PLEASE NOTE

The data, analysis and conclusion presented in this research brief were preliminary, and have been revised and updated since publication. For up-to-date figures and analysis, please see the SWAY final report, *The State of Youth and Youth Protection in Northern Uganda: Findings from the Survey for War Affected Youth*. The report is available at www.SWAY-Uganda.org

# Young men psychologically resilient
## Physical health, education, and employment the main struggle

New evidence from SWAY suggests that in spite of war, poverty, displacement, and abduction, male youth in Acholiland are strikingly resilient: only a fraction experience serious emotional distress; sociability is high; and violent and aggressive behavior is minimal.

Even youth who experience the greatest distress are finding ways of functioning on a daily basis. While surely some of this resilience reflects the labors of civil society in the north, most youth have never received outside help. We conclude that individual and community resilience run much deeper.


*Photo by Blake Farrington*

Such psychosocial strength stands in stark contrast to the levels of material well-being. The impact of war, displacement and abduction on the education, health, and livelihoods of youth has been devastating. Only two-thirds of men between 14 and 30 have completed primary school, and only one in twenty complete secondary. A third are functionally illiterate.

In terms of physical health, a tenth suffer from injuries that hamper their ability to engage in a livelihood. Meanwhile, even those who are healthy and educated struggle economically. Among male youth no longer in school, median earnings are less than $0.75 per day, with half working fewer than 10 days in a month.

Psychological and social resilience in the face of such upheaval is both remarkable and hopeful. This research brief explores the nature of mental health in Acholiland, highlights sources of strength, and assesses the particular impacts of abduction and violence on psychosocial well-being. Future research briefs will discuss in more detail the education, health, and livelihoods of youth in northern Uganda.

## In this Research Brief…

The drive to provide psychosocial care to youth has been tireless, persistent, and ultimately successful—to the benefit of thousands. But is it what youth currently need most? Have we pushed psychosocial care to the exclusion of other programs and services?

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**What is SWAY?**

SWAY is an ongoing research study in northern Uganda dedicated to understanding the scale and nature of war violence and its impact on youth.

*Read more about SWAY on p.2*

**In this *Research Brief*:**

- Youth's psychological and social resiliency in the face of war and displacement

**In future *Research Briefs*:**

- Results of the in-depth individual survey of more than 750 youth
- Economic activity among males
- The impact of abduction on boys
- Organization of the LRA

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Download the survey & reports:
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# Violent experiences commonplace, but psychosocial resilience still high among majority of youth

Youth in northern Uganda are exposed to extremely high levels of violence, with the average youth reporting 11 different violent experiences or events. Exposures to 12 of the 31 experiences measured are listed in the table at right.

In our sample of 741 males aged 14 to 30, only 3 reported zero traumatic events.

From the table we see that the victims are not solely former abductees. Nevertheless, the worst violence has indeed largely been experienced (and sometimes committed) by the formerly abducted.

Note that these figures may underestimate slightly the true scale of brutality—youth were repeatedly asked if they wanted to refrain from answering a delicate question, and ten decided not to complete this section of the survey fully.

With this amount of violence, compounded with the difficulties of daily living, one might predict vast amounts of psychological distress throughout the north. On the contrary, the majority of youth in the region actually report relatively low levels of emotional distress.

Moreover, considering the way war and displacement have affected livelihoods and social roles, most youth report quite high levels of social functioning.

| Violent experienced | Never Abducted | Ever Abducted |
|---|---|---|
| Witnessed beatings or torture of other people | 59% | 91% |
| Witnessed a killing | 41% | 78% |
| Someone shot bullets at you or your home | 41% | 55% |
| Witnessed a battle or attack | 33% | 79% |
| A parent was murdered or died violently | 30% | 31% |
| Witnessed setting of houses on fire with people inside them | 28% | 53% |
| Received a severe beating to the body by someone | 22% | 63% |
| Forced to carry heavy loads or do forced labor | 13% | 88% |
| Someone attacked you with a panga or other weapon | 3% | 26% |
| Forced to abuse the bodies of dead persons | 0% | 23% |
| Forced to kill a civilian (not a family member or friend) | 0% | 20% |
| Forced to kill a family member or friend | 0% | 8% |

