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UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

**An exploration of the post-conflict integration of
children born in captivity living in the Lord's Resistance
Army war-affected areas of Uganda**

by

EUNICE AKULLO

Thesis for the degree of a Doctor of Philosophy in Politics and International
Relations

[NOVEMBER, 2019]

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

ABSTRACT

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EUNICE AKULLO

This thesis explores the extent to which existing national transitional justice policy frameworks structuring reintegration and integration interventions enable the effective or successful integration of children born in captivity (CBIC) in Uganda. These children were born to females subjected to 'forced marriage' to Lord's Resistance Army soldiers while in captivity. Now living among the post-conflict communities of integration, the CBIC experience unresolved problems of stigma and discrimination. The thesis attributes part of the reason for this to a failure to distinguish between integration and reintegration as distinct processes in both academic analysis, policy and practice. Therefore, this thesis argues the need to distinguish between the processes, and contributes by developing a framework that can help the understanding of integration as experienced by Uganda's CBIC. Secondly, the thesis responds to the scarcity of information on how reparation can address the plight of these children by suggesting a broad approach. This approach would enable both recognition and redistribution in response to the integration plight of CBIC living in Uganda. Therefore, this thesis has implications for academia, policy and practice.

Empirical research was conducted among three post-conflict communities in Uganda using a combination of qualitative research methods in in-depth fieldwork that explored the integration of these children. The findings were analysed using qualitative content analysis and the outcomes presented in two sets of empirical chapters – one on integration and the other on reparations claims for these children. The empirical chapters from the three sub-regions consulted reflect the relevance of ensuring effective or successful integration for both CBIC and post-conflict communities of integration.

The thesis concludes with the claim that, in fragile contexts where suitable transitional justice options for CBIC are not considered or adopted, existing policy and programme interventions encourage only a 'shallow and unsustainable integration'. This requires a distinct conceptualisation and response to integration to enable the interventions to respond to the specificities of CBIC as beneficiaries of the process. By contrast, when reparations address the needs of CBIC, they foster recognition and redistribution, thereby leading to an improvement in integration towards a deep and sustainable state.

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List of Accompanying Materials

NVivo

Academic Thesis: Declaration Of Authorship

I, **Eunice Akullo** declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

Exploring the Integration of Children Born in Captivity to LRA-abducted Females Living in Post-conflict Areas Affected by the LRA War, Uganda

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission
8. Signed:

Date: 02/11/2019

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the PhD funding provided by the University of Southampton for the Caroline Thomas Studentship. Without this support, I would never have accomplished this project by this time. I specially recognise the support of my core supervisors - Assoc Prof. Pia Riggirozzi and Dr. Ingi Iusmen- for the devotion and support through the different phases of the PhD. In addition, I thank other staff Prof. Vicky Hosegood, Prof. Chris Armstrong and Prof. David Owen for the additional research guidance they provided.

I recognise the institutional and individual support from Uganda before and after the fieldwork. These include Justice and Reconciliation Project (Gulu), Parliament Watch Uganda and my gatekeepers (Charles, Robert and Fred). My gratitude extends to the research participants in each of the sub-regions I visited. To those in Acholi - Afoyo Matek! In Lango - Apwoyo Atek! In Teso - Eyalama Noi! To those in Kampala - Thank you!

To my parents, thank for all the support and advice along the way. I particularly recognise my mother's help with the translations of the focus group discussion and the mentorship of my deceased father. I appreciate the career guidance and support on the PhD journey provided by my mentors, Prof. Michael Mawa and Prof. Paul Omach.

Finally, I acknowledge my family and friends, in both Uganda and the UK, whose encouragement and support in both academic and non-academic forms made the completion of this project possible. I am particularly recognise Alfred, Ben, Catherine, Caxton, Charles, Doreen, Eddie, Elaine, Elizabeth, Faith, Fenella, Hilary, Ian, Irene, Michael, Mom, Penny, Ronald and Sarah for taking time to read my work at different stages.

Abbreviations

CAR	Central African Republic
CBIC	Children born in captivity
CHIBOW	Children Born of War
CPA	Concerned Parents Association
CPRS	Child Protection and Recovery Strategy
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CRSV	Conflict-related Sexual Violence
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DDR	Demobilisation Disarmament and Reintegration
FAPAD	Foundation for Peace and Development
FAPs	Formerly Abducted Persons
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GoU	Government of Uganda
HIV/AIDS	Human Immune Deficiency Syndrome/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HSM	Holy Spirit Movement
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICISS	International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty
ICTJ	International Centre for Transitional Justice
IDP	Internally Displaced People's Camps

JRP	Justice and Reconciliation Project
KICHWA	Kitgum Concerned Women’s Initiative
LRA	Lord’s Resistance Army
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
NRA/M	National Resistance Army/Movement
NURP	Northern Uganda Reconstruction Programme
NUSAF	Northern Uganda Social Action Fund
OCHER	Obalanga Human Rights Health Care Association
OVC	Orphan and Vulnerable Children
PPG	Paris Principles and Guidelines
PRDP	Peace Recovery and Development Programme
R2P	Responsibility to Protect
SJ	Social Justice
SPLA/M	Sudan People’s Liberation Army/Movement
TJ	Transitional Justice
TFV	Trust Fund for Victims
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDPKO	United Nations Department of Peace Keeping Operations
UNICEF	United Nations Children Fund
UPDF	Uganda People’s Defence Forces
UWESO	Uganda Women’s Effort to Save Orphans

Introduction

The thesis argues how and why recognition of integration is germane to both policy and academia. A failure to recognise integration and reintegration as distinct concepts leads to attendant failure to recognise and respond to the diversity of children and issues included in integration. Moreover, a failure to realise the ideal ends of integration sought by interventions jeopardises the results of such interventions, especially when some of the children born in captivity (CBIC) prefer to return to life among armed forces due to the problematic state of their integration.

The thesis explores the integration of CBIC and seeks answers to two interlinked research questions:

1. To what extent and in what ways do existing policy frameworks for reintegration support effective integration of children born in captivity?
2. How would reparations respond to the integration plight of Uganda's children born in captivity?

These children's state of integration indicates that, in fragile contexts where suitable transitional justice (TJ) options for CBIC are not considered or adopted, existing policy and programme interventions lie behind a problematic state of integration. The failure to distinguish between integration and reintegration leads to interventions that do not respond to the specificities of CBIC. By contrast, when reparations address the needs of CBIC, they foster recognition and redistribution, thereby fostering an improvement in integration towards the ideal or successful state sought by the interventions.

This thesis supports current calls to recognise these children, among other children born of conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV), as subjects in their own right rather than as appendages of their mothers. The argument aims to ensure an adequate response to them as rights bearers rather than as symbols or evidence of the atrocities leading to

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their conception. While this is true, there is also a need to recognise their integration, as distinct from the reintegration of their mothers, in both practice and in academic analysis. Although integration and reintegration frequently occur at the same time, overlooking the difference between them gives rise to interventions that fail to target the specificities of CBIC in the integration process. While integration connotes a transition to a completely new community, reintegration refers to a return to a community that one was previously part of. The case of Uganda's CBIC reveals that approaching integration and reintegration as similar/interlinked partly explains the problematic state of integration that they experience. This state of integration is characterised by stigma and discrimination.

Reintegration is a concept and process associated with their parents of CBIC, abducted as children by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). Their parents were child soldiers. The definition of child soldiers applies to:

Any person under 18 years of age who is part of any kind of regular or irregular armed force or armed group in any capacity, including but not limited to cooks, porters, messengers and anyone accompanying such groups, other than purely as family members. The definition includes girls recruited for sexual purposes and forced marriage... does not only refer to a child who is carrying or has carried weapons.¹

The definition caters for children associated with armed forces or armed groups, regardless of whether they join voluntarily or involuntarily and irrespective of whether or not they participate in combat activities. The forced conscription of children into the LRA makes many of them meet the criteria of 'child soldiers', although they are frequently also presented as 'formerly abducted children/persons' in existing literature. Therefore, reintegration effectively captures the fact that their mothers once belonged to the communities to which they return.

Existing literature indicates that the CBIC experience stigma and discrimination following their transition from life among the LRA to these new post-conflict communities in Uganda. While definitions may

¹ See [https://www.unicef.org/emerg/files/Cape_Town_Principles\(1\).pdf](https://www.unicef.org/emerg/files/Cape_Town_Principles(1).pdf)

mean different things, this thesis adopts the definition of stigma and discrimination provided by Bergmans (2017). According to her, stigma in the context of children born of war/CRSV refers to:

The process by which individuals are labelled as deviant and are targets of negative stereotypes, leading to discrimination and systematic exclusion from certain domains of life, because these individuals possess a particular characteristic or are a member of a particular group. (Bergmans, 2017: 28)

She explains that the deviance is related to the link to the broken cultural norms that these children illustrate – lacking a recognised identity among their maternal communities, in patriarchal societies. The second norm relates to their conception in a kind of sexual act that is frowned upon – sex in the bush. The negative labels or stereotypes depict the community's response to such deviance and subsequently leads to discrimination and exclusion from participation in aspects of community life, benefiting from rights such as food, clothing and education and ownership/use of cultural resources such as land.

She defines discrimination as:

The unfair, negative treatment of persons or groups on the basis of a perceived or ascribed trait [leading to the] denial for certain individuals to participate fully in social and economic life. The disadvantage can include both economic injustice and cultural injustice. (Bergmans, 2017: 50)

In Uganda, reintegration in practice takes place as part of transitional justice (TJ). The thesis adopts Hansen's (2014) definition of TJ as mechanisms used to address human rights violations occurring during armed conflict. The mechanisms may range from retributive approaches, such as trials, to restorative approaches such as traditional justice (cleansing rituals). In Uganda, reintegration involved cleansing rituals. The rituals are inadequate for integration because they do not address sexual violence (Carlson & Mazurana, 2008; Porter, 2013). The identity of CBIC makes them victims of stigma through sentiments expressed by victims of the atrocities of their parents (Akello, G., 2013) and reparations are the recommended best TJ remedy for them. However, there is a scarcity of literature analysing how reparations can

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improve the integration state of these children. This thesis contributes to the closure of this gap by adopting elements of Verdeja's (2008) theory that advocates for reparations through recognition and redistribution.

The case of these children's integration confirms a view held by some scholars that the dominant approaches to TJ prioritise remedies for violations of civil and political rights at the expense of remedies linked to social, economic and cultural rights. The experiences of stigma and discrimination linked to cultural non-recognition illustrate the importance of TJ approaches, able to respond to victims of violations under the social, economic and cultural category. Reparations as social justice interventions would aim at addressing both stigma and discrimination, with possibilities of improving the current integration state of these children. Furthermore, from a normative perspective, being adequately integrated would protect these children from being vulnerable to recruitment by the LRA, which is still at large. Some of the existing literature indicates that some CBIC feel a better sense of belonging among the LRA than they do in communities of integration, meaning that they could return to an armed group.

Why the recognition of integration as a distinct process is important

The lack of distinction between integration and reintegration is a problem in practice because it affects the ability to structure interventions for effective/successful integration. The same lack of distinction in theory (analytical frameworks) presents a puzzle for the theoretical community. The failure to distinguish integration from reintegration affects the conceptualisation of integration.

Academically, in most literature, equating integration to reintegration leads to a failure to recognise CBIC as subjects pursuing a process that is in some aspects different from the reintegration of their mothers.

Reintegration depicts a process in which mothers to CBIC (child soldiers) return to the communities to which they once belonged. Integration, on the other hand, indicates a situation in which CBIC join new communities for the first time. There are definitions in policy and academic literature of the reintegration of children formerly associated with armed forces, but it is hard to find a definition for the integration of CBIC. Part of this is because of the focus on child soldiers and the conceptualisation of integration as a process similar/linked to reintegration. This thesis argues that any analysis of integration of CBIC as subjects requires a conceptual distinction between integration and reintegration.

In addition, given the link between the integration challenges of CBIC and their TJ plight, any theorising of reparations needs to ensure appropriate remedies to their experience of stigma and discrimination. Secondly, the reparations need to address the impact of such stigma and on the status of these children. This is because the status of these children – often linked to their identity and experiences of captivity – places them at a disadvantage to children with no links to LRA captivity.

In practice, when policies that structure interventions prioritise reintegration, they fail to address the specificities of children involved in the integration process. At a global level, the Paris Principles and Guidelines (PPG, 2007) structure interventions for reintegration and integration. While the policy recognises that children born to such mothers are susceptible to experiences of stigma and discrimination (Guideline 7.31), the content of the policy focuses on reintegration. The policy also focuses on reintegration and present CBIC as evidence of sexual violence committed against their mothers during the time of their association with armed forces and groups.

Several key aspects of the policy are relevant to integration. For example, the 'vital core' elements of dignity, livelihood and survival can only lead to better integration outcomes when they specifically target integration and address the specificities of that process as it relates to

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children born to reintegrating mothers. For instance, Guideline 2.8 stipulates that interventions should ensure the ability to 'maintain life', 'enable dignity' and 'enable livelihoods'. The policy also emphasises the importance of parity between those transitioning from life among armed forces and their peers in the new communities. In order to realise the above ends, interventions should assist the beneficiaries to realise several goals. The goals are captured in Guidelines 7.47, 7.48, 7.69 and 7.75. They include personal esteem, self-worth and confidence through educational, livelihood, skills enhancement, interaction with the community (community service) and psychosocial support to address trauma. Since CBIC experience stigma and discrimination, it is clear that there is a lack of interventions to boost parity between them and their peers, and their inability to realise the human security 'vital core' elements of dignity, livelihood and survival. This is because part of the problem of discrimination is the denial of access to communally owned resources, such as land.

The Demobilisation Disarmament and Reintegration (DDR) agreement between the Government of Uganda and the LRA (2008) acknowledges the Paris Principles and Guidelines (2007) as the guide to reintegration. Prior to the signing of this agreement, the Amnesty Act (2000–08) guided reintegration by providing guidelines for Demobilisation Disarmament and Reintegration. Amnesty was a TJ option used by the Government of Uganda to offer blanket forgiveness to all persons formerly associated with armed forces who surrendered to the state. Through the partnership between the army (Uganda Peoples Defence Forces/UPDF) and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) aiding reintegration (reception centres), persons formerly associated with the LRA were reintegrated/integrated. The focus on reintegration led to targeting mothers of CBIC in the hope that their children would benefit from this assistance.

Reception centres/rehabilitation centres operationalised the reintegration process that emerged from the Amnesty Act. Local and

international NGOs offered rehabilitation and enabled family reunification in the reception centres. Family reunification ceremonies were held when the reception centres traced the relatives of reintegrating or integrating persons. These ceremonies include cultural cleansing rituals or prayers to acknowledge/celebrate the return of the person to their community. Despite the usefulness of these ceremonies, they proved inadequate in the integration of CBIC. This is because cultural rituals are inadequate to address sexual violence. The result is the failure of adopted TJ options to address the TJ needs of CBIC. As secondary victims – children born to victims of sexual violence – their TJ needs emerge from the social injustices that they experience because of their identity. Furthermore, since CBIC are born outside wedlock, they are culturally not recognised as members of the communities of integration. With such non-recognition comes exclusion from the social-economic resources held by the clan as cultural custodians/institutions.

Following such family reunification processes, CBIC experience stigma and discrimination in communities of integration. These experiences reflect the problematic nature of their integration. The problem is partly due to the failure of policies that have enabled integration in Uganda to recognise and target integration as a distinct process. Secondly, their integration challenges are reflected in the inability of adopted TJ mechanisms to respond to their war-related plight. Although reparations are suggested as the ideal TJ option that they require, there is scarcity of literature showing how such reparations address their integration plight.

Therefore as argued earlier, any policy intervention and academic analysis of the integration of CBIC needs to acknowledge the problematic conceptualisation of integration as a proxy process. It also needs to consider the TJ context within which these children integrate. This context is characterised by cultural non-recognition and post-war sentiments of victims of the atrocities of their parents. Thus, where

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stigma and discrimination occur, reparations need to address their impact in order to improve the integration of CBIC. These views are summarised in two interrelated arguments advanced by the thesis. They emerge from the review of literature and the analysis of empirical findings.

Thesis Argument 1

The first argument put forward by this thesis is that the existing policy frameworks in Uganda are structuring practices that have led to a 'shallow and unsustainable' integration of CBIC. This is problematic, because they limit the opportunities for 'deep and sustainable integration' of these children into society. Consequently, there are unresolved problems of stigma and discrimination.

As already explained, the policy frameworks adopted in Uganda focus on the formerly abducted (including the mothers of these children), situating CBIC as appendages of their mothers of captivity. By narrowly targeting the mothers, interventions assume that through mothers, the children will be helped as well. This is problematic because, while for their mothers you can talk about reintegration, these children are integrating (moving to a new community) for the first time. Thus, there is limited focus on the specificities of these children as they integrate. The lack of effective integration explained in Argument 1 links to Argument 2.

Thesis Argument 2

The lack of attention to the specificities of CBIC, as a category of children associated with armed forces or groups, compromises their TJ and chance of realising effective integration (deep and sustainable) in the long term.

While reparations are the recommended TJ option for children born of CRSV, a review of the literature indicates the scarcity of literature on how reparations respond to CBIC. The existing literature indicates that

most social justice approaches focus on material reparations or redistribution. Reparations of these kinds are suitable for responding to the material (economic, social and physical infrastructural) needs of these children – resulting from discriminatory tendencies. However, some scholars argue for a broader social justice perspective to reparations, one that addresses both recognition (symbolic reparations) and redistribution. The reason given is that a broad approach would respond to the various aspects of social injustice. Therefore, since the integration challenges of these children involve the experience of stigma and discrimination, this thesis supports a broader approach: reparations to address both recognition and redistribution. Elements of Verdeja's (2008) theory of reparations are adopted to argue for the need to confront the challenges of stigma (recognition) and discrimination (redistribution) experienced by CBIC. By doing so, the prospects may increase for these children to move towards successful integration in the long term.

Note on the researcher and the research

My interest in the topic emerges from my professional and life experiences prior to the commencement of the PhD. I previously researched child soldiers for my Master's degree dissertation, published an article on how former child soldiers use university education to capture lost opportunities through child soldiering, and participated in research on TJ in Northern Uganda during the time of displacement. Therefore, the opportunity provided by the Caroline Thomas Studentship for a research related to human security (HS) matched prospects for exploring the integration of Uganda's CBIC. In addition, I hail from a village that suffered the abduction of children. Since some of my distant relatives suffered abduction and returned with CBIC, it certainly influenced my positionality and my choice of research. As I did not grow up in that village, some of the research participants never regarded me as a 'complete insider' to the post-conflict environment. In fact, one respondent told me that my accent as I spoke the native

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language made it easy for someone to tell that I did not grow up in the community. My positionality, as neither a complete insider nor outsider, influenced my access to the research areas and the information obtained in the empirical study undertaken. The person who I am (as a citizen and from professional experience) therefore made it possible for me to adopt the methodological approach used. It also played an important role in the methodological decisions that I made while in the field.

The study adopts a qualitative case study design to explore the integration of Uganda's CBIC as a *particularistic case*² (Merriam, 2014). Its suitability for studying sensitive topics led the researcher to opt for a case study design. Moreover, the literature situates case study design as appropriate to explore phenomena with a limited amount of information and for providing thick descriptions that may enable the transfer of vital aspects of the case to other contexts.³

The empirical findings of this research emerged from the analysis of research data obtained qualitatively, using a combination of methods such as interviews, focus group discussions, a journal/diary and documents obtained from the field (Uganda). The fieldwork sites constituted six districts (Gulu, Lira, Oyam, Amuria, Kaberamaido, and Kampala), sampled among the broader former LRA war-affected area. The selected districts appear on the World Health Organisation Strategy Report (Uganda, 2006) as areas of abduction and internal displacement. These districts constituted the marked areas of operations of various institutions that were offering humanitarian and later development

² A particularistic case is one that addresses specific events, phenomenon or situations.

³ There may be prospects of transferring the knowledge from this case to situations where children have been recruited as *child soldiers* and the females given birth to children, due to such association with armed forces. Furthermore, the presence of the LRA in other Africa countries, albeit with reports of recruitment of children in those areas. Given some of the similarities in African culture, some of the issues affecting children born in captivity in Uganda may be similar to experiences of those children as they integrate in their countries.

assistance to the war-affected communities.⁴ The sample of areas within the districts visited depended on accessibility to respondents and the presence of NGOs working with persons formerly associated with the LRA.

I obtained information on the integration of CBIC through a combination of various data collection methods (interviewing, focus group discussions and reflexive notes in a diary/journal). While conducting fieldwork, relevant grey literature (policy documents) were also obtained. The empirical data were analysed using a qualitative content method because of its relevance to developing concepts. In this case, it was useful for developing a framework for analysing integration as a distinct concept from reintegration.

Significance of this study

This thesis contributes to advancing knowledge in literature on the normative frameworks for the protection of war-affected children, children born of CRSV, reparations and human security. It also makes empirical and policy contributions.

Prior to the emergence of the Principles of Global Action: Preventing and addressing the stigma associated with CRSV (2018), most of the legal and policy frameworks were relevant to child soldiers but did not offer adequate protection for CBIC as a category of children associated with armed forces or armed groups. The frameworks included the Paris Commitments to protect children from unlawful recruitment or use by armed forces or armed groups, 2007; Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflict, 2002. Frameworks prior to the 2018 Principles implicitly respond to CBIC and their integration as part of their mothers' plight

⁴ The districts were Kitgum, Gulu and Pader in Acholi sub-region, Lira in Lango sub-region, Kaberamaido, Soroti and Katakwi in Teso sub-region. The presence of NGOs and other actors who were involved in assisting war-affected persons partly shaped the choice of the areas visited for fieldwork.

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and reintegration, respectively. Given the outcome of such conceptualisations for the integration of these children, this thesis argues the need for policies to recognise the subjectivity of CBIC and respond to the specificities of their integration. Doing so would possibly enable better outcomes from interventions for integration.

The empirical findings on the integration of CBIC confirm the need to recognise integration as a distinct process so that interventions can address the different issues and opportunities that accrue to the various categories of CBIC. The findings also reveal that CBIC undertake different pathways to integration. The findings on reparations indicate the need for both recognition and redistribution as solutions to the integration challenges of CBIC. One of the lessons learned from research in the three sub-regions of research is that there is need to protect CBIC against exploitation that may arise from situations that make them vulnerable to recruitment as child soldiers. This applies to cases of children, especially young adults, who prefer life among the LRA to the unresolved stigma and discrimination in their communities of integration. Given the presence of the LRA in some of the Great Lakes region of African countries, the failure to respond to their current integration challenges makes them prone to future abduction. This reiterates concerns expressed by the Gracia Machel report (1996):

Many children conceived as a result of rape are aborted before birth, and others are killed in infancy...The survivors are vulnerable to all the perils of other displaced, orphaned, and stigmatised children in regions of turmoil. They are more likely to become child soldiers, child labourers, and exploited sexual slaves as cycles of war and peace turn. (McEvoy-Levy, 2007: 149–50)

Both the United Nations⁵ and the Government of Uganda have expressed concerns over the LRA's impact on regional security in the Great Lakes region. The parliamentary discussion around children born of war (Republic of Uganda Parliamentary Debates: Hansard, 3 April 2014) framed these children's plight along regional security concerns. Hence, this study's findings reiterate the need to protect CBIC and other

⁵ <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=42363#.WQi6LX08Y7En> accessed on 02/05/2017.

vulnerable children from possible recruitment into armed forces in a situation of fragile peace and security.

The implication of the empirical findings supports the need for policy frameworks and other guidelines, such as the Principles of Global Action: Preventing and addressing the stigma associated with CRSV (2018), necessary for structuring integration and addressing the challenges experiences by CBIC. Such a policy would maintain important elements entrenched in the PPG (2007), such as the importance of the 'vital core' in structuring and reflecting effective integration. A deliberate focus on integration would ensure the attendant structuring of interventions structured by the three needs of CBIC – love (survival), esteem (livelihood) and respect (dignity). The outcomes would also ensure that integration enables relationships of mutual recognition/acceptance between the integrating children and the new communities where they reside. The policy would ensure parity between the integrating children and other children in the community. Interventions would ensure parity in both status (addressing prospects of identity-related stigma) and participation (access to things or prospects that enable everyday living as citizens co-existing with other citizens). Furthermore, the findings on reparations could feed into national guidelines designed to ensure reparations for victims of the LRA war, including CBIC.

Academically, the integration of CBIC indicates the need for the post-conflict literature on transitional justice to pay attention to indirect victims, besides focusing on primary victims. The reparations required for CBIC indicate the need for broad TJ mechanisms in order to address the various facets of war - economic, political, social and cultural. These would ensure that secondary victims are not disadvantaged by the TJ approaches adopted. Therefore, it supports the literature on social justice interventions as part of TJ's need to ensure post-conflict stability. Within this literature, scholars argue against the predominant focus on remedies to civil and political violations, as opposed to social,

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economic and cultural violations (Andrieu, 2010; Arbour, 2007; Mani, 2008). The case of CBIC indicates the importance of integration as part of post-conflict stability of communities recovering from armed conflict.

The second academic contribution is to the literature on HS. The thesis extends the 'vital core' as an analytic framework for integration. Using the arguments of Honneth (1995) for 'self-realisation' and social integration, this thesis extends the HS 'vital core' concept to enable the analysis of integration as a distinct process. The similarities between the 'vital core' and the three forms of recognition required for 'self-realisation' justify the application of the 'vital core' approach. This approach to integration contributes to the literature on HS by illustrating its usefulness. It also supports the view of HS advanced by Thomas (2001) regarding the ability of human security to guarantee the dignity of persons (in this case, CBIC) and meet their material needs as a way of securing a meaningful life for them in a community. Therefore, the extended 'vital core' analyses integration as a distinct process.

A third academic contribution is methodological, and relates to researching these children as a vulnerable and hidden population. It is relevant to discourses in support of the non-inclusion of vulnerable persons in a study, if including them may have more negative than positive consequences. The sensitivity and complex social, ethnic and political issues around the integration of CBIC affect their involvement as participants in a research. The outcome of using the 'seeded' focus group method, previously used in HIV/AIDS research and adjusted to enable research on integration of CBIC, provides possibilities for using this approach in focus group discussions. As applied in this study, it allows people who live at homesteads with these children to participate in group discussion. It also allows for the inclusion of social workers in the focus group to capture the experience of work with CBIC. Also, the social workers are engaged as a back-up professional resource in the event that their services are needed during or after the group discussions on a sensitive topic. The experience and outcome of

adopting the method present a chance for a researcher who is not an 'insider' in a community of sensitive research to use it to capture views on a sensitive topic.

Chapter outlines

This thesis is comprised of 12 chapters. Chapter 1 contextualises the plight of Uganda's CBIC through their historical emergence, and the policy and programme interventions enabling integration. It describes these children and uses a historical and contextual background to explain their existence and current plight.

Chapter 2 reviews literature from various academic disciplines that are useful for understanding how these children are conceptualised. It also analyses existing frameworks for analysing integration. The review process indicates how this thesis engages with existing debates and claims. It also identifies gaps in the literature and explains how the thesis contributes to filling those gaps. The chapter suggests the possibility of extending the human security (HS) concept of the 'vital core', which philosophically justifies using elements of Honneth's (1995) explanation of recognition for social integration. One of the contributions is the use of empirical research in pursuit of answers to the research questions identified and to establish the possible relevance of the 'extended vital core' approach. Secondly, the review discovered that, despite the recommendation of reparations as the ideal TJ option for children born of CRSV, there is a scarcity of literature on how reparations address the needs of CBIC. Therefore, the thesis adopts elements of Verdeja's (2008) critical theory of reparative justice. His social justice approach seeks to enable recognition and redistribution. This offers a prospective remedy to the problems occurring to CBIC'S current state of integration.

Chapter 3 presents the research design and methodology. The choice of a case study design was justified and the various qualitative research

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methods used for data collection explained. The thesis does not include CBIC as participants in the study because of their vulnerability and the researcher's deficiency of skills required to engage with them as participants. In order to address this challenge, the researcher used the 'seeded' focus group method to capture the experiences of these children's integration by including people whom they live with as participants in the study. Hence, a combination of focus groups and other qualitative data collection methods, such as key informant interviews and diary/journal observation notes, constitutes the data collection method. The chapter also discusses the ethical considerations involved in the study, validity and reliability checks and limitations of a case study design. Lastly, using a brief, reflexive account of the fieldwork experience, the researcher explains her position in relation to the research topic and process.

Chapters 4 to 7 respond to the first research question and discuss the integration of these children using empirical findings from the research conducted in three sub-regions of Uganda. Chapter 4 covers the integration experiences in Acholi. In Chapter 5, integration experiences in Lango are explained, while Chapter 6 discusses the integration of CBIC living in the Teso sub-region. Chapter 7 provides a summary of the lessons learned from the findings in all three sub-regions. It draws upon the similarities and differences observed to provide an overall understanding of what the integration of these children is like in Uganda. Overall, Chapters 4 to 6 reveal that CBIC experience a problematic integration through experiences of stigma and discrimination that eventually affect their survival. In Chapter 7, this type of integration is dubbed 'shallow and unsustainable', while the optimum form of integration sought is referred to as 'deep and sustainable'. Chapter 7 is important, because it advances a framework for analysing integration using three broad sub-categories observed in the data. Since the framework is analysed using the qualitative data, the thesis argues that the framework serves as a preliminary lens that

can be used to analyse integration from an 'extended vital core' approach, even with quantitative approaches.

Chapters 8 to 11 respond to the second research question and use empirical findings from the three sub-regions to discuss how reparations can respond to the plight of CBIC. Chapter 8 to 10 discuss the empirical findings from Acholi, Lango and Teso respectively. The chapters relate to the perceptions that respondents had of TJ to their quest for reparations, presented through claims advanced to justify how and why reparations to these children should be made. It is mostly hoped that reparations may emerge from either retributive processes (the outcomes of the ongoing trials in Uganda and The Hague), and some respondents have hope in a truth-telling process (should the government allow this to take place). In Chapter 11, the general observations from the three sub-regions are presented. They include claims of reparations that broadly address material and symbolic reparations, on the one hand, and this category of children and other groups on the other. In addition, the agency of these children in reparations claims emerged in the findings. It is argued that they need to actively participate as both claimants and witnesses, albeit taking the necessary ethical considerations to ensure that participation is in their best interest. Finally, providing reparations to these children, as well as other groups of war-affected victims, would ensure that stigma and discrimination against them are avoided or reduced.

Chapter 12 presents a summary and conclusion of the thesis. The chapter provides a reflection of the impact of the call to recognise integration, as distinct from reintegration. It also explains how this thesis contributes to existing academic literature and practice. The general conclusion drawn from the thesis is that, in fragile contexts where suitable TJ options for CBIC are not considered or adopted, existing policy and programme interventions encourage a 'shallow and unsustainable' integration. This is because of the lack of recognition of integration, as distinct from reintegration. A distinct conceptualisation

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and response to integration enables interventions to respond to the specificities of CBIC as beneficiaries of the process. By contrast, when reparations address the needs of CBIC, they foster recognition and redistribution, thereby fostering an improvement in integration towards the 'deep and sustainable' state. The chapter ends with an explanation of the implication of the thesis on research, policy and practice.

Chapter 1: Contextualising the Integration of Uganda's Children Born in Captivity

1.1 Introduction

This chapter contextualises the integration of children born in captivity (CBIC) in Uganda. It explains the historical context and reviews the various programmes and policy interventions that enabled integration. The contextual situation of integration is vital to the understanding of the integration challenges experienced by CBIC. The knowledge of the integration challenges faced by these children provides the basis upon which the thesis advances its claim for the need to recognise integration as a process and concept that is distinct from reintegration. This is because existing policy frameworks in Uganda are structuring practices that have led to problematic integration of CBIC. The impact has been the attendant compromise of the transitional justice of CBIC and their failure to integrate in an effective or successful way in the long term.

Therefore, this chapter comprises two main sections. The first reviews the historical context leading to the emergence of CBIC as a group of war-affected persons. The second reviews the relevant policies and programme interventions for integration. The review indicates the problems with these interventions for integration. The review indicates that the lack of distinction between integration and reintegration as two separate processes, albeit often occurring simultaneously, has resulted in interventions that have caused a problematic integration of CBIC. Thus, the thesis advances an argument for the need to distinguish between integration and reintegration to realise better integration outcomes.

1.2 Historical context of the emergence of children born in captivity

According to the Government of Uganda (April 2003), the region referred to as Northern Uganda comprises the sub-regions of Acholi, Lango, Karamoja, Madi, West Nile and Teso. These are the districts that were affected by the LRA war. One of the atrocities committed by the LRA was the abduction of children, and some of the females forced into becoming 'wives' of the soldiers/rebels (Atingo Owacgiu, November, 2008; Baines, 2014; Carlson & Mazurana, 2008; Human Rights Watch, September 1997). These females became mothers of CBIC. The war between the LRA, led by Joseph Kony, and the National Resistance Army/National Resistance Movement army (currently called the UPDF) lasted close to twenty years. The LRA war affected mainly five regions in Northern and Eastern Uganda. These were Acholi, Lango, Teso and West Nile sub-regions, as on the UNOCHA map of Uganda showing conflict-affected areas in 2007. Museveni's 1986 regime (the National Resistance Army/Movement- NRA/M) came to power by military coup and dealt with military uprisings, including the LRA, from 1988 to 2006 (Ikeleba & Okumu, 2011). It is important to remember that Uganda's regime changes since independence in 1962 happened mostly through coup d'états. It was common practice for regimes to use 'patronage and clientelism' to favour some regions (mainly those areas from which they hailed) and to neglect others. Such governance created rifts between regions, especially in the northern part of the country from whence many previous regimes had emerged and the southern region whence the 1986 government emerged. Omach (2011a) summarises the situation as a lack of integration in the country, prompting many uprisings. The 1986 regime of the NRA countered many uprisings after taking control of the state. One of such uprisings was that of the Holy Spirit Movement (HSM) of Alice Lakwena and her father, who claimed to possess supernatural powers, attracting membership to advance their rebellion. The LRA emerged in 1988 following the defeat of the HSM in

the eastern part of Uganda on their way to the capital (Kampala) in November 1987, as they sought to overthrow the 1986 regime (Acker, 2004).

Joseph Kony, leader of the LRA, also claims to have been chosen by spiritual forces to 'cleanse' the Acholi people (Wright, 2011). The cleansing aimed to prevent the infiltration of non-Luo leadership and influence. The NRA/M regime had overthrown a regime led by Luo. The LRA leader took advantage of the causal linkage between the spiritual and the physical world common among tribes within the region. There is a belief in a link between religious forces and situations in the real world, such as misfortune, that is not unique to the northern part of Uganda but is seen in most of the tribes in the country (Mbiti, 1967). Kony and the LRA tried to manipulate the people of Acholi through his claim that he was on a spiritual mission to cleanse them. Where the people did not support him, in retaliation the LRA would commit many human rights violations (Ikeleba & Okumu, 2011; Wright, 2011). As discussed later in this chapter, the linkage between the spiritual and physical world influenced the nature of reintegration through traditional justice interventions.

The LRA war led to various atrocities, including looting, abduction of children who were recruited as soldiers, sexual violence against women, beatings, killings and maiming, among other atrocities (Human Rights Watch, September 1997). These atrocities affected various categories of children. While the LRA killed some children, they abducted others and took them into captivity outside Uganda. The non-abducted children who survived ended up on the streets to avoid abduction, while children who lost their parents took responsibility for caring for their siblings (Watch, 1997; Omona & Matheson, 1998; Blattman & Annan, 2009; Annan et al., 2006; Akello, G., 2013; Akello, D., 2013; Porter, 2013; Ochen, 2015; Atingo Owacgiu, 2008; Baines, 2005). Despite these atrocities, abducted children garnered much advocacy in and outside Uganda (Drumbl, 2012; Wells, 2012). This was because of concerted

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global efforts to protect children from being associated with armed forces and groups. In the country, such advocacy efforts led to the establishment of grassroots NGOs and Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) by parents and relatives of the abducted children. Some of the NGOs and CBOs later became reception or rehabilitation centres that assisted persons formerly associated with the LRA when they returned to Uganda.

United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) estimates suggest that the LRA abducted over 20,000 children between 1986 and 2002. The abducted children were both boys and girls, some of whom became parents of CBIC. Baines (2014) explains that while the children were in captivity (in South Sudan), life was similar to that in communities in Acholi – living in homesteads with compounds and farming as a source of livelihood. The rebels also looted food from places they attacked. The patrilineal structure of society was continued in captivity and, having mainly been given to soldiers as wives, the majority of the abducted girls upon reaching puberty entered into marriage as one among many wives of such a soldier/commander (Atim et al., 2017; Baines, 2014; Carlson & Mazurana, 2008). 'Forced marriage' is a war crime and crime against humanity, following the precedent set by the decision of the first Appeals Chamber of the Special Court for Sierra Leone (*The Prosecutor v. Issa Hassan Sesay, Morris Kallon and Augustine Gbao*, 2009). In Uganda's case, 'forced marriage' is one of the crimes listed in the charge sheet against Dominic Ongwen, one of the top five LRA commanders indicted at the International Criminal Court. The details appear in articles 7(1)(g) and 8(2)(e)(vi) as recorded under findings H of the Pre-Trial Chamber II charge sheet (*The Prosecutor v. Dominic Ongwen*, 2016).

The victims of forced marriage gave birth to children, referred to as CBIC (Apio, 2007; Carlson & Mazurana, 2008; Kiconco, 2015; Ochen, 2015) or children of child soldiers (Mochmann, 2008). The concept 'born in captivity' can be misleading if interpreted as referring to babies

brought to term while the mother was in captivity. While this is true, not all CBIC were born outside Uganda (in captivity). Post-conflict communities use the term to refer to all children conceived to mothers while they were in LRA captivity. Hence, the term includes various categories of children, such as those babies brought to term while in captivity and moved to Uganda. The second category is of those who were conceived, brought to term and remaining in LRA captivity. The third category consists of those who were conceived in captivity but brought to term when the mothers returned to Uganda.

The diversity confirms Seto's (2013) argument, that the terms used to refer to children born of sexual violence are social constructions. Some of the literature on CBIC includes people who are young adults, often in their twenties (JRP, 2015a,b). They are still referred to as CBIC when claims are made to address the social injustices that they experience because of their identity. During interviews and focus group discussions, this complex use of the concept meant that in many interviews discussions about these children overlapped across these differences. Hence, the concept realistically depicts children 'conceived in captivity' rather than those 'born in captivity'. However, given the broad use of the concept among communities of integration, the thesis explores integration by taking into consideration the diverse groups.

The total number of children born to the LRA soldiers is not known, but G. Akello (2013) estimates it as 10,000 between 1988 and 2004. By 2017, estimates of CBIC in the Acholi sub-region are at 8,000, based on a survey conducted by the International Centre for Transitional Justice and *Watye Ki Gen* (a group formed by mothers of CBIC). The results of the survey are mentioned as part of the documentary, *Children Born of War in Northern Uganda* (ITCJ & MediaStorm, 2017). There is a scarcity of consolidated statistics, because the various institutions that enabled integration and reintegration that have statistics of children keep such data confidential. Moreover, McEvoy-Levy (2007) explains that, in most cases, the complexity involving the CHIBOW makes the estimates of

their numbers contested. The scarcity of consolidated statistical estimates of CBIC constrains the ability to target all would-be beneficiaries of assistance. Moreover, from an academic research perspective, the absence of consolidated estimates affects the potential for investigation through statistical or quantitative methods, as argued by Lee (2017: 4). She explains how the statistical data challenges affect the prospects of conducting quantitative research on this 'sizeable yet hidden population'.

It is important to note that the close to two decades of the LRA war led to various responses by the Government of Uganda. Some of them directly responded to the plight of the abducted children, while others were responses aimed at protecting the communities that the LRA targeted. The next section discusses some of these in a historical context. The aims are to trace the process of integration from captivity to the time when CBIC become part of the post-war communities in Uganda – the communities to which their mothers belonged before abduction.

1.3 Interventions against the Lord's Resistance Army

In response to the atrocities and the LRA activities, the 1986 regime (National Resistance Army/Movement) espoused various strategies, such as the adoption of the 1996 policy on 'Protected Villages' in which people were confined within Internally Displaced People's (IDP) camps (Carlson & Mazurana, 2008). International attention towards the situation of internal displacement grew following the November 2003 visit of the United Nations Under-Secretary for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, Jan Egeland. She acknowledged the human insecurity resulting from the insufficient interventions by the Government of Uganda and the international community. Egeland's remarks led to an increase in humanitarian assistance in Northern Uganda by various relief agencies until 2007, when camps were officially closed and people were asked to return to their original

homelands, under the declaration of a post-conflict phase in 2007 (Akello, G., 2013). In addition to the protection of IDP in camps (albeit in deplorable conditions), NGOs played a critical role in the provision of humanitarian assistance to these people. Some NGOs helped with the reintegration and integration of persons formerly associated with the LRA.

A second response to the LRA was the use of military offensives. For example, in 2002 the government in an attack codenamed 'Operation Iron Fist' attacked the LRA military bases in South Sudan (Omach, 2011b). The failed operation led to a backlash from the LRA through attacks on civilian communities in Northern Uganda and the spread of LRA activities beyond Acholi. In response to these extensive LRA attacks, in some communities (in Lango & Teso) community members formed local militias as an offensive against the LRA attacks: in Lango, the Amuka Boys (Brigade) and in Teso, the Arrow Boys (Brigade). These worked in collaboration with government forces to fight the rebels. In an interview conducted with a former intelligence officer and commander of the Arrow Brigade (24IM170816T in Appendix VI), I was informed that during the reintegration process the UPDF liaised with reception centres such as Gulu Support the Children Organisation (GUSCO) (Gulu) and Rachelle (Lira) to help in the rehabilitation and return of children who had been abducted from Teso sub-region.

A second military operation - codenamed 'Operation Lightning-Thunder' (Branch, 2011b) was launched in 2008–2009 when government forces (UPDF) attacked LRA bases in Garamba (in the Democratic Republic of Congo). This was during the time of the last failed peace talks (2006–2008). Prior to the 2006–2008 peace talks, the government had attempted negotiations with the LRA in 1993–1994 under the leadership of the then Government Minister Hon. Betty Bigombe. Another attempt at peace talks occurred between 2002 and 2004, with minimal success. It was initiated by a presidential peace team led by the president's brother, Salim Saleh (Dolan, 2010).

However, 'Operation Lightning Thunder' had caused the LRA to disperse to new areas (Atkinson, 2009), where the rebels continued their activities and committed various atrocities. The details of crimes in these places are available on the LRA CRISIS TRACKER monitored by USAID and Invisible Children. Nonetheless, as part of the negotiations, the Government of Uganda offered a blanket amnesty (pardon) to the LRA, who laid down arms and surrendered to the Government of Uganda in 2003. While the negotiations were ongoing, the government referred the top LRA commanders to the International Criminal Court (ICC), among them Joseph Kony, Okot Odhiambo and Dominic Ongwen. This contributed to the non-conclusion of the peace talks (Allen, 2006; Wright, 2011).

Despite being a failure, some outcomes of the peace talks (2006–2008) were the signed DDR agreement between the government and the LRA (2008) and components of agenda item No. 3 of the peace talks, which guided Uganda's practice of TJ. Agenda item No. 3 concerns justice and accountability (Voice of America, 2007). Uganda's draft transitional policy (2014) took into consideration the broad TJ options recognised in agenda item No. 3, while the DDR agreement recognises the PPG (2007) and general provisions of child protection in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. The DDR agreement (2008), therefore, structured reintegration while adopting practices of reintegration that had already been ongoing through the reception centres. The majority of these reception centres were grassroots NGOs or CBOs that advocated for an end to the war and the release of formerly abducted children.

1.4 Policy and programme interventions

The LRA had attacked various sub-regions in Uganda and committed many atrocities. Many displaced communities ended up in IDP camps. It is important to note that, during internal displacement, some children were born to sexually violated women. Their fathers may have been

either LRA soldiers or government forces. Hence, this category of CBIC from war-related violence consists of the CHIBOW in Uganda (United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNOHCHR) & UHRC, 2011).

Uganda's reintegration process involved two major categories: people displaced into IDP camps and people abducted by the LRA and taken into captivity. Captivity refers to locations outside Uganda where the LRA had their base. Initially, this was mainly in present-day South Sudan (Sudan, before the independence of South Sudan). Later, the areas extended to other countries, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central Africa Republic, following the failed peace talks (2006–2008).

The reintegration of IDPs formed part of the government's post-conflict rehabilitation programme following its decision to close the camps so that people could return to their areas of origin. Therefore, CHIBOW to non-abducted females experienced integration concurrently with the rest of the community that was reintegrating. Usually, the paternity of such children is unknown, as most women do not reveal their experience of sexual violence (Porter, 2013). Therefore, children born of CRSV during the time of internal displacement blended in, like any children born to single mothers. Through the Peace Recovery and Development Plan (2007), the government adopted durable solutions to resettle IDPs.

The first solution allowed IDPs to return to the areas that they had previously inhabited. The second option allowed those who did not want to or could not return to their previous homelands to settle in the areas of displacement. The third option enabled those who could not take up the first two options to opt for resettlement in new locations. Most of the camps in Acholi, Lango and Teso sub-regions had closed by 2011 (IDMC & NRC, May 2012). Respondents in this study said that this process had had challenges, such as issues of land resulting from

difficulty in the identification of boundaries. For some formerly displaced persons, embarking on life in rural areas is a challenge since they had adopted urban lifestyles in the towns where the IDP camps were located. In fact, some people preferred not to return to their previous homes. Overall, the living conditions in a post-conflict context are not as they were previously, because of the socio-economic, psychological and physical impact of the war on the community.

The Peace Recovery and Development Plan of 2007 (PRDP, 2007) was used as a guide for programmes designed for post-conflict reconstruction or rehabilitation. Most of these programmes were donor-funded and implemented through the office of the Prime Minister in two phases (2009–2012 and 2012–2015). The programmes aimed to bridge inequalities in development between the LRA war-affected areas and the rest of the country. Examples of such programmes were Northern Uganda Reconstruction Programme (NURP) and Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF). The predominant focus on formerly abducted children led to their inclusion within the PRDP framework (Kiconco, 2015). The post-conflict reconstruction (PRDP) framework did not target their CBIC. The government report (2009) observed the neglect of the CBIC as a gap in the interventions.

The government's evaluation of PRDP phase 1 (PRDP I, 2008–2011) identified a gap in resource funding for reintegration programmes in the first phase. The evaluation led to the adoption of a second phase (PRDP II, 2012–2015) with Strategic Objective 4 (SO4) designed to enhance peace-building and reconciliation (Government of Uganda, November 2011). PRDP II (2012–2015) also adopted a Child Protection and Recovery Strategy (CPRS 2009–2011). The research leading to the adoption of the Child Protection and Recovery Strategy identified poverty and a lack of basic resources as challenges that people associated with the LRA faced (Government of Uganda, 2009). The report observed discrimination and stigmatisation of CBIC and their mothers in the communities of return. According to the research report,

successful reintegration warrants collaborative efforts by various government and non-government actors:

Who require a boost with a longer-term investment... for sustainable reintegration programming, by ensuring linkages of reception centres with community-based groups working on family and community acceptance; and functional referrals and follow up by support services and programmes. (Government of Uganda, 2009: 13)

The 'reception-centre approach' facilitated a linear path to reintegration, resulting in the achievement of a short-term goal of reintegration dubbed 'reinsertion'⁶ (Maina, July 2009). The linear approach to reintegration and integration involved various processes from rehabilitation to family reunification. NGOs and CBOs referred to 'reception centres' / 'transit centres' / 'rehabilitation centres' providing rehabilitation services to persons formerly associated with LRA (Apio, 2007; Schomerus & Allen, 2006)). They would then assist in the identification of the returning persons' family, with the intent of reuniting the two parties. After reunification, the reception centres would follow up on the returning persons for a short period, leaving the long-term realities of post-reinsertion to interactions between communities and the persons formerly associated with the LRA. It is within this post-insertion environment that mothers of CBIC experience rejection, because of their children being fathered by LRA soldiers (Akello, G., 2013; Apio, 2013; Atingo Owacgiu, 2008; Carlson & Mazurana, 2008; Government of Uganda, 2009). The lack of targeted support to these children led to their description as a 'forgotten category of children' (Apio, 2007) at the time when reception centres were assisting children formerly associated with the LRA to reintegrate in Uganda.

⁶ Reinsertion refers to the reunification of a person with his/her family and the community) and the provision of monetary support and basic needs required by a beneficiary to resume life among civilian communities. Such assistance, however, excludes any long-term interventions aimed at ensuring that the beneficiary and the community of reintegration have parity. The interactions between the reinserted persons and the community shape the post-return way of life.

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It is important to note that the amendment of Uganda's overarching policy for vulnerable children led to the broadening of its coverage to include war-affected children. Before the change, the Orphan and Vulnerable Children (OVC) policy had targeted children affected by poverty and those orphaned because of HIV/AIDS. Even so, some of the stakeholders within the country express scepticism about the feasibility of such an expansion of policy (Cheney, 2010). According to Cheney (2010), financial constraints and the large numbers of children targeted made the policy a challenge. These stakeholders were concerned that the expansion of the policy may decrease the feasibility of utilising the limited resources. The implication of the above challenges of policy implementation is that it may be unrealistic to claim special consideration for CBIC as a special category within the broader OVC mandate. However, alternative efforts through claims for reparations for CHIBOW and their mothers were sought (United Nations Women, April 2014). This option provides a more specific approach to meeting the needs of CBIC as a distinct category of war-affected children.

Since the broader evaluation of reintegration by the government includes observation of these children's experience of problematic integration, it supports the claim advanced by this thesis. There is a need to recognise integration as distinct from, though often occurring concurrently with reintegration as this, in practice, was not the case. This thesis advances the need to recognise and respond to integration as a distinct process, albeit occurring concurrently with reintegration, most of the time. It does so without underscoring the need to protect CBIC by also providing for them through their mothers, especially those who are still dependent on their mothers or an adult carer.

As discussed in the next chapter, there are two broad strands of arguments in the existing literature. On the one hand, scholars argue that on account of child rights, the rights and needs of CHIBOW (including those born in captivity) need to be advocated for and implemented, as distinct from their mothers. Notable among the

proponents of this school of thought are Carpenter (2010) and Seto (2013). They criticise claims made by feminists from the opposing school of thought, who claim that protection can occur through mothers given the dependence of children on their mothers and the already-strong norms against sexual and gender-based violence that are available. An alternative to claims for a distinct advocacy and protection is advocated by scholars who claim that, since children may still be dependent on their mothers yet also have distinct needs, instead of seeking an 'either'/'or' solutions, the plight of CHIBOW needs to be looked at as an intersection between the plight of the mothers (women's rights) and that of the children (children's rights). Hence, scholars such as Neenan (2017) and Parra (2018) argue for the need to protect both mothers and children and to identify, understand and respond to the specific needs of children, distinct from their mothers, in addition to existing efforts through their mothers.

Therefore, this thesis joins and supports the claims of the latter category of scholars as it seeks to explore the integration of CBIC in Uganda and their reparation needs. It argues that the failure of interventions to differentiate and respond to their peculiar needs has been partly responsible for the integration state that they experience.

The next section explains the concurrent nature of integration and reintegration. Despite the link between the processes, both policies and programmes prioritise reintegration and treated integration as its equivalent. The result has been a problematic integration of CBIC.

The reintegration and integration of persons formerly associated with the LRA

The 'reception-centre model' structured the reintegration of persons formerly associated with the LRA. Various experiential accounts of persons formerly associated with the LRA indicate that, before the 2006–2008 peace talks, captivity was mainly in Sudan. The Republic of Sudan became two independent states following South Sudan's

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secession in 2011. Some of the experiential accounts are captured in online articles (Deutsche Welle, October 2016; Invisible Children, September 201; UN News Centre, June 2016). The Government of Bashir supported the LRA in response to Uganda's support to the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) that was fighting for independence of South Sudan (Carlson & Mazurana, 2008). Following the failed peace talks 2006–08, the LRA extended its operations into the DRC and Central Africa Republic (CAR). Persons formerly associated with the LRA either escaped or were rescued by government soldiers as they moved from captivity to previous LRA war-affected areas of Uganda. Although some people formerly associated with the LRA escaped and reintegrated without any formal (in this case, reception centre) assistance, the majority benefited from the reception-centre model during and after internal displacement (Apio, 2007; Carlson & Mazurana, 2008). CBIC are among the persons formerly associated with the LRA who integrated this way (Apio, 2013, 2016; Carlson & Mazurana, 2008).

The formal process of reintegration formed part of the broader DDR strategy implemented by the UPDF in collaboration with transit or reception centres. Apio (2007) describes reception centres as places where persons returning from captivity were held in the process of transition from LRA life outside the country to a new life of reintegration in the communities of Northern Uganda. The centres would offer various services, such as psychosocial support, family tracing and family reunification and, where possible, would collaborate with medical facilities to offer first aid and other medical assistance. Some of the reception centres were World Vision, CARITAS (a Canadian NGO), Concerned Parents Association (CPA), Rachele, Gulu Support the Children Organisation (GUSCO) and Kitgum Concerned Women's Initiative (KICHWA) (Apio, 2013). These reception centres offered various services to prepare the reintegrating persons as they transitioned from life in captivity to life in civilian communities (Schomerus & Allen, 2006; Apio, 2013). Persons formerly associated

with the LRA who returned before or during the peace talks either reintegrated among relatives and members of their original communities within IDP camps (Schomerus & Allen, 2006) or to their homelands (in cases where the people there had not been internally displaced).

The reintegrating persons would receive support packages meant to assist them in moving from life among armed forces to civilian life.⁷ According to Jackson Odongo, an official of the Kitgum National Memory and Documentation Centre, these packages benefited male combatants more than mothers of CBIC. The impact is that these mothers and their children have to depend on their families who, like most in these communities, are recovering from the social, economic and psychological impacts of war (Justice & Reconciliation Project, 2015a).

Although family reunification followed by short periods of follow up enabled the reinsertion of a person formerly associated with the LRA into the reintegration community, the attendant experiences of stigma and discrimination grounded in the identity and cultural non-recognition of CBIC indicate the problematic nature of this integration. It reflects a failure of the integration of children to realise the ends of reintegration and integration, as stated in Guideline 2.8 of the PPG (2007). Apio (2013) explains how cultural non-recognition derives from the failure of the fathers of these children and their clans to either marry the mother or pay compensation for the birth of the children outside wedlock. Clans administrate over marriage in a cultural context (traditional marriages) and provide the identity of members. Children obtain their identity from their father's clan. According to culture, custody is based on the marital status of the mother of the child. In cases where the mother is not

⁷ These packages were described as reinsertion packages. According to the Integrated Regional Information Network's (IRIN) (2012) story of ex-combatant reintegration in Uganda, 'After receiving an amnesty certificate, each ex-combatant is given a reinsertion package of 263,000 shillings (US\$120), a mattress, a blanket, a hoe, a machete, cups, plates and maize and bean seeds.' The IRIN was part of the United Nations until 2015. It reports on humanitarian crises, based on updates on the ground.

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married to the child's father, compensation is made by the father to redeem custody, otherwise such a child has an identity neither through the mother nor through the father's clan.

Membership to a clan comes with many benefits, one of which is inheritance rights. Non-membership can lead to social conflict for CBIC if they claim resources owned by the clan, as they grow into young adults who are thought to have rights to neither land nor cattle for a dowry. According to culture, custody of a child is dependent on the marital status of the mother. In cases where the mother is unmarried to the father, there must be compensation by the father to redeem custody, otherwise such a child has an identity neither through the mother's nor the father's clan. Apio (2016) provides an elaborate explanation of the cultural non-recognition and stigma of CBIC within the context of kinship and marriage norms in Lango, and Bergmans (2017) partly touches on the same in the context of Acholi.

In Uganda, cultural institutions are semi-autonomous parts of the political system, but their jurisdiction is limited to cultural affairs of the tribe or clan. Traditional marriage and identity (belonging) are part of the issues that fall within these semi-autonomous structures, hence entrench stigma and discrimination. Non-recognition of CBIC excludes them from benefits to members such as access to communal land, support and recognition as a clan member during marriage rites and acceptance by clan members, for instance access to land for livelihood and inheritance of land by young men.

Primarily, CBIC face challenges in realising the ends of reintegration and integration as entrenched in Guideline 2.8 of the PPG (2007). This thesis suggests a need to differentiate between integration and reintegration in existing policies and programmes so that interventions can respond to the specificities of both processes and the groups of persons associated with each. This differentiation of both concepts and processes would enable CBIC and their mothers to realise the aims of

Guideline 2.8 through approaches that target the esteem, confidence and respect of reintegrating persons as a way of enabling parity between reintegrating children and those in the community (Guidelines 7.47, 7.48, 7.69 and 7.75). The outcome of the integration of CBIC is stigma and discrimination of the children (Ministry of Gender, 2009; Akello, G., 2013; Apio, 2013; Ochen, 2013; Justice and Reconciliation Project, 2015a). The reality of these children's integration, therefore, supports the first argument advanced by the thesis that existing policy frameworks are structuring practices that have led to 'shallow and unsustainable integration'. This is problematic, because they limit opportunities for 'deep and more sustainable integration'. Consequently, there are unresolved problems of stigma and discrimination.

Experiences of stigma and discrimination reflect the problematic integration – 'shallow and unsustainable' – of CBIC. Some of the reasons advanced for such experiences include the impact of the war trauma, where unmet TJ needs are a reminder to these children of the atrocities committed by the LRA (Akello, D., 2013). The second reason for stigma and discrimination is their cultural non-recognition. The role of the clan and its semi-autonomy result in the non-recognition of CBIC as members of their maternal community/clan due to their birth being outside wedlock and the lack of compensation (Apio, 2007, 2013). Gyekye (1997a) explains that, despite transformations in cultural traditions due to exposure to globalisation and modernisation, among African tribes the clan as an institution remains an important determinant of belonging by the natural contract (grounded in tradition) rather than the social contract (grounded political and legal claims). Non-recognition in culture affects these children's access to culturally owned resources and opportunities, thereby affecting their everyday life in post-conflict communities.

Maternal communities express less acceptance of male CBIC than of female children for cultural reasons that make boys more of a threat to the limited resources, particularly land, of the maternal community

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(Justice and Reconciliation Project, 2015b). The lack of acceptance experienced mostly by boys introduces the second dimension of stigma and discrimination that is linked to cultural non-recognition. Since Uganda recognises cultural institutions and grants them semi-autonomous powers to handle affairs within their jurisdiction, this implies that, despite being Ugandan citizens, the integration (fitting in) of these children is dependent upon their acceptance by their cultural community (often maternal).

The third reason for stigma and discrimination is the inability of traditional justice mechanisms (cleansing rituals to enable reintegration) to address their needs (Acirokop, 2010; Carlson & Mazurana, 2008). These rituals cannot deal with crimes of sexual violence, leaving only the option of compensation which, given the absence of their fathers, in most cases is impossible (Apio, 2013). These rituals are part of traditional justice – one among other TJ options adopted in Uganda. The thesis takes on a broad understanding of TJ in which multiple actors (state and non-state) employ various strategies (retributive or restorative) to address war-related human rights violations (Hansen, 2014). Uganda's draft TJ policy (2014) incorporates this broad approach by recommending both retributive and restorative justice mechanisms, including traditional justice. Other options are amnesty and retribution (Carlson & Mazurana, 2008; Wright, 2011).

In 2010, through the Justice Law and Order Sector (LJOS) of the Ministry of Justice, Uganda developed the first TJ policy. The policy broadly acknowledges the various forms of TJ options, ranging from amnesty, traditional justice, trials and Truth and Reconciliation Commissions.

By the time of this research in 2016, the amended 2014 draft had not been passed by Cabinet, but it had adopted further categorisations of both symbolic and materials forms of reparations required by victims of the LRA war. Through a network of women's organisations, the Women

Advocacy Network (WAN) was formed in 2012 with the aim of pursuing gender justice for women affected by sexual violence during the war. One of the demands was for an apology from the men who had victimised them and the need for government to ensure adequate education and livelihood options for these women.⁸ In 2014, in partnership with other organisations, the WAN pushed parliament to pass a resolution for gender-sensitive reparations aimed at ensuring adequate reparations (material) to them and their children. Later, in March 2017, the Speaker of Parliament acknowledged the need to recognise and respond to the specific needs of CBIC.

In August 2018, the Speaker attended prayers to commemorate the abduction of students from Lwala Girls School in Kaberamaido and assured the masses that she would table the need for government to account for the missing girls.⁹ All these various forms of public acknowledgement of the plight of formerly abducted females illustrates the commitment, both in the country and outside Uganda, towards justice for women as victims of CRSV. Neenan (2017) explains how this commitment influenced the UK-led advocacy for Global Principles for Global Action: Preventing and addressing stigma associated with CRSV (2017) and the United Nations' (19 June 2018) recognition of CHIBOW while commemorating the International Day for the Elimination of Sexual Violence in Conflict.

Furthermore, some scholars argue that dominant TJ approaches address violations of civil and political rights at the expense of social, economic and cultural rights (Andrieu, 2010; Mani, 2008). This leaves certain groups of war-affected victims in the shadow of TJ. According to Andrieu (2010), TJ interventions should promote social trust, integration and reparations as they respond to different kinds of post-

⁸ See <http://www.justiceandreconciliation.org/tag/gender-justice/page/6/> accessed 28/22/2018.

⁹ <https://ugandaradionetwork.com/story/government-should-account-for-90-missing-lwala-girls-abducted-by-lra-rebels-in-2003-> accessed 28/11/2018.

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conflict marginalisation. Such responses are social justice interventions to issues in a post-war society, such as discrimination, exclusion and marginalisation of certain groups in a community, based on various markers of difference such as race, gender, religion and so on (Mani, 2008). Hence, ideal TJ options are recommended for such victim groups. Both Andrieu (2010) and Mani (2008) highlight the importance of compressive TJ approaches in addressing the various impacts of war (economic, political and social) on different categories of victims. Such an approach would ensure the stability of post-conflict societies in the aftermath of armed conflict. Reparations are recommended as the ideal remedy to the integration challenges of CBIC (Goodhart, 2007; Government of Uganda, 2014; Justice and Reconciliation Project, 2015b; Lühe & Mugero, 2014).

Family reunification as a stage of reintegration often involves performing customary cleansing rites for reuniting a person who has been away back with their family. Some of the rituals for cleansing the beneficiary of the evil spirits arising from the atrocities that they committed include *mato oput*, *gomo tong*, *nyono tongweno* (Carlson & Mazurana, 2008; Acirokop, 2010). In some cases, people opt instead for prayers by religious leaders (Acirokop, 2010; Justice and Reconciliation Project, June 2012; Ochen, 2014). Although these rituals permit the reintegration of persons formerly associated with the LRA, they fail to address crimes related to sexual violence (Carlson & Mazurana, 2008; Porter, 2013). For instance, Carlson and Mazurana (2008) argue that other TJ options implemented in Uganda, such as amnesty and retribution, have not addressed this crime. Therefore, CBIC experience gaps in TJ.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter has traced the emergence of CBIC and their problematic integration from a historical context. It has also explained how gaps in policy and programme interventions have led to the 'shallow and

unsustainable integration' of CBIC. This problematic integration has subsequently affected the realisation of TJ. To overcome the problem of problematic integration emerging from policy and programme intervention, it is necessary to differentiate between integration and reintegration and the needs of children distinct from those of their mothers. This argument acknowledges that there are incidences where the assistance of children through their mothers alone fails to meet specific needs. Hence, there is need to address such gaps by identifying and responding to these needs by interventions. So far, in the literature, reparations have been suggested as the ideal remedy to the plight of these children.

