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University of the Witwatersrand
The Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences
Forced Migration Studies Programme

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND INCOME GENERATION AMONG SELF-SETTLED SUDANESE REFUGEES IN KOBOKO

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A research report submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts; Department of Forced Migration Studies, Graduate School for the Humanities and Social Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand.

Dedication

I dedicate this work to the self-settled Sudanese refugees in Koboko District.

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Special thanks to my family and friends for emotional and financial support during the course of my masters study.

Declaration

This research project is entirely my own work and has not been previously submitted as a research project, dissertation, or thesis at any other university.

Jackee Budesta Batanda **July 2007**



25/07/07

Abstract

This study, carried out in January 2007, examines the impact of social networks on income generation among self-settled Sudanese refugees living in Koboko, in North-West Uganda. A snowballing sampling technique has been used to identify respondents and in-depth interviews were used to collect data. The study aims to answer the research questions; what are the sources of income for refugees? What is the role of (or are the roles) of social networks in finding jobs? Are strong or weak links more important in this process? The study explores why refugees opt to move to Koboko instead of the refugee camps or why they later leave refugee camps, and examines how the now self-settled refugees generate income and what role social networks play in this process.

The study covers literature on the following themes; migration and displacement among refugees, social networks/social capital, social networks and income generation, livelihoods, and urban refugees' livelihoods.

The study reveals that refugees leave settlements because of security, jobs and education. Refugees generate income in various ways; paid employment, small businesses and through remittances. Of the 20 interviewees, majority attest to making money through social networks- mainly kin ties. A minority believe that social networks play an insignificant role in how they make money and emphasised that they got formal employment on merit. The research was carried out a year after the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the Sudanese People's Liberation Army and the government of Sudan. As a result, relative peace has returned to South Sudan and there is a need for

skilled manpower, a point the respondents use when arguing that their qualifications and not social ties were responsible for their current jobs.

In conclusion, this study revealed that refugees pulled on their strong ties a lot more than on their weak ties to settle in and gain access to income generation, thus validating the hypothesis in this study that; the weaker the social ties, the less beneficial to income generation among refugees. The stronger the social ties the more beneficial to income generation among refugees.

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CHAPTER ONE

Background Information

The study of refugee livelihoods is part of the growing body of research on livelihoods among self-settled refugees in urban areas (Al-Sharmani, 2004; Grabska, 2005; Machiavelli, 2003; Willems, 2003 etc). Officially Uganda hosts nearly a quarter of a million refugees in agricultural settlements. Thousands live in Ugandan towns and cities who survive on their own without assistance from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). These include Rwandans, Congolese, Sudanese, Somali, Eritreans and Ethiopians. The refugee population is broadly classified into 'refugees on UNHCR urban caseload[1]', 'asylum seekers', 'refugees'(allowed and not allowed to settled in Kampala) and 'unregistered self-settled refugees,' (Machiavelli, 2003).

A number of Sudanese refugees fleeing civil unrest in their country in the 1980s and 90s opted for settlement in Uganda. A large number of them self-settled in towns and villages rather than in the government designated agricultural settlements/camps. The government of Uganda only acknowledges and assists refugees living in camps/settlements and the few refugees on the UNHCR urban caseload (Okello et al, 2005). Refugees face similar challenges and constraints similar to other people, displaced or not, trying to survive in conflict areas. Their economic activities are largely based on the informal sector and rely on networks in an effort to make quick cash with low risks (Jacobsen, 2005). For self-settled refugees living outside camps, there are almost no official sources of assistance,

[1] These include security and vulnerable groups such as the elderly people, children, and the seriously sick who are taken care of by Interaid, the UNHCR's local implementation partner.

and they must rely on the good will of their hosts or their own initiatives. Therefore, the resilience and creativity of these refugees are tested in a variety of survival strategies. Despite economic deprivation and marginalisation, research suggests that many refugees maintain their cultural practices and values, join and form communities, and meet all manner of livelihood challenges in new and familiar ways (Jacobsen, 2005). This research was conducted one year after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed between the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and the government of Sudan in Nairobi, 2005. Relative peace has returned to South Sudan, and the UNHCR is carrying out voluntary repatriation of Sudanese living in Uganda back to their homes. Even among the self-settled refugees, there is talk of wanting to resettle and setting up permanent buildings in Sudan.

This study aims to answer the question, *what is the effect of social networks on income generation among self-settled Sudanese refugees in Koboko District, Uganda*? This study explores how access to income generation among self-settled refugees is facilitated by social networks. It investigates whether the strength or weakness of social networks, as defined by Granovetter and discussed in the literature review, is directly responsible for the success or failure in access to income generation.

Rationale

There is a gap in the literature on social networks and income generation in relation to refugees. This study intends to fill this gap by studying self-settled Sudanese refugees in Koboko Town, existing outside the legal framework of Uganda. The government of Uganda designates that refugees live in earmarked camps/settlements where they receive

humanitarian aid and practice agriculture (Okello et al 2005). It does not recognise refugees living outside camps. Refugee Law Project (RLP) has previously carried out research which has focused on livelihoods, security concerns and movements of refugees in the districts of northern Uganda but did not cover social networks on income generation. This study, therefore, fills this gap by considering the role of social networks on income generation among self-settled refugees. This research therefore adds to the body of available literature on refugees, their livelihoods and on social capital/networks.

Hypothesis

Social networks reinforce success in access to income generation;

a) The weaker the social ties the less beneficial to income generation among refugees.

b) The stronger the social ties the more beneficial to income generation among refugees.

Research Questions

1. What are the sources of income for refugees?
2. What is the role of (or are the roles) of social networks in finding jobs or income generation?
3. Are strong or weak links more important in this process?

Literature Review

In this section I explore the growing body of literature dealing with livelihoods and social networks/capital. I consider the following themes; migration and displacement among refugees, social networks/social capital, social networks and income generation, livelihoods, and urban refugees' livelihoods, because this study is a livelihoods and networks study.

(a) Migration and displacement among refugees

International migrants belong into two broader groups: voluntary migrants and forced migrants (Martin, 2006). For purposes of this research, this study focused on the latter category, forced migrants, who have been displaced by war. "Countries have different responsibilities towards different types of migrants. For example, more than 130 countries, have signed the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and recognise that they are obliged not to return refugees to where they have a well-founded fear of persecution and to provide assistance and protection to refugees whom they admit"(Martin, 2006). Most African countries are host to a number of refugees and government policy dictates that the refugees are assigned to settlements/camps (Okello et al 2005, Al-Sharmani 2004). This makes refugees dependent on aid organisations for sustenance, increases their vulnerability and curbs their freedom of movement as stipulated in the UN convention of the rights of refugees. Critics of this option refer to it as warehousing, described as a process of keeping refugees in protracted situations of restricted mobility, enforced idleness and dependency- their lives are on hold - in violation of their basic rights under the 1951 UN Refugee Convention (Smith, 2004). Smith further argues that warehousing occurs in the most harsh, peripheral, insecure border areas, typically for political and military rather than humanitarian reasons. A growing number of forced migrants/refugees are increasingly opting to live in cities and escape camps for reasons that include insecurity, economic and other survival reasons (Okello et al, 2005). Bagenda and Hovil (1998) in their article on Sudanese refugees resettled in camps in northern Uganda discuss the vulnerabilities the refugees face. Their study on refugees resettled in Acholi-pii showed that the refugees resettled in this

settlement were vulnerable to attacks by the Lords Resistance Army (LRA) a rebel group that staged several attacks on refugees and left many dead and abducted their children into the rebel ranks. The LRA is currently on the list of terrorists by the government of Uganda, and are infamous for their atrocities and massive human rights abuses in their areas of operation. Despite the government of Uganda sending more security personnel to the camps, the area remains insecure. Bowles (1998) describes the situation of Thai refugees along the Burma/Thailand, who were subjected to both rebel and government attacks. In trying to deal with the refugee crisis, the Burmese government set up restrictions on the movement of the refugees that cut into their livelihoods and self-sufficiency. Refugees exposed to these kinds of conditions often opt to leave the settlements and search for safer places in urban areas. Kibreab (quoted in Al-Sharmani, 2004), refers to urban refugees in Africa as, "What the eye refuses to see". African governments say urban refugees are inexistent and services planned at district level do not take into account the influx of these refugees, which ends up putting pressure on the few amenities the local governments or town councillors are able to provide for their own people. Okello et al (2005) in research on Sudanese refugees quoted an official with the Office of the Prime Minister (mandated to deal with the refugee issue in Uganda), who said self-settled refugees did not exist, and that "the only real-refugees in the country were those who lived in settlements and the small number on the so-called urban caseload, and more recently those who could prove self-sufficiency". These types of comments thus jeopardise the status of self-settled refugees making them susceptible to harassment from local officials or the locals themselves. Given this situation, we can expect that refugees opting for self-settlement rely on their social networks to survive in

the new environment, and we need to understand what social capital/networks are.

(b) Social Capital/Networks

Coleman (1988) in his article, 'Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital,' examines three themes of social capital; obligations and expectations, information channels and social norms. He defines social capital by its function and adds that its entities, "consist of some aspects of social structures and facilitate actions of actors - whether persons or corporate actors- within the structure" (p. 98). He further argues that social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that, in its absence, would be impossible. Information channels are an important aspect of social capital as they are inherent in social relations. One must forgo self-interest and act in interests of collectivity. Therefore information channels for survival opportunities, obligations and expectations amongst them and observance of societal norms, enables self-settled refugees to survive in an otherwise hostile and foreign environment (Coleman, 1988).

Social networks are further explored in Granovetter's argument, "our acquaintances (*weak ties)* are less likely to be socially involved with one another than our close friends (*strong ties)"* (Granovetter, 1983, p.201). Weak ties according to Granovetter refer to one's acquaintances while strong ties refer to ones kin and close friends. He further articulates his argument saying that the set of one's acquaintances (weak ties) have a low density network and may not know each other, while the set of one's close friends (strong ties) are densely networked and know one another. The tie between an individual and his/her acquaintance is a crucial bridge between the two densely knit clumps of close

friends…these clumps would not in fact be connected with one another at all were it not for the presence of weak ties….individuals with few weak ties will be deprived of information from distant parts of the social system and will be confined to the provincial news and views of their close friends" (Granovetter, 1983, p.202). Weak ties are more likely to be a source of information on livelihoods strategies, for example, job opportunities than strong ties. He argues that individuals with few weak ties will be deprived of important information from distant parts of the social system and will be confined to the provincial news from their networks.

