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The Lost Boys of Sudan:

The reintegration process of school children associated with armed forces and groups

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Abstract

The signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005 marked the end of Africa's longest civil war between the government of Sudan and Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement. A few years prior to the signing of the CPA, the SPLA started to demobilize children from their ranks. This is still going on. While some children are formally demobilized with assistance from organizations as well as the UN, others are not. This study examines the reintegration process of these youth into life as civilians and students in schools in Malakal.

The main findings of the study shows that in general, Children Associated with Armed Forces and Groups (CAAFG) do not get specific attention in Malakal. However, there are both international and national policy documents that address them. They are labeled and stigmatized by the society and some suffer from trauma. Half of them have lost one or both parents and they struggle to get money for school and basic living. Currently, none get the support that is necessary to secure their future and give them a good education which is needed to rebuild Sudan.

The surrounding environments do not cooperate to their benefit and they are not addressed in particular in the schools. If the reasons that made them choose to join the armed group are not addressed, they might as well find their way back. Therefore the reintegration process into the school system is of crucial importance, not only for the individual CAAFG, but for the future of Southern Sudan. The study shows that former CAAFG are marginalized in numerous ways.

"We must remember that only the survivors can tell their stories"

(Honwana 2006, p.50)
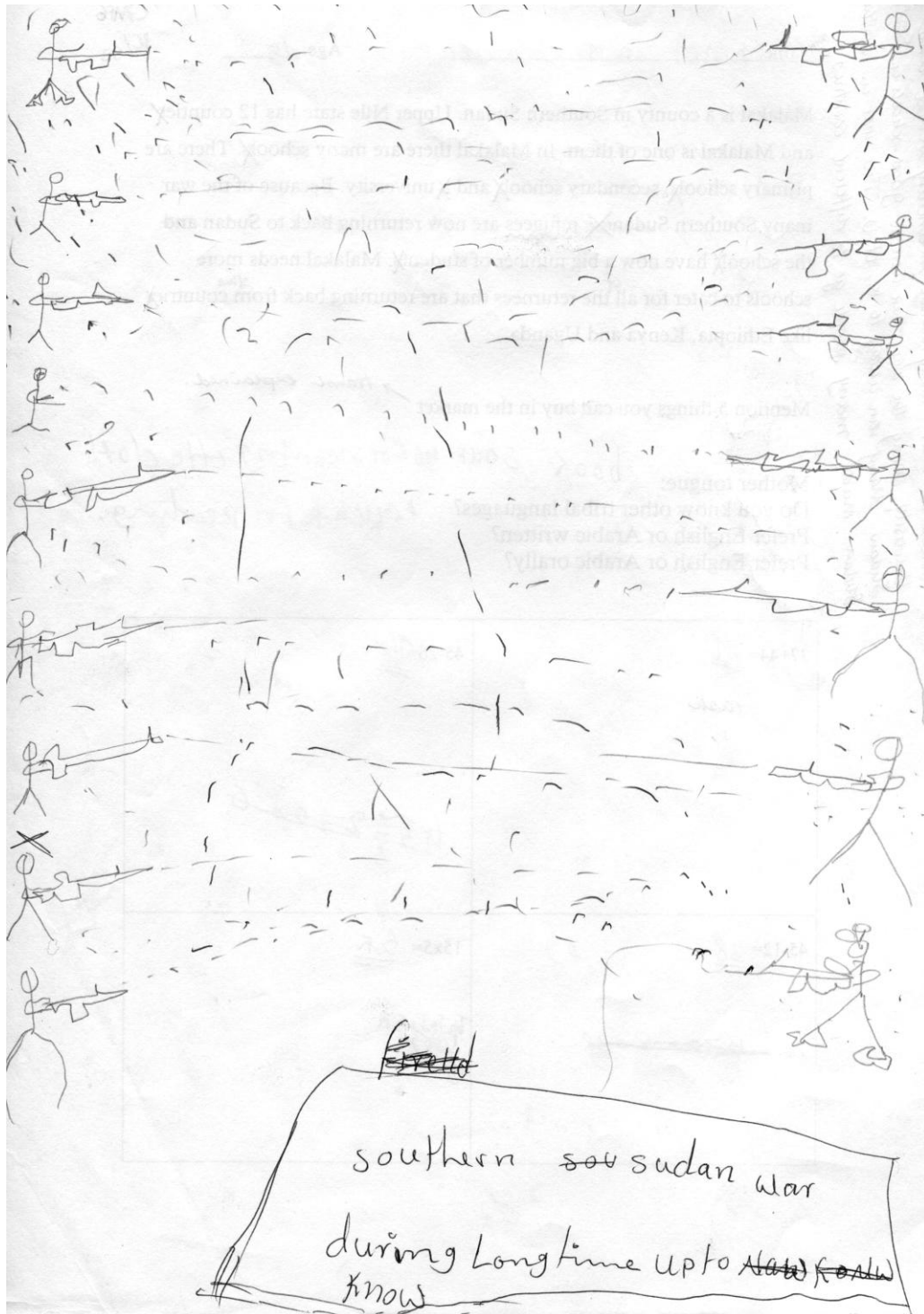
(Drawing by Akol)

Abbreviations

AES   Alternative Education System

ALP   Accelerated Learning Programme

CAAFG   Children Associated with Armed Forces and Groups

CBO   Community Based Organization

CPA   Comprehensive Peace Agreement

DDR   Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

DRC   Democratic Republic of Congo

FTR   Family Tracing and Reunification

IDDRP   Interim Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

JIU   Joint Integrated Unit

LRA   Lord's Resistance Army

MoEST   Ministry of Education, Science and Technology

NCP   National Congress Party

NGO   Non-Governmental Organization

PTA   Parent and Teacher Association

PTSD   Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

RALS   Regional Assessment of Learning Spaces

SAF   Sudan Armed Forces

SPLA   Sudan People's Liberation Army

SPLM   Sudan People's Liberation Movement

SSDDRC   South Sudan Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Commission

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

UNMIS   United Nations Mission In Sudan

WFP   World Food Programme

Table of contents

1 Introduction

After years of civil war, Sudan now has started to demobilize hundreds of Children Associated with Armed Forces and Groups (CAAFG). As these youth return to a civilian life they need quality education to manage the transition and build their future as well as rebuilding their country after decades of civil war. This chapter describes and presents the reasons why this study is carried out, as well as a presentation of the research objectives.

1.1 Problem statement

Child soldiers have been demobilized in both Northern and Southern Sudan since 2001. According to the numbers from UNICEF, 12.000 child soldiers allied to the Sudan People's Liberation Army, the liberation movement in the South, have been demobilized since late 2001. Also children from other armed groups as well as the government forces have been demobilized (UNICEF n.d.).In addition to this, there has been the disarmament of youth from the "White Army", that is the name given to bands of armed civilians, primarily male youth, who reside mostly in Jonglei and Upper Nile state in Southern Sudan (Alden & Arnold 2007, p. 2). It is not a single, coherent armed force. Altogether, some 20,000 children had been demobilized in Southern Sudan by 2006 (Browers 2006). The big number of demobilized youth might never have attended school. They return to war-torn communities and broken families as relatives and friends might have passed away during the war. The following interview quote from a Sudanese former child soldier opens up for an understanding of the complex situation that the youth of Sudan experience when they are demobilized.

> I joined the SPLA when I was 13. I am from Bahr Al Ghazal. They demobilized me in 2001 and took me to Rumbek, but I was given no demobilization documents. Now, I am stuck here because my family was killed in a government attack and because the SPLA would re-recruit me. At times I wonder why I am not going back to SPLA, half of my friends have and they seem to be better off than me (Coalition to stop the use of child soldiers n.d).

This marginalized group needs to get a quality education that addresses its needs. "If education will not be available to them when they disarm, child soldiers are likely to see war in the bush as a better option than transitioning into civilian life" (McKay et al., cited in Wessels 2006, p. 206). This is only one of many reasons why education should target this specific group.

Child soldier is commonly used when labeling this group of children in armed groups. However, I will introduce the term Children Associated with Armed Groups and Forces (CAAFG) as it is more applicable to the children in question. Not all of them are combatants when members of an armed group. A CAAFG is defined as "any person under the age of 18 who is a member of or attached to government armed forces or any other regular or irregular armed force or armed political group, whether or not an armed conflict exists" (Coalition to stop the use of child soldiers, n.d). Also current international and national documents and plans for reintegration and support use this term when addressing the children. In the rest of the thesis this is also the term I will use.

Both female and male CAAFG are incorporated into armed groups, and the two are often assigned different tasks in the field. For several reasons, the females are not addressed in this study. While the men are mainly combatants, the women in the military camps often fill the roles as servants, laborers and sexual slaves (Honwana 2006). Due to this, the reintegration process should be gendered. Challenges related to previous war-time experiences affects the reintegration process and are very much dependant of gender.

1.2 Objectives

The objective of this study is to explore the current situation of the former male CAAFG in Malakal, particularly related to the reintegration process and education. With the following research questions I will give this marginalized group a voice.

1.2.1 Research questions

- How do the various institutions and organizations address the plight of Children Associated with Armed Forces and Groups in the reintegration process?

- In what way do the roles and experiences of Children Associated with Armed Forces and Groups impact on their life after demobilization?

- What challenges do Children Associated with Armed Forces and Groups meet in the reintegration process in terms of education?

2   Background

With a specific focus on Southern Sudan, this chapter describes the period after Sudan's independence in 1956. It focuses particularly on the unequal power relations within the country, the educational situation during the recent decades, the emergence of the lost boys and the research site.

Since 1955 Sudan has been experiencing a civil war between the north and the south. Interrupted by a peaceful period between 1972 and 1983 it has been the longest civil war on the African continent. Prior to the independence in 1956 Sudan was under Anglo-Egyptian condominium rule (Johnson 2003, p. 22). Since the independence, it is the Muslim Arabs that have had full control of the state apparatus in the country, except from the liberated areas in the south that the Sudanese People's Liberation Army (SPLA) controlled (Breidlid 2005, p. 248).

The current president of Sudan, General Omar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir seized power in Khartoum in 1989 and cancelled all prior arrangement that the government had made with the SPLA. Following this, the Mengistu regime in Ethiopia, which had supported SPLA, collapsed in 1991. Hence the SPLA lost its bases in Ethiopia. These two incidents contributed to the split of the SPLA into two fractions (Sommers 2005). They split into two antagonistic groups, one led by John Garang, an ethnic Dinka and the leader of SPLA until he died in a helicopter accident in 2005. The other was led by Riek Machar, an ethnic Nuer and the current vice president of the semi autonomous Southern Sudan. The latter movement had to rely on the government for military hardware at crucial times (Johnson 2003). The tensions between the tribes in the south are of specific interest as most of the informants in this study are Nuer and Dinka. Related to this Sommers (2005) argues that throughout most of the civil war, Southerners did nearly all of their fighting against other Southerners (p. 47).

There is today a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the north and the south signed in Nairobi, Kenya 9th of January 2005 (CPA 2005). The 24th of March the same year, the UN

Security Council established the UN Mission in Sudan, UNMIS (UNMISa n.d.). UNMIS is mandated to support the implementation of the CPA. In addition to the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) belonging to the North and the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) representing the South, the CPA forms Joint/ Integrated Units (JIU). JIU consists of equal numbers from the SAF and the SPLA during the Interim Period. The CPA (2005) states that

> (t)he Joint/ Integrated Units shall constitute a nucleus of a post referendum army of Sudan, should the result of the referendum confirm unity, otherwise they would be dissolved and the component parts integrated into their respective forces (p. 88).

The agreement has six protocols where two constitute the conflict areas of Abyei, Nuba Mountains in southern Khordofan and Blue Nile (appendix I: map). The two parties do not agree on the boundary demarcation between the north and the south. Abyei, Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile State are located close to the border between the north and the south, and are part of a power sharing agreement. There is ceasefire between the two parts of the conflict today; however there are unstable areas in the south. As recently as April this year, 170 people were killed in ethnic clashes between Murle- and Lou Nuer tribes in Jonglei state, Southern Sudan (Al Jazeera 2009a). This happens while the two parties are supposed to demobilize a big number of combatants and also reintegrate Children Aaaociated with Armed Forces and Groups (CAAFG) into a civil life.

2.1 Education

In 1983, General Gaafar Muhammad Nimeri officially transformed Sudan into an Islamic state and imposed Sharia law in the whole of Sudan. This also influenced the education system in the whole of Sudan. In 1990, the president of Sudan, Ohmar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir, announced that the education system at all levels should be based on Islamic values (Breidlid 2005, p. 251). Thus the national educational discourse of Sudan has been very much linked to the dominant political discourse. The National Congress party (NCP) sees "the education system as a hegemonical tool in constructing and solidifying the nation state, in reproducing cultural capital and the existing power relations (Breidlid 2005, p. 253). This also led to Arabic as the sole language of instruction in the schools and as Sommers (2005) argues "school was no longer a

refugee from conflict but rather a place to express resistance, a place permeated by a sense of subjugation and division (p. 16). Furthermore he argues that:

> Resistance lies in the core of the Southern Sudanese identity and remains a prominent and visceral theme in education. Identity is directly connected to considerations of curriculum and language of instruction. Learning in English instead of Arabic and following a curriculum that is not the Islamic curriculum developed and endorsed by the Government of Sudan in Khartoum is a distinct and important form of Southern identity formation in addition to political resistance and even nation building (Sommers 2005, p. 46).

However, the two civil wars in Sudan have left the Southern Sudanese as one of the most undereducated people in the world and there has for a long time been an urgent need for access to quality education in Southern Sudan (Sommers 2005). No matter what kind of curriculum, there has been little access to school for the majority of Southern Sudanese.

The signing of the CPA in 2005 marked a new era for Southern Sudan as it is now a semi autonomous state. They have their own educational policies and they are implementing English as the language of instruction. In contrast to the liberated areas that have had English as the medium of instruction also during the war, this process seems to progress slower in the former garrison town of Malakal as this study will show.

From the Regional Assessment of Learning Spaces (RALS) in Southern Sudan completed in 2006, it is clear that there are a number of young people with special needs that are enrolled in learning spaces in Southern Sudan (GoSS/UNICEF Sudan 2006, p. 20). A prominent portion of those are demobilized CAAFG. There is an urgent need for this marginalized group to be empowered with and through education. This will bring a change to not only the individual's private life, but also to the community and the building of the country. It is not only a question of numbers of enrollment. The education must be contextualized, and as Wessels (2006) argues:

6

Before former child soldiers enter school, there should be training for both children and teachers that increase awareness of child soldier's situation and reduce issues of stigmatization (p. 207).

According to the Southern Sudan draft education act of 2008, the structure of public education in southern Sudan is 2-8-4. It starts with two years of early childhood education. After that there are eight years of formal primary education followed by primary leaving examination. After this comes four years of formal secondary education followed by secondary leaving examination (MoEST 2008). For the target group of this case study, there are two main programs where they can get primary education which is defined as "education beginning from the age of six which comprises eight years from primary one through primary eight" (MoEST 2008, p. 4). This you can get in the formal education system or the Alternative Education System (AES) where Accelerated Learning program (ALP) is one of the components. The ALP consists of the eight years of primary schooling which are compressed to four years of intensive learning. In Malakal these schools are located in already existing schools, but lessons are given in the evenings.

The ALP in Southern Sudan emerged after the big UNICEF demobilization of CAAFG in 2001 as the soldiers who returned home needed education to facilitate their reintegration. It was piloted Northern Bahr el Gazal by Save the Children UK and blessed by the emerging Ministry of Education, by that time SPLA's secretariat for Education (Sommers 2005, p. 119). The ALP teachers were not paid and the teacher capacity was limited. The programme addressed former male CAAFG in particular and students without a primary education, between age 12 and 18, in general.

2.2 The lost boys

Sudan has for a long time witnessed recruitment of children into their armed groups. Southerners have been captured by the government forces as well as the armed groups in the south. SPLA has a long policy of recruiting minors, separating them from homes and families for military training and education (Rone 1995). Many were trained by SPLA in Ethiopia prior to Mengistu's regime collapsed in 1991. In the 1980s some 600 boys were taken from SPLA camps to Cuba for

education (Rone 1995). This highlights that SPLA had focus on education and considered it important, even in times of war.

After the Menistu regime in Ethiopia collapsed in 1991 many unaccompanied minors returned to Southern Sudan or neighboring countries and resided in refugee camps. While some of the boys were incorporated into the SPLA when the regime in Ethiopia fell, thousands of boys were not yet incorporated (Rone 1995). Many fled to Kakuma in Kenya, a refugee camp with about 10 00 unaccompanied minor from Sudan when it opened in 1992 (Rone 1995, p. 84). A significant group got resettlement in the USA. Some studies exist from research done on these unaccompanied minors. However, the target group of this study is boys still in Sudan and most have never gone outside of the country. Lack of access to education has been so severe that armed groups and forces have managed to lure children from their homes by promising education.

2.3 Research site

This study is carried out within Malakal, the state capital of Upper Nile state, Southern Sudan. It is located by the White Nile (appendix I: map). It was a garrison town during the war, which means it was held by the government (Sommers 2005). The market square in the middle of town has a lot of Arab traders and the town is comprised of different ethnic groups. The main groups are Shilluk, Dinka and Nuer. The Shilluk Kingdom is located in Upper Nile state. The Shilluk that resided in the area during the war attend Arabic speaking schools as Arabic was the sole language of instruction in all schools, except the liberated areas in the south. The Nuer and Dinka are not originally from Malakal but are there for schooling. Many have recently returned from Ethiopia, Uganda or Kenya.

Only months after I left the research site there were clashes between a government supported militia and the SPLA where 46 people were reported killed (Al Jazeera 2009b). Malakal is an unstable area with many security restrictions. There is no good infrastructure. There is only one tarmac road in town and the rainy season coupled with a hostile environment makes daily living a

formidable challenge. This certainly affects the running of offices and social systems such as the schools. There are a good number of schools in Malakal and as the capital of Upper Nile state it probably offers the best opportunities for schooling in the state.

3 Literature Review

Research about Children Associated with Armed Forces and Groups (CAAFG) are a fairly new field. As a consequence, the literature is recent, but also that the sources from the field are scarce. Therefore the literature often uses the same surveys and data. An advantage related to my case study is that most literature is done on the African continent and might therefore be regarded as highly relevant for this study.

3.1 Recruitment

The recruitment of children into armed forces and groups is, in spite of international regulations, still going on. Some groups of society are more vulnerable to be targeted for recruitment than others. The literature shows that there are roughly two types of recruitment. The first is forced recruitment, which includes abduction. This category includes children taken by force and cases where the child has few or no other choices like unaccompanied children with no income. The second consists of children taking initiative on their own to become members of armed groups. The boundaries between the two categories are, however, blurred and hard to differentiate between (ILO 2002). This is also evident in the literature in the way researchers and authors choose to interpret reasons for recruitment and how they group them together. In addition there are external influences that have an impact on the choices indirectly. Among others, education is one such influence.

3.1.1 Forced recruitment

Case studies show that a primary method of recruitment of children into armed groups is through some form of abduction (Singer 2006, p. 58). Unaccompanied children are particularly at risk, and both state armies and rebel groups typically target places where children will be gathered in large numbers. Target locations might be schools and marketplaces, and homeless children and street children are target groups (Singer 2006). Honwana argues that from child soldiers' accounts of their recruitment, coercion predominates. In a survey done in Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Burundi and Rwanda, 36 percent of the children involved in armed conflicts say they were recruited by force, and of those nearly 21 percent say they were abducted (ILO 2002, p. 27).

The militia led by Thomas Lubanga in DRC has a policy that each family within its area of control has to provide a cow, money or child to the group (Singer 2006, p. 58). Related to this, research in Mozambique and Angola has shown that traditional leaders play a role in the recruitment of children (Honwana 2006, p. 56). In colonial times the chief had to collect taxes from the population. Also recently, chiefs in Angola were expected to supply the armed groups, including the government army, with recruits. In some cases teachers and parents have to give their pupils, sons or daughters as "tax" to the chief, who then gives them to the militia (Honwana 2006, p. 56).

Honwana (2006) writes about the intricate connections between voluntary and forced recruitment. The ambiguity concerning recruitment is reflected in a survey from four central African countries. Children who are still in an armed group and those who have left differ with respect to how they view their own recruitment. Based on this, ILO (2002) argues that "those that have left the armed group are those who were unhappy there. Those who take the initiative to join an armed group are less likely to leave it" (p. 27).

3.1.2 Voluntary recruitment

A survey covering Congo, DRC, Burundi and Rwanda shows that 64 percent of the children that were recruited into armed groups, did so of their own volition (ILO 2002, p. 26). On the basis of several studies, Singer (2006) argues that "roughly two of every three child soldiers have some sort of initiative in their own recruitment" (p. 61). A great number of those who join voluntarily, presumably do so in order to be provided with security and for survival (Gbla 2003, p. 175).

Many children volunteer in response to the conditions that civil war creates in their communities. Former CAAFG mention insecurity, vulnerability and lack of food among the reasons that led them to volunteer. Vengeance and sheer adventure is also among the motivation factors listed (Honwana 2006). Singer (2006) argues that children who choose to enlist on their own often are street children, rural poor, refugees and other displaced children. He also argues that:

(p)oorer children are typically more vulnerable to being pulled into conflicts and are overrepresented in child soldier groups. Not only is their desperation typically higher, but also there is a higher correlation between family dysfunction and a lower socioeconomic status (Singer 2006, p. 63).

A survey by ILO divides the reasons that motivate children to join armed forces and groups into six motivating factors. These are material needs, ideology, the fascination and prestige of the army, feeling of exclusion which is labeled desire to leave family, desire for vengeance and fear. Testimonies show that decisions to join are prompted by a combination of the motivating factors (ILO 2002, p. 29). The factor labeled material needs will be treated separately, in the subchapter of poverty.

Reasons given (Congo, DRC, Rwanda)

- Fear
- Desire to leave the family
- Desire for vengeance
- Facination
- ideology
- Material needs

9 %
11 %
10 %
15 %
21 %
34 %
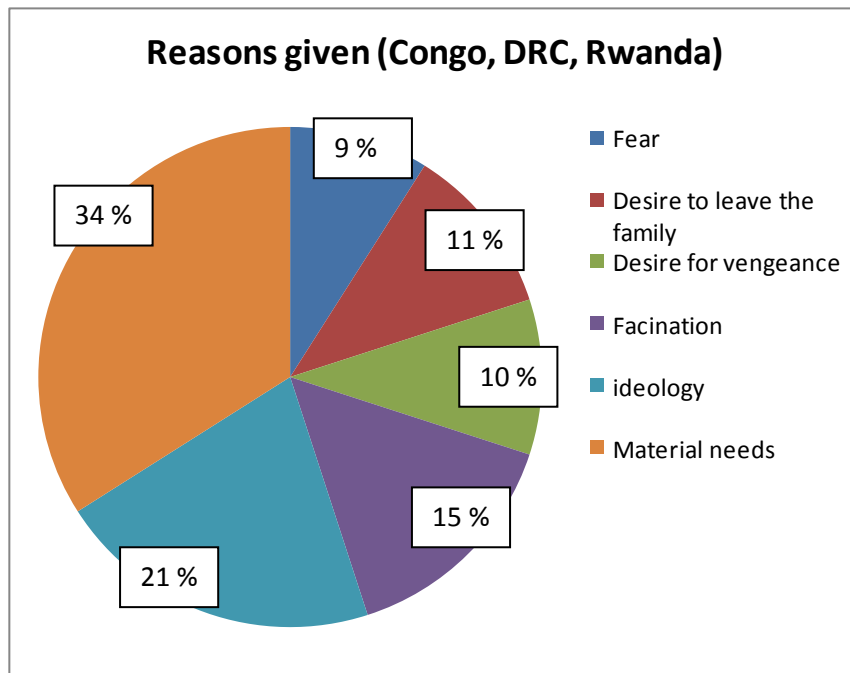
Reconstruction of table from ILO (ILO 2002, p. 29)

As the figure shows, the second most frequent motivating factor for recruitment is ideological reasons. They are rarely cited as such but testimonies show that they are significant. Pressure from adult soldiers on youth likely to join their ranks is often based on ideology (ILO 2002, p. 31). Wessels argues that in divided societies, "people who belong to oppressed ethnic groups

often decide to fight as a way to retaliate, reform the political system, or achieve independence or liberation" (Wessel 2006, p. 21). He further argues that:

> (a)s part of a struggle, oppressed people construct ideologies – societally shared belief systems – that justify the use of violence as an instrument for achieving liberation and political goals that are unattainable through peaceful means (Wessels 2005, p. 365).

The fascination and prestige of the army is another factor motivating enrollment. This includes the prestige of having a uniform, the thrill of having a gun and the social status attached to the profession (ILO 2002, p. 31). Rosenblatt elaborates on this:

> War allows boys to look like men. This seems a shallow benefit, but it is not small thing for a teenage boy to have something that yanks him out of his social floundering and places him, unlaughed at, in the company of heroes (Roger Rosenblatt, cited in Singer 2006, p. 66).

There are two spheres in which the child might feel excluded; the family and the school. The feeling of exclusion from the family might happen after isolation or violence experienced at home or after a parent has remarried (ILO 2002, p. 31). Interviews conducted in DRC confirm that failure at school makes children feel excluded, which again makes the child seek a change. Although 68 percent of the informants had been in school prior to their recruitment, many had repeated their class (ILO 2002, p. 31). This means that these children had failed their final exam for his/her grade level, and therefore had to repeat the class. A study from Sierra Leone showed that lack of education was the primary reason cited for recruitment to Revolutionary United Front (Richards, cited in Wessels 2005, p. 365).

The desire for vengeance is a motivating factor found in many studies. In Congo, DRC and Rwanda 10 percent mention the desire to avenge the death of a close friend or relative as the reason for joining (ILO 2002, p. 29). In Sierra Leone more than 20 percent joined for this reason.

Singer (2006) argues that CAAFG often are survivors of family massacres (p. 64). In the Southern Sudan context, an SPLA recruit argues that:

> My father, mother, and brothers were killed by the enemy, I became angry. I did not have any other way to do, unless I have revenge. And to revenge is only to have a gun. If I have a gun I can revenge. I can fight and avenge my mother, father and brothers. That is the decision I took to become a soldier (16 years old SPLA boy, cited in Singer 2006, p. 65).

In Burundi informants mention fear and the feeling of constantly being in danger as a factor that led them to join. In such a case enrollment might be the lesser of two evils, as it also provides protection (ILO 2002, p. 34). Honwana (2006) argues that in the midst of conflict children may feel safer armed and within a group.

