THE IMPACT OF FORCED MIGRATION ON WOMEN IN NORTHERN UGANDA

By

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List of Acronyms

ADF	Allied Democratic Forces
APC	Action Pacification Committee
ARLPI	Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative
CBO	Community Based Organization
CCE	Centre for Continuing Education
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women
CORPS	Community Resource Persons
CSOPNU	Civil Society Organization for Peace in Northern Uganda
DDHS/DDMR	District Department of Health Services/ District Disaster Management Report
DFID	Department for International Development
DP	Democratic Party
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
EC	European Commission
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalists
FEDEMU	Federal Democratic Movement of Uganda
GDP	Cross Domestic Product
GID/GAD	Gender in Development/ Gender and Development
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus / Acquired Immune Deficiency syndrome
HSM	Holy Spirit Movement of Alice Auma: Lakwena
IASFM	International Association for the Study of Forced Migration
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDPs	Internally displaced persons
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Government
IOM	International Organization for Migration
ISIS-WICCE	Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange
LIWCDA	Lira Women Community Development Activists
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army

MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NRC	National Resistance Council
NRM/A	National Resistance Movement /Army
NUSAF	Northern Uganda Social Action Fund
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OIF	Operation Iron First
POP	People-Oriented Planning
PVM	People's Voice for Peace
SPLA	Sudan People's Liberation Movement /Army
TBA	Traditional Based Attendant
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UN	United Nations
UNCEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Cultural and Social Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refuges
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNLA	Uganda National Liberation Army
UNLF	Uganda National Liberation Front
UPA	Uganda People's Army
UPC	Uganda People's Congress
UPDF	Uganda Peoples Defence Force
UPM	Uganda Patriotic Movement
URCS	Uganda Red Cross Society
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WAD	Women and development
WED	Women, Environment and Development
WEEF	Women Equality and Empowerment Framework
WFP	World Food Programme
WHO	World Health Organization
WID	Women in Development

Abstract

The purpose of this research was to analyse the impact of forced migration on women and development in northern Uganda. The armed conflict in northern Uganda, which started in 1986, led to gross violations of human rights against women forcing them to flee their homes and find refuge in overcrowded resettlement camps. The main objective of the study was to critically analyse the causes of displacement and the experiences of internally displaced women so as to contribute to available knowledge on women and development. Qualitative and feminist research techniques were carried out in Erute Camp located in Lira Municipality among internally displaced women, using observation and interviews. The findings reveal that forced migration was caused by the armed conflict between the LRA rebels and the government solders. The conflict destroyed infrastructure and socio-economic service delivery systems. This consequently paralysed the northern Uganda's development as many civilians were forced to abandon their homesteads due to traumatic experiences of killings, torture and abductions. This resulted in human disintegration and the collapse of economic and social development in the region that was based on agriculture. The prolonged insecurity disrupted education, health, communication and commercial activities resulting in absolute poverty and underdevelopment. Despite efforts by government and some humanitarian agencies to provide the needs of the affected civilians, peace and reconciliation seems to be hard to achieve. Insecurity continues to spread making normal life, relief and economic activities impossible. Due to lack of effective implementation, coordination and monitoring of programmes, the situation poses great challenges to government and international humanitarian agencies present such as: WFP, UNHCR, WHO, World Bank and others. Therefore, forced migration has a significant impact on women's social, economic, cultural and environmental development. However, a positive impact regarding women's empowerment and gender equality due to changed roles was eminent. I conclude by recommending that the stakeholders need to increase the capacity to restore peace. There is need to coordinate the development projects and programmes through increased flexibility and transparency. However, the need to involve women in the reconciliation and reconstruction processes to restore peace in northern Uganda is vital.

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SUMMARY

The study explores and critically analyses the experiences of internally displaced women in northern Uganda. It also contributes to the available knowledge regarding the way forced migration affects women and development. Uganda has had a history of armed conflicts since independence in 1962. The civil conflict in northern Uganda between the Lord's Resistance Army and the government forces since 1986 has been the longest.

A qualitative and feminist research design was carried out in Lira Municipality among internally displaced women using interviews and observations. The findings reveal that the armed conflict has had an adverse impact on the socio-economic development on the region since government time and resources have been directed towards the war. Forced migration has had an impact on development as gross violations of human rights forced families to flee to overcrowded resettlement camps.

The armed conflict has destroyed infrastructure and disrupted services like education, health and agriculture. This has paralysed the region's economic development as many civilians were killed, while nearly two million civilians were forced to flee after traumatic experiences. The conflict resulted in absolute poverty while many women continue to bear poor health due to gender based violence. However, some observable positive aspects such as increased economic empowerment and gender equality emerged through changed roles and various coping strategies within the public and private spheres during displacement.

Although government and humanitarian agencies attempt to provide the needs of the affected civilians, peace and reconciliation seems hard to be achieved. The peace talks between the fighting forces have dragged on without yielding a concrete agreement. The situation poses

challenges to government and humanitarian agencies like the Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSA) and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

There is need for effective implementation, coordination and monitoring of development programmes, flexibility, transparency, reconciliation and reconstruction by the stakeholders. Forced migration has had significant impacts on women's social, economic, cultural and environmental development. Therefore, the government should use peaceful means to resolve the ethnic and political differences which have engulfed Uganda since independence. Economic development can only flourish in a peaceful environment.

Title of thesis
THE IMPACT OF FORCED MIGRATION ON WOMEN IN NORTHERN UGANDA
Key terms:
Forced migration; internal displacement ; effects of war on development; war and gender relations; impact of war on women; peace and development; consequences of war; women and war; mass flight; armed conflicts;   peace building; refugees; armed struggle; ethnic violence; civil hostilities; conflict resolution.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

This chapter sets the context of the study on forced migration in northern Uganda and its impact on women. The chapter also presents an international human environmental setting together with Uganda's developmental profile. The human environmental setting includes information on the historical background of forced migration and its socio-economic characteristics. Forced migration also exacerbates the inequalities in gender relations during and after migration. The chapter also highlights the specific disadvantages and advantages experienced by women in other countries during similar situations. The researcher also highlights the main research problem; objectives; research questions; and brief description of the research methodology. This ends with a brief description of the thesis structure.

1.2 Background to the Study

According to International Association for the Study of Forced Migration (IASFM) 2002, forced migration is usually related to the movements of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). Forced migration is a phenomenon that has existed throughout human history and it is different from voluntary migration. In forced migration there is no prior intention or plan to leave. The concept describes a complex emergency situation that forces communities to relocate due to a particular type of disaster (Byrne 1996: 8). On the other hand, UNHCR describes IDPs as:

> … persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border (UNHCR 1998:1).

The main causes of forced migration are usually wars and armed conflicts. However, natural disasters and development projects may also be responsible. Natural disasters include among others floods, desertification, storms and drought while development projects include villagisation, dams, mining, conservation, urban renewal schemes, land expropriation, resettlement and slum demolition (Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson 1998:180). The United Nations Secretary General Kofi Annan's Report of 1992 describes forced migration as when numbers of people have been forced to leave their

homes as a result of armed conflict, internal strife, and systematic violations of human rights. Forced migration has become a serious concern and topic of study because it affects millions of people and development of many countries. It continues to challenge the global society as regards international politics, international law, human rights, humanitarian aid, social and population policies (Zard 2006:16). In this study, forced migration is also referred to as internal displacement and the two terms are used interchangeably.

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR 2002:1-2), there are about 50 million uprooted people around the world, including both refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). Nearly 80 per cent of them are women and children while women and girls account for almost 50 per cent of the displaced population. Although forced migration may be caused by other factors such as floods and other factors, this study focuses mainly on the impact of forced migration caused by armed conflict. The impacts of forced migration vary depending on political, socio-economic, cultural and environmental contexts. The effects also vary according to factors such as gender, class, age, race, or ethnicity (Cohen & Deng 1998:39).

Despite the fact that women often bear the brunt of the war brutalities, and are increasingly involved in combatant activities, they are seldom part of the inner circles of peace negotiations, peace accords, or policies at the formal level to resolve conflict (Boyd 1994: 3).Ever since the 1980s, there has been growing acknowledgment that women have been disadvantaged during the processes of forced migration. Even though women with children are the majority of the displaced in conflict situations, their needs and concerns are usually ignored when planning and implementing humanitarian aid (Byrne 1996:5-7). However, this state of affairs has gradually started to change and most organizations include special programmes for the displaced women and their children. It also seems that the focus has progressively extended from women's issues to gender in order to incorporate equality between women and men. Refugees and IDPs are differentiated according to their specific needs and strengths while their requirements before, during, and after displacement are taken into account depending on the circumstances. However, there are many more issues that need to be tackled during forced migration. For instance, there is the need to

recognize gender-based violence (GBV) and to strengthen the human rights of the displaced women. Although the protection and assistance of the displaced women generally needs to be improved, UNHCR (2002) recommends that more attention should be focused at socio-economic development, disaster-management, analysis and documentation of the impacts of forced migration on gender relations.

Forced migration and conflict: Forced migration is a clearer violation of human, economic, political and social rights as a result of the failure to comply with international humanitarian laws (Moser and Clark 2001:32). People are often uprooted from their homes due to conflict resulting from political, social, economic, religious, cultural and ethnic differences. Regardless of the cause, forced displacement is a human rights violation and results in distinct types of disadvantages for women and development. Although the displacement is often regarded as temporary, experience in countries such as Somalia and Sudan shows that displacement is in fact a long process. Many generations have been displaced as a result of armed conflict worldwide and a significant number of people have been displaced more than once (Indra 1999:1-2). Displacement disadvantages women because it results in reduced access to resources that are required to cope with household needs which increase physical and emotional stress (El Jack 2002:6). Displacement also implies social exclusion and poverty, which are likely to prolong armed conflict. Forced displacement is often used as a tactic of war that targets gender relations which results in family breakdown and social decay. The displacement often leads to a shift in gender roles for both women and men. Demographic changes usually occur due to conflict, which results in many women becoming heads of households and contributes to changes in the division of labour. Sometimes forced displacement creates new opportunities and empowerment for women but in some respects it further marginalizes their place in society (El-Bushra, El-Karib & Hadjipateras 2002:5-6).

Displacement affects mostly women in different ways. For example, in Sudan, ethnic groups such as the Dinka, Nuba and other tribes in the South are marginalized because of their minority status. Women from these groups constitute the majority of the war victims, which affects their responsibilities of production, reproduction, and community work. The girls assume responsibilities such as caring for children, the

elderly and the sick, together with domestic work instead of going to school. This shift of responsibility impacts on the welfare and future of women (Castles & Van Hear 2005:12). Despite traumatic experiences and vulnerability during the three phases of displacement, some women also experience one or more positive impacts of their displacement. For example, some women acquire new skills by training and participating in development programmes such as trade, health care, education skills and other income-generating activities. These skills enable them to assume new roles within their households, as they become breadwinners when husbands and sons are killed or lose employment. This shift in tasks dispels the stereotyping of gender-based roles as 'masculine' or 'feminine'. However, some men react to these changes with depression or resorting to alcoholism and violence against women within or outside their families (El-Bushra 2000b:5-7).

Internally displaced persons (IDPs): The internally displaced persons are forced to flee their homes unexpectedly in order to save their lives. They do not qualify for refugee status because they do not cross a border. The United Nations (UN) Refugee Convention of 1951 only protects refugees who live outside their native borders, but does not cover IDPs who live inside their native borders. The international community has limited options to protect people displaced within their own borders, if their home country does not cooperate. The legal status of IDPs continues to be a serious concern (World Health Organisation 2001:23). However, armed conflicts increased during the 1990s when millions of internally displaced people were living within the borders of their nations. The UN has had to create an office within the Secretary-General's office to deal with the IDPs (Cohen & Deng 1998:1-3). This resulted in initiating the development of the "Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement", which was presented to the UN Secretary-General in 1998. The principles placed the issue of internal displacement at the top of the international humanitarian agenda (Mooney 2005:12-13).

Since the end of World War 11 in 1945 there has been a dramatic increase in the number of IDPs. It is noted that IDPs outnumber refugees by two to one and nearly 80 per cent of the displaced persons are reported to be women and children (UN 2000:1-4). Internal displacement has therefore become a global crisis with nearly half of the world's displaced persons found in Africa. Civil conflicts have engulfed more than

twenty countries on the African Continent during the 1980s and the 1990s (Byrne, 1996:1-2). Some of the countries, which have experienced civil conflict, are: Algeria, Angola, Burundi, Rwanda, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Djibouti, Ethiopia, Gambia, Liberia, Mali, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, South Africa, Sudan, Ivory Coast and Uganda. To date, prolonged conflicts are continuing in many of these countries (Deng 2001:1-3). For example, during the last two decades since 1986, about four million people are said to have been internally displaced in Sudan and almost two million have been displaced in Uganda (ISIS-WICCE 1998:1). During the same period, more than 4 million women were internally displaced in Mozambique while more than half of the population in Liberia, was displaced in the early 1990s (Turshen & Twagiramariya 1998:180). Some studies point out how Africa continues to be a continent ravaged by civil armed conflicts and human rights abuses, patriarchal governance, weak legal structures, dictatorial regimes, and gender- based violence (Deng 2001:1-3; UN 2000:1-5).

According to Deng and Cohen (1998: iv), the UN Secretary General for internal displacement indicates that the global crisis of internal displacement presents a big challenge to the international community. The Fourth World Conference on Women, which was held in Beijing in 1995, also called for more effective protection and assistance for the displaced women who suffer when their husbands, fathers and sons get recruited into armed forces, face arbitrary detention or die (UN Security Council 2000:1-4).

Forced migrations have existed since documented history across national, international and local levels of society (Cohen 1997:68). Historical examples include: the Roman attack on Carthage around 218-202 BC, the Goths attack on Rome around AD 399-405 and conquests by Islamic and Crusader forces 1150-1186. During the twentieth century, complex humanitarian emergencies include the Holocaust in Europe in the 1930s and 1940s; and the expulsion of Chinese from Indonesia in the 1960s. Examples of humanitarian emergencies in recent years include the ethnic cleansing, displacement and genocide that occurred between 1990 - 1999 in Bosnia, Kosovo, East Timor, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Sudan (Tindifa 2001:2-5).

The most prominent features of armed conflicts include: underdevelopment, extreme poverty and poor economic performance. These factors continue to fuel armed conflicts among other factors such as high debt and political opportunism (Vickers 1993:5). Some of the factors contribute to poverty in the African countries and other developing countries worldwide. For example, Africa has 33 of the 48 poorest countries in the world and it is the region where conflicts are increasing. (Cohen & Deng 1998:16-18). These issues and their consequences will be discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

Research by Cohen and Deng (1998:1-8) indicates that the seriousness of internal displacement has increased both in intensity and scope. Forced migration is particularly tragic because of its physical, social, economic, psychological, and traumatic effects that the innocent women and their families have to suffer. For example, mass murder was reported in Rwanda 1994, Kosovo 1999, and Somalia during the early 1990s. Many atrocities including mass rape were committed against women. The atrocities are usually used as weapons of war (Vickers 1993:5). In situations of armed conflict, large numbers of men (whether they are combatants or non-combatants) get killed, detained, displaced or disappear. Then women who are left behind suffer the consequences such as GBV and changes in traditional roles, which affect the social order of the family and the development of the nation as a whole (Giddens 1993:364-368). It is also noted that five out of six nations on the United Nation's (UN's) list of poor countries most seriously affected by hunger were also wrecked by civil war. From the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, forced migrations were due to slave trade. However, in the present era, most forced migrations are due to upheavals in the political environment (Timberlake 1991:162-164). The way women experience conflict is reflected in the atrocities committed in Africa by rebels and government soldiers such as the Angolan Unita, the Mozambican Renamo, the Rwandan Resistance Army, the current Sudanese Janjaweed Arab Militias and the Ugandan Lord's Resistance Army (Kaplan 1994:71-74). According to Boyd (1994:3), most of Africa's conflicts and related disasters are self inflicted wounds arising from undemocratic governance, partially manifested in gender inequities in the structures and processes of public governance, which in turn are reflected in the absence of women's participation in decision-making as regards strategic issues, including civil conflict and disasters.

Gender-based violence (GBV): This is a concept that describes any harm that is perpetrated against one's will. GBV has a negative impact on the physical, psychological wellbeing, development, and identity of a person. It results from gendered power inequities that exploit distinctions between males and females. However, GBV is not exclusive to women and girls but it affects people of all cultures. Violence may be physical, psychological, social, economic, or cultural. According to Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (CRWC 2002), the common acts of GBV committed against women and girls during armed conflict include violent physical assault, mass murder, gang rapes, early forced marriage, forced pregnancies, enforced sterilization, forced prostitution, slavery, human trafficking, and domestic violence. Men and boys also suffer from GBV such as physical abuse, rape, and forced recruitment. Other acts of GBV which may increase during conflict but particularly affect women and girls are female infanticide, female genital mutilation, and sacrifice killings.

According to Saving Women's Lives (SWL 2002), GBV can be indiscriminate or organized. For instance, raping women has become a strategy of war used by fighting forces to frighten communities or symbolize victory over their enemy. It is used to supply armed forces with service women. Female combatants are also usually subjected to exploitation and abuse. For example, in Bosnia, more than 20,000 Muslim women were raped in a single year during the 1999 conflict. The crimes such as rape, forced pregnancy, and torture are now recognized as war crimes and crimes against humanity. Therefore, in 1999, the UN War Crimes Tribunal issued its first accusation for rape, against a Rwandan soldier. In February 2001, the UN War Crimes Tribunal at The Hague also convicted two former Bosnian Serb soldiers for sexually enslaving Muslim women.

1.3 Conflict and Internal Displacement in Northern Uganda

Forced migration in Uganda began when President Idi Amin Dada ordered the expulsion of the Asian minority in August 1972 ten years after independence. Within three months nearly 50,000 Indians fled Uganda having been stripped of their property, and suffered psychological and physical abuse at the hands of the Lords Resistance Army (LRA) (Mushanga 1992:60-61). Since 1986, the LRA rebels in northern Uganda have caused most suffering to over 400 000 people resulting in their

widespread displacement from their homes. Some government soldiers have also committed many human rights abuses due to significant decline in discipline. The majority of the people who have been affected are women with children who have fled to camps put in place by government with the help of international humanitarian agencies of the United Nations (Todaro 1994:550). Many others fled to neighbouring towns while others escaped to neighbouring districts and even fled as far as the capital city, Kampala. A large number of people are physically disabled as a result of the war and need rehabilitation and assistance. Therefore the impact of forced migration on women is of great concern since many women have become either *de facto* or *de jure* heads of families. Many women in northern Uganda remain unprotected and have to care for the wounded, sick children and the aged. All these experiences have had an impact on the poverty-stricken women (Afako 2000:4). This study on the impact of forced migration on women in northern Uganda brings out significant issues such as human rights abuses that affect women during armed conflicts worldwide (ISIS-WICCE 2000:5-6).

The armed conflict in northern Uganda started in August 1986 with the aim of toppling the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government. The battle began when a sizable number of the soldiers of former General Tito Okello's regime escaped into Southern Sudan after being overthrown by Museveni and his soldiers. Some of the disgruntled soldiers started finding their way back to Uganda causing unrest in some areas in northern Uganda, which border Sudan. The Government deployed some soldiers to the region to stop the unrest but due to lack of discipline and brutality, they fuelled the conflict, which forced many people to desert their homes. The soldiers of the Uganda National Resistance Army (UNRA) in the process met with the resistance of a rebellion known as the Holy Spirit Movement, which was led by a woman known as Alice Lakwena. She was known as a local prophetess and medium healer (ISIS-WCCE 1999:2). The government soldiers defeated her rebels in eastern Uganda while trying to get to Kampala. Some of her soldiers were captured while others were scattered. Alice Lakwena escaped to Kenya where she lived in exile but died early 2007. Soon after the defeat, a small number of her defeated army re-grouped and formed the (LRA) led by Joseph Kony. Their objective was to overthrow the NRM government and lead Uganda according to God's Ten Commandments. This continuing twenty-year civil war in the region has led to total collapse of the economy

due to displacement of a large proportion of the people (Nannyonjo 2004:3-6).

The brutal and relentless armed conflict between the Uganda government forces and the rebel group known as the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) has persisted since 1986. Armed conflicts have been characterised by gross violation of human rights against civilians. In the process, they have destroyed infrastructure, paralysed economic activity, led to social and cultural breakdown, and disrupted economic and social development. As a result, northern Uganda remains the poorest region with an estimated 63 per cent of the population living below the poverty line (UBOS 2003:1-2). Under these circumstances, attempts to bring peace to the region have failed making it difficult to carry out development programmes in the region (ISIS-WICCE 2002:3-4). The conflict has resulted in a large scale population displacement that has been followed by catastrophic conditions of living that include changes in fertility and household structures, psychological effects and cultural shifts. These effects have been exacerbated by other effects including malnutrition and disease due to shortages of food, clean water, shelter, sanitation facilities and significant increased mortality rate (Macchiavello 2003:2-6).

Human rights abuses: Northern Uganda accommodates 5,345,964 people which is nearly a quarter of the nation's population. Out of the total population of Northern Uganda, 2 725 275 are females who comprise about 60 per cent of the total population (Census 2002). The armed conflict in Northern Uganda affects mainly the rural poor who are just traditional livestock and food crop farmers of whom the majority are women. Many women in this region continue to suffer from various human rights abuses such as rape, murder, and abduction due to the ongoing civil unrest. This is in violation of the 1974 United Nations (UN) convention on Human Rights for protection of the vulnerable. According to Vickers (1993:35), in 1974 UNESCO made recommendations to the General Assembly on the Protection of women and children in armed conflict as follows:

> All efforts shall be made by states involved in armed conflict, military operation in foreign territories and in territories still under colonial domination to spare women and children from the ravages of war. All the necessary steps shall be taken to ensure the prohibition of measures, degrading treatment and violence, particularly against part of the civilian population that consists of women and children. All forms of repression and cruel inhuman

> treatment of women and children, including imprisonment, destruction of dwellings and forcible eviction, committed by belligerents in the course of military operation or in occupied territories shall be considered criminal… (Vickers 1993:35).

Despite the adoption of the UN recommendations, women have continued to form the majority of victims of war worldwide. The crimes condemned have continued to be committed by militants and have been ignored or simply condoned by the UN and governments involved. For example, Uganda has a history of armed conflicts and human rights violations against its people, which date back to the colonial era, and they have passed without being seriously condemned. They originate from pre-independence colonialists who gained power and control by using the gun plus their divide and rule approach to demolish the traditional system of government that had united the people of Uganda under chiefdoms (Mushanga 1992:57).

Research by ISIS-WCCE (1999:1) indicates that the legacy of using arms to get or maintain power has continued to cause civil unrest and violations of human rights as well as women's rights. A great deal of brutality and intimidation includes the cutting of women's noses, ears, lips, breasts, rape, and abductions. Other often-reported atrocities include destruction of most of the region's environment and infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, and houses to increase the suffering of majority of the women. Displacement also denies a large number of the displaced women access to basic needs and services such as food, water, shelter and health care. When the gender roles alter, most women who are the backbone of economic development have to adapt to new roles to survive and fit in the new environments such as camps or become a burden to relatives in safer neighbouring areas.

Conflict areas in Northern Uganda: The northern part of Uganda comprises 13 districts within the region of Acholi, Lango, West Nile, Madi and Karamoja. The Acholi region comprises Gulu, Kitgum and Pader districts. Lango region comprises Lira and Apach. Karamoja region comprises Kotido, Moroto and Nakapiripirit districts. Madi region comprises Moyo and Adjumani districts while West Nile region comprises of Yumbe and Nebbi districts Figure 1.1. This study does not attempt to include all these districts, but takes into account only those that have mostly suffered the consequences of the armed conflict between the LRA and government forces since

1986 (Nannyonjo 2004:1).

Economy: Agriculture is mainly traditional and so it is vulnerable to drought and plant diseases. Because agriculture is the main economic activity for 90 per cent of all northern Ugandans, various food crops and cash crops are cultivated (Nannyonjo 2003:1-4). Food crops include bananas, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, cassava, pumpkins, yams, beans, peas, simsim, soya beans, sorghum, wheat, rice and millet. Fruits and vegetables among others comprise: pineapples, tomatoes, eggplants, mangoes, apples, watermelons, oranges, avocadoes and passion fruits. The vegetables include cabbages, carrots, spinach, beetroots, cornflowers, lettuce and many other traditional ones. The cash crops include cotton, coffee, rice and tobacco (European Commission 2003:2).

Figure 1.1: Map of Uganda Showing Conflict Areas in Northern Uganda
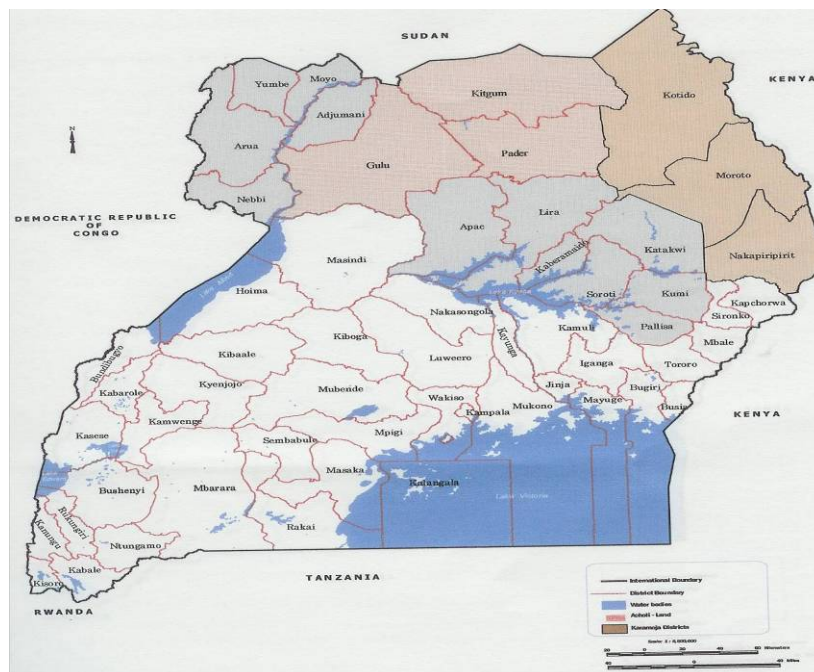
Source: Nannyonjo (2004: ii)

The northern Uganda economy also depends on domestic animals, which include cattle, goats, sheep, poultry, pigs and rabbits. Majority of the cattle herders, keep them for traditional purposes such as paying bride price. Exotic cows are reared on small scale on the basis of zero grazing to provide milk. Fishing is a major source of income and food as it is very nutritious. Another growing income generating activity is bee

keeping but it still on a small-scale basis. Under normal circumstances, women contribute significantly to economic development because they produce about 70 per cent of the food and cash income though some of their contribution is not recorded in national production statistics and is therefore not recognised (European Commission 2003:2-3). Women are also involved in informal trade by doing such activities as tailoring, handcrafts, buying and selling farm produce and other small enterprises.

Education: A variety of studies have established that educating women yields considerable benefits to individuals, families and society at large. The benefits may be direct or indirect but they provide powerful improvement in the society's welfare and development at all levels. Studies investigating the general contribution of education to the development of global economies are growing (ISIS-WICCE 1998:5). However, less attention is paid to the value of education's contribution from a gender perspective. Some studies have revealed that countries with higher levels of women's education experience faster economic development, longer life expectancy, lower population growth and improved quality of life. In addition, their analysis revealed that gender disparities in attainment of education are associated with lower levels of gross national product (GNP). The overall illiteracy level of women in northern Uganda is very high as most girls drop out of school due to the conflict, pregnancy, early marriage or lack of school fees as education in Uganda is very expensive and not easily attainable. Although literacy levels especially among girl children have improved in most regions of Uganda since 1997. The situation in northern Uganda remains disappointing since almost 24 per cent women attend school compared to 68.8 per cent of men. (Kwesiga 2002:34).

According to Kwesiga (2002:95), the literacy rates in northern Uganda are particularly unsatisfactory although gender disparities still exist throughout the education system in Uganda (Table: 1.1). Kwesiga indicates that nearly 40 per cent of the women in her survey could not read at all as compared to 16 per cent of the men. It shows that women in northern Uganda lag behind in education compared to other regions. This may be explained by the fact that men have had greater access to education than women, which has compounded inequalities in nearly all sectors of life. For example, men tend to dominate the leadership sector at nearly all levels of administration. The pool of potential women leaders remains small because many

women especially in northern Uganda have remained illiterate mainly due to the long period of civil strife and armed conflict (UNDP 2005:20-21).

Table 1.1: Literacy levels in Uganda by region in 2001(%)

Region	Women	Men
Northern	24.0	68.8
Eastern	35.4	56.4
Central	69.8	76.4
Western	46.6	53.3

Source: Kwesiga (2002:95)

Socio-cultural: Although armed conflicts have a general impact on men, women and children in northern Uganda, women including girls continue to suffer GBV such as violent attacks which include rape, maiming, murder, abduction and other atrocities. Amidst this crisis, the women continue to carry out their social and cultural roles of production, reproduction and caring. Because of their commitment to their triple role, women are forced to carry out certain activities to help their families, which include cultivation, commercial beer and food making, trade and other activities. The majority of the people of northern Uganda who used to survive on cattle keeping and growing their staple food crops such as millet have been forced to abandon their homes because of armed conflict and have to live in overcrowded camps where they survive on handouts. Most of the farms in the region have been destroyed while the cows were confiscated by soldiers to support the civil war. In addition, warriors stole some cattle while others died from disease. The losses have impoverished the majority of the people in the northern region resulting in bitterness (UNESCO 2004:11).

1.4 Research Problem

Although Uganda has had a number of armed conflicts since independence, the ongoing war in northern Uganda, which started in 1986, has been the longest. The years of armed conflict have had both long-term and short-term impacts on the people of Uganda in general. However, the twenty years of armed conflict in northern Uganda have had diverse effects on the displaced local women in particular and Uganda's economic development. This conflict also affected other neighbouring regions since 1990 such as Sudan, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo

(DRC). The displaced rural women are in most instances poor, illiterate and highly malnourished. Most of the displaced women are sheltered in highly overcrowded camps while others have gone to live with relatives in protected towns like Gulu, Lira, Apac, Pader and Kitgum. Other civilians have fled to safer neighbouring districts such as Masindi, Arua and Hoima. Although war is in most instances initiated and fought mostly by men, a sizable number of women become the worst victims.

Even though some research has been done on the impact of forced migration in Uganda, most researchers have not been sensitive to the plight of women. Most of the documentation tends to be gender blind. It is also understood that historically, human rights abuses during armed conflicts have been in most instances documented by men based on male experiences because majority of the soldiers are male. In the process, the experiences of women were disregarded but without intention. Some issues that are usually disregarded include women's participation during war, contributions, coping strategies and their needs during and after war. Women's participation in war which largely involves cooking, cleaning, caring for children, the elderly, the sick and wounded have been taken for granted by the community. In spite of their contribution, women are the most vulnerable as they are usually targeted during war. They become battlegrounds of the fighting groups of whom the majority are men in order to humiliate and weaken their opponents. Although the experiences may affect them physically and psychologically, many researchers do not take into consideration the impact of the atrocities committed against women during war because according to the African culture, women are supposed to remain silent not to embarrass their families and community. The fact that women remain the majority of the displaced population has diverse effects on economic development because of the role women play during and after war.

The key focus of this study is therefore to explore the impact of forced migration on gender relations in terms of how power dynamics between women and men are affected by the distinct types of complexity that armed conflict imposes. Existing analyses of armed conflict and post-conflict resolutions are weak in various ways. Some ignore women while others take a gender-blind approach or define the role of women in stereotypical ways. Still others look at women without considering the gender differences. It is within the context described above that the study takes place.

1.5 Main Research Objectives

The main purpose of this research is to critically analyse the impact of forced migration on women and development in northern Uganda. The study also attempts to document women's experiences during forced migration in order to contribute to the available literature. The study also examines the impact of forced migration on gender relations and socio-economic development. It is for this reason that the researcher wants to analyse and document these issues and make relevant recommendations so that they can assist government and humanitarian agencies in post-conflict planning and reconstruction in future. This might help to improve the services and other efforts aimed at alleviating the effects of civil conflicts on the vulnerable women in future.

Secondary objectives:

1.   To analyse the impact of forced migration on women within the context of armed conflicts.

2.   To determine the causes of forced migration on women in northern Uganda since 1986.

3.   To explore women's roles and participation during armed conflicts.

4.   To examine the consequences of forced migration and women's coping mechanisms during forced migration.

5.   To analyse the impact of forced migration on gender relations and development in northern Uganda and make recommendations.

1.6 Research Questions

The main research question: What is the impact of forced migration on women and development in northern Uganda?

Concern for internally displaced women and under-development in northern Uganda raised many questions about the nature, causes, consequences and other correlates of forced migration. The fact that the conflict in northern Uganda affects more women than men means that, it is important to analyse its impact on women. In order to achieve the objectives, the study attempts to address these questions:

1. What are the causes of forced migration?

2. How do women experience and participate in armed conflicts?

3. What are the consequences of forced migration and what coping strategies do the displaced women use to survive in the hostile environment?

4. What is the impact of forced migration on gender relations in northern Uganda?

5. What recommendations can be made to government and humanitarian agencies to help them in their support of the vulnerable displaced women?

1.7 Justification of the Study

National and international researchers have carried out a good number of studies on internal displacement. Although useful research exists on forced migration worldwide, there is need for deeper understanding of the connection between displaced women's livelihoods and development during armed conflict. For example, the study by Cohen and Deng (1998) on the global crisis of internal displacement seems to be the most inclusive. On the other hand, most studies tend to generalise issues and do not consider how armed conflicts impact on women and the unique contribution of women before, during and after the war. In cases where attempts have been made to uncover the experiences of displaced women during war, the information has been limited in terms of geographical area or size of the population. For example, the study by ACORD in collaboration with Panos Institute (1995:2) about the oral testimonies of Gulu women was limited in terms of scope and period. Also the report by ISIS-WICCE (1999) which focussed on displaced women's experiences during the 'Luwero Triangle' armed conflict that took place between 1980 and 1986 was limited because this was a relatively shorter war that took place in a different cultural and economic setting of central Uganda.

With the given background and limited knowledge, it is important to carry out a corresponding study on the impact of forced migration on women in northern Uganda (1986 - 2006) to improve the data on displaced women during war. We are living in a continent that is persistently involved in ethnic conflicts, factional fights and civil wars. This study documents information and recommendations that could be used to sensitise the public, NGOs and governments about the consequences of armed conflicts on women and development. The study will go a long way to contribute to the body of knowledge available on women's experiences during armed conflict and how they impact on women's well-being. When recorded, women's experiences

become part of the historical events, which may be used to prevent the recurrence of similar incidents nationally and internationally. When the displaced victims are given an opportunity to be heard or share their experiences, it generates information that contributes to women's empowerment, psychological healing and improved efforts to solve development problems. Women's contributions during displacement in most instances are disregarded because war is usually regarded as masculine because most combatants are usually men. Therefore, it is important that women who participate in war be given an opportunity to be heard. In addition, the literature on forced migration is usually generalised, it is important to analyse the situation of women separately because their experiences are unique and usually disregarded causing their plight to be poorly understood.

This study is particularly important for generating information relevant for the development and empowerment of women in northern Uganda. The research points out new interventions and improvement on current interventions that could reduce suffering and mortality rates in future emergencies. It also serves to highlight the nature of atrocities committed against women during forced migration. Further dissemination of the findings and recommendations should help to inform government and emergency aid organisations in identifying the types of relief aid mostly needed during similar crises. It must be clearly understood that in order to come up with effective and efficient strategies for addressing problems in a war torn region, the need to involve women in the reconstruction of knowledge regarding their social, cultural, political and economic development is paramount. Most welfare projects which involve women or put into consideration their needs during and after war are unlikely to be effective and sustainable (Todaro 1994:364-368). The findings of the study could help governments and other international agencies to develop policies that are more effective in preventing wars and other causes of forced migration. The findings could also assist institutions in identifying programmes for relief and rehabilitation as well as development projects for the IDPs. In addition, the findings and recommendations might be useful tools for advocacy and lobbying for justice regarding women's human rights violations. It also provides guidelines for resettlement and reconstruction programmes when peace returns to the region. The research also takes into account the recent developments, which include the Beijing Platform for action and progress made in the investigation and prosecution of war

crimes against women.

1.8 Research Methodology and Techniques

This is only a brief overview of the research methodology and techniques, which are discussed in detail in chapter 4. The study adopts mainly a qualitative approach but for triangulation purposes, it employs feminist techniques and scholarship. This is because the information required is based on women and girls above the age of thirteen. The research explores how women experience war and how the experiences impact on them physically, psychologically, economically, socially and culturally. The research focuses on women because in the past, information about women was collected and analysed according to male standards. This creates in most instances misleading and inaccurate concepts about women. This research employs a feminist research technique, which acknowledges the different life experiences of women using gender as a starting point of analysis. The feminist approach explores issues regarding women's rights abuses and experiences during armed conflicts using a gendered framework. This also aims at getting women's voices to be heard and their differences to be respected. The feminist documentation is extremely participatory and involves those affected by the armed conflict. This research involving female victims of war serves as a tool for analysing the impact of forced migration on women during and after war. Documenting women's experiences creates vital information for use in achieving social justice and peace in future.

Participants are mainly female war survivors, combatants and other key informers such as female local leaders and social workers in the research area. The collected data mainly consists of responses and stories obtained using semi-structured open-ended questionnaires designed to guide the researcher so as to address the gender dimensions of war. Therefore, the researcher explores and investigates the psychological and socio-economic effects of forced migration among displaced women. The research techniques focus on the causes of armed conflict and its consequences such as widowhood, unwanted pregnancy, infanticide, poverty, female-headed households and mental health problems that usually result in low quality of life and underdevelopment.

Population, sampling and data collection: Although there are many internally displaced people including women, children and men in Northern Uganda who are currently living in camps and surrounding townships, the population of this study includes all the displaced women in the demarcated region living in camps and townships. The study site is one of the major camps in Lira municipality and it was determined by the conditions of peace and security at the time of data collection. This is time when the displaced people were enjoying some calm and some areas were so peaceful that people went about their normal activities inside and outside the camps. The peaceful circumstances allowed women to reflect and provide more considered responses and inputs rather than the ones spurred by intense conflict.

The sample was purposely selected by the researcher with the help of the local leadership of the camps. This is because most displaced women living in camps tend to face similar problems and the same atrocities have been committed against almost all women in the affected region. The fact that most women irrespective of their geographical region experience nearly the same problems reassures us that the sample from some of the camps in Lira provided appropriate data for the kind of investigative research questions in this study. In accordance with Measors (1985:55), information rich participants were selected with the help of camp leaders. The size of the sample was determined when the information required to answer the research questions got saturated. Secondary data was obtained from a comprehensive review of existing published and unpublished literature relevant to the study using books, reports, journals, videos, photographs and newspapers. Primary data was collected by carrying out field observations, oral individual interviews and focus group interviews. Apart from selecting the setting and negotiating access to participants, purposive sampling was used to select the sample for this study. In addition, a tentative interview schedule was used to guide the research (Appendix:1). In this study, interviewees are also referred to as participants in some parts because they are part of the research.

According to Oakley (1981:33), for the success of the interviews, the researcher needs to be warm and empathetic with clear scientific guidelines for searching data. To achieve this, the researcher was able to generate rapport and detachment at the same time through humane treatment of the respondents. Interviews and observations were carried out concurrently in order to minimise the pressing time of the participants.

In order to generate reliable and valid data, it was important to make the respondents understand that they were not being used for statistics. The research assistants were counselled and trained on how to handle the participants. They were trained to introduce themselves as though beginning a conversation and how to maintain professionalism. Individual interviews were carried out on one to one basis but this depended on the number of people to be interviewed at a time. The researcher used focus group discussions when participants were more than four.

Data analysis: In order to achieve the research objectives, information obtained through individual interviews and other research techniques such as focus group discussions, audio recording, photography, observations, primary and secondary written resources was analysed together. When the data collected was sufficient to address the research problem and answer the research questions, it was analysed by reducing the information to themes and categories by summarizing them to facilitate interpretation and obtaining answers to the research questions. The findings are presented in the form of a text.

Preparations and arrangements: The study was organised in two phases. During the first phase the researcher sought permission from the authorities in order to access the research setting. The researcher was able to identify an appropriate and secure study area with the help of local leaders who also assisted to identify appropriate participants who were willing to share their stories. The researcher employed two research assistants from the area who also served as interpreters when need arose. The respondents and local leaders were contacted and mobilised before hand. The second phase was to conduct the research in the selected camps in Lira municipality.

Ethical considerations: The researcher sought permission to undertake this study from the district council leadership and the local camp leaders. Informed consent was also obtained from the participants after explaining the study objectives to them. Personal identities are not included in the data for confidentiality and anonymity reasons. So, only pseudonyms are used.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

This being a sensitive research topic, the participants were rather sceptical of the whole political environment and the answers were not straight forward. It was not easy to convince them that the researcher was not part of the political structure that has deceived them for the past 20 years. The language barrier was dealt with by using research assistants from the region who understand both English and Langi, the local language, when selected respondents could not speak English. The researcher made a deliberate attempt to be tactful and prepared for the risks involved. The main limitation that could have hampered the study was the limited funds. However, some friends and relatives helped while the research assistants volunteered their services and required only transport expenses. Without appropriate funding, support and resources dedicated to promoting gender equality in all aspects of research, there is a risk that oppressive and discriminatory patriarchal practices will be re-established, as opposed to transformation in gender balanced research methods.

1.10 Chapter Layout

Chapter one presents the general background to the problem under research by discussing the aims and objectives, rationale and key research questions of the study. The chapter also provides a brief background of Uganda and summarises the research methodology.

Chapter two focuses on relevant literature and theoretical underpinnings surrounding gender, conflict and development. The chapter covers literature concerning the gender issues on forced migration, at local, national, regional and international levels. The study analyses the causes, experiences, consequences, participation and coping strategies during forced displacement.

Chapter three continues the literature-based presentation of information on Uganda and in this sense is an extension of chapter 2. The focus here is on the historical, geographical and developmental backgrounds of Uganda are highlighted in order to determine the root causes and consequences of the armed conflicts that have characterised the country.

Chapter four focuses on the research design and methodology used to collect data that was needed to answer the research questions. In this section, the researcher discusses

and explains the qualitative and feminist research techniques used in gathering and analysing the data. The limitations during the study are also discussed.

Chapter five is the empirical chapter that focuses on the experiences of displaced women during the armed conflict and how these experiences impact on their wellbeing and the development of northern Uganda. The results of the research are documented and analysed according to the research questions.

Chapter six presents a summary of the main research findings and their implications. It also contains the conclusions drawn and recommendations made that government and humanitarian agencies could implement to remedy similar situations in future.

1.11 Summary

In this chapter the problem under study was highlighted. The introductory background information describes the context in which the topic was studied. The need for the research was stated in the objectives and research questions. As armed conflicts continue to target and affect more women socially, economically, physically and psychologically globally, the importance of the study cannot be over emphasised. Using Lira district in northern Uganda as a case study, the main aim of this thesis is to analyse the impact of forced migration on women and development. The literature on gender and forced migration follows in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO
GENDER AND FORCED MIGRATION: A LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter contains literature and theoretical underpinnings surrounding the impact of forced migration on women and development. The literature and the theoretical background provide useful conceptual links used in constructing the methodology of this study. Forced migrations pose a major challenge for women, governments, humanitarian and development agencies working in conflict affected areas. Therefore, in this chapter, the researcher analyses forced migration and development within the context of gender. While gender is now an accepted development concern, gender analysis has yet to be widely applied to armed conflict situations that force populations to flee their homes. The researcher looks beyond the shocking descriptions of women's experiences to explain how armed conflicts affect both women and men. The researcher also wants to determine how new opportunities which arise during conflict situations can be used to empower displaced women and promote conflict resolution. Another important aspect of this chapter is the analysis of gender relations in conjunction with socio-economic development factors to explain how forced migration resulting from armed conflicts impacts on women at international, regional, national and local levels.

The theoretical framework and literature review bears in mind the research questions, which cover the major causes of forced migration; participation; the experiences and crimes committed against women; the consequences of forced migration on economic, social, cultural and environmental development. A review of gender relations theories in conjunction with the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement is necessary in order to analyse the conceptual and ethical problems of forced migration. The gender perspective facilitates analysis of Gender and Development (GAD) that enables women and men to participate equally in the development process. Gender analysis provides a tool for assessing the unequal gender and power relations and their impact on women and development. Issues concerning gender and development concepts used in the chapter are further described below.

2.2 Gender and Development Concepts

Before relating gender issues to internal displacement, concepts related to "gender" must be clarified. Gender is not about women or women acting against men or men against women. It is a progressive and inclusive concept, which helps us to analyse and understand the various relationships between women and men as they impact on development activities and processes directly or indirectly as well as positively or negatively (UNIFEM 1995:13). The impact eventually affects the quality of life of the community as a whole. Consequently, the gender concept cuts across many levels and can be applied at macro, middle and micro levels. As a result, the application of the concept must always take into account the gender differences in particular cultural, socio-economic and political settings. Therefore, the term gender refers to the ways in which roles, attitudes, values and relationships regarding women and men are constructed by various societies (UNDP 2001:1-2).

Gender relations and the division of labour: According to Jackson (1999:132), gender relations refer to the ways women and men interact. Gender relations describe the different social characteristics, or culturally prescribed roles, duties and responsibilities for women and men. Most societies organise their activities on the basis of division of labour or roles between women and men. This socially-based division of labour determines the relationship between women and men. Gender relations and responsibilities are therefore socially constructed through the process of socialization. The processes of socialization differ from one society to another and they are reinforced by factors such as culture, religion and personal preferences. Therefore, the socially constructed responsibilities and differences allocated to females and males according to culture by society can conceivably be modified or even reversed. So, the roles assigned can be performed by either men or women because gender roles are not bound to either women or men (CCE 2001:5-7).

One of the objectives of this study is to explore the impact of forced migration on gender relations in terms of power dynamics between women and men. The gender relations are affected by the distinct types of complexity that armed conflict imposes. Existing analyses of armed conflict and post-conflict resolutions tend to ignore women while others take a gender-blind approach or define the role of women in stereotypical ways. Still others look at women without considering gender differences which are further explained below.

Gender differences: Some studies explain how gender roles differ on the basis of reproductive roles which are inherently physiological and biological. The

reproductive roles cannot be reversed or changed except through medical operation and functions opted by individual persons. The biologically determined differences are referred to as sex differences. Examples include the development of breasts by girls and the appearance of a beard by boys. On the other hand, the differences between women and men prescribed by society through socialisation are referred to as gender differences (Jacobs, Jacobson & Marchbank 2000:78).

