GENDER SPECIFIC EFFECTS OF ARMED CONFLICT IN AFRICA:

A CASE OF WOMEN IN NORTHERN UGANDA

BY

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for any award to any other institution.

Signed _____   Date _____

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R50/80930/2012

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University supervisor.

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Amb, Prof. Maria Nzomo   Date

DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my immediate family members: My son Andrew Jabali & my dearest niece Naila Koki who show me so much love every evening when I get home.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADF: Allied Defence Forces

AIDS: Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

ARLPI: Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative

CCF: Christian Children Fund

CPA: Concerned Parents Association

CPAR: Canadian Physician for Aid and Relief

FORAL: Foundation Rama Levina

GBV: Gender Based Violence

HIV: Human Immunodeficiency Virus

ICRC: International Committee of the Red Cross

IDP: Internally Displaced Persons

IDPS: Internally Displaced Persons

LRA: Lord's Resistance Army

LRA: Lord's Resistance Army

NGOs: Non-Governmental Organizations

NRA: National Resistance Army

PRDP: Peace, Recovery and Development Plan

PTSD: Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

UDHR: Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UDHS: Uganda Demographic and Health Survey

UNICEF: United Nations Children's Fund

WEP: Women Empowerment for Peace

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Armed conflicts cause significant psychological and social suffering to affected populations and can undermine the long-term mental health and psychosocial well-being of the affected population.[1] In situations of armed conflict, communities as well as individuals are often affected in a way which destroys unity and solidarity of the social networks. Households are left without breadwinners, the livelihoods of individuals are threatened and the safety of communities and the human rights of individuals are not preserved. Aside from the physical and emotional trauma of these oppressive and deliberate actions, such events have long lasting effects upon the ability of these communities to recover in the wake of armed conflict.[2]

During armed conflict, women are subject to widespread and, at times, systematic forms of human rights violations that have mental, emotional, spiritual, physical and material repercussions.[3] These violations include illegal detention with or without family members, abduction and forced removal from families and homes, disappearances, torture and other inhuman treatment, amputation and mutilation, forced recruitment into fighting forces and groups, slavery, sexual exploitation, increased exposure to HIV/AIDS, and a wide range of physical and sexual violations, including rape, enforced pregnancy, forced prostitution, forced marriage and forced

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[1] Mutibwa, P. (2012). *Uganda since Independence: A Story of Unfulfilled Hopes*. Trenton N.J: Africa World Press.

[2] Museveni, Y. (2010). Theoretical Justification of NRM Struggle. In *Mission to Freedom: Uganda Resistance News 1981-1985*. Kampala: Directorate of Information and mass Mobilization, NRM Secretariat.

[3] Cole M., and E.D. Rothlolum (2010). *Refugee Women and their Mental Health, Shattered Societies, Shattered Lives*. London: Harrington Park press.

child-bearing. Prolonged conflict and displacement, such as that experienced in Northern Uganda, can erode normally protective supports and increase the risk of diverse psychosocial problems.[4] When families are forced into camp life for a generation, away from their normal lives, traditions and livelihoods, the effects on family life itself can be profound, rendering the reintegration period a challenging one.

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.[5] 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. Under these circumstances, attempts to bring peace to the region have failed making it difficult to carry out development programmes in the region.[6] The conflict has resulted in a large scale population which includes women 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.

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[4] UNHCR., 30 March 2004, "Feature: UNHCR, Refugees Work Together to Prevent Rape," UNHCR News Story, Geneva: UNHCR, Web site: www.unhcr.org/cgibin/ texis/vtx/news/opendoc.htm?tbl=NEWS&page=home&id=40697ab57

[5] Commission on Human Rights, Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, its causes and consequences, Ms. Radhika Coomaraswamy, submitted in accordance with Commission on Human Rights res. 2000/45, Violence against women perpetrated and/or condoned by the State during times of armed conflict (1997-2000), Doc. E/CN.4/2001/73., para. 70; Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, *Global Report 2001*, Author: London, 2001.

[6] Dyan Mazurana, 2005 "Gender and the Causes and Consequences of Armed Conflict," in Dyan Mazurana, Angela Raven-Roberts, and Jane Parpart (eds.), *Gender, Conflict, and Peacekeeping*, Rowman & Littlefield: Oxford & Boulder,.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

There are over 30 situations of global concern where the rights of women are being violated. In the last decade, 2 million women have been killed in situations of armed conflict, 6 million women have been permanently disabled or injured. Every year, 8,000 to 10,000 women are killed or maimed by landmines. The nature and methods of armed conflict means that the fighting takes place in civilians' communities, villages, fields and homes, thus sharply increasing women and children's risk of harm. While many women killed by weapons, many more die from the catastrophic impact the conflict has on their communities' infrastructure and families' access to food, health care and their ability to maintain their livelihoods.[7]

The armed conflict in Northern Uganda led to a devastating effect on the lives and dignity of women, as well as on the health and educational services that were essential to family and community survival.[8] Along with reproductive health complications, the adverse effects of the armed conflict in the area hit women harder than it did with their male counterparts, since deliberate gender-based violence and discrimination were rampant. The 24-year war, waged by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in Uganda, is one of Africa's longest.[9] At the end of 2005, an estimated 1.6 million people with 80% being women were forced to leave their homes to live in internally displaced persons (IDP) camps, for fear of being attacked and/or abducted by rebels.[10] While security incidents have steadily decreased since 2006, the prolonged period of conflict and instability has taken a tremendous toll on the population and the economy

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[7] WHO (World Health Organisation). 2001 Violence Against Women in Situations of Armed Conflict, Workshop Report. Italy: Naples.

[8] Machel G. (2012). *The UN Study on the Impact of Armed conflict to Children,* United Nations, New York.

[9] World Bank, (2012). *World Development Report on the Role of the State in Development, a forum for exploring impacts of state failure linked to conflict.* Washington DC: World Bank.

[10] Tawil, S (2007) *Educational Destruction and Reconstruction in Disrupted Societies. Final Report and Case Studies of the workshop held on 15-16 May.* Paris*:* UNESCO International Bureau of Education

of the region.[11] UNICEF estimates that 8,400 women were abducted during the conflict in the area.[12] These abductions were used as combatants, sexual slaves, porters, cooks and domestic workers. In mid-2003 LRA abductions spread from the original area of conflict in the north into the east. It is reported that in June 2003 LRA soldiers abducted women in the northern part of Uganda of whom up to date have not been accounted for. This led to orphaned children and diabolised families.[13]

Uganda has experienced armed conflict in different forms and in different parts of the country. The effects and the impact of armed conflicts on the respective communities have been enormous. Of particular significance is the effect of conflict on women who are the most vulnerable. Attempts have been made by various stakeholders to resolve the different conflicts, significant of which have been the government, religious institutions, Non-Governmental Organizations, and individuals. However, although women are key stakeholders, the extent to which they have participated is unknown. In this context, the project attempted to provide answers to and interventions towards some pertinent questions such as: How has conflict affected women? To what extent has armed conflicts increased gender based violence? To what extent has forced migration emanating from armed conflicts affects women in Northern Uganda differently from men? To determine the extent to which internal displacement resulting from armed conflicts affects women in Northern Uganda differently from men? Other questions include: What are the existing peace building processes? What are the existing skills and capacity of women and men to participate in peace building processes? What structures, systems and institutions exercise

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[11] USCR, 2014. World Refugee Survey pp357 – 359. http://www.refugees.org 6/3/2015

[12] United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI) 2012. *Criminology in Africa*. Publication No. 47: Rome, December.

[13] UNDP, 2005. *Uganda Human Development Report 2005. Linking Environment to Development: A deliberate Choice*. Kampala.

conflict mitigation, prevention and resolution? Are the peace building mechanisms and post conflict reconstruction programs gender sensitive? The purpose of the project therefore was to examine the gender specific effects of armed conflict in Africa: a case of women in northern Uganda.

1.3 Objectives to the Study

The study general objective is to gender specific effects of armed conflict in Africa

The Specific objectives are as follows:

i. To establish the extent to which armed conflicts increased gender based violence

ii. To ascertain the extent the forced migration emanating from armed conflicts affects women in Northern Uganda differently from men

iii. To determine the extent to which internal displacement resulting from armed conflicts affects women in Northern Uganda differently from men

1.4 Literature Review

Torres points out that forced marriages of girls and women by armed opposition groups have been documented in recent armed conflicts in Sierra Leone (1991-2001), Liberia (1990-2003), Uganda (1986-present), the Democratic Republic of Congo (1998-present), Algeria (1994-present), Kashmir (1990-present) and elsewhere.[14] In Algeria and Kashmir, armed opposition groups have abducted girls and women with impunity and no cases to date have been brought to national or local courts. Forced marriages have also been committed by state armed forces. For example, from 1980-2000, Indonesian security forces in East Timor forcibly married Timorese girls and young women and forced others into prostitution. Prior to 2001, Taliban fighters in

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[14] Torres, A.B. (2012). *FMO Thematic Guide: Gender and Forced Migration.* New York: Washington D C

Afghanistan made death threats against families to handover their girls and young women and forced the families to complete marriage contracts.[15] Today in Afghanistan, armed opium dealers and jihadi commanders are forcibly marrying girls and young women.

According to Mohanty et al., the violations experienced by girls and young women subjected to forced marriages are often severe and long-lasting and encompass a number of psychological, emotional, physical, social, economic and cultural elements.[16] Among these elements are forced pregnancy, child-bearing and the raising of children born of rape in societies where those children are often rejected and physically abused including the withholding of food and medicines by extended family members and community members. These young mothers report that because they are often cut out of family and social networks, they struggle to provide education, food and health care to their children born due to forced marriage.[17] Many of these young mothers have lost many years of education and lack the skills needed to pursue productive livelihoods, which are exacerbated due to the stigma they face from their past experiences and their exclusion from social networks.

Lukwago argues that the violence and harms suffered by women and children in contexts of armed conflict and political repression are many and are often interlinked.[18] The links create destructive synergies of loss and suffering: violence inflicted on women harms women; some harms expose women to further violence and additional harms; and serious, even life-altering or life-threatening harms result from

[15] Stake, R. (2010). The Case Study Method in Social Inquiry. *Educational Researcher*, 7(20, 5-8.)

[16] Mohanty, C. Russo, A. & Torres, L. (Eds.) 2012. *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

[17] McCallin, M & Fozzard, S. (2013). *The Impact of Traumatic Events on the Psychological Well-being of Mozambican Refugee Women and Children*. Geneva: International Catholic Child Bureau. MDGs: Basics.

[18] Lukwago, K. (2013). *The Politics of National Integration in Uganda.* Nairobi: Coign Publications.

forms and violence and repression in which women are not the primary targets of conflict yet are decisively affected by it. The specific experience of women and children in armed conflicts greatly depends upon their status in societies before armed conflict breaks out. This is not to suggest a simple continuum of violence, in which the gendered and structural violence of everyday life is somehow only more magnified during armed conflict.[19] Such theoretical discussions cannot account for nor do they reflect the shattering experience of discontinuity, the sense of enormity and outrage, or the terror, despair, and social ruin of victims in many instances of violence in conflict.

According to Kavuma where cultures of violence and discrimination against women and children exist prior to conflict, they are likely to be exacerbated during conflict.[20] Similarly, if women are not allowed to partake in the decision-making structures of a society before conflict, it is usually difficult for them to become involved in decisions around the conflict itself or the peace process and transitional period. Thus, gender relations as intersected and shaped by ethnicity, class, caste, and age in pre-conflict situations often set the stage for women's, girls', men's, and boys' experiences and options during armed conflict. The reports and studies on the effect of armed conflict was traditionally tended to incorporate women in the general category of civilians and have hence failed to highlight the different ways in which men and women experience armed conflict.[21]

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[19] Levine, S. & Chastre, C., 2004, *Missing the Point*: *An Analysis of Food Security Interventions in the Great Lakes*. Humanitarian Practice Network at Overseas Development Institute: London

[20] Kavuma, R. (2006). Uganda and Millennium Development Goals. *The Weekly Observer* 27 April: 1-5. rimkav@Ugandaobserver.com.

[21] Jalloh, S. (2011) Conflicts, Resources and Social Instability in Sub Sahara Africa: *The Sierra Leone Case in Internationasles Afrikaforum*, 37. Jg Germany, , Pages 166-180.

Indra assert that women and children owing to their position in the society are affected by wars differently than men.[22] There are problems resulting from situations of conflict are, however, very often neglected. It is important, therefore, to focus attention on these issues and create awareness about the rights women and children have in these circumstances as well as present possible means to improve their situation. In traditional societies and mostly in Africa women are often categorized into two identities that is, as the wives of men and mothers of children. They are perceived as symbols of honor. As women are dependent on their husbands or fathers; death, disappearance or detainment of these men often have serious consequences on them.[23] Widow- hood is socially stigmatized and becoming a widow means possible isolation, loss of dignity and individual identity, since widows become dependent on their relatives. They are frequently denied inheritance and property rights.

Hall asserts that in situations of armed conflict, the sense of frustration and powerlessness may be manifested in a number of ways and in many cases, the worst hit victims are the women.[24] Such a situation is compounded by the polarization of gender roles which frequently occurs during armed conflict. An image of masculinity is sometimes formed which encourages aggressive and misogynist behavior. On the other hand, women may be idealized as the bearers of a cultural identity and their bodies perceived as 'territory' to be conquered. Troops as well as rebels may also use rape and other forms of violence against women to increase men's subjugation and humiliation.

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[22] Indra, D. 2010. *Engendering Forced Migration: Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Berghahn. International Association for the study of Forced Migration (IASFM).

[23] Hostile to Democracy, (2013). The *Movement System and Political Repression in Uganda*. New York: Human Rights Watch.

[24] Hall, M. (2012), Preface, in: Kane. S. M and Yohe. G. W. (Eds). *Societal Adaptation to Climate Variability and Change*. Kluwer Academic Publishers.

According to Gibney since the beginning of the armed conflict between the government and the armed groups organized violence has almost become an everyday occurrence in several parts of the state.[25] The state is one of the world's most heavily militarized places where special laws are currently promulgated. According to Garry and Pearsall, in situations of conflict and particularly those involving religious identities, women and children are targeted in specific ways.[26] In times of conflict, particularly religious conflict, it is women who carry the honor of the community on their backs and bodies and defiling their bodies usually through rape is a way of hitting back at the other community. What this implies is that in most cases, the woman's identity becomes objectified as one that can be used to dishonor the other community.

Ferris asserts that that the general breakdown in law and order which occurs during conflict leads to an increase in all forms of violence.[27] The tensions of conflict and the frustration, powerlessness and loss of traditional male roles associated with widowhood may be manifested in an increased incidence of domestic violence against women and children. Studies have now established that women experience armed conflict in different ways than men. The effects of armed conflict on women vary across cultures depending upon the role of women in particular societies. As El-Bushra note one thing is clear: armed conflict often exacerbates inequalities that exist in different forms and to varying degrees in all societies and that make women particularly vulnerable when armed conflict breaks out.[28] Of the more than one billion

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[25] Gibney, M. (2009). Kosovo and Beyond, Popular and Unpopular Refugees. *Forced Migration Review* 8, 28-30.

[26] Garry, A. & Pearsall, M. (2007). *Women, Knowledge and Reality in Feminist Philosophy*. New York: Rutledge.

[27] Ferris, E., (2012), 'Women, War and Peace,' *Research Report* No. 14, Life and Peace Institute, Uppsala, Sweden.

[28] El-Bushra, J. (2012), 'Gender and Forced Migration: Editorial', *Forced Migration Review*, No 9 220

people living in poverty today, the majority are women. They are, more- over, generally disadvantaged in terms of education and are considerably less mobile because of their traditional role of caring for others. Furthermore, these inequalities continue after the cessation of hostilities. Women and children are often excluded from the reconstruction processes that takes place after armed conflict as well as from peace building initiatives.

Charlotte Lindslay points out that women bear the consequences of wars disproportionately and suffer violations of human rights in situations of armed conflict, including terrorism, torture, disappearance, rape, ethnic cleansing, family separation and displacement. Moreover, they endure lifelong social and psychological traumas. Along with children, women constitute 80% of the World's refugees and displaced persons.[29] Due to the traditional role structure of the family, the popular perception is that men are soldiers or aggressors and that woman are wives, mothers, nurses and social workers. The reality of war is that while it is primarily men who are conscripted and killed in battle, women make up the majority of civilian casualties and suffer in their role as care givers owing to a breakdown in social structures.

According to Davies women and children suffer emotionally, psychologically and economically.[30] The concept of men going to war and of women staying safely at home with children and the elderly does not reflect the reality of war. In recent years, much attention has been devoted by international organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), academics and certain governments to the plight, needs and rights of women affected by armed conflict. For example, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) published Women Facing War (2001), a study

[29] El-Bushra, J. El-Karib, A. and Hadjipateras, A., (2002), *Gender-Sensitive Programme Design and Planning in Conflict Situations:* Research Report, London: ACORD.
[30] Davies, S., 2011. *Adaptable Livelihoods: Coping with Food Insecurity in the Malian Sahel.* Macmillan: London.

