The Intergenerational Impact of Stigma faced by Female Ex-Abductees:

A Case Study of Northern Uganda

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List of Abbreviations

CBIC	Children born in captivity
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
ICC	International Criminal Court
IDP	Internal Displacement Camp
IO	International Organization
LC	Local Council
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PAR	Participant Action Research
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
TA	Template Analysis
UPDA	Ugandan People's Democratic Army
UPDF	Ugandan People's Defense Force

Introduction

The literature regarding young abductees or child soldiers has only recently focused on the experiences and realities of girls and young women during and after armed conflicts. Even though the majority of child soldiers are boys, the number of female child soldiers is still significant and not to be neglected (Kiconco, 2015). The United Nations (2015) estimated that 40 per cent of the estimated 300.000 child soldiers in over 20 conflicts worldwide are female (UN, 2015). Furthermore, the experiences and roles of young women during and after conflicts are distinctive of their male counterparts. Research has shown that female ex-abductees suffer to a higher degree under PTSD, trauma, depression and suicidal thoughts than male abductees (Winkler et al., 2015). Although there has been given some attention to the issue of female child soldiers, studies investigating the impact of reintegration on the lives of these young women still remain scarce (Tonheim, 2010; Wessells, 2007). Similarly, studies examining the various stigmas ex-abductees face are rather limited and focus often only on men.

Moreover, the intergenerational impact of war and post-conflict reintegration is an equally understudied field in academia. Studies have suggested that generations which have experienced war-time violence may pass violence, trauma or other maladapted behaviors to the next generation (Berckmoes, et.al., 2017). However, these studies still remain scarce and their findings are inconclusive and often contradictory (Catani, 2010). In particular, limited to no attention has been given to the issue on how stigma impacts the next generation. By investigating how stigma in post-conflict settings affects female ex-abductees and their offspring in Northern Uganda, this research project attempts to contribute to this scarce body of literature. Thus, this thesis asks the following research questions:

(i) How does stigma faced by female ex-abductees and its consequences impact the next generation?

(ii) Which mechanisms mitigate the intergenerational impact of stigma?

In order to conduct this study, I have gathered and collected data during my research field study in Northern Uganda in the months between January and April, 2019. Gulu is the administrative Centre for the Acholi/northern region of Uganda and was the region in which Joseph Kony found the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in the end of the 1980s. Additionally, it was ground zero for the LRA atrocities committed in the following two decades. Today, the city of Gulu, which hosted many internally displaced persons during the war, is experiencing economic recovery. It has also become a hotspot for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and international organizations (IOs), including UN Women and a task unit of the International Criminal Court. Using Gulu as my point of departure, I conducted my research in Gulu district, Pader, Teso and Amuru region. These districts and regions are still suffering under the consequences of a brutal conflict which lasted over 20 years. Moreover, these rural regions suffer from a slow development

process when compared to urban areas or other parts of Uganda, and many people live under extreme poverty.

The rationale to conduct this research in northern Uganda is simple and as followed: The LRA heavily relied upon forced recruitment tactics and abductions from rural communities in the Acholi region. It is estimated that at some point abducted women and children made up to 70- 80% of the LRA's fighting force (Kiconco, 2015; Apio, 2008). After a peace negotiations between the LRA and the Ugandan government in 2006, most of these abductees, but also senior commanders, returned to their local communities and were offered amnesty packages and reintegrated into civilian life. Conducting this research project thirteen years after the civil conflict has three benefits and purposes. First, it will enable the assessment of the long-term effects of return and reintegration for female ex-abductees and the various stigmas these women and their offspring are facing after return. Second, it will allow one to examine the intergenerational impact of female ex-abductee's reintegration, with a special focus on stigma. Thus, this research project will not only contribute to the current understanding of this particular topic but additionally add to the underdeveloped literature on the reintegration of female ex-abductees but also on the intergenerational impact of stigma. Lastly, it will identify and investigate appropriate mitigation factors that can help scholars, policy advisors, governments, IOs and NGOs to formulate more gender- and community-sensitive reintegration projects in the future that aim to counter stigma and the intergenerational impacts of it.

In order to examine the intergenerational impact of stigma ex-abductees face, this thesis uses ecological system theory as main theoretical framework. Participatory Action Research (PAR) was used as primary research method and included the data collection through interviews, focus group discussions and participant observations. In order to verify the collected data and results, data triangulation was used to cross-check the results of the interviews, focus group discussions, participant observations and existing research. The main findings suggest that stigma and its consequences can indeed become intergenerational. Female ex-abductees as well as their children are found to be facing name-calling, labeling, stereotyping, emotional and physical as well as sexual abuse in their respective communities. This leads to decreased social, economic and educational opportunities. While accounting for the socio-cultural context and harsh environment communities in Northern Uganda are living in, this thesis found that community and family awareness raising, choice of location, livelihood interventions, educational opportunities, non-targeted program designs, and peer support as well as self-help groups are all valuable mechanisms and support program characteristics that can decrease the intergenerational impact of stigma.

After this introduction, the next section provides an overview of the current state of literature concerned with the reintegration of female abductees and its intergenerational impact, particular in regard

to stigma. The third section then introduces the theoretical framework, conceptual definitions and the causal argument. Subsequently, the research design, methodological choices and ethical considerations are outlined in the fourth section. Section five will then provide a brief overview about the historical, social and cultural context of war and reintegration in Northern Uganda. Thereafter, both section six and seven are devoted to the presentation and discussion of the empirical evidence. Specifically, section six will discuss the stigma faced by female ex-abductees after reintegration and consequently, how this is extends to their children and impacts their lives. Section seven will then examine what mechanisms are effective in reducing stigma and its consequences while investigating the theoretical explanations and causal mechanisms elaborated in section three. The conclusion summarizes and discusses the main findings, indicates policy implications and proposes gateways for future research.

Previous Research

This research will contribute to the limited body of literature concerning the reintegration of female ex-abductees and its long-term intergenerational impact of stigma. Therefore, this section will discuss the current literature and debate on the nexus between the reintegration of female ex-abductees, stigma, as well as its intergenerational impact.

Return and Reintegration of Women in Post-Conflict Societies

Despite the fact that women and girls have participated in various conflicts for decades, the literature regarding child soldiers has only recently focused on the experiences and realities of girls and young women. Even though the majority of child soldiers are boys, the number of female child soldiers is still significant and not to be neglected (Kiconco, 2015). Regardless of the fact that estimates concerning the participation rate of women in conflicts vary widely, studies have suggested that 10- 30% of all members in non-state armed groups are women (Bouta et al., 2005). Furthermore, their experiences and roles during and after the conflicts are distinctive of their male counterparts (El Jack, 2007). Although there has been some attention paid to the issue of female child soldiers, studies investigating the impact of reintegration on the lives of these young women still remain scarce and rather limited (Tonheim, 2010; Wessells, 2007). Similarly, reintegration programs for ex-combatants and abductees often fail to address the specific needs of women despite a growing international consensus that women play a crucial role in post-conflict societies, as stated in the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 and 2000.

According to the United Nations, reintegration of abductees is part of a much broader program of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) and should include "family reunification, mobilizing and enabling the child's existing care system, medical screening and health care, schooling or vocational training, psychological support, and social and community-based reintegration. Reintegration programs need to be sustainable and take into account children's aspirations" (IDDR, 2006: 3). Yet, a study conducted after the LRA conflict in northern Uganda suggests that this emphasis of reintegrating abductees into their former communities is problematic due to the fact that many survivors prefer to insert themselves into different communities in order to avoid stigmatization and to retain their anonymity (Ainebyona, 2011). Furthermore, many DDR programs work towards de-mobilization and dis-armament and focus less on reintegration which is of particular important for young women. For instance, handing in arms is one major pre-condition for entering into official DDR programs. Yet, many female abductees do not own arms and thus do not qualify for these programs. This may explain why few women are consulted and incorporated into official DDR programs (Coulter et al., 2008; Mazurana and Carlson, 2004). As a result, they are disadvantaged and lack access to financial benefits, material support, training and education programs in

comparison to their male counterparts. This experience of exclusion may not only result in women's stigmatized status during post-conflict reconstruction and low socio-economic position but may also lead to a further traumatization and re-traumatization. In fact, the design of DDR programs tend to marginalize women and children in post-conflict societies (Stark et.al., 2009). In Uganda, male ex-combatants and abductees were integrated into the Ugandan army and received salaries. However, women who were often abducted by these men, received little to no support from the government (Mukasa, 2017). This illustrates the failure of many DDR programs and their lack of attention to women's roles and experiences during conflict as well as their needs in post-conflict settings.. In northern Uganda, where female ex-abductees and their children are the most marginalized group (Atim et.al., 2018), only NGOs, which rely on external funding, provide support for these women and work on gender-sensitive reintegration programs.

Social Stigma and Discrimination

Female ex-abductees are often faced with stigma, discrimination, mistrust, suspicion and commonly feared (Kiconco, 2015). Despite the fact that those young women have not joined the conflict voluntarily, communities in northern Uganda still regard these women as rebels and perpetrators rather than as victims of war. As a result, this does not only increase Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) but it also greatly hinders their effective reintegration into their respective communities (Coulter, 2009). Theories of stigma and discrimination are helpful to understand the situation of female ex-abductees and their children in post-conflict environments. According to Betancourt et al. (2010), "stigma exists when an individual is labeled, negatively stereotyped, categorized as separate, and experiences discrimination by someone who is in a position of relative power" (p.4). Further, stigma is defined as individual's characteristics that are regarded as abnormal by others in the society, and thus leads to the conviction that these people have to be avoided in public and private interactions (Goffmann, 1960). Although stigma is largely under-conceptualized and its meaning often varies, one can separate between two forms of stigma, internal and external. First, "external" stigmatization refers to prejudice and discrimination by others in the society. Second, this external stigmatization negatively impacts the self- identification and perception of the stigmatized as inferior compared to others in the society and is thus "internalized" (Tonheim, 2010; Betancourt et al., 2010).

In Northern Uganda, female ex-abductees are stigmatized by various social actors which has long-term implications for their reintegration. For instance, a former wife of Joseph Kony, Evelyn Amony, testified and described stigmatization and discrimination by relatives and criticized the lack of addressing gender issues faced by female ex-abductees during the reintegration process (Amony, 2015). Similarly, another woman who was forcefully married to a LRA commander recounts and describes discrimination

by her neighbors (Baines and Stewart, 2011). Studies on female soldiering in Uganda have shown that stigma and discrimination not only adversely affects access to key community relationships such as marriage, but also hinders social and economic opportunities for the recovery of female ex-abductees (Woldetsadik, 2018).

Furthermore, since female abductees were exposed to rape, forced marriages, and commanded to loot and kill, these young women re-entered civilian life with deep physical and psychological traumas (Stark et.al., 2009). On one hand, research has illustrated that these young women often suffer under high rates of emotional distress, fear, sadness, and a variety of phobias which can all be attributed to their traumatic experiences endured during captivity (Amone-P'Olak, 2005: 33; Betancourt et al., 2010). Additionally, a longitudinal study of the RUF in Mozambique suggests that family support and economic opportunities effectively decreases the propensity of negative mental health outcomes later in life (Betancourt et al., 2010). Similarly, a study conducted in Nepal proposes that stigma increases negative mental health outcomes (Kohrt et al., 2008). Betancourt and colleagues also emphasized that stigma and discrimination is a mediating factor between surviving conflict-related sexual violence and depression, where experiencing stigma after reintegration relates to higher rates of depression (Betancourt et al. 2010). Also, Blattmann and Annan (2007) found that experiencing community rejection as well as educational and economic deprivation leads to anti-social behavior and emotional distress of ex-abductees later in life. Yet, scholars have criticized that current literature narrowly focuses on trauma, while neglecting youth resilience and coping capabilities (Abatneh, 2006; Hart and Tyrer, 2006).

On the other hand, women often suffer under the untreated consequences of sexually transmitted diseases, HIV, vaginal infection, fistula and incontinence due to the injuries sustained after repeated instances of rape (Woldetsadik, 2018). Both physical and psychological consequences not only exacerbates the stigmatization of these women, but also the lack of adequate health care and the failure to address physical and psychological problems in reintegration programs substantially hinders the successful integration of female ex-abductees into society.

The Intergenerational Impact

Stigma and its negative socio-economic consequences faced by female ex-abductees may not only impact their own life's but can also have a devastating effect on the lives and development of their children. Studies have shown that children born in captivity as well as those born after reintegration are often exposed to the same stigma and discriminations as their mothers. In Northern Uganda, they are perceived by the community and their families as illegitimate children or labelled as children of rebels possessed by evil spirits (Apio, 2007; Akello, 2013). In Acholi customs, a child born outside marriage can only gain its

legitimacy if another man pays money to the mother's family and bails the child out. However, children born in LRA captivity usually do not benefit from such a bail out and hence, their families disenfranchise and discriminate them (Owacgiu, 2008). In addition, if a female abductee of the LRA is remarried to another man, usually his family does not accept such a child, and mothers often have to leave them with relatives. This further intensifies the psychological trauma and the children's stigmatization as well as decreases the child's socio-economic opportunities (Kamoga, 2016).

