#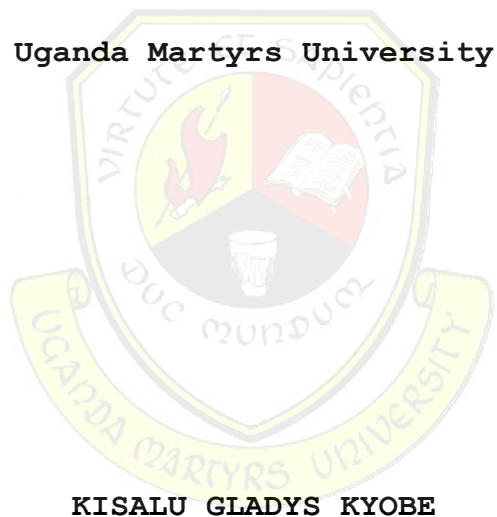 THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF CONFLICT ANDITS IMPLICATIONS FOR PEACE BUILDING IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION: A CASE STUDY OF LRA CONFLICT IN NORTHERN UGANDA.

**Uganda Martyrs University**

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**2012 B-103-10063**

**January 2017**

**THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF CONFLICT ANDITS IMPLICATIONS FOR PEACE BUILDING IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION: A CASE STUDY OF LRA CONFLICT IN NORTHERN UGANDA.**

**A Dissertation Presented to the Institute of Ethics and Development Studies in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirement for the Award of the Degree Bachelor of Arts in Democracy and Development Studies**

**Uganda Martyrs University**

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## DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the Almighty God for the provision of life that has enabled me to be alive to this day and having granted me the resources to complete my study. Special dedication also go to my Boss, Hon. Dr. Philemon Mateke for bearing with my absence from duty whenever I had to be at the University and for his words of encouragement. Over and above, I honestly dedicated this work to my husband, Mr. George Kisalu and my five children; Ann, Nelly, Phyllis, Joel and Jonathan who endured my absence at home for all the period that I was away, my dears I love you so much. To my two granddaughters, Martina and Zion who were always praying for me and making me smile even when the going got tough.

And finally to all the people of Acholi land that have been affected in one way or the other by the LRA conflict most especially the ones that agreed to talk to me about it.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARLPI      Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative

CHA      Cessation of Hostilities Agreement

CSO      Civil Society Organisation

DDS      Democracy and Development

DRC      Democratic Republic of Congo

GoU      Government of Uganda

HRW      Human Rights Watch

ICGLR      International Conference of the Great Lakes Region

ID      Internally Displaced

IDMC      Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre

KY      KabakaYeka

LRA      Lord's Resistance Army

MoFPED      Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development

NGO      Non-governmental Organisation

NRM/A      National Resistance Movement/Army

NUREP      Northern Uganda Rehabilitation Programme

OAU      Organisation of African Union

OP      Office of the President

OPM      Office of the Prime Minister

UMU      Uganda Martyrs University

UNLA      Uganda National Liberation Army

UPC      Uganda People's Congress

UPDF      Uganda People's Defense Forces

**ABSTRACT**

Despite intense programmatic efforts by the Great Lakes Region (GLR)to reduce wars/conflicts by the regional frameworks, organizations, governments and various agencies through several approaches, there is still a tendency of relapse of conflicts due to lack of or inadequate peace-building promotion. This study, therefore took to address a case of the nature and causes of conflict and its implications for peace building in the great lakes region. Given the specificity of conflicts, this study uses the case of LRA conflict in northern Uganda not as a true picture of conflicts of the region but to establish the nature and causes of conflicts and how they imply for peacebuilding. The study addresses the LRA conflict in Acholiland, Northern Uganda which erupted in 1986.  It is primarily focused on the causes, nature and trend of the conflict and seeks to explore strategies for peace building in Northern Uganda.

A qualitative research approach was employed with a case study research design (case of the LRA war) to four affected districts of Gulu, Amuru, Nwoya and Kitgum of Acholiland, in Northern Uganda where the conflict had severe impact. Through key informant interview and questionnaire it sought out information from 30 respondents out of the targeted sample size of 52.

In doing so, it was found that, the historical violence, discontent, power struggle and political and economic inequality are the factors that kick-started the conflict.  The nature of the conflict characterized of the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) under Tito Okello (RIP) and the NRM/A rebels under their leader YoweriMuseveni that resulted in the overthrow of the former government in 1986, as well as the human rights violations inflicted on defeated UNLA soldiers and affected Acholiland communities. The conflict is viewed as a struggle for political power and control between North and South deep rooted regional divide and the historical violence right from the country's independence in 1962.  The conflict has been far-reaching and include destabilization of the region, the displacement of up to 1.8 million people, the killing and mutilation of tens of thousands of civilians, and the abduction of even more civilians, mainly children, for recruitment in the LRA forces and what seemed to be the benefits to both fighting parties. In the long run, the effects have retarded development efforts in Acholi land including in other regions of the country.

This study concludes that the government needs to enhance its commitment to the implementation of peace accords. With the help

of the International Community, the government could establish a Truth and Reconciliation to address the various human rights violations that have plagued the North of the country since the war started. There is also the need to prioritize development efforts in Northern Uganda to address economic disparities with other regions of the country; revisit resolving the conflict amicably in the context of traditional "Matooput" justice system widely practiced in Acholi land, preaching of love for one another and extending of amnesty by the GoU to the rebels. All these measures could help promote national accountability and reconciliation in Uganda as a whole. Finally, the long-term process of reconstruction and reconciliation in Uganda is seen as depending crucially on the Ugandan people's understanding of their own history which will lead to strategic peace building and lasting peace. This therefore calls for further research on strategies towards it.

**CHAPTER ONE**

**GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

## 1.0. Introduction

Globally there are two Great Lakes Regions.  One of North America, that is a bi-national Canadian-Americana region which includes portions of the eight states of United States of America.  The second is the African Great Lakes Region that consists of countries in East and Central Africa; Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania (TZ) and Uganda, forming a complex network of political and economic interactions with implications for peace issues, security and governance. The International Conference on Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) Pact (2012) has shown that the second region above has witnessed a continuous trend of conflict that keeps evolving one after the other within and among its member states despite the regional frameworks such as the Pact on Security, Stability and Development in the Great Lakes Region that serves as a legal framework and an agenda of the ICGLR with the aim of creating the conditions for security, stability and development between the member states. This has not worked in the desired outcome as the region experiences different nature of conflicts with complex and country specific causes (exemplified with the LRA conflict) that has rendered efforts to peace-building such as those of ICGLR and others failed to recognize that political instability and conflicts in these countries have a considerable regional dimension and thus require a concerted effort in order to promote sustainable peace and development.  It is within this context that thisresearch will look at the nature and causes of conflicts in the Great Lakes Region, and focusing on Uganda's LRA Conflict as a case study in order to establish practical

efforts towards peace-building.  This chapter constitutes the background, problem statement, objectives, research questions, scope of the study, conceptual framework, and significance of the study.

## 1.1 Background of the Study

Conflict by a simple definition is to be incompatible or at variance.  Since beginning of world history there has always been conflict in one way or another among individuals, communities, and nations worldwide which makes people feel that conflict is a necessary evil.  However, Max Lucado in one of his quotes said that, 'conflict is inevitable but combat is optional' (Runde and Flanagan 2007, p. 19). Studies indicate that, poverty, and political, social, and economic inequalities between groups predispose to conflict. These group differences have many dimensions—economic, political, social and cultural (Tschirgi, 2004). Groups may be divided along cultural or religious lines evidenced with the concept of jihad - the religious duty to struggle, has long been associated with violent struggles with non-Muslim.

Group differences only become worth fighting for, when there are other important differences between groups, particularly in the distribution and exercise of political and economic power (Runde and Flanagan 2007). In this situation relatively deprived groups are likely to seek (or be persuaded by their leaders to seek) redress. Where political redress is not possible they may resort to war. Resentments inspired by group differences, termed horizontal inequalities, are a major cause of conflict.  Current conflicts, such as in the Sudan, South Sudan or the Congo, are within states, although there is often considerable outside intervention (Francis, 2008)

Available evidence indicates that struggle for power too results into conflicts. United States of America and the then Soviet Union struggle for power resulted into the cold war, the Soviet-American immediately after the Second World War. The 1994 Rwanda Genocide has power struggle as one of its underlying factor. The M23, a rebel group that fought the DRC is also part of the power struggle or hunger for power. The super powers have fought geographically (Pakistan and Iran, Uganda and Kenya over Migingo Islands), or by class (the Bourgeons, the Clergy and Peasants of French revolution of 1789 according to Karl Marx (1883). In the Great Lakes region, Rwanda was in conflict in the early 1990s, but in the 2000s, the conflict moved to the DRC, Uganda's Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) was also operating in remote areas on the borders of Uganda and Congo (Khadiagala, 2006)although the conflict rather began in 1986. Relatively privileged groups may also be motivated to fight to protect their privileges against attack from relatively deprived group as is what is happening between Israelis and Palatines.

According to Sambanis (2004), poverty and economic inequalities can kick-start conflict. Looking at inequality between countries essentially means looking at poverty. Research by internationally renowned experts like Collier (2008) and Sambanis (2004) has shown a strong link between the wealth of a country and the probability of it suffering from civil war. The risk of civil war is much higher in poor than in rich countries. A country with a GDP per capita of $250 has a 15 percent chance of descending into conflict at some point in the coming five years while, in a country with a GDP of $1250 per person, the chances are less than 4%. It is much cheaper to recruit rebels in a poor country, where wages are low and unemployment high, than in a rich country, where costs are much higher and the

state is likely to have more resources to deter a possible rebellion (Sambanis, 2004). Inequality within a country also cause conflict. A renowned theory, still influential today, is Ted Gurr's Relative Deprivation Theory. Gurr (1970) argues that a large gap between a group's expected and actual economic and living conditions can fuel conflict. Nevertheless, the underlying idea that most political conflict stems from competing economic interests and is therefore broadly concerned with property, an insight first offered by Aristotle (384–322 BC)—continued to be applied.

It is worth noting that after violent conflict, governments face enormous challenges, human and financial resources are scarce, the capacity to deliver services is very weak and society divided. Despite this situation, life is expected to go on and governments to perform and establish lasting stability. It is in view of the above that it becomes necessary to explore about the dimensions of peace-building.

Johan Galtung's work of 1970s calling for the creation of peace building structures to promote sustainable peace by addressing the" root causes" of conflict becomes paramount and related to what the former UN Secretary General, the late Boutros Boutros-Ghali's (1992) 'An Agenda for Peace' report that defined peace-building as action to solidify peace and avoid a relapse into conflict. While countries involved in the Great Lakes region partly differ in terms of their history, extent of war and levels of development, there are also some similarities that characterize the Great Lakes region (Leeuwen, 2008).

For most of the post-colonial history of Africa, peace has remained elusive. In order to understand the continent of Africa and African politics and how this creates the conditions for

wars and armed conflicts, insecurities and under-development and the possibilities for peace and non-violent conflict transformation, there is need to dehomogenize its politics i.e. appreciation that we are not talking about a single, monolithic, homogenous and static socio cultural, political, economic, behavioural and attitudinal pattern of governance (Francis, 2008).

According to Tschirgi (2013), a regional conflict is not limited to particular geographic or political entities. It entails social networks of armed rebel groups that may be connected by common economic interests or ideologies that are region-wide and garner support from outsiders. Earlier research by Spiegel and Atama (2009) indicate that despite such regional arrangements, the LRA remained a significant destabilizing presence in northeastern Congo's Orientale province and an acute threat to civilians. Even after the attempts of 'Operation Lightning Thunder,' a joint military offensive launched in 2008 by Uganda, DRC, CAR and Sudan against LRA in northeastern Congo, the LRA's high command remained intact. Kony's ranks grew stronger and it became harder to restore peace to this impoverished and war-weary region.