3.1.3 Poverty

To describe a choice as voluntary, however, can be greatly misleading due to the fact that forces beyond the children's control often drive their choices. An important factor is their economic situation (Singer 2006, p. 62). Poverty interacts with most of the factors discussed above and is regarded as a root cause of many conflicts. Honwana (2006) argues that the choice to join is in many cases a response to the conditions that civil war creates in a community (p. 58).

> By increasing family stresses, poverty increases the risk of family violence, which in turn often leads children to join armed groups (…) Although poverty does not by itself cause child soldiering, it exerts a significant impact through interaction with other influences (Wessel 2006, p. 55).

In general "the overwhelming majority of child soldiers are drawn from the poorest, least educated, and most marginalized sections of society" (Singer 2006, p. 44). From the aforementioned survey by ILO, material needs are mentioned in 34 percent of the testimonies and is the most common reason (ILO 2002, p. 29). Collier argues that "the key characteristics of a

country at high risk of internal fighting are neither political, nor social, but economic" (Collier cited in Singer 2006, p. 50). Children may volunteer to join an armed group if they believe that it is the only way to guarantee regular meals, clothing, or medical attention (Singer 2006, p. 62). A 12 year old boy argues that "I do not know where my father and mother are. I had nothing to eat. I joined the gunmen to get food" (Singer 2006, p. 45). The desire to satisfy material needs is often linked to poor living conditions (ILO 2002, p. 28). This is confirmed by Delap who asserts that "children often cite poverty as one of the primary considerations in their decision to join an armed group" (Delap in Wessels 2006, p. 54).

Poverty keeps many children out of school, and children who are not in school are at high risk of recruitment (Wessel 2006, p. 55). This shows the interplay between the categories where, in this case, poverty leads to exclusion from education, which again leaves the child vulnerable to recruitment. During war many schools are destroyed, teachers flee and in general social services to the public are low since resources go to the war effort (Wessels 2006, p. 49). In Southern Sudan at least 40% of the budget goes to military purpose (Norad 2008, p. 76). With no access to schooling children might search for other venues to develop skills that can provide them with the opportunities needed to get an income (Wessels 2006, p. 50).

3.1.4   The role of education

Schools are target venues for the abduction of children. Education plays a significant role in the socialization of the child, and school is therefore not only a tool for war, but also an instrument for peace (Wessels 2006, p. 50). Education can contribute to maintain a conflict by "perpetuating oppression that creates deep grievances and desire for liberalization" (Wessel 2006, p. 50). Furthermore, Brett and Sprecht (2004) argue that "education can be used- deliberately or accidentally – to exacerbate and politicize the existing differences in a society so that these become the basis for, or help perpetuate, violent conflict" (p. 16).

The current education system in Southern Sudan is in a process of change due to the CPA, which formally ended an Islamic educational discourse in the areas controlled by the Government of Sudan (Breidlid 2005). Breidlid (2006) argues that the resistance against the Arabs and the northern educational discourse binds the southerners together across ethnic boundaries. However, as already mentioned, there are still ethnic tensions in the south. In the Sudan context, segregated education might be a factor which can exacerbate the conflict. The fact that the segregated children do not meet each other emphasizes differences between them, and encourages ignorance and suspicion (Brett and Sprecht 2004, p. 16). Wessels argues that "in divided societies, children are at great risk of becoming soldiers because their families and leaders teach them to pursue the struggle" (Wessels 2006, p. 21). He further describes how children might learn to see themselves as part of the ethnic group they belong to, and also as a group opposed to another. In some cases, the schools or teachers are direct factors in motivating students to take part in the armed struggle (Brett and Specht 2004, p. 19). This might take the form of propaganda from the teachers or school, or the expression of a political standpoint in opposition to a majority of the students.

3.1.5 Outside influences

In addition to the motivation factors already mentioned, there are also others that influence children's decisions, either consciously or unconsciously. One factor that distinguishes those who enroll from those who do not is that the former are more likely to have relatives in an armed group (ILO 2002, p. 35). Additionally, it is important to note that when growing up in a war zone, children will often experience a militarization of their daily life. Daily life will be somewhat shaped by the omnipresence of combatants around the children (Singer 2006, p. 69).

The nature of warfare in developing countries today includes the widespread use of small arms, lightweight weapons such as AK-47 (Kalashnikov). "With only eight moving parts, it is cheap to manufacture and easy to use" (Hodges 2007, p. 1). In many parts of Africa such weapons can be purchased for the price of a chicken or a goat (Wessels 2006, p. 18). AK-47s have flooded into the African continent since the mid-sixties. Countries like the former USSR, Communist China and North Korea have sent millions of Kalashnikovs to what Hodges labels as black Africa (Hodges 2007). Using an AK-47, even a 10 year old can be an effective fighter (Wessels 2006, p.

19). Sudan is one of the countries where young men equipped solely, or primarily, with AK-47s have killed tens of thousands of people (Hodges 2007: Gbla 2003).

3.2   Impacts of war

Children formerly associated with fighting forces and groups face difficulties caused by their previous wartime experiences. However, all are not affected by war in the same way. Experiences differ significantly related to the nature, duration and severity of their wartime experience (Wessel 2006, p. 127). Furthermore, children might react differently even when they are exposed to the same atrocities. Former CAAFG suffer from both psychological and physical ill health (ILO 2002).

3.2.1   Trauma

The literature shows that Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) is prevalent among combatants in the aftermath of war. Gbla (2003) describes visible symptoms associated with PTSD to be anxiety, depression, hyperactivity, aggressive behavior, bed-wetting, recurrent nightmares and withdrawal (p. 180). The latter might be a consequence of viewing other persons as threats, making it difficult to relate to them (ILO 2002, p. 52). In addition to this, Wessels also mentions symptoms such as "flashbacks in which the mind replays painful experiences, evoking intense fear and anxiety" (Herman, in Wessel 2006, p. 129). Traumatic reactions are related to the children's age and stage of development.

> For children of ages 7-12, trauma may manifest itself in social isolation and repetitive enactment of traumatic events in play. There may also be psychosomatic complaints such as dizziness, headaches, or stomach pain. For adolescents, trauma frequently leads to acting-out behavior such as skipping school or abusing substances. Fighting and rebellious behavior are typical forms of acting out (Eth and Pynos, cited in Wessel 2006, p. 130).

A study conducted in Sierra Leone and Liberia shows that PTSD is a widespread effect on the children who actively participated in the conflicts as combatants. The majority (60 percent) of the

50 former child soldiers that were interviewed reported that their minds were troubled whenever they remembered the atrocities they took part in (Gbla 2003, p. 180). From a study of former LRA soldiers in northern Uganda, 97 percent of a sample of children showed PTSD symptoms (Derluyn 2004, p. 861). Wessels describes a sample of Angolan children where "50 percent said that when thinking of the past, they try to forget and block out what happened" (Wessel 2006, p. 131). Furthermore, 41 percent reported they have difficulties sleeping, and that "35, 6 percent said that when doing things their concentration span is short" (Wessel 2006, p. 132). Raundalen and Dyregrov (1991) argue that a difficulty concentrating is one of the reactions to trauma.

The effects of trauma might persist for years after the release from the armed group. In Mozambique, nearly a third of former CAAFG have nightmares, nearly fifteen years after the war (Boothby, Crawford, and Halperinl, in Wessels 2006, p.130). According to Wessel (2006), however, it is a mistake to assume that all former CAAFG are traumatized. Two children who experience the same events may not react in the same way (p. 133). The type of trauma experienced by former CAAFG depends on factors such as mode of recruitment and training, type of activities engaged in during the war, age of recruitment and the length of the time spend in the armed group (Gbla 2003, p. 181).

3.2.2 Identity formation

Wessels (2006) argues that "the transformations brought by war are not only economic and political, but also moral" (p. 44). During childhood a person is socialized, acquires skills and develops an identity. Singer (2006) argues that the long-term consequence of having been a child soldier is that it disrupts the psychological and moral development of the child (p. 113). War zones reverse the views and understandings of right and wrong. Violence and killings are normalized, and their omnipresence may skew the children's values. Children adapt to a world suffused with violence. Children might never have experienced peace, and from watching adults deal with conflict through fighting, they will soon learn that doing so might be right (Wessels 2006, p. 44). In an environment ravaged by war, children learn to view guns and fighting as legitimate and highly necessary (Wessels 2006, p. 45). "Many children who grow up never having experienced peace literally do not know the meaning of the term" (Wessels 2006, p. 45).

Another factor that influences the identity construction while in an armed group is the way CAAFG assume new identities by name. There are several reasons to change names. One is the use of names characteristic of the task undertaken in the group. Another reason is to hide ones identity so Family Tracing and Reunification (FTR) will be impossible. "When I was kidnapped, I gave the soldiers a false name, not my real one. I did not want them to know my family and make my parents suffer" (Angolan boy, cited in Honwana 2006, p. 67).

"In war-torn societies, identity and politics are hotly contested. Living under a military occupation, children often learn how to define themselves in part by opposition to the enemy" (Wessel 2006, p. 52). This might be one reason why Singer (2006) argues that in the aftermath of war the previous use of child soldiers might haunt societies for generations (p. 115). This will obviously be a big challenge in divided societies in the phase of reintegration. Childhood is the period for identity formation. Demobilized children are discouraged and lack confidence in themselves because they find that the only thing they know how to do is to fight (ILO 2002, p. 53). Singer (2006) argues that getting back a lost childhood is difficult, especially when the only skill these children have is how to kill (p. 114). On the other hand, Wessels (2006) argues that these children are not starting from scratch, they are not "tabula rasa"[1] but hold valuable skills. Among other things, they have experience with teamwork and how to organize people to perform complex tasks (Wessels 2006).

3.3 Reintegration

It is important to note that there are a range of different needs that must to be addressed in the process or reintegration. A local chief described this when he asked, "How can we heal when we are hungry and have no schools to give children hope for the future?" (Wessels 2006, p. 189). In the process of reintegration it is important to pay attention to both boys under the legal age for recruitment and those above. Many conflicts last for such a long time that the children recruited into the armed forces have become adults by the time peace comes. However, their experiences

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[1]   Means *blank slate* in Latin

and possible exploitation are likely to present greater challenges, than for those who joined as adults (Singer 2006, p. 185).

3.3.1   Release

The literature describes disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) processes as the formal release of CAAFG. Singer (2006) argues that the predominant belief in the field is that the process should be done step by step in three phases. The first is disarmament and demobilization. The second is rehabilitation with respect to both physical and psychological health. The third is the reintegration, which includes reintegration into both family and community and must include follow-up support and counseling (Singer 2006: Honwana 2006).

Before the child is reunited with family there is a need to document the child's identity. International agencies often participate during this documentation by collecting information from the child's family or village of origin. They then trace the family members and also confirm the family's and child's wishes to be reunited (Honwana 2006: Wessels 2006). However, this is not always the procedure the children go through. Once children enter an armed group they are mostly not free to leave (Wessels 2006, p. 33). From the study that included Congo, DRC, Rwanda and Burundi, more than 50 percent left the group on their own initiative and 41 percent escaped, which is an operation associated with high risks (ILO 2002, p. 48). This underlines the importance of also addressing those who have escaped from the armed group and are not formally demobilized.

3.3.2   Family

Wessel (2006) argues that reintegration is a social process as much as an individual one. He argues that "family reintegration is one of the most fundamental forms of psychosocial support and healing for war affected children" (Wessel 2006, p. 189). The family is described as more effective in giving psychosocial support than professional counseling (McCallin, in Wessels 2006, p. 183).

Children are less likely to suffer from negative psychological aftereffects of trauma, such as post-traumatic stress disorder, if they are placed with members of their family (Kiznie et al., cited in Singer 2006, p. 192).

A study in Northern Uganda among former male child soldiers shows that high family connectedness and social support lowers the level of emotional stress, and leads to better social functioning (Annan and Bloom in Betancourt and Khan 2008, p. 5). Betancourt and Khan (2008) argue that close caring relationships in times of war, lower the level of distress among children (p. 8). Studies concerning the Second World War, show that children separated from their parents exhibit a lower level of well being than children staying with their parents (Cairns 1996; Kinzie et al., 1986, in Wessels 2006, p. 183). Rundalen and Dyregrov (1991) argue that "forced separation from parents or guardians and displacement from home cause traumatic stress reactions" (p. 31). The fact that a former CAAFG lives with his family indicates acceptance and stability to the community, which is then more likely to accept the former CAAFG. However, some children are rejected by their families and communities when they return home, some do not have a family to return to, and some joined the military to escape the family situation. This last group might not want to, or have the opportunity to, return home (Wessels 2006).

3.3.3 Stigmatization

Wessels (2006) describes how the transition into a civilian life can, in many respects, be a "rocky road". One challenge is how the former CAAFG are received by the communities. A boy from Sierra Leone expresses his fear for the life ahead by saying that "I have no job, and people look at me like maybe I am a troublemaker" (Wessels 2006, p. 181). A survey from central Africa shows that 82 percent of the families of returning CAAFG considered them to be a potential danger to the community (Singer 2006, p. 200). It is desirable for former CAAFG to blend in with their peers and to have equal opportunities (Wessels 2006).

Experiences has shown that individual support might lead to stigmatization, as the person being reintegrated receives material goods and possibly better opportunities than their peers. Often money is donated specifically to the reintegration of the child soldiers, which leads to a privileging of former CAAFG. An elder in Sierra Leone commented on this by asking "why should the soldiers who attacked us get all the assistance, when we have all suffered?" (Wessels 2006, p. 205). Some former CAAFG also recognize this division, and that it might lead to jealousy and further into violence. In a war-thorn society, this is the last thing one needs. Lesson have been learned, and community based support, where groups of youths are targeted, is now more common (UNDDR 2006).

3.4 Education

Singer (2006) argues that aftereffects of child soldiering include psychological harms as well as loss of educational prospects (p.184). For many children, a greater concern than trauma is their loss of education, lack of training and job skills, stigmatization and social exclusion, disability and health problems, and living in poverty (Boyden et al., cited in Wessels 2006, p. 133). Wessels (2006) argues that when well designed, education is the most empowering experience for children.

> Quality education is one of the most important sources of resilience because it strengthens children's developing competencies, increasing their capacities for solving problems and coping with adversity (Wessels 2006, p. 29).

According to Wessels (2006), former CAAFG put education on the top of their priority list and view it as a door opener to a better life. However, the survey by ILO (2002) further argues that "very few children express the desire to return to school given the long period that they have been away and their urgent need to earn money" (p. 64). Far from all former CAAFG attend school following their demobilization. Of those that do attend, many do so together with children far younger than themselves. The gap between former CAAFG and those who continued schooling is great, both with respect to the level of learning and the maturity acquired while living in an armed group (ILO 2002, p. 56).

Both stigmatization and economic pressure might lead former CAAFG to prefer evening literacy courses. This might give them the opportunity to both socialize with people their own age and make a living through daytime work (Wessels 2006).

> A useful strategy in supporting teenagers is to provide accelerated or catch-up-education that enables students to complete in three years the equivalent of six years of primary education (Landry, in Wessels 2006, p. 206).

Wessels (2006) argues that if education is not available to the former CAAFG when they disarm, they might as well prefer life in the bush to making the transition into civilian life, which they might never have experienced. In the midst of a conflict, or in the aftermath of war, resources are scarce and facilities are limited. The literature points to the need for trained teachers, and for those teachers to engage the skills the former CAAFG already possess, as well as to help transfer them into civilian life. Teachers and the school represent stability in times of war; they know the local culture and have insights to the norms, rules and customs (Raundalen & Dyregrov 1991, p. 94). This is, in part, why Raundalen and Dyregrov argue that:

> (o)ne of the most recognized ways of helping the war-traumatized child is through manuals for teachers. In most African countries, despite difficulties of large classes and limited training in child psychology, teachers remain the best avenue to reach war-traumatized children (p. 94).

The Rapid Assessment of Learning Spaces (RALS) survey shows that many teachers in Southern Sudan are working as volunteers and that qualified teachers are lacking. However, the teachers that hold a higher level of education and training are concentrated in urban areas, and among them, Malakal is mentioned specifically (GoSS/UNICEF Sudan 2006, p. 24). On the other hand, only 29 percent of the learning spaces in Upper Nile state had participated in training opportunities the last years. This was the lowest number of all ten states (GoSS/UNICEF Sudan 2006, p. 26).

In a school context, Wessels (2006) argues that "to deal with unruly behavior, teachers need to learn how to use nonviolent, nonpunitive methods that support children at risk" (p. 207). Teachers also need to receive training concerning the situation of the former CAAFG and why they might act out or isolate themselves. Many former CAAFG feel there is a gap between teachers' life experiences and their own (Wessels 2006, p. 206).

Fighting and bullying are significant problems among newly demobilized CAAFG   (Peters in Wessels 2006, p. 192). Therefore, non-violent conflict resolution should be an important part of all reintegration programs. Games like soccer and volleyball might be good activities in which to learn these skills. However, the activities need to be well managed by experienced monitors that can set the tone and intervene if necessary (Wessel 2006).

4   Methodology

This chapter deals with the methodological approach of the study and includes a presentation and discussion of methods used for data collection, sampling of informants, field relations and challenges in the field, interpretation and coding of findings.

This study uses a qualitative research approach and is inductive in the sense that theory is generated from research (Bryman 2004, p. 266). Rather than generate new theory, the intention of this particular study is to contribute to the already existing pool of knowledge in the field of Child Associated with Armed Forces and Groups (CAAFG) in Africa, particularly in Sudan.

The inductive approach makes it possible for the researcher to analyse and collect data simultaneously. It also opens up for generating thick descriptions (Geertz 1973). The understanding of why someone acts in a certain way and interacts using certain kinds of symbols is, according to Geertz, connected to culture. Therefore, fieldwork is an important method for data collection when one studies other cultures. During the fieldwork I analysed the data while gathering it. This allowed me to modify questions along the way. Through fieldwork, the qualitative inquiry is intepretivist by its "understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants" (Bryman 2004, p. 266). However it must be kept in mind that in social research the researcher is a part of the world being studied (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995, p. 16).

Qualitative research is described as constructionist, which "implies that social properties are outcomes of the interactions between the individuals, rather than phenomena "out there" and separate from those involved in its construction" (Bryman 2004, p. 266). The values and interests of the researcher are shaped by his/hers socio-historical background (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995, p. 16). This makes the outcome of the research a social construction of reality (Berger & Lukmann 1991), thus the findings are indicators that are used to create a picture of the real world.

4.1 Access

Norway has a history of involvement in Sudan, which eased my access. Through humanitarian work and political support provided by Norway, the informants in the field had a positive attitude towards Norwegians. However, an information letter from Oslo University College, stating that I was a student and researcher, was highly necessary, as the gatekeepers did not know me prior to my arrival. It also eased my way into the field.

Access to the schools was mostly a practical matter. I was required to type a drafted letter from the Ministry of Education in Arabic, make photocopies of it and then bring them back to the ministry for signatures. I then had to visit all the schools where I possibly would carry out research, and deliver the letter. Since I, at this point, did not know for sure in which schools I would find former CAAFG, I included about ten schools in the nearby area. With limited access to photocopy machines, no computer to type Arabic on and no car, this took about one week. However, one school required a different approach. The Ministry of Education told me that one school, where I knew there were former CAAFG, did not exist. Whether this was the result of a misunderstanding, communication problems or simply that they did not want me in that school, I do not know. I went there, however, and asked the headmaster for permission to do research, which was granted.

I stayed in Malakal from July 2008 until the middle of September 2008. This was during the rainy season and therefore the physical access to the field was a challenge. Within Malakal there is only one tarmac road and the soil is solely black-cotton soil. With a raincoat in my bag, I walked in the mud wearing gumboots and jumped through puddles and ponds every day. During heavy rain, access to my informants was so hard that even though I successfully reached my appointments, I could be sure my informants would not be there. It was almost an unspoken rule that everything got cancelled during the rains.

Gatekeepers may provide or block access (Cohen, Morrison & Manion 2007, p. 123). There is a chance that they modify or steer the course of the research, possibly in the direction of their own

interest (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 123). The fact that I stayed at a UNICEF guesthouse, received a lot of help from the University of Upper Nile and gained access to some of the informants through an NGO, might have affected the informants. For instance, the large number of Arab staff at the University of Upper Nile might have affected to what degree the informants trusted me with sensitive information. Furthermore, since both UNICEF and the NGO are involved in Child DDR around Malakal, the former CAAFG might have left out information out of fear that I collaborated and shared information with the organizations.

It turned out that the NGO that provided access was partly funded by their counterpart in Norway. It might have been out of self-interest that they gave me a lot of help and advice, and even offered me to stay with them, in order to have me report back to their counterpart in Norway. An example of a gatekeeper that blocked access was a commander in an armed group. Another gatekeeper of mine informed me that this commander would not grant me access since I was a white lady who might write negatively about them. Besides the gatekeepers who either provided or blocked access, were those who might have been a barrier to a certain type of information. For instance, there was an Arab deputy director of a school that was close enough to hear what some of my informants in that school answered during interviews.

4.2 Sampling

The former CAAFG are my main informants and data sources. I did not attempt to include female CAAFG in this study, mainly for two reasons. First, the circumstances for girls in the armed groups are of a different character than they are for boys, which raise separate challenges with respect to the reintegration process. Secondly, the girls are smaller in number and therefore harder to trace, especially in the schools that already have an outstandingly low enrollment of girls. A combined sampling strategy was used to get in contact with my main informants.

The schools were selected purposively. From school visits and informal conversations, I knew that some schools were more likely to enroll former CAAFG than others. Also, some of the

CAAFG, identified outside of the school setting, led me to their schools. The schools included primary schools, secondary schools and Accelerated Learning Program (ALP).

To get information about whether students had been in an armed group, I asked students in purposive selected classes (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 114) to fill out a form (appendix II). I conducted this with an assisting translator and with the class teacher present. The classes were selected based on the age of the students, and the chance of locating the target group. From the form I got information needed to identify former male CAAFG, preferably under the age of 18. Snowball sampling was also used to get in contact with former CAAFG. A small number of CAAFG, identified through an NGO, put me in touch with others of the same background (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 116).

Students for both group and individual interviews were mostly selected through volunteer sampling. This method was applied due to difficult access. In those cases where volunteer sampling was not used, the teacher arranged the students on my behalf while I was outside the classroom, or I myself randomly selected students. Nevertheless, I obtained both homogenous and heterogeneous groups with respect to ethnicity, age and the types of schools. One of the homogenous groups consisted of five male students, all from the Nuer tribe and of about the same age. In contrast, other groups were comprised of both male and female students, with large age differences and members from both Nuer and Dinka tribes. Coincidentally none of the five groups contained members from the Shilluk tribe or other tribes. The composition of the groups might explain why I found some groups speaking with one voice while others had opposing views on the topics being discussed. One example of this was a group interview with three Nuer boys and one Dinka where the latter dominated the discussion and at the same time disagreed with the others on many questions. Related to this, volunteer sampling must be used with care, since "volunteers might have a range of different motives for volunteering" (Cohen et al., 2004, p. 116).

The frequent use of non-random sampling in this study raises the possibility that my judgment affects the selection process, making some CAAFG more likely to be selected than others (Bryman 2004, p. 88). However, I do not believe this is the case, since I approached all identified former CAAFG under the age of 18. The relatively small number of informants from my target group needs to be discussed since the number identified from the form did not correspond with the number of identified boys at the end. When I met the former CAAFG outside of class and asked to arrange an interview, some already identified CAAFG claimed they had misunderstood the question or answered incorrectly. This happened in three of the five selected schools, and illustrates the sensitive nature of the study. It may have resulted from insecurity, or that they were scared to talk to me, being unfamiliar with the research and how I would use the gathered information.

4.3   Methods for data collection

This study uses a multi method approach, as it employs more than one method or source of data. This allows me to use triangulation techniques, which make it possible to cross-check information, and, to a certain extent, ensures the reliability and validity of the data (Bryman 2004, p. 275). This study utilizes participant observation, qualitative interviews, drawings and document analyses. These methods generate rich and in-depth descriptions of the phenomena being studied.

4.3.1   Participant observation

Observation has the potential to yield more valid data than is the case with mediated or inferential methods (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 196). To get a picture of the social interactions, as well as the academic expectations and achievement in the schools, I intended to carry out structured observations inside the classrooms and during recess, at regular times and places. However, this was not possible due to the irregular nature of the school activities. For instance, two of the schools changed location from one day to the next, without prior notice. Therefore, my methods include overt participant observation in natural settings (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 398). I spent time in the marketplace, walked around the city center every day and visited the five schools. The informants knew I was doing research, hence the overt role.

Participant observation gave me the opportunity to learn about the culture, or subculture, of the people I was studying (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995, p. 8). It was important for me to suspend, as far as possible, my own way of viewing the world, while at the same time not "going native" and taking on the world view of the Sudanese people (Bryman 2004, p. 302). In participant-observation the members of the social setting are aware of the researcher's role (Bryman 2004, p. 300). As my informants paid more attention to me, than to the teacher or the students while I was inside the classrooms, my presence interrupted the learning activities. Because of this, my relatively short stay in the field (nine weeks), and the focus of the study, I did not spend a lot of time inside the classrooms. However, I did spent a lot of time talking with directors, teachers and students at the schools. This took place either under a tree or in a spartan staff room, if the school had one.

In addition to the oral data gathered during observation, I focused on the molar units of behavior rather than on the molecular (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 407). The limited time spent in the classrooms and the disturbance I caused to the daily activities in the school, would make observation of small units of behavior, like winks and gestures, unreliable. Furthermore, the larger units of behavior are also more valid indicators applicable to the research

4.3.2 Interviews as participant observation

Hammersly and Atkinson (1995) argue that "the dividing line between participant observation and interviewing is hard to discern" (p. 139). The informal conversations I had every day in the field are regarded as interviews as participant observation. The way in which informal conversations allowed me to ask questions while meeting people increased the salience and relevance of the questions. Furthermore, the questions in the conversation could be adapted to the individual, the circumstances and other relevant observations (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 353). I used informal conversations to both cross-check, and acquire new information. These informal conversational interviews are not planned in advance with respect to location and time. An ethical consideration might be that during these conversations, the informants, even though they knew me as a researcher, probably did not know that the information would be included in my work.

Information gathered through informal conversations are referred to and listed in the informant list (appendix X).