*This table displays 12 of the 31 measures of violence witnessed or committed by male youth. These measures were adapted from the Harvard Trauma Questionnaire. They asked whether or not youth had experienced specific types of violence, but did not measure the number of times it was*

Aggression is also remarkably low among these youth exposed to high levels of violence, with just 8% having been involved in a physical fight in the past month. Social workers in the reception centers, teachers, and community leaders explained that there are few incidents of aggression among the youth and that violence among returnees is rarely a problem. By comparison, acts of aggression among youth in high violence communities in the U.S. have been assessed as high as 84% (DuRant, R et al., 1994).

Finally, familial and relational resilience is also quite high. The death and poverty caused by chronic conflict has obviously stretched social networks, with many community members describing how social roles have changed and how lack of resources causes tensions among relatives. Yet despite these strains, family connectedness is reported as being very high among youth with over 70% of youth feeling very comfortable with their families, having caring families, and reporting rare arguments among family members.

## What is SWAY?

The Survey of War Affected Youth (SWAY) is a research program dedicated to improving the targeting and design of programs for war affected youth, and to understanding the scale, magnitude and incidence of violence and human rights abuses in the north.

To this end, SWAY is documenting the character of violence committed against youth, and the consequences of this violence (especially abduction) on their economic, social, physical and psychological well-being later in life.

To do so, we conducted a representative survey of nearly 750 boys and men across eight sub-counties in Kitgum and Pader. More than 30 of these youth were followed up repeatedly with in-depth interviews. A similar study of women and girls is now being planned.

SWAY was conducted in partnership with AVSI Uganda, who provided in-kind logistical and administrative support. We are also grateful for logistical support from UNICEF and IRC Uganda.

SWAY is supported financially by UNICEF Uganda (via AVSI) and by the MacArthur Foundation (via the UC Berkeley Human Rights Center. The initial pilot project was supported by the IPRA Foundation, the Russell Sage Foundation, UC Berkeley's IBER and Center for African Studies, and Indiana University, to whom we are most grateful. *The contents of this brief, however, do not necessarily reflect the views of these organizations; the SWAY Directors are fully responsible for the content in this research brief.*

To learn more about SWAY, visit www.SWAY-Uganda.org, or contact one of the Directors. □

# The minority of youth with low psycho-social well-being continue to function

While a significant minority of youth display some psychosocial difficulty, these symptoms are not associated with low achievement in other areas of their life.

## Minority with high emotional distress

While the majority of male youth—both abducted and non-abducted—have relatively low levels of emotional distress, there is a minority of youth who have fairly high levels of symptoms. Symptoms of distress are listed in the box at right, and the distribution of the scale is displayed in the figure at bottom.

One quarter of the youth are experiencing moderate to high levels of emotional distress, with a range of 12-19 symptoms occurring `sometimes' to `often'. Of course, one would expect most youth to experience some of these symptoms occasionally, even in an area without conflict and displacement. Therefore, the concern is for those who report high numbers and frequency of the symptoms.

Some of these youth struggle on a daily basis with their thoughts and emotions about a single event (like witnessing a massacre) or about a series of events (such as one's experiences in abduction); others experience distress from their current living situation.  This 25 year old male who was abducted for 6 months described the profound affect that one horrifying experience continued to have on his thoughts,

> As I live, there is no single day that has passed when I have not thought of what I went through that day. There were, of course, many other problems afterward but this was so much that every day I think about it.

## Generally high social functioning

Ten percent of youth have greater difficulty with social functioning, with a range of 6 to 13 negative social behaviors occurring rarely to often. Behaviors associated with positive social functioning are listed in the box at right, and the distribution of the scale is displayed in the figure at bottom.