As was earlier explained in the introductory chapter, this thesis advances two major arguments. The first is that existing policy frameworks in Uganda are structuring practices that have led to a 'shallow and unsustainable integration' of CBIC, who face unresolved problems of stigma and discrimination. The second argument expounds on the first and notes that the integration of CBIC in a shallow and unsustainable form compromises their TJ. The next chapter analyses the literature on the conceptualisation of CBIC and the analytical frameworks that are useful to explain their integration. In doing so, it shows how this thesis relates to those pieces of literature and identifies the gaps that it fills.

Chapter 2: The Conceptualisation of Children Born in Captivity and Theoretical Frameworks for Analysing Their Integration

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the academic and grey literature that conceptualises CBIC, as well as the frameworks relevant to the theorisation of their integration. The aim is to engage with existing debates and approaches in order to explore what is already known about the subject, as well as to identify the gaps and highlight their significance to this research. Debates around children born of CRSV have taken place in various academic disciplines, such as anthropology, history, politics and international relations, gender and conflict and human rights. Research has been conducted by academics and stakeholders or practitioners such as the Children Born of War Network and the Conjugal Slavery in War Project within which questions and issues affecting such children are researched and proposed solutions suggested.

As part of the research around children born of CRSV, some of the issues that have been studied include: who CHIBOW are (Apio, 2007; Carpenter, 2007a; Mochmann, 2008; Rimmer, 2006); why they face reintegration challenges (Akello, D., 2013; Apio, 2007; Atingo, 2008; Carlson & Mazurana, 2008; Porter, 2013; Justice and Reconciliation Project, 2015a); what their plight tells us about them and their integration (Apio, 2007; Apio, 2016; Baines, 2014; Bergmans, 2017; Carpenter, 2010; Denov, 2015; Denov & Lakor, 2017; Seto, 2013; Stewart, 2017); whether the plight of CHIBOW is a crime or not (Carpenter, 2007c; Clark, 2014; Goodhart, 2007; McEvoy-Levy,

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2007); solutions to their plight (Carpenter, 2007b; Goodhart, 2007; Clark, 2014; Justice and Reconciliation Project, 2015; Rimmer, 2006); theoretical models for reintegration and integration (Apio, 2013; Braithwaite et al., 2009; Özerdem, 2012; Torjesen, 2013).

Despite progress, the integration challenge of CBIC remains a complex question that various researchers have continued to seek answers to. This thesis joins adherents of normative claims regarding the need to conceptualise these children as subjects with distinct agency and identity, rather than as by-products of their mothers' experiences. To this debate, the thesis further extends the argument by noting that, in addition to its conceptualisation, their integration process is often treated as similar to reintegration, despite the difference between the two. Secondly, inasmuch as reparations have been suggested to be the solution to their plight, there is a paucity of literature on how such reparations meet the TJ needs of these children in their communities of integration.

This chapter is structured as follows: the first part reviews the literature on CBIC. It includes academic literature on how CBIC are conceptualised and analytical frameworks that are useful to explain their integration. The second part reviews literature from a rights-based approach, as the dominant approach to protecting children. The third part focuses on TJ approaches and CBIC. The section reviews how CBIC sit within these debates and how reparations, the suggested TJ approach, can address their needs. The last part focuses on the human security approach. The thesis uses claims made by Alkire (2003) regarding the essence of human security to argue for the possibility of adopting a framework guided by the 'vital core' approach. The 'extended vital core' approach helps to explain how integration ought to be, and provides for reparations as a corrective strategy in situations where

integration is problematic. The chapter ends with a conclusion to the review, indicating how this thesis contributes to the literature.

2.2 Literature on children born in captivity

There has been an increase in advocacy and research around victims of CRSV (mothers and CHIBOW). All these efforts contribute towards the recognition and protection of children born of war-related sexual violence as a category of war-affected children. At a global level, the United Nations on 19 June 2018 commemorated the International Day for the Elimination of Sexual Violence in Conflict. The theme was 'The Plight and Rights of Children Born of War', thereby recognising the plight of CHIBOW and the challenges of vulnerability, stigma and discrimination characteristic of their life in the communities where they reside alongside their mothers. Also, at a policy level, in September 2017, under the leadership of the United Kingdom a suggestion was made to the United Nations for the adoption of the Principles for Global Action in tackling the stigma of sexual violence in conflict.¹⁰ In Uganda, various efforts have been made through public discourse aimed at protecting them. They include the legislation of gender-sensitive reparations in April 2013; a British High Commission-facilitated workshop organised by various stakeholders to address stigma and discrimination of victims of sexual violence in conflict;¹¹ and research and advocacy by institutions such as the Justice and Reconciliation Project, the International Centre for Transitional Justice, the Women's Advocacy Network and discussions or

¹⁰ <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/launch-of-the-principles-for-global-action-on-tackling-the-stigma-of-sexual-violence-in-conflict>

¹¹ British High Commission Uganda et al., 'Confronting Stigma: A National Dialogue on Redress and Social Reintegration for Survivors of Sexual Violence and Children Born of War'. A workshop report for the theme: Combating Stigma Associated with Conflict Related Sexual Violence, held on 19 September 2017 at Imperial Royal Hotel, Kampala. Uganda. Accessible from https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/663872/SV_Workshop_Report_-_Uganda.pdf

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comments offered by the Speaker of Parliament (2017, 2018) regarding the need to protect CBIC.

Carpenter (2007a), Mochmann (2008) and Lee (2017) describe various types of CHIBOW. They include children conceived through either forceful or consensual conjugal relationships between their mothers and armed soldiers in war-related contexts. While there are cases where both parents have the same nationality, in other situations the parents may be from different countries (have fathers who are with foreign forces). Lastly, while some children are born in the country of their mother's origin, others are born outside those countries. In the case of Uganda, the CBIC are born to parents of the same nationality, and to mothers who are engaged in non-consensual relations of marriage (Apio, 2013; Baines, 2014; Bergmans, 2017). These children were conceived and, in some cases, born in captivity outside Uganda.

2.2.1 Children born of war in Uganda

The LRA war led to three categories of children born of CRSV (Apio, 2007; UNOHCHR & UHRC, 2011). The categories are: those born in captivity to formerly abducted females; those born out of consensual or non-consensual relations between civilian females and armed soldiers (LRA or government – UPDF); and those born out of consensual relations between civilians in the context of war. It is important to emphasise that this thesis does not disregard the plight of other CHIBOW, in contexts outside of captivity. While the attention of this thesis leans towards those born in captivity, there is need for integration of the other two categories of CHIBOW in Uganda. While this thesis agrees with Bergmans' (2017) opinion regarding the complexity of seeking to find out about children fathered by armed soldiers, as long as the regime involved in the LRA war still controls government, little is known about whether these children have been traced and why there is hardly

information regarding their exposure to stigma and discrimination. Hence, empirical research would enable the exploration of the integration experiences of children born to abducted females and those born to non-abducted females. The findings would be relevant to whether attention to CHIBOW in Uganda should be focused mainly on those born in captivity or on all the various categories.

2.2.2 The conceptualisation of children born in captivity

Academic literature on CBIC has focused on their conceptualisation from various perspectives – historical, political, normative and cultural. For instance, Apio (2007) focuses on their neglect as a category of CHIBOW from the perspective of conflict and development. From a human rights perspective, CHIBOW are considered a category of war-affected children (Carpenter, 2007a). It is important to note that these terminologies (CHIBOW, children born of CRSV, CBIC) are complex and may be used differently by academics and practitioners. It is important to note that such concepts bring to the fore the link between the identity of such children and the nature of their conception (Mochmann, 2008; Clark, 2014; Neenan, 2017; Principles for Global Action on Tackling the Stigma of Sexual Violence in Conflict, 2017). Apart from the variations in describing CBIC, how they are viewed in light of their plight in the context of integration has been framed differently by various scholars, as explained in the subsequent subsections.

Formation of a 'New Acholi' thesis

Baines (2014) argues that CBIC was a means by which the LRA would achieve its goal of creating a 'New Acholi' nation, as a political project. It is worth adding a brief note here that part of the LRA agenda was to recruit and mobilise members who would form a new social, cultural and political

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community – cleansed to the expectations of the leader, Joseph Kony. The leader hoped that the LRA would gain political control of Uganda once the NRM regime was overthrown. Through its strategy of ‘forced marriage’ of abducted females to LRA soldiers and the subsequent birth of children, the LRA would achieve its political objective. The children would inevitably become members (prospective citizens) of this ‘new nation’ once the LRA had overthrown the existing government. While Baines’ (2014) argument is true, it portrays the politically embedded conflict rooted in the LRA rebellion and the feeling of exclusion of people from the north, as explained in the narrative of the north–south divide (Acker, 2004; Omach, 2011a), in which the people of the north were neglected and disadvantaged by the regime which was governed mostly by those from the southern part of the country.

Olzak (2006) argues that communities may engage in ethnic mobilisation as a means of realising certain collective ends. In situations where such ends are political, the leaders may use ethnicity to mobilise support for hostility or conflict against the state. This would imply that leaders of rebellions linked to the LRA – from Lakwena through to Kony – used ethnicity to garner support for their political aims of cleansing the people of Acholi and creating a ‘new nation’. This may be true, as CBIC were referred to as ‘children of the LRA’ or ‘children of Kony’ (Apio, 2016; Atim et al., 2018, Atingo, 2008; Bergmans, 2017; Justice and Reconciliation Project, 2015a; Ochen, 2013). Aside from the reality of the numerous babies, children and young adults as its potential members, the proposed new nation’s eventual overthrow of the existing regime, following its defeat by the LRA, is uncertain. This armed group’s continuing presence in some countries of the Great Lakes region indicates that its political objective still holds. Moreover, the empirical research findings are that some older CBIC prefer to be reunited with the LRA, as a more accepting community of belonging, than to post-conflict communities of integration (Justice and Reconciliation Project, 2015b). The

thesis on CBIC as a replica of a 'New Acholi' remains relevant to the conceptualisation of CBIC.

Given the nature of the LRA operation, membership of the 'New Acholi' includes tribes other than the Acholi, such as those ethnic groups (tribes) that were abducted and enlisted into the LRA, as explained in Chapter 1. The spread of the war to various sub-regions such as Lango, West Nile and Teso meant that the LRA subjugated tribal minorities and indoctrinated them into what constituted the new regime – its language, values, lifestyle and political structure and objectives. It is important to emphasise the similarities in some of the cultural aspects among some of the tribal communities that were affected – especially the Acholi and Langi (Apio, 2016) and Langi and Ateso (Epila-Otara, 2013). Apio (2016) provides a historical account of the Langi as a tribal group as part of her thesis. The account includes similarities inherent in the Acholi and Lango. Her argument is supported by the historical and cultural explanation of the Lango tribal group by Epila-Otara (2013). In this account, the origin of the Langi is explained to be similar to that of the Itesot (Nilo-Hamites) and how, when they settled next to the Acholi, the original Lango people's culture took on its current form. Therefore, because of the overlap in some cultural aspects, such as norms regarding sex and the conception and birth of children outside wedlock, any remedies to these issues are shared by the communities of Acholi, Lango and Teso.

Despite the similarities between the three cultural communities (tribes), this thesis argues that the formation of the 'New Acholi' can be extended to a post-captivity context to explain the complexity facing CBIC, perceived as belonging to the LRA, when they become part of new communities of integration. Since these children integrate as persons born outside wedlock, cultural norms governing sex, marriage and procreation become crucial to

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understanding them in a post-conflict environment, as described in the next sub-section.

Thesis on transgressed cultural norms on sex and marriage

From a cultural and anthropological perspective, both Apio (2016) and Bergmans (2017) provide an understanding of these children by referring to cultural and normative approaches to sex and marriage among communities of integration. To them, being born outside norms of sex and marriage (outside wedlock), regardless of whether or not this is in the context of conflict, partly explains why the communities of integration frown on CBIC. The context of their birth in conflict only exacerbates the attitudes and reactions of communities towards them, taking the form of stigma and discrimination.

This argument notwithstanding, the post-conflict context of integration is vital in understanding why such cultural norms remain strong, despite the many children born outside wedlock now living in their maternal community. The nature of post-conflict stigma is explained by Carlson and Mazurana (2008), Clark (2014) and Mochmann (2008). They reveal the gaps in the TJ for such children, caught between perpetrator and victim. They are described as 'secondary victims', and both the academic and grey literature recommend reparation as the appropriate TJ strategy to mitigate their plight (Goodhart, 2007; Government of Uganda, 2014; Justice and Reconciliation Project, 2015b; Lühe & Mugeru, 2014). Beyond this recommendation, there is little on how reparations will actually address their plight, as discussed in a later section on analytical approaches and frameworks for integration.

Part of the thesis on 'rescue' by the Government of Uganda

A third conceptualisation is drawn from Stewart's (2017) thesis. This adopts a feminist and post-colonial argument to explain the phenomenon of CBIC as

a forgotten/neglected category of children associated with the LRA. Stewart adopts part of the argument fronted by Das (2007) in the case of CHIBOW and their mothers as a result of the War of Partition between India and Pakistan. Both governments had responded to the women who had suffered sexual violence as an extension of the everyday perception of the women and their children, as in need of protection. Therefore, they were denied agency in determining the appropriate strategies to address their plight.

Hence, Stewart (2017) argues that the focus on the mothers (and some fathers) of such children as rescued persons reveals the political importance of the state as a protector and father. This status situates the state as an actor who heroically rescues formerly abducted children from LRA captivity and reintegrates them among post-war communities in Uganda.

The 'heroic' rescue by the government becomes part of the processes leading to integration and reintegration. The children act as evidence of such 'rescue' through government reports and political discourses on various mothers and formerly abducted boys and girls who return to Uganda, which become available to the public through various media platforms. Stewart (2017) also supports the thesis on the 'New Acholi' by arguing that, while government rescue symbolises a vulnerable group of females in need of protection, the LRA uses women's sexuality to advance its goal of creating a 'new nation'. Hence, she describes these children as 'an embodiment of the immorality of the war and the violence that led to their conceptions' (p. 222).

What can be deduced from Stewart's argument is support of the tendency to address children born to abducted females as evidence, or a by-product, of their mothers' violation (Carpenter, 2007a, 2010; Lee, 2017; Seto, 2013). Broader literature on CHIBOW argues that reducing them to appendages denies them their rights (Carpenter, 2010; Seto, 2013). The rights-based

perspective is discussed further in the theoretical perspectives section of this chapter.

A forgotten category of war-affected children

The fourth conceptualisation is taken from Apio's (2007) thesis, describing CBIC as a 'forgotten category' of war-affected children. Her research was conducted at a time when many persons formerly associated with the LRA transitioned from life in captivity to Uganda. As explained in Chapter 1, they had been ignored by interventions that targeted children formerly associated with the LRA. Hence, she suggests a need for more deliberate efforts to target them. Beyond explaining the oversight of interventions for reintegration and integration, she makes no link to the source of this focus, such as policies structuring such practices. Why did the interventions for reintegration and integration overlook CBIC? One of the explanations advanced is that the advocacy globally around the plight of child soldiers inevitably led to a focus on the abducted (Drumbl, 2012). However, interventions are shaped not only by politics and interests, and may be informed by policies or guidelines. This was the case with reintegration, as explained in Chapter 1.

According to Apio (2007), NGOs and CBOs played an important role as reception centres in enabling the transition of persons formerly associated with the LRA from life in captivity to their new destinations. The NGOs and CBOs used various interventions such as rehabilitation, livelihood training and family reintegration, and such persons were united with their families in Uganda. From a policy perspective, while the PPG (2007) acknowledge possible stigma and discrimination by mothers and their children (Guideline 7.31) and recommend the adoption of suitable strategies by any actors who enable their reintegration to address these, how integration is conceptualised remains problematic, as explained in Chapter 1. This thesis

argues that the failure to treat integration and reintegration as separate realities involves the assumption that by addressing reintegration, integration is also addressed. When viewed from the perspective of transition (migration), reintegration connotes a return to the place (community) that one formerly belonged to, while integration reflects movement to a new place. Hence, persons involved in both processes may face different opportunities and challenges. Thus, this thesis joins Apio's (2007) argument and extends it further by arguing that the problem of CBIC may have arisen from the policies that structured their reintegration. In order to address the challenge, this thesis recommends differentiating between integration and reintegration. However, for integration to be recognised as a separate process and adequate interventions to be designed to enable its effective occurrence, there is a need to acknowledge and identify the peculiarities (integration nature and needs) of these children. Hence, this thesis sought to collect data from communities of integration to contribute to this effort. The data were collected using the research design and methodology explained in Chapter 3.

The discourse on the 'transmission of trauma'

A fifth conceptualisation is provided by scholars who advance the narrative on the plight of CHIBOW as evidence of the law or discourse on the 'transmission of trauma' (Denov, 2015; Denov & Lakor, 2017). The discourse explains the community's social rejection and stigmatisation of a child born of sexual violence when no justice for the crimes committed by their father has been served. It is assumed that the father's 'curse' or 'bad traits' are transmitted to the child, as his biological offspring, since the mother had been contaminated by her association and likely sexual relationships with LRA soldiers while in captivity.

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The discourse supports conceptualisations of CBIC, and other CHIBOW as 'secondary victims' (Carpenter, 2007c; Clark, 2014; Seto, 2013). Secondly, it reinforces the link between the presence of these children and the complex TJ needs of communities that were affected by the atrocities committed by their parents (Carlson & Mazurana, 2008; Mochmann, 2008). Neenan (2017) succinctly explains how any intervention targeting these children and their mothers, if it ignores the TJ needs of the affected communities where they reside, may rather escalate the stigma and discrimination. This thesis agrees with this view and justifies it using the experience of previous interventions for children orphaned as a result of HIV/AIDS in Uganda. Cheney (2010) explains how Uganda Women's Effort to Save Orphans (UWESO) – a local NGO targeting orphans, including those whose parents died of HIV/AIDS – shifted its support to the households in which they lived. Citing Foster et al. (2005), the argument is that:

Focusing solely on children who have lost a parent fails to take account of those who are in a similar or even greater need. It can result in inappropriate categorisation and labelling of children, and it may generate conflicts over resources and priorities at community and household levels. (Foster et al., 2005: 3)

Therefore, interventions need to ensure parity by enabling a beneficiary child to have life chances similar to peers who have never experienced captivity.

2.3 Approaches and frameworks for analysing integration and /or reintegration

This section's analysis differentiates between integration and reintegration. Secondly, it discusses agency in frameworks or theoretically grounded models that have been advanced to analyse integration/reintegration in the academic literature.

2.3.1 Integration vis-à-vis reintegration

While the literature provides explicit definitions of reintegration, there is a scarcity of studies that explicitly explain what integration is. It may be assumed that an understanding of reintegration is sufficient to differentiate the integration process or concept, due to the link between mothers and their children. Reintegration is explained in various policies, such as the PPG (2007), African Union DDR Operation Guidelines for Children (2014) and the United Nations Integrated Standards for DDR (2006). It is also described in the academic literature (Dupuy & Peters, 2010; Joanna, 2013, Kiconco, 2015; Maina, July 2009; Özerdem, 2012; Torjesen, 2013). Reintegration is described as a long-term process in which persons formerly associated with armed forces and groups return to join the civilian communities to which they previously belonged. Joanna (2013) and Kiconco (2015) focus on the socio-economic aspects of reintegration, while Özerdem (2012) and Torjesen (2013) focus on the political and economic aspects. Joanna (2013) conceptualises reintegration as a linear process, but the PPG (2007), as well as the African Union, consider it a complex and dynamic process (African Union, July 2006).

The PPG measure integration using the ability to maintain life, dignity and livelihoods (Guideline 2.8). Dupuy and Peters (2010) use indicators such as being reunited with family or relatives; resumption or start of schooling; community acceptance; and, for the older ones, being able to have a livelihood, as well as being trusted to receive assistance in starting and managing a livelihood project. Özerdem, (2012) and Torjesen (2013) emphasise the need for community acceptance, a livelihood and an ideal TJ mechanism that can aid reintegration. All the above literature and issues indicate a focus on the reintegration of persons associated with armed forces, including child soldiers.

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The challenge of identifying an explicit definition for the integration of children associated with such armed forces has led to the adoption and modification of a definition of integration in contexts of forced migration. Threadgold and Court (2005: 8) define integration from the perspective of refugees. The ideas inherent in their definition are important to adapt to explain the use of the term in this thesis: 'Broadly speaking, integration is the process by which immigrants and refugees become part of the receiving society' (cited in Scottish Refugee Council, n.d.). Therefore, 'broadly speaking, integration is the process by which immigrants (CBIC) become part of the receiving society' (adapted from Threadgold & Court, 2005). This adjusted definition guides the development of the integration approach proposed in this chapter. This approach conceptualises integration as a process distinct from reintegration.

In practice, the absence of a specific concept of integration and the dominant focus on reintegration has resulted in the conceptualisation of integration as part of or similar to reintegration. The failure to have a distinct conceptualisation hinders recognition of the specificities involved in the process. For instance, the literature indicates that variations are acknowledged in the experiences of integration for CBIC on the basis of age and gender (Justice and Reconciliation Project, 2015b). These differences indicate possibilities of other distinctions, yet these are ignored by the lack of scrutiny of the details of integration. On the other hand, from an academic perspective the focus on reintegration has led to the neglect of integration and persons involved (CHIBOW) and the presentation of such children as mere appendages of their mothers.

2.3.2 Agency in theoretically grounded models of integration and/or reintegration

Before discussing some of the theoretically grounded models of integration/reintegration advanced in the literature, it is important to state that most theoretically grounded models of integration and/or reintegration reviewed tend to present children born of CRSV (including the children of child soldiers) as a by-product of their mothers' violation. In fact, most of the models in the literature focus on reintegration, rather than integration (Braithwaite et al., 2009; Özerdem, 2012; Torjesen, 2013). Although these models or theories can be adjusted to apply to the case of the children born of these integrating parents, doing so mainly situates them as appendages of their mothers, as discussed below.

The political economy model of 'ex-combatant reintegration'

The model by Torjesen (2013) focuses on policy-structured reintegration through the DDR approach. It seeks long-term political and economic reintegration following successful 'reinsertion'. This depends on community members' perceptions of the identity of the reintegrating individuals and requires an understanding of group dynamics (within armed forces and between former armed combatants and members in the new civilian communities of reintegration). While 'reinsertion' applies to ex-combatants, their children undergo a process of insertion. Like their parents, they are affected by the power relations in the new communities that they join, affecting their access to resources for livelihoods. Torjesen (2013) possibly adopts a narrow perception of ex-combatant reintegration that does not include the possibility that such ex-combatants may include females who, engaged in military activity, conceived and gave birth to children who must now integrate as their parents reintegrate.

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The changing group dynamics, the influence of power relations on the status of persons formerly associated with armed activities and the importance of livelihood in the new phase of life are relevant to understanding integration. The extension of this model to capture the realities of these children's integration requires the differentiation between reintegration and integration, despite the tendency for both processes to occur simultaneously. Doing so means adopting the definition of child soldiers entrenched in the Cape Town Principles (1997) and the PPG (2007). The Cape Town Principles (1997) advanced a broad definition of child soldiers, based on state and non-state organisations' intention to protect children from recruitment as child soldiers by armed forces or groups. They define a child soldier as:

Any person under 18 years of age who is part of any kind of regular or irregular armed force or armed group in any capacity, including but not limited to cooks, porters, messengers and anyone accompanying such groups, other than purely as family members. The definition includes girls recruited 'for sexual purposes and forced marriage'... does not only refer to a child who is carrying or has carried weapons.

The definition recognises that not all the children associated with such groups will have participated in combat or joined voluntarily. Such is the case with the LRA-abducted females who became mothers of CBIC. Therefore, interventions would need to address the specific needs of both the integrating and reintegrating ones. Lastly, Torjesen (2013) argues that the success of reintegration depends on the ability to address the post-conflict political and economic realities on the ground. Hence, as the reality of these children's integration reveals, adequate TJ is required to ensure that all war-affected victims receive a remedy appropriate to the violations linked to the war. The extended model would need to include concerns for adequate TJ approaches required for the effective integration of these children.

Ex-offender re-entry theory

The above approach by Özerdem (2012) focuses on the social and political dimensions of reintegration by targeting 'self-demobilisation', 'reinsertion' and community-located integration'. It argues for assistance to ex-offenders and the community that receives them, based on the social, political and economic realities on the ground, in order to prevent them from recidivism or reoffending. The theory recognises the importance of community acceptance to enabling reintegration. Özerdem explains that, for 'an ex-combatant and his or her family (to) feel part of, and be accepted by, the community' depends upon efforts on the part of both the reintegrating person and the community to which the person returns (Özerdem, 2012: 62). Furthermore, experiences of social stigma and discrimination reflect communities' quest for justice in response to the atrocities committed by the ex-offenders' group.

Hence, like Torjesen (2013), this theory explains the importance of community acceptance and appropriate TJ mechanisms in effecting reintegration, and does not recognise the possibility that some may integrate, concurrently with some who reintegrate. For Özerdem's (2012) theory to be appropriate to the analysis of integration, it would have to be extended to capture integration and the specific requirements of CBIC. Secondly, appropriate TJ options would be required for the integrating children, their reintegrating parents and the war-affected community. A failure to include the specificities of integration and TJ in extending the theory to CBIC would reinstate analysis of integration as a part of or similar to reintegration.

The social integration model

Apio (2013) provides the third model theoretically grounded in sociological theory, specifically addressing the integration of CBIC. Its aim is to improve integration through understanding the individual and group dynamics

involved in the process of uniting a mother of CBIC and her children with the community of return. The model confirms Özerdem's (2012) argument for the need to understand group dynamics and the importance of community acceptance. Apio (2013) focuses on the social and cultural dimensions that could improve integration, using the case of Uganda to ground her advancement of the need for social integration theories. However, considering that the current challenges of integration in Uganda involve more than social and cultural issues, there is a complexity of diverse challenges (economic, political and legal, as well as social and economic) behind the stigma and discrimination. Since both Özerdem (2012) and Torjesen (2013) explain the importance of appropriate TJ, applying this recommendation to the current approach suggested by Apio (2013) would fill the gap in her approach.

The above three approaches acknowledge the importance of the community's acceptance of the integrating children, the importance of access to socio-economic resources after insertion and the need for appropriate TJ remedies. However, before discussing children within literature on TJ, the next sub-section discusses rights-based approaches as the basis for making claims for agency for human beings.

2.4 Rights-based approaches and the protection of children born of conflict-related sexual violence

The rights-based approach (RBA) is dominant in the analysis of childhood or child-related issues because of the near-universal adoption and ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). The perception of a child, from this approach, is a human being who is different from adults but able to exercise agency within the capabilities of their age. The protection of children depends upon four cardinal principles (Barter, 2001; Bessell & Gal,

2009; Eekelaar, 1992; Montgomery, Burr & Woodhead, 2003; Freeman, 2007; Wells, 2009). The principles are child participation (Article 12); non-discrimination (Article 2); the best interest of the child (Article 3); and child survival and development (Article 6). Although some of these principles, such as the best interest of the child, are contested (Eekelaar, 1992; Freeman, 2007), the participation of children in decisions that affect them is encouraged as a way of advancing their best interest in policymaking (Boyden, 1994). Freeman (2007) explains that the contested nature of best interest leads to variations in practice; while some societies or situations may allow child participation, others may not. For Freeman, the prevention or acceptance of children's participation in processes and decisions that affect them depend on their capacity to do so and judgements by appropriate authorities on whether it is inclusion or exclusion that is in their best interest.

In addition to the CRC, the RBA has led to various normative and institutional protection mechanisms for multiple categories of children (Carpenter, 2010; Lee, 2017; UNICEF et al., 2009; Seto, 2013). In addition, different state and non-state actors are involved in guaranteeing rights-based protection. As noted in Chapter 1, RBAs shaped Uganda's guiding frameworks for integration and reintegration (PPG, 2007; DDR Agreement, 2008). Using the notion of global governance, Grugel and Piper (2007) explain the role of networks in responding to the plight of children in need of protection. The advocacy or intervention networks illustrate how RBAs have influenced a shift in protection away from the previously dominant top-down approaches. These strategies are effective because they foster collaboration among local, national and trans-national actors to push for the implementation of the rights-based framework. The shift from a hierarchical approach to a focus on networks provides an alternative to interventions in the interest of enhancing the protection of child rights.

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Furthermore, Wells (2009) argues that such human rights networks enable actors to synergise and deal with the shortcomings of each approach to child rights individually. At a local level, Grugel and Piper (2007: 20) argue that grassroots NGOs are relevant because they link the rights struggles of ordinary people to global frames of protection. Hence, through partnerships with other actors outside the state, they enable rights-based protection using networks with the capacity to influence the realisation of these rights.

Adherents of RBAs recognise a multiplicity of roles in protecting children born of CRSV (Atingo Owacgiu, 2008; Carpenter, 2010; Clark, 2014; Rimmer, 2006; Seto, 2013). For instance, Seto (2013: 114) describes the need for specific human rights interventions for children born of wartime sexual violence because of the inability of current child rights approaches to address their specific plight. Carpenter (2010: 116), on the other hand, explains the complexity involved in pushing for a specific advocacy agenda for children born of sexual violence. She cites examples of advocacy experts who explain the complexity of advancing particular advocacy for these children when there is already substantial advocacy against sexual violence. Such arguments reinforce their conceptualisation as appendages of their mothers and related response interventions attached to that view. She therefore recommends specific advocacy leading to the adoption of specific norms for such children.

Despite the strengths of the RBA, its application in the context of children born out of CRSV is complex for two reasons. First is the tension between proponents of individual protection and proponents of group or cultural rights, reflective of universalism versus relativism debates. The supporters of individual rights seek to enhance the recognition of these children, and proponents of group rights support cultural non-recognition. This is particularly true of non-Western cultures, whose view of childhood is

determined by the relationship between children and their society (Boyden, 1994; Gyekye, 1997a; Mbiti, 1967; Seto, 2013).

Goodhart (2007) explains that cultural communities do not recognise children born of CRSV because the communities have semi-autonomous rights. These rights mean that they cannot be forced to recognise or accept children born of CRSV as members. This leads to tension between the quest for individual rights and the cultural community's cultural autonomy. In communities where the cultural determination of identity and group belonging is still active, advancing individual rights claims may prove inappropriate. Such is the case in some African countries where the phenomenon of child soldiers occurred. Countries such as Sierra Leone, Uganda and Nigeria have experienced the recruitment or abduction of children by armed groups. There are distinct cultures across African countries. However, in most of the Black African countries, the conceptualisation of childhood is that the identity of a child is determined by membership of a cultural group (Boakye-Boaten, 2010; Gyekye, 1997b; Lancy, 2014, Mbiti, 1967; Ndofirepi & Shumba, 2014; Bell, 2002).

Both the International Council on Human Rights Policy (ICHRP, 2009) and Quane (2013) contest the binary analytical discussions and policy application of human rights from the perspective of universality vis-à-vis cultural relativism debates. Quane (2013) supports legal pluralism as allowing various avenues for the realisation of rights and recognition of cultural diversity. The literature on legal pluralism justifies the co-existence of more than one legal regime or process within a geographical area, aimed at addressing conflict. Corradi and Desmet (2015) explain the need to understand the interplay between state laws protecting children and the social arrangements within which such children live. Such an understanding is important for making sense of how global norms (those enshrined in

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international, relational and national legal frameworks) and local norms (such as those enshrined in customary and traditional practices) interact and influence each other.

The International Council on Human Rights Policy (ICHRP, 2009) defines legal pluralism as a system in which diverse legal orders are recognised within a nation state. Legal orders are defined as:

Norms, rules and institutions formed by a society or group of people to ensure social stability. They usually describe what is right and how to act, and what is wrong and how not to act; and the remedies for and consequences of such actions. Plural legal orders arise when a specific dispute or subject matter may be governed by multiple norms, laws or forums that co-exist within a particular jurisdiction. (ICHRP, 2009: 2)

Quane (2013), on the other hand, defines legal pluralism as 'the co-existence *de jure* or *de facto* of different normative legal orders within the same geographical and temporal space' (p. 676). Gaps in the realisation of human rights in situations where state and non-state laws co-exist are regarded as the responsibility of the state (ICHRP, 2009; Quane; 2013: 682). The ICHRP report (2009), however, notes the existence of plural systems, such as a state's legal orders and that a non-state actor or institution can affect access to justice for some categories of persons, like women. This is the case for the failure of cultural norms and institutions to handle sexual violence committed against formerly abducted women (Porter, 2013; Carlson & Mazurana, 2008; Bergmans, 2017) and the complexity of dealing with the same at national level. in the Kwoyelo case (Porter & Macdonald, 2016) and internationally (Branch, 2017). Despite the possibility of such gaps in human rights protection, the CRC makes it clear that it is the primary duty bearer for ensuring that human rights are promoted and protected.

It is important to note at this point in the discussion that the question of who is or should be responsible for the plight of children born of war as a general category was asked by Mochmann and Lee (2010). State responsibility

arises out of the doctrine of Responsibility to Protect (Woocher, 2012) and International Human Rights Law (Roland, 1998). This responsibility of the state includes the provision of reparations (Sakin, 2014). Roland (1998) refers to Rousseau in explaining a state's duty as a sovereign entity to protect its citizens:

Besides the public person, we have to consider the private persons composing it whose life and liberty are naturally independent of it. We are bound then to distinguish clearly between the respective rights of the citizens and the sovereign and between the duties the former have to fulfil as subjects, and the natural rights they should enjoy as men...in the social contract... the individuals... have made an advantageous exchange: instead of an uncertain and precarious way of living they have got one that is better and more secure; instead of natural independence they have got liberty, instead of the power to harm others security for themselves, and instead of their strength, which others might overcome, a right which social union makes invincible. Their very life, which they have devoted to the State, is by it constantly protected. (Roland, 1998)

Woocher (2012), on the other hand, uses the doctrines of human security (HS) and R2P to explain the primary duty of the state according to the first pillar of the principle of Responsibility to Protect (R2P). Being born to a parent who is a citizen of Uganda gives all CBIC the status of Ugandan nationals, who deserve protection of the state (Atingo, 2008). HS seeks to enable people-centred protection, as in the former United Nations Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon's statement that 'Human security is based on a fundamental understanding that governments retain the primary role for ensuring the survival, livelihood, and dignity of their citizens' (International Coalition for Responsibility to Protect, 2010). The first pillar of the doctrine of R2P mandates the state to use her political and legal systems to protect CBIC. Other state and non-state actors (local and international), where necessary, complement the primary responsibility bearer in safeguarding affected citizens. The responsibility of the state includes both mitigation and prevention from harm (Woocher, 2012).

According to the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty (December 2001), R2P enables strategies such as those

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required for the reintegration of ex-combatants. Where this may cover the mothers of children born of war – in cases where they, too, are child soldiers or adults female combatants - this re-emphasises the approach of intervention for children through their mothers. Therefore, the application of the principle of R2P to situations where CBIC experience 'shallow and unsustainable' integration supports the argument for the state's political and legal mandate to ensure the protection of citizens. This implies the duty of the state to provide appropriate intervention for bridging gaps in integration and to enable a shift towards the ideal form of integration.

Examples of state intervention to protect children born of war (CRSV) in the literature include the cases of children born to Vietnamese women and American soldiers (Hwang, 2013; Lee, 2017; McKelvey & Webb, 1995). Others were born during the War of Partition of India and Pakistan (Das, 2007). Both examples illustrate cases where the state took responsibility for children born of CRSV. These examples show state responsibility because of the social contract with citizens. In the case of the children born to Vietnamese women, as a state, the United States of America passed the Homecoming Act, enabling these children to acquire American citizenship, and helped them with the transition to a new life of integration in America whereas, in the case of India and Pakistan, the governments took the lead in deciding the nationality of the children involved and helping the women and their children to reintegrate/integrate (Das, 2007).

Furthermore, McEvoy-Levy (2007) explains how in Rwanda the state adjusted its education policy as a way of ensuring that the discourse on genocide includes the reality of the birth of children born of CRSV, as a means of mitigating stigma and discrimination. Therefore, the passing of a resolution for gender-sensitive reparations that include the needs of CBIC by parliament (2014) is an example of the exercise of this duty by the legislative institution of the state. However, the absence of an adopted or

legally passed TJ policy creates a gap in following up on claims for reparations for CBIC. Despite this gap, Sakin (2014) argues that, regardless of any challenges, as a signatory to many laws that provide for reparations at regional and international levels Uganda has a mandate to provide both material and symbolic (moral) compensation. Such reparations would address urgent short-term needs, such as health and education, for vulnerable groups such as children born of CRSV. Other reparations would respond to long-term strategies that deal with less-urgent issues.

Reparations are the entitlements that victims of conflict-related human rights violations claim. The entitlement is entrenched in various human rights legal frameworks such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child (Article 39) and the Rome Statute of the ICC (Articles 68 and 75) (United Nations General Assembly, 2006). Details of the right to remedy are consolidated in the United Nations Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law (2006). The provisions seek to address serious violations that cause insult to the dignity of persons and provide a framework that states can use to address violations of International Human Rights Law, as well as International Humanitarian Law. State responsibility or obligations are entrenched in Article 3 of the United Nations Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law (2006). Article 3(d), for example, mandates states to provide remedies, including reparations. Article 8 categorises victimhood as both primary (the person directly harmed) and secondary (persons affected by harm to primary victims, such as family members). Therefore, as secondary victims, CBIC qualify as beneficiaries of reparations.

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The PPG (2007) also reflect the doctrine of R2P by placing the primary duty of protecting, integration and reintegration of persons associated with armed forces and groups' on the state. Hence, in situations where integration is already problematic, adequate reparations are required for CBIC. Such reparations would help to improve their integration by addressing the social injustices linked to their experiences of stigma and discrimination.

The second challenge to advancing rights-based interventions for children born out of CRSV, as Carpenter (2010) and Seto (2013) note, is that such approaches would target them as persons with rights and agency. The two scholars therefore advocate for RBAs that focus on children as distinct subjects from their mothers. Carpenter (2010) and Parra (2018) explain that, in practice, there tends to be tension between attempts to protect the mothers of such children – who benefit from a myriad of existing legal frameworks and advocacy efforts – and attempts to push for separate protection for their children. Carpenter (2010) explains how practitioners are sceptical of pursuing such separate protection attempts, claiming that children of affected females can benefit from the existing support to their mothers.

Contrary to the above argument, Neenan (2017) and Parra (2018) stress that a binary categorisation (either mother-focused or child-focused) reinforces the debate inherent in the protection of children as independent subjects (rights of children) vis-à-vis the protection of their mothers (rights of women). They argue that both categories of persons require adequate protection and remedies to their plight. Hence, Parra (2018) argues that, contrary to the perception that the categories are distinct, they intersect. Hence, because children are dependent on their mothers as caregivers, it is not possible to disregard the assistance that can be provided only through their mothers (or other adult caregivers) as they gradually grow up and

increase their capacity to exercise their agency as persons with rights of their own.

Neenan (2017) notes that all approaches aimed at child protection have their weaknesses, so the limitations of RBAs should not override their relevance. In addition, beyond the essentialist debates between universality and relativism within debates in human rights, some scholars criticise the focus on one of the other through their advancement of 'cultural pluralism'. Viaene and Brems (2010) argue that presenting a choice between the two is simplistic. Citing Hellum (1999: 96), they explain that pluralism occupies 'the space between universalism and relativism as well as individualism and communalism where human rights and non-Western cultures can be reconciled' (Viaene & Brems, 2010: 207). This view recognises that the two spaces can complement each other, as opposed to being in contradiction. Therefore, in the context of pursuing reparations as a form of TJ for these children, the argument on plurality of sources of TJ would apply in determining whether such reparations would emerge from trials or truth commissions.

It is important to recall that the responsibility for ensuring human rights protection and promotion lies with the state, as explained using the doctrine of R2P. The same duty linked to the need to guarantee HS is explained by the former United Nations Secretary-General, Ban Ki-Moon. The next section explores the TJ approach in the context of integration of CBIC.

2.5 Transitional justice for children born in captivity

Human security emerged as a neo-liberal contest of the dominant security approach that enhances state-centred protection (Black, Shaw & Maclean, 2013; Tarnogórski, 2013). This focus influenced the framing of most interventions in the post-1994 period as HS interventions in response to

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human rights violations (Black, Shaw & Maclean, 2013; Tarnogórski, 2013). Such interventions have been of both a military and non-military nature, justified as moral actions, such as those aimed at rebuilding societies after catastrophes such as wars (Tadjbakhsh & Chenoy, 2007). The United Nations definition of TJ is in the United Nations Security Council Report S/2004/616 on 'The rule of law and transitional justice in conflict and post-conflict societies' (23/08/2004):

The full range of processes and mechanisms associated with a society's attempts to come to terms with a legacy of large-scale past abuses, to ensure accountability, serve justice and achieve reconciliation. These may include both judicial and non-judicial mechanisms, with differing levels of international involvement (or none at all) and individual prosecutions, reparations, truth-seeking, institutional reform, vetting and dismissals, or a combination thereof.

Despite the broad choice of TJ mechanisms that a country may opt for, Graybill (2004) observes that most Africans prefer restoration of social harmony to retribution. These mechanisms are considered appropriate for community or cultural interventions to facilitate healing and reconciliation (Baines, 2005; Corbin, 2008; Graybill, 2004; Murithi 2002; Murithi, 2007; Pham et al., 2009). While Western and liberal societies prefer retributive options, most non-Western societies are inclined to restorative justice (Blattman & Annan, 2009; Carlson & Mazurana, 2008; Clark, 2011; Honwana, 2011; Nagy, 2008; Wells, 2012). This tension has been described as the peace versus justice debate (Sriram, 2009).

The discourse on peace versus justice emphasises choices between retributive and restorative mechanisms of TJ (Sriram, 2009). The author notes that policy choices and academic discussions that focus on such a binary choice are over-simplistic because, in practice, each option has challenges and countries may opt to use a mix of methods, adopting each at an appropriate time. Hence, the United Nations' broad approach offers a wider scope of choice, as reflected in the former UN secretary-General Kofi Anan's recognition of the need to embrace both formal judicial mechanisms

and traditional mechanisms of dispute resolution (S/2004/616).¹²

Furthermore, Huyse (1995) argues that policy choices, concerning which TJ mechanisms to adopt, cover whether to remember or forget about past abuses and whether to impose sanctions on those responsible for committing atrocities. Moreover, truth commissions serve as a form of collective memory of the past, especially when they are followed by reparations.

In Uganda, the debate on TJ was dominated by the essentialist/binary choice of either peace or justice (Allen, 2006; Baines, 2003; Branch, 2005, 2007). However, Huyse (2008) argues that the focus on the choice of one option against the other is simplistic, since both are required. Moreover, some options may be preferred at a particular point in time and others later. In Uganda's case, where TJ has been applied and no truth commission established (by the time of writing), some scholars have argued that the various cleansing rituals and reconciliation practices involved are unable to address the TJ plight of victims such as CRSV (Carlson & Mazurana, 2008; Porter, 2013), and the alternative is truth commissions. However, some scholars who have analysed truth commissions argue a tendency of such commissions to overlook sexual violence as a crime and the victims affected by it (Parra, 2018; Rimmer, 2006; Theidon, 2015). In the case of Uganda, truth commissions have not yet been adopted to address the crimes committed in the LRA war, despite their inclusion in the draft TJ policy (2013). By the time of this submission, the cabinet of Uganda government passed the TJ policy¹³ and substantive actions including reparations for various groups are awaited.

¹² United Nations Security Council (S/2004/616). The rule of law and transitional justice in conflict and post-conflict societies. Report of the Secretary General. 21 August 2004. Available at <https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/2004%20report.pdf>

¹³ See: <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2019/07/08/transitional-justice-and-the-implementation-gap-in-uganda/>

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As Huyse (2008) argues in relation to the timing of preferred options of TJ, the RLP (2005) findings on the preference for peace first and justice later would have been informed by the circumstances at the time: the peace talks that were ongoing. Hence, many years into the post-conflict situation, other types of TJ options are preferred. Moreover, the uncertainties surrounding the peace talks made many NGOs and local leaders from the Acholi push for peace and possible withdrawal of the International Criminal Court (ICC) indictments (Baines, 2003; Branch, 2004). It is important to note that the inability to conduct conclusive negotiations and the subsequent trial of Dominic Ongwen, following his surrender and transfer to the ICC, and Thomas Kwoyelo in Uganda, has led to the focus on trials. Abduction and forced marriage are some of the charges that Ongwen is being tried for. Carlson and Mazurana (2008) note that the Appeals Chamber of the Special Court of Sierra Leone in the case of *Prosecutor v. Alex Tamba Brima, Brima Bazzy Kamara and Santigie Borbor Kanu* case created a precedence in the criminalisation of forced marriage. Similarly, the case of a former Congolese Vice-President (Jean-Pierre Bemba), who commanded an armed group that committed various crimes in the Central African Republic, included the charge of CRSV.

Bemba was convicted in 2016 for the use of rape as a weapon of war and his responsibility for the actions of his soldiers. The verdict was to be followed by the pursuit of reparations to victims – sending an important message regarding the matter – from a victim-centred court such as the ICC (O'Regan, 2012). The inclusion of rape on Bemba's charge sheet framed it as a heinous crime, prompting the need to address its impact on the victims. Hence, the case of Ongwen partly relied on the outcome of the Bemba case. However, on 8 June 2018 the Appeals Chamber overturned the ruling. Some commentators argue that this decision has adverse effects on victims'

changes to realise reparations.¹⁴ Nonetheless, the charges of sexual violence and of the use of forced marriage remain as a possible pathway for the mothers of CBIC and their children.

Furthermore, the influence of feminist scholarship and human rights advocacy have influenced the pursuit of justice for female victims of sexual violence (Bell & O'Rourke, 2007; Seto, 2013). For example, the right to reparations for women as victims of gender-based violence is linked to the non-binding Nairobi Declaration on the Right of Women and Girls to a Remedy and Reparations to inform its reparation orders (Birchall, Francq & Pijnenburg, 2011: 15). Although Meintjes (2009) argues that framing such pursuits of justice as 'gender justice' overlooks other categories of war-related gender violence, such as men, in Uganda a joint consultation between JRP and IJR (2011)¹⁵ defines gender justice broadly. Derived from the information obtained from research, it encompasses all vulnerable groups of persons in need of justice in the context of war-related violations. The categories include women, children, the elderly and youth, who may benefit from TJ processes such as reparations, truth-seeking and traditional justice. This local perspective resonates with Carpenter's (2010) and Seto's (2013) argument regarding the failure to differentiate between and protect children as independent subjects. However, as explained earlier, the complex link between mothers and children as victims of sexual violence makes it more appropriate to adopt not practices that do not differentiate but those that target both (Neenan, 2017; Parra, 2018).

¹⁴ The ICC's Treatment of Sexual and Gender-Based Violence Crimes. Available at <http://www.kirschinstitute.ca/analyss-iccs-treatment-sexual-gender-based-violence-crimes/> (accessed on 2/11/18).

¹⁵ JRP-IJR. Gender Justice and Reconciliation in Uganda Policy Brief, August 2011. Accessible at <http://www.justiceandreconciliation.org/publications/statements-briefs/2011/gender-justice-and-reconciliation-in-northern-uganda-policy-brief-no-4/> on 29/09/2018.

2.5.1 The place of children born of conflict-related sexual violence in transitional justice

Regardless of the above arguments and advancements in legal cases linked to CBIC or CHIBOW, it is worth noting that the place of children in discourses on TJ is complex. This is because children are no longer only victims of war but have, in some cases, been involved as perpetrators (Baines, 2014; Branch, 2005; Smith, 2010). This involvement has led to a blurring of their identity between the categories of 'perpetrators' and 'victims' (DeLaet, 2007; Goodhart, 2007). Beyond the victim/perpetrator debate, the dominant view is that all children are considered victims, regardless of their role in armed conflict or war (Montgomery, Burr & Woodhead, 2003; Smith, 2010; PPG, 2007: 9). Baines (2015: 317) cites other authors in arguing that the perception of victims as persons who are helpless and in need of protection (without agency) is problematic and is based on the need to 'renegotiate the social contract after mass violence' by reinstating the victim-perpetrator binary. Instead, in support of various scholars, she notes that victims are often persons capable of exercising agency. Therefore, the case of formerly abducted children, the trial of Dominic Ongwen for example, illustrates the complex nature of the victim-perpetrator divide and the list of charges against him is evidence of his exercise of agency both as a victim of abduction and a perpetrator when he continued to commit wrongful acts after reaching the age of maturity. Moreover, this complex perpetrator/victim identity is evident in debates around trials of former child soldiers (Huyse, 2008: 3). Depending on the nature of the outcomes of trials, the plight of their victims of their atrocities, who include CBIC, is affected.

Irrespective of whether CBIC achieve reparation as an outcome of trials or truth commissions, there is a need to ensure that they are not treated merely as evidence of the atrocities committed against their mothers. Such

is the tendency among cases involving CHIBOW (Rimmer, 2006; Seto, 2013, Theidon, 2015). One way in which this can happen is when their rights and agency are promoted. Gracia Machel's message in the foreword of the book, *Children and Transitional Justice*, explicitly observes that the participation of children within TJ processes enhances their agency and best interest:

Adults can act on behalf of children and in the best interests of children, but unless children themselves are consulted and engaged, we will fall short and undermine the potential to pursue the most relevant and most durable solutions. Yes, we must be certain that involving children protects. (Parmar et al., 2010: x-xi)

Furthermore, both Smith (2010) and Siegrist (2010) argue that children can participate as witnesses in TJ processes. However, their participation needs to adhere to the principle of the best interest of the child, as entrenched in Article 3 of the CRC. Furthermore, Siegrist (2010) elaborates that inclusion of such children in various TJ processes varies according to context and depends on their capacity to be involved. Moreover, experts in child protection on a case-by-case basis have determined the capacity in practice (Siegrist, 2010). So far, there is a dearth of studies that suggest the participation of children in the trials ongoing at The Hague and in Uganda. What remains is a hope in reparation as an outcome of the trial of Ongwen at the ICC.

2.5.2 Reparations to children born of conflict-related sexual violence

Reparations are broadly understood as remedies to any harm suffered by victims of war (Brooks, 1999a). In the case of CBIC, they become claimants of reparations as secondary victims (Clark, 2014; Mochmann, 2008). Baines (2015: 319) explains that the dominant legal perspective to TJ leads to a focus on direct violence and obscures non-direct impacts. Her argument may be extended to make the case that the focus on direct victims overshadows the victims, such as children born of CRSV. Hence, the discourse of 'secondary victims' adequately frames the dilemma of such children.

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Furthermore, Theidon (2015) and Parra (2018) explain how the experiences of such children are silenced through the non-participation or nature of testimony provided by their mothers when they participate in Truth and Reconciliation Commissions. Theidon (2015) argues that CHIBOW tend to be presented as mere appendages of their mothers.

The rights of children, as victims of war-related human rights violations, to benefit from reparations are entrenched in international instruments (legal frameworks) such as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Article 39) and the Rome Statute of the ICC (Articles 68 and 75), among other provisions (United Nations General Assembly, 2006). Details of the right to remedy are consolidated in the United Nations Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law (2006). The provisions seek to address serious violations that cause insult to the dignity of persons and provide a framework that states can use to address violations in International Human Rights Law, as well as in International Humanitarian Law. State responsibility or obligation is entrenched in Articles 3(d) and 8 of the United Nations Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law (2006). Therefore, CBIC as secondary victims qualify as beneficiaries of reparations.

As noted in Chapter 1, reparations have been suggested to be the optimum remedy for the plight of CBIC (Goodhart, 2007; Justice and Reconciliation Project, 2015b; Lühe & Mugero, 2014; Rimmer, 2006). The growing literature available on reparations for these children indicates a preference for material/distributive justice, which requires a redistribution of resources (Brophy, 2006; Torpey, 2006). Despite support for redistribution, some

adherents of reparation argue that, alone, this may not address the comprehensive social injustices. In addition to compensation (distributive justice), there is a need for symbolic reparation to avoid misinterpreting it as a trade-off for the harm done (Brooks, 1999a; Brophy, 2006; De Grief, 2008; Torpey, 2006). According to Macioce (2016: 4), symbolic acts are forms of recognition and require changes in how people interpret phenomena, as well as change in the socially shared paradigms relating to the interpretation of social practices. When recognition and redistribution complement each other, it avoids essentialist/binary choices.

Lühe and Mugeru (2014) support a distributive justice approach to reparation for CHIBOW/CBIC. Distributive justice seeks the redistribution of resources to address socio-economic inequalities (Fraser, 1997). In this case, Lühe and Mugeru (2014) make a claim for the need for various socio-economic services and infrastructural development, whereby redistribution would address the challenges of these children. Such redistribution is relevant to meeting their material deficiencies. Another source justifies redistribution, despite claims of economic challenges that Uganda as a state advances to justify its failure to redistribute resources, as required in reparation. According to Sakin (2014):

Uganda's lack of resources must not be used as a reason to delay or not implement a reparations process, as can be seen in other African countries where relatively small amounts have at times been paid. (p. 547)

The reason provided is that Uganda is a signatory to various laws at the international level that mandate it to provide reparations. Hence, any state that is a signatory to international and regional legislation that provides for reparations has a mandate to offer such reparation as rights to which children born of CRSV are entitled. The state's responsibility is entrenched in the United Nations Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights

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Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law (2006).

Therefore, CBIC, as secondary victims, qualify as beneficiaries of reparation.

Redistribution is adopted more frequently than recognition in post-conflict contexts (Andrieu, 2010; Gready & Robins, 2014). Redistribution targets both harm and inequalities through remedies that provide material compensation. These compensations do not match the extent of harm but aim to enable the recipient to improve their conditions, given the impact of the harm on their life in comparison to their peers. The literature supporting recognition as a form of reparation is critical of approaches that advance redistribution alone. The argument is that, by ignoring recognition (symbolic reparation), such compensation becomes equivalent to a pay-off for the harm done (Brooks, 1999a; Brophy, 2006; De Grief, 2008; Torpey, 2006). For instance, Brophy (2006) argues that:

A criticism of the narrow definition (reparations as compensation) rests upon claims that some harms can never have adequate repayments done as restitution and apologies may be meaningful in such cases. They recognise that apologies would not make amends for damage done, but would for some victims be more meaningful than payments. (p. 11)

In the same manner, enacting only symbolic deeds that enable recognition would sustain the socio-economic gaps resulting from inequalities linked to the non-recognised persons. Therefore, recognition and redistribution should complement each other. Verdeja (2008) advances such a broad approach through his critical theory of reparative justice, applicable to post-conflict contexts. He grounds his critical theory on the social justice perspective of Fraser (1997). Fraser advocates a social justice perspective that responds to injustices that require remedies through both recognition and redistribution. The perspective aims to enhance parity by favourably adjusting the status of people who experience social injustice. The result would be a reduction in inequalities and improvement in the lives of beneficiaries of interventions to the standard of peers who do not experience the same injustices.

Verdeja (2008) adopts the concept of status parity to argue for reparations to address human rights violations in order to adjust the status inequalities arising from the victimisation of war-affected victims. According to him, its ultimate goal of is to 'Restore victims' dignity and self-worth so that they may participate fully in social, economic and political life, achieving "reciprocal recognition and status equality" with their peers' (Verdeja, 2008: 213).

Such interventions would aim to counter 'disrespectful identities' and practices that enhance 'misrecognition'. Furthermore, Verdeja justifies the need for recognition and redistribution for secondary victims by referring to Boxill's (2003) justification of reparations for descendants of slavery. Boxill grounds his argument on the philosophy of Locke's *Second Treatise of Government*, which argues for a right to reparation paid by the one who caused the damage to the one who suffered the damage. He therefore draws upon this right to justify the claim made by Black Americans who suffer injustice (as secondary victims) because of their ancestors' experience of slavery (primary victims). Hence, in the context of CBIC, Verdeja (2008) uses the concept of 'status parity' to argue for reparation to address human rights violations to adjust the 'status inequalities' arising from the victimisation of war-affected victims. Such a broad approach to reparation would promote policies that further individual autonomy and parity. Hence, this thesis supports a broad approach to reparation. It uses ideas entrenched in Verdeja's (2008) critical theory of reparative justice to argue for both recognition and redistribution in response to the TJ needs of CBIC. However, for this suggestion to be justified, empirical research is required. This study will explore the reparation needs of these children by the communities where they reside and use the empirical findings to assess whether the needs reflect a preference for redistribution (material) or recognition (symbolic), or both.

Since reparations seek to address harms resulting from human rights violations, the next section discusses rights-based approaches or protection for CBIC.

2.6 Human security approach

The United Nations Commission on Human Security defines HS as a people-centred approach to security that seeks to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that advance human freedoms and human fulfilment (UNDP, 2009). In 1994, through the United Nations Human Development Report, global concern increased for protecting human beings as victims of war-related violations through a human security approach (UNDP, 1994). Cilliers (2004) writes particularly on HS in Africa and equates it to community security. Her analytical framework looks at HS from five levels; that is, from the person-community-state-region and international security there are linkages between these various structures in international relations. She notes, however, that the post-cold war period for Africa has been characterised by a number of local and trans-national HS concerns, yet many regimes (most of them neo-patrimonial in nature) are more pre-occupied with the realist perception (state survival) than the protestations of individuals. Governance and poverty play a significant role in influencing insecurity in Africa.

In addition, Marhia (2013), argues that resource constraints affect these HS interventions, leading to the prioritisation of some beneficiaries over others by default. The default category of humans (children were taken as a universal category of victims) leads to the exclusion or discrimination of some (those who do not benefit from universal targeting):

The problem is that, in the process of operationalising human security, the category of the 'human' is likely to be 'closed' or 'finished' in the particular context of its

application. Decisions will have to be made about what and who is to be secured, from what or whom and how. (Marhia, 2013: 26)

Seto (2013: 119) cites Carpenter (2010) in explaining that advocacy networks are biased in their consideration of which subjects are worthy of protection. The focus on child soldiers and victims of sexual violence, among other vulnerable children included or recognised on the list of the UN Secretary-General makes CHIBOW non-issues, because of the political and conceptual complexity of their identity. The United Nations Secretary-General periodically reports those countries and actors that are guilty of committing 'six grave violations' against children in armed conflicts: killing or maiming children; recruitment or use of child soldiers; attacks against schools or hospitals; rape and other grave sexual violence; abduction of children; and denial of humanitarian access (UNICEF et al., 2009). All these categories target children as direct victims of war-related atrocities yet exclude CHIBOW, as secondary victims of CRSV, becoming an issue of concern in discourse and literature in the post-war environment (Carpenter, 2007a; McEvoy-Levy, 2007).

The non-recognition of children born of CRSV explains why CBIC were previously described as 'forgotten children' (Apio, 2007), the 'neglected category' (Carpenter, 2010) and 'secondary victims' (Carpenter, 2007a; McEvoy-Levy, 2007). Hence, for the HS approach to apply to CBIC, it would have to recognise them as subjects worth protecting, as Carpenter (2010) and Seto (2013) advocate. When such is the case, interventions have the potential to meet the material and dignity needs of a person to secure a meaningful life within the community (Thomas, 2001). Hence, the recognition of children born of CRSV by the United Nations in 2018 illustrates progress in advocacy efforts pushing for their inclusion on the human security agenda.

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It is worth noting that human security is a contested concept. Eldering (2010) explains that HS is an ambiguous and vague concept. Acharya (2001) describes HS as a Western concept for advancing the interests of Western nations over the non-Western through interventions democracy, globalisation, human rights and humanitarian interventions. This thesis does not engage with these debates, but rather recognises the rationale of HS for the protection of vulnerable persons (those facing various threats). Alkire (2003) divides threats into either direct (violence) or indirect (results of hazards or policy challenges). Owen (2008), on the other hand, considers threats as being those things that target the integrity of individuals, and points to disease, poverty, natural disasters and violence, landmines and human rights abuses. Since children born of CRSV are victimised (denied rights) because of the violence committed against their mothers, they are potential beneficiaries of human rights protection, as witnessed in their inclusion on the United Nations agenda of 2018, where their plight was recognised.

Furthermore, beyond the contested concept, the thesis argues that Alkire's (2003) conceptualisation of HS offers an appropriate lens to address threats and a possible framework to ensure the protection of CBIC pragmatically. For Alkire (2003: 24), it is important to target the 'vital core' in any HS intervention, because institutions cannot target all aspects of intervention, yet the 'vital core' is the minimum that must be targeted at all costs. She focuses on the concept in the description of HS and explains that the absence of a philosophical contest of the 'vital core' renders it able to reconcile tensions or gaps in dominant approaches (rights, needs, poverty and quality of life). Furthermore, she breaks it into three constitutive elements of dignity, livelihood and survival. This thesis agrees with the need to target the 'vital core' at all costs and uses her argument of the absence of a philosophical contest of the concept to argue for possibilities of extending

the 'vital core' analysis to the case of integration. The pragmatic relevance of the 'vital core' is illustrated in its implicit entrenchment in the Paris Principles as Guidelines (2007), as explained in Chapter 1.

Therefore, if CBIC and their integration are not responded to as by-products of their mothers' violations, the Principles and Guidelines (PPG) would enable better integration due to the 'vital core' entrenchment. For this approach to be useful as an academic analytical approach, it requires theorising or philosophical justification. The next section therefore argues for the possibility to adjusting Alkire's (2003) conceptualisation of the 'vital core' to constitute an 'extended vital core' approach that may be backed by a philosophically grounded justification.

An 'extended vital core' approach

In normative and pragmatic terms, as a framework for integration, the 'extended vital core' may offer an ideal framework for structuring integration. In situations where integration is already problematic, adopting appropriate reparations would help to address gaps inherent in the failure of integration strategies to meet the 'vital core'. Reparations would respond to the social injustices and create opportunities for beneficiary children to have parity with their peers who do not suffer stigma and discrimination because of a war-related identity.

Honneth (1995) argues that 'self-realisation' is an important end and means to 'social integration', regardless of the nature of their community, pro-individualism or pro-solidarity. It requires three forms of recognition (esteem, love and respect) through interventions at three levels: individual, communal (civil society) and the state. The interventions should ensure parity between beneficiaries and other citizens in communities of integration. Examples of such interventions may include countering disrespectful

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ideologies or actions through human rights advocacy and legislations. These are important in the protection of the rights of the affected persons.

