you think is the ideal number of children for a family?	1=none, 2= one, 3=two, 4=three, 5=four, 6=five, 7=six, 8= more than six, 9= no ideal number, it depends
And for you personally, what would be the ideal number of children you would like to have or would have liked to have had?	1=none, 2= one, 3=two, 4=three, 5=four, 6=five, 7=six, 8= more than six, 9= there is no ideal number, it depends
At what age did you start Living with your (first) partner?	Age. . . . .
How old were you when you had your first child?	Age……..
Does your partner have any other wives/husbands besides yourself?	1=Yes , 2= No

Here is a list of statements relating to the role of men and women when it comes to raising children. Please tell me to what extent do you agree or disagree with each of them.

Read out	Totally agree	Tend to agree	Tend to disagree	Totally disagree	DK
A working mother can establish a just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who does not work	1	2	3	4	5
A pre-school child is more likely to suffer if his\her mother works	1	2	3	4	5
All in all family life suffers when the woman has a full time job	1	2	3	4	5
Both men and women should contribute to the household income	1	2	3	4	5
Ideally, the woman should stay at home to look after the children while the man goes out to work	1	2	3	4	5
Family life often suffers when men concentrate too much on their work	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION 4: REPONDENT´S WORK STATUS

Before you started living/married your (first) partner, did yourself ever work regularly to earn money?	1=Yes , 2= No
Since you were first married, have you ever worked regularly to earn money?	1=Yes , 2= No
Following up on question 30 above, are you currently working regularly to earn money, and why?	1=Yes, 2=No
If yes, what is the nature of the work?	1= Family owned work, 2= non-family owned work
To specify question 32 above, which of the following category of work do you do?	1= Farming, 2=Fishing, 3=manufacturing, 4=building & construction, 5=Retailing, 6=Services, 7=casual labor e.g. maid, potter etc. 8=Small enterprise e.g boda boda, dry cleaning etc. 9= Govt,/parastatal employee, 10=Homemaker, 11=skilled work 12=economically nonnative (aged, sick, deformed etc) .
In which of these ranges does your income fall?	1=Less than Shs. 50,000; 2=Shs 50,000-100,000; 3= Shs.100,000 -150,000; 4=Shs,150,000 + or over
SECTION 5: PARTNER´S WORK AND STATUS INDICATORS Now I have some questions about your (most recent) partner.	
Did your partner ever attend school?	1=Yes , 2= No
If yes, what is the highest level of formal education your partner completed?	1= Primary, 2= Secondary, 3= Tertiary e.g. vocational training, teacher training schools, nursing school etc 4= Under graduate level 5= Masters and above5= Others (Specify)……
Does your partner earn a regular wage or salary?	1=Yes , 2= No
If yes, how much per month?	1=Less than Shs. 50,000; 2=Shs 50,000-100,000; 3= Shs.100,000 -150,000; 4=Shs,150,000 or over 5= Don´t know
What does s/he do to earn money? Circle as many choices as possible	1= Farming, 2=Fishing, 3=manufacturing, 4=building & construction, 5=Retailing, 6=Services, 7=casual labor e.g. maid, potter etc. 8=Small enterprise e.g boda boda, dry cleaning etc. 9= Govt,/parastatal employee, 10=Homemaker, 11=skilled work 12=economically nonnative (aged, sick, deformed etc) .
SECTION 6: SOCIAL ENGAGEMENT	
Are you an active member of any local Group?	1=Yes , 2= No
If yes, in which of these groups are you a member? Select as many as applicable	1= Church group, 2= SACCO, 3= Social groups, 4= Farmer´s group, 5=VSLA/Village saving group 6= Others, (specify)……
What benefits, in addition to savings, do you attach to being a member in this group? Select as many as applicable	1=Capacity building e.g. trainings, seminars and life skills etc, 2=Meeting friends, 3=Adult learning, 4=Participation in leadership,5=Others, (specify)……..
If the benefits are monetary, what is the maximum (monthly) monetary contribution or saving you agreed as members to make?	Amount…….
Alternatively, are you benefiting from any NGO or Community association programs?	1=Yes , 2= No
"Thank you for sacrificing your time to respond to these questions"	

