

## 2. Demographic and Core Indicators

Demographics captured in the study are: (i) gender; (ii) age; (iii) disability; (iv) health; (v) marriage and separation/divorce; (vi) household composition including functional head, and (v) educational achievement and training. Additional demographic information pertaining to: (i) membership of armed group; (ii) personal history of rebellion, and (iii) demobilization are gathered for reporters.

Conflict produces social disintegration including the fragmentation of family, communities and the broader society. A prerequisite of post-conflict recovery and a stated goal of the Ugandan DDR process since the creation of the Amnesty Act is social reintegration. As part of this, formerly fragmented networks must be made whole again and norms and processes resumed and cemented.

For reporters the challenges presented in the DDR process include re-entering fragmented units such as the family and the community, and over time being accepted there. They also include adopting and adhering to the accepted norms of the group and developing acceptance and social capital by being included in the accepted structures of the community (such as by being married and having a family). They involve contributing to the economic well-being of the community and not becoming dependent on social safety nets that have been severely compromised by the legacy of conflict.

In conflict, social disintegration affects all members of a community. Community members are forced to choose which faction they support and whether they will fight or not. Men often join the ranks of one fighting faction or another. This leads to the loss of fathers, husbands, and community leaders in many villages.

Upon joining a faction, individuals may break social ties, or they may be forced to break these ties through forced recruitment. The end result is the same: alienation from the community and the inability to look to the community for help or to rely on community safety nets. However, the complexity of the Ugandan conflict—in particular the huge number of rebel groups and the means through which people were enlisted—mean that reporters from different armed groups face different reintegration challenges and the severity of those challenges is varied. Older reporters from armed groups composed mainly of volunteers and reporters who spontaneously or formally demobilized in the past and were given amnesty between 2008 and 2011 face fewer challenges. More recently demobilized reporters, particularly those from the LRA, are particularly economically vulnerable and have faced more severe reintegration challenges with their families and relatives.

Through the re-establishment of community ties and the concomitant social and economic reintegration of reporters, the study's comparative analysis shows that reporters and community members largely share an understanding of the barriers that have been faced by reporters to contribute socially and economically to the community. There is a shared understanding that reporters are disadvantaged by educational and skills achievements and that such disadvantage can produce major barriers to full reintegration back into the community. There does not appear to be a general understanding that female reporters are more skilled or that they may face different reintegration barriers than male reporters. A very positive finding is that only a very small percentage of the community perceives reporters and their disadvantage as a resulting

risk of criminality. There appears to be an acceptance of reporters, and reporters and the community share similar economic and livelihood challenges. There is no evidence that reporters who were abducted were more likely to receive sympathy from the community; however the reporters from those armed groups which demobilized a long time ago and who had wider political support from the community tend to have reintegrated more successfully. Undoubtedly time is a driver of this reintegration but so is the historical communal support from the armed group, in particular UNRF.

## 2.1 Marriage and marriage breakdown

The aspects of the lives of reporters and community members discussed in this section are key indicators of reintegration and relate to the primary social units, networks and processes in society (marriage, the family, the household) as well as to the health and wellbeing of community members. This is useful not simply to get a profile of reporter and control groups (with the community/control group being useful in so far as it provides a baseline) but it also shows the stability or otherwise of these structures in society in their own right.

This aspect also points to how sub-groups in the community, particularly females, 18-30 year olds and older people, encounter barriers regarding these social units and how they navigate these barriers. The base indicators around health, marriage, family and education constitute the starting point for measuring integration, social inclusion and exclusion, security and insecurity (including food, physical, and psychosocial).

Marriage is an important step to rebuild community ties: it is the acquisition of the primary social unit, the basis of the family and in many cases 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 division<sup>6</sup>. For reporters, pathways to reintegration are available through the family, through gaining education and training, and through addressing health needs. This is also the case for communities.

There are definite gender and age dynamics which affect how female reporters experience barriers to reintegration and the frequency, particularly in ac-

cessing family networks through marriage. Female community members are significantly less likely to be married than male community members: female and male community members are more likely to be married than reporters.

