Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal – Vol.2, No.10
Publication Date: Oct. 25, 2015
DoI:10.14738/assrj.210.1518.
Ogwang, T. (2015). Rethinking Peace, Post Conflict Reconstruction and Development Interentions in Northern Uganda: Opportunities and Challenges. *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal, 2(10)* 157-173.

Rethinking Peace, Post Conflict Reconstruction and Development Interventions in Northern Uganda: Opportunities and Challenges

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Abstract

On 15 October 2007 the Government of Uganda (GoU), launched the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP) for Northern Uganda, including Acholi, Lango, Teso, West Nile, Karamoja, and Elgon. The PRDP is a comprehensive development framework aimed at improving socio-economic indicators in those areas affected by conflict and a serious breakdown in law and order and bringing them into line with national standards. It replaced the Emergency Humanitarian Action Plan (EHAP) and its Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC). The study sought to assess the contribution of PRDP in rebuilding and empowering the war affected communities in northern Uganda. The study was conducted in Gulu and Pader in Northern Uganda for comparative reasons. This is due to the fact that these areas were the epicentre of the conflict and witnessed the brunt of the violent conflict with massive displacements and atrocities. Some respondents were interviewed in Kampala. Both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection were used. A total of 145 respondents participated in the study. PRDP has contributed in building infrastructure like schools, access roads, health centre facilities. Livehood support was also given to the returnees. It also helped the police in putting up police posts and purchasing vehicles. Some of the youth were not properly demobilized and re integrated into society and so they still have weapons. Land disputes are rampant thereby destabilizing the current wave of peace being experienced which translates in part into food insecurity. Although PRDP supports setting up of infrastructure, it does not monitor the maintenance and functioning of these units. For example they do not recruit teachers or health workers for the schools and health facilities respectively.

Key words: Peace, Post conflict reconstruction, development

INTRODUCTION

The conflict in Northern Uganda is deeply rooted in inter-ethnic competition for power in both government and military. The conditions for this competition were largely set during colonial rule and then manipulated by post-independence governments. The pattern until the NRM came to power in 1986 was one of economic and political division between North and South, with further regional subdivisions, particularly in the North between the Acholi, Langi and West Nile. The victory of the National Resistance Army (NRM), mainly from south and central Uganda, produced new cleavages that have yet to be overcome and is manifested clearly in the armed struggle (International Crisis Group, 2004).

The North-South divide results from an economic imbalance that suited the objectives of the colonial administration. Before the Second World War, Ugandans, from North and South, were recruited into the British colonial armed force, the King's African Rifles (KAR), but this changed radically after 1945. Those at the vanguard of the anti-colonial struggle came mainly from the South, which had the greatest concentration of the country's economic and educational elite.

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Fearing the consequences if that region also had large numbers of trained soldiers, the British colonialists began to recruit mainly in the North. Consequently, the Acholi and West Nile ethnic groups came to dominate the KAR. This also meant there was a balance of power between largely Southern civilian and largely Northern military elites. At the same time, the British deliberately reserved the introduction of industry and cash crop production to the South, for which the North became a reservoir of cheap labour (Mamdani, 1983, Gersony, 1997).

According to International Crisis Group (ICG) (2004), these policies created an intractable challenge to building a unified nation-state when independence came on 9 October 1962. The Acholi in particular had been told by their colonial masters that they were born warriors, effectively transforming them into a military ethnocracy. The post-colonial governments of Milton Obote and Idi Amin found this formula politically expedient, which in turn further fuelled ethnic polarisation and the militarisation of politics. The key role of the military, according to ICG (2004) in politics and of ethnic competition became evident under the first government of Milton Obote, who used the army to overthrow the constitution and the king of Buganda, a region from which the constitutional monarchy originated. Obote's use of the military opened a Pandora's Box that led to his overthrow by Idi Amin, who was himself toppled by the Uganda National Liberation Front/Army (UNLF/A), assisted by the Tanzanian army, in 1978. The brief presidencies of Yusuf Lule and Godfrey Binaisa followed, while a military commission held real power (Mutibwa, 1992).

After Obote allegedly rigged the 1980 elections, the political system that had existed since independence was challenged by Yoweri Museveni's National Resistance Army (NRA), which began a protracted guerrilla war in the south and northwest in 1980. Massacres in the Luwero Triangle during Operation Bonanza, perpetrated by Obote's mainly Acholi and Langi troops, are estimated to have cost at least 300,000 lives mostly of Baganda people (Mutibwa, 1992). They continue to cast a shadow over attempts to solve present day North-South problems. For many, the NRA insurgency against Obote was merely a continuation of the ethnic competition that typified Ugandan politics – a case of Bantu-speaking Southerners wanting to remove from power Nilotic Speaking Northerners. Some of the former supporters of Obote's government, notably, Olara Otunnu,who is the President of Uganda People's Congress have maintained that the NRA were equally responsible for the Luwero massacres demanding for a Commission of Inquiry, a request which has been denied by the government.