Granovetter defined the link between networks as a tie. Two people may maintain a tie based on one relation only, for example, as members of the same organisation, or they may maintain a multiplex tie, based on many relations, such as sharing information, giving financial support etc. Therefore ties may vary in content, direction and strength. Ties are often referred to as weak or strong (Granovetter, 1983). Ties that are weak are generally infrequently maintained, non-intimate connections, for example, between co-workers who share no joint tasks or friendship relations. Strong ties include combinations of intimacy, self-disclosure, provision of reciprocal services, frequent contact, and kinship, as between close friends or colleagues. Both strong and weak ties play roles in resource exchange networks (Garton, 1997). However, Granovetter focuses on weak ties and their importance as the basis of his arguments. He quotes researchers like Lin and colleagues (1981), whose findings show that weak ties have positive effects on occupational status only when they connect one to high status individuals.

Granovetter, however, quotes other researchers who have argued that low income earners

will most generally use their strong ties to secure livelihoods. For example, Erickson and Yancey (1980), quoted in Granovetter, carried out a probability sample on adults aged sixty-five and under, in the Philadelphia area, whose findings revealed that 41.1 per cent of respondents used strong ties to get jobs, 15.6 per cent used weak ties and 43.3 per cent used formal means or direct application. Their report revealed that the less well-educated depended more on strong ties to get access to jobs. Stack (1974) and Lomnitz(1979), quoted in Granovetter, hold the same opinion as Erickson and Yancey (1980), that poor people relied more on their strong ties for jobs. It is, therefore, important to test Granovetter's theory of strong ties and weak ties in different contexts.

The role of social networks in the composition, direction and persistence of migration flows, and in the settlement and integration of migrant populations in receiving communities' shows that social relations both transmit and shape the effect of social and economic structures on individuals, families and households. Additionally, social ties transmit information about places of destination and sources of settlement assistance. Thus, studying networks, particularly those linked with family and households permits understanding of migration as a social product…the domestic unit is an important component in network based migration (Boyd, 1998).

There are two basic concepts of what constitutes a social network: socio-centric or "whole" networks, and ego-centric or personal networks (Johnson in Willems, 2003). Socio-centric networks represent the ties between all members, two by two, of a particular group of persons. Sets of relations between a limited numbers of people are

often visualised in a matrix, whereby all the members of the group are laid out on both the X and Y axis. The number on the position where a person on the X axis and another person on the Y axis meet usually indicates the intensity or another tie-attribute of the relationship between these two persons (Willems, 2003). An ego-centric network, on the other hand, is the set of relations one person- called ego- has with a certain number of other individuals- called alters. This type of network is often visualised as a star, whereby the length of the line between ego and one of his/her alters indicates the intensity or another attribute of a certain type of social relationships between these two persons (Willems, 2003).

In the social network analysis, the unit measured is the relation, for example, kinship relations among persons, communication links among officers of an organisation, friendship structure within a small group rather than focusing on the individual. The interesting feature of a relation is its pattern: it has neither age, sex, religion, income, nor attitudes; although these may be attributes of the individuals among whom the relation exists. Sometimes the social network itself is the focus of attention. If we term network members *egos* and *alters* (ego would refer to an individual, while alters would refer to other individuals that have links with the ego) then each *tie* not only gives egos direct access to their alters but also indirect access to all those network members to whom their alters are connected. Indirect ties link in compound relations (for example, friend of a friend) that fit network members into larger social systems The social network approach facilitates the study of how information flows through direct and indirect network ties, how people acquire resources, and how coalitions and cleavages operate (Garton et al,

1997 quoted in Monche, 2006).

Social capital has been known to influence development in both developing and developed countries. Putnam argues, "a society that relies on generalised reciprocity is more efficient than a distrustful society, for the same reason that money is more efficient than barter. Trust lubricates social life" (1983). There are negative aspects of social networks, for example, in Sicily and Italy, where social networks led to the growth of the Mafia (Putnam, 1983). It is important to therefore explore how self-settled refugees use social capital in income generation.

c) Social Networks and Income Generation

Akuei (2005) explores income generation among refugees with a focus on a study of resettled Dinka refugees living in San Diego, California, who send remittances home to relatives left behind for survival. A number of refugees survive on remittances from kin living in the west (Akuei, 2005). These kin living in the diaspora are seen as being well off and it is expected of them to send back something to relatives left behind in camps or cities in Africa. Akuei argues that the impact these remittances have on the senders include stress and psychological torture as a result of the constant barrage of messages and phone calls from relatives demanding remittances. Portes and Bach (1985) suggest that migration is a process of building social networks and may reinforce the social relationships across space. Studies on refugees living in second countries have established the importance of networks for providing general information, financial support to facilitate the move, and the maintenance of long distances ties with the origin communities (Akuei, 2005, Al-Sharmani, 2003). However, it should be noted that social networks can create pressure and difficulty and despite numerous studies on the

importance of social ties, it is important not to romanticise their role in spite of their general positive impact for migrants.

Social networks facilitate integration into a new community after arrival as they may provide newcomers with information about accommodation, papers and jobs (Massey, 1990; Goza, 2004, Akuei, 2005). Therefore, it is probable that people in one's network, also help one find a place to live or a job most likely in the same residential area, and the same type of jobs the network members are doing. As such, social networks may also shield migrants from exposure to other social environments and other possibilities for employment, and generate a relatively homogeneous class of migrants (Gelderblom and Adams, in Monche, 2006).

Willems (2003) demonstrated that urban refugees from Congo, Burundi and Rwanda living in Dar es Salaam depended on their social networks to find employment or receive financial and material support from friends and relatives. The absence of any institutional structures providing assistance to urban refugees in Dar es Salaam meant that they relied on their personal relationships for survival.

Networks channel newcomers into particular occupations or particular companies at the destination areas (Gelderblom and Adams, 2006). Former migrants easily find jobs for new migrants in the companies where they are employed because they are the first to know about job opportunities (Grieco, 1987, in Monche, 2006). In addition, employers sometimes prefer to consult these migrants in case a vacancy arises. Instead of advertising vacancies, employers prefer to use family and friends of the existing workforce to get people to undertake available positions. This normally saves time and money; employers receive few applications and thus quickly employ the kind of person

required for the job. This channel provides an efficient screening mechanism that produces new workers with characteristics similar to the existing workforce. Employers trust existing workers in choosing new ones and, in the absence of formal training, existing workers are more likely to train people that they know rather than strangers. This acts as a form of control since the new employee is constrained by the interests and reputation of his sponsor. With mutual obligations existing between friends and family members, the new recruit will try to avoid damaging the reputation of his sponsor (Grieco, 1987, in Monche, 2006). This is mainly applicable in low paying employment. Self-employed migrants like those in Johannesburg (Landau and Jacobsen, 2003) may introduce new ones into the same business that they own. However, these networks can sometimes introduce fraudulent people into a company.

Koser (2002) argues that social networks are the most trusted by refugees and asylum seekers because they provide relevant and up to-date information. In addition to the employees' motivation to use social networks for employment, Monche, (2006) argued that people looking for jobs were more likely to trust information when it came from a family member or close friend. His findings on the Congolese refugees he studied showed that the refugees owed their current employment to network members. This, he argued, was because social networks candidates possessed a time advantage because they got the information before other job seekers and they could find out details of the job, including interview procedures, wages and any disadvantages.

However, network members may not systematically provide support to any person on the grounds of family, linguistic or cultural ties. Services rendered among network

members may not demand immediate reciprocity, although that does not mean that reciprocity is absent (Gelderblom and Adams, 2006). A member doing a favour expects compensation in the longer term and those who are unable to reciprocate may become excluded from networks. It is essential to explore how networks help members with livelihoods especially in the case of refugees and also why network members choose particular livelihoods.

d) Livelihoods

Jacobsen (2002) argues that, "Livelihood activities help re-create and maintain social and economic inter-dependence within and between communities, and can thereby restore functioning social networks, based on mutually beneficial exchange of labour, assets and food" (FIFC 2002). When refugees are allowed to gain access to resources, have freedom of movement and can work alongside their hosts to pursue productive lives, they will be less dependent on aid, and better able to overcome the sources of tension and conflict in their host communities. They will help mend the fraying economic fabric that binds communities and strengthen what Mary Anderson (1999) calls "peace economies in contrast to war economies" (p.96).

Frameworks that analyse the household assets, strategies and institutional factors that influence livelihood outcomes have been developed and are used to design and implement appropriate program interventions (DFID 2000; Scoones 1998; Cernea 1996 in Jacobsen, 2002.) The sustainable livelihood approach is a practical way to on how to reduce poverty in stable situations, and some writers have sought to apply it to refugee livelihoods (Hansen 2000; Kibreab 2001; Lassailly-Jacob 1996).

A sustainable livelihood is one that can deal with, and recover from, various stresses and shocks, can maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, can provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and can contribute to the net benefits of other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the short and long term (Chambers and Conway, 1992). The livelihood concept is a dynamic one; the quality of a livelihood can fluctuate between seasons and from one year to another. There are urban-rural differences and regional differences, but there are also interrelationships where rural households may depend on remittances from urban migrants, for instance, or, as in this study, refugees may depend on remittances from family abroad. This, in particular, was explored in this study of self-settled refugees through the study of social networks and income generation.