While 6 to 13 is not necessarily a high number or frequency of negative behaviors, they can be significant because of their implications for the youth's connection with his family and community.  Youth are expected to contribute to the family and carry out responsibilities, as this uncle explains about his nephew:

> I expect him to help his younger brothers and sisters to study too. He should keep some money in his account to help these young ones to study. If he does this, then he would have helped me too. I also expect him to advice his older brother to stop drinking and plan for his children's future

Our psychosocial questionnaire, developed over several months of field work and testing, was adapted from Loughry & MacMullen (2002). The following common factors emerged from our analysis:

## Symptoms of Emotional Distress

- Irritability
- Inability to concentrate
- Nightmares and insomnia
- Hyper arousal
- Feelings of loneliness and helplessness
- Feeling unloved
- Feeling sad
- Extreme fear of losing one's family
- Keeping to oneself when worried
- Crying when thinking of the past
- Headaches, chest pain and shaking from `over-thinking'
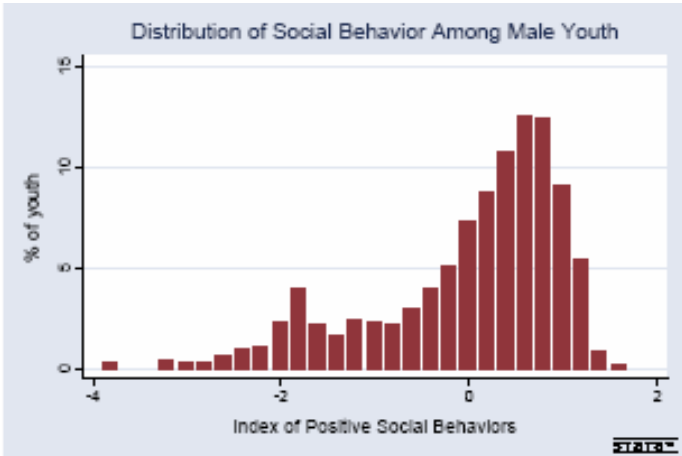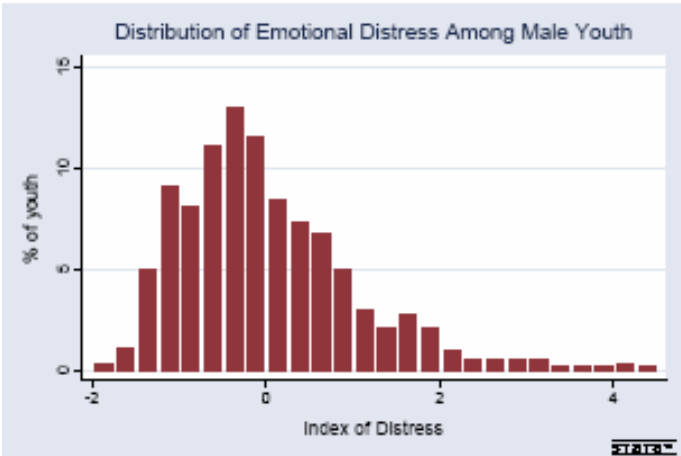
## Positive social functioning behaviors

- Caring about one's peers
- Sharing feelings and ideas with friends
- Enjoying talking and being with others
- Enjoying doing things in the community
- Being helpful to elders and children
- Sharing with others
- Other youth enjoy associating with the youth
- Confidence about doing things on one's own
- Having confidence about being responsible for others and about the future

## Aggression and attitudes to violence

Attitudes toward violence were measured in an indirect way by proposing scenarios, including:

- 'If a man insulted your neighbor, would it be acceptable for your neighbor to seriously beat him?'
- 'If a man's wife were to argue with him or talk back, would it be acceptable for him to beat her?'

These questions were then followed up with, 'Would you do the same in this situation?' The number of physical fights the youth was involved in over the past month was also assessed.



Distribution of Emotional Distress Among Male Youth



Distribution of Social Behavior Among Male Youth

Note: Each index has been standardized to have a mean of 0 and a std. dev. of 1.

### Low levels of aggression and violence

There is also a small number of youth with higher levels of aggression and more violent attitudes. These behaviors are defined in the box on the previous page.

