Determine the extent to which there is trust between the reintegrated members and community members in Mount Elgon region, Kenya

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Abstract- After being demobilized, former combatants constitute a weak and marginalized group in need of economic, psychological and social assistance in order to survive. Making sure that such assistance is given poses a major challenge to local communities and international donors. There is need to address the issue of reintegration of former combatants in Mt. Elgon in Bungoma County, but the process has been undermined by persistent instability in the region. The problem of follow up, re-recruitment of former combatants by different armed groups and the lack of long-term funding are some of the obstacles to successful reintegration in Kenya. The purpose of the study was to determine the extent to which there is trust between the reintegrated members and community members in Mount Elgon region, Kenya. The desistance theory was used in the study. The study used the cross sectional descriptive survey design. The population of the study comprised former combatants, Sub County Commissioners, peace committee members, religious leaders and NGOs. The respondents comprised former combatants, sub county commissioners and peace committee members, religious leaders and NGOs. The stratified and purposive random sampling technique was used to select a sample of 150 former combatants, Three Sub County commissioners and 16 peace committee members, Five religious leaders and Four NGO members. Data was collected by use of questionnaires, interviews and Focus Group discussion. In order to ascertain validity, the questionnaires and interview schedules were given to experts who matched all the items with the research questions to ascertain whether the instruments would measure all that it is supposed to measure. The reliability of the instruments was determined through test retest of the instruments. Data was analyzed by use of descriptive statistics of frequencies and percentages. Data from in-depth interviews was audio taped and transcribed. The transcripts were then organized into themes and categories as they emerged from the field. The findings of the study were presented descriptively. The findings of the study showed that: in the context of social reintegration the three dimensions of family and community; sustainable employment; and civic responsibilities should be given proper attention: to achieve the goal of reintegration there should be a major shift in the contemporary DDR approach by moving from the insertion approach towards a social reintegration one; community support is essential for the successful reintegration of former combatants and the sustainable social and economic reintegration of former combatants should be the ultimate objective of disarmament and demobilization and reintegration (DDR). Consequently, the study recommends that the government should budget for and give priority to the reintegration programmes so that they are fully completed instead of leaving them at the reinsertion stage; the communities take the lead in proposing community- based solutions for the issues identified.

Index Terms- Combatant, Demobilization, Disarmament, Reconciliation Rehabilitation Reintegration Reinsertion and Social Cohesion.

I. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Former combatants, however, not only pose a challenge because of their tendency to engage in violence but their return to civilian life may also create serious rifts in society. During hostilities, former combatants often commit atrocities against the civilian population. These may range from pillaging to physical abuse, rape, mutilation, kidnappings and murder. With the arrival of peace, society must deal with these issues, both at national and local levels. Failure to address the need for reconciliation may result in a lack of societal peace creating continuous tensions in society. However it is not possible to reconcile combatants with their communities. Most of them lack formal education and yet their fighting skills are seldom in demand on the job market (Lundin, 1998).

It is a common phenomena that former combatants rearm themselves in order to further their political demands. For example in the Republic of Congo a Ninja splinter group recruited many ex – Ninjas and attacked Brazzaville in 2002 (IRIN, 2004). A second risk is that former combatants recreate disbanded guerilla groups or military units and challenge the post war order with arms, which at worst can lead to open rebellion. A related problem is when former combatants sell their military services to armed actors involved in wars in foreign countries. Demobilized soldiers in South African Defense Force (SADF) have fought as Mercenaries in both Angola and Sierra Leone (Kingma, 1999).

Another threat comes from former combatants joining or founding organized, criminal groups (Alden, 2002). The main reason why former combatants so end up in organized crime is the ease with which clandestine military structures are transformed into self-sustaining, criminal organizations(Call and Stanley, 2003). A related threat is one of former combatants becoming involved in criminality in a wider sense, such as petty crime. This type of criminality comprises individuals carrying out small - scale theft and banditry with no organized structure (Kingma, 1999).

After being demobilized, former combatants constitute a weak and marginalized group in need of economic, psychological

and social assistance in order to survive. Making sure that such assistance is given poses a major challenge to local communities and international donors (Kingma, 2000).

II. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Several actions have been taken in the past to end recruitment and use of combatants in Kenya. As a result, combatants are released from the ranks of armed forces and groups and recruitment levels have progressively reduced. However, for thousands of former combatants who remain or risk re-recruitment, the situation remains substantially unchanged. The ongoing conflict in Kenya undermines the reintegration of former combatants as many of them are re-recruited by different armed groups.