4.3.3   Interviews

Semi-structured interviews have been used to collect data from both individuals and groups. I conducted individual interviews with 20 former male CAAFG from various ethnic groups and geographical areas (see informant list: appendix X). In addition, 15 other students, 11 teachers, five directors and three representatives from the Ministry of Science Education and Technology were interviewed. One group interview was carried out in each of the five selected schools. All these interviews are regarded as formal since they are arranged in advance with respect to time and place. The semi structured interview is:

> neither an open conversation nor a highly structured questionnaire. It is conducted according to an interview guide that focuses on certain themes and that may include suggested questions (Kvale 1996, p. 27).

I used different interview guides for former CAAFG (see appendix III), focus groups (see appendix IV), teachers (see appendix V), and one for directors and ministry personnel (appendix VI). I used a translator when the informants agreed to one. It must be kept in mind that these interviews, carried out in the presence of both a recorder and a translator, took place in specific settings and that the elicited information from the informants might not be representative of behavior in other circumstances (Silverman in Hammersley & Atkinson 1995, p. 139).

Although all informants, with the exception of one, approved recordings during interviews, heavy rain, generators and fans made it sometimes impossible to make sense of the recording. This forced me to write down the essentials from those interviews instead. There is a possibility that detailed descriptions were lost in this process. Nevertheless, the main data was written down and the informants might have felt more at ease, and given me more information, under these circumstances, than with the digital recorder present.

The use of semi structured interviews, which included open ended questions, opened up for the emergence of information and statements that I did not expect to find in advance. The semi structured interview is an "interview whose purpose is to obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena" (Kvale 1996, p. 6). The use of a variety of representatives from the community that expressed their views and fed me with inside information is yet another strength of the use of interviews as a method for data collection.

I conducted one-on-one interviews with directors and teachers from the schools, representatives from the MoEST, humanitarian workers, and former child soldiers and their peers. For security reasons, I was not allowed to bring in "strangers" nor was I allowed to conduct the interviews where I was staying. Because of this, most of the interviews were held at a local restaurant in town, the compound of SOS Children's Villages or University of Upper Nile. The interviews of primary interest, and the most challenging, were those with the former CAAFG. Because of the sensitive issues being discussed, as well as the informants' wartime experiences, I realized early on that I had to meet with them regularly in order to gain their trust. I conducted interviews with 20 former CAAFG, ten of which were interviewed more than once. The number of times these ten were interviewed depended upon their availability (see informant list: appendix X).

Focus group interviews were carried out with groups of four or five students from the same classes were I found former CAAFG. One group was selected from each of the five schools. The purpose of these interviews was to gain insight into the views held by classmates of the former CAAFG. Ideally, the focus group interview should be non-directive in form and encourage the expression of a variety of views (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009, p. 150) .Creating such an environment was a challenge, however, especially when the interview took place on school ground. Despite this, the interviews were successful in bringing forth a variety of views on the issues being discussed. Due to various practical constraints, only two out of five interviews were conducted outside of school grounds. The two had a lively tone and generated insights to issues and knowledge not obtained elsewhere. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) argue, "In the case of

sensitive taboo topics, the group interaction may facilitate expression of viewpoints usually not accessible" (p. 150). In the course of these discussions, one student in two of the groups told me that he was in fact a former CAAFG himself. This illustrates the usefulness of the focus group discussion, as it revealed information I was unable to obtain from my classroom visits.

4.3.4   Drawings

The literature on child soldiers describes drawing as one method that has been used in their reintegration and healing (Wessels 2006). This, in addition to advice from Unicef Child Protection Officers, prompted me to try drawing as a method for data collection. The method was used on the ten former CAAFG that were interviewed more than once. It proved to be an effective method to obtain information. When I asked them to draw I put forth two criteria, the drawing had to include themselves and should preferably depict the battlefield. The method was useful because it provided detailed information on a specific theme, as I could both observe and ask questions during the drawing process. The method has been used when treating traumatized children (Raundalen & Dyregrov 1991); however, this was not my aim with using drawing as a method. It proved to be a useful method in creating an informal atmosphere.

4.3.5   Document analysis

Document analyses have been used to gather information regarding how my target group is addressed in policy document related to education. The analyses have been brief, according to the limited information regarding my target group. The documents that have been used are the CPA (2005), the second draft of southern Sudan education act (2008), Field officer Handbook for ALP (n.d.). The Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan (Southern Sudan 2005) has been used to support the education act. Also the Paris Principles (2007) have been used as an international framework.

4.4   Field relations

There are a number of methodological and practical considerations that must be discussed and taken into account regarding field relations. The communication, or lack of it and the nature of

the people in the field play a significant part in the process of data collection. In the next section I will discuss my role in the field and ethical considerations.

4.4.1 Fieldroles

Although Sudan is in the process of implementing the CPA between the two parties, it is a fragile state with intense international attention and pressure. The fact that child soldiering is prohibited by law but still exists, affected my role as a researcher. I did not know to what extent I could assume an overt role as a researcher before entering the field. The international laws against the use of child soldiers could possibly have hindered my access, as gatekeepers could have told me that my group of focus did not exist. However, it turned out that I could easily assume the overt role as a researcher. With the exception a few suspicious community members, among which was a father of a former CAAFG I interviewed and that also was an officer in the Joint Integrated Unit (JIU), the informants were accommodating and showed interest in my research. After a few weeks in the field the community addressed me as the Norwegian researcher.

I had an outsider's perspective in the field and an overt role which I benefitted from by creating my own role in the field. Most of the time I traveled around the city accompanied by a male translator, which, at times, led the informants to address him instead of me. By identifying myself as a teacher, in addition to being the researcher, I experienced more respect from the people in the field. According to this, "gender and age might have shaped the relationships with the gatekeepers and people under study in important ways" (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995, p. 92). Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) argue that gender bars female fieldworkers from some situations and activities, while it opens up others that are not accessible to men (p. 93).

With a couple of exceptions, the schools had solely male teachers and directors. At the first stages of interaction this might have been to my advantage, being a white female researcher, as I experienced that they were extremely hospitable. However, the questions were more related to me as a white unmarried Norwegian, than to my role as a teacher or researcher. This might have

affected the information they chose to disclose, especially when considering that the former male CAAFG had been living within "the world of men".

Although my personal characteristics as a white female from the West made me stand out in the field, I experienced that I obtained a role distinct from other whites in Malakal. I was the only white person that walked everywhere as opposed to using a four wheel drive. This made me more approachable to the people in the community, and I was able to interact with people on a daily basis, which was helpful in the information gathering.

4.4.2 Ethics

I had an overt role as a researcher, however, researchers "rarely tell all people they are studying everything about the research" (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995, p. 265). People met on the street or at social gatherings were not always informed of the details of my research. I did not ask these people for consent, although information gained from them has contributed to this research.

The community, including the schools with its directors, teachers and students did, in general, not know the background of the former CAAFG I interviewed. This complicated the research process and put me in an ethical dilemma, as I might have inadvertently disclosed the background they had managed to keep to themselves. They had all left the community where people knew them as former CAAFG, and seemed to like the fact that most people in Malakal were not aware of their background. Nevertheless, I tried my best to keep their secret, and did, for example, not interview them in school. Their names are made anonymous whenever they are referred to. All the former CAAFG are given fictitious names (see informant list: appendix X).

A white person from the West might possibly be associated with power, economic and otherwise. Because of this, the informants might have felt they had no other choice but to participate in the research, or they might have desired to participate in the hope of getting something in return. In

regards to the latter, some of the former CAAFG started to call me and tell me how bad their life situation was, quite possibly because they felt I could help. This put me in an ethical dilemma.

4.5   Reliability and validity

As none of the former CAAFG in this study is found in any lists for demobilized CAAFG, reliability might be questioned regarding the truthfulness of their identity as former CAAFG. As mentioned in the literature review, demobilized CAAFG might get benefits. If my informants were familiar with this, it might make them claim to be CAAFG although they are not. However, my observations in the field do not support this. Some of the boys I met denied their identity as former CAAFG, even after I had identified them as such. However, I learnt quite early to familiarize myself with the scars on elbows and knees, which many boys acquired during their hard military training in the past. These scars were visible among a number of the adult informants and friends I met in the field. Through the form (appendix II), I identified Wejang (not his real name) as former CAAFG. In the first interview about a week later, he told me he never was a soldier. However, I could see his scars on both elbows. I explained in detailed my mission in Malakal and that I, through the form, remembered him as former CAAFG. After a short informal interview I asked him again if he used to be in an armed group and he said yes. This incident supports the validity of the findings as well as it points to former CAAFG as a stigmatized group, which will be discussed later.

There are also other arguments that confirm the informants' identity as former CAAFG. I got in touch with some through an NGO working in the field and they also showed me pictures of their work with the SPLA and former CAAFG in an area near by. The lack of formal documents confirming their identity might be an indicator of the lack of formal information in the south and not a reason to distrust the informants.

Bryman (2004) refers to validity as "the issue of wether an indicator (or set of indicators) that is devised to gauge a concept really measures that concept" (p. 72). The use of methodological

triangulation together with mixed methods increases validity. However, "the subjectivity of respondents, their opinions, attitudes and perspectives together contribute to a degree of bias" (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 133). In the process of maximizing validity "the social world should be as undisturbed as possible when it is being studied" (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995, p. 6). Cohen et al. (2007) argue that "careful sampling of items is required to ensure their representativeness" (p 137). The use of schools as the main arena for selecting former CAAFG might impact the findings since the "drop-outs" are not represented. The former CAAFG that I interviewed are more likely to have a positive attitude towards school, in that being enrolled in school is likely to be associated with the desire to attend school.

According to Cohen et al. (2007), triangulation might be defined as "the use of two or more methods for data collection in the aspect of human behavior" (p. 141). I have used methodological triangulation, which implies different methods used on the same object of study. It is a powerful way to demonstrate concurrent validity (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 141). One further example of its use is when both observation and interviews used to study corporal punishment in schools.

A measure used to ensure the reliability is the test-retest method which is primarily associated with quantitative research. It examines the stability of a measure, where the degree of correlation between the tests is used to assess their reliability (Bryman 2004, p. 71). I made use of the method by asking former CAAFG the same questions on two different occasions. Even though the two interviews were conducted in the same manner, various external factors can influence results. One external factor that might have influence the results is the different translators, which will be discussed later. Additionally, the presence of other people in the public places where interviews were conducted more likely influenced the outcome of at least one of the interviews. This was seen as the informant came with contradicting information the second time he was interviewed.

4.5.1 Translator

"Care should be taken to select an interpreter who is culturally acceptable as well as proficient in the language" (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009, p. 144). Finding a translator who showed respect for me and my work, was punctual, was proficient in Arabic, English and one or more tribal languages, and, in addition, could work with me through the whole fieldwork period, proved to be impossible. Instead, I ended up working with five different translators. I was also forced to make use of several other individuals, when the translators did not show up, resigned in order to take on other work, or simply did not know the tribal language.

Of the five selected translators, most of which also were teachers, three were themselves former CAAFG. This was possibly why I, in certain cases, caught the translator in adding information to the informants' answers, since he too had a story to tell. Nevertheless, they fed me with a lot of inside information relevant to the research, as we often had to wait for hours together for informants. The translators, however, might have affected the outcome of the research. One of the three translators that were former CAAFG, was still enrolled in the armed group. Even though all of the three were from the Nuer tribe, the aforementioned was enrolled in SAF and only on leave to attend the University. Though I was not aware of this at the time, the former CAAFG that I interviewed might have been. If this was the case, it might have affected their answers, as they were mostly associated with SPLA.

Three main issues concerning validity emerged during the process of translation. Firstly, I had to make sure that the interpreter asked what I wanted. To increase validity, I had the interview guide written both in English and the tribal language. It turned out that one tribal language had dialects, and the translator from Naisr (eastern Nuer) could not understand the dialect from the western part of Nuer. Secondly, I have made use of a second translator to review recorded interviews. Through this, I learned that the translator sometimes translated incorrectly, and that some information was left out. As some information was left new information emerged during this process. Lastly, most teachers and directors in the schools and the ministry personnel refused to use the translator, as they themselves knew English. Through the interviews, however, I experienced that some had a very limited English skills, which was a challenge.

4.6   Data analysis

The data analysis uses a grounded theory approach. Accordng to Corbin and Strauss (2008), grounded theory indicates that theory is build from data (p. 1). In addition to building theory from the data I gathered in the field, I also used existing literature and established theoretical perspectives to better understand and highlight the findings.

In the process of analyzing the data I have used a coding procedure which includes open-, axial- and selective coding. Open coding breaks the data apart and delineates concepts that represent blocks of raw data (Corbin & Strauss 2008, p. 195). In the open coding, I named and categorized themes found in the interviews, participant observations and documents. Secondly, axial coding was used to "integrate codes around the axes of central categories" (Ezzy, cited in Cohen et al., 2007, p. 493). One example of this is when I integrated the themes of bad behavior, language and school fees under the central category of education. Finally, selective coding was employed to identify a core code, then the relationships between the core code and other codes were explored before the categories and codes were compared with existing theory and literature within the field of study (Ezzy, in Cohen et al., 2007, p. 493). In this last process of data analysis I chose to leave out some subthemes, as they did not fit into the core categories when compared with theory and literature. I linked themes together and found relevant literature and theory, which supported my findings.

4.7   Challenges

Since the informants had their own experiences with some of my gatekeepers, such as UNICEF, it was preferred not to be identified with my gatekeepers. However, this proved to be challenging, since I often was seen together with them, or within the vicinity of   the UNICEF guesthouse where I stayed. This was also the case related to upper Nile University and the NGO's. The lack of teachers, classrooms, and even a school building made the daily work challenging. Also the rainy season posed challenges, since neither the teachers nor the students showed up during rainy days. On such days, the school grounds usually were flooded with water as were the routes to the schools.

5   Findings

This chapter presents the empirical data from the field. The data is divided into three major themes; "Recruitment", "Impacts of war" and "Reintegration". The first part describes how and why the boys joined the armed group. Knowing these reasons is important, as they greatly impact the boys' current situation and also point to the challenges faced in the reintegration process. The second part describes what the boys did while in the armed group, and, furthermore, how their association with the group has affected them. The third and final part starts with a description of how the boys left the armed group, and goes on to explore their current situation in Malakal, with respect to the challenges they face in acquiring an education. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, the informants' names are made anonymous.

5.1   Recruitment

Among the 20 former CAAFG, none joined the armed group solely for the sake of fighting. However, many of them joined in order to satisfy needs that were not met during the time of war, or during its aftermath. The recruitment is either forced or voluntary.

5.1.1   Forced recruitment

In informal conversations with translators and other informants I was told that, in the past, children had been abducted and sent to the military. This was also expressed in a focus group interview, where it was described how children during the war were taken without their parents' knowledge. This happened when the Nuer and Dinka tribes took the cows out to graze. Garang (SPLA leader at the time) went to the area and took the children (FG5). If children were found in the house in the absence of his/her parents they will take the child without informing the parents (FG5). However, the abduction is explained differently by an opposing voice in the group.

> When the movement started in the beginning they did not collect the people. People joined voluntary. In Bahr el Gazal there are chiefs, the sub clans have leaders, the movement say that every year every clan for example prepare for us youth, from 20 up to 50, every year prepare for us such a number to come to Bilfam to train. If younger boys say I want to go to soldier he will go. They are not taken by force. The one who can take by force is if the chief of clan assign a man and he refuse. The SPLM leader can take him

by force. The collection is not randomly. SPLA make a system. They say from June up to December you collect these people and ask the chiefs to collect also the bulls. In our area in Bahr al Gazal, the child soldiers went to join military not by force but by their will. When the leaders saw the children under the age they were taken away and formed another team. The SPLA went to search for organizations for schooling of these children. For example they resigned this children go to Cuba, America and so on. SPLM made this system (FG5).

Current situation reports, dated about three months prior to the interviews, reported of Dinka children being abducted in Abyei (FG5). Two of the former CAAFG interviewed were recruited by force into the armed group. One was forced "because the army had the power and they took me from my house" (Bol). Another described how he traveled with a large group from Akobo to Ethiopia. In Ethiopia he wanted to go to school, but since he was carrying things for the soldiers during the trip, like bullets and packages, he became a soldier (Samuel).

5.1.2 Voluntary recruitment

I am joining the army because there I can get a lot of support like food and all this. There in the army they have the child soldiers were you can be until you are a full soldier (John).

Support in the sense of food and housing is what most of the former CAAFG mention as reasons for why they joined the armed group. Almost half of them refer to it as the main reason. However, there are often several reasons why the boys join, many of which are interrelated. The basic needs for food and housing were not met, and economic reasons are one motivation factor for joining. One informant says he joined "for support, since my parents are not there" (Koang). Also, from a focus group discussion I learned that "they (soldiers) make sort of income. If you are the elder and your father dies you can go to military and serve your family" (FG1). In the hierarchical family structure in the Southern Sudan society, the father is the head of the family and the main source of income, and life can become extra difficult when he passes away. One informant states that "because I just live with my mum and no one else I was thinking to join the army was the best" (Tongyiik).

A second motivating factor is fear. Some of the former CAAFG that were interviewed joined the military to defend and protect themselves in a country ravaged by war. "Because of the war, no school, no job, if you are civilian the soldier will find you and torture you and so on. That is why I became a solder to defend myself" (Nhial). The interrelated motivation factors are found in the aforementioned quote as the lack of school and a job are mentioned together with the motivating factor of fear. The next informant mentions fear together with a political motivation.

> When the war broke out in Sudan, the civil war, there was no hope apart from expecting death any time. It was one of my beliefs that for me just to die it is better at least to fight for the freedom of the country so it was one of the things that made me decide to join the military (Deng).

Some of the informants joined the armed group to stay close to their family. One joined because all from his family joined and he did not want to remain home alone, where there is no school. His father joined the armed group and the mother joined in order to prepare food for the father (Wejang). In order to stay with his parents, he had to join the armed group. There were no other choices. However, for others the choice was less straightforward.

> My mother was blind by then. My father was a military man so when there is any suspect of war I will run with my father because my mother is blind and old. There is a system, if you are captured they will leave women and they will kill any child - if the child is a boy you have to be killed. That is why I am with my father to escape death (Mading).

The statement from this boy indicates that there may be multiple reasons for joining. He first says how he cannot stay with his mother, but has to be with his father. Then he describes how fear, specifically to"escape death", motivates his action.

In lack of other options, like schooling or jobs, former CAAFG choose to join the military. As one boy puts it "during the civil war in South Sudan I had nothing to do at home and felt I had to

join the army" (Nhial). One of the former CAAFG indicates an urge to revenge the death of a brother as a part of the motivation for joining the armed group

> When the war broke out in Sudan, there were a lot of conflict between Nuer and Dinka. Our county is one that is bordering Nuer. So it happened that there where attack and my elder brother was killed by Nuer. I look into that, and the only option was to join the military to defend myself and because even if you have foot in front of you then this Nuer will come and attack you and then they take whatever you have, you remain without anything. This is the main reason I join to defend my own life and the properties (Arop).

5.2   Impacts of war

The time spent with, as well as the duties performed in, the armed group differs between the boys. The average time is three years, but ranges from a couple of weeks up to six years. The boys also vary with respect to the age they joined the group. The youngest was seven years old. Age is an important factor in determining what tasks the boys perform in the armed group Informal conversations and interviews revealed that many of the younger boys are based at headquarters and perform domestic work.

5.2.1   Experiences

In the armed group, the CAAFG performed a wide range of jobs and assignments. This is also the reason why they are referred to as "Children Associated with Fighting Forces and Groups" rather than "Child soldiers". Not all of the children have been combatants, nor have all been enrolled in stable forces with organized military training and operations. While waiting for attacks, the CAAFG have daily routines. Some CAAFG stay behind with the leaders during battles and have other jobs than to fight in the frontline.

> I do not have a lot of work because I was the only child among them. When there is war I have to remain with the leaders because all the commanders and captains have to remain in the area (Mading).

One informant was never a soldier, but was associated with the army to earn money. He did not go to war because he was very young (Tang). However, a majority of the informants were in possession of a gun so that they could defend themselves (Gaach).

> I am just carrying my gun because we do not know when it is going to be dangerous. That is why when war break out anyone will take his gun and walk with it. If the fighters come then we can protect. So in fact I never shoot somebody. I stay the place where the king is. As I told before I did not go to the field of war. I am with the group of big ranks. I never practiced fighting and shooting, never. I am just together with the high ranks (Samuel).

Children are often used as cooks in the armed group. They have a schedule where they rotate between cooking and performing other tasks. "We are mostly cooks. Some time we do not go to military missions because we are very small" (Gatluak). Children do a lot of physical work in the barracks, such as bringing water, fetching wood and cooking. "They see us as children. If they need some services, like if one need some water you will give him water, wash clothes" (Samuel). This is confirmed by another former CAAFG, who said that as a child he was always doing things because the other soldiers considered him to have a lot of energy (Deng). There are also incidents where adults in the armed group treat the children badly. This might include being beaten, lied to, as well as other forms of abuse.

> Sometimes the big soldiers use to bully the smaller ones. Sometimes they do not do it in the presence of big people where the commanders are, but in separate places. They can send you to go do something and if you refuse, they start beat you. Later on if you go complain crying he will come and give a different reason that you have not done what he said, abused me or done something bad (Gaach).

However, the adult soldiers also encourage the children and back them up. "You have to be encouraged now, you are a man" (Arop). Children often serve as bodyguards for commanders. This task is mostly carried out at the headquarters.

I was a bodyguard. The work of the bodyguard is to protect even the officer. And if you are good to him really he can promote you into the rank. When people are in war, I am left together with the officer (Gaach).

There may be multiple bodyguards for one commander, and other tasks are performed in other capacities. "There are so many bodyguards. If it happens that today is your day to fight you go and fight" (Arop). The majority of the former CAAFG have fought in the frontlines. Their main duties in the armed group are "military duty and be ready for fight at any time cause you expect an enemy to attack" (Akol).

One of my main jobs is to be based in the barracks. When there is any incident, attack, we have to go for war and fight. That is the main task other than doing work for yourself, like cook. The main work is to wait until order can come and you go and fight (Deng).

Some of the stories from battles are very fragmented and hard to piece together. One informant avoided telling anything from the frontlines, while others were more forthcoming. None of the informants ever gave any descriptions of the actual combats and experiences during crossfire.

I can remember one day there was an attack and we were fighting. And now we were defeated so we were scattered in the bush. I got lost in the bush. I and my brother ran in different directions. All the people ran in different directions. We met even wild animals. The good thing is that we have guns. Without guns we could have been eaten by the wild animals. We stayed two days in the bush without knowing where people are. The third day is when we meet the group (Akol: Deng).

I can remember one day the fight break out in the area where we settle. After we ran away, a friend and I were thinking maybe the enemies are already gone. Shock on us the enemies captured the town. So after some time we came back thinking that there was no fight again and no enemy around the area. Then when the enemy attack, saw us and we were scared back and ran to we crossed the river. Swimming and crossing the river to the other side. It was difficult because some women have children, small kids with them, and some of them do not even know how to swim. So it was difficult for us to cross the river. This is one day that I cannot forget. Now there was no water at all, no water and no food

in the bush. When you struggle looking for a place where to get water, not unless you will be having a huge force , military force, people with gun that can come in case if the enemy will be there they fight and then we got water. It was difficult (Arop).

The political landscape in Sudan and Southern Sudan in particular, is complex. Even though all, but one (from the Nuba mountains), of the former CAAFG are from Southern Sudan, they were in conflict with different enemies. They participated in fights between SAF and SPLA, where the informants were members of SPLA (appendix I: drawing). One informant participated in ethnic conflicts between White Army and Murle tribe, where the informant were a Nuer member of the White Army[2] (appendix II: drawing). Some also participated in internal fights between SPLA and Nuer militias (appendix III: drawing). In the latter case the informants were Dinka members of the SPLA.

It was a fight between Nuer, the militias, and the rebels, SPLA. I remain with the controller, the one in charge of the area. The military, our force did not even meet with these attacks so instead these people came in and was attacking the area. We ran away with the commander in charge. We had money but there is no place we can get any food. For two days …..After three days we met with the force that was send to fight the enemy. When we met them still there was no market there was nothing so what happen they killed one bull for us and it was cooked and we ate (Mading).

Fighting can happen at any time (Deng). If the enemy comes daily there are fights daily, and if the enemy comes weekly, they fight weekly (Samuel). Although the frequency of fighting is related to the objective "It happens every day, even if they did not come and attack us we go and attack them because we are in need of our freedom and our independence (Wejang). One of the informants goes back to his armed group during school holidays. As a "White Army" soldier, he goes back to his home village and fights the Murle people. He is in the frontline whenever his village is attacked (Chuol).

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[2] The former CAAFG himself labels the group The White Army

Two of the informants, who were brothers, held ranks while in the armed group. If you are related to somebody who has ranks, like a commander, he can call you and you will get a rank. "Only people who are respected are the people with ranks. You do not have ranks you are not respected" (Gaach). One of the informants was a line corporal and the other went from being the bodyguard of a commander to being a corporal in charge of 12 people. When asked whether the people he was in charge of were older than himself, he argued "Yes, I know how to write. When the ration is given I can write the number of the ration and I can divide" (Akol). A teacher describes how a good education can give you good opportunities, also while in the armed group (T7).

The boys acquire various skills while in the armed group. The main things are related to combat tactics, like how they can protect themselves and hide from the enemy, and how to shoot. As a soldier you have to be alert that anything can happen to you (Wejang: Deng). The former CAAFG are also knowledgeable about why they are fighting

> The Arabs were just colonizing the Southerners. That is why the SPLA broke in fight and that is why the fighting took place. Each and every one of us will have our own freedom. Freedom of going to school, freedom of doing anything (Deng).

One informant tells that they are not taught why they fight, but they know anyway. They are fighting for freedom or for the independence of their country, because their country has been occupied by the Arabs (Samuel). Whether the boys were informed in the armed group or not is not clear from the interviews, although one says that during assembly, at six or seven, they are told they are in the bush for the sake of their country (Samuel). Anyhow, they were all well aware of the reason and one expressed "I was fighting for liberation of marginalization" (Nyang).

The opportunities for acquiring reading and writing skills in the armed group differed. One claims that "We do not have time to write and read" (Wejang). Another describes how he was taught to write by the radio operators while in the military. He explained further that anyone who

wanted to learn had the opportunity to do so. English training was conducted under a tree (Akol). Others describe some of the obstacles to obtaining an education while in the armed group and war ongoing. "Sometimes they do give a class but it is not always frequent because we were being attacked. So there wore no stable class" (Arop).