Based on the survey, eight percent of the youth reported being in a fight in the past month. Meanwhile, one fifth thought it acceptable for someone to physically assault a neighbor if the neighbor had stolen property.

Generally, however, levels of violence are quite low. This is also true, perhaps especially so, for the formerly abducted. A technical school teacher was asked to describe their behavior:

*Some are free but others are not really free. None of them has yet portrayed any serious form of indiscipline like theft or physical fights... It's the non-abducted students who are very stubborn [defiant]. There is always some fear in the formerly abducted students but this goes away say after the first year and after this, you can hardly differentiate the formerly abducted and the non-abducted.*

A third of youth reported that it would be okay for them to beat their wife if she talked back to them. Interviews suggest that physical aggression against one's wife is not necessarily viewed as domestic violence but can be seen as a 'disciplinary' measure. Some youth argued that it is an obligation for a man to beat his wife if she has done something wrong.

However, 70% of youth stated that it is inappropriate to beat one's wife, suggesting that these measures are supported by a minority with more violent or patriarchal attitudes.

### The use and abuse of alcohol

22 percent of the youth in our sample admitted to taking alcohol in the past week. Just 5 percent reported getting drunk regularly. Of those that reported taking any alcohol, they reported an average of 2.4 drinks. 1/3 said that they often take alcohol in the morning "to help them get through the day".

Even though alcohol abuse is likely only a problem among a minority of youth, it causes disproportionately great difficulties. These issues will be discussed in greater detail in a future research brief.

### No link between low psychosocial well-being and material life

One of the most important questions in assessing psychosocial symptoms is whether they affects daily functioning—for example, whether one's thoughts and emotions interfere with the ability to go to school or be employed.

Remarkably, our data showed that on average, emotional distress, social functioning, or aggression was not associated with school attendance or employment. This means that, despite their higher level of symptoms, youth with lower psychosocial well-being are able to function in day-to-day activities in the same way as their peers.

It is important to note that while data show that this is true on average and thus may have implications for targeting programming, qualitative interviews show that there are certainly individuals whose daily lives and relationships are greatly affected by their emotional distress, as this youth describes,

*I have nightmares and bad dreams. I dream about the bad things they [the LRA] used to do, like killing people by cutting them into pieces with pangas [machetes]. This normally happens at night then I fail to catch sleep and eventually end up sitting in the night... I think even during the day more, especially when I think about them trying to kill me, so even if I am with my friends, I think about what happened to me and to my friends [long silence]. Sometimes when I sit alone, I think about the panga they used to kill people with and other bad things the rebels did. That haunts me and haunts me to an extent that I don't want to see anyone next to me when I think about it.*

# The effects of abduction and violence on psychosocial well-being

From a simple comparison of formerly abducted youth to the non-abducted:

- Those abducted and exposed to higher levels of violence are 50% more likely to experience higher emotional distress.

- On average, abduction does not have an impact on youths' social functioning. However, the abducted youth who are exposed to high levels of violence are more likely to have reduced social functioning.

- Abduction has a slight negative impact on violent attitudes, with those who have been abducted being more likely to condone violence as a solution to a problem.

- There is a small but significant relationship between those who reported having committed acts of violence while with the LRA and those who report having been in a fight in the past month.

- Abduction has a negative impact on family connectedness—abducted youth had lower levels of family connectedness.



*Photo by Blake Farrington*

# Searching for risk and protective factors

What are the differences between the majority of youth with fairly high levels of psychosocial well-being and those who are more affected? What are the factors that seem to protect youth from experiencing high distress, low social functioning, or increased aggression? And what puts them more at risk of reduced well-being? Our research showed several related factors on the individual, family and community level.

First, as expected, those who were abducted and exposed to more violence were more likely to experience high levels of emotional distress and have more violent attitudes. While exposure to violence affected the social functioning of the formerly abducted, it did not seem to significantly affect the non-abducted youth in this way. This may be because the abducted experience more intense and prolonged violence (the measure captures only whether they have experienced a specific act of violence or not). It may also be related to their being part of the group committing the violence, even if they themselves do not commit the acts.