These approaches reflect 'vital core' means to the realisation of the ends in Guideline 2.8 of the PPG. For example, it includes the role of the family as the primary source, for such acceptance shapes interventions for family unity or reunification (Guidelines 6.31 to 6.35.2). It is within a family that a person derives their belonging, acceptance and love. Belonging to a family and acceptance within a community or integration and reintegration thus become the enablers of survival (by providing emotional support) for a person in a community.

This thesis argued in Chapter 1 for the implicit entrenchment of the 'vital core' in the PPG (2007), providing sufficient grounds for making claims for recognition in practice. For example, Guideline 2.8 of the PPG reflects the 'vital core' ends of reintegration and integration. Guidelines 7.47, 7.48, 7.69 and 7.75 recommend various approaches to reintegration and integration.

There are some similarities in how Honneth's (1995) three forms of recognition and the elements of the 'vital core' as entrenched in the PPG (2007) as in the figure below.

Honneth (1995) argues that love is the most important of all the three forms of recognition because:

If all goes well at their first relationships to others, infants gradually acquire a fundamental faith in their environment and, concomitantly, a sense of trust in their own bodies as reliable sources of signals as to their own needs. (Honneth, 1995: xii)

He explains that love involves acceptance and support derived from primary relations, comprising relationships at family level and friendships at the community level. Such love facilitates the development and maintenance of the basic relation to self (self-confidence).

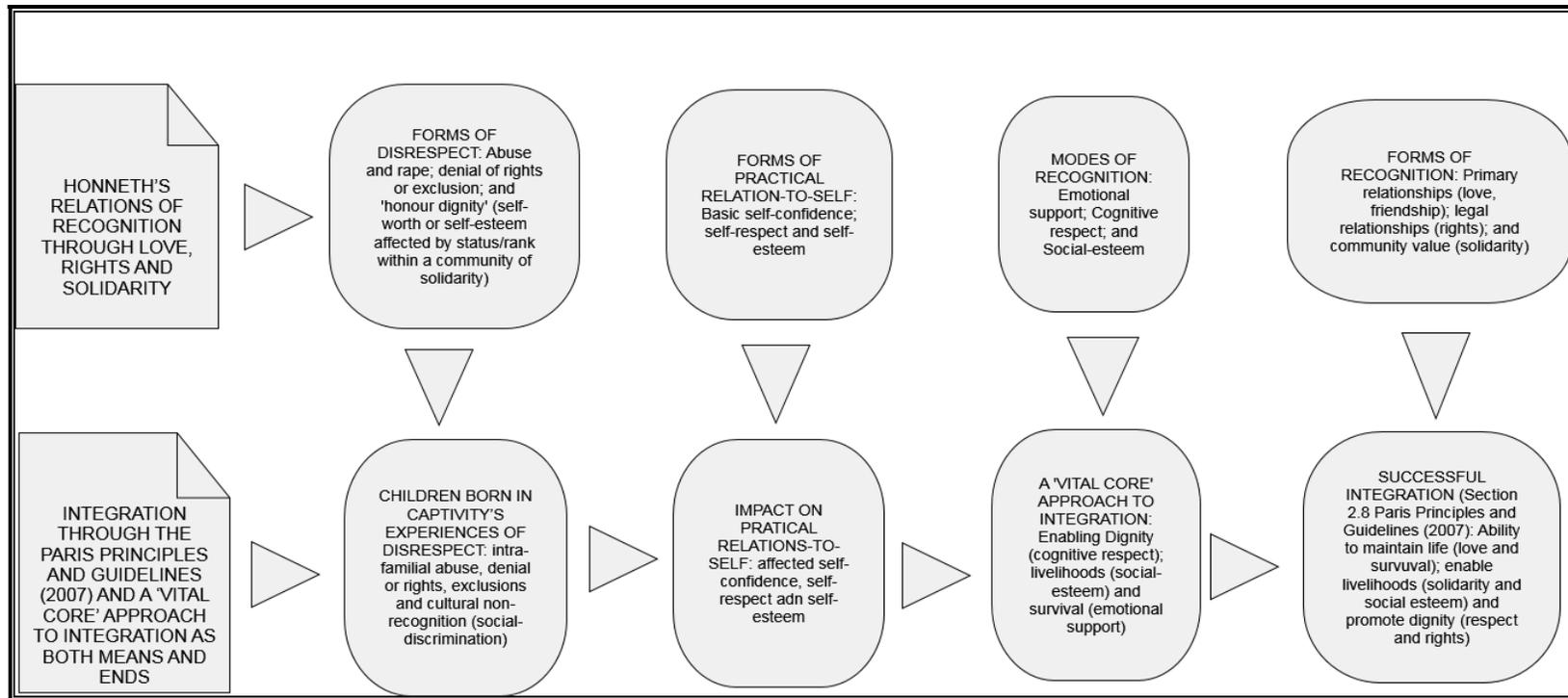


Figure 1: Comparing Honneth's three forms of recognition and human security's 'vital core' components

In the context of the integration of CBIC, primary relationships of love and support at the family level and communal friendships form important support structures for integrating children. Therefore, the need for family support for reintegration and integration (entrenched in Guidelines 6.31 to 6.35.2) supports Honneth's argument for the fundamental importance of love for integration and enables the integrating person to maintain life in the new community of their integration and subsequently to enable survival and livelihoods. Moreover, Atim et al. (2018) provide empirical research evidence to support the need for support networks for CBIC and their mothers. In fact, they argue that such social networks enable survival and protection in times of difficulty and vulnerability by offering access to both material and non-material benefits.

In Figure 1, dignity is compared to Honneth's concept of respect. It is important to recall this thesis's use of the concept of dignity as a right that these children have because they are human (Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 39 of the CRC), as opposed to being due to their status in society (Habermas, 2010; Rodriguez, 2015). Disrespect, according to Honneth, may take forms such as denial of rights and affording dignity on the basis of status rather than being human. Hence, in the context of CBIC, being stigmatised as children of the enemy (LRA) entails a form of disrespect. Moreover, Honneth (1995) argues, cultural context or relativism ought not to be an excuse for disrespecting someone. He is cited by Lysaker and Jakobsen, who note that:

Despite individual and cultural differences, all human beings seek to realise themselves in three basic ways: as bodily-emotional beings, as rationally and morally accountable persons, and as individuals with particular traits and abilities. (Lysaker and Jakobsen, 2015: 3)

Furthermore, the view that all human beings deserve respect, regardless of their status (way of life) and the political system where they reside, also expressed by Gyekye (1997a):

The conception of human dignity or rights is derived, whether from theistic considerations or sources independent of God, that conception is linked

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with, and in fact compels the recognition of rights, and not only in an individualistic but also the communitarian setting. In other words, the derivation of individual rights from naturalism (humanism) or supernaturalism cannot be confined to an individualistic framework; the derivation is not an activity, a characteristic, or a possibility solely of an individualistic moral or social ambience. (p.32)

He further notes that the changing nature of traditional cultural communities in Africa contributes to the appreciation of rights claims and that most cultural communities agree to dignity as a natural (God-given) claim. Therefore interventions for dignity address disrespect in the form of stigma and its impacts. Hence, interventions such as symbolic reparations to address disrespect and the challenges of discrimination that come with it. This makes Verdeja's (2008) broad approach ideal, because it advocates for both recognition and redistribution. In addition, the PPG (2007) emphasise the need for interventions to ensure parity between the persons being assisted and members of the community. Hence, Verdeja's (2008) claims for 'status parity' in favour of secondary victims who experience war-related social injustices would work towards restoring the dignity and self-worth of a person so that they can fully participate in community life. It also helps to address the inequalities that hinder them from achieving equality of status with others in society. Therefore, in the case of children born of CRSV, this argument dismisses all existing reasons for disrespect.

Lastly, Honneth (1995) uses the concept of 'social esteem' to explain the need to recognise people, regardless of how characteristically different they may be from others. Moreover, such recognition enables the beneficiary to achieve their potential and contribute to the wellbeing of society. Hence, respect creates an environment where 'one is given a chance to experience oneself to be recognised, in light of one's accomplishments and abilities as valuable members of society' (Honneth, 1995: 130). He argues that the primary terrain on which the struggles for particular esteem recognition take place is the economy, which ostensibly distributes social esteem according to the 'achievement principle' (McBride & Seglow, 2009: 8-9; Fraser & Honneth 2003: 142). Honneth terms it the possibility 'that everyone's contribution to society

has a fair chance of being appreciated', hence recognition as esteem requires the maintenance of a horizon of values in which all citizens have a chance to gain esteem (Thompson, 2005: 91–2, 97).

Atim et al. (2018) provide empirical evidence that justifies the need for esteem. Their research findings indicate that employment helps the mothers of CBIC to have a positive image of themselves, despite negative behaviour by family or communities, thereby improving their self-confidence. In addition, their work gives them pride and satisfaction and motivates them to have a purpose in life. It may be possible to apply this sense of confidence and contribution to the micro-economy of their community to CBIC who are of age and able to work (have a livelihood).

In Figure 1 esteem is compared to livelihood. It is important to recall the definition of livelihood adopted by this thesis as 'a means of securing the necessities of life'.¹⁶ In Honneth's view, the optimised end of esteem is someone's ability to receive due reward for their social contribution. It is important to recall that stigma, as defined in this thesis, is the attendant discrimination of CBIC, barring them from certain social, cultural and economic benefits. For instance, they are excluded from access to clan resources like land, and support for their identity challenges when they wish to marry (Apio, 2016; JRP, 2015a.). Given the mostly rural and agrarian nature of the economy among communities of integration, land is an important source of livelihood. In the long term, interventions for livelihoods such as education and other life-skills training position the beneficiary for future livelihood options. Opportunities to choose would reduce the prejudice regarding prospective claims for land. Besides, from the income obtained from various livelihood options, these children would be able to buy or rent land rather than rely on access to communally owned land. The communities of integration would also require interventions that

¹⁶ See: http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/livelihood?q=livelihood (accessed 16/5/16).

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address the various impacts of war in order to avoid further stigma of these children when other victimised groups' TJ needs remain unaddressed (Neenan, 2017), and also where there are gaps in terms of livelihoods between these children and those who did not have experiences of abduction.

Given the current focus of the PPG (2007) on reintegration, CBIC do not adequately benefit from these constituent elements. Nonetheless, since their integration often occurs concurrently with reintegration, these identified sections of the PPG/ PPG (2007) need to be extended to an approach that addresses integration as a distinct concept and process. The PPG (2007) also adopt the principle of an inclusive approach, requiring actors enabling reintegration and integration through material assistance, family tracing and family reunification to do so in a manner that seeks parity between them and the communities that they join. This aims to avoid social inequalities arising from privileging beneficiaries of these interventions over others in the community. Analysing integration as a distinct process and concept needs to ensure that interventions adopt an inclusive approach to enable the achievement of 'status parity' and 'participation parity' between the integrating children and the members of the communities that they join. Overall, recognition through esteem, love, and respect become fundamental because they would enable CBIC, just like other children, to:

Constitutively relate to other members of the community/state as equal citizens of a normative lifeworld, social integration this being achieved in a more profound sense. (McBride & Seglow, 2009: 8)

Advocacy, sensitisation and institutional/legal frameworks provide avenues for enhancing policies that promote respect in the long term. Such interventions would promote CBIC's status and participatory rights as citizens. In situations where the maternal communities do not welcome the children, care institutions would offer alternative sources of love/acceptance. From a 'vital core' perspective, these interventions

enhance the dignity of the CBIC and create conducive environments for them to pursue various livelihood options. Therefore, recognition of the CBIC as a distinct category of children undergoing a separate process of integration would be useful in realising the ends captured in Guideline 2.8.

Given the above arguments, the extended 'vital core' approach may be a useful framework for analysing integration as a distinct process and concept. The provision of reparations would permit improvements in integration from its problematic form to the sought-for ideal. The reparations would provide remedies to the social injustices characteristic of problematic integration. The 'extended vital core' strategy requires a broad approach to reparations to ensure recognition and redistribution and to foster parity. Such reparations would enable recognition by addressing stigma. They would foster redistribution by addressing socio-economic discrimination. They would also ensure parity between the beneficiary CBIC and those children who do not suffer stigma and discrimination because of a war-related identity. Ultimately, they create possibilities of improving integration from the problematic state towards a better (ideal) state.

The 'extended vital core' approach can become a possible analytical framework for analysing the integration of CBIC if applied to actual experiences of integration.

2.7 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to review both academic and grey literature relevant to the understanding of the integration of CBIC. It discusses debates in the literature that relate to the conceptualisation of CBIC. It also reviews analytical approaches that are relevant for analysing integration – as they exist in the literature. While doing so, the ways in which this thesis engages with the literature and the gaps

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appearing were identified. One of the ways in which this thesis can contribute to filling these gaps is through empirical research.

The first observation made in the chapter is that children in captivity, like other children born of CRSV, tend to be understood and supported as mere appendages of their mothers' experiences. A similar understanding appears in the analysis and response to their integration – often regarded as similar to reintegration. While the first view has been already advanced by scholars and is supported here, this thesis extends the argument by making a call to address integration and reintegration as distinct processes in theory and practice, despite their interrelationship and the tendency for both to occur simultaneously, in practice. Hence, the research seeks to answer the question: in what ways do the existing policy frameworks for reintegration support the effective integration of CBIC?

Secondly, although reparations have been recommended as the optimum remedy for these children, the scarcity of literature involves further research to establish what the TJ needs of these children are and how reparations should address those needs. This, too, requires empirical research. Moreover, the study will explore whether these needs reflect the broad perspective to reparations advanced by Verdeja (2008). In particular, the analytical outcomes of the empirical data will establish if and how material reparations can address challenges of discrimination and whether symbolic reparations would address challenges of stigma. Hence, the research seeks to answer a second question: how do reparations respond to the integration plight of CBIC?

The chapter reviews various approaches and debates that are relevant for analysing integration. As Neenan (2017) argues, it recognises that all approaches have their strengths and weaknesses. However, given the problematic state of integration of CBIC, the chapter argues that adopting the 'vital core' concept of HS and amending it to the 'extended vital core' approach could provide a way of ensuring a better kind of

integration in practice and offer a framework that can be applied analytically in academia. The thesis therefore applies the elements of the 'extended vital core' approach to the empirical data obtained, using the research design and methodology explained in the previous chapter. Doing so enables the application of the three elements (dignity, livelihoods and survival, as they relate to Honneth's concepts of love, esteem and respect) as a framework for analysing integration of CBIC living among communities of integration in Uganda. The empirical Chapters 4 to 7 explain the integration of CBIC among communities of integration involved in the research, while Chapters 8 to 11 discuss reparations and how these can meet the needs of these children based on their unrealised TJ.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the research design and methodology adopted to investigate the integration of CBIC. The chapter discusses the choice of an appropriate design and methodology for conducting empirical research aimed at answering the questions identified in the last section of Chapter 2.

First, the chapter explains why, despite the appropriateness of participatory methods for conducting research on issues to do with children, this study used non-obtrusive methods. The specific methods are explained in the later parts of the chapter. One of the reasons for the choice and use of non-participatory methods relates to the vulnerability of the research subjects. Hence, to contextualise the nature of the CBIC as subjects of this research, the second part of the chapter briefly explains researching vulnerable or hidden populations. The research design adopted is discussed in the third sub-section of this chapter. The form in which it was done, the rationale for choosing a case study design and its limitations are explained. The fourth part of the chapter then illustrates and describes the various field sites from which research information (data) was sought. This is followed by a description of the research methods used in the study, including a reflexive account capturing the positionality (power relationships between the research and research participants), ethical issues that emerged in the study and data analysis and, lastly, the conclusion.

3.2 Participatory (research with) vis-à-vis non-participatory (research about) children.

Children's rights debates and normative frameworks cover the right of every child to participate in the decisions relating to them (Article 12 of the CRC). Various scholars explain the influence of this on the changing methodological approach to research on children: from researching about or on them (often through methods that do not include them in the research process), to their participation in research (research with children). Involving children in research, it is argued, makes them the subjects rather than objects of research (Barker & Weller, 2003; Darbyshire et al., 2005; Green & Hogan, 2005; Hill, 2006; Holland et al., 2010; Mishna et al., 2004). This is because of the philosophical view of a child as a being with agency and the ability to express him/herself, notwithstanding considerations of varying capacities across the different phases of childhood.

Some of the studies on CHIBOW that have adopted non-participatory methods include those by Carpenter (2010) and Parra (2018). In such cases, the exclusion of children who are the subject of a research is informed by the need to ensure their best interest, since their vulnerability may make their participation inappropriate (Morrow & Richards, 1996). Additionally, where a researcher does not have sufficient skill and experience in working with children, especially the more vulnerable, this limits their chances to interact with them (Lindsay, 2002: 17; Darbyshire et al., 2005: 421). The ethical consideration of the best interests of the child and skills challenges on the part of the researcher shapes the research approach in this thesis. Children living in the former LRA war-affected parts of Northern (Acholi and Lango sub-regions) and Eastern (Teso sub-region) Uganda were the 'universe' for this study. CBIC constituted the unit of analysis (case) among Uganda's CHIBOW, with the intention of understanding the post-war reintegration of war-affected children. Moreover, as the researcher, my knowledge of the global, national and community-level policy, legal

and cultural issues emanating from other sources was vital in shaping the kind of questions and ways of inquiry to verify the research claims or assumptions.

This chapter therefore includes discussions of some concerns involved in researching vulnerable or hidden populations. The next section explains the research design and data collection methods. Next, a reflexive account from the research diary, issues of validity and reliability, ethical concerns and the limitations of this study's methodology are presented. The chapter ends with a reflection on the outcomes of the methodology adopted amidst the growing participation of children in research.

3.3 Researching vulnerable and hidden populations

The term 'vulnerable persons' means different things to different scholars, who provide definitions within both the social and human sciences. For instance, Liamputtong (2007: 72–73) describes them as 'difficult-to-access groups' who, when involved in research, make the research sensitive. According to Zion, Gillam and Loff (2000), any population that lacks the freedom and rights required to choose their basic course of life qualifies as comprising vulnerable persons who require protection, according to the principles of ethics inherent in the Declaration of Helsinki.¹⁷ Gitterman and Shulman (2005) describe vulnerable persons as those who may experience marginalisation, oppression, stereotyping, breached privacy or security and require social work interventions. Such people include but are not limited to categories such as children, the elderly, people living with HIV/AIDS, cases of mental illness and women (citing cases of sexual abuse). Liamputtong also cites some of these categories and explains that 'The term "vulnerable" is often used interchangeably with such terms as

¹⁷ They describe the Declaration of Helsinki as a research ethics statement arrived at in 1964 by the World Medical Association for the purpose of ensuring that medical research followed ethical rules of practice; also enabling research to benefit both the researcher and research subjects.

“sensitive”, the “hard-to-reach”, and “hidden populations”
(Liamputtong, 2007: 3).

Lee (2017) refers to hidden or hard-to-reach populations when explaining the nature of children born of war as a research population. She suggests that the complexity of access affects the availability of quantitative data about them, making qualitative methods appropriate in such situations. Kvale (1996) shares similar views regarding the appropriateness of qualitative research designs and methods for researching vulnerable populations. However, critics of excluding populations from research participation because of their vulnerability argue that such actions are a form of discrimination or stereotyping (Levine et al., 2004). Furthermore, Morrow and Richards (1996) explain that attributing the label ‘vulnerable’ disregards agency and supports the view that victims are incapable of contributing to decisions that affect them, rendering them as objects rather than subjects of research. Despite the need to include children as research participants as a way of promoting their agency, Morrow and Richards (1996) explain when decisions may be made to include or exclude children from participating in a study. The choices depend on the ethical analysis of whether any of the decisions taken may harm or exploit the child as a research subject, despite the contribution that such participation may have on boosting innovation and knowledge. Therefore, in defence of considering the vulnerability of CBIC, this study chiefly relied upon the ethical discussions apparent within the literature on social research.

Research ethics procedures in social research aim to protect both research subjects and researcher. One of the ways of doing this is undergoing reviews by research ethics institutional boards. Such board-review research protocols for sensitive topics are more rigorous than those for non-sensitive studies to achieve the objective of protecting researcher and research subjects from the harm that can potentially be caused by the research (Boeije, 2009; Berg & Lune, 2012). The second ethical consideration is the principle of beneficence, concerned with the

need to ensure that any participation of children in research promotes their best interests and does not increase or cause harm. Hence, as the researcher, my lack of the required skills for including children as participants and using appropriate methodologies for capturing their views and experiences hindered their inclusion in the study. Both Lindsay (2002: 17) and Darbyshire et al. (2005: 421) argue that relevant experience in working with children makes a researcher competent to engage them as research participants, albeit using methods that are appropriate to the group of children involved. One of the subsequent sections of this chapter explains the ethical concerns that were included in this research.

3.4 Qualitative case study design

Some of the empirical studies that have used a case study design when researching CBC are those by Apio (2007; 2016), Atingo (2008), Ochen (2013) and Stewart (2017). Case studies are deemed a suitable research design for answering 'why?' and 'how?' questions (Yin, 2008). According to Noor (2008: 1602), qualitative methods aim to research issues that are socially constructed rather than objectively determined. This allows a researcher to capture the process' meanings (interpretations) that respondents make of social phenomena. Citing Anderson (1993: 152–60), she supports the argument presented in that work, arguing that case studies enable the investigation of a phenomenon in the context within which it occurs. There is an ability to research the integration of children born of CRSV among the communities of integration and from people who have assisted in the reintegration, integration and TJ processes that they require. Therefore, CBIC are the unit of analysis and constitute a form of 'particularistic' case (Merriam, 2014). Merriam (2014) defines a 'particularistic case' as one that addresses specific events, phenomena or situations.

Both quantitative and qualitative studies may adopt a case study design (Creswell, 2007). This research opted for a qualitative case study

design, because of the complex/sensitive nature of the topic and the challenge of obtaining comprehensive statistical estimates. Also, some information (such as views on experiences of integration) would be captured best qualitatively, rather than quantitatively. Furthermore, as Carpenter argues in her edited book, *Born of War: Protecting Children of Sexual Violence Survivors in Conflict Zones* (2007c), the complexity of the issue has resulted in various contributors opting for a qualitative rather than quantitative approach to the topic.

The nature of a case study allows a research to capture information on a phenomenon in depth. However, cases studies are not without criticism. For example, Gibbert, Ruigrock and Wicki (2008) explain that most emphasise external validity more than internal, and construct the validity. Citing Yin (1994), they argue that one of the ways in which internal validity is realised is through adopting triangulation. To Gibbert, Ruigrock and Wicki (2008), external validity relates to generalisability – which relates to the ability of the research to help explain similar phenomena in other settings. Yin (2008: 41) refers to similar situations where the findings of an empirical research may be found as 'like cases'. He explains that validity in a case study research may be ensured at different stages, from the research design through to data collection, analysis and write-up. For instance, at the stage of data collection, he suggests the use of multiple sources of information. Hence, the study obtained information using focus groups, interviews and documents obtained from the field. Internal validity may be realised through pattern matching. As discussed in the empirical chapters on integration and reparations, the study reveals patterns that emerge when comparisons of the information from the three sub-regions are drawn to provide a broader perspective on these issues in Uganda.

It is important to explain that, while the concepts of validity and reliability essential in scientific research, Anney (2014) cites Guba (1981) and Wallendorf and Belk (1989) to argue that interpretivists adopt sources to gauge the trustworthiness of research, in contrast to

positivists. Some scholars have argued that the nature of qualitative research necessitates alternative concepts to explain the essential features of what is required by each of those concepts. Hence, while positivist researchers are concerned with how internal validity, external validity, objectivity and reliability are developed, interpretivist researchers are concerned with issues of 'truth value', 'application', 'consistency', 'neutrality and 'integrity' in qualitative research. They aim to establish the authenticity of the design, strategy and outcome of a study.

The criteria provided by Guba and Lincoln (1982) suggest the adoption of constructs such as credibility in the place of positivists' concern for 'internal validity', transferability to replace 'external validity', dependability for 'reliability' and confirmability in place of 'objectivity'.

Credibility and dependability

During the research conducted, I conducted member-checks by sharing transcriptions and interpretations with the respondents to check for distortions and to obtain clarification. Secondly, the information emerging from interviews, documents and focus groups was triangulated to ensure the corroboration of data from various sources. Thirdly, through peer debriefing and feedback from academics following the presentation of research findings, I was able to obtain relevant feedback that helped to improve my analysis and presentation of the empirical findings.

Transferability

In the interest of future studies, the researcher provided thick descriptions (with as much detail as possible) and full details of the purposeful sampling procedure for a qualitative study or inquiry into other contexts, through transferability. The decision to transfer would depend upon a researcher seeking to do so. He or she should consider the extent to which the details of the process and study context provided fit the other context.

Confirmability

As the researcher, I applied reflexivity to record my perceptions to gauge how I analysed the information obtained throughout the study. As indicated in the empirical chapters, these reflexive notes form part of my analysis and arguments for particular themes or issues that emerged from the field data. In addition, triangulation helped to cross-check data from different sources. Keeping an audit trail of the methodology presents a record of the activities engaged in through the investigation.

Field sites

It is important to note that my positionality as the researcher influenced access to some of the sites of data collection. I considered the presence of institutions responding to the plight of persons formerly associated with the LRA and the history of abduction when selecting the areas for inclusion in fieldwork. Therefore, the fieldwork sites are located in Uganda's sub-regions of Acholi, Lango and Teso, in which LRA child abductions occurred. The study sampled areas in the Gulu district of the Acholi sub-region, the Lira and Oyam districts in the Lango sub-region and areas in the Amuria and Kaberamaido districts for the Teso sub-region. Specific explanations regarding the sub-regions are provided in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, and Figure 2 below indicates the areas visited during research.



Figure 2: Fieldwork sites (2016)

Three factors shaped the choice of the above areas. The first was the accessibility, and the security situation at the time of the research. Using constant updates from available information in both Uganda and the United Kingdom foreign travel advice website, areas listed as secure to visit were preferred. The second reason was the availability of NGOs working with persons who were formerly in captivity, as well as issues of TJ. The third reason was guidance or essential security and safety information from the gatekeepers in each sub-region. Their presence and links to the leaders in those areas in either local government or

NGOs mean that they are frequently updated on the security situation in their area of operation. They also keep up to date with local news, informing community members on what is taking place. However, all these factors worked concurrently and had no particular priority in informing my choice of certain regions over others.

3.5 Sample and sampling procedure

Through snowballing and purposive sampling strategies, 55 participants were chosen for the study. Targeted respondents and institutions included reception centres, security officials (former local militia), customary or community leaders, political elites, academics, NGOs and community members. The target respondents were persons or institutions informed about or involved in the reintegration and integration of persons returning from captivity and TJ. Their experience was considered vital to providing information on how the practice was conducted and sharing possible lessons learned from the process.

Although some of the key informants were able to answer questions in the two separate interview schedules, the majority responded to one of them. Appendix II and III present the two guides. One focused on integration and the other on TJ. The presence of a variety of respondents helped to corroborate information from various sources. Furthermore, it helped to capture specific, vital information that other categories of respondents may not have. The tables in Appendix VI provide details of the interview and focus group respondents.

There were instances when I travelled to the research area and, while waiting for the gatekeepers, would move around to see which NGOs were operational in assisting persons formerly either in captivity or those dealing with TJ. The NGOs who agreed to participate would then recommend people or other NGOs for my consideration for prospective interviews. Recommendation by other participants was one of the ways of snowballing to recruit interview participants.

The other way of snowballing was through gatekeepers. It is important to explain that, from the time of emergency in Northern Uganda through to the time of post-conflict reconstruction and peace-building, a United Nations system of networking has enabled NGO intervention in former war-affected areas. This system, known as the 'sector working group approach', was used to bring together both NGOs and local government officials working in the same sector. Through these networks, they were able to plan and implement interventions to avoid duplication and ensure efficiency. It is important to emphasise that the evaluation of this approach falls outside the scope of this research and is not discussed. Moreover, given that many former reception centres had closed by the time of my fieldwork, networks built by the gatekeepers and other respondents who had worked in these sub-regions for a long time, using the 'sector working group approach', enabled participants to think of and direct me to other prospective respondents.

The gatekeepers in this research were living in the three sub-regions. They had also lived and worked in these communities during the time of the insurgency. This experience made them well positioned to broker relations between me and the communities of research, as a way of entering the field areas visited. They were highly instrumental in mobilising resourceful persons in the community for participation in focus group discussions. I met the gatekeepers during my work in Uganda. In some cases, the network of people I met referred me to other resourceful persons within their professional network. Focus group participants included local leaders, social workers, youths, former local militia and other community members not professionally differentiated (males, females and youths) who resided in areas to which some formerly abducted girls had returned with their children. The 'seeded' focus group approach aimed to minimise the need for me, as the researcher, to know the identity of the seed(s). The description of a 'seed' is provided under the section on focus groups as a method of

data collection. The table in Appendix VI shows the focus groups conducted as part of the study.

3.6 Research methods

The research combined various qualitative data collection methods, such as semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, notes kept in a reflexive diary and documents collected in the field. These multiple sources of information enabled the compilation of the optimum amount of information that could be corroborated. Certain kinds of information were best used for particular methods. For instance, given the sensitivity of the topic and the need to obtain information from community members among whom CBIC live, a focus group discussion was most appropriate. For technical or expert knowledge, interviews with key informants using semi-structured interview schedules or interview guides served my purpose. Lastly, using a diary helped me to keep a record of the research process, and reflexive notes were jotted down as interpretations and reflections of the research process and research data. All the above decisions stemmed from prior knowledge of the acceptability of interviews, observation and document analysis as conventional methods used in data collection in qualitative case studies (Bryman, 1988; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Merriam, 2014). The next sections present discussions of each of the triangulated data collection methods.

Semi-structured interviews

Three reasons informed my choice of semi-structured interviews as a researcher. The first reason is that, according to Berg (1989), semi-structured interviews systematically allow the interviewer to probe and digress where necessary. Besides, interview schedules adopt a language that respondents understand. The second reason why I used semi-structured interviews was because it helped me, as the researcher, to use probes and the terms emerging from the respondents during the research process. I was able to obtain detailed information guided by

the interview schedules (see Appendices II and III), depending on the nature of questions that a key informant was most suited to answer. Phrases emerging from the various respondents were particularly important for understanding how they conceptualise integration. For instance, although I used the term 'successful integration' to capture respondents' ideas on an ideal form of integration, terms and phrases used by the respondents were important for probing. The third reason for choosing semi-structured interviews was their relevance to obtaining information to fill gaps in the literature reviewed, such as the need for updates on statistics.

Focus group discussions

The sensitive nature of this research topic made focus group discussions a method to complement the semi-structured interviews (Barbour, 2014). The majority of the CBIC live among post-war communities in the field areas (sub-regions). The need to research them as near as possible to their actual locations led to the choice of focus group discussions.

The researcher's consideration of CBIC and their mothers to be vulnerable led her to exclude them from participation in the research. However, in the interest of capturing the experiences of these children from persons capable of participating in the study, an alternative focus group method was sought. The 'seeded' focus group method, previously used in an HIV/AIDS research (Busza, Zaba & Urassa, 2008), provides an appropriate method for consultation on sensitive topics in the communities where sensitive groups or populations reside. The use of the method in the research cited above enables HIV+ patients to participate in focus group discussions on HIV/AIDS. Their status is unknown to the researcher and other participants. The blinding of the status of the 'seeds' allows them to express their views. The inability of the researcher to include CBIC and their mothers presented a need to modify the method to suit the nature of the inquiry. The modification aimed at capturing the experiences and issues involved in the

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integration of these children through either their immediate family or those residing within homesteads where these children live.

For the empirical research conducted in exploring the integration of CBIC in communities of their integration within former LRA war-affected areas of Uganda, the term 'seed' refers to a person related to or living in a homestead where a child born in captivity resides. Their everyday observations and interactions with these children provide them with an insider's perspective on the integration realities of these children's world. These experiences provide a closed picture for the researcher, due to limited access to the research subjects. Some were formerly abducted and aware of the existence of CBIC of females who were among those formerly in LRA captivity. However, this latter category did not return with their children at the end of their association with the LRA.

The researcher applied the methods for group discussions lasting between an hour and an hour and a half, as follows:

The researcher conducted one focus group discussion in each of the three sub-regions to capture the perspectives of respondents who live within communities of integration and to confirm the existence of CBIC using Questions 1 to 5 of the Focus Groups Discussion Guide (Appendix IV). These focus groups helped to explore integration within the settings where it occurs. For each of the sub-regions, gatekeepers were very important for introducing the researcher to the communities, helping to build good rapport and trust. Discussions took place in English, apart from one region where respondents requested that the discussions should take place by combining English and the local dialect. It was possible to have this mix of languages because the researcher could speak and understand both.

The researcher asked the gatekeepers to ensure that, in recruiting participants, they included one or more people related to or those living in homesteads with a child born in captivity. The mobilisers would not

disclose the identity of the 'seed' to the researcher, with the intention of allowing them to participate freely in the discussions. The participants lived in various locations in the area (sub-county). Recruitment was from diverse locations to ensure anonymity and to allow the 'seeded' person (or people) to contribute their perspective based on their relationship with the research subjects (CBIC). The participants would meet in a central, quiet public place where the gatekeeper introduced the researcher and the participants to each other. As the researcher, I explained the purpose of the research as I took the participants through the preliminary information in Appendix I.

Consent was verbally recorded as part of the discussions. In one focus group, the gatekeeper had worked with a community development officer to mobilise participants. The mobiliser has a sister who was abducted and returned from captivity with a child. Given that his role as a community development officer makes him interact with participants on a daily basis and in consideration of his power relations with them, he opted to abstain from the discussions to allow participants to express themselves. He explained his decision to the participants, and they agreed with him.

The implication of applying the 'seeded' focus group method in this research led to the realisation of the need for anonymity by 'seeds' to allow them to express themselves freely to other focus group participants. In only one of three focus group discussions held did a 'seed' (a brother to a girl who returned with a child born in captivity) disclose their identity during discussions. In the two cases where the seeds did not disclose who they were, I could only wonder who was/was not a 'seed' from the nature of their contributions vis-à-vis the other participants. To cross-check these assumptions, I inquired from the mobiliser whether they were the 'seeds' in the study. The collaborator confirmed that they were, and asked what had led to my guess. I therefore explained the nature of their contributions (usually more engaged and concerned when discussing the LRA). Hence, after sharing

the guesses and reasons, the collaborators often gave me further details on the 'seeds'. In one of the focus group discussions, the 'seeds' had experienced LRA captivity. They were therefore aware of cases of CBIC who had returned and were living in the sub-region. One of the 'seeds' resides in the same homestead as a child born in captivity. The 'seeds' had undergone psychosocial support and were working with organisations that supported formerly abducted persons.

The third focus group discussion took place in an area with few and dispersed cases of CBIC. An interviewee corroborated information provided by focus group members, confirming the presence of such children in this district of Teso sub-region. The interview and focus group discussion took place in different districts of the sub-region. The gatekeeper, in consultation with other community leaders who attended the discussion, opted to include formerly abducted persons who had undergone rehabilitation to participate in the discussion as 'seeds'. Their rationale was that the 'seeds' identified would have first-hand experiences of captivity and return, and would confirm the existence of cases of CBIC. The first of the three 'seeds' was present when the gatekeeper talked about them. Her identity was revealed to me and I informed her that both CBIC and their mothers were considered vulnerable, and were therefore not expected to participate in the focus group discussions. I informed her that she could freely decline from participating at the start or at any time during the discussions if she was uncomfortable and unable to participate. Since this particular 'seed' was pregnant, I imagined that she might be carrying a child conceived while with the LRA.

To confirm or dismiss this assumption, I later cross-checked with the gatekeeper or mobiliser a couple of hours after returning to my place of residence in Soroti. The gatekeeper had called me to ask how the focus group went and to give me feedback from the mobilisers of the focus group. I therefore took the opportunity to inquire about the 'seed' who was pregnant and ask whether she had conceived in captivity. The

gatekeeper informed me that he knew the girl, because he had witnessed her return. She had returned from the LRA neither pregnant nor with a child, and had found a partner after her return. It was in this new relationship that she had conceived. It is important to emphasise here that the composition of the focus group, drawn up by a male mobiliser and mainly composed of males who had participated as local militias, definitely limited my ability to solicit the voices of females in this community compared to the two other sub-regions.

It is important to note that, although the 'seed' whose identity was revealed opted to join in the focus group discussions, she barely participated apart from joining chorus responses with the other two formerly abducted persons. The other two former abductees (1 male and 1 female) joined the discussion and, although their identity was unknown to me as the researcher until later in the discussions, they participated more freely than the pregnant woman. Lastly, in all three focus groups, the 'seeds' tended to sit very close to me, as shown in Figure 3 below:

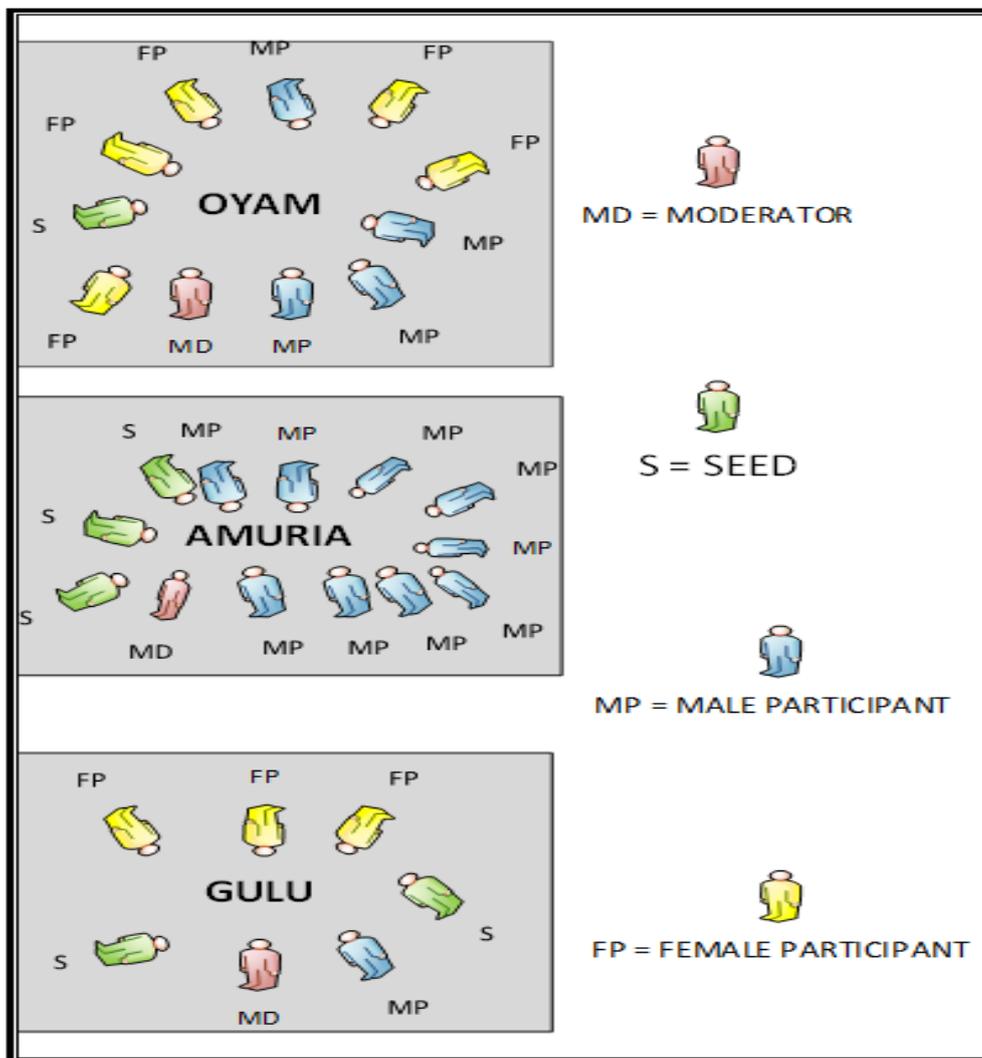


Figure 3: Seating pattern in the three 'seeded' focus groups

It is important to note from this experience that using gatekeepers enables entry into communities for researchers who are not insiders, as explained in the reflexive account in this chapter. Secondly, the knowledge of research involving sensitive phenomena, as well as the rigour of institutional research ethics committee reviews, helps in providing insights into possible ethical issues that a researcher needs to consider during focus group discussions.

3.7 Reflexive account from the field journal/ diary

Considering the proposed use of journals advanced by Guba and Lincoln (1982), the journal was helpful in making a log of activities and field contacts, a diary of meetings and records of methodological decisions

during the research. Furthermore, using some of the essential benefits of journal captured in the work of Guba and Lincoln (1982), reflexivity helped to capture the researcher's perceptions, changing insights, effective responses, experiences, ideas, fears, confusions, breakthroughs and problems encountered with the fieldwork. Below is an example of a reflexive account of one of the moments captured during fieldwork:

Community members received me with preconceived expectations. I remember one elderly male offering unsolicited advice as I embarked on my field travels, advising me to mind what I said and what I wore to avoid being misunderstood. I enjoyed dressing up in long skirts or dresses and interacting with participants according to culturally expected norms. Having grown up this way, not much was surprising. What concerned me was the feedback. Some respondents appeared surprised by my gestures. Others clutched at their high cultural standards! The idea that many educated women around there despise the folks in their community also took me by surprise.

Different scholars define reflexivity differently. For Mullings (1999), reflexivity applies to data collection processes and power relationships during research. Feminists focus on the 'power distribution between the researcher and participants' (Finlay, 2002). The nature of power distribution influences the research outcome, hence feminists prefer participatory methods of research as a way of empowering research participants, especially in research projects that address the inequalities enshrined in patriarchal systems. Nonetheless, regardless of whether it is research grounded in feminism or not, power relationships between a researcher and research participants may position the researcher as either 'insider' or 'outsider' (Mullings, 1999). An 'outsider' denotes a person conducting fieldwork among populations or communities where they are non-members, while the reverse is true for an 'insider'. Furthermore, young females may experience power relations, working

in both directions, while researching an overtly patriarchal field context (Sultana, 2007).

The fieldwork experience led to a research positionality (ethnicity, gender and social status) that did not fit the dichotomy between 'insider' and 'outsider'. Secondly, it led to the researcher's concurrence with Etherington (2004) that reflexivity helps to bridge the gap between institutional ethics approval and the actual fieldwork. According to Muhammad et al. (2015), identity is a complex and multi-layered phenomenon that changes in varying situations, including within research contexts. Citing Oetzel (2009), they distinguished between various characteristics that constitute who we are. These include both ascribed characteristics, such as our ethnicity, gender and cultural background, and those characteristics that depict our achievement, such as our education and social position. In a research process, both the ascribed and achieved characteristics have an influence on how people in the field view our identities and how we view ourselves, too. Indeed, as the reflective account in the next section indicates, these characteristics, explained in terms of my positionality as a female researcher from a university in a developed country, were influenced by my views and those of the research communities where I conducted fieldwork.

Researcher positionality: Insider? Outsider? Both?

Research participants raised several questions during fieldwork, such as 'Why are you interested in this study?' 'Is this a topic of your choice or the university's?' and 'How will the children benefit?' The researcher's position was neither that of a complete 'insider' nor an 'outsider'. If the concepts of 'insider' and 'outsider' were located on a continuum, the fieldwork experience felt like a location in the middle ground. The middle ground is referred to as the 'hyphen position' (Dwyer & Buckle, 2009), characterised by 'paradox, ambiguity, and ambivalence, as well as conjunction and disjunction'.

The idea of a complete insider would probably better suit a researcher or person who had first-hand experience of the war, such as having lived among those communities during the times of displacement. Nonetheless, explanations of my interest in the topic and my work experience were important in building trust among the research communities and participants.

As a member of one of the tribes in a sub-region in the research area, some participants considered me, as the researcher, to be an insider. Lango sub-region was one of the sub-regions of research in Aboke (previously belonging to Oyam and currently in Kole district), and is one among the many areas affected by the LRA atrocities. Known for the abduction of the 'Aboke Girls', mere mention of originally coming from the area prompted many respondents to wonder if I was a victim of abduction, and made them eager to participate in the study. When I responded that I was not but had relatives who were at the school when the abductions took place, in a way this was helpful in building rapport in some cases. Indeed, this reality had partly shaped my interest in the research topic. In addition, my perception of being an 'insider' before the fieldwork, informed by my living and working experience in Uganda, had resulted in a certain level of knowledge of the culture and context. However, my reliance on gatekeepers was a first indicator of the necessity for me to review my supposed 'insider' perception, especially at moments when, despite their efforts, there was a need for continuous negotiation of consent. Besides, in areas where I could not speak or understand the native language of the community, a strong sense of being an 'outsider' prevailed. In one focus group discussion held in Amuria, the discussion of TJ was sensitive for some of the participants, who were not comfortable with the general tendency of most of TJ public discourse around the LRA to be associated with forgiveness and traditional justice. As explained in the chapter on reparations for Teso, I had to explain to the respondents what the broad definition of TJ entailed and requested them to feel free to express their desires, rather than assuming that I carried with me the

possibility of encouraging them to go by the dominant discourse. At some point, one respondent spoke to some of the members in the local dialect, and I could not understand what he said. Later on, the leader of the meeting requested me to explain to them what TJ meant. After I did, they were able to express their views on what mechanisms are appropriate for CBIC from their sub-region.

Nonetheless, the similarities between Lango and Teso, due to their similar history of migration and belonging (explained by Epila-Otara, 2013) due to the Lango tribal group settling in areas next to the Acholi (explained by Apio, 2016), made it a little easy for me to conduct research in Acholi and Teso once people were able to identify me as a Lango. Perhaps less simple was my identity as a female researcher from a university abroad. First, it was common for respondents to ask me to verify why I and the university I studied at were interested in such a topic. In response to such inquiries, I explained my link to a village that had been victimised by abduction. However, such explanations were not convincing to some participants, for whom I did not qualify as a 'complete insider'. I recall one of the elders in Acholi whom I intended to interview, but later failed to because of changes in both our schedules, having a conversation with me in which he remarked that 'sometimes when you people study and get jobs, you imagine that you are high up there, and look down on those down here in the community. However, it is important for you to remember that even someone who sits down, views things that someone who stands or walks does not view'. Another elder informed me that the people of Northern Uganda are strong on cultural values and norms that stipulate how women should behave. He cited examples of women in Acholi and Lango who are prominent in society and stressed why it is important that researchers like myself emulate the example of the good ones, so as to mentor many younger ladies, who would look up to us. Since I was not married, advice on marriage came in unsolicited, since all the examples of the women who I had to emulate were married and hence were good examples of a woman in the 'home' and a woman in 'the

public sphere'. Gestures that are culturally appropriate, such as greetings in the native language, wearing clothes of an appropriate length (preferably skirts and dresses), as well as kneeling to greet people, meant so much in the communities where the focus group discussions were held.

Furthermore, my position between 'insider' and 'outsider' met with other realities in the areas of research. The combination of the position of the researcher and such other realities shaped the nature of data collected. First, the fieldwork coincided with a time when social and moral discussions surrounding females in leadership, such as those involved in politics and academia, were community concerns in the second half of 2016. A notable example was that of a female academic who had opted to use methods of protest (taking off some of her clothing) in defence of work-related conflicts, questionable to some members of society. Partly discussed as 'queer theory' within social media, the influence of high academic standards on the morality of women who possess such qualifications became a concern for some members of the community. There were conflicting opinions regarding how some women in politics and academia defied the culturally expected norms of society. Some of the researcher's peers expressed similar sentiments and wondered on which side of the debate a female researcher like myself would fall, after my PhD! Unknown, a priori, these kinds of social discourse shaped the 'silent expectations' that some respondents had of an unmarried female researcher from a university in a developed country. Such 'silent expectations' were only discovered later, in the process of fieldwork. It became common before, during or after some interview sessions to receive advice on the role expected of a woman after marriage, despite her career achievements.

During such moments in the fieldwork, I as the researcher opted to listen to the advice and find ways of steering the discussion back to the research. Also, advice of this nature more than ever shaped my awareness of the impact that the socio-cultural construction of marriage

and expected gender norms have on interpersonal interactions like research. The reflexive diary helped to note 'ethically important moments' and gave context to the nature of information emerging from the field. I agree with Guillemin and Gillam (2004), who argue that reflexivity helps to explore 'ethically important moments' in the research and how to respond to them. However, I acknowledge that another researcher conducting the same research would most likely have a different experience.

It is, however, important to mention that majority of the interviews did not present situations where my positionality was a point of concern between me and the respondents. This can probably be attributed to the academic qualifications and professional experience of the respondents, who are exposed to environments where women can be successful in both the private and public domain. Although there were cases where some respondents may not have agreed with my views, they explained clearly why and in the best way possible to convince me of their perspective. In many instances, there was a great deal for me to learn from the research participants as people with information situated in their lived experiences within the context of research. Even after the study ended, a number were willing to provide clarity or elaborations where I needed it.

The data collection process using the three methods above (interviews, focus groups and a reflective diary) followed an institutional review of ethics in Southampton and Uganda. These review process raised some ethical issues, enabling the researcher to shape the data collection approach to suit the need to protect the respondents, research areas and the researcher. Some issues of concern were raised in the institutional ethics approval procedures in either the university or the country of research. In the focus group method adopted, the gatekeepers helped in recruiting research participants. I asked them to ensure, in doing so, that a few people related to or living in homesteads with CBIC participated with their identity concealed from me, as the

researcher. The entire institutional ethics review process for both places lasted up to five months.

3.8 Ethical concerns in researching children born in captivity

Various scholars explain the rationale for ethics in social research (Kelman, 1982; Levine et al., 2004; Ryen, 2006; Curran, 2006; Liamputtong, 2007; Boeije, 2009; Lune & Berg, 2016). Some of the ethical issues that emerge from this literature include the relevance of institutional ethical review boards and the principles of ethics (beneficence, informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity), most of which are part of the ethical issues considered in scientific research. Citing various authors, Liamputtong explains, 'The task of researching with vulnerable people presents researchers with unique opportunities, but also dilemmas' (Liamputtong, 2007: 1). Indeed, the process of conducting this research, from the preparation stage through to the actual data collection and analysis, presented moments of both opportunity and dilemmas. The reflexive account in this chapter explains some of the difficulties experienced. Therefore, for myself as the researcher, ethical issues meant more than the knowledge or caution needed in protecting all research participants, and presented an ongoing decision-making process on some unforeseen problems.

Ethical issues focusing on research subjects and locations

The researcher recognised the need for sensitivity to the political, ethnic, psychosocial and economic situation of the sub-regions and people involved in the research. This necessity emerged continually, from the development of the research tools through to the ethics review processes and the actual data collection, analysis and presentation. The essential ethical issues relating to the study included informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity and beneficence, as discussed below.

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Despite debates in the literature regarding the nature of and relevance of ethical review boards for social science research (Boeije, 2009; Lune & Berg, 2016), as the researcher I found the process of institutional ethics review boards vital. Notwithstanding, I acknowledge the rigour involved in the process for a study on a sensitive topic. Ethical clearance for both the university and Uganda took four to five months. The requirements for each ethical approval influenced the nature of fieldwork undertaken. The ethics committee in Uganda, for instance, requested compensation for participants in the study, particularly for those in focus group discussions. The rationale for such compensation bore in mind the fact that most of these people would have to abandon their daily work to participate in the research; compensation would repay the cost of their travel to the location of research and their time. In the opinion of Krueger and Casey (2014: 94), the nature of focus groups discussions has warranted compensation or incentives to participants, something which is not common in other methodologies. Despite the contested ethical essence of compensation as explained by Ryen (2006), the recommendation by the ethical review board led to helping with transport costs for participants in the focus groups and those who travelled to the areas for interviews, away from their work location.

A second important ethical consideration in the study was the principle of beneficence. Beneficence is defined as 'doing no harm' and aims to protect research participants. Curran (2006) defines beneficence as:

An obligation to make an effort to secure respondents' wellbeing. It has two aspects, the duty to refrain from causing harm or increasing harm. Beneficence in the research context governs both the design and the conduct of research, including not only immediate risks and benefits to subjects, but also considerations of whether the research is 'worth doing' in light of long-term expected results and their societal implications. (p. 203)

The sensitivity of this research meant that the researcher needed to protect respondents from harm through high levels of distress and other types of injury that could occur during the study. Before the research,

participants were warned that the memory of events and issues related to the atrocities committed by the LRA in their community was likely to cause distress. I ensured that participants were notified of their right to withdraw from the research if this was the case, and that such withdrawal would not affect their rights in any way. The most common way in which respondents, especially those who participated in focus group discussions, coped with the memories that emerged from the discussion was to pray. Prayers were said for communities and families that were victimised by the war. In Teso, after the focus group discussion, the formerly abducted persons who participated as 'seeds' walked up to me for a chat. They asked which part of Aboke I come from and, when I told them, one of them informed me how he was part of the LRA during one of the operations in the area. He was able to describe some of the places in Oyam. We later talked about the opportunities that were available through Musa Vocational Schools and they informed me how helpful they found these, although they longed to return to regular schooling. Having informed them that I could not offer any such assistance, I requested them to use what was available at the vocational centre and to consult the social workers in the focus group if they needed follow up.

After leaving the sub-region, I and the leaders of the focus group kept in touch through the collaborator. The collaborator confirmed that no member had a post-research incident of distress that required professional attention. A number of the interviewees kept in touch even after I had shared transcripts for them to go through and verify. Since many of them have had professional training in handling such sensitive cases, neither the collaborators nor they reported any post-research incidents that required professional attention. However, occasionally, some kept me updated on relevant incidents or information linked to my research that was helpful for slowly dealing with the gap after interviews and later exiting the community. In Oyam and Gulu, prayers were said, and these were followed by some informal conversations about where I come from (a location affected by abduction). Finally,

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respondents were reminded that in case of any post-interview incident of distress, they should contact the social workers who attended the focus group and they would advise them where to get help if it was beyond what the social workers could handle. The informal arrangement between myself, the collaborators and the social workers was that they would offer such help on a completely voluntary basis.

Another important issue raised during ethics clearance in Uganda was the need for me to clarify what skills I had to enable me to conduct focus group discussions on a topic relating to vulnerable people. Realising my insufficient professional training in counselling and social work skills, I used gatekeepers to recruit a social worker or counsellor as part of the focus group participants. The aim was to enlist their services by referral in case a situation emerged that required professional assistance.

Although no situations requiring social workers' intervention emerged during the focus groups, this did not prevent me from soliciting feedback from them at the end of the discussions, especially regarding the psychosocial impact on members from the deliberations. This feedback was often useful in noting the kinds of questions that required rephrasing to avoid or reduce the possibility of causing distress to the respondents as they thought about or remembered issues to respond to questions. Secondly, bearing in mind the sensitivity of some of the issues discussed, using illustrative examples helped by discussing the issues in the third person, enabling discussions that were more comfortable. The aim of beneficence during fieldwork was the need to safeguard respondents and the communities where the research took place. As a safeguard for all participants in the study, gatekeepers helped to arrange for the focus group discussions to be held in public and safe venues.

Safety was a third ethical consideration. The researcher interviewed respondents in public and safe places, apart from a few in the homes of

respondents or in the living room of the spouse or friend through whom the snowballing strategy had put me in touch, when they agreed. The spouse or friend allowed some privacy for the interviewer and respondent but stayed on the premises or in the neighbourhood to ensure that the process went well on the part of both interviewer and interviewee. The discussion between the interviewer and interviewee did not involve the participation of the spouse or person who had helped with the snowballing.

Fourth were concerns of disclosure of incidents beyond the ability of the researcher to address, which shaped the ethical consideration. This consideration, grounded in the sensitivity of the research topic, influenced plans for addressing possible cases or incidences of abuse of CBIC or conflict-related sensitivities emerging during fieldwork. As the researcher, I included a clause in the information sheets (Appendix I) to notify participants of the inability of my research to respond to such issues. The relevant phrases suggested that respondents might report incidents of this nature to the appropriate institutions or officials for necessary action. All details relating to the research formed part of the information presented to participants before they consented to participate, including a clause informing them of their right to withdraw from the study at any point without any effect on their rights.

Informed consent, a fifth ethical consideration in the way described by Boeije (2009), required me, as the researcher, 'to provide research participants with information about the research; the purpose, their expected participation, risks/benefits of the study so that they can give their consent'. Although confidentiality and anonymity are related concepts, they are applied differently in research.¹⁸ The consent forms

¹⁸ Confidentiality seeks to protect participants by not revealing their unique identifiers, such as person identities, their locations, the locations of the research and their professions (Ryen, 2004). Anonymity, on the other hand, 'means that the subjects remains nameless' (Sieber, 1992, 2008; Lune & Berg, 2016). In addition to the need for confidentiality and anonymity of persons, data require the same consideration (Sieber,

and information sheet indicated that the researcher would store data on a password-protected computer and anonymise identifiers of participants and locations. The information provided (Appendix I: Information Furnished to Participants Prior to the Research) ensured that participation was entirely through informed consent and that each participant did so with an awareness of the researcher's assurance of anonymity and confidentiality.¹⁹ Nonetheless, even when all this information was available, there were cases where some participants requested reassurance of their protected identity in the outcomes of the research. Anonymity was ensured in the presentation of findings, too, to protect the identity of respondents. Recordings and transcripts were stored on a password-protected computer for privacy in data management.

Lastly, on the part of research participants and their locations, in consideration of the sensitivity of the topic the researcher experienced various incidents that required building trust and rapport to conduct the research. Fine (1993), in the extract below, succinctly explains the importance of building trust in research.

Trust refers to the relationship between the researcher and the participants, and to the researcher's responsibility not to 'spoil' the field for others in the sense that potential research subjects become reluctant to research. In this way, trust applies to the discursive practices defining the standard for presenting both the researcher and the work as trustworthy). In this way, the three ethical issues of consent, confidentiality, and trust are closely linked. (Ryen, 2004: 222)

The need to continue building and re-establishing trust and rapport were, to me as the researcher, a reminder of ethics as an ongoing

2008). This applies to how data in the form of records, fieldnotes, digital recordings of interview are stored and handled to ensure privacy.

¹⁹ As part of the institutional review process, the consent form as well as the participant information sheet (a summary of the rationale of the research, expectations from participation, assurance of confidentiality and anonymity and contact details of the ethics authorities in case something went wrong) were provided. Each participant was provided with the information sheet and any questions raised about the research answered before their consent was taken. Interview participants provided written consent and focus group participants provided verbal consent that was recorded as part of the preliminaries to the discussion.

process that starts from preparation through to action decisions and actions in the field and, lastly, decisions and actions in the analysis and presentation of the research data.

The second ethical category involved issues that were pertinent to the researcher. The next sections present a discussion of these issues.

Ethical issues focusing on researcher

The three most important ethical issues relating to the researcher were safeguarding oneself, self-presentation and self-disclosure. It is worth emphasising that researcher safeguard is as important to social science researchers as the safety of their participants (Boeije, 2009). Boeije argues that things may not always work out as planned, causing the researcher to bear in mind his or her safety in addition to the safety of the research participants. The suggested safety measures for a researcher in the field include, but are not limited to, being in touch with others by mobile phone and informing them of one's location. Furthermore, Liamputtong (2007) cites Dickson-Swift (2005) to explain that researchers have a moral obligation to prepare themselves for the physical and emotional dangers they may be subject to in fieldwork and to disengage when the fieldwork ends by sharing their experience, as the researcher, with others.

As a practical approach to applying the safeguard measures suggested in the literature while conducting fieldwork, as the researcher I constantly updated my supervisory team by emails. I constantly kept my family and gatekeepers up to date regarding my movements by phone calls and texts. The intention was to keep them aware of how and where I was at every stage of fieldwork. Also, the information provided by gatekeepers and the contacts whom the gatekeepers had made with local officials helped to make my presence known and enabled me to receive briefings on the steps to take if any incident affecting my safety arose during the fieldwork. Lastly, I kept checking

for updates on the UK travel advice website to ensure that the areas of research were safe for travel.

A second ethical consideration for me, as the researcher, related to the need for good rapport, especially with research participants. As explained in the reflexive account, the manner in which a researcher presents herself (speech, conduct and dress) is vital in building rapport in these communities. The caution I received on what I wore, how I behaved and spoke to people, from an older man in the community, provided a hint on what community members would expect. My experience was somehow similar to Madriz's (1998) empirical research regarding self-image or self-representation, as recorded in Liamputtong (2007). Madriz opted to dress like most of the women within her research community, as well as speaking their language, to reduce the gap between them. Although the gap between the researcher and research community or participants may not directly affect one's safety, it certainly affects the chances of finding answers to research questions, the nature of the answers obtained and one's longevity in the field. These can cause the researcher distress when things do not go well.

Last is the concern over self-disclosure. Unlike the previous two, this emerged as a concern during the research because of the sensitivity of the topic of study, and constituted an 'ethical important moment'. Self-disclosure may come in the form of shared ideas, experiences or attitudes relating to the issues discussed. Liamputtong (2007), however, recognises that knowing how much to disclose, when not to disclose certain information and to whom are complex questions that a sensitive researcher requires answers to at some point during fieldwork. In this research experience, research participants received an information sheet of basic facts about the researcher and the topic and, in many cases, I read out the information sheet while the participants followed. This formed the basis on which participants' consent to take part in the research was sought. Providing such information, therefore, limited the number of probes for further self-disclosure to key

informants with whom I had interviews. However, focus group discussion participants often asked questions suggesting further disclosure. Some participants were concerned about my interest in the research subjects living in their communities. As the researcher, therefore, I opted to answer questions as and when they arose, and provided nothing beyond. From this experience, it is important to recognise that the information provided before consent served the sufficiently general purpose of disclosing the relevant aspects of one's life and helped in building trust and rapport with respondents.

3.9 Research data analysis

Data collected using qualitative methods were analysed using qualitative thematic/ content analysis, because of the research objective to analyse integration as a distinct concept. The interviews and focus group discussions were audio recorded and later transcribed and saved as files usable in NVivo 11. The documents and transcriptions of interviews and focus group discussions comprised the data imported to NVivo 11 to assist in data organisation/management aimed at enabling analysis. NVivo 11 enabled the coding of data and analysis of content, both inductively and deductively. Documents obtained in the field were also imported into NVivo as part of the materials analysed. The researcher managed (fed into/imported, coded and developed) maps from field data such as interview transcripts, focus groups discussion transcripts, reports from the field and other relevant literature from online resources, using NVivo 11.

The terms 'content analysis' and 'thematic analysis' are often used interchangeably (Vaismoradi et al., 2013) and aim to provide a descriptive interpretation and presentation of data either through inductive or deductive approaches (Burnard et al., 2008; Vaismoradi et al., 2013). In addition, because they take into consideration the context within which the data analysed emerges, it enables the contextualisation or situational presentation or location of findings

within specific contexts. The process can be done manually or through computer-assisted qualitative data management software such as NVivo (Pope et al., 2000). Content analysis is recognised as an effective approach to analysing interviews (Krippendorff, 2004), as well as for developing concepts (Corbin, 2008; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), the first reason for adopting this form of analysis of various other analytical perspectives that may have been used for qualitative data.