Female community members, like their reporter counterparts, have far higher instances of divorce, separation and widowhood than the male cohorts. In the community divorce does not affect 18-30 year olds to any great degree. This compares favorably to the reporter survey where reporters in the 18-30 year old category have higher rates in all three surveyed forms of marriage breakdown. Older community members are far more likely to be divorced and less likely to be widowed compared to their reporter counterparts.

This displays that the community has a much higher instance of marriage and that those marriages are more stable. The community has less breakdown of this primary unit. For reporters there is a high frequency of marriage and partnership but it is less than in the community. Reporters have a higher marriage breakdown. While there is limited information about the causes of breakdown, the responses indicated that for just over one quarter of female reporters, marriage breakdown was due to specific trauma or issues directly related to the time spent in rebel groups compared to just under half of males. This indicates a possible risk of exclusion of female reporters. As is seen below, low educational attainment, low training and frequent personal finance problems, beleaguer female community members. The lack of marriage can exacerbate the survival strategies for those surveyed.

## 2.2 Educational achievement and training

Reporters and community are well integrated socially. They share a common understanding of the dynamics of their communities and the processes in which reporters must engage to catch up to other community members economically. This is evidenced by how both groups identify the following in similar proportions as key barriers to economic performance: (i) low literacy; (ii) inability to attain employment and look

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<sup>6</sup> 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.

**Table 3. Marital status (combined)**

What is your current marital status?	Reporter						Community				
	Male	Female	18-30 years	31-40 years	Over 40 years	Disabled reporter	Male	Female	18-30 years	31-40 years	Over 40 years
Married monogamous	46.6%	16.5%	28.8%	55.0%	38.9%	31.4%	56.0%	28.1%	35.7%	67.5%	50.0%
Married polygamous	24.6%	14.6%	8.3%	25.0%	34.2%	11.4%	18.4%	8.8%	6.0%	15.0%	30.4%
Living together	5.6%	6.8%	9.0%	6.0%	2.7%	10.0%	1.6%	5.3%	3.6%	5.0%	.0%
Divorced	.3%	1.0%	.0%	1.0%	.7%	1.4%	.0%	7.0%	1.2%	.0%	5.4%
Separated	3.6%	14.6%	10.3%	3.0%	4.7%	10.0%	.8%	3.5%	.0%	2.5%	3.6%
Widowed	2.0%	27.2%	2.6%	5.0%	16.8%	20.0%	1.6%	10.5%	.0%	5.0%	10.7%
Single child - never married	1.0%	.0%	1.9%	.0%	.0%	.0%	3.2%	5.3%	7.1%	.0%	.0%
Single adult - never married	16.4%	19.4%	39.1%	5.0%	2.0%	15.7%	18.4%	31.6%	46.4%	5.0%	.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>100.0%</b>
	<b>305</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>56</b>

after one's family and (iii) inability to participate in life and the community.

Community members have higher literacy rates than reporters both in reading and writing, and in read only or write only. Differences in literacy are increasingly striking across comparative groups: approximately one third of female reporters are fully literate in comparison to two thirds of female community members. Similarly approximately two thirds of male reporters are fully literate in comparison to most male community members. In an age group comparison, the most striking difference is between reporters in the 18-30 years bracket, where approximately half are literate in comparison to nearly all in the same age category in the community. As can be expected the current educational achievement level of comparative populations of reporter and community member reveals that a higher proportion of community members have a

higher standard of education. In Uganda, like other conflict situations, literacy is often established before the combatant takes up arms. However because of the abduction and young age of abductees in the Ugandan conflict, time spent in rebellion has also affected the literacy, educational achievement and training of reporters more than community members.

### **2.3 Land tenure, food security and conflict**

Reporters have successfully achieved an equal level of land access, land ownership and property ownership to that of their fellow community members. Reporters and community members broadly share the same dwelling type; the same modes of land ownership and have similar levels of access to arable land and livestock.