Second, those who had high family connectedness and social support were more likely to have lower levels of emotional distress and better social functioning. Interestingly, orphans (23% of male youth) were not more likely to have lower psychosocial well-being if they had high family connectedness (likely in part because, if a youth's parents die, the extended family usually cares for him). Many people explain that orphans used to be absorbed into families without any problem but that families are now overstretched with too many orphans due to war violence and disease.

Third, greater household wealth was associated with less emotional distress, indicating that the lack of assets adds a significant daily stressor for youth. Finally, mother's education was also a protective factor—those whose mothers were more educated were less likely to have high emotional distress.

For the youth who were formerly with the LRA, those abducted as adults have slightly worse social functioning than those abducted as children. Community insults upon return were strongly associated with emotional distress and social functioning.

Furthermore, those who blame themselves for the atrocities experienced or committed are more likely to experience high levels of emotional distress. It is important to note that these relationships may be bidirectional and that individuals can affect family and community reactions to them as well as the family and community relationships affecting them.

The factors discussed provide some understanding of risk and protective factors for psychosocial well-being; however, they do not explain a majority of the individual differences in psychosocial well-being. This may be both because there is a significant amount of individual traits that explain the differences and because there were contributing factors that we were unable to measure, such as more in-depth aspects of peer support and social networks as well as other community-wide factors. Further research in these areas is needed.

# What constitutes mental health in Acholiland?

In northern Uganda, there is a tremendous amount of importance placed on fitting into one's social role, including behaving like others, obeying elders, and being helpful and respectful.

Contributing to the family and living up to family expectations is a major indicator to family members that the youth is doing well. This often includes both completing household chores and contributing economically to the family. Those who are isolated, aggressive, or who don't adequately contribute are seen as having problems and as causing problems for the family.

The emphasis on community and social conformity may contribute to the low levels of aggression even among returnees. However, the pressure to social conformity may also make some youth feel quite disempowered.

Several youth discussed in the qualitative interviews that if they had the physical capability or social backing, they would fight back—physically or verbally—when they are insulted. Instead they describe feeling powerless and therefore simply accept what others do to them. For instance, from one formerly abducted boy interviewed:

> Before, if some one was talking to me or quarrelling on me, however much you say something, I could still answer you back in a good way but now if some one says something bad or quarrels I can only keep quiet or start to cry. So I find it has changed my life and the reasons as to why I cry I even do not know.

Emotional distress among the Acholi has some of its own unique expressions. Physical complaints, such as headaches, chest pain, and shaking are commonly seen as connected to excessive worries or 'over-thinking'.

There are also differences in the interpretation of what clinical psychology considers symptoms. Effects on the youth such as nightmares, irritability, and feelings of sadness are similar to symptoms of psychological disorders such as post-traumatic stress disorder and depression, yet there are quite different interpretations among the Acholi of some of the symptoms.

This can be especially true of those youth who are forced to kill. One boy interviewed explained to us the effects of being forced to kill his brother and witnessing his sister's death.

> I started dreaming of [my brother] a week after the incidence and at times I could see him even during the day, how I beat him would all re-surface. When I came back home, I used to again see my sister. She could appear to me and always when she is so worried about me. And when she comes tears just roll down my cheeks. So I used to stay all by myself when I was in World Vision [reception centre] and could not eat even if food is prepared, because I was so worried.

Nightmares, flashbacks or other 'strange' behavior outside the social norm are often interpreted as *cen*—ghostly vengeance which can be a result of killing someone, defacing a body, or merely seeing a dead body mistreated or without proper burial.

This makes it is essential to consider the spiritual world of the Acholi community to better understand psychosocial well-being.

# The spiritual world of the Acholi

**Haunting, *cen*, and nightmares**

Five percent of youth reported being haunted by spirits, or *cen*, with the large majority being the formerly abducted. The collective understanding of *cen* is that it can spread from one person to another, polluting a family or community.  This has social implications on a youth with nightmares or flashbacks since a community may be frightened of being polluted by him.