Given that one of the objectives of the research was to conceptualise the difference between problematic and ideal forms of integration, the researcher opted for content analysis as the ideal form of data analysis applicable to interview data. Some of the literature on research methodology suggests that content analysis helps in concept development (Corbin, 2008; Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Moreover, content analysis is recommended for the analysis of data on sensitive topics (Barbour, 2014). Some scholars describe qualitative content analysis as having similarities with thematic analysis (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). Therefore, the two concepts are often used interchangeably (Vaismoradi et al., 2013) and aim to provide a descriptive interpretation and presentation of data either through inductive or deductive approaches (Burnard et al., 2008; Vaismoradi et al., 2013).

Thematic analysis was helpful in going through data to identify and categorise emerging themes (commonly recurring issues/thread/arguments) and then to use these to present data, then interpret the findings to provide meaning within a particular context. Therefore, the researcher was able to develop the concepts of 'deep and sustainable integration' and then 'shallow and unsustainable integration' using the inductive approach to content analysis, guided by a step-by-step model developed by Mayring (2000). Prior to data collection, the initial concepts of 'shallow and unsustainable' as well as 'deep and sustainable' forms of integration functioned as sensitising concepts. According to Blumer (1954), cited by Bryman (1988), concepts in the social sciences are treated from a qualitative perspective as 'sensitising

concepts' whose essence is to provide 'a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances... retains close contact with the complexity of social reality, rather than trying to bolt it on to fixed, reformulated images' (p. 68). For Bryman, concepts feature as both inputs and outputs within the research and act as a general frame of reference, refined during the field period. Hence, a review of existing literature (Apio, 2013; Dupuy & Peters, 2010; Joanna, 2013; Özerdem, 2012; Torjesen, 2013) on reintegration and integration initially indicated the following characteristics of reintegration/integration: community acceptance, rehabilitation and psychosocial support; participating in community life; having a livelihood; continuing or commencing education (schooling); ensuring that processes are in synchrony with the cultural and social context of reintegration/integration; and addressing the social political and economic impacts of war.

Given the nature of the analytical framework adopted – the extended 'vital core' – the elements of 'dignity', 'livelihoods' and 'survival' formed the broader themes along which the above indicators (characteristics) and others that emerged from the field data were coded. After fieldwork and following entry to data into NVivo 11 and inductive analysis of nodes, emerging nodes became themes or sub-categories of the initial concepts. Furthermore, from inductive analysis, other commonly recurring issues/arguments were analysed and interpreted to provide meaning of themes imagining within a particular context of the research conducted. The discussion of these themes depends upon the context within which the data emerged and the researcher's meanings or interpretive perspective of the data.

The second reason for using content analysis stems from the argument advanced by Hermann (2008), according to whom content analysis applies in cases where the answers to a research question necessitates extracting information from the research materials in order to derive meaning. She provides eight steps as a guide to the rationale and

process involved in content analysis. Citing Weber (1990), she explains that one of the main emphases of content analysis is to make inferences. Considering her procedure, in addition to the nature of the research question, the following decisions were vital in determining to use content analysis.

Inductive content analysis

One of this research's hypotheses or arguments was that the lack of recognition (neglect) of CBIC as a specific category of children in global and national policy frameworks guiding reintegration affects their long-term, 'deep and sustainable' integration. From this, the specific task derived was to differentiate between 'shallow and unsustainable integration' and 'deep and sustainable integration'. The procedure for coding and analysis is presented in Appendix V.

Deductive content analysis

The second hypothesis assumes that the 'shallow and unsustainable integration' of CBIC compromises their enjoyment of transition justice as a specific war-affected group. This research adopts Verdeja's (2008) approach to reparations, grounded in the social justice concepts of 'redistribution' and 'recognition'. The researcher therefore argues that a guarantee of the 'extended vital core' (livelihood, dignity and survival) provides a basis for achieving or may reflect the enablement or promotion of the social justice components of 'recognition' and 'redistribution'.

The above hypothesis led to the adoption of a specific objective emerging aimed at ascertaining the reparation needs of CBIC. The procedure for coding and analysis is presented in Appendix V.

Data presentation

For concepts development, the researcher used conceptual diagrams or maps followed by description of the issues that emerged inductively

from the data, in comparison with those in the literature. The use of themes helps to explain most of the content of the empirical chapters.

3.10 Limitations of the study

There are three major limitations to the findings of this study. They do not jeopardise the rigour demanded of a qualitative study. The first limitation was that the sensitivity of the topic may discourage some suitable participants from engaging in the study. There were cases of prospective respondents declining to participate. Adherents of child participation as subjects of research employ qualitative research designs and methods that include children in the data collection process and, possibly, the analysis. Indeed, other researchers have researched various issues relating to CBIC by including them as participants in the study. They include Apio (2007), Atingo (2008), Atim et al. (2018), Kiconco (2015), Stewart (2017) and Ochen (2015). The implication of not including CBIC and their mothers in the study is that their views are not directly captured. Nonetheless, the perspectives of those who live with and take care of them inform the content of this thesis.

Secondly, access to communities to inquire about culturally sensitive issues was a challenge. As partly explained in the reflexive notes and field sites, I did feel like an outsider in some areas and communities were concerned about my interest in the topic. Moreover, inquiring about TJ in Teso sub-region was not as easy, as it was among the Acholi and Lango. This was because the presumption among some focus group participants was that I may have intended to try to convince them to support traditional justice and forgiveness. In order to address this challenge, I had to take time to broadly explain what TJ entails and the various options. Furthermore, I assured them of their rights to choose and speak up for what they desired, ignoring the fact that I, the researcher, was from Lango sub-region. This enabled them to freely and confidently express their views on the matter. Lastly, after all three focus discussions, members opted to say prayers as a way of dealing

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with the emotional sensitivity and memory that emerged from the discussions. This was important for closure, on their part.

Third, time constraints led to the use of qualitative methods that would realistically enable the exploration of integration. Otherwise, alternative methods such as ethnography would offer a way to explore integration by immersion in the research community for longer. The nature of the study – a qualitative case study – has limitations regarding generalisation and transferability. As explained in Chapter 3, specific considerations are necessary if any other researcher opts to apply the findings. Nonetheless, emerging pathways of integration (Chapter 7) introduce a framework that can guide other studies or be improved for using quantitative methodology to test for the interaction of the ‘extended vital core’ elements.

3.10 Conclusion

The methodological design and methods used in this study enabled me, as the researcher, to obtain information on the integration of these children. The empirical findings from the inquiry are discussed in Chapters 4 and 11.

Chapter 4: The Integration of Children Born in Captivity Living in Acholi

4.1 Introduction

This chapter uses empirical findings on Acholi sub-region and applies the elements of the 'extended vital core' to answer the question: in what ways do existing policy frameworks for reintegration support effective integration of CBIC? Based on the literature reviewed (Chapter 2), the other question relating to integration sought to compare the integration of CBIC to that of other children born of war born to non-abducted mothers.

It is important to re-emphasise that, at national level, the DDR policy/agreement (2008) embraced the components of the PPG (2007) and was operationalised by various actors (government and non-governmental). The chapter discusses the integration efforts emanating from the component of 'reintegration' and how these have affected the integration of CBIC. As explained in Chapter 1, the policies for reintegration targeted formerly abducted persons (FAPs) and therefore responded to CBIC as mere appendages of their mothers. In addition, just as the PPG observe the possibility that children of females associated with armed forces and their mothers may experience stigma and discrimination, this had been the case in Acholi.

This chapter is important for understanding the integration of CBIC, because it explores integration from the sub-region most affected by the LRA war (Atim et al., 2018). The sub-region had the majority of the NGO interventions targeting FAPs and a number of networks such as the Acholi Religious Peace Initiative and the Women Advocacy Network. Hence, the issues emerging from this sub-region highlight the situation of integration for a majority of Uganda's CBIC.

Chapter 5

The chapter is structured as follows: the first part provides an overview of the sub-region in the context of the research. This is followed by a comparison of the integration of the integration of CBIC and other children born of war but to non-abducted females. The third section discusses the integration of CBIC using the 'extended vital core' element of dignity. Hence, it explains the manifestation of stigma against these children. Fourth, using the 'extended vital core' element of livelihood, the manifestation of discrimination against the children is discussed. The fifth section uses the 'extended vital core' element of survival to explore the integration of CBIC. The next part discusses the various efforts to enable integration, including the identification of opportunities and challenges available for integration. The seventh subsection presents the lessons on integration that can be drawn from the integration of these children in Acholi. The chapter then concludes with a summary and highlight of CBIC's integration in Acholi.

4.2 Overview of Acholi sub-region

The sub-region is located in the northern part of Uganda and comprises the districts of Amuru, Agago, Gulu, Kitgum, Lamwo, Nwoya, Omoro and Pader. According to G. Akello (2013), the Acholi districts of Amuru, Gulu, Kitgum and Pader were the most affected by the LRA war. Viewed on the map of Uganda, its neighbours include the sub-regions of Teso and Karamoja to the east, West Nile to the west, Lango to the south and South Sudan to the north (Uzoigwe, 1973). As stated in Chapter 1, both Joseph Kony and Alice Lakwena belong to this tribal group. The LRA war led to various atrocities such as abduction, displacement of persons, killings and maiming. The LRA sought to 'cleanse' the people of Acholi, aiming to create a 'New Acholi' (Baines, 2014).

The Acholi are a patrilineal people, therefore find their belonging in the clan of their fathers (Porter, 2013). At a cultural level of governance, the institution of *Ker Kwar Acholi* has oversight of members of the tribal group and is headed by the paramount chief (*Rwot*). *Ker Kwar Acholi*

played a significant role in the peace talks (2006–2008) and in enabling reintegration/integration. One of the respondents (27MI240816K) explained how, at the height of people returning from captivity and over time, cultural leaders played a significant role in sensitising communities and advocating for them to refrain from stigmatising and discriminating against those associated with the LRA. They also play an important role in cultural rites, such as cleansing rituals. Some of the reintegrating females returned with CBIC (Atim et al., 2018; Bergmans, 2017; Justice and Reconciliation Project, 2015a; Ochen, 2015). Bergmans (2017) explains that unless compensation (*luk*) is paid for the birth of a child outside wedlock, such a child remains a non-member of his/her maternal clan or community. This is the plight of CBIC.

Many of the persons formerly associated with the LRA moved to Uganda during the peace talks (2006–2008). As explained in Chapter 1, the Ugandan army (UPDF) conducted demobilisation and disarmament before transferring those who returned through the formal mechanism to reception centres (GUSCO, KICHWA & World Vision) for rehabilitation and later reintegration. However, one of the respondents – a university professor (27MI240816K) – explained that, in some cases, people would return informally and stealthily into the communities they once belonged to and, for fear of re-abduction, some were assisted by their families to relocate to other places. His argument was confirmed by a trauma counsellor with 'I Live Again' (10MI040816A). Among the beneficiaries of rehabilitation and reintegration/integration were CBIC and their mothers.

The research failed to establish the exact number of CBIC. A reintegration expert (3MI020816A) claimed that comprehensive statistics are hard to come by, since the various actors involved in reintegration and rehabilitation kept separate statistics. An official at the Amnesty Commission in Kampala (29MI290816K), he informed me that the records were kept by each reception centre. Estimates were placed at over two thousand by an employee of Acholi Education

Initiative (6MI030816A), while a researcher on CHIBOW in Uganda (7FI010816A) explained that, from her interaction with *Watye Ki Gen* and another organisation conducting a survey on this children, the number of CBIC counted by May 2016 was 1,032. She was, however, uncertain of the exact location of the estimate in terms of sub-regions, since the survey was meant to cover Acholi, Lango and Teso. With this challenge of statistics, the thesis relies on the post-research estimate by the International Centre for Transitional Justice (2017) of 8,000 children for the Acholi and Lango sub-regions.

The research participants in interviews and the focus group discussion confirmed the presence of CBIC in the sub-region. Three categories of CBIC were differentiated from the field data from the region. The first category comprises those who return without a parent – referred to by respondents as unaccompanied minors – who may end up with a grandmother or be taken into institution care if the relatives of the mother/father can be traced. The second category return with their mothers and integrate among her relatives. The third category were born in captivity and are still there. Their mothers may have died or still be alive but in the current areas of LRA operations. This third category is confirmed in the Hansard (Republic of Uganda Parliamentary Debates: Hansard, 3 April 2014), where some examples of top LRA commanders' children, such as Obwor Simon Salim Saleh and Ali Lalabo Bashir (born 1993) and Ochan Chandiet (born 1998), are identified as members of LRA operations in Central Africa Republic and Chad.

How these children are recognised by community members is through the return and reintegration of their mothers and also their names. The children often have names different from the common practice among the Acholi people:

These children come with names. You know the names are very clear; *Rwot Omia* [meaning given by God], *Obanga Kene* [meaning 'God alone']. So you can easily link to the situation. If I open my system here, you find the children's register. You can easily read the name and you can tell this should be a child from captivity. (3MI020816A)

The above respondent, a reintegration expert and the director of a school whose pupils include CBIC, explained that they are often recognised. He further noted that all families accepted the children whom their daughters returned with, because the fathers were top LRA commanders. Following continuous counselling of families and mediation by counsellors from the reception centre, the families accept these children but have changed their names, mostly to conceal their identity, especially when they move to new environments. As explained under the survival or CBIC, in some situations relocation happens in response to the stigma and discrimination that such children and their mothers face.

4.3 Manifestations of stigma against children born in captivity

It is important to recall the definition of stigma adopted by this thesis, as a process through which negative labels (stereotypes) are used against these children, who are considered deviants (conceived and born outside the recognised cultural norms of sex and marriage). Such stereotypes lead to their subsequent discrimination from certain domains of life (Bergmans, 2017). In the excerpt below, one of the respondents succinctly describes the culturally grounded non-recognition of these children:

You need to know that children who were born in captivity, the culture does not accept them. The culture does not accept them because they are seen as a taboo or misfortune, because according to our culture, nobody is allowed to play sex in the bush. The fact that these girls played sex in the bush; they were forced actually. They were forced to do that and they had children born in captivity, even that kind of relationship is not accepted. That you have somebody, you know, rape was not part of our culture. So, if a girl is raped or a girl plays sex in the bush, that becomes an issue. So, when the children; the formerly abducted children came back with their children, the parents have a lot of problems. What to do? So, the parents accepted their own daughters minus the children born in captivity. (11MI040816A)

Therefore, this section presents a discussion of the various manifestations of stigma that emerged from the field data obtained

from Acholi. In some instances, reference is made to persons interviewed in Kampala yet who are members of the Acholi tribal group.

Stigma in the family and school

Community members stigmatise these children, using negative labels to address them, symbolising the attitudes and perceptions towards them. They experience stigma within the maternal community of integration. Some of them are stigmatised by stepfathers and grandmothers. The researcher on CHIBOW (7FI010816A) cited incidents where CHIBOW are referred to as 'bastards' by their maternal relatives (grandmothers) and as 'containers without a handle' by their mothers, referring to the burden that they are to their mothers.

These children are culturally not accepted because they were conceived in the bush, thereby defying Acholi cultural norms of sex (11MI040816A), confirming similar claims made by Bergmans (2017) and Porter (2013).

Furthermore, the researcher elaborated that in schools the children have been called 'Kony' or 'Son of Oti'. An official from Acholi Education Initiative (6MI030816A) confirmed the stigma in schools. In response to such experiences, their organisation offers counselling to such children and trains teachers in schools to deal with the special needs of these children. Some of the schools where CBIC have been sponsored include Gulu Public School, Halson Secondary School in Teso and Bishop Benedict XI in Lamwo district (3MI020816A).

Responses to experiences of stigma

One of the impacts of the stigma experienced by these children is the resultant social and emotional disconnect that they have, especially the older ones. This causes some to prefer life in captivity (7FI010816A; 11MI040816A), in a current state of fragile peace where the LRA is still at large. Such sentiments are more widespread among the majority of children who reside in rural (remote) places than in towns (7FI010816A). The use of the phrase 'a ticking time-bomb' to describe

the plight of these children confirms similar descriptions by Justice and Reconciliation Project (2015b: 7) and Denov and Lakor (2017). It points to the fragile nature of integration in the uncertainties of peace and security in the region.

Some children who have been victims of stigma in schools respond by abandoning education and resorting to life on the streets in Gulu (7FI010816A). They do so when they can no longer cope with the pressure that comes with teasing and name-calling. It is more puzzling for those children who are neither aware of the reality behind their identity nor have mothers who are willing to disclose such information to them when they inquire about the labels.

A third response to experiences of stigma is relocation to new areas, mostly urban ones, either on their own or in the company of their mothers. Three major patterns of relocation emerged from research in the sub-region. The first pattern (unique to the findings in Acholi sub-region) is a back-and-forth movement of mothers with their children. This involved an initial movement away from the sub-region to other places like Kiryandongo and Kampala during the time of internal displacement and a later transition back to the sub-region, years after the post-conflict phase was declared (10MI040816A). Organisations such as 'I Live Again' facilitated such movements. Movements to Kampala during internal displacement were confirmed by another respondent (27MI240816K). Hence, the second pattern is a migration during internal displacement, never to return. Many of these would be assisted by their families for fear of re-abduction at the time when the war was still ongoing (27MI240816K). Some of these people ended up in places such as Acholi quarter in Kampala (28FI310816K).

Relocation during the time of internal displacement is captured in the excerpt below:

Most of these things really is a shock therapy. You just hear in the evening, or in the morning that so and so came back last night, and came back with a child. Because most of these people were coming when the war was still taking place and they were escaping from LRA captivity, it was kept in secret. Their

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returning was kept in secret. Because if the LRA knows that somebody escaped and has come, they get wind of it, they will come and follow that person, and kill that person and kill others, as a punishment to discourage. So, when people come, they come stealthily in the villages, and many homes would actually relocate the person, to the towns, to urban areas or places they think safe. Or some who were far. I know of people who were sent away to Kampala, for instance, or sent away to towns to stay with relatives, so that there is no trace that they ever came, because of fear of the LRA... of course with the war now ending, and the LRA not being there and people going back to the villages, most of these people are really not going back to settle in the villages, they are settling in the trading centres, where there is a means of livelihood. Where you can do something and then you earn money. You either are doing petty trade and so forth. (27MI240816K)

It was generally assumed that relocation would enable the beneficiaries to live in a better integration environment. In order to confirm the relocation pattern from Acholi to Kampala, I visited the place described by the respondent from 'I Live Again'. I was able to interview one of the Acholi community leaders who had lived in the place for over 10 years (28FI310816K). She confirmed that some mothers of CBIC had indeed relocated to that place during internal displacement yet later moved back to Acholi. I observed that the living conditions were as described by the respondent from 'I Live Again'. The respondent I interviewed is herein identified by the pseudonym of Mama Amaro, coded as 28FI310816K. Her importance in the community was evident upon the interview being disrupted by community members seeking her assistance in dealing with a scenario. A young girl from Acholi sub-region had been abandoned by someone who had brought her to Kampala to work as a house help. The adults who brought her wanted Mama Amaro to help to find possible relatives in Kampala. She asked the young girl to narrate all that had happened to her and whom she knew in the area. Mama Amaro was able to recognise some of the names but reported that, although they had once lived in the place, they had relocated. The disruption was useful to me as I realised how highly regarded Mama Amaro is among the community of those who had fled to that area.

Mama Amaro informed me that about six formerly abducted females had lived in the community during the internal displacement, and were supported by NGOs such as 'Reach-Out Mbuya' and 'Melting Point'. The

NGOs offered counselling and other socio-economic support to these women as they reintegrated into their new location. Mama Amaro was unaware of incidents of stigma and discrimination against the mothers and children during their time in the area. She explained that majority of the residents were aware of the trauma experienced by the FAPs and tried not to provoke them. Following the declaration of a post-conflict context and the closure of internally displaced peoples (IDP) camps, these mothers and children returned to areas in Acholi sub-region where various NGOs were offering support to their colleagues from captivity. It is important to note that, although relocation was intended to provide a better living conditions in the location and there were no incidents reported of stigma and discrimination against these mothers and children, the socio-economic conditions were not conducive to their wellbeing.

The third pattern of migration observed was the movement from the remote rural areas to towns within Acholi sub-region, such as Gulu and Pader, because of the reintegration and integration challenges that they faced in the original areas of habitation (4MI030816A; 7FI010816A). Other empirical studies, such as Apio (2016), Bergmans (2017) and Stewart (2017), explain cases of relocation to towns such as Gulu. One of the 'pull' factors behind such relocation is the opportunity for information-sharing and better living conditions for these children than in the areas from which they moved. According to Lee's (1966) theory of migration, people make a decision to migrate because of factors in the place of origin and those in the destination: 'push' factors constitute those conditions that force people to move away from their place of origin, while 'pull' factors are those conditions that attract them to the place of destination. It is important to observe that while, on the one hand, exposure to stigma and discrimination pushes these mothers and children from their original places of reintegration/integration, opportunities for a better life - possibly free of stigma and discrimination - serve as 'pull' factors that lure them to move. These movements make integration a dynamic process in which the children

concerned may be forced to move in order to escape stigma and its impact, such as socio-economic exclusion from cultural resources.

Bergmans (2017: 54) explains that, in some scenarios, mothers may move to towns and leave their children in the rural areas (villages) with their relatives in search of better living conditions. She cites an example of a mother who could not move with her children to town. The daughters stayed in the village with her brother and are sexually abused by people in their place of residence. Although no cases of sexual abuse of such children emerged from my inquiries, the example depicts some of the vulnerabilities that female CBIC face, with potential long-term health impacts on their life and wellbeing.

Regardless of opportunities available as 'pull' factors, in most cases mothers move against their free will, as they eventually cannot tolerate the mental torture they are subjected to. They move to towns like Gulu, where life is more bearable since they may have been denied access to land and their children experience negative sentiments from community members, victimised by the atrocities committed by their fathers (4MI030816A). As noted in Chapter 2, Lee (1966) explains migration using 'push' and 'pull' factors. The stigma against CBIC is rooted in cultural norms that cut them off from co-owning land with the members of their mothers' clan.

The next section discusses the issues of discrimination that emerged from the field data obtained from this sub-region, as well as from other respondents interviewed in Kampala yet belonging to the Acholi tribe.

4.4 Manifestations of discrimination of children born in captivity

As explained in the introductory chapter, Bergmans (2017) defines discrimination in the context of CHIBOW as involving negative treatment based on their traits (perceived or ascribed) – in this case, linked to their fathers – and their subsequent denial from full

participation in social (cultural injustice) and economic life (economic injustice).

Discrimination, on the other hand, is mainly rooted in the identity of these children, which results in their exclusion from benefits that their maternal clan members can offer. Since many of them have not had *luk* paid by their paternal clan, leaving them without clan identity (25FI230816K & 7FI010816A), they are debarred from access to resources such as land and from the support that boys need when they intend to marry (25FI230816K).

The analytic framework adopted by this thesis compares livelihood with Honneth's (1995) concept of social esteem. It relates to the recognition and reward of one's contribution to the social and economic welfare of society. As Bergmans (2017) observes in her definition, the stigma against these children leads to discrimination (cultural, economic and social). Those who are young adults are capable of having a livelihood of their own, while younger ones may depend on their mothers/care givers as they pursue education in the hope of using the knowledge and skills obtained to pursue various options available to them at the end of schooling.

One of the focus group participants described the everyday life of these children as characterised by a lack of belonging and being denied access to land (Molly, in 08FGDACHOLI010816). These children are denied usage and inheritance of culturally owned land because they are non-members of their maternal clans (3MI020816A; 4MI030816A; 7FI010816A). The challenge was raised during interviews and in focus group discussions. Land is an asset that clan members own and rely on for a living, and therefore is a very important resource in the communities of integration. The marginalisation from land access or co-ownership that emerged from the participants in this study confirms findings in other empirical studies such as Bergmans (2017), Justice and Reconciliation Project (2015b) and Stewart (2017). The national TJ advisor (25FI230816K) explained that, culturally, land is a form of

identity. Hence, to be denied access to land means that one is not recognised by the community. This supports the argument by Honneth (1995) regarding the link between esteem and respect. The national TJ advisor explained that, in some of the consultative work they have with the mothers of CBIC, the mothers request that the government relocates them to other places where they and their children can forge a new identity and also have land that they can use for a living:

Probably a new identity will have to be created, like the relocation they are talking about... so that they start afresh. But embarking on that as a special project by the government is being over-ambitious. I mean... like flogging a dead horse! I mean, you cannot achieve anything. It is just goodwill. The only thing you can do is sensitise the people to accept these people and understand them. And it is up to them, I mean, it is personal. Acceptance is personal. It is not even communal. (25FI230816K)

While she did not disregard such requests, she seemed uncertain about the feasibility of government giving out such land due to the nature of land tenure in the country, which may mean that some communities would need to be relocated in order to create land for this group of mothers and children. By 2017 to 2018, there was tension over the government acquisition of land through the proposed Constitution Amendment Bill (2017), which would grant the government rights to acquire land for development without prior compensation to the owners. The bill was contested by civil society organisations²⁰ and Members of Parliament.²¹ Moreover, the tensions over land in some of the LRA post-conflict communities do not make the situation any better. Hence, government's allocation of land to this group of people may lead to more stigma and discrimination, considering that many other groups of war-affected persons may have received no compensation for the atrocities that they suffered.

²⁰ Story available on *Monitor* newspaper online at <https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Reject-govt-move-compulsory-land-acquisition-CSOs-Parliament/688334-4682494-format-xhtml-yp149/index.html> accessed 01/12/2018.

²¹ Story available on the *New Vision* online news website at https://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1459005/mps-reject-land-amendment accessed 01/12/2018.

In this thesis, I argue that a more feasible livelihood option may be enhancing education, with the possibility that knowledge and skills will be a benefit through either formal education or technical training. At the end of such training, children's ability to put into use the knowledge, skills and competences would allow them to take up various opportunities. It would also increase their prospects of improved financial status through the income obtained, enabling the beneficiaries to acquire land of their own. Hence, in the long run, their sole reliance on land owned by the clan would be removed and the chance of relocating away from their maternal community would reduce their exposure to stigma.

It is important to note that the stigma and discrimination of CBIC have an impact on their survival, as explained in the next section.

4.5 The survival of children born in captivity

The consequence of stigma and discrimination is the negative impact of such actions on the survival of these children. Children who fail to receive emotional support through love and acceptance, whether at family level or among their peers, are more prone to survival challenges as they grapple with life in a post-conflict context because of their identity. That survival is problematic is reflected in claims that some children have ended up abandoning school (7FI010816A) while others, who are older, prefer to return to life in captivity (7FI010816A & 11MI040816A).

Survival, as defined in the introductory chapter of this thesis, is 'the state or fact of continuing to live or exist, typically in spite of an accident, ordeal, or difficult circumstances'.²² For CBIC to survive means that, despite their links to life in captivity and experiences of stigma and integration among post-conflict communities where they reside,

²² See: http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/survival (accessed 16/5/16).

strategies may help them to continue to live or exist. According to the analytical framework adopted in Chapter 2, survival may be compared to emotional support. Honneth (1995) argues that, in the context of social integration, people build relationships at a primary level (family and friends) and with community members with the aims of ensuring that they co-exist. These relationships of love are also important for boosting livelihoods (social esteem) and dignity (mutual cognitive respect). When love is manifested through the emotional support given in primary relationships, such as family and friendships, it not only helps in building the self-confidence of the beneficiary but also enables him/her to mutually love and accept others, as well as respect them. Therefore, in this section, various forms of emotional support (love) are discussed in order to establish how their presence or absence influences the integration of CBIC.

The primary source of emotional support for these children is from their mother and her relatives (especially grandmothers). The children have diverse experiences of emotional support from primary relationships of care at the family level. The experiences range from acceptance/support to rejection. The researcher on CHIBOW in Uganda (7FI010816A) explained that there are scenarios where the maternal grandmother or relatives of the mother are the sources of the stigma and discrimination against CBIC. This confirms similar claims made in other empirical studies (Akello, D., 2013; Ochen, 2015).

However, one of the focus group participants explained that, in situations where they feel unable to support the CBIC, grandmothers may ask reception centres to refer the children to institutions offering care to war-affected children in Gulu:

It depends on the kind of family one comes from. There are some other parents who are willing to take care of these children, especially the unaccompanied children, but because they are incapacitated. They are not able to provide some basic needs like education and others. Therefore, you find that some few children are referred other centres like Watoto. When you go there, you will find some children are there. Not because they were rejected by the family members, but because of the capacity of the parents – those parents who cannot be able to bring them up. (Grace, in 08FGDACHOLI010816)

The acceptance of mothers of CBIC but not their children is confirmed by Bainomugisha (2010). The PPG (2007) therefore recommend alternative care in cases where reintegration or integration is impossible or challenging. Research participants identified unaccompanied children as the beneficiary category of institutional care. Those who do not benefit from institutional care end up in foster homes/families (7FI010816A). There are situations where an unaccompanied child is claimed by members of families who think he or she was fathered or born to their son or daughter. In such cases, they try to establish the relationship while the child is at a reception centre or during family tracing and reunification. Since DNA is not an option to prove their blood link, people may use their knowledge of the physical appearance of their abducted child to claim relations with the unaccompanied child or may depend on information from a person who knew the parent of the child, in cases where they stayed or died in the bush.

Another source of emotional support in Acholi is through *Watye Ki Gen*, a network formed by mothers of CBIC. It offers both the children and their mothers opportunities for social interaction and psychosocial activities that enable the children to cope with their conditions of integration. Researchers such as Denov and Lakor (2017) and Stewart (2017) have collaborated with JRP in participatory researchers. They employ methodologies that allow these children to participate in the research process. Some of the methods used are therapeutic and important to their long-term psychosocial wellbeing. Apio (2016) conducted her research in Lango, but cites examples of a mother of a child born in captivity who was able to link up with members of *Watye Ki Gen* and later move to Gulu, where she and her child benefit from the network.

As part of emotional support, *Watye Ki Gen* has been used by some mothers of CBIC to introduce their children to their half-sisters and half-brothers (7FI010816A). The reason for ensuring that they know each other is informed by concerns that they avoid incest in future, as well as

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encouraging them to build sibling relationships of support as they all cope with life as children with the same identity challenges, as captured in the excerpt below:

The women that had children with the same men try to trace where the other women are so that their children can know each other. They should not marry each other because they share a blood, traditionally, in the future. So it is a good thing that they even endeavour to spend their money to visit and that is why they have formed themselves into this group of WAN and all that of JRP. Simply just to keep the lot, they help each other, when there is something that has come up they can say quickly that I think so and so, the child has never been sponsored. We can do this. So that is also the friendship. (7FI010816A)

There are a few cases of CBIC whose fathers or mothers have continued the relationships formed in captivity in a supportive environment (3MI020816A). They are able to benefit from parental love and support from both parents, in contrast to those whose mothers may have entered into new relationships where the stepfathers do not accept or love the children. The excerpt below captures the scenario of those children who grow up in situations where both parents live together:

The stable marriages that I have seen here... well, relationships, not marriages as such, because marriage in Uganda, the dowry, the church... I have not heard of any exchange of bride price and... traditional marriage, but they are staying together. And, their children have that kind of support from both parents. And I have seen at school, those children are more stable. Those children born in captivity whose parents are staying together. Even if this relationship was construed from captivity, they are more stable. But others when you talk to them, they have now become single parents. And so when you go to all the urban centres, they are now gathered in urban centres, but not in the villages. So if you went you go to Gulu town, they have formed themselves into various kinds of associations; like 'Empowering Hands'. (3MI020816A)

The respondent noted that although most of the formerly abducted women do not want to continue their relationship started in captivity, the challenge of finding a husband who can love and accept a woman with her child in the community of reintegration/integration in some cases makes them return to their partner from captivity. The reunification of the parents of the CBIC is easier when the couple love each other. When the relationship is not continued, it is not always the mothers' preference (7FI010816A). Some find it had to find a genuine lover or prospective spouse. The respondent recounted cases after return where men pretended to love the mothers of these children yet were attracted only by the reintegration package given to them as they

transitioned from the reception centres to a new area of residence. At the point when the financial assistance given to such a mother ran out, some partners abandoned or threatened to abandon the child. In other instances, the mother would be asked to choose between her child or the man. Caught up in such situations, often the mothers would choose the child and either return to her maternal relatives or move to a new location. The children continue to have the emotional support of their mother and sometimes, their mother's relatives. This confirms Honneth's (1995) argument that love from primary relationship such as in the family, from friendships and intimate relationships is crucial for social integration.

Hence, as the above research findings indicate, if there is love in the form of emotional and other support from mothers, both parents and sometimes maternal relatives like grandmothers, it provides a supportive environment for integration, although such love may be absent outside the homestead. The same kind of emotional support is possible for children who end up in institutions of care. Otherwise, the absence of love (experiences of rejection), according to the argument advanced by Honneth (1995), becomes a catalyst for similar treatment (negative emotional responses) on the part of those who are denied the love/acceptance. Therefore, social conflict between the CBIC and those who stigmatise them and do not show them emotional support becomes highly likely.

Furthermore, in cases where families reject CBIC and their mothers, JRP and WAN assist in family reunification by engaging in dialogue and mediation with the families of the mothers. They also try to engage clan leaders in the process, with the aim of coming to a mutual agreement regarding the need for the families concerned to accept the mothers and children (5FI030816A). It is worth noting that one of the indicators of successful integration suggested in Acholi sub-region is the need for acceptance. The second requirement proposed is psychosocial support. The third suggestion is the need for continuous sensitisation of

communities with the aim of promoting the need to recognise CBIC as persons deserving of dignity, rather than focusing on their social and biological status as children fathered by the LRA. The continuous support to these children would bring them to a point where they freely share their stories with others and are able to distinguish between life in captivity and in an integrated context (6MI030816A). The difference ought to be a positive one, and requires continuous support of these children by various partners whose programmes benefit them.

Apart from emotional support, a source of survival is for these children and their mothers to be able to favourably engage in livelihoods and compete with those who have no links to captivity. One of the respondents used his general knowledge of DDR to explain what successful reintegration involves, as captured in the excerpt below:

The success indicators are sometimes things like competition; favourable competition. Putting up a business and competing for resources just like any other person in the community. When it comes to school, they should be able to access the same level of education- equitable to the standard level of education available. When you talk about politics and decision-making, accessing information or participating in politics – is their agenda or are their concerns included within the political, maybe decisions that take place? Are their concerns taken care of? Then also things to do with access to employment because I think at a certain age the youth who are unable to go to school will need to have employment. Access to employment or create their own employment. Those are some of the indicators you could look at. They are many, but you could look at that (20MI140816K).

Gauging whether integration is successful is a long-term process and requires evaluation to measure trends in CBIC's state of transition, following insertion. The assessment could possibly be continuous to capture progress as the beneficiary grows into a young adult. Assessments would be possible when interventions target CBIC, beyond insertion. Although the life of such a child will not be the same as that of one who did not experience life in captivity, there would be progress in their personal development (physical, psychosocial and socio-economic) arising from interventions that enable cognitive respect, emotional support and social esteem. Having achieved this, they can live with others better through interventions that enable relationships of

mutual esteem, respect and love between the CBIC and other members of the community.

4.6 Integration efforts and how they affect children born in captivity

This section explains the integration efforts available for CBIC. The discussion includes the opportunities and challenges that affect such integration in the sub-region.

The influence of national policy interventions for reintegration on integration

Some of the research participants in Acholi were aware of the policies guiding reintegration and made reference to DDR, the Amnesty Act and the TJ policy (7FI010816A; 25FI230816K; 20MI140816K; 27MI240816K). In addition, the participants in both the focus group discussion (08FGDACHOLI010816) and interviews (2MI01082016A; 4MI030816A; 7FI010816A; 11MI040816A) were able to explain the practice of reintegration and integration. The respondents would trace the process as far back as life in captivity and the never-concluded peace talks (2006–08), from which agenda item 3 was signed and adopted by the Government of Uganda as the basis for implementing TJ. The Amnesty Act (2000) included provisions for DDR implemented through interventions by Amnesty Commission Uganda, post-conflict communities, NGOs religious groups and traditional leaders (Government of Uganda, April 2003).

As explained in the introductory chapter, the reintegration and integration of persons formerly associated with the LRA occurred concurrently with the reintegration of those who had been internally displaced into IDP camps. Various post-conflict rehabilitation programmes and plans were put in place, such as NUSAF, Northern Uganda Reconstruction Programme (NUREP) and PRDP. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Report

(2015) observed that CBIC face stigma and discrimination because of their identity (UNDP, 2015: 102). Moreover, their mothers are less likely to return to schooling, limiting their future prospects of providing better support for their children, especially if the children are still in their care.

In addition, the DDR agreement signed between the Government of Uganda and the LRA acknowledged that the PPG (2007) structured its content. It also took into consideration general principles of child protection available in the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). Therefore, DDR agreement (2008) served as a guide to structuring reintegration, while adopting practices of reintegration that were ongoing through the reception centres.

It is also important to recall that the process of reintegration assumed the return to the environment where one once lived, which is not the case for CBIC as they migrate to a new environment, where they integrate. Hence, as this thesis argues, the predominant focus on the parents of CBIC and the resultant cultural and post-conflict circumstances treated integration as similar to reintegration. The result was overlooking their specific needs and their attendant problematic integration due to stigma and discrimination because of their identity.

Bainomugisha (November, 2010), for example, noted that NUREP, as a government programme, was funded by the European Union and targeted a number of post-conflict rehabilitation programmes, including the reintegration of persons formerly associated with the LRA, such as child soldiers. He cites various examples of NGOs that benefited from this grant. In Acholi, they include GUSCO, War Child Holland, International Rescue Committee, St Monica Women's Group, Oxfam and AVSI. A number of these NGOs' activities extended to Lango and Teso sub-regions. The funding that targeted child soldiers enabled vocational training, support to their schools and support for their various income-generating activities. Given Bainomugisha's (2010) observation, it may

be the case that, since many of the females returned with young children, these forms of support would subsequently ensure that they were better placed to care for and support their CBIC.

Kiconco (2015), on the other hand, explains that the predominant focus on formerly abducted children led to their inclusion within the PRDP framework. The challenge with these programmes and their inability to adequately address the needs of FAPs and CBIC in a post-conflict context were deliberated by Members of Parliament (Republic of Uganda Parliamentary Debates: Hansard, 3 April 2014). During the research, one respondent observed:

When the government introduced the PRDP programme, they were not serious of reintegration. It is mentioned there but practically it is not being implemented. On paper, they talked about it nicely but there was no implementation of proper reintegration of children into the society; whether they lost their parents in, in war, whether they came back from captivity, whether they lost their parents within Northern Uganda maybe through sickness or something like that, there were no serious programmes taking care of children so at the end of the day, we do not have productive children born during the LRA time. 'I understand that the PRDP programme is coming but I think specifically we need to look into the problem of reintegration as a specific aspect of it. (2MI01082016A)

Another respondent explained that the government programme of NUSAF was unable to address the needs of these children (3MI020816A). Hence, the parliamentary debate (Republic of Uganda Parliamentary Debates: Hansard, 3 April 2014) emphasised the need for specific interventions for these children and their mothers – specifically, gender-sensitive reparations. The way in which reparations would respond to the needs of these children in Acholi is discussed in Chapter 8. Neenan (2017) argues for policies that target these children's needs and promote their right as a category of victims of CRSV. When argued from the perspective of the 'extended vital core' framework adopted in this thesis, the needs of CBIC that would be targeted are those of dignity (respect), livelihood (social esteem) and survival (emotional support).

Reception (rehabilitation) centres and the integration/reintegration process

The importance of the role of reception centres in the reintegration and integration process kept emerging during interviews (3MI020816A; 4MI030816A; 5FI030816A; 7FI010816A) and focus group discussion (08FGDACHOLI010816). One focus group participant (Molly, in 08FGDACHOLI010816) explained the limited follow up (often less than 6 months) after insertion of these children into communities of integration. This made their everyday life dependent upon how the community interacted with the children. Reception centres were important in rehabilitation, family tracing and reuniting with their relatives those who came from captivity (3MI020816A). Where some of the children were rejected by their maternal relatives during the family reunification processes, social workers negotiated with such families in the hope that they would understand that these children are victims of circumstances and require their love and support (4MI030816A).

While the group participants discussed the role of traditional justice in enabling reintegration, one social worker (Grace, in 08FGDACHOLI010816), who happened to be older than the rest of the participants, was able to explain that rituals such as *mato oput* were not applicable to integrating children born to formerly abducted females. This is because the traditional ritual involves mainly those directly involved in conflict, especially relating to the shedding of blood. As explained further in Baines (2005), the ritual includes a confession of what happened and drinking the 'bitter root' as a symbol of clearing the anger and vengeance that emerged from the atrocity.

This confirms what studies, such as by Carlson and Mazurana (2008) and Porter (2013), claim with regards to the challenge of traditional rituals to address sexually related violation. The clarification by the social worker also indicated gaps in knowledge on traditional justice by some of the population, contrary to the assumption that these rituals are well known by everyone in the Acholi community.

Another challenge identified in a reception-centre intervention is that, most of the time, integration challenges occur partly because of the failure of reception centres and other actors involved in reintegration and integration to adequately prepare the reintegrating mothers and communities for all the possible challenges (7FI010816A). Indeed, the rejection of CBIC is one of those challenges. She suggests that effective integration requires the positive reception of such children as part of the families that they join. At the level of peer recognition, an education system has to be designed to support such children's needs to be inclusive and enable CBIC to integrate with peers who have no links with captivity in an appropriate way.

It is, however, important to note that, despite the challenges of the reception centres, their mandate remains limited with regards to their influence over changes to cultural norms. What is apparent is the gap between the outcome of the reception-centre approach (insertion/reinsertion) and the long-term reintegration/integration needs of CBIC and their mothers. Who should be responsible for filling this gap? To answer this question, this thesis, as explained in Chapter 2, argues that it is the role of the state to ensure the effective integration of these children, regardless of the partnerships crafted between government and NGOs to implement programmes to benefit vulnerable groups of people, such as children affected by war.

Education support for persons formerly associated with the LRA

Another response to these sources of stigma is the interventions in schools by actors such as the Acholi Education Initiative (AEI), those at community level (by traditional and religious leaders) and to mothers of CBIC (evidenced by efforts of *Watyé Ki Gen*). They are important to counter stigma and offer opportunities for better integration of these children. The leaders engage in raising the community's awareness, aimed at tackling the problem of stigma and discrimination. A continuation of such efforts has the potential to improve the community's response to these children and enhance respect for their

dignity, rather than its tendency to focus on biological (born to LRA) and social (culturally non-recognised in maternal clan) identity. It is, however, important to note that, despite such efforts, the challenge of cultural non-recognition remains. As discussed in the chapter on reparations, having a pluralist perspective on culture can help to seek better recognition of these children, alongside possible redistribution of resources they require.

In Pader, there is a school called Pader Girls Academy (11MI040816A). It was formed to support formerly abducted girls and offers them education and training. The support is flexible. It allows the females who are mothers to attend school with their children and has provision for day-care for children until they are old enough to attend school. It is important to note that, at the start of reintegration efforts by government and NGOs to support persons formerly associated with the LRA, attempts were made in Acholi to provide education for the beneficiaries away from other children who did not experience life in captivity. This effort was futile, given the eventual closure of Laroo Boarding School (4MI030816A). Having learned from this experience, the official at AEI explained that support to CBIC and their mothers often took the form of inclusive education. They study with other children who did not experience life in captivity as a way of ensuring that they integrate into the community.

NGO interventions to support children born in captivity's post-insertion

Various NGOs implement programmes aim to support the various integration needs of CBIC, including those that support them remotely, as they stay in the care of their mother or guardian (for example, JRP, AEI, 'I Live Again', Child Voice and Lokodi) and those that provide institutional care (Watoto and SOS villages). While some NGOs assist CBIC and their mothers in Gulu district and Pader, the majority of such NGOs tend to be in towns and may not reach remote rural places:

Children have come... the majority of them are in the villages, because those whose mothers are in school, they are actually very few. Six hundred is nothing compared to a thousand and thousands of them in the villages. So, that is the problem that we have with children who are coming who have come back from captivity. They do not have their own identity because the father is not known, although the mother may be known, but the father is not known and they cannot, because they were also born in captivity are they Ugandans? Are they Sudanese? Are they Congolese? Are they people of Central African Republic? Is what we do not know. So this is, this is a very big problem that we have. (11MI040816A)

From the above argument, it may be deduced that the availability or presence of a wide range of NGOs responding to different needs of CBIC offers them a chance of better of integration outcomes than in locations where the same NGOs may be scarce or absent. In addition, while relocation to town is an option that some of these children and mothers may explore, others are either unable or unwilling to move away from their maternal communities.

AEI offers psychosocial support to CBIC and trains teachers how to handle the situation of these children in school (6MI030816A). The institution offers training to teachers alongside the children whom they support in specific schools to offer psychosocial support outside and inside school. The training is aimed at enhancing their ability to provide special needs education. Such efforts aim to enhance the dignity of these children as they interact with their peers in school and in the community, unlike earlier efforts and the failure of that approach, leading to the adoption of education that is inclusive, involving the schooling of those with links to captivity alongside those without such links.

'I Live Again' offers psychosocial support persons formerly associated with the LRA, including CBIC (9MI040816A; 10MI040816A). However, according to the co-founder of 'I Live Again', one of the challenges that beneficiaries of such support experience is the community perception of counselling (often linked to HIV/AIDS) and trauma (often linked to abduction). Such perceptions create a reluctance to seek counselling services and trauma support for fear of being labelled a person with a serious mental health condition. Nonetheless, he affirmed that the

organisation reaches out to some CBIC and their mothers. The above excerpt indicates that both mothers of CBIC and their children need counselling or trauma support. Researchers such as Denov and Lakor (2017) and Stewart (2017) explain the importance of psychosocial support to mothers and their children as they engage with them in participatory research.

Networks of peer support

Another intervention in response to the stigma of CBIC is provided by the Women's Advocacy Network (*Watye Ki Gen*) in collaboration with JRP. They encourage mothers of CBIC to share information and benefit from projects that target them and their children (7FI010816A). *Watye Ki Gen* offers livelihoods and psychosocial support to mothers of CBIC, subsequently enabling them to take care of their children (5FI030816A). Secondly, through educational bursaries provided by institutions like AEI, these children are able to study to improve their prospects for the future. In Pader district, where he currently works, a group of mothers of CBIC formed a social group (11MI040816A). In this group, they receive education and livelihood training aimed at enhancing their options, with the intent of increasing their ability to support their children. However, in Acholi, the majority of the CBIC and their mothers are unable to benefit from such support because they live in remote places. In Northern Uganda, it is common to find many NGOs with a base in the towns and field offices in rural areas. The inability of these NGOs to reach the many children and mothers located in remote places means that most of them are cut off from the livelihood support that they require.

The presence of networks is also useful for advocacy and involvement in activities that are therapeutic, for peer support among members and for dealing with experiences; moreover, participation in research represents an opportunity to exercise agency. Networks serve as a platform for advocacy and lobbying for funds to finance projects that can improve the wellbeing of mothers and children. For instance, *Watye*

Ki Gen was part of the WAN that pushed for parliament to adopt the petition for gender-sensitive reparations (5FI030816A), and its influence is seen in its resultant adoption (in April 2014). In addition, through participatory research, some studies (Denov & Lakor, 2017; Stewart, 2017) have consulted part of *Watye Ki Gen* and involved it in research as a form of emancipatory research. This serves as a way to positively empower CBIC, adding their voice to narratives around their plight. Lastly, through these networks, mothers of CBIC are encouraged and supported to disclose to their children details of their identity, as a way of helping them to cope with the puzzling questions that may arise if people stigmatise them through name-calling linked to the LRA. Such peer support is important not only for mothers but also the children, as explained in the example under survival, where mothers ensure that half-siblings come to know each other (7FI010816).

The influence of religious and cultural leaders

Traditional and religious leaders have been involved in community sensitisation in order to promote the dignity of these children (27MI240816K). The continuous sensitisation of the community makes them gradually realise that these children are not so different from many other children born outside wedlock. Describing the increasing number of such children as 'the problems of these days', the excerpt below shows growing acceptance that children can be born out of a marriage union.

Cultural leaders, religious leaders, have tried to discourage this talk of 'a returnee'. So you possibly would not know. And that is probably what helps them to integrate, because of being discouraged. Or, at least to fit. What you would call a normal life, for lack of choice for a better word really... or to live a life like other children. That is what has been done. But then, of course, society also accepted this thing, that when, this has been the problem of the time. You know when somebody says; 'these are the problems of these days' So that if a child is born outside wedlock like this, whether born by a rebel; was born of a rebel or government soldiers, it was taken [as] 'these are the kind of things'. In anyway, society has changed. There are many people who; children born out of wedlock now. So people have accepted it, taken them to be like those. (27MI240816K)

Even while such experiences of stigma and discrimination are apparent, it is important to note that the changing nature of society and the

ongoing efforts by religious and cultural leaders are opportunities that can be enhanced to improve the integration outcomes of the CBIC (Neenan, 2017). Based on the current situation, any change that seeks to enhance respect for these children as human beings rather than to focus on their social and biological identity in the current state of culture cannot ignore the dominant cultural discourse on identity. Interventions therefore need to include cultural leaders in any TJ efforts that are sought as interventions for enhancing respect. To make a case for dignity from a cultural context, Gyekye (1997a) argues that culture is not static. He explains that the changing nature of traditional cultural communities in Africa contributes to the appreciation of rights claims. It is therefore important to engage with cultural institutions and leaders to advance the need to recognise every person as a claimant of dignity, because most cultural communities agree to dignity as a natural (God-given) claim. Gyekye (1997a) supports the view that every person has dignity, regardless of his or her status or rank:

The conception of human dignity or rights is derived, whether from theistic considerations or sources independent of God, that conception is linked with, and in fact compels the recognition of rights, and not only in an individualistic but also the communitarian setting. In other words, the derivation of individual rights from naturalism (humanism) or supernaturalism cannot be confined to an individualistic framework; the derivation is not an activity, a characteristic, or a possibility solely of an individualistic moral or social ambience. (Gyekye, 1997a: 32)

Thus, as explained in Chapter 2, the discourse of cultural pluralism aims to reconcile the tensions between universalism and relativism as regards issues of human rights debates and is relevant in the context of CBIC when dignity, a foundation upon which the rights of human beings are enshrined (Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights), is conceptualised as inherent to all human beings, regardless of social status (Habermas, 2010; Rodriguez, 2015). Interventions need to emphasise a focus on dignity as a claim by virtue of being human, rather than by one's biological or social status.

4.7 Lessons on integration that can be drawn from Acholi sub-region

Based on the issues emerging from the field data in relation to stigma, discrimination and survival of CBIC, the following conclusions can be drawn as a reflection of their integration.

There are different categories of children born in captivity

One important lesson drawn from the data on the sub-region is that, despite reference to the term of 'children born in captivity', the children fall into several sub-categories. Each presents them with somewhat different integration experiences. The field findings suggest that, while some of CBIC who have integrated through reception centres returned with a parent (often mother), some came unaccompanied (Molly, in 08FGDACHOLI010816; 3MI020816A). Furthermore, some of them were reunited with members of their maternal communities, while others ended up in foster or institutional care (Molly, in 08FGDACHOLI010816).

Since there was no incidence of stigma and discrimination of those who reside in institutional care in this study, it may be assumed that they have better living conditions. This assumption would need further investigation of the nature of life in institutions of care, and this study was not able to undertake it, but recommends it as a possible area for research.

Problematic integration of children born in captivity

The everyday life of the CBIC after insertion (a term referring to the process of uniting these children with their maternal relatives) was mostly described as characterised by stigma, discrimination and challenges of survival, unlike peers who had no experience of captivity. Furthermore, the majority of these children tend to be based in rural areas where they are cut off from programmes designed and implemented by NGOs to target CBIC. Experiences of stigma and

discrimination are more common in rural areas, where the communities are able to identify the mothers' and their children's links with captivity.

One of the places where stigma of these children occurs is school.

Inclusive education offers an opportunity for integration because it aims to enable these children to study alongside others with no experience of captivity. It exposes them to the same quality of education as their peers attending the same school. The effectiveness of inclusive education requires continuous training of teachers and other staff to ensure that they are able to meet the special needs of these children. The trickle-down effect of such efforts could possibly include the feelings of children in schools with the aim of promoting the dignity of these children. For example, in the case of Rwanda, a curriculum review was undertaken to ensure that the history of war captures the reality of those children born during the genocide (McEvoy-Levy, 2007). In Uganda, the mainstreaming of HIV/AIDS awareness in different sectors, including schools, has contributed to a reduction in stigma. Hence, interventions in whole the education sector, beyond individual schools, could help to address the stigma of CBIC.

A second source of stigma is from primary relationships, such as with the mother, grandmothers and stepfathers. This mainly involves the use of negative labels when addressing these children. The impact of stigma within the maternal family leads to exclusion from the benefits of being attached to a clan. Of the forms of discrimination cited, the most frequent is exclusion from the ownership or use of land. In addition, stigma in school has led some children to abandon education. It therefore contributes, albeit indirectly, to discrimination over the right to education that all children are entitled to under Article 28 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).

In response to such experiences, some CBIC abandon school while others relocate, either on their own or in the company of their mothers. They do this in search of better living conditions (to avoid stigma in response to identity). The relocation of these children to towns like Gulu

is confirmed in other studies such as by Apio (2016) and Bergmans (2017). Some of the things that prompt such relocation ('pull' factors) include the chance of living in a community where the identity of the child is unknown, economic opportunities for small businesses in town and the presence of an association of mothers of CBIC formed to support each other and their children. Hence, contrary to what ought to have been the beginning of an effective long-term integration process, the insertion of CBIC and the attendant everyday life experiences of stigma and discrimination have caused a dynamic in the integration process, as some have to relocate in search of better living conditions.

When relocation ends in life within communities characterised by low standards of living, this creates further survival challenges for these children and their mothers. This reflects how what is supposed to be a linear process of reintegration and integration may be disrupted. The phrase 'a ticking time-bomb' refers to the possibilities that some CBIC could return to the LRA, reflecting the unsettled state of integration due to the chance of slipping back into conditions of captivity. Such growing concerns over the sustainability of the insertion highlight the dynamic nature of integration and the need to rethink the approaches that led to the current state of integration. This thesis refers to the problematic form of integration as 'shallow and unsustainable integration'. The term was developed from analysis of field data, using the categories of the 'extended vital core', and is elaborated upon in Chapter 7.

The fragile nature of integration

As a continuation of the argument on the disruption of integration and possibilities of return to the LRA, it is important to bear in mind that the susceptibility to stigma and discrimination (at family and community/clan levels) makes the integration of some CBIC fluid. This applies to cases where, as a response to stigma and discrimination, some children prefer life in captivity, where they are accepted and have a sense of belonging. Since the LRA is still at large in some of the countries of the Great Lakes – a region that has been and is still

occasionally susceptible to violent conflict – the vulnerability of such children to recruitment and use in militias would imply a failure to protect them, contrary to the Paris Commitments (2007) signed to protect children.

The presence of various NGOs addressing various integration needs increases prospects of better integration.

Some grassroots NGOs in the sub-region, including those who took part in this study, offer integration and reintegration support to CBIC and their mothers. However, those available are unable to reach the majority of the children and their mothers because they are located in remote places and not all of them known. Some of the support provided by NGOs includes psychosocial assistance, educational bursaries, family reunification and economic empowerment. Some grassroots NGOs that offer support to children include: AEI (offering education and psychosocial support), the Justice and Reconciliation Project and Child Voice (integration, such as family reunification and empowerment) and 'I Live Again' (psychosocial/trauma counselling).

The presence of *Watye Ki Gen*, formed by mothers of these children, is instrumental in garnering support for advocacy and empowerment for the mothers and children. For instance, some researchers have been able to work with the members and use approaches that have empowered the mothers and children (Denov & Lakor, 2017). The presence of such opportunities implies that those CBIC who can access these services benefit from them. However, not many children and their mothers have access to such support.

The need to boost interventions by cultural leaders

It is important to re-emphasise that stigma impacts on the dignity of CBIC. As the analytical framework adopted suggests, when dignity is viewed with Honneth's explanation (1995), it amounts to cognitive respect. Hence, a denial of dignity is equivalent to cognitive disrespect. As a remedy, interventions need to restore the dignity of the affected persons and to ensure that they are respected because they are human

rather than because of their social standing in society. As explained earlier in this chapter, one of the interventions to counter the stigma against these children is through the actions of cultural and religious leaders in Acholi.

4.8 Conclusion

Emerging from the inquiry in Acholi were several cases or patterns of integration. They include: CBIC who were assisted to settle with their maternal relatives in rural communities; those who, together with their mothers, are able to migrate to towns such as Gulu; those unable to migrate from their original areas of reintegration/integration; and CBIC who have been integrated into institutional care.

It appears that most CBIC in the sub-region experience integration challenges characterised by stigma and discrimination. Although some have ended up in institutional care (in Watoto and SOS villages), the majority live in their maternal community/clan and in rural areas. One of the ways in which mothers to such children have responded to stigma and discrimination is by relocating to towns such as Gulu and Kampala, in the hope that having an unknown identity would give their child a better prospect of integration. One of the particular integration pattern that emerged in Acholi sub-region was the back-and-forth movement of some of these children and their mothers. However, relocation has its own challenges, as discussed. Overall, in places such as Gulu, the presence of the network of formerly abducted females *Watye Ki Gen* helps them to garner support for interventions that can address their plight. It also allows mothers and children to share experiences and coping mechanisms.

One of the important issues that emerged from the field data on Acholi is the fragile nature of integration, manifest in the sentiments of some CBIC in response to their inability to fit into the communities of integration. They prefer to join the LRA, where they are more accepted. This situation was described as a 'ticking time-bomb'. The presence of

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the LRA in parts of the Great Lakes region at the time of writing makes the post-conflict peace fragile. This exposes children who are failing to 'fit in' to potential recruitment and use as child soldiers, contrary to the global commitments to protect them from this prospect (Paris Commitments, 2007).

Having explained the integration experience of CBIC based on field data obtained from inquiries in Acholi, I next discuss in the following chapter the integration of CBIC, based on empirical data obtained from Lango sub-region

Chapter 5: Integration of Children Born in Captivity Living in Lango

5.1 Introduction

This chapter uses empirical findings from Lango sub-region to answer the first research question: in what ways do existing policy frameworks for reintegration support effective integration of CBIC?

As explained in Chapter 4, Uganda's DDR agreement embraced components of the PPG and was operationalised by various actors (government and non-governmental). Hence, this chapter discusses the integration efforts emanating from the reintegration component and how these have affected the integration of CBIC. The policy structured practices for integration and reintegration that responded to CBIC as mere appendages of their mothers. Some respondents were aware of the TJ draft policy (2013) by the time of research and the reception-centre approach used in the reintegration and integration of persons formerly associated with the LRA. Discussions were held with reference to the post-conflict peace and development context. Both reintegration and integration were discussed in light of the government's interventions for rehabilitation and peace-building in areas affected by the LRA war. This was partly because the reintegration of persons formerly associated with the LRA occurred at the same time as those who had been internally displaced.

This chapter is important for understanding the integration of CBIC, because it explores integration from a sub-region affected by the LRA war and with a number of CBIC (Apio, 2016; Atim et al., 2018). The information emerging from the field data collected in the sub-region affirms that CBIC experience stigma and discrimination.

The chapter is structured as follows: the first part provides an overview of the sub-region in the context of the research. This is followed by a

comparison of the integration of the integration of CBIC and other CHIBOW to non-abducted females. The third section discusses the integration of CBIC using the 'extended vital core' element of dignity. It explains the manifestation of stigma against these children. Fourth, using the 'extended vital core' element of livelihood, the discrimination against the children is discussed. The fifth section uses the 'extended vital core' element of survival to explore the integration of CBIC. The next part discusses the various efforts to enable integration, including opportunities and challenges available for integration. The seventh subsection presents the lessons on integration that can be drawn from the integration of these children in Lango. The chapter concludes with a summary and highlight of CBIC's integration in Lango.

5.2 Overview of Lango sub-region

Lango sub-region is located north of Lake Kyoga. The area is formed of the districts of Alebtong, Amolatar, Apac, Dokolo, Kole, Lira, Oyam and Otuke. Lango sub-region is surrounded by Acholi to the north, Buganda to the south, Bunyoro to the south-west, Busoga to the south-east, Teso to the east and Karamoja to the north-east. The people who live in this sub-region are called the Langi, and they speak a dialect known as Lango. The language spoken is closer to Acholi and forms what is broadly known as the Luo dialect. Uzoigwe (1973) cites Tarantino (1946), who argues that the Langi adopted Luo as a dialect during their history of migration from Abyssinia to their current location. The adjustment was for convenience, after coming into contact with the Acholi. However, their original dialect was similar to that of the Karamojong-Teso group. Like Epila-Otara (2013), Uzoigwe observes that the language is a mixture of different tribes that are their neighbours.

The origins of the Langi can be traced to migration from Ethiopia together with other tribes, such as the Kalengin and Masai of Kenya, and then the Karamojong, Kumam and Iteso in Uganda. When the

immigrants settled south of Acholi, they lost their original language and what is currently spoken has a semblance to the Acholi dialect (Apio, 2016; Epila-Otara, 2013). However, in his book, Epila-Otara (2013) shows the similarities between Lango, Acholi and Teso.

The governance structure (cultural leadership) is called *Te Kwaro Lango*,²³ headed by a paramount chief, referred to as *Won Nyaci*, through an election of clan leaders (*Rwodi*).²⁴ The clan leaders are elected to their positions. People belong to clans whose role include the governance over marriage and family institutions, as succinctly explained by Apio (2016). She explains how the birth of a child outside wedlock incurs a fine (*luk*) for the father and his clan to gain custody. In such cases, the child becomes a member of the father's clan, even if his or her parents are not married. Where *luk* is not paid, the child remains in the custody of the mother and her clan yet is not considered to be a member. CBIC fall into the latter category and live among their maternal clan or community, where they are unrecognised as clan members. As part of their life among these communities, empirical findings indicate that they are prone to stigma and discrimination (Apio, 2016; Atim et al., 2018).

CBIC's presence in this sub-region is rooted partly in the backlash from 'Operation Iron Fist', when the LRA spread and intensified its activities in Lango and Teso sub-regions (Omach, 2011b). The atrocities included killings, torture and abductions. A notable case of the abduction of children which garnered grassroots (CPA) and international attention was the case of schoolgirls abducted from Aboke on 10 October 1996. According to a report from Rachelle, one out of every five abducted girls returned as a child mother (Rachelle Rehabilitation Centre, 2003–06). The persons formerly associated with the LRA who returned to Lango

²³ See https://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1305017/lango-correct-historical-distortions accessed 03/12/18.

²⁴ See: <http://www.laonaonline.org/about-the-lango/clans-and-clan-heads/> accessed 03/12/18.

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sub-region went through reception centres in Acholi (GUSCO, World Vision, KICHWA) and Rachele (in Lango). Among the beneficiaries of rehabilitation and reintegration/integration were CBIC and their mothers.

