

**CONFLICT AS A PREDICTOR OF SECURITY AND RULE OF LAW:  
A CASE OF THE RWENZURURU SUB REGION IN WESTERN UGANDA**

**BY**

**SALEH MOSES WILSON KAMBA**

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## **DECLARATION**

I, **SALEH MOSES WILSON KAMBA**, do hereby declare that this Dissertation is my original work and that it has not been presented or submitted to any other institution of higher learning for an academic award of a Masters degree or its equivalent or any other award at this or any other university. Except where other sources or citations have been used or quoted, due acknowledgement has been made.

Candidate: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**SALEH MOSES WILSON KAMBA**

Date

## **APPROVAL**

I confirm that the candidate under my supervision, carried out the work reported in this dissertation and it has been submitted to the School of Social Sciences of Nkumba University, for examination with my approval as Supervisor.

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**ASSOC. PROF. SOLOMON MUCHWA ASIIMWE**  
**(SUPERVISOR)**

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**DATE**

## **DEDICATION**

This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved family, Parents, Brothers, Sisters, Research Supervisor Assoc. Prof. Asimwe Solomon Muchwa, Research compliance Supervisor Dr. Charles Edaku, dean School of Social Sciences Dr. Ann Abaho, course mates and all my comrades and compatriots in the struggle.

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## LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACCORD	African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes
ADF	Allied Democratic Forces
ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
BLHRA	Bakonzo Life History Research Association
CAO	Chief Administrative Officer
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DISO	District Internal Security Officer
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
FDC	Forum for Democratic Change
GISO	Gombolola Internal Security Officer
GLRA	Great Lakes Region of Africa
IOs	International Organisations
KRC	Kabarole Research and Resource Centre
LC	Local Council
MNCs	Multi-National Corporations
NALU	National Army for the Liberation of Uganda
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NRM	National Resistance Movement
OBB	Obudingiya Bwa Bwamba
OBR	Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu
RDC	Resident District Commissioner
RFPJ	Rwenzori Forum for Peace and Justice
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program.
UPDF	Uganda Peoples Defence Forces.

## **DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS**

### **1) Conflict**

Conflict, is described by different scholars to mean different things depending on the desire or wish to include particular items on the agenda. For some, conflict involves among others; fighting, war, trade embargos, difference in opinion, perspective or personality. While to others, conflict is a fundamental disagreement over ends or goals to be pursued and the means for their accomplishment (Afzalur, 2010). According to Afzalur, the narrow conceptualisation considers conflict as a breakdown in the standard mechanisms of decision making so that an individual or group experiences difficulty in selecting an alternative. In the broad sense, conflict can best be understood as a dynamic process underlying behaviour or conduct.

### **2) Security**

Security is defined and thus understood differently by different scholars depending on their desire and wish to include particular issues on the agenda and thus, there is no single universally accepted definition of security (Romm, 1993). The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary defines Security as; a collection of all those activities that are involved in the protection of a country, society, individual or property against any possible danger, attack or damage.

According to the Uganda's White Paper on Defence Transformation (DWP) of 2004, and the Security Policy Framework Paper of 2002, Security encompasses freedom from fear, intimidation and other pressures or threats, real or potential, from whatever source, that would undermine the basic rights, welfare and property of the people of Uganda, the territorial integrity of the state, or the proper functioning of the systems of governance. The real or potential security threats that are envisaged in the Uganda's definition of security among others include: border insecurity; destabilising external influences; political instability; environmental stress and resource constraints, human underdevelopment, internal insecurity, economic shocks, social polarisation and civil disasters.

### **3) Rule of law**

According to the Oxford Dictionary of Law, Rule of Law means supremacy of law; a feature attributed to constitutionalism and/or constitutional governance. It embodies three principal concepts: the absolute predominance of the regular law, so that the government has no arbitrary authority over the citizenry; the equal subjection of all people to the ordinary law administered by the ordinary courts; and citizens' personal freedoms and human rights are formulated and protected by the ordinary law rather than by abstract constitutional declarations.

The Blacks' Law Dictionary defines rule of law as; the supremacy of regular as opposed to arbitrary power; the absence of any arbitrary power on the part of the government and hence, the citizens must respect the law (supremacy of law). Rule of law refers to the equal subordination of all classes of citizens, to the ordinary law of the land; every person is subject to the ordinary law within the jurisdiction without favour or fear. Thus, rule of law means that the general constitutional principles are the result of judicial decisions determining the rights of individuals through the courts of law.

### **4) Rwenzururu**

According to the Constitution of the Rwenzururu Monarchy, 'Rwenzururu' is an operational term that refers to the area surrounding Mt. Rwenzori (the Rwenzori Region) which is covered by the Rwenzururu Kingdom. And the people who live there are referred to as the BANYARWENZURURU. That is; "the people who believe and identify themselves with the ideals and aspirations of the Rwenzururu Kingdom irrespective of their geographical origin and location, tribe, Language, culture or Political affiliation.

## ABSTRACT

The study investigates conflict as a predictor of security and rule of law; a case of the Rwenzururu sub region in Western Uganda. It specifically examines the drivers of conflict in the Rwenzururu sub region, assesses the influence of conflict on security; and also examines the influence of Conflict on Rule of Law and security. The study is anchored on a case study design, under the qualitative research approach; relying mainly on secondary data and to some extent, primary data collected from various categories of respondents by way of interviews, focus group discussions and surveys; with a study population of 944,000 people, a target population of 403,181 people and a sample size of 400 determined by the Yamane formula. The study employed interview guide, focus group discussion guide and questionnaire as data collection instruments/tools.

The study reveals economic, political, social and cultural factors as the main drivers of the conflict in the Rwenzururu sub region such as; unequal distribution of land, struggle for self-determination and struggle for political power among others. The conflict greatly influences rule of law and security in the area in that; during conflict there is economic insecurity, political instabilities and social insecurity; physical assaults coupled with loss of lives and property; children hardly go to schools and citizens hardly access social services such as health and clean water.

The study recommends that, conflict in the Rwenzururu sub region can be effectively resolved by adopting liberal approach as opposed to the realism approach apparently employed by the State and non-state actors. This includes engaging in Alternative Dispute Resolution, political socialisation and dialogue; setting up the mediation, negotiation and reconciliation grounds to help end conflicts using peaceful means. All the actors should understand the drivers of conflict in order to establish the effective ways of resolving it and hence, attain lasting rule of law and security in the area. Historical injustices ought to be well traced, documented and addressed by the actors especially by way of reparations and physical compensation in case of lost lives and property. Mass sensitisation and civic education should be promoted so as to foster attitude change for social cohesion, commitment to promotion of unity for development, and respect for rule of law, cultural and other human rights.

Both State and non-state actors should be involved in the reconciliation and conflict resolution processes. All the line government MDAs and officials such RDCs and DISOs should be tasked; and other stakeholders encouraged to submit regular reports regarding conflicts generally. Reconciliation and enquiry committees should be set up to mediate the conflicts and there should be community-policing mechanisms that connect the community, and the State Security Agencies.

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.0 Overview**

This chapter explores the background of the study which deals with the conceptual, theoretical, historical and contextual perspectives of the study topic. The chapter also explores the problem statement, the main and specific objectives, research questions, the scope, significance, justification and the conceptual framework of the study.

### **1.1 Background to the Study**

According to Funkeye and Nafiu (2016), background of the study brings out the rationale of the study by clearly stating the major study variables, history of those variables, prevailing circumstances and what it ought to be. That is, it presents the conceptual, theoretical, historical and contextual backgrounds of the study.

#### **1.1.1 Conceptual Background**

##### **a) Conflict**

As stated by Afzalur (2010), Conflict is defined by different scholars to mean different things depending on their wishes and desires to include or exclude particular items on the agenda. On one hand, conflict involves fighting, war and trade embargos among others. While on the other hand, it may be a difference in opinion, perspective or personality. Conflict is originated as an action taken or behaviour expressed as a means for attaining material or non-material ends, such as status, control of scarce resources, defense, gain, or social change. There are situations in which actors use conflict behaviours to help them achieve their respective ends or goals towards opponents or adversaries.

This researcher therefore, submits that conflict generally means a fundamental disagreement over ends or goals to be pursued and the means for their accomplishment. In conflict situations, the protection of people warrants empowerment of national security and community capacities within the rule of law framework so as to counter the tendencies of rule by force, rule by law, rule under the law and rule



according to the law. Hence, in the aftermath of a conflict, observing rule of law is paramount in creating a conducive environment for the recovery efforts and thus the sustainability of both human and state security interests. Because observing rule of law provides the very foundation for guaranteeing security leading to lasting peace and stability and hence, sustainable growth and development goals.

## **b) Security**

According to Maier (1990), the concept of Security or national security originated from the United States after the Second World War. Traditionally, security considered only the State and in terms of military threats against the State and hence, focussing mainly on military might and valour for state security although civil disorders and ethnic threats are sometimes applicable. Since then, the concept of security has evolved and now it encompasses collective facets all of which impinge on both military and non-military security values espoused by the society/humanity such as Political Security, Economic Security, Environmental Security, Energy and Natural Resources Security, Cyber-security, Healthy Security, Food Security and Education Security among others.

According to Baldwin (1997), to be secure is apparently everyone's aspiration and this is where the concept of security derives its classification and thus, security is normally considered as the absence of threat to major cherished values. Hence, for a nation - state to be secure; its territorial integrity, sovereignty, population, culture and its economic prosperity should be safe from destruction, major damage or threats. In the contemporary world security involves not only conventional (State) actors but also non-conventional (non-state) actors such as cultural institutions, religious institutions, violent armed rebellions, drug cartels, multinational corporations (MNCs), International Organisations (IOs), and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

This researcher therefore, submits that security is a fundamental aspect of humanity and the State equally; as it concerns the alleviation of all threats to the cherished or acquired values that can threaten the survival of humanity or the State in the near future if not resolved and that; although survival and security are often related, they are not synonymous. Security is regarded as a value of which the State or

humanity can have or can aspire to have in greater or lesser measures and hence, it is characterised as; the absence of threats to acquired or cherished values.