Debates on Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD) define aspects of being either a woman or a man as being biological while the different positions that men and women hold in society are learned through socialisation and are subject to change. The subordination of women is due to their maternal instincts and inclination towards gender difference, selflessness and care of others while men derive the political, economic and social freedom from aggression and greater physical strength (UNDP 2001:28). Socially determined gender differences are the main factors in the division of labour, gaining power, enjoyment of rights, entitlement of privileges, and the perpetuation of inequalities between women and men. They affect the relationships within the households; determine the access to resources; and the exploitation of resources on which livelihoods depend. Therefore, socially constructed gender roles determine the sustainability of livelihoods and the unequal distribution of development benefits between women and men (Jacobs, Jacobson & Marchbank 2000:79). In this light, the application of gender equality attempts to provide an unbiased way of linking women and men within the community to their larger social, cultural, economic and political development environments as further explained.

Gender equality: The legal concept of gender equality is enshrined in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as the 1979 United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The convention states that "discrimination against women violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity" (Gender Analysis 2001:72). In 1994 the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women that included, for the first time, recommendations pertaining to the gendered violence and gender-related problems during armed conflict. Rape was recognized as a human rights violation and as a war

crime in June 1996 at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (Turshen and Twagiramariya 1998:180). The international representatives reaffirmed their commitment in 1995 to "the equal rights and inherent human dignity of all women and men" in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (Gender Analysis 2001:72).

In addition, during the United Nations Millennium Summit that took place in September 2000 came up with eight goals to be achieved by 2015 in response to the world's development challenges international Millennium Development Goals (MDG). The third Millennium Development Goal promotes gender equality and empowerment of women. The eight Millennium Development Goals have a crucial role to play in reducing poverty, promoting peace and encouraging progress in the developing countries. Rist (1997:71-72) confirms this by indicating that development becomes a means to combat poverty and promote peace. In this view, greater productivity is the key to prosperity and peace. Consequently, DFID has made the MDGs the main focus of all its work in development (De Han & Maxwell 1998:2-8). According to Usher (2005:2-19) the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) include:

1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
2. Achieve universal primary education
3. Promote gender equality and empower women
4. Reduce child mortality
5. Improve maternal health
6. Combat HIV and AIDS, malaria and other diseases
7. Ensure environmental sustainability
8. Develop a global partnership for development

http://www.dfid.gov.uk/mdg/gender.asp

Goal 3 promotes gender equality and women's empowerment. The MDGs represent the pledge to gender equality in the Millennium Declaration. Gender equality is generally regarded not only as a goal but also as a vital element for achieving the MDGs. A gender perspective needs to be applied across the whole range of the Millennium Development Goals and objectives.

Patriarchy: Gender inequality in the family and society is perpetuated by patriarchy or the male dominated cultures. The family being primarily a unit of society and the main agent of socialization is responsible for the way girl and boy children behave

(Green 2002:335). This is because patriarchy or the rule of father encourages the hierarchical organization of power. In most instances, the father or the male children are at the top of the hierarchy followed by the mother and then the female children. Consequently, this results in the unequal distribution of power within the family (CCE 2001:4).

According to Giddens (1993:173 -178), the advocates of gender equity argue that organising power relations between women and men from the family level to almost all social organisations is forged through the process of socialisation. For example, the political processes whereby women in most countries comprise the majority of voters and are the most active during political campaigns continue to get a low deal in political leadership and in parliaments which are dominated by men (CCE 2001:4-5). In addition, legal systems and law enforcement agencies are usually insensitive to the problems, needs and rights of women. In most instances, women in institutions tend to be assigned marginal positions and are rarely involved in decision-making at higher levels because of their subordinate position in the patriarchal society (UNDP (2001:58). In this light, patriarchal domination is a structural problem, which needs to be addressed through radical restructuring and transformation of gender relations in societies.

Power: Power may also be analysed so as to distinguish between official power and informal power. These terms have been made to correspond to notions of male and female power respectively. According to Jacobs, Jacobson & Marchbank (2000:79), power as manifested in violent conflict manifests itself as oppression, influences, authority and manipulation. Therefore, power explains the important social gender differences that may determine the extent to which individuals may equate war and conflict with masculine and peace with feminine. Power may also be analysed in the way decisions are made or when women are excluded from decision-making. Hierarchies of power exist not only between the genders but also within the genders. The reality is that generally in most societies men have higher status than women. However, some men also subordinate other men, and some categories of women subordinate other women. Mamdami (2002:61) argues that some women subordinate certain groups of men. For example, high-class women may subordinate low class men. A gendered approach to development reveals that these are ways in which the

values and practices create gender inequality and are also involved in the creation of power struggle that generate and maintain poverty. It is important to dispute these practices and values by working with both women and men while integrating gender equality in policies and development programmes to avoid conflict.

Jacobs et al (2000:79 – 80) maintain that the divide between powerful men on one hand and powerless women on the other has been challenged by both women and men. While women are denied the public forms of power such as the public political office, they exert some forms of influence. For example, women who are almost invisible in the public sphere continue to contribute critically to decision-making in political issues through demonstrations and demanding compensation for injury. Women may eventually have power to decide when the men should take up arms or lay them down using mocking poetry and songs to convey their opinions. Every form of resistance within existing gender relations frameworks provides the possibility for women to exercise political influence. There are many ways women act to pursue their goals and demonstrate that their lack of formal power does not deprive them of their potential. However, the importance of power as a major axis of gender relations continues to be the point of both individual and institutional struggle by women's liberation movements for women's empowerment and development.

Development: Among the numerous definitions of development is one that is particularly apt for this study. This is the view proposed by the Social Relations Approach (SRA) which sees development as a function of the relationship between human well-being and economic growth. The SRA is a way in which different groups of people (such as women and men in this case) are positioned in relation to resources. Social relations include gender relations, class, race or ethnicity. In this case, SRA aims to analyse the existing gender inequalities in the distribution of resources, responsibilities and power to design policies which involve women in development. The main elements of the human well-being include: security, survival and autonomy (Gender analysis 2001:61-81). Development interventions get assessed to determine how they contribute to human well-being and what they contribute in terms of productive efficiency. Therefore, production includes market productivity together with a wide range of tasks that people perform so as to reproduce human resource, survive and protect the environment. Development strategies aim at empowering both women and men to determine their progress in

increased access to resources and political power; involvement in decision-making; and transforming gender relations in order to achieve equitable and sustainable development (Turton 2002:21-30).

Gender and Development (GAD)

Researchers and development bodies are eventually recognising the untenable practice of not considering women in the development process. As a result, three important development theories were developed based on practical experiences. These include: Women in Development (WID); Women and Development (WAD); and Gender and Development (GAD). Then another theory known as Women, Environment and Development (WED) which focuses on the role of women in sustainable development was developed later (Scot 1995:23). WED has led to terms such as ecofeminism. The difference in the development theories lies in their particular focus on women's interests. Some of these theories are further analysed in Table 2:1 below.

Women in Development (WID)

Women in Development first came to prominence in the early 1970s as an approach to include women in development. Research and information collected during the UN Decade for Women (1975-1985) highlights the existing poverty and disadvantaged women and their invisibility in the development process. The different policies that focus on women as a separate group results in women being regarded as marginal to the mainstream development efforts. WID interventions are mainly concentrated on women's productive work. The failure to link their reproductive work often increases their workload. Therefore, women's isolation results in unequal gender relations in various social and economic settings (Wright 1995:776-779). These perspectives are further analysed in Table: 2.1 below.

Women and Development (WAD)

Women and Development began as a critique of women in development. This refutes the declaration that women are not an integral part of the development process which is confirmed by their lack of involvement. WAD maintains that what is required is to assess the nature of this integration and to redress women's marginalisation. Women and Development promotes modification of the modes of production and the

exploitative nature of capitalism and calls for fairer integration of Third World countries into the global economy (Kwesiga 2002:38).

Table 2.1: Changing Perspectives on Women, Gender and Development

	Women in Development (WID)	**Women and Development (WAD)**	**Gender and Development (GAD)**
Origins	Women's role in economic development was articulated by American liberal feminists during early 1970s	Emerged from the modernisation theory and the WID approach in the second half of the 1970s	This approach developed in the 1980s as an alternative to WID
Theoretical base	Connected with the modernisation theories of the 1950s to 1970s	Draws from dependency theory	Influenced by socialist feminist thinking
Focus	Focuses on women. Integrates women in economic systems through legal and administrative changes. Develops strategies to minimise disadvantages of women in production focussing exclusively on productive aspects of women.	Women have always been part of the development process. Therefore integrating women in development is a myth. Focus on relationship between women and development processes.	Offers a holistic perspective by looking at all aspects of both women and men's lives. The strength of GAD is in terms of the power relations between women and men. It questions the basis of assigning specific gender roles to different sexes
Contribution	Women's questions are visible in the development theory and practice	Women are viewed as important economic actors in society. Women's work in the public and private Spheres are central to the maintenance of their social structure. Integration of women in development improves the existing structures of inequality.	Does not exclusively emphasise female solidarity but welcomes contributions of sensitive men. Recognises women's contribution in the private and public spheres

Features	WID was grounded in the traditional modernisation theory which assumed that women were not integrated in development processes. It accepted the status quo; did not question sources of women's subordination and oppression; employed a non-confrontational approach; did not question why women did not benefit from development strategies. Strategies treated women as undifferentiated category while overlooking the influence of class, race and culture. It focussed exclusively on productive aspects of women's work while ignoring the reproductive and caring roles of women.	Fails to analyse the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production women's subordination, and oppression. It discourages strict analytical focus on women's issues independent of those of men since both men and women seem to be disadvantaged by the global oppressive structures based on class and capital. Singular pre-occupation with women's productive role at the expense of the reproductive and caring roles, it assumed that women's position would improve when international structures become more equitable. WAD does not question the relations between gender roles.	GAD rejects the public and private dichotomy. It gives attention to the oppression of women in the family It emphasises the state's duty to provide social services to promote women's emancipation. Women are seen as agents of change rather than passive recipients of development assistance. It stresses the need for women to become more political. It recognises that patriarchy operates within and across classes to oppress women. It focuses on strengthening women's legal rights including the reform of inheritance and land laws. Attempts to upset the existing power relations in society between women and men

Source: Kwesiga 2002:29-31

2.3 Feminist Theories and Gender Analysis

The feminist theories help in simplifying and understanding the plight of women. When applying the gender relations framework to humanitarian assistance one requires basic understanding and acceptance of the basic principles upon which all gender theory rests. Feminist theory explains the social construction of gender and how gender is reconstructed (Ortner 1996:8). It describes the position of women in socio-economic development. Women in developing countries have to bargain their lives within the arrangement framed by their cultural environment. When lives change significantly, as in the case of forced migration, women often lose their negotiated positions and return to less equitable social life (UNDP 2002:43-58).

Several feminist theories support the integration of gender equality as being central to achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The issue is that gender equality reduces poverty, saves and improves lives of the world's most impoverished and marginalized people. Gender and development theories have been developed for the attainment of the international development goals. The first theory to be developed was the Harvard Framework, from which the People-Oriented-Planning method emerged. The Harvard Framework highlights the significance of investigating issues like, who does what, who owns what, and who is in control of what within the community. Then the Moser Method which is another useful framework breaks gender-specific needs according to planned people's interests. The Moser Method focuses on gender planning and training as a means of meeting the special needs of women. Moser defines the triple role of women as reproductive, productive, and community service (Moser 1993:87). In addition, Women's Equality and Empowerment Framework (WEEF) aims at helping planners to question what women's equality and empowerment in practice and the extent to which development intervention supports empowerment (UNDP 2001:20).

According to Benjamin (1998:10), UNICEF uses Women's Equality and Empowerment Framework (WEEF) for gender analysis and training in its projects. However, the WEEF system does not reject the useful idea of the Harvard Model and the People-Oriented Planning (POP) approach that emphasize women's access to resources. The Harvard Model addresses people's economic interests but does not focus on women's equality and empowerment. The Harvard Model does not provide an analytical framework that looks at the political and ideological dimensions of women and development. The analysis is then restricted to a technical point of view with no theoretical capacity for analyzing women's development, inequality, discrimination and oppression. UNICEF pays more attention to the empowerment of women to overcome inequity when providing humanitarian aid and resources. Therefore the POP framework for analysis is preferred when working with internally displaced persons (UNDP 2001:43-51).

The People-Oriented Planning (POP) Framework is an adaptation of the Harvard Analytical Framework for use in refugee situations. It is a training tool developed by

Mary Anderson and Catherine Overholt for the UNHCR which is very important in gender planning in refugee and IDPs situations. POP was designed to assist refugee workers in improving participation and access to programmes by providing a framework for analyzing the socio-cultural and economic issues that affect refugees and internally displaced people. POP was first introduced in 1992 and is being used by UNHCR to train all their staff in its use in refugee situations or similar circumstances. Other NGOs also have incorporated POP methods in their activities. For example, some UN agencies have borrowed certain principles of POP for training their staff in gender. POP stresses that relief workers must analyze the social and economic roles of all people: women and men (UNDP 2001: 57-58). They also try to understand how their activities affect their programmes. The POP framework was designed to ensure equitable and efficient delivery of resources and services to both male and female refugees and to reduce gender inequalities (Benjamin 1998:10-11). Three elements are emphasized: change, participation, and the importance of analysis. The framework emphasizes the effects of change that the displaced people experience during armed conflict. Participation of the people affected determines the success of relief aid operations which must include both women and men. The theories examine links between poverty, gender equality, human rights, reproductive health, conflict and violence against women and girls (UNDP 2002). Then socio-economic analysis is important when planning programmes for refugee situations.

Gender and forced migration: According to Cohen (1997:68), the problems of armed conflict that result into forced migration or internal displacement have not been immune from gender bias. Despite the fact that women usually make up the majority of the internally displaced, their particular needs have not sufficiently been taken into account. Pointing to this gap, the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995, called for more effective protection and assistance for displaced women. The Representative of the UN Secretary-General on IDPs was asked by the Commission on Human Rights to pay attention to the needs of internally displaced women. In recent years, there has arisen greater attention not only to the problem of internal displacement but also to the particular problems of internally displaced women. Using the problem of internal displacement, the UN agencies tend to pay attention to the particular problems faced by internally displaced women more seriously and systematically. For example, UNIFEM and UNICEF (1994:14) found

that for some operational agencies, the integration of gender issues into the planning and implementation of their programmes and activities is considered irrelevant and optional. It is important to pay attention to different ways in which gender impacts upon internal displacement and development. The NGOs have realized the importance of adopting a gender perspective to internal displacement while the plight of women continues to be viewed through various gender perspectives for the development of policies, guidelines and training programmes. A study by UNICEF confirmed that IDPs still experience serious problems of insecurity, lack of shelter, food shortages and landlessness (UNICEF 1998:3).

Gender relations and conflict: Gender relations are usually characterised by unequal access to power. Gender discrimination influences the dynamics of armed conflicts especially when gender analysis in armed conflict highlights the differences between women and men in terms of their gendered activities, needs, control of resources and access to decision-making processes in conflict situations (UNDP 2002). According to Byrne (1996:6-9), men who are of combat age are in most instances the ones who are killed or injured during conflict. The women on the other hand become the main victims of war directly or indirectly. This occurs when the women get involved directly with fatalities and casualties of war or indirectly when the family and community structures break down.

Women and conflict: The women in armed conflict zones may face contradictory demands from government and society. On one hand, the nation calls upon women to participate in nationalist struggles in their capacity as members of the national community. Women are usually mobilized in armed conflict because of their support, labour and services. They are needed in war zones because of their roles as women, mothers and guardians of the community. Therefore, nationalist liberation movements often seek their activism during conflict and post-conflict reconstruction processes. The identities of women in their gendered roles as mothers and guardians of the community imply that women are victims, which justifies the use of power and violence by men to protect them. When the protection fails, as is the case when public acts of violence such as rape occur, the war crimes against women excessively affect men by rendering the victims as 'tainted' and unworthy of protection (Bennett et al 1995:3-7). However, most conflict situations may be challenging especially when women have to depend on food rations during armed conflict.

2.4 Women and Internal Displacement

Forced migration has greater impact on women than it has on men, and the effects differ during the different stages of the crisis. When displacement occurs, women's lives and their social well-being are affected by the terrible disruption of their livelihood (Benjamin 1998:11-12). The women usually suffer displacement problems more severely than men. For example, changes in gender roles in situations of conflict arise when women are forced to assume responsibilities previously held by men. Women with children in most cases make up the majority of the IDP population. (UN Economic and social Council 2004:1-5). Therefore, post-conflict reconstruction offers women the opportunities to build on their productive capacities.

Differences between IDPs and refugees: As already indicated, refugees are persons who have crossed international borders for safety while IDPs stay within the boarders of their country of origin. However, in both instances, the majority are usually women with children who are often fleeing from armed conflict and have suffered violations of their human rights. Refugees are entitled to international protection and support under the mandate of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR 2004; 3-6). On the other hand, internally displaced persons may suffer from the violations of their human rights, ethnic or religious oppression due to conflict, but they have no institutional or legal means for receiving international help. They remain the responsibility of their governments and their jurisdiction (Macrae 2002:46-50). The government system responsible for perpetuation of conflict and forced migration of IDPs may also be responsible for their displacement and violation of their rights (Weiner 1996:6-1). Although the conditions in both situations are traumatic for women, the circumstances are usually worse for the internally displaced than for the refugees. For example, the UNICEF (November 1998) report compared Burundi women refugees who were living in Tanzanian camps and displaced women living in Burundi camps and found that the refugees received better health care services, food rations, education for their children and adult skills-training. The report also indicated that UNHCR security officers monitored the refugees' physical safety, and international refugee laws protected refugees' human rights. These services were not available in the Burundi internal displacement camps (Benjamin 1998:11). Perpetrators of violence and other exploitation went unpunished and no one cared about the rights of IDPs because they do not have a nominated agency from which to

seek protection in cases of rape and violence (Indra 1999:2-5). Women who were interviewed in the Burundi camps revealed that they survived by being good to the soldiers who were guarding the camp (Jacobsen 2005:1-20). The exchange of favors for protection or food was said to be common among internally displaced women living the in camps. It is clear that international agencies failed to notice the need for protection of IDPs and needed specific guidelines regarding gender violence, protection, training in skills and equitable participation. This was very useful to all agencies working with IDPs (Moser &Clark 2001:1-6). A discussion of the impact of forced migration on women and development based on international Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement follows in the next section.

2. 5 Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement

Gender and the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement help in analysing the various problems faced by internally displaced women. The principles address the various needs of the Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) by identifying the rights and guarantees related to their protection. In this regard, awareness of the gender-related issues common to situations of internal displacement is included in the Guiding Principles outlined by Cohen and Deng (1998:93). In the area of physical protection, the Principles prohibit gender-specific violence, with specific reference to rape, forced prostitution and indecent assault. They also prohibit slavery or any contemporary form of slavery, such as sale into marriage, exploitation or forced labour of children as Cohen and Deng (1998:93-94) indicate.

a. The Principles call for the full participation of displaced women in the planning and distribution of basic supplies. Similarly, in cases of displacement ordered by authorities outside of an emergency phase, the Principles provide that the authorities shall endeavor to involve those affected, particularly women, in the planning and management of their relocation.
b. The Principles provide for equity or full and equal participation of women and girls in educational and training programmes and for equal opportunity in employment and other economic activities.
c. In the area of health, they give special attention to women's needs for reproductive and psychological health care.
d. The Principles specifically refer to women's rights to personal identification and other documentation of critical importance to internally displaced women.
e. They also specify that for internally displaced persons the right to respect of family life includes that family members should be allowed to remain together during the course of displacement and that families separated

should be reunited as quickly as possible, particularly when children are involved.

f.   Overall, the Principles provide a framework for monitoring the needs of the internally displaced and a basis for advocacy on behalf of IDP women by the local and national authorities, as well as international humanitarian and development agencies (Cohen & Deng 1998:93-94).

The purpose of gender analysis based on the principles of internal displacement reveals the connection between gender relations and the development problem of forced migration. Gender issues play a significant role in policy-making and in determining the policy outcomes. It is very important to recognise that we live in societies that are permeated by gender differences and gender inequalities (Castles 2003:13-16). There are few countries worldwide where the public policy outcomes are equal for both men and women. Gender analysis reveals these differences and is required to bring these inequalities to the surface and to the attention of people who can make a difference in decision-making as revealed by the overview of the literature that follows below (Bhabha 2004:227-232).

2.6 Forced Migration at International Level

After considering the meaning of the concepts gender, power relations and development within the context of forced migration, the connection between these issues needs to be drawn. Gender relations have an impact upon the conditions of forced migration in all of its phases namely: the pre-flight phase, the flight phase and the post-conflict or resettlement phase (Moser & Clark 2001:3-12). Gender relations can determine the nature of forced displacement and development in general. The practical remedies to internal displacement internationally, regionally and locally are further reviewed. Nearly 50 countries worldwide have experienced modern interstate conflicts since 1980s with majority being in Africa (Cohen & Deng 1998:60-66). Some of them include Rwanda, Mozambique, Congo, Burundi, Angola, Somalia, Liberia, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Yugoslavia, Northern Ireland, Pakistan, India, Russia, Iraq, Sri Lanka, Algeria, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast, Uganda and others (Hyndman 2003:167-182).

According to Boyle et al (1998:180), forced migration brings about images of political migrants moving because of emergency. Forced migrants have to flee their homes against their will because of well-founded fears of persecution due to ethnicity,

race, religion, or political opinion or membership of a particular social group. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR 2002:1-2) indicates that by the beginning of 1995, there were about 5.4 million internally displaced people worldwide of whom the majority were women with children. They were forced to abandon their homes because of threatening circumstances and fear to return home (Gibney 1999:28-30). The decision to flee in most instances results from existing threats such as arrests, abductions, attacking villages or preventing a particular group from publicly meeting or carrying out its functions (Schmidt 2003:1-3). Some selected cases at international level are further examined.

2.6.1 Women and Forced Migration: An Overview of Selected Cases
When majority of the men are rounded up and killed or forced into the army, women become widows and heads of households. Women's suffering worsens during conflict because of their roles as mothers and caregivers. Therefore, displaced women during armed conflict always account for a big percentage of civilian casualties.

Afghanistan: The ongoing armed conflict since the early 1990s has left over one million men in Afghanistan killed or maimed leaving behind thousands of widows to fend for themselves while fleeing to safety. Displaced women were usually recruited for services such as cooking, secretarial services, drivers and first-aid workers (Vickers 1993:19). Women in Afghanistan were the majority of the injured and killed civilians that resulted from wrongly targeted bombing of homes, hospitals, markets and other public institutions (Malakunas 2001:1-2). The demolition of resources and farm poisoning endangered the lives of women and children (Edwards 2001:2). Although women assume non-stereotypical roles as combatants, policy-makers or household heads, they are frequently deprived of their right to have their voices heard officially. In addition, limited resources result in gender-related human rights abuses such as slavery and forced marriage.

Gulf war: The 1990 Iraq war had a deadly impact on the displaced population during and after it had occurred. Iraq's infrastructure such as electricity, water purification and sewage removal and treatment were badly damaged. As a result, an epidemic of water-borne diseases such as cholera, typhoid, gastroenteritis and other illnesses spread throughout the population. Diseases that had been under control suddenly

became killers. For example, the ministry of health reported that the death rate from typhoid rose from 60 to 80 per 1,000 cases. The United States Committee for refugees estimated that about two million people left their homes within less than six days and about 75, 000 became homeless. The largest group to flee were the Kurds who became victims because they challenged Saddam Hussein's regime during and after the Iraqi war of 1990. It is indicated that 1.5 million Kurds fled their homes so abruptly that relief workers were overwhelmed because the seasonal conditions at the time were very harsh, and about 1,000 people were dying on a daily basis (Vickers 1993:22). The people were fleeing under health hazards caused by the burning oil wells in Kuwait, which caused a lot of pollution and environmental problems (Cohen & Deng 1998:22- 23). It is alleged that during the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, women faced arbitrary arrests, torture, rape and killings. For example, it is reported that Iraqi soldiers who opened fire on a group of women who were protesting peacefully shot a 25-year-old woman. In addition, those Iraqi soldiers raped three of the women who were in their custody (Miller 1991:3). During the 1990 Iraq war, a large number of the displaced women were heads of households because men and adult boys were rounded up and killed or disappeared as during the Anfal Campaign when the Kurdish men were executed (Shami 1996: 3-25).

World War II: During the Second World War (1939-1945), displaced women were used as weapons of war. Soldiers used physical abuses to obtain information from women and punished them for staying in zones where enemies were believed to be hiding. Rape was also used as a form of torture and a tool to punish and weaken the opponents. For example, during the Second World War, Japanese soldiers forced Korean women to serve as prostitutes. For example, it is alleged that a 16-year-old girl was forced to serve 10 to15 men everyday and was also beaten and stabbed on a regular basis. When she returned to Korea she could not go back home because of the shameful torture she experienced. The Japanese government admitted in 1992 that its soldiers forced tens of thousands of 'comfort women' to work in government brothels during World War Two (Goldstein 2001:345-346).

Europe: Some soldiers in Europe regard the rape of displaced women as a 'normal' accompaniment to war. For example, during the 17th century European war, Spanish troops in the Netherlands committed many cases of murder, robbery, rape and arson.

Rape is well known as a crime of domination and everything in war has something to do with domination (Crush 2000:113-120).

The Balkans: The conflicts in Bosnia and Kosovo in the 1990s left many dead and thousands of women and children displaced. At the end of the war in 1995, there were more than 1 million IDPs in Bosnia and the armed conflict in Kosovo resulted in more than 1.5 million people displaced in the late 1990s. Most ethnic Albanians returned to Kosovo by the end of 1999. It is estimated that about 2 million people have now returned to their homes but nearly 1.3 million people are still displaced (UNHCR 2002).

According to UNHCR (2002), the plight of women and children during the armed conflicts in the Former Republic of Yugoslavia received special attention from international organizations. The use of GBV and other abuses committed against women and girls were part of ethnic cleansing throughout the hostilities. Aid organizations became heavily involved in protection and assistance of the IDPs. Special programmes were created to cater for the needs of internally displaced women and girls in camps. Special efforts were made to integrate women during post-conflict reconstruction initiatives and they resulted in the Bosnia Women's Initiative (BWI) and the Kosovo Women's Initiative (KWI).

 Bosnia: The BWI was acknowledged in 1996 to advance women empowerment through projects to support community services, education, and income generation (WCRWC 2002). The projects received generous funding to assist emergency and psycho-social work for reconstruction. About 73 per cent of the funding was allocated to income-generating projects. However, many women still suffer from the long-term effects of war such as trauma and need support, especially those that have been affected by GBV. Insecurity remains the main concern for women in the reconstruction phase. Improved involvement of all the women in decision-making in the reconstruction phase is necessary in order to take into account the needs of all the IDPs and to make the programmes sustainable (Torres 2002:13-14).

Kosovo: The KWI was established mid 1999, therefore the displaced women had learnt some lessons from the Bosnians. The displaced women and children suffered

excessively from the consequences of displacement. Many of the women forced to flee were either pregnant or nursing babies. Majority of the displaced were from poor regions, and facilities for IDPs were very poor. Aid delivery services and assistance for the displaced were difficult due to the conflict. The IDPs lacked medical care and psycho-social support for women affected by GBV. The displaced men were also disturbed and in most cases needed women to support them. During and after the war, there were increased levels of domestic violence, trafficking, and abductions of women and girls (Torres 2002:14). The women in Kosovo were able to organise themselves into groups to improve their security using NGOs and international humanitarian agencies.

Slovenia-Herzegovina: During the Slovenia-Herzegovina war that began in 1992. There were many reports of horrible allegations of torture, deliberate impregnation of displaced Moslem women by Serbian soldiers as a form of ethnic cleansing (Hyndman 2003:167-180)**.** The displaced women experienced the armed conflict in many ways. While some women took up guns, most of them lived through the crisis as civilians and thousands of the displaced women became victims of torture. It is reported that thousands were killed, about 300 villages destroyed while over 200,000 fled the country. The period between May and September 1999, saw 860,000 displaced people of whom the majority were women. Although Albanian women were targeted in greater numbers, many Serbian, Roma and Egyptian women also experienced forced displacement, violence and insecurity (Goldstein 2001:345-346). Women from ethnic minorities were not spared and continued to be targeted in the post-conflict period. The peace agreements tended to be mainly gender blind because women were not officially included in the negotiations. A report by UNIFEM states that the exclusion of women in the peace process perpetuates and institutionalizes marginalization of women in the political process after the conflict (UNIFEM 2001:1).

In November 1991, Amnesty International reported that Yugoslav soldiers attacked and massacred fleeing women with children. One woman survivor known as Marica told the story of how her four bedroom house had been destroyed and every house in her street had been heavily damaged by tank fire. As she walked back bent in half to avoid bullets, she crossed a stinking graveyard where bodies of mostly Croatian and

Serb civilians had been buried in shallow graves and the air was unhealthy for survivors who passed by. Her father-in-law told her that he had buried her husband at a Bulgarian Cemetery. She knew then that she would never see his grave (Vickers 1993:21).

Chechen: During the early 1990s war, women in Chechen were estimated to make up more than 95 per cent of the displaced civilians because almost all adult males had taken up arms. Also in Bosnia and Croatia the centers for the displaced consisted predominantly of women as the men of military age had been forced to join the armed forces (Helton 2000:61-83). In Azerbaijan, 88 per cent of the displaced included women with children and the elderly (Cohen & Deng 1998:60). A survey by United States Committee for Refugees (USCR 1997:357-359) points out that poor rural women formed the majority of the displaced because men were targeted for recruitment or killed for being suspects to have connections with rebellious groups. It is therefore acknowledged by writers that internationally, women remain the majority of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) and they lack protection during most armed conflicts.

Colombia: According to a study by a human rights organization called Consultoría Para los Derechos Humanos y el Desplazamiento (CODHES 2002) there are nearly 2,700,000 IDPs in Colombia since 1976. Both IDPs and refugees are the result of a more than four decades armed conflict between the state, left-wing guerrillas and right-wing rebels who are connected with trade in drugs. During the past decade alone since 1996, almost 30,000 people were killed as a result of political violence (FMO: Colombia 2002), while almost 200,000 are estimated to have been the victims of criminal violence (Semana 2002). Most of those killed or forced to flee by the armed conflict are women and children.

The conflict and displacement in Colombia has been different for men and women. Although young adult men accounted for most of the dead, women also increasingly become targets with more than 360 women killed each year as a result of political violence. Women and girls are killed because of their increasing participation in armed conflicts. They are also targeted because of their activism or belonging to certain rebel groups. IDPs, prostitutes, street children, and indigenous women are particularly vulnerable. In addition, displaced women are nearly 49–58 per cent of the

total displaced population. Almost 80 per cent of the IDPs live in urban areas. Women and children together represent nearly 80 per cent of the displaced population (Global IDP Project 2002).

Characteristically, women flee rural regions after their husbands, fathers, or sons have been killed by armed forces or when threatened. The distressed women flee their homes, leaving everything behind. They often move with children and other relatives under their care to urban areas to seek help from friends or relatives. About 30–50 per cent of IDPs in Colombia live in urban areas. Although there are national laws and programmes to assist IDPs access to basic services is usually limited by lack of resources or discrimination. Women get little help because most of them lack identity documents to prove their displacement. Some of them do not like to register as IDPs because they fear being persecuted. Black and Indian women are at an even greater disadvantage, as they are discriminated against not only along gender but also along ethnic and identity lines (FMO: Colombia 2002). There is plenty of evidence that internally displaced women and girls are often subjected to many different types of gender- based violence during the three phases of flight.

Rape: In most conflicts, rape was used as a weapon of war. There were different motives of rape in different wars. In 1945 Russian soldiers in Berlin used rape to revenge; in Vietnam American soldiers raped in frustration; and in Bosnia rape was used for ethnic cleansing. However, historically the main aim of rape during war was to humiliate enemy males by spoiling their valued property (women). The raped women signal defeat for the men who failed their role of protecting their property. For the women survivors, rape is the most severe attack on the intimacy and dignity of the body of any human being that lasts a lifetime (Goldstein 2001:362-263). Similar situations occur in Africa as discussed further below.

2.6.2 Women and Forced Migration in Africa

According to East Central Africa report ECA (2001), a total of 26 armed conflicts occurred in Africa between 1963 and 1998 affecting 61 per cent of the population. These were in Eastern Africa; Central Africa; Western Africa; Northern Africa; and Southern Africa. A report by the US Committee for Refugees also indicates that in the

year 2001, there were a total of nearly 9.6 million internally displaced people in Africa due to armed conflict and the majority were women with children.

Internal displacement in Africa is a big challenge because nearly half of the internally displaced people worldwide are found in Africa. Since 1990 there were about fourteen countries with a million or more displaced people (Cohen & Deng 1998:40). The best-known countries include: Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Sudan. Those which had almost half a million include: Mozambique, Rwanda, and South Africa. Other countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Burundi, Ghana, Nigeria and Algeria had smaller but significant numbers of displaced persons. These countries that are affected by internal displacement also experience serious problems of economic underdevelopment, poverty, government instability and mismanagement (Van Damme 1995:360-362). The displaced people are usually settled in camps where they become vulnerable to climatic conditions and limited livelihood options.

Rwanda: In the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, between 800,000 and 1 million people were killed. This genocide took place when hard-line Hutu groups wanted to eliminate Tutsi and Hutu moderates. After the Tutsis won the upper hand in the war, an estimated 3 million people became uprooted as Hutus fled to neighbouring countries in fear of revenge. When the exiled Tutsis returned to Rwanda in 1996, many Hutus were forced to return to a deeply traumatized country. During the conflict, thousands of women and girls were the target of gender-based violence as a result of old ethnic hatreds. An estimated 250,000–500,000 women and girls survived rape in addition to all those who were raped before being killed. Atrocities committed against women and girls also included sexual slavery, forced incest, purposeful HIV transmission, impregnation, and genital mutilation. Although GBV was present before 1994, majority of the Rwandan women were confined to agricultural and domestic work, and discrimination against women and girls was common, as evidenced, for instance, in existing practices of forced marriage. In addition, problems of domestic violence, HIV/AIDS infection prostitution and others have increased in the environment of devastation after the conflict (Torres 2002: 11-12).

Eritrea: Since the 1990s to the present day, the displaced Eritrean women continue to suffer the consequences of war with insufficient basic needs such as food, water,

health care, shelter and education. Lack of such basic needs affects their capability to cope and adapt to climatic variability and environment. Majority of the displaced women and children are still internally displaced and unable to return to their homes because of insecurity and land mine infestation (Hyndman 2003:170-175).

Sudan: The Sudan war that began in the early 1960s has been the longest lasting more than 45 years and has the largest number of internally displaced people because of the power struggle between Arab Moslems of the north and the black Christian people of the south. Almost four million people of whom majority are women have been forced to abandon their homes and subjected to hazardous conditions in camps. Various studies indicate that many women in Africa and south of the Sahara in particular, have suffered severe human rights abuses.

Mauritania: The fighting in Mauritania in the mid 1980s, left in the cold many displaced women to encounter experiences almost similar to those of other warring countries. The military forces also raped women from the troubled villages in June 1989. For example, a 25 year old woman was held for three months in police custody and was raped before being thrown into the Senegal River (Van Damme 1995:360-361).

Somalia: During the fighting between 1989 and 1990 in Somalia, mothers who were trying to flee the war in the North-West were detained and killed by soldiers and other victims were executed. The Somali women and girls living in IDPs camps were also the target of GBV. The perpetrators were the fellow Somali camp dwellers, the police and soldiers (Goldstein 2001:322-323).

Sierra Leone: Sierra Leone was badly shattered after almost a decade of civil conflict. Tens of thousands of people were killed with more than 400,000 refugees and nearly one million IDPs. The effects of the armed conflict were mainly severe in rural areas. Rebels of the Revolutionary United Front raped, murdered, and mutilated thousands of civilians. They also abducted women and children to be used as slaves and child soldiers. Before the armed conflict erupted, women and girls throughout the country and in rural areas especially had limited socio-economic opportunities. Throughout the armed conflict, women and girls experienced GBV such as gang

rapes, abductions, slavery, forced marriages and others. Many of them lost their families, relatives; suffered physical abuse, witnessed atrocities and others were forced to take part in killings. Tens of thousands were forced to flee their homes to urban camps or to refugee camps in Guinea. After the war, they returned to a ruined country with no family or community support (Jalloh 2001:166-180). GBV continues to be high and women's rights are not guaranteed. Many IDPs lived without adequate assistance or protection in camps where many women and girls suffered from further physical abuse during displacement. Young women had to resort to prostitution to obtain basic needs and services for the survival of their families (Torres 2002:4-6). The experiences of displaced women in situations of armed conflict and their consequences in Africa are similar to those in the rest of the world. The legacy of using arms to obtain power and maintain control has caused a lot of civil unrest, violations of human rights and anarchy in many developing countries of Africa.

2.7 Causes of Forced Migration

In order to understand the causes of forced migration we need to know the causes of armed conflicts since conflicts are identified to be the causes of human displacement. According to UNHCR (2002), the main causes of forced migration are wars and armed conflicts. The UNHCR report indicates that some causes of armed conflict are related with attempts to control economic resources such as oil, metals, diamonds, drugs or contested territorial boundaries. In countries such as Colombia and the Sudan, oilfield exploration has caused and intensified the impoverishment of women and men. Entire communities have been targeted, killed and displaced in the name of oil development resulting into war. The control of resources is like the exercise of power and is gendered. El Jack (2003:10-11) argues that those who do not have power or resources do not usually start wars. Therefore, unresolved struggles over resources usually cause armed conflicts. Moreover, conflict tends to cause and perpetuate inequalities between ethnic groups and discrimination against marginalised groups thereby making way for the outbreak of conflicts.

Armed conflicts in the 21st century are growing in complexity worldwide. At the international level, inequality in the distribution of power and resources has become more distinct. In addition, structural inequalities between nations and disparity within nation-states have led to more regional conflicts, as well as an escalation of

international armed conflicts. Furthermore, the nature of warfare itself has dramatically changed due to the increased development of sophisticated weapons and technology. Nations have placed greater emphasis on increasing and reinforcing military strength than development. This also worsens some existing constraints on women's rights, which in turn exacerbates inequalities in gender relations (El Jack 2003:9-11).

The increased militarisation has further limited the rights of women within countries and gender equality also has been co-opted at the international level to justify military intervention into sovereign nations. For example, the liberation of women from the oppressive Taliban regime, constituted one of the justifications for the American invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. Although during the five years before the invasion, there was consistent disregard for the plight of women, regardless of the attempts by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to draw attention to the violation of women's human rights in Afghanistan (El Jack 2003:10). In most instances, armed conflicts perpetuate gender inequalities and discrimination against minority ethnic groups. The disgruntled and marginalised groups thereby resort to forming rebel movements to fight the injustices of those in power. However, armed intervention is under no circumstances the answer to resolving inequalities based on issues such as gender, race, class, caste or religion.

Most African countries that have experienced armed conflicts are characterised by gaps in power or resource distribution among different classes and among people belonging to different religions, ethnicities, clans, races, and regions. A close look at the historical and structural contexts of some African civil conflicts such as Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Liberia, Republic of Congo and others, indicate that undemocratic governance was the major causal factor.

Analyzing the Somali case, misgovernance has been indicated as the root cause of the armed conflict that has prevailed in Somalia since 1991. During the brutal and authoritarian regime of Mohamed Siyad Barre that lasted for 21years, the society was slowly and thoroughly dismantled. By the mid 1970s, Somalia had one of Africa's largest army at the cost of 40 to 50 per cent of its GDP on defence and security (Jama 2000:45). Siyad Barre had created an atmosphere of mistrust and hostility that

gradually weakened both the traditional and the national institutions. When the government collapsed in January 1991, the institutions were not strong enough to prevent country from disintegrating. In this regard, Somalia existed as a state only from 1960-1991, when the last military regime was ousted. Somalia disintegrated into fiefdoms, controlled by rival factions led by predatory warlords. Somalia is run by militias, merchants and mullahs, pursuing their private interests rather than the public good. The Djibouti government is now saying that the time of the warlords and the militia bosses is over. They want to encourage the Somalia `civil society' to take political power. This civil society, however, is fragmented, lacks a solid social base and has very limited political resources (Mohamoud 2000: 40-41).

Similarly, in Sierra Leone's war, it was noted that the root cause of Sierra Leone's conflict was Siaka Stevens's dictatorship which exploited political institutions for power and wealth by using corruption and violence to obstruct agencies and institutions. (DPMF/OSSREA 2000).

The Sudanese conflict has also been traced to undemocratic governance during colonial rule and after independence. Southerners were underrepresented in parliament and in strategic government positions. Northerners were more educated but were made to occupy lower government ranks during colonial rule. Though the northerners needed alliance with the southern Sudanese in the struggle against British colonialism, the alliance became outdated after independence and the representation of Southerners in constitutional institutions became just a decoration. However, the Khartoum government had made it clear that it would suppress any attempt by Southerners that would threaten the country's unity (DMPF/OSSREA, 2000).

In addition, the Agenda for Peace, Preventive Diplomacy, Peace Making and Peace Keeping, the UN Secretary General identified social injustice and political oppression as the main causes of conflict and forced migration globally (Tindifa 2001:3). According to Mushanga (1992:78-80), the major factor causing conflict that results in forced migration in African countries is mainly the lack of efficiently functioning democracy. He indicates that many of the African countries are one-party dictatorships, which result in disorder, oppression and economic disaster. For example, the case of Uganda shows a situation of chaos, violence, economic collapse

and decay as a result of its historical conflicts between traditional rulers. Impoverishment and political insecurity caused by leaders who after tasting power fear to loose it. The fear is caused by psychological, economic and physical crimes committed against the people. Therefore, political leaders who want to consolidate power do so by marginalizing those tribes that attempt to oppose government.

Some studies indicate that gender may be a determining factor in the cause of forced migration because when women are targeted with human rights violations which force them to flee (UNIFEM: 2002:1-4). Most conflicts in developing countries are ethnic and internal in nature. They mostly take place in poor developing countries and they continue for many years. The humanitarian agencies concentrate on providing relief aid to the displaced and forget to give attention to the women and children's security (Cohen & Deng 1998:10).

According to the U.S Committee for Refugees (USCR 1997:16-17), the major causes of forced displacement include armed conflict, internal strife, and systematic violations of human rights. In addition, the UNHCR indicates that IDPs are usually persons who have fled their homes because of persecution, general violence due to little protection or none by government. The plight of women in this situation is of great concern since in most instances women with children comprise majority of the displaced persons.

Some theorists argue that armed conflict is also caused by the human nature of individuals and power struggle. The theories suggest that aggression and violence have a biological origin. There is some agreement that humanity is governed by needs and that behaviours such as violence, disagreement, self-interest, greed and competition are normal expressions of human beings. This is in accordance to Schellenberg (1996:13) who points out that, "Social process theorists look at conflict as a process of social interaction between individuals or groups and seek to make generalisations about the nature of this process". According to this view, not all conflict is considered unhealthy. It is noted that, "Out of the social processes of competition and conflict come the basic resolutions of accommodation and assimilation" (Schellenberg 1996:.65). Therefore, some social process theorists accept

the potential for individuals or societies to overcome conflict under particular circumstances but they view conflict as a normal part of social interaction.

Schellenberg (1996:65-70) also points out that social structural theorists see conflict as arising from organisations or divisions of societies stating that, "The divisions may be formed along class, race, ethnic, national, economic or gender lines. When a society's structure is unjust and exploitative, it gives rise to conflict and resolution of the conflict may be achieved through a restructuring of these societies so as to achieve equity and justice. The theorists point out that conflicts are caused by unequal social systems which are created by the powerful elements of society. Social structures function on the principle of inborn human aggression and power relationships". In other words, the ruling class obtains positions and authority through the use of power, which needs to be stripped and redistributed equitably among classes.

Weeks (2002:189) identifies the conditions that force people to migrate as "push-pull" factors. He points out that some people are forced to move because they are pushed out of their former location, while others move because they have been pulled or attracted to some other place. Weeks explains this by saying that pull factors were more important than push factors. For example, there is the desire to better ones self in material respects but the desire to escape an unpleasant situation such as war, is most often responsible for the forced migrations of the majority women in the twentieth century.

Crimes committed against women: Crimes committed against women during conflict are regarded by most societies as normal because of patriarchy, which glorifies the male character. The male and female hierarchies in all human cultures occupy the dominant and subordinate status respectively. Men often enforce women's subordination using threats or violence such as rape, battery, insults and other forms of abuse. In the context of war, the exploitative dominance relationship intensifies by refusing women to have weapons because it threatens men's dominance over women. Therefore, patriarchy limits women's participation in combat and keeps them in a dependence situation so that they remain submissive and obedient to men. The differences in experience and in power relations that exist between men and women during war or peace are such that women are usually regarded by the patriarchal

society as passive and vulnerable recipients of violence while men are associated with active aggression. Therefore, the aggressive nature of men is believed to be one of the causes of war and human rights violations that force women to flee (Goldstein, 2001:322-332). Ugandan women have suffered humiliation and human rights abuses as one visitor from Manchester wrote about the situation of women in Uganda in 1985:

> … I grieve very much for the gross abuse of human rights that is going on in Uganda. My main concern here is not the restriction of basic liberties but mass murder. Uganda reflects the problems facing all African countries; the collapse of democratic government (Hansen and Twaddle 1988:75-76).

Some other conflict theorists Byrne (1996) and El-Bushra (2000a) also argue that the male element of masculinity in some men may be one of the causes of war because it is destructive, uncompromising, selfish, forceful, war loving, chaotic, and unpopular. The masculine tendencies for domination and power in some men may contribute in fuelling armed conflicts. However, up to the end of the 18th century, women's involvement in war became common.

The society tends to overlook the feminine values of gentleness, caring and sympathy, which should be used in society to balance the aggressive impulses of some men. Moser and Clark (2001) argue that women's direct or indirect support of armed conflicts generally reflect women also as aggressors. The stereotype of women as being naturally nurturing does not always reflect the experience on the ground. There are many examples of combatant women and supporters of oppressive governments which show that the assumptions about the behaviour of women or men can be very short sighted. For example, large numbers of women became members of the Nazi party and they participated in the extermination of camps; middle-class women supported Pinochet's regime in Chile in the 1970s; Protestant and Catholic working-class women were among the mobs in Northern Ireland; and women in Rwanda have been convicted for participating in the 1994 genocide (Jacobs, Jacobson and Marchbank 2000:12-13). However, whether in their traditional and perhaps stereotypical capacity as wives and mothers, or as aggressors and supporters of conflict, women continue to experience discrimination due to the unequal power relations that govern their relationships with men.

