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CONFLICT AND RECOVERY BRIEFING REPORT NO. 7: UNPACKING THE 'P' IN PRDP

STABILITY, PEACE AND RECONCILIATION IN NORTHERN UGANDA (SPRING) PROJECT




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ACRONYMS

ARLPI	Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative
CAR	Central African Republic
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
GoSS	Government of South Sudan
ICC	International Criminal Court
LRA	Lords Resistance Army
NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Services
NRA	National Resistance Army
NUSAF	Northern Uganda Social Action Fund
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OPM	Office of the Prime Minister
PRDP	Peace Recovery and Development Plan
ULGA	Uganda Local Governments Association
UNCST	Uganda National Council of Science & Technology
UPDF	Uganda Peoples Defense Force
WCD	War Crimes Division (of the High Court of Uganda)
WFP	World Food Program

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In October 2007 the Government of Uganda released the Peace Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP). This was developed in recognition of the need for a comprehensive framework for post-conflict recovery in northern Uganda.

At the request of community and government leaders, USAID SPRING, in consultation with the Uganda Local Governments Association (ULGA) and the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), contracted Pincer Group International to carry out research across six districts in the Acholi and Lango sub-regions. The goal of this research was to reflect on the extent to which recovery programs are responding to current local needs and are supporting and underpinning sustainable peace.

The research process started in December 2009 with field work undertaken between January and August 2010. The views of over 500 people were canvassed and validated during the research including those of community members, political, religious and traditional leaders, civil society representatives & development partners.

Key findings of the study were:

1. There is a divergence in views between communities and leaders on sustainable peace, security and potential future conflict.
2. Links between essential service provision and the consolidation of state authority and peace building are important, both because those services are needed and because they help to address strong perceptions of marginalization and lack of government responsiveness.
3. Inter-regional inequalities exist in terms of levels of access to opportunities and assets.
4. The community of northern Uganda is very concerned about how possible investment plans, such as commercial agriculture development and oil, will impact their lives.
5. Land disputes, triggered by return from displacement and found primarily at the household level, are exacerbated by ambiguity on both freehold and customary land tenure systems.
6. Long term land use and investment present both opportunities and challenges.
7. The community in northern Uganda has expressed great need for reparations and reconciliation.
8. Culture is invaluable for reducing victimhood related to the conflict, boosting prosperity related to the recovery and national reconciliation.
9. Changes in gender roles and intergenerational dynamics are causing tension and sometimes conflict in communities.
10. Communication about recovery programs in northern Uganda does not reach all levels of the community.

A series of recommendations are provided in the table below and in more detail in Section 7 of the report.

1.1 Summary of Recommendations

Key Finding	Recommendation
Conflict cessation and security	
1. There is a divergence in views between communities and leaders on sustainable peace, security and potential future conflict.	▪ Leaders need to acknowledge that many people in northern Uganda believe that a return to conflict is still possible. Service provision should not only respond to economic recovery needs, but should also address persistent security concerns, marginalization, historical grievances, corruption and divisive politics. ▪ Programming in the north should include more community peacebuilding activities and development programs should ensure that they mainstream peace and reconciliation practices, such as nonviolent dispute resolution and group dynamics, into their planned interventions. ▪ Local government and the Police should launch information campaigns and maintain regular dialogue with communities to discuss and allay lingering security concerns and to establish clear security practices that respond to community needs.
Ability to meet basic needs	
2. Links between essential service provision and the consolidation of state authority and peace building are important, both because those services are needed and because they help to address strong perceptions of marginalization and lack of government responsiveness.	▪ Government and development partners need to ensure that service provision and development programs are as inclusive as possible, with transparent selection processes and benefits for individuals and the community as a whole. ▪ Local and national government should convene regular public outreach activities with the community on service delivery challenges and opportunities.
Access to economic opportunities and productive assets	
3. Inter-regional inequalities exist in terms of levels of access to opportunities and assets.	▪ Government and development partners must map and implement interventions in northern Uganda ensuring that there is equitable access to economic opportunities and that underserved communities receive the attention they need.
4. The community of northern Uganda is very concerned about how possible investment plans, such as commercial agriculture development and oil, will impact their lives.	▪ Public and/or private investment plans should be reviewed by all relevant stakeholders, including national and local government leaders. ▪ Public information on commercial investment should be available to communities where investments will occur from the initial stages of investment. ▪ Investors should hold consultations with communities to review investment plans and allay concerns that stem from long displacement, mistrust of government and lack of economic opportunity from the conflict.
Access to and ownership of land	
5. Land disputes, triggered by return from displacement and found primarily at the household level, are exacerbated by ambiguity on both freehold and customary land tenure systems.	▪ Programs that disseminate accurate information on land rights will help to alleviate land conflicts in the community, especially those that involve vulnerable groups. ▪ District governments should strengthen District Land Boards (DLB) and Area Land Committees (ALC) by increasing expertise and practice in both freehold and customary land tenure systems. ▪ Traditional leaders should be included in land dispute resolution by hosting informal dialogue and mediation, as well as by participating in formal mechanisms such as DLBs and ALCs. ▪ Alternative dispute resolution should be practiced as a compliment to formal land dispute resolution tools to alleviate land case congestion.

Key Finding	Recommendation
6. Long term land use and investment presents both opportunities and challenges.	▪ Land developers should meet communities where their planned investment is and acquire a "*social license to operate*." They should provide transparent information on intended land use plans. ▪ Commercial land acquisition should respect the multiple land tenure systems that are legal in Uganda to streamline sale transfers and avoid conflict. Consensus-driven land use agreements can help to allay fears of land grabbing and prevent future disputes over land use.
Transitional justice and reconciliation	
7. The community in northern Uganda has expressed great need for reparations and reconciliation.	▪ Government should continue to implement the Final Peace Agreement and take forward its commitments on Accountability and Reconciliation in a holistic manner. ▪ Civil society partners should be supported to organize around local and national reconciliation and reparations activities.
Cultural and social recovery	
8. Culture is invaluable for reducing victimhood related to the conflict, boosting prosperity promised by the recovery and national reconciliation.	▪ Leaders can aid the recovery and help pave the path to prosperity in their communities by reestablishing cultural values and identities in a way that incorporates the best of the old while creating space for the new. ▪ Leaders should use cultural renewal and strengthening as a platform for the promotion of respect for other groups across Uganda who have suffered from conflict and as a tool to support national reconciliation.
9. Changes in gender roles and intergenerational dynamics are causing tension and sometimes conflict in communities.	▪ Education on and support to Women's and Children's empowerment must continue in northern Uganda, where both bore the brunt of the conflict. ▪ Programs, such as economic development activities, should mainstream women's and children's empowerment and include men to reduce tensions and encourage progress in these areas.
Knowledge and perceptions of recovery programs	
10. Communication about recovery programs in northern Uganda does not reach all levels of the community.	▪ A comprehensive summary of services delivered and still planned under the PRDP should be widely disseminated. ▪ Central government and development partners should work with local government to ensure recovery efforts are communicated through all levels of government.

2. INTRODUCTION AND OBJECTIVES

2.1. Introduction

Conflict affected large parts of northern Uganda for over two decades. For much of this time, the Government of Uganda was fighting an insurgency caused by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA). At the height of insecurity (between 2002 and 2004), almost 2 million people were internally displaced and living in overcrowded camps with little or no access to land for cultivation. Morbidity and mortality rates were high and extreme social deprivation was witnessed. Since 2006, the security situation has dramatically improved and large numbers of the displaced people have returned to their homes and recommenced productive activity.

A significant number of programs are underway in northern Uganda that are intended to support and underpin reconciliation and peace building processes. In October 2007 the Government of Uganda released the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP). This was developed in recognition of the need for a comprehensive framework for post-conflict recovery. The PRDP recognizes that action is required at different levels and by a diverse range of actors to achieve sustainable recovery and development.

Many co-ordination structures were created during the period of active conflict and the initial stages of recovery. The extent to which these address and respond to current issues and priorities and /or complement each other is not always clear. While diverse approaches are required, there is a need for some reflection on the extent to which different actions and programs are responding to current local needs and priorities and whether there are any unmet critical gaps. There is also a need for further dialogue within and between actors and agencies regarding their specific roles and comparative advantages. Local leaders and district administrations, in particular, have a pivotal role to play in the recovery process since they are strategically placed and constitutionally mandated to bring together the broad range of local initiatives and actors and to inform the development of national policy and programs.

2.2. Objectives of the study

In order to help stimulate further debate and dialogue USAID SPRING, in consultation with the Uganda Local Governments Association (ULGA) and the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM), contracted Pincer Group International to carry out focused research.

The objectives of the study were as follows:

i. Assess current and potential future conflict risks and issues related to peace and reconciliation in northern Uganda

ii. Make recommendations about what interventions and approaches may be required by both government and development agencies to address them.

The research was carried out within six districts affected by the LRA conflict (Amuru, Gulu, Lira, Kitgum, Pader and Oyam.) Field work was undertaken between January and August 2010. It culminated in a verification and action planning workshop that was held in Gulu in June 2010. This brought together representatives from local communities, religious, traditional and political leaders and the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM).

This report presents and discusses the key findings of the research and makes a number of recommendations for further action and follow up.

3. BACKGROUND AND KEY ISSUES

3.1 Conflict in northern Uganda

After attaining independence from the British in 1962 Uganda suffered a number of military coups and armed rebellions. While since the mid nineteen eighties the country as a whole has seen relative security and high levels of economic growth, the north and parts of north eastern Uganda continued to be beset by ongoing conflict and insecurity with several armed groups opposed to the government emerging. The most persistent and devastating of these has been the Lord's Resistance Army whose insurgency affected large parts of northern Uganda for over 22 years.

The LRA first became active in late 1987 emerging out of the remnants of Alice Lakwena's Holy Spirit Movement. Lakwena herself and a group known as the Uganda Peoples Defense Army (UPDA) emerged following the overthrow, in 1986, of the regime of Tito Okello Lutwa by President Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA).

The LRA is often characterized as a millenaristic cult rather than a recognizable political or social movement. Joseph Kony is seen by (at least some) of his senior commanders as a powerful spirit medium who can foretell the future and control physical events from a distance. This could in part explain the group's resilience over many years as it enabled Kony and LRA senior commanders to exercise a degree of control over their subordinates, many of them abductees, that goes beyond normal military command structures. For a substantial period during the nineteen nineties the LRA were also provided with support and assistance by the Government of Sudan.

While it can be argued that rebellion in northern Uganda originally grew out of a deep sense of alienation and dissatisfaction within the Acholi region the LRA's appalling methods, (including child abduction and brutalization, and the mutilation, rape and murder of civilians) quickly negated any support it might have expected from the population as a whole.

However, given that the LRA was predominantly, though not exclusively, made up of Acholi people, family and clan links with abductees and fears for their safety meant that while the majority of people did not support the LRA, and indeed greatly feared them, there was often a reluctance to report LRA movements or presence to the Uganda People's Defense Force and authorities. Allegations of abuses of human rights by government troops and security agents during the conflict also undermined confidence in the government.

Many people in northern Uganda felt that they were victims of a fight between two forces that they felt powerless to bring to an end. The seeming intractable nature of the conflict and the absence, and to many people the undesirability, of, a military solution led to considerable pressure from local, national and international actors for other approaches to bring the conflict to an end to be given increased emphasis.

3.2. Key developments since 2000

A number of the key developments that have taken place since 2000 which are particularly pertinent to this study are highlighted below.

3.2.1. THE UGANDA AMNESTY ACT AND TRADITIONAL JUSTICE

In January 2000, President Museveni signed into law an Amnesty for those involved in armed rebellion since 1986. The law began its passage as an offer of limited amnesty excluding certain offences deemed to be particularly serious. But as a result of lobbying by civil society, led by the Acholi Religious Leaders,

and following a process of national consultation, the scope of the Act was widened to create a comprehensive amnesty overseen by an Amnesty Commission. The Act provides a mechanism for receiving, demobilizing and resettling ex-combatants. Under its provisions over 5000 former LRA members claimed amnesty between 2000 and 2007. While a number of these were people who were only abducted for a short period, middle and senior ranking LRA commanders have also claimed Amnesty.

The Amnesty Act specifically recognizes the potential role of alternative justice including traditional forms of justice and reconciliation. The Acholi have a traditional process known as "Mato Oput". In the local Luo language, this literally means "to drink a bitter potion made from the leaves of the Oput tree". The ceremony of "Mato Oput" which is preceded by an extensive period of community dialogue led by traditional leaders involves the person accepting responsibility for their actions then asking for forgiveness of the community and reparations being agreed. The ceremony itself is conducted by a council of elders. Mato Oput ceremonies have already played an important part in helping to reintegrate some LRA combatants into society. However, the Mato Oput system also has its limitations. Not all of the victims of the conflict are Acholi and some may not be willing to subscribe to a process that is not part of their tradition. In addition, it is argued that, Mato-Oput has never had to handle a problem of the current magnitude.[1]

3.2.2. The Juba Peace Process

Throughout the insurgency there were a number of attempts to broker peace talks between the LRA and the Government of Uganda (GoU). The most recent and most notable of these was the Juba Peace Process which began in 2006

This initiative was led by the Government of South Sudan (GoSS) with a strong lead from H.E. Vice President Dr Riek Machar, who acted as mediator and hosted the talks in Juba. Negotiations began in July 2006 after a period during which Machar developed direct contact with the LRA leaders including Joseph Kony himself. The UN and civil society were present as observers. The process was largely financed through a fund established by the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). UN Special Envoy Joaquim Chissano played an important role at key points in the process in encouraging all sides to keep talking.

A key landmark was reached in August 2006 with the signing of a Cessation of Hostilities Agreement. Despite a number of challenges, significant progress was made during 2006 and in 2007 a final peace agreement was drafted by the negotiating teams. However, the process broke down when the LRA leadership declined to sign the final agreement and a joint military operation against the group began in late December 2008. This operation did not result in the death or capture of the LRA leadership and its long-term implications for regional security and the situation in the north are currently unclear. While northern Uganda has seen a period of stability for the last four years the LRA continue to be carry out attacks in north eastern DRC, the Central African Republic (CAR) and parts of southern Sudan.

Although a final agreement was never signed, the series of agreements reached at the Juba talks that make up the Final Peace Agreement provide a framework for recovery and reconciliation. The Government of Uganda has pledged to implement the agreement.[2]

3.2.3. The intervention of the International Criminal Court

In October 2005, the International Criminal Court (ICC) unsealed warrants for the arrest of five senior LRA commanders, including Joseph Kony. ICC investigations were launched after the Government of

[1] Liu Institute for Global Issues, Gulu NGO Forum, Ker Kwaro Acholi "Roco Wat I Acoli," p.66, 2005.
[2] Sudan Tribune, "Uganda's Peace Deal Implementation Begins Without Signature," September 26, 2008.