Obote was deposed for a second time in June 1985, by the top UNLA commanders led by General Bazilio Olara Okello and General Tito Okello Lutwa, both Acholi. There had been growing resistance among some in the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) to Obote's refusal to negotiate with the NRA, as well as a feeling that the killing had reached an unacceptable level. Many Acholi in the army felt they were bearing the brunt of the fighting. However, the principal reason for the coup was the higher status Obote had bestowed upon key UNLA officers from his Langi tribe (ICG, 2004). The sharp division increased with the death of Army Chief of Staff, General David Oyite Ojok in a mysterious helicopter crash in 1985 and his replacement with Brigadier Smith Opon Acak, a Langi, from Obote's ethnic group who was a junior Officer compared to other senior army officers like Bazilio Olara Okello who was Chairman of the Military Council, and de facto head of state between 27 and 29 July 1985. On 29 July, General Tito Okello, who was Commander of the Ugandan National Liberation Army from 1980 to 1985, replaced Olara-Okello as Chairman of the Military Council, and Olara-Okello was promoted from the rank of Brigadier to that of Lieutenant General, and named chief of the armed forces.

After a protracted guerilla war which lasted for five years, Museveni-led National Resistance Army/Movement captured power in January 1986. Most of the UNLA soldiers retreated northwards with their weapons. In August 1986, the Uganda People's Democratic Army (UPDA) launched an attack on NRA forces. In response, however, the National Resistance Army /Movement (NRA/M) added fuel for popular support among the Acholi for UPDA efforts. According to Behrend (1989), the NRA then ordered general disarming of the Acholi, and carried out 'operations' and in the course of which many Acholi were tortured or disappeared into the so-called 'politicization camps'. In late 1986, a temporary but significant figure emerged on this conflict scene in the form of Alice Auma Lakwena. Lakwena was significant in the conflict for several reasons; her Holy Spirit Movement Front (HSMF) came closest to succeeding in effectively engaging militarily with the NRM government; the HSMF was the only early resistance to the NRA/M to claim moral and religious grounds in attempting to influence the conflict and it seems that Lakwena, rather than the UPDA, provided the greatest inspiration for Joseph Kony, the leader of the later rebel group, though he himself was hitherto enrolled in the UPDA ranks (Gersony, 1997). Unlike the other rebel groups, the Lord's Resistance Army, with the backing of Sudan, persisted causing havoc and displacing 1.8 million people in northern Uganda mainly in Acholi, Lango, and Teso regions. The LRA's tumultuous rebel activities continued with wrath until around 2004 when Joseph Kony agreed, probably under the pressure from International Criminal Court, to participate in the 2006 Juba peace talks which in the end he refused to sign-off, though paving way for relative peace in northern Uganda. This allowed the displaced people to abandon the camps and returned to their homes amidst challenges of Explosive Remnants of War (ERW), poor basic services delivery and land conflicts (UNDP, 2007).

What have been some of the efforts in addressing the needs of the IDPs in Uganda?

According to Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC, 2010) Uganda has an elaborate policy framework for responding to internal displacement. It was one of the first countries in the world to develop a formal policy on IDPs. The national IDP policy, which was adopted in 2004, guarantees (in Section 3.4) the right of IDPs to freely choose between return, local integration or settlement elsewhere in the country. In May 2008 the government issued Camp Phase-Out Guidelines (OPM, 2008), followed in June of the same year by Guidelines for the Demolition of Abandoned Structures. In January 2010 Uganda became the first country to ratify the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of IDPs in Africa (also known as the Kampala Convention). Uganda has also ratified the Pact on Security, Stability and Development in the Great Lakes Region (the Great Lakes Pact), including the Pact on IDP Protocol and the Protocol on the Property Rights of Returning Persons.

On 15 October 2007 the Government of Uganda (GoU), launched the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP) for Northern Uganda, including Acholi, Lango, Teso, West Nile, Karamoja, and Elgon. The PRDP is a comprehensive development framework aimed at improving socio-economic indicators in those areas affected by conflict and a serious breakdown in law and order and bringing them into line with national standards. It replaced the Emergency Humanitarian Action Plan (EHAP) and its Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC). The PRDP possesses four strategic objectives: consolidation of state authority, rebuilding and empowering communities, revitalizing the economy, peace building and reconciliation. The total estimated cost of the PRDP is $606 million over a three-year period (Government of Uganda, 2007, pp.vi-ix). It is thought that at the end of the three-year period, empowerment and development in terms of restored law and order in areas affected by conflict, and livelihoods reconstruction in line with national standards would be achieved.