A formerly abducted young man describes his nightmares and the reactions of his family:

> The only problem I recognized with my in-laws is that they, in a way, doubted my personality saying I might have committed some bad acts while in the bush, and this might still be in my line of thought and one day similar things could happen.

> My wife, too, was a little scared, although we were staying together. This was because I used to have nightmares and could scream and jump out of bed thinking I was still in the bush with the rebels. This, therefore, made her ask me time and again if at all I was being haunted by someone's spirit whom I might have killed.  But because I know I did not do such a thing, I told her the truth but now I no longer experience such dreams.

**Ceremonies**

Cleansing ceremonies are performed by elders to cleanse the youth from *cen* and are seen as appeasing the spirit with an animal sacrifice. Baines (2005) and Caritas (2005) describe these ceremonies and their significance in detail.

Just under half of the formerly abducted youth in our study had a cleansing ceremony performed for them. Family members of the formerly abducted explained that it was important for them to know whether the youth killed anyone while 'in the bush', because they worried about spiritual pollution. The aunt of one formerly abducted boy worried that he had not yet allowed such a ceremony:

> When he reached home the elders were ready with the goat for rituals but he refused saying that rituals were for those who had done havoc [brutal act] in the bush, but he had not so he didn't need a ritual.

> Q. Why do you feel its so important to perform this ritual?

> Rituals will wash him clean. All the bad things he did in the bush will be washed. He already stepped on the eggs and pobo [the trunk of a tree].  It is just remaining the goat to cleanse him.

However, some youth explained that they refused to disclose their acts due to shame or fear of rejection or revenge. One youth abducted youth explained,

> Q: Does it bother you to talk about it?

> No, it is that sometimes after sharing, people call me a rebel. It can create hatred between the community and me.

> Q: The other day when I was talking to the people in the house, they told me that they didn't know you were abducted until you were working together and they saw your scars. Was there a reason that you didn't want to tell them?
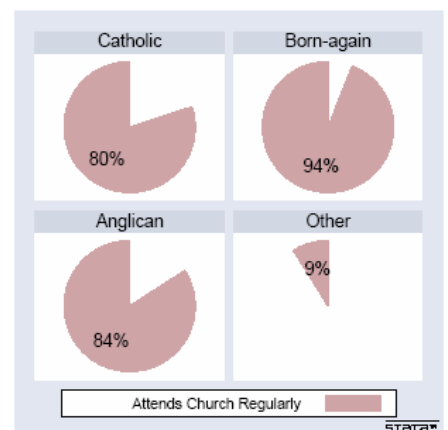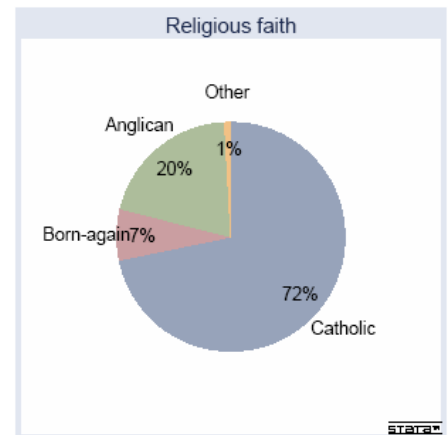
> If I told them, they could turn it around and use it against me.

Some youth explained that ceremonies performed had rid them of their nightmares while others continued to be haunted (our data showed no significant difference between those who had gone through ceremonies)  If still haunted, the next step was often to perform another ceremony or go to an *ajwaka*, commonly translated as either a witch doctor or traditional healer. This uncle of a youth with *cen* described the family's experience:

> The only new thing is that the mother went to Gulu and found a witch doctor who said that he [abducted youth] is the way he is because of some "dirt" surrounding his life as per his experiences in the bush. So it has to be removed but the witch doctor asked for a lot of money: 70,000/=. That is why we have not yet taken him but we are planning to do so.