It is from this background description that Uganda derives its definition of Security as per the White Paper on Defence Transformation of 2004, and the Security Policy Framework Paper of 2002 that; Security encompasses freedom from fear, intimidation and other pressures or threats, real or potential, from whatever source, that would undermine the basic rights, welfare and property of the people of Uganda, the territorial integrity of the State, or the proper functioning of the systems of governance..

### **c) Rule of Law**

According to Kanyeihamba (1975), the history and origin of the rule of law doctrine is traced from the writings of Dicey (1959) who describes it to mean three main things: absolute supremacy of regular law as opposed to the influence or arbitrary exercise of power and thus everyman owes allegiance to the law of the land; equality of all citizens before the same law of the land; and law is not the source but the consequence of the rights of individuals. It is from there that the concept evolved to its present day understanding and definition by the different scholars.

According to Asiimwe (2017), Rule of Law refers to the supremacy of the law and hence, is the basic structure upon which everything depends. For example: provision of security; prevention, management and resolution of conflict; functioning of the economy; functioning of a free and fair political system; development of civil society; public confidence in the country's law enforcement institutions and mechanisms. Thus, rule of Law refers to a system where all the people and the government institutions and officials are equally subjected to the same law under the jurisdiction which is formal, substantive, non-contradictory and it is enforced impartially while observing both national and international norms and standards.

As observed by Churter (2016), Rule of Law is fundamentally about the social contractual relationship between the citizenry and the State whose actions in turn are influenced by processes of cultural, social, military, economic, political and historical specificities. Thus, even security forces in their routines must observe the rule of law in such a manner that increases peace and stability, prevents or resolves

conflict(s) and advances common interests, norms and standards; both municipal and international. As such, all Policy frameworks for conflict resolution, security, peace and stability initiatives are built on the solid foundation of rule of law under its five major elements of: efficacy; stability; supremacy of the legal authority; impartial justice; and the capacity of legal rules, standards and principles to guide all people in the conduct of their routines.

The researcher therefore, submits that rule of law is the basic structure that holds together the social justice, legal and security frameworks. As such, Rule of law serves three essential purposes: it guarantees good governance by ensuring both state security, human security, predictability and reasoning; it serves and thus, protects against anarchy and the Hobbesian war of all against all; it enables people plan their lives confidently knowing in advance the legal consequences of their actions and hence, guarding against some official arbitrariness. As such, rule of law must be observed by all and at all times so as to prevent, mitigate or recover from conflict situations that involve complex sets of interrelated problems; from concrete manifestations of violence and injustice to broader institutional gaps, as well as social-political and socio-economic failures.

### **1.1.2 Theoretical Background**

The concepts of Conflict, Security and Rule of law are grounded in a number of theories of which the key ones are realism and idealism theories. It is from these two theories that all the other theories were expounded by the various scholars as a way of shifting from the traditional to the contemporary conceptualisation of the cherished and/or acquired values of society.

According to Baldwin (1997), idealism theory as attributed to Immanuel Kant, Woodrow Wilson, Baron Montesquieu and John Locke among others, argues against realism that: whatever happens in the world is not related to the balance of power between States only, but between the State and the people (state and non-state actors); force is not inevitable and thus, should be eliminated or minimised by political or State institutions; and when conflict breaks out, it should be regulated by moral and legal constraints.

As per Baldwin (1997), quoting Kant and others, the main assumptions of Idealism theory are that: anarchy (conflict) in society can be addressed and security guaranteed as long as the State avoids

conflictual situations by encouraging ethnic co-existence; besides the state as a major security actor, there are also non-state actors such as the people, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), should be recognised and involved in the formulation of national security policies and in the management, prevention and resolution of conflicts because much as power remains the main concern of the State, they don't always search for it. Hence, the State needs to shift from the traditional power politics and avoid the negative effects thereof by acting morally in its routines.

However, according to Buzan (1991), Idealism theory is equally criticised in that: it is based on partially incorrect assumptions and thus, far from the reality; it is very imaginary, impracticable and utopian because reforming society is difficult as the State rarely follows moral precepts and it does not fully adhere to the principles of rule of law; disarmament is always difficult because conflicting factions are always busy proliferating more and more weaponry for furthering conflicts and wars.

The researcher, submits that this study is specifically grounded on Idealism (Pluralism or Liberalism) theory; because unlike realism, idealism theory observes the tenets, principles and elements of the Rule of Law in the provision of State and human security. It upholds the minimal conception of the State that both state and human security are achievable by balancing power between the State and the people. Thus, security according to the idealists, is a product of combined efforts of both state and non-state actors. As such, idealism offers the main remedies to conflictual situations leading to effective observation of rule of law and provision of security. Though, the theory does not fully cover the drivers of conflicts like the case of the Rwenzururu in western Uganda hence, inspiring this deepened study.

### **1.1.3 Historical Background**

As posited by Anugwom (2004), Uganda is a multi-ethnic and multicultural society with enormous potential for economic, social, and democratic (political) developments. However, intense conflicts that manifest within Uganda from its earliest time, prior to colonialism, during colonial rule and in the post-independence era have largely hindered social cohesion, nationhood building, national growth and development. Uganda is historically characterised as a deeply divided nation-state with major political,

economic and social affairs vigorously contested along the lines of complex ethnic, cultural, religious and regional divisions and hence, the persistent conflictual incidents. The drivers of these conflicts therefore, cannot be unconnected from the way and manner in which the community is portrayed to its adherents and mistrust between the followers of the various divides.

According to Syahuka-Muhindo (1994), the Rwenzururu sub region has for decades been characterised by conflicts associated with, among others political, economic, social, cultural or ethnic differences and disputes. The historical factors of the conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region are traced back to the conflicts of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries between the Banyoro/Batooro and Bamba/Bakonzo. All these were originally citizens of the greater Bunyoro - Kitara Kingdom out of which was created the Tooro Kingdom in 1822 and the Baamba/Bakonzo fell under the Tooro Kingdom whose leadership was dominated by the Batooro ethnic group. The Bakonzo and Bamba hence, demanded for a fair representation in the Rukurato (the Tooro Kingdom parliament) if not, they threatened to secede into their own chiefdom or kingdom but their demand was rejected by the majority Batooro and later supported by the colonial administration. The Bakonzo/Baamba struggle for self-determination continued for a long time until it resulted into an outright protest and eventually a protracted war broke out between the two factions.

Balyage (2000), posits that in 1918 Nyamutswa (Nyamucwa) Kihokolho a Mukonzo and a councillor in the Rukurato of Tooro started a freedom (liberation) movement against the Toro and the British Administration, alleging continued marginalisation and slow elimination of the Bakonzo and Baamba leaders. Nyamutswa was later joined by two other brave men; Tibamwenda the chief of Bulwa who became the second in command of the Liberation Movement, and Kapolia who became the Personal Assistant to Nyamutswa. The Bakonzo and Baamba declared independence and raised a flag at Kanyatsi near Kyalhumba. The three men built a strong military base as well as a palace and so Nyamutswa became the King of the Bakonzo and Bamba kingdom between 1919 and 1921. This period came to be known as **Nyamucwa Crisis** in the history of Tooro. It suffices to note that the Omundingiya, the current Cultural leader of Baamba is a great grandson of Kapolia and Tibamwenda's great grandson, Swaleh Tibamwenda, is one of the current claimants to the throne of Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu

apparently occupied by Charles Wesley Mumbere whose father Isiah Mukirania emerged 30 years later, in 1951 to revive the Bakonzo/Baamba liberation struggle for self-determination and named it the Rwenzururu Movement.

According to Balyage (2000), after one of their mobilisation meetings with local leaders in the areas around River Kanyampara to Nyamwamba, Tibamwenda, on his way back, killed a Mutoro chief. Upon this incident, the Tooro leadership, supported by the Imperial British government sent armed Sudanese and Nubian soldiers to overtake Nyamutswa's military base as well as their palace but Nyamutswa and his group escaped to Mathungu in the then Belgian Congo from where they continued with the liberation struggle up to 1921, when they were captured and imprisoned. Later, they were tried by the colonial court, sentenced to death by public execution and buried in a mass grave at Kagando, the current location of Kagando Hospital in Kisinga sub-county of Kasese District where a monument in their memory was later erected by Kasese District Local Government. This execution enraged most of the Bakonzo and Bamba and hence, it became a heroic story to pass on to the next generations and a basis for continued conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region in form of liberation struggle as the Bakonzo and Baamba continued to live under gruesome oppression and marginalisation. Thirty years later, in 1951, Isaya Mukirania Kibanzanga; the father of current King (Omusinga) Charles Wesley Mumbere Irema-Ngoma of the Rwenzururu Kingdom, emerged. He first toured the entire Rwenzururu sub region for seven complete years researching on the possibilities of re-building the Kingdom of the Bakonzo and Bamba. In 1954, Isaya Mukirania moving around with Tom Stacey, a British friend and book writer and a Journalist of Sunday Magazine, organised and established the Bakonzo Life History Research Society (BLHRS) to search for the origins and settlements of the Bakonzo/Baamba people and their position in the Tooro Kingdom. This remarked the genesis of the Bakonzo and Baamba life history research work which resulted into the reestablishment of the Rwenzururu movement which transformed into the present day controversial Rwenzururu Kingdom – the Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu.