Appendix 2: Individual interview protocol (Face-to Face Interview)

Individual Behaviour after Conflict and Forced Displacement:
Ideal family size, early marriage and women's power in conflict-affected and non-affected communities of Uganda

Face-to Face interview protocol(June and August 2013)

This questionnaire is presented to you by a researcher or research assistant. The researcher is a student of Deusto University, Spain and the research assistant is a selected local person with a great deal of knowledge to the effect of this research and the local setting. S/he is carrying out a research on gender and development in post-conflict environment. You have been randomly selected to participate in this research. We would very much appreciate your participation in the research, however participation is voluntary and you can choose not to answer any of the questions or all of them. We none-the-less hope that you will participate in this research since your views will be useful in informing gender responsive policies to support development in post-conflict environments. The results of the research will be important for the policy maker and civil community to improve the post-conflict programs and intervention.

This information you will provide to this researcher is strictly confidential and it will be used for academic purposes only.

Region ……
Town/Village……Urban/Rural area……
Date of the interview……..……
Tell me what ideas and pictures come to your mind when you think of the last ten to fifteen years (of the LRA conflict). Hints: violent conflict experiences, coping strategies, and welfare
Now, I would like you to describe how the situation (of conflict or not) in those last years has affected your decisions regarding work, family behaviours, community. Hints: livelihood, work outside the house, civic participation.
Do you think that there has been any (negative or positive) change in your or your partner's involvement in work, family decisions, and social participation in the last 10-15 years (during the conflict)? Why do you think so? Hint , change in gender role and identities
And this is the last question, Can you tell me about your thoughts on women and men´s age at marriage?
------End------

Appendix 3: Key informants interview protocol

Individual Behaviour after Conflict and Forced Displacement:

Ideal family size, early marriage and women's power in conflict-affected and non-affected communities of Uganda

Key informants interview protocol guide

June 30th to 20th August 2013

This questionnaire is presented to you by a researcher or research assistant. The researcher is a student of Deusto University, Spain. S/he is carrying out a research on gender and development in post-conflict environment. You have been randomly selected to participate in this research. All the information obtained will remain confidential and will not be shared with any other person. We would very much appreciate your participation in the research, however participation is voluntary and you can choose not to answer any of the questions or all of them. We none-the-less hope that you will participate in this research since your views will be useful in informing gender responsive policies to support development in post-conflict environments. The results of the research will be important for the policy maker and civil community to improve the post-conflict programs and intervention.

This questionnaire is strictly confidential and the information will be used for academic purposes only.

May I speak with the person who would best be able to provide information on Gender and Development in and after the Lord's resistance army (LRA) conflict in Northern Uganda?

Region ……

Town ……

Name of respondent´s affiliated institution or organization ……

Date of the interview……

Section 1: General characteristics of affiliated institution or organization

How many has your organization or yourself been involvement in programs within conflict or post-conflict setting?

(If the organization or actor has less than 5 years' experience of working in the area, stop interview)

What was the role of your organization in the last 10 years?

How would you characterize the role of your institution or organization regarding gender and development?

What is the type of your organization or institution or nature of intervention?

What is the main activity of your organization or institution?

What is the gender of the informant? Male/Female

Section 2: General information on the situation of gender and development intervention in post-conflict

What are the challenges of tackling gender in conflict and post-conflict environment?

How and why has gender mainstreaming been incorporated in your (NGO) programs?

Please elaborate on the programs implemented by your organization or institution with a gender centered approach?

Section 3: livelihood in and after conflict and coping with the conflict

What were the primary sources of livelihood prior to the civil war?

What were the Major occupation/ source of livelihood while in conflict and in the camps?

Can you enumerate some Key challenges faced while in conflict or camp livelihood (in addition to reduced incomes, inadequate food portions etc)?