A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims and access) and activities required for a means of living (Chambers and Conway, 1992). Carney (1998) sees livelihoods based on five classes of capital assets: natural, human, social, physical and financial. Carney, (1998) argues that the household or individuals within the household aim to "optimise" the household's situation given its resource base and the socio-economic environment (for example, agro-ecological situation, market access, institutional environment) or their own individual goals and priorities. In exploring social networks, this research intended to study income generation as an aspect of livelihoods strategies among self-settled refugees and explored what jobs they did in order to survive. The individual's or household's assets are used in such a way as to increase this particular capital, or one of the others. For instance, financial capital can be used to increase social or political capital (supporting family or friends or buying votes). The livelihood

approach does not necessarily part from the model of a unitary household as a single entity in relation to consumption and production, but realises that inequalities within households (due to gender relations or life cycle status) may lead to conflicting intended use of the resource base. Refugees leaving camps to live in urban centres lose the mandatory livelihood that the UNHCR provides, and they forge new livelihoods in the towns as urban refugees.

e) Urban Refugees' Livelihoods

While many refugees in Africa live in camps and settlements demarcated by the host governments and the UNHCR, and receive aid, a vast majority opt to live out of the settlements and live in cities (Machiavelli, 2002, Willems, 2003, Landau and Jacobsen, 2003). South Africa and Egypt are the only two African counties where refugees are legally settled in the cities (Landau and Jacobsen, 2003). This is reflected in the fact that the refugees receive little or no assistance from international organisations, and they face a number of restrictions from the host governments. Therefore urban refugees in many developing countries face similar obstacles to livelihoods that hinder the development of their human potential and capacities (Riak, Kibreab, 2003; Landau and Jacobsen, 2003). The fact of moving from rural to urban areas like many southern Sudanese refugees have done is likely to produce significant changes in livelihoods. They have to adjust to an unfamiliar, often hostile physical environment, to unfamiliar food and clothing, sometimes to a new language, and to new customs (Maxine, 1981). In addition, host government policies are likely to limit migrants' access to income. Urban refugees face a number of obstacles due to host government policies. Their rights to employment, education, and access to services are limited (Riak, Kibreab, 2003; Landau and Jacobsen,

2003). Urban refugees in Cairo have difficulty satisfying daily needs (like accommodation and food) as they are allowed neither to work nor to set up businesses (Al-Sharmani 2003; Bailey 2005). In countries where the presence of refugees in the cities is prohibited, urban refugees may face additional challenges due to their legal status. For example, in Tanzania and Kenya, authorities require refugees to live in camps or settlements and view urban refugees as illegal migrants (Jacobsen, 2003). In Uganda, the authorities do not recognise these urban based refugees and refer to them as economic migrants and illegal aliens (Okello et al, 2005). This marginalises them and causes antagonism between them and the local communities as they deplete the limited resources available.

CHAPTER TWO

Research Design

Study Type

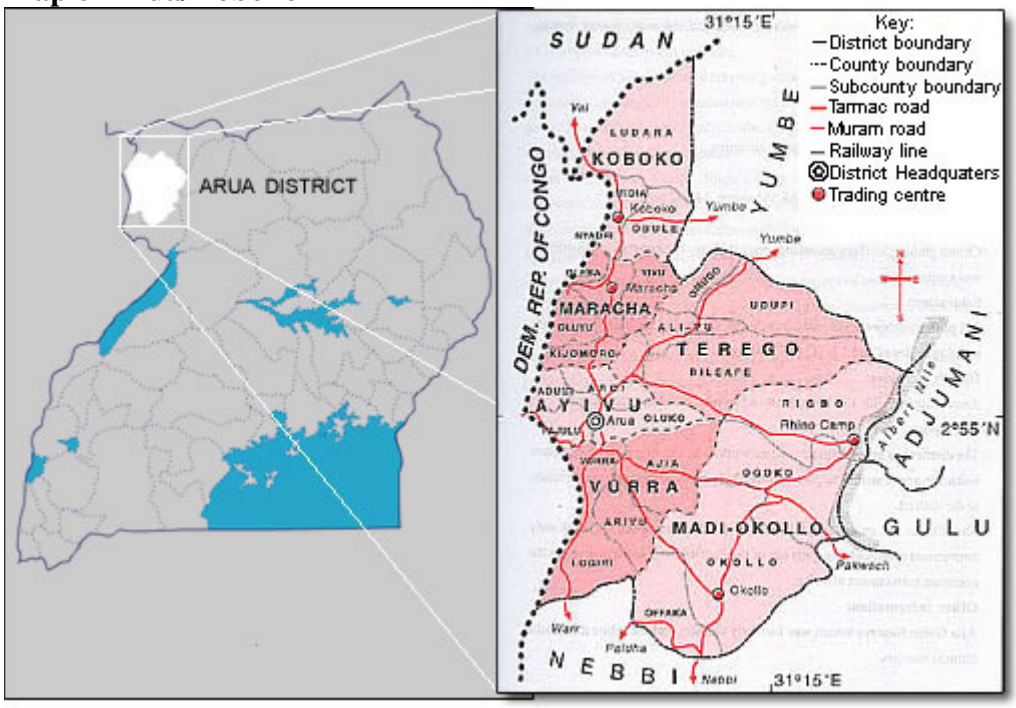
This research was a case study. A case study involves the detailed examination of relatively few persons or items (Casley and Cury, 1981 in Misago, 2006) and as such is "an intensive detailed description and analysis of a single project in the context of its environment" Misago, 2006. The study was qualitative. I chose the qualitative method because it implicitly recognises subjectivity through the reliance on other people's voices collected through narratives, interviews, life histories, focus groups and participant observation. Omidian (2000) describes the premise on which qualitative research is based as recognising "the value of the insider's view: to understand the world from their perspective, rather than categorising their experiences out of context or from the outsider's view" (p.42). I carried out face-to-face, in depth interviews with the respondents and sought permission from respondents for permission to record the interviews but they all declined. The respondents were uncomfortable about being recorded on tape, so I abandoned this interviewing tool and concentrated on using the interview guide questions.

Study Location

The interviews were limited to Koboko Town Council, where the majority of self-settled Sudanese refugees live. The research focused on Koboko district, because it is a border town in west-Nile, bordering Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Both countries have had civil unrest and account for the majority of refugees living in Northern Uganda. Koboko was also selected because it has a very large population of self-settled

Sudanese refugees residing in the district. The research also focused on Sudanese refugees for purposes of language. It did not include refugees from the DRC because they were predominantly French speaking and the researcher has a limited knowledge of the French. South Sudanese were more likely to speak English because of a similar colonial history with Uganda (both are former British colonies) and the educational curriculum of South Sudan has been the same as Uganda.

Map of Arua/Koboko[2]



Research Population

The study focused on self-settled Sudanese refugees who had lived in Koboko Town

[2]Koboko was part of Arua District until 2005. There is no current map of the newly created Koboko district on the district website, I therefore use the old map of Arua to show the scale location of Koboko. taken from www.arua.go.ug

Council for more than 5 years because it was assumed that this was enough time to have built social networks. However, this requirement was changed during the course of the research because of a high mobility rate among the Sudanese respondents. Koboko, as mentioned is a border town to Sudan; therefore there were mass movements of Sudanese back and forth through and to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). There was also an outbreak of meningitis in Koboko and other districts of West Nile, at the time the research was carried out, therefore movement was restricted. The district health officials had limited large gatherings of people in one place and movement from the town to the villages, in an effort to curb the spread of the meningitis spread, therefore, I restricted my research within the precincts of the town centre.

Secondly, many Sudanese had been living in northern Uganda for close to twenty years. As most of the refugees according to the RLP research first lived in settlements before moving to Koboko Town Council, I interviewed both types, those who first lived in settlements and those who came directly to town and have never been registered as refugees. I interviewed 20 self-settled Sudanese. The number of respondents was decided upon because of the time constraints in regards to completion of the MA programme and capacity restraints; I was the sole researcher during the data collection. This number was also to allow for in-depth understanding of their economic and social conditions.

Access

I contacted the Refugee Law Project staff in Kampala, who had previously done research on self-settled refugees in Koboko. The research officer at RLP gave me the contact names of people to consult once I arrived in Koboko. He also recommended that I get a letter of permission to carry out research in Uganda from the National Council for Science and Technology (NCST) to carry out the research. The letter can be seen in appendix 2. These initial contacts were useful when I embarked on my research because they opened access to respondents.

Pilot study

A pilot study was carried out to test the validity of the questionnaire. It was tested on respondent 1, a Sudanese refugee living in Ombachi Village, Koboko. It helped in modifying irrelevant items from the questionnaire and on improving it and getting detailed responses, for example, I added, Who did you first contact on arrival in Koboko?, as a continuation of question 2 and, What jobs have you done since arrival?, a continuation of question 7 etc.

Data Collection and Analysis Techniques

a) Data Collection

Sampling Strategy

I initially used the snowballing method and then later resorted to the purposive sampling. Since this study was about social networks, the snowballing method was the most appropriate method for respondent selection for use in this research. According to Peil (1982) ‘snowball sampling is useful in studying social networks and groups of people

who are hard to locate, such as school leavers,' (p.32). Snowball sampling was useful because I was studying networks and was able to find out from the respondents other people in their network. I later used the purposive sampling method in my research. The use of purposive sampling occurred because there was little information from a specific group, women, in this case. The majority of respondents were male and so were the alters with a few female alters mentioned. I later tried to include more women interviewees in my research to create a gender balance, but I was only able to interview four women. The women at SAWA suffered from interview fatigue and were not willing to be interviewed. Peil (1982) adds that purposive sampling is useful in studying social interaction among people and the use of social networks in this study is closely related to social interaction.

This research focused on ego-centric networks because of the clandestine nature of the life that self-settled Sudanese refugees lived; the research did not permit the use of socio-centric networks. Socio-centric networks represented the ties between all members, two by two, of a particular group of persons while ego-centric networks were a set of relations one person- called ego- had with a certain number of other individuals- called alters.

Interviews

I made use of face-to-face interviews. I did not use a tape recorder during the interviews, because all the respondents declined to have their responses recorded. My research instrument was an interview guide of semi-structured questions, broken into themes related to the research questions already discussed. This can be seen in appendix 1.