> When you are in the military sometimes there are some schools close to the barracks. Sometimes the leader that is in charge of you allows you to go to school. If they do not allow you to go to school you will stay in the military and do any other regular work that normal army does. If you want to go by yourself you can face punishment and sometimes you will not be able to pay the few amounts of money for registering yourself into school (Gaach).

5.2.2   Trauma

In order to get a picture of the experiences the boys might struggle with in the aftermath of the war, and after they left the military, I linked the theme of traumatization to questions about dreams. The interview guide did not invite for these conversation in the beginning. Therefore the theme did not occur in all interviews. All but one of the former CAAFG that got the question had experienced dreams related to the things that happened while in the army. The one who did not, said that he never dreamt about such things, however, it is unclear whether he had in the past. For the other boys, the experiences ranged from having had dreams about war related incidents, to still having such dreams. The content of the dreams were all related to incidents in the army. Some told about having difficulties with sleeping, and two of the boys described how they still believed in the dream once they were awake. One former CAAFG expressed how he did not remember anything, nor did he have any dreams. However, he later told me that "sometime I think, because I lost my brother" (Deng).

Many express that they currently are not bothered by the past. "Now I forget because I do not want to think over it again. I used to do (dream of what happened) when I was a soldier, when I was in the military but now I do not dream again" (Arop). One of the informants, that had lost several of his friends during battle, said that after coming to Malakal he did not have any bad dreams. However, before coming to Malakal he did dream about the fighting.

> I dreamt a very bad dream when I was not here in Malakal, that one of my friends was shot dead. So it was a dream and in the morning I went to the place of my friend and told him I dreamt that he was involved in a fight and was killed. And I told him that is why I came to you (Akol).

A majority of the boys still dream about the fighting, but do not think of those things while in school. However one of the boys, who seemed more confident than many of the others, stated that:

> (s)ometime we have the image in our mind because those things we have been into and we have been soldiers for long time. So that those things (that happened while being a soldier) use to come into our minds (Akol).

One informant says that when he is in school, he can not think about what happened during fighting. However, he also tells that when he dream it come to his mind those of Murle[3] that killed their people and he feels angry and wants to kill those of Murle (Chuol). In addition to dreams, some of the informants have had suicidal thoughts

> It happen you can dream, maybe if you have been fighting alongside with some people and you have witnessed people being killed in front of you and then they are killed in front of you those things can come back. Or if you have been fighting a long time ago and then you have been shot, the same kind of shooting that happened to you when you were shot can even come back as a dream. Then when you are sleeping with an old person in the same house, that person can hold you down, but if you are sleeping alone you can even run to either to the river and get yourself drowned in the river because your mind is still in that type of fighting time (Gaach).

During the interview, Gaach went from giving information and answering questions about someone else, then he slightly changed to say "we" at some point. Another statement, indicative of suicidal thoughts, expresses how "at the time in frontline I did not think I would be alive in the near future. I also decided to kill myself. Now it is ok and I do not think like before" (Wejang).

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[3] Tribe in Southern Sudan

One informant describes threat as his second biggest challenge in Malakal, after education. He tells describes how those who were in the military with him think of killing him because he escaped. "They do not want me to continue with school but want me back to military" (Nhial).

5.3 Reintegration

Almost all of those interviewed left the military outside of a formal demobilization process. I could, therefore, not find them registered on official lists for reintegration and follow up. I only found such lists at UNICEF, who collaborated with NGOs, and they only included a couple of youth from Malakal. None of these are among my informants.

5.3.1 Release

On a macro level, the Paris Principles and Guidelines on Children Associated with Armed Forces and Groups argue:

> (w)here there are formal disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) processes, special provision should be made for children. The absence of a formal DDR process, however, should not prevent activities in pursuit of the release of children from armed forces or armed groups. These actions may require or include separate negotiations with armed forces or armed groups that are unrelated to the broader agenda driven by security reform or by other formal negotiations processes. Where formal processes are in place, linkages should be made to ensure coordinated and comprehensive support to the reintegration of children and their communities of return (Paris Principles 2007, p. 10)

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) states that all child soldiers shall be demobilized within six months of the signing of the CPA (CPA 2005). There are several actors in the process of Child Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (Child DDR) in Southern Sudan, and specifically in the Upper Nile State. The CPA states that:

> (n)o DDR planning, management or implementation activity shall take place outside the framework of the recognized interim and permanent DDR institutions referred to in paragraphs 25.1 and 25.2 (CPA 2005, p. 118).

This is confirmed by UNICEF saying, "all child demobilization is going through the Interim Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Program (IDDRP)" (Interview: UN1). The parties will establish institutions to plan, manage and implement the DDR program. The national institutions are the National Council for DDR Coordination (NCDDRC) which consist of North Sudan DDR Commission (NSDDRC) and South Sudan DDR Commission (SSDDRC) (CPA 2005, p. 119). In addition to this, "UNICEF, ICRC and other international organizations are called upon to assist in the child component of the DDR in the Sudan" (CPA 2005, p. 119). The representative for South Sudan Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Commission (SSDDRC) explains the UN involvement. They cooperate with the UN DDR, who help by facilitating our transportations to those locations that the SSDDRC cannot access. They sometime need helicopters and speedboats (interview: Inf3).

In Malakal, the UN has a DDR unit that for Child DDR includes a department in UNMIS and UNICEF. The CPA mandates UNICEF to support technically and logistically for child DDR. UNDP also provides support for a development program together with UNMIS DDR apartment, UN DDR. These are the agencies that give money and technical support. Regarding FTR agencies, agencies that participate for tracing programs include World Vision and SOS Children's Villages. These help the DDRC with tracing when they reintegrate children in their communities or reunite them with their parents (interview: Inf 3). I found that World Vision does not at present assist in FTR in the area, though they did previously. However SOS Children's Villages is an assisting NGO, and another newly established local NGO, assists in the reintegration and follow up. Both formal and informal interviews with these NGO's gave information about other organizations, like IRW and War Child that both were previously located in Malakal, though not at present (Inf1).

According to the focal person for child DDR in Malakal, there are certain procedures carried out when demobilizing children from the armed group. The children are first identified by the area commander, and then visited by the SSDDRC for verification. They verify whether the children really are CAAFG's. If so, are registered, then the Family Tracing and Reunification (FTR)

process starts. They trace the CAAFG's parents and then implement the demobilization (interview: Inf3). When the SSDDRC goes into the barracks in search of CAAFG, they are usually accompanied by representatives from UN DDR and UNICEF (interview: Inf3). This is confirmed by UNICEF representatives who stated that

> UNICEF and SSDDRC go to the barrack to create awareness to the commanders, soldiers and CAAF/G. SSDDRC register the CAAF/G, UNICEF takes names and share with CBOs/NGOs who will do the tracing. When tracing complete, UNICEF will inform SSDDRC to fix the day for demobilization. UNICEF and partners assist the SSDDRC in demobilization of the children and UNICEF transport the children to the destinations and hand them over to CBOs/NGOs who have done the tracing and the NGOs/CBOs do the reunification and follow up (interview: UN1).

The local NGO also goes into the barracks to identify children. They go by themselves and come unannounced (informal conversation: Inf2). The child protection officer for SSDDRC in Malakal informs the commanders before the team arrives (informal conversation: Inf3) and also leads the team when they enter the barracks.

> We (UNICEF and UNMIS[4]) use to go together by the way. They also talk, they ask some question. We make sure that I have to open, because…eh…. I myself was a former child soldier that is why they put me to this program. I know some commanders (Interview: Inf3).

In spite of the numerous institutions engaged in the process of Child DDR in Malakal, none of my informants could report that they had been part of a formal DDR process. One was still associated with an armed group. Neither were they to be found in the 2006 list of demobilized soldiers in South Sudan (list from UNICEF, originally from SSDDRC). One group told me they had been in contact with SOS Childrens Villages while still in the armed group and that they first came to Malakal when UNICEF started the process to disarm them.

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[4] United Nations Mission In Sudan

> We were disarmed and we waited for them to come, instead they did not come back and I made a move to come here to Malakal and look for this organization. When I found them I was linked to a school. When I was linked to school I send back the message to my friend. Then the other three came and that is how we came to Malakal (Akol: Deng: Mading: Arop).

Informal conversations reported that there was never a formal demobilization in the whole of South Sudan in 2007 or by September 2008 (UN1: UN2). However, a UN report on children and armed conflict in Sudan states that in May 2007 a successful coordination between the Northern and Sothern Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Commission resulted in a release of 25 children from SPLA (UN Security Council 2007). They were reunited with families in Northern Sudan. The majority of my informants escaped or was released from the armed group outside of formal DDR process.

> In fact, I did not tell the military that you go and I go alone, because they do not allow anybody to go. I just left at nighttime. When I left them I came to Pagak (Samuel).

While some escaped from military, others were released from military for schooling. One former CAAFG resigned from the army after being granted permission from his officer. "When I left the army I was given money by my father. I went and talk to my father and told him I want to leave the military for education" (Gaach). Among those who were released, some did not want to leave, but were told by the commander that they had to. "I was released by the commander to go to school yet he did not support me or give me any money" (Wejang). However, Wejang now says that "I do not want to go back again. I want to study to learn" (Wejang). The former CAAFG that left the armed group outside of a formal demobilization, are not officially addressed as CAAFG. Because of this, they might not receive any future support from NGOs and the international community. The SSDDRC are only mandated to take care of those who are demobilized. They do not deal with those who are not. If they have registered them and they disappeared they say, "we do not know them" (interview: Inf3).

5.3.2 Family

Procedures done by the SSDDR Commision and assisting NGOs related to the release of children, consist of family tracing and transportation to where the family, or what remains of it, is found.

> We do the tracing before we join them with their parents. So that we make sure these children have their parents or whether they do not have parents. After that, we demobilize them and reintegrate them back to their parents or the community (interview: Inf3).

However, this practice has a couple of obstacles. First of all, for the sake of schooling the boys have to leave their family to get basic education, which is not available in their home communities. This means that after a successful reintegration into the family, the boys soon have to leave their family as they head off for school. Only three of the former CAAFG informants live with one or both parents in Malakal. Secondly, there are, to the best of my knowledge, at least ten of the former CAAFG that do not have a complete family to return to, as one or both parents have been lost. If the children do not have parents, or do not know the whereabouts of their parents due to the long stay in the armed group, the SSDDRC sometimes finds someone that will adopt them. Their parents might have died during the war, and the DDRC used to have people willing to adopt them. Sometimes they put the children to vocational centers (interview: Inf3).

Although the representative for child DDR in Malakal says that children who have lost both parents are taken care of, the former CAAFG I met that did not have parents, stayed with relatives or friends. "Both my parents are dead. I stay with a friend" (John). The majority of the boys that have lost parents have only one parent left, and in most cases it is the father that has passed away. "Our father is dead, mothers are in Khorfulus. We are brothers with the same father, but the mothers are different because in Sudan you marry many wives" (Akol: Deng). Although the boys have one parent left, in most cases, they still do not stay with the remaining parent. "My father is dead. My mother is alive, she is in Nasir" (Koang). The majority of the boys live with relatives in Malakal, while the parent is in the outside villages. "I live with my uncle.

Dad was killed in the war, my mum is here. She is in the village" (Tongjiik). Even though a few of the boys have both parents left, they still stay with others since the parents are in their villages.

5.4 Education

The Paris Principles (2007) put forward several factors of importance regarding education in the reintegration process. They argue that

> (e)ducational activities should take into account the children´s lost educational opportunities, their age and stage of development, their experiences with armed forces or armed groups and the potential to promote psychosocial well being, including a sense of self worth (Paris Principles 2006, p. 22).

Furthermore, they emphasize the importance of Accelerated Learning Programmes (ALP) and that they need to be recognized by the formal system of education. The majority of the former CAAFG in Malakal attend ALP that is an integrated part of the Alternative Education System (AES). The ALP is a modification of the formal primary school cycle and is characterized by a condensed syllabus and a faster learning process (MoEST n.d., p. 4). ALP is, among other things, designed to provide an alternative learning program for demobilized soldiers (MoEST n.d., p. 5). The handbook, teachers and the director of ALP in Malakal describe the program as eight years of primary schooling condensed into four. However, there is a discrepancy between policies and practice.

After an exam period, there is confusion about the location of one of the ALP schools, as well as the promotion for those who passed grade six. It turns out that there is no room for the ALP. Many of the classrooms that are used by the ALP are occupied by the primary school operating during the day. This is due to the policy that "APL classes are held at existing primary schools" (MoEST n.d., p. 7). However the policy also says that new classrooms can be built if necessary. Observations and visits to the two ALP schools revealed that both relocated while I was there. At one of the schools, on one occasion, I found the ALP students outside, confused about where the

classes were to be held, as well as the whereabouts of the teachers. After a few days, however, the confusion was resolved, and all, except for the seventh graders, had been given a classroom. For two days seventh grade students were hanging around outside the classroom of grade six. It turns out that present, level four of the ALP (equals grade seven and eight) has not yet been implemented. This is confirmed by the director of the ALP (Inf4). The students are told to repeat grade six, together with grade five students, and be promoted to grade eight next semester (informal conversation with random student in grade 6/7 ALP).

5.4.1 Language

> In Sudan there was no, especially in the south, there was no kinds of education that was teaching in English, all the things where in Arabic. At this time when peace is signed things have already changed in the south. The major problem that appears now is that we do not have textbooks (T1).

The language of instruction in schools is one of the challenges faced by the children in Malakal. However, language comprehension is the main reason why students, including the former CAAFG, are in Malakal. This is one reason why language is given special attention. Arabic is still the main language used in the schools and public institutions I visited. Only a few of the former CAAFG can speak Arabic, and even fewer can adequately write in Arabic. Even when they attend English school, Arabic might be a challenge when taught as a subject. "Do not like Arabic, engineering, chemistry, physics. Arabic, because I do not know it" (FG4). The director of secondary education claims that the CAAFG are not many in Malakal because when they came to Malakal they could not be accommodated in the schools because of Arabic. Furthemore he tells that some go to the primary school with English as the language of instruction while others go to one of the secondary schools in this study (Inf5).

Following the CPA, Southern Sudan got its own interim constitution which states that "there shall be no discrimination against the use of either English or Arabic at any level of government or stage

of education (Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan 2005, section 6 page 3). In addition, the language policy for public schools, found in the draft education act of Feb. 2008, argues that

> All indigenous languages are national languages and the English and Arabic languages shall be treated in terms of the Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan 2005 section 6 (…) from primary one through three, the medium of instruction shall be the indigenous language of the area. In primary 4 through 8, the medium of instruction shall be English. For all secondary and tertiary education, the medium of instruction shall be English. In primary 4 through 8, the indigenous language shall continue to be taught as a subject (MoEST 2008, Act 46).

This information and the findings from the field show a discrepancy between policy and practice. It must be kept in mind that the policy documents are fairly new and, as of yet, not fully implemented. However, the majority of the schools in Malakal still use Arabic as the language of instruction.

Malakal County and the whole of Upper Nile state has only one primary school, grades one to eight, where instruction is given in English (Inf6: Inf5). This school is referred to as the returnee school by my informants. The reason for this is that the majority of its students there came back from Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda. Most do not know Arabic and need to be taught in English. With the exception of the returnees school, all other public primary schools instruct in English from grade one to four, and in Arabic from grade five and onwards (informal conversations with translators and teachers). From informal conversations with directors and teachers, I learned that as of the next year, primary five will also be taught in English. This process will continue with one grade level pr year until all the eight grades are taught in English.

There are few secondary schools where instruction is given in English. "The schools are run in Arabic, one school working in English in Upper Nile State" (Inf5). All students that attended this school came from neighboring countries. They have difficulties understanding Arabic. "In exile we do not have Arabic teachers that can teach us. This is the only secondary school in upper Nile that operates in English" (T4). However, this statement is only partly true, since there are more secondary schools using English in Malakal. The aforementioned school is the only one that

belongs to Upper Nile State, but there are others within Malakal that belong to Jonglei state and that were relocated due to war.

> We have from Jonglei because before peace citizens of Jonglei state were here. They established school for these children. When peace is around they did not move the school back. Students are from different states, but the teachers belong to Jonglei state (Inf6).

The majority of the former CAAFG that I came across were part of the Accelerated Learning Program. Children at the age of "12 years or 10-20 will be put in accelerated learning, ALP" (Inf4). If they are from 7-8 years old they are placed in primary schools (Inf4). However, my observations of the age range in the classes did not correspond with this information. Young students, possibly as young as six years of age, were seen together with adults in this program.

English is the language of instruction in the ALP, and many of the students speak English. While I was there, they gave out a newly printed English book to all students. This was the only textbook I saw in the students' possession. According to the director of the ALP, most of the students speak English because they come from outside. Some come from Ethiopia and some from Uganda, all of which know how to speak English. He also points out that "some of them do not know Arabic" (Inf4). However, through my own observations and experience, many of the students do not understand English very well, which is the language used in the classrooms (observation). This is confirmed by a teacher explaining how he helps the students after class. After the breaks the students and teacher sometimes converse outside if there was any difficult inside. According to the teacher this happens because most of the students they do not understand English. One reason why these students attend the ALP in English is, as a teacher expresses, because "now they say that you must study in English because it is the first language here. That is why you see so many people are coming" (T1). He also explains that there were not many being taught in English before the CPA agreement.

The two systems of schooling and the fact that the ALP, besides the returnee school, is the only place with English as the medium of instruction at primary school level, results in some of the former CAAFG attending both school systems. This means they have school from morning and until six or seven in the evening. "In the morning I go to secondary school in Arabic and English school in the evening" (Nyang). As the quote shows, acquiring language skills is one of the reasons for choosing to join both school systems. One former CAAFG wants to finish eight grade in Arabic, and then go on to secondary school in English. "I do not want to switch now" (Gaach). When asked how it would be for him to take secondary school in English when he has been instructed in Arabic in primary school, he answers "When I will have the grade eight certificate, I will go back to class four to start in English. I will start in English and go on" (Gaach). Commenting about all these years of schooling, he then says that "many years will be a waste because I spend them in Arabic and will then redo them in English. It is a must for me to learn and I have to switch to English" (Gaach).

The "double" schooling, with school from morning to late evening, is confirmed by a director. "Some of them are in morning in Arabic and with us in the evening" (D1). In addition to attending two school systems, one informant also has to deal with primary ALP curriculum and secondary school curriculum at same time. He also has to learn the Arabic and English languages, neither of which is his mother tongue.

> I am learning in the morning and in the evening. I want to leave the evening school (ALP) because morning school is taking a lot of time and a lot of work has to be done. So I want to leave the evening school and concentrate on the morning school (Gaach).

Language is one of the changes made to the curriculum. Some said that this change was made to address the needs of former CAAFG, since the language abilities of this group are "local languages and English" (Inf6). However, the former CAAFG benefit from attending schools where English is the medium of instruction. They blend in among the other students as the number of over-aged students in this program is great (T7). Many of the teachers underscored the

great number of over agers in schools with English as the medium of instruction. This is due to some of the students having been displaced by war (D2).

The language issue is one factor that prompts the former CAAFG to leave their home villages and families. All of the former CAAFG are in Malakal for the sake of education, because in their villages they only have primary school which is not well organized. Secondary school in Bentiu is only in Arabic. In Fangak they only have primary one to four (FG4). The director of Malakal county education says that "in liberated areas they teach in English" (Inf6).

The former CAAFG are found in the English sections where the school has also classes thought in Arabic. One reason for this is "The Arabic section is students that were in town before. Most of those in English have been out of the country and are now coming back" (D2).

5.4.2 Awareness

Ministry personnel, headmasters, teachers and students I met in the field held a limited amount of information about former CAAFG in schools; neither did they know who the former CAAFG were. There is a lack of awareness among people dealing with the former CAAFG, about the life situation and challenges that this group faces in the process of reintegration.

> Those guys, young children, they need councilors to be reformed again. Military is something really different. Behavior adopted there is not good for normal society (...) You see, we do not have many here in Malakal. When they came back here they cannot be accommodated in the schools here cause of Arabic. Some to Joshua or Arobyor. For us we do accept soldiers there in Arobyor and are doing their lessons there properly (Inf5).

Although the director of secondary education claims there are not many former CAAFG in schools in Malakal, he is aware that there are challenges related to reintegrating them into society. None of the informants from the ministry of education could give any numbers

concerning how many CAAFG were currently attending school in Malakal. However, I identified former CAAFG in all of the five schools I visited. Directors or teachers could not give any account of students that previously had been in the military, but currently attending their schools. Nevertheless, all knew that the former CAAFG were in their schools, but they did not know how many or knew who they were.

> It is really something difficult students who were in army before. I was given a form from Juba (that asked the number of former CAAFG) and passed on – then I gave it back to the government. Most of them where soldiers. I do not know the exact number (D3).

Although this director had filled in forms and sent them to Juba, he did not keep a copy for himself. One director assumed it might be half of the students (D4) while another assumed the number to be 40 or 50 (of approximately thousand students) in the English section because "The Arabic section is students that were in town before. Most of those in English have been out of the country and are now coming back" (D2). The director of the only public primary school in the whole of Upper Nile state with English as the medium of instruction gave me the number of boys/men that have been, or still are, in the military but have been released to attend school.

> I have 50 students who have been in the military. Some are released, are still working with the military and they got released and join to study. Actually after school they will rejoin the work. And some they left military completely. Some of them left the work in the military and are now living as civilian. Among them 10 of them sat here for basic certificate in grade eight. And they are now in senior secondary school. They are still in the military. Some of them are officers in the military (D5).

Contrary to the other directors, this one said he knew the former CAAFG by their faces. He did not know their names. He refers to the high number of students, "one thousand something", as a reason why he does not know the former CAAFG by name (D5).

As with the directors, neither the teachers had the numbers or knew if any of their students had been in the military before. One teacher told me he did not know how many and that "I do not give attendance. I just go and deliver my lesson" (T4). Another told that I "do not know. There is one in grade seven" (T8). Some assume that many of their students have been in the military. This is partly due to the fact that the students attend English speaking schools and came mostly from exile. I "do not know the number. Most of the students that wore in exile were soldiers" (T5). This is confirmed by another teacher saying I "do not know, think most of them. The numbers are great, especially in these schools of English" (T7).

The former CAAFG all confirm that their teachers do not know anything about them and their background. However, the majority of the teachers had been in exile themselves and held knowledge of the life of soldiers and what some of the former CAAFG went through during the time of war. Also some of them were soldiers themselves. "I served as a bodyguard before I left for Uganda. I never lasted in the movement" (T6).

Some of the students in the schools had detailed knowledge of the process from recruitment and until release of CAAFG, while some did not know anything. However, it turned out that some of those reporting that they did not know anything, actually knew quite a lot when they were asked more specifically about procedures, recruitment and duties of CAAFG. Only a few knew if they had former CAAFG in their classes. During two of the focus groups discussions one of the informants revealed that "I myself was a soldier" (FG5). Furthermore he states that he was 14 years old at the time. However, when the government officials noticed him and noted that he lacked education, they called him and told him to go to school. He was told to complete his education and then come back to the place, Jonglei (FG5).

The majority of the former CAAFG told me that the students in their class do not know that they used to be in the military. Some had told one or two close friends. The reason why the classmates do not know might be that they were not together in the army (Gatluak) or that they cannot talk

together and share secrets (Nyang). Other reasons are that "This case is deep that is why I never told them. The way of soldiers is too much" (Samuel).

> The friends in school do not know, only the friends back in the village know. We do not want to make it open to people. We have already been soldiers and now we are out. Because of this there are organizations that fight for us to leave the military and be in school so we do not want to talk about it in school (Akol: Deng: Mading: Arop).

5.4.3   Corporal punishment

Southern Sudan draft education act, and the Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan both argue for prohibition of corporal punishment.

> Every child has the right to be free from corporal punishment and cruel and inhuman treatment by any persons including parents, school administrations and other institutions (Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan 2005, p. 8).

> No person may administer corporal punishment at a school to a learner at any educational level or setting (Southern Sudan second draft education draft 2008, p. 49).

This is in line with attitudes expressed by the directors of the schools and the majority of the teachers. If students behave badly in school and not according to rules and regulations, they are most often called by the director of the school and are reprimanded orally.

> We have different discipline why and how you do this. If he (the student) does not understand the teachers, his parents will be called or the person that is responsible for her or for him. We say your child behaves like this and this and this, and we do not want this. Please…If you continue this way… We discontinue nobody. But we have to give them warning and to call the parents or somebody that is responsible. To be advised or warned strongly to change his behavior (D5).

While some do not dismiss students, other schools do. In one of the ALP schools they do not treat their students as the children in the morning. "We treat them in a way that if somebody did wrong

63

for instance, we can advise him three times and then if he is not able to understand us we can send him away" (T1). However, in the cases where students are reprimanded orally, dismissed or not dismissed, the information is not completely in consonance with my observations and interviews with former CAAFG and their peers. In the majority of the schools, I observed students being beaten or lashed by teachers or directors. The use of corporal punishment is confirmed by the former CAAFG.

> Sometime when you are not in class, f example you make noise you just slap someone or does this and this, the teacher can ask you to leave the class. Even if the teacher do not tell you to leave the class, he can cane you in the class, can beat you (Akol: Deng: Mading: Arop).

5.4.4   School fees

There is a discrepancy between policy and practice regarding school fees in Malakal. The ministry of education, the directors and students do not have the same information regarding the amount they have to pay for school. The Southern Sudan education act (draft version) argues that:

> (iii) Free and compulsory pre-primary and primary education shall be provided to all citizens of Southern Sudan.
>
> (iv) Free education through the Alternative Education System shall be provided subject to availability of resources (MoEST 2008, p. 29).

This is confirmed by the director of secondary education, who states that there are no school fees for attending schools in Malakal. "The government is paying. Students pay fees for examination. Schooling in Southern Sudan is free" (Inf5). However, all students I talked to pay for school and the amount they pay varies between the 3 different types of schools, primary, secondary and ALP. The two ALP schools are conspicuous because the directors and students give almost corresponding information regarding school fees. The two schools also charge the same amount from their students although the information regarding fees for registration and examination do not correspond fully.

Students get money to pay for school in different ways. One gets money from church, while others are given money by relatives and friends. "I use to write a letter to my mother. My mother will struggle either to sell a goat or cow. However comes out of it she will send me to pay for school" (Koang). The family bears the financial burden for some years but struggle at other times. In the poor villages they do not know about school. They can give a cow, which the students can sell and get money. If there is no cow, the student can sell vegetables that are cultivated during the rainy season (FG4). It might be a challenge to get support from home because "in the villages they are looking at education as a waste of time. They want instead their sons and daughters to stay home and farm" (FG4).