As stated by Karugire (1980), conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region have remained long standing and unresolved. The Obote government of 1962 - 1971 failed to solve the problem and instead sided with the Tooro Kingdom leadership against the wishes and aspirations of the Bakonzo/Baamba. This was

exacerbated by the outrageous statements made by the then minister of Animals, Game and Fisheries, Hon. J. K. Babiiha, warning that the Bamba and Bakonzo faced extinction within 10 years and there would be nothing but to declare the areas a national park (Uganda Argus, March 11, 1964). The arrogance and reluctance of the post-colonial government to resolve the conflict resulted into bloody violence between the Bakonzo/Bamba and the Batooro/Government as the Bakonzo/Bamba retreated to the Rwenzori Mountain ranges and waged an armed struggle under the Rwenzururu Movement to fight for self-determination in order to attain their long-cherished self-governance rights and freedoms. This resulted into a great massacre of thousands of Bakonzo and Bamba in April 1964. The historical Rwenzururu Movement/Kingdom remained a popular people's mandate spearheaded by Isaya Mukirania, and his companions throughout the 1960s until he was fully blessed by all Banyarwenzururu clan leaders and was installed as a king of the Rwenzururu people by all the clan leaders, elders and ridge leaders on 30<sup>th</sup> June 1963 at Buhumbania. He was named Isaya Mukirania Kibanzanga I Musabuli after he was fully initiated into the rituals of being a king of the Rwenzururu people. Upon the death of Isaya Mukirania Kibanzanga I Musabuli on the 2<sup>nd</sup> September, 1966 again elders of various clans from all over the Rwenzururu land met and chose his son, Charles Wesley Mumbere as successor to the Rwenzururu throne and dully crowned him on the 19<sup>th</sup> October, 1966 as King Charles Wesley Mumbere Kibanzanga II, the Second King of the Rwenzururu people following all the customs and rituals of installing a Konzo king. He was thereafter re-named Omusinga (Omusangania) Charles Wesley Mumbere Irema-Ngoma; the ruler of Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu. At this point in time, Rwenzururu Kingdom had well established royal regalia with instruments of power such as court of arms, flag, and the anthem. It also had a centralised system of governance with a Prime Minister (Omulerembera), ministries, counties and sub-counties respectively. In 1966/67 when kingdoms and cultural institutions were abolished in Uganda by President Obote upon turning Uganda into a republic; the Rwenzururus retreated to the Rwenzori Mountains and resumed their armed struggle under the Rwenzururu Movement up to 15<sup>th</sup> August, 1982 when Omusinga Charles Wesley Mumbere Irema-Ngoma opted for a peace pact with the government championed by Hon Amon Baziira among others, towards recognising and restoring the Rwenzururu Kingdom. Omusinga Charles Wesley Mumbere was granted study scholarship to the USA (Uganda Times, August 18, 1982).

The 1995 Constitution of Uganda, rejuvenated the cultural institutions under Article 246; redefining the politics of cultural identity under monarchical institutions; its influence on the ethnic relations within the region, and its implications on both state and human security and rule of law, within the nation-building efforts. The Rwenzururu leadership soon demanded for the recognition and restoration of the Rwenzururu Kingdom as it was being done to other parts of the Country. Unfortunately, Uganda government did not consider the Rwenzururu demands outright during the Constituent Assembly in the process of promulgating the 1995 Uganda Constitution as this was not defined on the tribal or traditional lines as was with Buganda, Bunyoro, Tooro, Ankole and Busonga cultural institutions, but it was regarded as a fully established political revolutionary movement – the Rwenzururu Movement. Thus, other rebel movements like the National Army for the Liberation of Uganda (NALU) and the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) soon took advantage of this situation and used the area to undermine national security hoping to be supported by the Rwenzururu Royalists. The Bakonzo and their King denied them support although some misguided ones had already joined the rebel ranks as individuals. The Bakonzo people wanted Uganda government to recognise their Kingdom peacefully although the government took a slow motion on account of suspicion of strong political/rebel connections.

However, the NRM government, in its democratic style invited the Omusinga (King) Charles Mumbere through the mediation of Hon. Mike Mukula, the then Member of Parliament for Soroti Municipality. He returned on 19<sup>th</sup> November, 1998 and stayed around up to the 7<sup>th</sup> January, 1999. It is estimated that more than 80% of Bakonzo people adored him as the sole King of the Rwenzururu land and wished him to return and assume his throne just as it had happened in other parts of the country. Upon the recommendations of the ministerial committee appointed by President Museveni and headed by a Cabinet Minister, Hon. Henry Muganwa Kajura, the Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu (OBR) was recognised by Government and in 2009 the Omusinga was coroneted (Syahuka-Muhindo, 1994).

#### **1.1.4 Contextual Background**

The period following the recognition and coronation of the OBR; has been characterised by violent clashes in the Rwenzururu sub region; gradually witnessing episodes of bloodshed between the various ethnicities in the region and drawing in the state security agencies, allegedly perpetuated by the



vigilantee Bakonzo youths. This culminated into simultaneous violent attacks on both the local people and the State security installations in 2014. This was repeated in another form immediately after the February 2016 general elections where the ruling NRM performed poorly in the sub region. This registered another wave of violent attacks on defense and security installations and infrastructure by ‘Civilians’ under the umbrella of Omusinga’s Royal Guards who are actually paramilitary militias. This warranted the national defence and security forces to retaliate in equal measures to restore rule of law and guarantee security, on suspicion of emerging rebel activities in pursuance of their long-time ambition of secession (Balyage, 2000). This culminated into the overrunning of the Omusinga’s palace by the government security forces. In the course, property was destroyed, scores were killed and injured, and items alleged to be instruments of political power for the proposed Yiira State such as flag, court of arms, currency and national anthem were confiscated. Several people were arrested including His Royal Highness the Omusinga Charles Wesley Mumbere and these were subjected to the due process of the law courts on a number of criminal charges including aggravated robbery, murder, treason and terrorism among others. The researcher therefore, contends that a nation faces a dilemma if its citizens do not respect and obey the law of the land yet it is the responsibility and thus, consent of all national stakeholders to guarantee security and observe rule of law which is an essential part of the social contract between the State and the citizenry. The Rwenzururu case is therefore, a clear example of such dilemma amidst the social contractual relationship.

In conclusion, from the background to the study, the researcher overall, observes that many scholars have reviewed the conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region in different perspectives though these have not effectively covered conflict as a predictor of security and rule of law; effectively examining the drivers of the conflict and its influence on security and rule of law in the Rwenzururu sub region. Hence, the justification of this study investing intellectual energy in establishing the aggregate position of the conflict in the Rwenzururu sub region of Western Uganda.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

Rwenzururu sub region has several indigenous ethnic groups which are distributed into different geographical locations without taking care of the existing scarce economic resources besides the

political, cultural and social factors and thus, there has always been a struggle for the access and control of these scarce economic resources especially land and minerals which ideally would have been accessed, shared and thus, controlled amicably to the benefit of all the actors; and in case of any conflict, to be resolved peacefully by negotiation or dialogue which is not the case. According to Tumushabe (2012), this among others ignited the agitation for ethnic identity and self-determination; resulting into violent conflict(s) with implications on Security and rule of law in the Rwenzururu sub region leading to among others: gross humanitarian displacements; loss of lives, property and resources; poor economic performance; political tensions and strained social relations all of which have led to the breakdown of rule of law and hence, causing insecurity in the sub region.

According to the Human Rights watch Report (2017), during the Rwenzururu clashes between 2013 and 2016, there was high handedness by the government forces leading to a serious breakdown of rule of law and thus, escalating insecurity in the sub region. This culminated into the Omusinga's palace being attacked and totally burnt down by the government security forces, property was completely destroyed, over 100 homesteads were totally destroyed, 137 people were killed, scores were injured, and over 700 people were displaced. In these incursions, Government lost about 15 security personnel and over 150 people were arrested including His Royal Highness the Omusinga Charles Wesley Mumbere and all were subjected to the criminal process before the Courts of law where a number of criminal charges were preferred against them including terrorism, treason, aggravated robbery and murder among others. When the Omusinga was granted court bail, he was banned from travelling to his Kingdom jurisdiction until further notice. As noted by this researcher, to date the Rwenzururu cultural institution is in abeyance hence the continued ethnic clashes/divisions with a polarised community, leading rule of law and security uncertainties in the area. It is against this background that this study was conducted in the Rwenzururu sub region with the main objective of examining the influence of Conflict on the provision of security and observation of rule of law.

### **1.3 Main Objective of the Study**

The main objective of the study is; to examine the influence of conflict on the provision of Security and observation of Rule of law; the case of Rwenzururu sub region in Western Uganda.

#### **1.4 Specific Objectives of the Study**

- i) To examine the drivers of the conflict in the Rwenzururu sub region in Western Uganda.
- ii) To assess the influence of Conflict on Security in the Rwenzururu sub region.
- iii) To examine influence of Conflict on Rule of Law and security in Rwenzururu sub region.

#### **1.5 Research Questions**

These are the questions that were answered in the course of this research so as to enhance the objectivity of the study and provide a basis for the study lay out (focus). These are:

- i) What are the drivers of conflict in the Rwenzururu sub region of Western Uganda?
- ii) What is the influence of conflict on Security; the case of Rwenzururu sub region?
- iii) What is the influence of Conflict on Rule of Law and Security in the Rwenzururu sub region?

#### **1.6 Scope of the Study**

As per Funkeye and Nafiu (2016), the scope of the study defines the boundary of research in terms of time, content, geographical coverage and sample size; so as to keep focus on the intentions of the study; evolving around answering the research questions in order to enhance the stated research objectives.

##### **1.6.1 Time Scope**

The study covered the period from 2009 up to 2018. The choice of the time frame was informed by the fact that since 2009 when Charles Wesley Mumbere was installed as the Omusinga Bwa Rwenzururu, there have been records of large-scale conflicts in Rwenzururu sub region up to date. This time frame was adequate for the collection, analysis, preparation and presentation of the study report.