The feminine values never have much influence because of patriarchy, which glorifies male dominance in the political public sphere. During war, the gap between male and female power relations becomes wide and their relations become sour because the male power dominates the female weakness resulting in oppression, domination and violence. Therefore, forced migrations in most instances are caused by armed conflicts that result from political instability. For example, most political forces threaten women to abandon their homes after killing, arresting or abducting their fathers, husbands and brothers (Vickers 1993:5).

2.8 Participation of Women in Armed Conflicts

Although, women are usually excluded from decisions to wage war, they do participate in wars. For example, women were involved in the liberation struggles in Eritrea, Namibia, South Africa and Nicaragua. Women also served in guerrilla armies and some women became commanders (Byrne 1996:11-16). They have also supported armed conflicts by using provocative language encouraging men to fight. In most instances women feed and shelter fighters (Bennett et al 1995:9). The assumption that women are innocent has allowed some killers to escape justice (African Rights 1995:9). The tendency of seeing women as victims of conflict overshadows the ways in which they gain from it by acquiring new positions, skills and power. It also denies the women the possibility of contributing to lasting peace. Therefore, women should not be viewed as victims because they get disadvantaged in ways which they could gain during and after the conflict.

In Rwanda, the main characteristic of the genocide, which has attracted the world's attention, is the participation of women in which women were involved in the violence (African Rights 1995:9). For example, women were involved in the killing of civilians during the Rwandan genocide of 1994. Some of the women who were involved in the 1994 genocide in Rwanda have gained prominent positions in government. Prominent female politicians such as members of Habyarimana family, the Minister of Women's Affairs, local government administrators, female journalists, nuns, teachers and nurses used their positions of authority to incite and carry out genocide. Some men and women risked and lost their lives protecting Tutsis from the genocide by hiding friends and strangers, or using their positions as administrators or policemen to protect some people against the killers. Some communities also set up

communal patrols to try to resist the extremist forces (African Rights, 1994: xii). Women's participation in the genocide has shattered the myth that women are unable of doing such brutal acts. However, since men were the main victims of the genocide, women will have to play a most important role in the reconstruction of their country and families.

Scott (1995:82) argues that women's full participation in matters that affect them during war and peace is of great urgency. Sometimes women's special needs are not catered for and their efforts in productivity are unrecognised. Women do not have equal access to resources, services and training in order to fully participate in the development process legally, socially, politically and economically (UNIFEM 2005:1-3). According to UNICEF (2004), poor economic conditions during the war, high unemployment due to lack of education, displacement and trauma are factors that lead women and girls to be recruited into combat. According to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA 1998:1), this dispels the historical myth that in Africa warfare is predominantly a male activity. As a result, women's participation in armed conflict, both voluntary and coerced is never recognized.

In Uganda, when the National Resistance Army (NRA) was launched to fight the second regime of Milton Obote to eliminate his undemocratic political system in 1981, women became active participants. The NRA was based in Luwero and was mainly supported by Baganda in the south and Central Uganda. This is because the Baganda were mostly victimised by Amin and Obote's second regime. Women participated in armed struggles for different reasons. For example, a woman like Winnie Byanyima[1] joined the armed struggle to fight dictatorship and male domination in the public sphere (Byanyima 1992:136-137). Some women joined the war because the men they depended on had been killed by government troops. Others joined because they felt insecure and sought refuge from the rebels. A number of young women ran to the NRA rebel camps to escape the cultural practice of arranged marriages as in the Banyarwanda and Bahima while others escaped unhappy marriages. Some women wanted to find employment (Mutibwa 1992:157). It is therefore clear that besides the women's desire to fight dictatorship, women also wanted to resolve unsatisfactory power relations between women and men. However, mature women wanted to restore peace, stability and democracy in Uganda.

1. Mrs Winnie Byanyima is one of the women that fought to liberate Uganda from dictatorship in 1986. Together with her husband Dr Kiiza Besigye President of the Opposition Party Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) they defected from the NRM government to the opposition.

Although war is always dominated by men, women today form a larger part of armed conflicts. It is noted that most terrorist groups include women with similar roles as those of men. For example, during the initial stages of the NRA war, women were involved fetching supplies from Kampala and taking them to Luwero (Ottemoeller 1999:91). This was a dangerous task but they wore traditional clothes to disguise themselves as innocent rural women. As time went on they became active in recruiting soldiers. Women continue to care for the wounded, dying, peace demonstrations and keeping the family together by caring for the children and elderly. Then they got involved in combat and they carried guns with babies on their back (Tripp 2000:110). Although it was optional for women to take up arms, it was compulsory for men to fight. Therefore, most women got involved in traditional support roles such as cooking, health care, washing, administration and intelligence (Byanyima 1992:138). It is from this ground that Ugandan women's participation in war was promoted when the NRM government came to power in 1986.

Although some studies indicate that it is rare for women to initiate war, the war in Northern Uganda was initiated by a woman by the name Alice Auma Lakwena who as a traditional healer and led the Holy Spirit Movement 1986-1987. Her army was crushed in Eastern Uganda when she tried to march to Kampala and overthrow the government in November 1987. She fled to Kenya where she was arrested and handed over to the UNHCR (Afako 2000:4-5). Women have participated in various ways, which include feeding the soldiers, supporting their sons and husbands who fight the war, combat, demonstrations for peace and taking over headship of households (ISIS-WICCE 1999:15-16). Women also attempt to bring peace. For example, Mrs. Beatty Bigombe who was a Minister of State for Northern Uganda initiated a peace process that resulted in peace talks with Kony towards the end of 1993 (Turshen & Twagiramariya 1998:322). However, the peace was short lived because some elements felt that a woman was going to have credit for achieving peace in the region. spoiled the initiative and Kony continued the war because he was angered. The women's experiences during the conflict are further discussed.

2.9 Experiences of Internally Displaced Women

Displaced women worldwide have been subjected to GBV such as physical attack and lack protection during armed conflicts. For example, in Liberia 1993, many women

suffered physical attack, rape and other traumatic experiences. Women were also infected with sexually transmitted diseases (Cohen & Deng 1998:165). Most displaced women suffered gender-based violence throughout the three stages of flight and in settlements. Often their physical integrity and security are violated during war situations. For example, during the Vietnamese war of 1959 to 1975, fleeing women suffered inhuman abuses at the hands of pirates when mothers were forced to watch their daughters being raped. Both children and their mothers had to live with the traumatic experiences throughout their lifetime (Goldstein 2001:345-346). This is a crucial factor in development planning for emergency situations like forced migration.

The situation in Sudan has been the most worrying to the entire world. According to Mmegi (2004:16), "Empty villages mark the trail of Sudan's hidden war". Women and children in Darfur have experienced the worst humanitarian disaster. Darfur is in the western part of Sudan and has been home of over five million displaced persons and is regarded as the worst political tragedy or possibly genocide. The regime of President Omar al Bashir retaliated against the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) rebellion by driving the rural population from their homes using a fearsome local militia known as the Janjaweed. The government-backed militia is accused of regularly raping women and charging them fees to collect water and food. The US Agency for International Development (USAID 2004:2-3) reported that between 150,000 and 350,000 people were starving due to the government's policy of violence and ethnic cleansing. About 1.2 million people are homeless with almost only a quarter receiving help. Some women discovered bodies of missing men who had been shot dead in the rocky hills while collecting firewood. The village of Jimeza was littered with charred clay pots and the empty earth ware urns in which women had stored millet and sorghum. The livestock such as cattle, goats and sheep were stolen. Human Rights Watch also reported that women were branded on their hands by Janjaweed to preserve their stigma (Mmegi 1 June 2004:16).

A report by The Daily News (2004:9) with a heading "Sudanese tell of mass rape", described the experiences of Sudanese women and how the Janjaweed Arab Militia had thoroughly raped, killed and destroyed the villages of black Africans. For example, a 35-year-old woman narrated how she was selected among the prettiest women while fetching water. She said that four men had raped her for ten days. She

reported that women were picked everyday and returned the next day and men were also picked but killed. The newspaper also described a case of another victim who was raped, left naked in the bush and was three months pregnant but she was not going to reject the Janjaweed baby when born. A 15-year-old girl also reported how she was caught while fleeing to the mountains. Five men raped her twice a day and she was kept for ten days while they also whipped her. All she could do was to cry while they called her a slave and they abandoned her when she could not walk. Her mother took her after being discovered in the bush but arrived only to discover that her father had been killed. She lived in pain with no medical attention and yet she could not control her bowels (The Daily News 2004:9).

Another form of insecurity that threatened the displaced women according to United Nations was the use of land mines (Cohen & Deng 1998:96-97). These weapons were very dangerous especially during flight to safety, when returning to their homes, or when they went collecting water and firewood. Attempts to prohibit the sale and use of land mines during armed conflict because of their indiscriminate killings and maiming of women continue to fall on deaf ears. Graca Machel (2001:31) sympathises with the plight of African women living in camps when she argues that camps for internally displaced people, were militarised instead of being places of assistance, safety and protection. She indicates that the camps are characterised by family disputes, violence, sexual assault, alcohol and substance abuse. For example, the Rwandan women living in camps were also vulnerable to land mines when they went about to search for food and collect water. She was also concerned about lack of basic reproductive health care.

Vickers (1993:18-19) was concerned about how women suffer many traumatic experiences when they have to endure poverty, loneliness and vulnerability after separation from their loved ones because of war. They continue to care and sustain the family and the injured. The enemy usually destroys their homes after fleeing to save their lives. The situation becomes unbearable because of deprivation and suffering due to shortages of necessities. Gender-based violence also arises in the distribution of material support. When supplies are distributed only through men and the women are in most instances forced to trade sexual favours in order to obtain at least part of their ration. Sexual exploitation occurs in exchange for food, shelter and other items

of material assistance such as physical protection. For example, In Somalia, the women experienced high occurrence of rape while fetching water and collecting firewood. Women tend to risk out alone and far from their camps or settlements into unsafe areas.

To explain how the Ugandan women become the battleground of all wars, Elided Mulira, from Uganda and an advocate for human rights wrote in 1984 as follows:

> Rape provided entertainment and amusement for intoxicated soldiers. Old women, young girls and all were very often victims of rape and many cases this preceded torture and murder. Reports came from everywhere of acts of armed people attacking villages, raping wives in front of their husbands, mothers, in front of their children, and children in front of their parents. Schoolgirls no longer felt safe to go to school (Mulira 1984:2).

The crimes that were committed against Ugandan women and circumstances in which they abuse and torture on women. Women were subjected to beating and torture after being raped. Mushanga (1992:62) describes the abuse of power and violation of human rights leading to torture and murder using the following case of a 56-year-old Ugandan woman:

> In July 1982, three Land Rovers carrying soldiers in uniform came to a woman's house. The soldiers beat her husband severely and took him away. They stole everything in the house because the husband belonged to the opposition and was believed to be involved in anti-government gorilla activities. They took him and she never saw him again. The soldiers came the next day and took her to the barracks telling her that her husband wants to talk to her. They took her into jail where she found many other women and youths. The floor was littered with blood and dead bodies and the place smelt. She witnessed prisoners being subjected to torture and all forms of ill-treatment. Her hands were tied behind her back and a rubber tyre was set alight on top of her head. The burning melted material dripped on her scalp, face arms and chest. Then some acid was poured on her, which burnt her skin off. She managed to escape and she was taken to hospital. When soldiers came searching for her in hospital, they robbed and raped patients. Some people helped her escape and later she was smuggled out of the country… (Mushanga 1992:62)

Women are usually defenceless during war and they get traumatised after losing their family members and relatives. They have to carry on by taking care of the young children, the orphans, the sick and aged relatives. When food supplies are destroyed and essentials such as salt and soap are difficult to obtain, they sacrifice their lives and go searching for bare necessities when they know that it is dangerous. The

experiences are numerous and varied. However, their impact and consequences on the poor displaced women need to be examined.

2.10 Impact and Consequences of Forced Migration on Women

The impact and consequences of displacement also raise gender issues, as the experiences of being displaced tend to affect men and women in different ways. The consequences include human rights abuse on women; breakdown of the family; social and cultural breakdown; insecurity; unemployment and economic survival; psychological trauma due to torture and poverty due to economic underdevelopment.

Breakdown of family: Displacement tends to alter the structure of families and households and to change gender roles. Adult and adolescent males often become separated from the family as they are abducted or stay behind to maintain land or migrate in search of work. In conflict situations, men tend to serve or are suspected to be serving as combatants. As a result, they go missing, are killed or become disabled while in combat. Where families are able to remain together, the experience of displacement puts severe strain on the family to the point that divorce has become common in IDP settings (UNICEF 1998:11). Because of these reasons, the number of female-headed households increases considerably in situations of displacement which breaks down the social setting. This places a heavy burden on women when they become the only breadwinners of their families. However, in situations of displacement, it is the limited economic opportunities, insecurity and the discriminatory practices that make women's responsibility difficult for them to take full charge. The women usually fail to improve their socio-economic status in the camps or places of refuge because they lack productive capacity as a result of insecurity in the camp environment. Lack of proper means of production encourages the women to develop a dependence attitude as they get used to hand outs from relief agencies.

The protection provided to the families and communities of internally displaced women are at greater risk of gender-based violence including physical attacks, rape, forced prostitution and forced marriage as well as slavery. In instances where the family remains together, the anxiety of displacement often increases the rate of domestic violence, which includes abuse and marital rape. Rape is an act of

aggression which breaks down the collective spirit of women and their community. It has a lasting mark that remains even after the aggressors have gone. Women survivors of assault become evidence of the enemy's brutality and symbols of community's defeat. Such women are regarded as damaged property and are usually shunned, divorced or neglected because of the abuse they go through (Benjamin 1998:13). In some instances rape results into unwanted pregnancies and children remain a permanent reminder of the crime. Many men get separated from their abused wives because they feel humiliated or fear to contract HIV/AIDS. As a result many abused women live alone without support for their abandoned children. Such women lose self-esteem and develop feelings of hopelessness. As a result, most internally displaced women suffer psychological and physical trauma as they may also be infected with sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS (UNIFEM 2001:1-2).

Insecurity: Boyle et al (1998:191-192) explains that the women's decision to flee for safety during war takes place under stressful conditions. They are forced to leave behind their place of attachment, their means of economic survival and travel under insecurity. Some responsibilities put women at greater risk of being injured by landmines or passing near military zones when they are looking for water and firewood. They are exposed to crossfire injuries and gender based violence such as rape, forced prostitution, and marriages. These forms of violence violate the basic women's rights due to lack of security mechanisms. Unlike the refugees whose institutional security mechanisms are in place. The IDPs are usually dehumanized intentionally to disgrace not only women but also their husbands and the whole opposing community. The embarrassment and humiliation of rape are only complicated by the impunity of the perpetrators. For example, Peruvian officials agreed before Amnesty International that rape was natural and was expected when soldiers were based in rural areas and could not be prosecuted (Amnesty International August 1990:16). Women are in most instances unwilling to report rape incidents for fear of revenge from the perpetrators. Therefore, it is imperative that programmes to address the plight of women are developed and implemented to safeguard them during displacement.

Psychological trauma: While men dominate armies and militias, women and children form about 80 per cent of the millions displaced by armed conflicts. The women bear the burden of maintaining their families under situations of insecurity, vulnerability, looting and abduction. Both men and women experience trauma in different ways as a result of violence, flight and bereavement. For example, according to Hagengimana (1994:6) in Rwanda, it was found that some months after the genocide women did not want to produce babies from rape.

> At least four pregnant women were showing up daily at Kigali maternity hospital requesting abortion, which is illegal in Rwanda. These women had been raped during the conflict. Two women had already given birth, prematurely, and did not want to see the babies (Hagengimana 1994:6).

The occurrence of gender based violence during armed conflict highlights the violation of women's reproductive as well as human rights. Therefore, women's psycho-social as well as material needs seem not to be addressed in a gender-sensitive manner.

A study by Roe (1992:1-8) reveals that women develop trauma which results in a psychological disorder known as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Because women are terrified by their experiences during war, they become prone to PTSD. The traumatic experiences which are stressful include rape, exposure to the dead and the wounded, which cause significant symptoms throughout their lifetime. Because of being exposed to the high-war zone, most women inhibit traumatic stress. However what is common amongst the victims is the emotional stress caused by the complex involvement with the break up of marriages and the family at large. Goldstein (2001:260) continues to explain the effects of PTSD as follows:

> Following exposure to an extreme traumatic stressor involving direct personal experience of actual threatened death or serious injury, or other threat to one's physical integrity, the common denominator of traumatic experiences is a feeling of intense fear, helplessness, and loss of control and threat of total destruction. Experiences in which a survivor actively participated in killing or committing atrocities are especially traumatic when such participation has no value or meaning (Goldstein 2001:260).

> Traumatic events are dangerous, overwhelming, and sudden. They are marked by their extreme or sudden force, which typically cause fear, anxiety, withdrawal and avoidance. The traumatic events have high

intensity; they are unforeseen, periodic, severe and endless (Ursano 1994:7).

In most instances most of the displaced women and children are taken by humanitarian agencies to live in overcrowded camp conditions without assurance as to whether they would return to their homes. They live in conditions of uncertainty, fear and anxiety of violence. Many women are made widowed, childless and homeless after the destruction of their property and killing their loved ones. The mothers in such hopeless situation get humiliated and depressed when they have to depend on humanitarian aid and support. For example, a report by UNIFEM (2001:5) indicates that from the beginning of armed conflict in Kosovo, which started in February 1999, internally displaced women suffered from psychological, social and physical disorders during resettlement. They suffered from interruption of school, work, not knowing where to live, property destroyed, robbery of personal property, threat of sexual violence, human rights abuses, witness to human rights abuses of friends and relatives, lack of motivation, and post-traumatic stress symptoms. Humanitarian aid can do little to alleviate such pain.

Human rights violations: In accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights UDHR (1948) CEDAW (1979) and the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1984), gender violence is a fundamental human right violation issue because it impacts on the mental and physical integrity of human beings. Gender-based violence is the main cause of insecurity among displaced women. During conflict, women usually lack protection from their spouses as well as armed soldiers who see them as rewards of warfare (Crush 2000:103-105).

When women are forced to flee their homes, they carry nothing except the clothes they are wearing. They are usually the ones to care about the security of their families. They barely have necessities such as food, water, shelter or items like blankets and pots (Anderson 1999:1-8). They cannot access health-care and sanitation facilities. Opportunities for generating income or accessing education become shuttered (Benjamin 1998:14-16). However, even though humanitarian agencies try to provide material assistance to displaced people, these things may prove to be useless if there is

no security. For example in Rwanda at Kibeho the buckets and blankets which were supplied by humanitarian agencies were of no use to the hundreds of people who were massacred at the camp (Zetter 1999:46-80).

In most instances humanitarian law does not exist since international human rights and laws only bind states and not rebel groups. The Geneva Convention treaties also do not bind some countries when they are not reflected in their customary laws. The concepts of gender equality before the law or equal protection and non-discrimination have not become the focus of international humanitarian agencies. For example, the right of equal access to employment opportunities is in most cases denied to the displaced women in particular and women lack protection regarding the issue. This nullifies Articles 11, 13, and 15 of the Convention of the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) which is concerned with the guaranteeing women equal rights with men in employment, remuneration and treatment. For example, in Kosovo, after the 1990s war, unemployment rose to 74.1 per cent from the rate of 63.27 per cent before the war. Therefore, the number of employed women in the public sphere dropped from 35 per cent before the war to 26.7 per cent in the year 2000 after the war. In this regard the Executive Committee of the UNHCR recognizes the need to provide all displaced women with effective and equitable access to basic services such as, education, skills training and wage earning opportunities (UNHCR 1991:29).

The Women's Rights Information and Documentation Centre in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and the Human Rights Watch in Rwanda provide similar heart breaking testimonies of sexual abuse of women (Zetter 1999:12-16). Many women in Africa and south of the Sahara in particular, have suffered a lot of human rights abuses during armed conflicts (Siddique 1995:359-360). For example, in Somalia, during the fighting between 1989 and 1990, mothers who were trying to flee the war in the North-west were detained and killed by soldiers and other victims were executed. Limbs were also blown off by landmines and the injured lacked medical support (Ochieng 2002:2). Victims of sexual violence developed numerous gynaecological complications ranging from continuous passing of urine, discharge of water and pus, sores in private parts, chronic abdominal pains, peeping uterus and

smelly discharge. All these forms of abuse have consequent physical and mental implications on the women (Goldstein 2001:322-323).

Shelter: It is noted that internally displaced persons are regarded as temporary and their assistance is also categorized as emergency relief and so their accommodation is also temporary and not suitable for livelihoods and yet some conflicts last more than six years. Therefore, short term shelters become long term or even permanent which worsens the psychological and physical impacts (Schmidt 2003:1-7). The government and relief agencies tend to neglect the physical, social, economic, political and psychological realities of human needs but instead put more emphasis on such logistics like transport and temporary shelters (Slim 1997:343-351). Lack of proper shelter force many women into prostitution as in Sierra Leone where women escaped to urban areas and now cannot return home because they are afraid that they won't be welcome. Such traumatized women need help to be reintegrated in society (MacDonald 2001:124-128).

Food: For women, the right to food is usually violated by humanitarian agencies because they believe that women eat less than men. The problem becomes worse when men are put in charge of food and female heads of households cannot get their shares fairly. Many women also do not have access to agricultural land which impacts on their food security. Some national laws such as those of Burundi deny women access to land because women cannot inherit land from their parents or husbands. This forces women into perpetual dependence for food (CEDAW 1979:14). There is need for equitable land reform policies and access to agricultural credit to address the rights to food of displaced rural women.

Education and training: The lack of education, training and economic opportunity also has a big impact on displaced women because women are not prepared to earn income for self-sufficiency and development. Therefore, very few jobs are available for displaced women due to lack skills. Most women are not likely to find jobs in urban areas because of lower literacy rates (Benjamin 1998:17-18).

Health: The lack of health care staff and facilities is another serious issue displaced women have to cope with. Most camps for the displaced lack adequate health care

facilities such as sanitation and proper nutrition, which impacts on their health. The mortality rate of displaced women is usually much higher than that of refugee women. The lack of family planning services and treatment for STDs threaten the mortality of displaced women. In some camps, displaced women also lack the services of female health practitioners because some cultures don't allow women to seek medication from men. For example, the 1990 war in Iraq had a deadly impact on the population's health during and after it had occurred. The U.S. Committee for Refugees estimated that about two million people left their homes within less than six days and about 75 000 became homeless. Iraq's infrastructure such as electricity, water purification and sewage removal and treatment were badly damaged (Miller 1991:3). As a result, an epidemic of water-borne diseases such as cholera, typhoid, gastroenteritis and other illnesses spread throughout the population. Diseases that had been under control suddenly became killers. For instance, the ministry of health reported that the death rate from typhoid may rise from 60 to 80 per 1,000 cases (Roe 1992:36-40).

Legal rights: Many displaced women never have equal treatment regarding property and inheritance rights, so that those who have lost their husbands or sons may return to their land. The displaced women needed legal support measures in the area of land reform by governments in countries where problems of property inheritance rights do not exist. For example in Burundi, women cannot own or inherit land from their husbands or parents (Gore 1993:440-443). Also in Mozambique, the legal structure limits women's access to land. Such problems hamper the right of women to return home which also impacts on the socio-economic conditions of displaced women. Those denied access to agricultural land lose the opportunity to become self-reliant in providing food for their families as well as opportunities for cultivation as a means of income-generation and development (Benjamin 1998:16). The fact that women in many developing countries have fewer opportunities for employment and other economic activities such as limited access to credit have impact on the internally displaced women especially heads of households (Cohen 1995:60-68).

Economic development: Africa has the highest number of internally displaced people and majority are women who are the backbone of economic development. According to UNHCR (2004:1-3) report, about 47 per cent of the world's displaced people are in Africa. The impact on the allocation of resources and overall economic development

(Burkle 1999:422-425) becomes enormous. Lack of economic support measures during internal displacement affects women mostly. As rural populations flee to urban centres, women who get separated from their husbands in the process have to adapt to urban conditions while at the same time taking new responsibilities of providing for their households as in the cases of Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and Sudan. For example, reports from Sudan indicate that prostitution was common in camps (Cohen & Deng 1998:335). The social problem of displacement destroys women's status and dignity putting them in a vulnerable and dependence position that glorifies gender subordination. Taking advantage of the poor women has been used as a strategy of fighters to defeat their enemies (Macchiavello 2003:1-32). The displaced women in most cases are forced to sell their bodies in return for basic needs such as food, soap, salt and other kinds of help. The women who engage in dehumanizing activities for economic gain end up being infected by the killer HIV/AIDS and other diseases (Jacobsen 2005:1-22).

Unemployment: Cohen & Deng (1998:93-94) points out that unemployment has been one of the worst consequences as financial pressures become significant during displacement. Those without employment usually experience significant threats to self-worth due to the lower standard of living. This deprives expectant mothers, the sick, elderly and children of food, shelter health services and education. The displaced become vulnerable to violent attacks on camps, abduction and murder due to thugs who roam the camps because of lack of employment. Unemployed elderly men spend their valuable time drinking and at night terrorise their families increasing domestic violence.

The cost of forced migration, which results from armed conflict, is a phenomenon that is common in Sub-Saharan Africa and other developing countries. Vulnerability in armed conflict is usually made worse by heightened political decisions where women are in most instances marginalized and excluded from decision-making and the political process (Sanderson 2001:118-122). The women become vulnerable, powerless, victimized and unable to take action regarding their security. Women in Africa have clearly felt the erosion of democracy, destruction of economy and political instability that undermined their strategies for development. Political instability affects the local agricultural market, depressing both supply and demand

for food while prices of basics fluctuate making basic necessities impossible to purchase. Although most of the murder victims in conflict situations are men, women tend to be the most vulnerable and get forced to participate in armed conflict when they are faced with the threats of insecurity and torture. For example, the Serbian women in Kosovo became part of the ethnic cleansing campaign (MacDonald 2001:124-125).

The experiences of women who lost members of their families, homes and jobs and found their lives ruined in a matter of days get traumatised and find it difficult coping and settling down in the new circumstances (MacDonald 2001:124-129). The unwelcoming conditions lead the communities involved to develop feelings of hostility to each other. Severe problems sometimes come up when trying to cope in the new settlement. This may result in destroying the environment when women assume male roles as they try to survive in the host community (Castles 2003:15-32). Every entry into a completely new economic system is often accompanied by considerable declining economic mobility that results in poverty (Jacobsen 2005:92-111). However, millions of people continue to suffer from hunger, disease, unemployment and illiteracy caused by poverty which is assumed to be a powerful cause of armed conflict although the relationship between poverty and conflict seems to be reciprocal. There are huge debates raging in the literature as to whether conflict causes poverty or poverty causes conflict. What is clear is that conflict and poverty usually go hand-in-hand (Vickers 1993:46-47).

According to Benjamin (1998:100) forced migration has both short term and long term impacts on women and development. However, the most serious short-term manifestations include: family separation; gender violence; trauma related with deaths of family members and relatives; poor health; and loss of belongings and homes. Long-term consequences include poverty, depression and physical deterioration. Post-traumatic stress is a common ailment among those women who have been displaced for many months. Other longer-term impacts include permanent loss of social and cultural ties, unemployment, disruption of development projects and other opportunities. Some marriages suffer the stress of displacement resulting in divorce, which may affect the family members especially the women with children.

Significant gender imbalance among IDP increases poverty, conservative attitudes, gender discrimination favouring education for boys, parents' reluctance to send girls to distant school, lack of female teachers, and lack of public transportation between schools and villages. The lack of public transport combined with the distance of schools continues to be a problem currently under the UN administration (Cohen 1994:68). Traditionally, skills-training and income-generating programmes have confined women to activities such as sewing and embroidery, which generate little income. However, displaced women have proved to be skilled at working in non-traditional, more meaningful income-generating activities including those such as reforestation and reconstruction associated with large-scale development projects Similarly, displaced women often have proven to have extraordinary entrepreneurial skills (Corrin 2000:1-2). To support these skills, micro-credit projects for women therefore are encouraged to ensure access to meaningful income-generating activities (Macchiavello 2003:1-4). This benefits both the women and also the entire relief operation since they do not remain dependent on relief, long after the emergency phase. Because women heads of households would not themselves be able to drive tractors due to lack of training only men are hired to do ploughing. This was a misunderstanding because many women wished to train to drive tractors and to operate other heavy farm machinery (Burkle 1999:422-426).

Life in camps: Gender inequities affect women and girls when they flee to IDPs camps. Before the 1990s, there was little awareness of the different needs and strengths of the displaced women and men. In many camps, food and other basic goods were distributed to male heads of household, leaving women and girls, and especially female heads of household, disadvantaged. Protection and specific assistance for displaced women and girls was mostly non-existent (UNHCR 1991). The devastating problem that confronts male forced emigrants is the lack of work, which causes boredom and desperation while in camps. Slim (1997:344-351) argues that life in the camp increases an attitude of helplessness and the likelihood of depression among the displaced people. He maintains that the camp represents an extended and difficult period of waiting in a hostile environment. For example, the World Health Organisation (WHO) mission to camps on the Thai-Cambodian border in 1998 observed increased attempts of suicide, domestic violence, lack of income, hopelessness and depression in camp conditions.

There is evidence that women and girls are often subjected to gender based violence in refugee camps, by security forces, camp officials, or aid workers. Young, unaccompanied females are among the most vulnerable, as well as women from minority ethnic groups. For example, in Sierra Leone, September 2000, thousands of women and girls were physically and sexually attacked by police, soldiers, and civilians.

Although the distribution of food and other basic goods to displaced populations was traditionally organized through male leaders, there has been greater awareness that the best way of assuring the nutritional and basic needs of families is to distribute aid through women. This leads to a more efficient and equitable use of resources. Shelter is also often a problem for women and girls in the cramped conditions in refugee camps. For example, in the Shalman camp in Pakistan there were 20 000 displaced people sharing 3 576 tents, 865 latrines, 373 washrooms and 5 doctors (SWL 2002).
In some instances, the way the camps are designed increases women's insecurity. For example, overcrowded camps do not offer privacy to women and when women and girls are housed in marked tents, they may become easy targets for gender-based violence and abuse. The fact that women and girls in many African societies are responsible for fetching water and collecting firewood, usually at a distance outside the camps, has sometimes left them exposed to physical attacks. For example, in Somalia, displaced women were cooking fewer meals because of the fear of being raped while collecting firewood (SWL 2002). In some situations, attempts have been made to involve women in designing the facilities of the camps with good results.

The lack of healthcare facilities affects displaced populations in general, given the basic conditions and resources in refugee camps. However, women and girls are at a greater disadvantage because their vulnerability and reproductive healthcare needs during emergencies. The basic reproductive healthcare needs include personal hygiene, safe birthing facilities, pre- and post-natal care, family planning, and treatment for sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). Some organizations, such as the UNHCR, UNFPA, the WHO, and the Red Cross, attempt to provide some basic health care services for women in camps (SWL 2002).

2.11 Coping Strategies of Internally Displaced Women

In spite of the above protocols the displaced women in Africa continue to survive in the most dehumanising camp conditions. For example, according to The Daily News (11 June 2004:9) the women in Sudan reported that the only strategy they use to cope in their situation is to venture in large groups when they go to collect water and firewood. However, this does not stop the militia from taking whoever they choose. A woman also reported how the militia came at dawn at around 4.00 am to burnt houses and killed all the men including many male children. Therefore, women know how to gather and share information with those who support them. In Northern Uganda women were killed in 2005 while trying to find food in abandoned gardens. Five women were also reported killed in Gulu in the same year when trying to fish in the nearby river.

Goldstein, (2001:363) indicates that women talk of their traumatic experiences. Telling trauma stories usually help survivors overcome and forget their socially unspeakable memories. They try to overcome the conflict between denial of the horrible events and the will to proclaim them aloud in their language to release psychological trauma. Victims pass through three stages of recovery, which include establishing safety; reconstructing the trauma story; and restoring the connection between survivors and their community. They say that displaced persons cope by making an effort to learn and adjust to their environment (Scot 1995:23). For example, they learn the language and cultures of the host community by adherence to the norms and values of the host society. The expectations of the host community and those of the new arrivals play a major role in their adjustment to the environment. Unattainable and unrealistic expectations result in frustrations. It is important to be well informed and realistic of what to expect in the new community, the host community also tends to have unrealistic expectations of the newcomers, which impacts on their survival (Brydon 1989:125-127).

Mbiganyi (1997:21-22) indicates that Mozambican women who lived with their extended family coped better than those who lived in camps. This indicates that the effects may improve due to social contacts with relatives of the family. In other words, social support serves as a protective factor in reducing the impact of stress or depression among the displaced women. It is also reported that such factors as having

family friends and relatives around serves as a source of support that aids adjustment and improves life of the forced migrants (Brydon 1989:127). Another suggested coping strategy for social support is enabling displaced persons to be self-sufficient through education and training to afford them gainful self-employment opportunities that enhances a sense of belonging and self-confidence as was observed among displaced Mozambican women (Wright 1995:776-787).

In this light the UNHCR together with other non-governmental organizations (NGOs) agree that the IDPs need to learn strategies to cope in such hostile environments by implementing refugee programmes, which include counselling the survivors, promoting women's literacy, and income generating projects. Credit schemes and small businesses have to been implemented to promote gender equity and self-sufficiency. For example, to meet the needs for water and firewood, displaced women in the developing nations are trained in skills such as maintenance and water pumping systems. Women are also trained in dealing with water-borne diseases and other health hazards, energy conservation, cultural adjustments, and income generating projects (Cornwell 1995:50). It is therefore understandable that the relationship between gender and power in all migration aspects have an impact on most communities from international to local levels. On a positive note, the destabilisation of gender relations that frequently accompanies armed conflict and its aftermath also opens up potential opportunities. In other words, as Cockburn and Zarkov (2002: 11) point out, this is the time when the social disruption might open a door to new opportunities and positive changes for better gender relations.

2.12 International Strategies for the Protection of IDPs

Policies: The Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing (1995) brought the topic of women and conflict to the international attention such as: The acceptance of security council Resolution 1325 on women's peace and security; Different departments within the UN Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD); the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE); the European Commission (EC); the European Parliament and the council of Europe have continued to develop statements and policies regarding women and armed conflict (Benjamin 1998:1-5; UN 1995). According to the senior advisor for Gender and Development (2002) the adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action (PFA) in 1995, and African Platform for Action (APFA) in 1994 contributes greatly to gender equality and development Table: 2.2.

Table 2.2: The Global and African Platforms for Action, Equality, Development and Peace

Global Platform for Action (Beijing-China, September 1995)	African Platform for Action (Dakar- Senegal, November 1994)
1.Women and Poverty Equal access to resources and employment	Women's poverty, food insecurity and Lack of economic empowerment
2.Education and Training of women Equal access to education and training	Women's access to education and training in science and technology.
3.Women and Health Equal access to health services	Women's vital role in culture, the family And socialization.
4. Violence against Women Policies to protect women against all forms of abuse and the ' Domestic relations Bill'	Improvement of women's Health : Reproductive health, family planning and Integrated population programmes.
5. Women and Armed Conflict Protection of women against all effects of armed conflicts	Women's relationship with environment and natural resources.
6.Women and the economy Equal access to economic resources	Women and political empowerment
7.Women in Power and Decision-making	Women's legal and human rights
8.Institutional Mechanism for the Advancement of Women	Involvement of women in peace process
9. Human Rights of Women Promotion and protection of women's rights	Mainstreaming of gender-disaggregated data
10. Women and the Media Unequal participation and stereotyping of women	Women, information and communication arts
11.Women and the environment Equality in management of natural resources	The girl-child
12 The Girl-Child Against violation of the rights of the girl- child	

Source: Kwesiga 2002:38-40

In addition, UNICEF has achieved some progress in protecting the rights of women and in addressing their needs during conflict. The strategies include the following:

1. The attempts to implement the Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) which considers gender-related crimes like those of sexual violence. An achievement is the Statute itself, which is included under the definition of crimes against humanity: "rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced

pregnancy, forced sterilisation, and other forms of sexual violence with comparable gravity".

2. The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement of the Special Representative of the Secretary General on Internal Displacement (1998).
3. UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) Trust Fund in Support of Actions to Eliminate Violence against Women and its African Women in Crisis programme – AFWIC.
4. International Criminal Tribunal on Yugoslavia (ICTY) ruling that rape is a weapon of war and a crime against humanity (1996) and International Criminal Tribunal on Rwanda (ICTR) subsequent ruling that rape can be legally interpreted as a weapon or tool of genocide.
5. UN Security Council Resolution 1265 on the Protection of Civilians in Armed Conflict and Resolution 261 (1999).

In 1999, UNICEF and the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children organized an Expert Meeting on Gender Dimensions of Internal Displacement to develop strategies to address the gender issues during internal displacement. They concentrated on some areas for action such as the safeguarding of women against rape, abduction, forced marriage, slavery, torture and murder (Gururaja 2000:2-5).

Although the United Nations agencies attempt to help displaced women cope by providing the necessities such as food, security and support, most women continue to face discrimination in the settlement camps. For example, in one Burundi camp in 1994, there were only 25 men out of a camp populated with several thousand women, when the UN representative asked to consult with some leaders of the camp to discuss the problems faced by its residents and only men appeared. Gender-based problems also arise when supplies are distributed only through men. The women were in most instances forced to trade their bodies to get their rations. Displaced women are still exploited in exchange for food, shelter and other items including physical protection (UN 1995:29).

Article 66 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights provides for special agreements to supplement the provisions of the African Charter. The Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) meeting in its Thirty-first Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, June 1995, endorsed by resolution AHG/Res.240 (XXXI) the recommendation of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights to establish a Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa

during armed conflict. This was further adopted by the 2nd Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the African Union in Maputo, 11 July 2003 as follows:

Article 11: Protection of Women in Armed Conflicts
- States Parties undertake to respect and ensure respect for the rules of international humanitarian law applicable in armed conflict situations, which affect the population, particularly women.
- States Parties shall, in accordance with the obligations incumbent upon them under the international humanitarian law, protect civilians including women, irrespective of the population to which they belong, in the event of armed conflict.
- States Parties undertake to protect asylum-seeking women, refugees, returnees and internally displaced persons, against all forms of violence, rape and other forms of sexual exploitation, and to ensure that such acts are considered war crimes, genocide and/or crimes against humanity and that their perpetrators are brought to justice before a competent criminal jurisdiction.
- States Parties shall take all necessary measures to ensure that no child, especially girls under 18 years of age, take a direct part in hostilities and that no child is recruited as a soldier.

In most instances, peace negotiations involve a narrow range of actors with limited accountability. For example, women were not included in the team to Ohio to negotiate the Bosnian settlement in 2003. They were only allowed to attend the Mogadishu Peace Conference as observers. Increased representation of women in peace negotiations is important. This must be combined with efforts to address gender issues in peace agreements such as violations of women's human rights, reproductive rights and property rights.

Most women express the fact that lasting peace can only be acquired by addressing the issues of truth, justice and equality. Therefore, the efforts draw lessons for promoting women as agents of peace. In addition, these initiatives help to mainstream gender in local, regional and international organisations working on peace and reconciliation issues. The unstable periods present lessons to be learned from the visions and actions of women, based on their specific experiences during conflict.

International humanitarian agencies: In order to implement the international policies and declarations put in place, there are about sixteen international organizations that attempt to improve the situation of women in armed conflicts by peace keeping, peace negotiation, peace building, humanitarian relief aid,

development assistance and international tribunals or courts. Some of those include: United Nations Security Council (SC); United Nations Department for Peace Keeping Operations (DPKO); United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); United Nations High Commission for refugees (UNHCR); World Food Programme (WFP); North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); International Labour Organization (ILO); International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY); International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC); Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE); Council of Europe (COE); Gender Task Force (GTF): of the stability Pact of South eastern Europe; International Criminal tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR); International Criminal Court (ICC); Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) and Netherlands Ministry of Defence (MoD) European Commission (EC 2005:1-2;UNESCO 2004:8).

2.13 Conclusion

Based on the literature, forced migration is caused by armed conflict and has become common in the least developed countries especially in Africa. Factors that lead to increased vulnerability of the displaced women include political marginalisation, human rights abuses, food insecurity, biased policies, focus on short-term rather than long-term development, health, insecurity and unemployment. Other factors such as the HIV/AIDS pandemic and poverty have been verified to have far-reaching impacts on the displaced women and development. The lack of specialized skills, education and training has resulted in underdevelopment for many countries. Forced migration affects development as well as women who remain in camps with families suffering from poverty, unemployment, illness, malnutrition and insecurity. Such an environment cannot provide a strong economy and cannot raise healthy and politically responsible citizens. Nations and cities crowded with displaced and unemployed populations cannot become business centres for productivity. Healthy economies are only built in democratic states with adequate infrastructure where resources are not directed at long range fire arms and land mines. In this chapter, we have reviewed the literature from regional and international countries. We shall now review the geographic and historic environment of Uganda, which has particularly suffered from armed conflicts since after independence in 1962.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF UGANDA: AN OVERVIEW

3.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to examine concisely and objectively the geographical, historical, social, political, economic, security and human rights aspects that affect the development of present-day Uganda. This section also seeks to create a deeper insight into the developmental issues and national concerns of Uganda. Development can only occur after people's diverse historical, cultural, social, political, economic and national priorities have been recognized and the various barriers identified. Sources of information include scholarly books, journals, official reports of governments, international organizations, foreign and domestic newspapers and various periodicals.

It is also important to highlight various topics on Uganda. These include how the British colonial boundaries brought together a range of ethnic groups with different political and cultural systems. These differences prohibited the union of an efficient political community after independence in 1962. They also include how the oppressive governments of Obote and Idi Amin (1971-79) became responsible for the destruction of Uganda's economy and the deaths of over 300,000 opponents. This resulted in guerrilla war and human rights abuses under Milton Obote (1980-85) that also claimed over 100,000 lives. Although the rule of President Yoweri Museveni since 1986 to the present day has brought relative stability and economic growth to Uganda, the 20 year armed conflict in northern Uganda since 1986 has had its toll on the country's development. During the 1990s, the government promulgated non-party presidential and legislative elections. It is only in the year 2005 that multiparty elections were promulgated.

3.2 Topography

Physical: Uganda lies on the Equator between latitudes 2 00N and 1 00S, longitudes 30 00E and 32 00E. It is situated on the East African plateau which is about 900 meters above sea level. The country that is well known as the Pearl of Africa is bordered on the west by Congo, on the north by Sudan, on the east by Kenya, and on the south by Tanzania and Rwanda. Lake Victoria forms part of the southern border

and it is the biggest fresh water lake in Africa. Uganda is characterized by three main physical features namely: swampy lowlands, a fertile plateau with wooded hills and a desert region in the north east. There are mountains on east and west of the country. The highest peak of Mount Stanley is Margherita which is 5,113 meters high. The capital city of Uganda is Kampala and is located in the south, not far from Entebbe International Airport, near Lake Victoria. Uganda has an area of 236,040 square kilometers which include 36,330 square kilometers of water. Uganda is a landlocked country but it has access to several large lakes and rivers (World Factbook 2007:3).

Lakes and Rivers: Looking at the map of Uganda (World Factbook 2007:1-2), one observes that the country is well-watered. Nearly one-fifth of the total area of 44,000 square kilometers is open water and swamps. Four of the East Africa's Great Lakes: Lake Victoria, Lake Kyoga, Lake Albert and Lake Edward, lie within Uganda or on its borderline. Lake Victoria dominates the southeastern corner of the nation, with almost one-half of its 10,200 square kilometers area lying inside Uganda. It is well known that Lake Victoria is the second largest inland freshwater lake in the world (after Lake Superior), and it feeds the upper waters of the River Nile known as the Victoria Nile (Byrnes 1992:49-51).

Spectacular waterfalls occur at Murchison Falls (Kabalega) on the Victoria Nile River just east of Lake Albert. At the narrowest point on the falls, the waters of the Nile gush through an opening barely seven meters wide. One of the tributaries of the Albert Nile, the Zoka River, drains the northwestern corner of Uganda known as the West Nile. Other major rivers include the Achwa River (called the Aswa in Sudan) in the north, the Pager River and the Dopeth-Okok River in the northeast and the Mpologoma River, which drains into Lake Kyoga from the southeast. There are several offshore islands in Lake Victoria such as Kalangala and Sese. The River Nile is the longest in Africa but the second longest in the world after the Mississippi (World Factbook 2007:1-2).

Climate: According to Gakwadi (1999:2-3), the country has an equatorial tropical climate which varies between different regions. For example, the northern region is hot and some parts in the northeast are desert. The south western region is much cooler because of the highlands. Vegetation is thicker in the central and southern

region. Then it becomes thinner to savanna as you move to the dry plains in northeast (Byrnes 1992:49-51). Uganda's equatorial climate provides plenty of sunshine that is moderated by the high altitude in most areas such as Kabale. The mean annual temperatures range from about 16° C in the southwestern highlands to 25° C in the northwest while in the northeast, temperatures may exceed 30° C.

Rainfall: Uganda is generally rainy with two dry seasons (December to February, June to August). The rainfall is well distributed except in the northeastern corner of the country. The rainfall varies from more than 2,100 millimeters around Lake Victoria to about 500 millimeters in the northeastern region which is semiarid. The southern region has two rainy seasons, usually beginning in early April and again in October. Little rain falls in June and December. The northern region receives occasional rains between April and October but the period from November to March is often very dry (Gakwadi 1999:2-4).

3.3 Historical Background

We cannot understand Uganda unless we understand its historical background. The name Uganda is a Swahili term for Buganda that was adopted by British officials in 1894 when they established the Uganda Protectorate. Three major tribes found in Uganda by the British were the Bantu, Central Sudanic, and Nilotics. Lake Kyoga was a rough boundary between the Bantu-speakers in the south and the Nilotics and Central Sudanic-speakers in the north of Lake Kyoga. The Bantu-speaking tribes migrated from the Southern Africa in about 500 B.C. Three kingdoms namely: Buganda, Bunyoro, and Ankole had dominated Uganda by the 14th century. Uganda was first explored by Europeans and Arab traders in 1844. It was declared a British sphere of influence in Africa in 1890 during an Anglo-German agreement (Byrnes 1992:49-51). The Imperial British East Africa Company was chartered to develop the area but since the company did not get enough financial benefits, it was proclaimed a British protectorate in 1894. Even though the Europeans did not want to settle in Uganda, it attracted many Indians who became key entrepreneurs in Uganda's economic development (Gakwadi 1999:5-7).