Many of the former CAAFG work when they are not in school. I happened to run into some of them at work in the market while I also arranged with some to meet at work. Some had their own little business selling things in the market, some repaired shoes, one made transfers with cell phones and one sold used clothes. Former CAAFG and their peers describe the same scenario of what happens if they do not pay school fees. The students will then be dismissed until they pay. This is confirmed by a director "Yes, if one can not pay we will dismiss him, let him not to be in school" (D1). This happened many of the former CAAFG

> My father is in Nasir, sometimes when I need school fees I use to write a letter and put in an envelope and bring to Nasir -two days on the way. At the time when my father gets the letter he will look for money. The longest I have stayed without going to school is two months. Sometimes I have to be sent out from the school and then have to sit home. When my father brings money I can reenroll in school again (Gaach).

I also witnessed one former CAAFG being chased away from school to look for another 50 Sudanese pounds "because now there is no support. That is why they say you can stay until you get 50 then you can come back" (Koang). Other consequences of not paying are

If you do not have ID card during exams you will not be allowed to sit in exams. It is not only to not sit in exam, to do exam, but embarrassing. In the morning when they are reporting they will announce the names of the people that did not clear to the school. Then you are asked to go back home while the others remain in school and learn. You go back to the house (Akol: Deng: Mading: Arop).

One consequence if these four boys can not get hold of money for education, they can decide to get casual jobs, "where you go to the restaurant and wash dishes, then we allow two people to go to school and then we do the job" (Arop).

5.4.5 Outside influences

There are a multitude of factors that might lead to either student drop out or enrollment in school. Some factors are school feeding and UNICEF support for school materials for students. The SSDDRC do not cooperate with the MoEST. The former ministry of education said they will support the children after demobilization. However "when we brought the children we could not see any support. Yeah, they did not support those children" (interview: Inf3).

The WFP has Food For Education programs in Malakal that includes primary schools. Secondary schools and AES do not get food from the WFP (e-mail correspondence: UN3: observations). This means that only one of the schools where I found former CAAFG is included in the FFE program. However, they only fed the students in the morning shift. Due to overcrowded schools, the ministry of education started two shifts a day, while I was in Malakal (informal conversations: Inf7: observations). This means that some of the classes will have school in the morning and then get food, while some have school in the afternoon and do not get food. UNICEF also gives support, among which is the student toolkit given to every student in primary school. They do not give the toolkit to students in secondary schools or the ALP. This means that only the three former CAAFG that are enrolled in a primary school receive a student toolkit and possibly also food in school if they are in the morning shift.

6   Theoretical framework

This chapter intends to take a closer look at some theories relevant to the reintegration of the former CAAFG. I will describe theories of socialization, trauma and stigma. Socialization theories are used since the socialization of the former CAAFG, meaning their transition from army to civilian and into the school system, needs specific attention. Trauma theories are applied as the former CAAFG have been separated from family, displaced from their home communities, experienced the loss of parents as well as traumatic events while associated with the armed group. Theories of stigma are vital to understand the process of reintegration, since the former CAAFG are a stigmatized group. Together with theories related to the cultural context of Southern Sudan, the theories will facilitate the analysis in gaining insight into the reintegration process.

6.1   Socialization

There are numerous theories of socialization. Bronfenbrenner (1979) describes the "ecology of human development" through an investigation of a person and the environment and the relations between them. He argues that the understanding of human development requires an examination of multiperson systems of interaction. Berger and Luckmann (1966/1991) define socialization as "the comprehensive and consistent induction of an individual into the objective world of a society or sector of it" (p. 150). Bronfenbrenner emphasizes that environments beyond the immediate setting in which the child takes part; influence the socialization process of the child. Thus, relations that are not face to face have a decisive impact on our life.

Most theories of socialization, emerged from research in the West about the western way of life, and hence, may have limited applicability to the Sudan context. The limitations occur when:

> (o)ne looks only at the social address – that is, the environmental label – with no attention to what the environment is like, what people are living there, what they are doing, or how the activities taking place could affect the child (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter in Bronfenbrenner 1986, p. 724).

Therefore, it is important to account for some characteristics of the traditional Nuer and Dinka culture, that most of the informants belong to. Both Dinka and Nuer "have developed a culture that enables them to survive by an efficient adaptation to the stern restrictions posed by the existing ecological conditions" (Jeppsson & Hjern 2005, p. 68). This includes a dominant pastoral economy based on cattle. A young Dinka boy spends the first years of his life in his mother's family, thus his uncle becomes his emotional father at this point in life. Between the age of four and six years old he moves to his father's house where he gradually learns to withstand extreme physical pain through different rites of passage, like the removal of the molar teeth. Early in life, the boys go to cattle camps to tend cattle. Then they stay a long way from parents, protecting the cattle. The boys live in the cattle camp together with young men and a few adult traditional leaders (Jeppsson & Hjern 2005, p. 69). As time goes on, the group of boys becomes large and the boys become close to each other, form age sets and unite to care for, and ultimately develop a culture of warriors prepared to deal with cattle raiding and attacks by enemies. Jeppsson and Hjern (2005) argue that

> (t)his social organization and culture is a way of creating common strength and protection against threats and enemies, a social support which provides food, water, protection and warmth, and a source of courage , emotional security, closeness and friendship. The group behavior and mental structures that are fostered in this way, proves to be very efficient in coping with the stress of flight of war (p. 69).

The study of Jeppsson and Hjern (2005) underlines the importance of the cultural background of the Dinka boys in their success in coping with stressful events. They describe how capable, independent and unaccompanied Dinka refugee boys, in Ethiopia and Kenya, manage to do fairly well due to their socialization into the Dinka culture. Thus the culture seems to promote empathy, close friendship and a sense of solidarity within the group. The concluding remark of the study underlines the importance of the refugee camp structure that allowed the boys to be in charge of building and organizing their society. This made them active objects, thus protected by the social construction of victimization (Swartz & Levett in Jeppsson & Hjern 2005, p. 78).

In research up until now, autonomy has almost been taken as a prerequisite for optimal personality, cognitive and moral development (Kagitcibasi 1984, p. 149). Kagitcibasi claims that autonomy and independence is quite inappropriate in an interdependent collective social system. When examining the socialization process of former CAAFG in southern Sudan, specifically the Nuer and Dinka tribes, it is necessary to take into consideration interdependence and their way of life. Related to this, Hofstede (1991) defines individualism and collectivism as follows:

> Individualism pertains to societies in which the ties between individuals are loose: everyone is expected to look after himself or herself and his or hers immediate family. Collectivism, as it's opposite, pertains to societies in which people from birth onward are regarded into strong, cohesive groups, which throughout people's lifetime continue to protect them in exchange for unquestioning loyalty (p. 51)

Thus, the reintegration of former CAAFG and their prior socialization need to be examined with the values of traditional cultures in mind. With Kagitcibasi´s (1984) words:

> (s)ocieties with low levels of technological development and lack of widespread social welfare institutions such as social security systems, free health care and the like, human services are undertaken by families and especially by adult offspring. Women would appear to be even more dependent on their children, possibly reflecting their lower status and more limited access to social security systems. Thus, they put greater emphasis on the old-age security value of children… (p. 152)

Without accounting for the structures and characteristics of traditional cultures, Bronfenbrenner (1979) groups the socialization process into places and people of interaction and how these work together. He points to the interconnections between the systems as decisive for development. However, related to the characteristics of collectivism, the interconnections between systems seem to be a natural part of the Nuer and Dinka cultures. On the other hand, Berger and Luckmann (1966/1991) define two different processes of socialization.

Primary socialization is the first socialization an individual undergoes in childhood, through which he becomes a member of society. Secondary socialization is any subsequent process that inducts an already socialized individual into new sectors of the objective world of his society (p. 150).

As distinct from Bronfenbrenner (1979), Berger and Luckmann (1966/1991) do not specify what environments in which the socialization processes take place but describe the characteristics of them. This might make their theory more applicable to the Sudan context.

6.2   Structures and characteristics of environments

Bronfenbrenner (1979) defines five structures of environments that he uses when referring to socialization and development. These are micro-, meso-, exo-, macro and chronosystem. A microsystem is a pattern of activities, roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given setting (Bronfenbrenner 1979, p. 22). According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), the microsystems in which the former CAAFG have been, or are currently, members of are family, community, armed group, peer group and school. He emphasizes face-to-face interactions. This indicates that primary socialization takes place in the microsystems as it has the power of affective bonds to significant others (Berger & Luckmann 1966/1991).

The mesosystem consists of interrelations and interactions among two or more settings in which the developing person actively participates (Bronfenbrenner 1979, p. 25). This means interrelations between the microsystems. For the former CAAFG these interrelations might be between home, school, armed group, community and peer group. Bronfenbrenner (1979) describes the developmental potential of a setting to be enhanced if the connections are personal, face-to-face (p. 217). He also describes categories of interrelations between microsystems in the mesosystem. In a situation where the former CAAFG spend times in more than one setting, like home and school he defines it "multisetting participation". The former CAAFG is then labeled the primary link between the two settings while prospective others that move and participate in the same settings are labeled supplementary links. However, both peer group and community

might be considered as part of the family microsystem in the Sudan context. This underlines the discrepancy between the theory and the reality and the need of a contextualized approach.

Bronfenbrenner (1979) argues that "the developmental potential of a setting in a mesosystem is enhanced if the person's initial transition into that setting is not made alone" (p. 211). In particular, he emphasizes the advantage of entering a new setting together with one or more persons with whom he has participated in prior settings. Applied to the situation of the former CAAFG, this might be if their mother or father accompanies them to school or to the armed group.

The exosystem is "one or more settings that do not involve the developing person as an active participant, but in which events occur that affect, or are affected by, what happens in the setting containing the developing person" (Bronfenbrenner 1979, p. 25). In a Southern Sudan context, such settings might be parents' workplace, the UN or NGO's that work closely with the school, the family or the armed group.

The macrosystem is the outermost layer of the child's environment and includes the lower-order systems (micro-,meso-, and exo-). Activities in this system are distanced from the child, however they influence the child and his/her development. The macrosystem includes subculture or the culture as a whole, belief systems or ideology underlying consistencies, identification of class or ethnic group (Bronfenbrenner 1979). According to Bronfenbrenner, this is where one will put the culture and the influence it has on the child as the microsystems affect all the other systems. Related to this, Darnell & Hoem (1996) argue that the school can be understood as a social system which constitutes a subsystem of the total society. The degree of integration between the sub-and the total system determines the way and extent to which the subsystem will function (p. 265).

Chronosystem models describe the effect of time on development. They examine the influence of time on the person's development of in the environments which the person is living (Bronfenbrenner 1986). The former CAAFG undergo different processes of socialization within different social structures and with significant others. The environments described by Bronfenbrenner (1979) help analyze the degree of developmental potential in different environmental structures. However, in the Sudan context an examination of the environmental structures needs to account for interdependence.

6.2.1 Family

Kagitcibasi (1984) argues that the traditional family cannot be conceptualized as an independent unit, as in the Western conjugal nuclear family. Hence "the traditional family is an integral part of the village, tribe or community and reflects this larger social unit's values and orientations" (p. 148). This is in line with Jeppsson and Hjern´s (2005) description of socialization in the Dinka tribe. As the child spends most time in his mother's family, his uncle becomes his emotional father up until the child is between four and six years old. Thus, when Bronfenbrenner (1986) points to the family as a microsystem decisive for social development in early years of life, the extended family needs also to be included. A family microsystem, in terms of a Western nuclear family, might not exist. Hofstede (1991) argues that a child who grows up among the extended family and peers learns naturally to conceive of itself as a part of "we". Psychological theories of child development based on the Western nuclear family are too individualistic and child centered in their approach to deal with the traditional context (Kagitcibasi 1984, p. 149).

Essential to the concept of the collectivist family is loyalty of the group, which means the sharing of resources. In a family context an example is the family deciding to provide for one child to go to school, and then expect that the child share his/her income later. "Collectivist societies usually have ways of creating family-like ties with persons who are not biological relatives but who are socially integrated into one's in-group" (Hofstede 1991, p. 61).

Bronfenbrenner (1986) claims that the family is the principal context in which human development takes place (p. 723). In line with this, Berger and Luckmann (1966/1991) argue that primary socialization, the first socialization the individual undergoes, usually is the most important socialization. This is explained by the affective bonds one has to significant others (like family) and that there is no choice of who these significant others are. Hence, identification is not a problem since there are no choices to make as who to identify with. Additionally, Bronfenbrenner (1979) labels the basic building block of a microsystem, a *dyad*. This is a two-person system that can either be an observational dyad, a joint activity dyad or a primary dyad. In conformity with Berger and Luckmann's emphasis on affective bonds in primary socialization, a primary dyad describes a situation where two persons have a strong emotional bond and are still connected in thought and/or behavior even when they are not together (Bronfenbrenner 1979). According to (Berger & Luckmann 1966/1991) the affective bonds one has to significant others are the reason why primary socialization is more firmly entranced in ones consciousness than the "world" internalized in secondary socialization, p. 154). In line with this, Bronfenbrenner (1979) argues that primary dyads are powerful forces in motivating learning and steering the course of development (p. 58). He also argues that participation in a variety of joint activities and primary dyads with others enhances development (Bronfenbrenner 1979, p. 212).

Separation is of crucial importance when examining the transition and the reintegration of former CAAFG into a civilian life. They have, in most cases, been separated from their families several times in their life. Bronfenbrenner (1979) labels persons and relations to understand interrelations to the systems outside of the microsystem, as well as the relations between individuals within. In the process of socialization, *molar activities* are the most powerful environmental force that instigate and influence the development of the individual. It is "an ongoing behavior possessing a momentum of its own, and perceived as having meaning or intent by the participants in the setting" (Bronfenbrenner 1979, p. 45). The emphasis on meaning or intent is important regarding separation. As described in the literature review, different motivators influence the choices the former CAAFG make when they join the armed group. Bronfonbrenner (1979) argues that placing a child in an intellectually deprived environment can critically impact his development. The development of young children is more negatively affected by separation from parents or

primary caregivers, than is the case for older children. Attachment theories state that long parent-child separation have a negative impact on the parent-child relationship. Bowlby and Falicov argue that separation often leads to detachment (Bowlby 1984: Bates in Luster, Qin, Bates, Johnson, Rana 2008). Psychological problems, including depression, occur as consequences of parent-child separation (Suarez-Orozco et al in Luster et al 2008, p. 445). However, the role of the peer group in the Dinka tribe, show that unaccompanied boys cope fairly well with stress due to their previous socialization.

6.2.2 Armed group

The primary socialization ends when the "first world" is internalized and the concept of the generalized other has been established in the consciousness of the individual (Berger & Luckmann 1966/1991, p. 157). Currently, the former CAAFG adjust to the civilian life as youth. Prior to this they were children in their families of origin in Southern Sudan. Then this socialization came to an end when they joined the armed group and thereby entered new roles.

Berger and Luckmann (1966/1991) argue that secondary socialization is the internalization of institutional or institution-based "sub worlds" (p. 158). Furthermore, they argue that secondary socialization is connected to roles, as it is an acquisition of role specific knowledge. According to this definition, the armed group is where the former CAAFG undergoes secondary socialization. Furthermore, Berger and Luckmann (1966/1991) argue that it is easier to leave this socialization process aside as one can just leave the setting where one plays out a certain role. However, this is not the case for the former CAAFG. As mentioned in the literature, once they have joined the armed group, they are not free to leave (Wessels 2006). This leaves them with no choice, which points to the conditions for primary socialization. They have no choice concerning whom to identify with. Additionally, those who manage to escape are however still bound to the role as a former CAAFG, and are stigmatized by the society. The topic of stigma will be discussed later.

Berger and Luckmann (1966/1991) argue that when the secondary socialization process requires a transformation of the reality internalized in primary socialization, it comes to replicate as

closely as possible the character of primary socialization (p. 164). Furthermore, they argue that the subjective reality must stand in a relationship with an objective reality that is socially defined (p. 169). As the child internalizes the world of his/hers primary socialization as *the* world, they might undergo a crisis when they realize that this world is not *the only* world. However, whenever secondary socialization occurs, this will give the individual a different perspective of his primary socialization.

Bronfenbrenner argues that socially established roles influence behavior because a person acts according to cultural stereotypes existing for the role in question in a given society (Bronfenbrenner 1979, p. 89). A person is likely to behave according to role related expectancies when entering new roles. This is similar with Berger and Luckmann's (1966/1991) description of identity undertaken in different socialization processes. They argue that contrary to the primary socialization, one takes on a certain role related to the setting in which secondary socialization occurs. Thus it is "possible to detach a part of the self and concomitant reality as relevant only to the role-specific situation in question" (p. 162).

Furthermore they emphasize a total self related to primary socialization and a subjective reality and a role specific partial self related to secondary socialization. "Secondary socialization is the internalization of institutional or institutional-based 'sub worlds'" (Berger & Luckmann 1966/1991, p. 158). In contrast to the primary socialization, secondary socialization is not as affective. However, socialization later in life "begins to take on affectivity reminiscent of childhood when it seeks to transform the subjective reality of the individual" (Berger & Luckmann 1966/1991, p. 161). According to this, the role of peers and the collectivistic oriented cultures of Southern Sudan, I will argue that the armed group might transform the subjective reality of the former CAAFG. Since they are not free to leave, and stay over a period of time, this socialization is also affective and thus contains the characteristics of primary socialization.

The former CAAFG enter new roles when they enter the armed group. "The greater the degree of power socially sanctioned for a given role, the greater the tendency for the role occupant to exercise and exploit the power" (Bronfenbrenner 1979, p. 92). Those in a subordinate position will more likely respond by increased submission, dependency, and lack of initiative. This is applicable to the roles undertaken in the armed group.

6.2.3   School

As pointed out in the literature review, education plays a major role in the socialization of a child (Wessels 2006). The processes in the phases of transition between primary-and secondary socialization are described by Hoem (1978). He uses the concepts of desocialization and resocialization. In a school context, desocialization occurs when there is a conflict between the values held at home and school. Furthermore, he argues that desocialization must occur for resocialization to take place. Resocialization happens when values at school are meaningful to the students. Additionally, when education is perceived as meaningful, the outcome of the experience will be as intended and the students´ positive self-identity will be reinforced (Darnell and Hoem 1996, p. 281). This points to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) emphasis on meaning in the molar activities as decisive for development. Symmetry between home and school seems to facilitate the socialization process (Hoem 1978).

When there is a lack of symmetry between the cultural background of the student and the culture of the school there will be conflict. Darnell and Hoem (1996) argue that in such situations, the cultural influence of the school might weaken the self-concepts and identity of the students. Thus render their patrimonial background irrelevant and desocialization and resocialization will occur (p. 271). However, in the Sudan context, it is argued that education has contributed to a uniform resistance in the South against a northern educational discourse, thus creating a common Southern identity (Breidlid 2006). This is in line with Darnell and Hoem (1996) who argue that schooling is an important factor in the development of self-identity.

Darnell and Hoem (1996) define identity as the conscious self, that is, how a person perceives or explains himself to himself or others. This definition, however, does not account for identity according to roles and settings. As mentioned earlier, an individual might act according to roles (Bronfenbrenner 1979) and have a real social identity and a role specific partial self (Berger & Luckmann 1966/1991).

6.3 Stigma

> Stigma processes likely play a major role in life chances and deserve scrutiny not just by investigators who happen to be interested in stigma but by a variety of social scientist who are interested in the life chances more generally (Link & Phelan 2001, p. 382).

Stigma theory is highly relevant when trying to gain insight into the life situation of former CAAFG. Within social science research there exists various definitions of stigma. Emile Durkheim argues that unity is provided to any collectivity by uniting against those who are seen as a common threat to the social order and morality of a group (Durkheim in Falk 2001, p. 18). Therefore, stigma and stigmatization creates a collective sense of morality for what might be called the "in-group". Goffman (1963/1990) defines stigma as "an attribute that is deeply discrediting" (p. 13). The stigmatized individual or group is seen as an indicator for the actual usefulness of the non-stigmatized. He also emphasizes a special kind of relationship between attribute and stereotype. According to Link and Phelan (2001) "stigma exists when elements of labeling, stereotyping, separating, status loss, and discrimination co-occur in a power situation that allow these processes to unfold" (p. 382).

The former CAAFG can be grouped within the categories of "existential stigma" and "achieved stigma" (Falk 2001). The former includes conditions that are determined, like mental illness, and race. The latter includes persons who have somehow contributed to their inclusion in the stigmatized group. Although, as mentioned in the literature review, the former CAAFG's active

role in that "achievement" can be questioned. However, this shows that a person is likely to be member of more than one stigmatized group (Falk 2001).

Link, Struening, Neese-Todd, Asmussen and Phelan (2001) argue that stigma affects people through mechanisms of direct stigma, structural discrimination and psychological process (p. 1621). Due to descriptions of structural discrimination and psychological process I will argue that both affect the former CAAFG. Structural discrimination might be explained when stigma has affected the structure around the person and thus affects the individual, or group, within the structure (Link & Phelan 2001). The psychological process involves the stigmatized persons own perceptions. He or she might expect and fear rejection. This might lead the former CAAFG to hide his real social identity. Berger and Luckmann (1966/1991) describes a similar process related to the role specific partial self that are exposed in secondary socialization. Thus, stigma conceptions are formed through socialization into a culture (Link & Phelan 2001, p. 373). This socialization determines the degree of connection between stigma and self-esteem. Stigmatized groups often experience lower self-esteem (Link et al., 2001, p. 1622). Related to mental illness, Goffman (1963/1990) explains self-stigma as internalized feelings of guilt, shame, inferiority, and the wish for secrecy experienced by those who live with a mental illness.

Link and Phelan (2001) explain stigma with the use of four interrelated components (p. 367). First, it might occur when people distinguish and label differences, as social selection of human differences determine what differences matter socially. Secondly, stigma might occur when dominant cultural beliefs link labeled persons to undesirable characteristics. This aspect of stigma involves a label and a stereotype, with the label linking a person to a set of undesirable characteristics that form the stereotype (p. 369). Thirdly, labeled persons are placed in distinct categories so as to accomplish some degree of separation between "them" and "us". If labeled persons are believed to be distinctly different, stereotyping can smoothly be accomplished because there is little harm in attributing bad characteristics to "them" (p. 370). Lastly, stigma might be explained when labeled persons experience status loss and discrimination that lead to unequal outcomes. Consistent with this, stigmatized groups are disadvantaged when it comes

opportunities in life like income, education, psychological well-being, housing status, medical treatment, and health (Link & Phelan 2001, p.371). A consequence of successful labeling and stereotyping is a general downward placement of a person in the status hierarchy. This lower placement might affect the person's opportunities in life. Further, lower status might make the person less attractive socially as well as less likely to be involved in community activities (Link & Phelan 2001, p. 371).

As already mentioned, an individual has different identities related to primary and secondary socialization (Berger & Luckmann 1966/1991). The total self and the role specific partial self is similar to Goffman's (1963/1990) description of the "real social identity". He describes how stigmatized individuals might be reluctant to show their "real social identity" in certain settings. Thus, while Berger and Luckmann describes it related to roles, Goffman (1963/1990) describes it as something the individual manage related to known failings and the stigma attached to it. In the environments where secondary socialization occurs, the stigmatized individual might choose to hide his/her social identity. However, he might then face unwitting acceptance of himself by individuals who are prejudiced against former CAAFG in this case. This is in line with Hoem (1978) who describes how, in a school context, students choose to hide their private identity and show an official identity in school. Furthermore he argues that this makes it difficult for the teacher to address the individual student. As a consequence desocialization might occur since the teacher responds to the official identity of the student. This describes how conflicting values might occur because of influences from the exosystems and macrosystems. Stigma might influence the former CAAFG to hide his private identity or real social self which again might lead to a value conflict between home and school.

6.3.1 Power
Common to the aforementioned explanations of stigma is the way in which power is distributed. "Stigma is entirely dependent on social, economic, and political power – it takes power to stigmatize" (Link & Phelan 2001, p 375). People in stigmatized groups often actively use available resources to resist stigmatization tendencies of the more powerful group and thus are not passive recipients of stigma (p. 378). This might lead to changed behavior, since they

frequently need to counteract the specific mechanisms that lead to the undesirable outcome they seek to escape (Link & Phelan 2001). This focus on one outcome means less attention is available to deal with other aspects of life (p. 380).

Related to the former CAAFG one must take into account that "the strength of the connections between labels and the undesirable characteristic can be relatively strong or relatively weak" (Link and Phelan 2001, p. 377). Thus "child soldiers" are a well known label in the international community. Thus the label and the characteristics must be considered when examining stigma.

6.3.2 Changing stigma

Link and Phelan (2001) put forward two principles on how to change stigma. They argue that any approach must be multifaceted to address the many mechanisms, and multileveled to address the issues of both individual and structural discrimination (p. 381). Secondly,

> an approach to change must ultimately address the fundamental cause of stigma – it must either change the deeply held attitudes and beliefs of powerful groups that lead to labeling, stereotyping, setting apart, devaluing, and discriminating, or it must change circumstances so as to limit the power of such groups to make their cognitions the dominant ones (Link & Phelan 2001, p. 381).

In line with this, Goffman (1990) argues that an individual can change stigma if one appears as a "native" speaker of the group. When the "real social identity" is known to the public and the stigmatized behave in contrast to the existing stereotypes this might change the public's view of the whole group. However, this addresses the challenge of power as the "native speaker" must be in the position that makes this possible.

6.4 Trauma

The literature as well as the findings point to a prevalence of trauma among the former CAAFG. As the theories of socialization, also trauma theories have to be contextualized. In the process of reintegration into family, school and society it is important to consider the effects that trauma

80

may cause as well as different approaches to healing. Psychological counseling is one of the most important elements in the reintegration of former CAAFG, but is also one of the most difficult (ILO 2002, p. 63). Reintegration programs have been critiqued for having a solely Western approach to healing. Honwana argues that "Western biomedical and psychotherapeutic notions of distress and trauma cannot be employed effectively in the African context because they do not embrace local cultural beliefs and worldviews" (Honwana 2006, p. 150). She describes the reason for this to be that other societies have different ontologies of health and illness.

Psychic trauma occurs "when a sudden, unexpected, overwhelming intense emotional blow or a series of blows assaults the person from outside. Traumatic events are external, but they quickly become incorporated into the mind" (Terr, cited in Bloom 1999, p. 2). Raundalen and Dyregrov (1991) describe it as "intense, sudden events that overwhelm the child's capacity to cope with the memories and feelings that are triggered" (p. 29). Kolk argues in line with this, saying that" traumatization occurs when both internal and external resources are inadequate to cope with external threat" (Kolk, cited in Bloom 1999, p. 2).