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An important concern raised about the PRDP is that its focus on technical solutions at the expense of the underlying political dynamics of the conflict erodes the chance for achieving national reconciliation. Reconciliation is not a matter of reconciling the combatants and the people who were majority victims to the insurgency, but reconciliation is characterized by national issues of fair distribution of the national cake and equitable distribution of resources, which if not addressed, the chances for sustainable peace are slim. The government has not come out to openly admit its part of the crimes as believed by the people apart from placing blame only on the LRA. Government does even accept any degree of responsibility for the marginalisation of the North, yet, the former IDPs feel they have been deliberately left out from mainstream development. It is also the former IDPs feeling that government could have done more to stop the insurgency from bringing about the enormous suffering on the people.

Whereas the PRDP defines the North in terms of 40 districts in lieu of focusing on LRA-affected regions, there are concerns about how the recovery efforts will address the specific needs and grievances of the people in Northern Uganda. It appears therefore that to achieve positive peace in Northern Uganda, the government and its partners should pay greater attention to the imperatives of specific needs of the people in Northern Uganda.

Statement of the Problem

Following the failed peace talks between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the Government of Uganda (GoU) in 2006, the latter declared the end to the violent conflict in Northern Uganda. Together with other development partners, the GoU put in place programmes for resettlement and closed many of the Internally Displaced Peoples Camps. However, there have been concerns on whether adequate preparations were put in place to address both the state and human security of the former IDPs in Northern Uganda.

The region has seen several interventions carried out since the conflict begun in 1986. Between 1992 and 2006, the GoU implemented several plans for recovery in Northern Uganda that had limited impact on the people for which they were intended. For example there was the Northern Uganda Reconstruction Programme (NURP) I (1992-1998) budget was around USD 600m, Northern Uganda Reconstruction Programme-II in 1999.

Then came the World Bank funded Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF 1, 2) (Marino, 2008),which was considered a 'bottom up' project where the beneficiaries would write projects and submit to the district based on their needs and priorities.

Achieving positive peace seems to be an elusive task in Northern Uganda and it is a missed opportunity for reconciliation in Northern Uganda with some politicians from Northern Uganda like Beatrice Anywar, the Woman Member of Parliament for Kitgum calling for the creation a Nile Republic. Beatrice Anywar says it would not be desirable that they fragment the country. However considering how far Northern Uganda has been pushed, they feel that they have had enough, are marginalized and are not desired by the government.

She adds that they had the LRA war and thought that with the recovery process, somebody would care that they recover fast. However it's unfortunate that President Yoweri Museveni in particular has not catered for their interests which he has shown in the handling of the swindled Peace, Recovery and Development Plan funds case. There have also been reports on wide spread corruption in the Office of the Prime Minister (OPM) which is charged with overseeing the implementation of the PRDP. This has forced four major contributing countries

(Ireland, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark) to the PRDP to suspend their contributions casting doubts at the future and sustainability of PDRP and putting the lives of many returnees at stake. As a matter of policy, Ireland demanded for and received its contribution back from the government. Corruption is also reported to be wide spread at the district levels.

Anywar says that looking at infrastructure, education, health and development makes it seem as though Northern Uganda is part of Southern Sudan. The Kitgum woman MP says they are now ready to operationalize the creation of the Nile Republic.

The tough-talking MP says that they are canvassing signatures from all leaders in the Acholi sub-region, including traditional leaders. She says the search for signatures will include leaders from Teso and Lango regions as they will be part of the Nile Republic (http://ugandaradionetwork.com/story/acholi-mps-collect-signatures-to-form-nile-republic#ixzz3hP1bHiPC)

Unless the above concerns are addressed by the government, the resettlement of IDPs in Northern Uganda will undermine peace building hence cultivating and creating a conflict prone environment, posing more security challenges and under development in the region. The question is will PRDP make any substantial difference or it is business as usual?

GENERAL OBJECTIVE

The main objective of this research was to assess the contribution of PRDP in rebuilding and empowering the war affected communities in northern Uganda.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The development of the region depends to a greater extent on the security as well as stability in the area. The technocrats at the local and central governments especially at the Ministries of Local Government, Finance, Planning and Economic Development, and the Office of the Prime Minister, may incorporate the findings in their planning process to address some of the challenges related to accountability, sustainable peace and development in the region. Through the good practices identified during the research, Uganda's 'Development Partners' may equally benefit from this study in their attempt to contribute towards the development of Uganda in general.

It is hoped that the results of this study will add knowledge in the field of security studies as well. The study is important to the policy makers and implementation organs alike, especially at the local and central governments levels. The findings of the study will be relevant to them because the research will try to address the pertinent issues of resettlement and peace building which is very central if the post-conflict affected areas are to recover from the prolonged violent conflict situation and attain the desired minimum socioeconomic and political development.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This study covered a period of seven years (2007-2014). This is because the main government document of resettlement was meant to begin in 2007 although it never took off until 2009/2010 financial year.