It is essential to draw attention to the difficulties raised by many social researchers of doing cross-cultural studies using methodology based purely on western concepts as notions of networks and livelihoods (Ahearn 2000). In an attempt to limit as much as

possible miscommunication from the questions asked with the respondents by using culture-laden concepts, the questions pertaining to social networks to be asked in this study focused on the attributes of ego and his/her network members were broken under the themes outlined below.

- The nature of social networks - type of tie (kinship, friendship, acquaintance, financial support etc)
- Strength or weakness of social networks - intensity of the tie (length of the relationship, frequency of contact and place of residence)
- Gender, age, educational level, marital status, profession
- What refugees do to generate income
- Whether access to income generation is facilitated or closed down by social networks.

b) Data Analysis

I used content analysis to analyse raw data from the respondents. I analysed text, by grouping data into themes and codes. Three steps were involved in this process. Firstly I reduced the collected data into themes. Secondly, I arranged the data into a display role-ordered matrix. This sorts data in rows and columns that have been gathered from or about a certain set of "role occupants"- data reflecting their views. In this case how self-settled Sudanese refugees viewed the role of social networks on income generation. Lastly, I considered the analysed data and assessed its relevance for the questions at hand. Throughout the analysis, I maintained the following questions[3] from Frechtling et al (1999):

- What patterns and common themes emerge in responses dealing with specific

[3] http://www.ehr.nsf.gov/EHR/REC/pubs/NSF97-153/CHAP_4.HTM

items? How do these patterns (or lack thereof) help to illuminate the broader study question(s)?

- Are there any deviations from these patterns? If yes, are there any factors that might explain these atypical responses?
- What interesting stories emerge from the responses? How can these stories help to illuminate the broader study question(s)?
- Do any of these patterns or findings suggest that additional data may need to be collected? Do any of the study questions need to be revised?
- Do the patterns that emerge corroborate the findings of any corresponding qualitative analyses that have been conducted? If not, what might explain these discrepancies?

Data analysis was done concurrently with data collection to avoid accumulation of large amounts of unanalysed transcripts. I created a section containing comments, tentative interpretations, or emerging hypotheses during the analysis.

Limitations and Implications

The main limitation I faced was interview fatigue. This affected who I interviewed and this shaped what I can say about the livelihood strategies of Sudanese refugees. In dealing with 'interview fatigue' from the respondents, I consulted with the RLP researchers to get advice on how they dealt with such instances. I was advised to try and get interviews from ethnicities that have not been included in previous research work, for example, the Sudanese Zande community. This attempt was, however, frustrated because the Zande contact person did not honour interview appointments despite making numerous calls to him. I, therefore, ended up conducting interviews with frequently

researched ethnicities like the Dinka. The members from the Sudanese Active Women's Association (SAWA) were not willing to be interviewed. They said they had been interviewed by many researchers who left and never returned and nothing has been done to change their situation. I was only able to interview one of the members of SAWA.

As mentioned earlier, Koboko, being a border town, was very busy. The respondents had a very high mobility rate and sometimes appointments for interviews were not honoured because respondents had travelled to Sudan or the DRC on business or other pressing needs.

As a cultural and national outsider, I thought it would be a little difficult to break the barriers and create a rapport with the respondents. This might have affected the way they responded to my questions. However, the contact persons I used made it easier for me to interview respondents. This might have been influenced by the fact that all the respondents interviewed were educated.

I was unable to interview some of the potential respondents because of language barriers. I had not prepared for the logistics of a translator for fear of losing the message during the translating. I, therefore, focused on only respondents who could fluently speak English as my core respondents. This might have compromised the kind of information generated from this study. Due to the small sample of respondents, the results of this research cannot be used to generalise the entire Sudanese population in Koboko. It is specific to the respondents who participated in this research. However, despite these limitations, this research provides a case study for assessing the applicability of the

concepts described in the literature review.

Research Ethics

Before conducting the interview, I asked respondents for their permission to participate in my research. I started the interviews by explaining to the participants the purpose of the research, namely that it was for academic purposes. I read the introduction of my questionnaire out to them and made it clear that I was not representing a government of any country or any NGO; therefore, answering my questions would not improve on their welfare directly.

I maintained the anonymity of the respondents by using numbers instead of names in the writing of the research report. I held interviews in places preferred by the respondents.

I avoided behaving in ways that could jeopardise future researchers. For example, I did not offer any monetary compensation to respondents or promise them that any changes in their situation would occur because of my research. I reiterated to the respondents that the research was strictly for academic purposes.

CHAPTER THREE

Data Presentation and Analysis

Introduction

This study sought to evaluate the impact of social networks on income generation among self-settled Sudanese refugees in Koboko. This section presents and analyses the information provided by the respondents in the sample. Information relates to understanding the circumstances that led respondents to Koboko, their social networks, how they earn their living, the strength or weakness of their social ties and whether these ties close down or facilitate access to income generation. The study hypothesised that: the weaker the social ties, the less beneficial to income generation among refugees. The stronger the social ties the more beneficial to in income generation among refugees.

1. Reasons for leaving camps and coming to Koboko/ coming directly to Koboko from Sudan

This sub-section explored the reasons responsible for the movement of refugees from the camps or opting to come directly to Koboko town instead of going to the refugee camps/settlements. The findings indicated three main reasons that made refugees move out of the system after fleeing Sudan to come to the town; insecurity, education and employment. Most respondents interviewed had first self-settled within Sudan before coming to Uganda after the conflict in their country escalated. The findings in this section are similar to studies conducted on self-settled refugees in other contexts (Bagenda and Hovil, 1998, Bowles, 1998).

1. 1. Security

The majority of the interviewees recalled constant transfers from camp to camp by the authorities. Within the camps, refugees were assured of protection from the government of Uganda and they also received aid from the UNHCR. However, this protection was not forthcoming because Uganda was also faced with rebel attacks from different fronts including the Lords Resistance Army (LRA), Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), and the West Nile Bank Front (WNBF). The military protection in the camps was insufficient and the camps were constant targets of attack from different rebel groups that were operating in the area. These findings are in line with research carried out by Bagenda and Hovil (1998) and Bowles (1998) showing the vulnerability of refugees settled in camps despite promised government support or protection. In both cases, the governments of Uganda and Burma had offered insufficient protection to the refugees who were under attack from rebels. In Uganda, the LRA, active in the northern part of the country staged constant attacks on refugee camps and sometimes threatened the refugees with death if they did not leave the camps (Okello et al, 2005).

For this reason, the refugees who decided to leave the camps and opted to self-settle in Koboko did so primarily for security reasons. Many refugees had left Sudan fleeing insecurity in their homeland and were not willing to die in attacks on camps in Uganda. Others were warned by the rebels to flee the camps lest they were killed (Okello et al, 2005).

The town was relatively safe and many interviewees recounted having fled Sudan because of insecurity and were not willing to remain in the camps to be targets of rebel attacks. This forced a number of them to leave the camp to come to the town where it was

relatively safe as the two respondents below elaborate:

> When the gorogoro/Bamuze rebels were disrupting the camps, my father brought us to Koboko. We contacted Obala, a Local Councillor here. My father contacted him to let him know that there were refugees who had come from the camps into town – respondent 15.

> LRA rebels used to disrupt the camp- death, looting, mutilation. We left the camp. There were better schools in Koboko. My step-mother lives in Koboko. We stayed together. I later lived in Yei for a while then returned for A' Level – respondent 20.

1. 2. Education

Despite being away from their homeland, refugees still believed in the need for a good education for their children or themselves. South Sudan had followed a curriculum similar to the one taught in Uganda, which was English based, unlike the Arabic based curriculum used in Northern Sudan. Some refugees had originally fled to the Democratic Republic of Congo, a predominantly French speaking county, but later migrated to Uganda, an English speaking country, in order to get an English education (Okello et al, 2005). Many of the self-settled refugees realised the need for being able to do jobs that would be needed in South Sudan, if peace returned to the area. As a result, some parents sent their children out of the camps to the town to live and get a good education that would make them competitive in South Sudan's future. Secondly, education in the camps was limited and not as good as the one provided in government run and private schools. With inadequate facilitation, camp schools were no match for the better facilitated schools found outside of the camps. A large number of the respondents cited education as another reason for leaving the camps, which had basic education facilities. Respondents 10 and 18 elaborate on the scarcity of scholarship opportunities to pursue further studies within the camps as reasons for coming to Koboko:

> I was sponsored by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees [in the camp] and the scholarship ended in O'level. I came to town to continue with my A' levels- respondent 10.
>
> In the refugee camps, we missed scholarship opportunities. It is hot in [the] camp. We contacted an LC who gave us a place to settle and build. It is protocol to visit LCs and announce your presence. I came with my young brothers- respondent 18.

Another respondent explained that the insecurity in the camps, which made it impossible to have her children educated in the camp schools, because the structures had collapsed, led her to seek an education for her children outside the camp.

> It is because of education. We brought our children [here] to be educated. Rebels were attacking camps, forcing us to flee. We asked landlords and locals about land and settled here – respondent 17.

Despite using insecurity as the main reason for leaving the camps and coming to Koboko, other respondents stated they came directly to Koboko without going to camps for purposes of education. These respondents, however, when asked if they carried refugee identity cards admitted to being registered as refugees. So for some, coming down to Uganda might have been for purposes of getting a good education, but the insecurity back home could have qualified them for the refugees status accorded to most Sudanese in the area.

> I decided to come to Koboko instead of refugee camps because of school- respondent 2.
>
> I wanted to follow my education. My brother brought me to Koboko to school – respondent 9.

Education was considered an integral part of the success of the self-settled refugees and the entry to well paying jobs. A number of respondents interviewed had had their university education in Uganda and were now employed with NGOs working both in

South Sudan and Uganda. Others were working with private enterprises.

1. 3. Employment

On the ground, refugees had different reasons for migrating that crosscut official migrant categories (Jeff Crisp, 2003, as quoted in Akuei, 2004). Refugee camps provided few employment opportunities for refugees to supplement the food aid they received from aid agencies. Some refugees may have been highly skilled personnel in their countries of origin, but life in the camps offered few or no opportunities for them to put their skills to use. Most respondents drew on their social networks for job opportunities in Koboko. Other respondents did not go to camps because there were employment opportunities in Koboko or their jobs had brought them to Koboko. The formal employment changed their status and improved on their livelihoods as they were able to earn money and meet the necessary needs for their families.

