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The Drivers of Reporter Reintegration in Northern Uganda



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Programme transitionnel de démobilisation et réintégration

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List of Acronyms

AC	Amnesty Commission
ACSP	Amnesty Commission Special Project
ADF	Allied Democratic Forces
AG	Attorney General
CDD	Community Driven Development
CFP	Community Focal Point
CPU	Child Protection Unit (of UPDF)
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DISCO	District Internal Security Officers
DFID	UK Department for International Development
DOB	Date of Birth
DRT	Demobilization and Resettlement Team (Amnesty Commission)
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GISCO	Gombolola Internal Security Officers
GoS	Government of Sudan
GoU	Government of Uganda
GUSCO	Gulu Support the Children Organization
ICRS	Information, Counseling and Referral System
IDA	International Development Association
IGA	Income Generating Activity
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IP	Implementing Partner
ISM	Implementation Support Mission

JLOS	Justice, Law and Order Sector
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MDRP	Multi-Country Demobilization and Reintegration Program
MDTF	Multi-Donor Trust Fund
MIS	Management Information System
MTR	Mid-term Review
NCG	Nordic Consulting Group
n.d.	no date (in citations)
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NUDIPU	National Union of Disabled Persons of Uganda
NUSAF	Northern Uganda Social Action Fund
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PIM	Project Implementation Manual
PRDP	Peace, Recovery and Development Plan
PS	Principal Secretary
SSD	Spontaneous Self Demobilization
TA	Technical Assistance
TDRP	Transitional Demobilization and Reintegration Program
TPO	Transcultural Psychosocial Organization
TSN	Transitional Safety Net
UgDRP	Uganda Emergency Demobilization and Reintegration Project
UNRF	Uganda National Rescue Front
UPA	Ugandan People's Army
UPDF	Ugandan People's Defence Force
USD	United States Dollars
WHO	World Health Organization
WNBF	West Nile Bank Front

Executive Summary

This report is part of a number of studies conducted for the World Bank and the Amnesty Commission to coincide with the end of the Uganda Demobilization and Reintegration Program (UgDRP). It benefits from field work for the Final Independent External Evaluation of the UgDRP, the Reporter Reintegration and Community Dynamics Study, and the Implementing Agents study, all of which were completed between August and December 2011. All reports are complementary and benefit from being read together.

1. Findings

Reintegration is a two way process and involves the reintegration of reporters¹ and communities together. A community is a group within which people have something in common with each other, which distinguishes them in a significant way from the members of other putative groups. Community simultaneously implies difference from members of other groups and similarity to other people. What distinguishes communities is the boundary. The boundary marks the beginning and the end of community and is called into being through social interaction. Boundaries are enacted because communities interact with other groups or individuals from whom they want to be distinguished in some way. Communities have multiple boundaries enacted at different times. Boundaries take many forms and can be expressed as physical (for example, jungle or mountain), geopolitical (such as national boundaries), linguistic or religious, and importantly they can be visible or invisible. That a boundary may be invisible implies that it may be in the consciousness of individuals or in the shared perceptions held by groups of individuals. As such boundaries, the symbolic things that separate us from others, can be internal to communities and so can be enacted against people who “are on the same side” or

who are understood to be similar. As with most cultural constructs, boundaries are fluid and shift with cultural changes and with how particular groups and individuals perceive themselves and others.

Reporters and communities, but particularly reporters must navigate significant boundaries to reintegrate. Reporters navigate physical and symbolic terrain to re-enter their communities and are faced with complex economic and social barriers on their individual paths to reintegration. The uniqueness of each reintegration pathway means that this study, which draws on common experiences to derive learning to inform future DDR programming, highlights how reporters face unique challenges to reintegration. It also shows how social, economic, characteristics of armed group, demographic and life circumstances can coincide to present each reporter with a different set of barriers to reintegration. Reporters must employ particular skills and where possible use particular drivers to enable them to engage in the sometimes long process of reintegration.

In so far as boundaries can be the symbolic things that separate individuals or groups who appear to be “on the same side”, for some female reporters, boundaries informed by gender bias and cultural norms can be enforced in a particularly harsh manner. This presents the reporter with an apparently endless struggle to reintegrate, a journey that will be traumatic and destructive. Female reporters by virtue of being female and by virtue of how economic value is attributed to females in kinship networks can face far harsher barriers to reintegration and greater challenges gaining

¹ Reporters in Uganda are both ex-combatants and their dependents who have renounced all involvement with the rebellion and registered with the pertinent government agencies. To receive amnesty, reporters must satisfy the conditions contained in the Amnesty Act of 2000.

access to economic and social drivers of reintegration than other groups of reporters.

Because their families and their communities enact boundaries and exclude them, the psychological and physical violence experienced by some female reporters who have children born while they were in captivity could become intergenerational social issues because their children are labeled “rebel children”, and are deprived of family and the chance to begin life on an equal footing with other children in the community.

While confirming some general dynamics of reintegration, this study draws attention to the heterogeneity of the reporter population and to how this heterogeneity greatly informs the degree to which reporters successfully reintegrate and the paths they take to do so. A constraint (but a practical choice) of programs of social, economic, and political reintegration is to address reporters as somewhat homogeneous groups. This is strategically adequate but it risks not paying sufficient attention to the diverse combinations of successes, barriers and pathways that each reporter experiences during reintegration. So for example, while in general the economic and social reintegration of reporters will benefit from the reporters receiving training, the fact is that the diversity of reporters, the mix of gender, age, former armed group, family history, geography, community receptiveness and market conditions means that not all reporters will benefit from standardized programs of vocational training. For example, reporters with highly functional kinship networks, which can facilitate access to informal credit, may benefit more from being able to finance a business venture of income generating activity. Female reporters, particularly those with children, will more frequently have their access to markets blocked by poor kinship networks. Frequently they are refused access to credit including the leasing of land thus constraining their economic reintegration. The reintegration of all reporters will be highly informed by life circumstances and by the degree to which their communities can accept them back not just as reporters but also as females and males, as disabled or poorly educated, and the degree to which cultural practices or traditions including those based on gender will permit individuals to regain the ground they lost while in captivity or in the rebel group.

2. Drivers of reintegration not directly linked to formal DDR processes

The study finds the following regarding drivers of reintegration that are not directly linked to the formal DDR processes:

Kinship networks are central drivers of social and economic reintegration by: (i) enabling reporters to re-settle; (ii) facilitating the interaction of reporters with the general community and often helping inform the community reaction to particular reporters; (iii) where available, providing immediate material support (akin to reinsertion assistance and short-term reintegration support), including access to family assets such as land, and (iv) providing for longer term economic support including informal credit.

Kinship networks can also be used negatively to restrict the reintegration of reporters; for example, via: (i) misappropriation of reinsertion payments; (ii) stigmatization and deliberate exclusion of reporters from the family; (iii) enacting violence against returning reporter family members; (iv) negatively impeding the social reintegration of the reporter in the community, and (v) denial of access to assets.

The centrality of kinship to enabling reintegration and the tendency for vulnerable groups, particularly female reporters with children born while in captivity, to experience hostility and exclusion by family, would suggest that DDR programming in Uganda or elsewhere should comprehensively target the family during community sensitization and preparation for reinsertion. DDR programming should also include a strong dialogue and reconciliation component that adequately targets the families for vulnerable reporters to openly resolve drivers of exclusion of vulnerable reporters where possible.

Access to assets and credit is a driver of economic and social reintegration. This includes the extent to which a reporter is given access to one or both of the following: (i) family assets such as land, informal credit or business/livelihood strategies; and (ii) their own assets which were in place prior to their time in the bush including land, savings, business and access to institutional support. Access to assets via kinship networks is a significant driver of economic and social reintegration. Access to land improves the immediate reintegration opportunity and provides report-

ers with land for subsistence agriculture if there is a means to tend it. If access is sufficient and the reporter is capable of tending the land appropriately, there is the potential to sell excess good harvests to generate income, a practice to which most reporters surveyed who have sufficient land and resources aspire. The study suggests that DDR programming should have a strong justice, law and order sector (JLOS) component, which contributes to ensuring that reporters have equal access to justice when seeking to resolve issues regarding unregulated land division. Also, this study suggests that reintegration programming should include high quality community-driven development (CDD) components including ones with a focus on community-based micro-finance.

Diversification of livelihood strategies, particularly outside agriculture, is a driver of successful economic reintegration. Reporters who have the capacity to diversify beyond agriculture appear to be better re-integrated. Those who have diversified into trading usually have been enabled to do so through access to informal micro-finance or credit in their family. The economic activities of those reporters who have been vocationally skilled since demobilization as part of programmatic reintegration are often curtailed by seriously depressed market conditions. Collaboration on income generating activities (IGAs) is not an indicator of success or successful reintegration. In particular much of the collaboration identified by reporters is a result of how individual reporters are grouped together to receive IGA training and vocational training by nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). However there are reporters who have managed to collaborate with non-reporters in a successful IGA, for example to cut costs.

Education and training is important in reintegration as there is a correlation between poor literacy and numeracy and problematic economic reintegration. The negative influence of poor literacy and numeracy is wide and in the case of numeracy can limit the ability to acquire a vocational skill or effectively and independently manage cash-flow. The disparity in literacy and numeracy between female and male reporters is also documented and the sample in this study reflects how female reporters are more likely to have literacy and numeracy issues. This would suggest that programmatically, reintegration assistance where possible should include education in basic literacy and

numeracy in order to make up for some lost education opportunities encountered by some reporters as a result of their time in captivity.

3. Important dynamics influencing reintegration

The study has found that there are two important influencers of reintegration: (i) gender; and (ii) market conditions.

Gender is a significant influencer of reintegration primarily because female reporters face far more reintegration challenges based on cultural and traditional gender dynamics and because their life circumstances are often radically altered during their time in captivity. On the basis of their gender some female reporters, particularly those with children, tended to endure particularly extreme stigmatization, psychological and physical violence including assault and threats of death. For females with children born while in captivity stigmatization and rejection can be particularly brutal.

Some key perceptions inform the barriers that challenge the reintegration of female reporters, particularly those with children including: (i) the perceived economic burden to the family of supporting female reporters and their children; (ii) a lack of acceptance of the value of full reintegration of reporters or understanding of the reasons to accept back family members who often spent a long time in captivity; (iii) the social burden of having a female household member that possibly may never marry, and (iv) the cultural obstacle of not accepting children of a non-patriarchal bloodline into the family. Some female reporters face additional challenges accessing family assets primarily as a result of traditional land ownership and not as a result of being a reporter; however being a reporter is a contributing factor. Those female reporters who are poorly reintegrating tend to experience barriers accessing land and accessing family credit, and those who have children from the time in captivity tend to have more chaotic relationship patterns and difficulty creating their own family. The result is likely to be that barriers to reintegration that are informed by negative traditional perceptions of gender will transform into the systematic exclusion of women and forced poverty for those women without the social capital to establish themselves independent of hostile kinship networks and restrictive traditional practices where they occur.