Regional and international organizations, mainly the Organization of African Union and the United Nations, have been on the front lines in responding to the cycle of conflict in the Great Lakes region. Regional peacekeeping strategies have included policy formulation by participating nations and heads of state meeting to support stability, control of small arms, refugee flows and economic development. Such strategies have been partly useful, especially after the 2004 Dar-es- Salaam meeting, in which heads of states committed to promote peace in the region. A number of strategies have been laid down worldwide

for peace-building approaches, but many have focused more on regional cooperation and integration. For instance the International Conference on Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) advocates for the regional cooperation and integration of the Great Lakes Region instead of advocating for a comprehensive peace-building approach that synthesizes both peace-building, at the policy level involving governments, and grass roots initiatives to address historical injustices and other consequences of the civil war in the Great Lakes region (Laremont, 2002). The lack of such efforts can be witnessed with the suffering of people in Burundi and South Sudan.

Several organizations such as International Alert have worked to bridge the gap in articulating the approaches to peace-building through shaping policies and practices that affect peace-building, helping to build skills and capacity by training mainly in Africa, South Asia, Latin America, Lebanon and Philippines.

In Uganda, it has facilitated peaceful return of internally displaced people in Northern Uganda and promoting conflict-sensitive investment. It has conducted peace-building projects and programs at national level and they address the economic dimensions of peace and conflict. Despite intense programmatic efforts by the regional frameworks, organizations, governments and various agencies to reduce conflicts, through several approaches, there is a tendency of relapse of several conflicts due to lack of peace-building promotion. The question is therefore that, what should be done to avoid the rise and relapse of conflicts? This study, therefore advocates for a holistic peace-building approach that synthesizes both peace-building at the policy level involving governments and grassroots initiatives to address the root causes of conflicts

in the Great Lakes Region, with a case of Uganda's LRA conflict in particular.

## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Despite intense programmatic efforts by the regional frameworks, organizations, governments and various agencies to reduce conflicts, through several approaches, there is a tendency of relapse of several conflicts due to lack of peace-building promotion. The question is therefore that, what should be done to avoid relapse of conflicts.

Peace-building is a full range of initiatives, strategies and activities that prevent, reduce and transform conflicts and develop institutions, attitudes and relationships that lead to a just and sustainable harmonious human environment (Kamungi,Oketch, and Huggins, 2005). Peace-building activities do not only aim to end violence, but also create structures that contribute to a just and sustainable peace, resulting from healthy relationships. This is creatively done through the coordination of resources and approaches to accomplish multiple goals and address multiple issues for the long-term, Despite intense programmatic efforts by the regional frameworks, organizations, governments and various agencies to reduce conflicts, through several approaches, there is a tendency of relapse of several conflicts due to lack of peace-building promotion.

Although LRA war ended 2006, the conflict (latent) continued among and within the community members in the Acholi land and to some extend with the government in terms of rehabilitation. Various blind spots, however, have remained with regard to the peace-building strategies in the great lakes region, particularly Acholi land in northern Uganda. For instance,

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little attention has been devoted to indigenous efforts towards reconciliation by the natives of the Acholi land, thus creating the question whether the nature and causes of conflict where established before the said intervention. Although some reports accounts (Human Rights Watch (HRW), 2003; International Displacement Monitoring Centre and Norwegian Refuge Council, 2009; Peace, Recovery and Development) for efforts to promoting peace building, a lot is desired to attain the needed peace. Similarly ICGL recommendations have neither help to prevent the emergency of conflicts nor help to effectively build successful stop the relapse of already solved conflict.

Having detected a knowledge gap stipulated above, it is important to research the strategies that may be applied to the establish the causes and nature of protracted conflicts like LRA war in order to move towards a more effective regional strategy for attainment of peace and this is important for the creation of peace building structures to promote sustainable peace by addressing the "root causes"

## 1.3 Objectives of the Study

### 1.3.1. Major Objectives

The major aim of the study was to establish the nature and causes of conflict and its implication for the attainment of peace-building in the great lakes region with particular reference to LRA experience in northern Uganda.

### 1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives were:

1. To establish the causes of the protracted LRA conflicts in Northern Uganda.

2. To find out the nature of LRA conflicts and how they have evolved in Northern Uganda.

3. To explore strategic peace-building approach that create platform for sustainable human development and security.

## 1.4 Research Questions.

The study was guided by the following research questions;

1. What caused the insurgency of LRA in Northern Uganda?

2. What are the factors for protracted nature of conflicts and their evolving trend in Northern Uganda?

3. What strategies would be explored for establishing a comprehensive approach to peace building, reconstruction and development

## 1.5 Scope of the Study:

## 1.5.1 Content Scope

The study generally established the nature and causes of conflict. Specifically the study explored the causes of conflicts, the nature and their evolving trends of conflicts in order to explore strategies to engage peace-building efforts that would lead to sustainable peace within local communities.

## 1.5. 2 Geographical Scope

The study was done in Acholi land, in northern Uganda. Uganda lies along the Equator, between the great East African Rift Valleys. It is bordered by South Sudan in the north, Kenya in the east, Tanzania in the south, Rwanda in the southwest and the DRC in the west. The Acholi land inhabit present day Northern Uganda comprising of the districts of Gulu, Kitgum, Amuru, Nwoya, PaderAgago and Lamwo. The closeness of the Acholiland to DR Congo, South Sudan and also being located close to the

Murchison fall national park gave leeway for the operation of the LRA rebels.

## 1.5.3 Time Scope

Whereas the study considered the period of insurgency by LRA, which started in 1986 when National Resistance Army took over power, and a little bit of the colonial and post-colonial periods of Uganda, it covers a period from 2008 to 2013 when LRA moved from Uganda to the border region of Congo, South Sudan and CAR, since this period showed the protracted nature and evolving trend of the conflict. It as well showed the efforts done to address the problem.

## 1.6. Significance of the Study

The study will provide the underlying structural factors that underpin the outbreak of conflicts in the region, the nature of the conflict and the evolving trend of these conflicts.   It will explore the strategies of achieving sustainable peace-building.  As quoted that "if war is the violent resolution of conflict, then peace is not the absence of conflict- but rather the ability to resolve conflict without violence'.(Butler 1987).

To me as a researcher, the study will give me a chance to explore in-depth what I have known before by hearsay and to improve on my research skills.

Also, the study will guide other contemporary and subsequent studies on the topic by other researchers who may wish to research about the topic.

## 1.7 Justification of the Study

Institutions like the ICGLR at its Regional Inter-ministerial Committee in May 2010 made some recommendations towards peace

building but only stopped at exploring ways to make genocide prevention operational in the context of the Great Lakes Region. Among the recommendations was to develop a strategy and a plan of action for Member States to prevent and punish crime of genocide, war crime, and crime against humanity and fight against impunity and promote regional integration. Dialogue and negotiated peace agreements like Arusha Peace Agreement (2002), DRC Peace Dialogue (2005), Goma Agreement of 2008, and Uganda Amnesty (2012) among others have witnessed peace settlement of conflicts with the signing of various peace agreements between Governments and rebel groups or among member countries with no lasting peace solution. However it is evident that failure ti honour peace agreements or settlements have resulted to recurrent conflicts and making it protracted. Moreover, the case of LRA war interventions has also resulted into lapses and failure to generate efforts that address the core of human relations and reconciliation. This study therefore is necessary to establish the nature and protractedness of conflict in order to effectively establish efforts that address the human relations at community level that promote sustainable peace.

## 1.8 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework shows various factors and how they are associated with the protracted nature and causes of conflicts in Great Lakes Region, Northern Uganda in particular. The Section looks at the interrelationships among the study concepts. On one hand the concepts, causes of conflict, is thought to be influenced by; marginalization, power struggle, political and economic inequalities, while the concepts; nature of conflict is believed to be the influence of rebellions, violence, demonstrations, and wars. Poor policies, lack of respect for

others and media influx act as the intervening factors among the concepts.

## 1.9 Definition of Key Terms

### Conflict

"Conflict is known to be a fact of life and it truly exists and happens in our lives". Conflicts occur between individuals, families, and even nations. These conflicts occur in the workplace, at homes between families, or even through marriages. (William Wilmot and Joyce Hocker, 2011)

### Peace

Peace is seen as concord, or harmony and tranquility. It is viewed as peace of mind or serenity. It is defined as a state of law or civil government, a state of justice or goodness, a balance or equilibrium of powers.

Miller (2005) comprehensively defines it as a political condition that ensures justice and social stability through formal and informal institutions, practices, and norms. Several conditions must be met for peace to be reached and maintained: balance of political power, legitimacy for decision makers and implementers through transparency and accountability, recognised and valued interdependent relationships, reliable and trusted institutions for resolving conflicts, sense of equality and respect, in sentiment and in practice, and mutual understanding of rights, interests, intents, and flexibility despite incompatibilities.

### Peace building

The Brahimi Report of 2000 defined peace building as "activities undertaken on the far side of conflict to reassemble the foundations of peace and provide the tools for building on those

foundations something that is more than just the absence of war."

**Protracted Conflict**

Protracted social conflict is a theory developed by Edward Azar. The term refers to conflict situations characterized by the prolonged and often violent struggle by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition, acceptance, fair access to political institutions, and economic participation.

**CHAPTER TWO**

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

## 2.0  Introduction

In any study the literature reviews build on the conceptualization of the issues and identifying gaps and interrelationships in order to effectively deal with a research problem. This chapter reviews the existing literature on the protracted nature, causes and the evolving trend of conflicts in Great Lakes Region, explores strategies for peace-building to avoid a relapse of such conflicts.  This study aimed at broadening the literature by examining the case of Uganda, where the persistent but controlled threat of insurgency over a period of more than two decades has served the strategic interests of both political elites and rebel insurgents.

## 2.1. The Causes of Conflict

## 2.1.2 Power Struggle

In the post-colonial era, the use of violence has emerged as the principle means by which political actors contest domestic political dispensations in most African states.  Up until the return to civilian led governance in 1999, regime change in the Federal Republic of Nigeria was mainly achieved through military coups.  In Ethiopia, Somalia, Chad, the  DRC, Congo, Rwanda, and the Central African Republic (CAR), Non State Armed Groups (NSAGs) contesting the authority of seating governments have adopted guerrilla warfare as a strategy.  In Somalia, rebel groups have relied on the conventional military capability of neighboring countries to seize the state power.

Historian Karugire (1980) in his book, 'A political History of Uganda' describes the 1966 Buganda crisis, the first conflict

after Uganda gained independence, as the attack on Mengo and the events of the day which have come to be referred to as the '1966 Buganda Mengo Crisis', that was a culmination of a series of factors of accusation and counter accusation. He comes with a call to forgiveness, peace-making and reconstruction. Preaching of peace-building would go a long way in combating violence and recurrence of such conflicts.

In the History of Parliament, the first national election in Uganda that was the Uganda National Assembly election of 1962, an alliance between the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) and KabakaYeka (KY) that won the majority of parliamentary seats, formed Uganda's first post-independence government with Obote as executive Prime Minister. It shows how these elections marked the beginning of conflict in Uganda leading to the deposition of the President into exile and then Prime Minister took over government.