Conceptually, the study limited itself to issues related to Peace, Post Conflict Reconstruction and development Interventions in Northern Uganda. It further looked at the appropriateness of

PRDP in rebuilding Acholi sub region. Geographically, this study was conducted in Gulu and Pader districts in Northern Uganda. This is due to the fact that these areas were the epicentre of the conflict and witnessed the brunt of the violent conflict with massive displacements and atrocities allegedly committed by the LRA and the Government of Uganda for two decades. Apart from Northern Uganda, the researcher also conducted some interviews in Kampala because some institutions and respondents were based in Kampala.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The theoretical framework adopted for this study will be based on a combination of theories like Positive and Negative Peace by Johan Gultung (addressing the root causes vs suppression), Human Needs Theory (HNT) and Relative Deprivation Theory by John Burton (identity, recognition, security, and personal development), The Human Development Report 1994 -New Dimensions of Human Security, and lastly The Anti-Politics Machine (1994) by James Ferguson.

The Basic Human Needs Approach by Maslow (1954), Galtung (1969), and Burton (1990) will help in expounding the theoretical framework of this study. According to Bobichand (2012), many conflicts, which seemed resolved, recur once again over time. It is because the root causes of the conflict were not really addressed. There are also many situations, which have been described as peaceful, and become violent once again and protracted. This is also because the conflict was not transformed by addressing the systemic failures and structural violence to guarantee compatible relations between the parties. Moreover, the kind of peace established was negative peace and positive peace was not built by meeting the needs even though interests of the parties are fulfilled. Positive peace can only be built by meeting Basic Human Needs.

Humans need a number of essentials to survive. According to Maslow (1954) and the conflict scholar Burton (1990), these essentials go beyond just food, water, and shelter. They include both physical and non-physical elements needed for human growth and development, as well as all those things humans are innately driven to attain. For Maslow, needs are hierarchical in nature. That is, each need has a specific ranking or order of obtainment. Maslow's needs pyramid starts with the basic items of food, water, and shelter. These are followed by the need for safety and security, then belonging or love, self-esteem, and finally, personal fulfillment. Burton and other needs theorists who have adopted Maslow's ideas to conflict theory, however, perceive human needs in a different way — as an emergent collection of human development essentials.

Furthermore, they contend needs do not have a hierarchical order. Rather, needs are sought simultaneously in an intense and relentless manner. Needs theorists' list of human essentials include: Safety/Security – the need for structure, predictability, stability, and freedom from fear and anxiety; Belongingness/Love – the need to be accepted by others and to have strong personal ties with one's family, friends, and identity groups; Self-esteem – the need to be recognized by oneself and others as strong, competent, and capable. It also includes the need to know that one has some effect on her/his environment; Personal fulfillment – the need to reach one's potential in all areas of life; Identity – goes beyond a psychological sense of self. Burton and other human needs theorists define identity as a sense of self in relation to the outside world. Identity becomes a problem when one's identity is not recognized as legitimate, or when it is considered inferior or is threatened by others with different identifications; Cultural security – is related to identity, the need for recognition of one's language, traditions, religion, cultural values, ideas, and concepts; Freedom – is the condition of having no physical, political, or civil restraints; having the capacity to exercise choice in all aspects of one's life;

Distributive justice – is the need for the fair allocation of resources among all members of a community; Participation – is the need to be able to actively partake in and influence civil society (Bobichand ,2012).

According to Galtung (1969), the basic human needs are categorized as – Survival, Well-being, Identity, and Freedom. In other words, human needs to survive. With survival, human naturally needs to live with well-being. Human naturally needs identity to live with dignity. If a human cannot have his/her respectable identity, his existence is in question. Over and above these, the most critical is the freedom to determine how to survive, how can be well-being; and which identity to be embraced.

Burton (1990), argue that one of the primary causes of protracted or intractable conflict is people's unyielding drive to meet their unmet needs on the individual, group, and societal level. Human needs theorists further offer a new dimension to conflict theory. This approach provides an important conceptual tool that not only connects and addresses human needs on all levels. Furthermore, it recognises the existence of negotiable and non-negotiable issues. That is, needs theorists understand that needs, unlike interests, cannot be traded, suppressed, or bargained for. Basic human needs are uncompromisable and indivisible. Thus, the human needs approach makes a case for turning away from traditional negotiation models that do not take into account nonnegotiable issues. These include interest-based negotiation models that view conflict in terms of win-win or other consensus-based solutions, and conventional power models (primarily used in the field of negotiation and international relations) that construct conflict and conflict management in terms of factual and zero-sum game perspectives.

According to Bobichand (2012), most scholars and practitioners agree that issues of identity, security, and recognition, are critical in many or even most intractable conflicts. They may not be the only issue, but they are one of the important issues that must be dealt with if an intractable conflict is to be transformed. Ignoring the underlying needs and just negotiating the interests may at times lead to a short-term settlement, but it rarely will lead to long-term resolution. If basic human needs are not met, there cannot be positive peace. If basic human needs are denied, it is certain to use any means – violent or non-violent – available to them to meet their basic needs.

UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPT OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS

The concept of Internally Displaced Person (IDP) contains three important aspects: i). the causes of the IDPs, ii). the IDP and iii). the IDP situation. According to Mundt and Ferris (2008), Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) can be defined as 'persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or 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 internationally recognized state border as reflected in the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (OCHA 1998). For Mooney (2005) an Internally Displaced Person (IDP) is someone who has been forced to leave their home for reasons such as natural or man-made disasters, including religious or political persecution or war, but has not crossed an international border.

The components of the IDP definition as provided by OCHA (2004) in the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement highlights two crucial elements: first, there is the coercive or otherwise involuntary character of the movement. Coercive or involuntary movement may stem from

armed conflict, violence, human rights violations and natural disasters. What these causes have in common is that the affected persons or people have no choice but to leave their homes and belongings. This deprive them of the most essential protection mechanisms, such as community networks, access to services, resources and livelihoods; secondly, it is the fact that such movement takes place within national borders. Unlike refugees, who have been deprived of the protection of their state of origin, IDPs remain legally under the protection of national authorities of their country of habitual residence. IDPs should therefore enjoy the same rights as the rest of the population (Mundt and Ferris, 2008).

The African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) in Africa, (2009) defines internally displaced persons as persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or 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 internationally recognized state border. The Government of Uganda's commitments to the IDP guiding policy principles emphasizes protection of citizens against arbitrary displacements, search for durable solutions as well as facilitation of voluntary return, resettlement, integration and reintegration.

It is for this very reason that interventions designed and developed to return and resettle the people where they have bad memories must put a number of critical issues in perspective so as to ensure these people's return to sustainable self-empowerment in a bid to rebuild their lives. Given the spectrum of experiences that are associated with return, resettlement, and reintegration of displaced persons, it is imperative to ask: Have interventions that have been designed and developed to address the human security needs of the formerly displaced persons been appropriate in addressing their needs?

The context for the occurrence of the phenomenon of forced displacement in Uganda can be associated to four fundamental factors. Firstly, there was political persecution meted out by the different regimes of the day upon its people.

Secondly, there were ethnic rivalries which become manifested as communal wars in which severe violence was employed to annihilate the opponent. The phenomenon of displaced persons originating from ethnic-tribal and/or communal violence in Uganda has been associated with the cattle rustling phenomenon by the Karamojong. This was common between the Itesot and the Karamojong.

Thirdly, there have been various armed struggles (some for liberation against an unpopular regime and some being the work of war lords). As a result, three distinct phases of armed struggles have taken place in the country: (i) The 1978/79 liberation war by the exiles' forces against Idi Amin's regime; (ii) the 1980/81 to 1986 protracted armed struggle by the NRM/A against the Obote II regime and short lived Okello Military Junta government; and (iii) the post-NRM/A power takeover phase that was characterized by a number of armed resistances against it especially in the Northern and West Nile regions of Uganda.

The most significant armed struggle in the post NRM/A Uganda is the war launched by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) which turned out to be the most costly insurgency against the people in Northern Uganda. In these areas, insecurity has been the predominant factor perpetuating internal displacement of persons within the boundaries of Uganda. IDPs in these

areas have been created by LRA conflict and the cattle rustling and forced disarmament in Karamoja region that have perpetuated insecurity problems.

Political history reveals that some Acholi who had supported Obote during his two stints in power had remained unreconciled to Museveni's NRM/A government since it came to power in 1986 following the overthrow of the Tito Okello's government. According to Gersony (1997), some of these unreconciled elements formed the Holy Spirit Movement Front (HSMF) led by Alice Lakwena and later the LRA resistance led by Joseph Kony. The inability of the NRM/A government to defeat the rebellion of the LRA in the north had not only left many people embittered towards the government, but had also created many IDPs and promoted opportunity for the NRM/A government to devise compulsory forced confinement into what came to be commonly known as the IDPs Camps. Despite the forced confinement of people in IDPs camps, the LRA war continued until the early 2000s causing havoc in the area and victimizing the inhabitants of Eastern and Northern Uganda. During this time, a number of atrocities were committed adding to the fear among the people leading more and more people to flee into the IDPs camps.

UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPTS OF STATE SECURITY AND HUMAN SECURITY

According to Bajpai (2000), the concept of security with the end of the Cold War has increasingly come under scrutiny from scholars and parishioners alike. Bajpai (2000), emphasize that in the classical formulation, security is about how states use force to manage threats to their territorial integrity, their autonomy, and their domestic political order, primarily from other states. The traditional security framework therefore, focuses on state security that is ability of states to protect their borders and their citizens from real or perceived external threats. However some states have failed to provide a minimum level of security for their people, and in many cases, states themselves have become significant causes of insecurity.