Uganda referred the matter to the Court. Opinion on the ICC warrants in northern Uganda is mixed with many people feeling that they became a stumbling block to achieving progress in the Juba talks. Other observers feel that they were a factor behind the LRA leadership even engaging in peace talks in the first place.

In response to one of its commitments under the Juba process, the Government of Uganda has established a War Crimes Division (WCD) of the High Court of Uganda. This is an attempt to establish a mechanism that might enable those indicted by the ICC, and others, to be tried in Uganda by establishing the principle and practice of complementarity.

The establishment of viable transitional justice processes and the interplay between international and national judicial processes, truth telling, reparations, amnesty and traditional reconciliation mechanisms remains a complex and emerging set of issues.

3.3. Recovery efforts and the PRDP

In October 2007 the Government of Uganda released the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan. This was developed in recognition of the need for a comprehensive framework for post-conflict recovery. The rationale for the PRDP is focused on several key issues:

- A need to support ongoing political dialogue and existing commitments;
- A need to support the resolution of conflict and the fostering of growth and prosperity under a framework, adapted to conflict contexts in the north, to ensure the adequate coordination, supervision and monitoring of ongoing interventions;
- The fostering of political, security and development linkages to ensure post-conflict socio-economic recovery and investments;
- The mobilization of resources to address development gaps.

The PRDP has four strategic objectives: (1) the consolidation of state authority; (2) the rebuilding and empowering of communities; (3) revitalization of the northern economy; and (4) peace building and reconciliation. The indicative cost of programmes and activities covered by the PRDP was estimated to be US$ 606 million at the programme's launch. The Office of the Prime Minister is responsible for the coordination of activities.[3]

The PRDP articulates the view that many conflict and peace building issues can be resolved through the realisation of improvements in the delivery of basic services, the rule of law and transparent and accountable resource utilization. The need to ensure that interventions across all sectors are conflict sensitive, promote peaceful co-existence and provide equitable development opportunities is noted. However it is also recognized that specific interventions are required to address some reconciliation and reintegration issues as well as the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants. It is intended that these should fall under the umbrella of Strategic Objective 4: Peace Building and Reconciliation. Special mention is made of the need for extensive collaboration on these issues between central government and local leaders and district administrations and the important role that civil society and traditional institutions have to play.

[3] Republic of Uganda, "Peace, Recovery and Development Plan for Northern Uganda," 2007, pp.vi-ix

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. Study context and location

The study was conducted in Acholi and Lango sub-regions of Northern Uganda. This is the part of the country that was most seriously affected by the LRA rebellion over a protracted period. The area extends to the border of southern Sudan in the North and the River Nile to the south and West. In the East it included the two districts of Oyam and Lira in Lango sub-region.

The Luo speaking population is predominantly Acholi and Langi and depend largely on agriculture for their livelihoods. At the height of the conflict, over 90% of the population was displaced, most into internally displaced people's camps (IDP camps). Many have now returned to their homes.

4.2. Methods

The study used the following methods and approaches to gather information for analysis:

- **Literature review:** Relevant literature was extracted from several sources including local libraries, electronic databases, development agencies and academic sources. The review is attached as a separate annex in section eight.
- **Qualitative research:** This included focus group discussions, informant interviews and Wang oo/Te otem (traditional evening fireplace discussions). Purposive sampling was used and respondents included community members, political, religious and traditional leaders and, at the national level, members of the donor community, the judiciary, members of parliament, academia and international non-governmental organizations.
- **Household survey:** a questionnaire was administered to household heads across the six districts with respondents asked a variety of questions on their perceptions of issues related to conflict, security, peace and recovery (including household welfare and access to basic services). A sample size of 200 households was selected to give a study power of over 85%. In the eventuality, however, a total of 182 households in 29 villages were actually surveyed, in the 12 counties, 14 sub-counties and 16 parishes. Despite the shortfall, the study still maintained a high power of 82%. Random sampling was used.

Eleven research assistants were trained on the basic principles of research. This included purposive and random selection of participants for the study, the ethical protocol, the meaning and importance of informed consent, questionnaire administration and facilitating group discussions. Research safety issues, daily reporting mechanisms, and basic data recording and analysis were also reviewed. Research assistants provided support to the principal investigators. The investigators provided technical oversight but were also directly involved in supervision of data collection.

4.3. Sample Characteristics

4.3.1. FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Twenty four focus group discussions (FGD) were held involving 260 people. The disaggregated district attendance is shown in Table 1 below. The participants were drawn from among opinion leaders (mainly at sub-county, parish and village level) school managers, teachers, NGO field workers and others.

Table 1: FGD Attendance by Gender and District

District	Male	Female	Total	Average per FGD
Gulu	21	15	36	9
Amuru	35	9	44	11
Kitgum	35	18	53	13
Pader	31	14	45	11
Oyam	22	18	40	10
Lira	29	13	42	10
Totals	173	87	260	11

4.3.2. INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

The perspectives of a cross section of people across the six (6) districts were ascertained through these interviews. A total of seventeen (17) interviews were conducted, of which eight (8) were with male and nine (9) with female respondents.

4.3.3. KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

Thirty key informant interviews were planned and 27 were actually conducted. Twenty one of these were with men and 6 with women. Respondents included Resident District Commissioners, LC V chairpersons, program managers of related programs run by different NGOs and some others.

4.3.4. WANG OO/TE OTEM

Six traditional outdoor camp fire discussions (*Wang oo/Te Otem*) were planned (one in each district). In the end 5 were held as the *Te Otem* in Lira district was rained out. A total of 94 participants attended these meetings of which 34 were women and 60 were men. These meetings were organized by respective area councilors and were attended mainly by elderly people male and female members of the sampled communities. The meetings were conducted at night between 8:00 pm and 10:00 pm around the fire place.

4.3.5. HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

One hundred and eighty two people participated in the household survey. The survey sampling was proportionate to district population size. The sample distribution of households was 16 % from Amuru, 20.44% from Gulu, 20.44% from Kitgum, 13.26% from Lira, 16.57% from Oyam and 12.71% from Pader (see Figure 1 below).

The majority of respondents were household heads aged between 31 and 50 years followed by those between 19-30 years (30%): those above 50 years of age were 16%. Under- 19 year old respondents constituted 1.6% of respondents. The gender distribution of survey respondents across the districts where research was conducted is shown in Figure 2 below.

Figure 1 Distribution of survey respondents by district

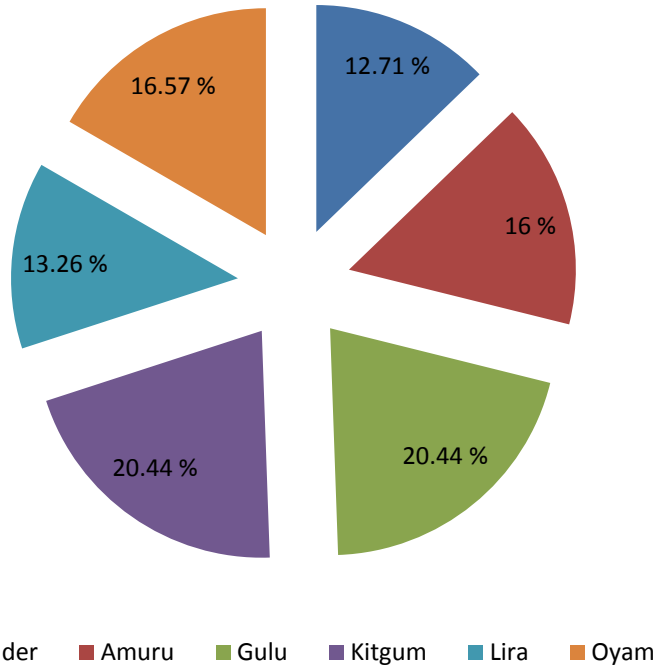
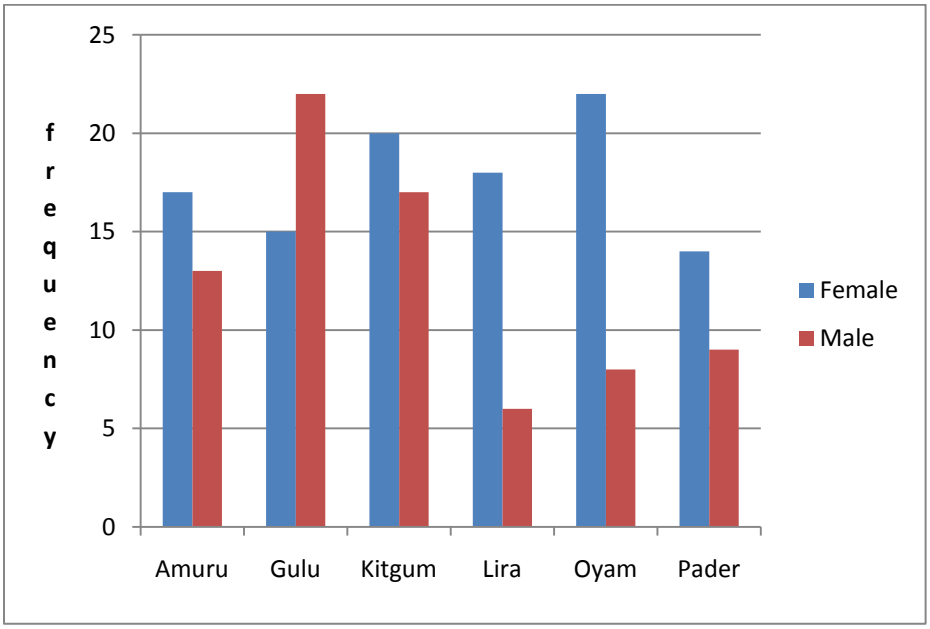


Figure 2: Gender distribution of survey respondents by district



4.4. Validation

Following the completion of the field work and initial analysis, a series of validation meetings were held at which a selection of those who participated in the research were presented with the preliminary findings. This process was an important element of the study as it helped to further validate the findings from both the quantitative and qualitative research and allowed further probing on specific issues. This process was not only helpful in improving the content and organization of the final report but also helped to affirm respondents as critical stakeholders in the research process.

4.5. Management and ethics

Clear ethical standards and guidelines were developed and used throughout the process. The development of these was informed by the protocols established by the Uganda National Council of Science and Technology (UNCST).

No financial inducements were provided to respondents although travel costs and expenses incurred by the participants were met. The study had an oversight committee constituted by the two commissioners of the PRDP in the office of the President attached to the office of the Prime Minister; Local Governments; and the USAID/SPRING project. Periodic reviews of the project's progress were submitted to the oversight committee whose role was to provide feedback and guidance to the research team.

4.6. Limitations of the study

There were a number of constraints that affected the study. There were geographic and time limits set by the funding agency. Not all of those who had been identified as key stakeholders could be interviewed due to their availability. The views of some groups, for example the Diaspora, were not canvassed during this research. Despite these limitations there was clear correlation between the findings of the qualitative and quantitative tools used. This suggests that the key findings are valid.

5. THE IMPACT OF CONFLICT IN NORTHERN UGANDA

5.1. Introduction

The conflict in northern Uganda led to a wide scale loss of human security, the dismantling of communities and the degradation of vital infrastructure and services, such as, roads, water, health and education. It severely affected livelihoods and household assets making large numbers of people largely reliant on humanitarian assistance for a protracted period. At the height of the conflict an estimated 1.1 million people were internally displaced in Acholi sub region alone, and were living in over 150 camps which were often clustered around existing trading centers[4]. Excess morbidity and mortality occurred and HIV prevalence in the region was twice the national average[5]. The Uganda National Household Survey of 2005/06 found that poverty levels in the North were 61%, almost twice the national average of 31%[6]. These indicators would undoubtedly have been much more severe without the inflow of large amounts of emergency assistance from humanitarian agencies, estimated at approximately US$ 1.5 billion since 2000[7].

[4] UNHCR: A Time Between – Moving on from Internal Displacement in Northern Uganda (2010)
[5] WHO/Ministry of Health data from HMIS and antenatal sentinel reporting sites
[6] Uganda Bureau of Statistics, Uganda National Household Survey 2005/06
[7] UN OCHA, figures taken from reported contributions channeled through UN Consolidated Appeals or direct to individual NGOs since 2000

Conflict also had severely detrimental effects on relationships within and between communities and their relationship and confidence in their leaders at both local and national level. It led to family separation, tension between clans and exacerbated suspicion and mistrust between the Langi, Acholi, and other groups within the region.

During the study people were asked a number of questions about the impact of the conflict at a personal and community level. The key findings from key informant interviews, focus group discussions and traditional gatherings are presented and discussed below.

5.2. Conflict Cessation and Security

People were asked for their views about whether the conflict in northern Uganda was over and a state of sustainable peace had been reached. While there was broad acknowledgement that the security situation had greatly improved over the last two-three years, perceptions about whether this could be sustained and whether it meant "true peace" had returned were varied. There was a sharp divergence between the views of people in leadership or other positions of authority and those of many at community level.

Those in leadership positions tended to be broadly positive about the situation. They tended to highlight the progress that had been made in terms of both physical security and recovery – and used this as a basis for concluding that the war was over.

> "*…The Juba Peace talks have led to calm in northern Uganda. As a result there have been no killings and abductions by the LRA and this had led to freedom of movement; people do business unlike in the past when a 6:00pm curfew was imposed and people can now sleep peacefully in their huts. Three years ago you could not go to the village, now disruption and abduction are not there…"*

Respondents at community level had a more intricate view. While there was acknowledgement that the security situation had improved some had lingering concerns that there might still be a possibility of the LRA returning at some point in the future. They pointed out that neither the peace talks nor military action had brought Joseph Kony out of the bush. These views were particularly prominent in Acholi areas.

> *"We do not believe the war is over for as long as Kony is still at large; besides, the shortage of resources will still cause more war; while the peace efforts had brought some relative peace, people still wish to remove their graves and relocate them to their villages and until this is done the war is not over".*

Community views and opinions also tended to reflect a broader and more holistic definition of what many felt would be a state of sustainable peace. This encompassed access to essential services of sufficient quality, livelihood security and economic opportunities, the restoration of communities and culture and national and local level reconciliation. The views of many reflected an ongoing and deep sense of loss for the lives, property and sense of well being that had been lost or severely damaged during the war.

> *"War happens in many different ways, silence of the guns should not therefore be used as the only indicator for the war; poor education is a sign of war; land wrangles are another war; politicians who incite us like the one who recently told us to spear any investor who comes to steal our land encourage war; now that no one is coming to buy the land because of that threat, we have been left to turn the spears against each other!; the other sign of the war has to do with the experiences of returning families getting back only to find their relatives still missing; this is yet a deep source of war related pain; inadequate social facilities will still abet more war; our children who have been abducted have not returned - therefore there is still war".*

5.3. Loss of lives and property

After the return of relative peace and stability reflections on their experiences during the conflict still evoke strong emotional feelings and a deep sense of loss amongst many people. People spoke about the loss of innocent lives, property and livelihoods either as a direct consequence of violence or due to the effects of internal displacement. Some respondents lamented that while they had returned to their homes they have done so without relatives who had been lost during the conflict, a number of people noted that the fate of many of the children abducted during the conflict remains unknown. Many are still struggling to come to terms with these issues, which are deeply painful.

