

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 WNBFB 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 WNBFB 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.