##### **1.6.2 Content Scope**

The study focused on conflict, security and rule of law: examining the drivers of the conflict; assessing the influence of conflict on Security; and examining the influence of conflict on Rule of Law and security with specific reference to the Rwenzururu sub region.

### **1.6.3 Geographical Scope**

This study focused on the Rwenzururu sub region in Western Uganda which lies around Mt. Rwenzori (Mountains of the Moon) and stretches across the border to the DRC. It covers the Districts of Kasese, Bundibugyo and Ntoroko. It is 518 Kms west of Kampala via Mbarara and 375 Kms via Fort Portal.

### **1.7 Significance of the Study**

This study is considered significant to various stakeholders in Uganda and abroad in terms of public, policy and self. It is to benefit the students, academicians, policy makers, security operatives, the Judicial and law enforcement officials, and the public at large; to understand the drivers of the conflicts; the influence of conflict on security rule of law and rule of law as hereunder.

#### **1.7.1 Government, Policy Makers and Community Leaders**

The study will be a useful guide to government, policy makers and community leaders to understanding the drivers of conflicts, their influence on security and rule of law; and how best to resolve those conflicts and hence, propelling them to sensitise the public on the need for community tolerance and co-existence, leading to lasting rule of law and security in the affected area.

#### **1.7.2 International Community**

The International community will understand better Uganda's policy on conflict management, prevention and resolution.

#### **1.7.3 Research Reference Material**

The findings and recommendations of this study shall serve as reference in Nkumba University Library and for researchers and scholars from other institutions of learning, to carry out further research on the same, similar or related area of study.

### **1.8 Justification of the Study**

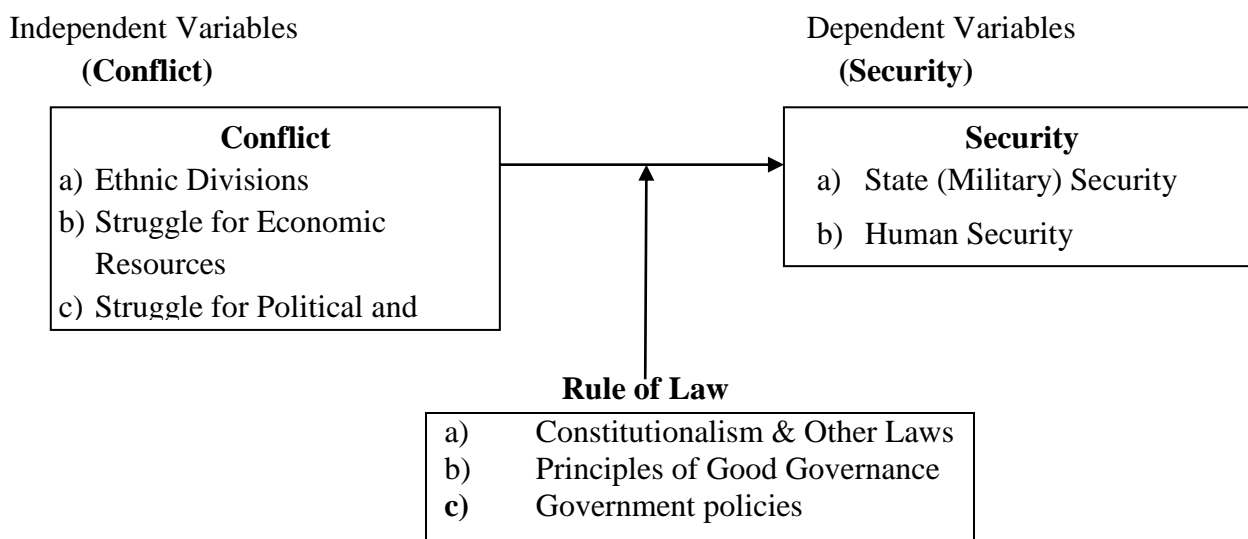
As posited by Funkeye and Nafiu (2016), justification of the study refers to the rationale for the research, or the reason(s) why the research is being conducted, including an explanation for the design

and methods employed in the research. conflict and its influence on security and rule of law, is one of the least studied areas. Only few academic inquiries have explored limited aspects of Uganda’s security sector and their observation of rule of law in the course of providing security in conflict situations. The other reasons that provide further justification for this study are that, virtually in transitional democracies like Uganda, the security sector is one of the hitherto untouched areas, whose management and oversight remains a myth (DECAF, 2002). This is important in the instant case given that much of the history of the Rwenzururu sub region has been characterised by violent conflicts and insurgencies. There is also overwhelming political consciousness of security forces espoused by the state as the foundation of national security interests. For this reason, members of the security forces freely involve themselves in the conflicts without due regard to the rule of law principles and most of them operate extra-legal and extra-judicial which escalates the conflict(s). This therefore, provided enough academic rationale and hence, justification for this study.

### 1.9 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework is represented both diagrammatically and theoretically as hereunder:

**Figure 1: Diagrammatical Representation of the Conceptual Framework:**



*Source: Researcher (2019)*

From Figure 1 above, conflict (the independent variable), through one or more of its elements such as ethnic divisions, struggle for access and control of economic resources, Perceptions and Stereotype,

struggle for political governance and self-determination; influences security (the dependent variable) and hence, influencing/affecting both State and human security in terms of outright armed conflict against the state or by causing Political insecurity, economic insecurity, social insecurity, environmental insecurity (degradation), education insecurity and Health insecurity among others. Conflict also influences rule of law which in turn influences security in that; once conflict breaks out, it leads to the breakdown of and hence, failure to observe the principles of rule of law leading to abuse of: human and other fundamental rights; principles of good governance and equality before the law; constitutionalism practices; conflict resolution mechanisms; respect for domestic and international laws, standards and norms; and Independence of the Judiciary among others; leading to both state and human insecurity. It suffices to note that, conflict influences security which in turn influences rule of law and vice versa. Rule of law therefore, is an amplifier in bringing security and standing alone without conflict, rule of law greatly influences the provision of both state and human security.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the review of literature related to the topic of study: Conflict as a predictor of security and rule of law; a case of the Rwenzururu sub region in Western Uganda.

#### 2.2 Survey of available Literature

The survey of the available literature indicates that, security and Rule of Law is one of the least studied areas with a few academic inquiries into limited aspects of the Ugandan Security Sector. The scholarly literature available shows that no serious studies have been conducted in this crucial area of conflict as a predictor of security and rule of law; with specific reference to the Rwenzururu sub region of Western Uganda. The literature accessed in Uganda were primarily based on perceptions about Public security and Rule of Law, and suggesting recommendations. Most studies were undertaken in foreign jurisdictions as evidenced in the bibliography. These studies were never-the-less, reviewed due to their relevance to this topic of study.

According to DECAF (2002), in transitional democracies like Uganda, the security sector is virtually one of the hitherto untouched areas whose management and oversight remains a myth. This provided enough academic rationale and justification for this study since much of Uganda's history has been characterised by violent conflicts and insurgencies especially in the Rwenzururu sub region. Therefore, the survey of available literature enabled this researcher to identify studies that have been carried out in Uganda in relation to this topic of study. This was intended to bring out the contributions, the limitations, differences and the immediate relevance; reflecting on the study variables, objectives and research questions so as to be able to identify the research gaps that the current study sought to bridge.

Asiimwe (2017), carried out a study about the management of public security and the rule of law in transitional democracies (like Uganda). The study examined the applicability of military justice, the laws of armed conflict and transitional justice among others. The study utilised both secondary and primary sources of data. The study revealed that public insecurity and breakdown of rule of law have

been a problem in Uganda since independence. Political adherents have fought more wars in Uganda than they had actually fought for peace, thereby keeping the country in conflicts that threaten peaceful co-existence and national interests. He found out that making laws that people cannot obey serves to bring all law into contempt and cause of conflictual situations. It is very important that rule of law and security to prevail in the country, all people should respect the law. Thus, it is very difficult for a nation to maintain the rule of law and security if the citizens don't respect the law because the people's consent to obey the law is an essential part of the social contract between the state and citizens. This study however, did not focus on the influence of conflict on rule of law and security and the possible strategies that could be adopted to minimize or neutralize these conflicts so as to achieve lasting rule of law, peace and security in the country. Thus, the current study intended to fill this gap.

Kanyangara (2016), undertook a study examining the causes, dynamics and effects of conflicts in the Great Lakes Region of Africa (Uganda inclusive). However, the examination looked incomplete as the researcher fell short of analysing conflict as a predictor of security and rule of law. The researcher also fell short of analysing the conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region of western Uganda which is part of the great lakes region of Africa. Although the factors that were identified as root causes of conflicts are important and tap into the broader processes generally recognised in conflict literature to be conflict-generating, there are many other factors such as extreme poverty, climate change, perception and stereotyping, colonial legacy and historical connotations that would also be major sources of conflict. This study therefore, intended to fill that gap.

Nabukeera (2018), carried out a study about the Blood Bath in Kasese District of Western Uganda; revealing that conflicts and insecurity have been a problem in Uganda for decades, thereby threatening peaceful co-existence and national security. This researcher, using a mixed method of research, only aimed at answering questions concerning the attack on the Rwenzururu Kingdom Palace and subsequent arrest of the Omusinga (King) of the Rwenzururu. However, the research fell short of analysing the conflictual situation in the Rwenzururu sub region and how it influences security and rule of law in the area and the possible strategies that could be adopted to minimize or neutralize these conflicts and attain lasting rule of law and security in the area. Thus, this study intended to address the gap identified.