Furthermore, as female ex-abductees and their children often live in isolation, fear and discrimination, stigmatization may also cause further problems on the socio-economic and household level and may lead to human rights violations and deprivation of social services (Kiconco, 2015). Women might experience difficulties to find employment due to their lack of basic education, marginalized and stigmatized status (Ibid.). Arguably, this makes it increasingly difficult to cater for their and their children's basic needs. Furthermore, their children may get bullied in school which may lead them to abandon schooling altogether while decreasing their future socio-economic prospect (Mochmann, 2012). According to Acholi customs, women are not allowed to inherit land or properties. Children born in captivity with unknown or untraceable fathers suffer socio-economically under the same traditions and customs than their mothers by being unable to access valuable resources such as land (Woldetsadik, 2018). Carpenter has noted that: "Children of rape or exploitation who are raised by their mothers are likely to be extremely poor. This is related to the status of women in war-affected societies in general, exacerbated by the stigma of having been raped, which may in turn be heightened by the 'scandalous' choice to raise the child of rape" (2007: 10). Thus, the stigma attached to these women and their children increases their social and economic vulnerabilities and hampers the prospect for sustainable socio-economic integration.

As already discussed in the previous section, socio-economic isolation and stigma relates to higher rates of violent and anti-social behavior. Therefore, the theory of cycle of violence and related studies suggests that a victim or perpetrator of violence may exhibit violent or anti-social behavior later in life and transfers them to the next generation (Berckmoes et.al., 2017; Betancourt et al. 2015). Although the theory was initially formulated in order to research domestic violence and child abuse in Northern America and Europe, it is now receiving increased attention by researchers examining environments of chronic violence across the world (Berckmoes et.al., 2017). A recent study conducted in Burundi discovered a positive relation between increased child care and resilience among children. In contrast, negative caregiving was related to anti-social behavior (Berckmoes et.al., 2017). Interestingly, scholars suggest that PTSD propelled by stigma facilitates or enhances the intergenerational transfer of anti-social behavior and violence (Betancourt et al., 2010). Violent traumatic experiences during war may disable parents to adequately care for their children later in life (NSCR, 2017). Therefore, it is important to note that most ex-abductees of the

LRA were abducted in their teenage years and thus, lacked adequate parenting and schooling and were physically, mentally and sexually abused (Kiconco, 2015). Consequently, this traumatic experience as well as stigmatization, discrimination and the lack of socio-economic opportunities might negatively impact their parenting skills and the ability to cater for their children's needs. Hence, this may lead to an intergenerational transmission of violence and poverty. Moreover, two quantitative studies conducted by Betancourt et al. (2010; 2010) find that stigma experienced by ex-child soldiers decreased their pro-social behavior. Yet, these studies also effectively show that factors such as social support, family and community acceptance, and schooling mitigate this impact. Thus, it is important to understand the mechanisms fostering or forestalling the intergenerational transfer of stigma, especially in a conflict ridden country like Uganda, in order to develop effective interventions to mitigate the consequences and intergenerational impact of stigma faced by ex-abductees.

Overall, this literature review illustrates that stigma and its consequences has indeed an intergenerational impact. However, how this impacts the development of children born to female abductees and how it affects the child's future socio-economic opportunities are not sufficiently discussed in current research. This current gap in the literature calls for the need to pay increased attention to this issue. Particularly, this thesis aims to contribute to this lack of knowledge by focusing on (i) how stigma affects female ex-abductees, (ii) by analyzing its intergenerational impact, and lastly, (iii) by identifying and proposing mitigating factors.

The Research Gap

As previously discussed, an increasing amount of scholarly work has focused on the issue of child soldiering in the past decade (Thompson, 1999; Cohn, 1999; Dodge and Raunddan, 1991; Lewis, 1999; McConnan, 2000; Davidson, 2004). Yet, these studies lack to focus on the situation and experience of girls and young women since they are often neglected or only scarcely represented (UNICEF 2003; Boothby et al. 2006; Betancourt et al. 2008, Taouti-Cherif 2006 and Bayer et al. 2007). Therefore, more research is required to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences and challenges of female abductees and their children after their return (Mazurana et al, 2002). Yet, in recent years scholars have also gradually shifted their attention to female child soldiering and their reintegration experiences. Nevertheless, when reviewing the literature concerning female child soldiering it becomes apparent that comprehensive studies regarding this issue are relatively rare and that such research "is still in its infancy" (Wessells, 2007: 3). These studies share the consensus that current DDR programs are inappropriate and ineffective in catering for the concerns and needs of these young women (Keairns 2002; McKay and Mazurana 2004; Verhey 2004; Coulter 2006; Specht and Attree 2006). According to Verhey (2004), organizations catering for these

women and their children acknowledge the lack of sufficient knowledge and evidence on how to aid these women and children during and after their reintegration into society. Therefore, it is argued that research is needed in order to develop more suitable and effective reintegration programs that adequately cater for the needs of these women and their offspring, while also taking into account the cultural and social factors of their communities (Tonheim, 2010).

Similarly, few studies to date elaborate on the reintegration experiences of forced mothers and their children (Apio, 2008; Tonheim, 2010). Findings suggest that these women and children may be allowed to return and live with their family but may not count on the support and care of their families (Verhey, 2004). According to these researchers, formerly abducted women returning with children born in captivity are particularly prone to be stigmatized by their families and communities. Moreover, Porto et al. (2007) notes that existing studies fail to examine the types of reintegration programs targeting female ex-abductees and their children. In a similar line, Jareg (2005) and Tonheim (20010) acknowledge that more studies are needed that investigate reintegration processes from the perspective of ex-abductees, their children, their families, and their communities as well as how reintegration is understood in the local context.

In addition, most if not all studies exploring the reintegration of female abductees and their children primarily focus on the impact of reintegration in the immediate post-conflict period. Yet, longitudinal studies investigating the long-term impact of return and reintegration are few and rather limited (Greenen, 2007). Another issue that needs further exploration concerns the theoretical and analytical frameworks used to examine the reintegration process. Scholars alike Fox (2004), Torjesen (2013) and Nilsson (2005) share the view that there is a lack of adequate theories and conditions that enable a successful reintegration. There is a consensus that studies in the past only used presumptions and expectations on what increases the chances for a successful reintegration (Tonheim, 2006). Yet, these studies have failed to test if these presumed conditions are indeed trajectories to increase effectiveness. Despite the growing body of literature that describes the gendered experiences and vulnerabilities of female-abductees during war, the literature concerning the reintegration of young women is less developed when it comes to its intergenerational impact (MacVeigh et al., 2007; Carlson and Mazurana, 2008; McKay and Mazurana, 2004; Tonheim, 2010). Moreover, the intergenerational impact of war and post-conflict reintegration is an equally understudied field in academia. Research has suggested that generations which have experienced war-time violence may pass violence, trauma or other maladapted behaviors to the next generation (Berckmoes, et.al., 2017). However, these studies still remain scarce and their findings are inconclusive and often contradictory (Catani, 2010).

Overall, this thesis aims to contribute to this research gap in several ways. First, it aims to contribute to the literature on women in post-conflict societies and the reintegration of female soldiers/ex-abductees

by qualitatively investigating how stigma impacts their lives a decade after the conflict. Moreover, the novelty of this thesis lies in the aim to bridge different fields of studies in order to enhance the theoretical understanding of stigma and its intergenerational impact and consequences. Secondly, it will contribute to the scholarship on the intergenerational impact of return and reintegration, particular in regard to the impact of stigma and stigmatization which received rather limited attention so far. Moreover, the use of a qualitative case analysis of the experience of female ex-abductees after their reintegration allows for an in-depth examination of the forms of stigma, its consequences and its intergenerational impact which previous studies have failed to examine. Further, by identifying and examining mechanisms that may mitigate the intergenerational impact of stigma, this thesis aims to suggest adequate intervention instruments for policy makers, governments, the international community and NGOs in order to develop more effective and efficient support programs for female abductees and ex-combatants in the future.

Theoretical Framework

This chapter will first discuss Ecological System Theory which constitutes the overarching theoretical framework of this research. The following two sections will then elaborate on the conceptualization of the independent variable, stigma faced by female ex-abductees, and the dependent variable concerning the intergenerational impact of this stigma, as well as present the proposed causal mechanisms at play.

Ecological Systems Theory of Human Development

While trying to answer the question „how are intrafamilial processes affected by extrafamilial conditions?" (Bronfenbrenner, 1986: 723), Bronfenbrenner (1979; 1986) has developed the so-called Ecological Systems Theory. The theory suggests that the setting and environment are important factors which influence the interaction and transaction between people and thus shape the development and experiences of mothers, their children and families. Furthermore, it postulates that the environment and the individual are interdependent and that both are exerting influence on to each other (Ungar, 2002). As such, the theory enables academics to assess how the underlying structures, opportunities and resources of a given environment influences the development of individuals and families. It is argued that the theory allows researchers to understand social systems and its structural functions with the goal to examine what stability and community membership means in a specific context (Weil, 2005).

The theory assesses individual and in particular child's development in terms of the micro-system, meso-systems, exo-systems and macro-systems. Therefore, the microsystem is defined by the primary relationships between the individual and its immediate environment, for instance the interaction between individual and its family (Betancourt et al., 2009). The meso-system on the other hand involves the interaction between two or more settings of the microsystem that influence the child's development, such as the interplay between the family system, an individual's social network and/or community, while the exo-system concerns overarching societal structures in which the individual does not actively participate (Bolger, 1988) – for example activities of NGOs, government, the neighborhood or parent's social networks. Consequently, the macro-system is the most external system and involves the underlying characteristics of a certain society, cultural believes and customs, and national and international political structures (Bronfenbrenner, 1999).

As a result, the theory provides researchers with a framework that considers and examines the underlying systems, factors and their interaction that influence the child's development. Moreover, the theory allows one to examine the various societal structures and contexts in which stigma occurs. In addition, it emphasizes the underlying causes and identifies the actors that foster stigmatization and discrimination. As a result, the theory is imperative in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the causal mechanisms that influence stigma faced by female ex-abductees after reintegration and its intergenerational

impact. Further, such understanding is necessary to develop adequate, effective and long-term interventions and support programs. Thus, the theory constitutes an integral part of this thesis.

Conceptualizing Stigma faced by Female Ex-Abductees

Traditionally, the Greek word stigma is defined as individual's characteristic and aspects that is regarded as something abnormal by the wider public, and thus leads to the believe that this person has to be avoided in public and private interactions (Goffman, 1960). In other words, a person is stigmatized when it is believed that this individual possesses "some attribute or characteristic that conveys a social identity that is devalued in a particular social context" (Rocker et al., 19998: 505). As such, stigma is posited as a "spoiled social identity" (Goffman, 1963) and understood as a form of social disgrace (Kiconco, 2015). Similarly, Betancourt et al suggest that "stigma exists when an individual is labeled, negatively stereotyped, categorized as separate, and experiences discrimination by someone who is in a position of relative power" (Betancourt et al.; 2010). Moreover, the academic literature regards stigma as a social construct which varies and changes across time and culture as well as across individuals and stigmatized groups (Goffmann, 1963; Crocker et al., 1998; Jones et al., 1984). However, studies examining stigma have narrowly focused on the psychological impact while lacking to understand how stigma is influenced by the local and social context (Crocker, 1999). This thesis argues that understanding the local and social context that constitutes the micro and macro system in which stigma occurs is particularly needed in order to achieve an in-depth understanding of its influence on ex-abductees reintegration experiences, its intergenerational impact, and to identify the conditions that mitigate its intergenerational extension and impact.

When consulting the literature on stigma and stigmatization, it becomes apparent that the concept is largely under-conceptualized. Therefore, this thesis proposes a distinction between two forms of stigma, namely "internalized stigma" and "external stigmatization". First, internalized stigma can be understood as an individual's self-identification and perception of being inferior because of certain attributes and characteristics. For instance, internalized stigma is a female's ex-abductees shame of being abducted, sexually abused or having given birth to child of the "enemy". In turn, external stigmatization refers to the discrimination and prejudice directed towards an individual by others in the community or society that are often in a position of relative power. For female ex-abductees this means discrimination, labelling and stereotyping by family members, community and government officials because of their experience of being abducted. (Tonheim, 2010; Betancourt et al., 2010)

Furthermore, while stigma and stigmatization impacts the mental health of female ex-abductees (Link and Phelan, 2001), it also contributes to decreased socio-economic opportunities and access to social resources and interventions such as family and community support (Ibid.). The government, local

representatives and leaders as well as fellow community and family members may all be perpetrators stigmatizing female ex-abductees. As a result of this stigma, female ex-abductees may exhibit a decreased ability to find employment opportunities and access to educational programs. They may be denied to access family and communal resources such as land and food as well as exposed to domestic and sexual violence. These stigmas and stigmatizations not only lead to a sense of social distance, rejection, loneliness and exclusion but also result in direct consequences on the economic livelihood of these women and their ability to cater for their own needs. This in combination to the fact that stigma may re-traumatizes these women, may lead to decreased social and parenting skills. Although it is difficult to separate between the impact of stigma, stigmatization and discrimination from the psychological and physical impact of conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV), this thesis argues that a combination of these factors leads to exclusion of female ex-abductees from social, cultural, economic, family and community systems.

Conceptualizing the Intergenerational Impact of Stigma

In this thesis the intergenerational impact of stigma faced by female ex-abductees is conceptualized as the cumulative effect of female ex-abductees' stigma on the next generation. Thereby, it must be differentiated between the direct extension of stigma from mother to child and the consequences of being raised by a mother of stigmatized and marginalized social, cultural and economic status (Mukasa, 2017).