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on the impact of armed conflict on women; the United Nations Security Council adopted Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security (2000) which resulted in the production of a number of studies on this theme, by the Division for the Advancement of Women (2002) and UNIFEM (2002).[31]

Corrin show that women's experience of armed conflict is multifaceted: it means separation, loss of relatives, physical and economic insecurity, an increased risk of sexual violence, wounding, detention, deprivation and even death.[32] In all conflicts, women suffer in ways specific to men. Yet they should not be seen as a homogenous group; different women will have different needs, vulnerabilities and coping mechanisms. Women and children in armed conflict are not passive and not necessarily victims.[33] Around the world, women become members of the regular armed forces, armed groups or their support services. Moreover, women and children are engaged as politicians, leaders of NGOs and active campaigners for peace.

In times of conflict, women and children and in some cases men, experience gender violence which exacerbates the general, common impact conflict has on people in general: death, injury, bereavement, displacement, loss of property and loss of livelihood. Combatants on either side use sexual violence as a part of their battle plan. In any case, militarized societies experience and absorb higher levels of violence. As women and men have different, culturally-determined social roles, they experience conflict in different ways. It is imperative to recognize these diverse factors of vulnerability and their consequences in order to adapt responses accordingly. At the same time, it must be appreciated that war precipitates changes in traditional roles,

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[31] CSOPNU 2004. *Nowhere to Hide: Humanitarian Protection Threats in Northern Uganda*. Summary of Findings. Kampala :CSOPNU.

[32] Corrin, C. 2010. *Gender Audit of Reconstruction Programmes in South Eastern Europe*, Fairfax and New York: Urgent Action Fund and the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children.

[33] Bahl, V. 1997. Cultural Imperialism and Women's Movements: Thinking Global. *Gender and History*, April 1 14.

which are fluid rather than frozen in time. For example, in wartime, women daily demonstrate their resilience and coping mechanisms such as the capacity to engage in enterprise in the public sphere to sustain families. This shows that while everyone is responsible for improving the plight of women in wartime, there are significant benefits in ensuring that women themselves are involved in all measures taken on their behalf.

According to Alexandra the very notion of vulnerability depends on an appreciation of what makes people vulnerable.[34] This differs according to whether one is male or female, adult or child, rich or poor, deprived of freedom, displaced or a member of the civilian population generally. As women and men have different, culturally-determined social roles, they experience conflict in different ways. It is imperative to recognize these diverse factors of vulnerability and their consequences in order to adapt responses accordingly. At the same time, it must be appreciated that war precipitates changes in traditional roles, which are fluid rather than frozen in time. For example, in wartime, women daily demonstrate their resilience and coping mechanisms such as the capacity to engage in enterprise in the public sphere to sustain families.[35] This shows that while everyone is responsible for improving the plight of women in wartime, there are significant benefits in ensuring that women and children themselves are involved in all measures taken on their behalf.

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[34] Alexandra Stiglmayer, ed., *Mass Rape: The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina*, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2012.

[35] Shobha Guatam, Amrita Banskota and Rita Manchanda, "Where there are No Men: Women in the Maoist Insurgency in Nepal," *Women, War and Peace in South Asia*, Sage Press: New Delhi, 2001, pp. 215-248.

According to Krisjan women and children are not vulnerable as such, they are often at risk in conflict situations.[36] Women are particularly susceptible to the marginalization, poverty and suffering engendered by armed conflict, especially when they are already victims of discrimination in peace time. Women may also be at risk by virtue of the fact that they are often portrayed as symbolic bearers of their cultural or ethnic identity and as producers of future generations. The degree of vulnerability depends on the nature of each specific situation. Roberts and Williams argue that armed conflict can lead to a change in the women's traditional roles.[37] She maintains that armed conflicts greatly affect the lives of women and can completely change their role in the family, the community and the public domain. This is normally unplanned. The breakdown or disintegration of family and community networks forces women to assume new roles.

Armed conflicts have created large numbers of female headed households where the men have been conscripted, detained, displaced, have disappeared or are dead. Women and girls are not only the victims of armed conflict.[38] They are active agents as well as they make choices, possess critical perspectives of their situations and organize collectively in response to those situations. Women and children can support violence perpetrated by others and perpetrate violence themselves. They become active members of conflict not simply because they unwittingly collude in acts of violence, but also because they are committed to the political, religious, or economic goals of those involved in violence. This can, and has, involved taking up arms in

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[36] Krisjan Rae Olson, "Children in the Grey Spaces Between War and Peace: The Uncertain Truth of Memory Acts," in Jo Boyden and Joanna de Berry eds. *Children and Youth on the Front Line: Ethnography, Armed Conflict and Displacement,* Berghahn Books: New York & Oxford, 2004, pp. 145- 166.

[37] Roberts, S., and J. Williams, J. (2010): *After the Guns Fall Silent: The Enduring Legacy of Landmines* (Washington, Viet Nam Veterans of America Foundation).

[38] Kasozi, A. (2012). *The Social Origins of Violence in Uganda*. Kampala: The Fountain Publishers Ltd.

liberation struggles, resistance to occupation, or in struggles aimed at a transformation in relations of inequality on race, ethnic, religious or class lines.[39] Women and girls may also be manipulated into situations of internal conflict through prejudiced and violent ideological propaganda, abduction, intimidation and recruitment.

The very fact that many of the men folk are absent often heightens the insecurity and danger for the women and children left behind and also accelerates the breakdown of the traditional protection and support mechanisms upon which the community especially women have previously relied upon. Susan and Dyan study raise awareness of the way women are affected by armed conflict and how states and organizations have responded to their plight.[40] Recommendations as to how to ensure the most appropriate responses to the needs of women have also ensued. However, for such work to be truly effective, it needs to be adapted for those who operate in situations of armed conflict.[41]

According to Gathungi women and children are faced with challenges and in some cases redefining, the cultural and social perception of themselves and their former boundaries in society.[42] Women and children may for the first time have the possibility of working outside the home, being the income earners, main decision-makers and heads of households, organizing themselves with other women and going into the public sphere, which is often the role of men. As pointed out in the study submitted by the Secretary- General pursuant to Security Council resolution 1325

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[39] Duffield, M. (2012). Working in Conflict: Organizational Adaptation and Impact on the Ground", Discussion paper for seminar of Relief Work in Complex Emergencies Copenhagen, DanChurchaid).

[40] Susan M. & Dyan M. (2004) *Where are the Girls? Girls in the fighting forces in Northern Uganda, Sierra Leone and Mozambique; Their lives during and after the war*, Rights and Democracy, Montreal, 2004

[41] Nicolai S. (2003). *Education in Emergencies- A tool kit for stating and managing Education in Emergencies.* – Save the children.

[42] Gathungi, J, (2002). *The impact of conflict resolution education on girl child in armed conflict:opportunities and challenges in UNICEF projects.* The fourth R, Volume 93, Nov. – Dec. 2000 pp. 3-6

(2000) titled Women, Peace and Security in situations of armed conflict, severe mental and social stress can be caused by death, separation and loss of family and friends; loss of home and social environment; exposure to violence, including witnessing or directly experiencing rape, torture and the killing of friends or relatives; the weakening or severing of family and community bonds and networks; destruction of basic infrastructure; loss of economic livelihood opportunities and material deprivation.[43]

In the context of conflicts which are prolonged for many years, populations experience longer exposure to extreme stressors.[44] Children live deprived of caring adults; parents experience anxiety about their ability to protect and provide for their children and adolescent heads of households fear for their safety and that of their siblings. One of the ongoing discussions around women and armed conflict relates to the potential of building more equitable gender relations in post-conflict societies. Weiner argued that war breaks down traditions and communities but also opens new spaces for women.[45] It is pointed out that women take on new tasks often non-traditional tasks and thus gain a new degree of freedom, flexibility and opportunity. Positive changes in social relationships, including gender relations have been reported.

According to Vickers conflict in a sense, creates opportunity and impunity together an opportunity impunity window.[46] The psychological and social impacts of armed conflict are inter-twined. Changes in social interactions may create psychological

[43] Allan S. (2009). *The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education*. Education for All Global Report
[44] Zetter, R. (2012). International Perspective on Refugee Assistance. In A. Ager, (Ed). *Refugees: Perspectives on the Experiences of Forced Migration*. London: Continuum.
[45] Weiner, M. 2006. Bad Neighbours. Bad Neighbourhoods: An Inquiry into Causes of Refugee Flows. *International Security, Summer* 21 (1) 5-41.
[46] Vickers, J. 2013. *Women and War*. London & New Jersey: Zed Books. *Violent Conflicts*. Montreal, Center for Developing areas, Montreal McGill University.

distress. Studies have shown the grave consequences of gender-based social repression on the psychological well-being of women. The proliferation of armed conflicts and the high levels of military and civilian casualties in those conflicts have meant that there are large numbers of widows in many countries.[47] This has a major impact not only on women but on society in general. Widowhood often changes the social and economic roles of women in the household and community and the structure of the family. The impact of widowhood differs between cultures and religions. However, it can affect the physical safety, identity and mobility of women. Widowhood can also affect their access to basic goods and services necessary for survival and their rights to inheritance, land and property, in addition to the wider impact it has on the community.

1.5 Justification of the Study

The findings of the study will help governments and other international agencies to develop policies that are more effective in preventing wars and forced migration caused by armed conflicts. Researchers and scholars may also find the study useful as a basis of further research. Conclusion, and statistical data effects of armed conflict on women and children in northern Uganda may be utilised to develop principles, theories and policies of universal application in improving women and children conditions in conflict areas.

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[47] Waligo, J.M. 2005. Constitution-making and the Politics of Democratization in Uganda, In *From Chaos to Order. The Politics of Constitution-Making in Uganda*, Hasen, & Twaddle, Kampala. Fountain Publishers

1.6 Theoretical Review

1.6.1 Conflict Theory

The strand of research underlying emergency interventions deals with the nature of human responses to highly stressful situations and events. Research into women suffering in the context of major societal catastrophes commonly adopts a view of the world long promoted by the social sciences as a safe, predictable and nurturing place.[48] Anthropology, in particular, has advanced numerous theories about the homogeneity and continuity of culture and symmetry, reciprocity and exchange in social relations. Society is portrayed as an integrated, self-equilibrating system in which armed conflict and other such circumstances are exceptions that lie outside the range of normal human experience. The idea that war represents a disjunction with everyday reality and everyday processes has in effect undermined explanations about social causes of, or solutions to, armed conflict. Consequently, in the absence of proper theories of societal transformation, policy and practice commonly prioritize the functioning of affected populations over and above resolution of broader social structural problems.[49]

Following this tradition of focusing on the survivor of war as opposed to the social formations that gave rise to it, emergency interventions with women exposed to armed conflict have tended to reflect the pre-eminence awarded to the bio-medical model in theories of women suffering during armed conflict.[50] Biomedicine also concentrates on the functioning of those affected; in this case the individual human being, perceived as a universalized victim of a specific traumatic experience and

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[48] Bahl, V. 1997. Cultural Imperialism and Women's Movements: Thinking Global. *Gender and History*, April 1 14.

[49] Jalloh, S. (2011) Conflicts, Resources and Social Instability in Sub Sahara Africa: *The Sierra Leone Case in Internationasles Afrikaforum*, 37. Jg Germany, , Pages 166-180.

[50] Levine, S. & Chastre, C., 2004, *Missing the Point*: *An Analysis of Food Security Interventions in the Great Lakes*. Humanitarian Practice Network at Overseas Development Institute: London

bearing a disorder as a consequence of that experience.[51] In the biomedical model the origin of illness and disease is held to be in the physically bounded body, which is understood to function as the receptacle of the mind. Hence, physical and mental health is separated and illness is thought to reside either in the body or the mind.

Women's responses have been explained largely through a mix of stage, cognitive, psycho-dynamic and attachment theories. Often, a fairly mechanical relationship is posited between exposure to environmental adversities and mental health disturbance. Attention has centered increasingly on one particular psychiatric category, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Despite its profoundly cultural origin, many claim this to be the condition that most effectively characterizes and embodies the global human response to major traumatic events.[52] Assessments of women exposed to armed conflict often show significant pathology and very high rates of prevalence of armed conflict in particular. Moreover, since early behaviors and experiences are taken to influence subsequent developmental achievements, women exposed to stressful war events are thought to be prone not merely to traumatic reactions in both the shorter and medium term, but also to long-term developmental impairment.

1.7 Hypotheses

$H1_1$: Armed conflicts has increased gender based violence

$H1_2$:   Forced migration emanating from armed conflicts affected women differently from men

$H1_3$: Internal displacement resulting from armed conflicts affects women differently from men

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[51] Lukwago, K. (2013). *The Politics of National Integration in Uganda.* Nairobi: Coign Publications.
[52] Bahl, V. 1997. Cultural Imperialism and Women's Movements: Thinking Global. *Gender and History*, April 1 14.

1.8 Research Methodology

The study will adopt a cross-sectional descriptive study. The study will use both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods, informed by secondary literature and in-depth interviews as well as key informant interviews. Data will be analysed in line with the study objectives using content analysis technique. The survey will cover four districts, which will be classified into two categories as war-torn and receiving districts. Gulu and Bundibugyo will represent the war-torn districts following the insurgencies as result of the Lord Resistance Army (LRA) and the Allied Defence Forces (ADF) respectively, while Masindi and Kumi are the receiving districts where the internally displaced persons take refuge.

Two IDP camps will be included in the survey and one sub-county that is Internally Displaced Peoples camps of Barr and Bala Stock Farm. 10 respondents will be interviewed.

Key Informant interviews will be undertaken with elders and leaders within the IDP camps. These included women leaders, and staff of organizations that work with the IDPs such as Christian Children Fund (CCF), Canadian Physician for Aid and Relief (CPAR), Rachelle Rehabilitation Center and Concerned Parents Association (CPA). The districts included in the study will be purposively selected to include two that are currently experiencing conflict and one that was in a post conflict situation. Respondents will be randomly selected from those living within the villages using Local Council lists or the Internally Displaced People's camps using food lists.

Secondary data will be solicited from books from the libraries. Also articles from the internet and journals and documentation on armed conflict on women and children in northern Uganda will be consulted for secondary data.

1.9 Outline of the Study

Chapter one presents the general background to the problem under research by discussing problem statement, the aims and objectives, literature review, and theoretical framework, justification of the study and hypothesis. The chapter also provides a brief background of Uganda and summarises the research methodology.

Chapter Two contains theoretical and conceptual debates which will be generated in chapter one. This is important because the study has strong theoretical and conceptual orientations.

Chapter Three analyses effects of armed conflict on women, focusing more on northern Uganda. The analysis draws from three research questions that have been sued to explain these effects of conflict on women.

Chapter Four builds on chapter two and three by integrating theoretical issues with data gathered to develop a case for a constructivist approach to effects of armed conflict on women in northern Uganda.

Chapter Five presents the conclusion and draws recommendations for implementation.

CHAPTER TWO

ARMED CONFLICTS AND GENDER BASED VIOLENCE

2.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses the historical background of armed conflicts and gender based violence. It is organized in the following sub-topics: gender based violence in west Nile region Uganda, causes of gender based violence in northern Uganda, effects of gender based violence to women in northern Uganda and finally the chapter summary.

2.1. Overview of Armed Conflicts and Gender Based Violence in Africa

Throughout history, gender based violence has been an integral component of armed conflict. An armed conflict is a contested incompatibility which concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths. In the last century, GBV against women and girls and to a lesser extent men and boys has been and continues to be a feature of probably all recently concluded and current armed conflicts. The impact of armed conflict on civilians is multidimensional and negative. Unfortunately, the situation has not improved since the end of the Cold War. Since the 90s, when arose contemporary conflict, the civilian population does suffer the most from the consequences of armed violence. Experts talk that about 85-90% of victims are civilians. Civilians are not anymore the so called collateral damages, but the target of war. Unfortunately children are the most vulnerable group; even worse, they are often targets in armed conflicts.

The end of the Cold War saw a shift towards intra- as opposed to inter-state armed conflicts. Aside from the millions of casualties of such wars, Gender-Based Violence

(GBV) has emerged as one of the most profound challenges, particularly when used as a strategy and weapon of war. Generally, GBV refers to the emotional, physical or sexual abuse based on the gender of the survivor. The World Health Organisation (WHO) defines GBV as "any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic women's sexuality, using coercion, threats of harm or physical force, by any person regardless of relationship to the survivor, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work." GBV refers to violence against both men and women. In war times, women and girls face a particular risk of sexual violence, which is increasingly used as a weapon of war. For example, in the 1994 Rwandan genocide, an estimated 250, 000 women are said to have been raped. Today, on average, 40 women are estimated to be raped every day in South Kivu, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) as a result of the on-going conflict.