Strong sentiments were expressed about what they felt had been the failure of Government to protect them. One person narrated how she had lost her father when she was 18 months during a Karamajong cattle raid. She said that she herself had been shot three times, the first while in primary three in the school compound during a UPDF/LRA skirmish; she was subsequently caught up in two LRA ambushes one of which was while travelling on a bus in which several children were killed; she was abducted once and; had also been caught up in a Karamajong cattle raid. She felt that this highlighted the extent to which she had personally not been afforded government protection. In her view her experience was not unusual. Similar stories of feelings of frustration toward local and central governments' efforts to protect civilians were expressed throughout the study.

5.4. Loss of community, values and a sense of well being

As well as the physical deprivations they suffered many respondents talked about the impact of the conflict, and in particular the effects of protracted internal displacement, on social cohesion and community life. A number of issues related to this were consistently raised by respondents during the study:

- **Loss of societal norms and values:** The conflict and in particular camp life were associated with high levels of psycho-social trauma. Camp life was associated by many people with idleness, apathy, unemployment, excessive drinking and high rates of domestic and gender based violence.
- **Erosion of culture and traditional authority structures:** Many respondents said that displacement and camp life had effectively dismantled the traditional structures of leadership and authority that had existed at the community level and that this had resulted in a loss of understanding of the meaning and importance of culture and traditions.
- **Changes in gender roles:** Many respondents spoke about the changes they felt had occurred in gender roles as a consequence of the conflict. Camp life in particular was felt to have severely affected the ability of the traditional male family head to provide for his family and therefore his ability to exercise authority and leadership. People felt that this had resulted in tension within communities and at the household level.
- **Intergenerational tensions:** Related to the issues raised above, some respondents spoke about the impacts of the erosion of culture and changes in communal living and organization on relations between the youth and the elderly. Some people bemoaned what they felt was a lack of respect for the elderly and traditions by the young.

While many people felt that the above factors were largely the consequences of the conflict some people also felt that the mode of delivery of humanitarian assistance and other support provided during the emergency had, in some cases, exacerbated or further compounded this.

These issues, and their importance and relevance in terms of ongoing recovery efforts, are discussed further in Section 6 of this report.

5.5. Perceptions of marginalization and mistrust of leadership

A strong sense of marginalization was expressed by many respondents both in terms of their relationships with other Ugandans, inclusion in national life and, more specifically, their perceptions of a lack of Government responsiveness to their needs.

- **Ethnicity:** Some people felt a strong sense of alienation based on their place of origin and ethnicity and the attitudes and stereotypes they feel this engendered in other Ugandans.

  "When you cross Karuma [towards Kampala], and especially in Kampala, if you are dark they begin to call you Kony or sometimes Anyanya[8]*. So in that case one is already marginalization. It may also appear when you are supposed to make your contribution somewhere. They first give you the name Kony and say give a chance to this Kony to talk, which is very painful."*

- **Access to resources and opportunities:** Many respondents felt that the North did not receive its fair share of the national cake in terms of resource allocation and economic opportunities and that as well as being one of the original causes of conflict that this remained a reason why they still lacked livelihood opportunities compared with other regions. Some people felt that people from the North are systematically discriminated against when applying for jobs outside the region.

- **Service delivery:** Many respondents complained about an ongoing lack of essential services in terms of both quantity and quality. Most of these people felt that the situation in regard to the provision of health and education services was worse than in most other parts of the country.

A number of respondents felt that the above factors could result in further conflict in the future if they are not addressed.

There was recognition however of attempts by Government to address the situation through the reconstruction of schools, health centers and other essential infrastructure and services. A number of people had a more nuanced view that took into account the challenges of implementation.

"…This perceived marginalization is not likely to bring conflict because of deliberate efforts by government like PRDP, NUSAF, NAADS etc. and people should be fair concerning some of these political appointments and the national cake–firstly; the two decade war means that we Northerners lost out on education so we are not as skilled as people from stable regions.

However it is important to note that perceptions of marginalization and a strong belief that there is deliberate discrimination against the North remain strong. As a result there is a tendency to interpret a wide range of government actions and initiatives as negative and deliberately discriminatory, even if they reflect overall policy responses or challenges faced nationally.

"…The teaching in the local language is another brain damage meant for the northern Ugandan people (this was in reference to the thematic curriculum that had been introduced in the formative classes of basic education). How can we take failures forward? Isn't this rubbish being carried to be poured? Where do we take all the failures over these years...?"

Some of these views reflect deep seated mistrust and suspicions of government that relate back to the root causes of the conflict and government responses to it. As long as there is ongoing security and stability

[8] Literally meaning – "mercenary fighter" – originally used in relation to one of the first separatist groups in southern Sudan where the term meant "snake venom" it has become a derogatory term used to describe people from northern Uganda (particularly West Nile region) in the South of the country.

the strength of some of these feelings is likely to dissipate and change over time. However they serve to emphasize the importance of ensuring that recovery and development interventions continue to receive deliberate conflict sensitive planning, careful attention and adequate resourcing.

The implications for recovery and development programs are discussed further in Section 6.

5.6. Summary of current and potential future sources of conflict

People were asked what they felt were current and potential future sources of conflict. Responses to these questions were grouped into local and national level issues and were further subdivided into issues that have arisen as a direct consequence of the LRA conflict and those that are root causes or overarching in nature. The key issues that emerged are summarized in tabular form below.

Table 2: Potential Future Causes of Conflict

Local	National
Direct result of current conflict	**Directly related to current conflict**
▪ Land disputes ▪ Integration of returnees ▪ Perceptions of loss of culture ▪ Potential return of Kony and the LRA ▪ Poverty ▪ Reparations ▪ Poor quality of education and other essential services	▪ Return of Kony ▪ Incomplete peace process ▪ Reparations – moral element.
'Root Causes – overarching factors'	**'Root causes – overarching factors"**
▪ Perceived marginalization of the north ▪ Corruption ▪ Local tensions and issues within and between groups (e.g. Karamoja cattle raids)	▪ Constitutional change and political governance ▪ Increased militarization ▪ Corruption – voice & accountability ▪ Regional imbalances /inequitable development ▪ 2011 elections – fears of violence

The potential future causes of conflict related to the LRA conflict reflect the very complex return and recovery process for communities in northern Uganda. Land disputes, perhaps the most prominent symptom of the challenge of return, reflect the impact of displacement on communities. Widows and child-headed households are often at the center of land disputes, which are largely within families.

"*People now kill their blood brothers just for a small piece of land…but all this is what the war has brought upon us…"*

If left unchecked, land as a symptom of difficult recovery could fester and grow into conflict in its own right. Similarly poverty, cultural loss, and poor service provision are attributed to the conflict and the real or perceived absence of efforts to address these needs in the community could spark future conflict if not considered in development interventions. Whereas these needs may also exist comparably in other parts of the country, the tipping point for community demands in northern Uganda may be higher, because of anxiety and trauma remaining from the recent conflict.

The question of Kony's whereabouts is the most visible symbol of the lack of clear closure to the LRA conflict. While most respondents were able to imagine a peaceful future in Uganda, the failure of the Government to apprehend Kony still leaves questions about the future of the LRA in northern Uganda. At the local level, a very real fear of Kony's return persists.

"What will stop him from returning? Signing of the peace agreement failed and disarmament has not taken place. I am not satisfied."

At the national level, Kony serves as a reminder of the absence of a final peace agreement and he exemplifies concerns for stability in the region, especially where the LRA are still on the attack. *"Why can't the countries where Kony is operating come together and catch him?"*The root cause indicators of potential future conflict are less unique to northern Uganda, and are consistent with very clear concerns across the country for combating corruption and the erosion of the rule of law and good governance. The upcoming election is the biggest example and is foremost on peoples' minds. At a local level in northern Uganda, where opposition politics are very much at play with the current sitting government, the community could easily be stirred into a fierce power struggle. *"There are people who keep on telling us that if we are not NRM we shall be denied jobs."* The conflation of feelings of marginalization, historical divides between tribes and divisive politics in a place recovering from recent conflict should not be under estimated.

6. RECOVERY: EXISTING EFFORTS AND PERSISTING GAPS

6.1. Ability to meet basic needs

People were asked a number of questions about their ability to meet their basic needs in terms of food security, access to health and education services and their capacity to participate in social events. Their views of the degree of difficulty they faced in doing this are highlighted in the table below:

Table 3: Self assessed difficulty in meeting basic needs expressed as a % of population

Basic needs	Amuru	Gulu	Kitgum	Lira	Oyam	Pader	Average
Food	50	43.24	59.46	58.33	60	82.61	57.46
Health	66.67	51.53	59.46	50	83.33	86.99	64.19
Education	76.67	59.46	78.38	75	86.67	82.61	75.69
Social	43.33	48.65	43.24	54.17	50	39.13	46.41

6.1.1. FOOD SECURITY

A high percentage of respondents reported difficulty in accessing sufficient food to meet household needs. When considering perceptions of food insecurity in the region it is important to examine data on trends over time. Rates of wasting of children under five (usually an important indicator of acute food insecurity) have fallen from 7% (1.5% severe) in 2003 to around 3% (0.2% severe) in early 2008[9]. A national food security assessment carried out by the World Food Program in 2009 found that the percentage of the population that was food insecure in Gulu, Pader, Lira and Oyam Districts was between 0.1-2.5%, and that in Amuru and Kitgum it was between 2.6-5% this was comparable to the situation found in many other parts of the country, including central region[10].

When considering peoples' very genuine concerns about food security it should be remembered that a high percentage of the population received food aid for over a decade and that over the last two years this has been largely phased out. This will almost certainly have increased respondents anxiety about food security and will have created some gap in household food inputs during a period in which people are still trying to reestablish themselves. It is also important to note that levels of overall vulnerability remain high; people are still in the process of reestablishing themselves back on their land and rebuilding their assets and coping mechanisms. Communities are therefore still highly vulnerable to even relatively minor interruptions to food security such as a single poor growing season, post harvest losses, or an episode of illness that affects their productive capacity at a critical time. The fragility of household vulnerability is highlighted by the findings of WFP research on household assets that found that between 50-75% of households are asset poor in the study districts as opposed to 15-25% in Central region[11].

6.1.2. ACCESS TO ESSENTIAL SERVICES

Approximately 64% of respondents to the household survey felt that they lacked access to health services (range 50% in Lira to 86.9% in Pader). Over 75% of respondents said that their children lacked access to education (range from 59.4% in Gulu to 86.9% in Oyam).

[9] MOH/UNICEF: Uganda Nutrition Bulletin, Volume 1, Issue 2. June 2008 (Acholi region).
[10] WFP: Comprehensive Food Security and Vulnerability Analysis, April 2009
[11] WFP: Asset Ownership Index, 2009

Health and education services were severely impacted by the conflict. A large number of the physical facilities in rural areas had to be abandoned and many of the most skilled and experienced health workers and teachers fled rural areas to the safety of major towns, or even out of the region.

As people left the camps and returned to their home areas ensuring physical access to facilities has become a major issue. For example; in health the national target for acceptable coverage is defined as within 5kms of a functional health facility. In June 2009 coverage in Acholi region as a whole was 49% compared with 72% nationally[12]. However there have been concerted attempts to rehabilitate and reconstruct health facilities and there have been significant improvements with coverage increased to 57% by June 2010 in the Acholi Districts with an additional 30 health units coming on line within a 12 month period[13]. Nevertheless, significant numbers of people continue to be underserved and improving and sustaining coverage presents a major and ongoing challenge.

Access to, and the quality of, services was highlighted as a significant concern by communities during the study. People's perceptions about this directly relate to and are influenced by the strong feelings of marginalization and mistrust of government that they already have.

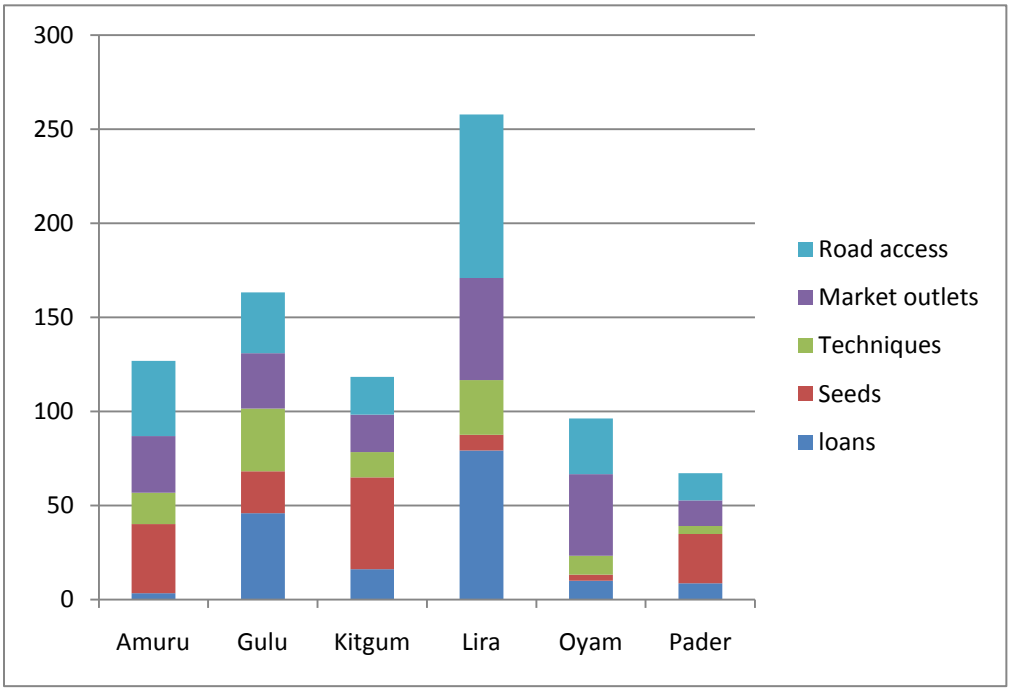
> *"There is potential for another war because of the state of education especially basic education (UPE). This is causing psychological damage"*
>
> *"[This] education is a political design to kill the north academically. We are being fought through the brain of our children. Look at a class with over 502 pupils how can they pass? Our children are being fought through the brain...."*

6.2. Access to economic opportunities and productive assets

People were asked a number of questions about their ability to access economic opportunities and productive assets, including with which they could access markets and roads. The ability to access technical advice was included. Their opinions of this are reflected in the table below.