The roots of the current war between the government of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in Acholiland are entwined with the history of conflicts in Uganda and the rise to power of the National Resistance Movement/National Resistance Army (NRM/A). The conflict has persisted because of fragmented and divisive national politics, strategies and tactics adopted by the armed protagonists, and regional and international interests. The harrowing war that has claimed many innocent civilian lives, forcefully displaced over 400,000 people and destroyed schools and health centres, abductions of men, women and children, torture, increased economic decay, and national and regional insecurity are all as a result of power struggle.

Power struggle is proven to be among the root cause of conflict worldwide. It is needless say that Uganda was crowned by power

struggle right from its independence in 1962 to-date. The
protracted LRA conflict that has left the people of Acholi land
homeless without any livelihood. While I agree with the above
studies and accounts, it is in my interest, to carry out
research and explore means of sharing power as a strategy for
peace-building.

## 2.1.3 Political and Economic Inequality

Professor Walter at SNIS Biennial Conference of 2016 presented
that political institutions are the key to explaining why some
countries can escape the conflict trap while others do not. The
argument is fairly simple. Most conflicts occur because of
political and/or economic inequality and they tend to recur in
countries where the government can neither defeat a rebel
movement nor credibly commit to a peace plan. If a government
was strong enough to defeat the rebels or trustworthy enough to
negotiate a peace settlement, it would eventually do so and war
would end. As long as the government can neither defeat the
rebels, nor negotiate a settlement, the only remaining option is
continued conflict.

In the study of Kasfi (1999) he explains how Museveni and his
National Resistance Movement  (NRM) created a form of "no-party
democracy", banning political parties from fielding candidates
directly in elections.  In the "no-party" presidential election
in 1996, Museveni defeated Paul Ssemogerere and Mohammed Mayanja
by a landslide. Although international and domestic observers
described the vote as valid, both the losing candidates rejected
the results.  In the following presidential election, held in
2001, Museveni won by a substantial majority, with   Kizza
Besigye as the only real challenger. Despite a protest against
the results, citing massive voter intimidation and rigging, the
outcome was accepted by the Supreme Court of Uganda.

I agree with the opinion of OgengaOtunu (2002) that the ghosts of the Luwero Triangle are the ones haunting the Acholi people who lost economic and political influence and been reduced to displaced camps where people have been languishing without assistance and protection following Museveni's rise to power .

Basing on Walter's (2016) presentation, ending a conflict, the government of Uganda defeated the LRA rebels in Acholi land and pursued them into DRC, CAR and even Southern Sudan. As a one way of ending conflict. Developmental programs such as NURP by Ministry of Gender, Labor and Social Development were put in place. These programmes have helped in human development which is an element of peace-building, however, the area is still poor and lagged behind., There is hope for development linked to ensuring that all regions of the country benefit from growth of the national economy by equitably suing national resources, better infrastructure and other development projects to realize higher investments levels required to fight poverty, promote social equity and harm according to Uganda Vision 2040. These are strategies towards peace-building. My study will explore dynamics towards achieving what Uganda Vision 2040 offers to the Acholi land in terms of exploring the extent to which the peace building efforts and said developmental interventions have contributed to important aspects of peace building such as reconciliation in the face of protracted conflict like the LRA conflict.

## 2.1.4 Historical Violence

The Uganda-Tanzania War of 1978-1979 has received little attention from historians. This article uses British diplomatic sources to explore the causes and course of the conflict. In particular, it examines how Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere sought to hide from and later justify to the rest of the world

an invasion of Uganda and the overthrowing of Idi Amin, actions that contravened the Charter of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Distinct among contemporaneous African conflicts for its noticeable lack of a Cold War context, the war demonstrated the shortcomings of the OAU in resolving African conflicts. Despite some dissenting voices, Nyerere's own disregard for state sovereignty was largely overlooked, as the fall of Amin's regime was quietly welcomed by the majority of Africa's leaders. The little information on this conflict show that Julius Nyerere, the then President of Tanzania sacrificed for Uganda to have peace reconciliation and management.

It is on record that every change of the political regime in post-colonial Uganda, has been accompanied and accomplished through armed conflict leaving deep scars of distrust and room for revenge. Whereas the long history of socio-political violence in Uganda under various regimes contextualizes the LRA war, it is important to emphasize that the conflict in northern Uganda is a product of various factors (social, economic, and political) (Kasaija, A.P. 2008). Thus the many negative consequences of displacement have led people to feel economically and politically disempowered. Such perceptions, in turn, have come to be seen as ongoing causes of the conflict. (Ondoga1998).

Historical violence can be replaced by everlasting peace through establishing strategies towards peace-building. My study will therefore look for those strategies but after thorough look into causes and nature of protracted conflict to generate efforts that recognize peace-building efforts that address human differences other than using wars.

## 2.1.5 Discontent

The first notion to account for the emergence of collective action is discontent. When explaining why insurgents resort to armed rebellion, one verifies whether those involved perceive a lack of opportunity for economic well-being, advancement, security, political participation and the pursuit and expression of cultural rights. In contrast to insurgents, government-related militias are primarily dissatisfied with armed groups opposing the State, not the State itself. In this sense, they are the "opposite" face of rebels (Kalyvas, 2006)

Conflicts in the colonial state were exacerbated by the partition of the country into economic zones. For example, while a large portion of the territory south of Lake Kyoga was designated as cash crop growing and industrial zones, the territory north of Lake Kyoga was designated as a labour reserve. This partition, which was not dictated by development potentials, led to economic disparities between the south and the north (Otunu, 2002).

Irivuzumugabe and Tracey (2009), in Broken Memory; a novel of Rwanda genocide, display the long term effects of wars' savagery, how one group of humans turns on another. It shows that it takes to overcome trauma yet not remain defeated by it. It gives a voice to those who suffered. However, it does not reflect any roadmap to peace-building which would salvage the situation if given priority.

To break the trend of the causes, nature and evolving of conflicts, I strongly believe that if systematic strategies for peace-building are explored, conflicts would be history and human development and security will prevail. Thus the reason for my study.

## 2.2 Factors of Protracted Nature of Conflicts and their Evolving Trend

### 2.2.1 A History of Violence and Impunity

During the four decades between the 1960s and the 1990s, there have been about 80 violent changes of governments (Adebayo Adedeji 1999) in the 48 Sub-Saharan African countries. During the same period many of these countries also experienced different types of civil strife, conflicts, and wars. A snapshot of explosive conflict in today's Africa presents a worrying picture: of Eritrea and Ethiopia; of the DRC, Rwanda, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Sudan,  and Uganda's LRA insurgence in the north as the longest-running civil war on the continent; with gruesome atrocities against civilians (Gordon-Summers, 1999).

More wars have ended than started since the beginning of the new millennium, reducing the number and intensity of armed conflicts in Africa to only three; Chad, CAR, Sudan (UNECA 2004).  The decrease in conflicts is encouraging because it reflects the success  of  peace-building  efforts  and  interventions  and regional, continental and international levels. Considerable effort have been invested in conflict analysis by a range national and international actors as well as the possibilities for peace. This investment in conflict analysis is informed by the fact that previous dominant intervention activities and strategies have been framed by simplistic and pigeonholing interpretations of wars and armed conflicts, as well as the reasons for underdevelopment and economic crisis.  The result of this kind of response in conflict situation s in Africa as seen not only inappropriate solutions but also the usual 'quick fix', short-term and exit strategy' orientation of the international

interventions. Adebayo Adedeji (1999), cited in Mohamed Salihand Tony Karbo discussed that, there is an emerging consensus within the security-development nexus debate that investment in conflict analysis that incorporates an appreciation of the opportunities for peace is an important contribution to the understanding of peace and conflict in Africa.

Contemporary violent conflicts in Uganda are directly related to the profound crisis of legitimacy of the state, its institutions and their political incumbents. This crisis, in part, reflects the way the state was constructed through European expansionist violence, manipulation of pre-existing differences, administrative policies of divide and rule and economic policies that further fractured the colonial entity. These policies did not only undermine the faltering legitimacy of the state, but also impeded the emergence of a Ugandan nationalism and generated ethnic, religious and regional divisions that were to contribute in later years to instability and political violence.

Uganda's post-colonial history of violent coups, numerous armed rebellions and lack of accountability for such violence provides the critical backdrop for understanding the manner in which the war broke out in northern Uganda. Indeed, given this history of seeking to access power by violent means, the armed rebellion in the north against the NRM regime was seen as part of the normal course of political business.

According to some sources, the Ugandan army was part of this dangerous problem as related crimes were noted among them ravaging mostly Acholi women and girls' bodies with total impunity throughout the war. Human Rights Watch(2005) cited in Finniström,

2009:62. Although difficult to prove it is in fact true that not only the LRA but Ugandan army was also involved, this increased the vulnerability of females who were thus doubly targeted; this

specifically affected the Acholi. Such a situation could have placed the Acholi women into a very insecure and dangerous position.

## 2.2.2 A Deep-rooted Regional Divide

In Uganda's history, social, political, and religious processes established the basic structures of violence that continue to operate in contemporary Uganda reinforcing cleavages along regional, ethnic, and religious lines (Kustenbauder, 2010).

It is worth observing that the development of insurrectional landscapes ultimately depends on the confrontational interaction between insurgents and counter insurgents. While insurgent activity cultivates the foundation for asymmetric duels, counter insurgent activity seeks to dismantle these conflict settings. Operation North 55 presented the Ugandan state with the first comprehensive

Opportunity to influence the development of the insurrectional landscape in Northern Uganda. This counter insurgency campaign not only set the geographical parameters of the emerging conflict but also defined the future shape of the battle for the hearts and minds of the Acholi people (Kagumire, 2010).

## 2.2.3 Abductions

Since 1987, it is estimated that 20,000 children have been abducted by the LRA and subsequently been forced to become child soldiers under Joseph Kony"s leadership. These abductions usually occur in heavily populated IDP camps, small villages or

even schools in the Gulu, Amuru, Kitgum, and Pader regions of Uganda (also referred to as Acholiland).

The multi-faceted and interrelated causes and consequences of the war should not, therefore, be seen as exclusively an Acholi issue. Nor should the war be treated as merely a humanitarian crisis. It has many dimensions: political, social, economic and humanitarian. As such, durable solutions will need to respond to all of these challenges

## 2.2.4 Benefits

It also appears that the government benefits from the protracted nature of the conflicts by accruing political dividends while LRA gain personal benefits so long as the conflict continue. It explains the evolving trend of conflict. According to some sources, the Ugandan army was part of this dangerous problem as related crimes were noted among them ravaging mostly Acholi women and girls' bodies with total impunity throughout the war. (Human Rights Watch, 2005 cited in Finniström, 2009, p.62). Although difficult to prove it is in fact true that not only the LRA but Ugandan army was also involved, this increased the vulnerability of females who were thus doubly targeted; this specifically affected the Acholi. Such a situation could have placed the Acholi women into a very insecure and dangerous position.

The war has lasted for nearly sixteen years because of a number of interrelated factors. To begin with, the war in Acholi has become an extension of regional and international power struggles. On the regional front, Uganda provided military hardware and sanctuary to the SPLA. In retaliation, the Sudan government provided sanctuary and military hardware to the LRA. On the international front, both the Uganda government and the

SPLA received military and political support from the US, in part to curtail the influence of the Islamic government in Khartoum. Another factor perpetuating the conflict has been that the war has become a lucrative source and cover for clandestine income for high-ranking military and government officials and other profiteers. In addition, the unwillingness of the government and the LRA to genuinely pursue a negotiated settlement has sustained the war. Lastly, atrocities committed by the LRA against unarmed civilians and the unwillingness of the rebel group to accept alternative political views on the conflict have prolonged the war.