> It was purely my job that brought me here. I applied to an advertisement and was short listed and was given the job. That is when I brought my family with me. I can now support their needs here now that I work. Before [I got a job] we depended entirely on support from humanitarian organisations- respondent 5.

A number of respondents engaged in the formal sector working with non-governmental organisations were able to work in Uganda, because they had received their education in Uganda and it made the integration process easier for them. For most refugees with gainful employment, social networks had played a role in facilitating the job acquisition process.

> I got a job here in Koboko. The programme coordinator called Sisto, I had met in Kampala. He referred me to MS-Uganda, Kampala to do interviews. I was sent here to volunteer for six months then I was given the job – respondent 6.

Granovetter (1983) argues that, "weak ties are more likely to be a source of information

on livelihoods strategies for example job opportunities than strong ties", validating respondent 6's comment on how a weak tie was responsible for the acquisition of his present job.

Respondent 12 came to Koboko after getting a job with International Aid Services because it would be costly to commute daily from the camp to work in Koboko.

> I got employment with IAS. It would be costly to move from camp to Koboko. On arrival, I contacted the church elders of Sudan Pentecostal Church. They warmly welcomed me- respondent 12.

These responses are in line with Koser's (2002) arguments that social networks were the most trusted by refugees and asylum seekers because they provided relevant and up to-date information. Social networks also worked as the first point of integration and orientation into a new community. In addition to the employees' motivation to use social networks for employment, Grieco (1987) argued that people looking for jobs were more likely to trust information when it came from a family member or close friends. Social networks candidates possessed a time advantage because they got the information before other job seekers and they could find out details of the job, including interview procedures, wages and any disadvantages.

2. Self-Settled Refugees in Koboko

This section below, explored social networks and how they related to the ego (respondents) and his/her alters (social network members). It was used to measure the impact of social networks among refugees, how these relationships were formed and maintained and how they impacted on access to income generation.

2.1 The Nature of Social Networks

The type of ties explored included kinship, friendship and acquaintance, and also looked at the types of support network members offered each other. This support included financial support and emotional support (Willems, 2003). Garton (1997) argued that ties may vary in content, direction and strength. The relationship between the ego and his/her alters was important in understanding the role of networks in facilitating access to income. One's networks may provide access to information about jobs. As mentioned earlier, some respondents owed their current jobs to network members. Koser (2000) claims that social networks were trusted by refugees and asylum seekers because they provided relevant and up-to date information. In this case the people in one's company, which could be their ethnic group, church group, neighbours, friends/acquaintances etc., would be where the said person got information on income generating opportunities. The respondents' 'alters' were both Sudanese and Ugandans. Although Koboko has a large number of other foreigners including Ethiopians, Kenyans, Congolese, Rwandans etc, the respondents in this survey did not include these nationalities among their close social networks. This made the researcher conclude that interactions between Sudanese and other nationalities other than Ugandans were kept to a minimum or were inexistent. This interaction existed in a few unique cases, for example, a Sudanese accountant interviewed was working for a transport company owned by a businessman from the Democratic Republic of Congo. Willems (2003) research on forced migrants in Dar es Salaam had similar findings where many nationalities only maintained relationships with their own nationalities and Tanzanians. There were few cases of existing relationships among different nationalities. Besides business, social interactions would be surmised to be

maintained amongst the different ethnicities within the Sudanese community. This contact with the host community was a necessity for the refugees since, the host community members had offered help to the respondents when they first came to Koboko. Many respondents had talked of landlords giving them free land on which to construct their homes or rented to them houses cheaply, local council officers, who had made their stay in the town legal and vouched for their honesty/credibility, in case there were interruptions in the general security of the area. I, therefore, concluded that for the respondents, having close relationships with Ugandans was a way of making their integration into the local community easier. It should also be noted that the Kakwa in Koboko had relations with the Kakwa in South Sudan, and this could be the reason the Ugandans were more welcoming to the Sudanese, as they looked at them as their brothers and sisters. Okello et al (2005) reported that Ugandans welcomed the Sudanese because the Sudanese had offered Ugandans sanctuary in South Sudan, during the days of instability in Uganda in the late 1970s and 1980s. I only interviewed clusters of different ethnicities at a time, for example, the Dinka lived in one place and I carried out four interviews with Dinka students. Most respondents mentioned their ethnic groups and church gatherings as places where relationships were made and maintained. The relationships examined included kin; parents, cousins, in-laws, uncles and aunts, siblings, step-parents etc., and friendship. Respondents in this section elaborated on which ties they used for emotional, financial and other forms of support and I came out with findings similar to Willems (2003), Al-Sharmani (2004) and Campbell (2003). Respondents consulted their close network members on personal issues, for example, respondent 4 consulted two of her close female network members on two issues:

> I consulted two women on taking a decision [whether] to get married traditionally or in church. Later when I consulted another lady on [whether I should go] for masters in special needs education. She advised me to apply for scholarships to either the UK/US- respondent 4.

Respondents found it important to consult friends or family before taking decisions that could change their lives, and some appreciated these consultations they had made before taking drastic decisions:

> I wanted to change jobs. I wanted to resign and look for another job. Patrick, a close friend, advised me not to leave until I got another job, then I could move on. I am living up to that decision- respondent 6.

The respondents also relied on their social network members for financial support. Many respondents mentioned receiving financial support from family and friends living in the Diaspora. Several research studies (Akuei, 2005, Al-Sharmani, 2004, Machiavelli, 2004) carried out on self-settled refugees, show that a number of refugees relied on remittances for survival. When asked if they knew of any people in Koboko they could borrow a large amount of money from, the respondents were quick to mention their close network members, who included family and close friends. Other respondents added that within their workplace, it was common to get loans from colleagues because the office was small and the workers formed a close knit community. For example, Respondents 4 and 6, working together with the Needs, Services and Education Assessment (NSEA) said they could borrow money from their colleagues at work. There was a culture at NSEA among staff members to contribute to someone in need of financial aid. It should be noted that most of the staff at this NGO were south Sudanese and therefore related to or understand the constraints of refugee lives, and were thus more willing to help one another.

However, the majority of the student respondents expressed the impossibility of borrowing money from anyone within their circles, partly because their network members were fellow students who would be facing the same financial problems. They could not extend the net to their family network, who in most cases were meeting the financial education needs of the students. Support from their network members was mainly emotional and involved issues like education, career choice.

> A decision about my studies here. I consulted my cousin brother. I asked for his opinion and whether he would help me financially- respondent 13.

> It was education. I discussed it with Dedi Peter. I told him I wanted to be serious about [my] education and [that] I wanted to do law. He advised me [on things like] the salary that lawyers make etc – respondent 15.

The study also investigated places where Sudanese met and if these meeting places were avenues through which social networks were formed and strengthened. Findings revealed that meeting places like grassroots organisations, churches and student organisations were some of the places were the respondents socialised and formed links. These findings are in line with research carried out on self-settled refugees in Cairo (Al-Sharmani, 2004), Dar es Salaam (Willems, 2003), Kampala (Machiavelli, 2003,) Nairobi (Campbell, 2005) Johannesburg (Landau, 2003). A number of the respondents acknowledged knowing the Sudanese Active Women's Association (SAWA) as a renowned grassroots organisation existing in Koboko. Though few of the respondents were members of this group, a great number supported their activities.

Respondent 17, a founder of SAWA described the working of the organisation:

> We are the only Sudanese group here in Koboko. We hire out pans, etc for functions, pull resources from sales of our crafts to rent the shop and we consult among ourselves- respondent 17.

During the course of the research, I learnt about the Zande Community Association, formed by the Zande community to cater to the needs of its members. This association was unknown to many respondents. I was unable to interview its members because the contact person failed to honour interviews.

Sudanese students named student associations they belonged to and what type of help they received from these student groups.

> St. Charles Lwanga Sudanese Students Association: helps Sudanese students [in times of need] e.g. if a student lost a text book, we would contribute money to buy the book. Help sick ones. We organise transport for students from Sudan – respondent 15.
>
> Sudanese United Students Association was formed last year to unite all Sudanese students in Uganda. We make developmental activities like planting trees, how to pass exams, counselling etc- respondent 18.

All the respondents interviewed went to church and belonged to different denominations including Catholics, Anglicans, Pentecostals and Seventh Day Adventists. Many Sudanese used churches as avenues for socialisation, for example, St. Mark's Anglican Church had a 12:00 noon service which the majority of Anglican Sudanese attended. Most respondents referred to it as the Sudanese service. Other churches had service times targeting the Sudanese population. The church served as place of contact and creation and maintenance of social networks. Respondents made friends here who assisted with financial, emotional, rent, food, clothes and other type of help. For some it was an opportunity to be able to speak their mother tongue with other Sudanese.

> I go to St. Mark church every Sunday for the 12:00 service. The Dinka congregation meets here. It is a place [where] I [can] speak my mother tongue because I meet a number of Sudanese at church. They would help me in case of problems- respondent 2.

The church was a place where the respondents met a lot of friends and colleagues, who were useful to them in offering financial, spiritual, career guidance and other types of support because they shared a lot in common with one another. Church for some was the only place they met friends because they didn't walk a lot and meet that many people. The social networks formed in these meeting places thus facilitate integration into a new community after arrival as social networks provided new comers with information about accommodation, papers and jobs (Massey, 1990; Goza, 2004). Churches, therefore, played a big role in the formation and facilitation of social networks among Sudanese refugees. The role of religion, therefore, was fundamental in the integration of newly arrived migrants. It also created a space for them to socialise, fit in and opened up opportunities for members of its congregation.