[12] MoH: Health Sector Strategic Plan 2010-2015
[13] WHO and MOH: District surveillance reports.

Figure 3: Type of support available across districts – Number of respondents reporting access/availability



Unsurprisingly, people living in districts with large and established urban centers (e.g. Lira and Gulu) felt that they were more easily able to access financial services, markets and road networks. Being a resident of Pader was significantly associated with a lack of access to financial services, markets and road networks.

During the validation meetings many participants confirmed the overall findings and suggested that the situation in Pader was significantly worse than that in other areas for a number of reasons. These included; insecurity as a result of Karamajong cattle raids, a lack of information about government programs and services and difficulties development partners and investors have operating in the district.

6.3. Access to and ownership of land

The return from displacement, changing uses of land, the lack of understanding of the traditional land tenure system and the increasing presence of the freehold land tenure system have all contributed to current escalations of land related conflicts in northern Uganda. The majority (70%) of the respondents thought land was a major source of conflict. Land conflicts were reported to be mainly between individuals and family members (62%), followed by inter-clan land conflicts (50%), inter-community (46%) and least of all regional land conflicts (12%).

> *"…You see here before the LRA, land was used for many things. And we had a lot of land, in fact our fathers and grandfathers could afford to give big pieces of land not just to us but also to churches and schools. But now you see, when the war came, we were all displaced and when people returned the first thing they wanted back was their land. They even went as far as wanting to take back the land which their fathers had given to schools, which brought a lot of problems and fighting. Now we are not at peace anymore…"*
>
> *"…people are very desperate. They want to sell everything and will even kill you if you try to stop them.*

Respondents attributed the conflicts to difficulty in identifying boundaries of ancestral land, lack of understanding of the land tenure system and the changing use of land. With regard to land boundaries, respondents explained that the long period of displacement interrupted the cultural transmission of information and property to the younger generation. It is sometimes difficult therefore for the returning communities to identify their ancestral land. The task is even more daunting, explained the respondents, because of the disappearance of the traditional natural land demarcations like bushes, shrubs and trees. It was also clear that this lack of knowledge about land use and land rights, both in terms of customary and freehold systems, meant that family members, especially vulnerable members, have become victims of disputes stemming from this lack of knowledge.

> *The laws on land ownership are not very good and even this Land Bill has caused a lot of problems because people are very desperate. They want to sell everything and will even kill you if you try to stop them. People now kill their blood brothers just for a small piece of land…but all this is what the war has brought upon us…"*

During the validation meetings, innuendos stemming from the conflict and manifesting as power dynamics especially within families and clans surfaced which also had an influence on access to land. When abducted children returned from captivity in the bush with children of their own, for instance, they might be offered small and often infertile pieces of land by the head of the family. A return of a formally married woman was also unwelcome:

> *"Here in the Acholi culture we do not tolerate women who have been chased from their husband's home to think that they can easily return to their father's land. Because most of these women are witches…like this woman was chased because she is a witch, she cannot live with us, she has to go away…"*

Land disputes were also described as proxy, providing an opportunity for retribution to be meted out for crimes committed during the conflict that have not seen due process. It was clear from many discussions held that a very important tool for resolving these conflicts lies in the incorporation of traditional leaders and the broadening of understanding of customary land tenure. The following quotation from an elder dramatically underscores the importance of traditional justice expressed by participants:

"Take people to court and ask them to swear by the bible; they will definitely lie. But when you ask them to do so by the bila, which is at the heart of the cultural justice system, they will not lie"

6.4. Transitional justice and reconciliation

6.4.1. JUSTICE

The Juba process and, in particular, the signing of the agenda item on Accountability and Reconciliation (Agenda item 3) recognized that multiple approaches were required to address justice and accountability issues and to promote reconciliation. The agreement recognized the importance of traditional restorative approaches and has also led to the establishment of the War Crimes Division of the High Court of Uganda. Even before Juba, traditional justice and reconciliation processes had played a prominent role in efforts to reintegrate ex-combatants, and the Amnesty Act (2000) provided a means for ex-combatants to come out of the bush without the fear of formal legal sanction. The ICC warrants, which were unsealed in October 2005, added a new dimension to issues of justice and accountability.

The views of respondents on these issues reflected the complexity of the issues faced and the changes seen in the situation. Most people said that they favored traditional approaches to justice over formal

criminal proceedings and there was still a high degree of support for the Amnesty process, with recognition that it provides a potential exit strategy for combatants.

> *"Amnesty is important because the trauma is also with those in the bush and returnees."*
> *"Amnesty is particularly good because it allows those still in the bush to come back".*

However the views of some respondents also suggested that while they value Amnesty and traditional restorative justice approaches they also wish to see elements of accountability and reparations properly incorporated into approaches.

> *"Amnesty must come with restitution or compensation. My brother was killed and there is a need to make restitution the way we do it culturally through the Kayo Cuk"*

> *""…In the Acholi culture the issue of reconciliation comes after some payment. So, for you to be reconciled with someone you have wronged you must say sorry and also pay back whatever you have taken from him/her. That is what reconciliation or Mato-Oput is about. Now, here the government has not done anything, or even acknowledged that it is responsible for the conflict. When they give you anything at all, they just give you one saucepan, one plate and a cup. How is that supposed to help? How can you be given one cup and a plate and then be expected to live, or even forgive? We the Acholi are strong people and have good land, why aren't we supported to live better? So these people should stop talking about reconciliation if there is no compensation…"*

When asked their views about the ICC some felt that the Court was not impartial as it had only investigated the LRA. Most respondents tended to blame the failure by the LRA to sign the final peace accord on the ICC arrest warrants.

6.4.2. RECONCILIATION

Most respondents felt that a process of ongoing reconciliation was necessary both within and between communities but also at the national level. To some a process of truth telling or "honest reckoning" as they put it was as important a step in achieving to sustainable peace as development or reconstruction.

> *"It is useless to do reconciliation only in the North: the war was a Ugandan affair. The cause of this war was Government not only us northerners: all need to be involved"*

> *"There is hatred nationwide. Power struggle which causes hatred has divided the people. We need a national reconciliation" e.g. Acholi and Ankole because of the NRA war, Acholi and Baganda because of Lubiri, the Karamajong because of cattle rustling, West Nile because of the Amin's war, and Teso because of Kony war."*

6.5. Cultural and social recovery

Prior to the conflict the majority of the population in the affected region lived in rural areas in close knit communities. Traditional settlement patterns consisted of well spaced homesteads with people largely living in extended family units. Family and clan ties were extremely strong. The conflict, and in particular the impact of displacement over a protracted period, had a profound impact on communal structures, traditional leadership and settlement patterns. The camps became, in effect, large urban centers where, along with overcrowding and the risk of violence people were exposed to a vastly different way of life. It is important to note that some people lived in camps for over fifteen years and a whole generation effectively grew up in them. Over the last few years large numbers of people have returned to their home areas. However some have elected to stay in the camps, in larger towns or in trading centers rather than to reestablish their traditional homesteads. Even with the majority of people back home in the

village, it is apparent that traditional patterns of life and social structures have been profoundly and permanently changed.

During the research people were asked a series of questions about cultural and social issues to ascertain their views on these changes and the implications for recovery and peace building.

6.5.1. PERCEPTIONS OF LOSS OF CULTURE AND TRADITIONAL VALUES

In both the Focus Group Discussions and the traditional Wang oo/Te Otem people spoke at length about what they felt was the loss of traditional Acholi and Langi culture due to the conflict. The previous strength of their culture and traditional values had, they felt, ensured social unity and cohesion. The value, function and meaning of traditional gatherings and ceremonies had, many people thought, been lost.

> *"People used to mourn their dead for forty days. Today this could be only one day or even the family mourns their dead alone and carry their own food stuff." Because of the lack of these gatherings, elders do not know traditional rituals and men are not carrying out their duties"*
>
> *"There is a loss of traditional values, a lack of unity and little knowledge of reconciliation processes"*
>
> *"Poverty has brought confusion in our traditional practice. We used not to beg but now even our children are begging using their bodies".*

Some respondents were particularly concerned about increasing urbanization which they felt had largely started with mass displacement. They associated what they called "town life" with dance halls, excessive alcohol consumption and unhealthy sexual behavior.

While the strongest cause of what was perceived to be a loss of values was identified as the conflict and associated mass displacement and poverty some respondents felt humanitarian and development approaches had also resulted in an influx of beliefs and ideologies which they felt were foreign, and in some cases harmful. *"Marriage ceremonies were powerful and divorces were not heard of…These days' marriages have become contractual."*

6.5.2. CHANGES IN INTERGENERATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND GENDER ROLES

During the research there was extensive discussion about changes that had occurred in traditional gender roles and between the old and the young.

Many older people complained that many of the young had shunned traditional life and increasingly preferred town life and "modernity". This, they felt, had affected the authority of elders and was leading to growing inter-generational tensions between the old and the young.

Many people raised the issue of changes in gender roles. There was substantial debate in particular about what many felt had been a loss of the traditional role of the male as family head, protector and decision maker as a result of the conflict. As a result, narrated one male informant, men had sometimes been teased by women that "you too run away when your husband Kony comes around". In his view this loss of role had led some men to drink excessively and become more abusive.

Some respondents felt that the introduction of women's and child rights by both government and external agencies had exacerbated these tensions and had been done in a way that ignored the local cultural context and values. There was a feeling that these types of interventions excluded men, already emasculated by conflict, and further eroded the cultural significance of men to the family. Others were more nuanced saying that the extent of sexual and gender based violence and child protection issues that

had arisen warranted intervention and responses. *"Poverty has brought confusion in our traditional practice. We used not to beg but now even our children are begging using their bodies."*

6.6. Knowledge and perceptions of recovery programs

Given many of the comments that were made about the quality of essential services and the perceived inadequacy of recovery efforts it was somewhat paradoxical that many respondents did recognize that there had been substantial work undertaken by both Government, civil society organizations and donors in support of recovery activities. These included the Juba Peace Process, formal government structures like, the Amnesty Commission, PRDP, Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF) I & II and the NAADS program. Others mentioned were civil society and religious networks for peace like ARLPI and Human rights groups, Religious establishments like CARITAS, traditional and cultural leaders, district peace committees, land committees and Radio Mega.

> *"… The main people who have helped us in our struggle for peace and reconciliation are both inside and outside: insiders like ARLPI and other local organizations like CPA. Then there are the donors and other NGOs. They have all done a good work in helping us bringing about this peace…"*

There was a relatively high level of knowledge amongst key informants about the PRDP. However at community level there was considerable confusion about its objectives, components and role in peace building.

> *"We hear from radio that government has put in place, and injected money through the office of the Prime Minister as a recovery and rebuilding fund for Northern Uganda, but we don't exactly know what it is because we don't see it*.

There was a general agreement that there needed to be a comprehensive, multi-disciplinary and a multi-sectoral approach to the northern post conflict peace building and reconciliation process. The government was commended by key informants for the PRDP framework which represented one of the only post conflict recovery plans by a country in Africa and possibly in the developing world. Government programs like NUSAF and NAADS were also pointed out by respondents as contributory to development, peace and reconciliation.

The role of elders, traditional leaders and civil society organization in peace building and reconciliation was also appreciated by respondents.

7. KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Key findings of the research were fed back to participants during a series of validation meetings and at a two day meeting held in Gulu which was attended by a cross section of political, religious and traditional leaders as well as representatives of civil society. The OPM was represented at the meeting by the PRDP Commissioners.

The conclusions and recommendations below reflect the outcome of the field work, further inputs made during validation and subsequent analysis. Recommendations are also summarized in tabular form in the Executive Summary.

7.1 Conflict cessation and security

KEY FINDING:
THERE IS A DIVERGENCE IN VIEWS BETWEEN COMMUNITIES AND LEADERS ON SUSTAINABLE PEACE, SECURITY AND POTENTIAL FUTURE CONFLICT.

The findings of the research suggest that there is recognition that there has been a significant improvement in the security environment. However, communities, particularly those in Acholi areas, continue to have lingering fears about the potential for the LRA to return and also express concerns about the future stability of Uganda. This is perhaps unsurprising given the length of the recent conflict and the current focus on the 2011 elections. However, the research clearly highlights persistent and widespread anxiety and fear that sustainable peace in the north is still in question.

The divergence in views between community members and leaders about whether sustainable peace has been achieved - and their differing definitions of what this means is significant. Leaders' confidence in sustainable peace and development programs does not trickle down to the community. Communities almost unanimously interpret peace in a far more complex way than simply the "silence of guns" and point towards it needing to include change on a whole range of issues from security and protection to reconciliation and the realization of justice to equitable development and good governance.

Given their past experiences and trauma even relatively minor or unexplained security incidents could still elicit alarm, and even panic, within some sections of the community. Those responsible for security and community protection need to take this into account when planning programs and responses.

Leaders, of all types, need to take note of the fact that their communities interpret peace in a much more holistic way than simply as the cessation of conflict. Communities expect a wide range of peace building and good governance issues to be addressed by their leaders.

Recommendations:

- **Leaders need to acknowledge that many people in northern Uganda believe that a return to conflict is still possible. Service provision should not only respond to economic recovery needs, but should also address persistent security concerns, marginalization, historical grievances, corruption and the influence of divisive politics.**
- **Programming in the north should include more community peacebuilding activities and development programs should ensure that they mainstream peace and reconciliation practices, such as nonviolent dispute resolution and group dynamics, into their planned interventions.**

- **Local government and the Police should launch information campaigns and maintain regular dialogue with communities to discuss and allay lingering security concerns and to establish clear security practices that are responsive to community needs.**

7.2. Ability to meet basic needs

KEY FINDING:
LINKS BETWEEN ESSENTIAL SERVICE PROVISION AND THE CONSOLIDATION OF STATE AUTHORITY AND PEACE BUILDING ARE IMPORTANT, BOTH BECAUSE THOSE SERVICES ARE NEEDED AND BECAUSE THEY HELP TO ADDRESS STRONG PERCEPTIONS OF MARGINALIZATION AND LACK OF GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVENESS.

The impact of protracted conflict, followed by the return of large numbers of people to areas that had been effectively abandoned for years created major challenges in the provision of services. Over the last two years there have been significant efforts to improve coverage and substantial investments have been made in the rehabilitation of physical infrastructure. Many of the challenges involved in improving the quality of essential services in the North are mirrored in other parts of the country.

It is also important to note that community expectations have changed during the course of the conflict. The displaced camps posed enormous risks and the quality of service provision in them was poor. However, when humanitarian services of sufficient quantity finally reached people in the camps during the latter stages of the conflict, communities became used to services being in close proximity. Despite inadequate service delivery in rural areas prior to the conflict, some people expect services in close proximity to continue now that they have returned to their villages.