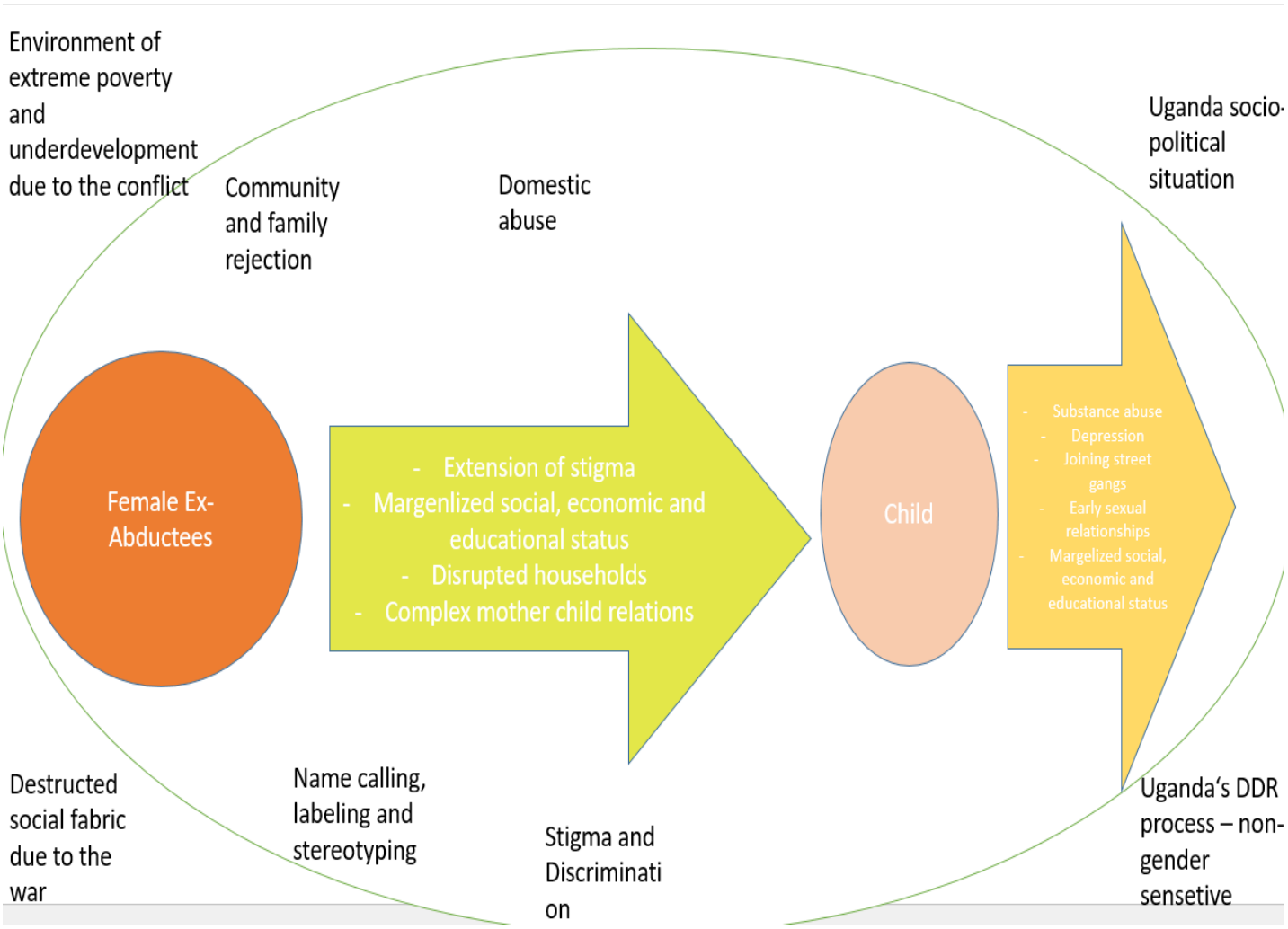
A direct extension of stigma from the mother to the child materializes through name-calling, stereotyping and negative labelling of the children due to their mothers LRA affiliation (Apio, 2007). The extension of stigma has several consequences for the child. First, children may experience family and community rejection. This might be especially the case for children that were conceived in captivity or outside traditional marriages and thus experience the cultural stigma of an absent or unknown father (Veale et al. 2013). Family and community rejection may deprive the child from valuable natural, financial and social resources such as land, food, money for school fees, housing, etcetera. Secondly, due to their stigmatized status they may be exposed to increased social scrutiny as well as physical, psychological and sexual abuse by family, peers and other community members. Thirdly, the child may develop a sense of non-belonging and starts questioning its identity because of social, cultural and family detachment.

Furthermore, being raised by a female ex-abductee with a stigmatized and marginalized socio-economic status has similar as well as additional implications for the development of the child. First, the mother my face difficulties to adequately cater for the basic needs of their children, such as clothing, food, and the payment of school fees. Thus, they may face similar social, cultural and economic disadvantages as their mothers. Second, the lack of social and parenting skills of the mothers may result in complex mother child relations. Third, due to the stigmatized and marginalized status of their mothers, children may be

confronted with and grow up in households with prevalent domestic violence. Fourth, women may leave their new partners due to stigma, discrimination and abuse. Hence, children may grow up in disrupted family structures and suffer under the consequences of family separation and divorce leading to socio-economic disempowerment as well as a sense of social estrangement and identity crisis.

As a result of these implications, children of ex-abductees experience the negative consequences of stigma faced by their mothers and are ultimately more socially, economically, educationally and psychological disadvantaged than those who were raised by mothers without a history of abduction. Therefore, stigma and its impact becomes intergenerational.

Figure 1: The Intergenerational Impact of Stigma – Causal Mechanisms



Research Design

Methodology

Participatory Action Research

This research study uses a mixed-method of qualitative methodology. However, the primary and underlying methodology for conducting the interviews and focus group discussions was inspired by the method of Participatory Action Research (PAR). The PAR technique is a qualitative research method which relies on the "systematic collection and analysis of data for the purpose of taking action and making change" in order to generate practical knowledge (Gillis & Jackson, 2002, p.264). According to Wadsworth (1998), PAR incorporates the reflection of and on historical, cultural, political, economic, social, geographic and local contexts with the aim to understand an issue and to develop adequate actions and interventions that lead to change and improvement. From a feminist perspective, PAR is "a method of social investigation of problems, involving the participation of oppressed and ordinary people in problem posing and solving" (Maguire, 1987: 29). Although the definition of PAR often varies, all approaches share common principles and components. First, PAR acknowledges that a social problem is rooted within the community, and has to be defined, analyzed and solved by the community itself. Secondly, it intends to transform the social reality by inquiry and to improve the lives of local communities and individuals. Thirdly, it includes the full participation of the local communities and research subjects which become the main beneficiaries of the research as well as allows for a more accurate and authentic understanding and analysis of social reality. Furthermore, PAR is suitable for this particular research since it encompasses a variety of marginalized and minority groups. Additionally, it is able to create enhanced awareness of one's own resources that could be mobilized to change the situation. Last but not least, by using the PAR method the researcher becomes a participant, facilitator, and student during the research process which fosters greater understanding and involvement rather than personal detachment (McDonald, 2012). As such, this method allows local communities and in particular, female ex-abductees and their children, to become researchers to understand and develop interventions for their own problems. Further, it could be argued that such an approach entails a therapeutic value (Ibid.).

PAR can include a wide range of data collection methods, but the most commonly and used for this thesis are interviews, focus group discussions and participant observations, which will be discussed thoroughly in the next sections. The ultimate goal of PAR is to empower marginalized, stigmatized and oppressed people to partner in social transformation, as well as it encourages capacity building and development of all individuals involved (McTaggart et al., 1997). Therefore, PAR links perfectly to the

theoretical underpinnings developed in the previous section because of the fact that it aims to understand a social problem from the perspective of the local community and individuals where it occurs, it includes the local, social and cultural context in its analysis and seeks to empower the marginalized - in our case female ex-abductees and their children.

Thus, in the first stage of my interviews and focus group discussions, participants discussed their situation and impact of stigma. At this stage, it became apparent that although women had a good understanding how stigma affects female abductees' daily lives, they have usually overseen and were unaware of the intergenerational impact of stigmatization on their children. When confronted with the question, however, they were quick in examining and analyzing how the stigma impacts their children which lead to vivid and interesting discussions. These findings will be presented and analyzed in the first section of this thesis' analysis. After identifying the issues resulting from stigmatization and its impact on their children, the women discussed possible strategies, pathways and interventions to alter this impact while also elaborating on how external actors, such as the government, international community and NGOs, may support them during this process. Furthermore, the researcher asked questions in order to test and evaluate the effectiveness of interventions and support program characteristics proposed by participants, when possible. These results will be presented in the second part of my empirical analysis.

Respondents

In total, 19 interviews and 11 focus group discussions were conducted which amounted to a total of 93 respondents (see Appendix). In order to answer the research question 'What conditions and mechanisms mitigate the intergenerational impact of stigma caused by the return and reintegration of female ex-abductees?', I sought to interview women and their (adolescent) children in rural communities representing four broad categories or groups. It includes (i) households of female ex-abductees that participated in transitional justice projects, (ii) households of female ex-abductees that have not participated in such projects, (iii) households of those that have not been abducted, but participated in reintegration projects, and (iv) households of women that have not been abducted and have not participated in reintegration projects. While comparing these broad categories in my analysis, I hope to not only gain insights into the intergenerational impact of stigma affecting female ex-abductees, but also into the mechanisms and conditions which mitigate and decrease this impact.

The interviews were supplemented by informal discussions and conversations with a variety of other actors, such as NGO staff that have worked on the reintegration of former abductees, local leaders, cultural leaders (referred to as Kings), former commanders of the LRA, and other community members.

While these conversations usually weren't recorded, they were able to enhance my understanding of the socio-cultural background, the war, and reintegration process. During these interviews, focus group discussions and informal talks, I noticed that in general people were willing and eager to share their experiences and to discuss pathways to enhance the lives of local communities.

Sampling Method: Snowball Technique

As quantitative data on female ex-abductees and their children is rather scarce or non-existent, and the fact that this research is concerned with a population with an unknown sampling frame as well as with individuals that suffer under a variety of stigmas and stigmatization, the primary sampling method used to access respondents was the snowball technique. This method is found to be suitable in order to study a population with these aforementioned characteristics (Bijleveld, 2006). Therefore, in the first step of sampling, the researcher makes initial contact to a small group of people that are deemed relevant to the research and function as gatekeepers. These group of people are then asked to establish contacts with other respondents that are willing to be interviewed (Brymann, 2004).

Before indulging into the field research, I first contacted Evelyn Amony, a former wife of Josef Kony who was not only part of the Juba Peace Talks, testified on three occasions in front of the UN Security Council, but also had a wide network of women groups of female ex-abductees across the Acholi region. Additionally, I contacted the Head of Office of JRP, a local and widely recognized NGO that has worked on the reintegration of female ex-abductees in the region since 2005. The contacts that I was able to acquire from these two gatekeepers were quiet abundant, and when meeting the first respondents, they were able to connect me over-time with more and more respondents.

Data Collection Methods and Analysis

The methods used for the data collection was threefold and followed the previously discussed PAR methodology. It consists of interviews, focus groups, participant observation and the collection of written documents, statements and other research.

Interviews

Conducting interviews was a fundamental part of my data collection method. As already mentioned before, I have interviewed women and their (adolescent) children in rural communities representing four broad categories or groups. Furthermore, when possible, I have interviewed and held informal discussions with other family members and community leaders. Interviewing and having discussions with the different

parties and actors that are impacted by or involved in the reintegration of female ex-abductees further helped me to understand the social dynamics and characteristics of the communities.

The interviews were designed in a semi-structured framework. The semi-structured interview design has a number of advantages and fits the method of analysis. They are regarded to be less intrusive than other methods since it encourages a two-way communication where the interviewed can also ask questions to the interviewer. Thus, sensitive topics may be more easily discussed under such a framework which is of particular importance when it comes to researching war affected and marginalized communities. In addition, they can help the researcher to become acquainted with the subjects. Usually, semi-structured interviews provide the researcher not only with an answer, but also the reasoning of the response. Moreover, they generate a large amount of detailed responses, are fairly flexible, reliable and easy to analyze (Cohen, 2006). Additionally, such interview design fits in the framework of PAR since it allows participants to identify problems and suggest solutions.

Focus-Group Discussions

Another integral part of my data collection method were focus group discussions. Generally, the focus groups consisted of 4 to 10 individuals. It is argued that a small number of individuals in a focus group fosters a safe and intimate environment, thus increasing the possibility to enable the collection of useful and accurate data (Marshall and Rossman, 2006). Furthermore, during a discussion the researcher tries to create a supportive environment and encourages people to express differing viewpoints and ensures that these are all equally valued as well as recognized (McTaggart, 1991). In order to construct such an environment during the focus group discussions, I first introduced my research and explained the consent form. By signing the consent form, participants agreed that all viewpoints are equally valued, not judged and that the content of the discussion is confidential. Further, by consenting to the research, participants plead to not tell any third party about the content and viewpoint expressed during the discussion. Furthermore, I supplied beverages and snacks. I soon discovered due to demands of participants that holding prayers at the beginning of the session also increase the confidence of participants and lead to a more open and relaxed environment. Here, it is to note that holding prayers is an integral part of Acholi custom and is usually conducted at the start of any community meeting.