3. Strength or Weakness of Social Networks

In trying to assess the strength or weakness of social networks, this study looked at the intensity of the ties in regards to length of the relationship, frequency of contact and place of residence. This study was based on the assumption that the ties would be stronger after having been built over a period of time, how often the contact was, and where the people lived. Ties may vary in content, direction and strength (Garton, 1997). Stronger ties were found to be among kin and neighbours. Place of residence played a big role in the strength of the ties. Most of the respondents indicated that their network members lived in Koboko and this was indicative of the frequency of the contact with their network members- which ranged from daily to weekly. However, there were other ties which respondents considered strong ties but with a low frequency in the number of contact times. This low level of frequency of contact was explained by the distance of where the

network members lived. Such ties were normally kin who lived in different towns or outside Uganda. A number of respondents still had family living in South Sudan who provided them with financial support to meet their basic needs like fees, rent, food, clothing etc. Respondent 21 considered his kin relationship as strong ties, even though he only saw them once a year because they lived in Yei in South Sudan. These network members were close family members- parents and cousins, who sent him to get an education in Uganda, so he was only able to travel to Sudan at the end of the year to meet with his kin.

However, network members were not only based in Koboko. The networks spread to Jinja, Rhino Camp, Katigondo, Kampala and Moyo in Uganda, Juba, Yei and Kaya in Sudan, Liberia, U.S.A, Canada and other countries in the West. The respondents did not find that distance or number of times of contact weakened their network ties especially in relation to kin. These relationships were maintained by telephone contact, email, the radio call facility in the town, and were evidenced in the remittances received through the Western Union money transfer office. The friendship ties relied a lot more on proximity of residence. The data revealed that most of the friendship ties were currently resident in Koboko, and these were both Ugandans and Sudanese. As noted earlier, there was no mention of interaction with other nationalities living in Koboko. The length of contact ranged from a period of two years to over ten years in cases of friendships made. For some respondents, the length of the relationship had been existent from the time of arrival in Uganda, especially with the landlords and local council officers. These two types of people had been important in the lives of refugees because all new refugees needed to report their presence to a local councillor and then they needed the goodwill of a

landlord/landowner to give them land on which to build a house or rent. For many refugees, making and maintaining contact with influential people in the new place of residence was very important.

4. Gender, Age, Educational Level, Marital Status, Profession

This section sought to examine the demographic factors of egos and their alters, and whether these factors had an impact on how their social networks were formed and on access to income generation. A number of ego's alters were involved in businesses across the Uganda/Sudan border. As mentioned earlier, Koboko is a busy border town with a lot of business prospects. Many of these business people, who the respondents collectively referred to as traders had a low level of education. However, this did not affect their relationship with the respondents.

They ranged from ages 20 as the youngest to 60 as the oldest. Some were illiterate and some highly educated, however, most had a minimum level of education at either primary or secondary level. These factors did not affect the relationship because they helped the ego among other factors, they were the same ethnicity, were kin or friends. The majority of ego's alters were married with children. Age, marital status or education level did not affect the forming of relationships with alters. And therefore, it can be concluded to say that these factors did not have an impact on whether they facilitated or broke down access to income generation or information to ego among this sample. This could be seen as a homophilous role of friendship or network support being based on these factors especially gender. The age group did not matter as a number of the young respondents had much older alters as friends.

5. Income Generation Activities of Self-Settled Refugees

After exploring the social networks and their composition, the study explored what refugees did to earn income and if social networks played an important role in this process. Self-settled refugees are known to engage in numerous activities in order to survive. This study found out that refugees got money in three different ways in order to survive amidst the hardships and scarcity that define their lives as self-settled refugees living in Koboko. Explored below are the types of ways refugees get income and the study further explores whether social networks have played a big role in this access to income among the refugees.

5.1. Paid Employment

The interviews revealed that nine respondents had jobs within the formal sector, and these included; teacher, education officer, teacher trainer, community development officer, drill engineer, computer information technician, an accountant and a mechanic. These respondents had gainful employment within Uganda despite the fact many respondents interviewed had said it was very difficult for refugees to get jobs within Uganda because the government policy did not allow them to work. There was a scarcity of jobs in the district and therefore employment priority was given to Ugandans. The study discovered that the refugees in gainful employment were either working in South Sudan or worked with non-governmental organisations with a focus on southern Sudan. An important factor to note is that the majority of these respondents in paid employment had had their formal education in Ugandan schools and had also completed university in Uganda. All the respondents here primarily lived in Uganda even though a lot of their work was based in southern Sudan, for example, respondent 1 taught at a school in

southern Sudan but lived in Koboko and was also studying at Kampala International University. Social networks may have played a minimal role for some of these respondents in gainful employment. It could also be argued that the respondents had successfully integrated in Uganda and had been beneficiaries of the country's mainstream education system, thus being competitive in the employment field. The respondents in formal employment said that they had applied for advertised jobs. It should be noted that with the return of peace in South Sudan, the number of organisations operating in the area was very high and some had offices in Uganda. These organisations provided opportunities for Ugandan educated Sudanese to get employment. With the collapse of the infrastructure after the war, there were more opportunities in the education, engineering and other sectors in South Sudan. This current situation therefore may be an explanation of the number of respondents working in the formal sector in gainful employment. This group of respondents was unique in that they had been able to access formal employment, they, however represented a small number of self-settled refugees. As explained earlier, the study sample was small and thus the findings are not representative of the wider community of self –settled refugees.

5.2. Small Businesses

Only two participants covered in the interview were involved in small scale businesses, these included a former camp nurse, who was running a drug shop in town and a women's grassroots organisation, Sudanese Active Women's Association (SAWA), a membership organisation that makes and sells handicrafts. The respondent running a drug shop applied for an operating permit from the National Drug Authority (NDA) in Arua district and the Uganda Revenue Authority (URA) to enable him operate legally. The

original seed capital to start the pharmacy came from a fellow Sudanese doctor, now working with the UN in Liberia, the respondent had worked with as a nurse while in Rhino refugee camp. In this way, pulling on his social tie helped him start a business, become independent and ease the self-settling process. He was, however, concerned about the Sudanese who came to his pharmacy expecting to receive drugs on credit. He did not give medication on credit as a rule because he had to make money so as to keep the shop operating, in order to serve the wider community. This principle of his, he said, had affected his relationship with those Sudanese who went to his pharmacy expecting to receive credit for drugs and he turned them down. His reluctance to offer credit to fellow Sudanese is best articulated in Gelderblom and Adams', (2006) argument that network members may not systematically provide support to any person on the ground family, linguistic or cultural ties. The women's organisation, SAWA, came into being when a number of Sudanese housewives came together to make handicrafts for sale in order to supplement the family incomes. Members pooled resources from the sales of their products to pay rent for the shop. The group operated a shop in the town centre and from time to time, members pooled resources to help out other members facing financial difficulties and cannot buy raw materials to make more handicrafts. It is a collective association run with an executive board, and many of its clientele were mostly fellow Sudanese who want to promote the works of their fellow country people. A number of respondents interviewed in this study said they bought items from SAWA in order to support the group. Services rendered among network members may not demand immediate reciprocity, although that does not mean that reciprocity is absent. A member doing a favour expects compensation in the longer term and those who are unable to

reciprocate may become excluded from networks (Gelderblom and Adams, 2006).

There were a number of Sudanese involved in other businesses like running bookshops, grocery shops and transporters ferrying goods and passengers to South Sudan. However, it was not possible to interview them to get a more in depth understanding of their businesses and how they were run, because many of them were unwilling to do the interviews, and in some cases, interview appointments were not honoured- sometimes due to the high mobility of the respondents

5.3. Remittances

A large number of respondents relied on remittances from family and relatives living either in Sudan or within the diaspora. This meant that many families living together, were sustained by the money coming from relatives, and this sometimes was a cause for misunderstanding amongst families. One respondent moved out of his aunt's home, who relied solely on remittances from her sons abroad, when her daughters came to live with her. The resources were strained and prompted the respondent to move out. Akuei (2005) discussed the financial demands made of Sudanese living in the diaspora by their kin left back home. It was obligatory for kin to send money back home to the relatives, and failure to do so ended up in rebukes and curses. Al-Sharmani (2004) studied similar demands among Somali refugees living in Cairo, who made demands on their kin living in the diaspora for financial aid. Remittances were thus an important source of income for self-settled refugees who had no access to jobs due to government restrictions. For some, remittances were the sole source of income. The Western Union branch in the Koboko town centre always had a long line of clients waiting to collect money sent from abroad. Remittances were sent either monthly or quarterly and ranged between $100 on the lower

side to $500 dollars on the high side. This money was used to cover costs like rent, clothes, food, fees and other pending needs as they arose. The majority of respondents interviewed who relied solely on remittances for survival where students.

> Every three months I get $300 through western union. The money is used for rent, food, and fees- respondent 2.
>
> I get money from my brother monthly through western union. I receive $100 - respondent 8

Some respondents didn't solely rely on remittances sent from abroad for survival. These remittances rather supplemented what they already made through paid employment or small businesses.

> I also get remittances from abroad but I don't entirely rely on it. It supplements on what I have. I receive through western union $200-$500 quarterly from one of my elder brothers to cover fees for my siblings- respondent 5.
>
> I [also] receive money four to five times a year through western union depending on the family needs- respondent 12.

6. Role of Social Networks in Access to Jobs/Vocation

After finding out what refugees did to earn income, it was important to find out whether the respondents were recommended to their present employment or vocation by members within their social networks. Researchers have argued that social networks may be ways through which refugees make a living or get information on access to jobs (Willems, 2003, Koser, 1997, Al-Sharmani, 2004, Machiavelli, 2004, Grieco, 1987 etc). Half of the respondents in the survey agreed that they were recommended to their present employment by someone they knew. Even the student respondents related the decision to continue with their studies was as a result of support and encouragement from members within their social networks.

Respondent 5 was recommended to his present job with the International Aid Services (IAS) by his former employer.

> I was recommended by my former employer, who advised me to apply for the job. I have worked in primary and secondary, been an adult facilitator and volunteered with organisations like Education Access Africa (EEA). I am a teacher trainer- respondent 5.

Respondent 7 had worked with his employer in Sudan before the war broke out in Sudan and they had to flee to Uganda. They later met in Kaya, a border town crossing between Sudan and Uganda, and came together to Uganda where they started the organisation.