The fact that challenges in service delivery are often interpreted at community level as a lack of commitment by Government and even as acts of deliberate discrimination makes them important concerns in terms of the consolidation of state authority and peace building. The restoration and provision of services in northern Uganda in line with national targets and standards should therefore continue to be a high priority.

High community expectations and demands also create potential opportunities if they can be appropriately harnessed. Community concern and interest in essential services could lead to the development of a stronger sense of community ownership and greater accountability and responsiveness from service providers. As well as improving the quality and delivery of services this would also help to build a greater sense of inclusion and thereby help to address perceptions of marginalization.

Recommendations:

- **Government and development partners need to ensure that service provision and development programs are as inclusive as possible, with transparent selection processes and benefits for individuals and the community as a whole.**
- **Local and national government should convene regular public outreach activities with the community on service delivery challenges and opportunities.**

7.3. Access to economic opportunities and productive assets

KEY FINDING:
INTER-REGIONAL INEQUALITIES EXIST IN TERMS OF LEVELS OF ACCESS TO OPPORTUNITIES AND ASSETS.

The research identified apparent geographical differences and inequalities in both the availability of economic opportunities and access to productive assets. To some extent is inevitable that economic opportunities will be greater close to major urban centers and major road and trading links both to the rest of the country and southern Sudan. However emerging inter-regional inequalities, or perceptions of inequality, could pose risks in terms of conflict and peace building in the same way that they do at the national level. They have the potential to negatively impact on relationships within and between groups and communities that in some cases were already damaged and strained by the conflict. Potential inter regional inequalities need to be further assessed and closely monitored by both national and local government and development agencies.

Recommendation:

- **Government and development partners must map and implement interventions in northern Uganda ensuring that there is equitable access to economic opportunities and that underserved communities receive the attention they need.**

KEY FINDING:
THE COMMUNITY OF NORTHERN UGANDA IS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT HOW POSSIBLE INVESTMENT PLANS, SUCH AS COMMERCIAL AGRICULTURE DEVELOPMENT AND OIL PLANS, WILL IMPACT THEIR LIVES.

Northern Uganda is on the doorstep of major development, with upcoming plans from commercial agriculture companies and the oil industry. The community stands to benefit from such investments, but the research reveals lingering concerns particularly for plans from central government, investors from outside of the region or foreign companies. Rumors and speculation related to land grabbing, environmental impact and, perhaps most of all, a concern for lack of access to potential revenues, were conveyed in many discussions held. Those planning commercial investments or determining resource allocations need to be cognizant of the potential risks associated with inequitable access to economic opportunities and assets, as well as lack of access to information about development plans that will have an impact on local communities. The issue of land ownership is also critical to successful development and is further described in the next section. Collecting a comprehensive picture of the region, including the identification of all stakeholders, before plans begin will help potential investors navigate the current challenges in local communities as well as reveal to communities the opportunities that stand to be gained from such investments.

Recommendations:

- **Public and/or private investment plans should be reviewed by all relevant stakeholders, including national and local government leaders.**
- **Public information on commercial investment should be available to communities where investments will occur from the initial stages of investment.**
- **Investors should hold consultations with communities to review investment plans and allay concerns that stem from long displacement, mistrust of government and lack of economic opportunity from the conflict.**

7.4. Access to and ownership of land

KEY FINDING:
LAND DISPUTES, TRIGGERED BY RETURN FROM DISPLACEMENT AND FOUND PRIMARILY AT THE HOUSEHOLD LEVEL, ARE EXACERBATED BY AMBIGUITY ON BOTH FREEHOLD AND CUSTOMARY LAND TENURE SYSTEMS.

Prior to conflict and displacement, land use was for local hunting, grazing and subsistence farming and was hardly ever sold because of the communal nature of land ownership. The recovery period in northern Uganda has issued in new opportunities for families returning to the land, including increased agricultural production and potential commercial land use. However, competition, especially within families and clans for wealth from land use and sales, along with inaccurate information on land has created vitriolic conflict. In many cases, more powerful family members are controlling land use and more vulnerable members, especially widows and orphans are at their mercy. This is leading to land grabbing, legally ambiguous buying and selling of land, lack of consultation and consent of all family and clan members, all of which is causing conflict.

While there are many individuals and mechanisms to hand land disputes, not all are equipped to address disputes that stem from both customary and freehold tenure systems. Indeed, information on customary and freehold land rights is often misinterpreted or unknown. Furthermore those with skills involving either or both systems may not be included in resolving land disputes.

Recommendations:

- **Programs that disseminate accurate information on land will help to alleviate land conflicts in the community, especially those that involve vulnerable groups.**
- **District governments should strengthen District Land Boards (DLB) and Area Land Committees (ALC) by increasing expertise and practice in both freehold and customary land tenure systems.**
- **Traditional leaders should be included in land dispute resolution by hosting informal dialogue and mediation, as well as by participating in formal mechanisms such as DLBs and ALCs.**
- **Alternative dispute resolution should be practiced as a compliment to support formal land dispute resolution tools to alleviate land case congestion.**

KEY FINDING:
LONG TERM LAND USE AND INVESTMENT PRESENT BOTH OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES.

The recalibration of land use in the long term will bring development opportunities to northern Uganda. However, together with the findings on concerns over investment plans described in the previous section, such opportunities must not negate the very significant current challenges over land, particularly over clarity on land ownership and the perhaps less obvious proxy for lingering retribution within the community related to the conflict. As such, land remains contentious and potential investors will be challenged to establish clarity on land ownership, especially if all relevant land stakeholders, including traditional leaders, are not consulted on land transfers and sales.

Recommendations:

- **Land developers should meet communities where their planned investment is and acquire a "*social license to operate*.[14]" They should provide transparent information on intended land use plans.**
- **Commercial land acquisition should respect the multiple land tenure systems that are legal in Uganda to streamline sale transfers and avoid conflict. Consensus-driven land use agreements can help to allay fears of land grabbing and prevent future disputes over land use.**

7.5. Transitional justice and reconciliation

KEY FINDING:
THE COMMUNITY IN NORTHERN UGANDA HAS EXPRESSED GREAT NEED FOR REPARATIONS AND RECONCILIATION.

Communities expressed strong feelings about issues related to transitional justice. There is still overwhelming support for traditional approaches to justice and reconciliation and Amnesty. However many respondents also spoke of the need for reparations and compensation. To some extent, as the immediate threat of violence and conflict recede, people have had more time to reflect on the pain they have suffered and also feel more able and willing to speak up about it.

The importance of reconciliation was highlighted by many respondents with a number of people saying that they felt some sort of truth telling process was needed. Many people stressed the need for reconciliation to be national and inclusive in nature.

Government has committed itself to the implementation of the Final Peace Agreement and has taken steps to implement some of the provisions included within Agendas Item 3. It is important that the issues and principles of the agreement are taken forward in their entirety. This will necessitate further work on sensitive, complex issues such as reparations, truth telling and national reconciliation fora.

Recommendations:

- **Government should continue to implement the Final Peace Agreement and take forward its commitments on Accountability and Reconciliation in a holistic manner.**
- **Civil society partners should be supported to organize around local and national reconciliation and reparations activities.**

7.6. Cultural and social recovery

KEY FINDING:
CULTURE IS INVALUABLE FOR REDUCING VICTIMHOOD RELATED TO THE CONFLICT, BOOSTING PROSPERITY RELATED TO THE RECOVERY AND NATIONAL RECONCILIATION.

It has been suggested that the effects of a deep and sustained sense of group victimhood in societies exposed to protracted conflict can be transmitted from one generation to the next with potentially

[14] www.socialicense.com

disastrous results. [15] This was evident in the research, with frequent references, for example, to the "dependency syndrome[16]" in northern Uganda. Leaders at all levels have an important role to play in helping affected communities to find means of dealing with the conflict and reestablishing their values and identities in a way that incorporates the best of the old while creating space for the new.

The restoration and renewal of cultural values and traditions can be enormously helpful in assisting people to deal with the past, forge a new post conflict identity and rebuild social cohesion. However there are also risks. Culture, if it is to be seen as meaningful and accepted by future generations cannot be static and has to evolve and constantly incorporate new ideas and expressions. Current tension exposed in the research indicates that this evolution is precarious in northern Uganda and more work led by cultural leaders is needed to strike a balance between the generations. This will enable the community to move forward collectively. Dynamic cultural support will also help communities recognize the importance, value and rights of other groups in Uganda, which is critical to national reconciliation.

Recommendation:

- **Leaders can aid the recovery and help pave the path to prosperity in their communities by reestablishing cultural values and identities in a way that incorporates the best of the old while creating space for the new.**
- **Leaders should use cultural renewal and strengthening as a platform for the promotion of respect for other groups across Uganda who have suffered from conflict and as a tool to support national reconciliation.**

KEY FINDING:
CHANGES IN GENDER ROLES AND INTERGENERATIONAL DYNAMICS ARE CAUSING TENSION AND SOMETIMES CONFLICT IN COMMUNITIES.

Changes in the traditional roles of both women and men and in the dynamics of inter generational relationships, are to some extent merely a reflection of processes that are also occurring within Uganda more widely and indeed in most societies. However these changes have effectively been "fast forwarded" as a result of the conflict and this has created more pronounced tensions.

It is important that issues related to gender roles and intergenerational relationships are properly understood by those undertaking recovery programs and that the concerns and anxiety they give rise to are handled with sensitivity. Given the impact of the conflict on the whole community, it is important that the views and concerns of men and elders are taken into account and that they are included in development programs. However, it is vital that the role of both women and young people in ensuring a successful recovery is supported and that their voices and views are clearly heard. Opportunities and spaces for all members of the community to effectively participate need to be further developed and maintained.

Recommendations:

[15] Volkman: Memory, Narrative and Forgiveness. Keynote address on trauma, mourning, memorials and forgiveness given at the University of Cape Town, Reflecting on 10 years of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2006

[16] Dependency syndrome is defined as *"...people expect continued assistance. This undermines initiative, at individual or community levels."* Definition from Harvey P. and Lind J. "Dependency and Humanitarian Relief: A Critical Analysis," Overseas Development Institute (ODI), Number 19, July 2005, pg. 2.

- **Education on and support to Women's and Children's empowerment must continue in northern Uganda, where both bore the brunt of the conflict.**
- **Programs, such as economic development activities, should mainstream women's and children's empowerment and include men to reduce tensions and encourage progress in these areas.**

7.7. Knowledge and perceptions of recovery programs

KEY FINDING:
COMMUNICATION ABOUT RECOVERY PROGRAMS IN NORTHERN UGANDA DOES NOT REACH ALL LEVELS OF THE COMMUNITY.

Given that the PRDP is a framework under which all recovery efforts are coordinated rather than a specific program, the fact that many at community level do not fully comprehend it does not matter to some extent. However it is important, given communal perceptions of marginalization, that people understand Government's overall role and inputs into programs and activities aimed at recovery and development in northern Uganda.

The research made clear that while intricate communication structures may exist, especially at the national level, information about recovery efforts is largely absent at the village level. Both national and local Government should identify ways of ensuring that both the objectives and resource allocations made to recovery programs are more effectively communicated to communities in order to help build local and national state legitimacy and encourage community engagement in decision making and accountability processes.

Recommendation:

- **A comprehensive summary of services delivered and still planned under the PRDP should be widely disseminated.**
- **Central government and development partners should work with local government to ensure recovery efforts are communicated through all levels of government.**

ANNEX 1. LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This literature review is intended to present some of the basic concepts related to conflict, recovery and transitional justice presented in this report and provide further background on the evolution and impact of the conflict in northern Uganda. The chapter begins with a discussion of contemporary conflict and society, relationship between conflict and development, the Acholi and Langi and the impact of conflict on the region as well as past organizational responses at the regional and international levels for protection of people involved in conflict. Feminist perspectives on gender and power as well as children's rights are used to discuss the above issues as well as its complexity and limitations with regard to the women and children's rights movement. We also discuss implications of the conflict for [essential] service delivery including health and education, and its consequences with regard to post-conflict healing and reconciliation in [Northern] Uganda.

Contemporary conflict and society

In spite of the existence of international watchdogs such as the United Nations and increased global advocacy for the respect for human rights and promotion of good governance and the ascendancy of the neo-liberal development policy[17], armed conflict and wars continue to be a defining characteristic of the geo-political situation in many countries. Whereas in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s a significant proportion of conflicts in developing countries were directed at gaining independence; self-governance brought with it the added burden of power struggles among different groups (intra-state conflicts), and tendencies of different ethnic groups and parties to fight for the control of state resources (Draman, 2003; Harris, 1999; Wessels, 1998).

Recent contemporary conflicts in Africa have included the protracted civil wars in Sudan, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Uganda, Chad, Ivory Coast, between Ethiopia and Eritrea, the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the more than 19 years of anarchy in Somalia and the recently concluded civil conflicts in Angola, Mozambique and Burundi (see Ozerdem and Podder, 2008; Achvarina et.al., 2008, Draman, 2003). In Asia, there is the conflict in Palestine, Nepal, Afghanistan and Iraq. But while civil conflict has been more prominent in developing countries (especially Africa and Asia); the Western world has also not been spared as evidenced by the conflict in Northern Ireland and the Balkans (Bull, 2006; Nations, 2003).

Keen (2008) attempts an exposition of the complexities surrounding contemporary conflict and argues that whereas a significant section of the literature on conflict has presented civil conflict as a "contest" between one or more parties (e.g. Dunne et.al., 2006); civil conflicts should best be understood as a "system" as they are at times more complicated than presented. It has also been documented that contemporary conflicts have had more devastating effects on un-armed civilians than ever before, causing socio-economic, physical and psychosocial pains (Keen, 2008; UNFA, 2002; Lachman et.al, 2002; Wessels, 1998). Despite the extremely high socio-economic and human costs of war; some commentators have wondered why wars persist for so long (Keen, 2008). It has been suggested that at times civil conflict can be perpetuated by stronger parties for parochial and financial gains, although the international community might not understand the actual prognosis of the conflict (Keen, 2008:12)[18]. Greed has thus

[17] Despite its emphasis of a reduced role of the state in the economy, substantial power still lies in government and perhaps this explains this paradox. It is also possible that some of the causes of the armed conflict do not have anything to do with virtual resource allocation.

[18] Keen (2008) also argues that conflicts can also be fomented by "local and international actors" acting singularly or in cohorts with other groups.

been presented as one of the reasons behind the continuation of Africa's wars (Jackson, 2002, Collier 2000).

There are, however, differences of opinion on the emergence and sustenance of contemporary conflicts: factors ranging from ethnic preservation, control of state resources, self-aggrandizement, political expediency and greed as exemplified in inter-state wars and support for dissidence among conflicting countries have all been put forward (Keen, 2008; Kaldor, 2006; Harris, 1999). Some commentators have attempted to link conflict, especially in Africa to poverty (Draman, 2003; Collier, 2000; Jackson, 2002; Luckham et'al., 2001).