Participants Observations

Participant observations is an additional method used for the collection of the data. Originally created for field research of social anthropologists it aims to gain close familiarity with a group or community in order to understand their cultural practices and behavior (Fine, 2015). This method has a number of benefits. While living within the local community in Gulu over a period of three months, participant observation allowed me to grasp a deeper understanding of the complex nature of non-verbal communication as well as enabled me to more accurately interpret particular behavior and behavioral differences of participants. For instance, it allowed me to better decipher the body language of respondents and understand to which extent statements were truthful. Furthermore, it did not only provided me with a tool to interpret the interactions and communication between the different social groups that are of concern to this study but also to gain a deeper understanding of the local culture and environment.

Collection of Written Documents and Research

In addition, I collected written documents of NGOs and IOs that are operating, conducting research, and working on transitional justice and reintegration projects in Gulu district. This included documents such as field notes, reports, evaluations, quantitative data, literature, and previous research. This helped me to gain insights into the overall return and reintegration process, its underlying features and different projects, their success and limitations. Moreover, it provides me with the context and understanding of the challenges experienced by female ex-abductees during and after their reintegration.

Triangulation

Triangulation, which is the use of more than one research and data collection methods, is argued to increase the validity and reliability of results. Triangulation allows researchers to compare and cross-check a certain research and data collection method with the results of other methods (Bryman, 2004). As a result, the combination of in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation and other existing research and documents constitutes a pathway to verify the collected data and results.

Structure of Analysis and Analytical Approach

The recorded interviews were listened by the researcher on several occasions. At least once after the interview was concluded and once before the writing process started. During this process notes were taken and ordered by using template analysis (TA). This means that themes were identified, consistently revised

and structured using a template. TA was chosen due to the fact that it is a useful method to reduce large amount of data into manageable clusters of themes (Cassel and Symon, 2004). The TA was mainly guided by my theoretical and causal mechanisms but was also adjusted when new themes emerged. Furthermore, quotes that were regarded as useful representations of the findings and had explanatory value were transcribed in order to exemplify specific issues or common themes.

Due to the fact that this research project is concerned with understanding the lives of female ex-abductees of the LRA and reintegration programs to appropriately address their vulnerabilities and agency, this thesis makes use of gender analysis in order to understand the underlying and complex challenges resulting from stigma faced by women and to examine its intergenerational impact. Although all research fields are gendered, examining how the return of female ex-abductees impacts their lives and their children requires a particular gender sensitive approach. This approach will provide me with a tool in order to develop, understand and examine not only the conceptual and theoretical underpinnings of this research, but will also with a lens for the analysis of my data and interviews.

In general, gender analysis seeks to understand and address differences between women and men, including their different roles in society, needs, vulnerabilities, opportunities and social realities and how these differences affect the daily life (Health Canada, 2000; Reid, 2002). Both, in public and in the private sphere, gender gaps exist in arguably all communities around the world, but especially in Acholi culture which is defined with overtly patriarchal structures. This gender gap is argued to be one of the major challenges hampering the reintegration of female ex-abductees (Kiconco, 2015).

In regard to war and violence, Babatunde (2010:1) has argued: "Within […] landscapes of severe social, economic and political marginalization and deprivation, women and girls were bound to suffer more than men and boys during and after the wars as a result of long-established and entrenched patriarchal structures and ideologies." Thus, it becomes imperative that a gender-sensitive analytical approach is required to accurately identify and illustrate the underlying causal mechanisms and context in which stigma and its intergenerational impact occurs.

Vulnerabilities and Ethical Challenges

Political wariness

One major ethical challenge for my research was the political wariness of a post-conflict society and setting. Researching the impact of reintegration programs of LRA female ex-abductees is a very sensitive topic, especially if the researcher comes from a different ethnic group or cultural setting. Thus, my research may

arose suspicion from respondents or other community members. As Westerheim and Sølvillejord have noted: “When the researcher and informants have different cultural and political backgrounds, it can be extremely difficult to establish a foundation for mutual understanding.” (2007:381) In order to counteract any misunderstandings, suspicions, or resentments against me or the interviewed by the community, I did my utmost best to build trust in me and my research during the first encounter. However, through working with JRP, an independent, non-partisan but well established and trusted organization in Gulu, by living in the midst and attending cultural events, I strongly believe that I was able to build the necessary trust and weakened any false assumptions. Furthermore, I presented myself and my research to the communities and their leaders when deemed necessary in order to counter any misunderstandings.

The Danger of Re-Traumatization

Researching victims of conflict and gender-based violence may lead to the re-traumatization of the research subjects when conducted without prior preparation and consciousness for this issue. As Goodhand (2000: 14) has argued: “For traumatized individuals and groups, researchers may inadvertently re-open wounds by probing into areas respondents may not wish to talk about.” Yet, my research focus lies on the reintegration process and is not concerned with the experience during war and wartime sexual violence. As such, I consciously refrained from any questions regarding their experiences during the conflict or which could potentially lead research subjects to relive and recount past traumas. However, the researcher still has to be cultural sensitive, show empathy, and consciousness towards the research subjects. While consistently maintaining awareness of their fragile state and vulnerabilities, I tried to mitigate the possibility of re-traumatization and terminated interviews, when I felt and deemed it necessary.

Male Researcher and Female Ex-Abductees

The third ethical challenge which I had to face was the issue of male researcher interviewing female ex-abductees. Women may be less inclined to open up in front of a male researcher and may feel that their privacy is threatened. As such, I made some considerations in order to avoid such fallacy. This included strategies such as getting in contact with research subjects weeks before the interview, holding interviews in neutral places, avoiding extensive eye-contact and wearing simple cloths in order to prevent the research subject from being shy and hesitant. Moreover, I only used female translators for the interview process. I believe that this enhanced trust and lead to more truthful as well as revealing answers.

Operationalization: Interview Guide

Following the conceptualization the independent variable, stigma faced by female ex-abductees is operationalized by asking questions concerning how women perceived stigma and how it affects them in their daily lives. Similarly, the dependent variable, the intergenerational impact of stigma is operationalized by asking participants questions around the topic of how they perceived that stigma, discrimination and its consequences impact the lives of their children. For a more detailed interview guide, please refer to the Appendix.

The Case of Northern Uganda: Historical, Social and Cultural Context of War and Reintegration – The Macro-System

The Conflict in Northern Uganda

This section provides an overview of the historical, social and cultural context of the conflict and reintegration process in Northern Uganda with the aim to provide a background which helps to examine and reflect upon the stigma female ex-abductees are facing after reintegration as well as its intergenerational impact.

Today, the Acholi-region in Northern Uganda is still recovering from a 20-year long civil conflict which has been coined by many as "Africa's most brutal conflict" (Allen and Schomerus, 2006). The root of the conflict can be traced back to the colonial era and the turbulent post-independence period. Through its patron-clientism and divide-and-rule tactics, the British colonial administration has fostered and propelled regional divisions within the country – namely a north- south division (Ibid.). During the colonial era (1894-1962), the British awarded civil and political positions as well as large-scale land tenures and vital economic positions to individuals from the Buganda tribe which were living in the central and southern regions of the country. The Acholi and Lango people of the North, on the other hand, were socially and economically marginalized during this era while functioning as labor force for the agricultural sector and military of the South (Weber et al., 2003). After independence in 1962, Milton Obote, an ethnic Lango from the North, was elected as Prime Minister and after ousting the Bugandan King, appointed as President. However, Obote was toppled by Colonel Idi Amin in 1971, resulting in a decade-long brutal dictatorship causing a high number of civilian casualties and devastating the country's economy and infrastructure. In turn, a coalition of Tanzanian forces and Northern Ugandan rebels were able to overthrow Idi Amin in 1971, and reinstalled Obote as President. Yet, Obote's second term in office only lasted until 1985 until he was overthrown by the Acholi military commander – Tito Okello. Following this series of coups, Yoweri Museveni and his comrades established the National Resistance Army – which later became the Ugandan People's Defense Force (UPDF) – ousting Okello in 1986. Although the post-independence period was characterized by turmoil, coup de etas, and economic instability, the country has experienced relative stability and economic development since Museveni's inauguration. However, under Museveni's rule, economic and social development was mainly centered in the central and southern regions which exacerbated the North-South divide.

Meanwhile, Okello's forces and allies retreated to the north where they founded the Ugandan People's Democratic Army (UPDA). Soon after, UPDA split off into several smaller insurgent groups,

including the Holy Spirit Movement (HSM) and its prominent Acholi-dominated successor, the LRA under the leadership of Joseph Kony. The LRA proclaimed that its central goal was to overthrow the central government under Museveni, "purify the Acholi-race", reverse the impact of World Bank policies and IMF Structural Adjustment Programs, institute a multi-party system and institute a government which was led by the "ten commandments". Initially, the LRA enjoyed widespread support from Acholi and Langi people of the North, due to the fact that they felt cartelized and threatened by Museveni's government and forces. Yet, in the 1990s the LRA resorted to more brutal tactics and warfare which included the abduction of children, leading to a decline of support by civilians. As a respond, the LRA became even more brutal, retaliated against civilians of the North through widespread looting, killings, rapes and abductions, including the widespread use of child soldiers (Eichstaedt, 2009). Furthermore, it is argued that during this time the LRA moved from its political agenda of liberating the North to become a personal "cult" around its military and spiritual leader – Joseph Kony. The years up until the official end of the conflict and the expulsion of the LRA from Ugandan territory in 2007 were characterized by massacres, abductions, distrust and economic disaster on a massive scale, which has dramatically impacted the social fabric in the Northern regions of Uganda. Furthermore, many Acholi civilians had to flee their villages and were forcefully displaced by the government into internal displaced people (IDP) camps. Although the government argued that this was a necessary policy in order to deny resources to rebels and to provide protection to civilians, this protection largely did not materialize. Contrary, abductions and killings continued in the IDP camps, while residents had to face additional oodles such as the lack of infrastructure and services, overcrowding, diseases, hunger, fear, poverty and dependency on aid and relief services (Hovil, 2002). Furthermore, IDP's were consistently harassed, abused, sexually exploited and killed by Ugandan military forces.

By 2007, between 25,000 and 60,000 (Annan et al., 2009) children and adolescents have been forcefully abducted by the LRA, amounting up to 90% of their overall recruits. Of these abductees, at least 25% are believed to be female (Amone-P'Olak et al., 2007). These young women were usually forced to become wives of commanders, used as sex-slaves for male combatants, filled roles as camp keepers, cooks and nurses while also a small number actively participated in combat roles. It is argued that the reason for this high number of young female abductees is due to the believe that these girls were free of STDs and were needed for the reproduction of future male combatants. Moreover, when the civil war ended, an estimated 1.8 million civilians had been internally displaced and 90% of persons in the north of Uganda were reported to be dislocated (Finnström, 2006).

Reintegration of Female Ex-Abductees

An official DDR framework failed to materialize, due to Joseph Kony's refusal to sign the peace agreement that included such a framework in 2006. Therefore, the Ugandan government merely focused on the last component of DDR - reintegration - by allocating resources and support during the process via the Amnesty Act of 2000. The main goal of this legal instrument was to decrease LRA support and man-power by giving rebels an incentive to leave the LRA and allowing them and affiliates to reinsert themselves into their former communities free of prosecution. The only individuals excluded from the Amnesty Act were senior LRA commanders that have been indicted by the International Criminal Court (ICC). In accordance with the Amnesty Act, female ex-abductees had to report and be enlisted by the Amnesty Commission where they were "debriefed" and offered reinsertion packages consisting out of an Amnesty Certificate, household goods, such as a matrass, cloths and cooking tools, cash payments of up to 350.000UGX (84,00 euros), and sometimes contribution towards tuition fees. In addition, they were offered immediate medical services and counselling when needed. After a period of 48 hours, ex-abductees were then referred to reception centers for further care and reintegration support. However, it has been argued that government involvement in the reintegration process was rather limited and marginal. Further, the government relied heavily on the support of NGOs during this process, such as World Vision, Gusco, Save the Children, and Caritas, which operated reception centers. These agencies under the coordination of UNICEF and the Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development, trained social workers within recipient communities, provided vocational training and psychosocial counselling. Moreover, it has been argued in previous research that the reintegration process has failed to adequately account for the needs of female ex-abductees. Indeed, studies has shown that less than one-third of women had applied for an Amnesty Certificate (Annan et al., 2006) This may be due to a number of factors. First, many women did not know about such a program and thought it was only applicable to male combatants and commanders of the LRA. Second, others may have believed that they were not eligible since they had not gone through official channels or had returned to early before the official start of the program. Furthermore, cultural norms may have been an impeding factor. Therefore, it is worth mentioning that Acholi culture is deeply patriarchic. Men are usually regarded as head of households and are allowed to have several wives as long as they are able to cater for their needs. Furthermore, in Acholi culture women occupy the role of reproduction, they cater for the children and household, while they should be submissive and non-violent. Therefore, women may have chosen to circumvent registration due to the fear that association with the LRA would be seen as a break with the Acholi cultural norms possibly leading to stigmatization and further social exclusion. It is common that female ex-abductees are often treated as second hand citizens because they are perceived to have violated traditional gender norms due to their LRA affiliation, having killed, of not being a virgin or beard a child of a rebel. All this may have increased their stigmatization and rejection by the community. As some have

concluded, female ex-abductees were "frequently rejected or criticized by their parents and other relatives; received little help with child care; were often required to provide for themselves and their children; and were consequently exposed to sexual exploitation" (McKay et al. 2006, p. 6).