## 2.3 Strategies for Sustainable Peacebuilding

### 2.3.1 Human Rights Based Approach to the Delivery of Post-War Justice.

A Human Rights-Based Approach (HRBA) flows from a concept that emerged during the 1990s within the UN system as a response to addressing development disciplinary bias and the external, political, social and cultural environment." Indeed, different international human rights organizations adopt different principles and criteria under the guise of a rights-based approach. For example, Oxfam America, CARE International, UNHCHR, OHCHR, DFID and other international organizations have developed different frameworks for implementing a HRBA to development (Marks, 2002). This approach has gone a milestone towards peace-building in the war torn area of northern Uganda.

### 2.3.2 Development of the Peace Negotiations

After several months of exploratory contacts in Juba (Southern Sudan), with the mediation of the Vice-president of Southern Sudan, RiekMachar (but called into question because of the lack of credibility and political weight of the LRA delegation),

Ngoga, (1998) running alongside the military operations of the UPDF, in July 2006 the government and the LRA took up the fragile peace talks once again. These led to the signing of a cessation of hostilities on 26 August in Juba in southern Sudan, which has been renewed to date.

**2.4 Summary of Literature Review.**

This chapter identifies reasons for protracted, low-intensity conflicts in the great lakes region during the last two decades. One of them located in Uganda's history in which social, political ,and religious processes established the basic structures of violence that continue to operate in contemporary Uganda ,reinforcing cleavages along regional, ethnic and religious lines. After providing some historical background that frames the conflict, the chapter examines how both the NRM government of YoweriMuseveni and rebel insurgent movements have benefited from insecurity in the country.It argues that the government accrued political dividends while the Lord's Resistance Army gained personal benefits so long as the conflict continued.

The Northern Uganda conflict is similar to the overthrows of government in our past. Once a team of people have been overthrown by violence, there is always resistance in the hearts of people. Museveni took over power militarily. This system of coming to power is grounded in this country, leaving a trail of bitterness.

It is generally agreed that the central task of peace-building is to create positive peace, a "stable social equilibrium in which the surfacing of new disputes does notescalate into violence and war. Sustainable peace is characterized by the absence of physical and structural violence the elimination of

discrimination, and self-sustainability.  Moving towards this sort of environment goes beyond problem solving or conflict management. Peace-building initiatives try to fix the core problems that underlie the conflict and change the patterns of interaction of the involved parties.  They aim to move a given population from a condition of extreme vulnerability and dependency to one of self-sufficiency and well-being (Boutros-Boutros, 1995)

In complementing the above scholars, I think that the socio-economic divisions created under colonial rule did much to shape the identity of the Acholi people vis-à-vis their southern neighbors creating room for conflicts.  I seek to analyze that whereas the Government of Uganda and LRA are the chief protagonists of the war, numerous other actors are also involved i.e. civil society, local leaders and the international community.

I concur with both scholars (Adedeji 1999), and (Gordon-Summers 1999) on the factors and nature of protracted conflict and their trend, but I feel that, governments which have laid strategies for peace-building have made a step ahead  to end conflicts. For instance Government recovery programmes such as the Amnesty, Northern Uganda Rehabilitation Programme (NUREP) that have facilitated the withdrawal of LRA and resettlement of the war affected communities in northern Uganda. Coupled with NGDs like Accord, Alert International that have acted as a blockage to the relapse of conflicts and wars.

It is worth noting that the colonial legacy held the potential for future conflict in Uganda, by creating artificial divisions and hierarchies within groups and sowed the seeds for conflict after colonial leaders departed.

However some efforts towards peace-building have been presented such as amnesty for the conflict perpetrators, Kony and his henchmen,  efforts to negotiate peace that were  tried by the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) in 1994 and also 2002 but failed. Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC report, 2009, p.3) reveals that: "A third attempt at peace talks began in July 2006 leading to the government and the LRA signing a land mark Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (CHA) which resulted into substantial improvements in security conditions and in humanitarian access to affected populations."

My over-riding concern is that the research carried out by the above researchers has a gap in identifying conclusive peace-building strategies. A more thorough investigation of these strategies is essential particularly at a time when there is renewed hope that the conflict has been resolved and deeper causes dealt with.

## CHAPTER THREE

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 3.0 Introduction

Methodology in research is important in operationalizing the research questions and objectives in order to obtain answers to the research problem. Methodology therefore deals with the 'how' question of a research process. The purpose of this study was to examine the protracted nature and causes of conflict on peace-building in the great lakes region; a case study of LRA conflict in northern Uganda. This chapter focuses on the methodology that was employed during the research. It constitutes the research design, study area, study population, sampling procedure, sample size, sampling technique, data collection methods and instrument, data control methods, data management and processing, data analysis, ethical considerations and limitations of the study.

### 3.1 Research Design

The study employed a qualitative research approach. Qualitative research refers to looking in depth at non-numerical data, studying things in their natural setting according to Denzin and Lincoln (2005).   The study used a case study research design, which is defined by Stake (1995) as an approach to research that facilitates exploration of a phenomenon within its context using a variety of data source.  A case study will be used to provide in-depth understanding of the protracted nature and causes of LRA insurgency in northern Uganda and explore strategies for sustainable peace-building.

## 3.2 Study Area

The research was carried out in Northern Uganda, particularly in the Acholiland. Acholiland comprises of the districts of Agago, Gulu, Pader, Kitgum, Amuru, Nwoya, Lamwo and MagweCounty in South Sudan.However, the study was conducted in the Greater Gulu (original Gulu before other districts were curved from it) comprising the current Gulu, Amuru, Nwoya and Kitgum districts since these were the corridors and where LRA conflicts had severe impact. It also made references to South Sudan and DRC because of the regional nature of the conflict.

The majority of people are predominantly subsistence farmers, and tend to rely for sustenance and income on land cultivation and herding according to the 2002/03 Uganda National Household Survey (UNHS). Employment revenue, which is the second most important source of income at the national level is very low in this region as compared to the rest of the country (Abuka et al. 2007).The people have gone back home from IDCs, and theyare goinghome, despite lack of water, roads, building materials, tools, and information. Voluntaryreturn is their right: as the National IDPPolicystates, Governmentcommits itself to promote the right of IDPs to return voluntarily,in safetyand dignity, to their homes or places ofhabitual residence. Mortality rates in Northern Uganda at some point were highest of any emergency situation in the world, at 1.54 per 10,000 people per day and 3.18 per 10,000 children under the age of five(WHO, 2005). Meanwhile the Government has committed itself to promote development in this war torn region. It has put in place several projects such as Northern Uganda Development of Enhanced Local Governance, Infrastructure, and Livelihoods (NUDEIL), Northern Uganda Rehabilitations (NUREP) that are

assisting Northern Uganda to revitalize its economy and catalyze a return to peace and stability. Various NGOs have established programs that seek to integrate conflict-affected populations by generating thousands of job opportunities; increasing government's capacity to plan and deliver services; and laying the foundations for longer term developments.

## 3.3 Study Population

The study focused on 5 districts of Acholilandin Northern Uganda (Gulu, Amuru, Nwoya, Kitgum and Pader). The people were from all walks of life; youth, elders, religious, local leaders, public and private sector. Their response was very crucial for the study since proper peacebuilding efforts address the different interest and perspectives of people in a conflict and those affected by a conflict.

## 3.4 Sampling Procedures

The sensitivities regarding the study influenced the choice of informants. The study employed a purposive sampling strategy of data collection which according to Patton (1990 cited in Polkinghorne, 2005, p.140), means selecting "information-rich cases for study in depth, those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research." People who have experience of particular events can provide relevant information about them. For example, the LRA insurgence in Northern Uganda would include participants who have been involved and affected directly and indirectly.

## 3.4.2 Sampling Size

The study will concentrate in 4 districts of the Acholiland namely; Gulu, Amuru, Nwoya and Kigtum as previously stated in study area above. It intended to cover a total population of 52

people comprising of Cultural Leaders, Religious leaders (a Catholic, Protestant and Muslim), NGO/CSO representatives District Leaders (RDCs, and District Chairpersons). From each of the four districts chosen, the study was to select two of the above mentioned. Itwas also set to pick one (1) female andmale abductees from each district. Youth participation is very important, thus it was also to select 2 youths from each of the four districts. However, the study used a sample size of 30 as explain in chapter four. These respondents provided for appropriate information pertaining to the study.

### 3.4.1 Sampling Technique

Purposive sampling technique was used in the inclusion of only the people who are knowledgeable and who are of interest while those who are not were excluded. Thus, selecting participants who had experienced the LRA brutality and intervention for more than two decades of armed conflict in Northern Uganda was crucial. Therefore the study solely used this technique to select all the participants. It also used the key informants to identify other respondents to the study.

### 3.5 Data Collection Methods and Instruments

To a larger extent, the study employed qualitative method of data using three instruments namely; questionnaire, key informant interview and document review. Qualitative method try to capture the full complexity of social phenomena through descriptive analysis that focuses on views and perceptions. Unstructured interviews as is rightly put by Pope and Mays (1995a and 1995b) that qualitative research allows people to contribute and share their views and feelings. Marshalland Rossman (1999) and Robson (2002) argue that the functions of qualitative research have been called descriptive or exploratory

by other authors and indeed both are key features of contextual research. The essential purpose is to explore and describe participants' understanding and interpretations of social phenomena in a way that captures their inherent nature (Ritchie and Lewis 2006: 28).

### 3.5.1 Questionnaire

A questionnaire is a tool for collecting and recording information about a particular issue of interest (Key 1997). This is a systematically prepared form or document with a set of questions deliberately designed to elicit responses from respondents for the purpose of collecting data or information. Both structured (closed) and unstructured (open) questions was used in section A and B of the questionnaire respectively to the families that lived in the ID camps and to those who never lived in them, former abductees both male and female, and the youth.

### 3.5.2 Key Informant Interviews

Interviews become necessary when researchers feel the need to meet face-to-face with individuals to interact and generate ideas in a discourse that borders on mutual interest. It is an interaction in which oral questions are posed by the interviewer to elicit oral response from the interviewee.

The study employed the focus interview type because as the name suggests, focuses on the respondent's subjective responses and experience on the subject matter to elicit more information. And rendered more control with the use of verbal cues that serve as a stimulus to inspire the respondents to volunteer more information on the subject. As the story unfolds it was made easy to hum in approval of what the respondent submits or chip in a stimulating question to encourage the flow of the conversation. It was applied to Clan chiefs, Religious leaders

and NGOs or government programs that provide developmental programmes in the area.

### 3.5.3 Document Review

Although reading is more to do with literature review, it is also an instrument for studying public documents such as newspapers, minutes of meetings and private documents such as letters, biographies and diaries to enable the researcher obtain the language and words of informants who may not be alive at the time of the research.

The researcher employed some reports and other accounts – such as Abducted and abused, renewed conflict in Northern Ugandathat has been published by Human Rights Watch (HRW 2003), *Northern Uganda Conflict Analysis Advisory by* Consortium on Conflict Sensitivity (ACCS) (September 2008), Accord Vol. II Report by Tim Allen, Refuge Law Project (RLP website), Amnesty Act (Cap. 124) Laws of Uganda, (2000). ICGLR Pact (2011), to mention but a few.

In addition reference was made to books like The Formation of Classes in Ugandan Politics by EriyaKategaya (RIP) 2002, Sowing the Mustard Seed (ed 2, 2015) by Museveni Y.K., Conflict Trajectory – its development and nature (2008) by WasongaJoseph.O, Roots of Conflict by W.S. Nasongo's (ed) 2015, Armed Conflict in Northern Uganda (2000) by Onyango John Odong, Broken Memory by Irivuzumugabe and Lawrence (2009) among many.