Harris (1999), exploring the causes and consequences of war and intervention options in a post conflict situation notes that the root causes of most war in the world cannot be attributed to one set of factors. He argues that reasons for the emergence of conflict are in most cases situated within the context, a scenario which also requires context-specific resolutions. Harris also points out the necessity to address structural imbalances, economic situations and inequality as important for durable peace. It is noted that while conflict is a global phenomenon, African and developing countries seem to have the greatest share of armed conflict in modern times.

While Harris (1999) does not claim to have unraveled all the causes of conflict in Africa, he discusses some of the major common causes of conflict in contemporary global societies with specific emphasis on Africa and the developing world. The colonial legacy is identified as one of the main root causes of conflict in developing countries. It is argued that the negative politics espoused by the colonial powers which utilized violence to impose authority and the politics of *divide and rule* is one of the main precursors of conflict. It is posited that these divisive and selfish politics have continued in the post independence African societies and defined the nature of subsequent administrations. The resultant injustices have often been opposed by sections of the population contributing to the outbreak of civil war (intra-state conflict). Closely related to colonial legacy and yet more deeply rooted in historical factors is the issue of ethnic and religious differences. This problem is particularly evident in Africa where a multiplicity of tribes and divergent cultures has presented an impediment to national integration. While tribal and ethnic differences might not be a problem per se, the politics of favoritism, nepotism and tribalism, where the ruling ethnic groups often ensure that only people of that group access state perks, result in diminished access to jobs and economic and political opportunities for people from other ethnic groups (See Also Kaldor, 2006:85). This parochial use of political power and privileges breeds ethnic tensions which foments civil strife and conflicts.

The problem of unequal development within the same country, which often has roots in the colonial legacy and ethnic politics, is another key factor for the cause of armed conflict in Africa. It has also been pointed out by Harris (1999) that conflicts in Africa and elsewhere are often due to unequal levels of development and the fact that access to capital resources for development raise intra-country tensions. Kaldor (2006) and Keen (2008) also subscribe to this view. It is thus arguable that the high levels of dissatisfaction on the part of the citizenry with being treated as second class citizens with limited rights in their own country is a key factor in the emergence of armed conflict. Situations like these are sometimes exploited by members of political elite groups from the aggrieved regions to whip up anti-establishment rhetoric which fuels the development of civil war.

Anecdotal evidence and newspaper reports suggest that some leaders within developing countries seem to willfully promote inequality in development in order to perpetuate their stay in power and that keeping people impoverished especially in regions in which political challenge might arise, is a strategy to lessen dissent and control potential opponents. As previously mentioned, poverty has been identified as a cause of armed conflict in the developing world and high levels of unemployment, especially among the youth, makes them potential targets for dissidents and recruiters (Brainard and Cholet 2007).

Protection of People in Armed Conflict Situation

Machel (1996) identified the need to support internally displaced persons to return home voluntarily, so that some of the challenges which are associated with war and displacement are addressed. Machel however does not see this scenario as addressing all problems associated with war in the short run and identifies some of the associated challenges with the return of internally displaced persons as including the issue of loss of property rights, custody of children of female headed households and child-headed households, who she suggests face increased danger of exploitation through child labor and prostitution. Machel (1996) further stresses the need for the actors to ensure that measures to protect children from being recruited into armed forces are given priority and identifies roles that intergovernmental bodies should play. Machel states that it is important for organizations such as UNCHR, UNIFEM and other UN agencies to "strengthen the national legislative framework challenging any aspect of discrimination against women, girls and child headed households with particular respect to custody inheritance and property rights" (Machel 1996: 22).

Machel further discusses some of the key threats to women in armed conflict such as rape, prostitution, sexual humiliation, trafficking and domestic violence. These are some of the forms of sexual and gender-based violence which further heighten the challenges for women during situations of armed conflict. Importantly the Machel study also acknowledges that while girls tend to suffer more from sexual abuse and violence during war situations, boys are equally affected, although in most cases their exposure to abuse is not reported. The study stresses the importance of paying attention to the psychosocial needs of women and girls and for the necessity of programs and intervention to incorporate these key issues.

Gender Issues in Armed Conflict

The recruitment and abduction of both adults and children (including girl children) into armed forces in contemporary wars have become a defining characteristic of most intra-state conflicts (Achvarina et' al., 2008). In the last 15 years there has been an escalation of academic and developmental interest in the effects of armed conflict on girl children and women (see Mazurana et.al., 2008; Achvarina et.al 2008; Annan et.al., 2007; World Bank, 2005; McKay and Mazurana, 2004; UNFA, 2002). In almost all civil conflict in developing countries women and girls have suffered either directly or indirectly. Women and girls have been targeted by fighting forces to be used as cooks, domestic servants, sex slaves, potters and in some cases as fighters (World Bank, 2005; McKay, 2004; McKay and Mazurana 2004).

Commenting on the scale of sexual attacks and exploitation of women and girl children, De Berry (2004) writes that in the Teso situation, girls were at risk of being sexually exploited from both the rebels and the government forces. De Berry identifies a number of factors that increase vulnerability for girls: militarization, displacement and soldiers dictating movements within camps[19]; the commoditization of sex, not only through use of force but also due to the army buying sex (De Berry, 2004:52).

De Berry's article suggests that many girls within situations of war forego their own sexual protection in the face of survival. Another major factor identified was interpersonal violence within the camps driven by other sub factors. De Berry identifies some of the risk factors associated with sexual abuse of the girls as acquiring HIV/AIDS and social ostracism. De Berry's study also identifies some of the supportive factors for the girls coping with sexual abuse and exploitation during war as the "affective ties" between the young person and the family; availability and accessibility of the girls to business opportunities and concludes that in Teso the girls were both victims of adversity and "active resilient survivors" (De Berry 2004:58)

[19] At the height of the insurgency in Teso, the camps were under a virtual curfew with regulations of movements of people controlled by the army.

Reintegration women/girls in society after war (inter-play of factors)

The literature seems to present a mixed situation in regard to issues affecting the reintegration of females including former IDPs, ex-combatants and former abductees in previous roles such as wives, slaves and cooks of rebels. The World Bank (2005) suggests that socio-cultural expectations of women is that they have to embrace their gender identity and roles as in pre-abduction situation yet other structural issues such as legal restrictions, especially on matters of land and property inheritance puts females in a far worse situation than their male counterparts (World Bank 2005). This position is reflected in a number of studies such as McKay (2004); McKay and Mazurana, (2004) although a more recent study in 2008 in Gulu, Northern Uganda suggested that women were found to experience more or less the same challenges as male returnees (Corbin, 2008).

There are different reintegration challenges for rural and urban areas. For example reintegration in rural areas is sometimes a challenge due to the limitation of land while for urban areas difficulties in obtaining employment in both the formal and the urban informal sector creates difficulty for the returnees (World Bank, 2005). Other constraining factors for employment of such females appear to be their low level of education and skills as indicated by case studies from Namibia, Uganda, Ethiopia and Mozambique (see World Bank, 2005; Mazurana et.al, 2008; Annan et.al., 2007; Annan et.al., 2006). These are often the result of resource constraints in the home, traditional perceptions of the role of females and early conscription of ex-combatants into armed forces before they have been exposed to much education, and thus limiting their later livelihood opportunities.

The difficulties of social reintegration and failure to fully exploit available social networks by the returnees have also been identified in the literature (World Bank, 2005; McKay, 2004; McKay and Mazurana, 2004). It is suggested that society expects these females with their previous experiences in camps or the bush to take on their earlier roles and behavior (as women) but in most cases these roles (and behavioral expectations) significantly differ from what they were used to; for example compared to their previous experience it was a reversal of roles during captivity. In some of the cases the women/girls have been labeled as prostitutes yet despite the fact that they experienced rape, coercion and sexual abuse (McKay, 2004; Chitalia and Odeh, 2004).

There is also evidence which suggests that the normal process of socialization and social values and norms as practiced by the communities in which these young women were plucked from are at times not followed by the girls as they display high levels of aggressive behavior exhibited by being quarrelsome, rebelliousness and being abusive to those around them (World Bank 2005; McKay, 2004). This behavior is thus visualized by the community as a violation of the acceptable gender norms and social values, further alienating them. Some commentators have argued that it is not a deliberate goal of these girls/women, particularly those formerly abducted, to flout the conventions and norms of their society, but they could have forgotten them as a whole or in part (McKay 2004). For those women formerly in IDP camps, their reported non-compliance might also be due to the limited choices amidst tortuous demands for survival within the precarious camp situations. Moreover many women, especially the returnees, have also been rejected by some of the community members on the assumptions that they are purveyors of diseases including HIV/AIDS, which is highly dreaded (World Bank, 2005; McKay, 2004). However there is no evidence to suggest that all these women have HIV/AIDS.

Swaine and Feeny (2004) also point out one important factor in the coping of formerly displaced or abducted people. They note that the disruption of family and community support networks significantly undermine a person's ability to make sense of events and experiences they undergo. In other words it compromises their coping abilities.

Corbin (2008) argues that her study in Gulu (one camp only) did not indicate more difficult experiences for the girls/young women compared to the male counterparts. According to her, boys argue that girls often marry off and have an easier life. This finding should be treated with caution as the study was carried out in only one camp out of a possible 35 and was based on a sample of only 11 respondents, and

seems to differ significantly from the literature (such as McKay 2004; McKay and Mazurana, 2004; World Bank, 2005). Even Corbin (2008) acknowledges that "*the invisibility of female experiences is a barrier to addressing their physical, economic and social needs, thereby compounding their challenges of reintegration*". This situation apparently arises from the inability or unwillingness of the former abductees to talk about their experiences.

Another situational factor which has ramifications for reintegration is the poverty situation that former abductees and IDPs return to. In Northern Uganda the high level of poverty has often affected reintegration programs as people are left with few options in terms of livelihood, and have to depend on humanitarian agencies (Corbin 2008; McKay, 2004).

Conflict in Northern Uganda

INTRODUCING THE ACHOLI AND LANGO

A critical literature review of the 21-year Northern Uganda conflict in the four districts of Acholi (Amuru, Gulu, Kitgum and Pader), and two districts of Lango (Lira and Oyam) will help to identify priority issues related to peace building and reconciliation opportunities within and across the districts. This must however start from an understanding of the historical Northern Uganda that is multi-ethnic and diverse, comprising sub-regions of Acholi, Lango, Karamoja and West Nile. The two Acholi and Lango sub-regions that have borne the disproportionate brunt of the 21-year LRA civil war are neighbored by West Nile, Karamoja and Teso, which had their own violent insurgencies and/or cattle rustling. These other conflicts reinforced and/ or overlaid the LRA civil war.

But who are the people, Acholi and Langi, who inhabit the two sub regions that bore the brunt of the 21-year LRA war? They are the two major groups of the Nilotic Central Luo (Acholi, Alur, Jonam, Chope/Paluo, Ethur, Kumam and Lango) whose migrations and settlements in their present locations in Northern Uganda have been well documented in the epic *Luo Migrations* by Crazzolara (1950). While the Nilotic Luo origins of the Acholi as in Girling (1960) have not been in doubt; the Langi, on the other hand, are thought to have been Para-Nilotic. But Driberg (1923) saw the Langi as purely Nilotic Luo while Tosh (1978) has argued "recent authorities have tended to see the Langi as a fusion of two principal stocks, an earlier Luo substratum having been overlaid by Para-Nilotic immigrations from the east. This interpretation dovetails neatly with knowledge of Luo migrations as a whole".

According to Okot p' Bitek (1980), the primal religion of the Central Luo is not only significant in appreciating resilient tenets of Acholi and Lango ethnography and cosmology; but also their social and political interactions. This puts in context the spirituality and world view of the Nilotic Central Luo and a better appreciation of residual aspects of their primal religion that has been a continuing dimension of the conflict and a mystery to many observers. The Acholi and Langi together with other Northern Ugandans and separately have played key positive and negative roles in the post-colonial history of Uganda. This has been informed by their innate leadership traits, characteristics, colonial ethnography and history.

Historical War and Peace Processes

ENERGIZED SEARCH FOR PEACE THROUGH DIALOGUE — PARLIAMENT OF UGANDA: PARLIAMENTARY MINORITY REPORT

"The January 1997 Report of the [Parliamentary] Committee on Defense and Internal Affairs on the War in Northern Uganda concluded that the war should be pursued to a military solution, but in a minority report two members, including one Acholi MP, recommended peace talks" (Dennis Pain, 1997). Since then Northern Uganda MPs have been active in the search for peace under the Acholi Parliamentary Group (APG) and the Lango Parliamentary Forum respectively. The two forums are now also part of the

Greater North Parliamentary Forum (GNPF) that has been a strong advocate for transparent PRDP implementation.

ACHOLI CULTURAL LEADERS AND INSTITUTIONS

The role and involvement of cultural leaders and elders for peace and reconciliation in Acholi became more pronounced during the same phase 1995-1999. In Gersony (1977), a two man team sent by the cultural leaders to meet with Kony in June 1996 was killed. It was believed the cultural leaders' efforts were too identified with the NRA/M Government. Nevertheless, Acholi cultural leaders and elders in Acholi continued their efforts to bring peace in Acholi.

Interventions for People Affected by Conflict

Loughry and Carola (2003) observe that many agencies in recent years have increasingly been implementing interventions aimed at addressing psychological and social issues/factors but there is little consensus on the definition and agreement on what constitute or should be incorporated within psychosocial programs. Loughry and Carola (2003:2) regard psychosocial intervention as activities that "seek to positively influence human development by addressing the negative impacts of social factors on people's thoughts and behavior". The authors make clear reference to the UN CRC article 39 which counsels state parties to ensure that people subjected to extreme brutalities in armed conflict situations (e.g. torture, rape, other cruel treatment) are supported to recover from such critical events. The observance of the article that such recovery can only be possible in an environment where their health, self respect and dignity are fostered is acknowledged. This observation emphasizes the significance of context for the effective reintegration of people affected by armed conflict.

According to Loughry and Carola (2003) therefore, psychosocial work with people in conflict situations is a new development and thus various types of interventions exist and there are no uniform models adopted across agencies. It should be noted however that organizations like WHO, UNICEF and UNHCR have guidelines and models which can be applied–particularly to children. The authors also note that most of the literature focuses on interventions within an *emergency context.* It can be argued that the body of knowledge on reintegration work with people affected by conflict over time is limited and opportunities for learning from experiential practice are thus wide open. It is important to point out that whatever support is provided, if the broader socio-economic and politico-cultural contextual issues are not addressed, the efficacy of reintegration interventions remains in doubt.