A respondent from this sub-region who worked with World Vision and Invisible Children (1MI290716K) explained that reception centres provided reception kits including food, clothing and soap. The beneficiaries of reception-centre interventions also received trauma counselling on a case-by-case basis, of a duration dependent on the time spent in captivity. Livelihood training and start-up capital (income for survival) were provided. The centres would trace families or relatives and assist in the family reunification process as the CBIC and mothers transitioned from reception centres to communities of reintegration. The family reunification processes were often marked by cultural or religious ceremonies.

The respondents in both interviews (1MI290716K; 13MI090816L; 15MI090816L) and the focus group discussion (FGDLANGO110816) cited Rachele as the reception/rehabilitation centre that had enabled reintegration and integration. The other CBO identified by focus group participants was CPA, formed by parents/relatives and community members after the abduction of students from Aboke Girls Senior Secondary School. The CBO provides psychosocial support to persons returning from captivity and helps in family reunification. In collaboration with other actors, reintegration kits are provided and communities made aware of the need to treat them appropriately. Those able to continue school are then supported through vocational training (15MI090816L).

Unaware of the number of CBIC who returned to the sub-region, the respondent made reference to statistics on the 30 girls abducted from St Mary's College, Aboke, who ended up in LRA captivity. Of these, he estimates that the 24 returned with at least one child fathered by the LRA. Other respondents were unable to estimate how many CBIC there

are in Lango sub-region. While one respondent claimed that they are in thousands (12MI090816L), a former Member of Parliament (30MI010916K) claimed that the unknown number requires an inquiry if deliberate action is to reach out to these children.

One of the community development officers (14FI090816L) explained that programmes funded by PRDP target groups of people. The FAPs are among the beneficiary groups of youths allowed to benefit from such funds. They can access small grants to fund livelihood projects. While this may be the case, one of the youths attending the focus group discussion (Fred, in FGDLANGO110816) noted that sometimes persons formerly associated with the LRA are reluctant to join such projects. Overall, it was clear that such programmes do not specifically target CBIC, nor their mothers, as a distinct groups. The only place where specific programmes for these may be found is with NGOs whose operations include this target group. A local government official working at the district headquarters in Oyam (19MI110816L) clarified that most programmes targeting war-affected children, such as those born in captivity, are mostly funded and operationalised by NGOs, referring to such interventions as an 'NGO affair'.

It is also important to emphasise that NGO interventions are mostly short term and aimed at boosting the capacity of the state of fill gaps. While this is so, Aall (2005) explains that, in practice, there is the chance that what ought to be state responsibilities for protecting citizens shift partly or entirely to NGOs. This, however, does not have to be the case. Hence, the claims advanced in the Responsibility to Protect doctrine, particularly the position of the state as the first pillar of responsibility (Welsh, 2013) to argue that the framing of responsibility for integration as an 'NGO affair', need not exempt the state from its duty to ensure that gaps in integration are addressed.

The next section presents empirical findings on how stigma of these children is manifested in the sub-region.

5.3 Manifestations of stigma against CBIC

A respondent who had worked with NGOs supporting persons formerly associated with the LRA explained the everyday life of these children:

Actually as I speak, there is going to be a generation of people; actually we are beginning to see it... either born in the bush or their mothers came back pregnant and they fail to fit because of what, we call it some kind of stigmatisation. (12MI090816L)

The above respondent noted that community members refer to stigma as *cimo tok*. The stigma of these children is rooted in cultural non-recognition, making community members recognise mothers of these children as their relatives yet reject their children. The mothers therefore feel that the same love and acceptance shown to them should be extended to their children, regardless of the identity of the fathers (16MI100816L).

Apio (2016) uses the explanation of cultural norms governing sex and marriage to explain the non-recognition of these children in their maternal communities. This is worsened by the almost futile prospect of *luk* being paid by their fathers. Hence, while living among the maternal communities of integration, the stigma and discrimination against these children are common (Apio, 2016; Atim et al., 2018).

One of the respondents (12MI090816L) noted that CBIC are stigmatised through name-calling and being isolated:

Sometimes, you find them isolated because the others are stigmatising them... there was a lot of them being given nicknames related to their backgrounds... if they do something, people will say; 'You know this person, the head is not okay'... Eventually, because of the stigmatisation and the name callings, a number of them would end up even running back to the bush, because they were more accepted in the bush than at home.

The link between experiences of stigma and the preference to be associated with the LRA in captivity is also noticeable in the excerpt above. As discussed in Chapter 4, where the problem was described as a 'ticking time-bomb', such a preference illustrates the fragile nature of integration in the post-conflict environments in which these children live. Furthermore, the respondent above (12MI090816L) cited an

example of name-calling in an incident in Lira. A CBIC who returned when he was four or five years old was nicknamed Olito Kamdulu, after a notorious rebel commander, because he was very strong and could do things beyond his age and weight. The community used the name as a joke, and people did not realise that it was negatively affecting the boy (12MI090816L).

The labels and name-calling notwithstanding, it is important to note that research participants related to CBIC presented the homestead or the family as a 'safe space'. One cited the example of his nephew, whose mother had died in the bush, who returned to live with him. He may be susceptible to discrimination in the community, but this does not occur at home (15MI090816L). He clarified that in community spaces such as schools, these children are joked about, using phrases like 'this child is born out of LRA' or 'Why are you giving us a headache when you know you don't belong here?' Yet such jokes hurt CBIC, because they serve as a reminder and affect the everyday life of the targeted children. The negative labels and name-calling are an attack on their dignity because of their status, thereby denying them the entitlement that others have, those without such experiences. Therefore, Honneth's suggestion for interventions that promote the rights and dignity of such persons are required, albeit in a manner that is sensitive to the cultural context in which these children live. Sensitivity to culture would require the involvement of cultural institutions and actors in developing strategies that promote the dignity of these children.

The 'seed' in the focus group discussion expressed concern over the tendency of community members to stigmatise these children without realising that they are simply victims of circumstances and in need of livelihood support as they live in the community (Morgan, in FGDLANGO110816). A continuous awareness by the community would enhance respect for these children as persons with dignity, while livelihood support would enable the beneficiary to receive a due reward

for their input, as long as parity is observed. This would require that CBIC receive the due reward for their contribution (livelihood activities) without any discrimination or undervaluing due to their identity compared to their peers.

In addition, a respondent from Lango who was interviewed in Kampala (1MI290716K) argued that the current problems of stigma and discrimination of these children is rooted in the government's past failure to protect their parents from abduction, let alone apologise to them for their plight. He argued the need for the current government to apologise for its failure to protect the parents of these children, consequently exposing them to the circumstances leading to their conception and birth. Moreover, where no practical steps have been taken to address the stigma against these children beyond the petition (British High Commission et al., September, 2017), integration problems ensue.

5.4 Manifestations of discrimination of children born in captivity

This section discusses the issues of discrimination that emerged from the field data obtained from Lango sub-region, as well as from other respondents interviewed in Kampala yet belonging to this sub-region.

One of the livelihood opportunities available for CBIC in the region is sponsorship for education. It is hoped that they can later use the knowledge and skills obtained to take up various livelihood opportunities in future. Opportunities differ from one child to another, depending on the place/family among whom he/she integrates. One of the respondents, a community development officer (14FI090816L), gave two examples of children who have integrated in two areas in Lango sub-region. The first example involved a child born to a girl abducted from Aboke. The officer had attended the same class as the sister of a formerly abducted girl, and changed school when the abductions took place yet stayed in touch with the sister of the girl,

whose return together with the child born in captivity was covered by both print and TV media. The respondent argues that, for this child and the mother, having a family that is socio-economically well-off gave them a better chance of integration. They were supported to resume/start school. Such support has helped them fit into society.

Atim et al. (2018) confirm the relevance of an affluent family able to provide integration support for livelihood. Given the importance of education, it is possible that the mother and child in question, after being supported to go to school, would have several livelihood options. In contrast, the respondent cited a second example from her experiences as a community development officer in one of the districts in the region, a case of a CBIC who had returned and was residing with a family. He was unaware that he was unrelated to the foster grandmother, and was not in school because she could not support him. The respondent explained that CBIC who return and have no family to be reunited with struggle to gain land, an important source of livelihood and survival (14FI090816L).

In the above case, the child became part of a family struggling socio-economically and unable to pay for his education or to own land that he can use to earn a living, and he will struggle to meet his desire to start a family. Apio (2016) explains how having clanship and land are vital considerations when a man or women intends to marry. Since he is not a member of his maternal clan, he is denied access to or ownership of such land. This illustrates the link between livelihood as social esteem and survival as emotional support. It is also important to illustrate the argument fronted by Honneth (1995) regarding the fundamental importance of love (linked to acceptance and emotional) and esteem (described by him as the ability for one to be recognised and rewarded for one's socio-economic contribution to society).

One of the solutions to the predicament of land access for such children requires the involvement of cultural leaders and explaining to them the need for a broader perspective of culture. Since these children are

victims of circumstances, they need to be treated like any other category of children in a family (16MI100816). The ability of cultural leaders to influence cultural norms and practices cannot be contested, when considered from the argument fronted by Gyekye (1997b). He argues that culture is not static and that old practices can change into new ones, as long as current generations start to question their relevance. However, for new practices to become the norm, they need to have been adopted for up to three generations. This implies that the impact suggested above is more long term than a short-term answer to the problem of land. The option of education or economic support to enable such children to acquire land of their own serves as a more immediate solution.

5.5 The survival of children born in captivity

Aside from the example of the boy who ended up with a foster grandmother, cited above (14FI090816L), the importance of love in primary relationships was observed by a TJ expert from the sub-region (16MI100816L). He explained that it is in a family (biological or adopted) that a person finds a sense of belonging and can adequately integrate into society as captured in the excerpt below:

If you feel accepted, that is where you breed and suck the blood of love – parental love, because government cannot provide love...we get our love, we get our belonging, we get our identity from a family source even if you are just adopted. So we need to strengthen our culture of adoption so strongly because...adoption is even treated as a blasphemy. They think black people they don't promote adoption which means even if somebody adopts you, people will still say, that one is not their home. That is not their parent. That is not their mother. But in western world, once you have been adopted, that one becomes your parent.

The view above suggests that the option of adoption seems unlikely for CBIC since most people in the country, including those in Lango, do not opt for it. In cases where a child needs a home, he/she ends up in the care of a close relative. He further argued that it is important for CBIC to have a firm identity to avoid any preference for an association with the LRA, still at large in countries such as Sudan and the DRC:

If somebody feels that he or she has not root... after growing up, you begin reading stories [of] how this war evolved [and the] extent it damaged people.

You were born in DRC. You cannot tell whether your father is a Congolese? or your father is a Sudanese? or your father is a Ugandan? Now, nobody was there to accept you. But if you feel acceptance, that is where you breed and suck the blood of love – parental love, because government cannot provide love... We get our love, belonging, identity from a family source, even if you are just adopted. So we need to strengthen our culture of adoption so strongly because Uganda has a gap where adoption is even treated as a blasphemy. They think black people they don't promote adoption, which means [that] even if somebody adopts you, people will still say; 'that one - that is not their home. That is not their parent. That is not their mother'. But in Western world, once you have been adopted, that one becomes your what? Becomes your parent! You value it, it gives you identity, you are confident. You don't get affected psychologically. (16MI100816L)

Love and acceptance from communities require the family and cultural leaders to support the integration of CBIC. Emotionally supporting these children would boost their dignity and give them a conducive environment, like land, to access a livelihood. Emotional support affects their ability to 'fit in'. For example, in the school environment, name-calling affects some, who end up becoming aggressive to defend themselves (13MI090816L; 17MI100816L). A respondent working with Uganda Victims Foundation (17MI100816L) shared the case of a child born in captivity who was attending the school where his wife works as a teacher. The child had experienced teasing (bullying) from his mates for some time until he could not stand it anymore, then started a fight to defend himself (17MI100816L).

The impact of teasing makes some children run away from school and disrupts their education. The teacher at Rachelle Comprehensive School (13MI090816L) explained the importance of boosting teachers' ability to handle the education of such children. He clarified that staff members are trained in skills to deal with their special needs. Furthermore, lessons learned from Rwanda illustrate the importance of measures to raise the awareness of schoolchildren, possibly as part of the curriculum (McEvoy-Levy, 2007). In addition, the experience of addressing HIV/AIDS-related stigma in Uganda indicates a possibility of mainstreaming the cause of CBIC in both the education and health sectors.

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The need for emotional support applies to children who suffer health issues because of their links to captivity. A former Member of Parliament of a constituency affected by abductions explained that some of the formerly abducted females and their children returned when they were infected with HIV/AIDS and other illnesses linked to the nature of life in captivity (30MI010916K). When the mothers reintegrate into socio-economic conditions that are not supportive of their ability to receive adequate treatment, the absence of emotional and financial support means that they are unable to obtain the treatment that they need. Other researchers such as Atim et al. (2018), Denov (2015) and Denov and Lakor (2017) also describe how some mothers and their children return with health issues related to their experiences. Thus, interventions for health are required to boost the wellbeing of these children and their mothers. The former Member of Parliament from Lango sub-region (30MI010916K) noted that some mothers returned with psychological and physical illnesses, affecting the survival of their children, or in other instances developed health complications when they returned to communities of reintegration. This affects their ability to offer adequate support or care for their CBIC. This is worsened where their families are unable to assist and there are no local NGOs available to provide the health services required. The importance of health support to mothers so that they are able to offer better care for their CBIC is acknowledged by other researchers (Atim et al., 2018; Denov & Lakor, 2017: 261). In pragmatic terms, an interviewee argued that such support is possible if the existing resources are boosted to support the extra clients (CBIC) and their special needs (17MI100816L).

The respondent linked better integration and reparation, as noted above. Further discussions on reparations and how health fits in as a need are provided in Chapters 8 to 11.

5.6 Integration efforts and how they affect children born in captivity

This section explains the integration efforts available for these children. The discussion includes the opportunities and challenges that affect such integration in the sub-region.

The influence of national policy interventions for reintegration on the integration of children born in captivity

As explained in Chapter 1, the reintegration and integration of persons formerly associated with the LRA occurred concurrently with the reintegration of people who had been internally displaced into IDP camps. Hence, some interviewees and members of the focus group discussion discussed integration/reintegration of persons formerly associated with the LRA within broader perspectives on the reintegration of the entire community affected by the war. Reference was made to government programmes/plans of post-conflict rehabilitation such as NUSAF, PRDP and NUDEIL (Northern Uganda Development of Enhanced Local Governance Infrastructure in Livelihoods). Most of these programmes are devoted to physical and economic reconstruction aimed at enabling the formerly war-ravaged areas to recover and to bridge the development between those areas and the rest of the country. The overall impact of the different phases of intervention, under the coordinated role of government, is acknowledged both in public discourse such as debates in parliament (Republic of Uganda Parliamentary Debates: Hansard, 3 April 2014) and the views of respondents in this research. They emphasise the need for long-term recovery interventions and the need to address the plight of certain vulnerable categories of persons, including CBIC and their mothers.

The need not only to target physical and economic reconstruction but also to rehabilitate human lives and communities reinforces views held by Barakat and Zyck (2009). Respondents who made reference to

government programmes funded under PRDP I and II remarked that these programmes were not specifically designed for persons associated with the LRA. The FAPs are allowed to benefit when they form groups with other war-affected youths. These groups are then provided with funding for the livelihood projects that they propose. Beyond this, there are no programmes specifically designed for either FAPs or CBIC.

Some respondents in the sub-region were sceptical about granting specific support to CBIC while overlooking the plight of other war-affected children (for instance Kenneth, in FGDLANGO110816; 16MI100816L). For example, one focus group participant (Kenneth) argued that, in the context of integration, most of these children live among families that are struggling socio-economically. The general community was affected by the war and has various socio-economic needs that are not adequately met by existing government programmes. Arguing for specific programmes for CBIC, among the other persons formerly associated with the LRA, would partly seem to overlook the needs of the other war-affected victims. Hence, Kenneth preferred an approach where these children become part of existing programmes. It is important to note that his concerns are an example of the argument fronted by Bergmans (2017) and Neenan (2017) regarding the need to ensure parity between these children and other war-affected groups when offering support. Otherwise, there is a risk that support neglects other vulnerable groups in communities of integration, making the CBIC more stigmatised.

Lessons on parity may be drawn from Uganda's experience of NGO interventions targeting orphans whose parents died of HIV/AIDS. According to Cheney (2010), early interventions were designed and implemented to support these orphans as they lived among care takers, often their grandmother or other relative. A review of such interventions by a local NGO, Uganda Women's Effort to Save Orphans, had witnessed that the social-economic support to such orphans destabilised the socio-economic balance of families. The assistance provided to

orphans elevated their socio-economic status above that of the households where they resided and often resulted in stigma and diversion of some of the assistance provided to them. In response, the NGO adjusted its strategy and started targeting the entire household that was taking care of such orphans, yielding better results. The issues emerging from the context of protecting children orphaned by HIV/AIDS provide important pointers for understanding and planning interventions for CBIC.

Influence of community and cultural leaders

It is worth recognising the input of local and community leaders in raising the awareness of communities to the need to address stigma and discrimination. One example recounted is how a local council official helped a child to integrate into his community. Some members of the community wanted to excommunicate a CBIC, and he had to intervene and explain to them that the circumstances around the child's birth and life were not of his own making, nor of his mother. The mother and child were later relocated to Acholi, from where he had reports that they were getting along with other community members (Kenneth, in FGDLANGO110816).

Since stigma is rooted in cultural non-recognition, the absence of reforms or limited interventions to address such stigma and discrimination by cultural leaders in the sub-region poses a limitation to these children's integration (16MI100816L). In addition, the limitations of cultural interventions leave the responsibility for ensuring adequate integration to the state, as discussed in Chapter 2. Otherwise, the cultural discourse reinforces the non-recognition of these children on grounds of cultural norms and practices, since discourse shapes what is acceptable or what can be said without comment (Willig, 2013). Culturally, members cannot imagine questioning the cultural norms of non-recognition (16MI100816L).

However, if cultural leaders intervened to counter stigma in the community, such interventions could contribute to better integration, albeit slowly. Gyekye's (1997b) argument for the possibility of cultural transformation in the long term would apply to these children if, over time, cultural leaders influence communities to recognise these children as victims of circumstances, deserving of better treatment than at present. However, interim efforts by cultural leaders to raise awareness and participate in interventions that aim to promote the rights and dignity of CBIC would serve as building blocks leading to the long-term goal of recognition. The ideal solution therefore transcends the cultural communities to the level of the state, mandated as the primary duty bearer for ensuring the protection of all citizens.

Role of local NGOS

Three of the focus group participants (Jasper, Mary and Florence, in FGDLANGO110816), were social workers implementing activities for CPA in the community. Their clients included persons formerly associated with the LRA assisting in reintegration and integration, albeit with a limited follow-up period after reinsertion/insertion.

Despite the presence of NGO interventions in Ngai, the 'seed' in the focus group discussions (Morgan) explained the challenge of corruption by some NGO officials, soliciting bribes from relatives of these children to add their names to the list of programme beneficiaries. He also cited bureaucratic delays on the part of government when programmes are being made to help CBIC. In response to his concerns, the two social workers with CPA (Jasper and Mary) clarified that the recruitment procedure does not permit the organisation's staff to solicit bribes in order to register eligible children. They urged group members to inform the community of this reality and encourage people to report any such to CPA.

Regarding the challenge of bureaucracy, the local council officer (Kenneth) explained the complexity in seeking to support the CBIC and

FAPs as a special category. This is because there are many other war-affected victims groups in post-conflict contexts characterised by low standards of living. He likened it to a scenario where a man, struggling to educate his own children, is expected to send to school children who are not biologically his own yet are in his care.

5.7 Lessons on integration that can be drawn from Lango sub-region

The sub-sections below are lessons about integration of CBIC that can be drawn from Lango sub-region.

Experiences of children born in captivity are not generic

The explanations of the experiences of CBIC by the teacher at Rachelle Comprehensive School (13MI090816L) and the respondent from Uganda Victim's Foundation (17MI100816L) indicate that CBIC are not passive victims of stigma and discrimination. Some are able to develop resilience to defend themselves when victimised by those who stigmatise them. Secondly, CBIC whose mothers belong to affluent families obtain better integration support than those who do not. This is observable in the two examples cited by the community development officer (14FI090816L) and the empirical findings of Atim et al. (2018). Third, the family is a safe space for these children (15MI090816L; Morgan, in FGDLANGO110816): despite claims of the home being as such among the research participants consulted in Lango, empirical studies have suggested that there is stigma and discrimination within families (Apio, 2016; Akello, D., 2013; Ochen, 2015). The source of such stigma and discrimination is especially stepfathers, but sometimes the mothers of these children.

There are three possible explanations for the variations in views of family and homestead as an avenue for stigma and discrimination. The first could be that stigma and discrimination in a family are rare in the specific communities that participated in this research. If this is the

case, it confirms the argument advanced by Barter (2001) that, when abuse and maltreatment of a child occur in a family (intra-familial in nature), community cooperation is useful for both prevention and mitigation. Therefore, if focus group participants affirmed that most families were 'safe spaces', then it may be that the homesteads and families are indeed so. Second, it may reflect the dynamics of focus group participation; in this case, members who were not 'seeds' opted to agree with what the 'seeds' said (from the perspective that children are safe in their homesteads). The literature indicates that focus group members may agree with or take up the opinions of the majority (Ivanoff & Hultberg, 2009: 127). If this were the reality in 'seeded' focus group discussions, the open nature of the identity of the 'seed(s)' would have had to have been known to some participants from that community, especially on a sensitive issue such as stigma and discrimination. The third reason could be that, in the case of the 'seeds' in this study, there were no cases of intra-familial abuse, stigma and discrimination in the proximity of the homestead. This would explain the variance between the interpretations of these communities from those in other studies. If so, then it suffices to say that stigma and discrimination within family and homestead are not a general phenomenon.

I argue that all three possibilities may be applicable, yet am unable to make further claims because a study focused on intra-familial stigma and discrimination is needed to explore the authenticity of such 'safe spaces'.

Absence of networks to support children born in captivity and their mothers

None of the respondents interviewed in the sub-region were aware of the existence of networks formed by mothers of CBIC to aid reintegration and integration. According to the respondent at Rachelle Comprehensive School (13MI090816L), most persons formerly associated with the LRA who returned through reception centres ended

up reintegrating in diverse areas. Thus, the limited post-reintegration communication, among the cases that he knows, may be a deliberate decision to cut off links with others as a coping strategy. He argued that starting with a clean slate is a better way of reintegrating than being constantly reminded about the past, a possibility that could arise with constant interaction with people whom one met in captivity. Contrary to his argument, it is possible that mothers to CBIC in the sub-region communicate with those in Acholi. This is evidenced by a case of a woman called Acen, cited by Apio (2016), who was in communication with the person she called her husband while in captivity and her co-wife, and eventually was reunited with them. Nevertheless, a formal association with benefits to CBIC, as discussed in Chapter 4, is an opportunity lacking in Lango at the time of writing.

Relocation: a response to integration challenges

As in Chapter 4, there was reference to relocation as a solution to possible stigma and discrimination against these children and their mothers. This is evidenced in the example cited by Kenneth (in FGDLANGO110816) and one of the community development officers (14FI090816L). In both, the mother moved with the child away from the sub-region. The one cited in the focus group discussion moved to Acholi, while the other moved to Kampala with the assistance of family and the local council official.

It is generally assumed that life in the new location will be better than in the original community of integration. This perspective is confirmed by the case of a mother who moved with her child from Lango to Gulu, where she was reunited with her 'bush husband' (Apio, 2016). Other studies that have observed the occurrence of relocation include that by Apio (2016), Atim et al. (2018), Bergmans (2017) and Stewart (2017). While this is so, the reality of life in the new areas requires follow up with methodologies suitable for researching such 'hidden populations'. The group that relocates is a 'hidden population', because is not at all certain what the nature of their reintegration/integration is. They

confirm Lee's (2017) claims regarding this aspect and the complexity of researching them.

Integration: an 'NGO affair'

Most interventions for CBIC children, like other LRA war-affected children, are implemented by grassroots NGOs. The literature on interventions to support children in such humanitarian and development contexts indicates the prominent role that NGOs play (MacFarlane & Khong, 2006; Montgomery et al., 2003). The lead role of NGOs in providing humanitarian and development assistance to war-affected persons, including persons/children formerly associated with the LRA, caused one local government official to term interventions an 'NGO affair'. Although such a description may seem like a simplistic perspective on the partnership between government (as one of the dispensers of donor funding) and NGOs (as implementing partners on the ground), in the context of reinsertion/insertion it points to the need for more government efforts to ensure successful integration.

As argued earlier, the government policy frameworks for post-conflict rehabilitation and recovery did not directly target these children and their mothers. As explained, after NGOs inserted/reinserted persons returning from LRA captivity, the limited follow up left the reality of integration to the everyday relations between the communities and the reintegrating/reintegrating persons. Therefore, beyond the respondents' simplistic analysis the challenge of integration as an 'NGO Affair', this thesis argues that it is the role of the state as the primary duty bearer of responsibility, according to the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) principle, to ensure successful and effective integration of CBIC.

The challenge of achieving long-term integration through NGO interventions notwithstanding, it appears that some CBIC face challenges in accessing assistance, as noted by the 'seed' (Morgan, in FGDLANGO110816). He attributed this to the bureaucracy involved in the identification and final approval of a child as a beneficiary of a

programme. As explained in the previous sub-section, concerns of parity when assisting CBIC were raised by some research participants. It is assumed that interventions targeting these children as a specific category would be meaningful only if they take into consideration the plight and vulnerability of other LRA war-affected children and groups in the area.

5.8 Gaps in responsibility for children born in captivity

Emerging explicitly from the sub-region were concerns over the responsibility for the effective integration of CBIC. As explained in Chapter 3, the question of responsibility for CHIBOW was posed by Mochmann and Lee (2010). The provisions of the DDR agreement (2008) and Amnesty Act (2000) indicate that both state and non-state actors enable the reintegration and integration of persons formerly associated with the LRA. Since gaps in integration partly emerge because of the short-term interventions by NGOs, the state, by virtue of the Responsibility to Protect doctrine, has the primary duty of ensuring effective integration. This argument bears in mind the various reasons advanced in the literature on Responsibility to Protect (Welsh, 2013; Woocher, 2012).

According to Welsh (2013), R2P is a doctrine comprising three pillars, and only two are grounded in political theory and human rights law. The former United Nations Secretary-General, Ban Ki-Moon, in 2009 made reference to the 'three pillars' in a presentation entitled 'Implementing the Responsibility to Protect'. Woocher (2012) notes his emphasis that the first bearer of responsibility is the state, and among other things it is obliged to ratify international treaties, including the Rome Statute, in order to deal with the four heinous crimes that R2P seeks to counter (genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and ethnic cleansing).

As discussed in Chapter 2, state responsibility for CHIBOW is evident in the literature on children born to Vietnamese women and American soldiers (Hwang, 2013; Lee, 2017; McKelvey & Webb, 1995;

Yarborough, 2006) and the War of Partition of India and Pakistan (Das, 2007). These examples show state responsibility because of the social contract with citizens. Therefore, this thesis argues that the Government of Uganda has the duty of ensuring that gaps in integration are addressed as a way of aiding the effective integration of CBIC.

5.8 Conclusion

The findings in Lango sub-region indicate that CBIC experience stigma and discrimination, albeit with some variations in experiences. Stigma mainly takes the form of negative labelling or name-calling at school and in the community. Discrimination mainly relates the exclusion from accessing clan resources, such as land. In addition to the challenge of cultural non-recognition with its attendant susceptibility to stigma and discrimination, the absence of formal networks of association among mothers of these children excludes them from possible benefits that those in Acholi sub-region, through *Watye Ki Gen*, enjoy.

The empirical findings indicate that opportunities for support to such children such are available from NGOs such as CPA and Rachelle Comprehensive School. The education offered in schools such as Rachelle Comprehensive enables these children to pursue education alongside peers with no links to experiences of integration. Although these opportunities are provided by local NGOs, there are cases of children who neither have access to such help nor live with relatives able to offer integration support for socio-economic reasons. Emerging from the focus group discussion was concern over the selection procedure to become a beneficiary of such NGO support, although the social workers attending the focus group explained that soliciting bribes before recruiting a child was not NGO practice and requested participants always to report such cases to the NGO officers. The revelation, however, indicates some of the challenges to accessing post-insertion support for integration.

There was a quest for cultural leaders to intervene to address the culturally rooted non-recognition of these children. The strong cultural practice of non-recognition and reluctance by cultural leaders to intervene reflects the strength of this discourse, with limited possibilities for change – at least at the time of the research. While culture is not static, any possible changes in culture would have to be accepted by existing generations and to continue for some time.

Lastly, a question of responsibility for ensuring the effective integration of CBIC emerged in Lango sub-region. Using the doctrine on R2P and citing examples where other states have intervened to protect CHIBOW, this thesis argues that the Government of Uganda has the responsibility to address the plight of these children in order to improve their integration. This government duty can then be complemented by other interventions by cultural, religious and local leaders in the communities of integration.

The next chapter explains the integration experiences of CBIC residing in Teso sub-region.

Chapter 6: Integration of Children Born in Captivity Living in Teso

6.1 Introduction

This chapter uses empirical findings on Teso sub-region to answer the first research question: in what ways do existing policy frameworks for reintegration support the effective integration of CBIC?

As explained in Chapter 4, Uganda's DDR agreement embraced the components of the PPG (2007) and was operationalised by various actors (government and non-governmental). Reintegration in Teso was enabled by the collaboration between the government (UPDF), reception centres in Acholi and Lango, and the Arrow Brigade. The LRA war-affected areas were part of the Ugandan government's post-conflict rehabilitation and recovery programmes (UNOHCHR, 2007). As explained in Chapters 1 and 2, these programmes did not benefit CBIC and their mothers.

The chapter explains the integration of these children and describes their opportunities and the challenges that they face. The chapter is important because there is paucity of information regarding CBIC from the sub-region, despite the fact that abductions of children extended as far as Teso, following Operation Iron Fist. The information emerging from the sub-region confirms some of the claims about these children in the available literature. It also provides nuanced views that add to what is known about Uganda's CBIC.

The chapter is structured as follows: the first part provides an overview of the sub-region in the context of the research. This is followed by a comparison of the integration of the integration of CBIC and other CHIBOW to non-abducted females. The third section discusses the integration of CBIC, using the 'extended vital core' element of dignity. Fourth, using this notion, the manifestation of discrimination against the children is

discussed. The fifth section uses the 'extended vital core' element of survival to explore the integration of CBIC. The next part discusses the various efforts to enable integration, including the opportunities and challenges available for integration. The seventh sub-section presents the lessons that can be drawn from the integration of these children in Teso sub-region. The chapter then concludes with a summary of CBIC's integration in Teso.

6.2 Overview of Teso sub-region

The districts of Teso sub-region are Amuria, Bukedea, Kaberamaido, Kapelebyong, Katakwi, Kumi, Ngora, Serere and Soroti. The people are called the Iteso and the dialect is Ateso (Jones, 2005). The tribal group is believed to have been part of those who originally migrated from Abyssinia, including the Turkana, Kumam and Karamojong (Epila-Otara, 2013). The migration took place between 1600 and 1830 (Jorgensen, 1981). Jones (2005) argues that the Iteso were a migratory and stateless society that was transformed by the governance structure introduced to Uganda under colonialism. Culturally, traditional leaders and institutions play an important part in providing cultural governance, including the management of conflict (Makerere University Faculty of Law, 2008) and regulation of institutions such as marriage (Middleton & Rassam, 1995). Since the Iteso are a patrilineal society, children belong to the lineage of their fathers, and sons inherit their wealth (Jones, 2005; Middleton & Rassam, 1995). Females are not expected to inherit from their fathers, and children inherit from their mother's husband only if their parents are married (Middleton & Rassam, 1995).

The major livelihood activity used to be cattle keeping until the many years of raids by the Karamojong affected the numbers of livestock, and many of the people now cultivate land (Zistel, 2002). Apart from the conflict with the Karamojong, the sub-region was affected by the LRA war from 2003 (Wembter, 2016). Among the atrocities were killings, sexual abuse and abduction of children and internal displacement into camps (UNOHCHR,

2007). As part of the response to the LRA atrocities in the sub-region, a local militia known as the Arrow Brigade, or Arrow Boys, was formed by community members (Makerere University Faculty of Law, 2008; UNOHCHR, 2007).

Like those in Acholi and Lango sub-regions, CBIC and their mothers living in the sub-region experience stigma and discrimination (UNOHCHR, 2007). Part of the reason is community resentment of their parents, who were associated with the LRA and labelled *ikonyiak* (UNOCHR, 2007), and their children are referred to as 'Children of Kony' or rebels (23IM160816T; 22FGDTESOI70816). Estimates of the number of these children were difficult to establish during the study. Focus group members stated that they are few (22FGDTESOI70816), and a former commander of the Arrow Brigade (23IM160816T) cited the case of two females who returned with children from captivity.

Discussion of CBIC's integration tended to overlap with that on the reintegration of the children in the sub-region who had been abducted by the LRA. Hence, the responses were drawn from the practice of reintegration in the few cases of CBIC that members were aware of and their knowledge of the cultural response to children born out of wedlock. As stated, the Iteso are a patrilineal society. Like the Acholi and Lango, they belong to clans from which they draw their identity. Children belong to their paternal clan when they are born in a marital union or when compensation (*eluk*) is paid when they are born out of wedlock. Informal conversations with friends who are Itesot (belonging to the Ateso tribe) led to the realisation that the experience of children born outside wedlock and living among their maternal clan/community resembles what happens in Acholi and Lango. Such children cannot inherit land, and can have clan membership only if compensation is paid. The term for compensation is *eluk*, similar to *luk* in the Acholi and Lango dialects. Therefore, CBIC who integrate into their communities are treated the same as those born out of wedlock. They remain in the care of the mother and her family/clan. A boy cannot inherit land from his father's kinsmen. Girls may be more

favourably regarded, because of the chance that they might bring a dowry to their family in the future, when they marry. The boy can have access to land only once he becomes a member of his father's clan (following the payment of compensation). My friends from Teso explained that, although cultural norms are slowly changing, as society becomes exposed to the forces of modernity, the process is very slow and very few children born out of wedlock would be granted access to land.

It is important to note that, compared to my practice in the Acholi and Lango sub-regions, I did not consult many respondents in Teso sub-region. This was because of the limited time and my inability to reach areas that were geographically distant from each other. For instance, while I was able to conduct a focus group in a sub-county in Amuria, it was far from an area that had an organisation working with CBIC. Given the constraints of time, I never found the time to visit that organisation, so I conducted an interview by telephone with an official from Obalanga Human Rights Health Care Association (OCHER). Given the above situation, it is important to clarify that the information on the integration of CBIC presented in this chapter highlights pertinent issues, and the chapter presents findings that may aid further research in the sub-region.

Overall, the findings indicate that there are cases of CBIC who experience stigma and discrimination. There is therefore need for more research focusing exclusively on Teso sub-region to capture the specifics here. The data were obtained from two interviews and a focus group discussion. One interview was held with a key informant in Soroti, a former commander and intelligence officer in the local militia (Arrow Brigade). The second was held in Kaberamaido district with two staff of Lwala Girls Secondary School. The focus group discussion was undertaken at Asamuk (Amuria district). The choice of these locations and respondents was based on the history of LRA abductions in these specific places, the presence of interventions for persons formerly associated with the LRA and the advice provided by the gatekeeper in the sub-region.

Although the respondents did not refer to Uganda's DDR policy/agreement (2008), they were aware of the process of reintegration, involving collaborative efforts between the government through the UPDF, reception centres, the local militia and political leaders in Teso. In the focus group discussion, the FAPs who were 'seeds' explained that they were rehabilitated at Rachele and GUSCO before being reintegrated into Amuria (Asamuk). One interviewee (23IM160816T) commended the work of leaders such as Hon. Musa Ecweru in lobbying for funds to set up the rehabilitation training centre at Asamuk.

The respondents at Lwala Girls School (22FGDTESOI70816) noted that, even when some formerly abducted females had returned from captivity with no children, their being associated with the LRA caused community members to view them as 'cursed', or possessed by spirits acquired from the bush. If such a woman should conceive a child in a post-return context, in addition to a high risk of denial of fatherhood by the man who impregnated her, the community's members would tend to stigmatise the child. This tendency arises from the belief that the LRA's curse is transmitted to any child of hers due to her being tainted: physically, morally and spiritually.

It is important to note that the sexual abuse of females occurred without abduction in Teso (23IM160816T & UNOHCHR, 2007). The next section however, focuses on the , the integration experiences CBIC, indicating how stigma, discrimination and survival are manifest.

6.3 Manifestations of stigma against children born in captivity

One of the ways in which stigma against these children is manifested is through negative labelling. The excerpts below, taken from the focus group discussion dialogue (22FGDTESOI70816), illustrate their everyday life:

Silat: Even calling you like a name of a rebel leader

Michael: Kony! Children of Kony!

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Richard: It makes them... annoyed... sometimes they end up beating these ones who are calling them by these names.

One of the respondents at Lwala Girls Secondary School described these children's everyday life experiences as follows:

In fact it was not easy because they are looked at as an outcast... they are looked at as murderers, people who have gone through certain bad things associated with rebel's work... the curse flows through the mother or one of the parents. (Female, in 21GRPI160816T)

The children are stigmatised using labels such as 'Children of Kony' (23IM160816T) and their mothers considered outcasts, 'don't fit in', 'are not free people', 'they are short-tempered' or 'cannot interact with you on something for long' (21GRPI160816T). The former commander of the Arrow Brigade (24IM170816T) argued that community members regard them as unwanted children and their conception as a 'cursed situation'. The atrocities committed by the LRA contribute to these children's rejection by their maternal clans (24IM170816T). He suggests the need for interventions that enable confidence-building among community members, so that they are able to accept the children.

One of the teachers employed by Lwala Girls Secondary School at the time of the abduction explained that he had heard that these children are rejected by members of the community where they live (Male respondent, in 21GRPI160816T). The school is located in Kaberamaido yet takes students from many districts in the sub-region and places beyond Teso. Hence, the formerly abducted children who returned from captivity, including those who returned with integrating children, settled in various parts of Teso. Moreover, aside from those born in captivity, any children born to LRA war-associated females, even if fathered later by a man from the community, experience rejection because community members think that both the mothers and children carry demons or spirits from the bush, thus do not fit into society (Female respondent, in 21GRPI160816T). They are frowned upon and cannot be tolerated for fear that the clan will be infiltrated by these spirits.

The stigma against these mothers and children is from other members of the community, such as neighbours, who may treat them with suspicion.

The former commander of the local militia (24IM170816T) explained that this perception includes any female associated with the LRA, regardless of whether they returned with children, were pregnant or neither. His explanation framed the response of the community to all females formerly associated with the LRA and their children as 'social isolation'. Fear of social isolation makes those who returned reluctant to share any information relating to having had sexual relationships with members of the LRA, even to pregnancies or births that did not result in them returning with a child (24IM170816T). Of the five mothers of CBIC that he had come across during his work with the Arrow Brigade, he recalled a case of one who returned when her mother had died to find that her uncles had sold off their land. She was assisted to start an income-generating project but, when life became unbearable, she had relocated to a site in a new location. Her life was hard to establish and the respondent had spent two or three years without seeing her. This typifies how those that relocate become a 'hidden population' in their new communities of integration unless they are known or can be followed up.

During the interview at Lwala Girls Secondary School (21GRPI160816T), I encountered a scenario of a child born to a formerly abducted female, albeit to a civilian father and in a post-conflict context, and inquired about the relationship between such a child and the community. I asked the respondents to suppose a scenario where I was that child and my father was the brother of a friend of theirs. I asked whether they and relatives would still consider me as 'tainted', and the response was in the affirmative. According to the male respondent, the fact that my mother would have been among the LRA meant that she had been infiltrated by demons and spirits (similar to what the literature on Acholi and Lango refer to as *Jok*). These spirits are believed to possess a person's body and soul, making them highly likely to do the wrong thing and fail to fit into society, because they are outcasts. Hence, he associated possession of such a spirit with a curse that flows through the mother:

Respondent: The curse flows through the mother or one of the parents. If the other one is good, it can go through the other one. But we believe

the mother might have been an outcast, went through certain things.

Interviewer: So through the mother, the curse goes to this child?

Respondent: Yeah, even the grandchildren will be like that... the spirit still follows them.

The framing of the identity of a child as drawn from one's parent - nature/biological traits transferred through DNA, other than nurture/ecological factors - as explained above, depicts Denov's (2015) discourse on the transmission of trauma. It refers to the susceptibility of post-war communities to stigmatise and discriminate children born to sexually violated females because they are convinced that they carry the bad traits of the perpetrators (fathers).

It is important to note that, while the literature indicates that children in captivity experience stigma and discrimination in their communities of integration, the information from Teso adds to the discourse on the transmission of trauma by illustrating the rejection of children born to formerly abducted females, even to fathers who are not LRA soldiers. Thus, Denov's (2015) argument of the 'transmission of trauma' explains the community's social rejection and stigmatisation of children born to women who suffer sexual violence, even in a context where no justice for the crimes committed by the fathers has been realised. The 'curses' or 'bad traits' are still strongly believed to be transmitted by such mothers to a child fathered by a non-LRA member, simply because the mother was contaminated by her association and possible sexual relationship with LRA soldiers while in captivity.

Since the definition of stigma adopted by this thesis explains how negative labelling subsequently leads to debarring victims from various resources in the community where they live, the next section discusses the experiences of discrimination faced by CBIC in Teso.

6.4 Manifestations of discrimination of children born in captivity

Regardless of where CBIC settle/integrate, in the culture of the Ateso they are treated like any child born out of wedlock. They are not recognised as members of their maternal community or clan and, as such, are barred from owning and sometimes even accessing culturally owned resources, such as land. Cases of land wrangles involving FAPs and the community members were not confirmed in the locations visited in Kaberamaido (21GRPI160816T) and Amuria (23IM160816T; 22FGDTESOI70816). This however does not disqualify the possibility that CBIC within these areas may not end up inland-conflicts with members of their maternal communities due to cultural exclusion from co-owning such land.

One of the respondents at Lwala Girls Secondary School used the example of children born to armed soldiers of the Tanzanian Defence Force during the war to oust Idi Amin (1979) to explain the exclusion of such children from land: 'The neighbours to this man consider him a Tanzanian, and he can't inherit land' (Male respondent, in 21GRPI160816T). There is a scarcity of literature suggesting that children born of that war grew up with experiences of stigma and discrimination in the communities into which they were integrated. This may mean that this particular group of children are an example of a category that did not have a problematic integration, yet this would need to be verified by actual research. Nonetheless, both the interviewees (21GRPI160816T; 24IM170816T) and the focus group participants (22FGDTESOI70816) linked the discrimination in terms of land use to the patriarchal nature of land ownership. Children are expected to inherit land from their father's clan, thereby discriminating against CBIC, who are living in their maternal clan/community.

Education emerged as another livelihood issue affecting these children and their mothers (24IM170816T). Persons formerly associated with the LRA who attend Musa Vocational School in Amuria are provided with life-skills training and start-up capital. The provision of education support and the

subsequent knowledge and skills obtained from the process are thought to increase their livelihood prospects. In addition, in the argument of Honneth (1995), contributing to the socio-economic welfare of society fosters community members' respect for a person, providing mothers of such children with a better environment within which to take care of their CBIC and any children born after their return from LRA bases.

Acquiring education or livelihoods skills enhances the possibility of earning a living. The children would then be able to buy land of their own rather than having to rely entirely on land co-owned by clan members, and to buy it in a place of their choice. This is the long-term aim, and may be an alternative opportunity for access to land. The challenge would be for all these children to access education and subsequently to engage in employment.

6.5 The survival of children born in captivity

Despite cases of rejection of persons formerly associated with the LRA, there are situations in which community members (especially the parents or immediate relatives) are supportive (21GRPI160816T). The administrator at the school, claimed that the rejection is more likely to arise from their neighbours and other community members, not within their family (Female respondent, in 21GRPI160816T). She noted that the families of such mothers and children tend to accept them with 'full love'.

Emotional support is captured by the phrase 'full love' from their mothers and her relatives (family), essential in the integration process, in contrast to the 'suspicion' mentioned in an earlier discussion regarding how community members perceive these people. She described them as 'not important' and not worth marrying. Given the link between emotional support (love/acceptance) and respect (dignity), it may therefore be argued that one of the ways in which a CBIC and his/her mother are respected is through unconditional love that disregards their biological/social identity.

Moreover, support at this level (family) offers a pillar of support to counter other possible sources of disrespect and lack of love/rejection at the community level, such as in schools or the neighbourhood. It is important to recall that Honneth (1995) regards love as the cardinal form of recognition, permitting a person to feel recognised and able to recognise others. Hence, the absence of love from other members of the community leads to expressions of stigma and discrimination that eventually limit the ability of such children to access and achieve livelihood opportunities in the community of integration.

Furthermore, during the focus group discussion the chairman suggested the need for these children to be accepted by the community as a means to successful integration, as captured below:

First of all, what makes their lives to become okay is; one, the community welcomes them. It takes them as their partners, not to hurt them with these words, these abusive words to them, which annoys them at times. (Chairman, in 22FGDTESOI70816)

Another source of successful integration that is linked to support from the family is interventions that ultimately allow the beneficiary to be self-sufficient (21GRPI160816T). Such interventions would include education, life-skills training and counselling (psychosocial support). With these in place, their chance of employment or other livelihood prospects would earn them an income and enable them to provide for their children. Such support would include emotional, educational and financial support, thereby improving the integration conditions of their children. This view resonates with that of Neenan (2017) regarding the need for interventions to target both mothers and children. This avoids or reduces stigma in situations where other war-affected groups may not be receiving any assistance to meet their same needs.

6.6 Integration efforts and how they affect children born in captivity

This section explains the integration efforts that are available for CBIC. The discussion includes the opportunities and challenges that affect such integration in the sub-region.

Government and community initiatives

There was no mention by respondents consulted in the study of any intervention that deliberately targets CBIC. One of the respondents at Lwala Girls Secondary School (Female, in 21GRPI160816T) explained that most of the support for CBIC who have returned to Teso comes from their immediate family (grandparents).

Psychosocial support takes the form of counselling and community sensitisation to counter stigma and discrimination resulting from identity (22FGDTESOI70816). This was corroborated by another respondent (24IM170816T), who argued the need for various stakeholders involved in addressing stigma and discrimination to engage in psychosocial campaigns and other activities. Such interventions would enable community members to recognise that these children are victims of circumstances, and to promote their value as human beings in the context of integration.

The former commander and intelligence officer in the Arrow Brigade (24IM170816T) explained that during his service in the local militia he witnessed a scenario where the Brigade collaborated with the UPDF and reception centres such as Rachele in Lango sub-region. The aim was to enable the reintegration of two formerly abducted females, who returned with children to Teso sub-region. However, these two females and their children were then relocated by their relatives to other areas of the country, to protect them from stigma and discrimination.

Role of reception (rehabilitation) centres

Unlike Acholi and Lango sub-regions, the research participants did not know of any reception centres to help with reintegration in Teso sub-region. They referred to those in the other two sub-regions as avenues through which persons formerly associated with the LRA joined the community (reintegrated or integrated). They mentioned two institutions that work specifically with persons formerly associated with the LRA. One is in Asamuk, called Musa Vocational School, and the other in Kapelebyong, called OCHER.

The former offers life-skills training to formerly abducted males and females in skills such as hairdressing and tailoring, for a period of six months, in order to enhance their livelihood options. The project received funding from donors in Canada, awarding sewing machines to those who complete the training. There is also a radio station that is run by formerly abducted children, who use their programmes to share their testimonies about life in captivity and after their return. Such opportunities to testify are regarded as appropriate for their psychosocial rehabilitation, as well as providing important details that can inform policy and programme interventions in Teso.

OCHER, on the other hand, works closely with reception centres in Lango and Acholi to enable reintegration and integration (23IM160816T). The organisation provides psychosocial support to persons formerly associated with the LRA as a means of boosting community acceptance of these children and their mothers. The respondent noted the recent collaborations with JRP in Acholi, aimed at offering specific services/assistance of these groups of persons. Situations that are beyond its capacity are referred to other NGOs capable of assisting these children and their mothers.

It is important to emphasise the earlier explanation of the role of the local militia in enabling reintegration and integration. It collaborated with the UPDF in protecting the people of Teso, rescuing formerly abducted boys and girls and assisting in their reintegration:

Reintegration... was very challenging because these children when they came, at the age of between eleven to fifteen, sixteen years and you know that is the age

where somebody is developing. Now the type of life they went through, at the time they came back, you would find them emotionally challenged all the time... Unsettled, some of them claiming that there are some spirits disturbing them. It was very difficult to handle them. I remember some of them whom we rescued, kept on crying all the time until we looked for some social workers to assist in counselling simply because they had been raped when they were abducted and the situation was so traumatic to them. And they could not easily live to the terms. But we had to keep them. I remember I kept some in my house, before I handed [them] to a UNICEF- funded activity then in Soroti, which was like a transit camp where they would temporarily be processed before their families picked them and take them for reintegration. It was not anything in particular, they would just take them back home. There was no deliberate reintegration programme.
(24IM170816T)

The former commander and intelligence officer explained the partnership between the local militia, the government forces (UPDF) and the reception centres in Acholi (GUSCO) and Lango (Rachelle) in facilitating the reintegration and integration of persons from Teso who had been associated with the LRA. A former member of the Arrow Brigade who was a trained social worker (Lawrence, in 22FGDTESOI70816) explained that the partnership between the UPDF, reception centres and the Arrow Brigade enabled integration and reintegration – processes through which community members could identify CBIC – especially if the mother returned pregnant or with a child.

Overlapping support of FAPs and CBIC

In Teso, formerly abducted people and the children born to such females were presented as 'rescued persons', even in the focus group discussion (22FGDTESOI70816). The gatekeeper's choice of focus group participants revealed evidence of the good job done by the local militia in the rescue, rehabilitation and reintegration of these children. Moreover, the discussions were held at a rehabilitation centre, Musa Vocational School in Amuria, where both male and female formerly abducted children from Teso are assisted to reintegrate by being given counselling, livelihood training and work at the radio station. A number of young adults (teenagers or early twenties) have kept moving in and away from the centre. The people benefit from these opportunities to increase their livelihood chances and to improve their self-confidence as they testify about their experiences.

The framing of the reintegrated persons as 'rescued' resonates with and supports Stewart's (2017) view, in which the protection and response to persons formerly associated with the LRA is described as a continuity of the patriarchal nature of the state. The government represents the male role of protection and provision and the citizens as members of the regime's family-like setting. She draws on the work of Das (2007), who explains a similar pattern of the 'rescued women of abduction' in the War of Partition between Pakistan and India. Both Stewart (2017) and Das (2007) criticise such efforts from a feminist perspective and argue for the need for women of CHIBOW to exercise agency in determining how and where they are reintegrated. Where this is the case, it would avoid the problems of stigma and discrimination commonly associated with reintegration approaches that return the female to her matrimonial or paternal home or community.

The above view can be supported by the argument fronted by the national TJ advisor (24IM170816T) regarding the request by mothers of these children for government to relocate them to new areas, so that they can forge a new identity. Although she deems this to be a pragmatically difficult suggestion – as discussed in the chapter on Acholi – both the quest for new locations and the evidence of some mothers' relocation serve to support the claims advanced by Das (2007) and Stewart (2017). The mothers of CHIBOW and their children - old enough to make decisions in their best interest - need to be allowed to exercise agency in their own reintegration/integration.

Interventions by cultural and community leaders

One of the ways in which successful integration can be realised is by creating or enhancing an environment conducive to survival. This requires interventions that counter stigma and discrimination, as the communities of integration and the integrating children can recognise each other. Cultural and traditional leaders have been involved in countering stigma and discrimination by raising the awareness of their communities to the need to value formerly abducted people's dignity (21GRPI160816T). However, their efforts are challenged by their inability to ensure that

community members will retain this awareness. This challenge is partly associated with the reduction in the recognition of cultural leaders' authority in the post-conflict context in Uganda (Allen, 2006). Other opportunities that can be enhanced or collaborated with include the ongoing NGO's awareness-raising with communities about the plight of persons formerly associated with the LRA, including the civil society forum of the ICC, the ICC education outreach and 'War Child'.

6.7 Lessons on integration that can be drawn from Teso sub-region

The sub-sections below are lessons about integration of CBIC that can be drawn from Teso sub-region:

Fragile integration context among post-war communities of Teso

The respondents at Lwala Girls Secondary School expressed concern about the unresolved nature of the war with the LRA and its ongoing presence in the Great Lakes region, creating uncertainty in the communities of reintegration (21GRPI160816T). They explained that the abductions had created fear among many community members and parents whose children attend the school. The continued absence of a fence surrounding the school – even after abductions have taken place – makes them unsure about the children's safety.

Some of the focus group participants were keen to discuss the non-return of some of the formerly abducted children (22FGDTESOI70816). One of the social workers in the group (Lawrence) explained that such bitterness and uncertainty regarding the survival of their children prompt the families and relatives of those that have never returned from captivity to resent those who have returned, and their children. This indicates the fate of CBIC. They are caught up in the quest for TJ by LRA war-affected communities and their own need to live a secure life, free from stigma/rejection and discrimination. As discussed in the chapter on reparations for CBIC, the

search for their appropriate TJ option is presented concurrently with that of other war-affected victim/survivor groups in the community.

Intersecting discussions between formerly abducted persons and children born in captivity

It is possible that the scarcity of CBIC in the areas visited contributed to a general discussion of their integration, as that of formerly abducted children in the region. It is important to note that the discussion of integration of CBIC among the community re-awakened the memory of those present on the abductions and other atrocities committed by the LRA. Prior to the focus group discussions, I had distributed copies of the participant information sheet (Appendix 1) to the members and read it out to them as they followed the content. Included on the sheet was a clause stating the likelihood of participants feeling distress as they recalled events related to the conflict. I had made provision to have social workers present in case a need for referral emerged. As in the other two sub-regions, one of the ways in which the focus group participants addressed their re-awakened memories was through prayers at the end of the discussion. The prayers included a petition to God to heal the affected persons and grant wisdom to those involved to deal with the options to address the impact of the war.

Problematic integration of children born in captivity

The research findings indicate that CBIC experience stigma and discrimination in their communities of integration. Stigma is mainly manifested as labels or name-calling, and discrimination mainly affects these children's access to land. In addition, the community's rejection of these children and their mothers extends to children fathered by men in the community following these women's return. An important concept in the literature that is supported by the findings in Teso sub-region is that of the transmission of trauma (Denov, 2015; Denov & Lakor, 2017).

The rejection and stigma against children born to formerly abducted females, whether or not their fathers were associated with the LRA, are an

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example of the argument for the transmission of trauma advanced by Denov (2015). The CBIC are thought of as persons who transmit the identity (referred to as 'bringing blood of some criminal into the clan'). Hence, interventions at family, community and clan levels are important, given the culture, a patriarchal grounding of non-acceptance, to enable respect for the dignity of these children.

For this to be afforded to these children, the cultural and post-conflict transitional justice contexts of integration need to be borne in mind. Since many other war-affected groups have unmet TJ needs too, it is important that the assistance to CBIC avoids placing them at risk of the further stigma that might arise if such groups feel discriminated against by the interventions, as their plight is linked to the atrocities committed by the parents of these children.

The importance of acceptance for self-confidence is explained by an excerpt from the former commander of the Arrow Brigade, comparing the plight of children born to abducted females and those born to non-abducted ones (24IM170816T). He links self-confidence to a feeling of belonging. In pragmatic terms, the diminishing power of cultural leaders and structures since the war cannot be overlooked (Chapman & Kagaha, 2014). Nonetheless, they argue that the role of cultural leaders is to act as agents of social conflict resolution in the Teso culture. This being the case, any interventions that enable respect for CBIC – on account of their humanity rather than their social/biological identity – need to engage local or cultural leaders. Otherwise, the efforts may be futile in the current situation, where the non-recognition of such children is still tied to the community's cultural response to birth outside wedlock.

Although relocation to other areas was mentioned in one case of a mother and her child born in captivity, other respondents did not suggest that relocation was an option that many of the mothers and their children pursue. Furthermore, the focus on FAPs renders the CBIC as mere appendages of their mothers and confirms the common misconceptualisation.

Absence of networks to support in integration

As in Lango sub-region, there is an absence of networks formed by mothers of CBIC to assist them and their children. The location of *Watye Ki Gen* in far-off Acholi means that the mothers and CBIC cannot benefit from it as a possible source of support. If such a network extends its activities or initiates such networks in Teso, it may be a possible avenue by which support can reach them. Moreover, it would enable empowerment and lobbying for remedies for the plight of these children and their mothers in Teso.

6.8 Conclusion

The stigma and discrimination against CBIC in Teso are linked to their identity as children born to formerly abducted females. Community members consider these children to be contaminated or tainted due to their mothers' association with the LRA. Although there are children born of rape to females who were never abducted, the unknown identity of their fathers and the circumstances of their conception protect them against the kind of stigma and discrimination facing children born to formerly abducted females.

One specific issue that emerged from the inquiry is evidenced by the stigma and discrimination against any child born out of wedlock to a formerly abducted female in a post-reintegration context. It supports Denov's (2015) claim regarding 'the transmission of trauma' in assuming that the mother carries a curse or bad spirit from her association with the LRA. She is believed to have the potential to pass on that bad trait to clan members of the (civilian) father of any children whom she conceives in the post-return context.

It is important to highlight that the discussion of CBIC tended to overlap with that of formerly abducted children. Part of the reason may be the limited numbers of these children compared to the many who were abducted, some never to return. In addition, such discussions at times

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reminded community members of the unmet TJ needs of various victims of the LRA war. Of importance to the conceptualisation of CBIC is the indication that their plight intersects with that of their mothers (Parra, 2018; Stewart, 2017).

One of the opportunities to enhance integration is the awareness-raising activities led by NGOs and local leaders in the region. The challenge to integration is the culturally grounded non-recognition of these children. Therefore, reparations that enhance both recognition and redistribution would help to address the plight of these children and improve their integration conditions.

Another challenge to integration emerging from the sub-region is the absence of networks of mothers of CBIC. The relevance of such networks in Acholi indicates that mothers and their children use them to garner support for projects, as well as to offer peer support to each other.

Lastly, as in Acholi, research participants in Teso were sceptical about the nature of post-conflict peace in Uganda. With the LRA still in operation in some areas and the problem of stigma against CBIC, these may possibly affect long-term integration.

The next chapter provides a discussion and conclusion on the integration of CBIC by drawing on comparisons among and differences between the three sub-regions.

Chapter 7: Understanding the Integration of Uganda's Children Born in Captivity from the Three Sub-regions

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the integration of CBIC in the three sub-regions. The chapter is important because it provides broader perspectives on the integration of these children by analysing the cross-cutting issues, lessons learned and differences that emerge from the comparison of integration in the three sub-regions and how they affect these children.

The chapter is structured as follows: the first part explains the observations made regarding integration of CBIC in the three sub-regions. This is followed by the presentation and discussion of an analytical framework developed from the analysis of empirical findings on integration from the three sub-regions. It uses elements of the 'extended vital core' through the process explained in Chapter 3.

7.2 Observations about integration of in the three sub-regions

Three main observations emerge from the empirical findings of the three sub-regions. The first is that CBIC experience problematic integration, characterised by stigma and discrimination. The empirical

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findings in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 indicate that the majority of the CBIC are susceptible to stigma (often through labelling or name-calling) and discrimination (mainly in terms of exclusion from access to culturally owned resources, such as land). The everyday life of these children is described using phrases such as 'isolated', 'not fit in', 'no sense of belonging', 'social isolation' and 'not accepted'. However, not all CBIC have similar integration experiences; neither are they passive victims of such actions against them. The cases cited in Chapter 5 indicate how, in Lango, some of these children defend themselves against stigmatisation or use their identity to their advantage. There are cases where some of them respond to name-calling by defending themselves, similar to findings in the empirical research fieldnotes captured by JRP (2015). The fieldnote contains a poem by one of the CBIC, calling for such children to rise up and defend their rights. Such ability to exercise agency supports Neenan's (2017) conceptualisation of CHIBOW as 'victim-survivors'.

There were mixed views regarding family support in integration. Some family members such as grandmothers and stepfathers were cited as sources of stigma in Chapter 4, while in Chapters 5 and 6 the immediate families of these children's mothers were presented as 'safe spaces'. It is, however, important to note that, in all three sub-regions, integrating into a family setting is important for the mothers and children. Hence, many of the mothers desire to remarry to achieve a more supportive environment within which they can raise their children. Such desires, however, meet with the challenge of finding a suitable husband. In Chapter 4, it was observed that some of the mothers reunite with their 'bush husbands' and have a better chance of a marriage context, in which they are accepted and can raise their children. This is evidenced by the example cited by Apio (2016) of a mother who reunited with the

person who fathered her child in captivity. She relocated to join him in Acholi. The need for family support was emphasised in a fieldnote by JRP (2015), where the author argues that family support offers love, as a vital requirement for these children's wellbeing.

Discrimination is mainly socio-economic and linked to cultural non-recognition. Cultural non-recognition prevents these children from accessing or co-owning culturally owned resources, especially land. Land is an important source of livelihood in the region. In all the three sub-regions land-related issues emerged, and there were proposals that cultural leaders and institutions should intervene to provide land for these children. Another suggested solution to the problem of land is government redistribution. This proposal came from these children's mothers (Chapter 4). In practice, however, this is problematic, considering the tensions over land in the 2017 to 2018 period in Uganda, as explained in the chapter. Lastly, those who are able to benefit from education (formal and life-skills training) have the advantage of possible alternative employment as a means of diversifying their livelihood, as well as an income to buy land of their own. This is in addition to the fact that it boosts their esteem in the community, as they are regarded as contributing to the welfare of society.

Secondly, one of the responses to stigma and discrimination that emerged in all three sub-regions is the relocation of some mothers and their children to new locations. They hope that life in the new area will bring them better living conditions for integration. Chapter 4, however, observes that this may not always be the case, as mothers and their children may end up in areas with conditions that are not conducive.

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Another response is through interventions by grassroots NGOs and CBOs that offer education support, livelihood training and psychosocial support to these children and their mothers. Thirdly, cultural leaders (Chapter 4) and community leaders (Chapters 5 and 6) have, in some instances, engaged in raising the awareness of their communities and assisted in settling challenges of integration where they do occur.

The third observation is that the integration of CBIC is thought to be fragile and unsustainable. In Chapter 4, respondents (7FI010816A; 11MI040816A) referred to the situation as a 'ticking time-bomb', corroborating the findings of other empirical studies (Lamwaka, 12 September 2011; JRP, 23 December 2015; Owich, 25 November 2014). In Chapter 5, one of the interviewees noted that, when faced with stigma in school, some children abandon education and return to life among the LRA. Finally, in Chapter 6, the respondents in Teso (21GRPI160816T; 22FGDTESOI70816) were sceptical about the current post-conflict peace and wondered whether the LRA will carry out more abductions. If this were to happen, children who have not adequately integrated would be vulnerable to possible abduction. Therefore, as part of protecting these children from such a possibility, it is important that interventions bridge the gap between the existing type of integration and the ideal.