The study also borrowed a leaf from Papers of other researchers on the related topics and relevant to the objectives of the study such as; Klaas Jacob 2008, *Abductions in Northern Uganda, (*ACCS 2013) *Uganda Conflicts Analysis.* Rose Nakayi (2011)

*Disputes in post-conflict in Northern Uganda,* Joseph Maria Roy (2008).*Warand Peace Scenarios in Northern Uganda* and the like.

## 3.6 Quality Control Methods

Reliability and Validity are the two key characters that interviews have to have to be a suitable method for selection.The undertaking of the research study therefore, requires great consideration as to the appropriateness and validity of any chosen method since they both influence the research outcomes (Denscombe, 2003).

### 3.6.1 Reliability

Reliability means that the selection methods, tests, and ensuing results are consistent and do not vary with time, place or different subjects. Basing on the purposive interview it ensured getting quality information to the desired goals. It was also restricted to collecting unnecessary data that do not necessarily shape the study findings. The study instruments were pretested before sending them to respondents to ensure reliable data is generated.

### 3.6.2 Validity

Validity has traditionally meant an estimate of the extent to which the (data measure or the design measure) what is intended to be measured. To Denzin (1994), truth value becomes almost circular. Without validity, he says, there is no truth and without truth there is no claim of validity. The population study selected gave the chance to compare notes for validity.

## 3.7 Data Management and Processing

All the interviews, conversations and questionnaire for this study were conducted in English. One person who could not speak

English had his questionnaire translated for her.  According to Alkinson (1998), analysis of data may follow the steps of transcription and interpretation of the data while relying on objectives of the study. The findings presented were based on the objectives of the study.  I kept the data collected and notes made safely under lock and key because the data is confidential and for only this particular study.

**3.8 Data Analysis**

Data collected were analyzed under the research objectives above and a thematic but descriptive data analysis for purposes of obtaining usable and useful information was adopted.

**3.8.1 Content and Thematic Analysis**

Two of the most popular approaches**of** data analysis are the content analysis and thematic analysis. The first approach employs a more systematic and mechanical process and is usually used with a purpose of classifying and quantifying data. It is usually used to analyze the data which are gathered from personal interviews and categorized in themes and sub-themes so as to be comparable. The second approach employs a more flexible and reflective process and is usually used to capture the richness and in-depth nature of qualitative data. Thematic analysis is a qualitative analytic method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organizes and describes data set in (rich) detail. However, frequently it goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic.' Braun and Clarke, 2006, p.79.The study mainly used thematic analysis and this was done through the process explained below. Whereas content analysis was partly used in dealing with literature review and the

researcher ensured it obtained a content that was in line with the objectives of the study.

### 3.7.2 Editing, Coding and Tabulation

Editing was done before coding the data, this involved cleaning the data by crosschecking the information collected for consistency before coding them.

**Coding** is an analytical process in which data, in both quantitative form (such as questionnaires results) or qualitative (such as interview transcripts) is categorized to facilitate analysis. **Coding** means the transformation of data into a form understandable by computer software. The data collected was coded to give it a broader and more meaningful picture of the sample. Objectives provided the broader themes under which the different codes where assigned to questions in the instruments.

Later tables and figures were then used to present the data for easy understanding and interpretation, analysis and discussion.

### 3.9 Ethical Consideration

The researcher requested to obtain oral access consent to conduct the research from authorities in the areas where interviews were conducted and of each respondent after full disclosure of the purpose, nature and benefits of the study while allowing participants to ask any pertinent questions. To ensure confidentiality of information given the researcher assured the respondents on respect of their privacy. An opportunity to withdrawal from the interview at any one time and not to answer any question that they do not wish to answer was encouraged in order to avoid pain or disadvantaged those who have undergone the experiences.

A letter of introduction was obtained from Uganda Martyrs University, which enabled the researcher to get access to the different NGOs and civil society organizations and the greater Acholi districts where I collected data from.

## 3.10 Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

The topic under study involves classified information and may seem as security threat (although it is not) which may be difficult for me to obtain from the NGOs and government programmes. Another limitation in my opinion would be accessing the intended respondent and convincing them for audience as they may feel that I am re-activating the suffering they went through. Finding the appropriate literature on the topic is also cumbersome and requires a lot of hard work and patience of which I may run out. Last but not least it will be an expensive exercise for me to travel to those districts and spend quality time conducting interview. The language barrier may arise for those who do not speak English.

**CHAPTER FOUR**

**PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

## 4.0 Introduction

Researchers gain 'entrance' to the research context in various ways (Roberts 2007, p.5). Basing on that, this study set out to establish the causes of LRA conflict in Acholi land, the nature of the conflict and how it evolved plus exploring strategies towards peace-building approaches that create platform for sustainable human development and security in northern Uganda.The study took on qualitative research methods and designs to cover the topic. The qualitative approach was very effective because it prompted the carrying out of the study in its natural setting with the actual group of respondents in their locality (Creswell, 2009; Silverman, 2010).

## 4.2 Respondent Characteristics

30 respondents out of the targeted 52 agreed to participate. The NGO staff and Government officials that participated argue that the major causes of the northern Uganda conflict lie in the self-generated failure of Acholi people to resolve and strengthen their internally weakened lineage based on authority and broken down relationships with other parts of Uganda especially among the men. This is revealed by the percentage of men that agreed to participate in the study. The poverty decline in Uganda has not been experienced uniformly across the country. In the Northern region of Uganda, for example, poverty decline has been modest at only approximately 17% since 1992/93. This is compared to substantial progress made in the West and Central regions of Uganda, where poverty has declined by around

60% since 1992/3 (World Bank, 2007b, p. 3).  This too can explain why the age bracket of 'above 36' declined to participate in the study.

**4.1 Table 1: Respondents Characteristics:**

| Characteristics | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Gender | | |
| - Female | 22 | 73% |
| - Male | 8 | 27% |
| Age bracket | | |
| - 18-25 | 15 | 50% |
| - 26-35 | 12 | 40% |
| - Above 36 | 3 | 10% |
| Level of Education | | |
| - Primary | 3 | 10% |
| - Secondary | 10 | 34% |
| - Tertiary | 15 | 50% |
| - None | 2 | 6% |

*Source: Primary Data*

In the table above, 73% of the respondents were female compared to 37% for male respondents. This shows the extent to which women were affected and the fact that they are always willing to share their stories and seek for mechanisms from resolving conflicts.

It was also found that most those who participated in the study fell in the age range of 10-25 (50%) and it clearly shows the extent to which the youth were greatly affected by the war and or most of them where born during the time of conflict. Although 40% of the respondents were in the rage of 26-35 and 10% for those above 36, they represent youth. Majority fell within the

age range of a youth in the country (which is 30) and this took the effects of the conflicts.

Majority of the respondents had attained a level of education of Tertiary level. This means most of them were able to articulate issues. This was followed by those who have attained secondary education (34%), then those who had attained primary level (10%). And the least is those who have never studied (6%)

## 4.3. Causes of LRA conflict in Northern Uganda

The causes of war in Acholiland reaped various explanations depending on who was the respondent. Finnstrom (2003), Jack (2003) Branch (2005) and Dolan (2005) attempt to discuss on the root causes of the conflict in northern Uganda from anthropological, social-political and historical stand points.

### Figure 1: Causes of LRA Conflict in Northern Uganda
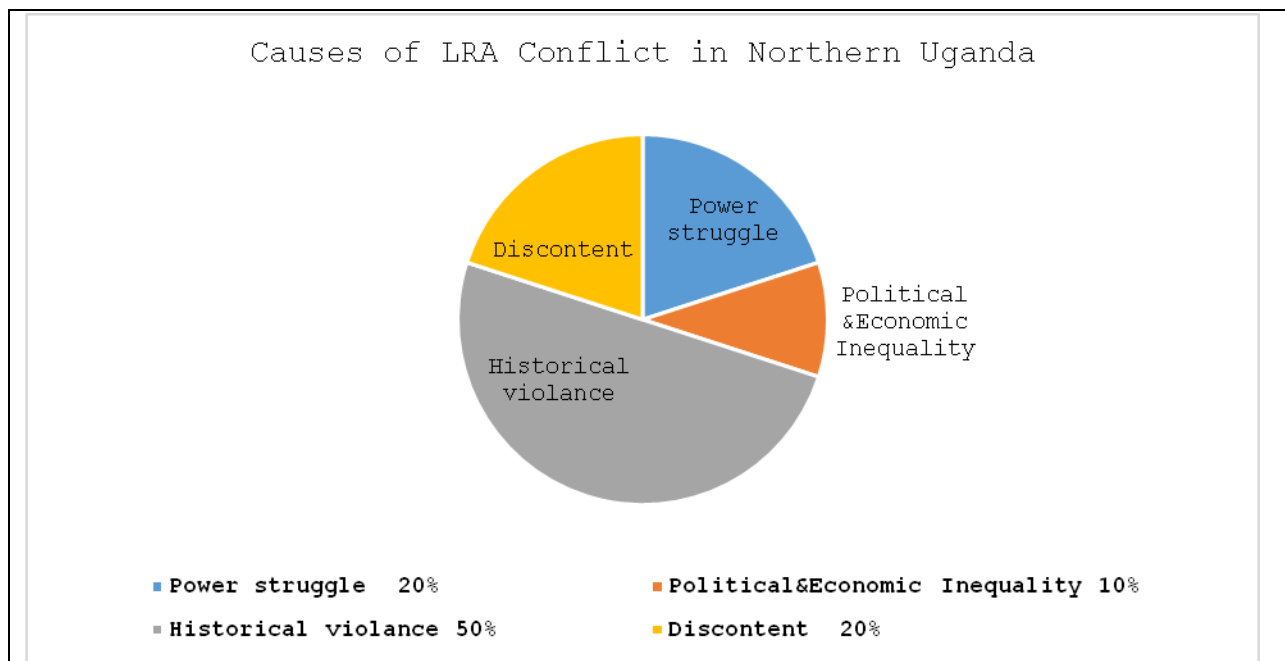


*Source: Primary Data*

### 4.3.1 Historical Violence

This section focuses on Uganda's political development of the "tribal" and "regional" identities that has a basis for the predominantly historical ethnic political violence.

The figure 1 above shows that the LRA conflict was a result of violence (50%). This means that the conflict in the north was the result of previously experienced history and any efforts to redress this must look at the nature and causes of this history inorder to establish better solutions for the past.

In relations to the above Branch (2010), notes that Northern Ugandan war often fails to account for the historical processes by which ethnic identities were constructed and politicized, instead neutralizing them and not questioning how they came to be bases for communal political identification and action (Ibid, p.26). Branch argues that "tribal" ethnic identity arose out of "tribes" demarcated by the British during colonialism as the administrative indirect rule – the five "treaty kingdoms" of Southern Uganda and the "districts" of Northern Uganda (Ibid, pp. 26-31).

The British colonialisation went through phases of the Anglo – German Agreement of 1890, was administered under the Imperial British East African Company (IBEAC) until 1893 and later became an official British Protectorate in 1894 (Mamdani 1993, p. 6). During these phases, Buckley – Zistel (2008) argues that the colonial rule changed the political Landscape of Uganda dramatically, the repercussions of which are still prevalent today. This means that the systems the colonialist introduced were impartial and this resulted into anger that have continuously been suppressed and at any opportune time erupts so was the case of LRA.