After combatants have been demobilized, their effective and sustainable reintegration into civilian life is necessary to prevent a new escalation of the conflict. In the short term, ex-combatants who do not find peaceful ways of making a living are likely to return to conflict. In the longer term, disaffected veterans can play an important role in destabilizing the social order and polarizing the political debate, becoming easy targets of populist, reactionary and extremist movements.

The former combatants need to be given an opportunity to be integrated into the community in order to build a cohesive society. This study, therefore, sought to determine the extent to which there is trust between the reintegrated members and community members in Mt. Elgon, Bungoma County.

III. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The objective of the study was based on one of the dimensions of social cohesion. The study therefore sought to determine the extent to which there is trust between the reintegrated members and community members in Mount Elgon region;

IV. RESEARCH QUESTION

The research question was:
To what extent is there trust between the reintegrated members and community members in Mount Elgon region?

V. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study is significant in various ways: It provides greater insight on best to handle former combatants. Furthermore, the study is useful in making reintegration efforts more effective by taking the existing theoretical knowledge into consideration and learning from practical experiences. The study further contributes towards providing a deeper understanding of strategies required in carrying out reintegration.

This study is very valuable to the community and to the government of Kenya since it provides information on the role of reintegration of ex- combatants on social cohesion. This in turn, can assist the government to determine suitable ways in dealing

with reintegration of the affected members in the society in order to promote social cohesion.

VI. SCOPE AND DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study will be conducted in Kopsiro, Kapsokwony, Cheptais and Kaptama of Mt. Elgon region where the former combatants underwent the reintegration programme. Mount Elgon is an administrative unit in Bungoma County. The study focused on the reintegration of former combatants in Mt. Elgon region. The respondents will included the sampled 150 former combatants, Four Sub- County Commissioners and 16 peace committee members from the the four locations, 5 Church elders and 5 Non Governmental Organization leaders.

The study made reference to the year 2005 when the Sabaot Land Defense Force came into being up to 2017. This enabled the researcher to look at the current levels of reintegration and their contribution towards social cohesion.

The theoretical framework for the study was desistance theory which is pertinent in terms of conceptualizing the offender rehabilitation. It outlines assistance models of ex-offenders recovery into society and addresses the question of social reintegration.

VII. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Theoretical framework can be likened to lens through which the researcher views the world (study). Existing knowledge, or theory, serves as the foundation of this research (Khan 1999:3-4). A preliminary theoretical framework contributes to problematizing the issue under investigation and identifies the different variables that will be measured in the work. Furthermore, it helps to clarify the researcher's objectives and values

The theoretical framework for the study was the reintegration needs of former combatants. The desistance theory according to Maruna (2009) a social and political psychologist is a criminological phenomenon which describes how criminal offenders stop their offending behavior. It is particularly pertinent in terms of conceptualizing offender rehabilitation and the career of a criminal, as well as having practical applications for probation workers working with convicted criminals in the community.

Desistance theory strives to explain the process by which offenders come to live life free from criminality. A number of factors are implicated in the natural (changes over time) and manufactured (changes due to rehabilitation programs or community strategies) processes of desistance. Some aspects of desistance include ageing. Some researchers claim that offenders, particular juveniles, essentially "grow out" of criminality.

The second aspect is life stability whereby engaging in regular employment helps offenders to focus their attention on something more meaningful than criminality. Similar to how a particularly aggressive individual may turn to sport, maintaining a routine of working and earning money can act as a kind of carthasis, meaning that motivation to engage in crime because of a lack of other activities or financial stress is replaced by the regularity of the work. Job satisfaction is suggested as a far better indicator as to whether or not an offender will desist. A second

stability related factor is marriage. Satisfaction here again is an important factor in guaranteeing change of behavior patterns

The third desistance aspect is social identity which will almost exclusively be adopted in conjunction with a condemnation narrative script, meaning that the offender living in the community feels little hope of resisting from criminality in the long term. This lack of hope is widely cited as a risk factor for recidivism. Contrastingly offenders with redemption script tend to actively seek out positive social identities, such as 'good father', 'volunteer', or 'hard worker'. These individuals are likely to be met with increased support and acceptance from their wider community, which increases the likelihood of long term desistance.