How can you describe life after conflict or camp livelihood regarding:

Support to reintegrate into the community after conflict;

What are people doing now to adapt to their new livelihood;

Are people venturing in new areas of work or business? Why?

In your view, what should be done differently to support people better as they adjust to life out of conflict or outside the camp?

Should it be government or somebody else doing things for the people to manage the after conflict setting?

Or rather, people could be doing some of these things themselves if for instance they received more training or Education or credit facilities or even agricultural extension services?

Section 4: Change in gender roles and women´s empowerment

Following a conflict lives, assets, and income generation are destructed. Please tell me whether people's reaction to the following aspects has remained unchanged or changed over the past 6 years?

Work……

Education…….

Marriage and childbearing……..

Membership in groups……

Political involvement……

In your opinion have the changes above been gender selective? Yes/No

If yes, how exactly are gender group (male /female) reacting to each of those aspects above?

(Read out loud the areas –Work, Marriage and childbearing, education, social engagement, political leadership – to the key informant)

Would you say that the number of women participating in work and decisions regarding marriage and childbearing has increased? Yes/No

If yes, why have the women gained relative ground in participation in those aspects above?

Do you agree with the notion that post-conflict setting present opportunities within existing structures that where probably not existent before the conflict? Yes/No

Can you please substantiate your claim above?

Thank you for taking your time to respond to the questions

Appendix 4: classification and dimensions of conflict-effects at individual level

Classification of violent conflict effect	Manifestation of violent conflict effect	How conflict affects gender and development agenda	How post-conflict intervention may enhance gender development agenda
Psychological	Sense of hopelessness, and depression Stress, trauma and vulnerability	Negatively affect political and economic participation Reduce motivation Alcoholism and fear to restart	Youth focused counselling, life skill etc programs
Health	Malnutrition, death, disability, HIV/AIDs, exposure to violence, broken health sectors	Health HIV among women. Trauma due to rape and abduction of girls	Increase in gender specific approaches Equal gender responsibility in reproduction and
Economic	Loss of assets, business, stunted investment, unemployment, interruption of education	Reduced productivity Poverty –and vulnerability of child and female headed households High dependence on relief Gender based inheritance and land ownership	More women engagement into petty business Training groups in saving and livelihood skills Forward cropping and extending livestock
Migratory,	Camp livelihood, dependency on relief, population density and increase crime, returning dilemma	More men migration to cities Land disputes for returnees especially women and children Increase in Gender based violence Returnee vulnerability	Human right message – major women Workshops and sensitive on the rights to land ownership and gender equality
Socio-cultural	Prostitution, shift of breadwinner role to women, changing cultural norms and customs	Sub-cultural of violence- especially gender based Diminishing social values Dysfunctional traditional structure Early marriages and child birth	Changing gender roles and composition of the household Intervention to education dropout child-mothers Empowerment special group of girl and women affected by war eg. abductees
Support networks	high child headed households broken social trust, and social systems	Lack of social support –lack of family support due to war deaths Prostitution caused by broken social ties Family break ups	Community work and efforts e.g. cooperatives, opening roads etc

Appendix 5: Logistic regression: women´s subjective participation in reproductive decisions