The programmatic implication is that DDR programming should be highly gender sensitive and dovetail with other development, post-conflict and stabilization interventions that positively target women and seek to reform harmful traditional perceptions of gender and the social manifestation of same in, for example, gender-based violence (GBV).

Market conditions are significant enablers or inhibitors of economic and concomitant social reintegration. In Uganda severe development challenges mean that those reporters who are re-skilled during reintegration or return with pre-existing or acquired skills such as carpentry often cannot use those skills because of the absence or lack of market demand. This restricts the ability of reporters to diversify their livelihood strategies and in many situations enforces dependency upon subsistence agriculture and creates risks to food and income security, ultimately contributing to long-term poverty.

The programmatic implication is that reintegration programs could be greatly complemented or enhanced by an increase in CDD interventions that draw on the learning in existing structures and programs such as the Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF) and which has a strong micro-credit or micro-finance component. Such interventions can empower local communities and assist in stimulating the development of local markets.

4. Drivers of reintegration directly linked to formal DDR processes

The study finds that, other than medical treatment for physical or psychological illness and vocational training, there is very little interaction between the reporters interviewed and formal reintegration processes. Following are the conclusions that can be drawn regarding drivers of reintegration that are directly linked to the DDR process.

Experiences during **reception** drive the political reintegration of reporters. During reception many reporters have their first contact with the Ugandan state through their interception by the UPDF. For reporters in this study the initial contact with the UPDF is positive and contributes directly to their political reintegration by contributing to the emerging trust they have for democratic institutions of the state. In no small part the UPDF are enabled to act positively

toward reporters because of the Amnesty Act, which pardons all reporters within very wide parameters that identify those eligible for amnesty. Consequently the systemic impact of the Amnesty Act realized through the activities of the UPDF is a driver for the successful political reintegration of reporters.

Time is a factor influencing the reintegration of reporters: (i) the longer the time spent in captivity the longer the break in normal life trajectory and the more likely it is that reporters will acquire significant life changes that will negatively influence their reintegration; (ii) where barriers to reintegration are present, reporters who are more recently returned tend to experience the effects of those barriers more severely.

Reinsertion packages and payments to those who were newly returned tended to have dual outcomes: (i) meeting the small, immediate needs of the reporter and their dependents, and (ii) being part of establishing a longer-term income generating activity. As such reinsertion assistance contributes to the reintegration of some reporters.

Vocational training impacts the livelihood strategies of most reporters who received it but training and reintegration programs could be greatly complemented or enhanced by an increase in CDD interventions that draw on the learning in existing structures and programs such as NUSAF and which have strong micro-credit or micro-finance components. CDD is one possible solution to the collection of interdependent environmental inhibitors of reintegration, which trap reporters and non-reporters in income poverty. CDD can combat market stagnation and have important subsidiary effects such as strengthening social cohesion and the perceived value of local government. It would also increase the efficiency and effectiveness of vocational training provided to reporters, for example by GUSCO (Gulu Support the Children Organization), and prevent those skills being unused and the physical assets (such as sewing machines) given to skilled groups of becoming redundant.

Reporters in this study who have received some treatment for **chronic pain** have been better able to have an income generating activity and take steps towards reintegration. The implication for programming is that appropriate screening, rehabilitation and disability or illness-sensitive training will be a driver to successful reintegration by enabling reporters to manage

the barriers presented by their own physical and mental health. However there should also be a wider program aiming to de-stigmatize and de-mystify mental health and focus on developing long-term mental health supports in the community to assist reporters and non-reporters cope with the long-term effects of conflict. **Ongoing rehabilitation** of reporters, both physical and psycho-social, is crucial to enabling reporters to economically ‘catch up’ to other members of the community and compensate for time lost while in captivity. Reporters, particularly those dependent on subsistence agriculture, are more vulnerable to food and income insecurity because of undiagnosed and untreated physical injuries.

Family and community acceptance are important drivers of reintegration and as such DDR sensitization should effectively target the two with particular emphasis on acceptance of vulnerable groups.

Vulnerable groups, particularly female reporters, would greatly benefit from a more comprehensive approach to sensitization but also from conflict resolution in families with children born in captivity.

Gender-based violence, while not fully documented in this study, is a prevalent aspect of the marginalization of female reporters. It occurs in families and between spouses. This violence is physical and psychological and builds on the often great trauma experienced by girls during captivity. It is a significant inhibitor of reintegration. Consequently reintegration programming should be strongly gender sensitive and contain some work pertaining to the eradication of GBV.

Political reintegration could be better addressed, particularly with the LRA reporters in the study. This could be done through more comprehensive **citizenship, government and social awareness** training in addition to the current support around conflict resolution and social responsibility that is given to reporters prior to reinsertion. Such extended training is critical to ensure that political reintegration does not continue to lag behind social and economic reintegration.

Citizenship training should encompass issues such as human rights, democracy, nation building, gender and others, and the goal of such training should be preventative; that is, ensuring that disputes arise within the community or the region; the risk of reporters taking up arms or returning to insurgency is managed. This sort of programmatic support also assists reporters to engage with democratic and civil institutions.

5. Future studies

This study is based on a snapshot of reporter reintegration and was completed in a short period of time. This allows for a quick turnaround of data and analysis, which has been complemented by a complex methodology combining quantitative and qualitative data capture and analysis. However there are also limitations to the study and important areas of reintegration that are analyzed but which could be addressed through future studies, namely: (i) personal characteristics and traits that enable reporters to reintegrate; (ii) in-depth psycho-social dynamics of reintegration, and (iii) in-depth analysis of war-time experiences and how they affect reintegration.

Any future study would be enhanced if it were longitudinal and involving repeat visits and interviews over time. It is noted in this study (section 3) that frequently reporters had emotional or psychological difficulties continuing with the interviews for the quantitative and qualitative data collection. Simply put, the trauma of recalling details of their lives in captivity or immediately after escaping was sometimes too much for individuals to endure. In such instances interviews were adjourned or in one case abandoned. To delve into the more traumatic experiences of reporters either during war-time or in relation to the psycho-social legacy of conflict would require that all interviews are conducted with on-site psycho-social back-up. Ideally a local NGO could be partnered with for this purpose (for example the Transcultural Psychosocial Organization, TPO) in order to have a mental health professional available to interviewees.

1. Introduction

The World Bank commissioned this report as part of a set of studies concerned with the Uganda Demobilization and Reintegration Program and the Amnesty Commission. The study represents one element of the set of studies which included the Final Independent Evaluation of the UgDRP, Reporter Reintegration Survey and Community Dynamics Survey, and a study on the relationship between the Amnesty Commission and its DDR Implementing Partners study. The background field work and research for this study was integrated into the overall background research and fieldwork for the set of studies. As such the analysis benefits from aspects of the other studies undertaken by NCG for the World Bank/TDRP.

1.1 Country Context

The historic origins of conflict in Uganda lie in internal geopolitical dynamics including regional development that neglected the North and North East of the country. The insecurity that persisted in the northern regions has posed significant development challenges as well as peace and security challenges. In the north of Uganda literacy rates remain the lowest in Uganda at 64%. The incidence of poverty is at the highest level (46.2%) nearly twice the national average (24.5%).² When decomposed by sub-region the overall incidence of poverty in the North is driven largely by the North East sub-region. While there has been a decline in absolute poverty nationally the northern regions remain trapped in a disparity in poverty and development with the rest of Uganda. Moreover the legacy of abductions, violence and internal displacement continue to challenge the health and development of the northern communities.

1.2 The Amnesty Act and the Amnesty Commission

The Amnesty Act of 2000, which became law on the 21st of January 2000, is intended to provide assurances and incentives for those willing to abandon rebellion to do so without fear of retribution or revenge. In other words, the Amnesty Act provided a means of exit for those reporters looking to return home, while simultaneously the Government of Uganda (GoU) pursued a military campaign against the remaining insurgents, mainly the ADF and LRA.

The Amnesty Act established the Amnesty Commission (AC) and identified that among other monitoring and coordination functions the AC will “monitor programs of (i) demobilization; (ii) reintegration; and (iii) resettlement of reporters”³. A seven member demobilization and resettlement team (DRT), established by the Act and under the supervision of the AC, was constituted to “draw programs for: (a) de-commissioning of arms; (b) demobilization; (c) re-settlement; and (d) reintegration of reporters.” The AC through the DRT has maintained six offices as follows: Central, Gulu, Kitgum, Mbale, Arua, Kasese and a liaison office in Beni in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

The AC implemented the UgDRP between August 2008 and June 2011. It built upon previous DDR focused support to the AC through the Multi-country Demobilization and Reintegration Program (MDRP). The MDRP assisted in the DDR of 14,545 reporters

2 2010, Ugandan Bureau of Statistics.

3 Amnesty Act, Section 8 (a)

at a cost of USD 4.2 million. The UgDRP was originally planned to be worth USD 8.254 million for the purpose of bringing an end to the protracted conflict in northern Uganda. In 2008 a single-country MDTF managed by the World Bank was established to implement the UgDRP.

The objective of the UgDRP has been to assist the urgent implementation of the agreed demobilization and repatriation of the remaining caseload of the rebels of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) – as well as the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) and other existing groups eligible for Amnesty – and to assist the social and economic reintegration of former rebel combatants and collaborators into the communities to which they return, within the context of the Government of Uganda Amnesty Act of 2000. A total of 28,800 ex-rebel beneficiaries were planned to be directly targeted by the project's activities, with secondary benefits expected for their families and communities. In so doing, the project as envisaged would contribute to the consolidation of peace-building, reconciliation and enhanced security for the country as a whole, and its northern regions in particular. Of its five sub-components the UgDRP had four that were directly related to programming: demobilization, reinsertion, dialogue and reconciliation, socio-economic reintegration.

1.3 Defining reporter reintegration

In this study the focus of the analysis is on processes of reintegration rather than the achievement of a static marker of reintegration. In other words rather than examining the experience of reporters to identify the ones who are reintegrated and the ones who are not, the study examines the complex interplay of elements

in the process of social and economic reintegration to identify which drivers have most influenced (positively and negatively) the reintegration process in which reporters are and have been engaged. Reintegration depends much on the welcome and dynamics of the family and the community to which reporters return as well as the traits of the community (for example, the condition of various economic markets including markets for the skills in which some reporters have been trained). Distinguishing between poverty as a result of failed reintegration and poverty largely unassociated with reintegration requires that the analysis in the report applies a wider lens to the phenomenon of reporter reintegration and the role of the family and community. The study identifies the drivers of successful or unsuccessful reintegration and the cross-cutting dynamics such as gender, tradition, poverty and economic markets that exacerbate the impact of drivers of reintegration on the lives of reporters and communities. The report presents actionable findings that can inform future programming in the area.

The term “drivers” of reporter reintegration refers to a set of factors, either as a standalone or concomitant, associated with reintegration. The causal relationship is sometimes indeterminate, although it can be positive or negative, but a clear association is evident based on empirical information. “Drivers” is almost a synonym of determinants or a strong force.