Community households have access to land both in the community where they live and beyond their current dwelling place. Approximately half of the community members have access to land in another area. This land is likely acquired through the regulated division of land rather than unregulated. This means they are likely to have more secure livelihoods strategies, because if the land or crop or livestock fail in the area where they live, they have the other area as a safety net. The community ownership of land is more buoyant (has a greater propensity to change) than that of reporters who tend to display more unchanging land ownership patterns. However when examining those reporters and community members who have less land, the main reason is regulated division, usually when land is shared among a family. More community members than reporters have lost land through unregulated land division. Twice as many community members than reporters lost land because of abandoning it due to drought. The likelihood is that poverty in rural areas is severe, and when drought affects the land, a household may have no option but to abandon the land. Half as many community members lost land because of encroachment of urban development when compared to reporters, possibly a result of housing being built on reporter land while they were away in insurgency.

Reflecting the rural location of many respondents, the majority of reporters live in a hut with very few living in substandard structures such as sheeting. There are a variety of ownership models and nearly two thirds of reporters own their dwelling. There is a high level of ownership security including for female reporters. ADF reporters are the most vulnerable in terms of land ownership. Across comparable demographics in reporter and community samples, there are similarities regarding security of tenure. These similarities reveal that reporters and community members broadly share the same property type, issues and land ownership dynamics indicating that in terms of land security there is parity. Reporters and community members broadly share the same dwelling type, the same issue modes of land ownership, and have similar levels of access to arable land and livestock.

Where circumstances differ for reporters is in relation to the experience of hunger and nutritional deprivation. Despite similar levels of access to land, reporters are twice as likely to go hungry than community

members. It is likely that there is a gender dynamic to the reporter food insecurity as female reporters are far more likely to be food insecure than their counterparts in the community or than any other sub-group of reporters.

Regarding livestock, all groups in the community have more livestock than their reporter counterparts, but the acquisition and loss patterns are similar to those in reporter groups. There are similar ratios across community and reporter responses but older community members experience the biggest difference with their reporter counterparts.

Regarding food poverty, community members and reporters were surveyed around: (i) frequency queuing for free food; (ii) receipt of charitable food donations; (iii) hustling or begging, and (iv) rummaging in rubbish bins for food. Across all responses there were similarities between community and reporters. Female community members are likely to be part of a household with serious food poverty: 7.0% in households where someone *often* goes hungry and 63.2% in households where someone *seldom* goes hungry. This compares with 3.8% of female reporters in a household where someone *always* goes hungry, 32.7% in a household where someone *often* goes hungry and 41.3% in a household where someone *seldom* goes hungry.

Levels of hunger differ between reporter and community: reporters are twice as likely to go hungry often compared to community members. Similarly female reporters are far most prone to hunger than their counterparts in the community. This highlights the food insecurity of reporters and in particular households with female reporters. Based on this analysis it is evident that reporters and community members are well integrated in terms of land ownership and security. Reporters however, continue to exhibit greater food insecurity than their counterparts in the community.

Reporter and community members share a positive perception of security. They agree on key indicators of safety and the likelihood of a return to conflict. The study finds that 84.6% of reporters and 79.4% of community members confirm they never hear gunshots. Only 16.4% of reporters and 17.8% of community members identify that a return to conflict is likely. Conflicts that have arisen in communities were every-

day disagreements and quarrels, which are resolved without resorting to violence. However a small cohort of reporters (12.4%) and community members (7.7%) identify that if they were engaged in a serious argument, they would resort to physical violence. Female reporters are more likely to resort to violence (14.4%) as are 18-30 year old reporters (17.8%). These demographics correspond with the community sample where 8.8% of females and 10.7% of 18-30 year olds identify that if they were engaged in a serious argument they would resort to physical violence to resolve the conflict. Reporters have largely divested themselves of command structures and have very little contact with former commanders. They have replaced these structures with the support of family and a diverse body of friends. Because of this there are grounds for understanding that there is a positive outlook for peace and security in the communities studied.