## 2.3 Theoretical Review

According to Horowitz (1985), a review of conflict, security and rule of law theories reveals a number of observations: Firstly, there is a large volume of literature written about the nature and theory of security and conflict, especially with regard to warfare. Secondly, there is lack of consensus among both traditional and contemporary opinions on state security, human security, rule of law and conflict. Thirdly, among all the literature that is most relevant to political science theorists, there are several gaps that divide the search for dominant paradigms. This researcher holds that the different theories which guide the study of conflict, security and rule of law are fully discussed in order to acquaint ourselves with the different schools of thought which explain and analyse the different approaches to the study of conflict which is the interaction of inter-dependent parties who perceive incompatible goals and interferences from each other in achieving their respective goals.

### 2.3.1 Rule of Law Theories

According to Kanyeihamba (1975), the applicable theories in the study of the rule of law are many and they include among others; the **Imposed Constitutional limits theory, the transnational or international legal limits theory, the human rights limits theory, and the religious or natural law limits theory**. This researcher submits that the rule of law theories which are most suitable and thus, adopted for this study are the **Constitutional limits theory and the Human rights limits theory**.

As propounded by Churter (2016), the overriding consideration in the theories of 'rule of law' is the idea of both the rulers and the ruled being equally subjected to the same law of the land and hence, public security is guaranteed. According to Churter, Rule of law is formed basically on three fundamental principles that: government must be founded on law as opposed to the government of men and individuals; the instruments or law making institutions of government should be supreme, and people should not be subjected to the wide discretionary or arbitrary powers in so far as the state agencies and officials are concerned lest gross abuse of human rights will occur. Even when such agencies or officials have discretionary powers; those powers should be exercised fairly and equally with undue regard to discrimination. These theories emphasise constitutionalism and respect for

human rights in every endeavour by the actors to guarantee security. This researcher therefore, holds that these are the most informative and most convincing theories in so far as observing rule of law is concerned.

### **2.3.2 Theories of Security**

These are the dominant theories which suggest reforming the world security systems. They are employed to appreciate how the study of the various approaches to the concept of security has aided the shift from the traditional state centric understanding of security, to the contemporary conceptualisation of security to include the individual persons hence, the human security concept. The theories of security are many and they include: Realism, Idealism (Pluralism), Marxism, Social Constructivism, the Copenhagen theory, the Critical theory, and the Feminist theory (Baldwin, 1997). However, the most informative, convincing and thus, most applicable theories to this study are Realism and Idealism (Pluralism) theories.

#### **a) Realism Theory**

This theory was inspired by Niccolo Machiavelli, Hans Morgenthau, Thomas Hobbes, Clausewitz and E.H Carr among others. It explains the traditional conception of the security system. It holds the State as the major security actor and referent object under the theme of, 'National Security interests' and thus, its motivation is in the appropriation of military and economic power rather than the interests of the people as a whole (Buzan, 1991).

Realism theory is a good blend of the Marxist, international capitalist and economic theories in the explication of conflict. It argues that; conflict is an inherent attribute of humanity; as they persistently live with emotional baggage, so will conflict remain a part of their habitat; and as long as humans remain 'political animals' with differing interests over scarce resources, so shall conflict of interests remain a feature of society.

The main assumptions of realism theory among others are: Maximal conception of the State; permanent peace cannot be achieved; absolute desire for State power (State security) and military valour at the

expense of mankind who is regarded to be in a state of nature but independent, solitary, primitive and barbaric hence should not be entrusted with the creation and maintenance of a secure society without the power of the state; politics is governed by objective laws; national interests are defined in terms of power and they are dynamic; the universal moral principles are inapplicable as moral aspirations of the State are identified with the governing moral laws; and it declares the autonomy of the political sphere.

However, this theory is criticised in that it is incomplete and full of contradictions: power is not the only motivation sought by man as there are so many other drives and urges such as participation and recognition; it is based on absolute and unverifiable hypotheses; it ignores relations neither involving power nor non-political yet important such as academic relations; the political sphere can't be fully autonomous; the idea of objective national security interest is debatable hence, inapplicable and subjective in light of the existing survival instincts under the current unstable world where various sources of actions can be suggested as valid choices for survival (Asiimwe, 2017).

This researcher therefore, concludes that, realism theory justifies the actions of government and security agencies in the case of conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region by emphasising heavy deployment of security forces in the area to avert any possible dissenting conduct and actions. This means therefore, that realism theory disregards and thus, does not observe the tenets, elements and principles of the Rule of Law and instead upholds the maximal conception of the state which believes in consolidating State power (State Security) at the expense of the people.

#### **b) Idealism (Pluralism)**

This is also referred to as liberalism or internationalism and it is attributed among others to Adam Smith and Immanuel Kant. It is from Idealism (Pluralism) theory that most of the contemporary theories emerged. It argues against realism that; it is futile to assume that whatever happens in the world is only related to the balance of power between the State and the people. That force is not inevitable and therefore, should be eliminated or minimised by all actors and instead it is moral and legal constraints that should regulate conflicts when they break out (Kumar, 2001). Kumar, emphasises that though society is characterised by anarchy, this can be addressed when the State ensures harmony in the society

by avoiding or neutralising conflicts. Therefore, ethnical and regional cooperation and integration should always be emphasised.

However, this theoretical paradigm is criticised in that: it is based on partially correct assumptions and thus, far from the reality. It is imaginary impracticable and utopian. For example, reforming society is difficult as the State neither follows moral precepts nor does it fully adhere to the rule of law principles. Disarmament is always difficult as instead, conflicting factions are busy proliferating more and more weaponry for furthering conflicts and wars (Asimwe, 2017).

### **2.3.3 Theories of Conflict**

Theories of conflict explain the study of the causes or drivers and/or effects of conflicts which causes or drivers and/or effects are numerous and complex, thus creating problems in the analysis of specific conflict situations. These theories are advanced to simplify the analytical understanding of the various causes and effects of conflicts and how conflicts influence the provision of security and observation of rule of law. These theories are many but in the instant case, the most applicable ones include: Marxist theory, realist theory, psychological theory of conflict and all supported by the Social Identity Theory, and the Social Learning theory. These are expounded as hereunder:

#### **a) The Marxism Theory**

This theory was inspired by the thoughts of Karl Marx among others. It is associated with radicalism and revolutionarism and they viewed politics, law and security from a series of approaches such as; imperialism (Lenin), dependency theory (Frank Gunder, Raul Presbisch), and Systems theory (Wallerstein). Marxism theory holds that; all the international and domestic conflicts, wars, treaties and all other events such as pacts or aid actions are determined by the structure of global capitalism hence the structuralism theory (Horowitz, 1985). It is this economic concern and ideological struggle to control valuable resources coupled with agitation for self-determination, that drive both global and domestic security, legal and political relations. This is evidenced by the many conflicts around the globe where valuable resources are exchanged for weapons that are trafficked into the conflict zones. As per Lenin (1917), the critical analysis of Marxism theory of conflict is based on the production process and

social class systems characterised by the iron law of wages; where the powerful elites and the rich (the haves, landlords, bourgeoisies) who control or own the factors of production, represented and protected by the state institutions that own the instrumentalities of power; continue to highly exploit the weak and poor (the proletariats) making rule of law and security a preserve of the powerful elites and the rich, and it is purchased as a commodity either in cash or kind. It is because of this acrimonious relationship between the exploiters and exploitees that revolutionary struggles by the proletariat (exploitees) class becomes inevitable and hence, the conflicts.

However, Marxism theory is criticised basing on its limitations in that: it emphasises the predominance of classes hoping to make states unimportant which is impracticable; it is good at telling how bad and/or good the world is, but not giving remedies for improving societal relations; and it is unified only in the sense of concerns for the poverty and underdevelopment of the 3<sup>rd</sup> world but does not take account of the hegemonic resistance and environmental factors (Faleti, 2006). According to Lenin (1917), Marxism theory looks at every issue of conflict from the economic prism (viewpoint) of dialectical materialism alone which is not enough to capture every aspect of the causes and effects of conflict. It relies mainly on rational political order that is hinged on universally valid abstract principles and it believes that human nature is malleable and good.

This study therefore, holds that the exploitation of the periphery (disadvantaged) communities by the centre resulting into economic, political, social, cultural and ethnic inequalities is the major cause of tensions, conflicts and insecurity; and thus, the breakdown of the rule of law. Once these inequalities or the breeding factors thereof, are addressed, security shall be guaranteed and the elements of rule of law shall be observed by all the actors. Thus, failure for the exploiters to voluntarily concede, is a clear justification for continued revolutionary tendencies where only force can reverse this exploitative trend and address the perceived inequalities.

#### **b) Realism Theory of Conflict**

According to Buzan (1991), this theory as propounded by Niccolo Machiavelli among others. It is a good blend of the Marxist, international capitalism and many economic theories in the explication of

conflict. It argues that conflict is an inherent attribute of humanity; as long as humans remain ‘political animals’ persistently living with emotional baggage and differing interests over scarce resources, so will conflict remain part of their habitat because as humans ambitiously seek comfort or access and control of the scarce resources, conflict is inevitable. Thus, this researcher submits that conflict is a product of the innate selfish nature of mankind, who continues to pursue own best interests even if those of others are gored (wounded). This leads to competitive processes between the actors who seek to have or control all or most of the available scarce resources. It is this attribute that is taken to the inter-state level, leading to erratic conduct, hegemonic propensities, and imperialistic tendencies among others that impel resistance as well as violent opposition and consequently heating up the national and international systems leading to the of rule of law and hence, causing insecurities.