*[Continued on following page]*

*"Rituals will wash him clean. All the bad things he did in the bush will be washed.  He already stepped on the eggs and* pobo *[the trunk of a tree].  It is just remaining the goat to cleanse him."*



Religious faith



Attends Church Regularly

*[Continued from the previous page]*

With over 90% of youth in the north considering themselves Christians, prayers were also described as a way of healing and recovery from these symptoms. Some youth and families blend traditional ceremonies and Christian prayers while others see them in contradiction.

Still others, as this same uncle describes, seem to have a more pragmatic approach as they seek to alleviate their family's suffering.

> *...but if this fails, we can try something else like for my other son who ran mad. According to the story I was told, he went herding with another boy and they found a dead body. From that time he has not been well. He was first taken to a witchdoctor but it failed. Now he is 'born again' and he is fine.*

Those who are 'saved' often do not want traditional rituals to be performed and some formerly abducted youth explained that certain reception centers tell them not to accept traditional ceremonies.

This became a problem for the youth who did not want a ceremony performed but whose family saw it as necessary. As with the traditional rituals and ceremonies, some youth like this 22 year old explained how the prayers have helped them overcome their nightmares,

> *I used to have a lot of dreams which disturbed me so much when I had just reported and was in Gulu. So I was taken to be prayed for and this helped me because I stopped dreaming. But when I came back home here in Kitgum, these [dreams] came back and what I am doing now to help is by going to church...*
>
> *If it happens [these days] and I wake up, I then get up and pray then go back to bed. So if I pray, it doesn't repeat. I sleep till morning.*

Our study showed that out of the small group (5%) who felt or were believed to be haunted, approximately one-third wanted to consult with a witch doctor or have a ceremony conducted while another third wanted to have prayers, go to church or get saved to rid themselves of *cen*.

This is an interesting balance in the population of traditional and Christian beliefs. Also interesting is the tension within the humanitarian aid community between those who support rituals and ceremonies and those who support Christian-based prayers, both with the aim of contributing to psychosocial healing.

It seems clear that dictating interventions for youth and their families could be counter-productive and potentially harmful, especially because of the highly spiritual nature of the LRA, where many youth are forced to take part in rituals and practices.

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# Conclusions and implications for psychosocial programming

There has been much discussion and debate at the national and international level about psychosocial programs. Are psychosocial interventions essential in emergencies? Who should they target and how? And, fundamentally, what are they?

There has been an emphasis on psychosocial programming in northern Uganda with programs that range from reception centers for the formerly abducted; workshops for volunteers, teachers, and soldiers; recreational activities; supporting rituals and ceremonies, and of course 'counseling' (often simply advice-giving, for instance see Allen and Schomerus, 2006). Individual-level educational support and income generating activities also seem to occasionally fall under the psychosocial umbrella.

While many youth seem to have benefited from these programs, the findings from this study suggest a shift in focus. It seems there is a need for identifying and targeting those with the most extreme levels of emotional distress or social functioning along with those who lack family connectedness. This, however, may take more specialized interventions, as these cases seem to need more than the wide scale community-based programming that has been taking place.

In focusing on the psychosocial resilience of the majority of youth, it seems important to stress that we are not suggesting that youth in northern Uganda are performing extremely well. Low levels of symptoms do not suggest maximum well-being, and it is clear to anyone who has spent time in northern Uganda that few people are doing really well in the displacement camps. However, it is notable that the youth are finding ways to function in these circumstances, if only because they have no other option.

As we will explain in the next research brief, it is our opinion that broad-based education and employment programs would offer more to the majority of youth than explicitly psychosocial ones. Ultimately, however, we see little hope for youth—psychosocially or economically—if they cannot return to their traditional land and livelihoods. These issues will be addressed further in a future research brief.

# SWAY Methodology

SWAY was conducted by a highly trained team of six research assistants, all university-educated Acholi youth, between September 2005 and March 2006. Youth were traced to wherever they may have migrated, and surveys and interviews were conducted in camps, barracks, towns, and cities around Uganda. The survey instruments, as well as further information about the study, are available for download at www.SWAY-Uganda.org.