> Childhood psychic trauma leads to a number of mental changes that eventually account for some adult character problems, certain kinds of psychotic thinking, considerable violence, much dissociation, extremes of passivity, self-mutilative episodes, and a variety of anxiety disturbances (Terr 2003, p. 232)

The repetitive dream is a hallmark of trauma (Terr 2003, p. 324). Dreams and flashbacks are frequently seen as a consequence of the psychological impact of trauma on children. Terr (2003) mentions four general characteristics common in most cases of childhood trauma. These characteristics are; strongly visualized or otherwise repeatedly perceived memories, repetitive behaviors, trauma-specific fears, and changed attitudes about people, aspects of life and the future (p. 324). Of specific interest related to former CAAFG in Malakal are trauma specific fears and limitation of future perspective. The former are fears related to the traumatic event in one way or the other. This might be people or objects that remind the individual of the traumatic incident. These fears can, in some cases, be avoided by moving out of town or by moving to a

different house or neighborhood (Terr 2003, p. 325). As none of the former CAAFG stay in their home community this is of specific interest. The latter is limitation of future perspective, which seems to reflect the ongoing belief that more traumas are bound to follow (Terr 2003, p. 326).

Terr (2003) divides childhood trauma into two categories. The first is single-blow traumas (type I) and the second is variable, multiple or long standing traumas (type II). A combination of the two normally occurs when single blow trauma has prolonged effects that further the trauma into conditions of the second. The two different types have different characteristics with respect to the etiology of childhood trauma.

6.4.1   Single-blow traumas

Single- blow traumas are the most typical post traumatic stress disorders that one finds in children. "Children who have been traumatized a single time do not often forget" (Terr 2003, p. 327). Characteristics of single-blow traumas are detailed memories of the traumatic event, retrospective mastery over the randomness, misperceptions and mistimings (Terr 2003). Nevertheless, the long standing traumas will be given more attention due to the nature of the former CAAFG's experiences in the armed group.

6.4.2   Long standing traumas

Massive denial, repression, dissociation, self-anesthesia, self-hypnosis, identification with the aggressor and aggression turned against the self are characteristics of variable, multiple or long standing traumas (Terr 2003). These are all coping mechanism in the process of protecting one's own self and psyche, and might lead to character changes in the traumatized youth. Terr (2003) argues that this type of trauma causes severe mental disorders also later in life. Included in this group are children that suffer from complex trauma. This might occur when the child has been exposed to an environment marked by multiple and chronic stressors, frequently within a caregiving system that is intended to be the child's primary source of safety and stability (Kinniburgh, Blaustein, Spinazzola, Kolk 2005, p. 424).

Denial and psychic numbing are associated with long standing traumas (Terr 2003). Children affected by this avoid talking about themselves. They might, however, valiantly try to appear normal in school. "They may tell their stories once or twice and entirely deny them later" (Terr 2003, p. 329). The occurrence of psychic numbing can be explained as follows:

> Sometimes now I find myself not feeling things. I don't feel sad or mad when I should be. I'm not afraid when I should be. I act silly and crazy a lot. The people at my school think I am funny because of it" (Suzanna, cited in Terr 2003, p. 330).

The indifference to pain, lack of empathy and failure to acknowledge or define feelings are some of the characteristics that set these children apart from ordinary youngsters (Terr 2003). Children exposed to extended periods of terror learn that the stressful events will be repeated, thus, self-hypnosis is a mechanism developed by the child in order to "escape" (Terr 2003, p. 330). This leads to the development of anesthesias to bodily pain and extreme emotional distancing.

Rage is another characteristic prevalent among youth exposed to prolonged or repeated traumatic events. Reenactments of anger might occur so frequent that "habitual patterns of aggressiveness are established" (Terr 2003, p. 331). There seem to be several explanations why this happens. One is the addiction to trauma. People can become addicted to trauma in the sense that one gets addicted to the endorphins[5] that the body produces under stress (Bloom 1999, p. 9). When exposed to repeated experiences of prolonged stress one is also exposed to repeated circulation of endorphins. The circulation of endorphins makes a child feel calm under stress. In a classroom setting, stress addicted children get addicted to risk-taking behavior (Bloom 1999, p. 9). A consequence can be that those children do not tolerate a calm atmosphere and antagonize everyone else until the stress level reaches the level where endorphins circulate in the body. Bloom argues that physiological stability cannot be achieved when the person constantly is on a roller coaster of stimulus and response. Establishment and maintenance of safe environments are

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[5]   Endorphins are hormones in the human body

interventions that will help the person "detox" from the behavioral form of addiction (Bloom 1999, p. 10).

Another explanation of why ager might be a frequent behavior is the way the human body works when we are exposed to a number of episodes of danger. The brain then forms a network of connections that connect the episodes together. For each episode this network gets triggered and children who are exposed to danger repeatedly become unusually sensitive. Thus minor threats can trigger the sequence of physical, emotional, and cognitive responses (Bloom 1999, p. 3: Kinniburgh et al., 2005). Terr (2003) argues that anger combined with extreme passivity might lead to Borderline Personality Disorder that is "Pervasive pattern of instability of interpersonal relationships, self-image, and affects, and marked impulsivity" (DSM-IV 1994, p. 650). Within this category self-mutilations and suicide attempts occur (Terr 2003: 331).

Avoidance symptoms along with intrusive symptoms like flashbacks and nightmares comprise two of the interacting and escalating aspects of PTSD. Children affected by this become more and more alienated to everything that brings meaning to their life. Slow self-destruction through addictions or fast self-destruction through suicide is often the final outcome of these syndromes (Bloom 1999, p. 8).

6.4.3 Loss
To the best of my knowledge, at least ten of the 20 former CAAFG interviewed have lost one or both parents. When describing a combination of type I and type II trauma, Terr (2003) argues:

> (w)hen a single psychological shock takes a child's parents' life, leaves a child homeless, handicapped, or disfigured, or causes a child to undergo prolonged hospitalization and pain, the ongoing stress tend to push the changes in the child toward those characteristics of the type II childhood traumas. In these cases on often finds features of both the type I and the type II conditions (Terr 2003, p. 331).

Children who experience loss are often forced to make character changes in order to deal with their pain (Terr 2003, p. 332). Through prolonged exposure to sadness and loss one might get reinjured in such a way that loss of a close relative or friend might move from type I trauma to type II, and in that way further the trauma. A high rate of depression is found in refugee children from brutal regimes related to loss and mourning.

6.4.4 Healing

> A young child who receives inconsistent, neglectful, or rejecting caregiving is forced to manage overwhelming experiences by relying on primitive and frequently inadequate coping skills such as aggression, dissociation and avoidance (Kinniburgh et al., 2005, p. 426).

This is one reason why safety is of crucial importance in a country ravage by war, like Sudan. "If we hope to help traumatized people, then we must create safe environments to help counteract the long-term effects of chronic stress" (Bloom 1999, p. 2). Safety is also one central goal that effective treatment of complex trauma in youth should address (Cook: Kolk in Kinniburgh et al., 2005, p. 424). Traumatized children need to experience engaging relationships that are not abusive and do not permit abusive and punitive behavior (Bloom 1999, p. 10). A basic structure regarding fundamental rules of how to behave towards others is also needed. However, in the Sudan context, a more traditional approach to healing and reintegration is also necessary. Based on experiences from Sierra Leone and Liberia, Gbla (2003) argues that an effective rehabilitation and reintegration process should consist of a blend of Western and African traditional approaches (p. 168). A study in Cambodia shows that a Western treatment approach failed to address trauma effectively because it did not take into account ancestral spirit, malevolent spirits, and other forces. "It also undermined family and community efforts to provide support and care" (Honwana 2006, p. 153). African societies have an approach to healing which includes ancient forms of religious belief and spiritual expression (Honwana 2006).

Bloom argues that if a person learns through a sufficient number of experiences that nothing he or she does will affect the outcome, he or she will give up trying. This is a kind of learned helplessness. A focus on mastery and empowerment is therefore important in interventions implemented to overcome the traumas (Bloom 1999: Kinniburgh et al., 2005). The Attachment, Self-Regulation and Competency model (ARC) is a comprehensive model for intervention when working with traumatized children (Kinniburgh et al., 2005). It highlights the foundation needed for transforming the traumatic experience. Through building skills, stabilizing internal distress, and strengthening the security of the caregiving system it seeks to provide children with tools that enhance resilience outcome (Kinniburgh et al., 2005, p. 426). The model focuses on creating structures and predictable environments, strengthening or building healthy child-caregiver relationships and increasing caregiver capacity and increasing the use of praise and reinforcement so that the child can identify with competencies rather than deficits (Kinniburgh et al., 2005).

The above mentioned transformation of a traumatic experience is also found in African traditional healing rituals. In a Ugandan context, Vogt (2008) argues how a dramatic ritual, including witchcraft, is a cognitive method that has such a strong emotional effect that it replaces the traumatic memories of the past. He also argues how the whole village takes part in the ritual which also includes forgiveness. The way, in which the former CAAFG show the community their awareness of their own problem, helps legitimize their background. This is in line with Honwana (2006) that argues that African societies are based on a holistic cosmological model. Health is defined by the harmonious relationships between human beings and the surrounding environment, between individuals and the spiritual world, among individuals, and within the community (Honwana 2006, p. 154). Equally, Wessels (2006) underlines the importance of a holistic approach, which focuses on "interrelations between the children's physical, cognitive, emotional, social and spiritual development" (p. 189).

"Psychological wounds and trauma suffered in childhood may affect the individual child, and as a consequence, the society for decades" (Raundalen and Dyregrov 1991, p. 21). As we have seen, the exposure to trauma might impair competencies such as interpersonal, intrapersonal, emotional

and cognitive competencies, all of which are important in a school context. The latter impact the academic achievement and affects language development; school performance and achievement related to problem solving and abstract reasoning (Kinniburgh et al., 2005). Thus, the reintegration of former CAAFG into civilian life and the schools in southern Sudan needs to address trauma.

7   Analysis

In this chapter a discussion of the findings is presented within the framework of the theories. The treatment is divided in three sections. In order to understand the former CAAFG's challenges in school it is important to explore their background. Therefore a significant part of this study describes conditions external to those directly associated with school. However, these conditions have a great impact upon their reintegration and opportunities to succeed in school. The first section discusses, within the framework of socialization theories, the actors in the reintegration process, how they relate to each other and to the former CAAFG. The second concentrates on the reintegration process in general, using trauma- and stigma theories. The last section discusses education and the challenges in the schools related to the reintegration of the former CAAFG, with particular emphasis on the Accelerated Learning Program (ALP). Of crucial importance throughout this analysis is the cultural context in which the study is carried out. The majority of the theories are developed in the West by Western scholars. Therefore, I have accounted for a more contextualized approach by applying socialization theory to traditional societies as well as trauma theory in an African context. It is important to keep in mind the nature of the society and the family within, which Kagitcibasi (1984) refers to as the traditional family versus the Western conjugal nuclear family.

7.1   Actors in the reintegration process

With the use of socialization theories I will explore the developmental potential of the former CAAFG in relation to actors prior to and in the armed group, as well as in the reintegration process. I will discuss the theories within the framework of the systems theory developed by Bronfenbrenner (1979), although other theories will be of equal importance. The chronosystem is left out due to the nature, and limitation of the findings related to the aspect of time, as well as the limited space. By applying socialization theory to traditional societies I will contextualize the analysis more to the Sudan culture.

7.1.1   Family

Related to Bronfenbrenner's (1979) classification, the family, the peer group, the community, the armed group and the school are the main microsystems that the former CAAFG are members of.

These are all environments where the former CAAFG have face-to-face relationships. Due to the tribal societies in Southern Sudan, the CAAFGs' early separation from their family, the Western nuclear family, might not be the microsystem with most influence on their development.

As indicated in the theory chapter, the cultural context of Southern Sudan puts some limitations on the Western theories of socialization. The findings show that it is common for Sudanese men to have more than one wife. Thus step- mothers and half siblings are a natural part of the former CAAFG's life. As mentioned in the theory chapter, children in the Dinka tribe are emotionally connected to their uncle as a father figure in early years of life (Jeppsson & Hjern 2005). Both polygamy and the important role of the extended family are factors of this collective oriented traditional society and give the concept of family another meaning. Accounting for Kagitcibasi´s (1984) description of child development, the extended family should be considered as a part of the family microsystem. He argues that theories based on the Western nuclear family are too individualistic and child centered to deal with the traditional context. In contrast to Bronfenbrenner (1979), the Western nuclear family might therefore not be the principal context in which the development of former CAAFG takes place.

The applicability of Berger and Luckmann's (1966/1991) theory on socialization is due to the fact that it does not define in detail the structure of the environments where socialization takes place. However, they argue that primary socialization is more firmly entrenched in one´s consciousness than secondary socialization because it has emotional bonds and also only one defined unit to identify with (Berger & Luckmann 1966/1991). This is not in line with the findings. In the extended family, the former CAAFG has many "role models" to identify with. The findings and theory also show that young Nuer and Dinka boy's participation in cattle camps strengthen their emotional bonds to peers (informal conversations: Jeppsson & Hjern 2005). The theory of Bronfenbrenner (1979) shows that the close relationships with peers that are created while in the cattle camps have positive impact on transition into new settings, as peers are supplementary links during an initial transition to an environment. The findings point to the

importance of cattle in the culture of the informants; however, it is not expressed specifically if the former CAAFG have been to cattle camps.

The former CAAFG and their peers have a great influence on each other. By joining the armed group, some of the former CAAFG were separated from their family as early as the age of seven while others joined at an older age, the latest 15 years old. However this might not have been the first time these boys were separated from their family. The boys of the Nuer and Dinka tribes in Sudan experience separations from their parents as a normal part of development when they take cattle to grass during dry season. They might be as young as six years of age when they leave, and stay away from their parents for months (Luster et al., 2008: informal conversation). This is yet another example of how other microsystems surrounding the child might be equally important as the family. In both cases, either the separation from their family due to taking cattle to grass or the joining of an armed group means that the former CAAFG spends most of their time with peers. However, the findings do not say anything about the time before the boys turned six and seven years of age. It is therefore not possible to examine the role of the family in early years of life. It is likely that peers had a limited role during those years and more time was spent with close family.

Taken the traditional family into account, the primary dyads in which the former CAAFG participate are many. As the basic building blocks of the microsystem, these two-person systems are powerful forces in motivating learning and steering the course of development (Bronfenbrenner 1979). However, there is a lack of dyadic relationships to primary caregivers and friends. The findings show that out of 20 former CAAFG at least ten have one or no parents left. Some also lost siblings and friends. Of these families, some were already broken previous to the boys' recruitment. Also their current situation away from family and friends, limits dyadic relationships with primary caregivers. The findings show that currently only three of the former CAAFG stay with one or both parents in Malakal. Only a few had a complete family left to return to in their home community, and many stayed with friends or relatives. However, many have dyadic relationships with siblings and close friends.

The lack of dyadic relationship with primary caregivers in the family microsystem, might be one factor that led the boys to join the armed group. Some of the informants joined to be with their family. The literature describes how CAAFG often are survivors of family massacres (Singer 2006). However, the findings show that parents also were the motivation for joining. This is in line with the literature that describes that many of those who enroll have family in the armed group (ILO).

Bronfenbrenner (1979) explains molar activities as one of the most powerful forces that influence development. A molar activity is an ongoing process of behavior that is perceived, in this case, by the former CAAFG as having meaning or intent. The focus on meaning or intent is important with respect to the former CAAFG, as the majority chose to join the armed group due to an underlying driving force. The choice that led many of them to leave the family behind indicates that motivational factors such as support, protection, ideology and revenge were seen as more meaningful than staying with their family. This brings us to the discussion of whether the primary socialization of the former CAAFG occurs within the traditional family or within other microsystems.

7.1.2 Armed group

As pointed out in the theory chapter, the socialization in the armed group comes to replicate that of primary socialization. This happens independently of what socilizationprocess the boys have been through prior to entering the armed group. The socialization process in the armed group is explained by the face-to-face interactions, dyadic relationships to peers, affective bonds and the isolation from all other microsystems. Due to the significance of the molar activities, the former CAAFG have been socialized and shaped by the activities in the armed group. It is important to contextualize the molar activities in order to explore which of these have influenced the development. The findings show that the majority of the former CAAFG have participated in the frontline, but it is unknown to what extent they have been exposed to atrocities. They might have killed, but their responses are that they do not know since it is impossible to know whose bullet killed the ones who died. It seems plausible that the ongoing molar activity of defending themselves, fighting for liberation and for the "freedom of going to school, freedom of doing

anything" (Deng), is seen as highly important and meaningful. Thus, these molar activities might have contributed to their decision to join as well as been a powerful influence on their development. The power of this molar activity, along with the history of civil war in Sudan, underpins the literature when it talks of children adapted to a world suffused with violence. Children who never have experienced peace, watch adults deal with conflict through fighting, soon view guns and fighting as legitimate and highly necessary (Wessels 2006).

7.1.3 School and its mesosystems

As mentioned in the theory chapter, the mesosystems consist of interrelations between two or more microsystems. Thus the systems are not independent of each other but have a reciprocal relationship where they influence each other. I will take a closer look at the dynamics between home, school, armed group and peer group. It must be kept in mind that the former CAAFG have a home in the villages and a home in Malakal.

The findings show that the school is one of the main actors in the reintegration process. However, up until now it is not a microsystem where the former CAAFG have spent most time. A group of four former CAAFG describes how they are willing to work and earn money to provide for one or two of them to go to school. This might be an indicator of their strong desire to go to school. However, it might also be an indicator of the collectivistic family concept where one creates family-like ties with persons who are not biological relatives. The collectivist family concept emphasizes loyalty to the group, which means the resources are shared (Hofstede 1991). Furthermore it underlines the close bonds to peers.

The former CAAFG's lack of Arabic skills and thus their preference for English as the medium of instruction is the reason for their location in Malakal. Due to this they have a home in the village, where their families stay and a home in Malakal. The findings show that the former CAAFG stay with aunts, uncles, siblings or friends in Malakal, although not necessarily biological relatives. Relative to the home-school relationship in their villages, the relationship between their home in Malakal and the schools is slightly more beneficial. This is due to the

persons that move and participate in the same settings as the former CAAFG, defined as supplementary links. With reference to Bronfenbrenner (1979), the developmental potential of the school setting is enhanced for the former CAAFG that enter the school setting together with one or more persons with whom he has participated in prior settings. This also points to the important role of the peer group.

Nevertheless, the relationship between home (both in the village and in Malakal) and school is not very strong. This is due to the lack of links between the systems. The least favorable condition for development is one in which supplementary links, are completely absent. This means the mesosystem is weakly linked (Bronfenbrenner 1979). The findings show that some families in villages in Southern Sudan know little about school; nor do they see the usefulness of school, as they would rather keep their boys home to farm. This is in contrast to the former CAAFG who see school as a necessity. The findings show that the majority want to learn in the school for the sake of their own future. This is not in line with the literature that describes how former CAAFG often do not desire to attend school after demobilization (ILO 2002). In line with Darnell and Hoem (1996) the different views on schooling demonstrate a cultural gap between the school in Malakal and the local community in the villages. In this situation, the students might experience schooling as a constant choice between their traditional life style and the outside world. Thus the education might weaken the former CAAFG's sense of belonging to their home environment. In Bronfenbrenner's terms it is an example of a weakly linked mesosystem. It also underlines the interrelation of systems and its subsystems as poverty is a factor belonging to the macrosystem that influences the parents' desire for the boys to be home and farm.

The findings show that the most prominent category of interrelation between the home and the school is intersetting knowledge, defined as information or experience that exists in one setting about the other. The former CAAFG bring information from school to home in Malakal or to the village. As pointed out in the findings this happens through letters. Intersetting knowledge is also found among teachers and families and armed group. As members of the same ethnic groups as the former CAAFG, teachers acquire knowledge about the culture and village life in general.

However, the findings show also that the teachers in the schools do not know the background of the individual student. Nevertheless, some of the teachers have themselves been in an armed group and the majority has been refugees in neighboring countries and thus has insight to the life situation of the former CAAFG. This is not in line with the literature that argues how many former CAAFG feel there is a gap between teachers' life experiences and their own (Wessels 2006).

A general remark is that there are few links that are personal, face to face, in the home-school mesosystem. According to Bronfenbrenner (1979) this is unfortunate as the developmental potential of a setting is enhanced if the connections are personal, face to face. Also the relationships to the outside systems, which are exo-and macrosystems are limited when accounting for the school-home mesosystem.

As seen in the findings, there are multiple links between the mesosystem traditional family-armed group. These links are more beneficial to the former CAAFG as several persons move and participate in the same settings as the former CAAFG, thus are labeled supplementary links. Some of the boys have their father in the armed group which is also one reason why they joined. In one case also the mother joined the armed group to prepare food for the family. Some friends and peers are also together with the former CAAFG and move from home and family to the armed group. Related to Bronfenbrenner (1979) this points to the armed group and the family as a mesosystem where the developmental potential is enhanced, thus the CAAFG transition into the armed group is not made alone. The next paragraph will explore if this is the case also for the mesosystem consisting of family- armed group- school.

The findings show that the linkages between armed group and school hardly ever consist of face-to-face interactions. However, in the armed group-school mesosystem there is a lot of intersetting knowledge, knowledge in the school about the armed group. This is found among teachers as well as the students. Many students and especially teachers have good knowledge about army

life. Intersetting knowledge in the armed group about school is more limited. However, it is mentioned that some of the informants try to learn to read and write while in the armed group. Also the history of the "lost boys" indicates SPLA's emphasis on the importance on education. In addition to intersetting knowledge there are a few supplementary links (peers and siblings) that link this mesosystem stronger together. Most connections are not personal, face-to-face. This might be a barrier to development.

A few of the former CAAFG have adult relatives in Malakal and even siblings that attend the same school. According to the theory of Bronfenbrenner these former CAAFG will have a developmental advantage, thus the developmental potential of a setting in a mesosystem is enhanced if the person's initial transition into that setting is not made alone. These relatives are people well known to the former CAAFG and they have the family and maybe also home community and school as common microsystems. However, the majority of the boys enter school alone and they are themselves the only face-to face link in the mesosystem.

7.1.4   Exosystems

Exosystems are, as discussed in the theory chapter, settings that do not involve the developing person but that impact the child's development by interacting with some structure in his microsystem (Bronfenbrenner 1979). The recent signing of the CPA and the reconstruction of Southern Sudan have led to extensive presence of the UN, together with multiple NGOs in Malakal. These are all environments that the former CAAFG do not take part in; however, they influence the meso-and microsystems surrounding the former CAAFG.

The finding show that UNICEF and WFP are collaborating with the schools. UNICEF gives support in terms of teacher training and school supplies and WFP have school feeding programs. However, the support is not found in all schools and for all students. ALP and secondary schools in Malakal do not get school feeding from WFP. Therefore only the basic school of the five schools in this study gets school feeding and only in the morning shift (internet assisted interview: UN3). The former CAAFG interviewed attended the afternoon shift, which means they

do not benefit from the school-feeding program. Thus, none of the informants get food in school. UNICEF trains teachers and cooperates with the basic schools and also the ALP system. However the ALP students do not get any books or other school supplies from UNICEF, like what the basic schools do. Thus the linkage between the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, UNICEF and WFP does not benefit all students and the former CAAFG hardly benefit from it at all.

Some of the exosystems surrounding the former CAAFG are weakly linked, however they facilitate interrelations and flow of information to its subsystems that again transfer knowledge back to the exosystems. One example of this is the UN. UN organizations, like UNDDR and UNICEF have links to its subsystems as well as to the SSDDRC and MoEST. This facilitates the reintegration process. The SSDDRC, which is the main agency for child DDR in Malakal, have very few face to face links to its subsystems. It has multiple links to the armed groups, although no face to face links to the family of the former CAAFG, the school or the peer group. However, they have multiple face to face linkages to the UN organizations which are again linked to the NGOs, MoEST, armed group and school. This allows the reintegration process to happen anyway. Although, as a powerful agency related to their superiority in the DDR process cited in the CPA, it is very unfortunate that the SSDDRC is weakly linked with its subsystems.

7.1.5 Macrosystem

The macrosystem is the outermost layer of the child's environment. The macrosystem of the former CAAFG in Malakal consists of international as well as national and regional policies. There are policies related to children's rights, prevention of child recruitment and guidelines and suggestions for reintegration. In addition to the written documents, also culture, ideology and socio-economic situation influence the former CAAFG in their reintegration process.

Sudan has ratified the Convention of the Rights of the Child, the Optional protocols on the Convention of the Rights of the Child (ICRC n.d.) and the Paris Principles and Guidelines on Children Associated with Armed Forces or Armed Groups (Paris Principles 2007). However, the

information gained from interviews and observation show that these documents have limited influence on the former CAAFG's development since they are not fully implemented. The CPA states that all child soldiers are to be demobilized within the six months after the signing of the CPA. However the findings from the field show that this did not happen, since many of the informants left the armed group as late as 2008. This might be explained by another statement in the CPA that claims, "no DDR planning, management or implementation activity shall take place outside the framework of the recognized interim and permanent DDR institutions" (CPA 2005, p. 118). The findings show confusion about whether a formal DDR process was carried out in 2007 or not. Also all the informants left the armed group outside a formal DDR process. This is in line with the literature that argues that more than 50% of the CAAFG in a survey from central Africa left on their own initiative (ILO 2002). It is also an example of weak linkages between the systems.

The findings show, when analyzed in depth, that all of the former CAAFG refer to one or more components of the macrosystem as reasons why they joined the armed group. Among those mentioned were the presence of war, lack of schools and educational opportunities and living in poverty. This is in line with the literature that argues economic reasons and failed social systems are factors that lead to recruitment. This is especially applicable to the poor part of society. Also the culture influences their choice to join. The findings argue that "If you are the elder and your father die you can go to military and serve your family" (FG1). This is an example of how the culture, with the father as the head of the family and the main source of income, as a macrosystem influences the interrelations between the subsystems such as the family and armed group.

The unstable political situation in Sudan and the long civil war are some aspects of the macrosystem that has a huge effect on its subsystems. As noted in the theory chapter, activities in this system are distanced from the child and still influences the child and thus his/hers development (Bronfenbrenner 1979). The findings show that one of the former Dinka CAAFG had his brother killed by Nuer. This incident was one of the reasons that led him to join the armed

group, thus affecting all the other subsystems. He had to leave family and friends, and he lost the opportunity to attend school. Although it was highly personalized at the time this boy decided to join, the overall ethnic conflict between the Dinka and Nuer were created by distant forces.