1.4 Purpose of the study

The overall purpose of the study is to provide an analysis of the drivers of reintegration and to identify the distinguishing features of successful reintegration amongst reporters.

2. Methodology

The methodology consisted of three dynamics:

- i. Document review
- ii. Qualitative survey
- iii. Analysis

The study benefits from a comprehensive document review that is shared for the whole set of studies conducted for the World Bank and the AC. The document review included three categories of documentation: (i) project documentation; (ii) comparative research and evaluation for TDRP countries, and (iii) comparative studies across DDR particularly those pertaining to reintegration.

2.1 Sample and community characteristics

This study's sample of reporters was purposively selected from the 410 reporters surveyed by NCG Dk for the quantitative study: Reporter Reintegration and Community Dynamics, which was conducted concurrent with this qualitative study. The quantitative study gauged the degree to which reporters are reintegrated nationally and the experience of their communities in the processes of return and reintegration of reporters. It surveyed reporters and community members across the following dynamics of reintegration: (i) basic demographic indicators; (ii) housing, food security and personal security; (iii) economic issues; (iv) social capital, and (v) experience of DDR processes. For the purposes of selecting a sample of reporters that represented successful, moderately successful and unsuccessful reintegration, 23 reporters were selected

primarily by their responses to questions in the quantitative survey about: (i) their economic reintegration; (ii) their social reintegration, and (iii) their perceptions of their own reintegration.

The sample from this study was drawn from the following locations:

Town/ Settlement	District	Region	Sub- Region
Kitgum	Kitgum	Northern	Acholi
Gulu	Gulu	Northern	Acholi
Koboko	Koboko	Northern	West Nile
Yumbe	Yumbe	Northern	West Nile

All locations are in the Northern Region where the main rebel groups have been the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the West Nile Bank Front (WNBFB). As noted above, in development parameters the northern region is severely challenged. It is generally accepted that the region remains trapped in a disparity in poverty and development with the rest of Uganda, and that the legacy of abductions, violence and internal displacement continues to challenge the health and development of the communities there.

Interviews were conducted over a two weeks period (19th August 2011 to 4th September 2011) in Kitgum, Gulu, Koboko and Yumbe districts in Uganda (see 2.1.2). A total of 23 reporters were interviewed – 12 males and 11 females. Interviews were semi-structured, lasted between 45-120 minutes and a female interpreter translated during the interview. In a quarter of the interviews, return interviews were conducted for verification purposes and to explore issues of experiences during conflict and family problems after return with a focus on barriers to reintegration.

The first part of the interviews was recorded and focused on the reporters' description of their process of demobilization and obtaining their Amnesty Certificate, escape and returning home, reception by families and neighbors, feelings at different periods since obtaining amnesty and their positions as member of families and communities. During the second part of the session, there was no digital recording and the interview took the form of a more open conversation touching upon delicate issues such as sexual violence and abduction. The interviews highlight differentiated processes of reintegration across the 23 interviewees. The reporters have faced and continue to face diverse challenges influenced by their age, gender, former armed group and disability (both physical and psychological) and their reintegration is constrained by structural lack of economic development and conditions of profound poverty in the areas of settlement.

2.2 Armed groups

It is important to draw attention to key characteristics of the sample group and next situate the group within the context of key characteristics of the communities in which the reporters live. The sample consists of roughly one third WNBF reporters and two thirds LRA reporters.

For many WNBF reporters the path to amnesty has been long and has mainly consisted of a pattern of formal demobilization followed by receipt of amnesty 10 to 15 years later during the AC's work to reach demobilized reporters without amnesty during the UgDRP (2008-2011). Most WNBF reporters volunteered to join the armed group, and were on the whole older than the LRA reporters when joining, hence they were further along their life trajectory when enlisting. This implies the life trajectory was more clearly defined, hence easier to return to. In addition to this, the idea of volunteering implies the time of joining is

controlled by the reporter so they are able to put their family and economic affairs in order before joining up or in some cases take their families with them. This enables a systematic approach for the maintaining of the kinship, social relations and economic affairs during their absence, which makes it easier to return to the homestead when leaving the conflict. These decisions could affect the capital available for sustaining the reporter upon return. For instance, surplus livestock could be sold, decisions to store seed rather than plant seed could be made and acreage of land cultivated could be reduced.

WNBF reporters engaged with the formal amnesty process after sensitization from community leaders and it appears that some were motivated by the principle of amnesty and some by the prospect of obtaining reinsertion payments.⁴ Field team interactions with WNBF reporters were characterized by well-functioning information channels, and turn-out by entire families of WNBF reporters to attend the consultations for all studies. These observations and the findings from other reintegration surveys indicated that that in general WNBF are well reintegrated in their community. As such for WNBF reporters many of the indicators of imperfect social and economic reintegration are more symptomatic of development challenges than of failed reintegration.

All LRA reporters are spontaneously self demobilized or captured by the UPDF or DRC forces during military exercises against the rebel group. At some time all of the LRA reporters consulted during the survey have engaged in battles and ambushes with the UPDF, in Uganda, DRC or Sudan. LRA reporters tend to carry the physical and psychological sequels of the war experience, which for some are sufficiently invalidating that conducting regular livelihood activities is compromised. The LRA reporters in our sample were children when they were abducted and incorporated into the rebel group. Around half of the sample stayed in captivity for a prolonged period and the brutality of the fighting has left several with severe physical sequels. These characteristics match findings from other studies.⁵

4 The UgDRP Phase II contained a reinsertion component which sought to give amnesty and reinsertion assistance to reporters who demobilized between 2006 and 2008 and had spent the requisite minimum time in rebellion.

5 For example, SWAY 2006

Half of the LRA reporters had returned between 2003 and 2005, and the other half more recently in 2009-10. All have gone through formal demobilization, reinsertion and reintegration process upon return. LRA reporters tend to be particularly fearful of re-abduction and some have been abducted multiple times by the rebel group. This has lasting effects on the perception of safety and trust by the reporters.⁶

2.3 Environment

As seen above, the sample was drawn from the reporters in the towns of Kitgum, Gulu, Koboko and Yumbe; however these are not the points of residence of all the reporters. The location of the home of the reporters (and the migration pattern if any) are contextual issues that can affect the reintegration of reporters. The sample in this study does not have a significant migration pattern. Only 6 of the 23 reporters migrated and only once each but it is evident that that the migration rates are higher in the unsuccessfully reintegrated reporters. Thus 17 of the 23 reporters ended up in the original area (most likely the homestead) from which they departed when volunteering or being abducted. Regarding place of residence, it is documented that reporters in peri-urban and urban locations near Kampala present particular indicators of poor social and economic reintegration and have the lowest social capital of any group of reporters when collated by location. However, it is also documented that reporters in isolated rural homesteads have greater difficulty becoming financial stable than reporters in peri-urban locations where, for example, challenges such as access to markets and the condition of transport links are not as significant.⁷ Some of the sample reflects this analysis but the challenges or drivers to their reintegration are more complex and multifaceted than location alone. However there is a correspondence between location and successful reintegration.⁸ The remainder of

the sample consists of two reporters resident in towns (both Kitgum) who had never shifted, one reporter resident in a peri-urban location (on the outskirts of Gulu) and eighteen who live in rural settlements.

6 It is documented that 66.8% of reporters have high trust in people in their community compared to 66.7% of community members. 13.7% of reporters identify low trust compared to 17.3% of community members. This is the biggest variance across the assessment of trust and solidarity. For female reporters, 54.8% of them trust people to a high degree, compared to 58.8% of female community members. When examined by mean score, LRA and ADF reporters trust people in the community least, a finding which corresponds to the tendency for LRA and ADF to socialize less with people outside their gender and age, suggesting that these groups of reporters have trust issues affecting their wider reintegration. This is also a behavioral symptom of trauma following prolonged conflict. NCG 2011 (b) *Reporter Reintegration and Community Dynamics Survey*. Dr. Anthony Finn et al.

7 (ibid)

8 Of the sample two reporters are resident in isolated rural homesteads, one male LRA reporter near Pukonyo Oguru in Gulu district and the other a female LRA reporter in Ladek Okwok in Agago district. Both of these reporters are encountering difficulties reintegrating. In the case of the male reporter who returned to where he grew up his economic reintegration challenges are related to limited kinship networks and to restricted access to assets including traditional knowledge. This reporter spent his entire reinsertion assistance on hired labor to build him a hut because as he identified, he was abducted at such a young age he had not received the traditional knowledge from his family on how to build a dwelling. In particular this 27 year old male is dependent upon his father who lost most of the family land through unregulated division. His social reintegration is challenged by an absolute lack of trust in the community, continuous fear for his personal safety including a fear of his neighbors and a perception that he has no future prospects in employment, education or reintegration as he defines it. The female reporter is highly marginalized and her economic reintegration challenges include very limited and dysfunctional kinship networks, chaotic personal life and significantly changed life circumstances while in captivity as a result of trauma and exclusion because of time in the bush. Her social reintegration is restricted because of the nature of the restrictions on her economic reintegration and chaotic personal life with multiple partners and four children from different fathers. It is also challenged by her history of stigmatization and identification branding as being 'Chen' (possessed, in this instance by a river spirit but 'Chen' can also be understood as a cultural signifier that her behavior is not befitting the cultural norm or the social moral code). Identification as possessed suggests that the reporter may have dissociative symptoms and experienced multiple traumatic events, which is likely in this individual and constitutes a further barrier to reintegration. See for example Duijl et al (2010) for further examination of possession and mental health.

3. Drivers not directly linked to the DDR process

This section of the report considers economic and social drivers of reintegration and factors pertaining to reintegration that are not immediate consequences of a formal DDR process (section 4). Some of these factors can be either enablers or inhibitors of reintegration depending on how they are used (for example, kinship networks). How they are used and how they exist alongside other drivers such as access to assets and the intergenerational transmission of traditional skills constitute the most influential drivers of successful reintegration. Where not present or not functioning appropriately to support the reintegration of reporters—for example, where family through kinship networks deliberately inhibits the social reintegration of reporters or work to prevent economic reintegration—the reporters screened are part of a highly vulnerable group. However there are cross-cutting factors that can positively or negatively exacerbate the impact of these drivers including: (i) gender; (ii) general income poverty, and (iii) local economic conditions. These factors are not drivers of reintegration but do affect the influence and impact of drivers. For example, in general being a female reporter rather than a male reporter will negatively influence reintegration as will certain dynamics of being a female reporter such as whether or not a female reporter has children who were born while she was part of a rebel group. Similarly certain dynamics of just being a female in Northern Uganda will influence reporter reintegration, for example, the traditional prohibition of women owning land.

3.1 Social acceptance and networks

Social acceptance and social networks refer to the formal and informal methods families and communities have of welcoming back reporters, the degree to which reporters are actively accepted and welcomed by their families and by their communities, and the degree to which reporters can gain access to family, community or institutional assets such as land, credit and financial support. Social reintegration is based upon the successful accessing of pre-existing family networks, gaining acceptance by the family, accessing where available family supports including moral and economic supports.