The bad history was also created through the colonial rule for instance the introduction of taxes, the growth of an ethnically heterogeneous and racially administered population, the creation of hierarchies of civil service chiefs as leaders, mission education as well as the growth of small middle sector education also created a bad history since this did not favour the all the tribes.As McGregor (1967) argues, the British administrators were codifying and promulgating traditions they considered valuable, thereby transforming flexible customs into hard prescriptions(See Buckley-Zistel 2008, p.61). It resulted to each "tribe" to change from a category of colonial administration to a category of political identity and action, each became to be an internal aspect of Uganda's political identity (Branch 2010, p.26). The separation of a sense of belonging to the nation from "tribe" is lost (Finnstrom 2003), but consequently becomes a dominantly internal political order and the current Uganda's North-South divide respectively.

It is evident from the respondents that Historical violence played a bigger role to initiate the LRA conflict. While some people feel that the people of Acholi were fighting a noble cause to retain themselves in power, others felt that they were paying for their sins because of the atrocities by UNLA to the people of Luwero triangle. As some people feel sorry for the war, others blame the government that it made the Acholi people turn guns against themselves.

## 4.3.2. Power Struggle

Another cause of conflict found was the power struggle (20%) and this followed the historical causes. The two are intertwined whereas history may related to past events, the past may include power struggle. The north-south divide created by the colonialpowers was reflected in the power struggle which was

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constructed along ethnic lines. The Acholi could not bear a non Acholi as a leader since this is seen as a repressive or potential repressive regime to their survival.

This was witnessed in the institutions of state such as the army, the policy and other key political institutions. According to Mudoola (2008, 1993) Obote's seizure of power brought the Uganda Army on the stage of Uganda politics since the army was then used as an instrument of policy to resolve domestic struggle for power. Obote expanded the army in the 1960s, entrenched the Northern dominance of the armed forces; the army grew from 700 troops at independence to 9,000 at the 69 time of Idi Amin's inception coup in 1971 of which over one third were Acholi and Obote'sLangi tribesmen (Omara-Otunnu, 1987, pp. 51, 81-5;Mudoola, 1996, p.97).

The same scenario was observed with the case of NRA when they took over power. They as mush tied to undo what the Obote regime had established to assert their dominance. After NRA takeover of power in January 1986, Uganda's new beginning marked the era of a liberated Uganda by Museveni to install a system - overhaul of the old guards and install a new beginning for a broad - based government. Jackson (2002) argues that with the final defeat of the UNLA in March 1986, the Acholi were adrift from any power structure within Uganda and effectively under occupation. Anger, fear and rage increased amongst Acholi people as the cosmology of the war changed when NRA reached Gulu in March 1986 and Kitgum in April 1986 respectively. In the context of both destabilisation of the social order in Acholiland under Idi Amin or even during the 1950s when decentralized pre-colonial socio-political structure was challenged by British imposition of administrative chiefs, the Acholi crisis continued from 1986

(Branch 2010, p. 25). The struggle for power above was a mention during the interviews where it was observed that it is taking a deep rooted tribal trend which ought to be undone if long lasting solutions to the conflict in northern Uganda is to be attained. Above all the need by the leaders to reconsider reconciliation of the past is necessary to ensure lasting peace efforts.

### 4.3.3 Discontent

Discontent which accounts for 20% of the causes of the LRA conflict is a reflection of the politics of the country. Historically, bullets rather than ballots have dominated Uganda's politics in which two Governments were removed by military coups (i.e. Obote I in 1971 and Obote II in1985), one by foreign incursion [i.e. the 1979 Tanzania-Uganda National Liberation Front invasion] and another by armed rebellion - the NRA and Museveni rebellion of 1981-1985 that culminated in the overthrow of Tito Okello (Brett 1995: 129-152 and Odoi-Tanga 2009). Again, the military domination of Northern people in the army found it hard to shift the political end game through military domination.  The two major crises that would, first be the basis for the breakdown of social authority in Acholiland emerged as a result of the return of the defeated ex-UNLA soldiersto fit into civilian lives in Acholiland. And, secondly the loss of political control that would lead them back to resolve the national crisis since the destruction of political links that tied the Acholi in the district to the national state is lost (Branch 2010, p.25). Attempts to resolve the crisesthrough insurgencies and counter – insurgency attacks against the enemy, the NRA/M government establishment did not succeed.

Nonetheless, during this same period, perceptions and attitudes among the Acholipeople combined to forge a durable resolve to initiate a prolonged, armedinsurgency against the Museveni Government. A number of these attitudespersist today, though they are much diminished.

Having witnessed the razing of Luwero and the West Nile, the Acholi soldierswould have understood the potential impact of an insurgency waged in Acholiitself. But most of the Acholi public had not witnessed these events and may nothave anticipated the magnitude of consequences which such a struggle couldentail. Many believed that an organized assault by the Acholi professional militarywould have forced an NRA retreat across the Nile River in just a few days. Inhindsight, it appears that the Acholi may also have over-estimated their ownmilitary capabilities and underestimated those of the NRA (Gersony, 1997). However, the communities of Acholiland feel that their rejection of the LRA should not be seen as support for the currentGovernment. The National Resistance Movement and President Museveni areviewed as alien to the area. While support for the armed anti-Governmentstruggle has evaporated, the population's political opposition to the currentgovernment remains. This is a revelation to the study of the extent of discontentment among the people of Acholiland.

### 4.3.4. Political and Economic inequality

The political and economic inequality that scored 10% according to the study indicated that he NRA's seizure of power effectively meant that for the first time, socio-economic, political and military powers were all concentrated in the south. The new administration, which absorbed political and military groups from the south and Moses Ali's UNRF group, engaged in intensive anti-northern propaganda. The

administration also discriminated against groups from Eastern Uganda and West Nile. This severe alienation and marginalization led to armed conflicts in Teso and West Nile. After much destruction and displacement of the population in Teso, the government negotiated an end to the conflict in the east.

However UNHCR (2009) puts it into context that the causes of Northern Uganda war were a combination of historical reasons based on national political propaganda of Acholinisation of the war.  The north-south dividing factor, lack of government political will and protraction of the war itself provided enough evidence about the Acholinisation of the war.According to a Discussion Paper No. 7 of 2003 by Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (MoFPED), Offices of the President (PO) and Prime Minister (OPM),Northern Uganda has since the mid-1880s experienced violent conflicts and insurgency that have occurred as a result of rebel activity particularly in the Acholi and West Nile regions and cattle rustling in the Karamoja region. Conflicthas been fuelled by a combination of factorsincluding resistance to the current government, support from external forces, the proliferation of guns in the region, poverty, and imbalances to access in economic opportunities and the need to accumulate wealth.  All the districts in the north have been devastated by the armed conflict and are all poverty stricken. By the latest National Household Survey of 2005, they fall under the average national household consumption level.

As evident from the above mentioned report and discussion paper, political and economic inequality has traits of nature of the conflict but more of other internal and external factors basing on the results of my study.

## 4.4 The Nature of the Conflict and Evolving Trends

### Figure 2:  Nature of conflict and evolving trend



Figure 2: Nature of conflict and evolving trend
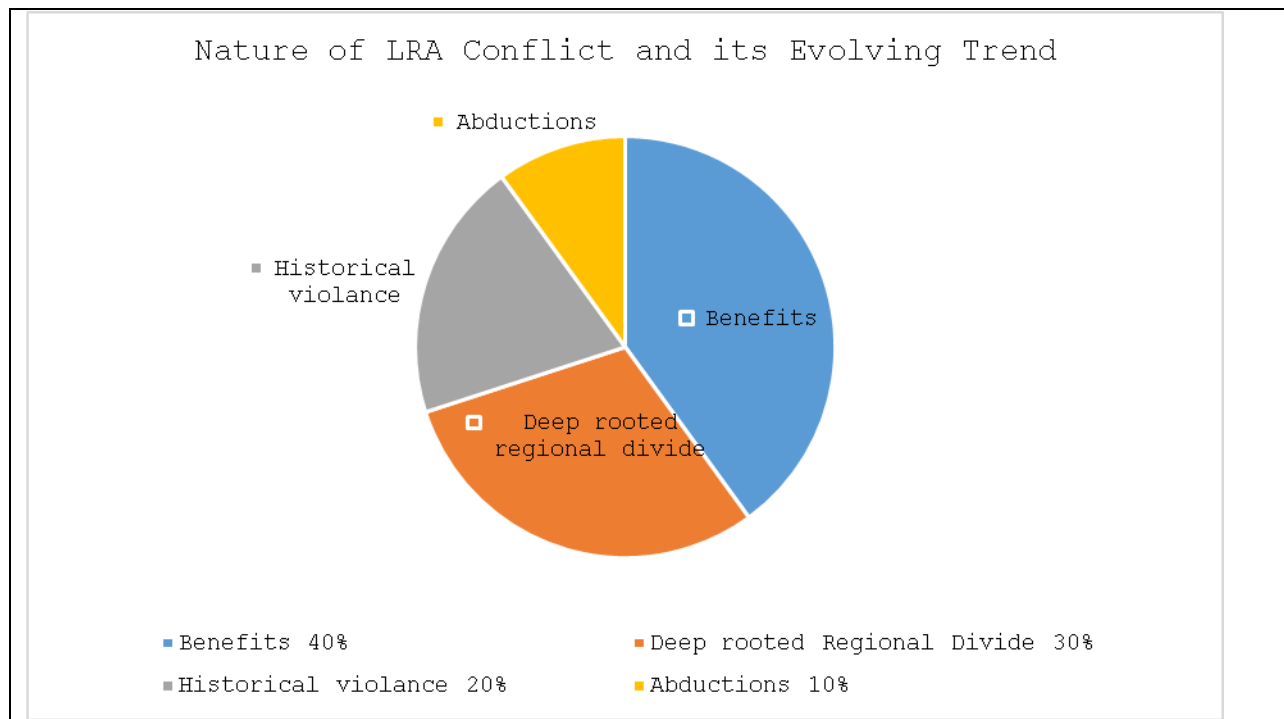
*Source: Primary Data*

### 4.4.1 Benefits

The study established that a large part of the community agree that it was a noble cause, thus an explanation of the 40%. The research indicated in the 4.4.3 of Historical violence that both parties of the conflict had gains from the ongoing conflict.

Besides "failures" to defeat the LRA, several authors have given many accounts as to why the war in Acholiland was taking so long to end despite the rag-tag nature of LRA. NRA/M conductedseveral failed military operations despite the highly trained and sophisticated NRA personneland logistics.  "Uganda's politics of foreign aid and violent conflict using LRA rebellions [and others in parts of the country –author's addition] was to a large extent charity from non-governmental organizations (NGOs) has substituted the state" (Mwenda 2010, p.45).  The ancient

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proverb of the Kikuyu people, a tribal group in Kenya, Africa, "when elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers" is as true today as when the words were first spoken, perhaps thousands of years ago. Its essence is simplicity--when the large fight, it is the small who suffer most. As the war was going on and some parties were benefiting, the civilians and innocent children were the ones suffering.

## 4.4.2 Deep Rooted Regional Divide

The research established that given the history of accessing power, through violent means the armed rebellion in the north against NRM regime was seen as the normal course political business.

Contemporary violent conflicts in the country are directly related to the profound crisis of legitimacy of the state, its institutions and their political incumbents. This crisis, in part, reflects the way the state was constructed through European expansionist violence, manipulation of pre-existing differences, administrative policies of divide and rule and economic policies that further fractured the colonial entity. These policies did not only undermine the faltering legitimacy of the state, but also impeded the emergence of a Ugandan nationalism and generated ethnic, religious and regional divisions that were to contribute in later years to instability and political violence.

