

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 re-introduced 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