The following discussion examines patterns of reinsertion, kinship networks, access to assets and community networks as drivers or where indicated facilitators of reintegration. It is prudent to note that when the reporters surveyed for this study are analyzed across the complete set of indicators for social reintegration, those who are less successfully reintegrating socially are more likely to observe that their marginalization from the community is a result of them not participating and not involving themselves in the community rather than as a symptom of discrimination. Similarly those who are more successfully reintegrating socially are likely to identify that there is neither discrimination nor marginalization of reporters in their community. Consequently it can be observed that from the perspective of the reporter much of the challenges they face are not emanating from the community, rather they are structural issues pertaining to pov-

erty, or acute issues pertaining to family and kinship networks that result in them either lacking the appropriate tools, skills and supports to successfully reintegrate or result in them facing specific barriers to their reintegration. The drivers of social reintegration are the structures that enable reporters to reintegrate. The facilitators of social reintegration are the absence of barriers and the appropriate conditions (socially and economically) that allow reintegration to happen.

When reviewing the degree to which each reporter is empowered both the more successfully reintegrating reporters and the less successfully reintegrating tend to believe they have similarly high levels of agency regarding making important decisions that could change the course of their life. However more successfully reintegrated reporters believe that they have to a *large* or *medium* extent the power to make important decisions whereas the less successfully reintegrated tend to believe they have little power. In other words the more successfully reintegrated have the ability and power to affect personal change whereas the less successful have the ability but little power. The drivers then are the elements that enable reporters to have the power to affect change.

3.1.1 Family and kinship networks

The fundamental importance of social networks is that by participating in and being a part of social networks, reporters find acceptance, reconciliation and pathways to economic and social reintegration. At the heart of any social network is the family and generally for reporters there are two types of family: their family which they left behind when they were abducted or when they volunteered, and the family they constructed through marriage (acquisition of their spouse's family) and having children.⁹ The role of marriage in the maintenance of kinship networks is that it enhances the social and economic base of the family and leads to the improvements of the kinship network. Traditionally marriages are arranged through agreement between the bride and groom's families. Although there is a certain level of leeway for the bride and groom to seek their own union, these seldom advance without the family patriarch's consent. Male reporters returning to the household are often able to resume their intended trajectory by marrying a suitable spouse, whereas female reporters, through stigma, often amplified through the presence of a child born in the bush, face obstacles to marriage.¹⁰

Appropriately structured and functioning kinship networks are key drivers of reintegration. The importance of kinship networks are: (i) they enable reporters to re-settle; (ii) they facilitate the interaction of reporters with the general community and often help inform the community reaction to particular reporters; (iii) they provide immediate material support (akin to reinsertion assistance and short-term reintegration supports) where available including access to family assets such as land; (iv) they provide for longer term economic support including informal credit, and (v) they provide emotional support; for example, through the relationships with the household members reporters are able to narrate their experiences which assists with reintegration. Obviously the absence of kinship networks means that none of these benefits can be derived and the protracted absence of kinship networks during a reporter's time in captivity means that inter-generational and traditional knowledge and skills are not transmitted, which can have a subsequent impact on reinsertion and reintegration.

When not functioning appropriately, kinship networks either fail to provide any support for reintegration or as the degree of dysfunctionality increases, kinship networks can be used by family as a means to inflict harm on individual reporters and inhibit their social and economic reintegration.

Reporters face challenges when being reunited with their family. In the case of the LRA reporters in this

9 In some cases, for example with some WNBf reporters, whole families volunteered or spouses joined each other in rebellion and so were not divided by abduction or volunteering.

10 Female reporters are significantly less likely to be married than male reporters: 16.5% of females are married monogamous and 14.6% married polygamous whereas 46.6% of males are married monogamous and 24.6% are married polygamous. Similarly marriage separation rates and the frequency with which the spouse had died are much higher in females than in males: 14.6% of female reporters are separated from their spouse and 27.2% are widows compared to 3.6% of male reporters who are separated and 2.0% who are widowers. As can be expected currently the largest proportion of LRA reporters are single adults who never married (37.6%), followed by married (29.1%). Of WNBf reporters 41.7% and 36.7% are married monogamous or married polygamous respectively. Statistics around marriage breakdown including attitudinal indicators pertaining to whether or not those unmarried reporters in the survey would marry another reporter reveal that there are explanatory conclusions why female reporters have such a low marriage level. Female reporters are more likely to be married to a male reporter than a male reporter is to be married to a female reporter: It was found that of those who are married, living together, divorced or separated (that is, not single) 43.3% of female reporters have at any one time been involved with a reporter compared to only 12.2% of male reporters. Female reporters are among the least desired group for marriage in the community. NCG 2011 (b) *Reporter Reintegration and Community Dynamics Survey*. Dr. Anthony Finn et al.

study, most had similar return trajectories consisting of escape and surrender to UPDF or DRC forces. Following capture, reporters in this study tended to follow a series of relocations which in the case of LRA reporters consist of eventual transportation from DRC to Gulu via Sudan and Entebbe. In Gulu or another regional centre, some reporters received rehabilitation and some vocational training before being returned to their families. In most cases families visited reporters while they were in reception centers.

Most WNBFB reporters in this study self-demobilized and returned to the homes and where relevant the families they had before the conflict. Occasionally these reporters returned via an army barracks or via a host family.

Analyzing across the two groups to see which group experienced a better welcome by their families it would appear that on the surface there is no real difference between the level of positive welcoming and acceptance. However, on deeper analysis it can be seen that situations where the dysfunctionality or restricted size of some kinship networks can be particularly detrimental to the social reintegration of reporters particularly when they are female or when they are female and have children who were born in captivity.

Examples of how kinship networks can be used to negatively influence the reintegration of reporters are: (i) misappropriation of reinsertion payments; (ii) stigmatizing and deliberate exclusion from the family; (iii) violence against returning reporter family member; (iv) negatively impeding the social reintegration of the reporter in the community, and (v) denying access to kinship assets. The misappropriation of reinsertion payments by family and the family stigmatizing returned reporters are more likely to happen to female reporters than male reporters.

Stigmatization by the family can take various forms including a lack of welcome or physical violence against returning reporters. For this study female reporters, particularly those with children, tended to endure particularly extreme stigmatization, psychological and physical violence including assault and threats of death. For females with children born while in captivity, stigmatization and rejection can be brutal or sometimes designed to separate the mother and child, for example, providing support such as basic food to the mother and refusing to provide any for her children.

The reintegration issues pertaining to children born to the female reporters while in captivity are: (i) they are considered an economic burden for the family; (ii) often no maintenance or assets can be raised against the birth of the child, for instance, a child born out of wedlock under cultural norms can be used to obtain a 'cash fine payment' from the father's family, or be used to negotiate a good bride price or dowry, but these children born in captivity do not enlarge the assets network of the household (due to the unknown parental lineage, or not wanting to keep ties with the father, a factor for instance when conception was through rape or forced circumstances), and (iii) they are perceived as constituting a social or cultural problem is that the bloodline is non-patriarchal, which can go against conservatism in the Ugandan society. In addition to the basic challenges of reabsorbing reporters back into families often struggling with poverty, there are additional factors linked to stigmatization and exclusion of female reporters, particularly those with children. These factors include the following: (i) the perceived economic burden to the family of supporting the reporter and their children, and (ii) a lack of acceptance of the value of full reintegration of reporters or understanding of the reasons to accept back family members who often spent a long time in captivity. In the case of female reporters who have returned without a spouse but with children, the fact that they have children is also perceived as a barrier against them ever establishing a family of their own. In some cases these women can find support in the families of their children's father but in many situations this is not possible.

There is a risk that those children who are merely tolerated by the extended family without being as actively excluded as some will not be best socialized or included in ordinary household activity. The outcome of such a scenario is their poor socialization, and marginalization from the kinship network. Potentially this lack of integration of children labeled as "rebel children" will develop into a significant source of social problems in northern Uganda. While no children were interviewed in this study, some reporters articulated their hopes and aspirations for their children, and described the abuse leveled against their children, and prejudice they have received. Female reporters feel that when their children are rejected by their kin networks, they themselves are rejected and stigmatized.

Establishing one's own family is universally perceived by reporters as a crucial milestone on the journey towards full reintegration and as such those reporters who have managed to create a full traditional family unit believe they are more reintegrated than those who have not. Reporters surveyed who were striving for a family and believed that one day they would have a family were hopeful regarding this aspect of reintegration. Those female reporters who have children from the time in captivity tended to have more chaotic relationship patterns and in many cases had endured GBV from violent spouses. Generally these women understood that they had little chance of ever establishing a family outside their children and so their unit (mother and children) tended to be somewhat isolated away from extended family suggesting a risk of intergenerational breakdown of family ties.

Marriage is an important step to reintegrating community ties. It is the acquisition of the primary social unit, the basis of the family and in many cases is the acquisition of wider immediate social safety nets in the form of the spouse's family. It is also a means to acquire land through regulated division¹¹. For reporters who are excluded from or cannot access these pathways to reintegration, the result is that they are more isolated, more at risk and poorer than other family members and other reporters. The study shows that the value of women in the kinship network is secondary to that of men. In the family, girls hold a social and economic purpose as a means of raising capital in the form of a dowry that can be articulated through the transfer of land or livestock.¹² The returning female reporters are further undervalued as they are no longer able to raise a dowry due to their lack of virginity, with the child born in captivity as a constant reminder to the household, and hence the value of the female reporter is diminished further to the family.

3.1.2 Access to family, communal or institutional assets

Access to assets is the extent to which a reporter is given access to one or both of the following: (i) family assets such as land, informal credit or business/livelihood strategies; and (ii) their own assets which were in place prior to their time in captivity including: land, savings, businesses and access to institutional support, and (iii) traditional knowledge, such as how to work the land, knowledge about when to plant, how to use

agricultural equipment or how to process produce. Access to assets via kinship networks is a significant driver of economic and social reintegration. Access to land improves the immediate reintegration opportunity and provides reporters with land for subsistence agriculture and the potential to sell excess good harvests to generate income. Extra agricultural production often depends on the ability to hire labor or to purchase of hire agricultural machinery such as an ox plow. The manual hoe is often unsuitable for some reporters because of physical impairments and disabilities usually incurred through work during captivity or in combat. Because reporters are less successful than non-reporters in accessing credit and because newly reinserted reporters have little if any chance of accessing scarce microfinance, family credit is another key asset which when available greatly contributes to the early establishing of a pattern of economic reintegration.¹³ It can be observed that reporters who have accessed both family land and in some situations informal credit appear to be more reintegrated than those who did not. On return and reinsertion, quicker access to land and informal credit also means that reporters are able to diversify their livelihood strategies, thus facilitating to become better established economically.