In addition, female ex-abductees are also deprived of vital resources such as land for agriculture, since land is inherited through the patrilineage. Further, spirituality is deeply embedded into Acholi culture and female ex-abductees and their children are regarded to be possessed by bad spirits or directly by the spirit of Kony. Therefore, communities often perform traditional cleansing rituals when an ex-abductee returns. On one hand, these traditional cleansing ceremonies can support ex-abductees reintegration by decreasing community fear. On the other, hand they may be re-traumatizing and lead to further stigmatization since they identify ex-abductees and their children of being possessed by “bad” spirits. Additionally, reintegration efforts have been criticized on the grounds that they were primarily short-term because of the lack of financial resources, government support, and capacity.

In sum, only few women have benefitted from reintegration programs, suggesting that their needs have been mainly overlooked. This section has briefly elaborated how stigma is a recurrent and important theme that hampers the successful reintegration of female ex-abductees. Therefore, the first part of the following analysis will examine how stigma impacts female ex-abductees and their children. The second part of the analysis will then elaborate on the mechanisms which may decrease stigma and its intergenerational impact.

Empirical Analysis

Part 1: Stigma and its Intergenerational Impact

Female Ex-Abductees and Stigma

High levels of stigma were prevalent in and faced by all categories of female ex-abductees – for those that returned with children from abduction, those who did not return with children, and those that remarried or were unmarried after their return. Besides poverty, respondents generally referred to stigma and discrimination as the main challenge in their and their children's daily lives (T1-T19; FG1-FG11).

In northern Uganda, stigma faced by female ex-abductees and their offspring came as a result of captivity, having committed atrocities such as killings and looting, being a victim of rape or forced marriage, given birth to "illegitimate" children in captivity outside of culturally recognized marriages, being haunted by evil spirits (*cen*) of the people they have killed, or of having contracted STDs such as HIV/Aids. All these characteristics and assumptions constitutes a break of local gender norms and cultural expectations which regards a woman as caring, non-violent and submissive (Kinconco, 2012; Apio, 2008). Thus, while being unable to meet the social standard and moral status due to their association with the LRA, female ex-abductees face various forms and instances of stigma which deprives them of the ability to have social interactions, access to resources and support, and economic opportunities, thereby limiting their lives and prospect for successful reintegration into society.

Stigmatization by the Government – The Exo-System

During the interviews and focus group discussions, it became apparent that already during the government coordinated DDR program, female ex-abductees were discriminated against, stigmatized and unproportionally disenfranchised when compared to their male counterparts. As one women puts it: "Men, including those who raped female abductees or top commanders, were integrated into the UPDF, received money or land, and were provided with jobs, while women (of the LRA) received little to no support" (FG10). There was also a general perception that women were unequally treated and not valued by the government and the Amnesty Commission due to their gender and gendered roles during the conflict. Indeed, studies have shown that more than half of the male LRA fighters and affiliates have received vocational or formal education after their return, while only one third of women reporters received the same

support (Sanz, 2008). Similarly, by 2005 at least 800 predominantly male ex-LRA combatants were recruited by the UPDF and it has been suggested that one third of male reporters found work positions either at the police or military (Ibid). It can be argued that this discrepancy in treatment by the government and access to reintegration services is grounded in gender disparities that privileges male over female LRA affiliates. Although research from Uganda and all across the globe has shown that female participation is central for many insurgency's and rebel groups due to their productive and reproductive labor (Coulter, 2008), female ex-abductees, while believed to mainly occupy supportive roles as "bush wife's", porters and camp keepers, were regarded as a lesser security threat than their male counterparts and devalued (Kiconco, 2015; Apio, 2007). Additionally, Acholi customs describe a woman to be non-violent and submissive, and thus subordinated. This suggests that these gendered stereotypes and disparities deprived female returnees of valuable resources and support, marking the first instances of discrimination, marginalization and stigmatization, which only further increased once these individuals returned to their community of origin. Upon their return to local communities, some women described how local government sometimes disregard the problems faced by female ex-abductees in their communities. After seeking help and mediation from the local council (LC) because of a dispute with neighbors, the LC (male) responded: "I am a victim of the war, why should I help you?". This example is not only a manifestation of stigma by local authorities but also shows how this stigma leads to decreased access of supportive and local mediation mechanisms.

Stigmatization by Community and Family – The Meso- and Micro-System

Despite the fact that stigma and discrimination by authorities constitutes an issue and challenge for female ex-abductees, the examination of the obtained data reveals that stigmatization by the community and families represented an even a greater burden for female ex-abductees lives. Although the majority of respondents conveyed that they were initially received well by relatives and/or the local community, a number of women said to have been rejected and mistreated upon their return. When they returned, these women were faced with verbal abuse and maltreatment, such as name-calling, finger-pointing and insults, as well as threats. Some women were faced by threats to their lives by neighbors whose children have not yet returned from captivity, while also being accused of directing LRA rebels to raid their village and to abduct their children (T11). Further, a woman that received baking utilities, start-up capital (350.000UGX/84Euros) and opened a small bakery with the support of World Vision was faced with insults by her relatives and neighbors upon her return. In addition, her family took most of her start-up capital and sold off her baking tools (T5).

Another communality in the testimonies of all respondents, also those women that were initially received well by their communities, was that after some time they all found themselves to be victims of stigma from their respective community and families. A woman from Naam Okoro that received reintegration packages from the government was welcomed with euphoria and prayers. However, she states that "when the items [of the reintegration package] ran out, I faced stigma" (T7). Yet, others that were initially received and welcomed by their families and/or communities, recounted that familial and communal attitudes towards them steadily shifted in the long-run and that stigmatization increased drastically over time. Despite the fact that the stigma of being a female ex-abductee of the LRA led to verbal abuse and maltreatment, women were usually denied communal and familial resources, which made it increasingly hard to cater for their own and their children's existential needs. This is confirmed by many of the respondents. One respondent illustrating this dilemma was quoted saying: "When I returned, my brother told me: There is no land for you" (T12). Another women recalled that when she went to borrow money from a communal loan scheme, she was directly rejected (FG6). Others stated that they were only provided with leftovers of their family meals or had to sleep hungry. These respondents agreed that the only reason for this treatment is due to their status as a female ex-abductee. Similarly, stigma was regarded as the major obstacle to find work (FG6).

As a responds and strategy to escape from the rampant stigma and discrimination by their families and neighbors, many female ex-abductees try to remarry (e.g. T7, T8, T9). Instead of decreasing stigmatization, however, husbands and their relatives are found to be the main perpetrators of abuse and maltreatment, according to female ex-abductees experiences. In the interviews and focus group discussion, a recurrent theme was that female ex-abductees suffered from mental, physical and sexual abuse by their intimate partners and husbands. Almost all respondents complained over rampant domestic violence as well as to be labeled inferior as a rebel, being possessed by evil spirits or other degrading words. To the dismay of many, it was reported that husbands are often incited by close relatives, friends or neighbors to commit these abusive acts or to chase the women away. According to one participant from Abia: "My mother in-law tells my husband, that I could kill him at any time" (T1). She claims that due to these comments her husband gets often violent and abusive. When asked why she does not leave her abusive husband, she replied "at my mother it is equally bad." As Christensen (2007) argues, being rejected and maltreated by husbands, family and community leads to "a dominant sense of social distance, rejection and loneliness" (77). Additionally, it can be argued that "external" stigmatization such as rejection, name-calling, finger pointing and abuse, results into "internalized" stigma of feeling no worth or value. As such and in line with Okello (2008) and Kiconco (2012), escaping the LRA and returning to their community of origin means to just move to another traumatic environment. Indeed, many women recalled that the stigma they experience leads them to remember their past and re-traumatizes them (FG3). This is important insofar as mental

trauma is related to a further set of stigmas, thus, additionally adding and propelling the stigmatization of female ex-abductees. In addition, another common theme in the data is that stigma is perceived as a major obstacle for the prospect of marriage. As marriage is particular important in Acholi culture, especially for women, rejection and not to be able to find a partner does not only decreases a women's economic prospect and access to resources but also to a further "internalization" of stigma. Furthermore, the findings suggest that when women return with children born in captivity (CBIC) her situation is even worse. Many of the respondents were convinced that if they hadn't returned with CBIC, their integration would have been much easier and that they would face decreased levels of stigmatization (T4).

Overall, this section shows that the government, local representatives, fellow community and family members can be identified as actors stigmatizing female ex-abductees. As a result of this stigma, female ex-abductees have a decreased ability to find labor and education opportunities. They are denied access to family and communal resources and are often exposed to domestic and sexual violence. These stigmas and stigmatizations do not only lead to a sense of social distance, rejection, loneliness and exclusion, but can also re-traumatize these women. In turn, this has major implications for the development and socio-economic position of their children, and thus stigma becomes intergenerational, which will further be discussed in the following section.

Intergenerational Impact of Stigma faced by Ex-Abductees

Although most children born to female ex-abductees face at least some degree of stigmatization and/or suffer under the consequences of the stigma and discrimination, it is important to differentiate between two categories of children, namely CBIC and children born after reintegration, since their experience might differ. Overall, CBIC are regarded as particular affected when compared to children born after reintegration. As already mentioned above and reflected by the findings from interviews and focus group discussions, women who return with CBIC usually face increased stigmatization and hardship in their reintegration. While some respondents perceived that CBIC face similar levels of stigma like their mothers, others stated that the situation of CBIC is even worse. This implies that stigma can be directly extended from one generation to the next. It has been argued that all children but especially CBIC are persistently referred to as "rebel", Kony's child or "holy" and suffer under mental, physical and sexual abuse. One of the women testified: "When my husband's brothers and husband are drunk, they beat and abuse her (girl born in captivity)" (T4). Others cited that their husbands and relatives are often violent against these children or upright reject them, leaving the women to make a choice between their child and their marriage.

According to the Australian Institute of Family Studies (2013), this has a number of implications since domestic violence and sexual abuse experienced in the childhood, correlates with increased propensity of the child to commit similar acts later in life. Sexual abuse experienced in the childhood may also lead to post-traumatic symptoms, depression, substance abuse, eating disorders, anxiety, schizophrenia and personality disorders later in life (Ibid.). Similarly, domestic violence which was present in all categories of female ex-abductees and their children in this study may greatly impact their child's development and future behavior in the long run. Domestic violence experienced during childhood correlates with increased emotional stress, harms the development of the brain and impairs cognitive and sensory growth (UNICEF, 2006). Other consequences include sleep problems, immature behavior, depression, suicidal tendencies and poor concentration affecting their performance at school (Ibid.). Later in life these children stand a greater risk of alcohol and drug abuse, juvenile pregnancies, criminal behavior, decreased empathy and chronic violent behavior (Ibid.). Furthermore, studies around the globe have shown that domestic violence in the childhood could likely lead to a continuing cycle of violence for the next generation since the child learns about the powerful use of violence in interpersonal relations and to dominate others at an early stage. However, this cannot be generalized since some individuals that have experienced violence in their childhood may oppose violent behavior altogether later in life (Ibid.) However, the findings of this tudy suggest that these children are perceived to be relatively resilient while only a few exhibit violent behavior according to the respondents. Yet, respondents stated that these children are often depressed, have difficulties to socialize with others and have difficulties to concentrate in school. Secondly, a CBIC faces increased restrains to access resources. Especially boys born in abduction suffer under these consequences since land in Northern Uganda is usually inherited through the patrilineal side of the family. Not being able to inherit land due to the new husband's rejection of the child not only decreases the child's economic opportunities but also its prospect to marry since it involves the payment of dowry. Thirdly, facing constant rejection by the new husbands, its clan, community, and even sometimes by the mother is likely to have detrimental consequences on the child's development and identity. Participants argued that these children often do not know where to belong and develop a sense of estrangement (FG6 and FG3). Therefore, external stigmatization leads to internalized stigma of the child. Furthermore, the new husbands often deny paying school fees for these children which further decreases the child's future prospect.

Although children who are born after the reintegration of their mothers often face decreased levels of stigmatization and discrimination than CBIC, and a few do not face stigma at all, the findings suggest that stigma and its intergenerational extension plays an important role of most of female ex-abductees children's lives. A number of respondents stated that all their children, irrespectively of who their father is, are stigmatized by the wider community. This may materialize "when kids play, they are called rebels" (T3) or when something goes missing from a neighbor's house, they are the first ones being accused (T2).

A common theme emerging from the data is that all children of female ex-abductees are labelled as "rebel child" or asked if their have inherited the *cen* of their mothers. Consequently, children born to a female ex-abductee are much more under social scrutiny than other children (FG2 and FG9). Others who are perceived to not be stigmatized according to their mothers are still consistently reminded of their mothers LRA affiliation. As a result, these children often cry, are depressed and confront their mothers about their past. This in combination with being raised by a mother that is stigmatized as well as persistently re-traumatized is arguably affecting her child caring and parenting capabilities, thus leading to complex and strained mother-child relationship. In one focus group discussion in Awach, a young mother stated that her children born after her reintegration do not respect or listen to her. She cited that they often reply to her "I am here at my father's land, who are you to advise me?" (FG10). In contrast, CBIC are perceived to behave often better and respect their mothers more. This is mainly due to the fact that the mother is often one of the only persons in the community with whom the CBIC has a relationship with and receives affection and love (Ibid.). Moreover, stigma and bullying in schools by peers and teachers often leads children born to mothers from captivity to drop out of school and join street gangs, hence further limiting the child's future prospect and development of pro-social behavior.