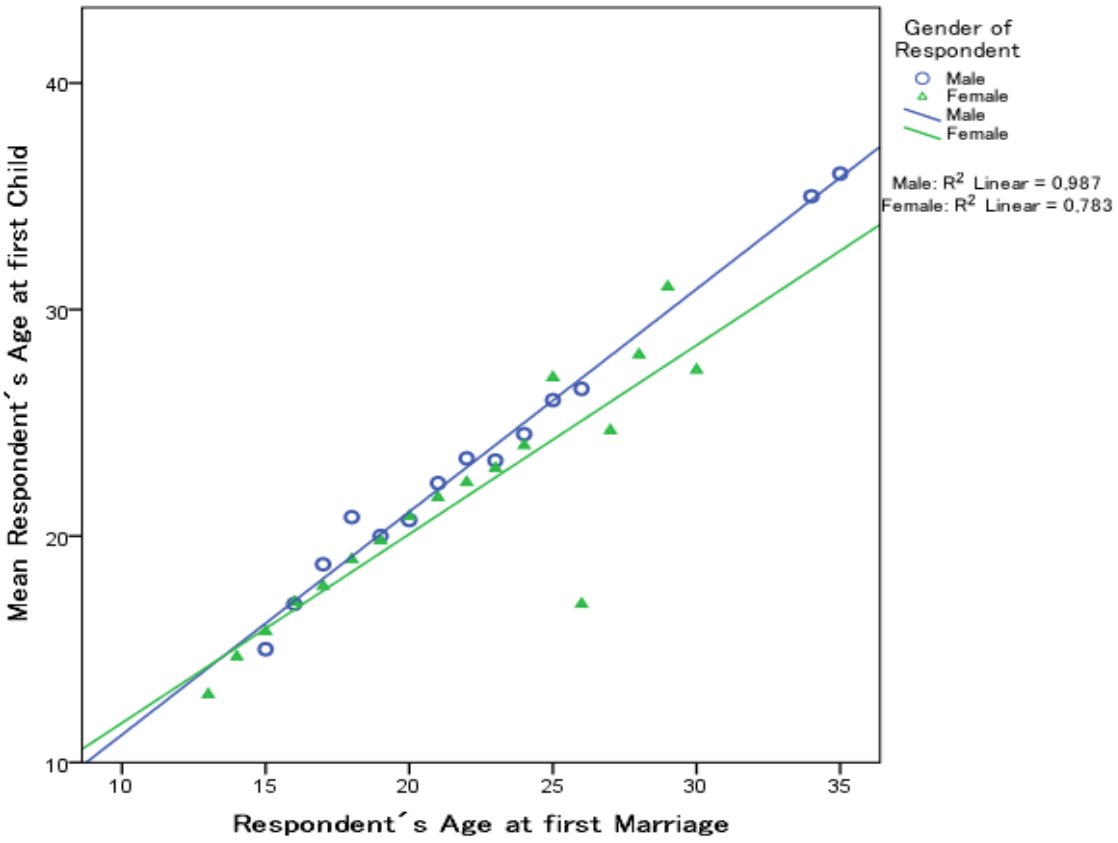
	Model I		Model II		Model III	
	B (S.E.)	Odds ratio	B S.E.	Odds ratio	B S.E.	Odds ratio
Constant	-0.346 (0.256)		-1,500 (,784)		-1,972 (1.62)	
White collar, ref, farming	0.935* (0.516)	2.548	1.075* (,552)	2.931	1.010* (0.56)	2.747
Casual operatives, ref, farming	0.964* (0.538)	2.623	0.951* (,539)	2.587	0.860 (0:56)	2.363
Work before marriage	0.647* (0.357)	1.909	0.675* (,364)	1.963	0.704* (0.39)	2.022
Time in IDP, 1-2 yrs, ref, zero years	-2.01** (0.807)	0.134	-1,941** (0.822)	0.144	-2,043** (0.83)	0.130
Time in IDP, 3-5 yrs, ref, Zero years	-0.610 (0.487)	0.543	-,626 (0.513)	0.535	-0.574 (0.52)	0.563
Time in IDP, 6 above yrs, ref, Zero years	-1.503*** (0.372)	0.222	-1.462*** (,414)	0.232	-1,354** (0.43)	0.258
Having less than post-primary education			-,259 (,362)	0.772	-.284 (0.37)	0.752
Spouse´s ever attend school			1,387** (,634)	4.003	1,452** (0.67)	4.270
Spouse´s income is more			-,206 (,406)	0.814	-0.204 (0.42)	0.815
Family planning knowledge					-0.359 (0.42)	0.699
Egalitarian					0.186 (1.36)	1.205
Active membership to social group					0.305 (0.37)	1.356
Maximum monetary benefit					-0.503 (0.459	
	(χ^2) (6) = 35.75 p<. 001) the R^2=0.155 Cox & Snell, 0.215 Nagelkerke R Square.		(χ^2) (9) = 40.917 p<. 001, $R^{2=}$0.176 Cox & Snell, 0.244 Nagelkerke		(χ^2 (13) = 45.047 p<. 001), $R^{2=}$0.19Cox & Snell, .27 Nagelkerke	