As with accessing kinship networks, some female reporters face additional challenges accessing family assets primarily as a result of traditional land ownership and not as a result of being a reporter. However returning from captivity is a contributing factor. Those female reporters who were poorly reintegrating tended to experience barriers accessing land and accessing family credit. On occasion female reporters who returned to live only with their mother encountered additional difficulties due to their mother's lack of land ownership as a result of enforced traditional land ownership patterns. In some cases their mother was involved in land dispute over the unregulated di-

11 Regulated division of land is division of land through formal practices such as inheritance or sale. Unregulated division refers to division of land that is not formalised by norms or legal frameworks such as land grabbing or forcible removal of access.

12 One female LRA reporter discussed this issue and remarked: "My mother keeps saying that she is bitter with me because she did not gain anything, since no man has ever come to pay dowry for me."

13 Only 13.0% of reporters have applied for micro-credit from a financial institution despite reliance on informal credit to meet everyday expenses and that credit is a factor informing reporters understanding of their economic

vision of land and the women in the family had been excluded from accessing any arable land. It should be noted that this is not the universal experience of female reporters and it has been identified that many hold written land titles.

The interrelation between social and economic reintegration is multifaceted and complex but in the case of kinship networks and access to assets, particularly in the early stages of reintegration access to productive assets such as land allows reporters to avoid what would appear to be the most prevalent form of stigma: labeling as poorer than others in the community. In general the level of negative stigma that reporters have experienced is not high. A partial explanation of this is that communities are largely welcoming of reporters but another aspect is that when reporters are asked to elaborate on any marginalization they have experienced they respond that stigma or marginalization is based on their poverty and lack of opportunity to generate income. Consequently those reporters who manage to establish themselves economically, perhaps on parity with other members of the community also managed to largely avoid the application of this stigma.

Regarding access to own assets, this largely corresponds with a resumption of life trajectory reporters had before rebelling or being captured and is not common for the reporters in this study. Few of the reporters consulted for this study who were abducted at a young age and spent an extended time in captivity have been able to resume the life trajectory as it was before they were abducted: they have not returned to education, they have not returned to a family unaltered by time or by the conflict and they have not returned to work in which they were engaged prior to abduction. In most cases reporters have adopted subsistence agriculture, often combining this with another economic activity in the informal economy such as trading in clothing or commodities or using acquired skills such as carpentry or tailoring (see 3.2.2). However in some instances reporters have been able to access networks and supports in which they were engaged prior to abduction. In these limited number of cases they are able to resume life with the support of an institution such as the Catholic church. This support greatly eases the reintegration of the reporter. In these situations reporters are greatly assisted in physical and psychological rehabilitation, in

resuming studies including tertiary level studies and in living relatively free of the more extreme forms of poverty. It is not surprising then that reporters who can resume a positive life trajectory in this manner are reintegrating better than those who cannot.

3.1.4 Community acceptance

Corresponding with general trends for reporter reintegration, most of the reporters in this study were welcomed by the community on their return. Community acceptance of reporters is a significant enabler of reintegration and represents an absence of enforced barriers to reintegration. It is vital to the reintegration processes in which reporters engage. Community acceptance of reporters is largely based on positive understandings that reporters do not constitute a notable threat to the peace and security of the community.¹⁴

From the reporters surveyed for this study, there appears to be no correlation between participating in traditional or religious ceremonies on return and the level of acceptance by the community. Rather, most were welcomed by the community and those who experienced difficulties did so in the context of economic stigma or in the case of female reporters, stigma as a result of having children born while in captivity.

The absence of any noticeable community hostility to reporters and the tendency for reporters to experience acceptance by community members indicate an absence of significant barriers to social reintegration. However, barriers remain that are a consequence of the experiences of some reporters; for example, female reporters with children and in one of the cases for this study those with HIV encounter barriers to social reintegration in so far as they have difficulty getting married into a strong relationship and building a traditional family. Furthermore some reporters with disabilities are stigmatized and other obstacles to employment as they do not have the physical strength to engage in manual labor.

¹⁴ Reporter and community members share a positive perception of security and agree on key indicators of safety and the likelihood of a return to conflict. 84.6% of reporters and 79.4% of community members confirm they never hear gunshots and 16.4% of reporters and 17.8% of community members identify that a return to conflict is likely. Any conflict that has arisen in communities is evident to have been everyday disagreement and quarrels which are mostly resolved without resorting to violence and not particularly linked to whether or not one party is a reporter. NCG 2011 (b) Reporter Reintegration and Community Dynamics Survey. Dr. Anthony Finn et al.

Community acceptance of reporters influences economic reintegration. While not being a directly attributed driver of reintegration, it ensures that some barriers that may exist to prevent reporters from economically reintegrating are not as significant as they may otherwise be. Harassment and stigmatization appear colored by the economic status of individual reporters or in some cases are linked with the difficulty families whose children remain in captivity or unaccounted for have accepting reinserted reporters while their children remain gone. The study finds that community acceptance influences economic reintegration in so far as once they can access capital and credit reporters do not experience unique barriers to trading or establishing businesses. In many cases reporters work together with non-reporter traders, for example, pooling transport costs for wholesale goods, or they can participate in the same economic associations and groups as non reporters.¹⁵

For many of the reporters surveyed their major challenges during economic reintegration are: (i) overcoming the lost years of economic productivity during time in captivity; (ii) re-building social networks that influence economic reintegration, and (iii) overcoming development challenges including chronic market inactivity. To improve their chances of successful reintegration reporters must still quickly become able to economically sustain themselves and their family.

3.2 Economic livelihoods and access to material support

Following is a discussion of how aspects of reporters' livelihood and their access to material support (via kinship or community networks mainly) contribute to overall economic and social reintegration. In general an IGA or livelihood and material supports contribute to reintegration, but there are more subtle and diverse ways that reporters' livelihood strategy and their ability to work in what are usually depressed economic markets can greatly enhance reintegration.

It is noteworthy that when analyzed for key indicators of economic reintegration and indicators of poverty, most of the reporters for this study come within the parameters for the general reporter population. They had largely secure land tenure, similar land ownership patterns to the rest of the reporter population, and similar food and income security patterns to the rest of the reporter population. The only group which are

clearly highlighted as a risk and unsuccessfully reintegrated are those experiencing a complex interaction of factors and who are likely to be female, with chronic pain or disability and with children born while in captivity. Consequently at a basic level, it is difficult to distinguish between those reporters in the sample who are successfully or unsuccessfully reintegrating. It is only when reporters elaborate on the amount of land they have (including changing level of land acreage and land acquisition processes), the limitations (physical and monetary) on how they can work the land, and aspects of their economic independence and dependence that it becomes clearer that the following are key drivers of economic reintegration and have subsidiary impact on social reintegration: (i) access to land; (ii) capacity to work the land; (iii) successful or unsuccessful diversification of livelihood strategies. In addition training received and market conditions are factors influencing reintegration, which have direct relevance to future reintegration programming.

3.2.1 Livelihood strategies

Initially, most of the reporters surveyed for this report identified that they either self-employed in agriculture and did not supplement their income in any way, or they were unemployed and had no income. However on closer examination only the most vulnerable subsist with income from one livelihood activity (usually subsistence agriculture). As diversification of income generating activities increases (and in some cases as diversification increases to sectors outside agriculture) reporters become more obviously economically sustainable and generate higher incomes. There is no pattern of diversification but those reporters who appear most economically vulnerable including females with children born while in captivity are caught between dependence on subsistence agriculture (either in one's own lands, on rented lands or on family lands) and limiters of their ability to diversify including: (i) hav-

15 The majority (91.1%) of reporters who are members of associations are members of associations with a mix of both reporters and non-reporters. Female reporters are the most likely to belong to reporter-only associations: 13.3% of those who have membership are members of reporter-only associations compared to 3.3% of males. WNBFB reporters are also most likely to belong to reporter only associations (12.8%). Financial support and economic networking are the two most frequently noted benefits gained by membership of an association, 44.6% and 15.4% respectively. LRA reporters are more inclined to identify economic networking (38.5% compared to 6.7% of WNBFB, 0.0% of ADF and 21.4% of UNRF reporters). NCG 2011 (b) Reporter Reintegration and Community Dynamics Survey. Dr. Anthony Finn et al.

ing only a small amount of land to work; (ii) having no access to credit to rent more land or hire labor; (iii) physical injury or disability inhibiting their ability to work their land. Often these limiters influence subsidiary economic activity; for example, cutting and selling bamboo or working as casual manual agricultural labor (both of which are physically demanding jobs). For particularly vulnerable groups, increased access to communal land and micro-credit would be two drivers of successful reintegration and would contribute to alleviating this aspect of the multi-dimensional poverty trap in which they find themselves. Those reporters in this category are usually highly dependent upon informal credit from family members or borrowing from other lenders just to meet basic household expenses; the majority are in debt at the end of every month.

Diversification of livelihood strategies appears most successful when reporters manage to diversify into sectors outside agriculture where there is an active market. Those who stay within agriculture or diversify based on the agricultural product they can produce (for example selling excess agricultural produce when available or processing some produce for sale such as the small scale production and vending of cassava chips) have low economic stability. These extra economic activities are highly dependent upon their harvest, which is in turn influenced by the factors outlined above (ability to tend the land and access to micro-credit). Those who diversify in food but away from their own harvest, for example buying and selling pineapples at a profit, are marginally more successful. It is a characteristic of these traders that they work collaboratively with reporters and non-reporters to manage costs such as transport costs.¹⁶

Vocational training is an indicator used to map successful reintegration and the success or not of a formal reintegration program. As has been seen before, female reporters have been effectively targeted by training since demobilization (spontaneous or formal) and they are more skilled than their female community counterparts. Both healthy and disabled females aged 18- 30 years are receiving skills training more than any other gender-age cohort, including all males. Female reporters in this category show the highest skilling and out-perform their community counterparts.¹⁷ However, what is not obvious is how in many cases the impact of the training and initial

wrap-around supports given to female reporters and male reporters by NGOs is significantly challenged by the conditions of the market. Throughout the study reporters (mainly female but it cannot be generalized to one gender) who received training in craft-making, tailoring and baking have found that the demand for their skills is so low that they rarely use them profitably. Where groups of re-skilled reporters were supported by NGOs to form IGA groups and were given machinery and premises (for example sewing machines and a workshop) much of the machinery has been pilfered or the groups have simply disintegrated because there is no local market for their skills. The same situation applies to the male reporters in the study who are skilled craftsmen and carpenters. Instead of working mainly in an applicable field, they work mainly in subsistence agriculture.

In summary a driver of successful economic reintegration is the capacity to diversify one's livelihood strategy. Reporters who have the capacity to diversify beyond agriculture appear to be better reintegrated and normally their diversification into trading was originally enabled by access to micro-finance or credit in their family. The economic activities of those reporters who are vocationally skilled or have been vocationally skilled since demobilization as part of their reintegration are often curtailed by seriously depressed market conditions. Collaboration on IGAs is not an indicator of success or successful reintegration. In particular much of the collaboration identified by reporters follows on from how individuals are placed together in groups to be skilled by NGOs.