The last observation relates to concerns over the responsibility for ensuring that integration is effective or successful. The importance of reception centres and other NGOs assisting persons formerly associated by the LRA is notable. It is no wonder that, in Chapter 5, one respondent (19MI110816L) referred to the NGO-led assistance to children, such as those associated with the LRA, as an 'NGO affair'. In Chapter 4, one of the respondents (11MI040816A) remarked that, in all

three sub-regions, these NGOs have a limited presence in comparison to the estimated number of children dispersed across the various places of integration. This points to the need for more NGO interventions targeting such children, beyond those in urban areas. The problematic nature of integration caused some respondents in Lango (1MI290716K), Acholi (2MI01082016A) and Teso (24IM170816T) to highlight the gaps in responsibility for ensuring adequate integration. This thesis uses the argument grounded in the R2P doctrine to argue for the need for state intervention and responsibility to ensure effective integration, as explained in Chapters 2, 5 and 6. The thesis uses arguments in the literature on R2P to support the need for state interventions to ensure that CBIC are integrated successfully.

7.3 Pathways of integration trodden by Uganda's children born in captivity

The comparison of the integration experiences of CBIC in the three chapters led to the identification of various categories of CBIC and differences in integration experiences. These variations are discussed as different pathways to integration for CBIC, as they transition from captivity to life among post-conflict communities. In addition to the findings from interviews and focus group discussions in the three sub-regions, I obtained a copy of the Hansard (Republic of Uganda Parliamentary Debates: Hansard, 3 April 2014) records of the plenary discussion of the petition presented by the Women's Advocacy Network. The petition requested Parliament to adopt a resolution allowing for gender-sensitive reparations. The deliberations indicate that some

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children born are still in captivity. This was confirmed by one of the respondents in Acholi sub-region.

The empirical data for the three sub-regions depict some similarities and variations in the integration experiences of CBIC. These reveal the dynamic nature of integration and the differences in outcomes for the beneficiary children, depending on whether they have access to or are denied access to the three elements of the 'extended vital core'.

According to Sartori et al. (1975), it is possible to differentiate between concepts using hierarchical criteria, similar to a ladder linking the broadest component (topmost) to the smallest (sub-categories at the bottom). Therefore, since the general concept in this case is integration, the sub-concepts identified from the analysis of the field data (refer to the process illustrated and explained in Appendix 5) are the categories of 'no integration', 'shallow and unsustainable integration' and 'deep and sustainable integration'. The three sub-categories are also differentiated by the ability of these children to realise the elements of 'extended vital core' and the present boundaries of integration. The idea of boundary conceptualisation is borrowed from Archard (2004). Archard's (2004) view on boundaries indicates where the integration of CBIC starts and ends. Hence, each pathway has a boundary and, collectively, these reveal the spectrum of integration experiences of CBIC in Uganda.

Descriptions of 'shallow and unsustainable integration' are drawn from data provided on the everyday life of CBIC in communities of integration. Such descriptions identified as indicators of an ideal or successful integration were used to code information for 'deep and sustainable integration'. Lastly, 'no integration' emerged mainly from the information available in the parliamentary proceedings (Republic of

Uganda Parliamentary Debates: Hansard, 3 April 2014). In the next sub-sections, these different pathways to integration are explained.

7.3.1 Pathway 1: No integration

According to records of the parliamentary proceedings, two categories of CBIC occupy this 'pathway of no integration'. These are 'stateless children' and 'children born and still in captivity'. Interview respondents in Chapters 4 (2MI01082016A; 11MI040816A) and 5 (16MI100816L) identified unaccompanied children as a category of CBIC. Based on the information available in both the parliamentary proceedings and these interviews, I argue that this pathway applies if the identity of CBIC leads to a denial of their nationality among the maternal communities in which they reside or in the communities of their fathers' nationality. This condition of integration affects their dignity, survival and livelihood in these communities.

Unlike those CBIC who reside in post-war communities in Uganda, stateless children do not receive much attention in the current academic discourses on CBIC. As a category, these children's fathers are LRA soldiers or part of armed groups and their mothers are nationals of the countries where they live (the area where the mothers experienced sexual violence or forced marriage). They comprise a very complex category due to the coverage of LRA activities. Their father may be a Ugandan or a national of another country who was abducted and joined the LRA rebels. In situations where details of the rebel's nationality, tribe or clan details are unknown to the mothers and children,

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integration becomes ever-more complex. The Hon. Reagan Okumu²⁵ indicated the plight of children born to Congolese mothers, who faced challenges in accessing citizenship and socio-cultural belonging (Republic of Uganda Parliamentary Debates: Hansard, 3 April 2014).

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) uses an international law definition of a stateless person as 'a person who is not considered as a national by any state under the operation of its law'. This implies that such a person does not have a nationality. The reasons for statelessness include discrimination on grounds of ethnicity, religion, gender or any changes in the territory of existing states. In lieu of the reasons fronted, another way in which statelessness occurs, according to UNHCR, succinctly captures the plight of children with parents belonging to different nationalities:

Gaps in nationality laws are a major cause of statelessness. Every country has laws, which establish under what circumstances someone acquires the nationality or can have it withdrawn. If these laws are not carefully written and correctly applied, some people can be excluded and left stateless. An example is children who are of unknown parentage in a country where nationality is acquired based on descent from a national. Fortunately, most nationality laws recognise them as nationals of the state in which they are found.²⁶

It is important to state that this research did not focus on the integration of this category of CBIC as it falls outside the scope of the post-conflict environment in Uganda, thus it is impossible to make any strong claims about such children's integration. However, the inclusion of children of unknown parentage on the same agenda as CBIC who reside in communities in Uganda possibly implies that they, too, experience problematic integration where they are.

²⁵ Hon. Okumu represents a constituency in Acholi sub-region.

²⁶ Details available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/uk/stateless-people.html>, accessed 10/06/2017.

Another category of children presented alongside those who are stateless is that of those born and still in captivity. As noted in Chapter 4, some LRA commanders fathered children who are still living among the LRA. The examples of Obwor Simon Salim Saleh and Ali Lalabo Bashir (born in 1993) and Ochan Chandiet (born in 1998) were identified in the presentation by Hon. Reagan (Republic of Uganda Parliamentary Debates: Hansard, 3 April 2014). In addition, the concerns expressed by focus group participants in Chapter 6 regarding the non-return of some of the formerly abducted children suggests that children born to those still living in captivity are unprotected from association with armed forces and armed groups.

Hence, this thesis argues that for both children who were born and are still in captivity and the stateless children, the phase of 'no integration' applies:

If their identity makes them denied nationality among their maternal communities among whom they reside and are unable to access the nationality of their fathers, then, being stateless affects their dignity, survival and livelihoods among the communities among whom they reside.

7.3.2 Pathway 2: Shallow and unsustainable integration

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 indicate that the majority of CBIC experience stigma and discrimination. This thesis argues that such experiences are reflective of a problematic form of integration, described herein as 'shallow and unsustainable'. Following the analytical process illustrated in Appendix 5, the observed similarities and differences from the data obtained in the three sub-regions led me to describe this as:

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The short-term process leading to the insertion of a child born in captivity into a locality where the mother previously belonged. The child has higher chances of experiencing stigma and discrimination in the social and cultural context of the new locality because of his/her identity (linked to the father). These experiences consequently affect the ability of such a child to realise the 'extended vital core' elements of survival, dignity, and livelihoods.

It is essential to recall the definition of 'insertion' explained in Chapters 1 and 2. As CBIC move out of captivity, they join new environments. Hence, while 'reinsertion' applies to their mothers/parents, it does not capture their reality. To distinguish between the reality of these children and their parents (mothers), this thesis uses 'insertion' and applies it to the integration of these children. It captures the process and outcome of interventions, enabling the beneficiary child to join and become a part of a civilian community following the end of his/her association with armed forces or armed groups.

In practice, after being associated with armed forces or armed groups, a 'child born in captivity' migrates to the country of his/her mother's nationality and embarks on a process of insertion among the maternal community. Since such a child is not recognised as a member of the mother's community, he/she experiences stigma and discrimination, may not have access to integration support required to enhance his/her 'vital core' and may not be able to relocate to a new place. If such is the case, then the child follows a pathway of 'shallow and unsustainable integration'.

The integration support available through grassroots NGOs may be inaccessible due to the remote location of this child, cut off from the areas of operation of such NGOs. As explained in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, in most cases, relocation requires support from the mother's family or some other person and is a response to stigma and discrimination.

The next sub-sections explain the different categories of children and different experiences of stigma and discrimination on this pathway.

Unaccompanied children

Unaccompanied children were described as the most vulnerable category of children (Chapters 4 and 5), those who transition from captivity to the country of integration on their own or with an adult who is not their parent. One of the integration challenges faced in assisting such children is tracing their family/kinship lineage. Institutions involved in integration use what information is available from the child or the adult who accompanies them to locate possible relatives. In situations where tracing relatives is very difficult, community members may opt to take care of the child. However, some fostered children may not be aware that the people whom they are living with are not their relatives (as noted in Chapter 5). Those not taken into foster care end up in institutional care, such as at SOS and Watoto villages in Gulu (Chapter 4). The presence of unaccompanied children among actual or foster families is secure as long as they do not claim resources, such as land that can be co-owned only by clan members. The male and older children who can work the land or those who intend to marry are prone to land-related challenges due to the patrilineal nature of these communities (Chapters 4 and 5).

It is important to explain that establishing the reality of life for those who end up in institutional care requires research into those settings. Since I did not follow up on their integration experiences within such institutions of care, it is not possible to suppose the nature of their everyday life. However, focus group respondents (Chapter 4) gave the impression that life in institutions is a better alternative for CBIC whose

maternal grandmothers (relatives) are not in position to take care of them.

Children cut off from integration support

One of the respondents (11MI040816A), commenting on the integration of children in all three sub-regions, noted that the majority, after insertion, remain cut off from any additional would-be support that grassroots NGOs provide to persons formerly associated with the LRA. This is because they are inserted in remote locations, in rural areas, and most NGOs are based in urban areas and thus unable to reach the remote locations where these children reside. In Lango, examples also emerged of children cut off from such NGO-assistance (FGDLANGO110816; 14FI090816L). In this case, the challenge of access was because of corruption and bureaucracy involved in registering beneficiaries for NGO support (Chapter 5). NGO interventions include psychosocial (trauma counselling), educational support through bursaries, livelihood training and the provision of small grants for business, and only a few CBIC benefit.

The research (Chapter 4) found out that mothers of CBIC have formed networks in Acholi. They use these networks for advocacy and to lobby for funds to finance projects to improve the wellbeing of both them and their children. No such networks, however, are present in the other two sub-regions of Lango and Teso, due to the dispersed nature of integration and the fewer CBIC there. The relevance of networks such as *Watyē Ki Gen* is illustrated in Apio's (2016) account of a mother with a child born in captivity who migrated from Lango to Gulu because she had been in touch with members of the network.

Male children

Another vulnerable category of children on this pathway comprise male CBIC, discriminated against as persons who are ineligible to access clan land (Chapters 4, 5 and 6). This observation has been made in other research (Atim et al., 2018; Justice and Reconciliation Project, 2015b; Stewart, 2017). Living in their maternal clan makes them victims of prejudiced assumptions that they will encroach on its cultural resources. As the male children grow up and desire a livelihood in preparation for the prospect of marriage, their need for land emphasises their cultural non-recognition or non-membership (as observed in Chapter 5). Apio (2007, 2013) explains the importance of the patriarchal structure of society and its influence on marriage. The identity of the person and their ability to garner support in raising a dowry for a bride demands that they belong to or are recognised as members of their father's clan. The cultural non-recognition hinders both their access to work and their survival, in this context where land is the major source of livelihood. This subsequently erects a barrier to their ability to realise a 'deep and sustainable integration'.

Gender disparities in integration require a gender-related focus, as prescribed by the PPG (2007), although the framework focuses mainly on the plight of reintegrating females. Although no gender-related experience of stigma unique to female CBIC emerged from this study, Bergmans (2017) presents an account of a mother in Acholi who relocated to Gulu but left two daughters with her maternal relatives, who sexually abused them. Therefore, the plight of males and females requires each category to have assistance to address their gender-specific vulnerability.

Children attached to affluent families

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The LRA war affected the economy of these communities, making most relatives unable to offer socio-economic support to the mothers and CBIC when they return from captivity. Although some of the children are accepted by their immediate maternal relatives and have their basic needs met, there is potential for stigma and discrimination outside the immediate family/household, because of cultural non-recognition. The availability of socio-economic support to relocate the mothers and children emerged as an issue in all three sub-regions. It appears few can to relocate unless relatives or any other person can provide the required resources and, in situations where they are cut off from existing interventions by grassroots NGOs, this worsens the plight of CBIC.

Relocation aims to escape stigma and discrimination in the hope that life at the new location will provide better prospects for realising the elements of the 'extended vital core'. This option is often feasible for those whose relatives are more privileged – socio-economically – than the majority of the war-affected population. Different scenarios of relocation emerged from the empirical findings. In all three sub-regions, the mothers of CBIC, together with their children, moved to urban areas (towns). In Acholi, a few people had relocated twice; first from IDP camps to Kampala, and then from Kampala to areas in the sub-region, where they currently reside.

Relocation is a response to an actual or perceived need to escape from experiences of stigma and discrimination. The importance of love and acceptance in enabling integration is confirmed by the study's findings in all three sub-regions. Thus, it justifies the argument advanced in this thesis' analytical approach (Chapter 2). Love from the family is exhibited in cases where mothers and their children are supported to

relocate to other areas. From the research findings (Chapter 4), the tendency to reject and discriminate against CBIC seems to be greater than the tendency to accept them. The findings in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 suppose that relocation offers better integration prospects, as those involved relocate to areas where their identity is unknown. Since the majority of the CBIC may not have the option to relocate, they remain exposed to stigma and discrimination among the communities of insertion.

Children with overlapping integration experiences

It is important to note that there could be an overlap between the three broad sub-categories of integration. First is the situation where a stateless child may be in a category of 'no integration' in one country (of captivity) and later migrate to Uganda, where his/her questioned nationality makes him/her take the route to 'shallow and unsustainable integration'. A second overlap is between the pathways of 'shallow and unsustainable integration' and then 'deep and sustainable integration'. For instance, while relocation aims at ensuring better access to the elements of the 'extended vital core', this may not necessarily be accompanied by sufficiently good survival and livelihood to claim 'deep and sustainable integration'. The example of those who migrated to Kampala and back to Acholi (Chapter 4) illustrates this overlap.

Using responses to the question of what the ideal form of integration looks like, the analytical process described in Appendix 5 was used to code and observe patterns in what constitutes 'successful integration'. This thesis describes such an ideal form of integration as 'deep and sustainable' and it constitutes the third pathway to integration. The next section explains this pathway.

7.3.3 Pathway 3: Deep and sustainable integration

This thesis describes 'deep and sustainable integration' as:

A long-term process leading to insertion of a child born in captivity into a locality where the mother previously belonged. The interventions aim at ensuring that after insertion, the child can realise the 'vital core' elements of survival, dignity and livelihoods, while living in the community of integration. The enjoyment of the 'vital core' prevents or reduces exposure to experiences of stigma and discrimination because of his/her identity (linked to that of his/her father).

This state of integration reflects the implicit intention of the global policy structuring reintegration and integration, to realise 'vital core' ends through a 'vital core' means as explained in Chapter 1. Interventions for integration would ensure parity by enabling a beneficiary child to realise opportunities in life, regardless of the huge inequalities with peers who have never experienced captivity. Where these inequalities already exist because of problematic integration, reparation could enable the attainment of 'deep and sustainable integration' by addressing material (redistribution) and symbolic (recognition) forms of inequality.

A demobilisation and reintegration expert interviewed in the study (20MI140816K) argues that successful integration would involve some of the indicators suggested in the United Nations Integrated Standards for Demobilisation Disarmament and Reintegration (DDR) model. The Information, Counselling and Referral (ICR) component of the model consists of three stages of intervention.

At the first stage, biographical data and other relevant facts about the individual are required. The second stage involves counselling, where children due to integrate are given the psychosocial rehabilitation that they need as they transition from life among armed forces to life among

civilians. In the case of Uganda, where different actors (reception and rehabilitation centres) provide counselling, cases that are beyond one actor would be referred to another for better assistance. At the third stage, a referral is made. This requires both coordination between those involved in enabling integration and an awareness of the various services provided by each actor in a specific location.

The DDR expert noted that the ICR model, in practice, would start with the reception centres recording relevant information on CBIC and offering counselling. If issues require medical attention, they refer them to the hospital. For issues that require the attention of the police or security officials, they make the necessary referral. The same applies to the identification and referral of these children to prospective schools or institutions providing vocational training. At this stage, coordination would create an awareness of what opportunities are available and where. Furthermore, the model would require sensitivity to the contextual cultural and TJ realities in the communities of integration. Interventions would have to target not only CBIC but also other war-affected vulnerable groups, in order to avoid or reduce stigma and discrimination against these children. This would ensure parity, as argued for in Chapters 5 and 6. Aside from the ICR model, the indicators below emerged in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, as the requirements for successful integration of CBIC include countering stigma and discrimination, education and health support, and the ability to exercise agency. These are discussed in the subsequent sub-sections.

Countering stigma and discrimination

In Chapters 4, 5 and 6, the challenges of integration are characterised by stigma (negative labelling and name-calling) and discrimination

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(exclusion from access to cultural/community resources, mainly land). There is consensus on the need to address stigma and discrimination if successful integration is to be realised. Since stigma affects the dignity of these children, interventions for respect and the promotion of their rights are required. In Chapter 4, the role of religious and cultural leaders was acknowledged. Chapter 5 records the input of a local leader in assisting a CBIC and the mother by raising the community's awareness of the need to recognise that a child deserves to be treated with dignity. In fact, in Chapters 5 and 6, reference is made to these children as 'victims of circumstances'.

The positive influence of interventions to counter stigma in schools, through supporting teachers and the CBIC (Chapters 4 and 5) could be a guiding approach for interventions in the education sector. In addition, lessons can be learned from the curriculum review process adopted by Rwanda (as explained in Chapters 4 and 5).

In Chapter 5, a TJ expert argued for the need for traditional leaders to address stigma in order to subsequently tackle discrimination (exclusion from access to clan-owned resources) to achieve cultural transformation, albeit long term. Access to land as an important livelihood resource was recognised in all three sub-regions. Apart from the role of cultural leaders in achieving this, mothers of these children expect government to assist them in acquiring land for their children (Chapter 4). The feasibility of government action in this regard is complex, given the situation of land use and purchase by government, as explained in the chapter.

Education and health support

Interventions for education and health emerged as relevant integration support requirements for these children and their mothers (Chapters 4,

5 and 6). Through bursaries and others kinds of education support, they would be enabled to choose from various livelihood options needed for their survival as they mature into adults. The younger CBIC would require support for their mothers, too, since they are still dependent on them. As other researchers (Atim et al., 2018; Neenan, 2017; Stewart, 2017) argue, supporting mothers empowers them to offer better support to their children. Furthermore, the need for parity while offering such support has to be considered (Chapters 5 & 6) to avoid or reduce stigma against them.

Health support would include psychosocial support and the treatment of diseases that affect them because of their experience of captivity. Some CBIC in the sub-region require trauma counselling but are unable or unwilling to obtain it (Chapter 4). Others require treatment for conditions that they returned with from captivity (Chapter 5). Stewart (2017) cites the example of a child whose brother contracted HIV from his father when his mother conceived in captivity. Health support is needed for both mothers and children (9MI040816A; 30MI010916K; 17MI100816L). Both Denov (2015) and Denov and Lakor (2017: 261) confirm the need for health support. Doing so would improve the quality of life of these children and offer them a better state within which they can live, alongside peers with no experience of captivity.

Ability to exercise agency

One indicator of successful integration is the ability of these children to exercise agency through participating in politics and decisions that affect them (20MI140816K). When these children reach maturity they can participate in decision-making and interventions for such children as a

social group. Participation may include engaging in advocacy work and other forms of citizen participation without concern for their identity.

It is important to emphasise that gauging whether a child has attained 'deep and sustainable integration' after interventions enabling dignity (respect), livelihoods (social esteem) and survival (emotional support) requires an evaluation of the outcomes of such interventions in the long term. The assessment would possibly be continuous in order to capture the progress as the beneficiary grows into a young adult. Although the life of such a child cannot be the same as one who did not experience life in captivity, there would be progress in personal development (physical, psychosocial and socio-economic). They would also have better relations with community members as they participate in community life.

7.4 Conclusion

Based on the integration experiences of CBIC in the three sub-regions, this thesis argues that the existing policy frameworks in Uganda are structuring practices that have led to a 'shallow and unsustainable integration' of CBIC. This integration is problematic, because the unresolved problems of stigma and discrimination limit the opportunities for attaining 'deep and sustainable integration'.

These children's experiences of stigma and discrimination reflect some important observations about their integration. First, they are not passive victims of stigma, but are able to exercise agency. It is important for researchers and other actors involved in work around them to recognise such agency and work towards boosting their resilience. The efforts of actors on the ground, such as JRP and *Watye Ki Gen* (Denov & Lakor, 2017; Stewart, 2017) are opportunities present in

Acholi sub-region that can be enhanced and possibly extended to other sub-regions.

The second observation relates to the various categories of CBIC, experiencing integration in distinct ways as discussed under 'shallow and unsustainable integration'. For instance, males and females have different experiences. In the same way, while some children have a bad experience at their homestead, others do not. Some come unaccompanied, while others move in the company of their mothers. These observations are important because they offer a broad conceptualisation of these children and their integration. They also indicate the challenges and opportunities that they face in different contexts. These could guide actors engaged in integration operations.

Third, the integration of the CBIC becomes fragile when stigma and discrimination cause them to prefer life among the LRA. These preferences raise concerns for the protection of children against their recruitment and use by armed forces and armed groups (Paris Commitments, 2007). Such an unsettled state of integration reflects its dynamic nature and the need to work towards ensuring that these children move closer to a 'deep and sustainable integration'.

Fourth, deficiencies in the elements of the 'extended vital core' require interventions that take into consideration the cultural context of integration. Experiences of stigma and discrimination in the three sub-regions illustrate how a lack of love and acceptance (through friendships and family) affects the realisation of dignity (respect) and livelihood (social esteem). Since the majority of these children reside in remote areas, they are cut off from the help available through organisations, as these may not operate in their locality. Hence, there is a need for the

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actors involved to expand their services into remote places.

Alternatively, new NGOs targeting such children need to coordinate with those currently on the ground to establish which areas are not targeted. Expansion of the areas of coverage would decentralise the interventions' catchment area and access more children. This would, however, require consolidated statistics on how many CBIC there are in each sub-region and where. Otherwise, as discussed in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, such statistics are not easy to come across. In the interim, the estimates by Stewart (2017) may be relied upon for Lango and Teso, and more data should be collected on the children in Teso sub-region.

Fifth, the analytical outcomes of the data generated from the three sub-regions led to the realisation that there are various pathways to integration. These were arrived at from qualitative analysis of the research findings, adding to the literature by introducing into discussions on integration of CBIC a framework to provide a broad perspective on these children's integration. Further research using the framework may adopt quantitative approaches to establish how the interaction of the various elements of the 'extended vital core' produce distinct integration outcomes. Furthermore, methodologies such as longitudinal studies may establish how and when children who integrated in one pathway can transition to the next.

As a final point, reparations have been suggested as the remedy to the challenges of integration faced by CBIC (Chapters 1 and 2). The 'extended vital core' framework adopted by this thesis argues for the introduction of reparations – broadly, as material (distributive) and symbolic (recognition). These would enable a transition from 'shallow and unsustainable integration' to 'deep and sustainable integration'.

Therefore, the next chapters discuss the reparation claims for these children as they emerged from the three sub-regions.

Chapter 8: Reparations for Children Born in Captivity Living in Acholi

8.1 Introduction

This chapter answers the second research question – how would reparations respond to the integration plight of CBIC? As discussed in Chapters 1 and 3, reparations are suggested as the ideal form of transitional justice required for children born of CRSV. The analytical framework adopted by this thesis argues for a broad perspective of reparations – one that addresses both the symbolic (recognition) and material (distributive) transitional justice interests of Uganda’s CBIC. The chapter uses data obtained from respondents in Acholi sub-region to explain CBIC’s reparation needs in that area.

The chapter is important for contextualising the reparation needs for CBIC as a response to their integration challenges in the sub-region of Acholi. It responds to the scarcity of literature on how reparations address the plight of children born of CRSV, and the contents contribute to the literature by providing details of the kinds of reparations required.

The first part of the chapter discusses the general perspectives on transitional justice that emerged from the empirical findings and compares them with what is available in the literature. The second part discusses the transitional justice needs of these children by focusing on their reparation needs, using claims advanced by respondents, and the limitations of such claims. The chapter ends with a summary of the

transitional justice interests of these children emerging from the sub-region.

8.2 Perspective on transitional justice and its influence on reparations for children born in captivity

As discussed in Chapter 2, transitional justice (TJ) is a broad concept and has been characterised by the dominant binary claims over whether it is best achieved through retributive or restorative/reparative justice. It is important to recall that this thesis adopts Hansen's (2014) definition of TJ as a remedy to human rights violations committed during armed conflict/war. Despite the claims that most African countries prefer the latter to the former, it is argued that choosing one over the other is simplistic. Hence, through the discourse on legal pluralism, it is recommended that both types are used to complement each other. Indeed, Uganda's TJ policy (2013) provides for the adoption of both retributive and restorative justice options. This thesis argues that the perspective on TJ that is dominant in a community may affect its claims for reparation. The options adopted, in addition, influence the possibility of realising such reparations in practice.

Similar to findings from other empirical studies by Baines (2005), Carlson and Mazurana (2008) and the Refugee Law Project (2005), the respondents in Acholi sub-region explained transitional justice by making reference to traditional justice and trials that have already been adopted in Uganda. During the focus group discussion (08FGDACHOLI010816), some respondents identified *mato oput* as a remedy to the plight of these children, but one of the social workers (Molly) was able to clarify that traditional practice does not cover it, since the children were not directly involved in the atrocities. Scholars

such as Macdonald and Porter (2016) argue that the dominant discourse of forgiveness and traditional justice as the preferred option to trials is common among religious leaders and NGOs in Acholi. Nonetheless, it is hoped that reparations for these children and their mothers may emerge following the successful trials of either Dominic Ongwen (Hague) or Thomas Kwoyelo (Uganda). Although some respondents (4MI030816A; 11MI040816A) argued that Truth and Reconciliation Commissions offer another alternative, they were sceptical about the current regime putting such a commission in place. Other scholars such as Branch (2011a) and Neenan (2017) echo the concern over the lack of political leverage to realise Truth and Reconciliation Commissions as long as the NRM regime controls government, with limited or no possibility of holding it to account for its part in the LRA war.

One of the transitional justice experts interviewed in Gulu (4MI030816A) expressed reservations over the trials of the LRA commanders at the ICC and in Uganda. He explained the complex nature of the victim/perpetrator identity of people who were abducted then later became perpetrators. The 'seeds' in the focus group discussions (Andrew and Tony Jacob, in 08FGDACHOLI010816) were FAPs who had been rehabilitated, and argued that the two commanders under trial should be considered victims rather than perpetrators. The victim's lawyer in the Kwoyelo case (26FI230816K) explained that the issue about how the trials were being handled focused on only the LRA and did not overtly deal with crimes committed by government forces. This subsequently leads to the predominant focus on CBIC at the expense of the plight of those fathered by government forces – who may be living in difficult situations in the sole care of their mothers. The

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Hague Convention IV²⁷ (1907) explains state responsibility for the actions committed by its armed forces as follows:

A belligerent party which violates that provisions of the said Regulations shall, if the case demands, be liable to pay compensation. It shall be responsible of all acts committed by persons forming part of its armed forces. (Wolfe, 2014: 23–4)

While the above responsibility applies to inter-state relations and recompense is paid to the victimised state, Wolfe notes that reparations to individuals emerged after the Second World War in the negotiations between Germany and Israel and the subsequent adoption of the 1952 Reparations Agreement (Luxembourg Agreement) between Israel and the Federal Republic of Germany. Thus, it is possible to use the same argument for the responsibility to claim government's responsibility for children fathered by its armed forces. Otherwise, as Bergmans (2017), Allen (2006) and Branch (2011b) argue, as the transitional justice options adopted focus predominantly on crimes committed by the LRA, the plight of people affected by the actions of government forces may remain unaddressed. This inevitably involves also children fathered by government soldiers in either consensual or forced relationships with non-abducted females.

Although reparations are required to address the plight of CBIC, as explained in Chapters 1 and 3, an interviewee in Gulu (11MI040816A) linked the failure of government to protect children from abduction to the imminent need for reparations of CBIC and their mothers. He used the folktale below to explain the responsibility of the state in this regard:

There once was a blind woman whose house was located near an anthill. One day, as she went and touched the anthill, she discovered that mushrooms had

²⁷ *Convention (IV) respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land and its annex: Regulations concerning the Laws and Customs of War on Land*. The Hague, 18 October 1907.

sprouted on it. She rushed home to pick a basket so she could pick the mushrooms. When she began to pick them, she was bitten by a poisonous collared fly and cried for help. Near the scene, was a bird locally known as *tuu-tuu* or *koo-koo*, seated up a tree. Instead of feeling sorry for the blind woman, the bird burst out into uncontrollable laughter, prompting a snake nearby to assume that she was preying on it. Hence, the snake quickly sought refuge in the anthill. However, the snake's entrance into the anthill scared the black-ants and caused them to flee in alarm. As the ants fled, they met with an elephant that was moving up and about. The sight of many ants fleeing in the elephant's direction caused the elephant to join the flight for safety. However, in the process, the elephant stepped on the back of a tortoise. The friction between the foot of the elephant and back of the tortoise sparked off a fire, setting the king's garden on fire. In order to establish responsibility, the king inquired from all the subjects involved in the series of events leading to the burning of the garden. As each explained the reason for their actions, the blame eventually fell on the collared fly.

After narrating the folktale, the religious leader explained that such a process of inquiry, when adopted in the form of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions, would pinpoint the primary source of blame. The implementation of reparations for these children and their mothers relies upon the success of such processes. However, since this option of TJ has not been explored (even at the time of writing), the majority of the respondents from the sub-region hope that reparations for CBIC will emerge as part of the outcomes of the trials at The Hague (Ongwen) and in Uganda (Kwoyelo). While such is the case, Neenan (2017) cautions that such trials need to ensure that they do not amplify the stigma and discrimination against CBIC that would arise if any assistance disregards the unmet transitional justice needs of other LRA war victims, thereby causing the traumatised communities to project their resentment onto these children.

It is important to note the predominant focus on primary victims and perpetrators in the sub-region, reinforcing CBIC's 'secondary victim' status. In both the focus groups and interviews, CBIC were regarded an outcome of the atrocities committed by the LRA against their mothers.

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Hence, their plight (as explained in Chapter 4) is linked to their identity as children of women who are survivors of sexual violence committed against them as forced wives of LRA soldiers. As secondary victims, most of the respondents attach their reparations claim to that of their mothers (5FI030816A). The national transitional justice advisor (25FI230816K) argued that the children can exercise agency by participating in such processes as witnesses and claimants. While the victim's lawyer in the Kwoyelo case (26FI230816K) confirmed the argument of the national TJ advisor that children can participate as witnesses and that this would enable rulings on the realisation of reparations for LRA war-affected victims, this thesis cautions that such participation should not reinforce the tendency to portray them as mere appendages of their mothers.

The influence of civil society organisations through the WAN and JRP was acknowledged in the passing of the resolution for gender-sensitive reparations (2MI01082016A; 4MI030816A; 5FI030816A; 25FI230816K). However, some respondents (2MI01082016A; 4MI030816A; 5FI030816A) were sceptical about the practical steps that would enable the realisation of such reparations. Their concerns were similar to sentiments expressed in the British High Commission report (September 2017), relating to the practical response to reparations to the victims of CRSV in Uganda. Furthermore, at the time of writing government has not yet adopted a transitional justice policy. Neenan (2017) argues that the absence of a policy framework renders the realisation of the rights of CHIBOW illusory, especially where there is lack of the political will required to adopt the necessary policy.

Emerging particularly from Acholi sub-region was the framing of the reparation needs of these children using the discourse on gender

justice. A gender officer at JRP (5FI030816A) explained that most initiatives for reparations focused on gender justice, and that a focus on reparations that target children with a focus on child-centred discourses and approaches was a more recent development, as captured in the excerpt below:

As JRP, we work with communities that have been affected by war and mobilise them. We have heard debates that are being influenced by voices of the grassroots and voices of the victims, such as the girls who were abducted and are now women, and the boys who were abducted and are now men. But with the children who were born as a result of the war, there is still little discussion around them... and there is growing recognition about their needs, but it is still at a very low level for the children who were born in captivity. And part of what we are doing... we have written reports about them that you could have access to... on our website... the children who were born as a result of the conflict. So the girls and boys who were abducted, there issues are involved in the debates, although there is still minimal space for the children who were born in captivity. (5FI030816A)

It is important to recall that the Justice and Reconciliation Project and Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (JRP-IJR Policy Brief, August 2011) define gender justice as a broad concept that aims to realise justice for all vulnerable groups of persons in need of it, in the context of war-related violations. The categories include women, children, the elderly and youth, who may benefit from processes such as reparation, truth-seeking and traditional justice. Their argument is important, because it emphasises the need for parity when pursuing justice for various categories. Otherwise, as Neenan (2017) argues, responding to the justice needs of CBIC at the expense of other war-affected categories risks increasing the stigma against them. However, in practice, the implementation of interventions that ensure parity may be more practically complex than can be argued for in normative terms. What would be the inclusion or exclusion criteria for determining which

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categories of victims are considered when parity is sought? What kinds of reparations would be exclusive to one category and not another?

Another important issue is that Chapter 2's reference to a gender-justice approach to realising reparation for these children supports existing claims that pursue advocacy and redress in conjunction with the needs of other vulnerable categories, in addition to the female victims of sexual violence (Carpenter, 2010; Parra, 2018; Seto, 2013). This is because of the strong legal and normative frameworks at both international and national levels. The trio of authors explain how having strong norms and laws to address gender-related violence is important for ensuring justice for women affected by war-related or CRSV. However, as mentioned earlier, both Neenan (2017) and Parra (2018) argue that, rather than focusing on the essentialist quest for justice for either children or their mothers, justice for both categories is needed, since justice to a mother subsequently enhances justice for the children in her care.

The appropriate TJ option required for the realisation of reparations for these children and the scepticism surrounding the pragmatic steps to be taken to realise the reparations notwithstanding, the analysis of empirical findings from Acholi sub-region reveal various claims for reparations. I used information from responses indicating the reparations needs of these children, and these are discussed in the subsequent section.

8.3 Reparations for children born in captivity living in Acholi sub-region

It is worth recalling that CBIC is a broad and generic term that focuses on the identity of persons fathered by the LRA. It is therefore important

for interventions not to focus predominantly on the age-marker of childhood when responding to the transitional needs of these children. Instead, depending in the maturity and development of these children, decisions may be made on a case-by-case basis and in response to various needs. It is important to observe from the Lubanga case²⁸ that the ICC approach deemed that collective reparations are more feasible than to individual compensations to direct victims and their families, whether or not the source of such compensation would be the Trust Fund for Victims or the government concerned. Hence, making reparations claims for CBIC as a collective is more feasible than individuals seeking remedy to their personal plight. This, however, does not disregard distinct individual experiences and needs.

One of the respondents explained the importance of adopting an approach to reparations that targets both the CBIC and their mothers in the form of education and psychosocial support, economic empowerment of mothers so that they can take care of their children and health services aimed at improving their capacity to contribute to community life (2MI01082016A). Such reparations would be both material and symbolic. The symbolic form enables the healing of wounds and feeling empowered. Material ones would include education support to these children and their mothers (in the case the mothers can return to school). This would ensure that the mothers are able to become

²⁸ Yogendran (2017) provides a brief history of the Lubanga case addressed the use of children as child soldiers as one among the crimes for which Lubanga, the leader of an armed group called *Union des Patriotes Congolais/Reconciliation et Paix* was tried under the ICC. His armed group had recruited and used children aged 15 years and below to achieve their political and military objectives as they fought in the Ituri region of the Democratic Republic of Congo. Hence, in 2012 he was sentenced by the court and the verdict confirmed by the Appeals Chamber in 2014. As part of its ruling, the ICC and the appeal chamber provided for reparations to victims.

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productive citizens. Similar to suggestions made in Chapter 4, support to mothers of children who are still in their care would boost their potential to provide better care for them. Those who are older and able to access some of these benefits on their own would do so and directly benefit from the interventions targeting such children. It is also important to recall that some of the requirements for realising 'deep and sustainable integration' (Chapter 7) are reflected in the goals of reparations suggested in the excerpt above. Therefore, reparations, when implemented, serve as an important intervention for enabling the transition from the current problematic state of integration towards the ideal.

Various claims were advanced by research participants regarding what kinds of reparations are required for these children and why. Some of the claims support existing arguments about transitional justice for children while others reveal the need for parity – an element of the 'extended vital core' approach adopted by this thesis. Although respondents make claims for reparations from a broad perspective, the practical realisation of reparations for these children was also questioned. All these issues are discussed in the sub-sections that follow.

The need for both symbolic and material reparations

Some of the research participants interviewed in Gulu and those from Acholi sub-region who were interviewed in Kampala associated reparations with material redistribution in the form of social service provision or compensation (4MI030816A; 11MI040816A; 25FI230816K; 27MI240816K). However, such compensations would require that other victim categories other than CBIC are also duly compensated. The material forms suggested included giving livestock such as cattle and

goats to people victimised by the war and setting up technical institutions to provide affected communities with life-skills training. As explained in Chapter 4, mothers of these children hope that government will provide land to them and their children as part of the remedy to their plight (25FI230816K). Such recommendations of material compensation support the findings of Lühe and Mugeru (December, 2014) regarding the need for redistribution as a form of reparations for CBIC living in Acholi sub-region through interventions in education, healthcare and livelihood support.

In Chapter 4, empirical findings reveal that some grassroots NGOs offer education support to some CBIC. These, however, are not a form of reparation. Hence, there is need for deliberate education support targeting these children as part of the reparations policy or framework that the Government of Uganda adopts. An official from Uganda Amnesty Commission (29MI290816K) was uncertain about the current financial ability of the government to afford material reparation, explaining that the country has had a history of many wars. This makes it hard to decide the timeframe to be used in determining who should qualify. In addition, the socio-economic status of the country may not allow it to provide all the material reparations sought by victims of the LRA war. The above concerns notwithstanding, Sakin (2014) argues that it is the duty of the government to ensure that reparations are provided to victims of the LRA, regardless of whether or not it has the financial ability to do so.

The possibility of the government providing education support as a form of reparation was explained by a university professor in interview (27MI240816K). He argued that the provision of education bursaries to

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these children would empower them to have livelihood opportunities of their own. Subsequently, they would be able to explore various opportunities based on their knowledge and skills from their schooling. Having conducted much research in the sub-region of Acholi and witnessed some of the regime changes in Uganda, he claims that it is possible for the government to grant such bursaries. As noted in the excerpt below, he referred to a previous regime's support to children orphaned by war to justify the possibility of the current regime supporting CBIC:

Reparation can be in form of educational opportunities for them... in the seventies, many children lost their parents. In 1980s, there used to be Orphans Association and these orphans were studying, getting free education. From primary through to secondary school. It was Uganda war Orphans or Orphans and Widows Association. All the children were registered in the villages; those whose parents were killed by Idi Amin. They were registered through the local council systems and once they were registered, the government paid for them... certain amounts of money was given to their parents [*or caretakers for those who lost both parents*] to help look after them. I know a neighbour who we went with to school. That is what made that particular boy get education. They had problems. The father was a senior police officer, killed during the Amin's time, around 72 or so. But from 1980, free education. You will just hear that the ministry has released school fees for the/ for orphans. Orphans would go and get/ sign in for some money (pocket money). Now you know what that means. Sign in for some money, some allowance for maintaining them, which their parents, their mothers would pick so it is a kind of a welfare. They need a kind of a welfare scheme must be put in place; otherwise, they are going to be condemned to poverty. (27MI240816K)

The respondent above argues for the financing of social services such as health and education. This would require a redistribution of resources supported by some of the adherents' reparations, through redistribution such as Lühe and Mugeru (December 2014). The redistribution of

resources aims at bridging the socio-economic inequalities between those who experience social injustice and those who do not. In this case, through various socio-economic services and investment in infrastructure required for access to such services, redistribution would address the challenges of CBIC. It is important to recall that in Chapter 1 it was argued that various government post-conflict rehabilitation and recovery programmes aimed at bridging the socio-economic gap between war-affected areas and the rest of the country. The deliberations of parliament (Republic of Uganda Parliamentary Debates: Hansard, 3 April 2014) clarified, that while this has been the case, such programmes have failed to target persons formerly associated with the LRA. It was argued by Members of Parliament that, although they enable a redistribution of resources, the activities funded by such programmes do not equate to reparation. Hence, there is a need for a specific reparations policy or guidelines to structure the resource allocation for the financing claims such as for education support.

Paternalistic versus direct provision of reparations to children born in captivity

A former employee of 'Invisible Children' (2MI01082016A) explained that reparations would facilitate the healing of the wounds of both children and mothers. They would also empower the mothers of these children so that they are able to afford their education and medical expenses. The children would be secondary beneficiaries, empowered to become productive citizens who contribute to the welfare of society. Another interviewee, a former employee of JRP and GUSCO (4MI030816A), summarised the three reparation needs of these children as healthcare (psychosocial interventions), education and livelihood. He

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based this on the areas of social justice inequalities that these children have due to their identity, putting them at a disadvantage to peers with no experience of captivity. As argued in the sub-section of education, the existence of support in the three areas (Chapter 4) does not equate to reparation. Hence, this claim supports the need for deliberate reparations in the form of redistribution of resources to cater for these children's livelihoods, healthcare and education.

It is important to note that most interventions targeting persons formerly associated with the LRA assumed that CBIC reside with their mothers and hence, when mothers are targeted, their children become beneficiaries too (4MI030816A; 7FI010816A; 11MI040816A). The problem with this assumption is that it leads to limited interventions to target these children directly and overlooks the fact that not all are in the care of their mothers, as observed in the chapters on integration. Moreover, in Chapter 4, the case of a mother diverting resources that had been intended to assist the child indicates that such assumptions may not work in the best interest of all CBIC. In addition, it may be appropriate to ensure that interventions through caretakers consider all categories of care, beyond the biological mothers of such children.

The national TJ advisor (25FI230816K) explained that most children who returned through reception centres ranged between unborn and seven years. The majority returned during the peace process (Grace, in 08FGDACHOLI010816). Therefore, as these children grow up, their reparations needs may evolve as they adjust to life in the new post-conflict environment. The impact of captivity would depend on the age at which a child returned (unborn, a toddler or over the age of five). Since some returned with their mothers (child mothers), themselves

vulnerable (Neenan, 2017), their mothers also need to be targeted so that they are in a better position to care for them.

Children born in captivity's agency in reparations claims

While there is involvement of women in reparations claims or in voicing claims for justice for sexual violence in TJ contexts, the voice of children is only beginning to be heard (5FI030816A). The view resonates with that of Seto (2013) and Carpenter (2010), who argue that, generally, CHIBOW have no visible space in the political/policy/ advocacy sphere. In conducting this study, I sought to explore the impact of existing policy interventions on these children's integration so there was no need to include them as research participants. Besides, the complex ethical review process of researching such children curtailed my ability to conduct participatory research. The circumstances around this research notwithstanding, that participatory approaches can be used to research these children is evidenced in works such as by Apio (2007), Bergmans (2017), Kiconco (2015), Ochen (2015) and Stewart (2017). It is important to note that the shift to a participatory approach to research involving children is not new, as discussed in Chapter 2.

There is growing emphasis on the need for CBIC to exercise agency through participation in research (Stewart, 2017; Denov & Lakor, 2017). At a grassroots level, local NGOs such as the Justice and Reconciliation Project (JRP) run projects for these children and their mothers. Part of JRP's mandate includes advocacy for the TJ needs of these persons. The JRP website includes resources aimed at increasing the voice of these two categories. There are various reports of research projects in which CBIC have participated. A report entitled 'We are all the same' (Justice and Reconciliation Project, 2015a) explains how CBIC express their need

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for recognition as children worthy of the same dignity and rights as peers with no experience of captivity. This nuanced approach shifts these children from bystanders to persons able to determine what is in their best interest, albeit with constraints of institutional ethics that may curtail the use of certain methodological approaches to involving them.

The previous approach is noticeable from the TJ advisor's (25FI230816K) explanation of the 2011/2012 Justice Law and Order Sector (JLOS) consultation leading to the drafting of Uganda's draft TJ policy. During that process, only the parents of these children were consulted, using a methodology that included drawing and telling stories to capture the views of formerly abducted children. These methods are suitable for consulting children and would have been applied to CBIC.

The WAN 2014 petition presented to parliament (Republic of Uganda Parliamentary Debates: Hansard, 3 April 2014) indicates that some of these children and their mothers witnessed the proceedings from the gallery. Participation through such means allowed the children who attended to witness the process of decision-making on an issue that affects them. Evidence of participation is noticeable in collaborations between JRP, individual researchers and *Watye Ki Gen* in research and advocacy activities that grant these children a voice (Denov & Lakor, 2017; Stewart, 2017). Therefore, non-inclusion of CBIC in the research linked to this thesis due to ethical concerns notwithstanding, I support the view espoused by Neenan:

Children born of sexual violence and girls and women who become pregnant through rape and sexual exploitation must be provided with the opportunity to help shape responses to their needs through meaningful consultation and participation. Policymaking for children born of sexual violence raises challenging ethical issues. Without stripping victim-survivors of agency, principles including 'do no harm', 'best interest of the child' and broader ethical considerations must be respected at all stages of engagement. (Neenan, 2017: 10)

Furthermore, Neenan (2017) argues that the vulnerability of children such as those born of sexual violence should not necessarily prevent them from participating in research. She cautions that such participation is possible within the boundaries of ethical considerations. Given the successful use of the modified 'seeded' focus group approach in this study, it is possible for this to be modified to allow for the participation of these children and their mothers in focus group discussions with other community members. Involving them could offer the potential for dialogue and sensitisation of community members as an approach to reducing stigma and discrimination against this group of war-affected children.

Prospective reparations after successful trials and truth commissions

In 2004, an empirical study observed that most people in Acholi and local NGOs were not supportive of the option to conduct trials, especially for the indictment of the top LRA leaders to the ICC, due to the sought-for peace then (Branch, 2004). By the time of this research, there was a change in perspective and, a couple of years after the declaration of the post-conflict phase in Northern Uganda, some respondents were anticipating the ongoing trials in Gulu (Uganda vs Kwoyelo) and at The Hague (Prosecutor vs. Dominic Ongwen). This change towards support for trials is witnessed in the findings by Macdonald and Porter (2016).

The victim's lawyer in the Kwoyelo case (26FI230816K) argues that these children have the potential to encourage their fathers to make a plea of guilty, enabling success in the litigation process and thereby reducing the lengthy process. Huyse (2008: 3) explains that the outcome of a trial is either guilty or not guilty, and it will depend on the

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rules that the criminal courts use in proceedings. Once a plea of guilty is obtained, it would provide mitigating circumstances for negotiating lesser penalties than would accrue if the perpetrator did not acknowledge guilt yet was pronounced guilty at the end of the trial:

If you involve children, for example, children of the perpetrator, you will even find a plea of guilt entered because there is this emotional attachment between children and their parents... if this girl is given an opportunity to talk to the father, she will just tell the dad; 'Daddy, why did you do this? Daddy, see now mommy has remarried, I am suffering. Now for us in Acholi we have these programmes in place, is it difficult for you to just leave your defence lawyers' advice and then you plead guilty and you go through this traditional cleansing?' Don't you think that man is going to do away with his defence counsels and plead? You know, people tend to ignore children. However, I am telling you, children play a very vital role in reconciling. If children are involved, they give their narration, like now what we are going to do if God helps us and the trial kicks off. The reparations we want, the proceedings we want, we want it to be very real. We are not going to force these people to speak what they do not know. We shall tell them to narrate what exactly happened. (26FI230816K)

It is important to recall that traditional cleansing rituals are unable to address the plight of CBIC (Carlson & Mazurana, 2008; Porter, 2013). Hence, from the argument advanced in the excerpt above, children would help to realise the goals described herein and yet may be problematic for participating children. The involvement of children as negotiators who can influence their fathers to acknowledge guilt raises ethical concerns over whether such participation would be in their best interests. While their participation may contribute to realisation of reparations at the end of the conviction, what happens if, at the end of the trial, no guilt is pronounced and no reparations awarded? Would it still be appropriate to engage children in such brokering, not to mention that, for some, the person standing trial is a both a 'victim' (a formerly abducted child) and their father? These realities may not prompt them to share the same desired end following conviction – punishment. It could become even more complicated when lawyers in defence of some of the commanders under trial argue that, having been abducted as

children themselves, they cannot be held liable for the atrocities that they have committed.

The same respondent later explained the varying views on guilt between mothers and their children. She told a story of a CBIC with whom they came into contact as they undertook consultations with the mother. The mother had requested to see the child and, when they met, their conversation indicated that, while the child loves the father and does not want him prosecuted, the mother felt the opposite and had different views regarding the perpetrator (26FI230816K).

The excerpt above introduces an important issue: the need to ensure the best interests of the child while participating as a witness. Siegrist (2010) argues that the principle of the best interest of the child (as enshrined in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child) should be the determining criterion for participation in TJ processes. Hence, while children can provide evidence as witnesses and help broker acknowledgement of guilt, the decisions for participation would need to adhere to the best-interest principle. Upon probing the respondent to explain if the participation of children as witnesses would be protected throughout the process, she clarified that experts in child protection would make the decision on a case-by-case basis on whether or not a child born in captivity should participate (26FI230816K). The decision would depend upon the capacity of each child. Besides, there are systems in place to protect the identity of all witnesses during trials. Experts in child protection are part of the system, and would use safeguarding measures to limit the distress to participating children.

While, from a normative perspective, the participation of these children as witnesses would enhance their agency as reparations are sought,

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their ability to participate may require the consent of their mothers, yet some mothers may have a conflict of interest, affecting the possibility of such children's participation. This may be worsened by the scepticism of some who participated in an empirical study into the ability of the ICC to address their justice needs (Nabukeera-Namusoke, 2009). Lessons learned from the case of the 'comfort women' indicate that mothers of children fathered due to conflict-related violence are able to participate in processes as witnesses in the hope of yielding results that are beneficial to them and their children (Rehn & Sirleaf, 2002).

Many were able to testify many years after the incidents, and the fact that they eventually did may suggest the need for those victims of sexual violence who are willing to share their experiences to do so as part of their healing and quest for an adequate remedy to the injustice that they suffered. Hence, it is important that the uncertainties regarding the after-effects of disclosure or testimony do not hinder the participation of either mothers of CHIBOW (in the case of Uganda, those born in captivity) or their children, as long as adequate processes are in place to ensure their protection and best interest.

Therefore, while some mothers of these children may desire the prosecution of the men who fathered their children, others do not. The situation would depict a kind of tension described by scholars such as Carpenter (2007b, 2010) and Seto (2013) as the complexity of pursuing distinct protection for children (child rights) and their mothers as victims of sexual violence (women's rights). However, as explained in Chapter 2, this thesis supports the view advanced by Parra (2018) and Neenan (2017) regarding the need to transcend the essentialist choice of protecting either mothers or children; rather, the justice needs of the two categories intersect, and solutions are sought for both.

Besides trials, reparations may emerge from truth and reconciliation processes. Some Members of Parliament argued for Truth and Reconciliation Commissions as an option from which reparations may arise (Republic of Uganda Parliamentary Debates: Hansard, 3 April 2014). However, the discussions included scepticism at the likelihood of government officials establishing a truth and reconciliation process. Similar sentiments were expressed by a respondent during an interview held in Gulu (11MI040816A). He argued that having such a process would boost the advocacy required in seeking justice for children who lived in captivity.

It is important to note that other studies have established similar sentiments and attributed them to the politically instigated delay in government passing TJ policy (Branch, 2007; Bergmans, 2017; Macdonald & Porter, 2016). Lessons learned from a study conducted on CHIBOW in Colombia indicates that it is possible for such children to realise reparations emerging from truth and reconciliation processes (Parra, 2018). However, the lack of harmony between the inclusion of these children in legal provisions for reparations and the implementation of such normative intentions, as well as their exclusion from the discourse about the war – presented by the media and civil society – hindered their effective realisation of reparations in practice. The case of Peru, on the other hand, involved women in the truth and reconciliation process yet with a limited focus on the children born of sexual violence (Theidon, 2015).

At the time of writing, in the case of Uganda there has been no truth and reconciliation process embarked upon to address the harms committed in the LRA war. As research respondents note, it is hoped

that when the process starts the mothers and their children will not remain on the fringes of the discussion. However, like Parra (2018) and Theidon (2015), this thesis supports the need for a transitional justice focus on CHIBOW as subjects, rather than as mere appendages of their mothers. Being recognised as victims with specific reparation needs makes them eligible subjects for due consideration when frameworks for reparations are designed and implemented.

Feasibility of reparations for children born in captivity

As noted earlier, an official from Uganda Amnesty Commission (29MI290816K) was sceptical about the ability of government to afford reparations. The concern over the feasibility of reparations in the post-conflict environment was explained as a problem of ensuring that reparations do not remain more relevant conceptually than practically (4MI030816A). He attributed it to the lack of political will on the part of government to pass the TJ policy needed for reparations to be planned and the costly nature of reparations. The lack of political will in establishing the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions essential to reparations was also expressed by another interviewee (11MI040816A). Similar concerns over the political approach adopted by government in addressing crimes committed during the LRA war have been expressed by scholars such as Allen (2006) and Branch (2007, 2017).

Another concern over feasibility was expressed by an interviewee in Gulu, who argued that reparations in the context of the unresolved conflict between the LRA and the Government of Uganda is just 'treating the symptoms of the problem', since some CBIC are still among the LRA and rising up its ranks. Hence, the failure to end the conflict means that further children remain vulnerable to recruitment, and some community

members are not confident that the rebellion will not recur (2MI01082016A).

As discussed in the chapters on integration, some research participants are sceptical about CBIC's long-term integration as long as the LRA has a presence in the Great Lakes region. The respondent above (2MI01082016A) cautioned that that reparations may be mistaken as a reward for the conception and birth of such children and become a catalyst for the future continuity of CRSV, leading to the births of more children. This would be contrary to existing norms that seek to protect children against exploitation by armed forces and armed groups, as well as norms aimed at protecting women from sexual and gender-based violence, both in peace and war.

While some TJ options have been adopted by the Government of Uganda (as explained in Chapter 1), it has pursued a one-sided form of justice, preferring the option of trials/retribution through the ICC (Allen, 2006; Branch, 2007, 2017). Macdonald and Porter (2016) examine the case of the trial of Kwoyelo in Uganda, which predominantly focused on LRA leaders, and reinforce the argument of 'victor's justice' made by Branch (2017) and Moffette (2014). Nonetheless, according to Wolfe (2014), adherents of reparations as a means of dealing with the past aim to counter the dominant discourse that history is written by the victors, advancing in its place a counter discourse in which, through the politics of reparations, victims are able partially to contribute to the past or historical narrative.

These challenges notwithstanding, Huyse (1995) argues that, in circumstances where it finds it hard to make payments to large numbers of beneficiaries of compensation, the state may opt for alternative

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forms. These would include but not be limited to subsidised medical and psychosocial treatment and reduced interest on loans for education and setting up businesses.

Sakin (2014) argues that financial constraints notwithstanding, the responsibility for providing reparations needs to be met by government and, furthermore, the argument regarding the responsibility to provide reparations is supported by the classic example of victims of the Second World War (Brooks, 1999a; Hancock, 1999). Germany paid reparations to some of the victims yet excluded others. Hence, Brooks (1999a) argues for reparations that meet the needs of various categories of victims. However, since the inclusion and exclusion criteria are processes that have to be left to the governments involved, their argument can be extended so that those involved in advocacy and drafting guidelines can ensure that, for cases relating to CRSV, both mothers and children are included.

It is important to recall the argument advanced by scholars such as Brooks (1999b) and Kim (1999) regarding the need for both material and symbolic reparations. Having both would avoid a situation in which compensation is misinterpreted as a reward for the violations meted on a victim. Kim (1999: 77) argues that apologies serve as a form of meaningful reparations when accompanied by compensation. Brooks (1999b: 87) uses the example of the 'Comfort Women' violated during the World War II to explain how apology brings to the public discourse historical issues and creates the need for further action towards the victims, the estimated 200,000 women who were held as sex slaves by the Imperial Japanese Army. This experience serves to indicate the importance of apology to mothers of children born of CRSV, a response

that would make any other material or medical compensation offered to them more meaningful.

Apart from material reparations, the respondents from Acholi sub-region claimed the need for symbolic reparations – not only for CBIC but other LRA war-affected victims. These include memorials (monuments) in areas such as Mucwiny, Barlonyo and Lamwor, which suffered massacres (4MI030816A). It is important to recall Huyse's (1995) argument that monuments 'provide a channel for the expression of pain, frustration and anger'. The monuments therefore reflect the TJ interests of those victimised by the LRA. The need for government to apologise to these children and their mothers also emerged during research (11MI040816A; 08FGDACHOLI010816). The respondents argued that it was the failure of government to protect children from abduction that led to the subsequent birth of CBIC.

It is important to note that apologies from governments are a complex form of reparations and not easily forthcoming (Brophy, 2006: 13). According to Brophy, states are sceptical about offering apology because they equate it to acknowledging blame and their subsequent need to bear the responsibility for the actions in question. In the case of the LRA war, apologies for LRA atrocities such as the rape of women and subsequent birth of children may not be easily forthcoming in a political environment in which soldiers of the existing regime are alleged to have committed sexual violence against women in camps (Apio, 2007; UNOCHR & UNHCHR, 2011). An apology to the mothers of these children would require a similar gesture to other females who suffered sexual violence during the LRA war. However, given the differences between the life experiences of CBIC and those born of war to non-

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abducted mothers, an apology to those linked to captivity may not necessarily lead to similar demands from those whose mothers were not abducted. This could be the case if the circumstances of their conception are unknown beyond the immediate society where they reside.

Overall, both symbolic and material reparations are important, given that the survivors do not reduce their reparation needs to an essentialist choice between either material or symbolic. Besides, each would address different needs, sometimes complementary. For instance, an apology followed by the provision of medical services or bursaries to meet the education needs of these children would improve their chances of obtaining knowledge that would qualify them to compete with peers for employment or to create a livelihood of their own.

8.4 Conclusion

Lessons learned from the findings from Acholi sub-region indicate that reparations for CBIC require both material and symbolic forms. These would respond to their needs, such as for education, healthcare, land and economic assistance. However, concerns of parity emerged regarding the need for reparations to meet not only the needs of these children, but also those of other war-affected groups. It is important to note that reparations for these children are framed as intersecting with the reparations required by their mothers. The importance of parity is to ensure that any intervention for these children does not expose them to further stigma and discrimination in a post-conflict context in which many other categories of persons have been victims. Hence, a broad approach to reparations – one that covers the different categories of victims – is seen as more viable in the long run. For instance, options such as monuments and infrastructure for service delivery set up for the

benefit of all war-affected victims would complement any specific actions targeting CBIC and their mothers.

One of the challenges to realising reparations, at the time of writing, is the lack of a policy on transitional justice. The draft policy (2013) has not been adopted by government. Secondly, concerns have been expressed over the one-sided form of justice that is being pursued. This would mean that other victim categories, such as children fathered by government soldiers with non-abducted females, may not benefit from the reparations since they are bystanders, in the discourse on CHIBOW in Uganda. Third, concerns over the feasibility of reparations were raised because of the unresolved conflict between the LRA and the Government of Uganda, as well as the history of conflict that makes it difficult to determine the timeline for consideration of who qualifies for reparations.

Since the Acholi sub-region was the most affected by the war and has played a significant role in the peace-building process, including the petitioning for gender-sensitive reparations, the lessons learned are significant for understanding reparations needs and claims for Uganda's CBIC. In the subsequent chapters on the other sub-regions, some similarities and differences in needs and claims shall be observed. Hence, the next chapter discusses findings from Lango sub-region.

Chapter 9: Reparations for Children Born in Captivity Living in Lango

9.1 Introduction

As explained in the concluding remarks of Chapter 8, this chapter provides answers to the second research question through empirical findings obtained from respondents in the Lango sub-region. As explained in Chapter 5, after Acholi, this was the sub-region most affected by the LRA war. Participants in the regions have been involved in various advocacy and other interventions for transitional justice. For instance, two grassroots NGOs – AYINET and Uganda Victims' Foundation – are among the actors involved in transitional justice work in the sub-region. It is important to explicitly state that, compared to Acholi sub-region, the number of people conversant with transitional justice debates and issues were few. Part of the reason is the lead role that Acholi played in the peace-building process and the many interventions for transitional justice that have increased people's awareness.

Despite the limitations described above, the empirical findings presented in this chapter are an important contribution to understanding the transitional justice needs for CBIC in both this sub-region and Uganda. The issues and lessons learned from the empirical findings indicate some similarities and differences in the needs and claims for reparations sought on behalf of these children.

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The chapter is structured as follows: the first part presents general perspectives on transitional justice that emerged from the empirical findings and compares them with what is available in the literature. The second part discusses the transitional justice needs of these children by focusing on their reparations needs, using claims advanced by respondents and the limitations of such claims. The chapter ends with a summary of the transitional justice interests emerging from Lango sub-region relating to these children.

9.2 Perspective on transitional justice and its influence on reparations for children born in captivity

Unlike Acholi sub-region, the focus group discussion held in Ngai required clarification on the meaning of the concept of TJ. I explained the broad use of TJ to respondents, focusing on how justice could possibly be achieved in response to the atrocities meted out on various victims of the LRA war. I also reminded participants of the various impacts of the LRA war that they had highlighted in discussion, one being abduction of children. Hence, linking the girls who were abducted to the subsequent birth of children, participants were asked about the appropriate TJ options required for CBIC.

During the discussion on TJ, the local council official (Kenneth, in FGDLANGO110816) requested that a working definition of justice be adopted to guide the discussions. Following deliberations, participants agreed on the term *ngol atir*, or 'proper/fair judgement'. They suggested that an appropriate TJ option that applies to the LRA war is the use of mechanisms that promote peace and reconciliation. The 'seed' in the focus group discussion explained that, since Acholi is the

origin of the LRA leaders, most people in the sub-region attribute the atrocities committed by the armed group to the Acholi as a tribe, despite knowing that it abducted children from other sub-regions and used them in its attacks. In light of this relationship between some LRA war-affected victims in Lango sub-region and the Acholi tribal group, it was suggested that part of the solution to the plight of children born to formerly abducted females requires reconciliation of the two tribes. This would probably lead to a better acceptance of the children fathered by the LRA, all of whom are assumed to be Acholi. In addition, behind the quest for peace and reconciliation is a need to address the many atrocities committed by the LRA among such communities as Lango.