Bantu: The Bantu-speaking people most likely originated from Central and Western Africa. It is believed they migrated into the southern parts of Uganda between about 2000 and 1500 years ago. The Bantu peoples brought and developed skills such as ironworking and socio-political organization. For example, the Kingdoms of Buganda, Bunyoro-Kitara and Ankole in Southern and Central Uganda represent some forms of early formal organization (Apter 1967:5-16).

Central Bantu: The Bantu in central Uganda comprise of Baganda, Basoga, Bagisu and other small tribes. The Baganda are the biggest group of the Bantu of Central Uganda. The Baganda are often referred to by the root word "Ganda". They are the largest ethnic group in Uganda representing about 16.7 per cent of the population. Buganda's boundaries are Lake Victoria on the south, the Victoria Nile on the east, and Lake Kyoga on the north. The Baganda's powerful King Mutesa I agreed to a protectorate status and his territory reached as far west as Lake Albert. King Mutesa's agreement with Britain was an alliance between equals. The Baganda armies helped to establish colonial rule in other parts of the country and to collect taxes on behalf of the British administrators (Hooks 1998: 42-65). Trading centers in Buganda became important towns and the Baganda prospered due to the opportunities provided by European trade and education. At independence in 1962, the Baganda had achieved the highest standard of living with the highest literacy rate in the country (Gertzel 1976:65-106).

The Baganda culture is well known for their unquestionable obedience to the king and their authoritarian leadership. The traditional Baganda also put emphasis on individual achievement of wealth through hard work. For the Baganda, crop cultivation was very important and unlike many other East African economic systems, cattle-keeping was unimportant. Most Baganda hired laborers from the northern and western regions (Hooks 1998: 43-65; Gertzel 1976:65-106). Bananas used to be the most important staple food and they were used to provide the economic base for the region's dense population. Bananas do not require shifting cultivation to maintain soil fertility and so, their villages were rather permanent. Women did most of the agricultural work, while men engaged in business, politics or warfare. Today roles have changed and the Baganda culture has been modernized to fit into the global village.

Western Bantu: The Western Bantu include the Banyoro, Batoro and Banyankole/Bakiga of western Uganda (Gakwadi 1999:7-8). Their complex kingdoms are believed to be the result of acculturation between the Bahima and the Bairu. The Bahima are generally tall and are believed to be the descendants of pastoralists who migrated into the region from the northeast of Africa. The Bairu are believed to be descendants of the populations that were cultivators.

Northern Nilotic: The Northern Nilotics include the Central Sudanic tribes, the Eastern Nilotics and the Western Nilotics. The largest Nilotic populations in Uganda in the 1980s were the Iteso and Karamojong who are known as Eastern Nilotics. The second largest were the Western Nilotics who comprise the Acholi, Langi, and Alur tribes. The Central Sudanic tribes arrived in Uganda from the north about A.D. 1000. The tribes include Lugbara, Madi, and other small groups in the northwestern part of the country. They were the first cattle herders in the area but relied on crop cultivation to supplement livestock herding (Uganda-Wikipedia 2007:2)

Eastern Nilotics: The Eastern Nilotics are believed to have migrated from the east and they include the Iteso, Karamojong, Jie, Dodoth and several other small related tribes. Their descendants live in Kenya and Sudan. The largest groups are the Karamojong who comprise about 12 per cent of the population. The Teso who live south of Karamoja are related to the Karamojong but with a different culture. Other Eastern Nilotics include the Teuso, Tepeth and Labwor populations in the northeast but also have a separate culture. The Kakwa people in northwestern Uganda are classified as Eastern Nilotics because of their linguistic similarities to the Karamojong. They are surrounded by the Western Nilotics and the Central Sudanic tribes (Byrnes 1992:49-51).

Western Nilotics: The Western Nilotic tribes include the Acholi, Langi, Alur, and other smaller ethnic groups. Together they comprise almost 15 per cent of the population. Most Western Nilotics in Uganda are related to the Luo in Kenya. The Acholi and Langi are the two biggest ethnic groups representing nearly 10 per cent of the population occupying north-central Uganda. The Langi represent roughly 6 per cent while the Acholi represent 4 per cent of the population. The Acholi suffered

severe depopulation and displacement in the violence of the 1970s and 1980s (Uganda-Wikipedia 2007:2-3).

The Luo pastoralist tribes migrated from Sudan into Uganda and Kenya by about the 13th century A.D. They met the Bantu who were more organized under the Chiefs. They claimed to possess supernatural powers over rain, fertility, and other forces through rituals and sacrifices. Both societies are organized into localized patrilineages and clans. The men can marry more than one wife but each wife maintains her children in a separate house with a fireplace for cooking. Both Acholi and Langi are cultivators and cattle keepers. They grow millet, corn, peanuts, sesame seed, sweet potatoes, and cassava. They generally assign agricultural tasks to either men or women (Bahl 1997:11). In most cases men are responsible for cattle while women take care of the fields which are the usual practice among most African patriarchal societies.

Alur: Alur tribes are neighbours of the Acholi and they lost their land in 1952 due to the creation of Murchison Falls National Game Park (Kabalega). The Alur incorporated some Central Sudanic groups into their society. The Alur were isolated by the British during the colonial times but benefited from smuggling across the borders. Few churches, schools and health centers were established and many Alur became migrant laborers in Buganda to earn money for paying taxes. Because of geographical isolation, the Alur were influenced by Sudanese, Zairians, and other Ugandan cultures in the 1980s. Alur became subjected to the anti-Amin revenge after his regime in the 1980s because Amin was an Alur (Brett 1995:135).

Languages: The three major languages found in Uganda include the Bantu, Central Sudanic, and the Nilotics. The official language in Uganda is English. Other languages such as Swahili and Arabic are widely spoken mainly by security forces especially soldiers, police, prison officers and the Moslems. Arabic is used mainly by the Indian community. Luganda is widely spoken by the Bantu people in the central region. The Bakiga, Banyankole, Batoro and Banyoro have a common language dialect commonly known as Runyakitara (Phyllis & O'Meara 1995:1-2).

3.4 Uganda before Independence

The Baganda had more influence on Uganda before independence because they were more organized other Ugandan tribes such as the northerners. For example, in 1949 the Baganda rebelled against colonial pro-government chiefs demanding: the right to avoid government price controls on the export sales of cotton; the removal of the Asian monopoly over cotton ginning; and the right to have their own representatives in local government to replace chiefs appointed by the British. Sir John Hall who was the British governor regarded the riots as the work of communist-inspired agitators and rejected the suggested reforms. However, the British began preparing for Uganda's independence under Sir Andrew Cohen who was formerly undersecretary for African affairs in the Colonial Office (Hansen 1984:10-17). Cohen began by granting their economic and political demands. For example, he removed obstacles to African cotton ginning, price discrimination against African-grown coffee, encouraged cooperatives, and established the Uganda Development Corporation to finance new projects. Cohen also reorganized the Legislative Council, which consisted of a representative selected from interest groups. He integrated representatives by electing members from districts throughout Uganda (Ofcansky 1996:39). This system has become an example for the present parliament.

3.5 Independence of Uganda

Uganda got independence on 9th October 1962. However, this political development did not change problems paused by its ethnic diversity, ineffectiveness of central governments, military power and the rise of weak and brutal leaders. Tensions often grew between the Nilotic northerners and the Bantu southerners. More tensions later developed along religious lines among Protestants, Catholics and Moslems (Hansen 1984:10-17). Therefore conflicts and competitions for political dominance in most instances caused instability after independence. Uganda's independence was not a result of organized political parties like most other colonial territories. It was established under the coalition of Obote's predominantly protestant Uganda People's Congress (UPC) and the King of Buganda's party known as Kabaka Yekka (KY) meaning 'The King Only'. Although the King was initially opposed to independence, he later made particular demands that were met before an alliance between UPC and KY was forged after independence in 1962. Milton Obote of (UPC) who was a Langi became prime minister while the King of Buganda (KY) became president in 1963.

The coalition soon broke due to disagreements about land issues commonly known as the "Lost Counties" which made Obote unpopular among the Baganda resulting in anti-Obote elements in 1964 (Ofcansky 1996:39). Obote responded by arresting the main suspects, suspended the 1962 constitution, promoted Idi Amin to army Chief of Staff and deposed the King from presidency. Conflict between Obote and the King cost the country over 100 lives. King Mutesa II escaped to London where he later died. Obote introduced a new constitution in 1967 to strengthen his executive powers. After an assassination attempt on Obote in 1969, UPC banned opposition parties and a one party state was created. Under the above circumstances, the relationship between the Baganda and the northerners has not been good up to the present day.

3.6 Military Rule under Amin

As President and Chairman of the Defense Council, Obote divided the army into two along ethnic lines. Obote relied on the Nilotic Acholis and Langis while Amin built support on his fellow Sudanic people of West Nile. As tensions grew between Obote and Amin, Obote prepared to get rid of Idi Amin by January 1971. After departing for the Commonwealth Conference of Heads of Government in Singapore, he ordered his loyal Langi officers to arrest Idi Amin and his supporters in the army. The news leaked to Idi Amin and he decided to strike first.

On January 25, 1971, Amin and his royal armed units attacked strategic targets in Kampala and the airport at Entebbe, where two Roman Catholic priests in the airport transit lounge were shot dead. Amin's troops quickly took control of the country in a military coup. He immediately initiated mass executions of the Acholi and Langi supporters of Obote. Amin created new security organizations such as the State Research Bureau (SRB) and the Public Safety Unit (PSU) which reported to him directly (Furley 1989:275-294). The two organizations together with his Military Police caused havoc and within a year they had killed nearly 10,000 Ugandans while many other Ugandans went into exile. Many prominent people lost their lives such as the Anglican Archbishop Janani Luwuum and Chief Justice Benedict Kiwanuka (Ofcansky 1996:44). Idi Amin expelled almost 50,000 Asians and seized their property in September, 1972. The army took over the houses, cars, and businesses of the Asians. This proved economically disastrous as businesses were grounded. For example, cement factories at Tororo and Fort Portal collapsed, sugar production

stopped and machinery jammed permanently due to lack of maintenance. The rural producers of coffee smuggled it into Kenya, Rwanda and Zaire. To stop the smuggling problem, Idi Amin directed his British adviser Bob Astles to shoot smugglers on sight. The SRB headquarters at Nakasero became the scene for torture and executions (Mutibwa 1992:8-9). These actions have had a negative impact on the country's economic development to the present day.

Political and Religious conflicts became characteristic of the Amin regime. Idi Amin's eight-year rule produced economic decline, social disintegration, and massive human rights violations. The dramatic Israeli commandos' rescue of their hostages at Entebbe Airport, followed by the murder of a hospitalized woman hostage, Dora Block, and mass execution of Entebbe airport personnel was a severe blow to Amin (Ofcansky 1996:39-45). His Islamic allegiance in the effort to get foreign aid from Libya and Saudi Arabia caused him more troubles. Amin paid more attention to the Muslims who enjoyed economic opportunities and this did not go well with the majority Christians. For example, he constructed Kampala's most prominent mosque on Kibuli Hill. Amin's atrocities were internationally condemned but, it's only the United States of America that initiated the trade boycott, in July 1978 (Mutibwa 1992:8-9).

Troubles that eventually spelt the end of the Amin regime started, on November 1, 1978, when he invaded Tanzanian territory and officially annexed a part across the Kagera River boundary. President Nyerere of Tanzania mobilized his reserve soldiers and Ugandan exiles that united under the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA). Idi Amin's Ugandan Army retreated as they looted. Libya's Qadhafi had sent 3,000 troops to assist Amin the fellow Muslim, but the Libyans soon found themselves alone on the front line and they also deserted. The Tanzanians and the UNLA took Kampala in April 1979. Amin fled by air to Libya and later to permanent exile at Jeddah in Saudi Arabia. The war cost Tanzania almost US$1 million per day (Brett 1995:135-140). After Amin, several governments attempted to rebuild the economically devastated Uganda, which had lost over 300,000 people to Amin's eight year regime, but with difficulty.

3.7 Second Obote Regime: 1981-85

Shortly after Amin, several brief civilian governments followed culminating in Obote's return to power. Lule and the Uganda National Liberation Front (UNLF) moved to Kampala, where they established an interim government that lasted 68 days. Lule's government was advised by a provisional parliament known as the National Consultative Council (NCC). Shortly after Lule was ousted due to tensions between the military and his political wing, Godfrey Binaisa was installed but was also removed due to in fighting of his government. He had attempted to ban political parties to avoid the country's politics of religion, sectarianism, rivalry and hatred to achieve politics of consensus but, Obote's forces within the army ousted him on May 13, 1980 (Mutibwa 1992:6-9). An election was scheduled for 10th December, 1980. Obote made a triumphant return from Tanzania months before the December elections and he began to rally his former Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC) supporters for his second term in office.

The Uganda elections of 10 December 1980 were the first election after eighteen years. The parties that contested included: Obote's protestant dominated UPC and the predominantly Catholic Democratic Party (DP) led by Paul Ssemogerere, the Uganda Patriotic Movement (UPM) of Museveni and the Baganda dominated Conservative Party (CP). Because the Military Commission that was acting as government was dominated by Obote's supporters such as Chairman Paulo Muwanga. The DP and other parties faced terrible obstacles (Ofcansky 1996:39-48). However, it was widely believed that since UPC had special advantage by being a ruling party with an upper hand on the electoral commission and the defense forces had rigged the election. On the other hand there was no clear evidence.

The British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and Voice of America (VOA) broadcast the news of the DP triumph. As Kampala's streets got filled with DP celebrants, Muwanga took control of the Electoral Commission and the power to announce votes. He declared that any dispute against his election results risked a heavy fine and detention for five years. Muwanga announced the UPC victory witin18 hours which returned Obote to power. Obote government took office in February 1981 with Paulo Muwanga as vice president and minister of defense. Museveni who had acquired

experience in guerrilla war with the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique did not like the system that had returned Obote to power (Ofcansky 1996:39-50).

In 1983, Museveni vowed to fight the second regime of Obote in Luwero. He formed the National Resistance Army (NRA) to wage war against Obote's undemocratic government to eliminate rural support for Museveni's guerrillas the area of Luwero District, north of Kampala, Obote removed almost 750,000 people from their homes to refuge camps where they suffered under military control and abuse (Byrnes 1992:49-51). Civilians outside the camps, in what came to be known as the "Luwero Triangle," were assumed to be guerrillas and were killed. Their farms were looted while roofs, doors and door frames were stolen by UNLA soldiers. Civilians lost lives as evidenced by piles of human skulls collected in Luwero. The overall death toll from 1981 to 1985 was about 500,000. Obote lost credibility as the security and economic conditions deteriorated. In January 1971, Obote again left Kampala after orders to arrest Brigadier Basilio Olara Okello who was an Acholi commander. Okello mobilized troops and took over Kampala on July 27, 1985. Obote fled to Zambia with a lot of the state funds (Mutibwa 1992: 9-12).

3.8 Return to Military Rule: 1985

The military government of General Tito Lutwa Okello ruled from July 1985 to January 1986 with no clear policy. In January 1986, Museveni deposed Okello and his soldiers fled northward to their ethnic base in Acholi. Yoweri Museveni was welcomed by the local civilian population. He officially assumed power on 29th January, 1986 (Mutibwa 1992:134). However, vast problems of reconstruction awaited him. The National Resistance Army (NRA) quickly formed the National Resistance Movement (NRM) which, set out its political programmes in the Ten-Point Program that advocated a broad-based democracy and a hierarchy of popular Resistance Councils (RCs), from village to district levels (Ofcansky 1996:53-61). Their role was to mediate between the national government and the village. The people were happy with the government.

In northern Uganda, things got worse as problems of civil war and drought in Sudan resulted in the 1991 and 1992 influx of refugees from Sudan. The Sudanese army assaults on anti-government rebel units near the Ugandan border also forced many

southern Sudanese to flee into northern Uganda. The refugees strained the weak Ugandan economy. Uganda's overall economic growth had continued to 4.5 per cent in 1992. The positive performance had been attributed to political stability and favorable conditions for investment. Foreign assistance also contributed to economic growth significantly. Inflation fell from about 25 per cent in 1990 but rose to 38 per cent in 1991 (Ofcansky 1996:54-65). However, the government continued to implement the 1987-91 Economic Rehabilitation Programme (ERP). For example it liberalized the marketing of agricultural produce. In 1992 a few coffee producing groups handled coffee marketing even though the government's Coffee Marketing Board remained active.

In 1992, the government introduced privatization of 100 of the country's 116 public enterprises. Despite such significant progress and planning, Uganda's economic and political problems worsened in 1992. Insurgency in the north and eastern Uganda increased the defense spending while serious military abuses eroded public confidence (Lomo&Hovil 2004:20-22). The government's commitment to economic reforms and development provided hope for better living standards. However, the economic and security problems, together with the effects of two decades of neglect of education and social services led many people to query Museveni's pledge to restore democracy in Uganda.

During the late 1980s, Uganda's recovery from the damage of over two decades of corruption and civil war was slowed by the scourge of acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS). This disease threatened people and provided a fertile environment for new religions that claimed to cure the disease while providing channels for political organizations such as the Holy Spirit Movement (HSM), in the northeast. Another challenge of the (NRM) government was pressures for modernization brought by Uganda's growing educated elite. Women also became a force for modernization demanding educational and economic opportunities denied under traditional and colonial rulers. The President introduced economic policies to transform the country. Efforts were also made by government to promote self-reliance and a corruption free society. Then western countries flocked in to assist in the reconstruction programmes (Lomo&Hovil 2004:22-25). Despite all the international aid, Uganda remained one of the poorest countries in Africa due to the fact that the

conflict continued to retard Uganda's development efforts in general by increasing the economic cost.

Economic Cost of the Conflict: Initially, the armed conflict was seen as a northern problem, but the huge economic cost of the war shows that the case was different. The conflict caused enormous human suffering in areas directly affected and it impacted negatively on the livelihoods of all Ugandans, as resources were diverted from essential social and economic development activities to pay for the war. The government spent more on the military and less on investments for development. The 2006/2007 finance budgetary re-allocations to defence spending was an example Figure 3.1. The Ugandan economy suffered reduced ability to attract external investments and expand the tourism sector and the reduced taxation base has affected government revenues.

According to Civil Society Organisations for Peace in Northern Uganda (CSOPNU 2006) the economic cost of the conflict was calculated using information including:

- Cost of military intervention.
- Estimated losses relating to livestock and agriculture.
- Loss of physical assets such as health centres, schools and vehicles destroyed.
- Loss of personal possessions and shelter.
- Costs of conflict-related health problems and deaths among population due to increased health costs and value of production lost.
- Opportunity costs to the national economy, such as estimated losses in income in the tourism sector, loss of tax revenue and loss of foreign exchange due to tobacco export losses and failure to attract investment
- Cost of the "brain drain" as the most educated leave the region and country.

The war was found to be the most important factor responsible for the low level of development in the sub region and Uganda as a whole. The conservative calculations used in the research indicated that the war cost over US$1.33 billion, amounting to about 3 per cent of Uganda's GDP. Meanwhile the annual cost of the war in the north was about US$100 million more than the central government health budget for the whole country (CSOPNU 2006).

Figure 3.1: Breakdown of costs relating to war in Northern Uganda
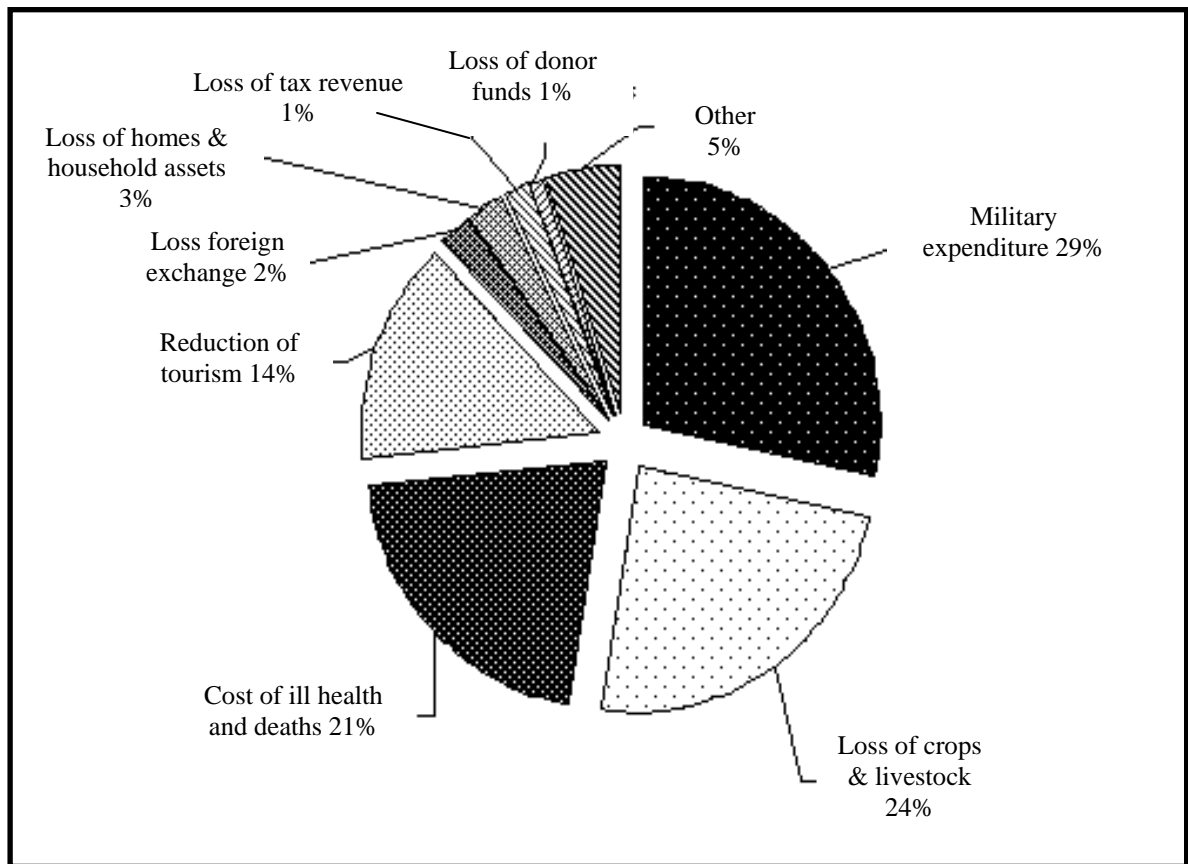
Source: CSOPNU and CARE International (2006)

3.9 Social Development in Uganda

Population**:** In 1990, the population of Uganda was estimated to be 16.9 million. The annual growth rate was more than 3.2 per cent although it was affected by the impact of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). A report by Uganda Bureau of Statistics (UBOS) estimates the population of Uganda in 2005/2006 to be 27.2 million. As regards to gender, the females comprise 51 per cent of the total population (UBOS 2006:1-2). Those people between 18 -30 years of age tend to migrate more than any of the other age groups. Nearly 10 per cent of the youth live in urban areas with almost half in Kampala. According to UBOS (2006:1-2) life expectancy at birth is estimated to b*e* 52.67 years. The males reach an average of 51.68 years while the female average is 53.69 years. The infant mortality rate is estimated to be 66.15 deaths for every 1,000 live births. The male deaths are 69.51 for every 1,000 births while female deaths are 62.69 for every 1,000 live births. This is a challenge to the implementers of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Religion: Uganda is mainly a Christian country. Although Muslim traders were the first to arrive in Uganda, the Christian missionaries arrived during the 1860s and they attempted to convert the king of the Baganda to Christianity. The Uganda National Census of October (2002) indicates that Christian denominations added up to 85 per cent of the total Ugandan population. The Roman Catholic Church had the largest number of followers totaling about 41.9 per cent. The Anglican Community was second with about 35.9 per cent. Other Christian groups such as the Pentecostals 4.6 per cent; the Seventh-Day Adventists 1.5 per cent, and the other Christians were 1.0 per cent. Islam represents 12.1 per cent and is the second most popular religion of Uganda. (Census 2002:2). Only 1 per cent of Uganda's population follows Traditional Religions and 0.7 per cent is classified as 'Other Non-Christians,' including Hindu. However, religious identity has had economic and political implications throughout Uganda's colonial and postcolonial history. This is due to the fact that the politics of Uganda were based on two main Christian religions namely The Roman Catholics and the Protestants. This determined the education and employment status. Even though the Roman Catholics are the majority comprising nearly 40 per cent of the population, the leadership of Uganda has been mainly Protestant and the top jobs in government allocated to Protestants. However, during elections, regions that are dominated by Catholics like northern Uganda elect Catholics while those in Central which is dominated by Protestants elect Protestants. Therefore, regions dominated by Catholics tend to be poorer than those dominated by Protestants which indicate that religious identity has had a bearing on the economic and political development of Uganda. (https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ug.html).

Literacy: A total population of 69.9 per cent aged 15 and above can read and write. Of those, 79.5 per cent are males while 60.4 are female. However, church membership has an influence on opportunities for education, employment, and social advancement. This shows that there is still evident gender imbalance in education. The girl child is still marginalized as far as education is concerned because she is more preoccupied with domestic chores. Mission schools were established in Uganda in the 1890s. The government established the first secondary school for Africans in 1924. By 1950 the government operated only three of the fifty-three secondary schools for Africans. Three others were privately funded and forty-seven were operated by missionary organizations. Education was eagerly sought by rural farmers

as well as urban elites. After independence, many villages in the south built schools, hired teachers and appealed for government assistance to operate their own village schools (Mutibwa 1992:8-9).

Most subjects were taught according to the British syllabus until 1974 and British examinations measured a student's progress through primary and secondary school. In 1975 the government implemented a local curriculum, and most school materials were published in Uganda. School enrollments continued to rise throughout most of the 1970s and 1980s, is spite of the deterioration of the economy and the increase of violence. The education system suffered due to economic decline and political instability during the 1970s and 1980s (Mutibwa 1992:8-9). However, infrastructure was lacking, thus affecting the quality of education. So, school maintenance and standards suffered, teachers fled the country, morale and productivity deteriorated as many facilities were damaged by warfare and vandalism.

In order to restore the national education system, Museveni's government adopted a two-phase policy. Firstly, rehabilitate buildings and establish minimal conditions for instruction. Secondly, improve efficiency and quality of education through teacher training and curriculum upgrading. Important long-term goals included the establishment Universal Primary Education and shifting the emphasis by post-secondary education from purely academic to more technical and vocational training. To date, the education system in Uganda comprises four levels that include primary, which lasts seven years; secondary or O'Level lasting four years and A' Level lasting two years and then tertiary. Postsecondary candidates choose to go to institutions such as university, technical colleges, teachers' colleges, or commercial colleges that last between two to five years. According to UBOS (2002:2-3), the net levels of enrollment into all levels of education were reported to be almost 80 per cent. However, the overall literacy rates are reported to be still low even with Universal Primary Education (UPE) which started in 1997 (UNDP 2005:21). The barriers to school attendance include lack of uniform, scholastic materials, hunger and other issues related to poverty. This has resulted in nearly 20 per cent of the population aged 15 years and above lacking formal education. The improvement is due to UPE which now provides free education (see Table: 3.1 below). There is hope for further

improvement in the literacy levels with the introduction of Universal Secondary Education in 2007.

Table 3.1: Education Attainment of Population Aged 6 Years and Above in Uganda 1991.

Education	Women (%)	Men (%)	Total (%)
No education	46	28.41	37.38
Primary	47	58.2	52.86
O'Level	6.44	10.72	8.53
A' Level	0.46	1.52	0.98
University	0.10	0.41	0.25
Total	100	100	100

Source: Population and Housing Census, Uganda (1991).

The introduction of UPE saw primary school enrolment figures increase from 3.4 percent in 1996 to 7.3 million in 2002. The government's aim was to achieve a 93 per cent enrolment rate for the group by 2003. At present, estimates put enrolment rate at 79 per cent. Even though the 2003 target was not met, current trends suggest that realizing the MDG target of universal primary education seems achievable (UNDP 2005:20-21).

Health and welfare: Health services and record keeping in Uganda deteriorated during the 1970s and early 1980s because of neglect, poverty and civil war. In 1989 officials estimated that some forms of cancer, measles, gastroenteritis and respiratory tract infections caused half of all deaths attributed to illness. Other fatal illnesses included anemia, tetanus, whooping cough and malnutrition. An estimated 20 per cent of all deaths were caused by diseases that were not known among the international health officials. Ugandan health workers were especially concerned about infant mortality, most often caused by low birth weight, premature birth, or neonatal tetanus. Childhood diseases claimed many lives during the 1980s. To date, disease incidence in Uganda increased from 29 per cent to 40 per cent (UBOS 2002-2006:2) Malaria was reported to be the major cause of deaths and accounts for almost 50 per cent of all reported illnesses. This was closely followed by HIV/AIDS.

Uganda's first officially recognized AIDS deaths occurred in 1982, when seventeen traders in the southern district of Rakai died of symptoms that came to be associated

with AIDS (then known as "Slim"). AIDS was diagnosed in Masaka, Rakai, and Kampala but by 1989, all districts of Uganda were affected. The disease was spread through heterosexual contact. Although both men and women were equally affected, the death of a man was more likely to be reported to officials (Hooper 1987:469-477). The majority of AIDS cases occurred in people between sixteen and forty years of age. However, women seem to be more affected by the pandemic due to their biology and reproductive role. By the late 1980s, an increasing number of babies were born HIV positive. Government health officials initiated nationwide education programmes to prevent the spread of the disease. They carried out national blood tests and public education programmes on television, radio, and local press warnings in English and local languages. During the 1980s, Uganda had the highest known incidences of HIV/AIDS with an infection rate of over 15 cases per 100,000 people (Byrnes 1992:49-51). It was clear that the nation's health care system could not cope with the increased health needs, and the government intensified efforts to gain international support.

By mid-1989, the Ministry of Health had reported 7,573 AIDS cases to the World Health Organization (WHO). In mid-1990, local officials reported that the AIDS cases were doubling every six months. Kampala's health officials also reported that more than 790,000 people had positive test results for Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), the infectious agent that causes AIDS. Over 25,000 children under the age of fifteen were HIV-positive, along with 22 per cent of all women seeking prenatal medical care at Mulago National Hospital in Kampala. Belgium's Institute of Tropical Medicine reported that about 20 per cent of all infant deaths in Kampala were related to HIV infections, and many tuberculosis patients were also infected with HIV (UNDP 2005:21-22). The transmission of AIDS was complicated by economic decline and problems of national security. In many areas, armed conflicts had destroyed communication systems and health care facilities. At the same time, AIDS slowed the pace of economic development, because skilled workers and young, educated Ugandans had high infection rates. A few people were able to capitalize on the tragedy of AIDS and became wealthy. For example, some street vendors in Kampala sold a liquid they identified as Azidothymidine (AZT), a drug being tested for possible AIDS treatment, at prices as high as US$1,000 per vial. They got income from desperate AIDS victims and their families, despite warnings that no AZT was

available in hospitals. However, HIV/AIDS infection is highest in the war torn northern Uganda (Uganda-Wikipedia 2007:8-9).

Uganda has been hailed as a success story in the fight against HIV/AIDS because it was viewed as the most efficient in responding positively to the campaign against the pandemic in Sub-Sahara Africa.. The President of Uganda recognized the AIDS Control Program (ACP) through the Ministry of Health (MOH) which made policy guidelines to fight HIV/AIDS using a "Multi-sectoral AIDS Control Approach." For example, the Uganda AIDS Commission (UAC) founded in 1992 has been important in developing the national HIV/AIDS policy. Other approaches to fight the pandemic include: AIDS education, promotion of condom use, abstinence, safe infant feeding, counseling and others. According to (UNDP 2005:29), nearly 41,000 women received Prevention of Mother to Child Transmission (PMTCT) services in 2001. Uganda became the first nation to open voluntary HIV testing centers in Africa. Some recent trials of the HIV drugs such as nevirapine have found place in Uganda markets. In addition, the government of Uganda believes that its people have the ability to alter their behaviours (Uganda-Wikipedia 2007:9)

3.10 Political Development in Uganda

Political development may be defined as state's move towards democracy that involves free and fair elections in which the citizens participate to govern themselves by moving to a more liberal democratic state which protects the rights of the people. However, this is usually made difficult by the fact that each state has its own history. The state has to create institutions that make policies and implement them to promote elections and political competition (Leefers 1999:72). Uganda was divided in 56 districts in order to take services nearer to the people, these include; Adjumani, Apac, Arua, Bugiri, Bundibugyo, Bushenyi, Busia, Gulu, Hoima, Iganga, Jinja, Kabale, Kabarole, Kaberamaido, Kalangala, Kampala, Kamuli, Kamwenge, Kanungu, Kapchorwa, Kasese, Katakwi, Kayunga, Kibale, Kiboga, Kisoro, Kitgum, Kotido, Kumi, Kyenjojo, Lira, Luwero, Masaka, Masindi, Mayuge, Mbale, Mbarara, Moroto, Moyo, Mpigi, Mubende, Mukono, Nakapiripirit, Nakasongola, Nebbi, Ntungamo, Pader, Pallisa, Rakai, Rukungiri, Sembabule, Sironko, Soroti, Tororo, Wakiso and Yumbe. However, by July 2005, 13 new districts were reportedly added bringing up the total to 69. The new districts are Amolatar, Amuria, Budaka, Butaleja, Ibanda,

Kaabong, Kabingo, Kaliro, Kiruhura, Koboko, Manafwa, Mityana, and Nakaseke. More districts are in the process of being added. However, although the people get easily served the administrative cost of running the districts might be too high and not cost effective (https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ug.html) .

The Constitution: The present Constitution of Uganda was approved on 8 October 1995 (Waligo 1995:27-28).   However, in 2005 the constitution was amended removing presidential term limits and legalizing a multiparty political system. The government's legal system was restored in 1995, to the one based on English common government law and customary law. The government operates under the main three organs namely: Executive, Legislative and Judiciary (Katorobo 1994:119). However, gender imbalance in the in the decision making organs is a serious issue even though the situation seems to be improving as years go by (See Table: 2).

The Executive: The President is both chief of state and head of government since 26 January 1986 when the NRM government seized power (Oloka-Onyango 1998:21). The Prime Minister assists the president in supervising of the cabinet. The president appoints the Cabinet from civil servants and elected legislators.   President Museveni was re-elected for another five-year term during the elections last held on 23rd February 2006 after 20 years in office (New Vision 5 June 2006:11).   The next elections will be held in 2011.

The Legislature: To date, the 8th National Legislative Assembly consists of 332 Members of Parliament (MPs). 215 MPs were directly elected by popular vote while 104 were nominated by legally established special interest groups. These include 79 women representatives from each district, 10 army representatives, and 5 for the disabled, 5 youth representatives, 5 from labour and 13 ex- officio members. The members serve five-year terms. The parties which participated in multiparty elections include: NRM with191 seats, FDC 37 seats, UPC 9 seats, DP 8 seats, CP 1 seat, JEEMA 1 seat, Independents 36 seats and others 49 seats (New Vision 5 June 2006:11).

The Judiciary: The judges of the Court of Appeal are appointed by the president and approved by the legislature. High Court judges are appointed by the president. The

legal and court systems are heavily influenced by the British common law and practice. This is supplemented by Islamic law and customary institutions and laws. The Supreme Court of Uganda is the highest court in the land. Then a series of courts of appeal are under the Supreme Court. There are other local courts that settle civil disputes in the hands of local resistance committees commonly known as Local Councils (LCs) (Byrnes 1992:49-51). Local Councils exist on district, county, sub-county, parish, and village levels. Each representative is elected by council members of next lower level of the village.

Table 3.2: Women and Men in Top Decision Making Positions in Uganda 1994-1997

Position	1994		1995		1996		1997	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Cabinet	6	38	7	45	7	47	7	47
Parliament	51	219	51	226	51	226	51	226
Top Civil Service	32	122	21	112	59	215	60	213
Judiciary	-	-	-	-	13	44	16	51
Local Authorities	14	103	5	73	5	73	12	105
Total	98	482	79	449	135	603	146	642
Percentage	16.9	83.1	14.9	85.1	18.2	81.8	18.5	81.5

Source: Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development Resource Centre (2000)

Table 3.2 above shows that even though women constitute majority of the population in Uganda, they occupy fewer senior top positions in government. The statistics show that the women occupy less than 20 per cent of the top government positions.

Gender representation in Parliament: The 8th Parliament was slightly more gender sensitive than the 7th and other previous Parliaments Table3.2. In addition to the creation of new districts parliament now has 69 directly elected women Members of Parliament (MPs) who are the result of the affirmative action. There are also 2 out of 10 women representing the army, 2 are representing workers and one representing Persons with Disabilities (PWD). In total, there are 87 (28.15 per cent) women out of the 309 MPs. The first woman in Uganda's political history to contest for the presidency was the wife of the late and former president of Uganda Mrs. Miria Kalule Obote who scored 0.82 percent of the votes. She set a good example for the Ugandan women to vie for the top office in the country (Atoo 2006:3). There is a big improvement as regards women empowerment in politics. The Ministry of Gender,

Labour& Social Development has been put in place to mainstream gender in all sectors of government.

3.11 Economic Development of Uganda

Economic development is defined as the economic growth mostly based on Gross Domestic Product (GDP), increased international trade, industrialization and integration of regional and international economies. Uganda's economy is based on agriculture because of its suitable conditions such as fertile soils and regular rainfall. The country was also blessed with substantial natural forest reserves and considerable mineral deposits such as oil, copper, gold and cobalt. The main agricultural cash and food crops cultivated are coffee, cotton, tea, sugar canes, wheat, cassava, yams, sweet potatoes, bananas, millet, sorghum, maize beans, peas, and other pulses. Industry generated 22.7 per cent while services contributed 45.9 per cent of GDP (World Fact book 2007:6). The unstable political environment in Uganda since 1962 has hindered economic development (Leefers 1999:72). It could only regain some economic growth during stability.

When coffee replaced cotton as Uganda's principal export in the 1950s, it was produced by peasants on small holdings under local marketing associations. The economy in central Buganda province registered significant growth in agriculture. The industrial sector also increased its food processing for export as a result of the expansion of agriculture. The GDP grew to about 6.7 per cent per year. The net economic growth of more than 4 per cent indicated that people's lives were improving. By the end of the 1960s, commercial agriculture accounted for more than one-third of GDP. Industrial output also increased to nearly 9 per cent of GDP as a result of new food processing industries (Belshaw 1988:111-125). Although the government experienced yearly economic growth rates in the early 1970s, civil war and political instability almost destroyed Uganda's flourishing economy. GDP declined from 1972 to 1976 and showed slight improvement in 1977 when world coffee prices increased. Negative growth resulted from the governments continued to confiscate business assets. Foreign investments also declined because of Idi Amin's unreliable policies that destroyed nearly everything except the subsistence sector of the economy.

The economic and political destruction of the Amin years contributed to a decline in earnings by 14.8 per cent between 1978 and 1980. After Amin in 1979, the nation's industrial output decreased because equipment, spare parts, and raw materials became scarce. Little progress was made in manufacturing and other productive sectors from 1981 to 1983. Political conflicts in the following years led to negative growth rates of 4.2 per cent in 1984, 1.5 per cent in 1985 and 2.3 per cent in 1986 (UNDP 2005:22-25). After 1986 the National Resistance Movement (NRM) succeeded in stabilizing most of the nation and began to diversify agricultural exports away from dependence only on coffee. By 1988 Western donors began to offer cautious support to the regime of Yoweri Kaguta Museveni. In 1989, the economic recovery began to pay off as world coffee prices declined, and Uganda's scarce foreign exchange got boosted (Kreimer et al 2000:72-74).

Consequently agricultural input was improved when the NRM government was convinced to agree to the structural adjustment policies of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund to receive loans for rebuilding the economy (Kreimer et al 2000:17. The new economic policies focused on trade and political liberalization. The government also reformed the civil service and other financial sectors. The policies improved the situation temporarily, but inflation returned (UNDP 2005:22-23). Slowly the policies improved the Ugandan economy, and the World Bank proclaimed Uganda as one of its success stories (Kreimer et al 2000:17-20). Uganda has been one of Africa's recent success stories due to its reports of economic recovery. The economic success was a result of the successful implementation of economic reforms to ensure sustainable economic growth.

During the period of political uncertainty, small holders of coffee producers continued to provide hope for economic development. Although the industrial production increased the growth rate of GDP to 7.2 per cent in 1988, there was a further decline in 1989 when the world market prices for coffee fell to 6.6 per cent and to 3.4 per cent in 1990 because of drought and less industrial output (Kreimer et al 2000:72-74).

Rehabilitation and Development Plan (RDP): In June 1987, the Uganda government launched a four-year RDP for the years 1988-91 to restore its productivity in industry and commercial agriculture; rehabilitate the social and economic infrastructure;

reduce inflation by 10 per cent yearly; and stabilize the balance of payments. The plan also targeted transportation, energy and water services. The plan targeted 5 per cent growth rate per year. It required foreign loans to the amount of US$1,289 million to be refunded over a four-year period. Transport received the biggest share of 29.4 per cent, agriculture 24.4 per cent, industry and tourism 21.1 per cent, social infrastructure 17.2 per cent, and mining and energy 6.9 per cent. The international financial community was supportive in terms of debt postponement and new loans which boosted the rate of economic recovery. During 1988 about twenty-six projects were implemented and the plans' success was attributed to improved security and development of the private-sector. The Plan for Modernization of Agriculture (PMA) also offered a clear opportunity for economic growth (Nimpamya et al. 2004:6) Agriculture accounted for about 31.4 per cent of the country's GDP in 2002 that totaled US$5.9 billion. However, external shocks such as overvalued currency and high government spending discouraged investors and international donors who later lost confidence in Uganda's economy (Nimpamya et al. 2004:7).

Industry: When the NRM seized power in 1986, Uganda's industrial production was on a very small scale. Industries were based mainly on processing agricultural products and they operated at about one-third of their capacity in 1972. The mining industry had almost come to a standstill. The industrial production existed in the form of power stations, factories, mines, and hotels, but these facilities needed repairs and improved maintenance. The government budgets assigned little priority to them and made its priority security and commercial agricultural development. Jinja, the nation's industrial center, was characterized by poor road system was the most serious obstacle to industrial development. Industrial growth became a high priority in the late 1980s because of the government's goal to decrease Uganda's dependence on imported goods. These efforts became successful in 1988 and 1989 when industrial output grew to over 25 per cent. The major problems in industrial growth included shortage of capital, skilled workers and management expertise and Engineers. The government planners tried to promote vocational training to rescue the situation on a limited scale (https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ug.html).

Most industrial products decreased in 1973 because of the expulsion of skilled Asians. However, by 2002, the economy had grown. Growth occurred in manufacturing and

construction. The industrial contribution to GDP was about 18 per cent in 2000. The industrial products based on agriculture include cotton, coffee, tea, sugar, tobacco, edible oils, and animal products. Other industrial products were: milling, brewing, vehicle assembly plants, textiles and steel, metal products, cement, soap, shoes, animal feed, fertilizers, paint, and matches (Harvey& Robinson 1995: 3-6). Plans to boost energy for industrial development began in 2002, when the government planned to build one to two new hydro-electric power stations along the Nile River, The project is ongoing and it is expected to be complete by 2010 (UNDP 2005:83-84).

Agricultural Industry: When the NRM government took power in 1986, Uganda's Industries were based on processing agricultural products available in Uganda. Industries included energy, factories, mines, tourism and hotels. However, the factories lacked maintenance and government budgets gave these needs less priority but concentrated on security and agricultural development. (Harvey & Robinson 1995:3-5). Since the government's strategic objective was to reduce Uganda's dependence on imported goods, the rehabilitation of existing industries was high on the agenda in the 1980s. These efforts successfully increased industrial growth by over 25 per cent in 1988 and 1989. However, engineers and trained people to repair factories were on great demand. Therefore, in order to meet these needs, the government planners sought ways to boost vocational training (International Monetary Fund 1997:1-3).

The agricultural sector plays a central role in Uganda's economy, accounting for 50 per cent of the GDP, over 90 per cent of exports, and 80 per cent of employment (UNDP 2005:3-7). The sector also provides for a number of agro-based industries. The fact is that three-fifths of the poor in Uganda still reside in the rural areas. Therefore, there is need for an agriculture-cantered development strategy for Uganda. There are five main sub divisions of agriculture in Uganda that include: food crops, cash crops, fishing, livestock and forestry. The food crops in the agricultural sector contribute 71 per cent of the GDP. The other sub division productions include: livestock 17 per cent; cash crops 5 per cent; fisheries 4 per cent; and forestry 3 per cent (UNDP 2005:5-6). Total cultivable land amounts to 16.7 million hectares, of which 32 per cent is actually cultivated (World Bank 1998:7), Permanent crops include: bananas, coffee, sugar cane and tea. Annual crops include cotton and

tobacco. Food crops include: cereals, root crops, pulses, and oilseed. Most agricultural crops come from smallholders who produce about 80 per cent on less than 2 hectares of land.

The various constraints which hampered agriculture include: poor yields due to environmental hazards; lack of transport, poor infrastructure, lack of vehicles; lack of research, inefficient services; lack of credit; lack of incentives, pricing policies, inefficient markets, shortages of foreign exchange to import inputs and monopoly of export markets (UNDP 2005:6).

Mining industry: In the early 1970s, commercial companies mined copper, tin, bismuth, tungsten, rare earths, phosphates, limestone and beryl. The mining sector employed 8,000 people and accounted for 9 per cent of exports. Mining output has increased to about 20 per cent. In 1988, the government introduced regulations of gold mining operations that gave the Bank of Uganda monopoly rights to buy and market the gold mined in the country (UNDP 2005:50). In addition, the government initiated projects to rehabilitate the Kilembe copper mine and extract cobalt from slag heaps at the mine at a combined cost of US$70 million. By late 1990, part of the finance came from North Korea to finance the rehabilitation of the mine's facilities. On the other hand, France was involved in the cobalt enterprise to process and export at least 1,000 tons per year (https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ug.html).

Tourism Industry: In the 1960s, revenue from tourism included restaurants, hotels, and related services, which increased faster than any other sector of the economy. In 1971, Uganda received more than 85,000 visitors, making tourism the nation's third largest source of foreign exchange after coffee and cotton. However, after 1972 the political instability destroyed the tourist industry. Rebels damaged and looted hotels, wildlife herds and made many national park roads impassable. Noticing the role tourism could play in economic development, the government assigned high priority to restoring the tourism infrastructure in its Rehabilitation and Development Plan (RDP). The government planned to rehabilitate hotels and promote wildlife management. In February 1988, ministry officials announced a plan to build four new hotels worth US$120 million as part of a barter trade agreement with Italy. The Italian

company Viginter contracted to build 200-room hotels in Masaka, Fort Portal, Jinja, and Mbale. International tourist arrivals gradually increased, from about 32,000 in 1986 to more than 40,000 in each of the next two years. Tourism earned roughly US$163.1 million in 2001 (Nimpamya 2004:6-7). However, the continuing instability in northern Uganda prevented the rehabilitation efforts at Murchison Falls (Kabalega) and Kidepo national parks. Between 200 and 2004, tourism increased from 35 000 to 102 567 due to improved security in northern Uganda (UNDP 2005:47).