Maruna (2001) states that desistance is the long term abstinence from crime among individuals who previously engaged in persistent patterns of criminal offending. This highlights the need to look at a long term perspective and it also hints at the need to be realistic about circumstances of life. If people have previously engaged in persistent patterns of criminal offending it is likely that there are some entrenched problems that will take time to resolve.

From a theoretical standpoint, desistance theory offers an opportunity to test specific variables connected with the cessation of criminal behavior. Practically, desistance theory helps in identifying potential ways of reducing reoffending in the community.

Offenders are often seen as a threat to society until they are able to 'prove' their reformation. For this reason desistance is viewed as a long term relapse prevention measure. Related to this, there are some cases where attempted reintegration is met with outrage by the public.

The desistance theory outlines assistance models of ex-offenders recovery into society and addresses the question of social reintegration can be perceived and structured effectively DDR operational landscape. The proposed approach is presented through a matrix of relationships between the elements of 'emphasis on the combatant' and 'emphasis on the community' in terms of 'low' and 'high' levels, resulting in the four main models for community reentry: 'self – demobilization', 'reinsertion', 'community' – located reintegration and 'social reintegration'.

VIII. RELEVANCE OF DESISTANCE THEORY

From the theoretical standpoint, the desistance theory offers researchers the opportunity to test specific variables connected with the cessation of criminal behavior. It enables historical criminological approaches to be considered in relation to modern day society, which allows for validation or refutation of classical ways of thinking. This leads to a more accurate picture of criminal behavior to be painted, and enables criminology, and its related fields of psychology, politics and social policy, to collaborate strategically in order to reduce reoffending rates.

The desistance theory is most suited for this study since it addresses the three dimensions of social cohesion under economic, political and socio cultural aspects.

IX. REVIEW OF RELATED THEORIES

Existing knowledge, or theory, serves as the foundation of this research (Khan 1999:3-4). A preliminary theoretical framework contributes to problematising the issue under investigation and identifies the different variables that will be measured in the work. Furthermore, it helps to clarify the researcher's objectives and values. Embedded within the interdisciplinary field of social science, this research draws on already discussed theories and concepts situated within the field of former combatants. It utilized also concepts from contemporary conflict studies.

Most prominent here is the theory of conflict transformation. The philosophy of conflict transformation may differ between actors and contexts, and this study makes use of important concepts from the founder of modern peace studies Galtung (1996) which were later visited by Laderach (1997), Miall (2004) and Ramsbotham et al. (2008). Conflict transformation conflicts such as ethnic conflict, are transformed into peaceful outcomes. It is therefore a process of engaging with and transforming the relationships, interests, discourses and if necessary the very constitution of society that supports the continuation of violent conflict.

Through the lens of Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory which is a key theoretical perspective that helps conceptualize the ex combatants unique needs following their return from fighting is Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory; a theory which posits that individuals cannot achieve their full potential unless their lower needs are met partially if not fully (Maslow, 1951; 1971). Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory is an appropriate theory which researchers and social workers can use to categorize, prioritize and evaluate ex combatants needs in the years following the war. This is because the ex combatants lack the resources to meet their basic needs, it is extremely difficult and almost impossible to reach full human potential (Ramsbotham et al. 2008). The purpose of this theoretical framework is to describe the factors that contribute to the ex- combatants experiences during reintegration. An important part of this study is to explore the former combatants reintegration experiences as they transition to civilian living.

Erikson's psychosocial stages of development theory is used in this study. According to the former combatant's development: Erikson proposes eight stages of psychosocial development and assumes that in each stage, minors face psychosocial crisis that he views as an opportunity and challenge. The fifth stage identity versus role confusion is significant to adolescents or young ex- combatants. In this stage the developmental duty is to discover and establish a clear sense of identity. However, when this developmental task is not successfully completed Erikson (1993; 1968) argues that adolescents lack a sense of identity, have difficulty establishing meaningful bonds with others and may also experience role confusion.

From this theory soldiers experience abnormal stress since they are not given the opportunity to experiment with various social roles (Erikson, 1968). For this reason they are going to grow up into adults who lack the necessary sense of competence and self – efficacy

According to the Bronfrenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory, the ex-combatant's environments have significant influence on their overall development and subsequent

reintegration experiences. Thus the effects of being former combatants can be explained through an ecological systems theory that examines the relationships between individuals and their environment. An ecological systems theory is the concept of role that denotes the usual behaviors of individuals occupying particular social positions. It is evident that abducted young soldiers experience significant stress and trauma as a result of role transitions they face. The ecological systems theory emphasizes the roe of social contexts in human development and comprises five environmental systems, ranging from direct interaction with social agents to the overall general influence of culture (Bronfrenbrenner, 1998).