Widespread rape has been witnessed in conflicts where ethnic hatred is rife. In Kenya, the 2009 Krieglar and Waki reports on the 2007/8 post-election violence, believed to have been influenced by ethnic hatred, highlighted sexual violence as one of the regrettable tragedies. As Thomas Plümper and Eric Neumayer have observed, "reports on systematic rapes and rape-related murder of women, forced impregnation and forced abortion are particularly abundant during ethnic wars," as a mechanism to dehumanize one's opponents. Those subscribing to this theory cite ethnic difference as the main factor underlying the use of rape as a weapon of war. This trend has been noted in ethnic Albanian women in Kosovo; indigenous women in Guatemala; women from several ethnic groups in Myanmar; and Tutsi women in Rwanda. For example, the intention of the Hutus raping Tutsi women and girls in the 1994 genocide was to destroy the Tutsi's and possibly the entire generation. Muredeth Turshe notes that "rape targets women because they keep the civilian population functioning and are essential to its social and

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physical continuity; rape is used in ethnic cleansing, it is designed to drive women from their homes or destroy their possibility of reproduction within or 'for' their community."

2.1.1 Prevalent Forms of Gender-Based Violence

"In recent times, there have emerged extensive accounts of violence against women in times of armed conflict. Systematic rape and other forms of gender based violence are increasingly used as weapons of war in armed conflicts in different regions of the world. Furthermore, the use of rape to reinforce policies of ethnic cleansing and the establishment of camps explicitly intended for sexual torture and the forcible impregnation of women are tragic developments which mark a definite escalation of violence against women in situations of armed conflicts." [3]GBV in conflict and post-conflict areas can take many forms including rape, slavery, forced impregnation/miscarriages, kidnapping/trafficking, forced nudity, and disease transmission, with rape and sexual abuse being among the most common. [4]Rape in conflict settings is often violent and brutal, frequently involving gang-rape and rape with foreign objects such as guns and knives.[5]In addition to rape, sexual abuse is also prevalent, particularly in the forms of forced nudity, strip searches, and other publicly humiliating and violating acts. These acts and other acts of sexual violence, such as forced impregnation or forced miscarriages, are often part of an intentional strategy of war, used to destabilize the civilian population and violate the honour of the opposing force. [6] Abduction and slaver are also frequent forms of GBV in conflict areas, where civilian girls and women are kidnapped by raiding military or rebel forces and taken back to the soldiers' camp to provide both sexual and domestic services. A more basic explanation of the prevalence of GBV in armed conflicts, however, is that conflict simply heightens violence that was already occurring. According to this view, GBV in

armed conflicts should be seen as a continuation of the violence experienced during peacetime, but made more extreme by the general increase of violence levels in society.

2.2 Gender Based Violence in West Nile Region Uganda

One of the principles in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and other human rights instruments is that of equality of all human beings. However, despite the good intentions of the human rights instruments that provided for the rights of all human beings, women continue to be marginalized and discriminated against. Achieving gender equality and women's rights is a global agenda that poses challenges for every country, rich or poor, north and south. Ending violence against women requires know-how[53]. Early and adequate participation in post-conflict processes can offer many opportunities to redirect political discourse in ways favourable to gender equality.

Gender Based Violence continues to be an issue of global concern. While some men experience violence in their lives, it is mostly women who continue to experience violence in all aspects of their lives, the most pervasive type being that which their most intimate partners conflict on them in the privacy of their lives and homes. Although there has been an improvement in the number of women speaking out, most of them still suffer in silence as violence goes unreported and un-redressed[54]. Even when it is reported, it is not treated with the seriousness it deserves by the law enforcement agencies in patriarchal set up of our societies for instance a survey done by Action International in Nebbi district West Nile region, Uganda in 2008, most women feared to report cases . Such violence ends up having grave physical and

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[53] Macdonald-levy, M. & MacMillan, S. (2005) Funerals, Thefts and Bride price: Livestock loss leads to Poverty, Kenya: ILRI.
[54] Maguire, P. (2007). Doing Participatory Research: a Feminist Approach, Amhurst: Centre for Continuing Education, University of Massachusetts.

psychological consequences on women as a group, and the communities they live in. In situations of conflict, violence against women becomes even more serious, as they suffer many violations of human rights, including displacement, rape, abduction and forced marriage, forced impregnation and sexual slavery.

Gender based violence, particularly violence against women, is widespread in Uganda and includes domestic violence, sexual harassment, trafficking, rape and defilement. The Uganda Demographic and Health Survey (UDHS) of 2006 indicated that 60% of women aged between 15 and 49 have suffered physical violence, 39% of women have suffered sexual violence, while 16% have experienced violence during pregnancy. Gender based violence is intensified in conflict ridden areas, underscoring the need to include women in conflict resolution processes and peace building initiatives. Accountability for sexual violence is frustrated by difficulties in meeting the requirements for prosecution, including the standard of proof and community perceptions of gender based violence as a private affair. In number of cases, the victims lack the courage to reveal that they have been raped, while others just keep quiet because of the stigma attached[55]. They do not know that they are victims and because of poverty, many families negotiate for little money which the perpetrator eagerly pays and gets away with the hideous crime. A survey done by Action for Development in 2009 seems to suggest that community attitude and perceptions towards rape and other forms of sexualized violence are sometimes ambivalent, if not downright unsupportive of the victims. "The community looks at issues of sexual violence as none of their business. They do not have any preventive measures in place. Even survivors are not given any help." This goes to explain the low levels of reporting and prosecution. If there are no witnesses coming from the community, it

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[55] Dalamia, S. & Lawrence, P.G (2005). The institution of dowry in India; why it continues to prevail. Journal of Developing Areas: 38 (2) pp. 71-93

would make it difficult for official systems which are often remote and removed from community to follow up and apprehend the offenders[56]. Social attitudes and low status of women make prevention and protection very difficult.

A survey carried out by Refugee Law Project in West Nile Region in May 2007 indicates that issues of domestic violence against women are rarely reported to the police, and only occasionally to elders or Local Council courts. One young woman living in Yumbe said: "A woman can never refuse her husband in terms of sexual relations. Men pay dowry and they demand that women are to bear children for them. Otherwise they are beaten…, most women do not know their rights. They are not even aware that violence against them is criminal and punishable". The lack of reporting is strongly linked to the position of women within the society, the distance between the victim and nearest police station, and, indeed the victim/communities' perception of outcomes of such a process. As one widow and a mother of three stated; "A woman has no voice, how will she seek justice?" Additionally, the outcome of pursuing 'justice' further jeopardizes the situation of the woman: if her husband is imprisoned, then she is left on her own- which often means she is left with nothing. Culturally it would undermine the family if such issues are brought out. It is very rare that a woman goes to the courts over such matters[57]. "Women do take matters to the elders but most times the elders think more of the good of the family than the pain of the woman; hence   aiming at preserving the family from breaking. Most of the elders gathered to hear such cases are male, so there is a tendency for them to be biased." And when women do go to the police, they are often referred back to the community.

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[56] Kapwepwe, J.B. (2004). Bride price and the violation of women and children's rights. A case study of child forced marriages in Kaberemaido District. Paper presented at the International Bride price Conference 16-18 February Kampala Uganda.
[57] Baryomunsi, C. (2004) Gender dynamics and HIV/AIDS: Key issues for debate on bride price, Uganda UNFPA

In other words, domestic violence is seen as a social issue and it is widely believed it should remain outside the ambit of the formal justice mechanism.

2.3 Causes of Gender Based Violence in Northern Uganda

The causes of Gender Based Violence and Violence against women in West Nile Region vary depending on the type of /form of violence but the cross cutting causes include:

2.3.1 The commercialization of bride price

The commercialization of bride price in West Nile has really perpetuated Gender Based Violence in the Region. A research carried out in Zombo and Nebbi districts indicated that Sixty two percent (62%) of the respondents said that bride price refund and the demand for more bridal wealth was perpetuating violence against women. Bride price, a common cultural practice in many African countries, acts as a form of validation of customary marriages[58]. The acceptance and commonness of this practice was shown in a study carried out by the Uganda association of women lawyers with the majority of the respondents stating that bride price is needed to validate marriage. The practice is believed to operate beneficially for both groom and bride and provides formal recognition of marriages, stabilization of marriage relationships, and protection to wives against abuse and development of partnerships between families. Typically, bride price consists of a contract where material items (often cattle or other animals) or money are paid by the groom to the brides' family in exchange for the bride, her labour and her capacity to produce children. According to Oguli[59] bride price practices in Africa involving the exchange of money and goods to cement

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[58] Tamale, S. (2004) Women's sexuality as a site for control and resistance: views on the African context, Uganda: Faculty of Law, Makerere University.

[59] Oguli O. M. (2004) Bride Price and Violence Against Women: the Case of Uganda, paper presented at the International Bride price Conference 16-18 February Kampala.

marriage is not very different from common practices in other countries across the globe. Although it appears to be unique, the buying of an expensive diamond ring by a groom for his wife in western societies has similar underlying meanings of affirmation and validation of a marriage. Similarly in many Arab and Islamic societies, bride wealth is a fundamental requirement in terms of *Mahri* (money and material items paid by the groom to the bride). In Indian society the practice is reversed whereby the bride's family provides goods and money to the husband's family, but the impact on women remains the same such that women are considered a commodity for exchange. Practices that view wives as commodities are abuses in themselves as well as can contribute to abuse towards the wife if she is perceived as not fulfilling her 'value'. Leaving marriages or seeking divorce where pride price is paid is extremely prohibitive since most women or their families are unable to repay. More than one report has warned of the potential role bride price could play in the spread of HIV with the UNFPA report on AIDS in Uganda warning that the commercialization of pride price could force young men to live with women outside of marriage or even alone and both options may contribute to the spread of AIDS which leads to gender based violence[60].

According to Baryomunsi[61] Bride price as a human rights issue is receiving increased attention because of its negative impact and association with violence against women across Uganda. Another reason is that it contradicts the 1995 Ugandan Constitution (Act 31 1995) (Ugandan Constitution 1995) which states that both men and women have the right to marry and are entitled to equal rights in marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution. The 2005 Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) highlights

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[60] Matembe, M. (2004) The relationship between domestic violence and bride price, paper presented at the International Bride Price Conference, MP Mbarara and Pan African Parliamentarian, February, Kampala, Uganda.
[61] Baryomunsi, C. (2004) Gender dynamics and HIV/AIDS: Key issues for debate on bride price, Uganda UNFPA.

bride price as the most significant factor holding back women's empowerment, and calls have been made for mitigation or even reform. Increasing advocacy activities have been emerging from rural Uganda where the practice is entrenched as well as from neighbouring countries in the region.

Despite Uganda's current strides towards modernisation and the subsequent decline of several customs and practices, the bride price custom, an age old practice has instead continued to gain more prominence in terms attention given to it and the amount of resources exchanged during the practice. Some activists have blamed it for having changed from just a procedure to solemnise marriages to a highly commercialised and expensive transaction[62]. Currently in Uganda, there is extensive debate between women's rights activists and other actors as to whether bride price has genuine positive outcomes or whether it is a dehumanising tool that reduces women to purchasable commodities and thus lowering their position, decision making powers, and other negative outcomes in marital relations. There are increasing concerns about the negative effects of bride price on women in Uganda as it is argued that it turns them into purchasable commodities[63]. This brings negative effects on women, children, family life and general community development. Women activists and scholars have accused it of having a high correlation with domestic violence, degradation of women dignity and violation of human rights.

2.3.2 High levels of poverty

Differences in gender roles and capacities constitute a major obstacle to development and poverty reduction in Uganda. Women's significant, though understated, roles in

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[62] Kapwepwe, M. J.B. (2004). Bride price and the violation of women and children's rights. A case study of child forced marriages in Kaberemaido District. Paper presented at the International Bride price Conference 16-18 February Kampala Uganda.
[63] Baryomunsi, C. (2004) Gender dynamics and HIV/AIDS: Key issues for debate on bride price, Uganda UNFPA

economic production (agriculture and the informal sector, predominantly) and their pivotal position in household management and welfare (food preparation, health and hygiene, child care and education) are central to Uganda's economic development and social survival. The different structural roles of men and women in the economy (notably in agriculture and the informal sector) are coupled with their equally different and unbalanced roles in the household economy, where the boundary between economic and household activity is less well drawn. What particularly characterizes women's roles, in contrast to those of men, is that they must carry out these roles simultaneously, not sequentially. This is evident not only in the Uganda participatory poverty assessment project which amply documents the extent of women's labour burden and their very long working hours, but also in the harsh choices and trade-offs that women inevitably have to make because of the simultaneous competing claims on their but not men's labour time. The "overburden" of women is a key component of both individual and household poverty, in large part because of the disproportionate cost borne by women of reproduction and household management responsibilities.

The survey established by Bitangora[64] noted that due to high levels of poverty, the in laws/parents are unable to refund the bride price in case these marriages fail to work and the women opt for separation. The wife remains trapped in an abusive relationship fearing that the husband would ask for his worthy. It was revealed that women in the survey area do not control, own and sometimes lacked access to family property. Traditionally, women are denied the right to inherit property from both their ancestral or matrimonial family. Eighty-five percent (85%) of the total respondents said they for instance used the family land only to cultivate and were not allowed to

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[64] Bitangora, B. (1999). "Rape, the Silent Cancer among Female Refugees". In: Conveying Concerns; Women Report on Gender-based Violence. Washington: Population Reference Bureau, (2000) MEASURE communication

make decisions to sell the products and enjoy the proceeds of their labour. If they did, it sparked violence. Whereas violence occurs at all levels of society, poverty remains a factor that increases people's vulnerability to GBV by increasing their exposure to potentially violent situations, in particular by reducing their ability to avoid or escape from such situations. World Bank[65] study found that poor women often cite violence as a factor in their poverty and that even if the men are equally poor, women face additional vulnerability compared to men, i.e. being exposed to sexual abuse. Moreover, the insecurity of women's rights to land and property and economic dependence on male relatives makes them more vulnerable to socio-economic forms of violence, notably property grabbing. On the other hand, reclaiming the rights on the taken land and property may in itself be the factor leading to new forms of violence.

Studies by Eckman[66] indicate that fear of loss of food and shelter and lack of economic options are among the reasons why women continue to stay in abusive relationships. Losses of land and property rights are also common consequences of humanitarian crises (both natural disasters and conflicts) due to forced displacement of the population. When refugees and internal displaced persons eventually consider return, whether and how to reclaim their land and property rights and thus rebuild their livelihoods is of crucial concern to them. Land is the main livelihood asset available to people in post-conflict settings. Problems of illegal occupations, squatting, exploitative rent increases and violence commonly characterize all humanitarian crises. Years of displacement have weakened traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, and increased the level of uncertainty, tensions and confusion over land. Again, the most vulnerable, such as women widows, orphaned children and

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[65] World Bank. 2001. Engendering Development: Through Gender Equality in Rights, Resources, and Voice. A World Bank Policy Research Report, Washington, D.C.

[66] Eckman, K. (2005). Lessons learned by the WIN project on livelihoods diversification and enterprise development, LSP Working Paper 19, Rome, FAO.

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the elderly, experience GBV in form of property grabbing, sometimes accompanied by physical violence and threats. This has served to discourage many women refugees and internal displaced persons from even reclaiming their spouse's lands and/or returning to their original homes.

2.3.3 Traditional attitudes towards women

Traditional attitudes towards women around the world help perpetuate the violence. Stereotypical roles in which women are seen as subordinate to men constrain a woman's ability to exercise choices that would enable her end the abuse. Gender Based Violence (GBV) is a result of power inequalities powered discrimination based on gender. GBV is now more than ever entrenched in the social beliefs, systems, perceptions, attitudes about women and men and their roles in society; it includes; Domestic Violence, Violence against Women and Sexual Based Violence.

Whereas the 1995 constitution of Uganda reinforces the principles of equality and prohibits discrimination of all forms including based on sex, among others, it also protects the rights of women mandating the state to accord women full and equal dignity of the person with men, and provides a very strong platform for gender mainstreaming in all sectors, GBV still manifests itself in Uganda. While the government of Uganda and a number of NGOs have had a number of interventions that aimed at eradicating GBV. These interventions majorly targeted rural community populations and the society poor. Many urban dwellers and working women were reached hence the existence of GBV among the middle class. The many programs that aimed at ending Gender Based Violence never took root, and more actions to stop the vice need to be carried out. Various researches show that there is raised awareness on

some, however the increased violence against women in the middle class needs to be addressed.

Women and girls statistically make up the majority of the victims of GBV worldwide and the same is true of Uganda. GBV affects both sexes of society and the country. Therefore, while GBV is often mistakenly seen as a "woman's issue", long-term solutions to prevent and respond to GBV must include the participation of men and boys. Strategies to prevent and respond to GBV must therefore include dialogue between men and women, boys and girls, aimed at changing the cultural, social, economic and other systems and structures that deny human rights and equality between women and men. Existing efforts to involve men and boys in fighting GBV should be encouraged and be taken into account in prevention and response activities.