Transport and Communications: Like the industrial sector, the transportation and communication infrastructure remained in extreme disrepair because of the 20 year armed conflict. Damaged roads and railroads were accorded high priority in the government's RDP, which allocated 29 per cent of investment into transport and communications. The government also wanted to extend links with Indian Ocean ports through Tanzania in order to reduce the dependence on Kenya. Air transport however, reached a critical state in the late 1980s, with a severe shortage of both aircraft and skilled management personnel. Uganda has a total road network of 27,000 kilometers. There is 6,000 kilometers all-weather while 1,800 kilometers are paved. All areas of the country are accessible by road. In addition the railroads make a total of 1,240 kilometers. The railway is the chief transport link with Indian Ocean Ports. Regarding civil aviation, there are five airports with paved runways with the major international airport at Entebbe. There are few international and domestic services by Uganda Airlines. In addition there are two inland ports namely: Jinja and Port Bell and they are both on Lake Victoria (Harvey & Robinson 1995:35). Uganda is well connected as regards communication. There are 61,600 telephones, nine television stations, 10 FM radio stations; radio-relay systems for long distance surface communications; international service via Atlantic Ocean and Indian Ocean International Telecommunications Satellite Corporation (Intelsat) links. These are backed by local news papers and other publications. There is need for complete reorganization and rebuilding to improve the transport sector (https://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/ug.html).

Employment: In the early 20th century, colonial officials were assisted by the people of Buganda to establish cash crops such as cotton and coffee in order to finance economic development in accordance to the international market demands. The

Baganda took advantage and employed farm labourers'from other regions of Uganda such as Acholi, Bunyoro, Ankole, Lango, Kabale and Kisoro. Agriculture has continued to be one of the country's main industry sectors that employ almost 80 per cent of Uganda's workforce. The labour force grows at an annual rate of 3.6 per cent with workers in rural areas accounting for more growth. Three quarters of the labour force have less than secondary education. The earnings from agriculture are five times less than earnings in the public sector (UBOS 2006:1).

Under these conditions of political and economic uncertainty, many skilled workers, even from urban areas, reverted to subsistence cultivation in order to survive. Many urban and rural elites fled from state terror tactics and economic destruction to other African countries or Europe. Cities and towns have stagnated but with shortages of basic commodities and foodstuffs provide new business opportunities through black-market and smuggling. Those who carry out the risky smuggling ventures ran odd jobs and store goods for customers (UNDP 2005:27). On a positive note, many Ugandans have become independent and the government institutions have became nearly unimportant to social development because many people opt for private employment instead of seeking jobs from institutions.

When government failed to enforce economic and political order, corruption became rampant. Some people were able to create their own employment using illegal economic networks locally known as *magendo*. This is a special term for black-market activities. Nearly all government officers and private-business persons have continued to do magendo. The "*magendoists*," comprise the wealthiest class of Ugandans Middle-class workers and farmers are struggling just to provide for their families. Government workers are sometimes unpaid, and many civil servants find it necessary to hold more than one job. However, unskilled workers and peasant farmers are the majority of Ugandans who are likely to remain poor (UNDP 2005:13-14).

International Trade: The main industry sectors in the country are mostly agro-processing oriented. They are mostly for processing fish, sugar, and tea, cooking oil, dairy products, breweries and soft drinks. They also manufacture cotton textiles, paper products, and process tobacco. The main exports include: timber, tea, coffee, copper, cotton, dairy products, fish, hides and skins, nuts, cereals, and animal feeds. The main

imports include: chemical products, clothing, machinery, metal products, petroleum products and pharmaceuticals. The Bank of Uganda administers exchange control on behalf of the Ministry of Finance. The private sector importers and exporters may purchase foreign exchange in the inter-bank market or in foreign exchange bureaus without restrictions (World Bank 1993:940. Uganda's main trading partners as of 2006 include countries such as Kenya, Belgium, the Netherlands, France, Germany, United Arab Emirates, South Africa, India, China, Italy, United Kingdom and the United States (World Factbook 2007: 8).

During 1990 to 2001, the economic development was based on investment, rehabilitation of infrastructure, better incentives for production, exports, reduced inflation, improved security, the return of exiled Indians and Ugandan entrepreneurs. However, the economic growth was retarded due to Uganda's involvement in the armed conflicts that characterized the Great Lakes Region including Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Other issues include corruption of officers and the hopeless government reforms (Byrnes 1992:49-51). When Uganda qualified for the debt relief initiative in 2000, it was relieved of a debt totaling about $2 billion which boosted its economic growth during the period 2001-02 despite the decline of the coffee price. According to IMF statistics, in 2004 Uganda's GDP per-capita reached 300 dollars which was higher than the same period in the1980s. For example, the total GDP increased beyond the 8 billion dollar mark in the same year (World Bank 2004: 1-16).We shall now see how gender affects development in Uganda.

Women's Empowerment: In the late 1980s, the government pledged to eliminate discrimination against women in official policy and practice. Women became active in the National Resistance Army (NRA), and Museveni appointed a woman by the name of Joan Kakwenzire to a six-member commission to document abuses of women by the military (Mbire-Barungi 1994:1-5). The government also has decreed that one woman would represent each district on the National Resistance Council (Hostile Democracy 1999:4). In addition, the government-operated Uganda Commercial Bank launched a rural credit plan to make farm loans more easily available to women. For example, President Museveni appointed Joyce Mpanga minister for Gender and Labour in 1987 and she proclaimed the government's intention to raise women's wages, increase women's credit and employment

opportunities to improve the lives of women in general. In 1989 there were two women serving as ministers and three serving as deputy ministers in the NRM cabinet. Women civil servants and professionals formed an organization called Action for Development, to assist women in war-torn areas, especially the devastated Luwero region in central Uganda where the NRM fought its liberation war for five years (Michel 1995:58-72).

Women of Uganda face a wide range of challenges including discrimination, low social status, lack of economic self sufficiency, and greater risk of HIV/AIDS infection. In Uganda, as in many African countries, gender discrimination means that women must submit to an overall lower social status than men. For many women, this reduces their power to act independently, become educated, avoid poverty, and escape dependence (www.fsdinternational.org). Many girls and young women become coerced into prostitution for economic survival. It is common for girls to become active at a much younger age than men, causing the rise of HIV/AIDS to become even more pronounced. Some older men are breaking long-established social customs and choosing younger girls to become their sexual partner in order to avoid catching HIV. In doing so, they infect them with HIV. In some districts, HIV prevalence among 13-19 year old girls is almost ten times higher than males of the same age.

Much development work in Uganda is geared towards promoting gender equality and relieving women of the hardships relating to their position in society. Some NGOs work train women of all ages in jobs, skills and micro-enterprise creation and development. Through these programmes, women have the opportunity to acquire micro-loans and build their own business ventures for greater economic independence. This work supports women's empowerment programmes in their direct challenging struggle to achieve gender equality and equal opportunities for women and girls www.fsdinternational.org.

Foreign Trade and Assistance: In order to rebuild the economy in the late 1980s, Uganda needed foreign goods, technology and services but lacked foreign currency and political stability. Uganda's reputation as a trading partner became weakened and all efforts to strengthen its situation in the world market failed. However, in order to obtain short-term needs the leaders decided to seek foreign aid. Uganda acquired

foreign assistance through direct aid and grants to boost the countries' economic efforts. Uganda's balance of trade and payments continued fluctuating as the major export was coffee. The quantity of coffee exports remained almost constant throughout 1986 and declined a little later (Leefers 1999:72-78).

In September 1988, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) approved the second-year structural adjustment Programme worth US$39 million. As the Ugandan government had cleared about US$18 million in arrears of its debt, some countries such as Britain, France, the United States, Italy, and Israel had expressed satisfaction with Uganda's. Therefore, when Uganda launched the RDP, the government enjoyed increased assurance of the donor countries. For example, in 1988 donors countries pledged over US$377 million in aid, and Uganda received major support from both the IMF and the Paris Club. The IMF approved a purchase equivalent to US$33.7 million to cover a shortfall in export earnings caused by lower coffee revenues (Leefers 1999:72-78). The Ugandan government continued to enjoy support from potential donors in order to meet its development targets as it continued honoring payments for existing commitments.

Regional Cooperation: Uganda has periodically made attempts to revive the obsolete East African Community, composed of Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania. Uganda participated in four regional economic organizations known as the Preferential Trade Alliance (PTA). The PTA comprised fifteen member states in east, central, and southern Africa, aimed to create a regional common market, liberalize trade, and encourage cooperation in industry, agriculture, transport, and communications. Then it participated in others such as the Lomé Convention, the Kagera Basin Organization and the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD). The Lomé Convention was a trade and aid agreement between the East European Countries (EEC) and sixty-six African, Caribbean and Pacific nations (UNDP 2005:62). The countries were guaranteed duty-free entry to the EEC for specific commodities from these countries. Uganda has benefited from these agreements and assistance from the European Development Fund.

In 1981 Uganda joined the Kagera Basin Organization, which was established by Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi in 1977. The organization's major goal was to

develop 60,000 square kilometers of the Kagera River Basin, which extended into all the four countries. Areas of interest to the organization included transport, agriculture, power, mining, hydroelectricity, and external finance (World Bank 1998). However, its programmes were slowed down by lack of financial support during the late 1980s. Representatives of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), together with officials from Rwanda, Burundi, Tanzania, and Zaire now known as Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), in an attempt to bring peace in the Great Lakes Region met several times in 1991 and 1992. They urged the warring parties to observe the ceasefire that had been agreed to in March 1991. However, fighting continued till 1992. During the same period, unrest in Zaire worsened due to economic deterioration. The political reforms in the region contributed to the security crisis in southwestern Uganda in 1992 due to the influx of refugees. More than 20,000 Zairian refugees had entered Uganda, seeking refuge from the raiding Zairian troops and anti-government rebels (Byrnes 1992:40-56). Therefore, Uganda government made some attempts to enjoy good regional relations by signing several agreements.

Uganda's relations with its neighbors namely Sudan, Rwanda and DRC were dominated by serious political conflicts within Uganda or over their common borders. After the NRM took power, the threat that it would support radical guerrilla movements near the border of Uganda's neighbours caused interstate suspicious relations. For example, relations with Sudan were mostly disturbed by the consequences of the Sudanese civil war a decade after Uganda's independence. The Ugandan government regarded the conflict as that of Africans against Arabs and it became sympathetic to the southern Sudan's desire for independence. Many Sudanese refugees fled across the border into northern Uganda making the situation in northern Uganda worse (Byrnes 1992:48-50). President Juvénal Habyarimana accused Museveni of supporting the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) and relations worsened till 1994 when RPF assumed power after the tragic Rwandan genocide.

3.12 Human Rights

According to Amnesty International (2006) report, disputes within and across the borders of Uganda have resulted into armed fighting among hostile ethnic groups, rebels, armed gangs, militias, and various government forces. For example, Ugandan

refugees have fled the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) into the southern Sudan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The LRA forces have caused confusion in northern Uganda by attacking some villages across the border resulting in refugees and internally displaced person (IDPs). The refugees and IDPs suffer a lot of human rights abuses in the resettlement camps at the hands of the LRA and Government forces. However, about 350 000 IDPs have returned to their villages since 2006 because of relative peace.

According to a report by Amnesty International (2006), the LRA has killed many unarmed civilians in the districts of Gulu, Tororo, Kumi, and Soroti. Despite several government inquiries, no LRA personnel were charged with human rights violations or brought to trial. Furthermore, nearly 1,300 people remain in detention with a lot of abuses by the military forces and that Uganda would face increased international protests due such abuse. Respect for human rights in Uganda has been advanced significantly since the mid-1980s although there are many areas which continue to attract concern. Conflict in the northern Uganda continues to generate reports of abuses by both the LRA rebels and the UPDF soldiers. Torture continues to be a prevalent practice amongst security forces. The attacks on political freedom in the country that includes the arrest and beating of opposition members led to international condemnation. This for example, resulted in the May 2005 decision by the British government to withhold part of its aid to the country. The arrest of the main opposition leaders and the besieging of the High Court hearing of Besigye's case by heavily armed security forces before the elections of February 2006 gave Uganda a bad name (Uganda-Wikipedia 2007:10) Therefore, conflict in northern Uganda has continued to generate reports of human rights abuses by both the LRA rebels and Ugandan army. It is clear that women who are the majority of the IDPs suffer more human rights abuses than the rest of the people because of their gender and roles.

Women's Rights: Respect for women's human rights abuses in Uganda has been advanced considerably since the mid-1980s although there are many areas which continue to attract concern. Since 1986, the NRM government pledged to support women's emancipation and empowerment. This was a landmark in tackling the issue of gender inequality in the history of Uganda. It was the first time that women's rights

were included in the constitution. This New National Constitution was promulgated on 10 October 1995 (Government of Uganda, 1995).

Although most women are still unaware about their human rights, many organizations have come up to raise awareness of the issue of women's rights. Women in the past were disadvantaged by the customary law which disregarded women's property rights. For example, women could not inherit or own land according to customary law. In some cultures also, when a husband died, a brother of the deceased could inherit the deceased's property as well as the wife and children. Wife inheritance has contributed to the spread of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. There are many examples of discriminatory laws but the National Constitution of 10 October 1995 has many provisions to protect and promote the women's rights (Government of Uganda, 1995). The nature of women's rights transformation in Uganda is divided into three parts. Firstly, there is the case to guarantee gender equality as laid out in the constitution (Government of Uganda, 1995). Secondly, there is the case of promoting women's participation in decision-making from grassroots to macro level through the quota systems within local governing councils (Michel 1995: 58-72). Thirdly, the cultural and religious laws which discriminate against women's rights must be abolished. (Amaza 1998: 155-156). The 1995 Constitution has generally attempted to protect and promote the rights of women through affirmative action. Affirmative action was necessary due to the deep rooted inequalities between women and men as a result of historical, cultural, and economic reasons (Bahl 1997:11). Ugandan women's movements together with the other more westernized feminists continue debates between traditionalist and modernists as to what is culturally valuable and what should be discarded (Mohanty et al. 1991:2- 5). They are yet to develop an agreement on the perception of "discriminatory practices". An extreme case is "domestic violence". In some cultures for example, the Bakiga of Kabale, if a man does not beat his wife occasionally, he may be negatively portrayed that he does not love her. Therefore, some women are still culturally bound to such beliefs and would not file a case of domestic violence. The domestic relations laws are controversial in Uganda as regards the customary and religious laws.

Feminist activism is still masked within various organizational initiatives that are uncoordinated (Michel, 1995:58-72). A feminist movement is yet to address the

obvious women's rights abuses in education, legal rights, and equal access to employment. The Ministry of Gender and Community Development has the responsibility to sensitize NGOs; community-based organisations; women representatives in the local governing councils; women parliamentarians; and other government machinery on women's rights which are human rights.

3.13 Conclusion

The history and failures of the first regimes have had an impact on Uganda's economic development. The NRM government came with new approaches to economic development in which it formed a centrally controlled economy. For example, the currency was devalued making it possible for the control of the import and export prices. The government had opposed policies that would allow the flow of foreign aid because it did not want Uganda to become economically dependent on the international community. However, this proved disadvantageous and by mid 1987, inflation had tripled to 380 per cent. The government was eventually convinced to accept the structural adjustment policies of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund by which it received loans to rebuild the economy. New economic and financial policies that focused on trade and political liberalization were eventually implemented. The new policies temporarily improved the state of affairs and the Ugandan economy steadily improved during the first ten years under the NRM government. NRM had achieved stability and an average growth of six per cent per annum. The impressive economic recovery was attributed to the stability and the adoption of policies that contributed to economic growth. The World Bank began to regard Uganda as one of its success stories in economic recovery and development. However, this also has been eroded, as we shall see in the findings in chapter 5. In the next chapter, we describe the methodology of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapters covered literature on gender, displacement and development ranging from international to national level. In this chapter, the various methodological components adopted to achieve the objectives of the study are outlined. The choice of methods was influenced by the nature of the problem and the constraints of time. In this chapter, qualitative research methodology was used in conjunction with feminist research techniques as described below. Both primary and secondary data collection methods were employed. This section consists of an analysis of the methodological framework and field research methods. This brings us to an appropriate research methodology that addresses the research topic on the impact of forced migration on women in northern Uganda.

4.2 Qualitative and Feminist Research Methods

To achieve the objectives of the study, the research methodology employed both qualitative and feminist approaches for triangulation purposes. This research consists of information based on observations, individual interviews and focus group discussions with predominantly women survivors, ex-combatants and other key informants that were accessible during the armed conflict period in northern Uganda. The feminist approach to documentation was employed to critically analyse the impact of forced migration on women before displacement, during displacement and the settlement period. This helped to capture the ideas, concerns, feelings and experiences of the displaced women in the war ravaged region of Northern Uganda. The investigative study employed the qualitative research approach to emphasise the dynamic, holistic and individual aspects of women's experiences and to capture the entire aspects within their context. However, the feminist approach involves women in ways that are referred to as the feminist style of knowing (Millen 1997:1-2). The methodology provided the women with the opportunity of having their voices heard while their experiences and feelings were treated as legitimate. The researcher was able to identify and analyse the subjective and objective data in order to describe and

explain the attitudes and to understand their internal and external worlds (Oakley 1981:33). The research paradigms used are further discussed below.

4.2.1 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is a kind of research that produces findings that may not be arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification. The ability of qualitative data to describe more fully a phenomenon under study is an important consideration from both the researcher's perspective and the reader's perspective as well (Stake 1978:5). This is because, most people understand better, when the information is in the form in which they usually experience it (Lincoln & Guba 1985:120). Where quantitative researchers search for causal determination, prediction and generalization of findings, qualitative researchers instead search for illumination, understanding and extrapolation to similar situations (Strauss & Corbin 1990:17). The quantitative uses numerical measurements to analyse social phenomenon by means of numbers (Cronbach 1975:124).

 The researcher preferred to use a qualitative approach to collect and analyse material that seeks to understand people's experiences**.** This research paradigm was useful in understanding the social realities of the displaced women from different perspectives and how they shape the actions that take place within the conflict situation (1997:2). In this study, respondents are also referred to as participants because they participate in generating expert information.

Features of qualitative research: Some researchers (Patton 1990:55; Eisner 1991:36; Lincoln & Guba 1985:39) have identified what they consider to be the most important characteristics of qualitative research. According to Patton (1990:55), the qualitative research uses the natural setting as the source of data. The researcher attempts to observe, describe and interpret the settings as they are while maintaining emphatic neutrality. Some of the other characteristics include the following:

- The researcher acts as the human instrument of data collection.
- Qualitative researchers predominantly use inductive data analysis.
- Qualitative research reports are descriptive, incorporating expressive language and the presence of voice in the text (Eisner 1991:36).

- The qualitative research is judged using special criteria for trustworthiness… (Patton 1990:55-56).

Credibility: The qualitative research can be judged from the viewpoint of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability of this study (Patton 1990:55-58; Stake 1978:6; Kirk & Miller 1986:41-42). Credibility is based on the validity and reliability of the instruments or instruments used and the internal validity of the study. The reliability and validity of qualitative research is fundamental to its utility (Lincoln & Guba 1985:316). Credibility was supported by prolonged engagement, persistent observation, and appropriate selection of respondents. First, the study was performed over a period of six months (July 2005-January2006). A thorough observation and in-depth interviews from the right persons also ensure the dependability of the results. The findings are based on the analysis of reliable and valid qualitative information obtained from a few appropriately selected professionals, who are well acquainted with the subject and objective of the study on forced migration. Therefore, results can be trusted to represent the actual situation of forced migration. This study is not so concerned with the generalizability of the results. It has tried to achieve in-depth holistic understanding of the process and the fundamental impact of forced migration on women in northern Uganda. Credibility depends less on the sample size but depends more on the richness of the information collected and on the analytical abilities of the researcher. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985:313-316), credibility can be enhanced through triangulation of data to bring together broad information obtained from existing literature, newspapers, magazines and other sources to justify confirmability. The feminist research methodology which was employed together with the qualitative paradigm in this study for triangulation purposes is also analysed below.

4.2.2 Feminist research

The development of women's liberation movements has led to attention being focussed on the subordination and domination of women in various situations as in armed conflict. Feminist sociologists are responsible for developing theories of gender relations and power struggle. According to Brayton (1997:1), "feminist research is uniquely feminist because of the motives, concerns and knowledge that are brought to the research process". This means that feminist research has unique

features, which make it different from other traditional social science research. Feminist research studies women and focuses on gender. It challenges gender inequalities within the social, political and economic world. Although feminists acknowledge the differences in race, class or age, they believe that all women face oppression and exploitation and they are committed to expose and understand what causes and perpetuates oppression. Feminists are also always committed either to work individually or collectively to end all the forms of oppression and exploitation of women using the feminist research techniques.

Harding (1987:3-9) defines methodology as, "a theory and analysis of how research should proceed and that epistemology concerns theories about knowledge construction by questioning whose knowledge is validated and what constitutes knowledge". Feminist methodology is therefore, the philosophy of knowing how to construct and verify women's forms of knowledge. Harding makes it clear that what makes feminist research feminist is the fact that women are studied from their perspective and it recognizes the researcher as part of the research subject. Women researchers bring their own experiences and history into the research process. Therefore, unequal power relationship is overcome through the association of the researcher within the context, where the participants feel more secure to share information with someone who understands their situation. This empowers women to become critical of their community, organizations and situation without fear. The methodology tries to bring about balance and equality between the researcher and participants by negotiating relationships using unique feminist principles.

In feminist research, the issues that are important to women become the starting point for research. For example, because women identify with the private sphere, the issues of importance include domestic violence, marital rape, being a mother, incest and others that have been ignored as issues of importance in development because we live in a world, which values male knowledge. Language is used to shape the words, concepts and stereotypes of society which in turn shapes actions, behaviours and expectations (Brayton 1997:10). Although different authors construct feminist research issues in different ways, there are three basic epistemological principles in feminist research methodology. These include: the taking of women and gender as the focus of analysis; the importance of consciousness rising by bringing feminist

knowledge into the process; and the rejection of subject and object between the researcher and the respondent by valuing the knowledge held by the participants as being expert knowledge. The method is also concerned with ethics such as the use of language and research results, empowering women in order to change power relations and inequality, and validate new perspectives by re-defining events, which generate new knowledge (Millen 1997:1-3).

4.3 Gender Differences in Research

This study was informed by feminist scholarship in which displaced women's experiences during armed conflict were interpreted and documented. In situations of war, we respect personal emotions and feelings of the participants. The issue is not that men and women are different but the patriarchal cultures continue to devalue feminine qualities instead of promoting them. For example, during war situations, feminists argue that women are more effective than men because they have more experience in nurturing and human relations. This makes women more effective in conflict resolution and decision-making although they may be less effective in combat. Feminists see such gender differences as biologically based while other people see them as cultural. However, feminists agree that gender differences are real and suitable for various circumstances. Feminists also believe that women's experiences provide shared views on which researchers base their theories. For example, the beliefs that men are relatively violent while women are peaceful and that men are autonomous while women are dependent in their social relationships. However, women's care giving and motherhood roles best suit them to give life but not take life. Therefore, women are more likely to oppose war and to find alternatives to violence in conflict resolution than men (Goldstein 2000:41-42). However, such gender stereotyping may be misleading because there are women who initiate war that take life and there are many men who oppose war.

Feminist scholarship on forced migration is based on a long tradition that has grown rapidly since 1980s and tries to involve the women's role in social relationships. However, feminist theorists follow different assumptions and analyses as regards war and peace. For example, while empirical feminist research is guided by feminist theory, post-modern feminists tend to use cultural constructions that favour men in power. Post-modern feminists believe that gender shapes the way women and men

understand their experiences and actions regarding armed conflicts. Postmodernism rejects the idea of a single reality (Brayton 1997:11; Goldstein 2000:49). Therefore post-modern feminists analyze armed conflicts by using binary oppositions which map onto gender to structure models or theories such as masculine/feminine; autonomy/dependence; knower/known; objective/subjective; rational/emotional; productive/reproductive; public/private and others.

Historically, women throughout the world have been sidelined by men ignoring their truths and knowledge. Feminism is a powerful conceptual tool for critiquing the traditional qualitative and quantitative sociological research methods. The main concepts within the feminist research are the empowerment of women and the equality of the research relationship in which the researcher and the participant are equal. Feminist inquiry and criticism has brought some changes in sociological research leading to some fundamental shifts in perception. For example, it has challenged the dichotomisation of the private and public spheres. It has also revealed the necessity for research to be done on women and their lives instead of generalising the conclusions of research on men to general 'people' (Millen 1997:1). One distinctive feature of feminist research is the fact that it problematises the perspectives of women's experiences as important indicators of the "reality" against which hypotheses can be tested. Women are able to share their experiences through which they get to understand themselves and their cultural environment, which has systematically silenced and devalued their voices. Feminist research therefore provides a new resource for research that uses "women's experiences" to generate knowledge that differs with regard to gender, class, race and culture (Chombah 2003:33).

Feminist philosophers insist on the need to integrate women in all areas of development and also to acknowledge that women always possessed knowledge that was never valued by the patriarchal society. As regards the methodology, feminist philosophers are not just analytical or critical, but they get deeper into the reconstruction of philosophy, redefining the subject matter and methods. They do so by valuing women's experiences and enabling women to move from the position of being subjects to that of being knower and agents of knowledge. Feminist researchers object to the conventional methodology of research and believe in a diversity of truths

instead of one universal truth. They believe that there are many realities and so they employ the qualitative research approach because it is rich and highly descriptive of relevant women's experiences during forced migration. They insist that the researcher and the researched should be able to establish rapport so as to draw up a conversation that may source valuable data regarding women's experiences during armed conflicts. According to Garry et al. (1989:1-2), feminist philosophers seek to explore a standpoint on which to base their feminist philosophy. On the other hand, Millen (1997:11) suggests frameworks for the alternative positions of feminist research as: feminist empiricism, feminist standpoint and feminist postmodernism. However, this study puts emphasis on only the feminist standpoint, which is critical of patriarchy as explained below:

> The feminist standpoint theory (SP) draws Marxist ideas about the role of the masses to suggest that women, as an oppressed class have the ability not only to frame their own experiences of oppression but to see the oppressors more clearly and therefore the world in general. It is a response to the patriarchal statement that feminine or female experience is an invalid basis for knowledge… (Millen 1997:11).

This theory suggests that there is a female's notion of understanding that is intuitive, emotional, engaged and caring which has been excluded from developing ideas about knowledge. This is an example of an epistemological foundation of the biased emphasis on the exclusion of women's experiences during armed conflicts. This explains the fact that women remain 'other' and men as the 'norm', while 'feminine' understandings of knowledge are also positioned as 'other' and the feminine concepts are regarded as less valid while only the masculine concepts of knowledge qualify to be valid (Millen 1997:12). This is explained by understanding the origins of patriarchy and how patriarchy underpins women's ways of knowing and knowledge.

Patriarchy: Since the research was informed by feminist scholarship, it is very important to understand patriarchy, which has been used to oppress women. Patriarchy thrives in society because of the structures that have been put in place through structuralism. Structuralism is a philosophical movement which emphasises that as long as political, economic and social structures remain, men will continue to dominate women. This makes it difficult to challenge gender roles within institutions and therefore patriarchy as a power structure subordinates women. According to Mies (1986:51) "Patriarchy is the concept that describes how men hold power in all

important roles in societies such as government, the military, education, industry, business, health, religion, family and how women are deprived of access to that power". These structures are therefore responsible for the gender inequalities in relations between women and men even in war situations.

Mies (1986:37) defines patriarchy as literally the rule of fathers, brothers, husbands, male bosses and men in most political and economic institutions that have been called 'the men's league'. Patriarchy extends in all aspects of society and social systems; challenges gender equality; and it threatens the whole social structure. For example, the husband-father of the household dominates the home, which is known to be the province of the woman to the extent that she has no claim over her body, property and the children that she dedicatedly brings forth into the world (Mies 1986:51).

Under the patriarchal culture, the ideal woman is one who accepts to be passive, good and fragile. She must maintain her femininity through self-assertion and establish herself in the private sphere and not threaten the man in the public sphere. The woman is regarded as weak and dependant. For example, a black feminist woman by the name of Mary Church Terrell indicates that her activist husband who was a lawyer did not want her to play a role in politics because he treated her like a fragile glass that required constant protection (Hooks 1982:90).

Men use every possible means to maintain their power over women. This results in violence against women when they threaten men's power. The public sphere which is superior to the private sphere is characterized by male courage, strength, rationality, politics, warfare and religion. This makes men less human, emotional and therefore able to use violence to gain control over both the public and private spheres. Hooks (1982:103) confirms this when he says, "They could always use brute force and physical powers to subjugate women". Patriarchy is responsible for violence, oppression and sexual abuse of women in modern societies. Therefore, feminists believe that research and revolutionary actions can bring about a change and the liberation of women. The patriarchal society, which is ruled and dominated by men, regards men as the ruling class while women remain the subjects. In this research, patriarchy, which is the institutionalization of male power and privilege, was the centre of feminist analysis.

4.4 Study Area - Lira District

The study site is Erute IDPs camp located in Lira district. Lira district is one of the districts in northern Uganda that have been affected by the ongoing armed conflict since 1986 Figure.1.1. Most of the IDPs camps are located near the township for security reasons. Erute is one of the big IDP camps and is divided in three sections. Erute A, B and C. This research is based on the information provided by displaced women living in and around Erute IDPs camp. Lira Township is home of many IDPs camps. Erute, which is one of the IDP camp in Lira district, has a total population of 17,880 with 7,322 females, 6,446 males and 4,112 children of less than five years. The camp was formed in October 2003 with people from ten sub-counties in the northern and eastern parts of the district, which comprise Erute North, Otuke and Moroto counties. Lira district was preferred to other districts like Acholi, Kitgum, Apac and others because of the prevailing peace and security in most parts of Lira at the time of the study. The other parts were still in the danger zone and civilians went there at their own risk. Only armed soldiers were operating in the region trying to flush out the rebels. There were media reports (radio) of rebel activities in the districts bordering with Sudan and civilians were warned not to go there without security at the time of research. The rebels were being shown the exit by the UPDF soldiers who were chasing them out of northern Uganda through Southern Sudan from where they moved to Garamba forest in the DRC.

4.5 Preparation before Fieldwork

Permission to access the study area and carry out research has to be obtained (Lofland & Lofland 1984:25). The permission was obtained from local authorities as well as the community leaders. The communities in the study area were informed and meetings for group discussions were arranged. Then a timetable for household interviews was formulated. Appointments were also made to meet with some of the officials working with IDPs at Erute camps. These were mainly from NGOs, and local councils. Two research assistants were also identified and trained for a day. After these arrangements, fieldwork began. Below are the methods used to gather information while in the field. Since the objective was to study causes and impact of forced migration on women in northern Uganda, the researcher had to select those respondents who were much aware of this phenomenon. Therefore, purposive sampling was convenient. According to Patton (1990:169-183) the method is used to

choose information-rich respondents. Accessibility to some eminent professionals was very difficult since they were preoccupied with their busy schedule. Official letters seeking permission for access to researchers for interview informed them. Then they were reminded by telephone and the date and time of interviews were fixed.

4.6 Population and Sampling

Population: The population of this study includes all the women in the demarcated region of northern Uganda who had been forced to move out of their homes due to the armed conflict in the region. Lira district was chosen because the same LRA rebel movement in northern Uganda has committed the same atrocities against women in the region. The fact that most women irrespective of their geographical region experience the same problems reassures us that the sample from any district in the region would give us appropriate data for the kind of investigative research questions in this study.

Sampling: Purposive sampling according to Patton (1990:172) was the method used to choose the respondents. In qualitative research, a larger number of groups and interviewees do not always guarantee more meaningful and relevant information. What is far more important is whether the right respondents are identified. Due to the nature of the information gathered through qualitative research, the emphasis is to make sure that the objectives of the research are carefully considered when the number of groups or interviewees is determined.

In addition, Hoepfl (1997:5-6) states that the qualitative research paradigm offers a unique approach that seeks to employ sampling that gives information according to the aim of the study. Because of this reason, purposive sampling was chosen among the three non-probabilities sampling namely: purposive sampling, convenience sampling, and quota sampling because it seeks in depth information-rich cases and is also flexible. According to Oakley (2000:41-43), the qualitative approach is participatory and empowering for both the researcher and the participants. It emphasizes that the researcher gets closer to the participants and their unique situations in order to understand the meanings of their actions in detail and their individual lives in reality.

To maintain validity, reliability and objectivity, the methodology uses the criterion of trustworthiness, transferability, dependability and conformability that identify with the qualitative paradigm (Patton 1990:169-183). Should the inquiry be repeated with the same participants in the same locality, the findings should therefore be unbiased, reliable and the results transferable to similar situations. The credibility criterion is usually met by the prolonged engagement with the participants.

An other advantage of this research paradigm is the fact that the data has greater validity, less artificiality and in-depth understanding that gives it the richness that is unmatched by other research methods. Research samples and methods were therefore, developed in conjunction with each other. The very nature of qualitative research limits the sample size and the usefulness of the information obtained should not be underestimated. Although many researchers are uncomfortable with the "generalizability" of a small sample, the shortcoming should be weighted against the greater depth of understanding that is available through qualitative research strategies. As Taylor and Bogdan (1984: 81) point out that qualitative research is not based on statistically representative samples due to the nature of the information gathered through the research. This was emphasized to ensure that the objectives of this research are carefully considered when the number of focus group discussions or individual interviews was determined. A larger number of groups or individual interviews do not always guarantee more meaningful and relevant information. What is more important is to identify the right respondents.

Sampling procedures: Although the whole of northern Uganda and Lira district in particular was affected by the armed conflict between the LRA and government soldiers, all the counties could not be covered because of insecurity, transport and other constraints. As the intensity of the impact of forced migration on women tends to be representative, a purposive sample of three counties was chosen from the whole district. Erute camp accommodated displaced persons from three sub-counties namely: Erute North, Otuke and Moroto counties Figure 5.4. Erute camp is divided into three sections: A, B and C, but Erute A was the biggest of the three camps.

The sample consisted of 50 women who participated in individual interviews and 34 women who participated in focus group interviews. Some of the women were living

in camps and others had left the camps but lived within the municipality. The study participants were selected purposively by camp leaders of each section of the camps with the help of two research assistants who knew them well. The criterion used to select individual women for interviews were: Being or having been a camp dweller; Experienced the beginning of the war and being information rich.

Among the participants were five professionals and NGO workers: a social worker, a school teacher, a nurse, a religious leader, and a local women leader.

The interviewees involved in the study represent the following categories:

- Female-heads of households including widows, unmarried women and women abandoned by their male partners (36);
- Girl-Child heads of households (2);
- Formerly abducted women or combatants (3);
- Woman who was disabled due to LRA war (1);
- Women affected or with family members affected by HIV/AIDS (5);
- IDP female camp leaders and LC leader (1);
- Female Government and NGO workers (2).

4.7 Data Collection Techniques

This study utilizes both secondary and primary data. According to Patton (1990:358) and Lincoln and Guba (1985:240-241), there are two prevailing forms of primary data collection associated with qualitative research, namely: interviews and observation. In this study, qualitative interviews were used in conjunction with observation and document analysis commonly referred to as secondary data analysis.

4.7.1 Secondary Data

Secondary data were obtained from a comprehensive review of existing published and non-published literature relevant to the study. Materials reviewed included the following:

1. Literature on forced migration and conflict was obtained from various books, journals, internet articles.

2. Published and unpublished material on Uganda's historical, political, social, economic conditions and the impact of conflict on the country was obtained from pamphlets, books, news papers and journals.

3. Uganda's national statistics provided information on population, education, health and employment.

4. Uganda's national policies such as the Poverty Eradication Action Plan provided information of development.

5. Literature on the study areas of northern Uganda was obtained from pamphlets, books, internet, news papers, journals and other studies done on similar areas.

The use of secondary data made a significant contribution to the overall quality of the research. The data provided a variety of background information for the research that enabled the construction of a historical profile and baseline context for the study. The data enabled the researcher to see how particular theoretical and methodological approaches have been applied by other researchers, the problems they faced and the insights their approaches provided. Data derived from all the above sources was used to compare and complement primary data. Before the collection of primary data, preparations for the fieldwork were made as explained below.

4.7.2 Primary Data

The two established forms of data collection connected with qualitative research are interviews and observation (Hoepfl 1994:6) Primary data in this study was obtained through individual interviews, focus group discussions and observation. Each of these techniques is described in more detail below.

Individual interviews: Patton (1990:348) points out three types of qualitative interviewing: informal, conversational interviews; semi-structured interviews; and standardized, open-ended interviews. A combination of conversational and semi-structured interviews was convenient in this research. An interview guide consisting of a list of questions was prepared by the researcher to explore each interview. It was prepared to ensure that the same information could be obtained from each person even though there were no predetermined responses. With the semi-structured interview guide, the interviewer was free to probe and explore within the predetermined inquiry

areas. The interview guide also was used to ensure good use of limited time and to make multiple subjects more systematic, comprehensive and keep interactions focused.

The interview guide was pre-tested using convenient sampling of five interviewees in the study area. The purpose was to test the capability of the instrument to provide the required data. The test of the study guide revealed some unanticipated problems such as question wording and instructions to skip some questions. The test also helped to see if the interviewees understood the questions and if they were giving useful answers. After the pre-test of the interview guide, it was revised and made more flexible.

The study was undertaken over a period of 6 months (July 2005 to January 2006). During the 6 months period, preparations were made from July to October 2005 after which I made two visits to the study area. Each visit lasted for one week. The first visit took place from 14 to 19 November 2005. With the help of research assistants, some interviewees participated after being informed. This was very convenient and time saving, as there was no need for a second trip for the interviews. Appointments were made with those individuals who could not be interviewed immediately. After the first trip to the households, at least 95 per cent of the appointments were honoured. The interviews went according to schedule and the interviewees were cooperative. The other 5 per cent of the appointments had to be rescheduled and a second trip was made from 16 to 21 January 2006. The sample was drawn from the population of displaced women living in the resettlement camps in Lira. The sample size was determined when the information was sufficiently saturated and that new information could not be obtained. However, fifty participants were involved and a tentative interview schedule was used to guide the researcher (Appendix 1). I used the first day to choose and train two research assistants who were instrumental in choosing individuals for interviews and focus group discussions. After the individual interviews, focus group discussions were scheduled as discussed in more detail below.

Focus group interviews: This qualitative characteristic of the method enabled the researcher to focus on areas of particular importance or the context in which a particular problem occurs. It is known to be an effective way to collect information (Chambers 1992), particularly from those groups that cannot engage in discussion

because of language or other factors. The value of this method was recognized in the 1970s as a way to uncover the richness and value of rural knowledge and culture within which development was taking place. Usually people being helped were totally ignored and intervention strategies such as alleviating poverty and relief policies were discussed in capital cities, negotiated by top politicians and development professionals, financed by international banks such as the World Bank without involving the people affected resulting in the failure of most programmes. This study adopted a qualitative appraisal using semi-structured questions, which were pre-determined by the researcher (Appendix 1). The questions were designed to guide the interviews, which were informal and relaxed discussions. Focus group discussions were carried out over a period of two days in the three campsites of Erute IDPs camp. Each campsite was visited once for the focus group discussions. Before undertaking the interviews, the communities were informed through community camp leaders. Motives and intentions were made clear to eliminate mistrust and suspicion. As a result attendance and cooperation was very good. The communities showed a great interest in the study. To make communication more effective interpreters were used to translate between Langi and English. Through focus group discussions affected individuals and groups were able to speak for themselves. This provided knowledge that enhanced the capacity to understand the viewpoint of local displaced women.

Focus group discussions were undertaken to collect data regarding internally displaced women's experiences and coping mechanisms. The focus groups comprised women living the camp community. The elderly members of the community were sampled using convenience sampling. This type of sampling was therefore used to get as many willing women as possible to be involved in the discussions.

A total number of 34 women in the camps agreed to take part in the focus group discussions. The participants were divided into 4 groups of at least 8 persons. Groups had been allocated dates and time for the discussions. The groups were able to come according to scheduled dates. 2 groups of 8 came in the morning and the other 2 groups came in the afternoon. More comprehensive information was obtained from the focus group discussions. Some of the information collected from the women in the focus groups included strategies that were used during flight and their experiences.

Examples of the issues discussed included the following themes:

- reasons for fleeing their homes;
- flight experiences;
- behaviour of the warring forces during flight;
- positive and negative effects of living in settlement camps;
- comparison of gender roles before and after displacement;
- coping strategies during displacement;
- impact of forced migration on health and education;
- effects of conflict on education, infrastructure and environment;
- women's economic status during displacement;
- women's participation in the conflict as fighters and peace-building;
- relevancy of humanitarian relief aid during displacement.

Though it was challenging to engage the women in focus group discussion, the researcher was able to capture real-life data in a flexible social environment. Due to flexibility, the discussions brought out speedy results and other aspects of the topic that were not anticipated by the researcher and had not emerged from individual interviews. Each campsite was visited once for the group discussions and each group discussion lasted almost two hours. The researcher attempted to be as courteous as possible when collecting the data. During the fieldwork, the method of observation was also used as explained next.

Observation: Observation is a primary source of data collection normally used in qualitative research. Data collected using this method represents firsthand encounters with the phenomenon of interest. Data of naturally occurring behaviour seen or heard by the observer is recorded (Patton 1990: 348). Observation was employed to collect data about the state of natural camp environment and the behaviour of the people. The observations were made concurrently during individual interviews. The researcher was able to observe participants in their natural camp settings, their activities and the meanings they attributed to their actions. This enabled the researcher to deeply understand and acquire knowledge of the context in which some events occurred. The researcher was able to see the things that the participants did not want to discuss. For accuracy, the researcher used audio tapes and took photographs in capturing the camp settings. Field notes were taken to help the researcher reconstruct and describe

specifics of events as they were observed using an Observation Schedule. See (Appendix 2).

Recording Data: The researcher relied mainly on written notes and tape recording as suggested by Patton (1990:348). Tape recording was useful in capturing data more practically and it made it easier for the researcher to focus on the individual interviews. Some individual interviews were conducted with selected key informants while collecting specialized data. These individuals consisted of female camp dwellers, social workers, NGO workers, camp leaders, government officials, nurses and school teachers in their environment. Information obtained from these individuals was used to compliment data collected from focus groups discussions and secondary sources.

Instruments: A semi-structured interview guide and an observation schedule were designed to collect data (Appendices 1 and 2). Questions were formulated according to the objectives of the study. Data collected addressed issues such as household demographics, income, assets, agricultural production, participation, experiences and coping mechanisms. The questions comprised of both closed and open-ended questions. Open-ended questions are those that ask for unprompted opinions. In other words, there are no predetermined sets of responses and the participants were free to answer as they chose. The advantages of having open-ended questions are that they provide a variety of responses that are wider and more truly reflect the opinions of the interviewees. The questions also allowed participants to give answers that were unexpected, resulting in knowledge that would not have been tapped.

Closed ended questions on the other hand were easy to respond to and less time consuming. They also allowed the researcher to filter out useless or extreme answers that occur in open-ended questions as pointed out by Babbie (1992). All these advantages made it easy to code and analyse closed ended questions. They compensated for time taken to analyse the open-ended questions.

The researcher also used two female research assistants who had been trained in recording data as key instruments for collecting data from women in their natural camp environment. Data was also collected from other primary and secondary sources

in the form of text, pictures, field notes, memos, official records, audio tape recordings and news papers. Key informants were interviewed in camps, trading centres and town. Individual interviews took place in a various locations inside or near the settlement camps. These included homes, shelters, markets, gardens, offices, schools, health centres, camp compounds, and various other sites in and around the camp and at the same tome carrying out critical observations (Appendix 2). After the completion of data collection, the process of data analysis commenced. The process of data analysis is described in the next section. Strict confidentiality was maintained while filling and transforming the descriptive information into main key categories suitable for analysis.

4.8 Data Analysis

According to Bogden & Biklen (1982:145), data analysis involves organizing it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned and deciding what to tell the readers (Strauss & Corbin 1990:57). According to Patton (1990:485) qualitative researchers tend to use inductive analysis of data, which means that the important themes emerge out of the data.

The researcher undertook the interpretation of data after completion of the fieldwork. Data collected was compiled and coded. A codebook was developed and an outline to explain what each research question is about had numerical values assigned to them. Data from the guide questions along with other information were coded into categories of responses. This step involved endless listening and re-listening to taped interviews and reading and rereading transcripts from interviews. This process led to the construction of initial categories of data responses, modification of the coding scheme, adding and reducing the categories. Eventually, the refinement of the coding categories was then transcribed into key words and phrases to serve our purpose of analysis. The researcher attempted to be as straight as possible in analyzing the data. The data was interpreted by reducing the raw data into themes and categories and by summarizing them to facilitate interpretation. The analysis of qualitative data was the most time consuming and tedious for a researcher. After analyzing the data manually, the generated information and ideas were used to write the Thesis. The researcher concentrated mainly on the peak period of forced migration and settlement in camps.

The key explanatory phrases and descriptions are consistent with the objectives of this study on forced migration of women from villages to settlement camps.

The data from focus group discussions was also analysed manually by first identifying major themes and sub-themes. The ideas were integrated with the findings generated from the individual interviews and observation. The data from focus group discussions was used to clarify and explain further the issues under study. Some of the women's voices were quoted verbatim as given in italics in the Thesis.

The research comprised open-ended responses and long textual stories. Some relevant statements were identified and quoted exactly to illustrate ideas. For the purposes of confidentiality, individuals were not identified and the researcher used pseudonyms. The researcher was able to obtain relevant answers to the research questions. The results were presented in the form of text and pictures. The researcher compiled the data into a descriptive report according to the objectives on the impact of forced migration on women in northern Uganda. This was done without ignoring the jokes, gestures and other body language signs which were useful in inductively extracting the rich qualitative data for analysis. Then the researcher summarized the results and drew conclusions.