Nevertheless, the intergenerational impact of stigma is not limited to its generational extension of stigma but has also more indirect consequences. Stigma in the household and domestic violence often leads to divorce and hence, to the disruption of families. Break ups and divorces have several reasons. The two most cited causes for divorce are either stigma or domestic violence experienced by mothers and their children at home, or stigmatization and discrimination of CBIC by the new husbands or immediate family (T1-T18). The implications and consequences for children are therefore manifold. On one hand, mothers and children usually move to a different community after divorce which makes it difficult for the child to continue schooling. On the other hand, divorce often leads to a complete rejection of all children by the father, including those conceived with the new husband. As a result, all children suffer under the economic repercussions of not having a father, for instance, denied accessing land for agriculture or the payment of school fees. Additionally, two participants conveyed that when they left their husbands because of stigmatization of a CBIC, the other children which were born after reintegration faced the same stigmas and levels of stigmatization as the CBIC in the new community where they have settled (T4; T8). Thus, this suggests when a father is absent or has rejected his children, the stigma faced by female ex-abductees is extended to their children, irrespectively of who the father is. Moreover, rejection of the father has an emotional and psychological impact. Most women postulate that such a rejection has a major impact on their identity and children often do not know where to belong. It is important to note that clan affiliation which is inherited through the father is a major component of Acholi norms, culture and identity. Therefore,

not having a father is against the social order, leading to increased "external" stigmatization as well as "internalization" of stigma.

Another common theme that emerged during the interviews and focus group discussions was that mother's complaint that as a result of stigma and the resulting discrimination, depression and sense of estrangement leads their children often to roam the streets for days without returning home as well as to alcohol and drug abuse. As one participant stated that when she asked her son why he drinks so much, he responded by saying "I drink in order to die" (FG6). Alcohol and drug abuse, especially at a young age, may have severe physical, psychological and neurological health implications. According to a study conducted by the American Medical Association (2010) teenage alcohol abuse decreases irreversible the functioning of the hippocampi, the part of the brain that is in charge of learning and memory. In addition, the use of alcohol and other drugs reduces the overall brain capabilities, leads to decreased social interaction and diminishes the ability to plan for the future (Bonnie and O'Connell, 2004). Alcoholism can also result into alcohol poising, endangering their lives and physical health. It is worth noting that local brews with high levels of alcohol ("moonshine") is particular prevalent in Uganda. These drinks are not exposed to quality control and hence many have high levels of ethanol which may cause blindness. Further, children and youth that abuse drugs and alcohol excessively are likely to have unplanned and unprotected sex, resulting in early pregnancies and the contraction of STDs, including HIV/Aids (Hingson and Kenkel, 2004). Although it was reported that usually the drug of choice was cannabis, some mothers also stated that their children were using opioids (FG2). Injecting drugs and sharing needles is a further factor that can lead to the contraction of HIV and other diseases. As HIV prevalence is particularly high in northern Uganda with an overall prevalence of 12.8% and prevalence level of 15.6% among women, such behavior is particularly dangerous (Patel et al., 2014). Additionally, respondents were complaining that due to stigma and limited resources at home, their daughters were roaming the street in order to find an older man. This exposes these young women to the risks of early pregnancies and STDs.

Situating the Findings

The first part of the empirical analysis has illustrated how the stigma faced by ex-abductees impacts and extends to the next generation. On one hand, it has shown that stigma faced by female ex-abductees can be extended to their children. Although CBIC are particularly affected by this stigma, most children, irrespectively of when they were conceived face at least some degree of stigmatization and discrimination due to their mother's affiliation. Stigma and stigmatization may be expressed through negative labelling, name-calling, stereotyping, threats and insults. On the other hand, stigma directed towards abducted mothers and/or their children have many life impeding consequences. As illustrated above, it can deny

children the access to valuable resources such as land and schooling, it exposes them to sexual and domestic violence, and impacts the child's mental and physical health. They suffer under complex mother/child relations, depression, estrangement and social isolation. In order to navigate these social and economic restrains, these children engage in early sexual relations, leave their homes at an early stage, disrespect their parents and elders, join street gangs and often engage in substance abuse. Although participants conveyed that they perceived their children to be relatively resilient in face of these hardships, the children are found to be often depressed while others turn violent. Overall, it becomes clear that female ex-abductees and their children live under an environment of extreme duress and hardship.

However, in order to provide the complete picture of the situation ex-abductees and their children face after reintegration, it is worth noting that some of the negative aspects ex-abductees children are exposed to in their life are not only issues that are limited to them. When compared with non-abductees, it became clear that alcoholism was embedded and affected most sectors of community life and families. Non-abducted women stated that alcoholism was one, if not the most important social issues their communities were dealing with (FG5, FG7, FG9, FG11). Alcohol consumption in Uganda is a massive obstacle for development. The total consumption of pure alcohol is at 23.7 liters/capita. However, with a population of 58.7% of alcohol use abstainers, this figure is extremely worrying (WHO, 2014). In comparison Russia has an alcohol consumption of 22.3 liters per capita and the Netherlands 9.9 liters (Ibid.). As a result, Uganda has the highest alcohol consumption on the continent and the 8th highest in the world.

Another issue affecting women and children without a history of abduction was the prevalence of domestic violence. Data published by the Uganda Bureau of Statistics confirms this claim, indicating that 68% of married women between the ages of 15 to 49 years has experienced domestic violence (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2007). In addition, these women also stated that conflicts over land and the destruction of cultural norms as well as social fabric that lied at the foundation of their communities and social system constitutes a major challenge in their daily live. These problems and social issues were attributed to the prolonged conflict in the region and by being herded into IDP camps during that time.

Yet, all women agreed that female ex-abductees and their offspring are suffering under these consequences disproportionally while stigma makes their situation even more burdensome. Moreover, they claimed that female ex-abductees and their children suffer more than male abductees, due to cultural gender norms and gender disparities. Therefore, it becomes crucial to develop effective and successful interventions to stop this cycle of stigma and marginalization as well as to mitigate the intergenerational impact, while also accounting for the harsh social environment these communities are living in.

Part 2: Mechanisms mitigating the Intergenerational Impact of Stigma

Social awareness

When asked the question which characteristics of support programs decrease the intergenerational impact of stigma, all respondents unanimously cited the need to increase social acceptance of ex-abductees and their children through awareness raising and sensitization campaigns. Educational anti-stigma interventions and advocacy that intends to increase social awareness includes the presentation of factual information about the stigmatized group's condition with the objective to correct misinformation, false stereotyping and labelling, or negative attitudes and beliefs held by the general public, politicians, journalist or community officials. Such Campaigns can be designed for any scale and target groups, from local over the national to the international level. Despite being proven to effectively combat public stigma and "external" stigmatization (Dunion and Gordon, 2005), research also suggests that they positively correlate with decreased internalized stigma, improving stress resilience and increasing self-esteem (Cook et al., 2014).

Therefore, the women suggested a number of possible mechanisms and vehicles that were perceived to effectively increase social awareness and sensitization regarding the stigmatization of female ex-abductees and its intergenerational impact. First, they proposed that social acceptance could be increased by educational campaigns through the media, such as TV and radio talk shows (T13). Secondly, community drama and theatre display in which ex-abductees or their children present their experiences before, during and/or after reintegration was regarded as a highly valuable strategy (T11). Indeed, respondents of communities where radio campaigns and community dramas were conducted in the past, reported overall a decrease in the levels of external stigmatization as well as increased social and community acceptance (T11; T14; FG10). Moreover, these campaigns were also effective in decreasing the levels of internalized stigma, as respondents noted that during and shortly after these events, they regained a sense of self-worth and esteem (Ibid.). As such, radio talk shows and community drama are empowering female ex-abductees to take matters into their own hands, tell their stories and use regained self-esteem later in life.

Thirdly, many participants also recounted the need to advocate, educate and sensitize clan-leaders and local politicians on this issue. Local cultural leaders, elders, and local councils (LC) have an important position within Uganda's rural society and often function as mediators in their respective community. A female ex-abductee working at the market stated that after a customer refused to pay her and verbally insulted her due to her LRA affiliation, she took the matter to the LC that forced the unwilling customer to pay her bill and apologize (FG3). Others described that when their children were stigmatized by neighbors

or family, the LC who had also family members that were abducted was able to effectively reduce the levels of stigma through mediation and the threat of repercussions. Contrary to this, those living in communities with leaders unaware of the issue of stigma are found to be increasingly stigmatized by family and community as well as local representatives (T8; T13). In this regard, communal dialogues and forums between community/local representatives, the sub-county, those with an abduction experience and the wider community were suggested to be a useful instrument to educate and inform both, politicians and the community about the dangers and misinformation surrounding the stigmatization of ex-abductees and its intergenerational impact (FG2).

Fourthly, three participants also acknowledged the need to deliver such campaigns and programs in schools in order to reduce stigma against their children and to maintain equal educational opportunities. As one participant noted, " When my children were stigmatized at school, I went to the head teacher and reported the issue. She talked to the students, and later my children were never bullied again" (T9). Another women stated that her children never had problems with stigma at school due to the prevalence of a strict anti-stigma and anti-discrimination policy at that institution (T3). Others expressed the idea of holding expert workshops at schools in order to educate students on the issue. Consequently, this illustrates the importance and positive impact of educational campaigns and policies at schools to reduce stigma, discrimination and bullying. In addition, starting with awareness raising at a young age is increasingly beneficial since young people are found to be more responsive and less reluctant to change their beliefs than adults (National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, Medicine, 2016).

Lastly, a number of participants suggested to lobby the local, but also national government to pass laws prohibiting the stigmatization and discrimination of abductees and their offspring. This thesis sample of participants included one woman that lived in a village close to Abia where such as anti-stigma regulation had been established by the LC (T18). She conveyed that after the introduction of this regulation, stigma and discrimination against her and her children dramatically decreased while simultaneously experiencing an increase in her social acceptance in the community. Although formulating and implementing such an anti-stigma regulation might be somehow difficult on national level due to political and institutional constrains, implementing such laws on the communal level through municipal by-laws and regulations could be regarded as practical and cost effective in archiving its goal.

Family Acceptance

Besides community acceptance and awareness, all category of respondents said that rejection and stigmatization by the family are one of their major obstacles in life. Indeed, studies have shown that

increased family acceptance leads to decreased levels of internalized stigma and anti-social behavior (Betancourt et al., 2010). As mentioned before, family rejection often leads to the disruption of the family system and domestic violence while simultaneously decreasing the chances for abductees' children to develop freely and access much needed resources.

Meanwhile, it is important to note that the family in Northern Uganda, but also in many other developing regions across the globe, is the main social support system and caregiver for female ex-abductees and their children after reintegration. Although the previously outlined interventions such as advocacy and awareness raising is perceived by ex-abductees to have a similar positive impact on family acceptance and hence family acceptance could be regarded as a subsequence of community acceptance, a number of respondents addressed the issue of family rejection in particular and suggested a number of pathways. Therefore, it was suggested to provide workshops for ex-abducted mothers how to deal with stigma in the household (T6). Another women added that gender training and workshops on power-sharing in the household should also include ex-abductees husbands and families in their seminars (T14). Indeed, respondents that have participated in such workshops, reported that they felt empowered through the gender training, and that these workshops reduced stigmatization by family members, domestic violence as well as increased harmony within the family and between intimate partners (Ibid.).

Hence, families equally have to be empowered and need to be engaged during the process of designing adequate intervention strategies. Educating families on the situation and experience of female ex-abductees and their children as well as on the danger of stigmatization and how to deal with people with this experience would greatly enhance the family's acceptance.

Locality

Locality is another intervening factor and its importance not to be neglected. The analysis of the data shows that there exist "a large gap between [reintegration opportunities] urban and rural (T13)" communities. On one hand, urban regions in Uganda provide a higher number of economic opportunities and social services compared to less developed rural communities. On the other hand, due to the anonymity urban settings provide it is almost impossible to distinguish whether someone is an ex-abductee or not. Consequently, it may be argued that stigma and discrimination of ex-abductees and/or their children is as such less dominant and recurrent in urban areas than in rural once. The data sample which included three ex-abductees that moved to urban areas due to the stigma faced in the community of origin, confirms this hypothesis (T12; T13; T14). These three women all conveyed that they as well as their children have not experienced external stigmatization and discrimination in their daily life – the lowest level reported by any

group of respondents. In addition, it was suggested that the low prevalence of stigma and higher opportunities in urban areas is also due to the fact that accessing support programs is easier in these areas because of government and NGO presence. Although all three women from the urban area had received support from NGOs, the amount and value of support they received was comparable to those of rural communities and thus, a significant determinant.

As such, considering demography and locality when it comes to the reintegration of female ex-abductees and its intergenerational impact is implicit for the development of successful support programs. Policy advisors, governments and NGOs often regard reintegration as implying a reinsertion of individuals into their communities of origin. Yet, they fail to consider that such a conceptualization and implementation is often not possible or leads to adverse or unforeseen affects, including stigma and discrimination. Therefore, governments and other actors should carefully examine if a reintegration into the community is the most successful and preferred avenue to achieve its goal. Additionally, as being situated in an urban area enables female ex-abductees and their children to live in anonymity and to access more directly support and health services, the government and NGOs may want to think about resettlement programs for those living with high levels of stigma and willing to leave their communities of origin. Such programs lead to the empowerment of female ex-abductees and their children to leave abusive households and communities to start a new life on their own terms.