#### **c) Psychological (Frustration-anger-aggression) Theory**

This theory as propounded by Dollard and Doob, *et al* (1939), Miller (1948) and Berkowitz (1969) holds that conflict is a product of man’s natural reaction to unpleasant situations and thus, aggression is caused by frustration when one is prevented, blocked or frustrated from attaining a desired goal. When psychological expectations fail to meet attainment, then people tend to confront others they hold responsible for frustrating their ambitions or expectations. When aggression cannot be expressed against the real source of frustration, displaced hostilities can be targeted or transferred to substitute or alternative referent objects thus, the displaced defensive mechanism. The Niger Delta conflict, the Palestinians/Israelites conflict, and the Hutu/Tutsi conflict in Rwanda among others, are instructive examples here. This study therefore submits that the conflict in the Rwenzururu sub region of Western Uganda is perpetuated by those who believe that they have been frustrated or blocked from attaining their desired goal(s) of social identity, self-determination by seceding into their own state – the Yiira State, or accessing and controlling the natural resources in the area.

#### **d) Social Learning Theory**

According to Miller (1948), the social learning theory of conflict applies particularly when conflict is ethno-national or sectarian in nature. The theory hypothesises that aggression is not inborn or instinctual

but actually learned from the living environment through the process of socialisation. It analyses the relationship between the individuals in their respective environments and how this relates to group aggression. One learns and thus, acquires aggressive attributes from home, in school, or by interaction with their environment in general.

Interaction in society helps to focus and trigger stored aggression onto those believed or regarded as adversaries. Socialisation into a violent environment has detrimental effects on childhood development. This is a precursor to aggressive and anti-social behaviour in the teenage and early adult years. For example, the children who grow up watching their parents and neighbours being hassled by the police, army or 'other' community, often become petrol bomb wielding teens. Hence, aggression can escalate into violent and destructive conflict if unchecked or encouraged. The West Belfast case is a very instructive example (Miller, 1948).

#### **e) Social Identity Theory**

As posited by Horowitz (1985), Social Identity theory offers an insight into the study of conflict based on normal psychological processes that operate not only under conditions of intergroup conflict but under all circumstances. People create their social identities in order to simplify their external relations so as to further their human needs for positive self-esteem and self-worth, which is normally transferred to their own groups. People also order their respective environments by social comparison between social groups. Thus, the concept of *in-groups* and *out-groups* is important in this analysis. According to Suliman (2011), Social Identity Theory recognises that individuals are different in groups and it is this difference which produces recognisable forms of group actions. In other words, Social Identity Theory helps to outline a process that places the individual in the group and at the same time places the group in the individual hence, the concept of collective responsibility.

### **2.4 Drivers of Conflict**

According to Suliman (2011), understanding the major drivers of conflicts in the world is a complex study since there is no single cause for the conflicts world over nor is there often any single pre-condition for sustainable peace and security. Thus, the drivers of conflict are both historical, traditional

and contemporary in nature and they are always attributed to the interplay of a number of factors that are broadly categorised as political, economic and social drivers of conflict.

#### **2.4.1 Political Drivers of Conflict**

##### **a) Historical Connotations and Colonial Legacies**

According to the Refugee Law Project – MUK (2014), conflicts in Uganda generally and Rwenzururu sub region in particular, have connections with historical incidents, and colonial governance legacies in Uganda though, currently they possess distinguishable characters as they are believed to have been triggered by a number of factors including the government’s policies, for example, the creation of the parallel cultural institution of the Obudingiya Bwa Baamba (OBB) besides the Basongora and Banyabindi who are also agitating for the creation and recognition of their independent cultural institutions. Colonialism is highly considered as one of the major root causes of most of the post-Independence conflicts in Uganda, Rwenzururu sub region inclusive. The end of the colonial era did not end the divisions it had created instead these divisions become firmly rooted and have continued to inspire conflicts for generations to come. The Refugee Law Project – MUK (2014), observes further that the first Ugandan independent Government inherited more than just the boundaries of the State of “Uganda” from the British Protectorate. A political landscape characterised by divisions, tribal rivalries, resentments, conflicts and the struggles for political power as a basis for resource control developed because Post-independence political bargaining and coalition formation largely assumed regional and ethnic dimensions. Some limited attempts to deal with the colonial legacies were arguably made but without due success. It is possible to consider the structure of Uganda’s first post-Independence Constitution in this fashion, as well as Obote’s abolition of Kingdoms in 1966/67. None of the actions by the post-Independence Governments, were considered to be a genuine process to comprehensively deal with and address the problems of the colonial legacies; leading to the perpetual ethnic related conflicts such as the Rwenzururu case.

##### **b) Discriminative Governance Policies**

According to Lars, et al, (2013), discriminative government policies play a significant role in aggravating conflicts. There is no big gap between the ‘politics of exclusion’ and ‘violent conflicts’



exacerbated by political leaders in control who formulate policies that discriminate against certain groups and favour others. Nepotism, measured by ethnic divisionism/tribalism, sectarianism and discrimination is a common driver of conflicts. Discriminative governance policies lead to some ethnic communities to develop the feelings of being excluded, ignored, and discriminated against. Therefore, the prospects of violent conflicts greatly depend on dynamics of domestic or inter-group politics.

As stated by Oucho (2010), ethnic balkanisation and the scramble for votes, as measured by electorate's consciousness and sensitivity to the changing political climate, reinvigorate revolutionary tendencies perpetuated by stalled midstream, political leaders' mistrust and bigotry, and the spirited crave for devolution/regionalism to induce centralised governance. Many a times, political actors ride on ethnic aspirations of the regime in power and hence, political alliances are built with regard to gaining ethnic support.

As observed by KRC (2012), the decentralisation policy of governance introduced in Uganda by the NRM government in the 1990s, allowed people to demand for district status, which is perceived as an autonomous center for service delivery with benefits of access to employment, social services and political power to control resources and influence decisions. This motivated the Basongora and Banyabindi to demand for separate districts owing to the perceived marginalisation by the majority Bakonzo and Bamba/Babwisi communities who happen to be in control of the current Kasese and Bundibugyo districts respectively.

### **c) Political Inequalities**

As argued by Putnam and Poole (2014), political inequality practiced by some section(s) of the political class is a strong conflict driver. For instance; marginalisation of the youth is very consequential in that, they are essential factor in any conflict in any given society. The youths are an important political constituency in its own right and electioneering period is their highly lucratively rewarding season. They are the most volatile cohort and politically salience because they are highly mobile, most educated most networked and the most unemployed. The rise of youth movements and militias is a growing trend in politics world over which has sometimes worked for individual politicians in a bid to be politically

identified by their political muscle; because youths are the most vulnerable to political, economic and social manipulations and hence, are easily indoctrinated into radicalism.

Wilmount and Hocker (2001), posits that different ethnic groups identify themselves politically by the criteria of 'political muscle'. The birth of the nation created an immediate awareness of the ethnic identity of those who are in power, which could easily turn hostile at the first suspicion of allowing ethnicity to affect national politics. Ethnic identities of the leaders suppressed their intentions of nationhood. Many cultural and political leaders have owed their power game more on ethnic identities rather than nationhood. The ethnic and community identity dimensions have resulted to ethnic conflicts due to the fighting for ethnic superiority (Ahuwa, 2001). This study submits that the youths who constitute about 78% of the Ugandan Population (UBOS, 2014), play a significant role in conflicts.

#### **d) Ethnic and political perceptions and stereotyping**

As observed by Mwambusa (2012), in Uganda, ethnic and political perceptions and stereotyping are at the center and thus, have greatly contributed to the perpetuation of destructive conflicts especially resulting from the struggle for ethnic identity, access and control of valuable resources and political governance; leading to the breakdown of rule of law and hence, causing insecurity. This is very common with monarchical societies in Uganda who possess such ethnic and political perceptions and stereotype thinking that they are more civilised and superior, than the non-monarchists. Mwambusa posits further that the Batooro always held ethnic and political perception and stereotype against the Rwenzururus not being civilised simply because they have different physique and cultural practices believed to be inferior to theirs. Likewise, the Rwenzururu monarchists possess such ethnic and political perceptions and stereotype thinking that they are more civilised and hence, superior and the non-monarchists in the sub region are primitive. Historically, this has caused tensions resulting into violent conflicts between the Batooro and Bakonzo/Baamba; and later between the Bakonzo and other ethnicities in the area.

It is this ethnic and political perceptions and stereotyping that was responsible for the 2009 Kayunga riots in Buganda which left 27 people dead; over the Government's refusal of the Kabaka of Buganda

from visiting Bugerere (Kayunga District), which is now under the Banyara Cultural leader – the Sabanyara which the Buganda Monarchists do not recognise and hence, insist that Bugerere is part and parcel of Buganda Kingdom.

#### **e) Democratisation and Governance factors**

Lischer (2005), suggests that democratic nations and regimes are less likely than other regimes to experience violent conflicts. However, it is clear that the process of democratisation and governance is fraught with numerous challenges, and is often prone to violent conflicts. For the past decades, most of the emerging democracies (Uganda inclusive), have tried to open up the political space in pursuit of core democratic governance principles such as freedom to practice cultural rights, freedom of speech and expression, the right to demonstrations and, a functional multiparty system with free and fair elections but the more the violent conflicts are likely to occur.

In opposition strong hold areas, there is always a tendency by the political class in power, to restrict some democratic governance rights such as the freedom of speech and free political activism in the name of observing rule of law and maintaining law and order, peace and security, and national security.

#### **f) Transnational Links and the Diffusion of Conflicts**

As expounded by Le'Bellon (2001), areas surrounded by conflictual neighbours normally face a higher risk of instability. This is driven by factors that play a contaminating role when violence and conflict in one area or region spreads to its direct neighbours; such as: ethnic divisions across the borders; displacements, forced migration and refugee flows; transnational arms trafficking; weaknesses of the 'infected' neighbours; and porous borders. These factors significantly trigger more instabilities that directly affect the ethnic relations in their host communities, or by building bases for rebel group mobilisation and operations across the borders.