This theory outlines assistance models of ex combatants' reentry into society and addresses the question of how social integration can be perceived and structured effectively in the overall DDR landscape. The proposed approach is presented through a matrix of relationships between the elements of 'emphasis on the combatant' and 'emphasis on the community' in terms of 'low' and 'high' levels, resulting in the four main models of community reentry: 'self-demobilization', 'reinsertion', 'community located reintegration', and 'social reintegration". The social reintegration approach is structured over the dimensions of 'family and community'.

The purpose of this review of theories is to describe the factors that contribute to the former combatants' experiences during reintegration. An important part of this study is to explore the ex combatants reintegration experiences as they transition to civilian living. Erikson's theory explains child soldier's development during adolescence and how military experience affects their identities. Bronfrenbrenner's theory suggests the effects of five systems on reintegration experience.

X.   RESEARCH DESIGN

The cross sectional design of the descriptive survey method was used. Descriptive research methods are pretty much as they sound since they describe situations. Surveys are good because they don't take as long as observational studies. The cross sectional design includes the study of individuals at one point in time (Jackson, 2009). This design was employed in this study in an attempt to gather large scale data in order to make generalizations on the role of the reintegration of former combatants on social cohesion.

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) the design was appropriate because it measures the characteristics of a large population and yields a great deal of information which is not manipulated. This design was adopted because it allows the collection of large amounts of data from the target population. In addition this study fits within the provisions of this design because the data was collected and reported the way things are without manipulating any variable. The design is therefore considered an appropriate tool for collecting information where research calls for both qualitative and quantitative data.

XI.   THE STUDY AREA

The study was conducted in Mt. Elgon Sub County. This is an administrative unit in Bungoma County. It is located in the South Eastern slopes of Mt. Elgon covering an area of 940 square kilometers with a population of about 160,000 living in the Southern part which is more fertile and inhabitable that the northern part which is higher in altitude and almost entirely covered by forests. Mt Elgon is predominantly occupied by the Sabaot, Iteso and Bukusu communities. The Sabaot community is further divided into several clans comprising the Kony, Bok, Sebei and Bongom sub clans (Rombora, 2008). This region has 4 administrative units namely Cheptais Sub County with its head quarters at Cheptais, Mt. Elgon Sub County with its headquarters at Kapsokwony and a recent one Kopsiro with its head quarters at Kopsiro and Kaptama.

XII.   TARGET POPULATION

The study targeted all the former Sabaot Land Defense Force members. These former combatants who were reintegrated are a total of 1200 from the Mt. Elgon region. Four Deputy county commissioners, 16 peace committee members, Six church leaders and Five NGO coordinators.

Description of Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

Target population informed the sampling procedure and sample size.

Sampling Procedure

The stratified random and purposive sampling technique was used in order to help the researcher to achieve the desired representation of various respondents in the population. The stratified random sampling technique involves dividing the population into homogeneous subgroups and then taking a simple random sample in each group. The sample was selected in such a way to ensure that certain subgroups are represented in the sample in proportion to the population for them to have equal chance to be included in the study. A purposive sample is non probability sample that is selected based on the characteristics of a population and the objectives of the study. This type of sampling can be very useful in situations where the researcher needs to reach a targeted sample quickly and where sampling for proportionality is not the main concern.

Sample Size

In this case the 1200 reintegrated former combatants were targeted. A sample of 150 reintegrated former combatants was taken, Four Deputy county commissioners, Six members of Cheptais, Kopsiro and Kapsokwony and Kaptama peace committees, Five church pastors and Five NGO leaders as shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Sample Size

Category	Population	Sample
Reintegrated combatants	1200	150
Deputy County Commissioner	4	4
NGOs	6	6
Pastors	5	5

Peace Committee Members	64	16
Total	**1279**	**181**

XIII. DISCUSION

Civic Responsibilities

Those former combatants who served jail terms underwent certain forms of rehabilitation while in prison. They were advised on how to come back home and fit in the community. Some of them benefitted from vocational skills acquired while in prison. In a broad sense, education, both traditional and alternative, supports the reintegration of former combatants in a number of ways, For instance, Marchel (1996) emphasizes the important link between literacy/skills learning and economic security for returning soldiers, factors that often determine the successful social reintegration and prevention of re-recruitment.