4.9 Limitations of the Study

Since there is no work that is perfect, in nearly all research studies, this Thesis is not free from limitations. This being a feminist research, it focused on women only from IDPs and in the district of Lira leaving out the other districts that face similar problems. The other limitation is that unlike any quantitative research; these findings from qualitative study cannot be statistically tested or be projected on the population under study. This limitation may result from two facts: the sample may not be representative since the interviewees were not selected randomly, but were rather selected purposively; and the very nature of qualitative research that necessitates a small sample size. The other limitation stems from difficulty in easy accessibility to the prominent professionals for interview. The fact that this was a sensitive research topic, the participants were a bit sceptical of the whole socio-cultural and political environment. It was not easy to convince them that the researcher was not part of the political structure that had deceived them for over 20 years since 1986. However, the

main limitation that could have hampered the study was the insecurity but this was easily overcome by the prevailing peace in Lira. Lack of funds and sponsorship persisted but determination prevailed.

4.10 Summary

This chapter provided a detailed account on the methodology used to collect data on the impact of forced migration on women in northern Uganda. Qualitative and feminist research techniques were briefly analysed. Data was collected using both primary and secondary methods. Primary data collection methods included individual interviews, focus group discussions and observation. Secondary data was generated through a comprehensive review of existing published and unpublished literature relevant to the study. Data were then analysed manually. In the next chapters, the findings are presented and discussed. The women's original stories are written with limited alterations.

CHAPTER FIVE
EXPERIENCES OF DISPLACED WOMEN IN NORTHERN UGANDA: A CASE OF LIRA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings regarding the experiences of displaced women during the armed conflict in northern Uganda. The research area was Lira district. The findings are based on the data collected from fifty interviewees who comprise individual survivors, five officials and four group discussions at Erute camp in Lira Municipality. The responses are presented concurrently with interpretations. The findings derived from the individual interviews, focus group discussions and observations were integrated to bring out the experiences of the women in totality. The research questions at the heart of the researcher in Lira district, from July 2005 to January 2006 are:

1. What are the causes of forced migration?
2. How do women experience and participate in armed conflicts?
3. What are the consequences of forced migration and what coping strategies do the displaced women use to survive in the hostile environment?
4. What is the impact of forced migration on gender relations in northern Uganda?
5. What recommendations can be made to government and humanitarian agencies to help them in their support of the vulnerable displaced women?

This research presents findings that seek to answer the questions highlighted above. The research puts forward information on the impact of forced migration on women and development. The research ends with a forward-looking conclusion and recommendations that reflects on how these findings can be applied to the ongoing and future work in northern Uganda.

5.2 Demography

The study relates to women's social and economic status as a result of the war in northern Uganda. Most of the respondents were female since the research is based on feminist scholarship that focuses on women. The data is descriptive and qualitative in nature as outlined in the previous chapter.

Marital status: Respondents were requested to indicate their marriage status as to whether married, separated, widowed or never married. In addition, the results were as follows: Married: 11 (22 per cent); Separated or abandoned: 10 (20 per cent); Widowed: 24 (50 per cent); and Never married: 4 (8 per cent). Therefore, the widows were the majority.

Figure 5.1: Marital status of the respondents (n=50)
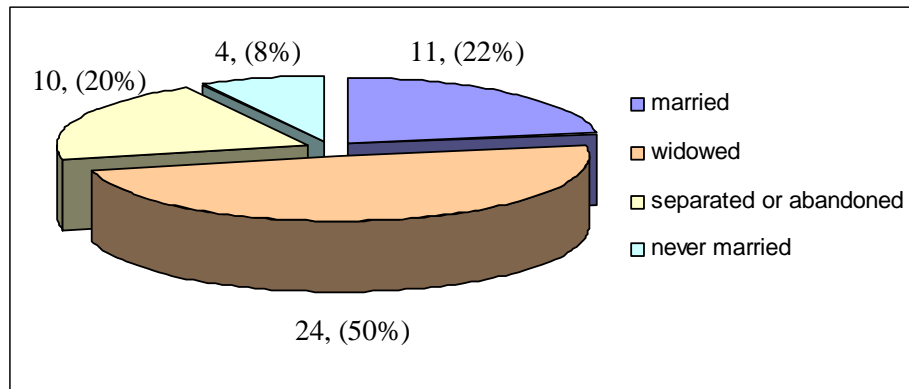
Source: Author's field survey (2005)

Age: As most women are usually unwilling to mention their age, the interviewees in this study were no different. However, a rough estimate of their age was accepted. Majority of the respondents were in the age group between 30-60 years as of 30th January, 2006. Only ten respondents were above 60 years of age and only one was below 30 years. This means that most of them experienced the beginning of the conflict.

Education: The results of the literacy levels of the respondents were also investigated and were as follows: The women who attained primary education were 33 and were the majority. Those who attended secondary school were 7 and only 10 of the women had never gone to school. This shows that even though many girls usually register for primary education, many drop out before they go to secondary school. On the other hand, most girls dropped out of school when the schools closed during the war. This condition has had a negative impact on the women's ability to work in the formal sector.

Figure 5.2: Woman's literacy levels (n=50)
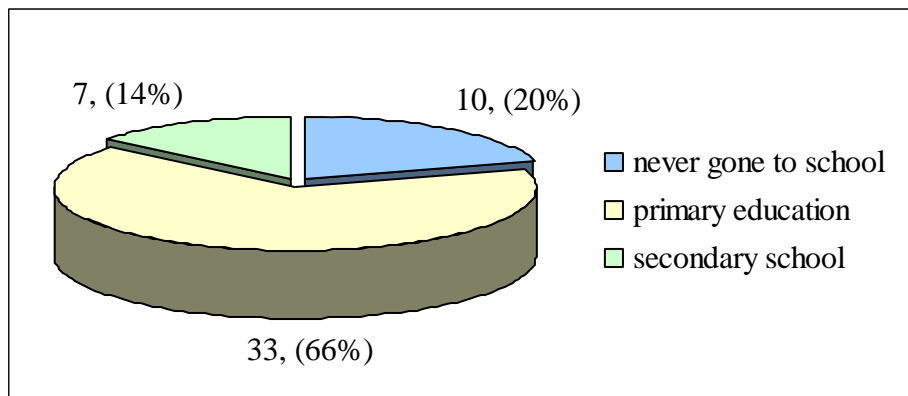
Source: Author's field survey (2005)

Housing: The respondents were asked to provide information about the type of housing before the war whether permanent, semi-permanent or temporary. Permanent houses are those made of bricks and iron sheet roofing; semi-permanent those made of mud and wattle but with iron sheet roofing; and temporary are huts made of mud and wattle walls and grass thatched. The results were as follows:

Those who lived in semi-permanent houses were 21 (42 per cent) and were the majority; those who lived in permanent houses were 12 (24 per cent); and those who lived in temporary were 17 (34 per cent). At present, they are all crowded in canvas or grass thatched camp shelters but hope to build better homes when they return to their homes. The government programme has promised to provide 30 iron sheets to those who will volunteer to return to their villages. Although some fearless camp dwellers have gone to camp near their villages so as to cultivate food, most of the IDPs are still reluctant due to lack of security assurance.

Figure 5.3: Types of housing before the war (n=50)
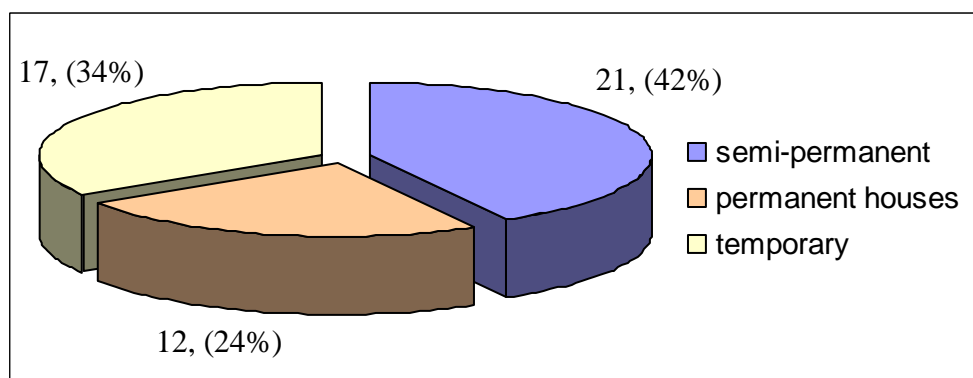
Source: Author's field survey (2005)

5.3 Impact of the Conflict in Lira

The impact of the conflict on the lives of ordinary people has been devastating although the situation in Lira was improving at the time of research.

- Over 1.4 million people were still living in camps within northern Uganda.
- Communities were desperately in need of food and security. Households were not able to farm. Malnutrition, especially among children and women was high.
- Children were out of school. Adolescents and adults were under-employed or unemployed.
- Rates of HIV/AIDS were said to be the highest in the region.
- Access by humanitarian agencies was highly restricted due to insecurity.

Disruption and displacement were familiar to the people of the affected areas. Many adult had been in IDP camps for years and many youths had been born there. Some people went to the camps voluntarily seeking protection from abduction and attack while others went by military command. Their assets were long since lost or used up and they depend on handouts from humanitarian agencies. The community's culture and morality had been eroded and an entire generation was being formed in IDP camps. Even if peace is restored, the lack of physical assets and low levels of education and health were obstacles to socio-economic revitalisation.

The authorities in the district were faced with the challenge of coming up with comprehensive strategies for helping the IDPs when they decide to return to their homes. As a result, some humanitarian agencies such as the UN, WFP, WHO, USAID, FAO and other NGOs both international and local had a special obligation to prepare for the uncertain phase. They worked together to assess and plan in order to ensure that the beneficiaries receive maximum support from the limited resources (http://www.lira.go.ug/). The war was extended to Lira in 2002 where it is assumed that after the rebels had exhausted the food in Acholiland and the villages were empty, they extended the war zone to Lango where food and human resources to expand their army were still plenty as further explained.

5.4 Forced Migration in Lira

The case of Lira was chosen because it was the most accessible at the time of research. There was improved security because the rebels had been pushed into southern Sudan. The other reason for choosing Lira was because the displaced women in the region experienced similar problems since they were terrorised by the

same LRA rebels and government forces. Lira is one of the 56 districts located in northern Uganda. Lira district was formed in 1974 when the then Lango District was split. Its native inhabitants are the Langi, who remain the main ethnic group in the district. The total area of Lira is 7,251 sq km of which 6,151 sq km is arable land while 1,100 sq. km is wetland or swamp. According to the 2002 population census, the district has a population of 751,129 which puts its national population share at 3.1 per cent. The distribution is at 380,127 female and 371,002 male. Annual district population growth rate is 3.5 per cent per annum (Uganda Census 2002). Most men in Lango fled to other neighbouring districts to escape the LRA attacks. The war between the government and the LRA has however affected the district by displacing almost 66 per cent of the population. There are 42 internally displaced people's camps throughout Lira district today with 4,000 to 5,000 people each. As of November 2004, there were 33,023 in 15 municipal IDPs camps while 279,091 people lived in 27 rural IDP camps. The population distribution in IDP camps is shown in Table 5.1.

Figure 5.4: Map of Lira District showing locations of IDP camps

Source: http://www.lira.go.ug/
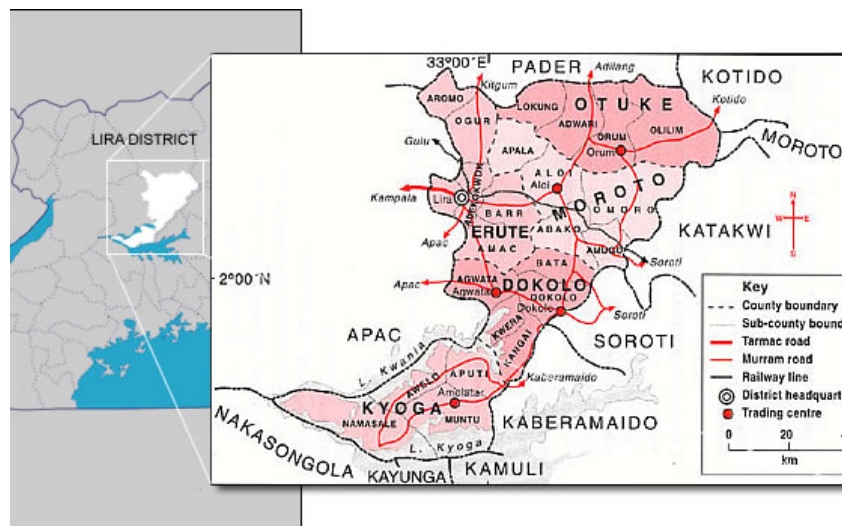
5. 5 Population of Lira

The people of Lira are ethnically known as Langi and are geographically located south of Acholiland. The origin of the Langi is not clear but it is generally held by the majority that the Langi originated from Abyssinia in Ethiopia. The Langi were

affected by the Northern Uganda war lead by Joseph Kony who came from Acholi. The conflict that started in 1986 and spread southwards from Acholiland came as a shock to the Langi people of Lira. The situation caused a lot of pain and suffering to the people in this area especially women and children. Before the violence spread to Lira district, the Langi had thought that the conflict was going to be confined to the Acholis who are close to the border with Sudan and never expected the level of violence they experienced. There were nearly 500,000 IDPs in Lira condemned to live in overcrowded camps excluding those who fled their homes to live with host families. Lira was seriously affected by the armed conflict with nearly 66 per cent of the population displaced. They live in 42 recognised IDP camps in the district (ISIS-WICCE 2003:7).

The camp populations in Lira District range from 4,500 the largest to 2,000 the smallest. The government planned to reduce the camps to 20 with 20, 000 people each with 2 camps in each sub-county. In this context, the delivery of humanitarian aid was usually unstable. It was mainly the EU funding Humanitarian Aid in Lira to provide the needs of the displaced persons such as health and nutrition programmes, immunisation campaigns, HIV/AIDS awareness, food security, water and sanitation, shelter, blankets, jerricans, tarpaulins, landmine awareness, child soldier rehabilitation and childhood education. The camps were guarded by government soldiers and some local youth militias commonly known Amuka, which means Rhinos. The Amuka militias were known to be more effective and potentially beneficial because they know their geographical environment, understand the local language which is good for intelligence-gathering skills and were trusted by the local population.

It was the Barlonyo massacre of 21 February 2004 that raised both national and international awareness of the suffering and insecurity of the people of Lira district. The government and international organisations had ignored the security situation of the region and had concentrated mainly on Gulu, Kitgum, Pader and other regions close to the northern boarder of Sudan and Uganda. Many previous killings by the rebels in Lira such as those in Otuke, Abia, Olero, Abako, Aloi, Omoro, Alito, Aboke, Minakulo, Ngai, Otwal, Ogur and Aromo had gone unnoticed. The people of Lira launched an annual ceremony to remember the victims of war in commemoration of the Barlonyo massacre where nearly 300 people died on 24 February 2004 to attract

international and national attention about their plight. On 24 Feb 2004, fear drove many internally displaced people (IDP) who were living in camps near Lira town. They fled to seek refuge in the town centre together with students from nearby boarding schools. The devastating massacre of civilians was perpetuated by about 300 rebels who dressed like soldiers to attack Barlonyo camp located 26 km north of Lira town (WFP 2004:1-2).

The New Vision (24 February 2005) reported that Barlonyo had the worst killings ever in the long forgotten war in northern Uganda. It was officially confirmed that the number of those who were brutally massacred were almost 300 in a camp of about 5,000 residents. The people were under the poor protection of about 50 newly trained inexperienced Amuka militias trained by the UPDF as an auxiliary local force. After the Barlonyo tragedy, the International Criminal Court (ICC), developed special interest in the infamous Barlonyo camp in Lira and legal, military, and material support was directed to Lira that was initially ignored Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.5: The remains of Barlonyo IDP camp that was burnt to ashes on 24/2/2004

Source: The New Vision 24 February 2005

The conflict in Lira in particular started in 2002 when Kony's rebels from Gulu started to attack villages in Lira District. Most camps were located in rural areas but some camps were within a distance of nine kilometres from Lira town Table 5.1.

The IDPs in Lira were only some of the world's millions of IDPs who faced similar challenges in camps like these in northern Uganda. Some of the camps sprang up

quickly without much planning but they become more or less permanent homes of some families with development activities mushrooming under difficult conditions in the camp compounds. Camps became home for IDPs, they needed to access basics of life including groceries, food, water and toiletries. However, it involved substantial work and effort to bring these things in a place without prior planning and organization.

Table 5.1: Camps and Households of IDPs within Lira Town

Camps	Households	Males	Females	Children Under Five years	Total Adults
1 Starch factory	1,019	3,827	3,671	1,253	7,498
2 Cultural centre	887	2,095	2,278	1,030	4,373
3 Railways	875	1,943	2,197	954	4,140
4 P.A.G Church	663	1629	1732	787	3361
5 P.C.U Church	154	398	302	147	700
6 Erute A,B &C	4,589	6,446	7,322	4,112	13,768
7 Church of God	194	390	412	201	802
8 Ambalal	891	1,504	2,067	918	3,571
9 Kirombe	1,239	2,633	2,839	1,160	5,472
10 Corner Dakatal	140	155	245	140	400
11 St. Augastine	244	395	543	228	938
12 Te-tugu	1,228	2,923	2,765	1,733	5,688
13 Okide Quarters	414	1,277	1,145	514	2,422
14 Bala Stock Farm	130	172	194	115	366
Total	**12,667**	**25,787**	**27,712**	**13,292**	**53,499**

Source: LIWCODA (2005)

This research is based on the information provided by displaced women living in and around Erute IDP camp, which the researcher visited and made useful observations. Looking at Table 5.1 above, it is clear that Lira Township had accumulated IDP camps. Erute, one of the IDP camps in Lira district, has grown to a total population of 13,768 with 7,322 females, 6,446 males and 4,112 children less than five years. The

camp was formed in October 2003 with people from ten sub-counties in the northern and eastern parts of the district, which comprise Erute North, Otuke and Moroto counties.

Observations: The residents of IDP camps who were mostly women flocked in and out. Some women had constructed their huts with a few sun baked earth bricks or mud and wattle and grass that they gathered in the area. Each hut was the size of a small tent and sometimes as many as ten family members slept in the restricted quarters. Some of the huts were so small that sleeping in there was like sleeping in a foxhole. Most of them lacked doors and even those with the doors did not close. The sketchy roofs of some of the huts were so low and sagging, which forced one to practically bend as if entering a witchdoctor's place. Most of the residents of the camps complained of water seeping through the roofs when it rains Figure 5.6. Some huts looked like a pile of thatched earth.

Figure 5.6: Erute IDP camp in Lira Township

Source: Author's Field Survey (2005)

The displaced women and their families living in the camp lacked enough facilities such as toilets, shelter, cooking facilities, clinics and other necessary requirements. The majority of the displaced depended on relief aid for survival. The women suffered more in camps than men because they had to search for scarce food, water, and firewood in the insecure environment while their male counterparts remained in hiding for fear of being abducted or killed by the LRA. The women were prone to physical violence in these camps at the hands of drunken soldiers or male partners.

The women were living in protected camps under pitiable conditions with poor hygiene, disease, little food and inadequate health services. The environment seemed a fertile ground for the spread of HIV/AIDS because of drug abuse, alcoholism, prostitution, family violence, poverty and overcrowding.

5.6 Women's Life in IDP Camps

The researcher gathered information from women living in Erute camps, which were about five kilometres away from Lira town centre but within Lira municipality, by making more observations, interviews and focus group discussions. Elute was composed of three camps A, B and C named according to size. A was the biggest while C was the smallest. A total number of 50 individual interviews and four focus group discussions were done within the three Erute camps. The guiding semi-structured questions (Appendix 1) were used to get answers for the research questions. The main issues focussed on conditions of life in the camp settlements; causes of the war in Lira and how they came to the camp; description of experiences before and during flight; and life in the camp settlement; the consequences and how they coped; future plans; and the support services they got from the international humanitarian agencies and government. An in-depth analysis of study was done with a focus on infrastructure, education, health, and economic development. The displaced women who ran from homesteads to overcrowded camps characterised by shortages such as water and sanitation facilities faced health problems and other disasters.

Close observations in Erute IDP camps also revealed that the people were living in misery. The people's faces showed gloominess, suffering, anger and hunger. This impression, however, was quickly overshadowed by the seemingly carefree, but naked and malnourished infants, some of them with mucus on their noses and dry lips. They played around the huts yelling and were surely enjoying themselves and having fun. It was a comforting sight to observe, bearing in mind that peace and stability was robbed from such people by the LRA rebels. After watching the innocent children playing, one could imagine being born in a IDPs camp, growing up in the same camp, going to school in it with no hope of having a future outside the camp. Many women continued producing children in the camps and did not know any other life. A whole

generation was growing up without hope and expectation for the future, as they did not own such essential natural resources and assets such as land livestock or housing.

Land and agriculture: Almost all the focus group discussions revealed that land was the most important asset they lacked for achieving reasonable self-sufficiency. Households that had access to land could afford to supplement their food rations and even be able to sell the surplus for cash to buy salt, soap and clothes. However, most of the camp dwellers depended on WFP rations for nearly half of their monthly food requirements. The households that did not have access to land depended on making charcoal, collecting firewood, wild fruits and vegetables to sell or paid labour to meet their needs. Some land owners near the camps were able to earn money from rentals. Most participants claimed that they hired pieces of land for between 5,000 to 40,000 Uganda shillings per planting season.

Although access to agricultural land was desirable, there were also some risks with rented land. These risks included food insecurity such as stealing and poor harvests. During one focus group discussion, the participants accused LRA rebels and Local Defence Units for stealing crops like groundnuts, maize, and cassava from fields. For example, one woman said, "*…if you harvest one bag of maize, the rebels come and carry all of it or burn it when they come and set the camps on fire… ".*

Having land also increased levels of vulnerability. For example, one participant explained that she preferred burning charcoal to cultivating crops "*… because it is too risky as you have to cultivate in the rainy season when the grass is tall. The rebels usually hide in the tall grass".* Besides, farming beyond the security perimeter was not permitted by the security forces but some women risked and maintained gardens far beyond the camp security zones. Nearly all respondents said that insecurity increased during harvest because the LRA targeted food for looting. Therefore, farmers had to harvest their crops early to prevent them being stolen.

Livestock Farming: The main assets of the households before the war used to be livestock, grain stores and food crops like cassava and sweet potatoes in gardens. These assets used to be a form of cushion that households could fall back on for many needs such as time of sickness, death, school fees and graduated tax. In other words,

they were insurance against future problems like famine. Livestock for example, could be sold to buy food when the harvest was not good. Therefore, shortage of these assets caused by the current war environment in northern Uganda had a negative impact on the overall security and household coping strategies. On discussing the issue one participant said, "*Before the war, I had many cows, sheep, chickens and goats. We could sell and get money to pay people to grow food. When we fled, the soldiers and other people took everything and the whole homestead was burnt and the place is now a bush*".

The shortage of livestock among the displaced people in Lira was apparent from the few scattered animals in the campgrounds. Some families insist they want to have one or two cows or goats. The respondents expressed the importance of having even a few animals to enable them cope with the trauma attached to their lost herds Figure 5.7. As livestock represents a significant economic asset, people within the camp have had some protective strategies. For example, cattle owners gather their animals in a central place and the men defend the animals in turns by guarding at night. They also took advantage of the LDU and UPDF presence around the camp for protection of their animals. The women also said that pigs were becoming popular because they rarely got stolen and they could soon replace goats. On the other hand, the camp leader warned that livestock farming was not encouraged in the camp because they caused confusion among the residents in the overcrowded camp conditions. Sometimes owners were accused of grazing nearby vegetable gardens, stolen or used the animals for witchcraft Figure 5.7.

Figure 5.7: Livestock farming at Erute camp

Source: Author's Field survey (2005)

Firewood: Wood for firewood and charcoal making were other natural resources that generated income in the camps. In addition, grass for thatching and lighting fire was on demand for sale and household consumption. During focus group discussions, some participants said that firewood was collected during the dry season and stocked for sale. Other issues raised during focus group discussions include: lack of clean water and sanitation, domestic violence, rape and harassment and poor legal protection. However, poverty, disease, and hunger were rampant.

Individual Interviews: Natural resources such as firewood, thatch grasses and charcoal are used to generate income. Acele during an individual interview said:

"We go to collect firewood several times a week mainly in the morning hours in the dry season and stock for the rainy season when the money is good. We usually go in groups because it is unsafe to go alone. One person cuts while the other is looking out on people's movements. We know the rebels because they don't move straight, instead they sneak around and it is easy to tell who is suspicious."

Water and sanitation: Water is the most critical resource for households' health and livelihoods. Therefore, women and children spend a lot of time collecting water. According to a worker for Medecins Sans Frontieres (MSF), access to clean water in Lira is a nightmare for the IDPs. She said:

"…earlier this year (2006) a survey found they have access to 1.7 liters/person/day. The internationally recognized minimum standard is 15-20 liters/person/day. Following our water and sanitation program, access has increased to 5.6 liters/person/day, but there is obviously still a long way to go. MSF has been building boreholes, protecting springs and digging shallow wells".

The respondents in the IDPs camps complained about the queues at the pumps saying that the women can wait for water for a long time in the morning and evening but did not complain about the quality or quantity Figure 5.8. They indicated that the wait for water increases in some areas during the dry season when very little water flows. Although the camp respondents did not complain about inadequacy of water, they said that diarrhoea was common in children that could be related to the quality of

water. Most women and girls in the camp fetch water from protected boreholes drilled by international NGOs.

Figure 5.8: Women and children lining up at the water source

Source: Author's field survey (2005)

However, one mother in the focus group discussion pointed out saying that, *"Children in the camps get lots of diarrhoea. The camp is crowded and dirty. We go out of the camp to avoid dirt and noise. Many people quarrel and children make noise. When a child defecates on a neighbour's compound, it results in quarrels and yet sometimes the latrines may be locked, dirty or full. Then the mothers have to go out of the camp in the ground where the children use the grass and get fresh air and return to the camp to sleep".*

Another participant added that, *"In the camp, everything is dirty and nobody cares. There is no ground for our children to play. Sanitation is bad, no shade for old women and children to sit and there are many disagreements. So we decide to go with our children to the garden and come back in time before the curfew and get inside our huts".*

Most women wished to get out of the camps because they wanted to keep their children free from disease and to keep out of trouble. Sanitary conditions within the camp were terrible. Children excreted almost everywhere. The toilets were in a very appalling state. They were very smelly, dirty and full of blue and green flies. Some of them were full and overflowing. The latrines had been built in the camp with some donations from NGOs. Latrine coverage in Lira is estimated at about 130 persons per latrine as compared to the international standard of 20 persons per latrine (UN

2003:42).

Residents of the camps were responsible for cleaning and maintaining the toilets. There were a few makeshift bathrooms made from simple structures that provide privacy for people to wash themselves. The entrances were covered with a cloth when someone was using the space. There were still not enough sanitation facilities. Initially only one toilet had been available for the whole camp population and it was difficult to maintain its cleanliness since both adults and children had to use the same facilities. Only 30 crests/mobile stances of pit latrines were functional while 55 were full and closed Figure 5.9. The camp environment generally had continued to became unsafe for people who had to stay for a long time especially women and children. The donors had tried to solve the sanitation problem by strategically placing makeshift toilets in various places to ease the congestion but because of congestion they easily become a health hazard especially when it rained.

The MSF worker intervened saying, "*We are also providing tools and equipment for the construction of 2,244 latrines to improve the situation towards reaching the international standard of 20 people per latrine*".

Figure 5.9: Donated makeshift toilets to improve sanitation problems

Source: Author's Field survey (2005)

Health and facilities: A number of respondents stated that good health was the most important asset. Some of the health threats such as diarrhea, malaria, malnutrition, measles, HIV/AIDS, maternal and infant mortality rates were on the increase in the camps. The researcher frequently encountered a number of HIV/AIDS patients or households with an HIV positive patient. Relatives of the interviewees indicated that there were few programmes focusing on HIV/AIDS among adults and children. For example, the infant mortality rate (IMR) was 290 per 1,000 births in Gulu and 274 per

1,000 in Kitgum compared to 274 per 1,000 in Lira while the national average was 88 per cent. (UBOS 2003:232-136). The Camp leader reported that the only HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention activity was being carried out by the Red Cross. For malaria prevention, there were 52 trained Community Resource Persons (CORPS) who carried out some home-based care including the distribution of malaria medicine for children.

Malnutrition: The mothers interviewed pointed out that malnutrition was another cause of death among children. The main reasons for the high rates of malnutrition includes: the decline of local food production, limited access to land, LRA rebels looting and burning fields and food stores, and insecurity that limited humanitarian access to affected populations. The leaders indicated that no statistics regarding the issue were available. However, they indicated that a visiting medical team from the district health office came only once a month to carry out curative health services. The leaders complained that the team came without prior knowledge and the drugs were sufficient for a few patients only. The respondents commended the good work done by MSF as regards provision of health services. A young female head of a household with five children to support responded saying:

"For me my life and my health are the most important assets since I have no land. When I am healthy I can do anything to earn money to care for my children. We used to have cows to sell and get money to buy food and pay school fees, but now money is in what we can do to earn it and you can only work if you are healthy".

Vulnerability to HIV/AIDS: Northern Uganda was faced with a high prevalence of HIV/AIDS even though Uganda had been hailed as a success for the decline in the prevalence. For example, Gulu Uganda in northern Uganda registered a prevalence rate among pregnant women at 11.9 per cent in 2002. Mbarara in Western Uganda registered an average of 10.8 per cent. Nsambya hospital in Kampala, Central Uganda, registered 8.5 per cent and Tororo hospital in Eastern Uganda registered 6.3. This compares with the national average of 6.2 per cent. The prevalence of AIDS in northern Uganda is attributed to several factors such as disruption of cultural education, overcrowding in camps, rape and lack of awareness among the IDPs (Ministry of Health June 2003). The figures in Gulu represent the northern region

including Lira. The interviewees expressed dissatisfaction in the provision of health services in Lira's IDPs camps. One interviewee complained saying:

"*Many health centers in the camps are closed most of the time. The health workers left to work in safer areas and those who are there are not well trained. Some nurses do not know how to handle some patients*".

Education: The lack of education materials and shortage of teachers in most of the camp schools constrained the living standards of the displaced children resulting in reduced interest and opportunities for those without education especially girls. Many respondents were illiterate except those working for humanitarian agencies. A large number of trained teachers left the war ravaged area to find employment in safer areas. As a result there were very few trained teachers in primary schools. The respondents revealed that the primary schools near the camps were overcrowded Figure 5.10. In some classes the teacher pupil ratio was 80 students to one teacher compared to the national average of 52:1. Some schools that were far from the camps were closed or vandalized due to war. Some parents stressed their fears of their children going to school because they feared for their safety. They insisted that their children would go back to school when peace returns to their land. They feared that their children could be abducted when at school as such incidents had happened before. According to UNICEF (May 2006), the sustained closure of some schools has resulted in the exclusion of nearly 23 per cent of the school age children from primary schooling with an average rate of completion of 1.3 per cent compared to the national average of 22 per cent. The overall participation of girls is much lower than that of boys. The girls are often removed from school due to social, economic, cultural or security reasons.

Figure 5.10: A Primary School at Erute Camp

Source: Author's Field survey (2005)

In this instance, the education of the girl child in particular has suffered. The respondents expressed fear for their girls going to school amidst insecurity and some abusive male teachers. The fear for not addressing girl's hygiene and lack of sanitary towels due to household poverty was raised. Some parents marry their girls in exchange for bride price as a strategy to avoid them being abducted by rebels. Some girls had to spend the whole day searching for food like wild fruits and vegetables instead of going to school. Other issues discussed that affect girl's education include teenage pregnancy, cost of schooling, lack of scholastic materials and the absence of female teachers to act as role models.

Vocational Training: With regard to the need for vocational training and rehabilitation opportunities, the researcher visited the Rachele Rehabilitation Centre and made these observations: The former abducted girls and boys were accommodated and rehabilitated at the Rachele Rehabilitation Centre Figure 5.11. Part of the rehabilitation canter's task was to help the formerly abducted children prepare for their reunion and reintegration with their families and community, of which many lived in the IDP camps. Most of those children had become young adults and had outgrown the formal education. Therefore, they needed to be channelled to vocational training. Grace, one of the social workers, took us around to see some of their projects and showed us around their facilities. We met some of the already young mothers undergoing training in knitting, tailoring, art and craft together with reading and writing skills. The boys were training in carpentry, art and design and

they were more than girls. In our meeting with the UNICEF official we learnt that they are funded by the Norwegian Government. Therefore, they had enough funds for vocational training and secondary education. Local NGOs working in this field can apply for funds from to offer vocational training projects. We advised the women organisations to take advantage of these funds and provide some of their vocational training needs. The Rachele Rehabilitation centre helps former abducted children to ease the tension and lessen the trauma associated with the stigma through counselling and prepare them for reintegration by playing games with the neighbouring schools. On the other hand, UNICEF and it partners had reunified 626 formally abducted child soldiers with their families or relatives in Lira and Pader since January 2005. In addition, they provided psychological support as well as shelter and other household items. In an interview, the social worker explained further saying:

"Most of the residents at the centre were returnees from Kony's rebels who escaped or were captured by government soldiers. The majority are boys who come with big wounds on their body from gun shots or cuts. Most girls escape when they are pregnant or with babies. They also have wounds on their bodies. Nearly all the escapees are traumatised but happy to return home".

Figure 5.11: Rachele Rehabilitation Centre in Erute Camp

Source: Author's Field survey (2005)

Housing and Shelter: Most internally displaced families lived in overcrowded conditions in camps built by women using mud, wattle and grass thatching. Sometimes Red Cross and UNICEF provided emergency canvas sheeting Figure 5.25. They also distributed non food items such as Family Kits that included 2 jerrycans, 2 cooking pans, 2 bars of soap, 2 blankets, 3 cups, and 5 plates since most families flee without these necessities. Nearly 3 300 displaced people living with HIV/AIDS were targeted to be included among those that needed provisions. There was a big risk for contagious diseases spreading very quickly in case of an infection because of overcrowding. Because of overcrowding conditions in the camps, a UNICEF Report (2006) indicates that nearly 3,400 IDP households in Lira camps were affected by outbreaks of fire and storms Figure 5.14. The interviewees commended the good support MSF, UNICEF, WFP and WHO were giving them.

Culture: The lack of educational and vocational perspectives made many young people in the camps feel idle, a feeling that easily bred criminal behaviour such as prostitution, drug and alcohol abuse. The respondents in the various focus group discussions expressed the decline of informal and cultural education. Some believe that cultural relationships in the camps had degenerated. Mothers were concerned about the behaviour of the youth and wanted to return to the village to help their children regain their culture as soon as the conflict ends. The respondents were very concerned about the issues related to cultural and psycho-social problems. For example, most women voiced their concern about the escalating number of teenage pregnancy, increase of HIV/AIDS, the rising divorce rates, domestic violence and alcohol abuse. The women asked why we did not to provide marital counselling in camps. As pointed out earlier, the HIV/AIDS prevalence rate in Northern Uganda was said to be nearly twice as high as the national average, which was about 6.2 (UNDP 2002:126).

Domestic Violence: For the women, the term "protected camp" was just a joke because women in such prolonged camp situations were more vulnerable to abuse from men and this was not unique to northern Uganda. The increase in domestic violence in the camps was mainly due to the progressive destruction of the traditional family and community's norms and support structures combined with the persistent poverty. Domestic violence was widespread in the camps and a threat to women's

rights and security. The most common culprits were husbands beating wives or domestic partners. The reason for the high rates of domestic violence according to the women was alcohol and drug abuse. The Local Councilor (LC) also attributed the violence to male drunkardness together with the strict patriarchal customs imposed on women. The victims of domestic violence got legal help through LC courts that refer their cases to police. This was confirmed by one interviewee who said, *"We hear women and children screaming every night, it is hard to sleep…"*

Food: Food was often in short supply in the camps and has to be used sparingly. The study shows that most of the households continue to depend on WFP rations for a big part of their food needs. Some households with land were able to supplement their food rations by growing or buying their own vegetables, beans, cassava, groundnuts and sweet potatoes. Many women ventured into the bush to collect wild vegetables and other famine foods. Few mothers in the camp were able to give their children breakfast except when WFP provides corn-soya blend for porridge. Majority of the respondents confirmed that they ate one small meal a day. However they were aware of the poor nutrition. Those households with a bit of money from sales of firewood, alcohol, thatch grass, charcoal or paid labour are able to buy food from markets. The respondents confirmed that sufficiency in food can only be possible with better access to land. Land access was said to be improving both around the camps and in the newly settled decongested camp areas. Many camp dwellers were also commuting to their villages to grow food and return to camps. For the men and some women, drinking local beer was the order of the day, mainly because of boredom and lack of employment. Some women left their husbands to take care of the children and went to find food by trading or to cultivating in designated areas.

Figure 5.12: The women go to work while men and children stay home

Source: Author's Field survey (2005)

Some women go to far markets where food is cheaper to try and cut costs by as one interviewee said:

"I go to buy in town where there are many people selling food in the evening when the prices are low because the things in the camp are expensive. The traders raise the prices because of extra transport. We don't have enough food in the camp to choose from and the portions are very small. One can buy bigger portions of potatoes and cassava in the rural market for the same price".

Human rights: The conditions in the camps were worsened by the presence of idle soldiers and men who spent most of their time drinking alcohol and only returned home to harass and batter their spouses and girlfriends. The overcrowding in camps has resulted in gender-based violence and disease, which caused a lot of suffering to mostly women and girls. Most women living in internally displaced people's camps expressed that living in camps as depressing and compared it with staying in jail. The people whose culture valued freedom of expression, freedom of movement and freedom of association find themselves confined in a camp. One interviewee expressed her bitterness and dissatisfaction saying:

"I used to enjoy my freedom in our village moving freely as I liked digging, visiting relatives, dancing at parties and going to church with friends. Traditionally our people prefer to live in scattered settlements, but now it is amazing how our people have been sentenced to live in crowded camps except for the few who are living in urban areas. This is worse than living in jail with curfews in camps and only free to move between 9.00 a.m. and 5.00 pm. Some people get beaten by soldiers if they are found outside the camp after hours. Families in displaced camps cannot build more

than one household. Therefore, no matter how big the family is, they are forced to sleep in a hut that is nearly 10 square metres outside the camp, they can only dig some gardens near the camp along the roads".

The above testimony revealed that the people's human rights were violated in the name of security. They were controlled as to when they could go, where they went and when they came. They also had to be careful about what they say and whom they talk to. They are confined within a small territory and they were never happy. No wonder they call their place of abode 'prison'. These women were longing for the day when they will enjoy their freedom. One interviewee said, *"We feel so unworthy and inferior which destroys our self esteem because of lack of enthusiasm to work".*

The consequences affect the whole society's social, cultural and economic development as observed. Life in the camp of IDPs was abnormally quiet because every person we saw had a sad face. The women in particular who experienced the worst suffering and other tragic experiences were affected. The camps become dangerous places for any woman to live in for such a long time. The women with their families trapped in such disastrous environments were embraced by uncertainty, epidemics and armed raids that could breakout any time. The conditions for women and girls were worsened by the common evils of rape and harassment by their male counterparts who include some staff agencies, soldiers, rebels and men in their community. Although UN agencies provide food and other relief items during the resettlement phases, their attitudes and policies had not yet changed to integrate gender and human rights awareness. This has resulted in women feeling hopeless and powerless. The issue of displacement was not only a human rights problem but also a danger to future development of the country (Daily Monitor June 22 2005:12). It was argued that Ugandans had failed to unite and work for the total peace, justice and development of their country.

Security: According to UNICEF (October 2005), The LRA consists mainly of youths that had earlier been abducted as children. The abductees were forced to become soldiers or wives of commanding officers. Since 1986 almost 25,000 children were abducted of whom 7,500 were girls. Nearly 1,000 girls had conceived and produced children during captivity. In addition, over 20,000 children commuted to shelters or

verandas in urban centres every night. However, even if night commuting had declined, some 25 per cent of the children continue to flock to towns at night. This meant that some family issues might also be the cause other than the LRA.

The LRA were notorious for their practices of abduction, torture and maiming, burning and looting food in settlements. Focus group discussion disclosed how deadly the rebels were. They revealed that the LRA moved in small armed groups and carried out attacks on settlement camps during evenings or early mornings. Their main purpose for targeting camps was to abduct recruits, food and other supplies from relief stores and camps to meet their needs. Those abducted were used by the rebels to carry their loot, while girls were used as wives or sold into slavery.

Rebel attacks such as the one reported by Josline Masweruke in New Vision (24 January, 2005:3) said that, "Nine IDPs were killed in a fire which left 27,000 homeless. Eight children and one adult were killed when the fire swept through the camp in northern Uganda that burnt more than 4,000 grass thatched huts on Saturday. This took place a day after another fire had struck Agweng camp in Lira district affecting over 20,000 people on Friday". The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and Uganda Red Cross Society (URCS) confirmed that fire outbreaks in the overcrowded camps are common. They indicated that sometimes the fires were caused by rebel attacks or children left home trying to cook when their mothers went to search for food or firewood Figure 5.14. Sometimes unemployed youths set the huts on fire which leaves the displaced population homeless after destroying the few possessions accumulated in the camps including their food rations.

Although there was some optimism, I observed that most women in IDPs camps were worried about the security situation. For example, most mothers still leave behind their children in the camps when they go to visit their homes or to cultivate their gardens. Some women have stopped their girl children from attending school for fear of them being raped or abducted while going to school or from school. There was widespread fear based on previous experiences that rebel attacks could resume. There had been few incidents of attack that had resulted in camp dwellers living in uncertainty. These perceptions created situations where some people became unproductive because of fear. They preferred to remain with less property because

they cannot carry much when they run to safety. This was confirmed by the fact that most of the households contained bare necessities that included a mat to sleep on, a blanket, a wash basin, a container for water, a pan for cooking, few plates and cups. Most of the items were donations from the Uganda Red Cross and WFP who were always available to support the victims.

Figure 5.13: Single mothers leave children alone when they go to fetch water

Source: Author's field Survey (2005)

The ICRC and URCS usually come to the rescue of the affected households supplying them with tarpaulins, soap, blankets, cooking pots and jerrycans for fetching water. One of the camp leaders reported that plans were underway to assist those who might opt to return to their villages by providing them with tools and seeds for planting. Smaller camps were being established at sub-county levels so that people could move closer to their homesteads. Although there was some prevailing optimism and enthusiasm to return home, most interviewees still feared and worried about insecurity. The women left behind their defenceless children in camps when they ventured home to cultivate their gardens. Sometimes they returned home to find their little property in ashes as in Figure: 5.14 below.

Figure 5.14: Fire burning one of the camps in Lira

Source: The New Vision 5 December 2005.

5.7 Major Causes of Forced Migration

The findings of this study provide important insights into what prompted women to flee their homes to stay in camps. Forced migration in Lira like the rest of northern Uganda was caused by the conflict between Kony's LRA and the government UPDF. Displaced women fled to IDP camps for security reasons. The majority of the interviewees fled because they were being directly targeted by the LRA; shifts in interaction with the rebels; traumatic events experienced at the household level; and government pressure to move into camps. In some cases the entire villages were moved to camps because of being directly targeted by the LRA. For example, if a woman escaped from the LRA, everyone would be threatened to be killed if the woman was not returned. Then every one would run to the camp for protection. UPDF soldiers and Local Defence Units (LDU) provided security in the camps. In other instances, the government declared some areas unsafe and forced the people to move to camps in days. People also moved to the camps voluntarily when their households felt unsafe. This usually occurred after the murder or abduction of family members. Consequently, since 1986, armed conflict between the Government forces and the LRA resulted in more than 100,000 deaths and the displacement of nearly two million people in northern Uganda (Sunday Vision 4 February 2006:1-2).

The government's policy to protect civilians from rebels created protected villages where people were forced to live for security reasons. This is also in accordance with

Article 17 of Protocol 2 of the Geneva Convention, which allows the forced movement of populations for their security. However the article prescribes that there must be adequate provisions of food, water, shelter and freedom of movement. Without fulfilling the conditions prescribed in the Guiding Principles of Internal Displacement, the action is said to be illegal according to International Law (http://ww.nrc.no/global_ind_suvey). However, the civilians were forced to move to the settlements with little consideration of the Guiding Principles and the angry participant during the focus group discussion had this to say:

"Soldiers shelled villages using helicopters to create fear so that all the civilians could move to the camps and the government takes our land".

Gyetu expressed her bitterness as follows*: "This war was for the Acholis. It was not a war of the Langi. The Acholis brought the war to Lira. They were angry with the government and wanted to force us to join them. We did not want the war. Those small boys came speaking Acholi and when we did not respond they started burning our homes and we ran for our lives to the camps. The Acholis came and stole our children and our property. They burnt our houses and killed our husbands. We are angry because we did not initiate the war".*

 In addition Pettronia during her interview said*, "I was forced to leave my home because of shootings between the rebels and government forces. Some people in our village were locked up in their grass thatched hut by rebels who set it on fire. All of them died and the neighbours who tried to bury the dead were killed. After that, I saw the rebels looting food and property from homes and grain stores of those who had fled. From that day we decided to sleep in the bush. When I saw other people running towards Lira town, I decided to run with my four children. We found some people from Red Cross waiting for us and they gave us some tents to sleep in and food. When we reached here one daughter of mine died from malaria and I am now left with one son and two daughters. My husband is alive but he does not stay with us.*

One other woman shared of how she was raped with her 13-year-old daughter by the government soldiers who were patrolling their village. We could not refuse because those women who tried to refuse were tortured. The desperation caused by violent

attacks forced the women to flee their homes. The stories reveal that the countless attacks are characteristic of most armed conflicts. It is rare not to find anybody that did not suffer some form of horror. The policy of camp resettlements came in handy to offer the fleeing women with their children some form of shelter even if the conditions were not adequate.

Figure 5.15: A female headed family of 13 including orphans from relatives

Source: Author's field survey (2005)

Although the war was a surprise to the Langi, most people were forced to flee their villages while others fled voluntarily. However the direct causes for fleeing included fear of attacks by LRA, massacres, psychological pressure, destruction of villages and homes, eviction, economic pressure following the destruction of their livelihood bases and the behaviour of the armed forces. During individual interviews some interviwees talked about the reasons why they fled. Okote is a single mother, described her experience saying:

"I am a single mother who had decided to live alone. However in September 2003, the rebels came to my village and attacked us. They burnt many houses with paraffin. They abducted the boys and a few girls. The mother of one of the girls hanged herself because her only child had been abducted by the LRA. Then we all decided to quit the village for fear of our lives and children. I had only my seven-year-old son because I had no husband. We had been sleeping in the bush with other people but when we saw what happened we ran away. While moving we kept on asking wanting to know how the situation was on the way. We had to move quietly while listening to every sound in the bush. We removed foot prints as we moved by covering with grass so as not to be

followed. We are 13 including my children and 7 orphans of my late sister and brother. We are suffering, but happy to be alive. Our biggest problem is poverty and lack of food".