Appendix 6:Logistic regression: women´s participation in Family size decision

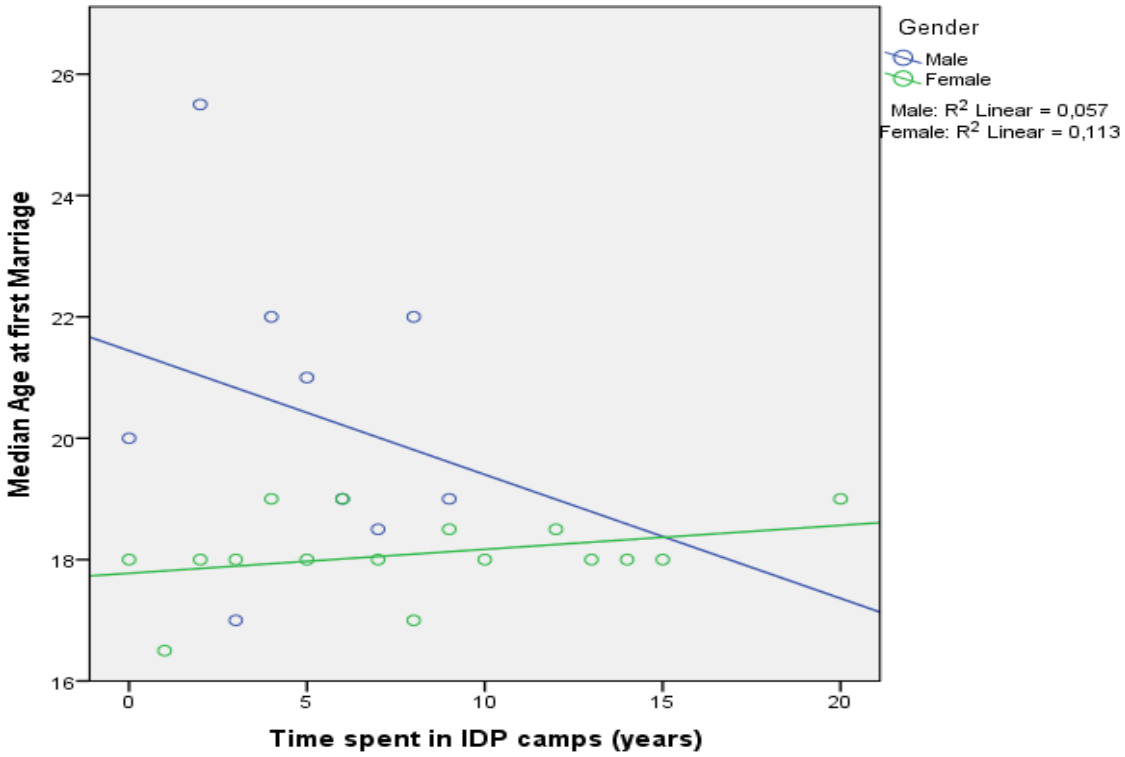
Variables	Model I B (S.E.)	Odds ratio	Model II B (S.E.)	odds ratio	Model III B (S.E.)	Odds ratio
Constant	-1.776*** (0.29)		-2,351 ,754		-4,466 1,634	
Conflict and economic participation indicators						
Non-conflict exposure (conflict affected)	1.521*** (0.35)	4.79	1.542*** (0.39)	4.674	1.528*** (0.45)	4.610
White collar (ref, farming)	1.23** (0.51)	3.420	1.407** (0.53)	4.085	1.550** (0.56)	4.713
Casual operatives (ref, farming)	1.15** (0.57)	3.159	1.106* (0.59)	3.024	1.227** (0.62)	3.411
Worked before marriage	0.634* (0.36)	1.885	0.589 (0.38)	1.803	0.560 (0.40)	1.750
Individual characteristics						
Age group 25-34 (ref, 18-24)			-0.834	0.434	-0.899	0.407