It is important to bear in mind that, like the Acholi, the Iteso and Lango practise traditional justice. For instance, the literature indicates that the Acholi practise, for instance, *mato oput*, the people of Lango *kayo cuk* and the Itesot *ailuc* (Turyagenda, 2009). Traditional justice options were also suggested by Mary, a social worker participating in the focus group discussions. She explained how *kayo cuk* was applied in an incident of severed relations between two parties:

In case we have two people or two parties, let us imagine it is Morgan and I have a broken relationship. We do not talk and neither do I eat anything from him. The ritual involves the preparation of a meal [*that*] both Morgan and I partake of... we drink from the same bottle... the drink he sips is what I also sip. After which we shake hands and slaughter a goat... to show that we have forgiven each other, that is what is called *kayo cuk*. That is in Lango, the equivalent being *mato oput* in Acholi.

When asked whether such practice applies to both adults and children, in chorus the group members acknowledged that it does. To provide an example, one of the male respondents explained the role of clan leaders in such reconciliation processes. The leaders of the victim's

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clan would summon leaders of the perpetrator's clan and enter into a dialogue aimed at resolving the impact of the atrocities committed. A religious leader would grace the ceremony. Part of the role would be to pray for a goat that would be slaughtered and shared between the two sides, Acholi and Lango. Eating it would symbolise the decision to end the bitter relationship between the two sides and would provide a conducive environment within which children could live among communities affected by the war (Jasper, in FGDLANGO110816).

It is important to note that his example applies to children directly involved in the conflict (such as former child soldiers), who may have created a dispute between their clans and the clans of victims of LRA atrocities. However, applying the same to CBIC is impossible because these children were not direct actors in the atrocities (Carlson & Mazurana, 2008; Porter, 2013). Besides, these cultural practices do not cover sexual violence and its attendant effects, which would include the plight of children born of such sexual violence.

Nonetheless, Apio (2016) contextualises the appropriate response to such children as resorting to the appropriate cultural norms governing the conception and birth of children outside wedlock. The families of such children require compensation from the relatives and clan of the fathers yet, in practice, this is almost impossible, given the absence of the fathers and the limited prospect that the mothers would desire the continuation of such a relationship. Overall, behind these arguments is the need to address the LRA war atrocities.

It is important to emphasise the contrast between the perspectives of the focus group participants and some of the TJ experts interviewed in the sub-region. The latter situated the transitional justice interests of CBIC in a more specific manner due to their broader understanding of

transitional justice and their involvement in its practice. For instance, the person interviewed at AYINET and Uganda Victims' Foundation (UVF) has been involved in advocacy, research and offering rehabilitation to victim groups in Lango sub-region. Their involvement in drafting the TJ policy and awareness of the progress of the policy have shaped their perspective on reparations for CBIC. One of the challenges to achieving reparations for these children is the absence of policy on transitional justice (16MI100816L). The respondent explained that reparations would require guidelines or specific frameworks that can only be drawn and linked to a policy adopted by government. The policy would target all categories of victims of the LRA war. In addition, the policy would guide subsequent drafts of specific guidelines or principles to deal with the needs of specific groups:

When they talk of reparations, it should be embracing everyone and you find that children get involved in there. Children need to be compensated. How? How this compensation will be done will depend on the guidelines that will follow the policy. We discussed this with the government officials. We discussed this with the members of the civil society organisations and the government has said we cannot bring everything in this policy. What we want first is for this policy to come out and now when the policy is out, then we can now pick specific issues. Then we will come up with the guidelines. When we talk of reparations, how will the reparations address the issues of the children? That will now come in the guidelines that will follow the policy. (16MI100816L)

Trials emerged as the other transitional justice option through which reparations for these children could be made (16MI100816L). The respondent at AYINET explained how this organisation had pursued trial for Dominic Ongwen at The Hague. They were engaged in the consultation leading to the war-victims conference in May 2014 and supporting the lawyer for the victims who would testify at The Hague. It was hoped that the successful trial of Ongwen at The Hague would result in granting reparations to LRA war-affected victims, including

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CBIC. Although the ICC's Trust Fund for Victims currently provides financial assistance of grassroots NGOs such as AYINET and UVF, these are not equivalent to reparation (16MI100816L; 17MI100816L). It is important to recall that any reparations emerging from the ICC need to ensure that these children are targeted along with other victim groups in order to avoid further stigma (Neenan, 2017). Furthermore, as argued in Chapter 2, concerns have been advanced regarding the possible outcome of reparations for victims of CRSV following the outcomes of the Bemba case (*Prosecutor v. Alex Tamba Brima, Brima Bazzy Kamara and Santigie Borbor Kanu*). The initial verdict involving the provision of reparations for victims of sexual violence had set a precedence for the Dominic case in making claims on behalf of CBIC and their mothers.

It is important to observe that, despite suggestions for reconciliation and trials as the best option to address the plight of CBIC, the literature notes that reparations can emerge only through Truth and Reconciliation Commissions or trials. The traditional justice option suggested for reconciliation between the Acholi and Langi do not apply to these children (Carlson & Mazurana, 2008; Porter, 2013). That means that, from the empirical data obtained, reparations for these children depend upon trials and the hope that government will pass the TJ policy. The framework to guide the provision of reparations would respond to the needs of these children, as presented in the subsequent section. The section discusses the needs, and the nature of claims advanced for such needs, to be addressed in Lango sub-region. It also includes a discussion of the limitations and opportunities inherent in achieving the forms of reparations identified.

9.3 Reparations for children born in captivity living in Lango sub-region

In the sub-sections that follow are the various reparation needs of CBIC in the sub-region as they emerged from the analysis of information provided by respondents in both interviews and focus group discussions.

The need to target both symbolic and material needs

As in Acholi sub-region, the kinds of reparations suggested for these children are both material and symbolic. The material forms of reparations suggested include interventions in terms of health, education and the provision of land. One of the TJ experts (17MI100816L) argued that, when these children are given the required health and education, they have the potential to become useful citizens who contribute to the development of their communities and the nation. The education and health of such children living in Lango sub-region were explained in Chapter 5. Reparations would respond to those challenges. However, as Neenan (2017) argues, such assistance would have to bear in mind the similar needs of other war-affected categories. That they, too, require medical assistance is reflected in the programmes of grassroots NGOS, such as AYINET and UVF, funded by the ICC-TFV. The former engages in the medical rehabilitation of people injured by bullets and mutilation (17MI100816L).

It is important to bear in mind the role of Uganda Victims Foundation as a grassroots NGO dealing with rehabilitation of victims of war in Northern Uganda and advocating for litigation through ICC. The NGO

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therefore works with AYINET towards similar goals of justice for LRA war-affected victims. The ICC's approach of working with existing structures is important to boost the capacity of local resources, located near the beneficiaries (Birchall, Francq & Pijnenburg, 2011). Thus, as argued in Chapter 5, it is important for interventions to target existing resources in health and education when providing reparations. Furthermore, the TVF's approach of targeting collective groups is seen as more appropriate for funding (Birchall, Francq & Pijnenburg, 2011). Hence, if CBIC are mobilised as a group, claims for their reparations can be funded better through appropriate institutions that already run programmes for them. In Chapter 2, some of the organisations identified were FAPAD and Children of Peace.

At national level, government could enhance existing structures in health and education when offering reparation. This would avoid the additional expense associated with developing completely new programmes and structures. Existing staff would be empowered and equipped with additional skills to handle the extra work involved in the education and medical reparations. Moreover, providing such services to the beneficiaries alongside other community members would ensure effective assimilation (17MI100816L). Reparations in the form of education support would seek to address their experiences of stigma and discrimination in school. Lessons can be learned from Rachele Comprehensive School, where deliberate efforts are made to enable teachers to handle the special needs of CBIC, as explained in Chapter 5 and 7. These may inform policies of reforms in the education sector as part of a national response to stigma in school. Furthermore, curriculum review could allow for the inclusion of the reality of these children in narratives about the LRA war. This could aim at reducing stigma against them, as their peers become aware of their secondary

victim status, as was the case in Rwanda (McEvoy-Levy, 2007). Woolford and Ratner (2008) explain that curriculum review enabling the inclusion of historical injustices serves as a long-term form of memory. When such reviews are undertaken and the reality of children born of CRSV is included in the historical narrative of the war, it allows pupils and students to appreciate how these children came about and creates an avenue through which stigma at school can be discussed and addressed. Such broad narratives provide a space for sharing the need for non-repetition, as the plight of these children becomes known and possibly attracts empathy rather than stigma.

It is important to recall some of the provisions of the Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law (December, 2005). One of the facets of reparations is to avoid non-repetition. In the case of children involved in war, UNICEF's submission in the Lubanga case, albeit focusing on child soldiers (who would be similar to parents of CBIC), emphasised the importance of ensuring that any reparation outcomes guaranteed non-repetition (Yogendran, 2017). Hence, addressing the problem of child soldiering simultaneously addresses the attendant problem of children born to females who are sexually violated or forced to become wives.

The suggestions from the social services designed to meet the reparative justice interests of CBIC support claims are similar to those argued in the literature (Lühe & Mugeru, 2014; Neenan, 2017; Sakin, 2014). As explained earlier, such assistance should not create any further disparity between the beneficiary CBIC and other war-affected

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children, who struggle to access the same services. Birchall, Francq and Pijnenburg (2011: 12) also argue that any reparation support to child soldiers that improves their socio-economic status in comparison to other children in the community may lead only to resentment and tension. This same argument would apply to any support to CBIC at the expense of other children in communities of integration, especially as the atrocities committed by their parents and/or the LRA may not have been addressed. As discussed in the previous chapter, when this concern is not taken into consideration there is the possibility that assistance will lead to further stigma and discrimination (Neenan, 2017).

The third form of material reparations is government's provision of land to these children (17MI100816L). Having land of their own would reduce their susceptibility to stigma and discrimination in their maternal clans. However, as in Acholi, land is not easily accessible to CBIC (Apio, 2016). Furthermore, as argued in Chapter 8, any possibility of government redistribution of land to this group of people would need to ensure that it does not lead to further stigma and discrimination against them, especially if other vulnerable groups of individuals in need of land feel that their plight is unattended to.

The symbolic form of reparations that emerged from the findings in Lango sub-region was a need for apology. A respondent from Lango sub-region, interviewed in Kampala (1MI290716K), argued that one of the appropriate TJ options that the government needs to undertake is the need for acknowledgement or apology:

When I look at accountability... government has never come out clearly to tell the children we are sorry for what happened to you... one of the things I learned about these children is government has never come out and told the children it was our responsibility to protect you, but due to gaps within our systems, you were abducted, tortured, you went through all this and so we

are sorry. That would be a very big healing to specifically the children.
(1MI290716K)

He further explained that the responsibility of government for this gesture emerges from the country's initial failure to protect the parents of CBIC from abduction. Hence, the subsequent plight of CBIC requires that the government owns up to this gap in responsibility and offers apologies to these children and their mothers. It is important to recall the arguments advanced in Chapters 3 and 8 regarding apology. Governments may not be willing to offer it, because of its political implications for them in terms of responsibility and the need for accountability. However, if offered, the children and their mothers would feel that their plight has not been taken lightly, thus any other material form of reparations given to them would be more meaningful.

Reparation needs to target both children born in captivity and other victim groups

While there have been programmes for reconstruction and rehabilitation in the post-conflict period, as explained in Chapter 5, most of the programmes under the government peace and recovery plan and NUSAF require the beneficiaries to form groups through which they obtain the necessary resources. This becomes a challenge for people who do not want to have a livelihood in a group but prefer to work as individuals, because the projects and programmes are designed to assist entire communities of war-affected people. As noted in Chapter 8, government programmes of recovery and rehabilitation are not equivalent to reparations (Republic of Uganda Parliamentary Debates: Hansard, 3 April 2014). Despite a resemblance in the impacts of post-conflict development programmes and reparations, the

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accompanying symbolic attachment to whatever material forms of reparations are given differentiates them (Magarrell, 2007: 5).

Assistance to mothers of these children should subsequently address the children's needs. For example, psychosocial and economic support to mothers allows them to provide better care to their children (Fred, in FGDLANGO110816). As explained in Chapter 5, support for various categories of war-affected victims, other than CBIC, would allow for parity, since many others were victims of the same war (Kenneth, in FGDLANGO110816). Since there are other categories of those recovering from the impact of the LRA war who have unmet TJ needs, including children, there is a need to ensure that any assistance to persons such as those formerly associated with the LRA bears in mind their justice needs, too. These concerns notwithstanding, the local councillor (Kenneth, in FGDLANGO110816) argued that, when specific programmes are designed for CBIC, there must be proper criteria for who qualifies, the nature of their custody and their location to ensure that suitable beneficiaries are identified and assisted. Moreover, some children in the custody of caretakers would need to be assisted through those who care for them.

Apart from the need for parity, it is important to ensure that reparations to the various groups of beneficiaries are cognizant of their needs. Aptel and Ladisch (2011) argue that reparations need to provide remedies to the long-term consequences of violations committed against children. Therefore, since CBIC have different integration experiences according to their age, gender, socio-economic status of the integrating family and geographical location of integration (as noted in Chapter 7), some forms of reparations may meaningfully target one category rather than another. For example, male children may require land more than females, given the cultural utility of land

to them as both a source of livelihood and requirement for marriage. Besides, claims for gender and age-specific interventions targeting CBIC have emerged in Acholi sub-region (Bergmans, 2017).

Children born in captivity's agency in reparations claims

As explained in Chapter 8, CBIC exercising agency in claims for TJ processes and claims is a more recent development than that of their mothers. In the case of consultations for appropriate TJ options required for victims of LRA atrocities, AYINET adopted a victim-centred approach as it captured options from various victim categories (16MI100816L). However, like the consultations explained by the TJ advisor, these did not include CBIC as a victim group. The use of victim-centred approaches in pushing for remedies to the plight of such children is evidenced in the UK principles related to stigma against victims of CRSV,²⁹ the ICC approach of victim participation and outreach (Birchall, Francq & Pijnenburg, 2011) and the United Nations agenda on victim participation in the quest for remedies to CRSV.³⁰

Lessons learned from research and NGO engagement with these children in Acholi sub-region (Denov & Lakor, 2017; Kiconco, 2015; Ochen, 2015; Stewart, 2017) reveal the possibility of CBIC exercising agency through participation in research and projects designed to assist them. Such approaches ensure that they cease to be passive bystanders and are assisted to express their voice and work towards

²⁹ Available at <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/launch-of-the-principles-for-global-action-on-tackling-the-stigma-of-sexual-violence-in-conflict>

³⁰ Available at <https://www.un.org/preventing-sexual-exploitation-and-abuse/content/news-articles>

resilience (become able to cope with their everyday circumstances and exercise agency).

9.4 Conclusion

Reparations for these children are framed in both material and symbolic terms. The symbolic form of reparation sought is the need for apology or acknowledgement by government. The chapter argues that, when given, an apology would be important to dealing with the psychosocial impact of abduction and the subsequent birth of children in captivity. However, extracting such an apology from the existing regime is a challenge. Nonetheless, it is argued that when both material and symbolic reparations are given, they complement each other.

The material kinds of reparations sought in Lango sub-region are land as well as health and education services. It is hoped that government will pass the draft TJ policy so that guidelines for reparations can be drawn up. The guidelines would adopt a collective approach to addressing the reparations needs of various victim groups. It is hoped that such an approach will ensure that the needs of various groups are targeted, rather than focusing solely on the CBIC. This approach to ensuring parity would make reparations to these children meaningful, just as was claimed in Acholi sub-region. By framing the needs of these children along with other victim groups, notions of parity and the need to ensure that any assistance to CBIC does not create stigma from other neglected groups emerge.

It is important to note that, while some victim groups are already benefiting from health programmes funded by the ICC-TFV, this does not seem to include CBIC. Respondents working with grassroots NGOs

that benefit from such funding clarified that the services they offer are not similar to reparations. Hence, they called for reparations by government in the event that the trials at The Hague are successful.

Although victim-centred approaches have been adopted to consultations of reparations in the sub-region, such inquiries have excluded CBIC. The chapter argues that this is so, despite growing participation of such children in research and of programmes designed to assist them. Hence, some of the lessons that can be drawn from Lango sub-region include the need for further participatory research methods involving these children.

Having discussed TJ for these children based on empirical findings from Lango sub-region, the next chapter focuses on Teso sub-region.

Chapter 10: Reparations for Children Born in Captivity Living in Teso

10.1 Introduction

The most important role of this chapter is to add to the literature on CBIC, as noted in Chapters 1 and 3. There is paucity of information about such children in Teso sub-region, despite the existence of such children here.

It is important to recall the explanation of insider/outsider positions as a researcher in the methodology chapter of this thesis. The focus group discussion of TJ created an environment in which I felt very much the outsider. Having travelled to the sub-region from Lango sub-region, I recalled how a respondent had shared his experience of feeling tense while conducting research in Teso, as most people here do not differentiate easily between Langi and Acholi. Since people tend to attribute the atrocities committed by the LRA to the Acholi (Chapman & Kagaha, 2014), respondents were interested in establishing my tribal identity and interest in TJ. I informed them that I belong to Lango sub-region and was interested in the study mainly for academic purposes, although I had had a relative abducted from Lango. Such a disclosure was important to the deliberations that followed.

In this chapter, I discuss the findings that emerged in response to the second research question. The focus group participants in Teso sub-region (22FGDTESOI70816) did not seem very conversant with the concept of transitional justice. Most of the literature available indicates that people from Northern Uganda tend to prefer forgiveness and traditional justice, and participants wondered if I was going to advocate the same option to them. One of the group members (Richard) asked me to explain what I meant by the concept. After I explained the broad

meaning of transitional justice and the various options that it can take, the participants leaned towards the need for trials/retribution. It is from trials that they hope reparation will emerge.

This chapter begins with a discussion of how the respondents understood TJ. This is followed by a discussion of the reparations needs and claims advanced as responses to the plight of CBIC living in the sub-region. The chapter ends with a summary of the transitional justice interests emerging from Lango sub-region of these children.

10.2 Perspective on transitional justice and its influence on reparations for children born in captivity

After presenting the various forms of transitional justice options to the focus group participants, in chorus the majority explained that forgiveness was far from their expectation; they preferred trials and punishment. One of the group participants (Lawrence) explained that it was important to ensure that there was no impunity for the LRA that would create a bad precedent for future generations. A brief report of a meeting organised by the Refugee Law Project to orient Members of Parliament on transitional justice (25 April 2017)³¹ indicates the need to address past armed conflicts in Uganda, including the LRA war, in order to avoid impunity and to ensure respect for human rights and the rule of law. The same meeting also reports the quest by Members of Parliament for truth and reconciliation as a transitional justice option.

While traditional justice is recognised as one of the options that people in Teso can use to address the impacts of the LRA war (UNOHCHR and UHRC, 2011) the respondents consulted did not suggest this as a remedy to the impact of war. Part of this may be the diminishing role of the cultural leaders, who would play an important role in such practices

³¹ Accessed from <https://reliefweb.int/report/uganda/brief-orientation-members-parliament-transitional-justice>, 16/06/2018.

(Chapman & Kagaha, 2014; Faculty of Law Makerere University, 2008). Regardless of the reason, it is important to recall the inability of traditional justice to address the plight of these children and their mothers (Carlson & Mazurana, 2008; Porter, 2013).

Unlike the participants in the focus group discussions, all the interviewees in Teso sub-region were aware what TJ involves. In fact, one respondent (24IM170816T) explained that TJ has a cultural bearing and yet, at a technical level and a legal dimension, the state holds the responsibility for bringing perpetrators to account. He noted that, while reparation was one among the many options of TJ, the absence of a formal mechanism to guide the process makes it complex, especially in a situation where communities were the victim of war between the government and the LRA. Furthermore, he was sceptical that victims' interests would be upheld in TJ processes adopted by the state, due to the predominant focus on the actors involved in the war. Nonetheless, he argued that prosecution can bring the rebels to account for the crimes that they committed:

Bringing those perpetrators to book is one method. Basically, I think that is very critical. But you also realise that some people were in the bush as captives. Some of them were abducted when they were young, they grew in the bush... Now these are the dilemmas you may have in the aspect of TJ.
(24IM170816T)

The above excerpt highlights some of the TJ processes through which the TJ interests of victims of the LRA war, such as CBIC, can be achieved. The second form of TJ noted by the above respondent is the need for government to bear the responsibility for its failure to protect the victims of LRA abduction. Hence, it is the role of government to ensure the rehabilitation of victims of the war (24IM170816T). As explained in Chapter 6, NGOs involved in offering medical rehabilitation to persons formerly associated with the LRA include Musa Vocational school and OCHER. The latter collaborates with Amuria District Development Agency, a beneficiary of the ICC-TFV, in offering medical

rehabilitation (23IM160816T). The respondent clarified that such medical rehabilitation is not equivalent to reparation.

It is important to note that in most discussions on reparations the TJ needs of CBIC were discussed in claims overlapping with the unmet needs of the formerly abducted. In fact, one respondent in the focus group discussion (Steven) claimed that of more importance to community members are those children who were abducted and have never returned. Unsure of whether or not they are still alive, the affected families are more concerned for them than about children fathered by the LRA:

I am looking at it at a critical point because as we are here, some of these children who were abducted are nowhere to be seen. They have not come back. There is still that bitter sense from the respective parents, or the guardians who are still alive...Whereas we look at Reconciliation, there is still something missing. There is still a demand by some of those families, whose children have not come back. Where in, they are even asking for compensation, for the abducted children who have not come back. (Steven, in 22FGDTESOI70816)

The excerpt below introduces compensation – a form of reparation – as the remedy to the plight of missing persons. However, it does not spell out the form that such compensation should take. At Lwala Girls School, I was asked to take a photograph of the monument erected in memory of the abducted girls. The photograph below was shared by the gatekeeper who introduced me to the school administration for a possible interview.



Figure 4: Monument in memory of the children abducted from Lwala Girls Secondary School

When you enter the school, you cannot miss seeing the borehole located straight across from the gate. At the time of research, the school had no fence, and the gate was open to allow people in the nearby community to walk through as they fetched water. The monument is on the right-hand side as one crosses the school, beside one of the classroom blocks and a few metres from the administrative block. The interviewees described the monument as a reminder of what took place in hope that there will be no repeat in future. In the focus group discussion, the discussion of CBIC served as a memorial to the non-return of some abducted children from Teso; as explained in Chapter 7, some CBIC are still in captivity, so the uncertainty over the fate of those abducted is of great concern to community members.

Concerns over missing persons have been part of the post-conflict discourse in Uganda. According to UNICEF, an estimated 5,555 persons abducted by the LRA and taken into Sudan were still missing in 2002.³² In 2014, a news story run by the Uganda Radio Network website

³² <https://www.unicef.org/newsline/02pr06lra.html> (accessed 27/10/2018).

(September, 2014) reported how the international committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) had devised programmes to support 350 families of missing persons in Kitgum district.³³ The ICRC actions were in response to the call made by the organisation in 2013 for the international community to respond to families with missing persons, in commemoration of the international day of the enforcement of victims of forced disappearance. Perhaps similar initiatives need to be extended to those facing similar challenges, in relation to the missing persons in Teso and Lango sub-regions. The fact that there are similar concerns among some war-affected victims in Lango sub-region is revealed in a story run by the *Monitor* newspaper in Uganda (November, 2017).

In this section, some of the reparations needs of CBIC have been highlighted. It broadly provides the TJ context within which claims for reparation and specific needs are identified. The next section discusses the specific needs suggested by research participants, and the attendant claims made in justification of these needs.

10.3 Reparations for children born in captivity living in Teso sub-region

In the sub-sections that follow, the various reparations needs or interests of CBIC in the sub-region are identified as they emerged from the analysis of information provided by respondents in both interviews and focus group discussions.

Need to target both material and symbolic reparations

Respondents in the research suggested both symbolic and material reparations for CBIC and the formerly abducted. As noted in the excerpt by Steven (in 22FGDTESOI70816) in the previous section, compensation to families whose children were abducted and never returned needs to be included in reparations claims. When respondents

³³ See <https://ugandaradionetwork.com/story/icrc-introduces-program-to-comfort-families-of-missing-persons> (accessed 27/10/2018).

in the focus group discussion were asked to elaborate on the kinds of compensation required, one of them gave the example of cattle, and another cited education support. These two forms of compensation were suggested for victim categories other than CBIC.

It is important to recall that the history of conflict between the Teso and Karamojong and the later conflict between the LRA and people of Teso involved the loss of livestock (Makerere University Faculty of Law, December 2008; Wembter, 2016; Zistel, 2002). Hence, any claims for cattle as compensation would target wider society members, not just victims of abduction. The history of compensation in Amuria- Teso is characterised by a discriminatory approach, in which not all would-be beneficiaries were targeted (Wembter, 2016: 52–3). She attributes the inconsistencies in government compensation for the people of Teso to the absence of any government policy to structure the reparations process. Therefore, any further compensation needs to adhere to a clear policy to structure the inclusion and exclusion criteria so that appropriate would-be beneficiaries are targeted. In addition, since this compensation is material, it should be complemented by a symbolic form such as an apology and acknowledgement of the suffering to reinforce the healing and reconciliation (Wembter, 2016: 54).

The role of government in providing compensation, as noted above, re-emphasises similar claims of government responsibility for material reparation, as argued by Sakin (2014). In addition, the need to target both individuals and collectives supports Verdeja's (2008) approach to reparations, as argued in Chapter 2. For him, reparations need to be both material and symbolic, as well as individual and collective (group). Despite the relevance of such broad approaches, it is important to ensure that the options adopted – material and symbolic – do not treat CBIC as mere appendages of their mothers, especially in a context where there seems more concern for the abducted children.

A second form of material reparations that emerged from the empirical findings in Teso is the provision of education support (22FGDTESOI70816; 21GRPI160816T; 24IM170816T). During the focus group discussion, one of the respondents (Lawrence) argued for the need to support formerly abducted children and CBIC, explaining that many want to return to normal schooling structures yet are financially constrained. As soon as he finished, the 'seeds' (Isaac, Judith and Mary) unanimously supported his argument and expressed their desire to return to a normal schooling pattern, when assisted to do so.

The symbolic forms of reparations claimed by focus group participants (22FGDTESOI70816) and interviewees (24IM170816T; 21GRPI160816T) aimed at avoiding non-repetition of the atrocities associated with the conception and birth of CBIC, among others committed by the LRA. It is important to recall that in Chapter 6 respondents were unsure about the feasibility of the current post-conflict environment, since the LRA is still at large. Hence, Lwala Girls Secondary School has a monument which the respondents argue is important to the community and the school as a reminder of what happened and to communicate the message that both government and society acknowledge the abduction of the children as an atrocity committed by the LRA. Secondly, it brings healing to the families of those who affected by the abductions and creates a feeling that the abduction was not taken lightly, while also helping with closure.

According to Torpey (2006), the quest for memory by some groups of society, some of whom may have been directly affected by the war, serves as an avenue for mobilising the support required to achieve reparations. He describes such groups as 'memory entrepreneurs', similar to 'norm entrepreneurs' in the discourse on governance and human rights. According to Acharya (2001), ideas that are important for action in global governance are often spread by the actions of norm entrepreneurs who engage in advocacy. They tend to frame these ideas in ways that enable them to realise specific goals. Hence, advocacy for

memory aims to realise the goal of healing those whose children were abducted, as indicated in the excerpt above. It also helps to heal school and community members as victims of abduction. Given the importance of memory, it may be important that the plight of CBIC is included as part of the discourse on abduction, since the children are the result of the forced marriages that the abducted females were subjected to. Expanding the narrative to include such children is important in advocacy efforts that seek to protect children from abduction, forced marriage and the attendant birth of CBIC/CHIBOW.

Prospective reparations after successful trials

As stated earlier, focus group members in Teso mostly preferred retributive justice, through court trials, as the appropriate way to realise reparations for CBIC, among other LRA war-affected children (22FGDTESOI70816; 24IM170816T). The respondents in the focus group discussion had hope in the ongoing trial of the former LRA commander under the jurisdiction of the ICC. For example, the strong preference for accountability through trials was justified by one of the respondents as essential in order to avoid impunity and any repetition, if the LRA is not 'brought to book', to 'avoid setting a bad precedent' (22FGDTESOI70816).

According to Yogendran (2017), an ICC verdict leads to collective reparations for victims in communities affected by warring factions that the party under trial belonged to. Hence, the Bemba case, regarding the need to address the plight of former child soldiers, set a precedence for the court to opt for a collective approach due to the limited resources. The verdict also includes the need to provide reparation to victims of sexual violence. However, Cvercko (2018) argues that overturning the initial verdict (on 8 June 2018) has adverse effects on how victims of such sexual violence realise reparations. Besides, when an international court such as the ICC, which is victim-centred, makes a ruling, it sends

out an important message regarding the matter (O'Regan, 2012). Given these updates, it remains that claims for reparations to CBIC and their mothers depend on the outcomes of the ongoing trial of Dominic Ongwen at The Hague or the Kwoyelo case in Uganda.

From a normative perspective, regardless of the outcomes of the court rulings, the Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law (December, 2005) make a case for reparations as a primary duty of the state in Article IX (16). The article clearly states that:

States should endeavour to establish national programmes for reparation and other assistance to victims in the event that the parties liable for the harm suffered are unable or unwilling to meet their obligations.

The agency of children born in captivity in reparations claims

One important concern regarding the need to realise reparations through trials is the agency of CBIC. One of the respondents in Teso argued that children are barely involved in processes for transitional justice, which are dominated by government institutions and NGOs. He noted that such institutions tend to represent the interests of the children, and yet the children themselves are in a better position to voice their interests as victims of the war (24IM170816T). He clarified that the inclusion of children as participants requires a paradigm shift away from the dominant perception that children cannot speak for themselves. Such perspectives exclude children as victims and deprive them of their exercise agency in determining what is appropriate for them as a victim category. His view resonates with that of Yogendran (2017: 70), arguing that when children are consulted in processes leading to reparations, it not only enables their views to be included in the resultant claims but also ensures that they exercise agency.

When probed about the suitable age for children to participate in appropriate transitional justice processes, the respondent (24IM170816T) explained that, regardless of age, their opinion can be

solicited and later included as input into interventions or programmes designed to address their plight. However, while participation is good practice in light of current rights-based approaches aimed at enhancing the agency of children, the vulnerability of CHIBOW and their experiences of stigma and discrimination bring to mind important issues that require expert (psychological and legal) decision-making on a case-by-case basis.

10.4 Conclusion

Emerging from the research information obtained from Teso region is concern for parity when providing reparations to CBIC and other LRA war-affected groups. The fact that some abducted children have neither returned, nor been accounted for, promoted the quest for compensation to the families involved. Apart from compensation (livestock restocking and provision of finances) as a form of material reparation, another kind of material reparation requested for CBIC and their mothers is the provision of education support.

The symbolic reparations suggested did not target CBIC directly but focused on the other war-affected victim groups, such as the formerly abducted. Hence, symbolic reparations were framed as a source of memory of what happened to contribute to the historical narrative of the war and to serve as an avenue for advocating for non-repetition of the same crimes. The chapter argues that it is possible to include the plight of CBIC in such advocacy and narratives in order to avoid future occurrences of abduction, forced marriage and birth of children from such marriages.

Although the importance of the traditional context and possibility of resorting to traditional justice emerged, the inability of such practices to deal with issues related to sexual violence led to the quest for trials as the ideal form of TJ. In both interviews and the focus group discussion,

it was argued that this would help with accountability and avoid setting a precedence for impunity. However, as discussed in other chapters, the possibility of realising reparations after the successful trial of either Ongwen or Kwoyelo depends upon the outcomes of the litigation process. Nonetheless, the chapter restates the view that, regardless of such outcomes, the state (Government of Uganda) still has the duty of ensuring adequate reparations to such victims on account of the principle of R2P.

Lastly, as one interviewee observed, there has been a tendency to exclude children from processes and decisions relating to transitional justice. Hence, in seeking reparations for them, there is need for a paradigm shift, allowing them to participate and exercise agency. As explained in Chapters 8 and 9, the participation of such children is possible in research and advocacy. Hence, it is important for research and advocacy processes to engage these children in shaping reparations claims aimed at meeting their TJ needs.

Having discussed the needs and claims for reparations required by CBIC in each sub-region, the next chapter compares what the findings in each sub-region tell us about the reparations that these children require.

Chapter 11: Understanding the Reparations Needs of Uganda's Children Born in Captivity from the three Sub-regions

11.1 Introduction

It is important to recall that reparations, according to the framework adopted (Chapter 2), are to respond to the integration challenges that these children face. The empirical findings from the three sub-regions reveal that communities hope that reparations shall be provided for both CBIC and other war-affected victims. This implies that, in some situations, the claims made did not focus on these children per se but aimed at ensuring that various categories of war-affected victims who have not yet obtained any reparations do so.

The appropriate TJ options from which such reparations would emerge were suggested to be the ongoing trials of the top LRA commanders in Uganda and at The Hague (Lango and Teso). It is important to note that, in the case of Acholi sub-region, it is hoped that Truth and Reconciliation Commissions will be instituted by government as another TJ option. Such commissions would allow for reparations and address the atrocities committed during the war. Despite these differences, there appeared to be no explicit preference for one option over the other. Hence, this may indicate the argument advanced by Huyse (2008) whereby, in some situations, communities prefer a particular type of TJ option for the issue at hand. What they require may change over time, to the extent that a mechanism that was appropriate at some point may not be ideal at another.

The chapter is structured as follows: the first part provides a summary of perspectives on TJ. This is followed by a discussion of the key observations regarding the reparations required for CBIC. The discussion includes identification of the opportunities and challenges involved in achieving the kinds of reparations sought. The chapter concludes with the argument that the provision of reparations to these children would foster recognition (in response to stigma) and enable redistribution of resources (in response to discrimination). Such interventions would enable a shift in integration towards the 'deep and sustainable' state.

11.2 Perspectives on transitional justice in the three sub-regions

There was more discussion and awareness of TJ among respondents from Acholi sub-region than in the two other regions. As discussed in Chapter 8, part of this was due to the lead role that members of the sub-region had played in the peace-building process. The sub-region was the most affected by the war, so many actors (NGOS, individuals, cultural leaders, researchers and groups/networks) were involved in discussions of TJ with a focus on the sub-region. In both interviews and the focus group discussion, respondents were aware what the concept means and what options are available for dealing with the impact of the LRA war.

The cases of Lango and Teso sub-regions were different. I had to provide a broad understanding of TJ to participants. However, they were all certain about what options they deemed appropriate for addressing the impacts of the war to realise reparations. Unlike Acholi sub-region, where respondents hope that reparations will emerge from trials and Truth and Reconciliation Commissions, those in Lango (Chapter 9) and Teso (Chapter 10) focused on trials.

In Chapters 8 and 9, the importance of traditional justice emerged as a mechanism for addressing the impact of war. While the focus group

participants in Lango argue that such practices are important for reconciling tensions between the Acholi and Lango, with the aim of improving the attitude that people have towards CBIC – many of whose fathers would be Achol – it was clarified that such practices do not cover the children. The same explanation emerged in the case of the focus group discussion held in Acholi sub-region. These views confirm arguments by other scholars (Carlson & Mazurana, 2008; Porter, 2013) regarding the inappropriateness of traditional justice to address the needs of victims of war-related sexual violence.

However, as noted in the introduction section of this chapter, all three sub-regions framed the reparation needs of these children alongside those of other war-affected categories that require reparations. In Acholi, for example, the needs were framed alongside those of the mothers, as well as other war-affected communities identified in Chapter 8. In Lango, the needs were framed alongside other war-affected community members, especially due to the shortcomings of the government's programmes for post-conflict reconstruction and recovery. In Teso (Chapter 10), the needs were framed alongside those of families of the abducted who have never returned, the formerly abducted who had returned and broader community members in need of compensation for damage suffered during the LRA war. Despite all these differences, research participants argued that such a broad approach would ensure parity in a context in which the needs of other members, who suffered from the crimes committed by the groups that the parents of these children were associated with, have not been addressed.

It is important to re-emphasise the argument made in Chapter 8 regarding the possibility of achieving reparations from Truth and Reconciliation Commissions. While respondents hope that such commissions can be instituted, there is scepticism over whether the

option will be adopted by the current regime. This, however, is not the case with the trials already ongoing, yet the possibility of realising reparations for these children following successful trials depends upon the outcomes of the processes in Uganda and The Hague. Furthermore, concerns of justice being achieved for other CHIBOW, apart from those born in captivity, were explained in Chapter 8. Since trials have focused on the atrocities committed by the LRA, the victims' lawyer in the Kwoyelo case wondered what the plight would be of those fathered by government soldiers. The chapter notes some of the challenges involved in researching CHIBOW to government soldiers in the current context, but does not underscore the importance of realising appropriate reparations for such children, especially those born out of non-consensual sexual relationships.

Finally, government responsibility for ensuring reparations emerged in all three sub-regions. A link was made between the initial failure of government to protect children from abduction and communities from the atrocities committed by the LRA. CBIC are framed as an outcome of that initial failure. Hence, reparations for these children and their mothers (formerly abducted children) were regarded as intersecting. In Chapters 8 and 9, respondents were clear about the need for reparations, different from the funding of post-conflict recovery and reconstruction programmes that government had so far offered. In addition, in Chapter 9, it was clarified that the current support to grassroots NGOs offering medical rehabilitation by the ICC-TFV was not equivalent to reparations.

Hence, for the various reparations needs and claims advanced in the three sub-regions, it is expected that government should shoulder the responsibility to guarantee that they are realised. These views resonate with claims made by Sakin (2014) regarding the duty of government to ensure reparations because of its responsibility as a signatory to various relevant legal frameworks, guaranteeing them. The next sub-section provides an overview of the reparation needs and claims for children

born in the three sub-regions in order to provide an understanding of what CBIC in Uganda require.

11.3 Key observations regarding reparations for children born in captivity

The key observations from the three sub-regions regions are explained in the sub-sections below.

Children born in captivity as witnesses and claimants of reparations

Graca Machel, cited in Parmar et al. (2010), argues that children need to be included in TJ processes, as these address issues that concern them. The involvement or participation of children in TJ processes needs to take into consideration their best interest (Neenan, 2017; Siegrist, 2010). However, the contested application or determination of the best-interest principle leads to variations in interpretation and application (Freeman, 2007). Hence, where some scholars such as Cheney (2010) and Boyden (1994) support child participation in policy development, practitioners with a paternalistic view of the child may not include them in such processes. Furthermore, Yogendran (2017: 70) stresses that the involvement of children is important for the exercise of their agency in processes that seek to claims that benefit them.

The key informants in Acholi (25FI230816K), Lango (16MI100816L) and Teso (24IM170816T) reported non-participation of children in processes relating to TJ. The non-participation of children in the consultation process appears to have overlooked the fact that they were also victims of the LRA war atrocities. One reason for the exclusion of children from participation in the consultancy project is the paternalistic view of the child (Chapters 8 and 9). It has been assumed that adults knew the TJ remedies that children needed and would include them among the

information gathered for the policy. Such non-participation in the consultation notwithstanding, the advocacy for reparations has provided opportunities for children's involvement.

A key informant from Acholi sub-region (5FI030816A) argued that the participation of these children allows them to exercise agency and that their voices are increasingly being included in advocacy for reparations, albeit within the framework for gender justice. From a broad perspective, gender justice seeks to remedy the social injustices faced by various vulnerable groups affected by the war (JRP-IJR Policy Brief, August 2011). As explained in Chapter 2, some scholars prefer approaches that do not join the issues of these children to their mothers (Carpenter, 2010; Seto, 2013) while others, in a view supported by this thesis, argue that the intersection between some of the needs of mothers and children requires approaches that address both, not focusing on the binary choice between them (Neenan, 2017; Parra, 2018).

Evidence of child participation guaranteeing their exercise of agency is noticeable in the parliamentary proceedings leading to the adoption of the resolution for gender-sensitive reparations (Republic of Uganda Parliamentary Debates: Hansard, 3 April 2014) and in collaborative research between JRP, WAN and individual researchers (Denov & Lakor, 2017; Parra, 2018). Such participation was described as a paradigm shift (Chapter 10), away from the paternalistic approach to realising sought-for outcomes for these children.

In addition to participating as claimants, these children are potential witnesses who can provide evidence during truth-telling processes and trials. Their very existence proves the abduction and sexual violence/slavery experienced by their mothers. As observed in Chapter 8, the victim's lawyer in the Kwoyelo case argues that, as witnesses in proceedings, the children could influence their fathers to acknowledge their guilt for the atrocities that they committed while with the LRA. The

bond between the perpetrators and their children situates these children as prospective negotiators, able to convince their fathers of the benefits of acknowledging their crimes. This would reduce the lengthy process of trials and provide mitigating circumstances for negotiating lesser penalties than would accrue if the perpetrator did not acknowledge guilt yet was eventually pronounced guilty.

However, there is need to ensure that participation does not reinforce the proxy conceptualisation of CBIC without any meaningful or substantial reparations being extended to them afterwards. Theidon (2015) expresses a similar concern regarding the involvement of CHIBOW-related sexual violence in truth and reconciliation processes. It is important that the participation of these children in trials or any other TJ process needs to be followed by reparations. The reparations require both redistribution and recognition. Doing so avoids an outcome of participation that makes children mere appendages of their mothers. For children to actively participate as claimants for reparations, there is need to increase their involvement in claim-making at individual and group levels. The claims would be both material and symbolic, as discussed in the next section.

The role of grassroots NGOs in offering medical rehabilitation and advocacy for reparations

So far, some grassroots NGOs have been working with war-affected communities and offering services that are similar to the reparation needs of these children. For example, in Acholi sub-region, JRP in collaboration with the WAN plays a significant role in advocacy and research around these children. This is important to ensure their recognition and address the stigma against them. Through participatory research approaches, they allow these children to share their experiences with each other and to voice their concerns.

In Lango, AYINEY and UVF play an important role in offering medical rehabilitation to victims of the LRA war. Although their activities are limited to those who suffered injuries during the war, the collaborative approach between these NGOs and the ICC-TFV provides a framework within which other NGOs committed to working with CBIC – such as FAPAD and Children of Peace – can collaborate with the TFV in offering psychosocial support and other forms of medical rehabilitation to these children, if the trial of Ongwen is successful. The same applied to Teso, where OCHER collaborates with Amuria District Development Agency to offer medical rehabilitation through funds provided by the ICC-TFV. As Birchall, Francq and Pijnenburg (2011) note, working with existing structures is important to boost the capacity of local resources located close to the beneficiaries. Furthermore, Neenan argues that collaboration with such NGOs is vital for providing reparations to victims on the ground. Since actors at grassroots level could form networks with other actors who share a similar cause and push for the passing of the TJ policy, cooperation between different actors in and outside Uganda may offer an effective strategy to nudge government to ensure that elements of the TJ policy that cabinet adopted (2019) are implemented. This requires clear guidelines to structure the reparations process. This may be possible, since Grugel and Piper (2007) explain that networks are effective because they foster collaborations among local, national and trans-national actors to push for the implementation of a rights-based framework. Since there are many other victims who require reparation, other actors involved in pushing for it for other groups can build networks around reparation.

A broad approach to reparations for children born in captivity

In all three sub-regions, it was claimed that reparation needs not only target these children but cater for their mothers and other war-affected categories. Research participants justified this claim by the fact that many other war-affected categories of persons have not yet had their reparation needs met. This is so, despite the fact that government

programmes for post-conflict reconstruction have targeted some of those persons who are not linked to captivity (as explained in Chapters 8 and 9). The need for a broad approach to reparations would ensure that various groups of war-affected victims receive the adequate reparations due to them. The claims for CBIC's reparations in the draft TJ policy (2014) are both symbolic and material. The petition by the WAN that led to the passing of the gender-sensitive reparations (2014) also reflected both symbolic and material reparations for CBIC and their mothers.

For the broad approach to be realised, there is need to ensure that reparations are not equated to government funding aimed at post-conflict recovery. Secondly, in Chapter 9, it was argued that government can boost existing resources, such as the health and education sector infrastructure and human resource, to be able to handle the additional clients in the form of reparations beneficiaries. Third, the broad approach would ensure parity or fairness in providing reparations to the various groups, other than focusing on CBIC, against the possibility that the unmet needs of other groups would increase the stigma against them (Neenan, 2017). Fourth, there is need to deal with both the material and symbolic forms of reparations. According to Verdeja's (2008) approach to reparations, symbolic reparations enable recognition while material ones allow for the redistribution of resources required to meet the needs of beneficiaries.

Material reparations aim at ensuring redistribution of material resources (physical, social and economic) to address the imbalances caused by war (Sakin, 2014). They act as social justice incentives, such as land, bursaries, health services and economic support for livelihoods. They depend upon broader investment in infrastructure and service delivery among post-conflict communities (Republic of Uganda Parliamentary Debates: Hansard, 3 April 2014). Such investments would create a

conducive environment in which the beneficiary groups' socio-economic disadvantages created by the war are reduced in comparison to those unaffected by the war. Hence, in all three sub-regions, land, economic support (compensation), education and health services were identified as the required material reparations for these children. For instance, in Acholi and Teso, focus group participants suggested the need for compensation in the form of livestock to help with livelihoods.

The need for education support was the material reparation most referred to in the empirical findings. In Chapters 8 and 9, empirical findings indicate that an inclusive education approach allows these children to pursue learning alongside peers with no links to the experience of captivity. The approach, however, requires teachers to be trained in the knowledge and skills required to handle the special needs of these children. Furthermore, lessons learned from Rwanda (McEvoy-Levy, 2007) may be used to ensure that the curriculum review process includes the reality of these children as part of the historical narrative on the LRA war. This would help in reducing the stigma against them when other pupils and students become more aware of how they came about, rather than focusing on their identity.

Another material reparation identified in the empirical findings is the need for land as a source of livelihood. While Chapter 8 presents the claim that the government needs to redistribute land for these children and their mothers, it explains how achieving this in practice may have challenges because of the tensions (as of 2017) between civil society and government regarding the proposed law on the acquisition of land for government use (public service delivery) within public discourse. Civil society organisations are disputing the government's intention to buy land on terms that seem not to favour the interest of citizens in the proposed Land Amendment Act (2017). Besides, the national TJ advisor (25FI230816K) cautioned that such a strategy may exacerbate ongoing stigma and discrimination against CBIC.

It is important to bear in mind the following questions: if the government were to relocate CBIC, what would be the political impact of relocating this group of persons? Would it set a precedent as the ideal solution for other minority groups that may arise in society? It is important to recall that the need for land signals the need to address the underlying challenges of this group (as explained in Chapter 4), and the need to address the identity-related challenges faced by these children emerged in the three sub-regions.

The concerns over the feasibility of land redistribution notwithstanding, the efforts by government to relocate communities from locations prone to landslide and mudslide in Bugishu sub-region - at the time of writing - is evidence that government is able to locate and purchase land for people in need of better living conditions. While this is so, caution needs to be exercised to consider the circumstances requiring relocation and the context in which it occurs: former war-affected areas vis-à-vis areas affected by natural disasters attract different responses from the communities concerned.

As noted earlier, the need to address the identity-related challenges of all these children through symbolic reparations emerged in all three sub-regions. In Chapters 8 and 10, symbolic reparations such as monuments are described as ensuring that the memory of war is not lost and that its possible repetition is avoided. These children become part of such reparation as evidence of the impacts of war, yet it allows advocacy and information-sharing that can be useful in addressing stigma against them. When advocacy aims at channelling the message of non-repetition, the plight of these children can be added to the broader discourse on the impact of war that should be prevented in future.

The second type of symbolic reparation was the need for apology and acknowledgement (Chapters 8, 9 and 10). Embedded within such claims is the argument that government needs to acknowledge its failure to protect the formerly abducted, the incident that led to the birth of CBIC. The complexity of apology as a form of reparation is noted in Chapter 8. Brophy (2006) argues that governments - especially those involved in armed conflict - may be reluctant to offer an apology because it could politically imply an acknowledgement of guilt. In the context of CHIBOW, Goodhart (2007) questions the essence of apology to such children. He cautions that it may appear as a form of regret for the existence of these children. He also asks a critical question - who should apologise to these children? He explains that the complex position of their parents as victims of abduction (non-protection) makes it difficult to demand an apology from their fathers.

If the state apologises to these children, the apology needs to transcend their identity and tackle the social injustices that have resulted from such an identity. The apology would address the stigma and discrimination rather than their coming into existence. Examples are the parliamentary resolution for gender-sensitive reparations (April 2014) and the February 2019 parliamentary resolution urging government to support these children and their mothers. Brooks (1999b) argues that apologies by the legislative arm of government within a democratic dispensation reflect a representative view of the people. Therefore, the Speaker's communication as Leader of Parliament is representative of the people of Uganda through parliament's role in a representative democracy. If such is the case, then it provides sufficient grounds for making attendant claims for material reparations aimed at redistribution, as argued for by adherents of broad approaches to reparations.

The claims advanced in all three sub-regions indicate the need to target these children as an individual group alongside other war-affected groups with unmet reparations needs, ensuring that the reparations are

both material and symbolic. This is important for the effectiveness of the reparations in the long run, as argued in some literature (Chapter 2). It is claimed that the material and symbolic reparations should be complementary, to cover the deficiencies in each (Brooks, 1999a; Posner & Vermeule, 2003; Brophy, 2006; Torpey, 2006).

Concerns over feasibility of reparations in the post-conflict setting

Emerging from the three sub-regions were concerns over the feasibility of providing reparations to CBIC – and their mothers – in the current post-conflict environment. This argument was linked to the absence of known substantive steps taken by government, beyond parliament's passing the resolution for gender-sensitive reparations. In both Acholi and Lango sub-regions, concerns over the lack of an operational TJ policy from which reparations guidelines could be drawn caused some respondents to wonder whether reparations will indeed be realised. According to Brooks (1999b), substantial reparations involve the actual provision of reparations guides by a clear procedure that determines who should benefit. Hence, it is important to ensure that possible steps are taken to adopt the TJ policy and the design of all the necessary guidelines needed for reparations. The trials at the ICC and Uganda may offer possible avenues through which a framework to guide reparations may be drawn up.

Related to the need for a framework to guide the process is the essence of information and data concerning these children and the available actors and programmes that can serve as collaboration points when reparations are being made. The provision of reparations to these children would require reliable estimates to assist in planning and budgeting. This would ensure that they receive the kind of material reparations provided, both as individuals and as a social group.

Furthermore, uncertainty over the fragile peace in the post-conflict environment emerged in Acholi and Teso sub-regions. The presence of the LRA in some parts of the Great Lakes region, albeit outside Uganda, creates concern among some victims' communities about the sustainability of the existing post-conflict peace. Hence, as a respondent remarked in Chapter 8, it leads to concerns over whether reparations may remain more conceptually relevant than pragmatically pertinent.

Another pragmatic concern relates to financing the reparations and scepticism over whether the current regime is in position to do so (Chapter 8). Using the argument grounded in the R2P doctrine, this thesis joins scholars in making the claim that the state is obliged to ensure the protection of its citizens and has the primary duty to administer reparations with the possibility of other state and non-state actors assisting (Brooks, 1999b; Falk, 2006; Lenzirini, 1008; Sakin, 2014; Torpey, 2006). This duty and the circumstances under which other states of actors intervene are entrenched in legal international human rights frameworks, such as the Rome Statute (2000). For instance, insofar as the ICC-TFV currently offers support to victims of the LRA war by funding local NGOs, such support is not equivalent to reparations. Therefore, concerns over financing reflect the need to ensure that reparations do not remain only a theoretically or conceptually relevant issue.

11.4 Conclusion

The second research question of the thesis sought answers to how reparations would respond to the integration plight of CBIC. Although reparations may emerge from trials and truth and reconciliation processes, in all three sub-regions hope resides in the ongoing trials at The Hague and in Uganda. The respondents in Acholi (Chapter 8) also argue for the need for truth and reconciliation process as an appropriate TJ option in addressing the impacts of the LRA war. The integration of

CBIC is problematic and characterised by experiences of stigma and discrimination, as explained in Chapters 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7.

As explained in Chapter 2, reparations are rights that CBIC are entitled to as secondary victims. The claims for reparations aim at addressing the stigma (misrecognition/disrespect) and discrimination (socio-economic maldistribution/inequality) against them. The symbolic forms or reparations suggested in all three sub-regions offer possibilities to include these children in memories and historical narratives about the war. In so doing, they provide an avenue for society to realise how they came about and a conducive environment within which advocacy against stigma may be undertaken. Secondly, it is argued that the government needs to acknowledge and offer an apology to these children and their parents, since their current predicament is linked to its failure to protect them in the first place (Chapters 8, 9 and 10). When done, it contributes to public discourse that focuses on them as victims of circumstances and contributes to efforts aimed at the stigma and discrimination against them.

The material form of reparations, such as land, offer an opportunity to address the discrimination that these children currently face, as non-members of the maternal communities among whom they reside. Other social services such as education and health are important for ensuring their wellbeing and potential to participate in community life like their peers, eventually being able to have a livelihood of their own. This is important because it allows society to esteem them, as well as improving their own self-esteem and confidence (Atim et al., 2018).

In all three sub-regions, neither category of reparations was preferred over the other. This supports claims that both material and symbolic forms are required, as noted in Chapter 2. What is important to note, however, are the concerns over parity. Research participants made

claims for reparations not only for these children but for other war-affected groups. In Acholi, communities affected by war such as Mucwinyi and Barlonyo were cited. In Lango, other victims of the war in need of material reparations were noted while, in Teso, the abducted children who have never returned, as well as other community members in need of material reparations (livestock restocking), were mentioned. All these claims support a broad approach to reparations as suggested by this thesis (Chapter 2). The concern for parity was raised in Lango and Teso with the intent of ensuring that support to these children does not overlook the reparations needs of other war-affected groups, especially since the parents of these children contributed to the suffering of the latter. Hence, as Neenan (2017) argues, reparations that target broader groups of war-affected people reduce or prevent stigma against CBIC and their mothers.

The empirical findings advance claims for reparations and situate CBIC as both claimants and witnesses. As explained in Chapter 8, the view of CBIC as witnesses offers prospects of reinforcing their conceptualisation as appendages of their mothers, especially when they are mainly used to aid successful trials without considering their best interest. On the other hand, when they are involved in processes enabling reparations as claimants, such an approach shifts their conceptualisation to subjects with an agency and rights. For instance, in Chapter 10, one of the respondents argued that participation as claimants represents a paradigm shift towards recognising them as persons with interests and a voice. Although this approach to involving them as claimants is increasing, as noted in Chapter 8, there is need for actors involved in TJ to recognise the agency of these children and include them in advocacy and research. Otherwise, the previous tendency to keep them on the periphery and rely on what their parents have to say in their interest, as noted in Chapters 8 and 9, reinforces their conceptualisation as mere appendages of their mothers. Participating in claims for reparations shifts them away from the shadows or margins of dominant TJ practices that are unable to address their plight. Within such participation,

experts in child protection would help to determine whether participation in such processes is in the best interest of these children.

There are concerns relating to the responsibility for, and feasibility of, reparations. In Chapters 8 and 10, concerns over the possibility that reparations may remain only conceptually relevant, especially in the context where the LRA is still at large. Concerns over the practical steps required for realising such reparations, given the absence of a TJ policy, emerged in Acholi and Lango sub-regions. A respondent interviewed in Kampala (captured in Chapter 8), expressed concern over the timeline to be used for determining who qualifies for reparations. This is especially so because of the link between the LRA war and post-independence wars preceding it in Uganda. Where will the money for compensation come from? Will reparations remain only conceptually relevant or will practical outcomes be realised? All these are important contextual considerations that may be useful in designing and implementing appropriate frameworks for the reparations sought.

The above observations are important contributions to debates about the importance of reparations to address the plight of children born of CRSV. Secondly, they support the need for reparations as social justice approaches that are important to address the social, economic and cultural plight of categories of persons who may be overlooked by dominant TJ approaches (Andrieu, 2010; Mamdani, 1996; Mani, 2008).

The types of reparations required and the claims made relating to how they need to be provided are important in addressing the ongoing integration challenges. The broad approach in which claims were made by respondents indicate that the reparations need to be both material and symbolic, on the one hand, and target these children as an individual category as well as other war-affected victims identified in the study, on the other. The broad approach is crucial to ensuring both

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participation and status parity for these children as they live among communities of integration. This thesis therefore argues that such a broad approach and the claims emerging from the empirical findings are vital for shifting the conditions of integration from the 'shallow and unsustainable' to the 'deep and sustainable' when they address stigma and discrimination.

Chapter 12: Conclusion and Implications of This Thesis

12.1 Introduction

The thesis sought answers to two main research questions: in what ways do existing policy frameworks for reintegration support effective integration of CBIC? Secondly, how do reparations respond to the integration plight of CBIC?

A review of the literature and analysis of empirical findings suggest that existing policy frameworks in Uganda, such as the DDR agreement (2008) and post-conflict reconstruction plans/programmes, are structuring practices that have led to integration challenges for CBIC. These challenges are evidenced by their unresolved experiences of stigma and discrimination in the post-conflict communities where they reside. The thesis attributes the problems to the failure to distinguish between integration and reintegration processes for those associated with armed forces or groups. Hence, the thesis makes a call for the differentiation of the two and contributes by suggesting an analytical framework that can be used in analysing integration. The empirical findings are then analysed to explore how elements of the analytical framework can help to explain the integration of CBIC in Uganda.

The review and the empirical findings suggest that more attention has been placed on reintegration, treating integration and reintegration as similar processes. Therefore, interventions enabling the two processes overlook the peculiarities of integration and the CBIC involved in the same. Returning to a complex post-conflict cultural context in which they are neither recognised as members of their maternal communities

nor have adequate transitional justice remedies to their plight subsequently contributes to unresolved experiences of stigma and discrimination. Thus, this thesis argues for the need to differentiate between integration and reintegration in order to better respond to the peculiarities of the process that CBIC undergo. Moreover, as the empirical findings of the study show, there are various experiences of integration for the various categories of CBIC. Integration therefore should not be analysed and responded to as a generic process; rather, the various aspects of the process need to be considered for the effectiveness of the process.

The thesis suggests the application of the 'extended vital core' framework to the analysis of integration. The 'vital core', as explained from the human security perspective advanced by Alkire (2003), seeks to target the most important aspects of interventions – dignity, livelihood and survival – regardless of the extent of the available resources. As noted in Chapter 1, these three elements of the 'vital core' are implicitly entrenched in the PPG (2007). The DDR (2008) agreement of Uganda structured reintegration and integration. It acknowledges the role of the PPG (2007) in structuring the DDR process. This thesis' application of the 'vital core' to the context of integration takes regard of how it ought to enable integration and ways in which it can rectify challenges faced by CBIC who experience integration challenges.

The adjusted framework is termed the 'extended vital core' approach and is theoretically supported or justified by using elements of the philosophical arguments made by Honneth (1995), while arguing for three forms of recognition needed for self-realisation and social integration. In Chapter 2, the similarities between dignity, livelihood and survival are drawn by Honneth's concepts of love, esteem and respect. Stigma of CBIC based on their conception in sexual violence is regarded as a typology of disrespect, and their subsequent

discrimination based on their identity a challenge to social integration. In empirical terms, livelihood is enabled when esteem is encouraged. In the case of integrating CBIC, these require interventions that can enable them to gain the skills, competences and resources for various options within the mostly rural post-conflict setting that they end up in.

As explained in the introduction chapter, survival requires that people, regardless of the challenges that they have or have had, are able to cope with current life experiences and pursue life in the context where they reside. For this to happen, there is a need for support from actors such as friends and family. Hence, as Honneth (1995) argues, love from primary relations such as these is crucial for integration. Empirically, there was reference to emotional support and love as enablers of survival. Furthermore, interventions that promote the identity of these children as humans, rather than focusing on the circumstances leading to their conception, were identified empirically. Hence, the link between love and respect is evident. Honneth explains respect as society's recognition of one's abilities and ways of life, as opposed to focusing on one's status. This relates to the interpretation of dignity adopted by this thesis. Hence, both theoretically and empirically, CBIC need to be regarded and responded to as humans, rather than encouraging the community to focus on their identity as children born of CRSV. This is the perception and message that interventions enabling integration need to encourage.

In situations where CBIC experience integration challenges, the literature suggests that reparations are an adequate transitional justice remedy, yet there is a scarcity of literature on how such reparations would address the plight of such children. As noted in Chapter 2, much of the focus in the literature is on the redistributive/material aspects of reparations linked to compensation. While these are essential, this

thesis argues for a broader response to deal with both redistribution (in response to discrimination) and recognition (in response to experiences of stigma).

Based on the above explanations, the conclusion chapter of this thesis is structured as follows: the first part presents a summary of the main findings and conclusions based on the theoretical arguments and empirical findings. The second part explains the contributions of this thesis to policy, practice and literature. The final part explains the unexplored issues and future research agenda.

12.2 Summary of main findings and conclusions

Two major gaps identified in the review of literature were addressed by the thesis's empirical research. The first was the need to differentiate between integration and reintegration, as explained earlier. Secondly, there was a need to identify the reparations needs of CBIC. Using a qualitative case study design, research was conducted among three sub-regions of Uganda using non-obtrusive research methods. The empirical findings support the arguments advanced by this thesis, as explained in Chapter 1.

Based on the empirical research conducted, this section presents some of the main findings and conclusions in relation to, first, integration and, second, reparations for CBIC.

The integration of children born in captivity in Uganda

Various lessons were learned from the integration experiences of these children in the three sub-regions. The three most important are as follows. First, integration is not a generic experience. The comparative analysis of integration among the three regions is presented in Chapter 7, using a framework that distinguishes between three broad pathways to integration: 'no integration'; 'shallow and unsustainable integration';

and 'deep and sustainable integration'. The state of 'no integration' emerged mainly in Acholi sub-region. Implicitly, there was most concern over children from Teso sub-region (Chapter 6) who were abducted and have never returned, with the possibility that some may have fathered or borne children in captivity, supporting the pathway of 'no integration'.

This becomes a challenge to the integration of these children in Uganda in the context where, especially in the Acholi (Chapter 4) and Lango (Chapter 5) sub-regions, there is growing concern over the preference by some older CBIC for life in captivity to life in the post-conflict communities of Uganda. From a normative perspective, the possibility of a return to life among the LRA, which is still at large, jeopardises the long-term normative need to protect children against use by armed forces and armed groups. What is described as 'deep and sustainable integration' is presented from the perspective of the ideal, rather than the reality on the ground. This, however, does not suggest that scenarios of 'deep and sustainable integration' do not occur. What it means is that, from the empirical findings gathered, this state of integration is still sought by the majority of children who occupy the pathway to 'shallow and unsustainable integration'. Hence, this thesis argues that the continued and unresolved problems of stigma and discrimination limit the opportunities to attain 'deep and sustainable integration'.