Indeed in Northern Uganda, because of schooling loss as well as serious injuries suffered during the war, former abductees were on average, less than half as likely to be engaged in skilled work. These constraints furthermore reduced by about one-third the average age earned by the adolescents' post reintegration (Annan and Blattman, 2006). Research on former combatants from El Salvado has also emphasized the important livelihood benefit of education (Varhey, 2001)1`1

Various organizations helped the returnee members of the community to settle back at home in their communities. These included: Action Aid Kenya who organized a peace meetings with the community therefore enabling some of them to change their attitude and behavior.

FPFK helped by organizing Open dialogue among the former combatants and the community members. This was a necessary step since there was need for the two groups to understand one another in order to live in harmony.

Peace and Rights Programme Action Aid worked together and as a result they helped in bringing about reconciliation

Rural Women Peace Link (RWPL) helped Women to have a network of peace among themselves regardless of which community they came from.

Trust between the reintegrated members and community members in Mount Elgon?

It is important that there should be trust between the reintegrated members and the community members in order for them to live harmoniously in the community.

The respondents felt that to be able to restore trust among the people of Mt. Elgon fire arms needed to be surrendered. They complained that the fire arms operation force never went to Ndorobo land to collect fire arms the way they did to the Soi people. This makes the Soi people to fear the former combatants making it difficult to trust one another.

It was noted during the Focus Group discussions that a good number of the former combatants had greatly reformed. It was estimated at 75% of the former combatants had reformed. The former combatants who were rehabilitated fully are successful for example some of them went back to school to complete their studies. Three of them were reported to have gone up to the university and were undertaking their studies. However there are

some in the reintegration programme who revert back feeling that the program makes them poor. While those who have never been rehabilitated are hardly found at home making it difficult to be reached by those involved for assistance.

Various organizations have been involved in trying to ensure that there is peaceful coexistence among the people. For example the Women Peace Kenya teaches women on promoting peace in the community. Action Aid organization helps by paying school fees for students in secondary schools and colleges. Besides it helps in provision of food to the displaced people plus the rest of the community members. It also educates the community members on the essence of eradicating cultural practices such as Female Genital Mutilation.

Act Kenya contributes by ensuring that there is provision of water to the community members. It also participates in the rehabilitation process of the former combatants. There is also the Kewapngetuny Women group that focuses on helping women to do savings and organizing boundaries of the community members. There is also the Amani Community Based Organisation that Targets the youth in the community. Medicines San Frontiers came in during the conflict to treat those who were wounded. It continued giving medical care to the community members. Various Churches for example the Reformed Church, Baptist church, helped in provision of food. Human Rights occasionally comes in to assist when the community member's rights are infringed upon. The youth after being trained on how to form a groups some youth groups have set up a tree nurseries which helps them to receive the needed income for their upkeep while contributing toward a forestation and environmental conservation.

UNDP's Peace Building and Conflict Prevention Programmes

The UN initiated the United Nations Volunteer Peace Monitor Programme. This programme was meant to help in easing the tensions in the volatile area. Working with the district peace committee the volunteers traversed the expansive region, being involved in peace initiative reconciling not only the Sabaot clans but also the Teso, Bukusu and Sabaot communities, as well as intervening in cross border conflict between Kenyans and Ugandans. Most of the conflicts experienced in this region stem from deep seated issues that have sometimes lasted generations and the efforts were to try and end these conflicts to ensure peaceful coexistence.

The Peace Initiatives in Mt. Elgon

Following the violent conflicts in Mt. Elgon region of Western Kenya in which hundreds of people were killed, displaced and their social life severely affected, different peace efforts were initiated to try and bring calm to the area. As a way of dealing with dysfunctional effects of the conflict, various NGO, government institutions and private initiatives were started to intervene and to support active non violent youth groups movements with focus on the area youth who had been found most involved in violence and killings in the region as a result of land dispute in order to help achieve reconciliation and peaceful coexistence in the region. The overall goal of the peace process was to contribute to the consolidation of the democratic process in Mt. Elgon through a more informed and responsible engagement of the youth (Peace Tree Network).