	(0.53)		(0.56)	
Age group 35-44(ref, 18-24)	-,914*	,401	-1.047*	0.351
	(0.55)		(0.59)	
Age group 45-54(ref, 18-24)	-1,244**	,288	-1.459**	0.232
	(0.61)		(0.65)	
Married (ref, cohabiting)	1.427*	4,165	1.406*	4.081
	(0.79)		(0.80)	
Divorced (ref, cohabiting)	2.384**	10.853	2.140*	8.502
	(1.17)		(1.19)	
Separated(ref, cohabiting)	0.770	2.159	0.641	1.899
	(1.15)		(1.21)	
Widows(ref, cohabiting)	1.469	4.344	1.496	4.462
	(0.99)		(1.02)	
Partner´s characteristics				
Spouse´s ever attend school			1.918**	6.810
			(0.77)	
Spouse earner more income			-0.194	0.824
			(0.50)	
Spouse is a farmer			-0.470	0.625
			(0.38)	
Values on gender roles and social networks				
Egalitarian value ranking			0.599**	1.821
			(0.29)	
Active member in social group			-0.387	0.679
			(0.39)	
Observations		262	262	
	R^2 = 16(Cox &Snell), R^2=.22 (Nagelkerke). χ^2 (4) = 33,460, p<.001	R^2 =. 19(Cox &Snell), R^2=.27 (Nagelkerke). χ^2 (11) = 41,609, p<.001	R^2 =. 25 (Cox &Snell), R^2= .35 (Nagelkerke). χ^2 (13) = 55,713, p<.001	