The findings show that only a few of the former CAAFG are recruited by force. This is in contrast to the literature that describes abduction as the primary method of recruitment. This might be an indicator that cultural factors and the nature of the civil war at the time of recruitment did not encourage abduction of children. However, the findings indicate a disagreement between the Dinka and Nuer tribes, related to the practices and views on child recruitment in the past.

7.2   The reintegration process

It is, as Wessels (2006) argues, a mistake to assume that all former CAAFG are traumatized. It is also not fair to put all former CAAFG in one stigmatized group with the same negative attributes. Nevertheless, my findings, the characteristics of trauma and the experiences that lead to it, indicate that a large number of my informants are traumatized. Events become traumatic when they are intense, sudden and overwhelm a child's capacity to cope with the memories and feelings that they trigger (Raundalen and Dyregrov 1991). This is in line with the literature that portrays Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) as widespread among children who actively participated in conflicts in Sierra Leone, Uganda and Angola (Gbla 2003: Derluyn 2004: Wessels 2006). Thus, trauma will be given specific attention in the following analysis, as will stigma. The literature and the findings both indicate a stigmatization of former CAAFG in Sudan.

7.2.1   Going home

The Paris Principles and Guidelines argue that all appropriate measures to promote physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration of former CAAFG must be taken. This must be applied to children who leave armed forces or armed groups by any means, including those who escape (Paris Principles 2007, p. 25). However, the findings suggest that the SSDDRC is only mandated to take care of those who have been formally demobilized. This means that SSDDRC

is not mandated to take care of the informants in this study, since nobody went through a complete DDR process. Thus the findings are not in line with the policy framework ratified by Sudan.

One informant is still a member of an armed group. He belongs to the "White Army" which is a militia group not incorporated into the SPLA, SAF or JIU. Some of the informants were released for schooling, which might have been a consequence of the signing of the CPA in 2005. Many of the former CAAFG escaped from the armed group. This is in line with the literature that argues that a little less than half of the former CAAFG from a survey in central Africa escaped (ILO 2002). The findings show that those who escaped did so during the night and they did not tell anybody. This is in line with the literature that argues once a child has entered an armed group he/she is, in most cases, not free to leave (Wessels 2006). The findings show that the former CAAFG's own initiative to leave has consequences for reintegration, since they are not found on any lists for follow up and support (UNICEF, unpublished list of demobilized CAAFG 2006: CHORM, unpublished list for follow up). Also UNICEF argues that there are only one or two former CAAFG under follow up that attended schools in Malakal. However, the findings identify many former CAAFG in schools in Malakal.

A few of the informants describe a DDR process that seems to have been interrupted. They describe how they were disarmed and then waited for those who disarmed them to come back. When they did not come back, the former CAAFG made a move to go to Malakal and look for the organization that had disarmed them. When they found the organization they were linked to a school (Akol: Deng: Mading: Arop). This is only one example of how all appropriate measures to promote social reintegration of former CAAFG have not been taken. The findings show that these four boys are living together, and they all work during the day to get money for school. As pointed out in the theory chapter, the traditional Dinka culture creates strong affective bonds with the peer group. Thus it is positive that these four boys stay together in Malakal. However, they have limited opportunity to build healthy child- caretaker relationships as they stay by themselves.

Recalling their reunion with family, the former CAAFG exclusively relate happiness and joy. In both Nuer and Dinka culture, there is a ritual that takes place during homecoming. Water and tobacco are mixed and sprinkled over the returning boy. The findings show that this might be a traditional religious act. An informant explains that it is something only his grandmother does, while his parents do not take part in the ritual because they are Christians. In addition, a goat or a cow is sacrificed when the boys arrive home. It is, however, unclear whether these rituals are rites of passages in order to leave the past behind, for cleansing purposes, or simply for celebration. The findings point to at least three explanations of the celebration rites. First, an informant describes how he has to jump over the slaughtered goat before meeting his family (Mading). A similar example is found in the literature that describes how rituals for returning soldiers involve the killing of a chicken and having the soldier jump over the chicken while it is still shaking (Honwana 2006). Secondly, the findings explain how a former CAAFG becomes a part of the family again after a goat has been slaughtered. The third informant tells about how the family thought that maybe their son was dead. It is for this reason they slaughter the cow or goat, and at the same time tell God that what we thought previously was not right, forgive us. Similar procedures are found in the literature where Honwana (2006) argues that cleansing and purification rituals are a fundamental prerequisite for individual and collective healing, as well as protection when soldiers return home after war (p. 106). Discussing Mozambique and Angola, she describes different rituals for returning soldiers who might include being bathed in water mixed with herbs or a goat is slaughtered. It is not clear from my findings whether the rituals and ceremonies are connected to the participation in the armed group and the atrocities carried out during times of war. However, the findings do not show any signs of reluctance or negative attitudes toward the returning soldiers. This differs from the literature which describes that some families are reluctant -or have negative feelings towards- receiving their long lost boys (Singer 2006).

As noted in the findings, the former CAAFG have been separated from family and friends at an early stage in life. The boys spent years in an armed group, then returned to the family followed by a second separation from the family due to the lack of educational opportunities. This absence of complete reintegration into the family is very unfortunate according to the literature, which

argues that "family reintegration is one of the most fundamental forms of psychosocial support and healing for war affected children" (Wessel 2006, p. 189). It also claims that children are less likely to suffer from negative psychological aftereffects of trauma, such as PTSD, if they are placed with members of their family (Kiznie et al., in Singer 2006, p. 192). However, as already pointed out, in a traditional collectivistic understanding of the family some of the former CAAFG stay with family in Malakal, although some stay with friends.

7.2.2 The challenges of trauma

The majority of the former CAAFG have been fighting in the frontlines. Their main duty was military duty, and be ready to fight at any time (Akol). The drawings (appendices VII, VIII, IX) and the boys' descriptions portray a series of traumatic incidents like killings, looting, attack on their villages and loss of friends and peers. All these incidents are consistent with experiences that might lead to trauma. At least ten of the former CAAFG have lost one or both parents, some have lost brothers and some have lost close friends. This might cause single-blow traumas, which can emerge when a sudden, unexpected, overwhelming intense emotional blow assaults the person from outside (Terr, cited in Bloom 1999, p. 2). Trauma theory shows that ongoing stress associated with the loss of a parent tends to push the changes in the child toward those characteristics of long standing traumas. Denial and repression are characteristics of long standing traumas (Terr 2003). Denial and repression are characteristics found among the informants. As referred to in the findings, one of the former CAAFG denied his previous time in the armed group during the second interview. This is in line with the theory that explains how traumatized children might tell their stories once or twice and entirely denies them later (Terr 2003, p. 329). Related to the past, one former CAAFG told that "I do not remember anything and I do not have any dream" (Deng). This might indicate repression as well as denial. However, the same boy later said that "sometime I think, because I lost my brother", which points to the aforementioned description of how single blow trauma (losing a relative) might lead to long standing traumas (denial and repression). However, these observations might as well be explained by using stigma theory. Related to structural stigma, the former CAAFG's own perceptions of people's reaction to their role as former CAAFG might lead to a fear of rejection (Link & Phelan 2001), thus the outcome is to avoid identification with that group.

The findings show that the informants are reluctant to talk about their time in the armed group. One informant avoided telling anything from the frontlines while a general remark was that none of them gave any descriptions of the actual combats and experiences during crossfire. This is in line with trauma theory that explains how long-standing traumas might affect the child in a way that they avoid talking about themselves (Terr 2003).

The findings show that suicidal thoughts have occurred among the former CAAFG. "At the time in the frontline I did not think I would be alive in the near future. I also decided to kill myself. Now it is ok and I do not think like before" (Wejang). This seems to be in agreement with suicide attempts as a possible outcome of Borderline Personality Disorder (Terr 2003), which has the feature of "pervasive pattern of instability of interpersonal relationships, self-image, and affects, and marked impulsitivity" (DSM-IV 1994, p. 650). It also indicates a limitation of future perspective which is seen among traumatized youth, as they reflect the ongoing belief that more traumas are bound to follow (Terr 2003, p. 326).

The findings indicate occurrence of flashbacks as a widespread effect from trauma, among the informants. "Sometime we have the image in our mind because those things we have been into and we have been soldiers for long time" (Akol). The informant furthermore tells how those things that happened while being a soldier use to come into the minds of former CAAFG. Trauma theories emphasize flashbacks and nightmares as interacting and escalating aspects of PTSD. Bloom (1999) argues that children affected by this become more and more alienated to everything that brings meaning to their life. This alienation to meaningful events was not seen in the findings; however, many of the informants recall nightmares.

The majority of the boys, of those interviewed several times (see informant list: appendix X), describe the occurrence of dreams related to their stay in the military. The content of the dreams are all related to incidents in the army. Some report difficulties of sleeping and two of the boys recall situations where they still believed in the dream once they woke up. This is in line with the

literature that describes how effects of trauma might persist for years after the release from the armed group. Some of the informants left the armed group already in 2002. In Mozambique, nearly a third of former CAAFG have nightmares nearly fifteen years after the war, and a study from Angola points to the prevalence of sleeping difficulties (Wessels 2006).

The Paris Principles and Guidelines argue that all appropriate measures to promote physical and psychological recovery and social reintegration of former CAAFG must be taken. This is in line with the literature which lists rehabilitation with respect to both physical and psychological health as the second step in the DDR process (Honwana 2006: Singer 2006). Since the informants in this study have not been a part of a formal DDR process, they have to the best of my knowledge not received rehabilitation in a formal sense. However, as already mentioned the traditional communities might have contributed during the traditional celebration on arrival home.

Individual psychotherapy, like the ones in the West, which views the body and mind as two entities, may be ineffective or even counterproductive in African societies based on a holistic cosmological model (Honwana 2006). Gbla argues that an effective rehabilitation and reintegration process should consist of a blend of Western and African traditional approaches (Gbla 2003, p. 168). Traditional rites, like those seen in the findings, might mark a distance between the past and look forward. If it is related to their time in the armed group it also allows them to show the community that they are aware of their "problem" and that they want to do something with it. This addresses the challenge of stigma. The literature argues that cleansing ceremonies in collective traditional societies, like Uganda, contribute to acceptance by the community (Vogt 2008). This is not in line with Western theories of trauma that emphasizes an individual approach.

7.2.3   Identity
The recent civil war in Sudan and the unequal power distribution between the North and the South have contributed to the former CAAFGs' identity construction. Their identities are constructed through processes of socialization. This socialization in Southern Sudan includes a

strong resistance against the Arabs (Breidlid 2006). Wessels (2006) argues that children living under a military occupation often define themselves in part by opposition to the enemy. The findings show that Nuer- , Nuba- and Dinka CAAFG share a common Southern Sudanese identity while uniting against the Arabs that were, according to the informants, colonizing the southerners and occupying their country. This is in line with Emile Durkheim who argues that unity is provided to any collectivity by uniting against those who are seen as a common threat to the social order and morality of a group (Durkheim in Falk 2001, p. 18). It is also in line with the literature that argues that resistance against the Arabs and the northern educational discourse binds the southerners together across ethnic boundaries (Breidlid 2006).

However, while uniting against the "Arabs", they are fighting each other. The findings show three different enemies among the former CAAFG (appendix VII, VIII, IX). Some of the Dinka CAAFG fought against Nuer SPLA, while some against SAF. The Nuer CAAFG fought against Murle tribe as well as SAF. Wessels (2006) argues that "people who belongs to oppressed ethnic groups often decide to fight as a way to retaliate, reform the political system, or achieve independence or liberation" (p. 21). Furthermore he argues that they might construct ideologies, societally shared belief systems, that justify the use of violence as an instrument for achieving liberation and political goals that are unattainable through peaceful means (Wessels 2005, p. 365).

The informants are identified Child Soldiers, CAAFG, Nuer, Dinka, Nubian and Southerners, but they have also constructed an identity related to more specific roles. The findings describe the occurrence of conflicting roles. The former CAAFG are assigned a lot of domestic work in the armed group because they are children. They participate in combat in the frontline and have adult roles like bodyguards, corporals and line corporals. They are also addressed as both children and men. "You have to be encouraged now, you are a man" (Arop). According to Bronfenbrenner (1979) these social roles as men and children influence the former CAAFG's behavior. He argues that persons act according to role related expectancies and cultural stereotypes existing for the role in question in a given society. The degree of power related to the given role is import in

determining the behavior of the former CAAFG. According to the theories of Bronfenbrenner (1979) it is more likely that the former CAAFG exercise and exploit the power when entering adult roles than when identifying with the role as child. The identity construction and the conflicting roles give rise to challenges in the reintegration process. The role expectations inside the armed group are not the same as in the school and the civil society outside.

The language issue in addition to the collectivist oriented cultures, where one often turns to one's own group (Hofstede 1991) contributes to the creation of ethnic clusters in Malakal. These clusters lead to somehow segregated education, which again can exacerbate a conflict (Brett and Sprecht 2004). As a former garrison town, Arabic is the main language in schools in Malakal. This means that those students that were in Malakal during the civil war attend Arabic pattern schools. The former CAAFG know little Arabic due to their location in SPLA held territories, which had English as the main language. The findings also show that the former CAAFG are found in schools where English is the language of instruction. This means that the former CAAFG do not get schooling together with northerners that have Arabic as their main language. Brett and Sprecht (2004) argue that this segregation emphasizes differences between, in this case English speaking and Arabic speaking students, and encourages ignorance and suspicion. Related to this Wessels (2006) describes how children might learn to see themselves as part of the ethnic group they belong to and at the same time as a group opposed to another. Related to their previous war time experience and also their labeling of the "Arabs" this is unfortunate as they need to learn how to live together in peace.

The findings show that many of the former CAAFG are reluctant to display their former identity as "Child soldiers", to me, to their peers and the community. Some might have changed names in the armed group. This might be a reason why none are found in any lists for follow up and support. Instances where former CAAFG assume new names occur in armed groups in Sudan as a means of obstructing family tracing and reunification for those who resist being demobilized. This is in line with the literature that describes how CAAFG assume new identities, either by name as a means of hindering family reunification or to identify with personal characteristics (Honwana 2006). However, to assume new identities might also be a tactical maneuver to avoid stigmatization as will be explained in the following subchapter.

7.2.4 Stigma

With the use of the findings, theory and literature review I will argue that the former CAAFG are members of more than one stigmatized group and that this stigmatization plays a major role in their life chances. The findings show that forces beyond the control of the former CAAFG, such as poverty and insecurity, led them to join the armed group. This decides their classification within the group of achieved stigma (Falk 2001). Falk (2001) argues that this is obtained by persons or groups who have somehow contributed to their inclusion in that group. However, to categorize the informants in the group of achieved stigma might be an unfair labeling. Singer (2006) argues that to describe these choices as voluntary is greatly misleading as economic situations as well as other circumstances drive them. Thus, Goffman's description of congenital and non congenital stigma might be more applicable (1963/1990). He describes how stigma signs that are not congenital may or may not be employed against the will of the informant. However, visibility is a crucial factor. Stigma occurs through labeling, stereotyping, separating, status loss and discrimination when there is a distribution of power, which allows these processes to unfold (Link & Phelan 2001).

The former CAAFG are by many referred to and labeled "Child Soldiers". This is the label most know from the public sphere and the literature. The common knowledge about this group is produced by the mass media, which has also contributed to their structural stigma. This is just one example on how the macro-and exosystems influence the individual former CAAFG as they suffer from stigmatization. However, many were not soldiers and the label is somehow misleading. This is also one reason why those working in the field refer to them as Children Associated with Fighting Forces and Groups.

The ethnic identity of the former CAAFG leads to the classification within the group of existential stigma, thus stigma is not achieved through action, but in this case race (Falk 2001). By Goffman (1963/1990) this refers to congenital stigma. They are Southerners uniting against the "Arabs" and at the same time they are Nuer, Dinka or Nubian. Nevertheless, this belonging to several labeled groups, points to the fact that a person is a likely member of more than one stigmatized group (Falk 2001).

The type of stigma obtained is structural. The stigma has affected the structure around the former CAAFG and thus affects them as individuals or groups within that structure. Ministry personnel as well as teachers mention former CAAFG as difficult and address them as a group. "Those guys, young children, they need councilors to be reformed again. Military is something really different. Behavior adopted there is not good for normal society" (Inf5). This is also consistent with the literature that argues that people might look at former CAAFG as troublemakers (Wessels 2006). Link and Phelan (2001) argue stereotyping can be smoothly accomplished when labeled persons are believed to be distinctly different. In this case the power balance is in favor of both teachers and ministry personnel. This is in line with the theory, which argues that stigma is dependent on social, economic, and political power as it takes power to stigmatize (Link & Phelan 2001). Also the literature, the history of war and role of soldiers contribute to portraying former CAAFG with attributes that are deeply discrediting, which is in line with Goffman's (1963/1990) definition of stigma. However, the stigma obtained by former CAAFG is also individual. Goffman (1963/1990) refers to Erikson when he explains "ego" identity as a subjective felt identity (p. 129). This points to the former CAAFG's own sense of their situation. The findings show that some of the informants told their peers in Malakal about their past, while most did not. This is an example of the individuals' own perception of his own situation. Thus, to treat the former CAAFG as a group does not necessarily address the individuals.

As already mentioned, the majority of the former CAAFG have not told their peers in Malakal about their background. This might be because "this case is deep that is why I never told them. The way of soldiers is too much" (Samuel). Some stress the fact that they want to leave the past behind and do not want to make it open to people since they are now out of the armed group. This indicates an expectation or fear of rejection that is in line with both findings and literature. The reluctance to show their "real social identity" might be an example of what Goffman (1963/1990) describes as the issue of managing information about their failing. The former CAAFG will be in a conflict of who should get or not get information and what information. However, the findings also show that most have exposed their "real social identity" to few close friends. This is in line with the theory of stigma that describes strategies for discreditable persons to handle risks. One

strategy is to divide the world into a large group to whom the former CAAFG tells nothing and a small group to whom he tells all (Goffman 1963/1990, p. 117).

Related to the findings some have chosen to display their real social identity. They will then not be unwittingly accepted like what might be the consequence for those who chose to hide information. However, both might have consequences for their future. If their "real social identity" is known, this might reduce their life chances as they will be labeled within the stigmatized group of "Child Soldiers". Nevertheless, it might be beneficial for them as they might get access to benefits for demobilized CAAFG in the reintegration process. The literature describes how demobilized soldiers often receive material goods upon demobilization (Wessels 2006). However, material benefits were not found among the former CAAFG in this study. One reason might be that they did not go through a formal DDR process. On the other hand, if they hide their "real social identity", it might increase their life chances, as they will not be members of the stigmatized group. Related to roles, their decisions may contribute positively or negatively due to changed behavior, thus Bronfenbrenner's (1979) describes how one behaves according to role related characteristics and expectancies.

The findings describe how lack of financial resources affects the former CAAFG's presence and opportunity for schooling. However, it is not only the financial obstacle. When the students come to the school and report, the school announces the names of the people that did not pay the school fees. Those who did not pay are then asked to leave the school. The announcement makes those in a less powerful position visible for all the others and enhances stigmatization. Even though this group will not only consist of former CAAFG, the finding shows that they have been and still are dismissed from school due to lack of money to pay the school fees.

7.2.5 Displacement

The findings show that the displacement from home and the location in Malakal have positive as well as negative consequences for the former CAAFG. In Malakal they get better educational opportunities than in their home communities. They are not easily recognized and labeled, which

might free them from being stigmatized. The findings point to unawareness among the actors in the immediate environment surrounding the former CAAFG. Peers, teachers, directors and representatives from the ministry do not know the "real social identity" of their students. The findings also show that the majority of the former CAAFG prefer it like that. This creates challenges in the reintegration process as they will be addressed according to a "quasi-identity" and not their real "social identity" (Hoem 1978).

The displacement might have a positive effect as the former CAAFG might leave trauma specific fears behind. Some of the informants explained how they used to have bad dreams but after arriving in Malakal did not have any. Thus fears related to traumatic events can be avoided by changing environment (Terr 2003). However the displacement affects relationships to family and friends in the villages. The displacement is unfortunate regarding the building of healthy relationships that contribute in creating a safe environment around the former CAAFG. The findings show that many left close friends behind. This is also unfortunate related to the emphasis both in theory and findings on the importance of the peer group in the Dinka and Nuer culture. Attachment theories (Bowlby 1984: Luster et al., 2008) also argue that long parent-child separation have negative impact on parent-child relations. This needs some modification when taking the traditional family concept into account, as the family is an integrated part of the village, tribe and community. Hofstede (1991) argues that in collectivist societies one often creates family-like ties with persons who are not biological relatives. This might lead to more people being affected by separation but at the same time more people that might be located in Malakal to take care of the former CAAFG. The findings show that some of the informants have members of the family microsystem in Malakal. However, as already mentioned there are not many links between these family members and the school. The family is, for example, not involved in homework as there is no electricity in Malakal and it is dark at the time the former CAAFG gets home.

7.3 Education

Relative to the sampling methods used, it must be kept in mind that, almost all the voices in this study are former CAAFG enrolled in school. Thus they represent those who somehow managed to enter the school setting. The ILO (2002) report argues that far from all former CAAFG are enrolled in school in the times after demobilization. The next subchapters will discuss the challenges explicitly related to education and the former CAAFG's presence in the schools.

The findings show that the former CAAFG focus on the present peace and their attendance in school. This is in line with the literature that describes the former CAAFG's concern regarding their present situation bigger than trauma caused by the past. Lost education, lack of training and job skills, stigmatization and social exclusion and living in poverty is a big concern (Wessels 2006). However, the dissociation from the past might as well be a coping mechanism as a reaction to traumatic experiences or a way to deal with the past related to traditional rites of passage that leave the past behind.

According to Darnell and Hoem (1996) conflict will result if the cultural background of the student and the culture of the school lack symmetry. The findings are limited regarding views and values on education within the homes and the families. Nevertheless, the findings describe how the views of schooling in general differ between home and school. While the school advocate for all children to attend school, families in the village's value farming as equally or even more important. Hence the cultural influence of the school might weaken the concepts of self and the identity of the former CAAFG. In such a situation the former CAAFG's patrimonial background will become irrelevant and desocialization and resocialization will occur. However, this depends on what identity the former CAAFG chose to display to those they meet in school. When the former CAAFG are aware of the negative attributes by being former CAAFG, they might manage to hide their "real social identity".

7.3.1 Instability

Kinniburgh et al., (2005) argues that structures and predictable environments, healthy child-caregiver relationships are some of the foundation needed for transforming traumatic experiences. This underlines the negative impact instability has on the former CAAFG as the findings shows a number of factors that contribute in creating an unstable environment around the former CAAFG. It seems that the former CAAFG have moved from instability in the armed group to instability outside. The findings show that, already in the armed group classes were not always frequent because of attacks. Currently the majority has to work to get money for school and if they cannot raise money in time they are dismissed from school until they are able to pay. This happens frequently. The findings show that one of them had been dismissed and had to stay home for two months because of lack of money. Also the lack of a school uniform or bad behavior leads to exclusion from school for a certain time.

The unstructured school days where the school suddenly moves or the students are not promoted to the next class as they expect also contribute to this unstable situation. The theory argues that to transform traumatic experiences one must create structures and predictable environments, strengthen or build healthy child-caregiver relationships and increase caregiver capacity (Kinniburgh et al., 2005). This is certainly hard to create when the school moves to a new location over night and also lacks one level in the ALP program.

As already pointed out, UNICEF and WFP provide school supplies as well as school feeding in the schools. Related to socialization these organizations might be beneficial for the former CAAFG as links between the microsystems and the exosystems. However, none of the former CAAFG benefit from the material support. Related to the literature it is a danger to give individual support to former CAAFG. They might be stigmatized for the wrong reason. Lessons learned show that an individual approach might lead to them getting more benefits than others, thus their atrocities are being rewarded. However, the findings show that currently a community approach regarding support is practiced. Nevertheless, it seems that the neediest students do not get support as they might be found in the ALP system. Some former CAAFG attending primary school could have benefitted from the school feeding program if they were in a class that had

lessons during the morning shift. Both lack of food in school and lack of school supplies might be reasons to switch or even drop out of school.

7.3.2 Overloaded with work

The findings show different ways in which the former CAAFG get money for schooling. One gets it from church, while some get from parents. Two of the informants describe how they send a letter to their parent, mother or father. Then the parent will struggle to sell a cow or a goat and then send the money that comes out of it to their sons. The findings also show that it might be easier to have the family give away cows for marriage than in order to get money to pay for their children's schooling. However, the majority of the informants are working to get the money for schooling. This makes it hard to succeed in school and also hard to stay in school as the work takes a lot of their time. The money they make is also very small due to limited resources and no vocational skills. As the literature emphasizes, poverty keeps many children out of school, and children who are not in school are at high risk of recruitment (Wessel 2006, p. 55).

The ALP program allows the boys to work in the morning and until school starts at three or four in the evening. However, with no electricity there are few opportunities to do schoolwork when they return home after a long day and it is already dark. The findings show that the former CAAFG sometimes do homework at work in the marketplace during the day. This is obviously not a good place for anybody to concentrate, least of all the former CAAFG. The literature shows that one psychological reaction in former CAAFG related to education is concentration difficulties as their concentration span is short (Wessel 2006: Raundalen & Dyregrov 1991).

Another reason why some of the former CAAFG are overloaded with work is their attendance in two schools "some of them are in morning in Arabic and with us in the evening" (D1). This means while they attend primary school in Arabic they attend intensive ALP program in English in the evening. Related to the aforementioned concentration difficulties it makes no sense that a former CAAFG should attend intensive learning program comprising eight years in the time of four while a non former CAAFG make them in eight.

112

Related to the lack of financial resources the findings show that the informants are willing to sacrifice for each other and make the best out of the situation. If they happen to be in a situation where they cannot manage the school fees they will provide for one or two to attend school. This is consistent with the loyalty of the group in collectivist oriented societies. Hofstede (1991) describes how a family might decide to provide for one child to go to school, and then expect that the child shares his/her income later.

7.3.3 Corporal punishment

According to my findings corporal punishment exist in the majority of the schools in this study. Even though there is a discrepancy between the students' experiences, and the teachers and directors responses in interviews, observation confirms that corporal punishment occurs in the schools. This is very unfortunate related to the former CAAFG as traumatized children need experience of engaging in relationships that do not permit abusive and punitive behavior (Bloom 1999). In a school context, Wessels (2006) argues that teachers need to learn how to use nonviolent, non punitive methods to deal with unruly behavior from children at risk. The literature shows that trauma frequently leads to acting-out behavior, such as fighting and rebellious behavior.