> Yes, the director of the organisation in Old Sudan [got me my current job]. When the war broke out, he came to Kaya where he met me. We started an NGO. I am a water coordinator with IS/SSRC a driller in charge of IAS, field coordinator and advisor for UNHCR water and sanitation programmes water sector of south Sudan. I head programme director of Community Action water in south Sudan and Koboko- respondent 7.

For some refugees, like respondent 12, membership to a religious organisation had been a way through which he had been able to access information to jobs. As mentioned earlier, churches were one of the places where respondents made friendships and got support that made the integration process easier for a number of respondents.

> I was recommended [to my present job] by my church. A christian organisation with links to my church had an opening. The pastor informed me personally about the job. I am a teacher for [a] primary school, adult literacy and a computer technician- respondent 12.

Respondents who had done casual work got information about job openings from their links of friends and relatives. Social networks thus played an integral role in access to information to jobs (Massey, 1990, Goza, 2004) and what type of jobs one ended up doing.

> We worked as porters at building sites. I was recommended by Nicholas Wongo, a Sudanese – respondent 15.
>
> I have worked with Civicon since May as a mechanic. A relative told me about the job – respondent 16.

Other respondents clearly stated that they got their jobs on merit. This could be associated with the unique placement of Koboko as a border town with South Sudan, and the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, that had led to relative peace in the area. As mentioned earlier, many NGOs were operating in South Sudan and therefore had a need for skilled Sudanese workers. These NGOs may have applied the transparent method of advertising for jobs and hiring the best performing candidate after the interviews. Therefore, a number of the respondents were right in saying they did not call on their social networks in getting their present jobs. However, it could be argued, that they needed recommendations, some of which could have come from their weak ties.

Respondents 1, 4 and 13 a teacher, an education officer, and a teacher, got their jobs through newspaper advertisements, went through a competitive process of shortlists, were interviewed and eventually got the jobs. However, it should be noted that the jobs were based in Sudan and according to the respondents, there was little competition in South Sudan for jobs because of the desire for skilled manpower. They believed that one only had to have the qualifications in order to be employed and did not need to use contacts to get jobs.

> I am currently a school teacher in Sudan but living in Uganda. I applied for the job after seeing the advertisement and was given the post- respondent 1.
>
> I am an education officer with Needs, Service, and Education Agency (NSEA). I was not recommended by anyone. I heard of vacancies and applied. Of the eight applicants, 5 were short listed and I got the job. Previously I had taught in four schools in Koboko, the camps and in South Sudan and each time I got the jobs on

my own –respondent 4.

I heard an announcement on radio for a vacancy to teach, I applied and was taken I teach in Koboko. I have taught since arrival- respondent 13.

Those respondents who didn't hear of advertisements were either self-employed or looked for jobs door-to-door as casual labourers- digging at construction sites, selling in shops, and sometimes as agents to buy goods from Kampala to sell in Koboko. Unlike skilled refugees in studies done in Dar es Salaam, Johannesburg, Kampala, Nairobi and other cities, who were unable to get employment in the formal sector, self-settled refugees in Koboko were at an advantage, being near the border of South Sudan and were meeting the need for the skilled labour required to rebuild the country. However, on the whole, the majority of the respondents used their social networks in accessing jobs and other forms of income generation.

7. Role of Social Networks in facilitating or limiting access to Income Generation

Social networks are believed to be a way through which network members may access information leading to jobs and other income generating activities. This section involved getting the respondents' opinions on whether they found that social networks facilitated or closed down this process. This section explored jobs, entrepreneurial attempts and community values in regards to how respondents viewed their role in access to income. One's social network members may have determined the type of jobs one got.

7.1 Jobs

Sixteen of the twenty respondents interviewed did not believe that social networks closed

down access to income generation. They believed there were many opportunities available to them. This was mainly the case among the educated respondents, who were the majority respondents in this survey caused by the limitation of only interviewing respondents who could speak English fluently. The respondents said they had access to other information channels like the internet, newspapers, radios and the resource centre library and these were readily available to the public.

> So far no one has stopped me from getting a job or information. I have access to information through the resource centre, church and the office- internet and newspapers. I am exposed to information I need- respondent 5.

Most of the respondents believed that their social network members wished the best for them and would encourage them to be independent. For some, information was believed to be vital and they associated with people of the same ideologies who would gladly send them any new information like respondents 6 and 13:

> No they don't. They would like to help me get another job. I receive a lot of job adverts from people in my email- respondent 6.

> No. the people here are open. No one is selfish. I can get information from different people- respondent 13.

Other respondents believed that their fellow network members would not deny them information to jobs because Sudanese are not allowed to work in Uganda.

> No, because Sudanese are not eligible to get employment in Uganda. It's a different country- respondent 8.

This statement can be disputed as nine of the respondents who participated in this survey have bona fide formal employment in Uganda. Others reiterated the fact that there were currently many jobs opportunities in Sudan so getting a job would not be hindered by their network members in Koboko.

However, four respondents believed that social networks closed down access to income generation. Language barrier was one challenge many Sudanese faced. Most of the Sudanese speak Kakwa, Lugbara, and Arabic while the locals may not be able to communicate in these languages. The main languages spoken in Koboko were Alur and English, which some Sudanese may not be able to speak. This therefore hindered the information they got from their network members. Others like respondents 10 and 15 believed that jealousy among their kin or nepotism could have hindered them from getting access to information about jobs. However, these disputes were not extended to the weak ties in their network.

> Yes. In our family we are only two who have gone to school. Most of my relatives may have hindered me from getting a job- respondent 10.

> Yes people rely only on nepotism for job opportunities. Relatives or siblings would benefit more than as a friend- respondent 15.

7.2 Entrepreneurial Attempts

Fifteen of the respondents believed that their social network members would not hinder their attempts at starting businesses. Most believed they would receive support from their kin who in most cases benefit from the businesses. While mistrust may exist among refugees living in a different country (Willems, 2003, Al-Sharmani, 2004, Campbell, 2004 etc), the Sudanese refugees interviewed seemed to have a strong sense of mutual trust amongst them. Studies on refugees living in Dar es Salaam (Willems, 2003), Kampala (Machiavelli, 2004), Cairo (Al-Sharmani, 2004), Johannesburg (Misago, 2006) and other African cities, showed that refugees were mistrustful of their own nationalities.

Misago (2006) and Willems (2003) studies on Rwandan and Burundian refugees respectively showed that they were highly mistrustful of their countrymen. In this case, both Tutsi and Hutu were suspicious of each other and would not easily support one another in terms of income generation. They got aid from other nationalities or nationals of their host countries. These findings differ from my research in Koboko, where the different ethnicities of refugees interviewed had a strong sense of community and support both from strong and weak ties regardless of ethnicity. It could, however, be argued that this unity among the Sudanese was possible, because they had not been victims of tribal conflicts that plagued the Tutsi and Hutu refugees. However, it should be noted that refugees lived in their ethnic quarters, for example, the Dinka lived in one location, the Zande in another location etc. SAWA provided the best example of inter-ethnic collaboration among the Sudanese refugees. Respondent 5 did not believe his social ties would sabotage is entrepreneurial attempts because he believed they were benefiting from his efforts as well.

> They are very helpful to me. There are guidelines to run the retail shop. It is managed by family members so I don't expect any sabotage- respondent 5.

Only one respondent was extremely confident about not being hurt by the people in his network circles. His confidence stemmed from the fact that he worked in the water sector and had drilled boreholes in the district to deal with the water crisis. Koboko had an acute water crisis and there were few safe water springs in the area to meet the community's demands. Although his services were directed at Sudanese refugees, Ugandans had also benefited from the service. Therefore, he believed everyone in the community wished him well because he provided a much needed service and harming him would result in a

loss in the provision of water for the whole community.

> Since I have been working with communities, there are no problems. Endangering me means endangering their lives. I provide water and it makes me more popular because of providing water to the community – respondent 7.

However, five of the respondents believed that social networks would hinder their attempts at entrepreneurial skills and some opted for covert ventures like buying shares in Stanbic Bank. Stanbic bank registered on the Uganda Stock Exchange in 2006 and opened up to shareholders. Because the bidding process was secret, onlookers would not know what others are up to. So some respondents considered investing in buying shares within the bank, which was one of the best performing companies in Uganda. This, they believed, had higher returns and also did not expose their entrepreneurial attempts and therefore did not raise seeds of jealousy among social network members.

> I have not thought [of] starting a business but from experience, not everyone is happy. I would rather buy shares in a bank because it is a secret thing and no one really sees it. [I have bought shares in Stanbic bank] – respondent 4.

Respondent 11, a drug store owner, one of the two respondents running a small business, had been frustrated by clients who didn't want to pay for drugs and expected free medication. These people had become a hindrance to his prosperity, he said, because one couldn't operate a business on credit and expect to survive and expand. This mentality of wanting free services, he believed, among Sudanese posed a challenge to other Sudanese in business.

> Yes. Some people want to get free drugs. They want credit and don't pay. It would contribute to the downfall of the business. Some people are very jealous – respondent 11.

One respondent said that jealousy was rampant because of the high levels of poverty among Sudanese self-settled refugees and this had led to robbery among Sudanese. He narrated an example of a successful Sudanese businessman, who was ambushed and shot dead, late 2006. His death was attributed to envy from his friends and neighbours. Such incidents could deter younger Sudanese wanting to venture into businesses and that was why a number of the educated ones in paid employment preferred investment in shares on companies listed on the Uganda stock exchange to opening shops or other businesses.

7.3 Community Values

This section explored whether community values hindered the respondents from doing particular jobs. Some respondents believed that language barriers played a major role in hindering access to jobs. The respondents lived side by side with Ugandans and some were unable to communicate with the Ugandans, especially the newly arrived, who only spoke Sudanic languages, which were not be understood by Ugandans. Others said it was important to avoid doing jobs that the community did not sanction. Respondent 6 elaborated this stance:

> For example, if wanted to sell beer, it would affect my standing in the church. The town council would block me if I opened up a gambling centre. The traditional values are still rigid and couldn't allow certain things – respondent 6.