In terms of factors aiding reintegration, the primacy of the family over social groups and other affiliations such as religion has been identified by studies (Corbin, 2008). In some communities traditional cleansing ceremonies are seen as important in aiding the process of "cultural reconnection to the larger community" (Corbin, 2008: 325; World Bank, 2005; McKay, 2004; McKay and Mazurana, 2004). Having noted that the family is seen by many as playing a key mediation role in the process of traditional cleansing; Corbin (2008:325) wonders what the implications of the role of the family would be for those returnees who find no traces of their families on return from the bush: does the extended family and the clan system come in to perform such a role? (World Bank 2005; Mazurana et.al 2008).

Transitional Justice

The International Center for Transitional Justice has over time released a number of publications around Transitional justice. Among them is a document titled, "*What is Transitional Justice*?"[20] Therein, transitional justice is defined as a response to systematic or widespread violations of human rights. It seeks recognition for victims and promotes possibilities for peace, reconciliation and democracy.

[20] Accessed at http://www.ictj.org

Transitional justice is not a special form of justice but justice adapted to societies transforming themselves after a period of pervasive human rights abuse.

This approach emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s, mainly in response to political changes in Latin America and Eastern Europe and to demands in these regions for justice. The Governments adopted basic approaches to transitional justice and these included; criminal prosecutions, truth commissions, reparation programs, gender justice, security system reform and memorialization efforts. There have been other developments with respect to approaches to past abuse, strengthening and diversifying the field of transitional justice. Indeed, several countries which have experienced violent conflicts have experienced various approaches of transitional justice and whether or not they were successful is a matter that ought to be critically examined. Such countries include among others; Sierra Leone, South Africa, Rwanda, Liberia, and of recent [Northern] Uganda which has become a battle ground for various approaches of transitional justice.

Different stakeholders have devised different mechanisms to try and resolve the justice issue in the War in Northern Uganda. These range from Amnesty, traditional justice mechanisms, ICC, and of recent the [LRA] Rebels have intimated that they would prefer to be tried by the National judicial courts. Neither of the single approaches is capable of handling the complexities of the post-violence situation, healing so many wounds, closing the violence cycles, and reconciling the parties themselves to each other, and to all existing higher forces. However, taken combined, these approaches may make more sense. The challenge is to design good combinations for a given situation, and that obviously requires knowledge, skill and experience.

It has been recommended that in order to be effective, transitional justice should be a holistic process, which properly balances the needs of the victims as well as the Government's and the perpetrator's. In this regard, the process should be designed to strengthen democracy and peace. In addition, it should take into account the full range of factors that may have contributed to the human rights abuses and also be sensitive to the broad range of gender issues.

APPROACHES TO TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE

Diverse approaches to transitional justice have been tried. These approaches are both judicial and non-judicial. However, four main strategies have been used:

Trials and prosecution: This judicial approach can be traced to the Nuremberg trials and involves a prosecution of perpetrators of human rights violations domestically, internationally or by some special body such as Sierra Leone's Special Court.

(a) Truth commission: This is essentially a non-judicial body which tries to investigate the past to determine the full extent of past abuses through truth-telling public hearings. It holds perpetrators of past violations accountable, promotes reconciliation, makes recommendations on reparations, memorializes victims, survivors or historical events and makes proposals for institutional reforms designed to prevent future abuses.
(b) Lustration and/or vetting: This is a process that attempts to promote accountability, democratization and credibility by purging the public service, especially the security services of corrupt, abusive and incompetent officials.
(c) Institutional reform: This entails a reform of institutions that were considered to have been responsible for past abuses such as the judiciary, the police, the military and the security services. It often involves amendment of abusive laws as well as constitutional reforms.

In addition to this, some local and traditional forms of transitional justice, such as the Gacaca courts in Rwanda, have been tried. However, it is necessary to note that more often than not, different aspects of these four strategies are usually combined. Nevertheless, the most popular and widely used method is the truth commission. In this generic sense, the term truth commission refers to those bodies that are set up to

investigate past history of violations of human rights in a particular country and make recommendations for the future.

Transitional justice in the form of truth commissions in Africa, as elsewhere in the world, have encountered numerous challenges, including; the desire to ensure that there is no perception of the process being seen as "victor's justice." This involves a delicate balancing act dealing with issues of truth, justice, forgiveness, healing, compensation and amnesty. The second issue, also directly linked to the first is building the structures that will ensure that past abuses are never repeated. If the ultimate goal has been sustainable peace and democracy, it is clear that Africa is still grappling with this.

It has been observed that truth commissions today provide the most viable, flexible and credible mechanism for laying down the foundations of a democratic society in Africa as well as resolving the numerous open or latent conflicts. They provide an avenue for taming, balancing and recasting the anger and desire for revenge in a positive direction that can provide progress, development, peace and prosperity.[21]

Essential Services in Uganda

HEALTH SERVICES:

According to the Health Sector Strategic Plan 2005/06-2009/2010, the national standard is to have the following structures in place and functional:

- Ministry of Health and other national level institutions
- National referral Hospitals (27,000,000 population/unit)
- Regional referral Hospitals (2,000,000 population/unit)
- District health Services (District level, 500,000 population/unit)
- Health sub-district with: Health facilities called Health centers are graded as HC II, HC III and HC IV. The grading depends on the size of the administrative zone served by the facility and they provide different types of services. The HC 1 or Village Health Team should ideally serve about a 1,000 population.

District health systems are more or less self-contained segments of the National health system and are under the overall direction of the District Director of Health Services. They serve specific populations within their geographic and administrative boundaries. They formulate District Health Sector Strategic Plans. District Health Teams plans, budgets, coordinate resource mobilization and monitor district activities and performance. Public health care is free throughout Uganda, but drug shortages are common. The Minimum Health Care Package (MHCP) represents a minimum health service package that Uganda promises to deliver to its citizens. MHCP services include preventive services such as control of communicable diseases (STI/HIV/AIDS, Malaria, and Tuberculosis), integrated management of childhood illnesses and essential clinical care.

Uganda is not on track to meet MDG health targets, with the government citing insecurity in northern districts as being the primary reason. For example, the rise in infant mortality rates and in under-5 mortality rates has been blamed on the conflict.2

[21] Per Charles Manga Fombad, a Professor of law in the Department of Law, University of Botswana, in a paper, "**Transitional Justice in Africa: The Experience with Truth Commissions**", accessed at http://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/Africa_Truth_Commissions.htm

Health services in the PRDP Region: The situation in the PRDP region was summed up by authors of a World Bank case study when they wrote: "The poor outlying rural districts have shown little improvement in basic social and economic conditions. In many areas, particularly the north, pre-war conditions and levels of livelihoods have still not been restored. Investments in social sectors, such as education and health have failed to improve the overall levels of service delivery (DFID, 2004).

Health facilities in the PRDP region have been worn very thin by the war. There are 60 hospitals, 10 f which are private and therefore unaffordable to the majority of the population, and none of them are in the IDP camps where some of the population still lives. 10% of clinical staff positions at any time are vacant. There are 80 level IV Health Centers, 40-level III and 30-level II HCs in the region. 30% of the population lives within 5km of a health facility. Vulnerable groups (infants, children and women) account for 65% of hospital admissions. Some vertical or support health programs (vaccination, DOTS for TB, HIV related activities) are present, set up by International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs) and coordinated by the office of the District Director of Health Services.

EDUCATION

The evidence shows that in Uganda, in spite of the Government's Universal Primary Education (UPE) and Universal Secondary Education (USE) programs, school enrolment and non-attendance had increased in all children of school-going age within the region (Over et al 1998; Donahue 1998; Desmond et al 2000)

The report of a recent landmark study[22] report concerning the state of primary education in Greater North, North Bunyoro and Eastern Regions of Uganda presents an alarming picture of the PRDP region and portrays a primary school system at the brink of total breakdown. Findings of the study indicate that over 75% of children attempt but do not complete primary school education. The 25% that sit for the final primary leaving exams perform poorly with the majority failing to pass in first and second divisions. The study also shows that designated district and PRDP budgets, is insufficient for the region to recover from the effects of conflict, armed rebellion, lawlessness and underdevelopment.

Although the study focused on primary education, the evidence shows that much as the UPE and USE programs are intended to substantially reduce the costs on primary and secondary education, a large number of families still cannot afford to pay for school uniforms, books and meals because of their persistently poor state. Postponement of registration at school of children of school-going age due to parental illness or incapacity is also common. This vicious circle greatly impacts on their education and future prospects, and consequently their ability to later care for themselves and their families. Needless to say, this has a negative impact on the country's economy. (Najjumba-Mulindwa, 2002)

RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT (POST-CONFLICT)

Harris (1999:8) observes that "Rehabilitation and reconstruction should aim for a more than pre-war economic political and social life". In developing an effective post-conflict service, there is need to consult all affected stakeholders including the victims otherwise the "construction of peace" can be an elusive agenda. Moreover it is also pointed out that programming should focus on both short term and long term outcomes, but with more emphasis on long term outcomes which address psychosocial, socio-economic and political development initiatives. What emerges from this argument is that while medium term plan might be important in addressing some of the consequences and effects of the war on the population and preparing the community for a post-conflict life, this might itself not be sufficient for a focused course to reconstructive development. Harris (1999) proposes a 20 year-long term horizontal

[22] The State of Basic Education in the Greater North and Eastern Uganda: CAPACITY, PERFORMANCE AND PROSPECTS

outcome plan and argues that if realistic outcomes are to be achieved over a twenty year period, preparation is crucial (Harris 1999).

Citing ILO (1995), Harris (1999) picks out the main problems/ challenges faced as inadequate information on reintegration options and programs, inadequate counseling, problems of land availability and allocation, problems finding stable livelihood, alienation from civilian life for former soldiers and employment, including self-employment. Another ILO study concluded that reintegration is determined by: acceptance of everyone and commitment by the community; motivation and determination of individuals with their different experiences and facilitating measures provided for employment and income generation (Harris 1999:132). It is noted that for ex-combatants who have been recruited at a young age, capacities and means to comfortably "return to peacetime society is limited" (ILO 1995 cited in Harris 1999:132).

Skills and business training is seen as aiding economic reintegration and the ILO (cited in Harris 1999:132) also point out the critical role of social reintegration. Harris (1999:135) further points out the need and importance of preparing the community for the reintegration process. However, the report also identifies the limitations of such a process. It is observed that while the centrality of the role played by the community in the reintegration process (including initial resettlement) is not in doubt, the local community involvement in the programming and planning processes of these interventions is very limited. This limitation emerges from the fact that most programs are centrally developed. It is thus presumptive to surmise that the community will fully appreciate reintegration interventions if their involvement in planning has not been adequate. Harris (1999, citing the ILO 1995 study) emphasizes the need to increase the capacity of the community to cope with reintegration through well conceived socio-economic interventions. It is also pointed out that the immediate family and community members might need support and training to provide support themselves and other vulnerable family members, for example the formerly abducted young people. It is however difficult to state with absolute certainty how effective such an approach would be and what its implications for resources are for the agencies working in psychosocial support programs.

CHILDREN AND YOUTH, PARTICULARLY THOSE FORMERLY ABDUCTED

Chitalia and Odeh (2004) argue that programs tend to disfavor girls compared to the men/boys as in most cases the girls do not have "guns to exchange" as in Sierra Leone. They also note that similar experiences were registered in Mozambique where the reintegration programs did not provide much support to the girls. This position was also supported by the representatives of governments that gathered in Paris, France (The Paris Commitment to Protect Children from Unlawful Recruitment or Use by Armed Forces or Armed Groups, February 2007). The Paris Commitment recognized the devastating effects of armed conflict on children and noted that "girls continue to be largely invisible in programming and diplomatic initiatives regarding the unlawful recruitment and use of children by armed forces or groups.."(Paris Commitment, 2007:2). The Paris commitment also stress the primary responsibilities of state parties in protecting children from recruitment or use by armed forces and further emphasizes the role of the State in supporting the reintegration of children used by armed forces (in addition to reporting and monitoring progress on the violation of children's right.)

In supporting reintegration of young women, Annan et.al (2006) recommend economic and educational support targeting all youth affected by war/conflict. Their study also recommends interventions looking beyond formerly abducted children who passed through Reception Centers for better reach and sustainability of service. The premise of the argument is that if reintegration interventions targets the broader community other than only those who were abducted; chances for community ownership and participation is enhanced. This potentially increases the sustainability of such interventions. The argument points to improving family resource capacity and that of the community to support the children and also to address social stigma. This view is supported by other scholars and commentators such as Mazurana

et.al (2008); Corbin (2008); World Bank (2005); and Annan et.al., (2007). The position taken by these commentators is that general targeting reduces the problem of stigmatization of the formerly abducted children/ young women or those in IDP but where these people have individual needs; these can still be met, but that abduction-branded initiatives may not be the best interventions. It is suggested that when interventions are based on needs rather than abduction/bush or IDP experiences, they have the added benefits of reaching out to other people who might be in need. The main issue here is whether resources are available to meet the needs if these are expressed by many people in the community.

While the World Bank (2005) alludes to cultural and social institutions-using traditional practices as a method for reintegration; it observes that boys appeared to have followed this route more than female returnees. It has also been noted that other than the psychological benefits, there is at present no documented study on the effectiveness of traditional practices in enhancing reintegration in the community[23]. The importance of gender sensitivity in reintegration initiatives for the girls and young women has been noted by the World Bank (2005) study. The study posits the view that reintegration processes should ensure the women's protection from their bush "husbands and other male counterparts they escape from" (World Bank, 2005).

Reinsertion as a key concept in reintegration is one of the emerging concepts in the literature on working with child soldiers (Corbin, 2008; Ozerdem and Podder, 2008). Corbin (2008) uses the bio-ecological model to appreciate the interactions between the formerly abducted children and the systems within their environment. In justifying a general rather than specific targeting of reintegration interventions, Annan et.al., (2006) observe that approximately 50% of the formerly abducted young women had gone directly to the community without passing through any formal reception/support centre.

Whereas Annan et.al (2006) suggests a generally high level of support within the communities (in Northern Uganda) in which ex-combatants/youth returned; for the formerly abducted children in Cwero IDP camp in Gulu district they noted that families were more supportive compared to general community members (Corbin, 2008). Data further indicate that whereas the initial reception of formerly abducted children back home is positive, longer term relationship difficulties with community members have been identified.

Okello and Hovil (2007:442) decry the limited involvement of children in debates about their interests and needs at all levels of policy formulations and interventions in Northern Uganda. Okello and Hovil (2007:442) also point out the dearth of policies and institutional frameworks for addressing the aspects related to post-bush relationships, for example that between formerly abducted child mothers and their bush 'husbands', especially related to claims over the children and where they belong. Commentators have been grappling with the question as to how these issues should be resolved: whether they should be handled culturally, legally or with new policies or bye-laws and ordinances. There is also the whole issue of whether the government should be involved in this problem. The truth, however, is that this is a situation which directly touches on the lives of many people and innocent children. Moreover, studies show that more than half of the young mothers whose 'husbands' have returned live apart from them and do not wish to be reunited with them (Mazurana et.al., 2008).