Gender-based violence (GBV) remains rampant despite of various measures adopted to address it. A significant number of gender discriminatory laws have been revised, although not exhaustively, but their dissemination needs to cover the entire nation. Different influencing factors have been identified including poverty, ignorance, consumption of alcohol, GBV against women in Uganda, especially in the corporate and middle class is becoming more and more a public issue, and a serious human rights concern. GBV largely affects women than men. Females experience brutal acts like rape; sexual harassment; sustained injuries from domestic violence; abusive relationships by husbands or boyfriends who are recurring, sexually abused, endure marital rape, and experiencing physical violence committed by their male partners/ counterparts. Sex trafficking, coercive and exploitative sex, are harmful to women; and traditional practices like; female genital mutilation (FGM), forced early marriages, abortions and widow inheritance are further gender based violence related actions. GBV is a form of injustice. Women fear taking their cases to courts due to

their cultural background that does not encourage them to address relevant issues through courts. Even those who overcome the issue of fear face the challenge of paying for costly legal assistance. Whereas many discriminatory laws have been revised, difficulties persist in that the populations are not informed about the gender sensitive laws that have been enacted, nor are they informed about their rights under these laws.

2.4 Effects of Gender Based Violence Resulting From Armed Conflicts

The effects of Gender-based violence can be devastating and long lasting. They pose danger to a woman's reproductive health and can scar a survivor psychologically, cognitively and interpersonally. A woman who experiences domestic violence and lives in an abusive relationship with her partner may be forced to become pregnant or have an abortion against her will, or her partner may knowingly expose her to a sexually transmitted infection. Gender based violence to women in northern Uganda bears effects such as;

2.4.1 Armed Conflicts and Sexual Abuse

The effects of sexual abuse are the exploitation of power. Young people are especially at risk and this can have lasting consequences for their sexual and productive health. The costs can include unwanted pregnancies, sexually transmitted infections (STI), physical injury and trauma. Bitangora[67] reported that in Uganda as in many parts of the world, a lot of stigma is attached to a woman who has been raped. The effects of female Genital cutting are many. According to the report of women vision in Uganda (1998) the surgeons, who performed the cutting are old

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[67] Bitangora, B. (1999). "Rape, the Silent Cancer among Female Refugees". In: Conveying Concerns; Women Report on Gender-based Violence. Washington: Population Reference Bureau, (2000) MEASURE communication

women. These women according to the report claim that they have ancestral powers. Female genital cutting can be seen as an impediment to a girl's sexual enjoyment. The girls according to the report of women vision (1998) are known to experience intense pain, bleeding, painful abdominal menstruation, infection or trauma.

As a result of armed conflicts systematic rape and other forms of sexual abuse of women and girls have been reported in many war zones around the world. In Bosnia Herzegovina, Burundi, Sierra Leone, and Northern Uganda, systematic rape, forced marriages and other forms of sexual abuse are often used as a tool of war. Past studies have indicated that female adolescents are up to six times more likely than male adolescents to develop PTSD symptomatology. Yet, male adolescents tend to report more exposure to violence than their female counterparts, often due to the sexual nature of the violence .Since 1986, Northern Uganda has been engulfed in an extreme and violent conflict between government forces and rebels, resulting into large scale internal displacement, abductions of over 26,000 children, death, destruction of homes, basic infrastructure and services like education and health. In this conflict, adolescent girls have lost their parents and family members. Many were abducted, used as child soldiers, and physically and sexually abused while in rebel captivity[68].

Among the peculiar problems in the phase of resettlement is that the reintegration of a considerable number of formerly abducted children, both girls and boys in the society remains a challenge. The abducted girls were attached to rebel leaders as "wives." They were sexually abused and had children of these soldiers. Some of the abductees who either escaped or where rescued by the national army were granted amnesty in the same manner like that of any other adult person who had voluntarily joined the rebel group. The soldiers from the rebel group who surrendered or relinquished the

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[68] Michau, L. (2007). 'Approaching old problems in new ways: community mobilisation as a primary prevention strategy to combat violence against women', Gender & Development Vol. 15, No. 1, Oxfam GB., pp 95 – 109

rebel groups have since been absorbed into the national army and some of them have received rewards for denouncing rebel activities. The formerly abducted girls however, received no recognition of their victimization[69]. On the contrary, they continue to be considered and treated as pariahs in the society. Some of them who returned with children have received psychosocial and resettlement support from NGOs but nothing from the Ugandan government. They continue to face the burden of dealing with the trauma resulting from their experiences in abduction and the challenge of having to maintain themselves and their children without any economic support.

According to Machel[70] in 2007 the government of Uganda developed a framework for responding to the situation in Northern Uganda called the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP) for Northern Uganda (2007 – 2010). The strategic objective of the PRDP aims at rebuilding and empowering communities by promoting improvement in the conditions and quality of life of displaced persons in camps, completing the return and reintegration of displaced populations, initiating rehabilitation and development activities among other resident communities and ensuring that the vulnerable are protected and served. The most vulnerable in Northern Uganda are currently women and girls who have borne the brunt of war and have several odds against them as already noted above. Strategic objective focuses on peace building and reconciliation to ensure continuous prevalence of peace in Northern region through increased access to information by the population, enhancing counselling services, establishment of mechanisms for intra/inter communal and national conflict resolution, strengthening local governance and informal leadership structures and reinforcing the socioeconomic reintegration of ex-combatants. To meet

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[69] Lederach, J. P. (2005). The Moral Imagination: the Art and Soul of Building Peace. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[70] Machel, G. (2001). Impact of War on Children. London: Hurst and Company.

these objectives, women and girls deserve the greatest attention and justice for the violations of their bodies. They equally deserve compensatory interventions that would place them in a position of economic independence and therefore empowerment[71].

2.4.2 Armed Conflicts and Exclusion from education

According to Dorsey and Opeitum[72] there is stigmatization of victims or persons who have experienced SGBV in the community, which results into the person's loss of confidence and, leads to isolation from the community. This has led to girls dropping out of school due to the stigmatization. In Agole primary school in Pabbo, at the lower levels of primary, there are usually more girls than the boys, but the number and proportion of girls to boy's drops due to verbal abuse by the boys, and parents. As a result of war, formal education has been negatively impacted. Schools have been destroyed, teachers and students have been abducted and killed, and the accessibility of education has become limited. Even when individuals are able to find a school, instability and a lack of resources results in overcrowded conditions and difficulty in attaining one's education. The consequences include not only higher rates of illiteracy, ensuing poverty, and further economic despair; these effects extend to increased gender inequality and the loss of a safety zone, an environment that allows children to hope for an improved future and maintain a "normal" childhood . While the limited number and distant locations of schools continue to threaten education, one of the most pronounced threats in Northern Uganda is insecurity. Schools in the rural environments of Northern Uganda are often far and few, particularly as a result

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[71] Gow, M. & Wanduragala, R. (2000). The Right to Peace: Children and Armed Conflict (Vol. 2). Geneva, Switzerland: World Vision International.
[72] Dorsey, J. & Opeitum, S. (2002). The Net Economic Cost of the Conflict in Acholiland Sub Reigion of Uganda Kampala: Civil Society Organisations for Peace in Northern Uganda (CSOPNU).

of war. However, the constant threat of the LRA and other militant groups legitimizes the concern for abduction on the migration to and from school. Additionally, schools are often easy targets during times of conflict. The Sacred Heart Girls Boarding School was victim to at least three attacks, many killings, and the abduction of more 15 than 50 students. St. Mary's College, another school in Northern Uganda, was attacked by the LRA resulting in 139 student abductions in one single night. In addition to the threat of insecurity, the school buildings were destroyed, resources were damaged, and in some circumstances students, teachers, and administration members were killed. Lock[73] identify that there is an inverse relationship between warfare and education and development in Northern Uganda. They also acknowledge a decline in the success rates of students, particularly in primary and secondary schools, and lower levels of attaining higher education for children is further affected by a child's inability to focus in school or prioritize school over other aspects of daily life. Some cannot afford the costs associated with school, although Uganda's Universal Primary Education bill, in practice, was designed to alleviate the burden of up to four children in each household. Others, often females, are not permitted to attend school or feel they cannot attend due to the necessity to help their family raise income to survive. Those who even continue to attend face extreme fatigue, possibly a result of sleeping in hiding and commuting long distances; as many as 40,000 children in Northern Uganda are night commuters, sleeping in communal settings away from their families for safety and migrating to school each day. Lack of focus from hunger, improperly treated illness, and constant fear continue to destroy a healthy and productive learning environment[74].

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[73] Lock, R. (2008). A Reporter's Notebook: Lost Culture in Uganda [Radio], World Vision Report. Uganda: World Vision.
[74] Tom, P. (2006). The Acholi Traditional Approach to Justice and the War in Northern Uganda.

2.4.3 Armed Conflicts and Gender-based Violence Trauma

Although there is heated debate regarding the cross-cultural applicability of assessing war affected persons for signs of Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), theoretical discordances run the risk of missing the broader point: trauma is trauma. When trauma starts, critical thinking stops; normal functioning of the frontal cortex the seat of reasoning and judgment ceases and all cognitive processing enters fight-or-flight mode, which is very present tense and externally focused. This makes it difficult to visualize a future for oneself or focus on anything apart from meeting basic needs and people do what they must to cope people need the material staples of clean air, water, nutrients and soils for growing roots. As even the most fertile grounds cannot protect a plant from the swing of a sickle or the turnover of a plow people are not invulnerable to threat or destruction. Of course, people are not plants. Plants, for all their persistence to live, are unconscious of their mortality; the lone flower that survives the slash and burning of its field is unaware of its solitude. They can be transplanted into healthier soils or more suitable climates and thrive. It is not so easy with people. People have an emotional complex. People feel terror, anger, grief, panic, empowerment, excitement, loneliness and/or pain in the face of adversity, and the connections between sexual and gender-based violence, trauma, and/or post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) are well documented[75]. Human bodies record physical trauma and our minds record the memories of events, both of which can have enduring impacts on physical and psychosocial health. The level of social disturbance and trauma is disconcerting because, if unaddressed, it has the potential to jeopardize the mental health of the next generation. The contemporary scourge of SGBV is a

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[75] Gow, M. & Wanduragala, R. (2000). The Right to Peace: Children and Armed Conflict (Vol. 2). Geneva, Switzerland: World Vision International.

critical case in point because many acts of sexual and gender-based violence are founded in people's experiences with trauma and violence.

War and displacement marked a "situation of profound social and moral distress. Many children rebels were forced to kill family members. A study conducted on the effects of trauma on youth in the IDP camps revealed that "80% had been exposed to gunfire and over half witnessed someone being killed. A large percentage has had a friend or family member abducted (67%) or killed (56%) and of the abducted, a small but tragic percentage (8%) reported being forced to torture or kill a friend or family member .Further to this, alarmingly high rates of SGBV in the IDP camps prompted the formation of the 2004 Gulu district sub-committee on sexual and gender-based violence. Lederach[76] research revealed a high incidence rate of rape and marital rape. Child defilement, incest, sexual abuse, "survival sex" (prostitution of women and young girls) and wife battery were closely tied to male alcohol abuse and culturally ingrained ideas of male dominance and women's submissiveness. Outside of these "protection" camps, female abductees were used and abused as sex slaves and coerced into being co-wives of soldiers and military commanders. The preponderance of male-perpetrated SGBV and high-risk sexual behaviour resulted in social support services that predominantly assisted women, thus contributing to another source of psychosocial distress. For example, aggressively condemning SGBV introduces more shame and guilt into an already stressed environment and this has the potential to provoke more anger and violence.

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[76] Lederach, J. P. (2005). The Moral Imagination: the Art and Soul of Building Peace. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

According to a report by Michau[77] gender and development is a hot topic in international development discourses and it has spurred a lively debate on issue pertaining to the under or over-emphasis on either men or women issues in Uganda. Motions to address gender inequality prompted the subfield known as Women in Development (WID) to hone in on eliminating violence and discrimination against women. Men, however, have often felt marginalized by these development projects especially those, who have also suffered tremendously from a conflict. It is no accident that the more recent discussions about men in development yielded the acronym MAD .In the case of Uganda, displaced women and children were identified as the most vulnerable group in the population and they received the bulk of the food aid, displacing men's primary gender role as breadwinners and as head of the household. This bred resentment and a demoralizing loss of utility, resulting in an "identity crisis that manifested most destructively in the high level of alcoholism in the camps. Men felt ostracized and abandoned by an aid community that seemed to disproportionately prioritize women's issues[78].

2.4.4 Armed Conflicts and Socio-Cultural Insecurity

Gender based violence in northern Uganda today has two key components, one is rooted in the North's history of conflict, and the second is rooted in the contemporary, strident sanctioning of traditional gender and patriarchal power-dynamics in an a post-war society that is less community oriented than it was before the war. Two decades of war, displacement, and differentially motivated humanitarian emergency relief aid

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[77] Michau, L. (2007). 'Approaching old problems in new ways: community mobilisation as a primary prevention strategy to combat violence against women', Gender & Development Vol. 15, No. 1, Oxfam GB., pp 95 – 109

[78] Rabwoni, O. (2002). Reflections on youth and militarism in Contemporary Africa. In A. de Wall & N. Argenti (Eds.), Young Africa: Realising the Rights of Children and Youth (pp. 155-169). Trenton, NJ: Africa World Pres, Inc.

deeply upset traditional Acholi family values, cultural frameworks for monitoring

social behaviour, gender roles and power relationships, claims to land and

individuals' agency in pursuing economically viable livelihoods .Further to this, the

population became conditioned, if not somewhat desensitized to rape , a common

characteristic of sexual violence perpetrated during all of the internal conflicts that

have taken place throughout the Great Lake region of Africa[79] .Women's bodies, via

rape or defilement by the Lord's Resistance Army and Uganda People's Defence

Force alike, were reduced to objectified weapons of war. An environment

characterized by such uncertainty, hardship, abduction, displacement and normalized

violence saw the gradual supplanting of community-focused motives and decisions

with individually oriented ones. After the war, this individualism serves to further

alienate people from their community-oriented culture, and it sharpens the inequalities

inherent in patriarchal systems that dictate people's access to resources. Although

women were subjected to culturally constructed inequalities before the war, the war

made these inequalities more pronounced by eroding the positive community

structures that formerly protected women from being altogether excluded from secure

livelihoods[80].

Many traditional reconciliation ceremonies, as well as socio-cultural norms that

protected women and children (even if they were disempowered in other ways such as

the lack of control over property ownership) lost their foothold in society during the

internal conflict. Weakened ties to traditional socio-cultural institutions frustrated

people's ability to cope with social problems that lack correlates to the pre-war

environment. One common source of mass anxiety was the displacement of adults'

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[79] Annan, J., Blattman, C., Carlson, K., & Mazurana, D. (2008). The state of female youth in northern Uganda: findings from the survey of war-affected youth (SWAY) phase II.
[80] Rutazaa, A. (2005). 'Tanzanian Women and Access to Law: The Case of Kilimanjaro', Durham, North Carolina, Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy, Duke University

and elders' roles as revered and empowered members of the community. Displacement robbed adults of the ability to provide secure and stable environments for their children and children, raised in an environment of dangerous uncertainty, grew up without adult role models[81]. Today, youth are a source of high social anxiety owing to their lack of respect for their elders. Other sources of anxiety include, but are not limited to the challenges of negotiating dual identities and the inversion of traditional gender roles, specifically, the emergence of female-headed households and its impacts on men's "collapsing masculinities". As a result, the Acholi engaged alternative ways of coping in a landscape rife with anxiety, trauma and abuse. If the coping mechanism(s) that enabled people to "live with bad surroundings" were in and of themselves bad and unhealthy (i.e. exerting excessive control over household interactions, asserting masculinity via sexual harassment or abuse, becoming alcohol dependent or engaging in transactional, or, "survival sex") a new set of social problems is likely to emerge in the post conflict environment when these adaptive strategies are no longer needed or beneficial and this is exactly what happened. The trauma of government-induced displacement was complemented by the equally traumatic lack of government-assistance in post-conflict resettlement[82].

2.5 Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence in Northern Uganda

Preventing GBV, and improving the response to GBV when it occurs. Preventing GBV involves efforts to reduce the incidence of violence, as well as interventions that increase knowledge of GBV issues and change attitudes and behaviour. Improving the response to GBV entails improving access to services for survivors, including

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[81] Lock, R. (2008). A Reporter's Notebook: Lost Culture in Uganda [Radio], World Vision Report. Uganda: World Vision.

[82] Gonzalez-Brenes, M. (2004). 'Domestic Violence and Household Decision-making: Evidence from East Africa', Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Economics, University of California Berkeley

medical/healthcare and psychosocial help to deal with the trauma of the event, as well as improved access to legal services and security[83].