A larger number of respondents did not believe that the community values would hinder their doing particular jobs. Some believed they would receive support from their communities. Respondent 15 tagged this status on the socio-economic factors of his neighbours:

> It depends. My neighbours are well-to-do so it is okay. But if I was living in a

> poor neighbourhood, they would prevent me from doing certain jobs like gambling. The community would oppose it because of the bad consequences – respondent 15.

Other respondents believed that they had not settled and would take on any job in order to survive and pay rent and other living costs in a strange country. While others believed that their communities would support their efforts because it made them independent and may be help support their siblings. They would thus support any job they did.

On the whole, respondents believed that their social networks would greatly facilitate rather than hinder access to jobs as has been explored in this section. This showed a reliance on social networks amongst self-settled refugees in order to survive in the difficulties that came with living in a country where one had no entitlements.

CHAPTER FOUR

Discussion of Findings

This study sought to explore the impact of social networks and income generation among self-settled Sudanese refugees living in Koboko. Many of these refugees had first lived in camps in North West Uganda and later moved to Koboko to try to survive (Okello et al, 2005). For many, life in the camps was unbearable in terms of the socio-economic situation, security- there was a lot of rebel activity and the low level of education available in the camps. The findings revealed that they left the camps in search of education, security and, for some, paid employment. These findings are similar to studies carried on self-settled refugees, who left camps and self-settled in cities (Willems, 2003; Campbell, 2002, Al-Sharmani, 2004; Grabska, 2005; Okello et al, 2005 etc)

An exploration of the social networks and types of support these different networks provided showed the presence of both kin and non-kin ties and the support varied from financial, emotional, food, rent, clothes etc. Respondents relied on their relatives, the Sudanese community and on the goodwill of the Ugandan community to settle in the town. Many respondents said that Ugandan landowners had given them land on which to build houses or landlords rented houses to them at fair prices. The study revealed that all respondents relied strongly on social networks to survive and that strong ties played a very big role in this process. The respondents interviewed in the formal sector belonged to the same networks and so did the student respondents, however, the weak ties and strong ties of the respondents did not belong in the same circles, and like Granovetter (1983) said, the weak ties were less likely to be involved with the strong ties. The study

revealed that strong ties played a role in access to information about jobs for some respondents. In a few cases, social networks played a dormant role for some respondents in access to jobs. A number emphasised that it was qualifications and merit rather than social networks that were responsible for the jobs they held. This, however, was a small number, because on the whole, the respondents relied a lot more on social networks.

The data showed that social networks played a very big role among the survival strategies of self-settled refugees. Findings showed that refugees were involved in different forms of activities to get money. These included paid employment, small businesses and remittances from family abroad. The data revealed that social networks facilitated more than closed down access to income to generation. Different types of networks were used for different kinds of livelihoods benefits, as some respondents, reported they got financial assistance from close friends or kin, and got advice from other networks, or rent from Ugandan landlords. Therefore, respondents pulled on different resources to meet particular needs.

The study hypothesised that: the weaker the social ties, the less beneficial to income generation among refugees. The stronger the social ties the more beneficial to income generation among refugees. The findings reinforced the hypothesis used in the research in regards to the respondents surveyed in this study. Although Granovetter, (1983) argued that weak ties were more likely to be a source of information on access to jobs than strong ties, this study revealed that respondents relied a lot on their strong ties for survival. The definitions of strong ties and weak ties may differ in contexts. While

Granovetter's research carried out in the West was true to its context, it would be an error to use the same definitions and assumptions when working within an African context. This is because African communities are communal and relationships can be traced not only to blood kin, but to clan relationships etc. It is common for people within the African context to refer to relations, close or distant, as brothers, sisters, fathers, mothers, aunts or uncles. Even clansmen are considered kin. Therefore, in cases, where Granovetter could have classified the ties as weak, the African context would classify them as strong ties. This research also explored the respondents' opinions on who was a weak tie or a strong tie, contrary to Willem's (2003), argument that frequency of contact was a way to measure the strength or weakness of ties. In her case, she argued that ties were considered weak, if there were fewer times of contact and considered strong if the contact was frequent. The study revealed that although some respondents had less frequency in contact with their alters, they considered these alters close friends or confidants. Therefore in this study, refugees pulled on their strong ties a lot more than on their weak ties to settle in and gain access to income generation, thus validating the hypothesis in this study that; the weaker the social ties, the less beneficial to income generation among refugees. The stronger the social ties the more beneficial to income generation among refugees.

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Appendix 1. Questionnaire

Questionnaire code_____

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND INCOME GENERATION AMONG SELF-SETTLED SUDANESE REFUGEES
To be read to all before beginning the interview

Good morning/day/evening etc. My name is _Jackee Budesta Batanda. I am working on an academic project with the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS) Johannesburg, South Africa, that seeks to study the effect of social networks on access to income generation among self-settled Sudanese refugees living in Koboko District, for my masters thesis. I do not work for the government or any country or a development agency.

You are free not to participate. If you agree, I would like to ask you a series of questions about your life and opinions. This is not a test or an examination and my questions do not have 'right' or 'wrong' answers. I only want to know about your life and own ideas. Please tell me what you honestly think and remember, you are free to not answer questions or to stop the interview at any time. Your responses will help me in collecting information leading to the completion of masters thesis, a requirement for my degree. What you say will be kept confidential and will not be given to the government or to the police.

I would also like to tape record this interview, if you agree. This is only to help me record all the details of what you say. No other person will be able to listen to the tapes and I will destroy them once I have listened to them again. If you do not want me to tape record the interview then that is fine.

Since I do not work for the government or an aid organisation, I cannot promise you anything for your participation except my appreciation.

All together this interview will take between 1-2 hours. Are you ready to go ahead?

Yes	No

Date of Interview

Day	Month	Year

Neighbourhood/interview area:

Start time:	Finish Time:

Total minutes spent on interview

Name:_____ Registered as Refugee: (Y/N) _____

Age:_____ Gender:_____ Arrival date in Uganda:_____

Town where you lived?:_____ Time stayed at refugee camp?_____

Arrival date in Koboko:_____

Married:_____ From (Year)_____until (year)_____

Education level:_____ Job (s)_____

Children living with you:_____ Ages/Gender:_____

Children not living with you:_____ Ages/Gender:_____

1. Why did you decide to leave your home country?

_____

_____

_____

2. Why did you decide to come to Koboko instead of the refugee camps? Who did you first contact on arrival here?

_____

_____

_____

3. What are the main differences between your life here and how your life was at home?

_____

_____

_____

4. Can you give me the names of the 5 persons (true or false) that have helped you from the moment when you arrived in Koboko up to now? They can include any type of help, any nationality, any place of residence, male or female. There is no need to use people's real names.

#	Name	m/f	age	Nationality/ ethnicity	Married?	Number of children	residence	jobs	Level of educat-ion	How did you meet, through whom	Did you know before/after arrival in koboko	How long have you known?	#Times you have contact?	How did this person help you exactly? In what way concretely
1														
2														
3														
4														

5														

5. Often before taking an important decision, people like to discuss it first with other people. Over the past 6 months, what decisions have you made and who have you discussed your decisions with before taking them?

#	Name	M/F	Age	Nationality/ ethnicity	Married?	Number of children	Residence	Jobs	Level of educat-ion	How did you meet, through whom	Did you know before/after arrival in koboko	How long have you known?	#Times you have contact?	How did this person help you exactly? In what way concretely
1														
2														

6. Suppose you need a large sum of money. Is there anyone you know in Koboko whom you could ask to borrow it from? If yes who?

1														
2														
2														

7. What jobs have you done since arrival in Koboko? Were you recommended to your present job by someone you knew?

_____

_____

_____

8a) Do you know of any Sudanese grassroots organisations here in Koboko?

b) Are you a member of one of these organisations, or do you participate in their meetings? Please describe it.

9 a) Do you go to church/mosque?

b) If yes, which church/mosque do you go to? How often?

c) Is it a place where you meet a lot of friends?

10. Do you find it more easy or difficult to establish social relations with people here compared with at home? Why?

12. Do you rely on remittances from family abroad? How often? How much? How do you receive funds?

13. Do you feel that people you know have prevented you from getting a job or information? Please explain.

_____

14. Do you feel that people you know would endanger your entrepreneurial attempts? Please explain.

_____
_____
_____

15. Do you think that the values of people within your community would prevent you from doing certain jobs? Please explain.

_____
_____
_____

Thank you for your time and cooperation. If you have any further questions about this interview or its results, you should feel free to ask me now.

Appendix 2. NCST Research Permission Letter

Uganda National Council For Science and Technology

(Established by Act of Parliament of the Republic of Uganda)

UNCST

Your Ref: . . . . . .

Our Ref: SS 1935

Date: 18-Jan- 07

Ms. Jackee Batanda
C/o Refugee Law Project
Faculty of Law
Makerere University
P.O Box 7062
Kampala

Dear Ms. Batanda,

RE: RESEARCH PROJECT, "SOCIAL NETWORKS AND INCOME GENERATION AMONG SELF-SETTLED SUDANESE REFUGEES IN KOBOKO".

This is to inform you that the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology (UNCST) approved the above research proposal on **January 17, 2007**. The approval will expire on **March 17, 2007.** If it is necessary to continue with the research beyond the expiry date, a request for continuation should be made in writing to the Executive Secretary, UNCST.

Any problems of a serious nature related to the execution of your research project should be brought to the attention of the UNCST, and any changes to the research protocol should not be implemented without UNCST's approval except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the research participant(s).

This letter also serves as proof of UNCST approval and as a reminder for you to submit to UNCST timely progress reports and a final report on completion of the research project.

The Resident District Commissioner(s) of the district(s) in which the study will be conducted are informed by copy of this letter, and are kindly requested to give you the necessary assistance to accomplish the study.

Yours sincerely,

Leah Nawegulo
for: Executive Secretary
UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

cc The Resident District Commissioner, Koboko District

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