7.3.4 Individual versus collective approach

The language background and the individual strength of the former CAAFG must be identified to make it possible for the teacher to build on competencies. The findings show that only a few of the former CAAFG master Arabic. This is the main reason why they attend English speaking schools. However, the former CAAFG do not possess enough English skills to be interviewed. The literature argues that demobilized children are discouraged and lack confidence in themselves because they find that the only thing they know how to do is to fight (ILO 2002, p. 53). Trauma theory emphasizes increasing use of praise and reinforcement so that the child can identify with competencies rather than deficits (Kinniburgh et al., 2005). This is certainly not the case when the informants in this study never are taught in their mother tongue that is the only language they master properly.

It is necessary to have an individual teaching and reintegration approach to build on competencies. As pointed out earlier, the "real social identity" of the majority of the former CAAFG is not known to the public and the schools. This makes it impossible to approach them individually regarding individual needs. The findings from documents point to demobilized soldiers as one of the main categories of special learners in the APL program and argue that in some cases outreach to parents and families may be needed (MoEST n.d., p. 6). This indicates a discrepancy between policy and practice.

The school classes had a good number of students and their teacher did not address them by name or knew their individual background. In the primary and secondary school the number of students in one class was at the most 110. This is unfortunate, not at least because the trauma theories point to the need for an individual approach to the healing and reintegration of the former CAAFG. However, the one-way communication in the classrooms is a natural part of a collective oriented Southern Sudanese culture. Thus, Hofstede (1991) argues that since most collectivist cultures maintain large power distances, their education tends to be teacher centered with little two-way communication.

With goals for their future, like their desire to become leaders and their experiences in the armed group the former CAAFG need a resource approach. Some of them have leadership experiences, as corporal or line corporal, and specifically leadership experiences under harsh conditions. These skills are needed in the future Sudan. If these skills are identified in the schools and addressed through teaching and guidance many children will get better life chances. Thus it will contribute to building healthy environments, benefiting the child and might transform traumatic experiences.

There is a range of challenges and advantages related to both an individual and a collective approach. An individual approach opens up the possibility of stigmatization as the "labeling" becomes more visible and thus the negative attributes related to "CAAFG" or "Child Soldier"

easily might get attached to that label. However, individuals might be in a position to change stigma. Goffman (1963/1990) argues that an individual can change stigma if one appears as a "native" speaker of the group. When the "real social identity" is known to the public and the former CAAFG behave in contrast to the existing stereotypes this might change the public's view of the whole group as the stigma is structural. Through this action the negative attributes known to the public are not confirmed. Thus an individual former CAAFG might be able to change the stigma by changing attitudes and beliefs of powerful groups (Link & Phelan 2001). However, they are a marginalized group, with little material resources and they have lost their primary caregivers. This puts them in a powerless position and to advocate an individual approach might seem risky due to jealousy, further stigmatization and exclusion.

A collective approach has the benefit of making the former CAAFG more or less invisible to the public. This might make it easier to reintegrate them into society, as well as it might not enhance further stigma. However, it also makes the former CAAFG invisible to their teachers and those caretakers that should provide and support them. It will also put them in a moral dilemma as they might be unwittingly accepted by individuals who are prejudiced against CAAFG (Goffman 1963/1990).

8 Concluding remarks

As my thesis shows, challenges after demobilization impacts up on how the former CAAFG interact with school. Additionally, their time in the armed group influence their ability to cope with their present situation. Therefore, it is of crucial importance to have a wide approach in the reintegration process to make sure all the challenges are addressed.

The proceeding analysis shows that former CAAFG in Malakal are marginalized in numerous ways. Relative to stigmatization a collective approach might be the best for the former CAAFG in the reintegration process. In a traditional Southern Sudanese context this might also be the best relative to healing of trauma and reunification with family. The contextualized methods for treatment will most likely be the most sustainable. The formal reintegration part of the DDR program is not easily found in Malakal. This means that there are still opportunities to emphasize collective traditional practices to reintegration and healing. One should turn to the experts in the villages of Southern Sudan when designing an efficient reintegration program.

The weakly linked systems reduce the developmental chances for the former CAAFG. The MoEST, international NGO's and the UN should cooperate better across setting boundaries to enhance the life chances of the former CAAFG. Since the NGO's and the UN all have limited time in Malakal and Southern Sudan, the Southern Sudan MoEST should take the lead. It contains certain risks to rely too much on international organizations that will leave the area one day.

Accelerated Learning Programs offer learning opportunities for the former CAAFG in Malakal. Although the ALP allow the students to work during the day, ALP might not be beneficial for former CAAFG. How well can a 15 year old former CAAFG master accelerated, intensified learning when he might have difficulties concentrating? At the same time his civilian peers attend eight years of primary schooling without condensed syllabus. For both civilians and former CAAFG, language of instruction is yet another challenge that needs to be addressed. Currently,

few Southerners get schooling in their mother tongue, which might be a barrier to learning. There is a need for increased teacher capacity to raise awareness of the challenges of including former CAAFG into the school system. Stigma must be addressed and the surroundings need to learn how to build on the former CAAFG's competencies. The individual needs to be identified with his strengths and weaknesses for the teacher to give quality education that addresses the individuals' needs. In contrast to traditional methods for healing of trauma, the school context requires an individual approach. In the classroom the challenges of trauma need to be treated individually to make sure the former CAAFG get the education they need. The strong peer group relationship is an advantage and must be used as a resource in the schools in the reintegration of former CAAFG.

In the reinegration process, the most important thing should be to prevent drop out from school. Close to all the CAAFG in this study chose to join the armed group. In most cases this was in response to economic difficulties or unstable security situations. The majority also chose to leave the armed group for education. If proper educational opportunities are not there and they find themselves in the same situation as prior to their recruitment, they might as well be re-recruited. The factors that motivated the boys to joined, like economic difficulties and need for protection, need to be addressed in the reintegration process. It is therefore unfortunate that recent clashes in Malakal have contributed to an unstable security situation. Additionally, the informants still find themselves in poverty. These are factors that possibly make the boys go back to the armed group, especially if they have no other places to go. Thus, to prevent drop out it is important to include the former CAAFG in the programs that offer support in the schools. It might even attract more former CAAFG to attend school. Nevertheless, Southern Sudan in general struggles with school enrollment. To address the marginalized groups in schools might be too much to ask at this stage. It is only four years since the long civil war came to an end, and there is still instability in the South. However, stability should be the aim in all the processes towards a life as civilian. The traditional family, including peers, should be used as a resource at all times.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Map

(UNMISb n.d.)

Appendix II: Form/Questionnaire

1. Name: _____

2. How old are you?   _____

3. Male   Female

4. Have you been in an armed group?
    Yes   No

5. If yes, did you fight?
    Yes   No

6. Do you have friends in school?
    Yes   No

7. What is your mother tongue
    Shilluk

    Dinka

    Nuer

    _____

Appendix III: Interview guide, former CAAFG

Introduction: Explain briefly the research and ask for consent.

1. Age
2. Tribe, mother tongue
3. Who do you stay with?

   Do you have parents, family, relatives and friends?

4. What year did you leave the army?
5. For how many years were you in the army?
6. Why did you join the military?

   Voluntarily or not, Political motivation, economic motivation

7. Will you please tell me about the military?

   How *did you become a soldier? What did you learn in the military?*

   What did you do in the military? How long were you in the army?

   How was your relation to drugs? Relations to the opposite gender in the army

8. Why do you go to school/Why do you want to go to school?
9. Did you go to school before you joined the military?

   If not, why? If yes, how many years?

10. Do you like school? Why? Why not?
11. What are your favorite subjects? Difficult subjects?
12. How is your relationship to the teacher?

    Expectations, teachers´ life experiences compared to yours

13. How do you prepare for school?
14. Do you have anybody that can help you with schoolwork at home? Who?
15. How do you like sitting in class?

    Concentration

16. Tell me about your friends?
17. Do your classmates know that you are a former soldier? How or why not?
18. How did the village/community welcome you when you came back?

Traditional rituals and spiritual cleansing

Acceptance, forgiveness

19. What do you want to become in the future?

Question asked those I met more than once (emerged after the first interview)

1. Name:
2. Where are you from?
3. What is the reason for you being in Malakal?
4. How did you get here?
5. Do you get any support from anyone currently?
6. Did you get support when you left the army?
7. How much do you pay for school?
8. What happens if you do not pay the school fees?
9. What do you think the teacher know about you, your background and your living conditions
10. If you behave badly what are the consequences?
11. What is good about school?
12. What is not good in school?
13. Tell me about one normal day in the army?
14. Can you please make a drawing from the time in the armed group? Preferably yourself in the frontline.

Talk about the drawing and ask questions

Appendix IV: Interview guide, focus group discussion

Introduction: Explain briefly the research and ask for consent.

Section A

1. Previous education and/or educational level today
2. Family relations

Section B – school

1. Why do you go to school?
2. Do you like school? Why? Why not?
3. Do you have any favorite subjects? Difficult subjects?

   Expectations, teachers´ life experiences compared to yours

4. How is your relationship to the teacher?

Section B

1. What do you know of those things that happened during the war?
2. Do you the reasons for the war?
3. What do you know about being a child soldier?

   secondary traumatisation

Section C – social relations

1. Do you have friends in class?
2. When there is recess, who do you want to play with and why?
3. If you are asked to work in pairs or groups in class, who do you want to work with and why?

Appendix V: Interview guide, teachers

Introduction: Explain briefly the research and ask for consent.

Section A

1. Education
2. Position, responsibilities
3. Time of teaching
4. Language of instruction

Section B

1. What do you know about the situation of former child soldiers?
2. To what extent do you find yourself competent to teach former child soldiers and prepare them for a civilian life?
3. To what extent do you interact differently with them compared to other students?
4. To what extent is their former war background problematic?
   Discipline, troublemakers

   Are nonviolent methods used to deal with unruly behavior?

5. How do the former child soldiers perform and prepare for school?
6. How do they access what is being thought?
   If they do not access everything what might be the reason for this?

7. How do drinking/drug use influence the former soldiers and their schooling?
8. What can you say about the concentration of the former soldiers?

Section C – social

1. How do the CAAFAG interact with other students?
2. How are you relationship to these of students?

Appendix VI: Interview guide, ministry personnel and headmasters

Introduction: Explain briefly the research and ask for consent.

Section A

1. Position, responsibilities
2. Time of being in present position


Section B

1. Do you know the total number of CAAFG in Malakal?
2. Are there any policy related to the inclusion of CAAFG in the education system in Malakal?
3. What are the numbers of CAAFG attending schools in Malakal?
4. Do you have special programs for this group?

   DDR program especially addressed children

   Evening classes

5. How are they taken care of in this school?
6. Where (geographically and socially) do the majority of the former soldiers comes from?
7. Are there school fees for attending schools in Malakal?

   Any material expenses required?

8. What decides which grade the former soldier will start in? What is the average age?
9. How many over agers do you have in this school? How many of them are CAAFAG?
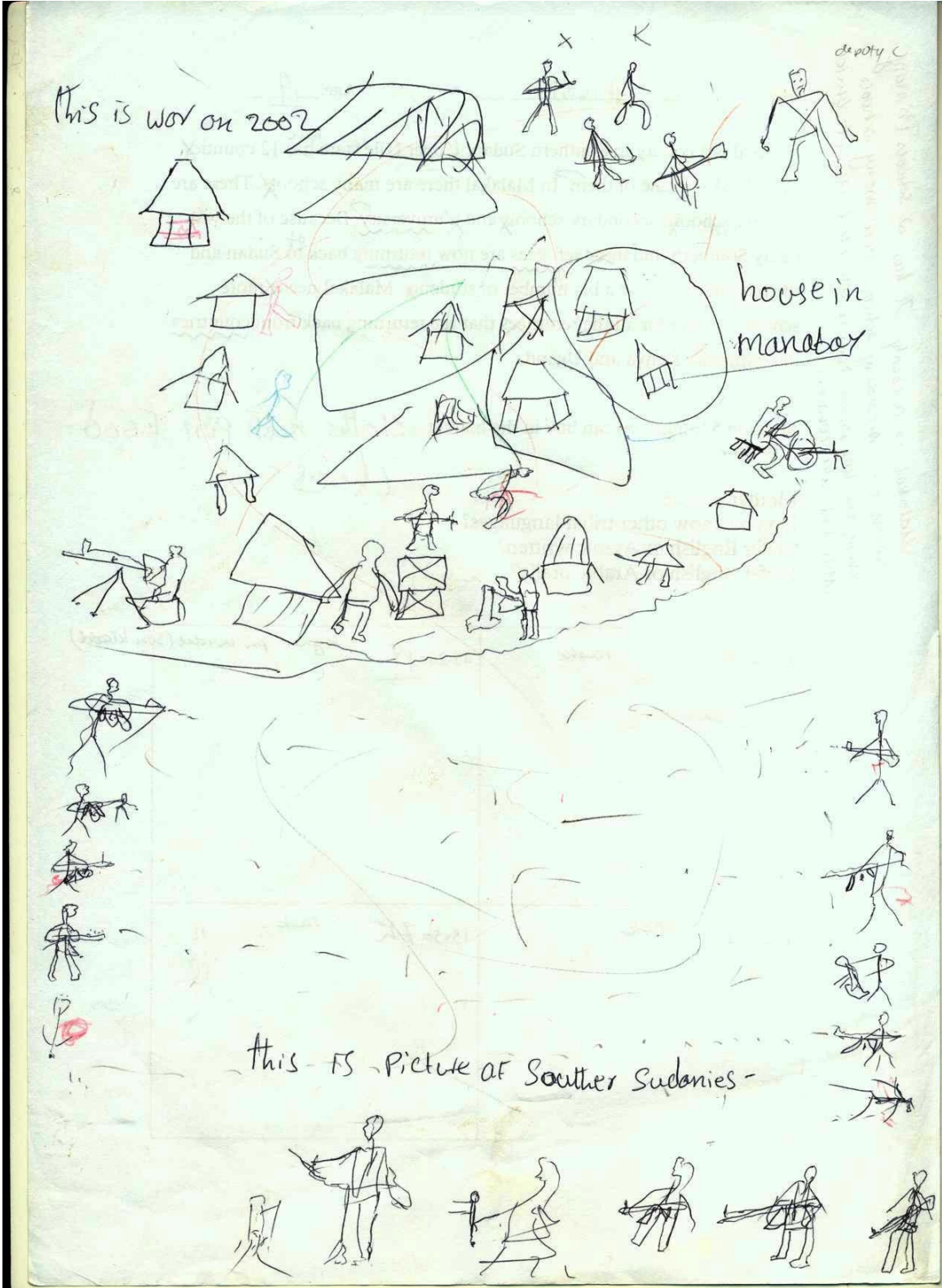
Appendix VII: Drawing
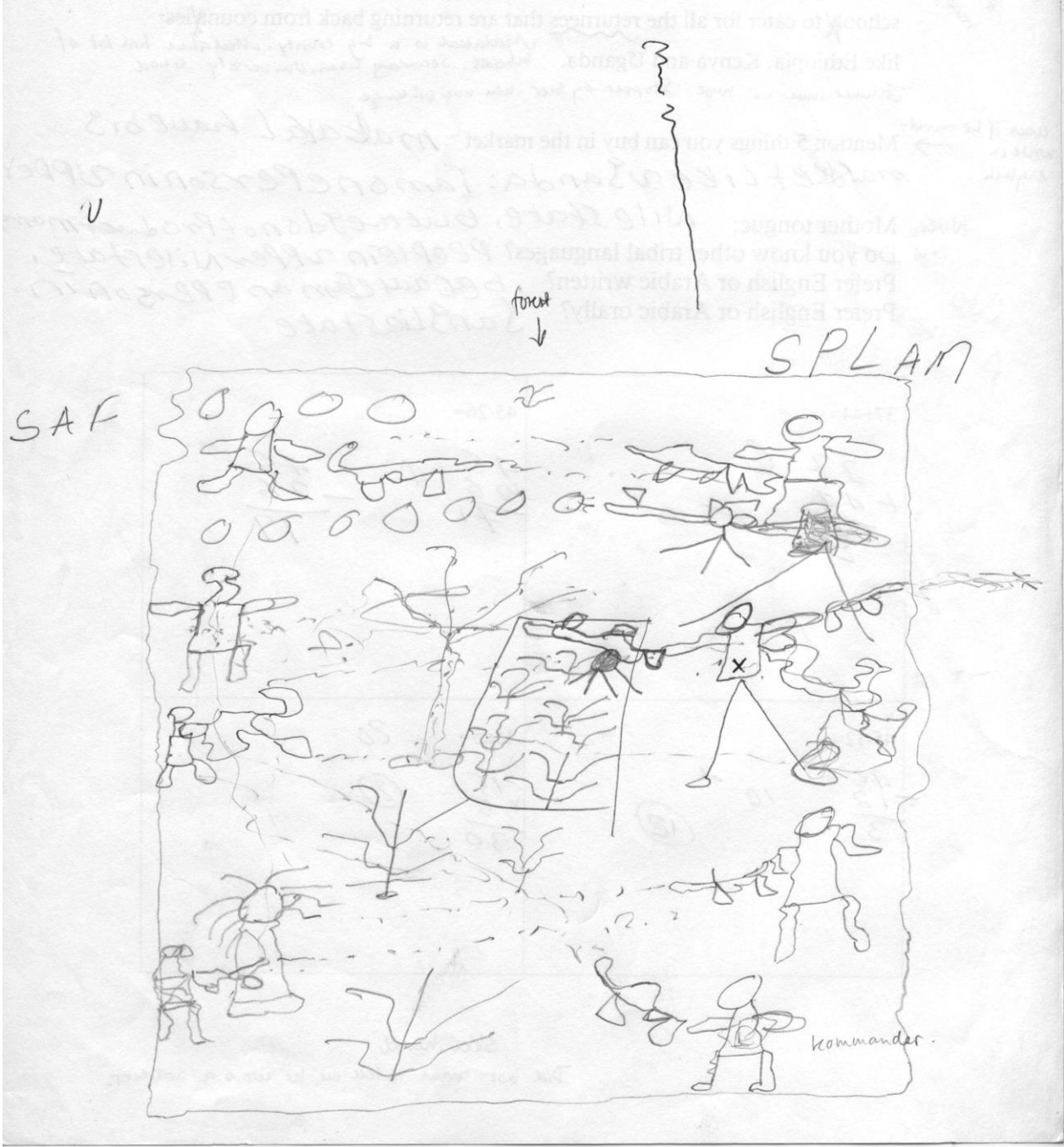
(Drawing by Wejang)

Appendix VIII: Drawing
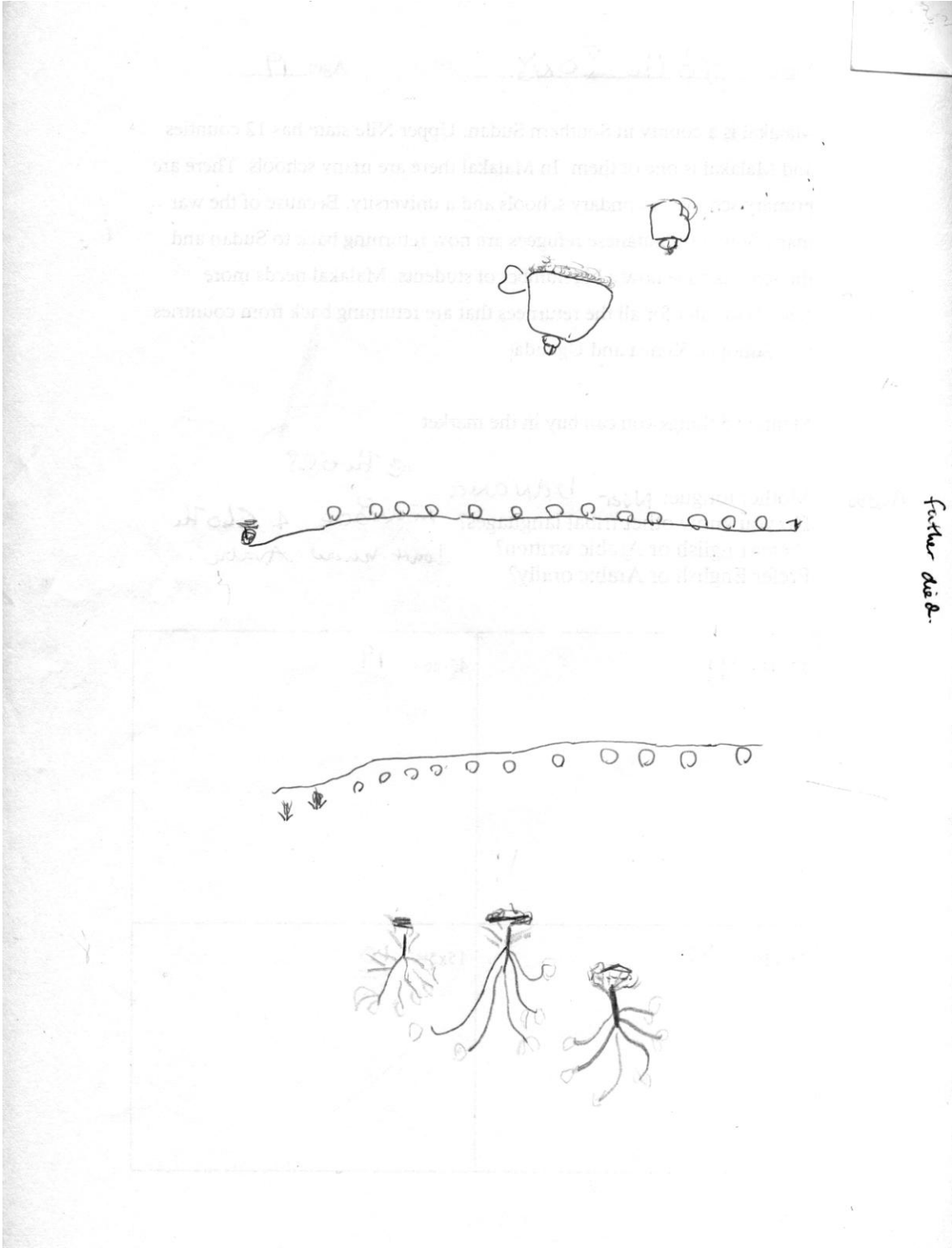
(Drawing by Chuol)

Appendix IX: Drawing

(Drawing by Arop)

Appendix X: List of informants

Former CAAFG interviewed once

Simon – Nuer boy (Lao), 19 years old, he attends ALP

Gatluak - Nuer boy 16 years old, attends primary school grade 8

Chuol – Nuer boy 19 years old, attends ALP, grade 6

Tongyiik - Nuer boy (Lao) 17 years old, attends ALP, grade 1

Tang– Nuer boy (Akobo) 17 years old, attends ALP, grade 3

Paulino–Nuer boy (Lao) 16 years old, attends Church evening, grade 3

Matip - 16 years old

Bol - Nuer boy (Bentiu) 18 years old, attends ALP, grade 3

Nyang – Nubian 17 years old, attends ALP, grade 3

Nhial – Nuer boy (Nasir) 17 years old, attends grade 8 in primary school

Former CAAFG interviewed more than once

Koang - Nuer boy (Nasir), 16 years old. He attends secondary school grade 9 (2 interviews).

John - Nuer boy (Nasir) 16 years old. He first does not attend school. Later I find him in ALP located in Police primary school, grade 6 (2 interviews).

Samuel - Nuer boy (Akobo) 17 years old, attends secondary school, grade 9 (3 interviews).

Akol - Dinka boy 15, attends ALP, grade 6 (3 interviews).

Deng - Dinka boy 17, attends ALP, grade 3 (3 interviews).

Mading - Dinka boy 16, attends ALP, grade 6 (3 interviews).

Arop - Dinka boy 19, attends ALP, grade 6 (3 interviews).

Gaach - Nuer boy (Nasir) 17 years old, attends ALP, grade 4 in addition to a primary school in the morning (2 interviews).

Joseph- Nuer boy (2 interviews).

Wejang - Nuer boy (Akobo) 16 years old, attends ALP located in Police primary school, grade 6 (2 interviews).

Interviews with directors

D1 – Director of ALP school. Has a diploma from Ethiopia,

D2 – Director of secondary school.

D3 – Director of ALP school. Left his education in grade ten when in Ethiopia,

D4 – Director of secondary school. Holds a bachelor from University of Juba.

D5 – Director of primary school.

Interviews with teachers

T1 – Teacher in ALP. Has Sudan school leaving certificate.

T2 – Teacher in ALP. Diploma in Management from Ethiopia. He is a first year student in Upper Nile University.

T4 – Teacher secondary school. Has diploma from Ethiopia

T 5 – Teacher in secondary school. Has a teaching diploma from Ethiopia.

T6 – Teacher in secondary school. He is first year student in Upper Nile University, Malakal.

T7 – Teacher in secondary school. Has a bachelor degree in theology from Khartoum. He teaches in both secondary schools in this study.

T8 – Teacher in primary school.

Focus group discussions

FG1 – Focus group in secondary school. Four Nuer students, four males and one female, from age 15-16.

FG2 – Focus group ALP. Four Nuer students from age 17-18.

FG3 – Focus group ALP. Four Nuer students, three male and one female, from age 12 to 28.

FG4 – Focus group in secondary school. Four Nuer male students, 18-21 years old. One had previously been in an armed group.

FG5 - Focus group in primary school consisting of four boys. One Dinka boy and three Nuer. One of the Nuer boys had previously been in an armed group.

Other informants

Inf 1- leader of a NGO in Malakal, multiple informal conversations

Inf 2- leader of a local NGO in Malakal, informal conversations

Inf 3- Focal person for Child DDR in Malakal. He is a former SPLA child soldier and currently representing South Sudan DDR Commission. Interview and informal conversations.

Inf 4- Director ALP

Inf5 – Director secondary education

Inf 6- Director primary education Malakal County

UN 1 – Child protection officer UNICEF, interview and informal conversations

UN 2 – Child protection officer UNICEF, informal conversations

UN 3 - WFP, e-mail correspondence and informal conversations.

Translators

Inf 7- (Nuer), translator and former CAAFG (SPLA), escaped

Inf 8- translator and former CAAFG, released for school

Inf 9- (Nuer), translator and former CAAFG and still in the military (SAF)