Most reporters in the study live in rural villages and based on the factors described above, it is recommended that reintegration assistance, particularly training, should focus on more holistic approaches to assisting in the development of local markets while inputting into the training of reporters. A CDD intervention that draws on the learning in existing structures and programs such as NUSAF and which has a strong micro-credit or micro-finance component,

¹⁶ Those who diversify outside agriculture and into trading in second hand clothes or other produce increase their economic stability and income but perhaps unusually in the sample for this study a boda boda rider has become the most financially successful individual through boda boda and saving informally (lodging money with an uncle).

¹⁷ NCG 2011 (b) Reporter Reintegration and Community Dynamics Survey. Dr. Anthony Finn et al.

could empower local communities and assist in stimulating the development of local markets. CDD also has subsidiary effects such as strengthening social cohesion and the perceived value of local government; but importantly it could increase the efficiency and effectiveness and training that has been provided to reporters, for example by GUSCO, and prevent those skills being unused and the physical infrastructure (such as machinery and premises) falling into disrepair or becoming redundant.

3.2.2 Human capital

For the purposes of this study “human capital” refers to literacy, training, health and the capacity to resume life trajectory as it existed prior to time spent in the rebel group. Levels of social and economic reintegration correspond with levels of literacy and numeracy but not with educational achievement as it has been documented. Reporters who are more successfully reintegrating are able to read and write and those who are not successfully reintegrating tend to have poor to no literacy and poor numeracy. The negative influence of poor literacy and numeracy includes limiting the ability to acquire a vocational skill or effectively and independently manage cash-flow. The disparity in literacy and numeracy between female and male reporters is also documented and the sample in this study reflects how female reporters are more likely to have literacy and numeracy issues.¹⁸ Similarly, responses correspond with findings identifying that reporters accurately perceive their educational attainment and their literacy and numeracy to be of a lower standard than that of their fellow non-reporter community members. As identified in section 3.2.1 female reporters appear to outperform non-reporters in training however the highly challenging market conditions somewhat limit the impact of vocational training.

Health is another factor that can enable economic and social reintegration and poor health or the lack of adequate rehabilitation during demobilization and reintegration can greatly inhibit reintegration in particular economic reintegration. Reporters do not always fully identify the level of physical challenges they face as a result of injuries acquired during their time in captivity. On deeper investigation reporters who originally identified that they are healthy often appear to have chronic pain issues or partial physical disabilities as a direct result of time in combat. Even working from the first level of data collected for this study, it has been

documented how reporters and particularly female reporters are far more likely to be chronically ill or have psychological problems than non-reporters. In the sample for this study, despite initially identifying as healthy, the majority of female reporters identified chronic pain or displayed psychological trauma that inhibits their economic and social reintegration. The relevant conclusion for DDR programming is that appropriate screening, rehabilitation and disability or illness-sensitive skilling would be a driver to successful reintegration by enabling reporters to manage the barriers presented by their own physical and mental health.¹⁹

The question of whether or not a reporter can successfully reintegrate can be rephrased partially as a question of whether or not reporters can resume a life trajectory that is similar to the one they had before captivity. Many factors converge or diverge to influence this capacity including the ones already discussed in this report: kinship networks, parenthood, community acceptance, education, livelihood strategies and so forth. For reporters to resume a life similar to the one they would likely have had if they had not been in captivity, the social and economic factors must converge and they must be capable of resuming that life. In cases where reporters have successfully resumed an expected life trajectory they have returned to a similar family structure, to acceptance from their family and from the community and they tend to have a basic level of literacy and numeracy. In very limited instances reporters have returned to a highly structured life similar to the one they had prior to abduction, for example, with one reporter who had been a

18 Community members have higher literacy rates than reporters both in reading and writing and in reading or writing only. Differences in literacy are increasingly striking across comparative groups: 37.3% of female reporters in comparison to 64.9% of female community members are fully literate. Similarly 61.8% of male reporters in comparison to 84.7% of male community members are fully literate. In an age group comparison the most striking difference is between reporters in the 18-30 years bracket where 55.8% of reporters are literate in comparison to 90.4% of community members. NCG 2011 (b) Reporter Reintegration and Community Dynamics Survey. Dr. Anthony Finn et al.

19 During demobilization all reporters are to be afforded health screening to facilitate treatment or rehabilitation. Health screening includes examination and diagnosis of psychological and physical health and disability. For the NCG reporter Reintegration and Community Dynamics study in the sample, 397 of the target of 410 were formally demobilized during the UgDRP, between 2008 and 2011. In the survey, only those reporters that self-identified as disabled were asked to indicate whether or not they were screened for disability on demobilization. In total, of those disabled and currently undergoing treatment, 17.1% had been screened for disability (ibid).

seminarian when abducted and who reintegrated with the help of the Catholic Church. But often it is the case that three key factors inhibit the capacity of reporters to resume a life trajectory: (i) physical and psychological trauma as result of captivity; (ii) changed life circumstances as a result of time in captivity, for example, where female reporters return with children who have been born in captivity, and (iii) depletion or loss of kinship assets such as from the sale of land to meet short term financial needs or from the unregulated acquisition of land by others.

The degree of physical and psychological trauma endured by reporters can greatly inhibit reintegration. At a basic level there are those reporters with identified physical trauma and disability some of whom have received or are receiving treatment or rehabilitation. Those who have received treatments are often still at a significant economic disadvantage because of the physical limitations placed on them by their trauma or disability. Then there are those with physical trauma which is not always visible and is often undocumented; for many there has been little direct treatment of such trauma. This group of reporters is highly vulnerable particularly economically, and when a major impairment like this corresponds with one or more other factor which influences reintegration, for example, a dysfunctional kinship network, the chances of successful reintegration are significantly reduced. The same analysis can be given to those reporters with psychosocial trauma, of whom there would appear to be a limited number who have received treatment. Prevalence is loosely indicated by how throughout the course of the fieldwork for this study and the companion studies reporters occasionally experienced difficulty continuing with consultations due to the trauma of revisiting their history or discussing the dynamics of the present.

The major change in life circumstances that can inhibit reintegration is where female reporters have returned with children who were born in captivity. In the worst case scenario, the children are rejected by the reporters' family, and kinship networks become highly damaging and stigmatising. In some part this is driven by the primary economic burden of the children, in part it is driven by how having children that reporter may have difficulty establishing a family in civilian life, and in part it appears to be driven by shame or stigma. Female reporters with children are a high risk group

and can become highly marginalised and endure significant challenges to financially support their family.

3.3 Conclusion

Following are the conclusions that can be drawn regarding: (i) drivers of reintegration that are indirect to the DDR process, and (ii) the factors which influence DDR but are not direct drivers.

3.3.1 Drivers of reintegration

The *agents* of reintegration are reporters, their families and the community but there are key structures and processes which positively and negatively influence the reintegration of reporters including: (i) kinship networks; (ii) access to family assets and credit; (iii) diversification of livelihood strategies particularly outside agriculture; (iv) access to credit; (v) educational attainment, and (vi) human capital.

The importance of **kinship networks** is as follows: (i) they enable reporters to re-settle; (ii) they facilitate the interaction of reporters with the general community and often help shape the community reaction to particular reporters; (iii) they provide immediate material support (akin to reinsertion assistance and short-term reintegration supports) where available including access to family assets such as land; (iv) they provide for longer term economic support including informal credit. However kinship networks can also be used negatively to restrict the reintegration of reporters; for example: (i) misappropriation of reinsertion payments; (ii) stigmatizing and deliberate exclusion from the family; (iii) violence against returning reporter family member; (iv) negatively impeding the social reintegration of the reporter in the community, and (v) denial of access to assets. The centrality of kinship to enabling reintegration and the tendency for vulnerable groups, particularly female reporters with children born while in captivity to experience hostility and exclusion by family, would suggest that DDR programming in Uganda or elsewhere should comprehensively target the family during community sensitization and preparation for reinsertion. DDR programming should also include a dialogue and reconciliation component that adequately targets the families for vulnerable reporters to openly resolve where possible elements of exclusion of vulnerable reporters.

Access to assets and credit includes the extent to which a reporter is given access to one or both of the following: (i) family assets such as land, informal credit or business/livelihood strategies; and (ii) their own assets which were in place prior to their time in captivity including land, savings and business. Access to assets via kinship networks is a significant driver of economic and social reintegration. Access to land improves the immediate reintegration opportunity, provides reporters with land for subsistence agriculture and with the potential to sell excess good harvests to generate income. The issue of land and land conflict in Uganda is well documented in numerous studies however this study would suggest that DDR programming should have a strong JLOS component which contributes to ensuring that reporters have equal access to justice when seeking to resolve any issues regarding unregulated land division. Also, this study would suggest (see also 3.3.1 iv and 3.3.2 (iv)) that reintegration programming should include high quality CDD components including ones with a focus on community-based micro-finance.

Diversification of livelihood strategies, particularly outside agriculture, is a driver of successful economic reintegration. Reporters who have the capacity to diversify beyond agriculture appear to be better reintegrated and their diversification into trading is often originally enabled by access to micro-finance and/or credit in their family. The economic activities of those reporters who are vocationally skilled or have been vocationally skilled since demobilization as part of their programmatic reintegration are often curtailed by seriously depressed market conditions.

Education and training: There is a correlation between poor literacy and numeracy and problematic economic reintegration. The negative influence of poor literacy and numeracy is wide and in the case of numeracy can limit the ability to acquire a vocational skill or effectively independently manage cash-flow. The disparity in literacy and numeracy between female and male reporters is also documented and the sample in this study reflects how female reporters are more likely to have literacy and numeracy issues. This would suggest that programmatically, reintegration assistance where possible should include education in basic literacy and numeracy in order to make up for some of lost education opportunities encountered by reporters as a result of their time in captivity.

3.3.2 Influencers of reintegration

The study has found that there are some main influencers of reintegration and these are: (i) gender; and (ii) market conditions and economic productivity.

Gender is a significant influence on reintegration primarily because female reporters face far more reintegration challenges based on cultural and traditional gender dynamics and based on how their gender means that their life circumstances are frequently radically altered during their time in captivity.²⁰ On the basis of their gender, female reporters, particularly those with children, tend to endure particularly extreme stigmatization, psychological and physical violence including assault and threats of death. For females with children born while in captivity, the stigmatization and rejection can be particularly brutal.

Some key perceptions inform the barriers that challenge the reintegration of female reporters, particularly those with children including: (i) the perceived economic burden to the family of supporting the reporter and their children; (ii) a lack of acceptance of the value of full reintegration of reporters or understanding of the reasons to accept back family members who often spent a long time in captivity; (iii) the social burden of having a female household member that possibly may never marry, and (iv) the perceived cultural obstacle of accepting children of a non-patriarchal bloodline into the family.