### Study population

SWAY's population of interest is males born between 1975 and 1992, and thus between 13 and 30 years of age today—the conventional Acholi definition of youth. This includes both abducted and non-abducted youth.

Eight sub-counties, or clusters, were selected for surveying: Akwang, Kitgum Matidi, Orom, and Palabek Gem in Kitgum District; and Acholi Bur, Atanga, Pader, and Pajule in Pader District. Security and logistical concerns prevented us from selecting clusters randomly, and so generalization of any results to the entire region must be done with caution.

### Study Design

The Survey includes both a quantitative survey component as well as in-depth qualitative interviews with a small sub-sample of the youth (along with their families, neighbors, and teachers).
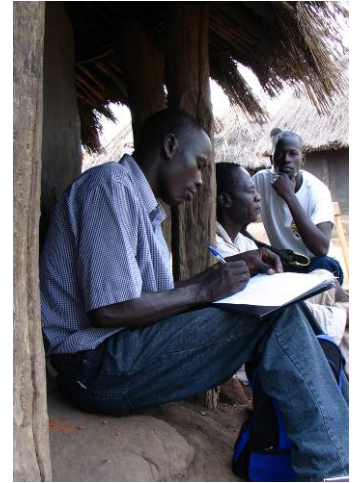
In-depth interviews were conducted in the presence of a research assistant/translator and the respondent alone, usually in their home. Most youth selected for in-depth interviews were visited multiple times over several months. Interviews were taped, with their permission. Quotes in the this research brief were typically transcribed and translated by the research assistant conducting the interviews.

Youth were selected for the quantitative survey in two stages. Households in each sub-county were selected randomly from World Food Program distribution lists created in 2002 and 2003. A roster of youth in the household was developed with household members, including information on each household member's age, mortality, and abduction history, and each youth's present occupation, location, and education. A sub-sample of youth was selected for in-depth interviewing from these rosters.

The pool of male youth resident in the camps today exclude all those that died, were abducted and did not return, or have since migrated away. In order to obtain a random sample of youth living in the region prior to the 1997 escalation of the conflict, the household roster completed was a retrospective one—households were asked to recall all youth in their household in 1996, the year of Museveni's first election.

### Sample size

1,200 households were selected, of which 38 were dropped due to inaccessibility and 146 could not be located, leaving 1,016 households and data on more than 10,000 individuals. Of the 2,317 male youth in the rosters, nearly 900 were selected for in-depth interviewing. Interviews continue, with more than 730 completed. Migrants are being tracked to their new locations across the country. Over 85% of selected youth are expected to be found. A sub-sample of more than 30 youth was selected non-randomly for in-depth qualitative interviews, as well as interviews with their family and communities. □

# People of SWAY

**Jeannie Annan** is co-Director of SWAY. She is a PhD candidate in the Department of Counseling Psychology at Indiana University at Bloomington.

She is presently a Visiting Fellow at the Human Rights Center at the University of California at Berkeley.

Prior to SWAY, Jeannie worked for six years in psycho-social program management and evaluation in Uganda, Sudan, and Kosovo.

In July 2006, Jeannie will be joining Bellevue Hospital in New York City, counseling international victims of torture.

**Chris Blattman** is co-Director of SWAY. He is currently a PhD candidate in the Department of Economics at the University of California at Berkeley.

He also holds a Master's in Public Administration from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

In addition to SWAY, Chris has also conducted large socio-economic and health surveys of children and youth in Kenya and South Asia.

Chris is presently conducting randomized evaluations of youth post-conflict programs in Kosovo and Ingushetia with The World Bank.

**Roger Horton** is the SWAY Survey Manager. He has several years experience working with youth in Africa, and he holds a Master's in Public Affairs from the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton University.

**Okot Godfrey** is SWAY Survey Supervisor. **Aloya Innocent**, **Okoya Denish**, **Ayee Florence**, **Laruni Evelyn**, and **Aryemo Filder** are our dedicated Research Assistants.

**Blake Farrington** is a San Francisco based photographer. He can be contacted at contact@blakefarrington.com, or visit his website at www.blakefarrington.com.