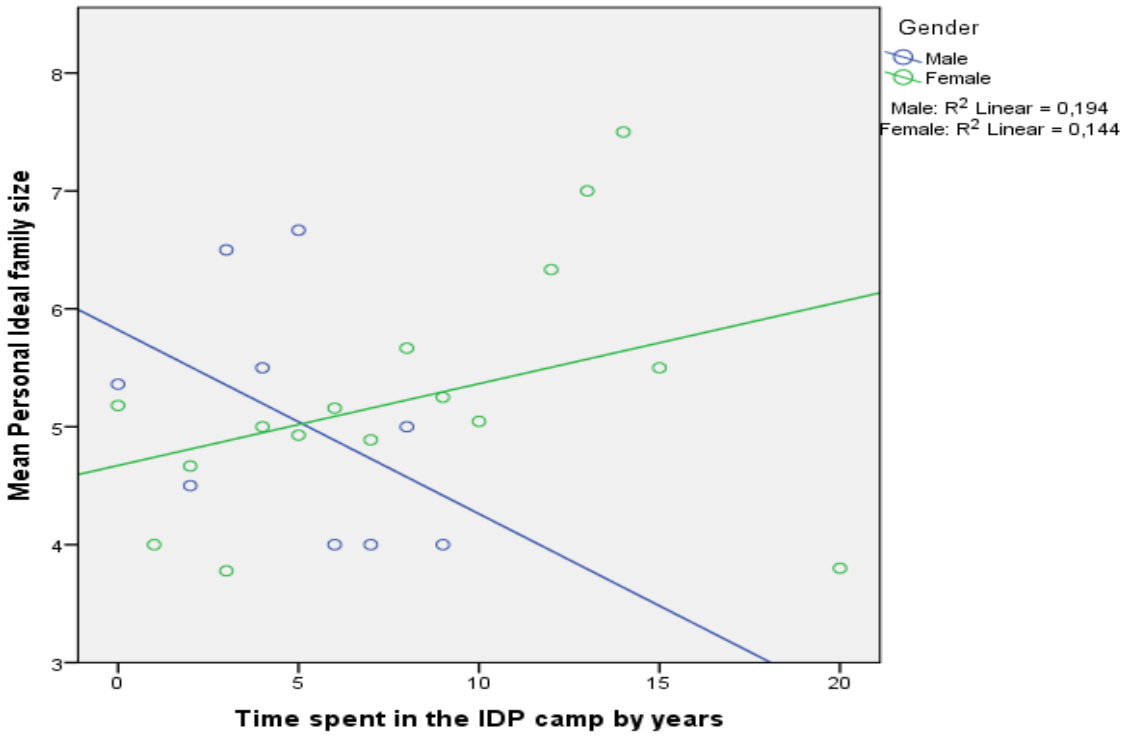
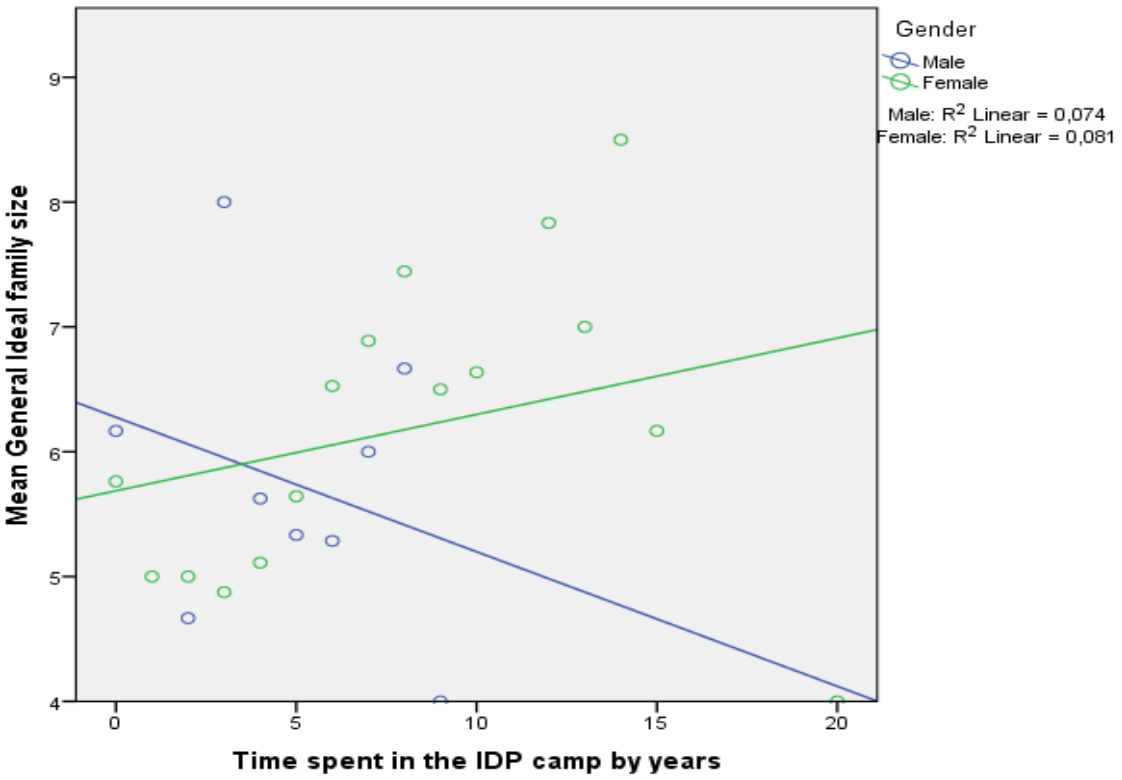
Appendix 7: The effect of age at marriage on age at birth by gender



Appendix8: Effect of time in IDP on age at first marriage



Appendix 9: Effect of time spent in IDP and Personal IFS



Appendix 10: Effect of Time spent in IDP on General Ideal family size