The classical understanding of security, often referred to as 'national security', meant different uses of military force to defend the integrity of the state, generally in a strategically oriented, rational-choice perspective of analysis. Neither the growing interdependence of the 1970s along with the advance of the neo-institutionalist approach in international relations, nor the more realist-oriented efforts of linking the economy with security truly challenged a classical understanding of the concept of security (Krasner, 1999).

From 1945, many of the most significant threats to state security have been internal rather than external, a shift which has only accelerated and which may have profound consequences in the conduct of international relations. State security therefore has been threatened by any change that has been aimed at undermining its monopoly of violence whether through external violence or internal rebellion. Security in International Relations was traditionally defined in terms of national security, a concept with roots stemming from the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia and Realist ideology where states are the primary actors, and their survival is the main pre-occupation. At the end of colonialism, many African States inherited this Westphalia-model state, which viewed security purely in terms of protecting national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and treated these principles as it is most fundamental and legitimate concerns (Morgenthau, 1966).

However, although this concept seemed to work during colonialism when security was defined in terms of protecting the interests of the Empire, it sowed disaster for Africa's newly

independent States. Its effects were further exacerbated by the dynamics of the bi-polar Cold War world in which Africa had little or no importance to the protagonists who were primarily preoccupied with ideology to teach the new African leaders how to run a State in the African setting. As a result, new African institutions turned against the people they were created to serve. Consequently, the notion of ''security'' has had noxious consequences for the modern African state. In part, this is a result of the legacy of colonial administrations, which tended to view security in the very narrow sense of 'establishment and maintenance of colonial hegemony', causing extraordinary coercion and violence, directed against 'subject populations'. This notion that the regime, and not its subjects, was the appropriate referent object survived the transition into independent Africa.

The concept of human security, however, according to Nef (2001), shifts focus from traditional territorial security to the person. This concept recognizes that the personal protection of the individual comes not just from the safeguarding of the state as a political unit, but also involves people's right to live, work, and participate without fear and social, political and economic structures that affect their lives. Indeed state security and human security are two mutually reinforcing concepts. It should be noted that secure states do not necessarily mean secure citizens. In this context, Rojas-Aravena (2002), asserts that inter-state and intra-state issues are often too narrowly defined. In this regard, the challenge lies in linking the concept of human security with those of traditional state security, and projecting those linkages into the international system.

At the international level the concept of human security was used for the first time in 1994 in the United Nations Report on Human Development. The UNDP Report (1994) defined two main components of human security: Freedom from fear and freedom from want. In this regard, the report stresses that the world will never have security from war, if men and women do not have security in their homes and in their jobs. The concept entails a list of threats that are grouped under seven categories that affect various phases of action: personal security, economic security, food security, health security, community security, environmental security, and political security. To date UNDP's definition of human security remains the most widely cited explanation of the term although different scholars as well as international organizations and coalitions have worked on the concept.

At its core, the human security agenda is an effort to construct a global society in which the safety and well-being of the individual is an international priority and a motivating force for international action; a society in which international humanitarian standards and the rule of law are advanced, woven into a coherent web protecting the individual, where those who violate these standards are held fully accountable; and finally, a society in which the global, regional and bilateral institutions—present and future—are built and equipped to promote and enforce these standards (Kilgour, 2000). Human security is achieved when and where individuals and communities have the options necessary to end, mitigate, or adapt to threats to their human, environmental and social rights, and have the capacity and freedom to exercise these options and actively participate in attaining these options (Lonergan, 2002). While Myers (1993) argues that human security applies most at the level of the individual citizen, it amounts to human well -being, not only protection from harm and injury but access to other basic requisites that are considered important to every person on earth.

According to Human Security Report (2003), human security is concerned with reducing and—when possible removing -- the insecurities that plague human lives. It contrasts with the notion of State security, which concentrates primarily on safeguarding the integrity and robustness of

the State and thus only has an indirect connection with the security of the human beings who live in these States. Human security in its broadest sense embraces far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance, access to education and health care and ensuring that each individual has opportunities and choices to fulfill their own potential (Annan, 2000). Every step in this direction is also a step towards reducing poverty, achieving economic growth and preventing conflict which would translate to development, which according to Sen (1999), means freedom from want, freedom from fear, and the freedom of future generations to inherit a healthy natural environment ; these are the interrelated building blocks of human, and therefore national security.

Human security also reinforces human dignity. People's horizons extend far beyond survival, to matters of love, culture and faith. Human security must also aim at developing the capabilities of individuals and communities to make informed choices and to act on behalf of causes and interests in many spheres of life. That is why human security starts from the recognition that people are the most active participants in determining their well-being. It builds on people's efforts, strengthening what they do for themselves.

According to Sen (1999), human security means protecting vital freedoms–fundamental to human existence and development. Human security means protection people from severe and persuasive threats, both national and social, and empowering individuals and communities to develop the capabilities of making informed choices and acting on their behalf (Oberleitner, 2002). Human security is also safety from both violent and non-violent threats.