The second observation is that there are some efforts to enable integration, albeit by concurrently enabling both integration and reintegration. Interventions such as rehabilitation, family reunification, raising community awareness against stigma and discrimination, livelihood and education support are put in place by various actors in

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the three sub-regions. They include reception/rehabilitation centres, grassroots NGOs and CBOs targeting these children, religious and cultural leaders and networks of advocacy such as the WAN and *Watye Ki Gen*. In Chapter 4, it was observed that targeting mothers in the assumption that they will subsequently support CBIC may not necessarily achieve the anticipated outcomes. Hence, there is need to ensure that support is given to both mothers and their CBIC. In addition, the existence of local networks of advocacy and various CBOs/NGOs to assist CBIC provides them with more integration support in comparison to places where these are few or absent. Thus Acholi sub-region offers CBIC more support than there is for those in Lango and Teso.

Third, within these pathways are various categories of children with, at times, different integration needs, as observed in Chapter 7. The most vulnerable are the unaccompanied children, especially those whose relatives are not easy to trace and may not benefit from the institutional care available at SOS and Watoto villages. From a gender perspective, male CBIC are more vulnerable than female CBIC due to their reliance on clan resources such as land, which is required not only for their livelihood but as a resource when they want to marry. Another category is children who integrate among rural communities and are susceptible to stigma and discrimination yet are unable to relocate to urban areas. Many of them live with maternal relatives who are either unable or unwilling to support their relocation. There was evidence of relocation to other areas in all three sub-regions, evidencing the integration challenges facing these children. The scenarios explained in the empirical Chapter 4 indicate that such experiences act as 'push' factors in the decision to move, while hopes of a better life in the destination serve as 'pull' factors. However, from a research perspective, the complexity of tracing and following up on such children justifies the conceptualisation of children born of CRSV as a 'hidden population'.

Lastly, some CBIC end up in with their biological mother and father as a family (Chapter 4), whereas others may end up with a foster family (Chapters 4 and 5) or with their maternal relatives (Chapters 4, 5 and 6). These differences are important in understanding and contextualising the love and support that they require to cope with life in the communities of integration. In all three sub-regions, it was observed that such love and acceptance vary from one maternal family to another. However, in Chapter 4, an integration expert explained that children who end up in a family setting where their mothers are married or reunited with their fathers have a better context of integration.

Thus, a fourth observation on integration emerging from the empirical Chapters 4 to 7 is that recognition through love, esteem and respect provides a way of countering stigma and discrimination and ensuring a better survival of CBIC. Love is realised in primary relationships such as the family and friendships. The empirical findings indicate the importance of love through acceptance and emotional support to some CBIC, who end up fitting in better than those who do not have it. In fact, in Teso sub-region, one of the respondents used the phrase 'full love' to express the acceptance and support at the level of primary relationships. The cases of Acholi, Lango and Teso all reveal that, at community level, interventions by local leaders and grassroots NGOS/CBOs are important for enabling acceptance and countering stigma where it occurs.

Interventions also aim at bridging gaps in opportunities for esteem, so that the beneficiaries are assisted to compete more favourably with those who do not suffer from stigma. Since the optimised end of esteem is someone's ability to receive due reward for their social contribution, there is need for increased empowerment of especially those CBIC who

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are cut off from institutional assistance in the form of education, economic and social opportunities, enabling better integration conditions. Having the necessary skills and resources to engage in interactions for survival in the economy would create possibilities of obtaining due reward for such contribution. Opportunities to choose from diverse livelihoods would reduce the prejudice regarding prospective claims for land. Besides, from the income obtained from various livelihood options, these children would be able to buy or rent land rather than rely on access to communally owned land.

Respect is important for ensuring dignity in the context of integration because, when people are disrespected, it not only affects their personal evaluation and perception of themselves; in turn, a disrespected person ends up disrespecting others. This eventually causes tensions and the possibility of conflict between those involved. This was noticeable in Lango sub-region, where a CBIC responded to stigma by retaliating against one of the children who was the source of name-calling. The 'extended vital core' framework argues for such respect, based on claims of CBIC's humanity rather than their status as secondary victims of atrocities committed against their mothers, as a third important requirement for integration.

The empirical findings from all three sub-regions indicate the need for interventions that enable community members to regard CBIC as victims of circumstances not of their own making, rather than focusing on their identity as children born of CRSV. Such respect is important for their esteem, as well as mutual recognition of other members of society. Examples of community awareness and interventions by local leaders were observed in all three sub-regions.

While the thesis recognises that the culturally grounded stigma and discrimination faced by these children may not easily change in the short term, it argues for the need to engage continuously with cultural

leaders and institutions to explore what influence they have in guaranteeing love, esteem and respect for these children. As Honneth (1995) explains, interventions need to target various levels, from the individual to civil society and the state. Already, the empirical findings in Chapters 4 to 11 indicate various interventions by civil society organisations targeting individual CBIC. There is need for further state interventions that seek to promote love, esteem and respect. This thesis is based on the arguments in the doctrine of R2P, to advocate for further state intervention to protect CBIC as citizens of Uganda. One of the ways in which the state can do this is to ensure that reparations are provided to these children.

Reparations for children born in captivity in Uganda

The case of Uganda reveals the influence of the PPG (2007) in structuring DDR and other practices enabling integration and reintegration. However, the focus on reintegration led to the subsequent targeting of the transitional justice needs of the parents of CBIC, while overseeing the transitional justice needs of their children. While practices or interventions enabling the reintegration of FAPs also aided the integration of CBIC, the reality of the post-conflict environment affected their effective integration. Particularly, this involves the failure of implemented transitional justice options to address their needs (Carlson & Mazurana, 2008), the failure of post-conflict reconstruction or rehabilitation programmes to target CBIC (Chapters 4 & 5) and cultural non-recognition of these children as members of their maternal communities (Apio, 2016).

Reparations are suggested to be the ideal transitional justice approach for CBIC (Goodhart, 2007; Government of Uganda, 2014; Justice and Reconciliation Project, 2015; Lühe & Mugeru, 2014). However, while

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dominant approaches to reparations target redistribution, this thesis supports the views of adherents of broad approaches that enable recognition and redistribution. Hence, as noted in Chapter 3, the thesis adopts elements of Verdeja's (2008) approach to reparations, grounded in the social justice thinking of Fraser (1997). For Fraser, the remedies for injustice in recognition target cultural issues by recognising difference, and redistribution targets social and economic resources.

The reparations that are advocated in all three sub-regions (Chapters 8–10), are those that enable both recognition (by addressing challenges related to stigma or stereotypes against CBIC) and redistribution (by addressing gaps in accessing socio-economic services). The empirical findings note, for example, that acknowledging the failure to protect the parents of CBIC from abduction and including the plight of these children within the historical discourse on the LRA war partially serve as a way of recognising their victimhood and encouraging efforts to counter the stigma against them. Similarly, interventions of a material or redistributive nature would meet the gaps in needs such as health, education and livelihoods that emerged from the empirical findings. However, since the war impacted many other categories of people, research participants argue the need to ensure that redistribution targets those other categories. Hence, interventions in healthcare or education ought to be broadened to cover vulnerable groups among the war-affected communities.

The empirical findings in Chapters 8 to 11 indicate that these children require reparations that enable both recognition and redistribution. Verdeja (2008) also advocates for reparations that ensure parity, to enable equity or fairness in how community members view each other and enable the participation of all in community life. In Chapters 8 to 10, respondents hinted at the importance of ensuring that reparations do not just target CBIC but other victims of the LRA war. Their claims

resonate with the view of Neenan (2017) relating to the need for parity, so that the stigma against these children does not escalate.

Therefore, the thesis leads to the realisation that, in fragile contexts where suitable TJ options for CBIC are not considered or adopted, existing policy and programme interventions enable only a 'shallow and unsustainable integration'. This is because of lack of recognition of integration, as distinct from reintegration. A distinct conceptualisation and response to integration enable interventions to respond to the specificities of CBIC as beneficiaries of the process. By contrast, when reparations address the needs of CBIC, they encourage recognition and redistribution, thereby fostering an improvement in integration towards the 'deep and sustainable' state.

12.3 Contributions to policy, practice and existing literature

The subsequent sections discuss the implications of this thesis for practice, policy, and literature.

12.3.1 Contribution to existing literature

This thesis contributes to literature on children born of CRSV and academic fields, such as on the issues post-conflict social justice, children's rights, reparations and human security, as explained below.

The adjustment and application of the human security concept of the 'vital core' use the possible application of a human security approach to analyse the integration of CBIC. The 'extended vital core' framework is an analytical approach to understanding integration as a process distinct from reintegration. This includes the development of new concepts. Moreover, the empirical findings on Uganda indicate how, by

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using the 'extended vital core' approach, three pathways to integration are available to CBIC. This thesis therefore presents the 'extended vital core' approach as a framework that can be used and modified to understand integration. Furthermore, the framework provides a model of analysis that can be applied to the analysis of integration from other methodological perspectives, such as experiments or statistical analysis that focus on the interaction of the 'extended vital core' elements.

There is limited literature on how reparations ought to respond to the plight of children born of CRSV. While most of the literature focuses on redistribution (material compensation), this thesis adopts a broad approach to reparations. It contributes to literature on how reparations need to respond to CBIC. Using elements of Verdeja's (2008) theory on reparative justice, it makes the case for CBIC reparations that address stigma through interventions enabling recognition and counter discrimination through interventions that enable redistribution. It also supports the need for parity, as advanced by Verdeja. The empirical findings in all three sub-regions in the study confirm the need to ensure adequate reparations not only for CBIC but for other war-affected victims groups in similar need. The lessons emerging from the claims made by research participants provide a broad perspective on which reparations to CBIC, as an example of children born of CRSV, can be understood.

Interventions to address the plight of CBIC, especially their need for reparations, are discussed from a rights-based perspective. As noted in Chapter 2, reparations are rights that these children are entitled to, as enshrined in various legislations. Important issues involved in rights-based debates emerged from the discussion of reparations to these children, for instance, should they be responded to and independent of their mothers, or as part of their mothers' plight? To this end, the thesis supports a broad perspective that supports the need to respond to CBIC as persons with agency yet also dependent on their mothers to a

certain extent. Secondly, how would addressing the plight of these children address the tension between individual and cultural rights? To this end, the thesis supports the views advanced by legal pluralism and advocates for remedies that are useful in ensuring the protection of these children by both universal child rights claims and the relevant aspects of culture.

Lastly, the agency of these children emerged as an important issue for consideration in both integration and reparations, particularly their right to participate in processes that are important to ensuring their effective integration and access to required reparations. The empirical findings suggest the need for appropriate actors to determine, on a case-by-case basis, when participation is appropriate and the form it should take.

Furthermore, ensuring effective or successful integration depends upon efforts that respond to the social injustices experienced by CBIC. Such interventions become part of social justice approaches. Andrieu (2010) cites Mamdani (1996) in explaining the role of social justice interventions in responding to structural and social and/or cultural issues with the aim of avoiding the recurrence of violence in future. While SJ may mean many things, this thesis supports the views of Barry (2005), who argues that SJ approaches aim at addressing all kinds of inequalities. The literature and the empirical findings of this thesis indicate that CBIC face inequalities in areas such as education and access to resources such as land. In Chapters 4 and 5, it was observed that experiences of stigma and discrimination make some of these children opt out of school, while others reside in areas without access to educational or other livelihood support. Challenges in accessing land as a critical livelihood resource emerged from all three sub-regions. Since SJ approaches address situations characterised by exploitation,

oppression, prejudice and discrimination (Jost & Kay, 2010), interventions enabling recognition and redistribution qualify as SJ approaches in a TJ context. Furthermore, Andrieu (2010) and Mani (2008) argue that, in a post-conflict context, comprehensive TJ approaches address not only the civil and political impacts of war, but also target the social, economic and cultural injustices affecting various categories of victims.

The plight of CBIC of Uganda indicates that the indirect impact of war on victims may be grounded in cultural injustices. These have an impact on social and economic aspects of their wellbeing as they reside among post-conflict communities of integration. This leaves them as an example of groups of war-affected victims who become sidelined when the dominant TJ approaches, focusing on political and civil rights abuses, are adopted exclusively. Hence, approaches such as gender justice, which are being used to push for the plight of CBIC in the TJ agenda, provide a platform for advocacy and raising awareness of their needs. Fischer (2011) argues that social justice claims include gender justice, which aims at addressing specific interests of women in reconstruction and processes of demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration. This argument is extended to the case of CBIC, as they often integrate concurrently with reintegrating mothers/FAPs.

Furthermore, a broad understanding of gender justice such as that advanced by JRP and IJR (August, 2011) means that SJ responses become remedies to the disadvantage suffered by other vulnerable groups in society, not just women. The empirical findings indicate that other victim categories are in need of reparation, whether material or symbolic. Therefore, SJ interventions need to ensure parity as part of their advocacy for special groups of marginalised persons. When such is not the case, they risk leading to further inequalities or problems for the beneficiary group.

12.3.2 Contribution to policy

The arguments of this thesis and the empirical findings relating to integration and reparations are of relevance to policy framers and implementers, such as those engaged in advocacy, programme interventions and norm entrepreneurs. For instance, although existing policies seek to ensure reintegration and integration in the long term, the lack of attention to CBIC due to prioritisation of child soldiers has led to their problematic integration. The empirical chapter on integration confirmed both this and the fact that CBIC have diverse experiences of integration. These experiences will be recognised and responded to only if CBIC are recognised as a specific group of war-affected children and their integration responded to in a way dissimilar to reintegration.

Of specific relevance to policy framers or designers is the observation that Guideline 2.8 of the PPG (2007) seeks interventions that have the ability to 'maintain life', 'enable dignity' and 'enable livelihoods'. For these ends to be achieved, interventions need to promote personal esteem, self-worth and confidence through educational, livelihood, skills enhancement, interaction with the community (community service) and psychosocial support to address trauma (Guidelines 7.47, 7.48, 7.69 and 7.75). In addition, the policy aims to ensure that such interventions promote parity between those transitioning from life in armed forces and their peers in the new communities. The implicit entrenchment of the 'vital core' in the PPG (2007) provides sufficient grounds for recognising integration as a distinct process in order to enable the realisation of the 'extended vital core' elements for CBIC.

For policy implementers, the role of the family as the primary source for such acceptance shapes interventions for family unity or reunification (Guidelines 6.31 to 6.35.2). Such family support confirms Honneth's

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argument for the fundamental importance of love to integration and enables the integrating person to maintain life in the new community of their integration, and consequently enables survival and livelihood. This thesis argues that CBIC can benefit from the constituent elements of the PPG (2007) that enable dignity, livelihoods and survival (maintaining life) when interventions in practice respond to integration and CBIC as distinct categories of persons formerly associated with armed forces/groups. Furthermore, sensitivity to the post-conflict context of integration requires that various actors (legal, traditional, civil society and victim communities) are involved in seeking solutions to the integration challenges manifested through stigma and discrimination. Hence, as the empirical findings of this thesis indicate, there is need for parity in appropriate TJ remedies (in this case reparations) to the plight of various victim groups. This is important to avoid an escalation of stigma against these children and their mothers.

Therefore, there is a need for existing policies to recognise CBIC by adjusting the PPG (2007) or adopting alternative policy guidelines that will structure the integration of these children. Such a policy would be guided by the ideas entrenched in the 'extended vital core' approach. The policy would also need to recognise the diversity of integration experiences that such children are bound to have. This would enable the guidelines or details of such policies to structure programme responses that are cognizant of such diversity and the cultural context of integration.

Lastly, the empirical findings on reparations are useful for those designing appropriate frameworks for structuring reparations. The importance of providing reparations of both a material and symbolic form emerged from the research. Secondly the need to ensure parity when providing reparations was highlighted in all three sub-regions. Parity would ensure that all war-affected victim groups are provided with adequate reparations to avoid what Neenan (2017) describes as

possibilities of escalating stigma against CBIC. In Lango sub-region, one of the respondents argued the need to develop specific guidelines for CBIC's reparations after broader policies for reparations to all war-affected groups are adopted.

12.3.3 Contribution to practice

The empirical findings in Chapters 4 to 7 indicate that CBIC experience stigma and discrimination, and that this ultimately affects their survival. In practice, actors engaged in integration interventions need to be supported to ensure that they enable esteem, love and respect for the integrating children; some actors have been involved in countering such stigma, yet the problem remains unresolved. The actors include grassroots NGOs and CBOs, networks such as WAN and *Watyé Ki Gen*, cultural, local and religious leaders and those behind other advocacy efforts in the three sub-regions of Uganda. This thesis supports Neenan's (2017) argument that the efforts of these actors need to be boosted to realise a better life for CBIC.

Having comprehensive statistics on the number and location of CBIC could inform the interventions that target them. Such interventions need to map and respond to the needs of various categories of CBIC. The extension of services to more rural or remote areas by the institutions supporting such children is required, since most of them seem to be currently isolated from such support. Furthermore, empirical findings in Acholi and Lango support the claims for further government effort to address the plight of CBIC among other persons formerly associated with the LRA. The debate by Members of Parliament (Republic of Uganda Parliamentary Debates: Hansard, 3 April 2014) records similar concerns regarding the oversight of most of the post-conflict rehabilitation programmes of this category of war-affected

persons. In all three sub-regions, there was a call for interventions that address the various impacts of war on different categories of persons. These would foster a more suitable environment for integration. Barakat and Zyck (2009) argue that a broad approach to post-war recovery goes beyond the predominant focus on economic and physical reconstruction to include the rehabilitation of human lives. Therefore, adopting appropriate TJ mechanisms would help to address the various impacts of the war on members of the community and the integrating children.

A practical model used in reintegration that could be adjusted to cater for these children is the Information Counselling and Referral (ICR) model. The first stage of the model constitutes the acquisition of **information**. This stage captures biographical data and other relevant information required for integration. This is followed by the second stage – **counselling** – whereby children due for integration are given adequate psychosocial rehabilitation as they transition from life among armed forces and prepare for life among civilians. Various actors provide counselling, and in situations where they identify cases beyond their ability to respond they would refer the children to the optimum actor for further assistance. Hence, the third stage is **referral**, dependent upon the coordination among various actors involved in enabling integration. In cases where an institution is unable to meet certain needs, they would refer to another that can.

The ICR model in practice would start with the reception centres taking information on the CBIC and offering counselling. If there are issues that require medical attention, they would refer to the hospital. For issues that require the attention of the police or security officials, they would make the necessary referral. The same would apply to the identification of prospective schools or those providing livelihood training so that they can refer these children. At this stage, coordination would make them aware of schools or institutions that are aware of the

needs and identity of the integrating children. Furthermore, the model would work with the contextual realities of integration – cultural and TJ – to ensure parity between the integrating children and the communities of integration. Sensitivity to the context enables the provision of required interventions to the communities of integration who are victims of the atrocities committed by the parents of the integrating children.

Lastly, in situations where integration is already problematic, such as in the case of Uganda's CBIC, a social justice approach suffices to target both recognition (to address symbolic stigma and discrimination) and distribution (to cater for unmet needs arising from exclusion, discrimination and stigma). Given the need for interventions to avoid further inequalities, 'participation' or 'status' parity needs to be part and parcel of such social justice considerations. However, reparations would require statistics, and others may need to boost existing structures (such as health and education) to cater for the specific needs of CBIC. It is important that substantive reparations do not make CBIC proxies and fail to address their needs as claimants. Their position as claimants of reparations requires that they continue to be involved in advocacy for reparations and for passing the TJ policy.

12.4 Unexplored issues and future research agenda

The institutional ethics requirements, as well as the sensitivity of researching these children, led to the adoption of non-obtrusive research methods. In order to capture information that depicts their everyday life in communities of integration, the 'seeded' focus group method was adopted as one of the study's qualitative data collection methods. The method, previously used in HIV/AIDS research, was

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modified to suit the research inquiry into the integration of CBIC. The methodology adds to the literature that supports the exclusion from research of vulnerable children as participants. In addition, the use of the 'seeded' focus group method provides an approach for researching vulnerable children.

The participation of children in research resonates with the provisions of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (Article 12 of the CRC). Adherents of the inclusion of children as participants in a research on issues that affect them argue that doing so promotes their agency, in the sense that they become the subjects rather than objects of research. Researchers have included CBIC as participants in their inquiries (Apio; 2007; Kiconco, 2015; Ochen, 2015). However, ethical concerns of vulnerability and the lack of the required professional skills to engage them as subjects led to the exclusion of CBIC as participants from this study. With these challenges in mind, I used a modified 'seeded' focus group method to capture views on the everyday life of CBIC from those who living in their household. The experience yielded possibilities for the 'seeded' focus group method to be used for inquiries into vulnerable children by researchers with similar challenges. In addition, a researcher able to include vulnerable children as participants could modify the method to allow them to discuss issues with children who are different from them. Whatever the modification of the method, it requires sensitivity to the social, ethnic and political context of the issue and environment of discussion.

The study divulged the plight of stateless children but did not conduct a detailed inquiry into the integration of this category of CBIC. Being born to LRA fathers and mothers who are not accepted in their countries (the countries in which LRA undertook its activities, across the borders of Uganda), it appears that their nationality or citizenship is contested in those countries. Statelessness in the context of integration presents an area of research that requires further investigation in the Great Lakes

region, given that it is characterised by a fragile peace. This would probably fit within research on refugee studies, because the focus on refugees and asylum seekers includes the category of stateless people.

There is also a need to harmonise the demographic data on CBIC to guide future research and enable the quantitative analysis of integration. Research participants explained that such data tend to be scattered among various reception centres and other NGOs that deal with these children. Having a database would help to explore integration and other issues related to CBIC using alternative methodological designs/approaches. The availability of statistical information would allow for alternative research approaches. Examples would be quantitative approaches that look at integration trends over time, experiments testing various 'vital core' interventions or methods that test the outcomes of the interaction of their elements. These would strengthen the 'extended vital core' approach and verify or modify the pathways to integration.

Appendices

- Appendix I: Information furnished to participants prior to the research.
- Appendix II: Semi-structured interview schedule for interviews with staff members working with institutions whose activities relate (d) with war-affected children and children formerly associated with the LRA.
- Appendix III: Semi-structured interview schedule for interviews with staff members of institutions working with and people/ experts on transitional justice.
- Appendix IV: Focus group discussion guide.
- Appendix V: Content analysis procedures for Chapter 6.
- Appendix VI: Response categories for key informant interview and focus group discussions.
- Appendix VII: University of Southampton ERGO Research Ethics Clearance.
- Appendix VIII: Uganda National Council for Science and Technology Research Ethics Clearance.
- Appendix IX: NVivo Word Cloud.

Appendix I: Information furnished to participants prior to the research

Focus Group Discussion Participant Information Sheet

Study Title: Exploring the Integration of Children Born to Females Abducted by the LRA, upon Return to Post-conflict Areas Affected by the LRA War, Uganda

Researcher: Eunice Akullo

Ethics number: 20895

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate, you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

This research is the first phase of study and part of my postgraduate research that should lead to an award of a PhD from University of Southampton, United Kingdom.

I am a female student from Uganda, and a Caroline Thomas Studentship scholar. The Studentship sponsors females from Africa with the intention of boosting their research potential. I am currently in my second year of enrolment in the department of Politics and International Relations, School of Social Human and Mathematical Sciences.

My research seeks to explore the process of integration of children born in captivity to females who were abducted by the Lord's Resistance Army (GoU and LRA/M) rebels and are currently living among post-conflict communities.

A review of the literature indicates that children born in captivity face stigma and discrimination among the communities to which they and their mothers have returned.

The research study seeks to:

- I. Explore the process of integration and the issues affecting it
- II. Examine the response of transitional justice to children as a war-affected category

Why have I been chosen?

The questions asked in this study aim at obtaining the opinions of people and institutions that are knowledgeable, and/or have participated in the process of either reintegration and/ or transitional justice. I have selected you for consideration to participate because I think you have the potential to provide information from a professional, technical, leadership or community member perspective in light of the study.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be given a participant information sheet. Your consent to participate voluntarily will be sought. Members of the group discussion will be informed of their responsibility to keep in confidence the information obtained and to respect each person's opinions. The process should take about 1 hour and 30 minutes at the most.

The discussion will be audio recorded. If participants are not comfortable with recording, notes will be taken for the information that you provide.

Unless necessary (such as if there is need to clarify or get more information on an issue that emerges from the discussion), there will be no follow-up interviews after this group discussion.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

There will be a transport refund of 20,000 Uganda Shillings to cater for your transportation to and from the location where the focus group discussion will be held. Light refreshments will also be provided.

The information obtained from participants will help to explore the integration challenges that children born in captivity are facing among their communities of return. The findings could provide feedback to necessary policy or programme design and implementation processes that respond to the needs of war-affected children such as children born in captivity and improve reintegration.

Are there any risks involved?

Participation may cause some discomfort from memory of the impact of war on your community. The information sought, however, does not request any personal information or experience. However, you are not

obligated to answer any question that you are not comfortable answering.

Will my participation be confidential?

Information obtained from the focus group discussions will be treated with confidentiality. All identifiers such as your name and location will not be included in the information used for the study. The information will be stored on a password-protected computer to avoid unauthorised or non-research related access.

Please note that others get to know any information that you provide during this discussion. Therefore, in case of sensitive information such as cases of abuse or security-related issues that you mention amidst other participants become public. This research is not in the position to address such issues. In case of incidences of this kind, I suggest that you seek help from the appropriate office or authorised persons such as the police and your locally elected leaders for necessary action required.

What happens if I change my mind?

As a participant, you are free to withdraw from participating in the study at any point and withdrawing will in no way affect any of your rights

What happens if something goes wrong?

In case of concern or complaint, the first person to contact is the chairperson in charge of ethics. The address is:

Head of Research Governance,

00442380595058

rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk

Where can I get more information?

For more information relating to this study, please contact Associate Professor Pia Riggiozzi [P.Riggiozzi@soton.ac.uk], Dr. Ingi Iusmen [I.Iusmen@soton.ac.uk]

You may also contact me by email: ea1c14@soton.ac.uk or telephone: +256-702-650648 or +256712345896

Interview Participant Information Sheet

Study Title: Exploring the Integration of Children Born to Females Abducted by the LRA, upon Return to Post-conflict Areas Affected by the LRA War, Uganda

Researcher: Eunice Akullo

Ethics number: 20895

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate, you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

This research is the first phase of study and part of my postgraduate research that should lead to an award of a PhD from University of Southampton, United Kingdom.

I am a female student from Uganda, and a Caroline Thomas Studentship scholar. The Studentship sponsors females from Africa with the intention of boosting their research potential. I am currently in my second year of enrolment in the department of Politics and International Relations, School of Social Human and Mathematical Sciences.

My research seeks to explore the process of integration of children born in captivity to females who were abducted by the Lord's Resistance Army (GoU and LRA/M) rebels and are currently living among post-conflict communities.

A review of the literature indicates that children born in captivity face stigma and discrimination among communities to which they and their mothers have returned.

The research study seeks to:

- I. Explore the process of integration and issues affecting it
- II. Examine the response of transitional justice to children as a war-affected category

Why have I been chosen?

The questions asked in this study aim at obtaining the opinions of people and institutions that are knowledgeable, and/ or have participated in the process of either reintegration and/ or transitional justice

I have selected to participate because I think you have the potential to provide information from a professional, technical or leadership perspective in light of the study.

What will happen to me if I take part?

You will be given a participant information sheet. Your consent to participate voluntarily will be sought. The interview should last between 40 minutes and one hour.

The interview will be audio recorded. However, if you are not comfortable with recording, notes will be taken for the information that you provide. Unless necessary, there will be no follow-up interviews after this interview.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

There will be no direct benefit for your participation. However, information obtained from participants will help to explore the integration challenges that children born in captivity are facing among their communities of return.

The findings could provide feedback to necessary policy or programme design and implementation processes that respond to the needs of war-affected children such as children born in captivity and improve reintegration/integration.

Are there any risks involved?

Participation may cause some discomfort from memory of the impact of war on your community. The information sought, however, does not request any personal information or experience. However, you are not obligated to answer any question that you are not comfortable answering.

Will my participation be confidential?

Information obtained from the interviews will be treated with confidentiality.

All identifiers such as your name and location will be included in the information used for the study. The information will be stored on a password-protected computer to avoid unauthorised or non-research related access.

Please note that this research is not in the position to address any sensitive information such as cases of abuse or security-related issues that you mention. I suggest that you seek help from the appropriate office or authorised persons such as the police and your locally elected leaders for necessary action required.

What happens if I change my mind?

As a participant, you are free to withdraw from participating in the study at any point and withdrawing will in no way affect any of your rights

What happens if something goes wrong?

In case of concern or complaint, the first person to contact is the chairperson in charge of ethics. The address is:

Head of Research Governance,

00442380595058

rgoinfo@soton.ac.uk

Where can I get more information?

For more information relating to this study, please contact Assoc Prof Pia Riggiozzi [P.Riggiozzi@soton.ac.uk], Dr. Ingi Iusmen [I.Iusmen@soton.ac.uk]

You may also contact me by email: ea1c14@soton.ac.uk or telephone: +256-702-650648 or +256712345896

INTERVIEW PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Study title: Exploring the Integration of Children born in captivity to LRA-Abducted females in Post-conflict areas affected by the LRA war, Uganda

Researcher name: Eunice Akullo

Ethics reference: 20895



Please insert the Mark in the box(es) if you agree with the

I have read and understood the information sheet ([31/5/2016], [140627_14-06-29_100518]) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the

I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be

I understand that my responses will be anonymised in reports of the research

I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time

Data Protection

I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password-protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study.

Name of participant (print name).....

Signature of participant.....

Appendix I

Date.....

FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Study title: Exploring the Integration of Children born in captivity to LRA-Abducted females in Post-conflict areas affected by the LRA war, Uganda

Researcher name: Eunice Akullo

Ethics reference: 20895

The moderator will read out the statements below and place the mark [✗] in the box(es) if respondents agree with them.:

I have understood the information sheet ([31/5/2016], [140627_14-06-29_100518]) read out to me and have had the opportunity to ask questions

I agree to take part in this research project and agree for my data to be recorded and used for the purpose of this study

I understand that my responses will be anonymised in reports of the research

I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time without my legal rights being affected

Data protection

I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password-protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study.

Date.....

Appendix II: Semi-structured Interview schedule for integration inquiries

Target group: staff members of Institutions whose activities relate (d) with war-affected children and children formerly associated with the LRA.

Questions

Aim: Exploring the integration process and issues affecting it

Question 1:

How did the war affect children in the LRA affected areas of this sub-region?

Question 2:

Following the end of the war, how have children fathered by armed soldiers integrated into the community?

Question 3:

What kinds of support have assisted in the integration of these children?

Question 4:

How many children born to formerly abducted females/girls would you estimate to have integrated back into post-conflict areas?

Question 5:

How would you describe the everyday life of these children as they transition from life in captivity to that among the communities in the post-conflict context?

Question 6:

In what ways can you tell that a person who returned from captivity has successfully been reintegrated/integrated into the community?

Question 7:

- a. Were there relationships formed among abducted females and their children during captivity, which continue following return and reintegration?
- b. If yes, how do such relationships affect reintegration of mothers and children in any way?

Question 8:

- a. Apart from children fathered by armed soldiers or fighters, do other children face integration challenges among post-war communities?
- b. Please explain your answer above

Thank you for your contribution to this study

Appendix III: Semi-structured interview schedule for transitional justice inquiries

Target group: Staff members of Institutions working with and people/experts on transitional justice

Questions

Aim: Exploring transitional justice for war-affected children

Question 1:

How did the war affect children in the LRA affected areas of this sub-region?

Question 2:

What place do children occupy within transitional justice?

Question 3:

Following the end of the war, what are the transitional justice needs of war-affected children?

Question 4:

In what ways are the post-war justice needs war-affected children addressed?

Question 5:

Following the end of the war, how have children fathered by armed soldiers integrated into the community?

Question 6:

How can transitional justice respond to *children born of war* as a category of war-affected children?

In April 2014, the 9th Parliament passed a resolution for gender-sensitive reparations. The resolution included the need to address the transitional justice needs of Children born of war.

Question 7:

Who are the *children born of war* referred to in the advocacy and the parliamentary debate that that passed the resolution on reparations?

Question 8:

In what ways will these reparations respond to the transitional justice needs of the *children born of war*?

Thank you for your contribution to this study

Appendix IV: Focus group discussion guide

Date:**Time:**

Location:

PURPOSE	CONTENT	TIME
Building Rapport	<p>Introductions</p> <p><i>(Verbal introductions will be made and a record of participants noted)</i></p> <p><i>Explaining purpose of project (as presented in the information sheet)</i></p> <p>Informing participants of their rights</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>There is no right or wrong answer</i> - <i>Participation is free and voluntary</i> - <i>Right to withdraw from participation at any point</i> <p><i>Sharing the rules for participation in the discussion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Respect of people</i> - <i>Respect for other's opinions</i> - <i>Voluntary participation</i> - <i>Any other (inquire from participants)</i> <p><i>Notifying the participants that the discussions will be audio recorded and seeking their consent</i></p> <p><i>Seeking consent: Every participant will be required to sign a consent form</i></p>	10 – 15 minutes
Exploring the integration process and issues affecting	<p>Note: The facilitator to explain the need to understand reintegration and issues surrounding the process</p> <p>Q1: Are there any children born in 'the</p>	25 – 30 minutes

<p>it</p>	<p><i>bush' [LRA captivity] living among your community?</i></p> <p><i>Q2: How are community members able to identify them?</i></p> <p><i>Q3: How did these children start living among the community?</i></p> <p><i>Q4: What is life like for children who were born during the war in your community?</i></p> <p><i>Q5: How about other children affected by the war, what is life like for them?</i></p> <p>Note: Captivity is often referred to as 'the bush' within the local language of people in the area</p>	
<p>Exploring transitional justice for war-affected children</p>	<p>Note: The facilitator to explain the use of transitional justice in this work as the need to account for crimes committed during the war.</p> <p><i>Q6: How did the LRA war affect children in this sub-region?</i></p> <p><i>Q7: What forms of transitional justice have responded to crimes committed against children affected by war?</i></p> <p><i>Q8: How about children who returned from 'the bush', how are the crimes committed against them accounted for?</i></p> <p><i>Q9: Does transitional justice affect the way children born in 'the bush' live among the community?</i></p> <p>[Probe: why do you say so?]</p>	<p>20–25 <i>minutes</i></p>
<p>Concluding discussions</p>	<p><i>Thank the participants</i></p> <p><i>Remind the participants that the information obtained from the discussion will be analysed and used for the academic work</i></p> <p><i>Seek for any questions or comments</i></p>	<p>05 – 10 <i>minutes</i></p>
<p>Total Time (Maximum)</p>		<p>1 hour</p>

	<i>and 30 minutes</i>
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Appendix V: Content analysis procedures for Chapter 6

Content analysis helps in drawing inferences and making hypothesis through what (Krippendorff, 2004) refers to as analytic construction. He uses the example of frameworks that follow the procedure: if X, then Y. In addition, (Hermann, 2008) emphasises the need for a clear coding frame. There is need to clarify whether coding focuses on words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, themes of the entire document. Being sure about the coding frame then guides the procedure. The coder or content analyst needs to have clear rules of procedure of how to undertake the coding and subsequent analysis.

Inductive content analysis

Indicative qualitative data analysis focused on information emerging from the data through this process. Thematic analysis is synonymous with this type of process on inductive coding and analysis of data. However, given that the researcher pre-determined the eventual categories for grouping the themes or issues emerging from the coding process (through the focus of the 'vital core'), the eventual outcome did not fully meet the needs of thematic inductive analysis.

One of the aims of the research was to derive empirical data for developing the concepts of integration with the aim of reflecting the distinct experiences of children born in captivity. This was a response to the first argument advanced in this thesis, because of a gap realised in the review of the literature on integration/reintegration. The concepts developed are this thesis' contribution to the already existing argument advanced for the need to recognise the specific vulnerability of children born in captivity and other *children born of war* through a decoupling of the reintegration and integration concepts.

Using information from the respondent's descriptions of the everyday life of children born in captivity, the researcher coded for (selected data for NVivo *nodes* reflecting) 'shallow and unsustainable integration'. The information on the ideal integration, as described by research participants, constituted the data coded for (selected data for NVivo *nodes* reflecting) 'deep and sustainable integration'. The emergence of information that did not fit neatly within these two broad categories, led to the development of a third concept – '*no integration*'. The procedure for coding and analysis was guided by the following questions developed from knowledge of analytic constructs obtained from the methodology of content analysis advanced by Krippendorff (2004) on the basis of 'if-then' in order to explain inferences and makes or test hypothesis. The following questions guided the inductive coding and analysis:

- i What words do interviewees, focus group discussants and other documents obtained from the file used to describe the everyday situation of children born in captivity?
- ii What characteristics exemplify the nature of their everyday situation? For instance, if a word or phrase X is used, what are the characteristic features of X?
- iii How do answers to the question (ii) above, fit within the elements of the 'vital core'?

What inferences can be made from (iii) above, about the situation in (i) and (ii)?

Using an inductive approach, a step-by-step model developed by (Mayring, 2000) guided the analysis of data as discussed below:

Step 1: Distinguishing the task for which analysis was required

The research sought to explore integration as a long-term process with the aims of distinguishing between possible levels or forms that it takes. The researcher had proposed sensitising concepts; 'shallow and unsustainable integration' as well as 'deep and sustainable integration'. Corroboration of answers from field data (interviews and focus groups) with other relevant information from and documents obtained online and from the field enabled triangulation. The computer qualitative data analysis program – NVivo- provided a location for data management, with these categories of documents imported to the programme.

Step 2: Criteria for selection (inductive categories)

This stage involved the coding of data from interview transcripts, transcripts from focus group discussions and other printed texts obtained from the field. Descriptions for the situation of children born in captivity's everyday life informed data coded for 'shallow and unsustainable integration'. Descriptions of nature of an ideal or successful form of integration provided data coded for 'deep and sustainable integration'. The descriptions provided information for inference in developing each of the concepts.

Step 3: Formulation of inductive categories

Initially, the researcher coded few materials (one focus group discussion transcript and five interview transcripts) to enable the derivation of codes as a guide to further coding. The coding frame dependent upon ideas emerging from the data, some of which related to those present in the literature reviewed.

Step 4: Revision of categories after coding of more materials followed by a formative check for reliability

Additional coding of (transcripts and texts from the field) led to the realisation that some chunks of data could not fit the above two categories. Therefore, a rethinking of possible alternative/additional coding themes led to the adoption of a new category; 'no integration'. At this stage of analysis, three categories guided further coding and concept development. These are 'no integration', 'shallow and unsustainable integration' and then 'deep and sustainable integration'.

As part of the formative check for reliability, a continuous reminder of steps 1 and 2, Helped to ensure that the process did not deviate from the reason for inductive analysis.

Step 5: Final working through the texts followed by a summative check for reliability

Given the use of a human security approach as the analytical approach for this research, an additional stage of coding led to the further categorisation of the codes for each type of integration, under the human security elements of 'dignity', 'livelihoods' and 'survival'. For codes or contents that cut across different categories of human security components, the researchers ensured that they appeared in all relevant sections.

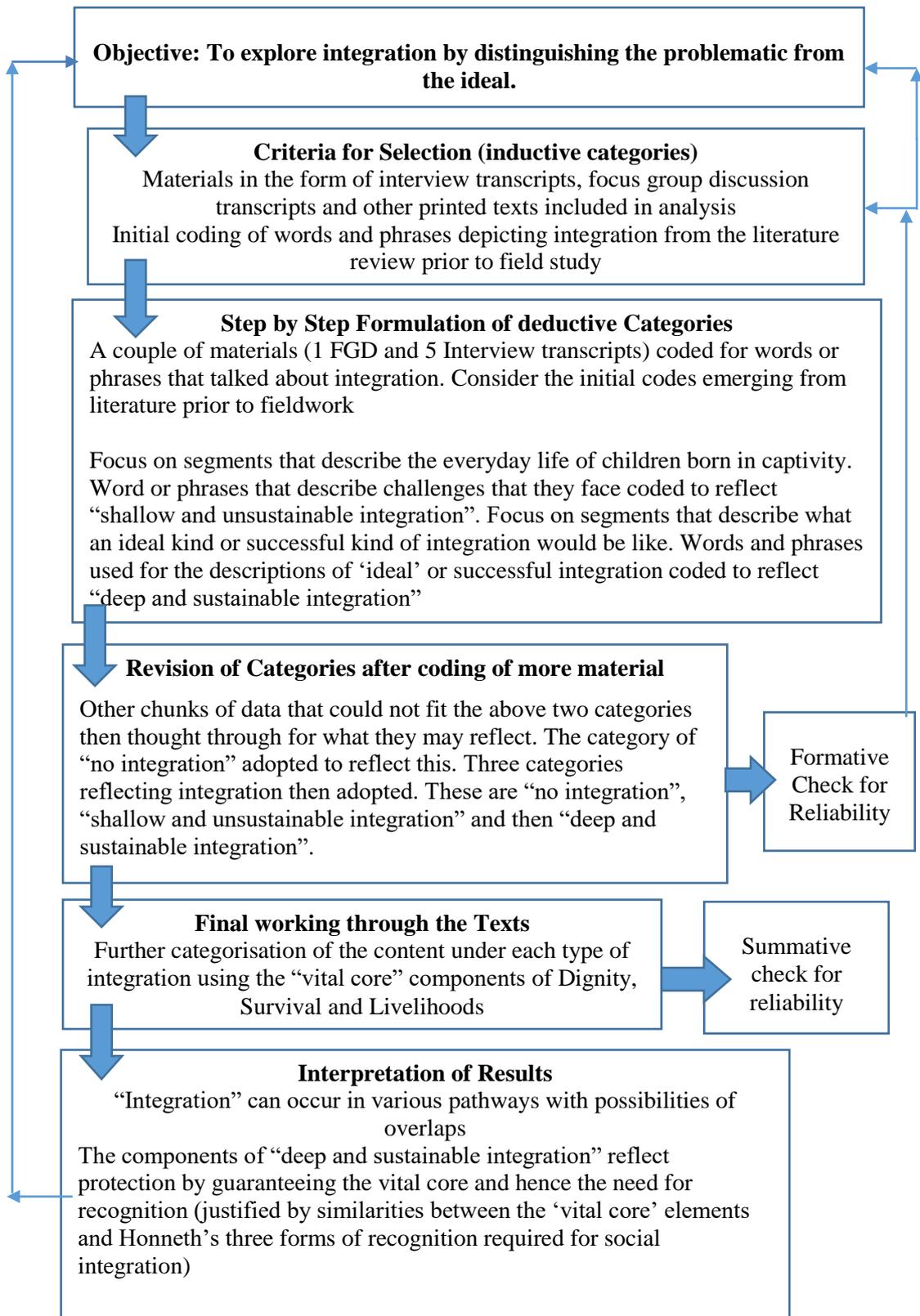
Furthermore, alternative words or phrases provided by the respondents that are synonymous to either 'shallow and unsustainable integration' or 'deep and sustainable integration' were identified and used in the description of the different kinds of integration.

Step 6: Interpretation of results

By the end of the systematic process of inductive analysis, the research data suggest that 'integration' can occur in three stages and does occur in a continuum with possibilities of overlaps. The application of the human security components reflect that targeting the three components of human security may help guarantee 'deep and sustainable integration'.

The figure below provides an illustration of the six steps explained above.

Content analysis using a step-by-step model of inductive category development by Mayring, 2000



The content analysis procedure for deriving transitional justice needs of children born of war

Deductive content analysis

The second argument advanced by this thesis is that the 'shallow and unsustainable integration' of children born in captivity compromises their enjoyment of transitional justice as a specific war-affected group. This research adopts the critical theory grounded in reparative justice (Verdeja, 2008), grounded in the social justice concepts of 'redistribution' and 'recognition'. Given the normative justification of his theory grounded in the social justice ideals of Fraser (1997), the researcher uses the four categories of reparations suggested by Verdeja (material, symbolic, group, and individual), in explaining the needs of children born in captivity.

The thesis' second argument led to the adoption of a specific objective emerging aimed at ascertaining the transitional justice needs of children born in captivity, with the aim of exploring the linkage between that and 'deep and sustainable integration'.

The procedure for coding (selected data for nodes) and analysis was guided by the following questions developed from knowledge obtained from the methodology of content analysis advanced by (Krippendorff, 2004) on the basis of 'if... then' in order to explain inferences and makes or test hypothesis: The following questions guided the deductive coding and analysis:

- 1. What words or phrases do interviewees, focus group discussants and other literature from the field use to describe the transitional justice needs of children born in captivity?*
- 2. How do reparations meet the transitional justice needs of these children?*
- 3. Considering the research theory adopted (social justice as both redistributive and guaranteeing recognition), what elements of the material, symbolic, individual and group aspects inherent in Verdeja's (2008) reparations framework, are reflected in the answers to the question (2) above?*
- 4. What inferences can be made from (3) above, about the linkage between reparations and integration?*

Chapter 6 provides explanations of the results from the above process. It explains reparations for children born in captivity within broader discussions on reparations for Uganda's children born in captivity.

The procedure for coding and analysis was guided by the following questions developed from knowledge obtained from the methodology of content analysis advanced by (Mayring, 2000; Krippendorff, 2004):

5. What words or phrases do interviewees, focus group discussants and other literature from the field use to describe the transitional justice needs of children born in captivity?
6. How do reparations meet the transitional justice needs of these children?
7. Considering the research theory adopted (social justice as both redistributive and guaranteeing recognition), what elements of the 'redistributive' and 'recognition' aspects of social justice, are reflected in the answers to question (2) above?
8. What inferences can be made from (3) above, about the linkage between transitional justice and integration?

Using the step-by-step model developed by (Mayring, 2000), the process of content analysis was conducted as discussed below.

Step 1: Distinguishing the task for which analysis was required

Deductive analysis, informed by data coded was in response to the interview question and focus group discussion question on how reparations as a transitional justice mechanism can respond to the post-war needs of children born in captivity, a category of *children born of war*.

Step 2: Criteria for selection (Theory-based definition of categories)

Adopted reparative justice as social justice according to Verdeja (2008) with the aim of addressing social justice philosophies of recognition (symbolic) and distribution/redistribution (material).

For Verdeja therefore, reparations is a broad definition that addresses harms relation to 'maldistribution' (and therefore creating a necessity for redistribution of material resources) and 'misrecognition' (creating a need for actions that respond to symbolic acts of inequality that affect the status and attendant wellbeing of persons whose dignity is not respected, actions rooted in harms related to their identity).

Step 3: Theoretical based formulation of definitions, examples and coding rules for the categories and collecting data in a coding agenda

Phrases or sentences depicting the kinds of transitional justice responses to the crimes committed against children during the war included. Specific responses to the question on how reparations can address the needs of *children born of war* (answered by those aware of or participated in the petition to parliament for gender-sensitive reparations)

In order to collect data in the coding agenda, the deductive categories of 'Material Reparations', 'Symbolic Reparations', 'Individual Reparations' and 'Group Reparations'

Were adopted and data coded under each.

In addition, reparations to groups and individuals. These categories form part of the provisions entrenched in the United Nations Basic Principles and Guidelines on the right to a remedy and reparation for victims of gross violations of International Human Rights Law.

Step 4: Revision of categories and coding agenda and formative check for reliability

No revision of coding categories given the deductive nature of coding and so the formative check for reliability necessitated a continuation of the procedures in steps (2) and (3) above.

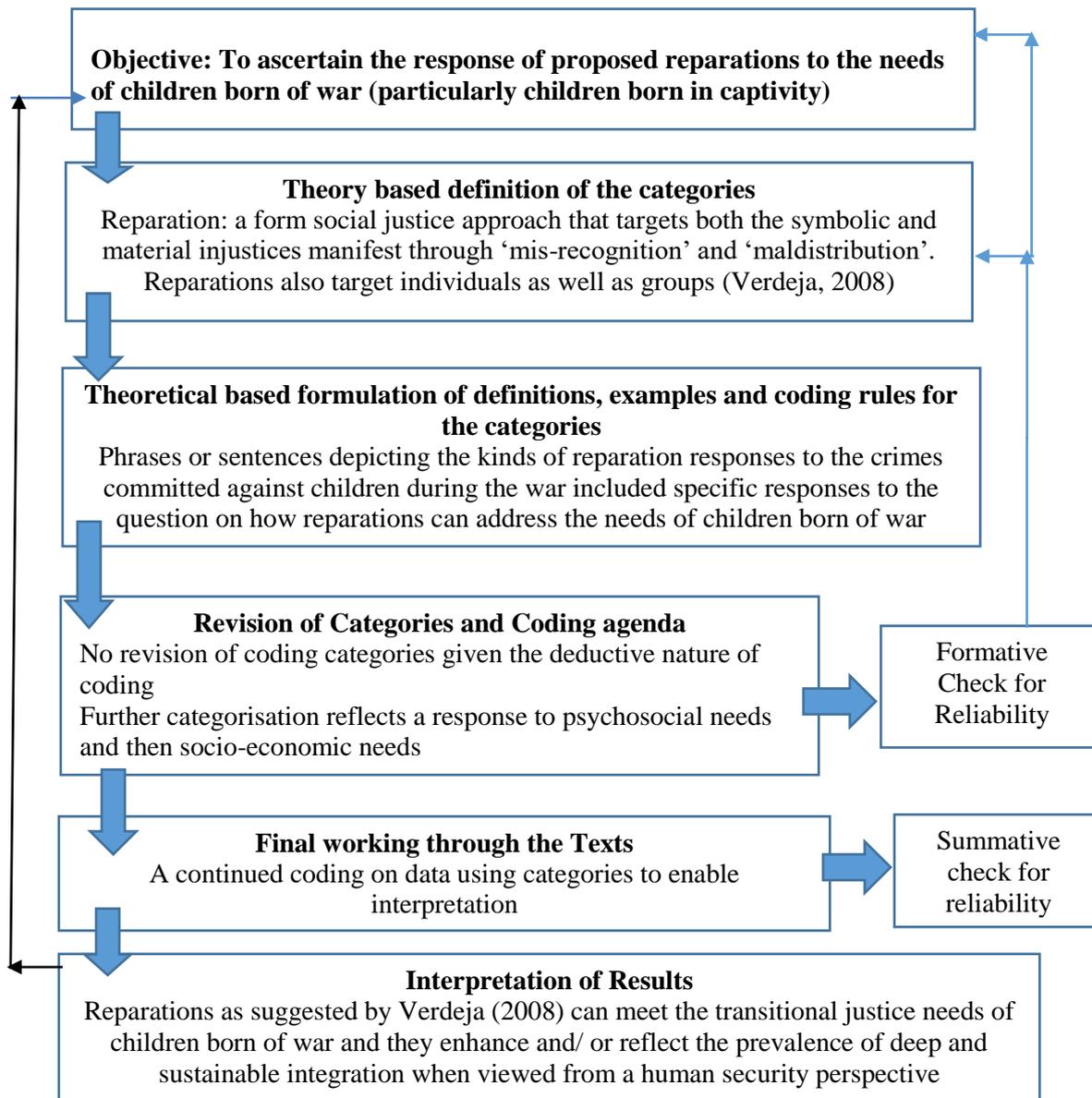
Step 5: Final working through of the texts and summative check for reliability

The researcher continued coding on data using categories to enable interpretation.

Step 6: Interpretation of results

The above step-by-step process is reflected in the diagram below:

Content analysis using a step-by-step model of deductive category development by Mayring (2000)



Appendix VI: Response Categories of Key Informants and Focus Group Participants

Details of respondents interviewed in the study

Identifier	Description	Gender	Work experience in relation to research	Date of interview	Place of interview
1MI290716K	NGO employee	Male	Mr. Oboke (pseudonym) in the period 2009–13, worked with Amnesty Commission in partnership with Government of Uganda and UN MONUSCO and in aiding the escape of former child soldiers. They also would provide relevant information to those in captivity (through radio) in order to encourage them that it was safe to return to Uganda. While in the DRC, they set up a reception centre called Dungu where psychosocial support would be provided for the returning children before being moved to Uganda.	29/07/2016	Kampala
2MI01082016 A	Former humanitarian worker and employee of Invisible Children	Male	Mr. Anywar (pseudonym) grew up in Northern Uganda and experienced the war. He worked with various NGOs in Gulu during the time of internal displacement and in the post-conflict	01/08/2016	Gulu (Acholi sub-region)

			period. Notable among the NGOs was his involvement with Invisible Children – an NGO that collaborated with other NGOs assisting FAPs and seeking an end to the LRA rebellion.		
3MI020816A	Reintegration expert	Male	<p>Mr Omona helped set up two reception centres – GUSCO and Rachelle. He also worked in the Democratic Republic of Congo as a reintegration expert.</p> <p>By the time of the interview, he was one of the panel members offering advice to the UN secretary-General on matters of children and reintegration.</p> <p>He is also a director of Pope Benedict 16th Integrated School, located in Omoro district. Some of the pupils in the school are CBIC.</p>	02/08/2016	<p>Pope John Paul II integrated Schools.</p> <p>The school was part of Gulu district by the time of the interview</p>
4MI030816A	Transitional justice and peace-building practitioner	Male	Mr. Okumu (pseudonym) previously worked with GUSCO and JRP before forming his own NGO that works on transitional justice. By the time of the research, he was working as founder and director of the Foundation for Justice and Development Initiatives.	03/08/2016	Gulu
5FI030816A	Gender justice	Female	Ms. Akuma (pseudonym) is a gender	03/08/2018	JRP (Gulu)

	expert at JRP		justice expert at JRP. She works on projects that support mothers of children born in captivity and their children. She also assists in research projects that target these mothers through <i>Watye Ki Gen</i> – the CBOs formed by mothers of children born in captivity living in Acholi sub-region.		
6MI030816A	Programme officer at Acholi Education Initiative	Male	Mr. Obwona works with AEI, an NGO that provides education and psychosocial support to children formerly associated with the LRA. They offer scholarships to beneficiary children, conduct psychosocial support for the children and some teachers of schools that such children attend.	03/08/2018	AEI (Gulu)
7FI010816A	Researcher on children born of war in Uganda	Female	Ms. Atimango (pseudonym) is a former abducted female (as acknowledged in her dissertation on children born of war – available online). Having gone through psychosocial support, she returned to school and was able to obtain her Master’s degree. Her research was on children born of war in Uganda. By the time of the research, she was pursuing her PhD	01/08/2018	Gulu

			research.		
9MI040816A	Co-founder and director of 'I Live Again'	Male	Mr. Ochola (pseudonym) works with 'I Live Again', an NGO that conducts trauma counselling in areas of Acholi sub-region. Some of their clients include persons who were formerly associated with the LRA. The NGO also supports some of the people who migrated to Kampala from the sub-region, during the time of internal displacement. They offer psychosocial support and material assistance required in helping those who want to move back home (to areas in Acholi sub-region).	04/08/2016	Gulu
10MI040816A	Trauma counsellor at 'I Live Again'	Male	Mr. Omara (pseudonym) is in charge of operations at the NGO. He is a trained trauma counsellor who works with beneficiaries of the NGO in Gulu. He also coordinates the work of the NGO in Kampala (Acholi quarters).	04/08/2016	Gulu
11MI040816A	Religious leader and member of Acholi Religious Peace Initiative (ARLPI)	Male	Bishop is a member of the ARLPI. He was part of the observers of the Juba peace talks (2006–08) and has played a very important role in peace-building in the sub-region. He was in Gulu by the time of the research, hence I was able to interview him.	04/08/2018	Gulu

12MI090816L	NGO employee (former humanitarian worker and now a development practitioner)	Male	Mr. Aremo (pseudonym) worked as a humanitarian worker in Pader (Acholi sub-region) during the time of the LRA conflict and internal displacement. He also worked among post-conflict communities in Lango sub-region, with projects that implemented the Peace and Recovery Development Plan.	09/08/2016	Lira (Lango sub-region)
13MI090816L	Teacher at Rachelle Secondary School	Male	Mr. Okaca (pseudonym) was abducted by the LRA, returned to Uganda and was rehabilitated through the Rachelle programme. Having completed his bachelor's degree in education, he was employed by Rachelle as a teacher in the school. His experience with the LRA and work with children formerly associated with the LRA, including children born in captivity, made him the ideal choice of respondent suggested to me by the school head teacher. Having explained the purpose of the study, he consented to participate in the research and was interviewed.	09/08/2016	Lira
14FI090816L	Community	Female	Mrs. Etema (pseudonym) worked with	09/08/2018	Lira

	Development Officer and former humanitarian worker		World Vision International and Population Services International. Both were NGOS assisting FAPs in Acholi sub-region during the time of internal displacement. She then moved to Lango sub-region in the post-conflict phase and by the time of the interviews, was working as a community development officer in Otuke – one of the former war-affected districts in the sub-region. Since she lives in Lira, the interview was conducted at her residence following the consent of her spouse.		
15MI090816L	An employee of CPA (reception centre)	Male	<p>Mr. Acede (pseudonym) worked as a community programme officer with CPA in the districts of Alebtong and Otuke. Both districts were victimised by LRA abductions during the war.</p> <p>CPA was formed in response to the abduction of the Aboke Girls. Its initial work was focused on advocacy for the release of formerly abducted children. Later, the organisation expanded its mandate to include reintegration support to those who returned from captivity.</p> <p>As part of his work, Michael was responsible for enabling the reunification of persons formerly associated with the</p>	09/08/2018	Lira

			LRA and their families in the communities of return.		
16MI100816L	Transitional Justice Expert at AYINET	Male	Mr. Odongo (pseudonym) works on the justice desk that is responsible for realising Sustainable Development Goal number 16 (Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions). By the time of the research, his programme has participated in the research leading to the National War Victim's Conference (May, 2014), the consultation required for the ongoing trial of Ongwen at the ICC. The rehabilitation is possible because of funds expended by the ICC Trust Fund for Victims.	10/08/2016	Lira
17MI100816L	Transitional Justice Expert at Uganda Victim's Foundation	Male	Mr. Otim (pseudonym) was part of the team at Uganda Victim's Foundation that has been involved with transitional justice debates and consultations at the grassroots level in Lango and Acholi sub-regions. The organisation conducts medical rehabilitation and partners with other NGOs such as Uganda Victim's Foundation and others in Teso (through Amuria District Development Association) in offering medical rehabilitation.	10/08/2016	Lira

19MI110816L	Deputy Chief Administrative officer with Oyam District Local Government by the time of the interview.	Male	Mr. Oluka (pseudonym) was particularly interviewed to get the position of someone working with local government, following the discussions that emerged from the focus group held in Oyam. Participants had mentioned that programmes under the PRDP did not benefit children born in captivity. Secondly, concerns of bureaucracy as a challenge to accessing support available for such children had emerged from the discussion. As a local government official involved in the implementation of the PRDP, his views on integration of children born in captivity was sought.	11/08/2016	Lira
20MI140816K	Demobilisation and Reintegration expert	Male	Mr. Okello (pseudonym) worked with Amnesty Commission in Acholi sub-region during the time of internal displacement and the post-conflict phase. Following the failed peace talks (2006–08), he also worked with Invisible Children in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central Africa Republic as an expert in demobilisation and reintegration.	14/08/2018	Kampala
21GRPI160816T	Deputy Headmistress	Female and	The female was the deputy headmistress at Lwala Girls Secondary School at the	16/08/2016	Kaberamaido

	and long-serving teacher who was working at the school when abduction of children took place at Lwala Girls Secondary School in 24/06/2003	Male	time of the interview. The male respondent was the longest-serving teacher at the school at the time of the interview. He was an employee of the school when the LRA abducted students in 2003. He also shared briefly about having witnessed some children fathered by the Tanzanian armed forces that helped oust Idi Amin in 1979 and was able to relate their plight to that of children born in captivity, particularly the challenge of having no clan identity.		
23IM160816T	Co-founder and employee of a CBOs called Obalanga Human Rights Health Care Association. The organisation partners with other local NGOs such as JRP and Rachelle when assisting persons formerly associated with	Male	Mr Engemu is one of the founders of Obalanga Human Rights Health Care Association, a CBO. The CBO was located in Amuria district by the time of the interview. The interview (using select questions) was conducted on phone since I was not able to reach him during my time in Teso and because of the bad phone connection. Originally, the CBO was involved in providing mass burials of people killed by the LRA and offering psychosocial services to victims of the war. Later on, it	16/08/2016	Amuria

	the LRA		expanded its activities to include the rehabilitation of persons formerly associated with the LRA in partnership with other organisations that specifically deal with this categories of war-affected children.		
24IM170816T	Former intelligence officer in the local militia (Arrow Boys) and a social worker by profession	Male	Mr. Eyalama (pseudonym) helped introduce me to the mobilisers of the focus group discussion who happened to also be a former militia in the Arrow Brigade. The militia played an important role in garnering local human resources to protect the people of Teso by fighting against LRA attacks. The local militia collaborated with the Ugandan army (UPDF) and reception centres in aiding the reintegration of persons formerly associated with the LRA.	17/08/2018	Soroti
25FI230816K	National transitional justice advisor	Female	Counsel 1 was the national transitional justice advisor by the time of research was part of the Acholi community. She works under the Ministry of Justice and collaborates with the Justice Law and Order Sector.	23/08/2016	Kampala
26FI230816K	Victim's lawyer in the trial of	Female	Counsel 2 was a victims' representative lawyer in the case of Kwoyelo that is	23/08/2018	Kampala

	Thomas Kowyelo, a former LRA commander (as by time of research and writing)		ongoing in Gulu High court under the local justice process in Uganda.		
27MI240816K	Associate Professor of International Relations at Makerere University	Male	An Associate Professor at the department of Public Administration and Political Science (Makerere University). He is originally from Acholi sub-region and has researched and published on various issues related to the LRA war.	24/08/2018	Kampala
28FI310816K	A leader of the Acholi community living in Acholi quarters (Kampala). Having stayed in the area for over 20 years, the community members appointed her as	Female	Mama Amaro (pseudonym) is one of the first people who moved to Acholi quarters and settled there when the LRA was active in Acholi sub-region. The respondent opted not to be recorded and requested for anonymity. Some of the people in the area moved there during the time of internal displacement. The migrants include some of the people formerly associated with the LRA who migrated to Kampala for fear of	31/08/2018	Kampala

	<p>one of the leaders.</p> <p>Her leadership was demonstrated when half-way through the interview some community members brought a young girl who had been brought from Acholi and had escaped from her boss. Having been found stranded in the neighbourhood, community members brought the girl to her so that she would interrogate her and see how best to help her be</p>		<p>re-abduction or stigma and discrimination among communities of reintegration.</p>		
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	assisted to move back to her original home in Acholi				
29MI290816K	Public Relations Officer Uganda Amnesty Commission	Male	The respondent opted not to be recorded and requested for anonymity. He had worked for the organisation from as far back as the time when the commission was established – in order to implement the Amnesty Act of Uganda.	29/08/2016	Kampala
30MI010916K	Former Member of Parliament from Apac district in Lango sub-region	Male	His constituency is one of the places that were victimised by LRA atrocities, including the abduction of children.	01/09/2018	Kampala

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