Jackie lives in Erute camp. She summarised her reason to flee was, *"Kony and his men wanted boys and girls to join them but people refused. Then they started abducting the children and killing those who denied them their children. I ran away to escape from rebels to protect my children from abduction".*

Some of the women in the focus group discussion made these comments when they were asked why they fled from their homes to the camp and Setti said, *"Most of the fighting forces were mistreating people. They had no mercy and no one could come near them. The rebels destroyed things from houses to gardens. They killed and mutilated civilians by cutting their lips, legs, arms nose and other parts of the body. They targeted women to carry their loot, but they also raped them and used them as wives or sold them as slaves…"*

Jera added, *"I left home because of fear of both the rebels and government soldiers. When I left home, I first slept in the bush for some time but then I heard that people were going to live in the camps where it was safer. When I left, there was no time to pack anything so I just came with relatives and children. At the camp, we were given a tent, which was torn, and it had been in use since 2001. The tents are now weak and when it rains we get many problems. I have been in the camp for five years as from 2001 to 2005. I came with five children but now we have no help of any sort…"*

Agom and a single mother shared how she lost her home and family as follows: *"I was married with five children. We lived in Abako village until the rebels attacked us. The rebels attacked my home about 30 kilometres away from this camp. They came and threatened that if we don't give them money they were going to kill us. We had no money so they locked seven of us including a neighbour who had come to visit us and set the house on fire. Everyone including my husband and four children perished in the fire. I am the only one and my baby who survived because I managed to roll my body against the mad wall and escaped with my baby. I then moved to this camp to escape from the Acholi rebels and started a new but difficult life without my husband*

and the other children. Everyday I think of what happened and I miss my family. My only consolation is my little daughter".

Holding her daughter to her chest, Agom wiped her eyes that were wet with tears. Agom was very possessive and protective of her three-year-old daughter and she could not tell why but she never lets her go to play with other camp children. She said that she wants to carry her all the time. She fears that something bad may happen to the only child to console her or fears that in case the rebels attack again she should be able to run with her. Women always cling to their children in time of danger. They are the most brave when it means survival in such dangerous situations. Some participants in focus group discussions blamed the Acholi rebels for the attacks and was very bitter. Almost all the participants denied that the Langi had anything to do with the war. However, many women who fled their homes were forced to go to the camps by the government forces. Some women ran from one camp to another to escape gunshots, killings, abductions, looting and sexual harassment that were common in resettlement camps. Other participants reported that they fled their homes because of fear after experiencing terror. The women said that some people escaped from the rebels and took refuge churches, health centres, schools and trading centres to be relatively safe.

Most women regarded the displacement as a punishment by government. They complained that the government soldiers failed to provide security and the soldiers themselves were part of insecurity since they forced young girls and women into prostitution. Most of the respondents claimed to have gone through untold pain and wished they were left to remain in their villages to deal with Kony's rebels themselves. The rebels blamed women for collaborating with government soldiers and that was why the rebels punished the civilians. The government soldiers also failed to protect the women and children in the camps. Most of the participants in focus group discussions complained that sometimes government soldiers ran away to hide and return when the rebels had left. The rebels attack the camps and assault women, abduct children and loot food at will.

On a radio interview, the vice president of Uganda Prof. Gilbert Bukenya called on the people of Lira to forgive the LRA rebels who have caused them misery. He said that hatred among the people and disrespect for other ethnic groups was the major

cause of instability in northern Uganda. (The New Vision 21 February 2005).

5.8 Women's Experiences during the War

When fleeing to safety, women got subjected to more violence without protection. They faced uncertainty with limited food supply, shelter, water and sanitation. These women have been traumatised by the violations of their physical bodies, as well as experiences of watching their beloved ones abducted or killed. These experiences had a devastating impact on the displaced women and their families. The affected region also suffered from economic decay. Development programmes were brought to a stand still. Most of the respondents living in the camps in Lira described their experiences before flight, during flight and during settlement as horrific and chaotic. There were many forms of violence that women suffered as illustrated by some of the testimonies during individual interviews and focus group discussions below:

Carolina said**,**" *I lived with my three children after the rebels had killed my husband in 2002. We had just returned from the bush where we had slept for three days and had just had our meal of the day wondering what to do next. Then we heard a helicopter gunship passing over our homestead. After that, I don't know what happened. When I regained my consciousness I discovered I was in Lira hospital where I had been for two months. Then I was told my children were killed and the home was burnt. We don't know whether the LRA or UPDF killed them but I am now disabled. My legs were broken and I had no one to look after me in hospital when I had an operation. I live with my niece who looks after me together with her husband and two children in the camp. She is my sole supporter. The government has forgotten us as if we are not Ugandans. As for the rebels, I cannot forgive them because they ruined my life and family. I pray that they meet their fate and pay for the people they have maimed and killed".*

Some people preferred hiding in the bush instead of staying in the camps because they had no relatives in town to go and live with or their homes were too far from the designated camps. They could harvest food from the gardens and cook in the bush and eat. One interviewee reported that during the day, they hid in bushes or near streams in villages far away from their homes where they thought it was difficult to be found by the soldiers. Eventually the soldiers traced the people's footsteps and when

they were found, they faced the machete or were set on fire because they were suspected to be the enemy's agents. The majority were women who were predominantly widows with children and had become more vulnerable to attacks in all phases of flight.

Akoth a widow shared her story as follows: *"I am a widow with four children from Angeta village. My husband was killed in April 2003 when the rebels attacked us at home during the night. The rebels ordered me to get out and then my husband was hit on the head with a big stick and he fell down. They tortured him in the presence of the children. They also burnt our house and property with paraffin. I was ordered to go with three children and leave my husband behind with my youngest daughter. They told us to run and after we had left, they took my daughter who was then five years and threw her in the river. She was rescued by people who were hiding in the bush and told me that my husband had been killed while escaping to rescue his child and his body had been found in the swamp. I am now living in the camp with all my three children but we are all suffering. It is not easy heading a family without support."*

Rena said,*" I came to the camp in August 2002 and I was coming from Olilim Village with my three children. I had reached the camp but one day I left the camp and went back to my home to find food for my children. Then the rebels found me and captured me. They accused me of having come to spy on them and report them to government soldiers. They raped me and took me for some weeks. I became a wife of the rebel commander and I was made to give information as to where the barracks was; how many soldiers were there at the camp; and which people were rich. Then my rebel husband released me and gave me somebody to accompany me home but not to the camp. When I reached the camp, I found my husband with one leg because he had stepped on a landmine while escaping and his leg had been amputated. My husband is now one legged in a wheel chair and I have to take care of him and the children single handedly. What I want now is food, clothes, and for my children to go to school. We are tired of staying in the camp and it is my prayer that peace returns to our region and we return home"*

Those women in the camp had a difficult time adjusting to the new environment for survival as most of them are widows who feel helpless and have to struggle for the

scarce resources such as water, food rations, firewood and clothes.

Kallen said, *"When my husband heard that the rebels were around, we started sleeping in the bush. One day, we decided to sleep in our home but at one night of August 2003, the rebels pounced on us. They beat my husband to death because there was no money to give them. All the houses in the homestead and the neighbours were burnt. They took goats, food and many other things. I am now in the camp with no help at all. All my children are no longer going to school because of insecurity. My husband was a business man and we could afford everything but they were all stolen or burnt. Now I don't know what to do for my family"*.

Some women braved the rebels and fought hard to get their children to safety in the camps after losing their husbands. As I walked through one of the camps, the most depressing observation was the number of children loitering around and their helpless teenage mothers. For example, Jane lived with her parents in the camp and she already had two children and was pregnant with a third one. She has no responsible father for any of the children. The woman was showing how her fuel saving stove had not cooked a meal for some time Figure: 5.16. The young mothers were concerned about their hungry and malnourished children.

Figure 5.16: Women have no food to cook for their children

Source: Author's Field Survey (2005)

During a focus group discussion the following extracts were recorded:

Salina, who was about 52 years with 5 children, said, *"My husband and my son in law were killed while at home in July 2003. Our property was destroyed and the good*

things looted. My daughter and her husband were visiting us at home and he was killed. I was able to escape with my three grandchildren because we had been sleeping in a different house but in the same compound. My daughter and I are trying to bring up her children together".

Dona said, *"I left my village after seeing men and boys being abducted. As I was running with my baby, I met some government soldiers who tried to help me but one of them forced me to sleep with him before he sent me to the camp. After some time, I realised that I was pregnant. That is how I got my second child".* Abita added, **"***I was not happy with the soldiers. The soldiers were not good because during the screening exercise, they forced women to sleep with them. They separated women and men and put them into groups. Then at night the soldiers came and took some women and forced them to sleep with them".*

Alice a child head of the family expressed her fear and desperate situation as follow: *"I fear going back to my village because all my people were killed. I saw with my two eyes what the rebels did to my parents and brothers. I am scared of going back I have never visited my home and I have no intention of going there. Some people went to see the place and came back. They said that the place is bushy and empty".*

The women's stories describe the tragic and sad familiar experiences that women went through during flight. The above stories like many others told have the hidden complication of how women suffer the gender specific issues that impact on them negatively. Most women live with fear and trauma because of what they saw and suffered. They are afraid of being attacked all the time and they cannot plan for the future. They were scared of returning home because the horrors of massacres they experienced were still live in their memories.

The stories reveal that women become the main targets during armed conflicts as unveiled by the stories above. The warring parties as well as the affected communities expected too much from the women. For example, women were expected to protect the young ones, the elderly and to nurse the injured and the sick. The women are usually recruited as combatants by rebels to support them in their cause while they also use them as caregivers at the war fronts. We shall further explore how women

participate in armed conflicts.

5.9 Women's Participation in Armed Conflict

The role of women during armed conflict is usually crucial. Women being the mothers and wives of the fighting forces could not avoid participating in the war. They participated as victims; caretakers; perpetrators; combatants; and as peacemakers. Women are the main reproducers and educators of the sons and daughters who swell the armed forces. Mothers played a big role in socialising their children to become good citizens Figure 5.17. That is why women have to play a big role in war and peace during such civil conflicts. Women also keep the families together when men have gone to hide and women are left behind to defend the property and children. One woman who became a victim because her husband had escaped said, *"My husband escaped to the bush when we heard that the rebels were around. They found me in the house with children and threatened to burn us alive. I was beaten unconscious and left to die but I did not die"*.

Figure 5.17: Mothers care and socialise all children

Source Author's field survey (2005)

Some women were forced to participate in the war by both rebels when they were abducted. On the other hand, the government soldiers forced them to be caretakers and reproducers of their children. Some women in the camps shared their experiences and Atio said, *"I participated in the war as an informer for the government soldiers because one of the officers was my friend. He could give me more food and I was able to feed my family like that"*.

Cristina and a former abductee living in camp A narrated her story saying,

"When I was abducted, I become a wife of the soldiers. I had to cook and perform other duties. I found other women there but our lives in the bush were characterised with abuses, harassment, brutal handling by the so called husbands, lack of economic support, rejection, exposure to HIV infection, unwanted pregnancy and other problems. The women performed all the domestic chores in the bush without pay or appreciation".

During a focus group discussion at the rehabilitation centre, some women expressed their ordeals. For example, Pat described how she participated in the conflict while trying to defend her children when the rebels came to take them.

Pat said, *"Three young men found me in the garden with my two sons and daughter. They pointed guns at me threatening to kill me. They wanted to intimidate me so that they could take my children but I did not fear them. I confronted them and refused them to take my children. They threatened to kill me but I said, you cannot take my children. I just followed them telling them that I must die with my children. I followed them wherever they went and eventually they gave me my children".*

Pat was happy to get her children and said that the good thing with the rebels was that if you were tough they gave in, but if they saw that you were scared of them they took everything you have. *"For men, if they object to their demands they just kill."* She said that she understands them well. For example, she said that rebels don't shoot civilians but instead kill them with machetes or clubs to reserve bullets for killing government soldiers.

Jude said, *"The rebels could abduct, both boys and girls young and old but some mothers encouraged their children to join the rebels for the sake of getting protection. The sons after training could come back and to bring their parents money and rooted goods. Therefore, some women persuaded their husbands and sons to join the struggle so as to liberate their land and protect them from government soldiers".*

Fausta said, *"The rebels stole our children, but the government soldiers accuse us of sending our children to fight".* Then Angela said, *"Some women's husbands are part of the forces and we see them come and bring them food and money to eat. The*

women even cook food and give to the soldiers. When the soldiers find us cooking they ask for food and we give it to them". The women were able to keep the confidential information about their involvement in the war.

Women also participated in the war by becoming soldiers while others became informers. Women could provide information to both rebels and soldiers about their locations.

Paulina said, *"The government soldiers could come and ask whether we had seen the rebels? Then the rebels also could come and ask whether we had seen Museveni's soldiers. Sometimes we could tell lies and say we have not seen them or tell them we had seen them and even describe how they looked like. We also provided them with food. Both forces survived on our gardens of sweet potatoes, ground nuts, cassava and bananas"*.

A nursing sister said, *"We treated both rebels and government soldiers when they came to the hospital. We also treated victims of war who sustained injuries during cross fires. We did not discriminate anybody"*.

Maria said, *"When soldiers came we helped them with food, when rebels came we also helped them. When government came or NGOs we cooperated with them. For example, we took part in peaceful demonstrations against the war, which was mobilised by NGOs. We want the war to end so that we go back to our villages"*.

Okiti complemented the almost successful attempt of Beatty as a hero and peacemaker when she reminded the women saying, *"Beatty Bigombe attempted to mediate between government and Kony in ending the war in 1993. She was about to bring peace, but the men did not take her seriously and did not want to listen to a woman. Our men here do not consider women as useful. Beatty was almost through but the problem was the men who did not want a woman to get credit"*.

The Langi society is a typical patriarchal society that still marginalises women. They believe that women should keep their position in the private sphere and must not venture into their public sphere. Therefore, the men could not imagine a woman going

out there in the bush where they feared to venture and be successful in bringing peace.

Santha said, *"I was a rebel's wife and combatant. We first trained to fight the government soldiers along side the men. We cooked and washed clothes for them.*

This was confirmed by a report by media reports such as Chris Ochuwun (The New Vision 24 January 2005:1) carried a heading "Captured". The writer reported that an LRA commander was captured with two wives and three children of rebel leader Joseph Kony. One of the children was one week old and one of the captured women was Otti's sister. Otti is the second in command of the LRA forces. The soldiers also want their families to be safe. This shows how women participate in war even by producing and nursing their babies.

The stories above reveal that women's participation in the war was both voluntary and involuntary. Women were mostly forced to give information and when the rebels discovered that they had revealed their whereabouts, they revenged by cutting off their lips and limbs as a punishment. The girls were abducted and forced to become soldiers and wives of army officers. These abductions were reflected in the stories told by the survivors at Michel Rehabilitation Centre in Lira. The interviewees confessed that they were forced to commit crimes such as killing, stealing, burning homes, or beating victims to death as part of their training. They punished victims using clubs, fire, stones, axes and knives. They walked long distances to Sudan through Gulu, Pakwach and other regions in the north under extreme hardships while carrying looted goods. They survived by eating anything they came across.

The researcher observed that majority of the women and girls at the returnees' centre had one or more babies while others were pregnant. Many of them also suffered from fresh and old wounds from gun shots and other incidents. Some had lost eyes, ears, broken limbs and walked with crutches or were in wheelchairs. When abducted daughters returned from rebel camps, their mothers helped to rehabilitate them and took care of their babies. The mothers also had to bear the burden and shameful experiences of their abducted children. Mothers care for their children who return infected with HIV/AIDS or disabled. The mothers also take care of the babies their daughters bring from the bush war.

Figure 5.18: Grandmother takes care of a child while daughter goes to work

Source: Author's survey (2005)

While visiting some households in the camps, we met friendly old women welcoming us with smiles and greetings. A few barefooted dirty smiling children looked at us with some expectations because they are used to receiving small things like sweets.

The women have participated in peace making by calling on the warring parties to surrender and return to the negotiating table in order to bring peace to the region. For example, women marched on 24 February 2006, in remembrance of the massacre of over 200 people in Barlonyo camp near Lira town in Ogur sub-county. The majority of the victims were women and children who were burnt or hacked to death in the worst incident that took place in Lira. The women called for peace and reconciliation in a demonstration against the war. The impact of mothers crying and mourning the dead after the massacre attracted national and international attention to the forgotten Lira community. The women helped to break the national isolation of northern Uganda from the rest of the country through demonstrations, which attracted the media that publicised the plight of women and children here and abroad.

According to a UNICEF Officer in Lira, some community-based organisations (CBOs) such as the Lira Women Community Development Activists (LWCDA) together with other organisations in northern Uganda like Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI) and Civil Society Organisations for Peace in Northern Uganda (CSOPNU) and People's Voice for Peace (PVP) demonstrated for peace and reconciliation in Lira Figure 5.19. The women's voices reveal that women were no longer regarded as observers but participants as victims, combat forces, health

workers, transporters, technicians, army commanders, politicians and educators, care givers to the wounded, soldiers, husbands, children and the elderly.

Figure 5.19: Women and Vice President for Peace and Reconciliation in Lira

Source: The New Vision Monday 21 February 2005.

5.10 Consequences of Forced Migration on Women and Development

The major issues regarding the consequences of forced migration on individual women, households and the community addressed by the research include the socio-economic, cultural, and environmental development. The roles that the individual women played during the conflict and how they coped with the hardships, they encountered will enable us to understand the consequences of forced migration on the women and development.

In the first place, when the families were forced out of their homesteads, the population lost their land and other resources from which they generated income and food. This forced the women to find other means for their survival together with their families. During focus group discussions, the participants explained how some of them started battering their labour for food and even went as far as selling their bodies to support themselves and their dependants who included in most cases of their spouses, children and the extended family members.

Secondly, when the war came, most women and children fled to camps or into hiding if they were lucky but if they were unlucky, they were abducted or killed. Some girls were married off very young to safeguard them from defilement while others were sent away to find custody among friends and relatives far away from the war zone.

Therefore, the mothers were left without their children's support.

Thirdly, the women faced the challenges of being the breadwinners because the war led to unemployment. The women perform the extra duties amidst dangerous exposure to torture and abductions by government soldiers or rebel groups. The acts of aggression due to armed conflict broke down the family unity that was protective of its women and children. Most of the interviewees seemed to be psychologically affected by the experiences they had gone through. The following stories support the fact that wars result in serious psychological consequences.

Norah said, *"We have suffered a lot... We have been humiliated before children. Imagine seeing your daughter being raped in your face and you say nothing or do nothing. It is hurting and we have nothing to do. We shall live with it for a lifetime. Our husbands don't want to see a raped daughter or wife. They shun us and we have to fend for ourselves. According to our culture, raped women and girls are regarded as useless and spilt".*

In addition Sarah explained the humiliation that women suffer at the hands of rebels including young small boys who are forced to humiliate their adult relatives saying:
"The worst is when one gets pregnant after rape. The mother is unwanted, the child unwanted and one has nowhere to run to. The unwanted child continues to remind the mother of the crime that was committed against her innocent body. The mother is also made to hate and neglect the child. Some of the unloved children have grown up into street kids. Such children are common on the streets in Lira town especially on Fridays".

Hungry kids are many in Lira town; one has to be careful walking in the street because of so many beggars and pickpockets on the street, and the market place. The women said that those children were born during the war and are abandoned by their young mothers. Some experiences were traumatising and those women who witnessed them take long to recover from their effects. This is a story shared by one of the abducted woman who had escaped from the rebels when they came to attack villages in northern Acholi. She was brought to the rehabilitation centre and then reunited with her relatives in the camp. During the interview, she said:

"It was August 2002 during the night when the rebels came to my house and ordered me and my husband to come out. They ordered us sit outside and we obeyed. Then one of them who had a gun told my husband to give him money but my husband did not have much. He gave him five thousand shillings (5,000) which he had. The soldier just decided to shoot him there and he died. After that I was forced go with them carrying the loot from my house. We walked for weeks to Sudan. During the day, we cooked in the forest and planned how we were going to travel. When we reached at the Sudan camp, I discovered that there were many other people but majority were children who they traded for guns. I was trained to fight and they gave me a gun to look after. All the women and girls abducted became wives of rebels. If one dared to refuse the men could kill her and then each one of us could carry her dead body and drop it on the ground as a ritual. They made us choose husbands by heaping their clothes together and told us to pick a shirt or short. Whatever one picked, the owner became her full time husband. I picked a shirt of an old man who was very old and I stayed with him until I was rescued in January 2003 by the UPDF. Life is terrible in the bush and killing is done everyday. We killed people and animals and destroyed property. What makes me angry is the way people who have never been victims of rebels mistreat me instead of being sympathetic. I am sick and I have had a bad pain in my stomach for a long time."

The women's voices clearly indicate the traumatic experiences they continue to live with. Families have disintegrated losing their relatives and property. The victims have to live with such trauma for the rest of their lives. Some of their stories are unbelievable but the women themselves know. Men have their stories to tell but this study is concerned with women's issues.

Economic consequences of forced migration cannot be underestimated. Most women in armed conflict zones lead miserable lives. Many of the respondents expressed their concern of how they live in abject poverty. Oliver, a middle aged woman, said that since the war started, they have never planted any food due to lack of interest. They lost all the assets they had accumulated to the rebels. Bettha confirmed when she said:

"We walked for some thirty two miles to this camp. We are mainly concerned about our lives and those of our children. We ran and abandoned our homes, gardens of food, cows, goats, chickens, clothes and other household property. So we have nothing to do here. Those things were either carried away or burnt. When I came, I ran with just the clothes I had on and my children. When we reached here, we got blankets from Red Cross. They also gave us pots to cook in and food to cook. We have lost our property and we do not expect to find them. My children have grown up in this camp and my eldest son lives in town and he transports people by bicycles to generate some income. That is how we survive".

Akello said that her husband died when he fell off the truck that was bringing them to the camp. *"I had to look after my old parents and my two sons with bare necessities. Although we receive relief aid from NGOs such as Care International and USAID, we suffer a lot. We cannot live by getting hand outs which are also irregular. I only wish the war could end and we go back home. I had my house and a lot of land for ploughing. We worked very hard and we could produce our crops and earn enough money to send our children to school. Our children have now forgotten how to work on the field. I pray hard that the war ends and I go back home".*

Women, although marginalised by the patriarchal society are the backbone of the economy. Women in northern Uganda are known to be very hard working. They build their huts without the help of husbands. They now feel humiliated by becoming dependant on food rations. They have been made homeless and cannot save for tomorrow because they live by the day. They have lost their husbands and sons who used to graze herds of cattle and goats that used to be economic assets of every family. Widowhood has become one of the most common consequences that many women cannot avoid in armed conflict situations. The impact of widowhood varies among different communities, but individual widows suffer many human rights abuses. For example, according to the interviewees, the right to land inheritance was a big challenge for many widows. Most widows expressed their bitterness during group discussions about the lesser social status and marginalisation when they try to get access to goods and basic services. However, the situation seems to be changing since Beijing in 1995. Besides the atrocities committed against women, the gender shifts of roles left the women defenceless against some male predators. Other

atrocities include the worst kinds of social and economic exploitation. For example, when women became heads of households after their husbands had been arrested or killed, the women became vulnerable under the authoritarian patriarchal power structures, which undermined the gender relations. The armed forces instituted a reign of terror in which the defenceless women became harassed and traumatised to the extent that they lost confidence in themselves. As more men than women died, the ratio of women to men changed drastically and the age structure of the population also got altered as younger people died leaving the aged and widows to fend for themselves. There is also less concern and awareness about the few appointments of women to political positions, which undermines gender equality in decision-making on issues related to gender and forced migration and its impact on women.

Environment: The women are threatened by environmental degradation caused by lack of sanitation facilities and disposal Figure 5.20. For example, overcrowding without clean toilet facilities may result in the outbreak of diseases. The residents were also aware of the hazards caused by environmental degradation on their children's health and development. The children and some adults could easily fall in the open pits left when the toilets get filled up.

Figure 5.20: Full toilets are an environmental hazard

Source: Author's Field Survey (2005)

There is need for disaster preparedness for disease outbreak, floods or drought both at local, national and international levels. The lessons on the armed conflict by government are extremely high in terms of human and monetary resources.

Embarking on conflict resolution, reconstruction and development programmes in the regions affected by armed conflict should take priority. Although most women hope that their situation would soon change since many rebels were coming out of the bush because information about the government's Amnesty Act seems to have reached more people throughout the region by means of modern media such as radios, TV, news papers and cell phones. Many women were aware of what was going on and they were sensitized about their human rights. It was also clear that security in most areas was still uncertain with some unpredictable ruminants terrorizing camps and villages by burning huts and looting food. On the other hand, some considerable calm had returned to Lira and the neighboring villages. Some households didn't intend to return home because of the economic boom they were used to in Lira town.

5.11 Coping Strategies of the Displaced Women in the Hostile Environment

Although the women had been cut off from their sources of livelihood, they had developed coping strategies to survive hostile environment. The women learnt to provide for their families. Women went out to find casual labour and do other sorts of income generating activities such as brick-laying as shown below. The women taking advantage of the peaceful situation have started cultivating gardens outside the camps and others had taken small jobs in town. Girls worked in lodges, restaurants and markets in town to cater for their families. Some old women risk their lives and try to access their gardens but have to return early to the camps before 5.00 pm for security reasons. The participants who have ventured in the villages reported that public schools, hospitals, offices and other infrastructures were non-existent because they were destroyed, looted, vandalized and overgrown with bushes. Those women who cannot venture to their villages have learnt to survive within the camp environment through various trades Figure 5.24. They could get temporary but well-paying jobs on an almost daily basis. Their jobs included unskilled digging pit latrines, working at construction sites, operating grinding mills and garden work. Although most men spent their income on alcohol, majority of the women saved some substantial amount of money, which they used to operate businesses. For example, one interviewee had bought a bicycle to join the lucrative transport business in Lira town. Some IDPs did not like the idea of being resettled in their homes to cultivate or grow crops because it involves hard work on a daily basis. This was a negative consequence as most IDPs

have got used to being dependant on WFP rations. Some women were involved in brick-laying and construction to generate income. Displaced rural women in Lira were forced to alter their livelihoods by developing coping strategies to live in the overcrowded camps. The prolonged insecurity disrupted normal agriculture, trade and other traditional means of survival resulting into a miserable economy that has had a significant impact on women's usual life (The New Vision, 16 February 2005:7).

Figure 5.21: Brick laying one of the Income generating activities in IDPs
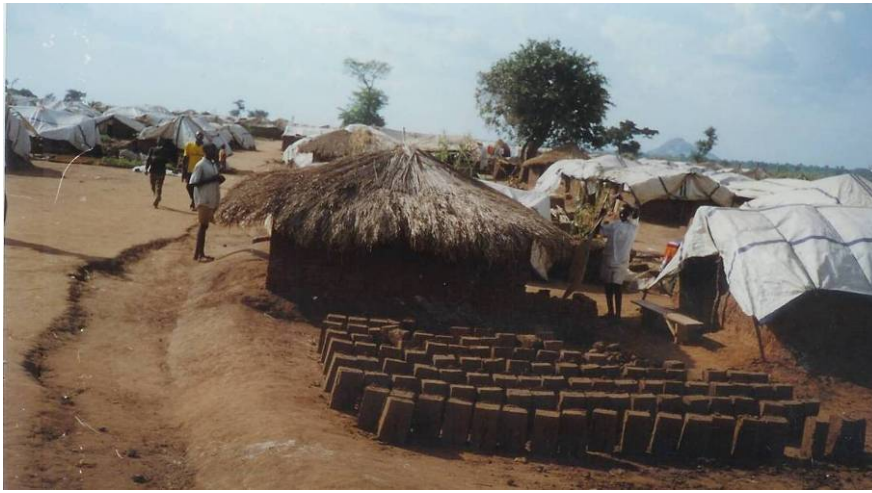
Source: Author's Field Survey (2005)

However some women managed to put up some businesses and houses near the town while others fled to other towns such as Kampala, Masindi, Jinja, Entebbe and some have gone as far West as Mbarara and Kabale. The others tried to find work where they get accommodation. During focus group discussions, the participants complained how they have to buy everything including firewood, grass to thatch their huts, vegetables and every small thing they need which was never heard of before they came to the camps. One interviewee showed me how she makes sun-baked bricks to sell in order to get money to feed her children and send them to school Figure 5. 21. "*This is good business*" she revealed.

Figure 5.22: Fuel saving stove to save the environment

Source: Author's field survey (2005)

The women suffered a lot going out to collect firewood but those in Lira have been very lucky. A Lira-based prominent businessman, Mr. Ojok Okullo, has had a huge impact on the lives of the internally displaced women and the environment in the district. He came up with a strategy to ease the firewood shortage displaced women were facing. The creative entrepreneur invented fuel saving stove that is now generally appreciated and used by the women in Lira camps. This stove that he designed is an alternative way to alleviate the sufferings of the displaced women. He molded it with split bricks and mire, and it can be plastered with cow dung. It is then stowed with rice brand or sawdust (known as cung bao in Luo). The stove has a stoke hole to ensure convenient passage of air for combustion Figure 5.22. Stuffing the stove with fuel once is enough for the user throughout the day. It may be used for cooking food and heating water. Apart from the obviously economic benefits, it is useful in sparing the women one of the burdens of buying expensive firewood or charcoal. It is also a way of conserving energy and keeping the environment clean by eradicating sawdust from the environment. It also saves environmental degradation caused by cutting down trees and shrubs for firewood.

Some women reported that they cope by selling charcoal, firewood, wild fruits and vegetables, foodstuffs and alcohol Figure 5.23. Most women cope by forming social women groups, which they use to dig together near the camps and plant food. It was encouraging seeing a very good garden of upland rice growing near Erute camp.
One interviewee was concerned about the unfair and immoral coping strategies:

"Some women allow their daughters to go and befriend those camp security guards who have easy access to food and other items so that they bring more home". Then she added, *"When men do some piece jobs in construction of roads and houses, they call the poor women and buy them alcohol. They offer small gifts to girls and some little money to buy their small things and some money to buy food. So mothers cannot stop them because they bring some food".*

This shows that corruption and prostitution have penetrated in the camps and was encouraged by parents and leaders for the sake of survival. Some old women have risked and managed to return closer to their homesteads to cultivate some food during the day and return to sleep in camps as expressed by Anek as follows:

"I got tired of staying in the camp. I also feared that if I stay long without checking on my house the soldiers will come and occupy it thinking that it is abandoned. I go stay for a week and then return to the camp. I plant some beans and cassava and bring to sell in town and give some to my grandchildren. I manage to do this because the soldiers do not disturb old women too much. Only old women are living in the homes to keep their children's property safe. We sleep with our doors open because if they come and find it closed they burn it thinking you are hiding rebels. We cook early and eat then we sleep.

This shows how women's livelihoods are at the mercy of the armed forces because they can enter their huts as they want. In most cases, old women are the ones who sleep in the huts because they are not regarded as threatening to the rebel forces.

Figure 5.23: A woman and son selling outside her hut for some income

Source: Author's Field Survey (2005)

Susan sells charcoal from under a tree and she tried to explain how they try to cope:

"Women have had to do many things to supplement the rations because they are not regular. So as you can see over there (she points to the canvas stalls), *some cook food to sell, others make local beer from millet or maize to sell, then you see some are selling charcoal, tomatoes, sweet potatoes and other household items like matches, soap and anything."*

Most women worked in groups and had learnt to cooperate to survive in the hostile camp environment. They are in dire need of food, education, health, water sanitation, which was provided only by humanitarian agencies. A large number of international and national NGOs were performing a remarkable task under very difficult circumstances to empower women through small scale businesses Figure 5.26.

Figure 5.24: Women selling at the market

Source: Daily Monitor, June 22, 2005

Before the war, women's livelihood depended on farming. As most women reported that before the war, their main occupation was cultivation but now they have shifted into business to make a living by selling some home made foodstuffs such as fat cakes, chapattis and others. Although some families continued to cultivate within the camp premises, the gardens were small and they cannot produce enough food. Some creep back to their gardens in their villages and plant some cassava. However, it was not safe and if soldiers or rebels catch them they are punished as, one narrates below.

Constance said, *"I was used to getting food from the garden. The land near the camp is not enough for all of us. So some women who stay in camps escape to the village to cultivate their land but it is very dangerous. When the soldiers catch them, they get seriously beaten and they are accused of being collaborators with the rebels. If the rebels find them there, they punish them that they come to spy for government soldiers. Men hiding in the bush also pounce on the women as they look for food or firewood. Women have to risk and choose between sleeping with the men or die and leave their children to starve"*.

During a focus group discussion, some women laughed when they tried to discuss the issue of fearing rape. Most of them said that they did not fear it anymore because they did not know how many men had raped them. They only expressed their fear of HIV/AIDS. This shows that women had become hardened and no longer fear being raped, gun shots, dead bodies in their compounds or ghosts in their abandoned huts. Life had become so hard that they regard death as a relief. They had no plans for the future but lived by the day. That is why they were not bothered about sending their children to school or about investing.

When the people ran away, both the government soldiers and rebels looted the animals and other households while they also burnt down grain stores and houses. As a result, the abandoned fields have overgrown with bush together with the roads that led to the villages. The effect of war on the economic welfare of the women in particular is coupled with the changes in the means of transport and communication. The participants reported that before the war, there was a variety of transport which included motor vehicles, bicycles and others. At the time of the study, the most popular means of transport are the bicycles, which are used by both women and men. However, motorcycles and cell phones are on the increase and I was fortunate to use one during my tour to the camps. Most of the motor cars seen on the road belonged to the NGOs and government personnel. However, most people in Lira travelled on foot and they believed that it was safer and convenient as one could easily hide in the bush when an attack is suspected.

Other coping strategies adopted by women include forming women's groups for social support to cater for the extended family system. For example, women worked

in groups of ten to cultivate gardens in the land near the camps. Christian Relief Services (CRS) provided the seeds such as groundnuts, beans, maize, rice and others. They motivated the women to work by providing food for work to the camp dwellers so as to cultivate food to supplement the relief aid and support the participating families to graduate from dependence to independence. Through suffering and pain, the displaced women had become confident and mature in decision-making in both public and private spheres. Some husbands learnt to respect their wives because of the roles they play in the family such as generating some income to pay children's school fees, feeding and dressing the family and some had even bought plots and constructed good housing for the family. For example, Selina narrates her story in an interview as follows:

"My husband is disabled because his leg was amputated. I did not know what to do but as time went on I regained courage to do some business. I started by cooking a little food for selling then I could leave some for the family to eat. As I got used I even started to sell some soft drinks and it was good. I saw things improving and as more money came, I was able to rent a small room in town where I put up with my family. After that, I bought a small plot and I have put a small home, which is good. My husband is happy and has accepted me to continue doing my business. I feed the family, buy clothes, and pay school fees for the children.

Night was sitting in front of her hut on the sun and shared how she copes with her husband as follows: *"I left the village nine years ago when the rebels were killing people. I was forced to move to the camp with my family. Two of my brothers were killed at an early age by rebels. The pain forced me to get married at the age of 16 in order to get support. My husband is a charcoal dealer and I sell firewood. We are able to raise money to buy food and buy school requirements for our children in primary school".*

Some women like Night thought that marriage was the answer to their problems as they need a man for company, comfort, security and support. Many desperate women and young girls resorted to marriage as a strategy to cope with the stressful social and economic hardships caused by the conflict.

In spite of the difficult situation and the unfavourable conditions in the IDPs camps in Lira, some of the women tried to maintain their independence and cultural identity. The findings from interviews reveal that given the problems women undergo and the limited opportunities in education and training, the displaced women had become imaginative, industrious and resourceful. There was increased agricultural aid for development by the international organisations engaged with the conflict-affected region. Children were sent to schools where they received free breakfast and some school supplies. Although the interviewees shared a strong desire to return to their homesteads, repatriation was not appropriate until the underlying causes for the displacement were addressed and resettlement packages provided to those involved in the conflict. However, prolonged camp life has resulted in dependency on government and humanitarian agencies as further analysed.

5.12 The Role of Government and Humanitarian Agencies

Considering what government and humanitarian agencies are doing, one observes that their efforts enhanced the women's livelihoods even though they could not meet all their expectations. The negative consequences of forced migration on women are demonstrated by the conditions in the camps that force international humanitarian agencies to provide food, shelter, health services and other necessities to the displaced persons. The emergency state of affairs does not allow agencies or government to reflect deeply on the development consequences of their actions. The evictions of people from their homesteads are clearly human rights violations recognised under international human rights law. The conditions reflected in the comprehensive Human Rights Guidelines on development based on displacement were developed by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights in 1997. The conditions of the Guiding Principles for IDPs go further to cover specific preventative obligations by States together with issues of compensation for the survivors of forced displacement. The focus group discussions called on the intervention of government and humanitarian agencies as follows:

Judith said," *I want the government to step up security and make sure that the soldiers are disciplined. Those who commit atrocities should be brought to court and punished if guilty. There are soldiers who have committed crimes against women and we see them around even though we reported them to their bosses. Soldiers need to be*

trained to respect women and children according to the UN Act on Human Rights and the Beijing Conference"

Hanna said, *"Life in the camps is a disaster. We need more lights so as to be able to move safely to the toilets and water well. It is at night when women and girls are attacked and never even know who has attacked them. Some men creep in the huts at night and rape women and girls. But all the same we want international NGOs and government to negotiate with the rebels so that the war can end and we return to our villages where the environment is safer and not overcrowded"*.

Joan Said, *"Most NGOs employ mostly men who employ fellow men to distribute relief supplies. Therefore these men use the supplies to befriend girls by giving them extra rations. We see that the things are not fairly distributed. The elderly women who have no daughters to acquire extra supplies go hungry for some time. The parents are happy when daughters bring home extra food for which they pay with their bodies. This is unfair and it encourages bad behaviour among the youth. The relief agents need to consider the plight of women and involve women to distribute the relief aid in the camps"*.

Rose said, *"Women's involvement in camp leadership could also help to improve our security. When the camp leader is a man, he uses his position to get favours, which benefit him, his family, friends and relatives. Since women are the majority, female soldiers should be trained to protect us instead of men"*.

The majority of the women seem to be bored because of being confined in the camp. There is need for government and other stakeholders to involve them in skills training so that when they return home after conflict, they could be able to start some income generating projects and avoid being dependant on men and unhealthy trades.

National and international humanitarian agencies: Although there are number of NGOs and Humanitarian Agencies in Lira, those that were named and well known by respondents for supplying relief aid in the camps are: CORPS, Red Cross, EC, WFP, UNICEF, CALTAS and MSF among others. They all played important roles but

lacked coordination (The New Vision, 16 February 2005:7). We shall discuss in detail the role of MSF which we caught up with.

MSF seemed to be the favourite health service giver of the women in Lira because of their commitment and dedication to serve them. Ngaire Caruso a doctor from Western Australia worked for Medecins Sans Frontieres in Lira. Caruso had written two reports since September 2005. The most recent report was received in January 2006. One of the workers explained its activities saying that MSF is a big project in Lira District and has a big team of 13 expatriates. The medical team comprises a team leader (Dr. Ngaire Caruso), three doctors, three nurses, one laboratory technician and one mental health officer. They also have over 400 national staff. They work in seven sites, which include six IDP camps and a therapeutic feeding centre in Lira town. The camp dwellers range from 20,000 to 40,000 people in each camp, so they serve a total population of about 170,000 people. They had a clinic in each of the six camps and provided basic health care. Each camp clinic attended to about 600 patients per week. They mainly treated malaria and other sicknesses, which include diarrhoea, respiratory tract infections, wounds and skin infections. These were the major cause of morbidity. The other main cause of morbidity was HIV/AIDS, but clinically they suspected that the prevalence was fairly high even though they did not deal with testing. In keeping with the HIV/AIDS prevalence, they indicated that there was quite a lot of tuberculosis as well. In addition to a feeding scheme and health services, MSF runs a water and sanitation program.

The role national and international NGOs and agencies played was great. For example MSF regards displaced women's human rights such as the rights to food, health, water and sanitation as paramount. It's remarkable how many lives they saved with antimalarial drugs and simple antibiotics, antenatal care, family planning and immunizations. Working in conjunction with the Ministry of Health, MSF therapeutic feeding centre in Lira town provided feeding and treatment for severely malnourished children. Their clientele varied from around 150 up to 320 patients. They were also treating malnourished children who had tuberculosis. During an interview with an international humanitarian worker at UNICEF office in Lira, he gave me a list of UN partners since 2004 and observed that the list was long but I identified the following:

- UNICEF was very dedicated to its duties especially in programmes to do with education, shelter, and other programmes.

- UNHCR, following decisions taken at the global level, has since late 2005 been able to incorporate IDPs into its mandate, specifically in the areas of camp management and protection establishment of offices in Gulu and Lira.

- OHCHR opened its office in July 2005, and signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the government of Uganda in January 2006. The agency has a total of 49 staff, of whom 32 are on the ground. OHCHR is working with the Uganda Human Rights Commission (UHRC) to create Civil–Military Coordination Centres (CMCCs) in the four northern districts and has recruited 14 UN volunteers as staff.

Local NGOs are facing funding constraints. For example, one interviewee remarked that, 'There are local NGOs but they completely lacked funding. However, some local NGOs had been able to overcome their limitations by becoming implementing partners of UN agencies. For example, the Christian Children's Fund (CCF) and Friends of Orphans have both become implementing partners of UNICEF, which sets the overall terms of the intervention.

ICC had become an actor in northern Uganda following a request by government to investigate the situation in January 2004. Northern Uganda has become famous for the established ICC arrest warrants against five senior LRA figures, including its leader, Joseph Kony. There have also been increased media reports on the conflict-affected areas.

Figure 5.25: A canvas sheeting donated by UNICEF

Source: Author's Field Survey (2005)

The interviewees' testimonies reveal that the displaced women were faced with challenges, which required the government and humanitarian agencies' intervention to relieve the suffering of internally displaced women. With increased workloads in an insecure environment, women had limited access and control over goods and services. In addition, the break down of law and order due to conflict made women face increased risks of abuse whereby the fighting forces and criminals targeted them.

Figure 5.26: Women in development and empowerment

Source: The New Vision, 8 July 2005.

Most respondents believe that the poverty they were experiencing was mainly caused by the war that deprived them of their livelihood. Northern Uganda was the poorest part of the country as reported by the New Vision (16 February 2005:7). In response to the northern catastrophe, the Vice- president Professor Gilbert Bukenya introduced the upland rice scheme in Lira and it had started to bear fruits. The Vice President provided some 16.5 tones of upland rice seeds to the residents which had yielded 8,000 tons of rice. One farmer had already built a house using money from a one acre rice garden. Florence who is the co-ordinator of the Upland rice programme in Lango said that over 300 farmers were growing rice in the district. She said that rice had a big market and they could not meet the demand for upland rice seeds for distribution to households (The New Vision, 20 July 2005:18).

Despite the lack of clear policy on IDP, some development agencies such as Department for International Development (DFID) saw the coping strategies of

women as potentially beneficial to both the humanitarian agencies and the recipient countries like Uganda. Therefore, development policies should not be limited to the economic aspects of migration only but they should address broader development perspectives, which include women's rights, culture, and gender equality, education, reproductive health and HIV/AIDS. The women also wanted government and humanitarian agencies to consider factors, which affect women such as insecurity, legal status, unemployment rates, domestic violence and stigma. These factors were gendered as regards the needs of women and men in connection with decision-making, employment, health, financial resources, communication, and power over information. For example, government could provide some pre-departure training for coping on arrival to their areas of origin. In addition, international agencies can ensure that policies were made to protect women's rights during repatriation. NGOs may provide legal support and mediation together with childcare and skills training in survival and problem solving skills when NGOs return to their base for displaced women to carry on. For example, Participatory Rural Action for Development (PRAFORD) entered into an alliance with UNICEF and the Ministry of Gender and Labour crossed the border into Sudan to find their abducted children. This was done with success as a good number of children were repatriated and placed in rehabilitation centres where they were receiving counselling and training in various skills after which they return to their families.

Returning Home: When the women were asked about their hope for the future, they overwhelmingly said that they wanted to go home. However, a good number were reluctant to return home and they admitted that they were not sure as they were uncertain about security. They set conditions under which they wanted to return. For example, one woman said, "*If the war ends today, I will be home tomorrow*". The difference with returning home is that it is voluntary. The women were not being forced to flee back. They wanted to make a decision and plan their journey back. They wanted government and humanitarian agencies to give them packages to rebuild their homes.

5.13 Peace and Reconciliation

The level of success by women in peacemaking is due to their ability to maintain confidence and trust among the local community who did not have a grudge against

them for initiating the war. However, the government bodies had not embraced this trust because they did not see a gender issue in the armed conflict. This is reflected in the relative absence of women's involvement in decision-making and in being able to select representatives on negotiating tables. In most cases, very few women were chosen to participate in these negotiations and their few voices failed to make an impact on the decisions made which hindered women's peace initiatives in the region. For example, in the picture below shows only one woman amongst four men who participated in the peace talks Figure 5.27. There is need to sensitise the government departments about gender equality in decision-making for the development of Uganda. The respondents also expressed lack of women's involvement in decision-making.

Figure 5.27: Peace Talks and Decision-making

Source: The New Vision 31 December 2004

The government and NGO officials needed to be trained in gender equality so that they can learn to value the contribution of women in development because women are the majority in conflict situations. Women together with men could make a better team when handling their problems during conflict situations and lobbying for peace. Although the government and NGOs attempt to provide humanitarian relief aid, it becomes useless when it does not reach the beneficiaries. The male agents were said to be trading in the relief supplies to meet their alcohol needs thereby exploiting the poor and needy women with children.

5.14 Conclusion

There was overwhelming evidence that forced migration in northern Uganda was caused by the armed conflict that began in 1986. Forced migration has had a great impact on women in particular and on economic, social and cultural development. Social disruption in northern Uganda resulted in poverty and underdevelopment of the region. Women who were the majority of the displaced population had become impoverished and powerless resulting in the increased spread of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted infections that were prevalent in the IDPs camps. This chapter used evidence to show that the camps were characterised by increased occurrences of human rights abuses against women and girls that resulted in domestic violence, high poverty rates, family breakdown, prostitution, malnutrition, high mortality rates, and psycho-social problems among many other factors. Through these findings, it is clear that government and humanitarian agencies face a challenge to understand and respond appropriately to the gender issues when planning and implementing programmes for displaced women. The agencies should also support the initiatives and abilities of the displaced women as they push to go back to their homes by encouraging the women to participate in their own protection, reconstruction and peace building. After analysing the experiences of women during conflict we shall now attempt to summarise and make recommendations on the impact of forced migration on women and development in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX
IMPACT OF FORCED MIGRATION ON WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT IN NORTHERN UGANDA: SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary and recommendations based on the study findings in chapter five. The study set out to analyse the impact of forced migration on women and development in northern Uganda. Lira district was the case chosen to examine the concerns for displaced women in Northern Uganda because it was more accessible at the time of research. The objectives of the study raised various questions about gender relations during forced migration, causes, experiences, participation, consequences, coping strategies and other correlates of forced migration that impact on displaced women. The conclusions and recommendations build on the findings presented and provide policy guidelines for government and humanitarian agencies working in conflict situations similar to that of northern Uganda.