Krause (2004), emphasizes that many human security concerns are understood as achieving freedom from fear and not about the broad vision of freedom from want by evacuating the threat of violence from social political, and economic life at local, national, regional and international levels implicate small arms and light weapons including such issues as promoting and safeguarding human rights (security from state violence) protecting minorities (from communal violence or repression, fighting organized crime and random violence, combating terrorism (from domestic or international forces) and ensuring economic security. It is therefore very important to integrate these different interpretations of human security into the general framework of resettlement and integration processes in Northern Uganda if sustainable peace and development is to be achieved.

The concept of human security is also linked to development. Therefore, in the development field, scholars are now talking about the 'securitization of development', in that, insecurities and underdevelopment create conditions for wars and armed conflicts. The development in northern Uganda should be addressed as a security issue, failure of which might lead to insecurity in those particular communities. Human security incorporates a multi- dimensional focus on creating and protecting the conditions for the eradication of both income poverty (material dimension) and human dignity poverty (promotion of human dignity).

But the puzzling question remains: how does one measure human insecurity?. According to Ogata (1999) human security requires including the excluded. It therefore focuses on the widest possible range of people having enough confidence in their future, protecting and empowering people to create genuine possibilities for people to live in safety and dignity. Human security therefore reinforces State security but does not replace it. Ogata (1999) elaborates further that human security complements human development by focusing on the downside risks.

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These questions invite simple answers from the grassroots level of society concerning Freedom from Want and Freedom from Fear as illustrated by Sen (1999).

METHODOLOGY

This study adopted a qualitative design as an overall methodological approach. This approach was appropriate for this study because the researcher was interested in in-depth responses from the respondents based on their own words, experiences and interaction in natural settings. In other words, qualitative approach is a research design that refers to a range of techniques including participant observation, intensive interviewing, focused group discussions and documentary analysis (Kumar, 2005). The researcher adopted three research designs: a case study, a cross sectional, and descriptive research designs. A case study seeks to describe a unit in detail, in context and holistically while a cross sectional research design was used by the researcher for different respondents at different times on the same topic. Here the researcher was interested in getting information from different respondents with the view of identifying any patterns in answers or views from respondents at different times.

On the other hand, descriptive research unravels the state of affairs as it exists. The researcher then reports the findings.

The study population included the former Internally Displaced Persons, officials from the central and local governments, local and International NGOs, former abductees, and rebels, Members of Parliament, cultural/traditional leaders, Military Officers, and religious leaders. These categories have been involved in either resolving or escalating the conflict. Some of them have also been instrumental in the resettlement process.

Since this was largely a qualitative research, the sample size was not predetermined at hand. However, the researcher endeavored to have a representative sample drawn across from the study population. The researcher stopped interviewing more respondents after reaching saturation point, which means that there was no new information coming from interviewing more respondents because they had started repeating what had already been said. For this reason, the researcher used purposive sampling based on an individual's relative understanding of the subject matter under investigation. This refers to the fact that participants to be interviewed had knowledge of the research topic, their own experiences and understanding of the conflict, and the ongoing resettlement process in Northern Uganda.

The decision to employ purposive sampling is based on the premise that careful selecting of the people involved in resettlement directly or indirectly is a good criterion for matching interviews with respondents (Bloor. N. & Wood.F. 2006). In final analysis, a total of 145 respondents were interviewed for this study.

In-depth interviews were used for the key informants. In-depth interview was considered appropriate because of its flexibility. This method was relevant since the researcher was interested in in-depth information from the respondents. This method is also helpful, particularly with respondents whose writing skills are weak or have none at all or who are less motivated to make the effort to respond fully or for other unknown reasons (Meredith, 2010, Bechhofer. F. & Paterson.L, n.d).

This method was supplemented by focus group discussions which were conducted with the former IDPs and project beneficiaries. This method was deemed appropriate for this group

because of their homogeneity given the fact that most of them have been affected by the conflict in different ways.

The researcher also made participant observation during the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Observation checklist was used as the instrument during the study. The researcher observed the general conditions on the ground regarding the facilities like health centers, water sources, and other relevant infrastructures that have been put in place under the PRDP. Finally, documentary analysis from policy-related information, and research reports from local and international organizations were also consulted.

Since this research was largely qualitative in nature, the main approach to analyse the data was content analysis. According to Kumar, (2005) content analysis means analysis of the contents of an interview in order to identify the main themes that emerge from the responses given by the respondents which involve a number of steps.

First, it involves identifying the main themes by carefully going through the responses given by the different respondents to each question in order to understand the meaning they communicate. From these themes the researcher identified the emerging patterns, and described the situations based on the findings.

The use of verbatim responses to keep the feel in responses was be maintained. However, this was only done with the express permission of the respondents upon consultation to protect their identity.