Regarding the perception of war affectedness, there is a similarity between reporter and community samples: approximately half of reporters and community members identify that the area in which they currently live was more affected by the war than other areas. There is similarity between reporter and community perception of security: the same high proportion of nearly all community members and reporters identify their area as safe. Also, there is similarity across perceptions of the effect of having reporters residing in the area: approximately half of reporters and community state that having reporters in their areas increases the safety of the area. These perceptions are strong indicators of reintegration.

To compound the findings that reporters and community perceive a very low security threat, firearm penetration is also low with both groups having the same perception. Similarly large proportions of reporters and community identify that they never hear gunshots where they live. Proportionally reporters and community share similar perceptions about the likelihood of a return to violence.

## **2.4 Additional reintegration dimensions**

### **2.4.1. Factional dimensions**

Following the dissolution of former command structures, an analysis of attitudinal dynamics find that very similar percentages of reporters and community

members would hypothetically consider marrying a reporter: in other words for just over half of reporters and half of civilians there is no conflict or reporter-related barrier to marrying someone formerly from a rebel group.

However, both reporters and community members who indicated that they would not marry a reporter identified similar reasons: stigma, fear of reporters and the unknown character of individual reporters as a result of poor cultural or community linkages. Despite this, the percentage willing to inter-marry is a healthy indicator of inclusion.

In reality community members are far more likely to be married to a civilian than a reporter with the most striking comparative statistic being between female community members and female reporters: 88.5% of female community members are married to a civilian (compared to 87.5% of males) in comparison to 54.0% of female reporters. Similarly 7.7% of female community members are married to reporters (compared to 3.4% of males) in comparison to 42.0% of female reporters. What is unusual about this is how it relates to the wider social networks of reporters: reporters tend to have few reporter friends: over half of female reporters indicate this (see annexes 1 and 2, sections 4). So the question is: how do reporters have such a high reporter-to-reporter marriage ratio when their social networks are so much more diverse. There may be additional barriers to marriage that are not identified by this study. There is no data to identify whether reporters married while in an armed group or when leaving the armed group. However the response to the question about the use of the reinsertion payment shows that only four reporters used it to get married or towards the engagement.

### **2.4.2 Economic dimensions**

Reporters are disproportionately subject to marriage breakdown. Marriage into a stable family unit with diverse social networks and family support networks is a step on the ladder to financial and economic sustainability and so marriage breakdown is a disintegration of those structures regardless of how established they may have been.

A barrier to economic reintegration is educational achievement and training. Reporter disadvantage in literacy and educational achievement is clear. The

overall impact of this on economic reintegration, livelihood and income generation does not appear now to be as significant as it might once have been (see Section 3). However, this is no guarantee that the impact won't be greater if the development context in many communities improves, particularly given how far 18-30 year old reporters are behind the community. The high illiteracy level of 31-40 year old reporters compared to the same group in the community also points to the current challenges in this group being economically productive and as advanced in terms of livelihoods and access to credit as their community counterparts – both key areas where they lag behind (see Section 3).

### **2.4.3 Social dimensions**

Reporters and community members are reconciled since both would consider marrying a member of the other group. However, the reality is that marriage between reporters and civilians has a pattern whereby the significant majority of 18-30 year old communi-

ty members are not married. Similarly the majority of male reporters state they do not wish to marry a female reporter. Consequently female reporters are most likely to be married to a reporter.

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. WNBF reporters do not get involved with other reporters. Only 6.9% of WNBF reporters had ever (past and present) been involved with a reporter, compared to the LRA at 26.4%, ADF at 37.5% and UNRF at 25%.

It is difficult to hypothesize about the reasons why female reporters are by far most likely to be married to a reporter and why it is so different to the experiences of male reporters. The outcome is however that female reporters are somewhat doubly disadvantaged by tending to be in exclusively reporter marriages and so more likely to be exposed to the social and economic risks associated with being a reporter.