NGOs such as the Peace Tree Network (PTN) through its youth network organized trainings for the other youth who were involved in conflict and even those who were in prison at the time the project was on-going, and they did this through the support provided by the PTN. The area youth happened to understand that conflict instigated by political instigation only benefited the politicians and violence never leads to a lasting solution. The rehabilitated youth trained by the PTN continued to reach out with the mission to their peers reintegrating with the community after being in jail or in the bush fighting with the militia. These efforts were geared to realizing reconciliation benefits.

The youths were able to organize football matches in the region between the conflicting clans or groups to foster reconciliation and peaceful coexistence in the region (Rombora, 2008). Soon after the outbreak of the hostilities, NGOs embarked on the project of sending to the field peace workers to engage with fighting clans. They focused on advocacy work with specific objectives of strengthening the capabilities of the youth of Mt. Elgon to participate in decision making and monitor the local democracy.

Efforts by Global Network of Women Peace Builders

When the warring parties were on the verge of fighting women tried to ensure that amicable solution was arrives at. Their relentless irresistible determination tried to ensure that peace was restored among the communities (Kibet, 2012). The women's dreams were to be ambassadors of the voiceless developed in them when they experienced violence unleashed on them.

In advocating for peace, women exposed themselves to risks of being direct victim of the conflicts and also face death or other forms of retribution by the militia. Their undeterred determination to reach and comfort families that had lost loved ones in ethnic clashes was a tremendous achievement. They listened to the horror stories of mothers whose husbands had been taken and killed in the conflict.

When conflict began to build up, any young men who did not join the Sabaot Land Defense force fled leaving their wives to tend their farms. There were reports of rape perpetuated against women by both the SLDF militia by forces deployed by the government.

Women began by registering 600 women who had lost their husbands in the conflict under the umbrella of Rural Women Peace Link a network of grassroots women's organization working for peace in Western Kenya region, They listened to their stories of torture documented all cases of rape. Women network became a bridge to take information back and forth from the communities to the camps.

These organizations helped restore trust and helped bring about peaceful coexistence among the people including the former combatants and community members.

Summary of Findings

The findings of the study are based on the objectives and research questions raised to generate data in its analysis. The study therefore sought to:

Determine the extent to which there is trust between the reintegrated members and community members in Mount Elgon region;

The objective investigated the level of trust between the reintegrated members and community members in Mount Elgon The UN initiated the Unite Nations Volunteer Peace Monitor Programme. This programme was meant to help in easing the tensions in the volatile area. Working with the district peace committee the volunteers traversed the expansive region, being involved in peace initiative reconciling not only the Sabaot clans but also the Teso, Bukusu and Sabaot communities, as well as intervening in cross border conflict between Kenyans and Ugandans. Most of the conflicts experienced in this region stem from deep seated issues that have sometimes lasted generations and the efforts were to try and end these conflicts to ensure peaceful coexistence.

Besides the United Nations Volunteer Peace Monitor Programme, there were various peace initiatives that included the Global Network of Women Peace Builders, Act Kenya, Amani Community Based Organization, Kewapngetuny Women Group, Action Aid Organization, Medicines San Frontiers, and Churches such as the Reformed church and the Baptist church.

XIV. CONCLUSION

Based on the findings of this study, the following conclusions were made:

The findings show that in order to unpack the context of social reintegration the three dimensions of family and community; sustainable employment; and civic responsibilities should be given proper attention.

More so, social reintegration is the ultimate goal of former combatant's reintegration into the society and all other undertakings in terms of economic and political reintegration would need to be part and parcel of social reintegration.

To achieve the goal of reintegration there should be a major shift in the contemporary DDR approach by moving from the insertion approach towards a social reintegration one. More than 90% of the reintegration work done was carried out by the NGOs. Community support is essential for the successful reintegration of former combatants, but their experience may make worse the real or perceived vulnerability of local populations, which have neither the capacity nor the desire to assist a 'lost generation' of ex-fighters with little education, employment or training; war trauma; and a highly militarized view of the world. Unsupported former combatants can be a major threat to the community's capacity to recover because of their lack of skills or assets, their tendency to rely on violence to get what they want and their ignorance of or disrespect for local cultures, leaders and social habits.

In addition, there should be a strategy of making receiving communities beneficiaries of reintegration programmes. However, it is only through social reintegration that there can be bridging between former combatants and their receiving communities.

The sustainable social and economic reintegration of former combatants should be the ultimate objective of disarmament and demobilization and reintegration (DDR). If reintegration fails, the achievements of disarmament and demobilization phase are undermined; instability increases and sustainable reconstruction and development are put at risk.

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