[23] It should be noted however that traditional cultural practice as a way of redressing the wrongs committed by the rebels against community has recently been advocated by a number of stakeholders, especially during the process of the Juba Peace talk between government of Uganda and the rebels. While the Acholi and Langi communities have cultural provisions for handling issues pertaining to accidental and deliberate killing, including maiming; the society had never before dealt with the nature and magnitudes of crimes by its own children against her (using traditional conflict resolution and cleansing rituals).

SOCIAL CAPITAL IN DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMING

Within the last few years and with an increasing disenchantment with over-emphasis on the hardware of development, the place of social capital as an alternative resource for leveraging development interventions has gained increasing prominence. Even the World Bank has increasingly realised that over-emphasis on economic growth without taking into consideration some of the missing ingredients of development can never bring about meaningful social change. No wonder therefore that by the year 2000/200124 the Bank's policy was shifting more towards the promotion of social and economic institutions for development and a visualisation of social capital as the "missing link in development." Scholars such as (Putnam, 2000; 1995a, 1995b; Jackman and Ross, 1998; Hartman and Guss, 1996; Coleman, 1988) have for long advanced the arguments that social capital plays a paramount role in socio-economic development and pursuits of positive and meaningful social change. Social capital is visualised as playing an important role in building the capital base on which socio-economic development will thrive (Fukuyama, 1999, 1995; Dasgupta, 1997; Cox, 1995; Coleman, 1988).

On the other hand, the contention among scholars who subscribe to post-institutional development school of thought is that social capital is necessary in its own right to promote positive social interaction and civic engagement and development from the point of view of the citizens (see ONS 2001; Putnam, 1995a). The sense of belonging and togetherness which is promoted by positive social capital is regarded as a unifying factor in the face of socio-economic difficulties and emergencies. It should however be noted that whereas the tapping and utilisation of social capital among stable communities and identified interest groups is well known and captured in the literature, among different groups across the various continents of the world, the literature is still silent on the differing accessibility to social capital among people in displaced rural as compared to those within urban settings within the same localities, perhaps separated by a few kilometres and other such socio-demographic characteristics.

It is also important to unravel some of the factors which determine gendered accessibility to social capital resources among the different groups of people (urban stable and rural unstable), as well as how this differ across different income groups (brackets) and among men and women. The information generated from such a research process would be paramount in providing policy related suggestions and recommendations on how social capital can be effectively utilised for promoting socio-economic development; especially the improvement in the livelihood patterns of the urban and rural poor within a post-conflict setting.

This study is also premised on the assumption of the reported strong social capital among especially rural communities in the pre-conflict situation. There is evidence that social capital among rural communities in Acholiland and Lango was very strong and effective before the war, exemplified by firm kinship ties, attachment and ease of mobilization for community work, and a high tendency for the community to be responsible for the general welfare of community members: example community accountability of children. It is worth noting that the protracted war in northern Uganda has seemingly had far reaching repercussions on the communities, accentuated by disruption of social lives, economic means of livelihood and displacement to camps. As such, some development commentators have observed that there is an apparent decline in social capital exemplified by an increasing trend towards nuclear families in both urban and rural settings; rampant abuses and neglect of children, weak and unstable marriages, and increasing juvenile delinquency (Frerks et.al 2009). These issues need to be independently and scientifically investigated so that meaningful conclusions can be derived.

[24] As seen in its report World Development Report 2000/2001; attacking poverty.

ANNEX 2: STUDY INSTRUMENTS

Focus Group Discussion Guide

(A) PRDP

- Is government supporting the recovery of the north?
- What is the PRDP?
- What are your understanding, knowledge and experience of the PRDP?
- Do you know about the peace and reconciliation component of the PRDP? What does it talk about?

(B) Conflict and Security

- How has this community been affected by the conflict in northern Uganda; *physically, socially, economically, politically, psychologically and culturally among others*?
- Do you think that the conflict in northern Uganda is over? (*yes or no)*
- *What is the reason for your answer?*
- *Is the government protecting communities from conflict?*
- *If yes, who in the government is protecting communities?*

(C) Economics

- What livelihoods opportunities and resources were lost in the conflict? *(Skills, knowledge, education, resources etc)* by this community?
- What are the youth, men and women involved in your community doing to provide for their living?
- What skills, practices and capacities do people need to make a living?
- What challenges are faced in the return and rebuilding process by the community?
- How can these challenges be addressed?

(D) Gender

- Before the conflict, what were the traditional roles of men and women in these communities in peace building and reconciliation?
- How has the conflict affected the traditional roles of men and women in peace building and reconciliation in northern Uganda?
- What were women, men, youth, children, traditional leaders, religious leaders and political leaders doing for peace in your community?
- What makes their contribution distinct?

(E) Legal and Transitional Justice

- What peace building initiatives do you know of that has been proposed or used to bring peace in northern Uganda? (S*uch as the Juba Peace processes or any attempt to bring peace to the region such as the ICC, Amnesty Act, Traditional justice*)
- Are there justice mechanisms in place to provide peace and reconciliation in northern Uganda? *(ICC, Amnesty, Traditional justice and War Crime Division of the High Court*)
- If yes, which justice mechanisms and why?
- How have communities and more specifically survivors or victims (women and children) been participating in the different justice mechanisms?
- How can further inclusion and participation of the community, specifically women and children be enhanced in the different justice process?
- Should there be a national reconciliation process in Uganda?
- Are there land conflicts in your community?
- If yes, what types of conflict?
- Who do you turn to for resolving these conflicts?

(F) Health and Psychosocial

- What health and psychosocial ailments did the community experience as a result of the conflict?
- How have these ailments affected the community?; Physical, mental, sexual, behavioral
- What mechanisms of recovery from the health and psychosocial impact of the conflict on individuals and the community are being used? *(Explore for conventional health approaches and cultural/religious views points to recovery from psychosocial impacts of the conflict)*
- Who is responsible for providing these recovery mechanisms, and how accessible is it; gender, location, quality and quantity?

(G) Politics

- How has the conflict affected the leadership structures and participation in this community?
- What is being done by local government, national government and NGOs in your community?
- Who do you work with most and why?

(H) Culture and religion

- How has the conflict impacted on the culture (cultural practices?) of this community?
- What has been the role of the cultural leaders in the past, during the conflict and now in the return process?
- What has been the impact of the conflict on the role of cultural institutions and settings?
- What cultural resources exist for addressing the impact of the conflict in the community?
- What are the contributions of religion and religious leaders to peace building and reconciliation?
- What impact has the conflict had on religious practices in this community?

(I) Peace building and Reconciliation

- How do you as a community define peace building and reconciliation?
- What has been your role as a community in the peace building and reconciliation process?
- What should be done to achieve meaningful reconciliation and peace in Uganda?
- Who should be involved or should lead that process?
- What do you as a community see in place at the moment that encourages peace building and reconciliation in northern Uganda?
- What should be the primary focus of any reconciliation efforts in Uganda?
- What are the likely factors that will affect the current peace, peace building and reconciliation in northern Uganda – (*at self, family, community, and district, regional and national level in Uganda?*
- How can these factors be addressed to ensure peaceful situation?

Wang oo/ Te Otem Guide

a) What has been your experience of the LRA conflict as:

- Cultural/C leader
- Rwot mon/Rwodi Okoro
- Youth
- Other?

b) How has the LRA conflict affected the role, identity and position in your lineage, sub-clan, clan and Acholi/Lango community as:

- Cultural/Clan leader
- Rwot mon/Rwodi Okoro
- Youth
- Other?

c) What can be done, how and by who to restore the role, identity and position in the lineage, sub-clan, clan and Acholi/Lango community of:

- Cultural/Clan Leader
- Rwot mon/ Rwodi Okoro
- Youth
- Other?

d) What contribution can you make to peace and reconciliation in Acholi/Lango, Northern Uganda and Uganda as:

- Cultural/Clan Leader
- Rwodi mon/Rwodi Okoro
- Youth
- Other?

Key Informant Interview guide

- Would you please introduce your organization; what it does with respect to peace building and reconciliation; its vision and mission statements? (Note any brochures and help yourself to them)
- What is your assessment of the situation in the North (Acholi and Lango)?
- Is there peace in northern Uganda?
- What programs do they have to address the assessed situation?
- What are some of the areas of agreement with other organizations and also areas of disagreement with regard to peace building and reconciliation?
- What ideas, based on your experience in the field, can you offer for a collective action for peace and reconciliation?
- What are the priority areas for peace and reconciliation interventions?
- Who are the key peace building actors?

Sample Household survey questionnaire

District……...

ID…….

Date……

Gender M ☐ F ☐

Age group ☐ 16-18Yrs ☐ 19-30 yrs ☐ 31-50 yrs ☐ bove 50 y

Marital Status

☐ Never married

☐ Married

☐ Divorced

☐ Widowed

☐ Other

Number of children or dependants……

Is religion important to you? Yes ☐ No ☐

Highest level of education

☐ Primary

☐ Secondary

☐ College

☐ University

Occupation category

☐ Unskilled	☐ icultural
☐ Unemployed	☐ ft or trade
☐ Clerical	☐ f employed
☐ Hospitality	☐ Professional
☐ Student	☐ Managerial
☐ Domestic service	☐ Other……

Income bracket

☐ Below 50,000	☐ 651,000-750,000
☐ 510,000-150,000	☐ 751,000-850,000
☐ 151,000-250,000	☐ 851,000-850,000
☐ 251,000-350,000	☐ 951,000-1,050,000
☐ 351,000-450,000	☐ Over 1,051,000
☐ 451,000-550,000	
☐ 551,000-650,000	

1. Do you have access to income generating activities? Yes ☐ No ☐

2. In this community; people are supported to enhance their incomes:

Through provision of loans	Yes ☐	No ☐
Through provision of seeds	Yes ☐	No ☐
Through provision of improved techniques	Yes ☐	No ☐
Through market outlets for produce	Yes ☐	No ☐
Through other means Yes ☐ No ☐	……	
Through improved road access	Yes ☐	No ☐

3. The resources I have are able to help me access:

Food for myself and dependants	Yes		No	
Health care for myself and dependants	Yes	☐	No	☐
Education for myself and dependants	Yes	☐	No	☐
Attend social events	Yes	☐	No	☐

4. I have access to land for cultivation Yes ☐ No ☐

Land conflicts are a major source of conflict in the community

Yes ☐ No ☐

I am concerned more about the return of the LRA than land conflicts

Yes ☐ No ☐

Land conflicts are predominantly between

Individuals	Yes	☐	No	☐
Family members	Yes	☐	No	☐
Communities	Yes	☐	No	☐
Clans	Yes	☐	No	☐
Regions	Yes	☐	No	☐

Other……

5. Do you have access to information?

On land rights	Yes	☐	No	☐
Opportunities for improving welfare	Yes	☐	No	☐

6. The post conflict recovery of Acholi and Lango is being supported

Rebuilding communities	Yes	☐	No	☐
Empowering communities	Yes	☐	No	☐
Reviving the economy	Yes	☐	No	☐
Peace building	Yes	☐	No	☐
		☐		☐

Reconciliation efforts Yes No

Others …….

7. In your house hold, women:

Have equal ownership of property with men	Yes	☐	No	☐
Have access to land for agriculture	Yes	☐	No	☐
And men decide what to plant in the garden	Yes	☐	No	☐
Decide how much to sell	Yes	☐	No	☐
And men decide how much children to have	Yes	☐	No	☐
Pay school fees for children	Yes	☐	No	☐
Have access to the LC system	Yes	☐	No	☐

In this section state whether you agree or disagree with the use of power.

8 In my house hold;

a. The head of the house decides in the best interest of the others.
b. The community leaders consult with the people
c. The District officials represent the concern of the people
d. The NGO'S provide services that the people need
e. The Central Government provides for the needs of the people as funds are available.
f. The International Community consults with the people in the provision of the services.
g. The police provide security for my community.
h. It is ok to speak out when I disagree with authorities.

9. I participate in decision making through:

a. Dialogue in the home making
b. Local government System (LCI) at the community level
c. Organize through the clan system
d. Organize through the tribe
e. Voting during elections.

In the section state whether you agree or disagree with how secure you feel with respect to conflict.

10. At the household level my conflict concerns are:

a. Lawless gangs stealing chicken, foodstuffs and other property
b. Community to community conflict.
c. Clan-Clan Conflict
d. Tribe to tribe conflict

e. Return of the LRA
F. Protection from the Government forces
g. Lack of economic equality between the North and South of the country.

11. In this section state whether you agree or disagree with the provision of justice

a. I will feel more secure if the leaders of the LRA are granted Amnesty through the Amnesty Commission
b. I will feel more secure if the abducted child soldiers are granted Amnesty through the Amnesty provision
c. I will feel more secure if people who have committed atrocities in the conflict are punished.
d. I will feel more secure if the traditional means of addressing conflict like Mato-Oput is used
e. I will more secure if the International Criminal Court (ICC) arrest warrants for the top leadership of the LRA upheld
f. I will more secure if the role of the Government soldiers in the conflict are investigated.
g. I will feel more secure if the LRA leaders are forgiven by traditional leaders
h. I believe that the Government interferes with the justice system
i. I feel j have had an opportunity to tell my story about the conflict
j. If a crime was committed by someone in my clan .my clan is responsible for compensating the victim.
k. My community must meet to propose a new order for maintaining a just society.

In this section state whether you agree or disagree with concerns of the youth.

12. Please indicate the categories of youth receiving some kind of support to help them recover from the conflict

a. Abducted returnees
b. Youth from the internally displaced peoples (IDP) camps now returning to satellite or ancestral homes
c. Youth displaced in other towns or other regions of Uganda
d. Male youth are being help through vocational and skills development institutions.
e. Female youth are being helped through vocational and skills development institutions

13. In this section state whether you agree or disagree with concerns regarding health and psychosocial support

a. I do not have difficulty accessing health care
b. In my community people go to a health care unit or hospital when they are not feeling well
c. The nearest health care facility is less than 10 km from my home
d. Doctors are available at the health care center
e. Medicines are available at the health care centers
f. Most people can afford health care
g. The service for directing patients (referral) to centers that can provided the services they need is working

14

a. During the war/conflict I suffered or witnessed extremely frightening events that include actual or threatened death or injury
b. Either me or someone I know has been raped/ sexually abused
c. Men have been raped or sexually harassed during the conflict
d. Either I or someone I know is infected with HIV/AIDS or sexually transmitted disease as a result of war/conflict

e. I am still sad and bitter from what happened to me, family or friend during the conflict
f. Psychosocial support services are available in sufficient numbers

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a. I have access to clean drinking water
b. My household has access to a clean pit-latrine or flash toilet
c. I have an external shelf for drying pots and pans
d. All members of my household sleep under a mosquito net