Some female reporters face additional challenges accessing family assets primarily as a result of traditional land ownership and not as a result of being a reporter, however returning from captivity is a contributing factor. Those female reporters who were poorly reintegrating tended to experience barriers accessing land and accessing family credit and those female reporters who have children from the time in captivity tended to have more chaotic personal relationship patterns and difficulty creating their own family. The result is likely to be that barriers to reintegration that are informed by negative traditional perceptions of gender gradually transform into systematic exclusion of women and forced poverty for those women without the social or

20 For a more comprehensive analysis of the reintegration challenges experienced by female reporters and which is outside the remit of this study see NCG 2011 (b) *Reporter Reintegration and Community Dynamics Survey*. Dr. Anthony Finn et al.

economic capital to establish themselves independent of hostile kinship networks and restrictive traditional practices where they occur.

The programmatic implication of this is that a DDR program should be highly gender sensitive and dovetail with other development and post-conflict and stabilization interventions that positively target women and seek to reform harmful traditional perceptions of gender and the social manifestation of same in, for example, GBV, which would appear prevalent among reporters.

Market conditions are significant enablers or inhibitors of economic and concomitant social reintegration. Market conditions challenge the impact of the training and initial wrap-around supports given to

female and male reporters. The severe development challenges in Northern Uganda drive how those reporters who are re-skilled during reintegration or return with pre-existing or acquired skills such as carpentry often cannot use those skills because of the absence or lack of market demand. This restricts the ability of reporters to diversify their livelihood strategies and in many situations enforces dependency upon subsistence agriculture, thus creating risks to food and income security and ultimately contributing to long-term poverty. The programmatic implication is that reintegration programs could be greatly complemented or enhanced by an increase in CDD interventions that draws on the learning in existing structures and programs such as NUSAF and which has a strong micro-credit or micro-finance component.

4. Drivers directly linked to the DDR process

Section 3 discussed drivers that are largely external to the DDR process but which have relevance to DDR programs and in particular the provision of reintegration supports. Following is an analysis of those elements within the formal demobilization process in which the reporters sampled in this survey have been engaged and which have produced observable impact for the sample.²¹ This section of the study also addresses two additional aspects of reintegration: the factional reintegration and political reintegration of reporters. It identifies whether or not the DDR process drives the factional or political reintegration of reporters. Factional dimension of reintegration requires that command structures have been broken down and to a large extent this is the case with the reporters in this study.²² The social and economic networks of the LRA reporters in this study do not contain a bias towards reporters and there is no evidence that they benefit economically from any former command structures. Ties to other reporters largely come through kinship networks where siblings or in some cases spouses also spent time in captivity. For WNBF reporters in this study, there is no tendency to derive benefits from former command structures but, like the LRA reporters, there is contact with other reporters through social and kinship networks.

Political reintegration requires that reporters have acquired faith in democracy and in the democratic structures of the state. This study describes the degree to which reporters have faith in the workings of the state in principal and what drives them to do so.²³ The study finds that initial contact with the UPDF, and the treatment of most reporters in accordance with the

Amnesty Act and the principle of amnesty are drivers of political reintegration. However the study notes that comparatively it appears that political reintegration may be less successful than social and economic reintegration primarily because it is not programmatically addressed in the same way. For the reporters in this study, political reintegration has been targeted through programmatic support at reception (prior to reinsertion) that focused on non-violent means of conflict resolution and the concept of citizenship. In order to be more effective the supports should be reintroduced during vocational training and focus on the topics such as local government, democracy, human rights and gender.

The study finds that the formal demobilization primarily contributes to the reintegration of reporters in this study by: (i) meeting some of the immediate medical and psycho-social needs of the reporters that without treatment would have inhibited their ability to engage in any livelihood activity, and (ii) supporting those who received a reinsertion payment to invest not just in immediate needs but as in most cases in an IGA. Other aspects of reception and reinsertion,

21 For a full evaluation of the Amnesty Commission's UgDRP including an analysis of all sub-components see NCG 2011 (a) Final Independent Evaluation of the UgDRP 2008 – 2011. Dr. Anthony Finn

22 This corresponds with the general trend for reporters, see NCG 2011 (b) Reporter Reintegration and Community Dynamics Survey. Dr. Anthony Finn et al.

23 There is insufficient data to discuss political reintegration from the perspective of the extent to which reporters resort to democratic or civil means for resolving disputes and why they do so. For a wider and more in depth discussion of political reintegration for the whole reporter population, see *ibid*.

for example, coaching newly demobilized reporters in reception centers about life skills and non-violent conflict resolution possibly contribute to preparation for reintegration, but in this study there is no firm indicator that it has. Rather in the sample here and in other companion studies there are some contrary indicators which suggest that reporters when in conflict with each other still communicate in such a way as to alienate them from other non-reporters in the community. For example, the reporters relate how disputes concerning collaborative IGAs have broken down into hostile verbal exchanges (not physical violence) and the violent overtones to their communication in such situations can alienate non-reporters. The programmatic reintegration supports (where received) have also contributed to their reintegration.

4.1 Programmatic demobilization

There are different means through which reporters demobilized and different reception pathways that they have followed. For the sample in this study the LRA reporters have a different set of return patterns when compared with the WNBF reporters. Half of the LRA reporters returned between 2003-05, and the other half more recently in 2009-10. All have gone through some formal demobilization, reinsertion and reintegration processes upon return but the experience is not exactly the same. However most have been involved with multiple actors including the UPDF, reception centers, rehabilitation centers run by NGOs such as GUSCO and World Vision, the Amnesty Commission and local traditional leaders, local counselors and local government. For many WNBF reporters, the path to amnesty has been a long one and has mainly consisted of a pattern of formal demobilization followed by more recent receipt of amnesty.

4.1.1 Political reintegration

The extent to which reporters have trust in the institutions of the state is one of the first points of measurement of political reintegration. LRA reporters tend to have been demobilized following initial contact with the UPDF and were often held by the UPDF from between two to three weeks to two to three months during which time they were interrogated and began physical rehabilitation where relevant. The first body of the state with which the LRA reporters had contact was the Ugandan army and in all except one case reporters identified that the UPDF treated them

well and disproved their suspicions that they would be harmed or that they would be treated as enemies. In the one case where there was a negative impression of the UPDF, the LRA reporter was a mid level commander and was forced to work with the UPDF to locate LRA bases in DRC.²⁴ This points to the practice of the UPDF detaining reporters including children that is not discussed in this study but which, through other studies including the NCG Implementing Partners study for the World Bank (2011), is recorded or discussed. The initial contact with security forces (both army and police) is an early stage driver for political reintegration and, when combined with the early coaching of reporters in peaceful conflict resolution, can influence how reporters behave (for example, the extent to which reporters resort to democratic or civil means for resolving disputes and not violence) and can inform aspects of psychosocial wellbeing that influence social reintegration. For example, only two of the reporters in this group believe their reintegration has been affected by their belief that they are under surveillance by the security forces or that they have something to fear from them. However, both of these reporters face other social and economic barriers to their reintegration. Regardless, their belief that they are being surveyed and their fear of the security forces negatively affects the degree to which they allow themselves to participate in their community and so stunts social reintegration.

It appears that WNBF reporters are more politically reintegrated. In general WNBF reporters are half as likely as LRA reporters to resort to violence to resolve a dispute and nearly all WNBF reporters believe that resumption of war is unlikely compared to less than half of LRA reporters.²⁵ The more successful political reintegration of WNBF reporters in this study is likely driven at least in part by how all but one reporter volunteered but also by how the WNBF have had a much longer time to reintegrate.

24 The sample of LRA or WNBF does not include all ranks of reporters in the rebel hierarchy but there is a suggestion from our mid-level commander that he faces (and others of same or more senior rank) additional barriers to reintegration. He claims he endures rejection and threatened recrimination because as a mid-level commander he is perceived as responsible for abductions and violence inflicted on the community by the LRA where “normal” abductees are not.

25 NCG, 2011 (b) Reporter Reintegration and Community Dynamics Survey. Dr. Anthony Finn et al.

4.1.2 Time

Time is a factor that influences reintegration in a number of ways: (i) time in captivity; (ii) time since demobilization, and (iii) time between spontaneous self-demobilization and amnesty. Time spent in captivity influences the reintegration of reporters in so far as the longer the time spent in captivity the longer the break in expected life trajectory and the more likely it is that reporters will assume significant life changes that will negatively influence their reintegration including the acquisition of trauma and having children. In some cases these influences can be successfully surmounted by reporters who can obtain a good level of reintegration, but the journey to get there is more fraught with difficulty and challenges. In effect the shorter the time that reporters are outside of their usual life trajectory, the less socialization is lost, which implies that they do not unlearn the accepted behavior, norms, customs, and traditions of their family and communities.

Time since demobilization refers to the time that has passed since reporters have returned from rebellion either spontaneously or through demobilization. The study identifies that where barriers to reintegration are present reporters who are more recently returned tend to experience the effects of those barriers more severely. For example, where support networks are dysfunctional or not present, reporters who are more recently returned experience the effects more severely than those who have had time to navigate the barriers or, in the case of networks, create new networks.²⁶

This study finds that the time between spontaneous self demobilization (SSD) and amnesty does not appear to influence reintegration. However it is possible that reporters who have a short time between SSD and amnesty and who receive official reinsertion assistance may in the long term have fewer barriers or experience some barriers less severely depending on how they used their reinsertion payment.

4.1.3 Amnesty

This study focuses on the drivers and influences of reintegration for individuals and not on the systemic aspects of reintegration. To that extent the study does not find evidence of a direct influence of obtaining amnesty on the reintegration of individuals and there are no instrumental drivers resulting from possessing an amnesty certificate. The NCG companion studies

comprehensively document how amnesty, the Amnesty Act and the principle of amnesty are important systemic dynamics which have positively contributed to peace-building, reconciliation and enhanced security in Uganda.

In general the reporters in this study articulated that amnesty was not a driver of reintegration and that it was not of any particular significance or utility to them. Reinsertion assistance (often the motivator for obtaining amnesty even when the reporters were not eligible for reinsertion payments but did not know that this was the case) was understood by some LRA reporters as both a symbolic act and an important early step to establishing themselves economically in the community. Possibly the lack of thought given to amnesty is related to the degree to which amnesty is perceived as instrumental, that is, the degree to which reporters can directly employ it to achieve something in life. To a great extent amnesty is not concretely instrumental however it is a cornerstone of the DDR process and guarantees freedom from prosecution for reporters. The reporters in this study are more focused on the day-to-day challenges of carving out a living and dealing with reintegration challenges than the systemic implications of amnesty. It could be that the reporters in this study could be better sensitized to the value of amnesty through additional citizenship or public awareness training.