Whereas Gersony emphasize the "ghosts of Luwero Triangle" that haunt the Acholi people who lost economic and political influence following Museveni's rise to power (Gersony, 1997) a recent report by HURIPEC initiated an ethnic war against northerners even before Luwero Triangle (HURIPEC, 2003 pp. 24-31).

The study found that Uganda's post-colonial history of divide and rule coupled with numerous armed rebellions and lack of accountability for such violence provides the critical backdrop for understating why the war broke out the say it did.Whether the system has been transformed into a fully representative national entity is another matter, but continued perceptions about a north-south divide uncovered in many responses from respondents Acholilandfrom Kitgum to Kampala suggest that this is still an important area of concern.

### 4.4.3 Historical violence

The study found out that historical violence characterized the LRA conflict to the tune of 20%. It was the nature of the LRA conflict that lasted for nearly sixteen years because of a number of interrelated factors. To begin with, the war in Acholi become an extension of regional and international power struggles. On the regional front, Uganda provided military hardware and sanctuary to the SPLA. In retaliation, the Sudan government provided sanctuary and military hardware to the LRA. On the international front, both the Uganda government and the SPLA received military and political support from the US, in part to curtail the influence of the Islamic government in Khartoum. Another factor perpetuating the conflict was, the war become a lucrative source and cover for clandestine income for high-ranking military and government officials and other profiteers. In addition, the unwillingness of the government and the LRA to genuinely pursue a negotiated settlement sustained the war. Lastly, atrocities committed by the LRA against unarmed civilians and the unwillingness of the rebel group to accept alternative political views on the conflict prolonged the war. OgengaOtunnu (2002)

A working paper by Kirsten Gelsdorf, Daniel Maxwell and DynaMazuran (2012) described the LRA conflict in northern Uganda as one of the world's worst and most protracted conflict and insecurity, in the form of civil war inflicted on millions of people's lives. Although active conflict and abduction ended in Northern Uganda and security improved this region remains very much affected by conflict, and the situation is fluid. However, the researcher noted that the withdrawal of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) improved security significantly, enabled the return of over a million people to their homes and helped spur the rebuilding of lives and livelihoods.

## 4.4.4 Abductions

This study identified many characteristics of the conflict that include but not limited to abductions covering 10% of the nature of the conflict. Kony's discourse was limited to Acholi, as UPDA's was. The internal crises merged with the national crisis. NRA/M was an external enemy that transposed to the inside of Acholi society in the form of NRA collaborators, the new internal enemy (Branch 2010, p.40). Kony defined the Acholi as false-colloborators of NRA/M and the genuine Acholi, while dismissing the powers of elders or any other Acholi leadership to determine the bounds of Acholi identity. The LRA alone would decide who would be relegated to the category of the impure, corrupt Acholi, needing to be cleansed from Acholi society (Branch 2010:41). Attempts by two elders, OkotOgony of Cwero, eastern Gulu, Chairman of the Peace Commission of the Council of Acholi Chiefs, and OlanyaLagony, a respected elder from Koc-Goma, south-western Gulu resulted in them being killed on 8th June 1996 (Finnstrom 2005, pp. 95-93 and OkelloAngoma 2005). Mutilations had started in 1994 that also saw the first mass forced abduction of children and young people Jackson (2002,

p.43) terms LRA's philosophical approach of mutilations and forced child-recruitment as similarto that taken by the Khmer Rouge of Cambodia, referring to it as auto-genocide. LRA's attackson civilians had at least three strategic objectives. Firstly was to deny the government information about its movements by forcing the rural population to flee; secondly to gather resources from the looted villages (RLP February 2004:19) and thirdly and most bizarrely, to show the populace that the government is unable or unwilling to provide protection, and thus encourage people to support to the LRA (Doom and Vlassenroot 1999: 30). The research agree with the aforementioned researchers, nevertheless abductions were not the only nature of the conflict. The study found out that the conflict characterized of other atrocities such as rape, as confessed by two victims, killings, mutilation of bodies and forced child labour among others.

Innocent Oryem a youth whom I interviewed at the offices National Water and Sewerage Corporation (Ggaba) on 22 July still had the terrifying memories of the war. He described the war as terrorism (verbatim):

> *The war affected our area badly, politically, socially, economically and spiritually" On one Friday evening in 1990 as we sat pondering on what to eat, my siblings who had gone to collect water had delayed and we got worried. I was sent to go check on them. As I walked I met a group of women who gave me the sad news that my two brothers had been kidnapped by Kony's me. I ran back to give my father the sad news. As I approached home, I had my mother yelling calling her husband's name. I climbed a big tree and watched rebels mutilating my father and a young brother of five years. We have never seen my brothers again and my father died with the scars. The young boy then of five years is now a man of 30 years without ears and fingers. I don't think I will ever forgive those people neither will I ever support the ruling party and its leader.*

Oryem's story is a representation of the nature of the protracted war and its evolving trend. There was loss of lives, property and productivity. People have lived with hunger and fear for almost two decades.

## 4.5. Strategies towardsPeacebuilding

The study established the following strategies for peace building:

**Figure 3: Strategies towards peace-building**
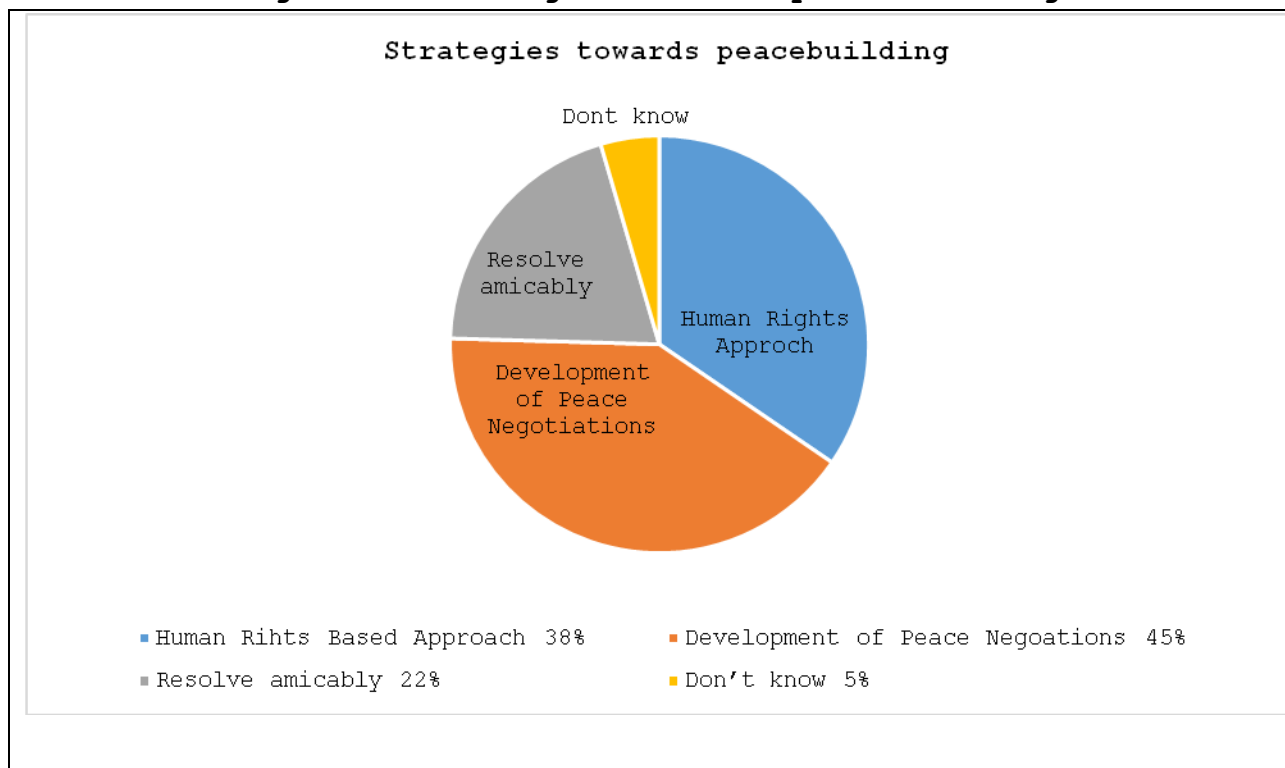


*Sources: Primary Data*

Local leaders and a big number of the community felt that the development of peace negotiations between the government and LRA leaders would be the best choice to resolve the conflict. Many of them especially the religious leaders are in support of this strategy, in its absence, the government should revert to amnesty and peace preaching without fire arms. While there are some who feel that the perpetrators should be brought to book

for justice to prevail. However, there is a very minute portion of people who said they don't have any idea of what to do to bring peace in the region (labelled don't know in the pie chart). The above findings are analyzed in this section as follows:

## 4.5.1 Development of Peace Negotiations

The researcher noted that development of peace negotiations (45%) scored more in the minds of all the respondents due to the fact that Kony and his trench men are tribe mates to the people of Acholiland. In an interview with one of the elder, these were their own children that were abducted and were being used to kill their own while others said that Kony had an agenda which was yet to be articulated.

During the late 1980s, the LRA concentrated its attacks mainly on government troopsbut from 1992 began focusing on civilian targets. As several authors correctly point out, the change in strategy is explained by Kony's desire to take revenge on a civilian population that, in 1991-2, fought against the LRA in government-sponsored "Bow and Arrow" civil defense units instead of lending their support to the LRA (Gersony 1997).

Basing on the results of the study development of peace negotiations was high on the agenda.

## 4.5.2 Human Rights Based Approach

Found to be the second best option of the strategies, Human rights based approach (38%) was an opinion of majority respondents. They believed in bringing justice to those who suffered the brutality of LRA. According to the study, this opinion was mainly of the government officials and civil society. They were in support of the Government decision that was made in January 2004 to take the LRA leadersto the

International Criminal Court (ICC) and other culprits to the national courts. However, the elders, local leaders and religious leaders and the youth of the Acholiland community preferred engagement of traditional courts mainly the indigenous or cultural courts.

The study contributes to the above and argues that justice should prevail to the victims and perpetrators be brought to book in order to achieve lasting peace and avoid relapse of war.

### 4.5.3 Resolve Amicably

As the researcher carried out interviews, it was analyzed that next to human rights based approach, resolve amicably (22%) would be next in line.  It felt so hurting especially for the victims that had experienced the brutality, but the conflict had to be put to rest and life had to go on.  Social reintegration was therefore the way to go in order to have lasting peace in the region. The Kingma (2001, p.407, 2000, p.46) defines social reintegration as the process through which the ex-combatant and his or her family feel part of, and are accepted by the community. The key issue of social reintegration is the ability of an individual to live among other people (acceptance) in the community.

The findings also show that, as the hosts of reintegration, there is a need to focus on the family and village settings, and how the existing resources in these settings can aid the reintegration process (Sendabo, 2004). Usually, family and village initiatives are an important way to begin this process. In some African communities, initiatives like rituals to welcome and cleanseindividuals are a fundamental consideration if an individual is to be accepted in the community (Wessells andMonteiro, 2001; McKay and Mazurana, 2004; Honwana, 2006). Exploring the role of Gamba spirits and healers in post-war

recovery in Mozambique, Igreja (2003, p.461) writes that, the availability of, accessibility of and quality of local resources play a vital role in the recovery process because they provide a rationale of suffering that fits with explanatory models of the traumatized individual and families.

The researcher was convinced that infighting and defections were factors to the failure of thisapproach. The death of Vincent Otti, one of the fierce LRA commanders isbelieved to have dealt a blow to the whole process as he was the one in touchwith the outside world than the elusive leader. Its alleged Kony killed Otii asthe latter had planned to kill the former (Nyakairu and Matsiko 2008). WithOtti now apparently dead, Kony and commander of the LRA's Sinia BrigadeDominic Ongwen are the only two remaining commanders indicted.