2.5.1 Changing attitudes towards GBV

Awareness-raising initiatives whether standalone interventions primarily aimed at changing attitudes and behaviour towards gender-based violence, or as part of a broader programme (such as in partnership with economic interventions or multi-sectoral programmes) can change community attitudes and perceptions in a number of ways. beyond borders' rethinking power programme in post-earthquake Haiti and the search for common ground programme in northern Uganda have both taken a community based awareness-raising approach to change attitudes and perceptions of GBV. The programme is credited with increasing recognition that a man imposing his control over the family finances constitutes a form of violence, as well as successfully challenging the perception that it is the fault of the woman if a man rapes her. Listeners to a radio show produced by the programme also reported being less likely to blame a rape on the victim[84]. In focus groups listeners condemned the perpetrators, while offering support to the victims, and two-thirds of listeners said that the main theme for them related to the myth that women are raped because they wear provocative clothing. In in northern Uganda there was a significant decline in the number of people who believed that a man was entitled to beat or abuse his wife if he found out that she was HIV-positive. A key finding from the awareness-raising programme in Uganda was that multiple exposure to awareness-raising messages intended to change attitudes, behaviour and knowledge (combining mobile cinema

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[83] D'Odorico, G. & Holvoet, N. (2009) 'Combating Violence against Women (VAW) in South Kivu: A Critical Analysis', Journal of International Women's Studies, 11(2)

[84] Guedes, A. (2004) Addressing Gender-based Violence from the Reproductive Health/HIV Sector: A Literature Review and Analysis, LTG Associates Inc, Social and Scientific Systems Inc, United States Agency for International Development

and radio programming) was particularly effective in contributing to raising awareness and changing the attitudes of participants. Attitudinal changes were also reported from Oxfam's Protection Programme in Eastern Uganda The programme has achieved positive effects on women's empowerment and on gender equality by using Protection Committees to change attitudes about girls' education, early and forced marriage and (to some extent) inheritance rights for women[85]. Most communities where the programme has functioned have also shown increased attention to women's rights and gender equality.

Two refugee programmes have also reported positive changes in attitudes and perceptions. The CARE International Refugee Assistance Project in Dadaab, Kenya, initiated an integrated GBV programme, including education, behavioural change, livelihoods support, referral, counselling, clinical services and legal and litigation support. The programme's behaviour change activities included talks by the police on law enforcement, awareness campaigns, radio programmes, sports, discussions and debates, focus groups, community training and neighbourhood forums. The programme also provided livelihoods support for survivors of GBV, as well as response services including documentation of GBV cases, referrals, counselling and psychosocial support, clinical services, legal and litigation support and a safe haven for survivors. As a result of outreach campaigns by agencies such as CARE, awareness of the effects of female genital mutilation has increased substantially, as has awareness, reinforced by religious leaders, that female genital mutilation is not a religious obligation on Muslims[86]. The incidence of GBV more generally also reportedly declined, though it is unclear how this was evaluated.

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[85] Johnson, K. (2010) 'Association of Sexual Violence and Human Rights Violations with Physical and Mental Health in Territories of the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo', JAMA, 304(5).
[86] Horn, R. (2010) 'Responses to Intimate Partner Violence in Kakuma Refugee Camp: Refugee Interactions with Agency Systems', Soc Sci Med, 70.

2.5.2 Changing behaviour and increasing knowledge of GBV issues

A number of programmes has succeeded in changing behaviour among men, women, the broader community and local authorities. Economic and Social Empowerment programme for women, for instance, helped to improve women's decision-making and negotiation skills within the household, increasing women's capacity to make spending decisions and decide the number of children the household should have. Disagreements were more often negotiated jointly, rather than being resolved by the unilateral decision of the man, and tolerance of IPV decreased. However, these results were not even across all areas of household life; while changes were noted in some decision-making areas, attitudes in others, such as when to have sex and how much alcohol or cigarettes to buy, seemed more entrenched. Likewise, while negotiated solutions seemed acceptable in some areas, women were not seen as having the right to overrule their husbands. Changed attitudes towards intimate partner violence were most marked when it concerned a woman's neglect of her children, but in areas where the man was more directly affected – the food is burnt, the wife goes out without telling her husband or argues with him the programme seemed to have much less impact, suggesting that IPV may be more or less acceptable depending on the context in which it occurs, and the extent to which the woman's action impinges on the man[87]. According to Davis and Bookey[88] Women involved in Oxfam's Community Protection Committees in Uganda may feel 'extremely empowered' by their participation, and many cited the protection programme as a key factor in their ability to stand up for themselves in public and private settings. The CARE refugee programme in Dadaab, Kenya, reported a shift to a less severe form of female genital

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[87] Ayoo, S. (2008) Women Empowerment for Peace (WEP) Project, Northern Uganda, Care International in Uganda/Care.

[88] Davis, L. & B. Bookey (2011) 'Fanm Ayisyen Pap Kase: Respecting the Right to Health of Haitian Women and Girls', Health and Human Rights, 13(1).

mutilation known to Somalis as Sunna, although the majority view within both camps where the programme was working was that the actual practice of FGM could not be stamped out altogether, and it has apparently continued underground. In Northern Uganda, CARE International's Women Empowerment for Peace (WEP) Project saw the incidence of early marriages decline as women insisted that their daughters went to school, and the community at large came to see the value of education.

2.5.3 Improving access to services

The difficulties involved in accessing services generally in emergency settings are realized in northern Uganda. For women specifically, obtaining services related to gender-based violence is particularly problematic because of the barriers they face in terms of time, money and socio-cultural norms that discourage them from using these services, including stigma. There is some evidence that GBV interventions are improving the provision and utilisation of GBV response services, increasing the capacity of staff to understand, coordinate and refer GBV survivors to relevant services and improving confidentiality and cultural sensitivity in the delivery of services[89].

Work by the Congolese NGO Foundation Rama Levina (FORAL) in rural South Kivu province, Eastern DRC, is noteworthy here. In 2004, FORAL started a mobile health programme for vulnerable women and men to address barriers to access identified by GBV survivors and their families. Mobile health services were expanded in 2010, and a clinical monitoring and evaluation system was developed to record patients' histories, their experience of sexual violence, the medical care they had received after the assault, the results of the clinical exam, any symptoms indicative of physical and

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[89] Guedes, A. (2004) Addressing Gender-based Violence from the Reproductive Health/HIV Sector: A Literature Review and Analysis, LTG Associates Inc, Social and Scientific Systems Inc, United States Agency for International Development

mental health problems and planned treatment and follow-up. The same procedure can be done in in northern Uganda. FORAL also engaged community members through partnerships with community health workers[90]. Findings from a study of the revised programme show that access to healthcare for survivors of GBV and their male partners increased, the quality of services improved and community members participated more actively in education sessions held at the beginning of each mobile clinic which can be practised in northern Uganda. The evaluation system developed by FORAL helped care providers and community health workers set up appointments for follow-up in a confidential setting. Clinic activities begin with health education led by the FORAL physician and the health centre nurse, offered to all village members in the local language[91].

Oxfam's Protection Programme in Eastern DRC has also increased the accessibility of services and follow-up for victims of violence and abuse (notably sexual violence). The Protection Committees have improved the follow-up care available to survivors of sexual violence through initial listening sessions and the referral of individuals to care, protection and support services (medical, psychosocial and legal) within 72 hours of the incident. Focal points within the Protection Committees serve as links between the community and service providers, gauging trends and potential access barriers. Likewise, the refugee interventions in Kenya and Thailand have both increased capacity to respond to GBV survivors[92]. CARE International's programme in Dadaab has increased institutional and technical capacity to raise awareness of GBV and handle referrals through new approaches such as community neighbourhood

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[90] D'Odorico, G. & Holvoet, N. (2009) 'Combating Violence against Women (VAW) in South Kivu: A Critical Analysis', Journal of International Women's Studies, 11(2)

[91] Mwangi, G. K. (2012) CARE Refugee Assistance Project, Dadaab: Gender Based Violence Program Evaluation. Atlanta, GA: CARE USA.

[92] Johnson, K. (2010) 'Association of Sexual Violence and Human Rights Violations with Physical and Mental Health in Territories of the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo', JAMA, 304(5).

forums, the active use of media (radio and newsletters) and strengthening GBV reporting structures, such as gender reporting desks and gender recovery centres.

2.6 Conclusion

Sexual and gender based violence denies women (and at times men) security, the right to enjoy fundamental freedoms and forces them into subordinate positions compared to men. A district, Sub County, and individuals affected in these cases cannot reach their full potential as long as women's potential to participate in their society is denied through acts of violence perpetrated against them and disrupt their lives. In the Ugandan context incidences of SGBV are commonly in the press. The situation is particularly alarming in the war affected areas of Northern Uganda where rape, defilement, child molesting, forced widow inheritance and marital rape are said to be common. Uganda ratified the international bill of human rights which is codified in the 1995 constitution to protect its citizens' rights. However acts of parliament have not been translated into practical laws to curb the incidents of SGBV. For example domestic violence and marital rape are reflected in the constitution as unacceptable violent acts but no practical laws are in place to prosecute offenders. Even where the laws are applicable, the survivors or communities are reluctant to seek legal redress, either because of ignorance about legal procedures to report cases or cultural norms and traditional practices that regard such practices as normal.

CHAPTER THREE

ARMED CONFLICTS AND FORCED MIGRATION

3.1 Introduction

This chapter analyzes the historical background of effects of forced migration on women in northern Uganda. It is organized in the following sub-topics: The phenomenon of forced migration in Uganda, causes of forced migration in northern Uganda, effects of forced migration on women in northern Uganda. The chapter also discusses Armed Conflicts and Internal Displacement in northern Uganda and finally the chapter summary.

3.2 The Phenomenon of Forced Migration in Uganda

Uganda has been, and continues to be, an epicentre for refugees, standing at the geographical centre of a region characterised by instability and conflict. As early as the Second World War, events in Uganda have been inextricably linked to the numerous issues surrounding the presence and creation of varying numbers of refugees. Uganda has presented several different images to the outside world during the course of its recent history, yet one that has received little recognition in the international arena is that of Uganda as one of the first countries to host refugees. The country has constantly had to balance the implications of its location within the Great Lakes Region with the need to promote stability inside its own borders. At the same time, Uganda has itself generated, and continues to generate, considerable numbers of refugees, most notably through the notorious years of social and political strife under

Idi Amin (1971-79) and of civil war during the second Milton Obote government (1980-85)[93].

According to Brown[94] during the Second World War Uganda became the home to many Europeans displaced by the war. They were allocated specified camps where they remained for the duration of the war. The next wave of refugees into Uganda came in 1955 from the then Anglo–Egyptian condominium of the Sudan. This influx was soon followed by numerous refugees generated by unrest in the aftermath of the various struggles for independence in neighbouring countries: Kenyans during the Mau Mau struggle, Sudanese fleeing the conflict that followed its independence, Rwandese escaping the disastrous civil war of 1959 (which forced 78,000 "official" refugees into Uganda), and Congolese in the aftermath of Lumumba's assassination in 1961. The country also received a number of refugees from Ethiopia and Somalia during this period.

At the same time, Uganda's own upheaval under Obote and Amin generated additional refugees within the region who fled to Sudan, Kenya, Tanzania, and further a field. For example, in 1972 Amin expelled all Ugandan citizens of Asian origin— an exodus that was shortly followed by the flight of large numbers of political and academic intelligentsia. In 1980 almost the entire population of the West Nile and Madi Region was forced into exile, while those living in the notorious Luwero Triangle and in North/North-eastern Uganda who could not cross international boundaries became internally displaced. By 1985, refugees and internally displaced made up 7% of the population. Furthermore, the 1986 clash between the National

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[93] Black, R. (2004). Migration and Pro-Poor Policy in Africa, Working Paper C5, Sussex Centre for Migration Research

[94] Brown, M. (2006). "Endangered children of northern Uganda" Humanitarian Exchange Magazine Issue 36, December 2006 Humanitarian Practice Network.

Resistance Army (NRA) and political/military factions in the north led to more people being forced out of Uganda[95].

Uganda continued to receive refugees from other countries during its own struggles in the 1970s and early 1980s and, just as the country was beginning to stabilise, a new wave of refugees entered Uganda fleeing conflicts in neighbouring states. Thus, with Uganda's war ended and its attention turned to post-war construction, the country was faced not only with border disputes, rebel uprisings, a collapsed economy, and an inefficient public service system, but also with thousands of refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) who required assistance. In 1986, the same year that Yoweri Museveni came to power, Uganda became one of seven countries that represented the primary destination for forced migrants. By 1995 Uganda was hosting over 300,000 refugees, with approximately 500 arriving per day in northern Uganda from the civil war in southern Sudan[96].

3.3 Causes of Forced Migration in Northern Uganda

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[97].

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[95] Jeannie, H. (2011). Civil War, Reintegration, and Gender in Northern Uganda. Journal of Conflict Resolution, 000(00), 1-32. doi:10.1177/0022002711408013

[96] Liebling, K. (2008). Violence against Women in Northern Uganda: The Neglected Health Consequences of War. Journal of International Women's Studies, 9(3), 172 -192.

[97] Alexandra, S. (2012). Mass Rape: The War against Women in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2012.

3.3.1 Wars and forced migration

According to Mabikke[98] since 1986 northern Uganda has been suffering from an armed conflict in which the armed opposition group the Lord's Resistance Army (hereafter referred to by its initials, LRA), motivated by its messianic religious leader, Joseph Kony, has been attempting to overthrow the government of Yoweri Museveni, establish a regime based on the Ten Commandments in the Bible and overcome the marginalisation of the Acholi community, to which he belongs. The violence and insecurity caused by the LRA's attacks against the civilian population, which it claims to protect, the kidnapping of children to swell its ranks (about 30,000 since the beginning of the conflict) and the clashes between the armed group and the armed forces (together with pro-government militias) have led to the deaths of around 200,000 people and the enforced displacement of around two million at the highpoint of the conflict, not only in the Acholi region (including the districts of Gulu, Kitgum and Pader, in Uganda, and Magwe County, in southern Sudan) but also other areas in the north of the country: the Teso and Lango region (consisting of the districts of Apac, Lira, Soroti and Katakwi). The LRA extended its activities into the south of Sudan, a country that provided it with support, until in 2002 the Sudanese allowed the Ugandans to go into its territory in pursuit of the group, provoking an escalation of violence and the extension of the conflict to the south of Sudan. In this region, the armed group has been fighting with the Ugandan armed forces, harming the population in southern Sudan, a region which is beginning, not without great difficulties, to overcome the armed conflict that has affected it in the last few decades.

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[98] Mabikke, B. S. (2011). Escalating Land Grabbing in Post-Conflict Regions of Northern Uganda: A need for strengthening good land governing in Acholi in Acholi region. Paper presented at the International Conference on Global Land Grabbing 6- 8 April 2011 at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

The war has dragged on in the ten years since the Bigombe negotiations without significant hope for resolution. Brief talks were held in Rome in 1997 with exile businessmen claiming to be the LRA is political wing, but failure ensued after the lead negotiator was almost killed by Kony during their first meeting in the bush (see below). After considerable lobbying by the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI), the government introduced the Amnesty Act in 2000, which gave a blanket amnesty to all LRA fighters who returned from the bush. However, two years later Operation Iron Fist was launched in early 2002, in which UPDF troops attempted to drive the LRA out of southern Sudan but ended up worsening the humanitarian situation and dramatically increasing the number of IDPs across the north[99]. The war spread east to the Teso and Lango regions in 2003, and new government-sponsored militias called the Arrow and Rhino groups began to counter the LRA in these areas. Today, there is renewed hope for an end to the conflict, with the rapidly moving Sudan peace process and the government's presidential peace team acting as potential important steps in the right direction. Whether this hope eventually bears fruit rests on the government, Ugandan civil society and the international community prioritising the resolution of the conflict and co-ordinating their actions.

3.3.2 Armed conflicts and forced migration

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 Lord Resistance Army (LRA). Since 1986, the LRA rebels in northern Uganda have caused

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[99] Sarah, T. B. (2007). "State of the World's Street Children: Violence". Street Children Series. Consortium for Street Children (UK). Retrieved 30 November, 2012, from http://www.crin.org/docs/street.pdf

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[100]. 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 .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.

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[101].

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[100] Bennett, O. (1995). Arms to fight Arms to Protect: Women speak out about conflict. Panos. UK.
[101] Mabikke, B. S. (2011). Escalating Land Grabbing in Post-Conflict Regions of Northern Uganda: A need for strengthening good land governing in Acholi in Acholi region. Paper presented at the International Conference on Global Land

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. Under these circumstances, attempts to bring peace to the region have failed making it difficult to carry out development programmes in the region. 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[102]. 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.