4.1.4 Reinsertion assistance

For this study the reporters who received reinsertion assistance are all LRA (WNBF demobilized or self demobilized in such a manner or at such a time as to make them ineligible for reinsertion assistance). Reinsertion assistance is intended to meet the immediate needs of reporters and so would be most effective when given to newly demobilized reporters and not those who received reinsertion payments as part of the UgDRP clearance of the backlog of eligible reporters. Reporters in this study who were newly demobilized

²⁶ However, this study is a snapshot of a particular stage of reintegration of the sampled reporters and so the findings of the study would suggest that a longitudinal study of a sample of reporters to track their reintegration would offer a richer and more definitive account of reintegration over an extended period of time. In addition to the experience of the impact of barriers, the reporters who are longer returned tend to feel safer and more secure. This corresponds with findings which show in general that reporters' perception of security and return to war improves over time. See NCG 2011 (b) Reporter Reintegration and Community Dynamics Survey. Dr. Anthony Finn, NCG.

and who did not have their payment seized by family or misappropriated by family tended to use their repayment for multiple purposes including IGAs and building a dwelling and for immediate needs of family and children such as clothing, food and education. As such reinsertion payments to those who were newly returned tended to have dual inputs: (i) meeting the small, immediate needs of the reporter and dependents and (ii) being part of establishing a longer-term income generating activity.

The study did not find that reinsertion assistance created tensions but in other studies the payment of reinsertion payment to backlogged reporters is identified as contributing to the creation of tension in communities. In such instances payments were interpreted as unfair rewards to rebels and supporters of rebel groups when the communities and particularly IDPs suffered extreme hardship as a result of conflict.²⁷

4.2 Formal reintegration supports

In general the formal reintegration supports for reporters have included: (i) provision of vocational training and supports by NGOs, community-based organizations and international NGOs; (ii) referral to socio-economic opportunities by the Amnesty Commission and community development officers and provision of those opportunities primarily through government programs such as Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP), the National Agricultural Advisory Services (NAADS) and NUSAF.²⁸ A number of the programmatic opportunities that are provided to reporters are gender and disability focused and there is evidence of a high female take-up of vocational training.

4.2.1 Vocational training

The study found that female reporters received more vocational training than male reporters, which is in line with the national picture as outlined in NCG 2011 (b). This clearly attests to the good intervention of other NGOs and charities in the field of skills training in Uganda. It was found that 9 of the 11 female reporters compared to 3 of the 12 male reporters received skills training. Furthermore, 5 of 9 female reporters that obtained skills training are working in the same field of skills, as compared to 1 of the 3 male reporters that obtained skills. While this is a significant uptake rate with the female reporters it is qualified

somewhat by the economic challenges being met by reporters who are working in the same field of skills. In many cases the impact of the training and initial wrap-around supports given to female and male reporters is significantly challenged by the conditions of the market. Where re-skilled reporters were supported in IGA groups with machinery and premises (for example with sewing machines and a workshop) much of the machinery has been “spoiled” (broken, possibly from poor storage or lack of maintenance), pilfered or the group has simply disintegrated because there is no local market for their skills. The same situation applies to the male reporters in the study who are skilled craftsmen and carpenters. Instead of working mainly in the area in which they were trained they work in subsistence agriculture and try to find some additional work in their area of skill.

4.2.2 Physical and psychological rehabilitation

As identified above, health and disability are factors affecting economic and social reintegration. Poor health and disability can greatly inhibit economic reintegration and so effective programmatic measures to: (i) treat health issues, and (ii) target disabled reporters in training and supports, can greatly enhance their ability to reintegrate. In the sample for this study, few reporters initially identified as disabled yet many had disabilities and chronic illnesses as a result of time in rebellion. These disabilities included chronic pain from shrapnel wounds, visual or auditory impairment and very common post traumatic stress disorder. Secrecy is understandable within a society that can be intolerant of people with disability generally and where some reporters are particularly worried about exacerbating the perception of them by family and community as economic burdens. However, the consequence is that reporters who are ill but have not declared themselves as such can miss the opportunity to receive treatment and have improved chances of reintegrating economically. Those reporters in this study who have received some treatment for chronic pain have also been better able to engage in an IGA and take steps towards reintegration. The implication for programming is that

27 2011 (a). *Final Independent Evaluation of the UgDRP 2008 – 2011*. Dr. Anthony Finn, NCG

28 NGOs and state bodies are also service providers in return, demobilization and reinsertion in Uganda. See NCG 2011 (c) *The Amnesty Commission's Implementing Agents in the UgDRP*. Dr. Anthony Finn et al.

appropriate screening, rehabilitation and disability or illness-sensitive skilling would be a driver to successful reintegration by enabling reporters to manage the barriers presented by their own physical and mental health.²⁹

It is difficult to quantify the full extent of psycho-social rehabilitation or counseling for reporters but the AC, in the lifetime of the UgDRP, has referred 632 reporters to such supports. Similarly the commission has referred 383 for health related support and 8 reporters for physical specialized support. Of the sample for this study most exhibited or spoke about stress and violent experiences during the conflict and how these episodes haunt them, suggesting trauma or a condition such as PTSD. None have ever been treated for psycho-social issues. It is likely that these issues are not being detected during reinsertion or reintegration and as such it is possible that the sample group represents a much larger group of reporters with mental health problems and who are not being treated. This does present long-term barriers to reintegration.

Reporters who experience verbal or physical abuse from family or community (all of the less successfully reintegrated reporters in this study) are presented with significant barriers to social and economic reintegration. Labeling as “olum” (rebel) is a common stigma applied to these reporters and it undoubtedly contributes to their difficulty reintegrating as well as adding to pre-existing mental health issues. As outlined in section 3, some children of reporters who were born while in captivity endure a similar labeling as “rebel children” and it is clear that despite the relatively positive view of reintegration there continues to be issues with community and family stigmatizing reporters and children of reporters thus adding to the stress they endure and creating barriers to social reintegration.

4.3 Conclusion

Other than medical treatment for physical or psychological illness and vocational training, there is very little interaction between the reporters in this study and formal reintegration processes. Following are the conclusions that can be drawn regarding drivers of reintegration that are directly linked to the DDR process.

Experiences during **reception** drive the political rein-

tegration of reporters. During reception many reporters have first contact with the Ugandan state through their interception by the UPDF. The initial contact with the UPDF for the reporters in this study is positive and contributes directly to the political reintegration of reporters by contributing to the trust they have for the democratic institutions of the state. In no small part the UPDF are enabled to act positively to reporters because of the Amnesty Act which pardons all reporters within its very wide parameters. Consequently the systemic impact of the Amnesty Act realized through the activities of the UPDF is a driver for the successful political reintegration of reporters.

Time is a factor influencing the reintegration of reporters: (i) the longer time spent in captivity, the longer the break in normal life trajectory, and the more likely it is that reporters will assume significant life changes that will negatively influence their reintegration, and (ii) where barriers to reintegration are present reporters who are more recently returned tend to experience the effects of those barriers more severely.

Reinsertion packages and payments to those who were newly returned tended to have dual inputs: (i) meeting the small, immediate needs of the reporter and dependents and (ii) being part of establishing a longer-term income generating activity. Reinsertion supports then contribute to the reintegration of some reporters.

Reintegration **vocational training** does impact the livelihood strategies of most reporters who received it but training could be greatly complemented or enhanced by an increase in CDD interventions drawing on the learning in existing structures and programs such as NUSAF and which have strong micro-credit or micro-finance components.

Reporters in this study who have received some treatment for **chronic pain** have also been better able to have an income generating activity and take steps

²⁹ During demobilization all reporters are to be afforded health screening to facilitate treatment or rehabilitation. Health screening includes examination and diagnosis of psychological and physical health and disability. For the NCG Reporter Reintegration and Community Dynamics study in the sample 397 of the target of 410 were formally demobilized during the UgDRP, that is between 2008 and 2011. In the survey, only those reporters that self-identified as disabled were asked to indicate whether or not they were screened for disability on demobilization. In total, of those disabled and currently undergoing treatment, 17.1% had been screened for disability.

towards reintegration. The implication for programming is that appropriate screening, rehabilitation and disability or illness-sensitive skilling would be a driver to successful reintegration by enabling reporters to manage the barriers presented by their own poor physical and mental health. However there should also be a wider program de-stigmatizing and de-mystifying mental health and developing long-term mental health supports in the community to assist reporters and non-reporters cope with the long-term effects of conflict on mental health.

There are seven aspects of formal DDR that can be informed by the preceding analysis: (i) sensitization and community preparedness; (ii) treatment of vulnerable groups; (iii) long-term physical and psychosocial rehabilitation; (iv) broad issues of GBV or harm against female reporters; (v) CDD; (vi) political reintegration, and (vii) the role of CFPs or successfully reintegrated reporters.

4.5.1 Sensitization: Family and community acceptance are important drivers of reintegration and as such DDR sensitization should effectively target the two with particular emphasis on acceptance of vulnerable groups.

4.5.2 Vulnerable groups: particularly female reporters would greatly benefit from a more comprehensive approach to sensitization but also to conflict resolution in families.

4.5.3 Ongoing rehabilitation of reporters, both physical and psycho-social, is crucial to enabling reporters to “catch-up” with other members of the community. Reporters, particularly those dependent on subsistence agriculture, are more vulnerable to food and income insecurity because of undiagnosed and untreated physical injuries. Trauma is widespread and may develop intergenerational aspects particularly for reporters’ children who were born while their parents were in captivity and who are subject to marginalization and exclusion.

4.5.4 Gender-based violence, while not fully discussed in this study, is a prevalent aspect of the marginalization of female reporters and it originates in families and between spouses. This violence is physical and psychological and builds on the often great trauma experienced by girls during captivity. It is a powerful inhibitor of reintegration. Consequently reintegration

programming should be strongly gender sensitive and contain some work targeting the eradication of GBV.

4.5.5 Community-drive development is one possible solution to the collection of interdependent environmental inhibitors of reintegration which trap reporters and non-reporters in income poverty. CDD can combat market stagnation and have important subsidiary effects such as strengthening social cohesion and the perceived value of local government. It would also increase the efficiency and effectiveness of training that has been provided to reporters for example, by GUSCO, and prevent those skills being unused and the physical infrastructure being redundant.

4.5.6 Citizenship, government and social awareness training is critical to ensure that political reintegration does not continue to lag behind social and economic reintegration. Citizenship training should encompass issues such as human rights, democracy, nation building and gender, and its goal should be preventative: ensuring that, should disputes arise within the community or the region, the risk of reporters taking up arms or return to insurgency is managed. This sort of programmatic support also assists reporters to engage with democratic and civil institutions.

4.5.7 When discussing those reporters who are having difficulty reintegrating, the reporters in the sample who are more successfully reintegrating sometimes label them as lazy, having poor morality, and anti-social. These are similar terms to how the community labels some reporters and are the same descriptions used by the small cohort in the community who describe reporters as threats to social stability and security.³⁰ The Amnesty Commission employs **Community Focal Points** to liaise with the community and reporters, and it would appear that the strategy could be widened to persuade reporters who have successfully reintegrated, including many of the CFPs, to be examples of how reintegration can work, thus contributing to combating stigma against other reporters. They could have a role in future community sensitization about reintegration particularly if for example, a CDD or NUSAF project was being initiated in a community and required participation of both reporters and non-reporters.

³⁰ See NCG, 2011 Reporter Reintegration and Community Dynamics Survey. Dr. Anthony Finn, NCG