The study contributes to the above literature and argues that while attention should go the victims of the brutality, the former abductees should also be taken care of because they were forced into carrying out those war actions.  They therefore too share the same trauma.

### 4.5.4 Those who do not know

To understand the paradox, of the Acholi people raising guns against their own, ones needs to understand the history of the politics of this country.  The researcher came across a minority of people (5%) who said they did not have answers to any question just because they did not know. However, the study found out that this minute section of people could be that they suffered stigma without their knowledge.

**CHAPTER FIVE**

**SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

**5.0 Introduction**

This chapter summarizes the findings of the study based on the study objectives. As a key focus, it states the strategies towards peace building for development and human security by drawing conclusion of the findings, giving recommendations and suggesting area for further research on the topic.

**5.1 Summary of the Key Findings**

The findings are discussed in light of the objectives set to answer the research questions as below:

**5.1.1 Causes of the LRA in Northern Uganda.**

Based on the results of the study the socio-economic division between Northern and Southern Uganda resulting from the British colonial administration's division of labour, effectively created a political elite in the South and a military technocracy in the North and this has a hand in the LRA conflict. Also the militarization of politics in which the use of force has been a political means, as well as the exclusion of Acholi in all domains of political power, were summarily found to be the root cause of the LRA conflict. Undemocratic politics and social inequalities especially to the north of the country are major factors driving the conflict.

**5.1.2.   Factors for Protracted Nature of conflict and their evolving trend in Northern Uganda**

The study showed that the history of the area means that every event, decision and intervention from government is often seen against a history of violence and exclusion.  It also revealed

that the war not only left the region paralyzed with people subject to horrifying suffering (sex abuse, displacement, torture, aductions among other afflictions), it also affect the region's economic development by destroying the infrastructure and livelihoods.

### 5.1.3 Strategies for Sustainable Peace building

Majority of men and women that served as respondents in this study argued that consequences of the conflict have been far-reaching including destabilization of the region, the displacement of up to about 1.8 million people, the killing and mutilation of tens of thousands of civilians, and the abduction of even more civilians, mainly children, for recruitment in the LRA forces. They believed that long-term reconciliation and lasting peace are best achieved through the pursuit of peace negotiations, justice and amicable solutions. Preaching peace and making use of indigenous courts run in the mi. The study also revealed that the many years of failing attempts to put an end to the conflict and end the miseries of the Uganda population finally paid off in recent years with a series of peace building initiatives that have brought relative stability to the region.

### 5.2 Conclusion

Based on the results of the study, majority of respondents exclusively blame the ruling National Resistance Movement and its leader, Yoweri Museveni for the protracted war in the region. Majority that served as respondents in the study, believed that LRA had an agenda believed to be spiritual that was yet to be articulated. It is this mistrust that government has to sufficiently address in order to revert people's

perceptions about whether Northern Uganda is part of this country.

The war in Northern Uganda not only left the region paralyzed with people subjected to horrifying suffering (sex abuse, displacement, torture, abductions among other afflictions) it also affected the region's economic development by destroying the infrastructure, markets, livelihoods. Compared to other regions in Uganda poverty trends analysis shows that Northern Uganda has the highest rates of poverty at 64 percent in rural and 40 percent in urban areas (Republic of Uganda, 2008). This shows that the war in the north was socio-economic in nature.

It can be concluded that numerous strategies towards peace-building, reconciliation, reconstruction meet strong negative attitude of the communities since it doesn't take their concerns and the real core problem that created the war.

## 5.3 Recommendation

In an effort to restore peace and initiate peace building strategies the national judicial system of the Government of Uganda may wish to prosecute the alleged perpetrators from both parties to the conflict; support and legitimize the traditional justice Mechanisms; recognize the suffering of the victims through truth telling mechanisms and reparations; and address the socio-economic marginalization and political disempowerment of Northern Uganda, which constitute the main root causes of the conflict. While Northern Uganda is currently experiencing relatively stability, these factors severely risk compromising the unique opportunity to move towards peace building.

There is need for a "bottom-up approach to development" (Niboh, 2008, p.4) which advocates for community participation for their own development. This does not mean it has never been there but it has been abused. Among the several selected informants, it

was found out that most people in the community and some NGO staff had some solutions which could aid the reintegration of ex-abductees of LRA.  As noted during the interviews, females are vulnerable to being exploited by males or other community members when they receive material goods or money. They need more support than males since the latter stand a higher chance of attaining parental and community care; have rights to property; none of them returned with children who are perceived as a burden to the families and communities; most of them have some power to negotiate for paid work in the locality and are rarely pushed into domestic work like females.

Indigenous peace-building mechanisms should be employed.  For instance, the ARLPI as an umbrella organization of all the major religious denominations in northern Uganda (Catholic, Pentecostal, Protestant and Islamic faith groups),formed in 1999, aims at pursuing peaceful resolution of the conflict with the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), and all conflicts associated with the LRA insurgency by local means. Led by religious leaders, ARLPI facilitates grassroots and inter-communal reconciliation, peace and harmonious co-existence in all areas and communities of northern Uganda and beyond. Okumu (2005) describes the welcome and cleansing ceremony nyonotonggweno (stepping on the egg) and the reconciliation ceremony Matooput as some of the indigenous reconciliation process by the Acholi communities.  Brief descriptions of matooput  are also provided by Girling (1969, pp.66-67) and Baines (2005, pp.  57-61)

The war also destabilized other parts of the country and contributed to other regional conflicts in the Great Lakes. The multi-faceted and interrelated causes and consequences of the war should not, therefore, be seen as exclusively an Acholiissue. Nor should the war be treated as merely a

humanitarian crisis. It has many dimensions: political, social, economic and humanitarian. As such, durable solutions will need to respond to all of these challenges (Otunnu, 2002).

Preaching peace and love for one another is the strongest recommendation to the communities. Dialogue by the government should be top on the agenda. The highlights of Uganda Vision 2040 should be honoured by the decision and policy makers for peace-building.

## 5.4 Suggestion for Further Research

Among the several information sources such internet, media, handouts, documentary, journals and literature on the LRA conflict in Northern Uganda, the causes and nature have been widely covered. This has influenced an extensive research. There is therefore need for a holistic and comprehensive research on the strategies;

- For peace-building
- Reconstruction and
- Reconciliation for development and human security in order to have lasting peace and avoid a relapse.

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**APPENDICES**

**Appendix 1: Interview Guide**

<u>Consent for interviews</u>

My name is Kisalu Gladys Kyobe, a Democracy and Development Studies student at Uganda Martyrs University Nkozi. I am inviting you to participate in a research study on the Protracted Nature and Causes of Conflict on Peace Building in the Great Lakes Region: A Case study of LRA Conflict in Northern Uganda.

Your involvement in the research study is voluntary and you may choose to pull out of the study at any time in case you feel you are no longer interested to take part.

All that is required of you is to answer a few questions.

The information will be very useful in the writing of my research and purposely for exploring strategies for peace-building particularly in Acholiland. It will not pin any one in anyway. So kindly feel free to participate.

Thank you very much.

**Discussion Questions (for all)**

**Objective One: The causes of conflicts of LRA in Northern Uganda.**

1. Are you aware of the LRA conflict in Northern Uganda? Yes or No
2. How did you know about it?
3. What are the main causes of the Conflict?
4. Describe the role you played before the conflict and how you carried it out?
5. Do you think the LRA were right to carry on the conflict? Why?

**Objective Two: The nature of LRA conflicts and how they have evolved in Northern Uganda**

1. What was the nature of the Conflict/what did it involve?
2. How has it changed over time?

3. What are your experiences and changes you observed since you learned about the LRA conflict?
4. What are current conflict trends, e.g. escalation or de-escalation?
5. What are the impacts of the LRA in the community?


**Objective Three: Strategic peace-building approach that create platform for sustainable human development and security**

1. Are there any mechanisms in the community known to you for resolving the conflicts? Mentioned them. Have you tried any one of them, which one and why?
2. What is your role in resolving conflicts in this community and strategies for peace building?
3. Are there any measures designed to consolidate peaceful relations and strengthened viable socio-economic and cultural institutions capable of mediating conflicts? If yes which ones? Have they produced results?
4. What role does government have in this conflict and is the role being appreciated by the communities? State the reason.
5. Do you foresee a better future for the Acholiland? If not why and what should be done?
6. What other actors play important role in the conflict? mention their roles
7. According to you what are the effective measures and recommendable for peace building?
8. Any other comment?


Thank you very much.

**Appendix 2: Questionnaire**


QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE ASSESSMENT OF THE PR OTRACTED NATURE AND
CAUSES OF CONFLICT ON PEACE BUILDING IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION:
A CASE STUDY OF LRA CONFLICT IN NORTHERN UGANDA

My Name is Kisalu Gladys Kyobe a Democracy and Development
Studies student at Uganda Martyrs University Nkozi.  I am
requesting you to participate in the research study of the
above.  Your involved in the research study is voluntary and you
may choose to not to participate.  All what is required of you
is to answer the questions in the questionnaire here attached.
You do not have to identify yourself and all the information you
will give will be treated with the confidentiality it deserves.

Thank you.

**PERSONAL DATA**

**TICK APPROPRIATELY.**

1 Gender?                    Male        Female          Other

2 Age bracket?               18-25          26-35            36 and
above

3 Educational Level?                    Primary   Secondary Tertiary
      None


**Objective One: The causes of conflicts of LRA in Northern
Uganda.**

1. Are you a former LRA ID camper?            Yes/No

2. Are you a former Abductee of LRA?            Yes/No

3. If Yes how long did you spend in captivity?
……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

4. Are you aware of LRA and its atrocities          Yes/No

5. If Yes what atrocities were committed?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

**Objective Two:The nature of LRA conflicts and how they have
evolved in Northern Uganda**

**1.** Did you experience the conflict?                          Yes/No

2. What was your experience like?………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
………

3. How did it affect you? …………………………………………………………………………………………………………

L24. Who committed the atrocities?………………………………………………………………………………

5. How did they commit the atrocities?
………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

6. How did the conflict change over time from the start?
………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

7. According to you, is there any hope of this conflict ending?………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………

8. What made you survive after these atrocities?
………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

9. What interventions took place during and after the conflict?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

**Objective Three: Strategic peace-building approach that create platform for sustainable human development and security**

**1.** According to you what should be done to end the conflict and avoid repeat of the conflict?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

2. What would you recommend to the following stakeholders about the conflict? (Government, Development Partners, Community members, and International community)

………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

3. Any other comment?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

Thank you and be blessed.

**Appendix 3: Budget and WorkPlan**

The study had an estimated cost of 1million Uganda shillings and a tune of 950,000 shillings was spent. It was carried out in two months (January and August, 2016) as detailed below:

| Period | Activities | Input | Budget |
|--------|-----------|-------|--------|
| January – May, 2016 | • Proposal writing | • Internet | 100,000 |
| May – June, 2016 | • Preparation of data collection tools<br>• Writing to request letter of introduction | • Letter of introduction<br>• Draft work | Nil |
| June – July 2016 | • Mobilising and arranging for interviews<br>• Preparation and printing of instruments for data collection<br>• Collecting data | • Stationary<br>• Airtime<br>• Pens | 600,000 |
| July – August, 2016 | • Data analysis<br>• Data management<br>• Report writing and discussion | • Computer<br>• Recorder<br>• Note pads<br>• Draft report | 100,000 |
| August 2016 | • Submission | • Binding books | 150,000 |