According to a report by Mabikke[103] originally LRA was made up of 200-300 fighters, the LRA's central strategy has been the abduction of children for forced servitude and combat. They are tortured or killed if they attempt to escape. The refugee law project recently estimated that the LRA now includes approximately 3,000 child combatants, and 150-200 commanders. The LRA reportedly forces children to kill family members or friends in front of other children to instil fear and loyalty causing a devastating psychological impact on children who are less likely to return to a community where they participated in murdering and torturing their own

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[102] Bhabha, J. (2004). Demography and Rights: Women, Children, and Access to Asylum. International Journal of Refugee Law 16(2) 227-243.

[103] Mabikke, B. S. (2011). Escalating Land Grabbing in Post-Conflict Regions of Northern Uganda: A need for strengthening good land governing in Acholi in Acholi region. Paper presented at the International Conference on Global Land Grabbing 6- 8 April 2011 at the Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

neighbours and family members. The use of abducted children as combatants also has a devastating impact on community members, who are less likely to take up arms against the LRA if it means fighting against their own children. Ugandan government policies have also contributed to the humanitarian crisis in the North. In 1996, the government began a policy of moving civilians from their homes to protected villages. These protected villages are, in essence, camps for the internally displaced population. The government argued this relocation was necessary to better protect villagers from LRA attacks. However, the camps have increased internal displacement of the population and have not provided real protection for camp residents, who continue to be attacked by the LRA while also being exposed to high prevalence of disease, malnutrition, and poverty.

3.3.3 Natural disasters

Uganda is emerging from decades of conflict in the North and continues to be vulnerable to disasters including floods and droughts. As a largely agricultural society, the impact of natural hazards increases its vulnerability. Drought, floods, historical marginalization, poor infrastructure, and diseases still affect the Karamoja region, with significant impacts on human welfare and quality of life. The sub-region has the lowest human development indices in the country. Human rights concerns remain prominent as a result of the UPDF's disproportionate use of force and violations during cordon and search operations associated with the forced disarmament programme. Nearly 80% of the population experiences some degree of food insecurity, mainly due to unreliable rainfall[104]. The seven districts of Kaabong, Abim, Kotido, Nakapiripirit, Amudat, Napak and Moroto, are all located within a

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[104] Jewkes, R. (2007). Comprehensive response to rape needed in conflict settings. The Lancet, 369, 9580, 2140-2141.

"red" food security zone, according to a recent government assessment. WFP, working with the government's Karamoja Productive Assets Programme to increase household incomes and create assets, provided targeted relief food to the 140,000 extremely vulnerable persons in 2011. Malnutrition rates however, remained high in this region. In Acholi sub- region, Residual IDPs persist in the Acholi sub-region even as the development phase begins. Five years after the signing of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement between government of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), the majority of IDPs have left the camps. More than 98% of the 1.8 million IDPs who lived in camps at the height of the conflict have returned to their areas of origin or have resettled in new locations. The sustainability of returns, however, remains in doubt. Despite the peace and stability in the region since 2006, returns have outpaced recovery planning and implementation. Most IDPs have returned to areas offering few basic services such as water, health care and education. Current and planned efforts notwithstanding, there is general agreement that it will take many years to rehabilitate northern Uganda[105].

The Elgon and Teso sub-regions are suffering from landslides and floods, drought and famine, conflicts and cattle raiding. This vulnerability to floods, compounded by unpredictable weather patterns and Karamojong cattle raiding, continues to negatively impact the livelihood security of people at community and household levels in the sub region. While internal displacement has ended in Teso, several factors are undermining sustainable resettlement and recovery. Gaps in social service provision and limited livelihood opportunities continue to hamper the quest for durable solutions. A big number of people have been affected by mudslides and displaced by floods across eastern Uganda during the months of August and September 2011

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[105] Castles, S. (2003). Towards a Sociology of Forced Migration and Social Transformation. Sociology 37(1)13-34.

following torrential rains that submerged homes and devastated villages. Government has resettled 602 house hold from the region, but the resettling and recovery programme is far away to be completed[106].

According to a report by Boyle[107] as of November 2011, flood waters had receded in many areas of Bulambuli, Butalejja and Sironko districts but there was renewed flooding in Kisoro, Moyo, Kampala and Nebbi. Following a verification exercise that involved local leaders, the Uganda Red Cross established the death toll at 34 since the rains began and the total number of affected households across Uganda at 15,650 households (77,446 people). In Sironko District, 1,639 households in four sub-counties were affected and continued to require emergency interventions. In Bulambuli and Sironko, 35 schools were affected, with latrines collapsing and roofs blown off. As a result, education programmes were disrupted as some schools needed to be relocated. In Soroti District, the worst-hit area was Gweri sub-county, specifically the parishes of Awoja and Gweri where 271 households were affected. In the western Uganda district of Kasese, 360 households were affected most of them in Nyakiyumbu sub-county.

3.4 Effects of Forced Migration on Women in Northern Uganda

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;

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[106] Castles, S. &Van Hear, N.(2005). Developing DFID Policy Approach to Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons Volume 1: Consultancy Reports for International Development: United Kingdom.
[107] Boyle, P.(2012). Exploring Contemporary Migration. New York: Longman.

psychological trauma due to torture and poverty due to economic underdevelopment[108].

3.4.1 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. 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[109].

The protection provided to the families and communities of internally displaced women are at greater risk of gender-based violence including physical attacks, rape,

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[108] Cockburn, C. & Zarkov, D. (2002). 'Introduction'. In C. Cockburn and D. Zarkov (Eds). The Post-war Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping, London: Lawrence & Wishart

[109] Brown, M. (2006). "Endangered children of northern Uganda" Humanitarian Exchange Magazine Issue 36, December 2006 Humanitarian Practice Network.

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[110]. 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.

There is a high rate of orphan hood in northern Uganda. The high proportions of AIDS orphans observed in Lira and Arua districts indicate the devastating effect of AIDS. The cessation of civil wars and a reduction of AIDS in these areas would drastically reduce orphan hood in northern Uganda. The role of the extended family in caring for the orphans is important despite the numbers involved. In a few cases, the older orphans assisted in looking after their younger siblings. The main problems for orphans were inadequate financial support, lack of parental care and mistreatment[111]. It is therefore important that alternative means of orphan care should be explored to

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[110] Annan, J., Blattman, C., Carlson, K., & Mazurana, D. (2008). The state of female youth in northern Uganda: findings from the survey of war-affected youth (SWAY) phase II.
[111] Ayoo, S. (2008) Women Empowerment for Peace (WEP) Project, Northern Uganda, Care International in Uganda/Care.

supplement the extended family before it is overwhelmed by the problems of orphans. Financial assistance to the family will greatly enhance the capacity of the family to continue coping with orphans.

3.4.2 Insecurity among women

Boyle[112] 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. 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.

Women and girls in LRA custody live lives of sexual exploitation and assault particular to their gender. Young girls kidnapped by the LRA are often forced to

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[112] Boyle, P.(2012). Exploring Contemporary Migration. New York: Longman.

become sex slaves or so-called "wives" of rebel commanders, subject to forced pregnancies aimed at continually repopulating the ranks of LRA fighters. These girls and women are also at extremely high risk of contracting HIV, and the risk of disease has led LRA commanders to seek increasingly younger female victims, in the hope that they will be "clean." A 2004 survey by Cockburn and Zarkov[113] found that the HIV/AIDS rate in Northern Uganda is more than twice that in the southern part of the country. Should women become HIV positive or otherwise no longer be of use to LRA commanders, they may be sent back to their villages. Readjustment to civilian life and the return to families and communities are not easy for any ex-LRA combatant, male or female. However, whereas boys and men who have escaped or been released from the LRA are often cleansed of any past atrocities they may have committed through an elaborate, traditional Acholi ritual, girls and women especially those who have borne the children of LRA commanders are often stigmatized and cast away, or choose not to return at all out of shame.

While the overwhelming focus of research on the impacts of armed conflict especially for mental health is on the collective violence of armed groups, recent study suggests a link between exposure to violence by armed groups and domestic violence. In armed conflict, women may be exposed to both direct war experience and intimate partner violence, and consequences can be compounded when sexual violence by armed groups results in rejection from families and community's .This was what happened in Northern Uganda for twenty years between 1986 and 2006. Jalloh[114] have reported that wars have devastating effects on a nation's population as a whole but seem to affect women and men in different ways. Whereas men are often forced to fight and

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[113] Cockburn, C. & Zarkov, D. (2002). 'Introduction'. In C. Cockburn and D. Zarkov (Eds). The Post-war Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping, London: Lawrence & Wishart

[114] Jalloh, S B.(2001). Conflicts, Resources and Social Instability in Sub Sahara Africa: The Sierra Leone Case in Internationasles Afrikaforum, 37. Jg Germany, 2/2001, Pages 166-180.

are frequently killed in wars, women's bodies can become battlegrounds where sexual violence becomes a weapon of war used to express power and to humiliate, dominate, or disrupt social ties among them. This research delves into the escalation of violence against women in Northern Uganda as a result of the twenty year armed conflict. It shows that even when the war ended, its effects on violence against women still continue to reverberate.

3.4.3 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 Hansen and Twaddle[115] in Rwanda, it was found that some months after the genocide women did not want to produce babies from rape. 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 Green[116] 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

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[115] Hansen, H.B. &Twaddle, M. (Eds) 1988. Uganda Now: Between Decay and Development. London & Nairobi. East African Studies, Heinemann.
[116] Green, L (2002). Propaganda and Sexual Violence in the Rwandan Genocide. An Argument for Intersectionality in International Law; Colombia Law Review 33, 733-776.

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.

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 Hovil[117] indicates that from the beginning of armed conflict in Kosovo, which started in 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.

The study in Gulu by Allan[118] found that sexual torture was predominantly reported by women and supports the previous argument that sexual torture of women is a frequently utilised weapon of war. Women's reproductive role, which is especially important within this cultural context, is targeted by gender-based violence .More than a quarter of women in Kitgum reported being subjected to various forms of sexual torture. Almost 20% described violent penetrative sexual abuse including rape, gang rape and defilement. Fourteen point six percent suffered sexual abuse including

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[117] Hovil, L. (2001) "Refugees and the security situation in Adjumani district." Refugee Law Project Working Paper Series. No. 2. (Forthcoming 2001)
[118] Allan S. (2009). The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education. Education for All Global Report

incest, sexual slavery and forced marriages. Other women experienced sexual exploitation for survival or in exchange for gifts and food. These forms of sexual violence against women are typical in war-affected areas all over the world. Although mostly women experienced sexual violence in Kitgum, it is worth noting that 7.9% of men also reported being sexually abused .The shame in reporting sexual abuse in this cultural context is likely to mean these figures are underreported. In Gulu, women were also brutalised with rampant cases of rape, sexual slavery and other forms of sexual harassment[119].

3.4.4 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. 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. They cannot access health-care and sanitation facilities[120]. Opportunities for generating income or accessing education become shuttered. However, even though humanitarian agencies try to provide material assistance to displaced people, these things may prove to be useless

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[119] Kulman, T. (2001). "The Economic Integration of Refugees in Developing Countries: A Research Model" Economic Integration of Refugees. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[120] Corrin, C. (2000). Gender Audit of Reconstruction Programmes in South Eastern Europe, Fairfax and New York: Urgent Action Fund and the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children.

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.

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. Many women in Africa and south of the Sahara in particular, have suffered a lot of human rights abuses during armed conflicts. 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. 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[121].

In general, the Lord's Resistance Army has not been implicated in acts of rape during attacks on displaced persons camps or even when encountering women in rural areas. On this mission, Human Rights Watch did not document any cases of rape by the LRA in the camps, or when rebels encountered women or girls in the fields. Rape, on many occasions gang rape, has been committed after the young women and adolescent girls were taken back to the LRA camp. The lack of rape in the field and the gang rape after returning to base suggests that these crimes are sanctioned if committed according to orders. A woman told Human Rights Watch how she was abducted with her sister in January 2004 by a group of one hundred rebels near Agoro

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[121] Castles, S. &Van Hear, N.(2005). Developing DFID Policy Approach to Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons Volume 1: Consultancy Reports for International Development: United Kingdom.

camp in Kitgum. They were taken back to a rebel encampment "and distributed to the top commanders who raped us during the night. One community leader told Human Rights Watch that the reason LRA fighters did not rape captured women and girls before taking them to the LRA stronghold was Kony's hold over the LRA combatants: "They are superstitious that Kony knows everything they do. Kony doesn't want them to contaminate women because Kony picks the women and then shares the rest among the others." The LRA has abducted thousands of women and girls who are still being held by the LRA and have given birth to children in captivity. Others have escaped, with or without their children. Over the years, many caretakers and community leaders have surmised that this behaviour was due to a perverse awareness of HIV/AIDS. LRA fighters have sometimes accused older married women they have captured and then released of being wives of UPDF soldiers and therefore of being infected with the HIV virus[122]. The LRA abducts younger girls who are more likely to be virgins and therefore not exposed to the HIV virus.

3.4.5 Unemployment challenges

Black[123] 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

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[122] Sarah, T. B. (2007). "State of the World's Street Children: Violence". Street Children Series. Consortium for Street Children (UK). Retrieved 30 November, 2012, from http://www.crin.org/docs/street.pdf
[123] Black, R. (2004). Migration and Pro-Poor Policy in Africa, Working Paper C5, Sussex Centre for Migration Research

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. 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[124].

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. 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. Every entry into a completely new economic system is often accompanied by considerable declining economic mobility that results in poverty. 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

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[124] Cole M., and E.D. Rothlolum (2010). Refugee Women and their Mental Health, Shattered Societies, Shattered Lives. London: Harrington Park press.

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.

According to Benjamin[125]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. Posttraumatic 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. 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

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[125] Benjamin, J. A. (1998). The Gender Dimensions of Internal Displacement: Concept Paper and Annoted Bibliography Submitted to: Office of Emergency Programmes, UNICEF

extraordinary entrepreneurial skills. To support these skills, micro-credit projects for women therefore are encouraged to ensure access to meaningful income-generating activities. 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.

The pre-war period was characterised by a relatively clear gender division of labour in northern Uganda. There were some clear outlines of what women were supposed to do within the household. The main pre-war economic activity for women was subsistence farming, followed by alcohol brewing and petty trade or business. Like unemployment, casual labour was uncommon and no one depended on relief for a living. In rural areas, where the majority live, women were generally engaged in subsistence farming. If women participated in cash crop production, they mainly offered labour as part of the household and the whole process was controlled by men. Production was mainly for family subsistence and the level of commercialisation amongst women was low. In the pre-war period, there was also a clear line between cash and food crops[126]. The relatively clear-cut division in roles and market segments dramatically changed with the war. Women have limited income earning opportunities in Uganda as is the case in other low income countries. Such gender gaps in earning opportunities have implications not only for household welfare, but also for overall national output. Studies from other African countries show that women are less willing to engage in cash crop production in instances where men

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[126] Bhabha, J. (2004). Demography and Rights: Women, Children, and Access to Asylum. International Journal of Refugee Law 16(2) 227-243.

control their earning from agriculture or wages from paid employment. Although it may appear that earning gaps in such circumstances are self-imposed, they nonetheless remain rational reactions to an unequal environment.

3.5 Armed Conflicts and Internal Displacement

The presence of large numbers of IDPs within Uganda is also important to acknowledge as the issues associated with their existence are closely linked to those of refugees. Conflicts within northern and south-western Uganda have undermined the stability of Uganda since 1986. Rebel insurgencies that claim to be targeting the NRM government which, on the whole, have failed to gain much civilian support rarely engage with the UPDF, instead targeting local populations. This, along with additional factors such as drought, has created a sizeable number of IDPs within Uganda. According to Kulman[127] Displacement creates humanitarian issues and also brings into question the extent to which Museveni has managed to create genuine national unity within Uganda. On 30th September 2000 it was estimated that there were a total of 639,760 IDPs in Uganda (2,000 in Adjumani, 114,000 in Bundibugyo, 370,000 in Gulu, 11,160 in Kabarole, 20,000 in Kasese, 82,600 in Kitgum, 5,000 in Masindi and 35,000 in Teso region).

According to Hovil[128] IDPs have been created by three main sources of conflict that dominate security problems in the northern part of the country. First, some Acholi in the north who supported Obote during his two stints in power have remained unreconciled to Museveni's rule. The inability of the government and UPDF to defeat the rebellion of the LRA in the north, active since the late 1980s, has not only left

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[127] Kulman, T. (2001). "The Economic Integration of Refugees in Developing Countries: A Research Model" Economic Integration of Refugees. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[128] Hovil, L. (2001) "Refugees and the security situation in Adjumani district." Refugee Law Project Working Paper Series. No. 2. (Forthcoming 2001)

many people embittered towards the government, but has also created many IDPs. The LRA continues to victimise the inhabitants of Gulu and Kitgum, and atrocities are common. Between 1993 and 1998, for instance, the LRA abducted between 6,000 and 8,000 children to be used as concubines, cooks, porters and combatants. In addition, local officials estimate that the rebels have killed 5,000 to 10,000 civilians in the region. Furthermore, the war has compounded poverty and widened the gap between the north and the south[129].