Livelihood Intervention

Another often cited intervention and mechanism ought to decrease stigma were livelihood interventions enabling female ex-abductees and their children to start their own small businesses. The rationale here is twofold. Firstly, due to female ex-abductees and their children's marginalized and stigmatized status in their community, livelihood interventions increases their economic prospect and empowers them to take on new roles. Secondly, being economically independent and successful was perceived as altering the image of female ex-abductees and their children of being violent and useless and hence, decreasing external stigmatization. Additionally, economic success also leads participants to regain self-worth and –esteem, altering the "internalization" of stigma – which is an additional empowering experience.

The sample of participants included a group of women that participated in such livelihood projects. They were trained on the basics of business conduct and accounting. They received handouts such as livestock, seeds and farming utilities depending on their needs. Further, a community saving scheme was established from which small amounts could be borrowed to set-up small businesses. When compared to

other members of these communities, including female ex-abductees who have not participated in the project and other women, the data shows that these livelihood interventions have indeed a positive impact on the life's of these women. While those who did not participated conveyed that their economic position has stagnated or even worsened in the last years, all livelihood participants stated that their economic position has improved due to the program in the last years. Formally unable to cater for their own and their children's needs, many women were able to start their own small businesses, such as tailoring, local brewing, brick making, animal farming and selling commodities at the market. This enabled them to not only cater for their own, but also for their needs of their children and other family members. They were able to pay the school fees of their children. They could start planning for the future and build financial security. One woman even gained the self-esteem and economic independency to leave her abusive husband and rent a place for her own. Moreover, one group of non-abductees stated that having seen female ex-abductees and their children becoming successful entrepreneurs or hard workers has positively changed their stance and beliefs towards them (FG11). As a result, they now regard female ex-abductees as the hardest working individuals in their communities.

Education

Providing educational opportunities to female ex-abductees' children was another often-cited intervention proposed by the research participants which was perceived as central in altering the intergenerational impact of stigma. Many women cited the need for scholarships, school fee support and vocational training in order to provide their children with a long-term prospect. As discussed in the first chapter of this analysis, implicit biases, external stigmatization and internalized stigma have a clear and devastating impact for educational and career opportunities (Cohen et al., 2012; Link and Phelan, 2006). Accordingly, most women regarded the access to education for their children as an important pathway to increase the future economic and career prospect for their children as well as a vehicle to escape from their marginalized status within society. Education as such was therefore regarded as a highly empowering intervention.

Despite the importance of access to educational opportunities in increasing the future prospect for these children, access to education has further implications in regard to mitigating the intergenerational impact of stigma. According to Aguilar and Retamal (1998), education is an important factor in restoring predictability and social support to children. Schools and education may also function as a safe space and provides security to those suffering from stigmatization by family or community, and domestic violence. Schools also function as a further protective mechanism as children can be easily accessed and their mental and physical development can be monitored (Betancourt et al., 2010). In addition, education can foster

social support and networks between students, teachers and other individuals in the community (Ibid.). In a study examining the impact of stigma on child soldiers' behavior, Betancourt et al. (2010) found that being enrolled in school correlates statistically significant with increased pro-social behavior. Furthermore, participants argued that education provides these children with a sense of self-worth, self-esteem and inclusion (FG2; FG3). Additionally, it was argued that school enrollment showed others in the community that their children are productive community members (FG4).

Indeed, the stories narrated by participants were mostly positive when they talked about education and schooling. Most children of female ex-abductees had no difficulty to find friends through schools and socialize. Only some women recounted incidents of bullying or that their children had difficulties to concentrate and keep up with fellow classmates. Thus, it can be argued that schools and education programs indeed decrease the social isolation, internalized stigma, positively impacts the child's development and increases its future opportunities. To aid this and in order to avoid negative effects, such as bullying and stigmatization at schools, staff and students should be aware of and sensitized to the situation of these children. To achieve such a school environment, participants recommended that staff and students should participate in workshops and adapt curriculum that educates about the dangers of stigmatization (T6). Furthermore, a strict anti-stigma policy at schools can further support these efforts as previously discussed (T3).

Targeted vs. non-targeted Programs

Most of the past and current DDR programs have exclusively targeted former ex-abductees (Tonheim, 2010) and the DDR process in northern Uganda is no exception to this rule. Targeted programs of course have their benefits. They are relatively cost efficient, cater directly to survivors, efficiently provides short-term support and can cater for the specific needs of women (Ibid.). Yet, more recent studies stress that target programs that single out beneficiaries, may lead to stigmatization and jealousy in the long run (Castelli et al. 2005; MacVeigh et al. 2007). This is confirmed by my participants stating that they have experienced backlash, resentment and jealousy because of their participation in a support program. They cited that husbands denied them to continue with the programs. Others recalled that neighbors and the community are pointing fingers and are calling them with negative names when they walk to social support meetings of NGOs. This was also confirmed by a group of non-abducted women that said they would not understand why female ex-abductees and their children should receive support, while they have been victims of the war, had lived for years in IDP camps, and suffer under the same levels of poverty (FG7; FG11). Therefore, targeted programs are in so far problematic as it fosters increased stigmatization, social tensions and jealousy.

To counter this negative impact, participants proposed that support programs should also cater for and invite family and community members to participate. As Focus Group 10, which are part of a support group consisting out of ex- and non- abductees, stated: “Bringing in people into the group that have not been abducted, brought more unity into the community and decreased finger pointing (FG10)”. They added that as such it is much harder to identify whether a person was abducted or not. In addition, it must be noted that due to the war, the harsh living conditions in IDP camps, extreme levels of poverty and hardship, and of maybe having witnessed killings, abductions and rapes, communities themselves may be traumatized and having a sense of extreme marginalization.

Thus, successful interventions and support programs should not only cater for female ex-abductees and their children but also include the wider community in order to build up the latter to accept the former in their community.

Peer Support and Self-help Groups

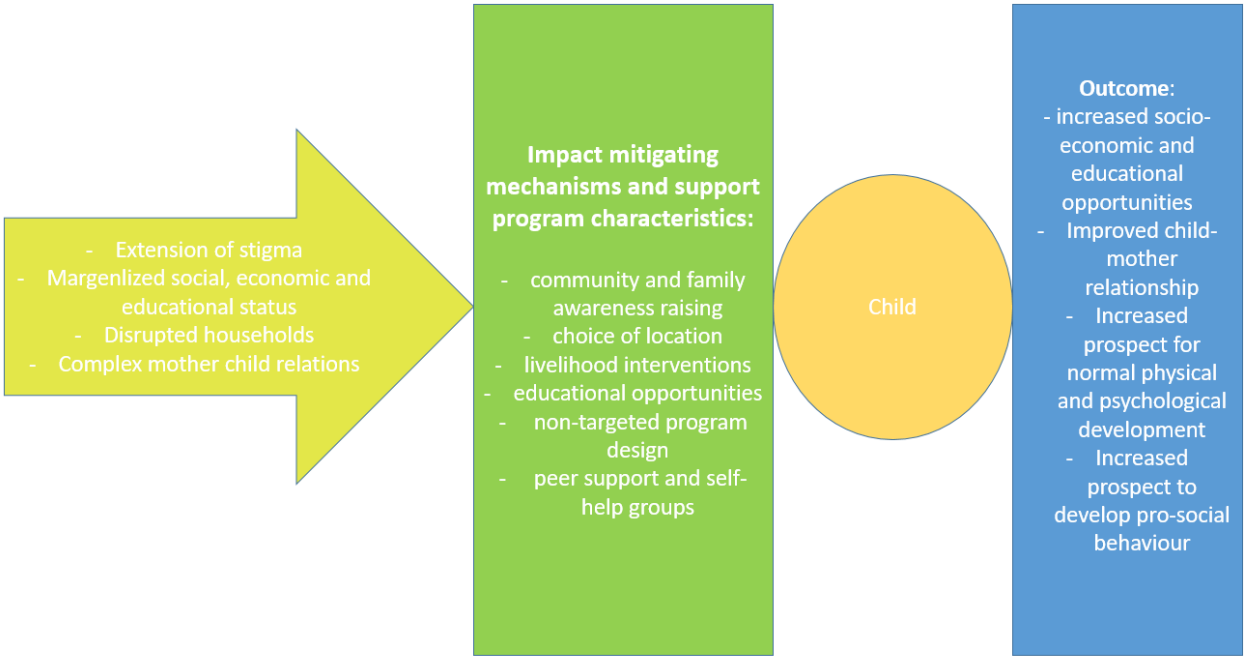
Another valuable, but underestimated mechanism by respondents in this research was the impact of peer support and self-help groups on decreasing stigmatization and discrimination. Those women in the sample that participated in such groups, cited that it helped them to deal with their traumatic experience before and after reintegration, by sharing stories and providing counselling to each other. As such, peer support and self-help groups can act as a counterbalance to the stigmatization, discrimination and isolation female ex-abductees and their children experience in their daily lives. Additionally, peer services and self-help groups can also be empowering. Being able to help others or taking a leading role in such a group was perceived as an empowering experience by some respondents.

Further, they stated that peer services helped them to develop strategies countering stigma and made them more sociable, within the group but also with the wider community. This is in line with several studies that have identified the importance of peers in helping others to identify their problems and develop effective coping strategies (Armstrong et al., 1995; Corrigan and Phelan, 2004; Mowbray, 1997). Although peer support and self-help groups arguably have the greatest impact on decreasing internalized stigma through regaining self-esteem by sharing experiences in these groups, it can also decrease external stigmatization if other non-abductees from the respective community are invited. As already touched upon in the previous section, personal contact with female ex-abductees and their children may reduce interpersonal divides, distrust, fears, stigma and stereotypes (Cook et al., 2014). Additionally, such groups constitute a perfect access point for other organizations to get into contact with female ex-abductees and their children and in order to deliver further support programs.

Situating the Findings

Overall, the analysis of support program characteristics has illustrated that community and family awareness raising, the choice of location, livelihood interventions, increasing educational opportunities, a non-targeted program design, and peer support and self-help groups were all perceived as valuable interventions decreasing the stigma and prejudice faced by female ex-abductees and mitigating the intergenerational impact on their children. Particularly, community and family awareness raising and support was regarded as an inherently important and a much needed mechanism that effectively decreases the impact of stigma and its consequences for mothers and children. As stigma and its intergenerational impact decreases the economic as well as educational opportunities of female ex-abductees and their children, livelihood interventions and educational programs were found to counteract this negative effect. For those who suffer disproportionately under stigma and do not see any chance of positive change in their respective community in the long-term, the provision of resettlement programs to communities where they can benefit from anonymity was regarded as a last resort to enhance the life of these women and children. Furthermore, this section has identified the need to design support programs in a non-targeted manner and by involving the wider community. This decreases the chances of fostering jealousy and makes the identification of female ex-abductees and their children more difficult, while simultaneously enabling contact and interaction, thus decreasing stigma and prejudice. Lastly, peer support and self-help groups were regarded as effective mechanisms to exchange experiences, enhance the self-esteem and to empower participants to come up with solutions and coping mechanisms to combat stigma and its negative impact.

Figure 2: Mechanisms and Support Program Characteristics mitigating the Intergenerational Impact of Stigma



Evaluating the Research Study: Limitations and Possible Biases

A major limitation and challenge of this research is rooted in its theoretical approach. The complex and holistic nature of sociological systems theory makes it especially hard to achieve hierarchy. For instance, how can we judge that one system has a stronger influence on an individual than another system? Furthermore, it is not possible to apply reductionist principles in order to create an operational framework from which we can develop a practically implementable structure of analysis. The thesis tries to mitigate this limitation by acknowledging the existence of the various system, but also their interrelation and interdependency. Therefore, the thesis avoids a structured analysis guided by the various system and uses a narrative which allows the illustration of the interaction, interrelation and interdependency of the different systems instead. Another challenge limiting this research is its scope. By mainly focusing on stigma in this study, the thesis lacks to emphasize other factors that lead to the marginalized position of female ex-abductees and their children, such as mental illness.

Furthermore, using a non-random sampling method such as the snow ball technique may result in biases hampering the validity and generalizability to other cases. Yet, accessing former abductees with a randomized method would not have been feasible due to the unknown sample frame and difficult access. Similarly, findings may inherit a reporting bias, since participants may have exaggerated their overall experience due to expectation that shocking testimonies may result in immediate benefits for the participant.

However, I tried to avoid such a dilemma by clearly stating that there are no direct benefits for participants. In addition, in order to increase the validity, reliability and generalizability, the thesis cross checked findings of eight different communities in Northern Uganda. Lastly, the thesis only examines the perception of female ex-abductees and other community member on stigma and its intergenerational impact but fails to engage with affected children. This is largely due to ethical concerns of interviewing children which are particularly vulnerable and a (re-)traumatization of these children has been deemed too ethically problematic and risky.