6.2 Forced Migration Concept

As pointed out earlier, forced migration is the involuntary relocation of entire communities from their homes to semi-permanent settlements directly or indirectly under the control of military units. This happens mainly to protect the population from insurgency but is also a means of depopulating whole villages as part of counterinsurgency tactics employed by the government as in the case of northern Uganda (FMR 7 2000:1).

The internal displacement situation was brought to the attention of international agenda after the appointment of the representative on Internally Displaced Persons to the office of the Secretary-General of the UN in 1998 when his office initiated the development of the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement based on existing human rights law. The principles placed the issue of internal displacement at the forefront of the international humanitarian agenda. Therefore, internal displacement resulting from armed conflict tends to be considered, essentially, as a human rights issue (Castles & Van Hear 2005:12). In the Ugandan situation women and children make up the majority of the IDPs and they tend to be affected to a greater extent than men by the circumstances related to displacement. The catastrophic impact of forced

migration on women and development in northern Uganda has been documented in a range of academic, human rights and policy studies (UNICEF October 2005). There are about 1.4 million displaced people in the IDPs camps in the northern Uganda districts of Gulu, Kitgum, Pader, Apac, Soroti, Lira and other districts in northern Uganda Figure 1.1.

6.3 Causes of Forced Migration

The findings reveal that forced migration in Uganda was caused by conflicts that resulted from undemocratic governance and human rights abuses that were partially manifested in the way regimes have changed since independence in 1962. Other causes are reflected in gender inequities in the structures and processes of public governance which are revealed by the absence of women's participation in making decisions on strategic issues, including those on war and peace.

Human Rights abuses: Although the armed conflict in northern Uganda started in 1986, the resultant displacement began in 1996 when the government forced civilians into protected villages and settlement camps (CSOPNU 2004:1). This was a result of increased rebel activities that made the Uganda government seek to separate civilians from the rebels so as to minimise the LRA's ability to get support from possible collaborators and clear the impeded military operations. However, the government's strategy to isolate the rebels negatively impacted on the poor displaced people by worsening their economic, political and social marginalisation felt by the northern community (HRW 2005:10). The women and children in northern Uganda became more vulnerable as a result of the encampment policy of 1996. Some interviewees revealed how in some instances, the government indiscriminately used motors and helicopter gunships that created fear and insecurity which forced civilians to find refuge in overcrowded camps and protected villages. Yet more people fled their villages into the camps as a result of LRA attacks. Testimonies of women in northern Uganda reveal how, during the conflict, families were split because of the different security orders men and women were obliged to follow.

Conflict: The findings confirm that the root cause of forced migration in northern Uganda was the armed conflict between the LRA and the Uganda government forces. On the other hand, the ethnic conflict that forced people to flee their homes originates

from the historical differences embedded in the geographical, religious, socio-economic, as well as political conditions of Uganda. For example, the divide between the south and the north of Lake Kyoga creates antagonism between the northern Nilotic tribes and the southern Bantu. The northern Uganda conflict started in 1986 when President Museveni, who had support from the South-Western and Central Uganda, seized power by overthrowing the regime of Tito Okello who was an Acholi with support from Northern Uganda. The opposition against the NRM government was started by a woman, called Alice Auma Lakwena, who led her movement called the Holy Spirit Movement Front (HSMF). This movement was based on religious redemption beliefs. Her movement was defeated by the government's National Resistance Army (NRA) in 1987. Lakwena fled to Kenya where she later died. Her cousin Joseph Kony continued the fight after forming the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in 1994.

Undemocratic practices: Claims are often made that conflicts are primarily caused by economic underdevelopment, widespread poverty and limited access to participation in political decision-making. Although it may be true that poverty generates tensions as people rush for limited resources, there may also be some truth that some government policies encourage social fragmentation instead of social cohesion. The absence of a democratic culture of tolerance to social differences and beliefs may also become a fertile ground for civil conflict when the leadership serves only the interests of the hegemonic elite, rather than the interests of the country as a whole. In this light, it may be affirmed that most violent conflicts that have occurred in Uganda since independence in 1962 to the present day were a result of undemocratic structures. The processes of bad governance, unequal power sharing and resource allocation that are politicized and expressed in socio-cultural terms could easily provoke conflict. In this regard, political leaders politicize citizen's ethnic, religious and racial diversities to justify and get mass support for participation in self serving armed conflicts. The love for power and personal wealth often degenerates into greed and undemocratic rule as in most African countries including Uganda.

6.4 Experiences

Some of the experiences of displaced women during the conflict included having to flee their homes under difficult circumstances, witnessing their family members being

tortured, abducted or killed. When women had to cope without the help of their husbands, such a situation heightened their level of confidence and aggressiveness. The gender division of labour changed as women assumed full responsibilities including having to purchase items such as paraffin and soap which had been men's responsibility. In addition, women had to provide for the needs of their husbands using some of the income they generated from their little businesses. They also had to provide them with the traditional alcoholic drink. The men demanded the drink in order to forget the hardships and losses such as sons, relatives, friends, cows, property and housing. In addition, the division of roles in agriculture, where families worked together, was abandoned. Women's testimonies reveal that they were happy they were alive and were proud to accept the extra responsibilities.

6.5 Participation of Women

The history of internal conflicts in Uganda provides us with evidence of women's active participation in armed conflicts as combatants, peace negotiators and service providers. For example, Winnie Byanyima was a woman combatant in the forces that overthrew the second government of Obote. In addition Mrs Betty Bigombe initiated peace talks with the rebel leader Joseph Kony. In some cases women even have held high ranking positions in the army while others have initiated war as in the case of Alice Lakwena of the HSMF. Women have continued to play roles such as mobilizing and supporting male soldiers by providing food, health care among other activities. Because of this, it can be argued that most wars have been fought with the support of women. The reasons women give for becoming combatants or giving support services, are similar to those of men and they include forced recruitment, agreement with the war objectives and economic needs. Moreover, women do also have many different social identities to defend. These identities can be classified as religious, cultural, tribal and others. As Bennett et al. (1995:16) further explains, women may not identify with the objectives of the war due to its obvious irrationality and its destructive consequences. However, women's longing for immediate end of conflict and a return to stability cannot be overemphasised

6.6 Impact and Consequences of Forced Migration on Women and Development

For nearly twenty years the insurgency of the Lord's Resistance Army, led by Joseph Kony, has produced great suffering on women in northern Uganda who comprise the

majority of the nearly 1.4 million internally displaced persons. The UN Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs Jan Egeland recently termed the situation among the worst humanitarian disasters in the world. In February 2004, in one of the most horrific atrocities since the conflict began as the LRA massacred approximately 200 civilians at Barlonyo camp, revealing grave deficiency of the government's ability to protect the people or defeat the insurgency. Forced migration has had more impact on women than on men and their experiences differed during the different stages of emergency. Forced displacement has caused more damage to women and development than just the loss and destruction of property and killings. The women's lives were left in pieces after the terrible disruption of their livelihoods. Most women suffered more severely due to changes in gender roles that were accelerated by the conflict. The complex emergency did upset the gender balance in which the women and children become the majority of the displaced population after the men were killed, abducted to join the forces or fled to escape the terrorists. In this regard, forced migration had both negative and positive impacts on the displaced women resulting in short and long term consequences.

Short term and long term impacts: Although the impact of forced migration depends on the period of displacement, the findings reveal that the short term impacts on the displaced women are manifested in human rights abuses, insecurity, and loss of home and family disruption due to violence.

According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC 2004:1-8), the long term consequences of forced migration on women in northern Uganda include permanent loss of social and cultural relationships, the loss of employment, poverty, brain drain and disruption of educational opportunities. In addition, other long term consequences include: disability, trauma, HIV/AIDS, divorce and environmental degradation. For example, some marriages could not endure the pressure of displacement which made divorce very common in IDP situations. In addition, traumatic experiences related with witnessing killings of family members, poor health and lack of a secure home environment. Under these circumstances, post conflict reconstruction provides opportunities for women's empowerment to rebuild their capacities. Many women acquired training in various skills during displacement in order to be able to carry on with their lives

In the short term period, majority of the displaced persons in northern Uganda endured deplorable conditions in the IDP camps. Women were denied their human rights to freedom of movement by government soldiers; they lacked access to basic services such as clean water, education, sanitation, health care and other services. The IDPs had no access to enough food, fuel, cooking and lighting facilities and income generating activities. Living in overcrowded grass thatched shelters resulted in substantial fatalities within the settlement camps such as the burning of camps.

Security: The security situation in Lira camps was not different from that of the other parts of northern Uganda such as Gulu, Apac, Pader and others because they were all terrorised by the same forces. According to a UNICEF report (October 2006) more than one in three young men and one in six young women had at some point been abducted. In some instances, the government forces were reported to have been responsible for abuse. For example, during Operation North in 1991- 1992 civilians were rounded up for mass screening exercises through which large sectors of the population were forcibly relocated to IDP camps (Dolan 2005:78). By mid-2006, there were a total of 220 camps in northern Uganda. Although the security situation has improved because of the ongoing Juba Peace Talks between the LRA and the government of Uganda, there is concern about the worsening humanitarian situation in the overcrowded IDP camps. An estimated 20,000 children used to commute every night in search for food and safety while thousands died from malnutrition and disease. The LRA forces committed serious atrocities against civilians such as abductions, miming, torture, killings and many others against women and children. The impacts are globally regarded as human rights abuses. Since the ICC was mandated to investigate crimes committed by LRA, human rights bodies have also called on the ICC to investigate the crimes committed by the government soldiers during their operations in northern Uganda (HRW 2005:4).

Human rights: The human rights violations, particularly against women and girls have long-term impact on family and social structures. The findings confirm that the households where girl children were raped or abducted as child soldiers were particularly affected. This issue affects many girls who had been returned to their families but the impact of their experiences is likely to remain with them for a long time. Marie Stopes International (MSI), during its work in conflict settings, confirmed

that forced early marriage was one outcome of gender based violence in the overcrowded camp environment as indicated by Human Rights Watch (2003:42). Similar findings in this study confirm this as they reveal how gender-based violence and economic desperation force families to marry off their daughters earlier than would have been usual in their earlier communities. For example, one respondent in Lira IDP camp agreed that she had managed to marry off her daughters very early as a coping strategy for acquiring cash in a form of bride price and guarding against abduction by rebels. This is because they knew that the rebels did not usually abduct married women but preferred young girls.

The findings also show that fighting forces in northern Uganda committed other serious human rights abuses against women and girls, which include:

- Raping women and girls during flight and in settlement camps. These acts left noticeable impact on the women as it was observed that nearly all the women who suffered rape showed some signs of Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).

- There were reports of many killings where victims were buried in mass graves or left to rot in their homes and bushes. Destruction of property such as homesteads and food stores by burning was extensive. The forces were involved in looting household goods and rustling cattle and other domestic animals.

- The women reported that government forces tortured suspected victims who were captured by tying them three-piece style, which left them paralysed. The LRA rebels committed atrocities against women, which include cutting of limbs, mouth, nose and ears to punish them for giving information about their presence in the area.

The findings reveal that both the UPDF and LRA forces were involved in committing human rights abuses against the displaced women girls and male children. From the time of the Iron Fist operation the LRA committed abuses which included torture, rape, and child recruitment into rebel forces while government forces recruited militias who helped arrest civilians and detained them under inhuman conditions. For example, on 10 October 1996, the LRA rebels invaded St Mary's College in Aboke and abducted 152 secondary school girls aged between 13 and 16. The deputy headmistress, Sister Rachael, pursued the rebels and was able to negotiate the release of 109 of the girls and they retained the rest (UNICEF 2004:112).

Family life: Violence against women was common in all IDPs although the actual rates are unknown. Violence usually occurred when male heads of households beat their wives or girl-friends. The researcher observed that the most common injuries women were living with due to family violence include broken limbs, cuts on their faces and other parts of the body. The findings reveal that the women are usually beaten with bare hands, machetes, sticks knives or other sharp objects. Some women were beaten at the rate of roughly ten times a week. The women complained that the authorities were not doing much to stop domestic violence. Domestic violence is blamed on male drunkardness coupled with the strict patriarchal customs. The tribal leaders blamed women's rights activists and NGOs which enforce human rights into their cultural norms which results in women becoming rebellious (UNOCHA 2005:4). Domestic violence was in most instances the result of the shift in gender roles because men who normally were the breadwinners become idle get humiliated by the life of displacement. The men end up taking their frustration on their families due to stress, boredom, insecurity and deficiency. In such instances, the humanitarian agencies lack the mandate to handle gender violence.

It is important that agencies put in place policies and programmes for handling increased gender violence. Gender based violence is common during armed conflicts and according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN 2003:69-70), this is a violation of human rights which impacts on the mental and physical integrity of women. The social worker at the rehabilitation centre confirmed that the abducted girls who return take longer to recover from their traumatic experiences. Most girls carried big scars on their bodies and had produced children who continued to remind them of their past. The psychological implications in the long run affect the entire community and the burden of family responsibility gets worse. Women live with the stress and anxiety when they see their spouses resorting to drinking alcohol using the much-needed little money without offering them any support. This results in mental health problems, which worsens the gender relations within the family and the entire community (UNICEF 2005:6-12).

Northern Uganda like other war torn African countries have suffered the destruction of infrastructures such as roads, homes, schools, hospitals, churches crops, livestock and others which impacts on the macro-level economics such as GDP as well the

micro-level economics. This shows that peace and security plays a vital role in the way societies shape their livelihoods due to the fact that forced migration have had a key negative impact on accumulation, allocation, and preservation of natural resources and wealth. Societies need peace to cultivate and adjust their social and economic activity for sustainable development.

Armed conflicts usually come with both positive and negative changes. For example, after the conflict in Sierra Leone, women demonstrated a positive impact by mobilizing to take up issues such as domestic violence, female education and building peace and democracy. Women traditionally play a key role in economic, social and family life, yet with displacement they have to assume more responsibility by taking up what were traditionally male activities, such as heading households to negotiating peace and reconstruction. Some responsibilities often put them at risk of sexual violence, the consequences of which can include disability, leaving them unable to look after children and other family members or even death. This study reveals that girls also were often forced to look after family members where both parents have been killed or try to work to support the family. Some girl children were required to give up their educational opportunities for work which impacts on the country's social and economic development. Some girls in particular assumed roles such as selling alcohol in camp settings that made them more vulnerable HIV/AIDS.

Widowhood is one of the consequences that women have inherited from war and endure during displacement. Widows have had to alter their social and economic roles within the household and community as they struggle to get access to basic goods and services and have their human rights violated by both forces. For example, most widows reported being attacked while in their shelters. According to United Nations (2002:21), forced migration led to the social and cultural breakdown in northern Uganda. The findings of this study show a similar situation as the respondents revealed that there is degradation of social and cultural values among many households in the camps. They attributed negative impacts to displacement and the living conditions in overcrowded camps. In addition, there are reports of incidences of family breakdown that has resulted into domestic violence and divorce.

Land ownership: Women's lack of agricultural land usually undermines their food security. When women are denied the right to own land as in the case of Burundi where women do not inherit land from either husband or parents, there is usually no law to ensure equitable allocation of land (Deng 1994:50). Without access to land, women are forced into perpetual dependence for food and other necessities. The lack of agricultural land during conflict in northern Uganda indeed reduced the women in to dependence on relief aid. The respondents in the study were bitter about being driven off their land by the government using gun ships. They believed it was a strategy by government to possess their fertile land, which encourages some of them to support the rebels who convince them to believe that they were fighting to defend their land. One respondent revealed that, "*For the women in northern Uganda, land is everything*". Land was a source of food, firewood, bricks, housing, grazing animals and source of income as it can be sold, rented or used to grow cash crops like cotton, tobacco and rice. Women are also vulnerable to poverty due to inequitable land distribution and dependence on agriculture. While adaptation options and traditional coping strategies are theoretically available, in practice, the infrastructure and economic capacity are usually beyond their economic means. These issues are well documented by organizations such as the CARE, United Nations, United Nations programme on HIV/AIDS and World Bank. All these are problems that are likely to worsen poverty and people's ability to survive in situations of armed conflict.

Health: Health was regarded as an important asset for the displaced women. With good health, women could trade, construct, houses, make charcoal, cultivate, among many other chores. However, access to health care in IDPs camps posed a serious threat to their mobility. The conditions in IDP camps such as poor nutrition, sanitation, water had serious impact on health. The mortality rates were higher in IDP settlements than for non-displaced women. They lacked reproductive health facilities including those for family planning and treatment for STD. On the other hand, when the health workers were men, women did not feel free to seek medical attention and yet there were very few female health workers to serve in all health centres. This was due to lack of trained women as most girls never go beyond primary education. This seems to be a major impact on the service provision for women in northern Uganda. A study by Ugandan Ministry of Health (2005:ii) put the mortality rate in northern Uganda above emergency thresholds, with estimated over 1,000 excess deaths per

week. Murder was found to be the third most common cause of death, with nearly 4,000 killings in the period January to June 2005. More than 60 per cent of the population in northern Uganda lived below the poverty line which impacts greatly on health and human development in Northern Uganda.

Health is an important factor to consider when evaluating vulnerability of displaced women (IDMC 2004:7-8). Various chronic diseases such as tuberculosis, cancer, malaria, diarrhoea, cholera and HIV/AIDS threaten their well being. The most documented and feared disease however, has been HIV/AIDS which had become a great concern within the settlement camps as well as at international level. About 40 million people worldwide are said to be living with HIV/AIDS. Although the HIV/AIDS epidemic is a global issue, it is in Africa where the effects of the disease are most acutely felt since about 70 per cent of the reported cases live on this continent (UNAIDS 2002). The epidemic has far reaching impacts across all societies and represents a potentially devastating shock to household survival This is likely to have negative consequences especially for the displaced women by increasing both livelihood insecurity and poverty. For example, HIV/AIDS has decreased food production among internally displaced households in northern Uganda (Human Development Report 2002:126). The loss has led to problems such as chronic illness, leaving land fallow and changes in source of livelihood. This brought the communities face to face with the debilitating effects of the combination of famine, poverty and HIV/AIDS. HIV/AIDS has left a number of orphans and several children heading households with no regular source of income as described by UNAIDS (2003). These children are dependent on the goodwill of the community to survive. Community coping strategies are therefore stretched to the limit, reducing their ability to cope with the effects of forced migration. HIV/AIDS has led to reduced incomes, forcing many households to reduce the amount spent on food.

Psychological health of the affected women has a big impact on the individual women and the community. The findings reveal that healing depends on the reconstruction of social and economic networks, cultural institutions and respect for human rights. It is also well known that most displaced women in the region were subjected to some form of torture, which has left big wounds on the physical and psychological well being of most women. Therefore, the role of NGOs such as WHO and the Ministry of

Health is to address the health needs of women and girls affected by violence to improve their access to health and social services. This is possible through strengthening the available institutional capacity; training of counsellors; provision of medicine; supporting local networks and development strategies.

The displaced women have a right to health care even though they continue to suffer from inadequate health care services. Women continue to suffer due to inadequate reproductive health services, poor nutrition, sanitation and communicable diseases. Some women do not use health services where the provider is a man so there is need to deploy female health practitioners in IDPs settlements.

 Although women are faced with traumatic experiences and torture, they lack support services such as counselling to assist them rebuild their lives. Therefore, they decide to go with their abusers to attain some sort of security and family support. Such women who move around with soldiers are usually known as "camp followers". They very well knew that they risk their lives but do everything for survival. This provides temporary security and economic uncertainty among the surviving women. The type of socio-economic insecurity forced the women to learn survival strategies for every circumstance but they risked being infected by HIV/AIDS and other STDs.

Education: The findings revealed that majority of the displaced women lack educational skills and training which impacts on women's economic opportunity. Data collected in the study (UNDP 2005:21) showed that women's literacy levels were very low although education and training is the key to employment opportunities and self-sufficiency and development. Support agencies had not shown much interest in funding education programmes for the displaced women and girls in northern Uganda. According to Cohen (1995), donors are not ready to fund education because of its implied permanence and yet education is the key to rehabilitation and independence. However, since Uganda government introduced UPE in 1996, enrolment has drastically increased but many classrooms are overcrowded with nearly 200 students to one room and one teacher. In addition, the government also introduced Universal Secondary Education that started in 2007 to improve secondary education opportunities. However, there is still a large discrepancy in the education received by girls compared to boys. In addition, there are many orphans due to

HIV/AIDS and conflict being cared for by single displaced mothers that puts much strain especially on the female headed families in northern Uganda.

Decision-making: The displaced women in most cases had no role to play in camp activities and programmes which directly affect them. Most activities were not suitable for women and some could even be harmful. Although there were many widows in IDP camps, they were never consulted as to how they could be assisted. For example, displaced women were never consulted as to where water taps or toilets should be built. The men made all the decisions and put women's facilities like water in dangerous places where they could be raped or abducted However, women need to be consulted and participate in planning and designing their facilities with safety in mind. In Lira IDP camps, women were involved in food for work programmes and only women manage it but there are other programmes where they are left out completely such as health and education. The greater the involvement of displaced women in programmes such as food management the better the chances of them receiving equal support, especially in the case of female-headed households.

Employment: The findings revealed that unemployment was the leading cause of hardships in the settlement camps. In addition, lack of capital was a pressing problem that made it impossible for poor households to get enough to eat and improve their livelihoods. Life was difficult for them, because one needs income in order to eat, farm, and engage in trade, access health and education services. Apart from inequalities in employment opportunities, it can also be argued that education plays an important role in the employment sector. Through education, one's ability to perform tasks that are more complex is enhanced. So, there is need for displaced women who lack education to train in skills required to compete for employment as primary education is not enough to compete for employment (Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development 2000:2-13).

Majority of the displaced had limited opportunities for income generation apart from small short-term projects supported by the UN agencies in the area of operation, which were also linked to training. Very few job opportunities were available to IDPs in camp settlements in Lira and northern Uganda as a whole. This was because most IDPs did not have many connections for support when seeking employment.

Displaced women were less likely to find work due to lower literacy rates. On the other hand lack of day-care facilities for children and fear for moving in an insecure camp environment impacts on their opportunities for training and employment. This was very true in Lira where girl children were kept at home by mothers for fear of being abducted at school or raped on the way to school. Very few day-care centres exist in Lira. MSF reported that they had opened two infant centres but these were very few compared to the total number of 4,112 children under the age of five in Erute camp). Many people lost their employment base and had to flee the region causing massive brain drain that might not be reversed in a long time. Family relationships broke down through divorce and HIV/AIDs that spread like bush fire in the overcrowded camp environment

Poverty: Poverty and hunger eradication is one of the MDGs to be achieved by 2015 (http://www.undp.org/mdg/basics.shtml.) Poverty is among the major factors that affect displaced women's ability to cope and adapt especially to rural camp environment. In Uganda and most African countries, the majority of the poor population are female-headed households (Frankenberger et al, 2003; World Bank 1996). The poverty was mainly attributed to roles they are assigned and the limits placed by societies on their access to resources creating the problem of gender inequality. Gender inequality tends to intensify the unequal distribution of resources amongst men and women, making female-headed households more vulnerable to poverty. Inequality further contributes to lack of security, opportunity and empowerment resulting in lower quality of life for female-headed households. Displaced women, for example, were disproportionately employed in underpaid non-formal sectors. Culturally inheritance laws and traditions, marriage arrangements, banking systems and social patterns that reinforce women's dependence on fathers, husbands and sons all contribute to their unfavourable access to resources and their lack of power to make decisions and change their circumstances. Poverty eradication is a challenge for many displaced women in northern Uganda. It is important to acknowledge that poverty and vulnerability equally reinforce each other. Therefore, the need to involve women in decisions to eradicate hunger and poverty cannot be overemphasised.

Poverty and hunger have negative consequences on gender and development. The consequences of poverty include decline in education and literacy, gender violence, vulnerability of women, increased child mortality, maternal health, rate of HIV/AIDS infection and environmental degradation. (Usher 2005: 9-14). The MDGs are seen as the solution to the problems of internally displaced women in northern Uganda. On the other hand, forced migration is one of the biggest challenges for the attainment of the MDGs by 2015 (De Han & Maxwell 1998: 2-8).

Environment: The established camps became home for the displaced women who mostly depend on humanitarian aid from international and local NGOs such as WFP and others. The camps near the urban centres overcrowded because they are provided with better security, employment, transport, schooling, relief aid and medical facilities. As the government relocated the displaced population, there was less consideration for the impact of the camps on the local environment. Therefore, the depletion and deterioration of the ecosystems in which the camps are located become affected in the short and long terms. For example, as the women scramble for firewood to cook food and building materials to build their shelters, the local population experienced enormous environmental challenges such as the recent floods that overwhelmed the humanitarian operations during the October 2007 rainy season. Overcrowded settlements can result in environmental degradation, which has become a challenge in the context of internal displacement in relation to environmental sustainability. This also impacts on the realisation of Millennium Development Goal 7 (MDG 7): "Ensuring environmental sustainability" (De Han & Maxwell 1998: 2-8). Although the negative impacts are significant, one also has to acknowledge positive impacts, which include developing survival and coping strategies through the cooperation between migrant society and the host community by providing services and participating in small scale entrepreneurial activities.

The observations reveal that majority of the women are engaged in farming and related enterprises such as livestock production and fishing which are highly dependent on quality resources such as land, water, forests and seeds. The displaced women use trees and other forest products for firewood, fibres for mats, building and roofing material, basketry, and medicines to earn some income. Women also capture insects and other small animals for food and income. Women in the camp use the soil

for sun-baked bricks for sale to generate income. In this regard, the environment is in danger of being depleted due to overcrowded camps that depend on it. In addition, due to limited toilet and other sanitation facilities, the camp environment is likely to be a health hazard as most IDPs tend to use it when nature calls. On a positive note, forced migration brought about new opportunities for gender equality and women empowerment. Although those in the camps live very terrible conditions, which are characterised by fear, violence, overcrowding, lack of privacy, poor sanitation, insufficient food, medicine and clean water. The women have also acquired new skills to help them cope during reconstruction when WFP stops provision of rations as indicated by The New Vision, Tuesday (13 September 2005).

Development: The country has spent more on the military, which implies that the government has reduced on development investments. The ministry of finance had to allocate more funds to military intervention in northern Uganda instead of spending on development of education, tourism, agriculture and other sectors to uplift the displaced women's livelihoods. The northern zone since 1986 has not been able to contribute to income tax. This reduced taxation base definitely affected the government's revenues. Other economic costs include loss of livestock, physical assets such as schools, hospitals and health centres, roads, vehicles for transport that were destroyed   In addition, there were increased conflict-related health problems such as the Ebola outbreak in 2002 that caused deaths due to lack of health facilities and loss of production. Due to failed investment in cash crops such as tobacco and cotton, the country lost its foreign exchange base from the region. Then as most of the educated persons such as doctors, engineers, nurses and teachers fled to neighbouring countries and abroad, the region and country at large suffered the cost of brain drain.

6.7 Peace, Reconciliation and Reconstruction

In the face of armed attacks, insecurity, destruction of infrastructure, loss of agricultural and livelihood systems, reduced or non existent health and education conditions forced families and communities to flee their homes to safety. The safest places where most people could run to were settlement camps that were protected by government forces. The majority of those who fled were women and children.

The cessation of hostilities between the Government of Uganda and the rebel Lord's Resistance Army was a result of the peace talks in Juba, Southern Sudan. Some observations reveal that the situation was improving because there were less civilian abductions reported in Lira since the start of the peace talks. The phenomenon of "night commuters" or children who traveled long distances daily to shelter overnight in urban centers had reduced dramatically.

"…*The humanitarian situation in northern Uganda and parts of Southern Sudan has improved significantly in the past year*", said Margareta Wahlström, United Nations Assistant Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Deputy Emergency Relief Coordinator. Then he added, "*People are returning to their homes and re-establishing their livelihoods...*" (New York: 17 April 2007). Improvement of security over the past year, attributable to the peace process, has given some 1.4 million internally displaced Ugandans renewed hope for peace. Between 70 and 80 per cent of the IDPs are women and children many of whom have spent two decades in overcrowded camps and the renewed hope for peace has encouraged many to begin the process of returning to their homes.

Observations supported by popular media reports such as the Sunday Vision (23 September 2007:1-2) show that Northern Uganda has experienced some very encouraging developments since December 2004. Many LRA rebels are said to have come out of the bush because of improved communication that facilitated information about the implementation of the Amnesty Act of 2000 to reach more people and LRA rebels throughout the region. The number of rebels said to have returned to their villages is reported to be high because many of them simply went straight back to their villages and just reported to the authorities. However, the security situation is still uncertain in some districts such as Kitgum and Pader which border with Sudan.

IDPs camps in northern Uganda had a period of calm from January 2006 except in some areas such as Atiak and Pabbo which experienced a few isolated incidents of attack. The incidents include the burning of 42 huts in Atiak and 3 in Pabbo. Then in some incidents, food and other things were looted. There were also a few incidents during this period when some suspected LRA rebels ambushed vehicles on the roads to Gulu, but killings have reduced drastically. The security improvement was

attributed mainly to the military action with the help of local militias known as the Amuka, the Amnesty act and the peace negotiations.

 The internally displaced women in particular took advantage of the improved security situation to work in their gardens outside the camps. There was also some increased movement of some women travelling deeper into the villages, where they had not been able to go for a long time. This trend was observed as from January 2007 Although Ugandan authorities had not directed for a resettlement programme, there were attempts by government security officials to create settlements close to sub counties, near large camps like Pabbo in Gulu.

During complex war situations, women's organisations worldwide, tried to play the role of peace making to avert the impact of war. Similarly, some women from northern Uganda in particular tried to initiate peace by trying to reconcile the fighting forces. This meant risking their lives on behalf of the suffering population. The best example is that of Mrs. Betty Bigombe who has risked her life since 1993 to talk to Joseph Kony, the leader of the notorious LRA rebel group that has terrorised the people of Northern Uganda since 1986. Betty Bigombe took up this challenge of talking peace with the support of women groups such as the People Voice for Peace (PVP). The negotiations were derailed due to patriarchy, which functions to support powerful men who want to remain in control who explicitly indicated that women cannot bring peace. "*How can a woman bring peace …?*" (Lomo & Hovil 2004:61).

The level of success by women in peacemaking is due to their ability to maintain confidence and trust among the local community who do not have a grudge against them for initiating the war. However, the government bodies have not embraced this trust because they do not see a gender issue in the armed conflict. This is demonstrated in their decision to select representatives for the negotiating teams. Very few women were chosen to participate in these negotiations and their few voices fail to make an impact on the decisions made which hinders women's peace initiatives in the region. There is need by government and humanitarian agencies to put more effort in ending the ongoing conflicts in northern Uganda so that the displaced women can return to their homes and embark on the development of their region like the rest of the other Ugandans who are enjoying some peace. This may be achieved by

bringing supporters of both forces to negotiate peace and reconstruction within the framework of the United Nations and regional mechanisms (Nannyonjo 2004:20). The findings provide some basic information for policymakers to involve women in similar emergency plans in future. Decision makers need to learn and acknowledge that massive displacement in northern Uganda has a big impact on women in particular and development as a whole. This is the best way to save unnecessary deaths, stop the tragic extinction of the family and promote cultural values, which are the foundations of sustainable development.

According to Human Rights and Peace Centre (HURIPEC), the government of Uganda and actors from the national, regional and international communities have undertaken some initiatives towards creating peace and reconciliation in northern Uganda using a combination of methods such as military operations, peace negotiations, community mobilisations, political education, disarmament, amnesty and research. However, military interventions since Operation Iron Fist in March 2002 have had little success as they resulted in further killings, abductions, fear and displacement. Failure to return peace to the region was attributed to factors such as breach of ceasefire agreements; mistrust of the two parties involved in the in the conflict; and involvement of external forces such as those of Sudan and the USA (HURIPEC 2003:143).

Women empowerment is ideally required to contribute for the rehabilitation of the affected region and the country as a whole. This requires ongoing training, education, community awareness raising, social support, equitable distribution of resources and the rebuilding of infrastructure. This is similar to what took place in Bosnia, when MSI provided psychosocial support through women's support groups moving toward self-help groups. The focus was on family-related problems, empowerment of women for self-organisation in order to attain their human and social rights needs and to become active participants in local, national and international institutions, the building of coping mechanisms and confidence.

The socialisations of young people who have witnessed or have been part of the horrors of conflict require particular attention. The potential of young people as constructive contributors to their societies has been started in rehabilitation centres,

such as Rachele in Lira IDP. This gives attention to women and girl's development to facilitate their reintegration in society.

The role of the international community has been central to the conflict and will be central to achieving a resolution. The government needs to be attentive to the advice of donors, from whom it receives approximately half its budget. It has a good record on a number of issues, such as AIDS prevention, but the conflict in the north undoes much of this goodwill. Uganda's friends have an interest and a right to pressure it on the humanitarian disaster produced by the continuation of the LRA insurgency. The government initiative together with the other stakeholders such as the LRA, government of Sudan and the humanitarian agencies would have greater promise if Washington also worked more closely with European partners to restore peace in northern Uganda.

6.8 Recommendations

The disruption caused by forced migration to women's traditional roles within families is a key issue facing communities during the rehabilitation and reintegration processes. The challenge is to ensure that the social reconstruction needs are not lost in the rush to rebuild physical infrastructure. Programmes need to facilitate the return and reintegration of displaced communities, including ex-combatants into viable family units and communities by promoting participation, empowerment, self-reliance and self-organisation. Women make a difference to the return and reintegration process and the promotion of peace. Lomo & Hovil (2004:66) indicates that women's contribution must be recognised particularly in preserving social order. Education for peace and development must be encouraged and supported by both government and the international community as further recommended below.

1. The findings show that the root cause of the conflict is that Uganda is a country wounded by injustice, human rights abuses, hatred and successive undemocratic regimes. Therefore, there is need to start addressing these issues by beginning with a truth and reconciliation commission to allow Ugandans to testify what happened in areas that were plagued by conflict such as Luwero and northern Uganda in order to heal the country through reconciliation.

2. Although the armed conflict has been found to be the key factor responsible for forced migration and the low level of development in northern Uganda, it is seen to have retarded the development of Uganda as a whole. The simple estimates used in research show that the conflict has cost Uganda more than US$1.33 billion, equivalent to nearly 3 per cent of the country's GDP (CSOPNU &CARE 2006). Therefore, the Peace and reconciliation process should be taken seriously to avert the situation in northern Uganda and concentrate on national development investment.

3. The findings show that the prolonged armed conflict resulted in the displacement of more than 1.4 million people of whom nearly 80 per cent are women and children living in a hostile camp environment. Therefore, there is need for more effort by the government of Uganda, local and international humanitarian agencies to end the ongoing-armed conflict that has lasted since 1986 by addressing the key factors that facilitate the continued reoccurrence of conflicts in Uganda. The fact that military intervention has failed to end the armed conflict, there is also need to commit more resources towards peace and reconciliation initiatives such as the Amnesty Commission and the Disarmament Programme.

4. Since conflict is regarded as the major cause of forced migration, there is need to solve the conflict problem through negotiation instead of using a military approach which destroys property and the lives of both civilians and armed forces (CSOPNU 2005:1-2). There is also need by government to pass into law the Disaster Management and Preparedness Bill and a policy on Internal Displacement to facilitate the provision of assistance and protection of IDPs in Uganda

5. While the ethnic conflict in northern Uganda has forced many women and children from their homes in search of security and survival in IDPs camps, they have become vulnerable to physical and to all forms of gender violence. In addition to that, the women continue to face discrimination in access to relief supplies; they lack education and training; they lack income generating skills; and employment opportunities. They are mostly rural women who depended on agriculture before displacement. The displaced women suddenly assume new roles including that of heading households after the husbands have been recruited in resistance armies, killed or disabled in combat. The vulnerable women usually lack the capacity to carry on

due to frustration and lack of resources (IDMC 2004:1-8). There is need for UNHCR and its partners to apply the guiding principles to protect the displaced women and children bearing in mind their needs of psychological support, protection, shelter, food and water in the short term. Other practical measures which can be applied include: providing adequate lighting in the camps; providing fuel so that women do not have to walk to unsafe areas to collect firewood; and to provide training in security mechanisms to avoid abuse and abduction.

6. When men assume almost all the leadership positions in a predominantly women's camp environment, women and children tend to get less or none of the relief supplies. The men get advantage and use them to trade favours (UN 2003:311). Therefore, there is need for the UN agencies such as the WFP based in northern Uganda to give women a chance to become actively involved in decisions regarding the distribution of food, salt and other supplies

7. Although the women in northern Uganda lack leadership skills due to lack of education and training in the society's patriarchal norms (UN 2002:21). There is need for confidence building and training for women to take up most of the local leadership positions headed by men even when majority of the displaced community are women. One woman in ten men cannot make an impact on the decisions made in LC committees

8. The findings show that women and children are the primary victims of the armed conflict in northern Uganda. They continue to suffer from various human rights abuses such as killings, rape, at the hands of the LRA and UPDF soldiers in overcrowded camps. Human rights bodies need to incorporate preventive measures of such abuses in their programmes to protect women and girls during war and ethnic cleansing situations. Although rape has been approved to be a crime punishable by law like other atrocities such as killing and abduction, women have continued to be raped, killed or abducted due to lack of legal security and awareness. There is need for society to recognise rape as a punishable criminal offence by all legal institutions worldwide. The government needs to put in place law-abiding security systems and institutions by training forces in gender and human's rights issues. In addition, since economic development in Uganda is deeply wounded by conflict, displacement,

injustice, fear, prejudice, hatred, and deliberate succession of regimes (UPPAP 2000:17). Therefore, there is need to address these issues at local, national and international levels in order to create room for sustainable development for all

9. Most of the respondents perceive the conflict in the north as deliberate attacks by the government to destroy the northerners, at the same time the government accuses people for collaborating with LRA to prevent the war from ending (Lomo & Hovil 2005:67). With such counter accusations, there is need to build confidence in the leadership in order to end the conflicting stories by the government making an apology. Since the conflict has continued to reflect ethnic tensions, it is important that the leaders help Ugandans to see the conflict as a national issue instead of associating the rebels with a tribe. It is also important to involve women like Beatty Bigombe who initiated the peace talks with the rebels in 1993 and other affected women leaders to participate in ending the conflict through peace talks and reconciliation.

10. Since most schools were destroyed or students abandoned during the insurgency, there is need to construct more temporary classrooms and provide more scholastic and non-scholastic materials to schools that are not abandoned. There is also need to provide safe environments for learning, recreation and provide psychological support to the children and parents within IDP camps. UNICEF which is in charge of education should take additional measures towards meeting the curriculum needs of the children to meet the long-term needs of the girl-child in particular. It is also important to improve the security of the teachers and students by fencing schools and putting security guards to protect the school premises from rebel attacks.

11. Since armed conflicts are among the biggest challenges to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals by 2015, there is need for the UN Security Council and other International Organisations to monitor the conflict-ridden countries such as Uganda (De Han & Maxwell 1998: 2-8). This must be done by enforcing the ICC security rules, sanctions and other legal strategies to help the poor civilians who are usually the victims of war.

12. As we have noted, women clearly play a fundamental role in conflict prevention, resolution and post conflict reconstruction. However, they are highly marginalized at higher levels of decision-making such as decisions regarding violence and peace. This

constrains their ability to positively influence prevention and attainment of sustainable peace. Therefore, there is need to enact and endorse gender responsive legislative measures and policies to translate such commitments into practice through affirmative action and proportional representation in the political environment. In this regard, women themselves must seek to organize and become active political players at all levels of decision making in their societies.

13. Women need to develop mobilization strategies during conflict situations and to strengthen sub-regional networking with other women groups as regards to the main issues related to training in peace and conflict management. In this regard, there is need to continuously lobby and spearhead gender and civic education programmes aimed at changing those elements of socio-cultural attitudes and practices that are resistant to gender equity.

14. As the most important challenge facing Africa is to put an end to the increasing violence and armed conflicts there is need for the establishment of sustainable structures and processes of democratic governance (Boyd 1994:3). While recognizing that the building and consolidation of democratic institutions and processes take time to change the process in that direction, there is need to be reflected in national legislations, policies and social practices, including the development of a democratic culture and building political systems that promote respect for basic human rights as well as giving all citizens a voice in determining who governs them. As members of civil society, women must work towards creating more open and democratic structures and processes starting by democratizing their own organizational management and decision-making structures. For example, they can lobby for change in the higher national institutions of learning.

15. Women's organisations commonly form the centre of civil society in most African countries. In many situations of conflict, women constitute the only sector widely seen as innocent by the conflicting parties and those involved in such conflicts. Using this legitimacy, women can mobilize effectively in support of peace as they tend to span the political and ethnic divisions of the society therefore, they should be the ones to advocate for peace. In addition, by virtue of their socially constructed traditional roles as caregivers and nurturers in society they should also assume a special position,

to address the psychosocial traumas that often accompany violent conflict. Since women in civic associations are already playing a vital role in promoting programmes for civic education, exhorting the virtues of mutual tolerance and respect, peace and non-violence, the momentum needs to be sustained and strengthened.

16 In particular situations in which state structures have been organized around the ethnic groups of one tribe or community, women should participate to promote values and national symbols that encourage mutual respect and tolerance among all groups using the media, demonstrations, songs and drama.

17. Women cannot sustain peace on their own, therefore, there is need for networking and collective action across gender as it is vital for developing common strategies and plans of action to promote the development of more inclusive and democratic governance structures.

18. The long term strategy for preventing armed conflicts is the development of institutions for managing disputes and violence. These can take a number of forms, ranging from legislations to the promotion of social dialogue and relevant peace enhancing cultural traditions. Such arrangements should establish the means by which disputes can be peacefully settled. In addition, a range of economic, social, and political measures would be required to avert impending conflicts. More importantly, the successful management of the ethnic, racial, religious and other social diversities within Uganda require the development of power sharing mechanisms; the reduction of economic disparities, and the construction of inclusive national identities. The most critical aspect of the management of diversity therefore, should involve the development of institutions that accommodate all groups within a state's boundaries because systematic marginalization breeds animosity and often prompts conflict.

19. In the situation where post-conflict reconstruction is underway, peace efforts must address the underlying causes of the conflict to prevent a recurrence of violence. In particular, scholars should accelerate the production and dissemination of knowledge that is necessary to understanding the root causes and evolutions of conflicts. The scholars should also provide policy recommendations to governments and inter-governmental institutions on the best strategies for managing conflicts.

20. In particular, there is need for gender disaggregated data and gender-focused analysis, which must pay attention to how gender roles and relationships are continuously constructed and contested by different actors who recognize the gender dimension as inherent in all aspects of post-war situations. Therefore, women scholars should be more active in the production of knowledge and analysis of conflicts and must also be proactive in seeking to reach a wider audience through popular media, including print and electronic media. There is also need for more effective networking among all intellectuals to enhance the quality of scholarship and the dissemination of knowledge on conflict resolution.

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Appendices

Appendix 1:

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The following broad research questions were used to guide the researcher and research assistants to collect data during the individual and focus group interviews. The order in which they were asked does not matter, but women's voices were heard and their feelings recorded.

1. What are the major causes of forced migration?

2. What kind of experiences did women encounter during the war and how did they impact on their well-being?

- Which warring group did you get involved with?
- What were the good things and bad things about the group(s) you encountered?
- How did the soldiers treat you and your family?
- How did you react to the soldier's actions?
- What work did you do during the war?
- How did you escape to the camp?
- Where did you put your property?

3. How did women participate in the conflict in Northern Uganda?

- How did you know about the war and how did it begin?
- Who were the initiators?
- What was your instant response when you came to know about the war?
- What were the demands of the warring groups?
- How did you respond to the rebels and soldiers demands?
- Which group did you mostly sympathize with?
- Why did you sympathize with them?

4. What are the consequences of forced migration on individuals, households and the community's economic, social, cultural and environmental development?

- Did you at any time witness any violence being committed against you or family members such as rape, forced marriage, stealing of property, destroying property, killings, genital mutilation or cutting of limbs?

- What made you to leave home?

- Where did you find refuge or where did you go to hide (to relative, camp or bush)?

- What did you take?

- Describe the nature or environment of the shelter where you found refuge?

- How long did you stay at the shelter?

- Whom did you flee with (children, friends or relatives)?

- Who helped the young children, the sick or the elderly?

5. What coping strategies did the displaced women use to survive in a hostile environment where basic needs are in short supply?

- How did you manage to survive away from home?

- What strategies or tactics did you use to protect yourselves ?

- How did you get information regarding the rebels?

- How did you get the basic needs such as water, food, clothes, firewood and others?

- What needs were the most difficult to satisfy?

- What did you fear most during the war and how did you cope with the fear?

6. What lessons can government and humanitarian agencies learn to reduce suffering during similar situations in future?

- Who brought you to the camp?

- What benefits did you get from the camp?

- What problems do you find in the camp?

- How does the government support you?

- How did humanitarian agencies help you?

- Describe the life and help you got in the camp in terms of food, medicine, security, health education, sanitary towels, beddings, water, sanitation and fuel.

- Are the methods used in distributing relief supplies fair, regular and adequate?

- How do women and girls manage their health problems such as family planning, maternity care, antenatal care and others?

- Do you sometimes experience any problems such as fear, lack of sleep, heart palpitations, traumatic stress, lack of appetite, headache, dislike some people, high

blood pressure, dislike the environment, miss your relatives and friends?

- Are there support groups such as religious groups, counsellors or other NGOs who come to help you overcome the bad experiences? What do they do?

- What can NGOs and the Uganda Government do to improve the situation of women?

- How can women help to end armed conflicts in Uganda?

Appendix 2

OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

Observation being one of the methods of gathering qualitative information was carried out to yield systematic descriptions of events, behaviours and activities in the setting under study.

Activities	Who?	Where?	When?	Resources used
Social, Political, Religious e g meetings ceremonies				
Production e g childcare, elderly Single mothers				
Agriculture eg Clearing, planting livestock caring				
Economic e g Construction carpentry teaching trading employment				

Social services available	Who uses this: gender/age	Who provides gender/age
Education/literacy Health/medicine Sanitation/water security		
Resources given to IDPs food shelter clothing schools		

legal services medicines		
Skills training Agriculture Income generation Sewing Catering/housekeeping Bricklaying Animal husbandry **Property ownership** land shelter transport means television radio beddings households		