Second, since 1996 the government has faced a new threat in the Rwenzori region of western Uganda in the form of the Allied Democratic Front (ADF). In December 1999, when there was a severe escalation in the number of attacks in the region, the number of IDPs in Bundibugyo rose to 120,000— nearly 85% of the total population. The region did not become safe enough for humanitarian agencies to resume their work until April 2000.18 In addition, refugee and IDP issues merged when recent fighting around the Congolese town of Bunia between Lendu agriculturists and Hema pastoralists generated a flow of refugees over the Semiliki River into Bundibugyo.19 Although this particular refugee population has been fluid, with many of the refugees going to the Congo during the day and returning to Uganda at night, it highlights the precarious nature of the area. Third, IDPs have been created by conflicts generated by the Karamojong in north-eastern Uganda[130]. The situation has been exacerbated by drought, which led to Karamojong cattle herders migrating with their cattle to neighbouring districts, and by the government arming the Karamojong in the name of protecting their cattle from the Turkana of Kenya. Violent attacks on the local

[129] Dalamia, S. & Lawrence, P.G (2005). The institution of dowry in India; why it continues to prevail. Journal of Developing Areas: 38 (2) pp. 71-93
[130] D'Odorico, G. & Holvoet, N. (2009) 'Combating Violence against Women (VAW) in South Kivu: A Critical Analysis', Journal of International Women's Studies, 11(2)

population, using these weapons, have resulted in large-scale displacement throughout the region.

3.6 Conclusion

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. There is evidence 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. 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[131]. 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.

Child marriages in IDP camps are most commonly a result of prevalent poverty in the settlements. Under Ugandan law, sexual intercourse both consensual and non-consensual with a girl under 18 is a criminal act regardless of the age of the male involved. This clearly reflects a fact that the national laws and measures that exist to protect girl children against child marriages are inadequate. Internally

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[131] Davies, S. (2011). Adaptable Livelihoods: Coping with Food Insecurity in the Malian Sahel. Macmillan: London.

displaced persons do not forfeit their inherent rights because they are displaced; they can invoke various provisions of human rights and humanitarian law to protect their rights. At the same time, existing international law does not contain guarantees that explicitly mention internally displaced persons. It is often difficult for governments, international organisations, NGOs and the internally displaced to determine clearly which guarantees are applicable to IDPs in a specific situation.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATIONS OF THE GENDER SPECIFIC EFFECTS OF ARMED CONFLICT IN AFRICA: A CASE OF WOMEN IN NORTHERN UGANDA.

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings on the topic the gender specific effects of armed conflict in Africa. It is classified in the following subtopics; Defining Armed Conflict, History of Gender-based Violence and Armed Conflict in Northern Uganda, Armed Conflict, gender-based violence impact on residents of Northern Uganda, Armed Conflict and Increased GBV, Forced migration and conflict in Northern Uganda, The situation of armed conflicts and forced displacement in Uganda, The Peace, Recovery and Development Plan for Northern Uganda (2007) and finally the conclusion.

4.1 Defining Armed Conflict

According to the findings[132] armed conflict is defined 'as a political conflict in which armed combat involves the armed forces of at least one state (or one or more armed factions seeking to gain control of all or part of the state), and in which at least 1,000 people have been killed by the fighting during the course of the conflict. The findings also established that 'violence or armed combat are not necessarily guided by a political program or a set of politically motivated or defined military objectives' but rather by, 'armed band, militia, or factions engaged in criminal activity (e.g., theft, looting, extortion) in order to fund their political/military campaigns, but frequently also for the personal enrichment of the leadership and the

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[132] Dudley JP, Ginsberg JR, Plumptre AJ, Hart JA, Campos LC. (2002). Effects of War and Civil Strife on Wildlife and Wildlife Habitats. Conservation Biology 16: 319-329.

general livelihood of the fighting forces'. Another definition by Uppsala Conflict Database states that armed conflict is a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year. However, other definitions, include the armed confrontation between different types of organized groups other than a government, and put the threshold at more than 100 deaths per year.[133]

4.1.1 Brief history of the war in northern Uganda

The war in northern Uganda, has raged now for 22 years, making it one of Africa's longest running conflict and perhaps world's worst neglected humanitarian crisis. The war started when the current President Yoweri Museveni and his National Resistance Army (NRA) took power by military coup in 1986. The Uganda People's Democratic Army (UPDA) was the first rebel group to organize itself in southern Sudan to defend the north against the NRA. The UPDA faded away in the same year and another rebellion of a different nature grew under the leadership of Alice Auma Lakwena. Lakwena founded Holy Spirit Movement (HSM), which was overwhelmingly defeated by the NRA in November 1987. The defeat of UPDA and HSM left a power vacuum in northern Uganda that was immediately filled by Joseph Kony a former UPDA fighter Kony formed the Uganda People's Democratic Christian Army (UPDCA).[134] The name was later changed to Uganda Christian Democratic Army (UCDA), and finally in late 1991 to the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), which remains its name to this day. Receiving little support from the war-weary northern population, Kony's group began attacking and killing local civilians and this forced

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[133] Dorsey J, Opeitum S. (2012). The net economic cost of the conflict in the Acholi land sub-region of Uganda, CSO- report.
[134] Ibid

the Government to start a policy of "protected villages," in 1996 moving people from their homes into large camps in an attempt to isolate LRA fighters. However, in these camps, problems of starvation have been great due to over exploitation of farm land, rampant tree cutting, soil erosion and poor sanitation persist on gross levels. In 2006 the government of South Sudan offered to mediate peace talks between the rebels and the Ugandan government. Negotiations began in July 2006 and are widely believed to be the best opportunity to end the war. However, a significant number of inhabitants of the IDPs might not move back to their land, preferring to live in communities near basic services such as schools and clinics.[135]

4.2 Gender-based Violence and Armed Conflict in Northern Uganda

The more than two decades of conflict in Northern Uganda had different effects on women, men and children across the region. Men lost their roles as breadwinners and providers of their families as a result of the destruction of local livelihoods.[136] As a result of tactics such as rape and mutilation used by perpetrators, many women were impregnated and traumatized, and many more were infected with HIV and ostracized from their communities due to the stigmatization of rape victims. Many of these women bear physical marks of beatings and mutilations as well as the emotional scars of having experienced human rights violations either directly or indirectly. Women and vulnerable groups such as children were among the primary victims of direct attacks on the civilian population by the rebel forces; they also generally bore the so-called "collateral damage" the killing or maiming of civilians as a result of military attacks. The destruction of healthcare facilities as a result of the war meant that women were left to fend for themselves after having experienced rape, mutilation,

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[135] Ibid
[136] Interview with elders and leaders within the IDP camps of Bala

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beatings, possible HIV infection and psychosocial trauma. This situation exists relatively unchanged to this day.[137]

4.2.1 Causes of Gender-Based Violence

Based on the findings [138] the root causes of gender-based violence lie in a society's attitudes towards and practices of gender discrimination, which place women in a subordinate position in relation to men. The lack of social and economic value for women and women's work and accepted gender roles perpetuate and reinforce the assumption that men have decision-making power and control over women. Through acts of gender-based violence, whether individual or collective, perpetrators seek to maintain privileges, power and control over others.[139] "In recent times, there have emerged extensive accounts of violence against women in times of armed conflict. Systematic rape and other forms of gender based violence are increasingly used as weapons of war in armed conflicts in different regions of the world. Furthermore, the use of rape to reinforce policies of ethnic cleansing and the establishment of camps explicitly intended for sexual torture and the forcible impregnation of women are tragic developments which mark a definite escalation of violence against women in situations of armed conflicts. Gender roles and identities are determined by sex, age, socio-economic conditions, ethnicity, nationality and religion. Relationships between male and female, female and female, and male and male individuals are also marked by different levels of authority and power that maintain privileges and subordination among the members of a society. The disregard for or lack of awareness about human

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[137] An interview with leaders within the IDP camps of Bala
[138] An interview with marry, and Joy women leaders within the IDP camps of Barr
[139] Ibid

rights, gender equity, democracy and non-violent means of resolving problems help perpetuate these inequalities.[140]

4.3 Armed Conflict, gender-based violence impact on residents of Northern Uganda

The findings revealed that the participants in this study view their world as a dangerous place with multiple forms of violence verbal, emotional, physical, and sexual surrounding them. The types of Violence they describe fall on a continuum from insulting and belittling others through shouting, vulgar language, quarrelling, and slapping to fighting, poisoning/witchcraft, assault, beating to discipline or teach, coerced/forced sex and rape. In Northern Uganda men and women of all ages consider alcohol a primary cause of violence, although other factors such as scarce resources, gender inequities, male sexual needs, and land disputes were also identified. According to the findings[141] many victims of gender-based violence in Northern Uganda live with the experience of multiple trauma as a result of having experienced violence themselves, having witnessed it in their family or community and having lost property and their homes. [142] Gender-based violence has acute physical, psychological and social consequences for those who experience and witness it. Survivors experience deep psychological trauma, depression, terror, guilt, shame and loss of self-esteem. They are rejected by spouses and families, ostracized and subjected to further exploitation and punishment.[143] In many communities across Northern Uganda, survivors of gender-based violence (GBV) have become socially marginalized as a result of being viewed as

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[140] An interview with cogna , titus and onesmas, leaders within the IDP camps of Bala
[141] An interview with Christian Children Fund (CCF) staffs
[142] Ibid
[143]Ibid

unmarriageable or without virtue or honor. Most survivors of GBV who witness social marginalization are unlikely to report the incidents themselves and are hence unlikely to receive the support they need. Survivors of GBV are often forced to endure unwanted pregnancy or an unsafe abortion, sexually transmitted diseases (including HIV), sexual dysfunction, trauma to the reproductive tract, and chronic infections leading to pelvic inflammatory disease and infertility.[144] The psychological effects of rape are severe and often persist for years, especially where psychological or psychosocial support is nonexistent. Immediate psychological effects include unpredictable and intense emotions, jumpiness, nightmares, difficulty concentrating and affected appetite. Survivors often suffer from Post-traumatic Stress Disorder following a rape, which in turn gives rise to depression, low self-esteem and may lead to victims having suicidal tendencies. Research shows that survivors of sexual violence are more likely to put themselves at increased risk of abuse later in life, are more likely to engage in unprotected sex and have multiple partners and to abuse substances. All of these behaviours also place them at increased risk of HIV infection. From the findings domestic violence, defined by participants as intimate partner violence and corporal punishment of children in the home, is considered the most common and concerning form of violence. Most often study participants discussed beating perpetrated by the husband, but cases of women hitting their husbands also surfaced. Domestic violence primarily occurs in the privacy of the home, although verbal abuse and fighting may occur at the market or in other public venues. Mention of fathers beating or yelling at their daughters for burning dinner or

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[144] An interview with elders within the IDP camps of Bala

not properly completing chores was common. Forced sex within a relationship was also raised.[145]

4.4 Violence against Men In relation to women during Armed Conflicts

The acute suffering that women face during wartime is because of their gender. Both International and internal armed conflicts increase social tolerance towards violence which subsequently results in females enduring abuse in the form of rape, forced prostitution, sexual mutilation, strip searches, forced nudity, forced abductions and 'marriages' to soldiers to whom they then become a sexual slave. The laws that should protect them against such atrocities are inadequate because violence against women is a well-established method of warfare that is routinely used to repress and 'break the enemy'.

The findings established that sexual violence against women is an all too common feature of armed conflict. There is evidence indicating that sexual violence also takes place against men in armed conflict; indeed it takes place in nearly every armed conflict in which sexual violence is committed. What remains unknown is the precise extent to which this crime occurs.[146] Although the evidence is largely anecdotal, it is likely that male sexual abuse in armed conflict is more prevalent currently than it is thought, for the lack of hard numbers is due to the under-reporting of the practice and the fact that it is not picked up by others rather than because the practice itself does not exist.

According to the key informants[147] it is generally accepted that there is an under-reporting of rape and sexual violence in general, and male rape and male sexual

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[145] Ibid
[146] Bromwich B. (2007). Environmental degradation and conflict in Darfur: Implications for peace and recovery. University of Peace, African Programmes, p. 47.
[147] Ibid

violence in particular. This is due to a combination of shame, confusion, guilt, fear and stigma. Men also may be loath to talk about being victimized, considering this incompatible with their masculinity, particularly in societies in which men are discouraged from talking about their emotions. The incompatibility between this understanding of masculinity and victimization occurs both at the level of the attack itself – a man should have been able to prevent himself from being attacked and in dealing with the consequences of the attack to be able to cope 'like a man'. Although these findings relate to male sexual violence committed in time of peace, there is nothing to suggest that it does not also pertain to male sexual violence committed in time of conflict. Indeed, it may be argued that it would apply a fortiori in an armed conflict, where men tend to self-identify with masculine stereotypes more strongly. [148] Other findings reveal that there has recently been a growing concern that the gender-based violence that men face in wartime has been left largely undocumented and ignored. Therefore, it is submitted that it is time to take a more synchronized approach that incorporates the male victim into wartime sexual-violence discourse. This is because it would add greater validity to the mission to end gender-based violence in to tum; whether it concerns a male or female victim. As DelZotto and Jones rightfully state, the sexual violence suffered by men in wartime is no less traumatic than that which affects women, which is why a gender-neutral multidimensional stance is necessary to help both men and women fight against sexual violence in the future. Sexual violence against men has taken place in all conflicts throughout history. Different forms of male rape occur, such as forcing victims to rape fellow victims as well as having objects inserted

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[148] Bromwich B. (2009). *Environmental degradation and conflict in Darfur: Implications for peace and recovery*. University of Peace, African Programmes, p. 4.

into their bodies. Enforced sterilization can also take place, with castration and other forms of mutilation being a common occurrence. For example, in Tadic it was recalled how victims were forced to bite off other men's testicles and were forced to perform oral sex on other victims.

In addition, the findings indicate that men have suffered from enforced nudity and enforced masturbation during conflicts. The most recent example of the former occurring is in Abu Ghraib where photographic proof revealed how male detainees were forced to take off their clothes and wear women's underwear over their heads. They were also forcibly placed into sexually derogatory positions whilst naked and were then photographed. The main question is whether or not it is sufficient for these cases to come under inhuman and degrading treatment/ torture, rather than under the separate category of gender-based violence? Although claiming that these actions are torture would not be wrong, it could have the effect of denying that men too, can be victims of gender-based violence.

Based on the findings[149] sexual violence against men takes place for the same reasons that sexual violence against women occurs, which portrays a similarity between both forms of violence. Male sexual violence is used to disempower the victim and to rob them of their masculinity through sodomy, forced nudity and castrations. It is also used to assert power and dominance over the individual in the same way that happens with violence against women. It humiliates and stigmatizes the victim and can have horrific physical and mental consequences. A powerful indication of the suffering that gender-based violence can cause to men is the fact that they have been forced to rape their own daughters. They have also been made to stand and watch their female relatives being sexually abused. Little has been

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[149] Ibid

documented on the trauma that men must face when seeing this happen and the psychological impact that this must have.[150]

4.5 Armed Conflict and Increased GBV

On the question whether the armed conflict increased the GBV the respondents confirmed that was much evidence that conflict leads to increased levels of GBV. GBV during armed conflicts affects both men and women in different ways. As men comprise the majority of combatants, they suffer to a greater degree from direct violence, injuries and killings from combat. As a result of armed conflict, women, however, suffer disproportionately through: systematic sexual violence; greater levels of displacement and presence in refugee camps where mortality rates tend to be higher; and social and economic vulnerability, due largely to loss of access to sources of livelihoods and to basic services.[151] During conflict, men may lose their traditional roles as providers, which can result in a crisis of identity and threat of emasculation.[152] From the findings male combatants may also be socialized with militaristic visions of masculinity. This, in turn, can result in increase in household violence and broader gender-based violence. During times of emergencies, weakening community structures, disruptions in law and order, economic hardship, migration and over-crowded living conditions in refugee/displacement camps are all factors that increase the risk of sexual and gender-based violence.[153] Sexual and gender-based violence remains the most widespread and serious protection problem facing displaced and returnee women and girls. Increasingly lengthy stays in refugee/displacement camps, which are often located in insecure areas and may

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[150] An interview with Jeffrey, Dennis and Joseph Canadian Physician for Aid and Relief (CPAR) staffs
[151] Ibid
[152] An interview with women leaders
[153] An interview with Christian Children Fund (CCF)

be subject to cross-border attacks, lack of privacy and livelihood opportunities, and declining international attention and resources, lead to various protection risks for women and girls.[154]

4.6 Armed Conflicts, Gender and Forced migration

According to the findings 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. 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.[155]

4.6.1 Main Causes of Forced Displacement

According to the findings the main causes of forced migration are usually wars and armed conflicts.[156] 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. Forced migration is described 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

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[154] Ibid
[155] Discussion with leaders and elders in camps of Barr farm
[156] Ayoo, S. (2008) Women Empowerment for Peace (WEP) Project, Northern Uganda, Care International in Uganda/Care.

challenge the global society as regards international politics, international law, human rights, humanitarian aid, social and population policies. [157]

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, there are about 50 million uprooted people around the world, including both refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs).[158] 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. 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. 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.[159] 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

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[157] 1bid
[158] Ibid
[159] Ibid

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 recommends that more attention should be focused at socio-economic development, disaster-management, analysis and documentation of the impacts of forced migration on gender relation.