Kanyangara (2016), posits that the strength and danger of transnational ethnic links and the diffusion of conflicts, naturally differs from one society to another. The ethnic links related to strategic alliances are strongly evident in the Rwenzururu sub region in Western Uganda where, the Bakonzo and Banande

groups that are part of the social structure in the DRC directly get involved in the Rwenzururu conflicts as they believe they are all and one and thus, during conflict both parties recruit from their ethnic groups across the border.

Thus, this researcher submits that transnational ethnic links have played a significant role in conflict diffusion and escalation; making the conflict more regional and more complex. Some refugee situations have created new conflicts in the host communities, while worsening the conflict in their area of origin through cross-border incursions.

#### **g) Practices of Injustice**

According to Brachet and Wolpe (2005), people are always unwilling to compromise their assertions and desires for justice because these are presumably connected to the values, beliefs, norms, rights, ideologies and entitlements that underlie decent humanity. If there is a perceived discrepancy between what a person obtains and believes to be entitled to, he/she will feel deprived, unfairly treated and thus, a driver for conflictual tendencies which in the course undermines rule of law and security.

This study therefore, submits that perpetrators of the Conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region believe they are fighting against injustices such as marginalisation, and denial of social-political and social-economic opportunities.

### **2.4.2 Economic Drivers of Conflict**

Among the many economic drivers of conflict are the following:

#### **a) Competition over Access and Control of Economic Resources**

Ewald, et al., (2004), posits that economic resources such as land, minerals, forestry products, money, and property, are often scarce or limited and thus, there is always competition among humans and institutions for their access and control. Hence, the scarcity or limitation of valuable economic resources is a frequent conflict driver most actors have to live with. As asserted by Kayamo (2010), one of the major drivers of conflict world over, is competition over access and control of economic resources or the motive to secure access thereto. When government policies and institutions, which distribute

resources, are not clear or are discriminative, the struggle for power becomes an inevitable conflict driver. Power is believed to be a master key to the access and control of resources. According to Horowitz (1985), struggle for access and control of scarce resources normally leads to divided societies, ethnic conflicts and is always at the center of divisive politics.

Kanyangara (2016) quoting Le Billon (2001), posits that two different types of conflicts are linked to natural resources: When two or more actors engage in an open conflict over the exploitation of natural resources that are present along common borders; and the illegal exploitation of natural resources, which are then used to finance conflicts in the country or region.

At the center is revenue-generation, non-renewable, lootable natural resources in the regionalisation of insecurity and breakdown of rule of law, proliferation of small arms, violent conflict and regional smuggling networks between the Rwenzururu sub region and the DRC.

The regional dynamics related to natural resources and conflicts have created rule of law and security complexities in the area mainly due to contextual challenges caused by the multiplicity of actors *visa-a-viz* the motivating factors such as: weak governance due to failed law enforcement mechanisms; poor infrastructure; informal and unregulated mining industry; regional smuggling networks, transnational organised crimes; illegal trade in exploited natural resources, and inter/intra - state conflicts over shared natural resources (Le Billon, 2001). This is exacerbated by the presence of the cross-border illegal armed groups in the sub region and their desire to use these natural resources to finance the conflicts. This study submits that serious struggle for access and control of the scarce resources is evidently at the center of conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region.

#### **b) Struggle for the Basic Needs and Wants**

The basic needs and wants include food, water, medical and shelter; as well as more complex needs for education, safety, security, self-esteem and personal fulfilment. This is very visible in the case of Rwenzururu sub region where the promoters and supporters of conflict are found to be struggling for self-esteem, self-determination and personal fulfilment (Balyage, 2000).

### **c) Unemployment**

Placements in both private and public sector and hence, the concern of unemployment is a serious driver of conflict. This cuts across age and ethnicity, especially the youths who feel highly marginalised, leaving them to be manipulated and used by the perpetrators of conflicts where they engage for purposes of identity, economic survival and also to let out their frustrations. Employment opportunities are a gate path to economic welfare. Therefore, unemployment is a serious driver of conflict in many parts of the world because this leaves all the qualified members of other ethnic groups feeling deprived and marginalised (Akowe, 2010).

#### **2.4.3 Social Drivers of Conflict**

The key social drivers of conflict among others are:

##### **a) Cultural Domination**

As per Balyage (2000), cultural domination and hence, socio-political and social-economic suppression is considered as another serious conflict driver. Ethnic related conflicts cannot be examined narrowly from the economic or materialistic perspective alone. Differences in tradition, values, norms, beliefs and fear of suppression should be considered as serious drivers of ethnic related conflicts. Elisha (2003), contends that cultural related conflicts are the result of the quest for ‘cultural group autonomy’ by the minority groups who are suspicious of cultural assimilation or suppression by the dominant group(s). This means that a politically dominant group may impose its traditions, values, and beliefs on others. By doing so, it would suppress the language, values, and institutions of other ethnic groups. This comes with the fear of assimilation by one group over the others. Conflicts, according to Kanyangara (2016), also result from ethnic rivalries that are usually triggered by factors such as disputes over land, chieftaincy, political activism and poverty. This study noted that across the Rwenzururu sub region, there is a clear pattern of struggle for paramountcy and autonomy between and among rivalling ethnic groups most of which are violent, with devastating effects. These evolve around struggles over land and other economic resources, perceived discrimination, marginalisation and threats of extinction and assimilation by other groups with subtle support from government.

### **b) Clashing Values, Beliefs and Ideologies.**

In general, conflicts over intolerable moral differences tend to be intractable and long lasting. These fundamental moral, religious, political, cultural and personal values are not easily changed, and people who adhere to a particular ideology may be unwilling to compromise their world view and hence eminence of conflict. The Rwenzururu case is instructive in that the Rwenzururus have their fundamental moral, religious, political, cultural and personal values that they safeguard strongly and are not ready for a compromise (Balyage, 2000).

### **c) Social Inequalities**

Social inequalities, means a condition where members of a society have different amounts of wealth, prestige and power. According to Akowe (2010), some degree of social inequality is found in every society which defines that society's stratification. Social inequalities are a strong driver of ethnic related conflicts in the world. In Uganda, the British colonial government used the divide and rule system, which divided local communities totally. It is the colonial, and the post-colonial independent states, which declared that each and every person had an 'ethnic identity' that determined his or her place within the Colony/State (Akowe, 2010).

### **d) Ethnic Divisions**

According to Kanyangara (2016), it is a trait fact that ethnic dynamics are a strong driver of conflicts in the Great Lakes Region of Africa. It should therefore, be noted that the presence of diverse ethnic groups in the Rwenzururu sub region, with divergent beliefs, norms and values, in and of itself, is sufficient to trigger conflict. Much as multi-ethnic societies can co-exist and prosper on their diversity since ethnic heterogeneity does not breed war, and its absence does not ensure peace. It is in the same vein that conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region and Uganda at large, have been motivated not by ideology, but typically by ethnicity or by political leaders' ability to arouse ethnic hostility for own gains. Kanyangara, quoting Mazrui (2016), posits that ethnic divisions pose challenges to the cohesion of society and the state equally. Sometimes it damages the peaceful relations among States. Ethnic conflict strains the pillars of sustainable civility, peace and stability and is often at the root of violence

that results into damage and loss of life, property, breakdown of social infrastructure, and massive displacements. In divided societies, ethnic affiliations are powerful, permeative, passionate, and pervasive and hence, the persistent conflicts.

This researcher concludes that the political, social and economic aspects of life are all drivers of conflicts. However, the political drivers are far more considered because the political class world over, influences all the other aspects. The politicians formulate, make, implement and amend laws that govern the social-economic and the social-cultural aspects of humanity including the distribution of resources.

## **2.5 Influence of Conflict on Security**

According to Banton (1983), the influence of conflict on security is basically the effects of conflict on security. Conflicts world over, are always physical, mental and structural in nature whose effects are many and of a dual nature with both negative and positive (constructive and destructive) influence/effects.

Conflicts can be a problem or a potentially rewarding challenge for instance, in multi-ethnic societies, ethnicity is an additional variable in socio-economic development over and above those normally present in the more homogeneous societies are categorised into political, economic and social contexts (Banton, 1983):

### **2.5.1 Political Influence of Conflict on Security:**

#### **a) Creates Political Insecurity**

Banton (1983), states that conflict is a convenient negative political resource where individual politicians, political organisations or governments readily exploit conflict situations to serve their cherished interests. It is usual for politicians to exploit conflictual situations to gain support and prominence. In this case, conflict can provide a shortcut to political successes. This was clearly evident in the events of political landscape in Uganda including the various armed political groups or rebellions that have taken place in the Rwenzururu sub region.



It was also evident in the events that led to the NRA/NRM capture of power in 1986 after the five years of armed and violent political conflict. Certainly, political inequality is one of the effects of conflicts in the country and thus, politically, a multi-conflict society does not systematically satisfy all people inclusively but satisfaction is derived after one's group gains political power (Banton, 1983).

## **2.5.2 Economic Influence of Conflict on Security**

### **a) Economic Insecurity**

As postulated by Banton (1983), conflict has influence on security economically in that, economic instability usually occurs during conflicts as economic activities hardly take place. Conflicts cause waste of human and economic resources and, the weakening, slowing down and eventual collapse of economic growth and development infrastructure, among others. Conflicts scare away local and international investors and tourists, who fear for any undertaking in conflict prone areas where the breakdown of rule of law and insecurity are obvious.

Tourism and investment, which are key economic backbones, are greatly affected by the level of insecurity and breakdown of rule of law as a result of conflict. Conflicts take energy away from important economic activities. Conflicts also undermine currency value and delays the objective of having a stable, flexible and strong currency regime. Conflicts ruin a nation-state in the international system, globalisation or economic integration which are key for economic well-being. Conflicts cause recalling/closure of diplomatic missions, economic sanctions and delays in foreign aids and partnerships for economic growth and development.