The main limitation of this study related to research fatigue in Northern Uganda as many people have conducted a lot of research. This posed a challenge. However, the researcher over came this by explaining the purpose of the study backed up with introduction letters from the university and the authorities from the study areas.

The contribution of PRDP in rebuilding and empowering the war affected communities in northern Uganda.

PRDP has contributed to building and rebuilding infrastructures like schools, access roads, health centre etc.There are many of such facilities which have been constructed. PRDP does not monitor the maintenance and functioning of the units e.g. they do not recruit teachers or health workers for the schools and health facilities which have been put in place.

Therefore, most of these facilities like health units are empty and lack the personnel to run them. This is a major weakness of the PRDP.

Livelihood support was given to the returnees. A number of groups have benefited from projects like fruit growing, cattle and goats through what is called 'Group Project identification'. Some of these animals are supposed to rotate among the group members. The government claims this has promoted reconciliation among the returnees while the critics have claimed that these projects have created more gaps and hatred among the returnees. Some returnees claim that those who caused more chaos are the biggest beneficiaries while those who were not involved in rebel activities are the worst hit when it comes to benefiting from government projects.

The youths have been trained in tailoring, carpentry and building skills but more needs to be done.

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There was lack of adequate, timely, and sustained funding for the activities drawn out of the National IDPs Policy and the PRDP. These inadequacies, delayed the implementation of the PRDP (Marino, 2008). This affected the implementation of the selected projects-which sent wrong signals of 'we are used to such, it is not new'.

The success and challenges of revitalizing the economy in northern Uganda

Livelihood support e.g. animals, seedlings of citrus fruits were given to the returnees. Not all the returnees got these items but some members within the group. This has also created tensions between those who got something and those who never got anything at all.

Oxen and ox ploughs were also given to some people and groups for cultivation.

A major problem facing the region is charcoal burning: deforestation & conflict over land ownership. Whereas some respondents claimed this is an opportunity for them to cash out from nature since they have missed out on government hand outs, the reality is that there is massive deforestation taking place. This problem is closely linked to land conflicts.

There are six ways in which land conflicts is taking place in Acholi region (i) indigenous land owners themselves over boundaries; (ii) indigenous land owners and diasporas based people who reportedly dish out massive amount of money to buy off land; (iii) indigenous land owners and their elected or appointed leaders and some 'powerful' individuals mostly in the army; (iv) indigenous people and government interests; (v) indigenous people and outside interests reflected most times as investors and (vi) family members among themselves over their share or entitlements. This is a security threat in the region and might be the might be the main trigger of conflict in the region if not attended to.

Open and sophiscated corruption i.e. the OPM scandals (PAC Report 2014) and the procurement of livelihood projects- animals, sign posts etc at the district levels. (Ireland, Sweden, Norway, & Denmark) Ireland demanded for a refund.

Whereas the government has opened up new access roads in the region, the main roads under central governments are in poor state. This state of poor road networks has affected the region in that accessibility to areas by outsiders is normally a big challenge especially during rainy season.

The extent to which PRDP has contributed to peace building and reconciliation in northern Uganda

With the help of funds from PRDP, it has been possible for the police to create and put up police posts and purchased new vehicles. These posts have helped in reducing crime since the posts are nearer to the people. The vehicles make it easier for police to respond to emergencies and crime scene faster than in the past.

The formation of groups of between 9-12 members has greatly improved relations between former enemies in the villages. It is a precondition for any group to access or benefit from any project to form a group. This membership has to come from the same area. This means that if one is interested in benefiting from the project, he or she must be in a group. This has brought about working together and reconciliation among the members.

The Juba Peace Talks was supposed to lead to Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR). However, this never took place. Because of the failure of DDR some former rebels still have weapons which are normally found in the bushes or gardens by civilians.

There are also limited and sometimes no systematic psycho-social support given to the ex-combatants. A number of them just found their ways in the communities without any serious support.

The role of International Criminal Court has drawn mixed reactions in northern Uganda. Some people are in support while others are against it, pointing to the fact the national army, the Uganda People's Defense Forces must also account for their role in the two decade conflict. The army has denied any wrong doing in the area, a claim denied by the rebels and some civilians.

Most of the donors have since lost interest in Northern Uganda (donor fatigue, The Anti-Politics Machine?).This may be understanble given the many years that they have been operating in northern Uganda but it could be related to the mismanagement of their funds as well.

The biggest worry to the present peace in the region is the fear of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) - South Sudan connection. If Joseph Kony, the leader of LRA, is still at large, anything is possible.

CONCLUSIONS

Relative peace has returned to the region. Former returnees have made strides in uplifting their lives. Government and development partners have tried to rebuild the region.

The war in South Sudan poses a security threat in the region and should be addressed by the regional leadership.

If the donors are worried about their money, then they should adopt a new approach to provide the services to the people i.e. Norwegian Refugee Council building classrooms instead of giving the work to the government.

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