4.6.2 Forced migration and conflict in Northern Uganda

According to the key respondents[160] 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. 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. Many generations have been displaced as a result of armed conflict in these districts and a significant number of people have been displaced more than once. 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. 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.[161] 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.

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[160] An interview with Charles, homes and Cate Christian Children Fund (CCF) staffs
[161] An interview with women leaders

Other findings[162] revealed that sometimes forced displacement creates new opportunities and empowerment for women but in some respects it further marginalizes their place in society. 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. 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.

4.7 Armed Conflicts and internal displacement

According to the findings forced migration, is a general term that refers to the movements of refugees and internally displaced people (those displaced by conflicts) as well as people displaced by natural or environmental disasters, chemical

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[162] Ibid

or nuclear disasters, famine, or development projects. In this regard FMO focuses on three separate, although sometimes simultaneous and inter-related, types of forced migration. These three types are categorized according to their causal factors: conflict, development policies and projects, and disasters. For the purpose of this paper, the author will focus on those displaced by armed conflict. By definition, Conflict-Induced displacement are those people who are forced to flee their homes for one or more of the following reasons and where the state authorities are unable or unwilling to protect them: armed conflict including civil war; generalized violence; and persecution on the grounds of nationality, race, religion, political opinion or social group (Oxford Department of International Development. Population of concern are composed of various groups of people including refugees, asylum-seekers, internally displaced persons (IDPs) protected/assisted by UNHCR, stateless persons and as well as returnees (returned refugees and IDPs). The 2007 refugee population category also includes people in a refugee-like situation, most of who were previously included in the 'Others' of concern group. This sub category is descriptive in nature and includes groups of persons who are outside their country or territory of origin and who face protection risks similar to those of refugees, but for whom refugee status has, for practical or other reasons, not been ascertained. This paper will not dwell on the 'returnees' (returned refugees and IDPs) as it falls outside its scope of analysis. Instead the main focus will be on those who have been forced to migrate out of their homes as a result of armed conflict. UNHCR defines asylum-seekers are persons who have applied for asylum or refugee status, but who have not yet received a final decision on their application. While IDPs are defined as people or groups of individuals who have been forced to 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 international border.[163]

4.8 The Impact of Forced Migration and internal displacement on Women in Northern Uganda

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 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.

4.8.1 Impact on Education and training

It was observed that 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. The lack of education materials and shortage of

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[163] Action against Hunger (AAH). (2003). Food security assessment, IDP Camps, Uganda AAH-assessment report 2003, p.26.

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.[164] 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. [165]

4.8.2 Impact on Health

From the findings 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. From the findings 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. [166]

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[164] An interview with Canadian Physician for Aid and Relief (CPAR)staffs

[165] Annan J, Blattman C, Horton R. (2006). The state of Youth and Youth Protection in Northern Uganda. Report for UNICEF Uganda. 103pp

[166] Dorsey J, Opeitum S. (2012). The net economic cost of the conflict in the Acholi land sub-region of Uganda, CSO- report.

Based on other findings [167] 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. 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.

4.8.3 Impact on Malnutrition and food

The mothers interviewed pointed out that malnutrition was 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, and burning fields and food stores, and insecurity that limited humanitarian access to affected populations.[168] The respondents commended the good work done by MSF as regards provision of health services. Form the findings 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. 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. The interviewees expressed dissatisfaction in the provision of health services in IDPs camps. Some interviewee complained that many health centers in the camps are closed most of the time. The

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[167] Discussion with women leaders in camps of Bala

[168] Ibid

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". [169]

Based on the findings food was often in short supply in the camps and has to be used sparingly. It was observed 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.[170] 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. Some women go too far markets where food is cheaper to try and cut costs.[171]

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[169] Action against Hunger (AAH). (2003). Food security assessment, IDP Camps, Uganda AAH-assessment report 2003, p.26.

[170] An interview with Rachelle Rehabilitation Center and Concerned Parents Association (CPA) staffs

[171] ibid

4.9 The Peace, Recovery and Development Plan for Northern Uganda (2007)

In October 2007 the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan for Northern Uganda (PRDP) succeeded the EHAP, and the JMC was dissolved. The focus of the PRDP is cessation of hostilities, enhanced protection of the civilian population, and increased humanitarian assistance to IDPs, peace building, and reconciliation. In the context of possible return the PRDP guarantees a number of rights important for IDPs. "The [Office of the Prime Minister/Department for Disaster Preparedness], Local Governments and humanitarian and development partners shall provide resettlement inputs and tools to returned and resettled families, as well as tool kits to support construction and self-employment. Displaced persons shall be consulted on the most appropriate inputs to meet their food security needs under prevailing conditions. "The PRDP also includes building confidence and understanding of the IDPs about the necessary peace and security conditions and processes for return and resettlement". While the PRDP is a comprehensive framework, actors have expressed concern about the financial commitment to the plan following the lack of implementation of its predecessors. "It is the killings, and taking people's property. Sometimes your relatives get killed, and they have maybe children you have to take care of. Another reason is the camps. Too many people are at the same place. There are cases of abuse, rape, and rape of the children, defilement."

4.9.1 Durable solutions and End of Displacement

Displacement was mainly considered to have ended when the forced migrant had returned to his or her place of origin. Reflecting the closing of borders after the Cold

War, return was seen as the most desirable solution.[172] This is closely connected to the preventive approach which focused on solving the root causes of conflict in the relevant countries and thereby facilitating return of the displaced people. Given the nature of many protracted conflicts of today, however' return for many displaced persons is not feasible in the near future. Consequently, alternative durable solutions have gained prominence as the alternative choice for humanitarian actors and governments alike.

According to the findings there is currently no international consensus on when displacement can be considered to have ended, so decisions in different contexts have been ad hoc and widely varied. Decisions on when displacement ends have serious consequences for IDPs.[173] When an IDP is considered to have reached a durable solution, it can mark the stop of assistance and attention.

Three approaches to determining when displacement ends were adopted. The cause-based approach focused on change in the circumstances that caused the flight, drawing on the frameworks in place for refugees. If it becomes safe to return to the area of origin and the refugee have the opportunity to return, his or her refugee status ceases. Similarly, if it is safe and the IDPs have the opportunity to return, their displacement could be considered to have ended. The category "IDP" is not a legal status as the status "refugee". It is rather descriptive and describes the needs specific for people who have fled their homes. The needs based approach placed emphasis on whether IDPs continues to have needs linked to their displacement.[174] If one does not have needs connected to their displacement they are then considered as integrated and no longer displaced. The last one, a solution-based approach asked whether an IDP

[172] Bromwich B. (2007). Environmental degradation and conflict in Darfur: Implications for peace and recovery. University of Peace, African Programmes, p. 47.

[173] ibid.

[174] USCR, (2014). World Refugee Survey pp357 – 359. http://www.refugees.org 6/3/2015

had returned or integrated at the new place of displacement or in another part of the country. [175] As none of the three approaches alone was able to adequately address the complex issues involved, the solution-based approach, with a needs-based focus of integration was most agreed upon. Accordingly an IDP is considered to have reached a durable solution when he or she no longer has displacement-specific needs and has either returned to his or her place of origin, has locally integrated in the areas in which he or she initially took refuge, or has settled and integrated in another part of the country.

4.10 Conclusion

There was overwhelming evidence that forced migration in northern Uganda was caused by the armed conflict that began in1986. 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. Camps were characterized 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

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[175] Ibid

as they push to go back to their homes by encouraging the women to participate in their own protection, reconstruction and peace building.

Despite the comprehensive institutional frameworks designed to manage displacement in Uganda, the situation remains unbearable for the majority of the IDPs. Poor health and sanitation conditions in camps, lack of access to schools and availability of teachers, and high levels of sexual and gender-based violence are some of the challenges faced by the IDPs. In addition, reports of abuse by soldiers from the Uganda People's Defence Forces (UPDF) who are ostensibly meant to protect the IDPs are frequent. The rights secured through both international and national frameworks apply to all IDPs, independent of location. Urban IDPs are thus implicitly included. However, officials often do not take notice of IDPs who have chosen to move to urban areas and consequently fail to incorporate such IDPs into assistance programs. With the ongoing peace-talks, and the return of a number of IDPs in the Lango and Teso sub-region, there is increasing concern expressed by many urban IDPs on where, and whether, they fit into the current frameworks. While JMC`s Emergency Humanitarian Action Plan and the PRDP are both based on the same definition of IDPs as that contained in the national policy, they both fail to mention urban IDPs explicitly. Although the PRDP clearly stipulates government assistance throughout the return and resettlement process, IDPs living in urban areas have implicitly been left out of these plans. Indeed, although urban IDPs are not overtly excluded, the language of the PRDP frequently indicates that the drafters had encamped IDPs in mind when forming the plans, making its applicability to urban IDPs unclear. The PRDP clearly specifies that the objective of its return and resettlement program is "to facilitate the voluntary return of IDPs from camps to their places of origin and/or any other location of their preference as peace returns."

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents summary of the findings, conclusions based on the findings and recommendations there-to gender specific effects of armed conflict in Africa.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The study aimed to assess the gender specific effects of armed conflict in Africa. it was guided by the following objectives: To establish the extent to which armed conflicts increased gender based violence, to ascertain the extent the forced migration emanating from armed conflicts affects women in Northern Uganda differently from men and To determine the extent to which internal displacement resulting from armed conflicts affects women in Northern Uganda differently from men. The study explored and critically analysed the experiences of armed conflicts in Northern Uganda.

Based on the findings Uganda has had a history of armed conflicts since independence in 1962. The political conflict in northern Uganda between the Lord's Resistance Army and the government forces has been the longest. The findings revealed 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. From the findings 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 paralyzed the

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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.

5.3 Conclusion

5.3.1 Gender-based Violence and Armed Conflict

Based on the findings, Sexual and gender based violence denies women (and at times men) security, the right to enjoy fundamental freedoms and forces them into subordinate positions compared to men. The findings revealed that a district, Sub County, and individuals affected in these cases cannot reach their full potential as long as women's potential to participate in their society is denied through acts of violence perpetrated against them and disrupt their lives. In the Ugandan context incidences of SGBV are commonly in the press. The situation is particularly alarming in the war affected areas of Northern Uganda where rape, defilement, child molesting, forced widow inheritance and marital rape are said to be common. It was observed that in Uganda acts of parliament have not been translated into practical laws to curb the incidents of SGBV. For example domestic violence and marital rape are reflected in the constitution as unacceptable violent acts but no practical laws are in place to prosecute offenders. Even where the laws are applicable, the survivors or communities are reluctant to seek legal redress, either because of ignorance about legal procedures to report cases or cultural norms and traditional practices that regard such practices as normal.

The findings indicated that men also suffered from GBV. However, it was established that sexual violence against men takes place for the same reasons that sexual violence against women occurs, which portrays a similarity between both forms of violence. Male sexual violence is used to disempower the victim and to rob them of their masculinity through sodomy, forced nudity and castrations. Men comprise the majority of combatants, they suffer to a greater degree from direct violence, injuries and killings from combat. As a result of armed conflict, women, however, suffer disproportionately through: systematic sexual violence; greater levels of displacement and presence in refugee camps where mortality rates tend to be higher; and social and economic vulnerability, due largely to loss of access to sources of livelihoods and to basic services

5.3.2 Armed Conflicts and Forced Migration

Based on the findings forced migration is caused by armed conflict and has become common in the least developed countries especially in Africa. It was observed that factors that lead to increased vulnerability of the displaced women include political marginalization, human rights abuses, food insecurity, and biased policies, focus on short-term rather than long-term development, health, insecurity and unemployment. Other factors established such as the HIV/AIDS pandemic and poverty have been verified to have far-reaching impacts on the displaced women and development. The findings further showed that 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. Based on the study findings 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.

5.3.3 Armed Conflicts and Internal Displacement

From the findings 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 that, the findings reveal 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 findings also indicate that 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 210 due to frustration and lackof resources.

5.4 Recommendations

The study made recommendations based on the following objectives: To establish the extent to which armed conflicts increased gender based violence, to ascertain the extent the forced migration emanating from armed conflicts affects women in Northern Uganda differently from men and To determine the extent to which internal displacement resulting from armed conflicts affects women in Northern Uganda differently from men.

5.4.1 Gender-based Violence and Armed Conflict

Based on the findings there is widespread concern amongst civil society groups in Northern Uganda that women as well as vulnerable groups such the elderly, the disabled, children and orphans will continue to be left out of transitional justice processes such as truth-seeking, traditional justice and reparations. It was observed that the active participation by women in all spheres of decision-making is a form of redress as well as justice and is pivotal to Uganda's democratization process. Victims and witnesses who experienced gender-based violence during and after the conflict in Northern Uganda have unique needs and concerns. As a result of the very personal nature of sexual violence, victims often shy away from speaking about it and testifying during judicial, truth-telling and traditional justice processes. Due to these unique circumstances, as well as the fact that issues pertaining to sexual acts of any nature are not spoken about publically in Uganda, the study recommend that the establishment of a special unit able to deal adequately and professionally with these very sensitive matters is of paramount importance. Such a unit should comprise specially trained staff who are able to manage delicate situations and work with victims and witnesses of GBV. On Gender-based Violence and Armed Conflict the study also recommends that there is need to enable and facilitate meaningful participation by women in all stages of transitional justice processes. The findings show that Uganda is a country wounded by injustice, human rights abuses, hatred and successive undemocratic regimes. Therefore, the study recommends that 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 northern Uganda in order to heal the country through reconciliation.

As observed 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 favour. Therefore, it is recommended that need UN agencies such as the WFP based in northern Uganda should give women a chance to become actively involved in decisions regarding the distribution of food, salt and other supplies.

5.4.2 Armed conflicts and forced migration

Based on the findings 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. The study recommends that 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. The study also recommends that 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.

5.4.3 Armed Conflicts and Internal Displacement

On ending the problem of Internal Displacement caused by armed conflicts the study recommends adoption and enhancement of the three discussed approached. The cause-based approach focused on change in the circumstances that caused the flight, drawing on the frameworks in place for refugees. If it becomes safe to return to the area of origin and the refugee have the opportunity to return, his or her refugee status ceases. Similarly, if it is safe and the IDPs have the opportunity to return, their displacement could be considered to have ended. The category "IDP" is not a legal status as the status "refugee". It is rather descriptive and describes the needs specific for people who have fled their homes. The needs based approach placed emphasis on whether IDPs continues to have needs linked to their displacement. If one does not have needs connected to their displacement they are then considered as integrated and no longer displaced. The last one, a solution-based approach asked whether an IDP had returned or integrated at the new place of displacement or in another part of the country. As none of the three approaches alone was able to adequately address the complex issues involved, the solution-based approach, with a needs-based focus of integration was most agreed upon. Accordingly an IDP is considered to have reached a durable solution when he or she no longer has displacement-specific needs and has either returned to his or her place of origin, has locally integrated in the areas in which he or she initially took refuge, or has settled and integrated in another part of the country.

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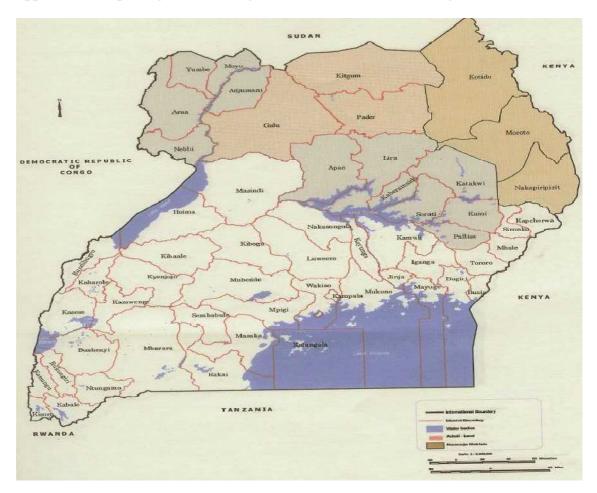Lederach, J. P. (2005). The Moral Imagination: the Art and Soul of Building Peace. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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Appendix I: Map of Uganda Showing Conflict Areas in Northern Uganda

Appendix II: Interview Guide

1. What is the situation of gender-based Violence and Armed Conflict in Northern Uganda?

2. Which is the most affected gender by Violence during in Armed Conflicts?

3. In your own view is the relation between Armed Conflict and Increased GBV?

4. What are the causes of forced migration?

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

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

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

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