Conclusion

In sum, this thesis examined the stigma and discrimination faced by female ex-abductees of the LRA and its intergenerational impact. The study has illustrated that stigma and its impact, both for mothers and their children, constitutes a major burden in their lives and can occur in a variety of forms. Both are victims to name-calling, labeling, stereotyping, emotional and physical abuse. As a result, mothers and their children are often socially isolated, rejected by community and family, denied the access to valuable resources, and victims of domestic violence. Consequently, children of ex-abductees have decreased economic, social and educational opportunities than others in society. Although other women without a history of abduction suffer under the consequences of the harsh living conditions as a result from the decade long conflict and underdevelopment of the region, such as poverty, domestic violence and alcoholism, this thesis suggests that female ex-abductees and their offspring are suffering under these consequences disproportionally while stigma even makes their situation more burdensome. Moreover, female ex-abductees and their children are argues to suffer more than male abductees due to cultural gender norms and gender disparities.

Therefore, it becomes imperative to develop effective and successful interventions to stop this cycle of stigma and marginalization as well as to mitigate the intergenerational impact, while also accounting for the harsh social environment these communities are living in. The analysis of the causal mechanisms mitigating the intergenerational impact of stigma showed that community and family awareness raising, choice of location, livelihood interventions, educational opportunities, non-targeted program design, and peer support and self-help groups are all valuable mechanisms and support program characteristics that can decrease the negative intergenerational impact of stigma. As such, this has a number of implications for policy makers, politicians, governments, NGOs and academics alike. First, DDR programs and follow-up support programs should be designed in a culturally relevant and appropriate manner. Second, they should also be gender sensitive and incorporate the specific needs of women in post-conflict situations. Moreover, support programs for female ex-abductees and their children, but also in general, should be community-based, instead of using a one-size fits all model. By asking women and communities about their specific needs in such a process, these women and communities are empowered to take an active stance and to be part of the solution as well as it fosters cooperation between different actors and forestalls social isolation. In addition, the effectiveness of these mechanisms and support program characteristics is dependent on larger political, institutional and social transformations since poverty and the disruption of the social fabric negatively impacts the way families and communities respond and accept formerly abducted women and their children. Further research is needed to statistically evaluate the various support program characteristics and mechanisms in order to judge the extent of its effectiveness. In addition, research from other regions and countries intended to reveal further stigma mitigating mechanisms is needed in the future.

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Appendix

Participant Overview

Name	Location	Age	Ethnicity	Religion	Education	No. Of Children	CBIC
T1	Abia	28	Acholi	---	---	4	2
T2	Namakora	33	Acholi	---	----	6	None
T3	Abia	---	Acholi	---	---	7	2
T4	Abia	38	Acholi	Protestant	P3	---	2
T5	Naam Okoro	27	Acholi	Catholic	P5	--	1
T6	Pader	31	Acholi	Protestant	P2	1	1
T7	Pader	36	Acholi	Protestant	P4	4	2
T8	Naam Okoro	36	Acholi	Catholic	P2	5	1
T9	Naam Okoro/Kitgum	34	Acholi	Protestant	P7	--	1
T10	Naam Okoro/Kitgum	29	Acholi	Catholic		6	1
T11	Naam Okoro/Kitgum	32	Acholi	Born Again		5	1
T12	Soroti	28	Lango			1	1
T13	Soroti	30	Lango	Catholic	P6	2	1
T14	Amuru/Soroti	40	Ateso	Protestant	University	2	None
T15	Soroti	30	Itosot	Catholic	University	--	1
T16	Awach	25	Langi	Catholic	--	5	2
T17	Abia	40	Lango	Catholic	P1	7	None
T19	Abia	30	Acholi	Catholic/Protestant	P6	2	1

Focus Group 1: Female ex-abductees in Gulu; no support program

	Ethnicity	Religion	Age	Education	Children (total)	CBIC
D1	Acholi	Catholic	36	P7	5	
D2	Acholi	Catholic	28	P4	3	
D3	Acholi	Catholic	33	P6	5	
D4	Acholi	Born Again	35	P4	3	

Focus Group 2: Female ex-abductees in Patiko; no support program

	Ethnicity	Religion	Age	Education	Children (total)	CBIC
D5	Acholi	Catholic	40	P3	9	2
D6	Acholi	Catholic	25	S3	4	None
D7	Acholi	Catholic	24	P6	2	None
D8	Acholi	Catholic	35	P7	6	None
D9	Acholi	Catholic	25	none	3	none

Focus Group 3: Female ex-abductees In Patiko; no support program

	Ethnicity	Religion	Age	Education	Children (total)	CBIC
D10	Acholi	Catholic	26	P2	3	
D11	Acholi	Catholic	33	P6	5	
D12	Acholi	Catholic	26	P4	3	
D13	Acholi	Catholic	31	P3	5	
D14	Acholi	Born Again	24	P1	4	

Focus Group 4: Female ex-abductees in Parabong; no support program

	Ethnicity	Religion	Age	Education	Children (total)	CBIC
D15	Acholi	Catholic	21	P7	1	
D16	Acholi	Catholic	25	none	3	
D17	Acholi	Born Again	28	none	7	
D18	Acholi	Catholic	28	none	6	
D19	Acholi	Born Again	30	none	6	
D20	Acholi	Catholic	34	P1	6	
D21	Acholi	Catholic	30	P4	4	
D22	Acholi	Born Again	32	none	6	
D23	Acholi	Catholic	38	P2	9	
D24	Acholi	Catholic	38	none	5	

Focus Group 5: non-abductees in Parabong; no support program

	Ethnicity	Religion	Age	Education	Children (total)
D25	Acholi	Catholic	40	P7	5
D26	Acholi	Born Again	25	P6	7
D27	Acholi	Catholic	24	P5	2
D28	Acholi	Catholic	35	P5	6
D29	Acholi	Born Again	25	S3	1
D30	Acholi	Catholic	40	P7	3
D31	Acholi	Catholic	25	S6	4
D32	Acholi	Catholic	24	P5	5
D33	Acholi	Catholic	35	P6	2
D34	Acholi	Catholic	25	P5	6

Focus Group 6: Female ex-abductees in Lukowi; no support program

	Ethnicity	Religion	Age	Education	Children (total)	

D35	Acholi	Catholic	38	None	10	
D36	Acholi	Born Again	33	P3	4	
D37	Acholi	Catholic	40	None	10	
D38	Acholi	Protestant	49	none	8	
D39	Acholi	Protestant	45	P6	6	
D40	Acholi	Catholic	45	None	9	
D41		Protestant	40	none	7	

Focus Group 7: non-abductees in Lukowi; no support program

	Ethnicity	Religion	Age	Education	Children (total)
D42	Acholi	Protestant	33	None	7
D43	Acholi	Born Again	40	None	9
D44	Acholi	Catholic	28	P4	1
D45	Acholi	Catholic	30	P5	5
D46	Acholi	Protestant	24	P5	2
D47	Acholi	Born Again	40	None	7
D48	Acholi	Catholic	24	P7	1

Foacus Group 8: Female ex-abductees in Buroco; no support program

	Ethnicity	Religion	Age	Education	Children (total)
D49	Acholi	Born Again	51	S2	5
D50	Acholi	Catholic	40	P7	7
D51	Acholi	Catholic	59	None	7
D52	Acholi	Born Again	60	none	4
D53	Acholi	Catholic	54	none	4

Focus Group 9: non-abductees in Buroco; no support program

	Ethnicity	Religion	Age	Education	Children (total)
D54	Acholi	Catholic	86	None	1;20 gr.ch.
D55	Acholi	Protestant	45	P6	4
D56	Acholi	Catholic	48	P3	2
D57	Acholi	Catholic	42	none	6
D58	Acholi	Catholic	43	none	3
D59	Acholi	Catholic	56	None	3

Focus Group 10: Female ex-abductees in Awache; with support program

	Ethnicity	Religion	Age	Education	Children (total)
D60	Acholi	Born Again	33	P6	5
D61	Acholi	Catholic	33	P1	6
D62	Acholi	Catholic	37	P5	6
D63	Acholi	Catholic	40	None	7
D64	Acholi	Protestant	37	None	6
D65	Acholi	Protestant	34	none	6
D66	Acholi	Protestant	33	P7	5
D67	Acholi	Catholic	30	P3	4
D68	Acholi	Born Again	33	P6	4
D69	Acholi	Born Again	37	P6	7

Focus Group 11: non-abductees in Awach; with support program

	Ethnicity	Religion	Age	Education	Children
D70	Acholi	Catholic	50	None	6
D71	Acholi	Protestant	52	None	9
D72	Acholi	Born Again	18	P6	None
D73	Acholi	Catholic	38	None	5
D74	Acholi	Catholic	41	P5	9

Interview Question Guide

In order to operationalize and understand the stigma female ex-abductees face and how it impacts their children, several questions were formulated, asked and rephrased during the interviews and focus groups. However, it is important to note that these questions only formed a guideline, and often individuals formulated their own questions, especially in the focus group discussions. Moreover, these questions have received minor adjustments and changes depending on which group of individuals were interviewed. These questions were as followed:

Stigma faced by female ex-abductees

1) How did relatives, neighbors and others in the community reacted when you returned?
2) How did their attitudes towards you developed over time?
3) How are you treated in your community today?
4) What role does stigma play in your daily life? How does it impact you?
5) Can you describe (if you are comfortable) specific instances of stigma and discrimination you have experienced?

Intergenerational Impact of stigma and its consequences

1) How do you think that the stigma you face impact your children and their development?
2) Are your children stigmatized? Can you describe how?
3) Do you think that children of ex-abductees develop differently than children of mothers that have not been abducted?
4) How do you think ex-abductees and their children would be living if you have not been abducted or affected by the war?
5) How do you think that your war-time experiences impacted your children?

Examining mitigating factors and support program characteristics decreasing or nullifying the intergenerational impact of stigma

The first set of questions tried to reveal what participant ought to be mitigating conditions and supportive characteristics that decreased the impact of stigma faced by ex-abductees. The second set of question was then applied and inserted into the conversation, in order to evaluate the perceived impact and effectiveness of certain support programs and test our proposed causal mechanisms.

In general:

1) Which conditions do you believe decrease the intergenerational impact of stigma and stigmatization?
2) What strageties have you developed and can be developed to mitigate the intergenerational impact?
3) How can other actors, such as the government and NGOs, help and support you during the process and decrease the intergenerational impact of stigma?

Testing the proposed mitigating factors when it was possible:

1) Were you a beneficiary of any sort of support, counselling or reintegration program? If so, what did the program entail?
2) Do you think you have benefitted from counselling, reintegration- or support programs?

Increased social and community awareness

1) Have you participated in a support program that aimed to increase social awareness for the situation of female ex-abductees and their children?
2) What was the content of this program?
3) How did the program impact your life?
4) Do you feel now more socially and economically included?
5) Do you have access to resources to cater for your needs and the needs of your children?
6) How did it impact your relationship to your children and their situation today?

Family support and acceptance

1) Have you participated in a support program that aimed to facilitate family support and acceptance and provided counselling?
2) What was the content of this program?
3) How did the program impact your life?
4) Do you feel now more socially and economically included?
5) Do you have access to resources to cater for your needs and the needs of your children?
6) How did it impact your relationship to your children and their situation today?

Livelihood intervention

1) Have you participated in a support program that aimed to your economic situation?
2) What was the content of this program?
3) How did the program impact your life?

4) Do you feel now more socially and economically included?
5) Do you have access to resources to cater for your needs and the needs of your children?
6) How did it impact your relationship to your children and their situation today?

Increasing educational opportunities

1) Do your children go to school?
2) Have they benefitted from scholarships, etc.?
3) How do you think has education impacted them?

The choice of locality

1) Do you still live in the same community before your abduction?
2) Do you feel now more socially and economically included?
3) Do you have access to resources to cater for your needs and the needs of your children?
4) How did it impact your relationship to your children and their situation today?

Targeted vs. non-targeted programs

1) Do you think support programs should only cater for female ex-abductees or should it also include the wider community?
2) Do you think targeted programs foster jealousy by other community members and increases stigmatization?
3) If you participated in a support program: was it targeted or non-targeted?
4) Do you feel that ex-abductees and their children are now more socially and economically included?

Peer support and self-help groups

1) Are you part of a peer support network or self-help group?
2) How do you think it has impacted the lifes of female ex-abductees and those of your children?

Consent Form:

The Intergenerational Impact of stigma faced by female ex-abductees

Consent for participation in a research interview/Focus Group Discussion

I agree to participate in the research study "The Intergenerational Impact of stigma face by female ex-abductees" by Ruben Benjamin Hake from Leiden University.

1. I have been sufficiently informed about the present research project and understand my role within it.

2. I understand that my participation at this research project is completely voluntary.

3. I understand that I will not benefit directly from participating in this research project.

4. The purpose of the research and the treatment of data has been explained to me and are clear.

5. I have been informed that the interviews/focus group discussions will be audio-recorded.

6. I understand that I have the right not to answer to questions, stop and/or withdraw from the interview at any time. Further, I am aware that withdrawal will not be penalized in any way.

7. I understand that I have the right to demand that collected data will be deleted at any time.

8. I understand that data will only be stored at Mr. Hake's personal devices and won't be accessible to others.

9. I understand that names and other personal data which could be traced back to me, will be anonymized.

10. I understand that under freedom of information I am entitled to access the information I have provided at any time while it is in storage.

11. I understand that I am free to contact any of the people involved in the research to seek further clarification and information.

Contact Details:

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Address: Airfield Road 17, Gulu Town

Signature of research participant

_____ _____

Signature of participant Date

Signature of researcher

I believe the participant is giving informed consent to participate in this study.

_____ _____

Signature of researcher Date