As reported by Nabukeera (2016), Conflicts lead to gigantic **waste of human and economic resources**. During the 2016 post-election clashes in the Rwenzururu sub region, economic development patterns were greatly affected. Economic activities declined for instance; farming activities stalled. Conflicts also lead to the problem of over or under-valuing of property since individuals seek to run away from the conflict hit areas and thus sell their vast properties at abnormally low prices.

Asaju (1988), observes that conflicts lead to environmental insecurity (degradation), education insecurity, food insecurity, and loss of property, land grabbing, resource mis-allocations and unplanned expenditures, infrastructural disruptions, inflation and fluctuation of prices among others.

According to Isajiw (2004), conflicts greatly contribute to the **weakening of the nation's economic growth and development** in terms of slow or non-industrialisation because no industrialist would want to invest where the safety of their investment is not guaranteed

### **2.5.3 Social Influence of Conflict on Security**

#### **a) Social Insecurity**

As posited by Funkeye (2002), conflict has influence on security socially, in that conflicts by any nature cause a number of social effects both physically and psychologically. This can be in form of identity, culture, loss of property and lives, social displacements, damaged social relationships, traumatisation and public mistrust among others. Society faces far more de-connectivity during conflict situations. Psychosocial effects are most experienced at personal and family level where the victims of the conflict are left homeless, destitutes, traumatised, injured or dead, their rights are grossly abused, and even public mistrust.

As observed by Nabukeera (2016), in the 2016 post-election violence in the Rwenzururu sub region, both physical and psychological insecurity was rampant. Loss of life and property was the main social effect to individuals and families. The whole society was engulfed in violent conflicts mostly due to negative ethnicity which, led to a breakdown of rule of law and hence, escalated insecurity.

According to Jafaru (1987), conflicts cause social divisions and social polarization or displacements besides damaging social relationships. Conflicts also undermine positive social attitudes and hence, creates conflict between ethnic/social groups, deepens differences between people and thus, social amenities and lives of the people are severely affected.

Conflicts usually cause destruction and loss of property and lives, damages social relationships and causes social displacements in terms of refugees and forced migrations of hundreds of thousands of

people, and irreparable loss of human resources that should have been used for social development purposes. The sad elimination of the breadwinners of families leads to increase in begging, prostitution and unemployment. Sadly, in situations where both parents are eliminated, the children are forced to assume parental roles at tender ages. This imposes negative social implications on the lives of such children. In most cases, the wounds left in the psyche of the affected people might not be obvious, but often have far-reaching implications mentally, psychologically and emotionally. These children grow up with their minds fixed on hatred and set for revenge and thus, no meaningful social development can thrive under such conflictual circumstances (Gachanga, 2012).

## **2.6 Influence of Conflict on Rule of Law and Security**

According to Dylan, et al. (2017), conflict influences rule of law and security in that, during conflict situations, security actors face a wide range of challenges that hamper the effective debating, planning, agreement on, and implementation of the rule of law and security programs and operations.

According to Asiimwe (2017), rule of law means a system where all the people and the government institutions and officials are equally subjected to the same law of the land which is formal, substantive, non-contradictory and is enforced impartially while observing both national and international norms and standards. Thus, rule of law means the supremacy of the law and hence, the basic structure upon which everything depends such as: the provision of security, the functioning of the economy, a functioning free and fair political system, development of the civil society and public confidence in the country's law enforcement institutions and mechanisms. All these in turn lead to peace, security, stability and hence growth and development of society.

According to Churter (2016), rule of law is fundamentally about the social contractual relationship between the State and the citizenry, where the actions of the State in turn are influenced by the military, cultural, social, economic and historical specificities, and by the processes of politics. This means that even security forces in their routines must observe the principles of rule of law in such a manner that increases peace and stability, prevents or resolves conflict(s) and advances both municipal and international norms, standards and common interests.

Conflict therefore, influences rule of law and security in terms of collapsing the basic rule of law principles which are: existence of a strong government; governance according to the law; equality before the law by all citizens; independence of the judiciary; respect for human rights; representative government; parliamentary supremacy; fair law of criminal process; effective system of administrative law; respect for international law; and ensuring social justice.

In turn, rule of law also influences the provision of both state and human security in that: rule of law is a pillar of justice and security; it supports capacity development of key security institutions; facilitates building of transitional justice and hence, the consolidation of peace, security and stability of the country; it promotes confidence building and reconciliation among the members of society leading to peace and security of the society; and it helps to develop effective security and justice systems, leading to effective and efficient law enforcement mechanisms (Churter, 2016).

Thus, rule of law is both the vehicle and its manifestation towards the attainment of peace and security of the society and failure of which leads to the following among others:

**a) Political mistrust among the Public**

According to Copley (2008), Conflict leads to Political mistrust among the public in that, a web of biased thinking is weaved in people's minds such that good leaders are not chosen to run the State or public affairs simply because of the bias in identifying key political players, as a result of conflictual tendencies. This leaves a state or public affairs managed by all kinds of leaders who in turn create animosity rather than building nationhood; leaders who seek power for personal interests and not for the better interests of the people.

As much as healthy politics holistically brings about democracy, peace and stability; negative politics normally causes conflicts. Politics played along divisive lines is unhealthy and thus, leads to political malpractices such as assassinations, secessionism and electoral rigging in the pursuit of power dominance hence, resulting into polluted political environment (Copley, 2008). This leads to the breakdown of rule of law and hence, a cause of insecurity.

## **b) Total Breakdown of rule of law principles**

According to Churter (2016), in a conflict situation, both state and human security are compromised or grossly abused in that there is always severe breakdown of rule of law, leading to: gross abuse of human rights; disrespect for municipal or international laws, norms and standards; no respect for principles of good governance; inequality before the law of the land; compromise of independence of the judiciary; governance not according to the law but by the law; theoretical rather than practical representative government; parliamentary rubber stamping instead of parliamentary supremacy; unfair law of criminal process; no effective system of administrative law. As result of all this, is existence of a weak government in which situation, the country may end up with a maximal state conception where social justice and public security are never guaranteed.

## **c) Hampering National Political Development**

According to Gandu (2004), conflicts affect the democratic values and norms and thus, derail the country's viable political transitions and consequently decimates the aspirations of producing and building a nation or statehood. In Africa (Uganda inclusive), political, economic and social evaluation has been characterised by periodic instabilities instigated mostly resulting from manipulations of community by the political class as a political survival strategy since it is the Community rather than the political parties, who select the political leaders through elections.

The political manipulations also contribute to the electoral violence and conflicts that we have witnessed over the years. For instance, the electoral manipulations and violence instigated in the 1980 general elections in Uganda, led to the political, economic and social instability, premised on the violent conflict of 1981 to 1986 civil war that brought NRA/NRM to power and not forgetting the different military coups. According to Gandu (2004), these are obvious indications that politicians have not learnt neither have they forgotten any lesson from their past mistakes.

In a conflict situation, most politicians are particular about who takes what, rather than how democratic norms and values would be entrenched in the nation. The country's political future depends on the level

at which the various community components can tolerate each other by observing rule of law and mitigate conflicts.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

Based on the literature review, the researcher concludes that, in conflict situations, the actors are faced with a range of challenges in their endeavour to provide security and observe the principles of rule of law. Then rule of law influences the provision of security and hence, hindering the effective debating, Planning and implementation of several security programs. Rule of law is the basic structure that holds the social justice, legal and security frameworks. Thus, rule of law should be observed at all times so as to prevent conflicts, mitigate conflicts or recover from conflict situations that involve complex sets of interrelated problems; ranging from concrete manifestations of violence and injustice to broader institutional gaps, as well as social-political and socio-economic failures.

## CHAPTER THREE

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the research design, population, sampling strategies, data collection methods and tools, validation and reliability, procedure, data quality control, data analysis techniques, limitations of the study, ethical considerations and limitations of the study. According to Katebire (2007), Research Methodology refers to the methods and the approach employed in undertaking a study. It refers to the detailed technical or scientific activities, tools and procedures taken to plan, gather and analyse data, and finally prepare and present the research report.

#### 3.2 Research Approach

This study adopted a qualitative approach of data collection and analysis. This was intended to capture enough details and adequate information and thus, the study relied on both primary and secondary data. The reasons for employing qualitative approach are that; it is more flexible, and it gives room to the researcher to engage into critical thinking when evaluating the existing literature. According to Kumar (2000), qualitative approach is more narrative and thus, seeks to give experiences of a particular group in their own words. It is also more exploratory in nature; seeking to provide insight into how individuals, groups or organisations understand aspects of their worlds.

#### 3.3 Research Design

This study adopted a **case study design**; because it is the most suitable within a cross sectional research framework employing both qualitative and quantitative approaches. According to Kothan (2004), case study is an empirical inquiry or investigation into a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when the boundaries between phenomena and context are not clearly evident and in which, multiple sources of evidence are used.

According to Katebire (2007), Research design refers to the steps researchers follow to complete their study. Katebire posits further that a case study design allows for flexibility in the research process and is

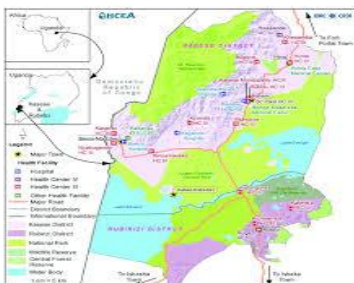
most appropriate for exploring into the nature of the problem. It gives room to the researcher to engage in critical thinking when evaluating existing literature. It is also valuable, and has distinctive characteristics that include relevant evidence, looks at different interpretations of the situation, identifies the most significant aspects in the area of study and calls for the use of the researcher's prior expert knowledge to further the analysis (Katebire, 2007).

### 3.4 Area of Study

This study focused on the Rwenzururu sub region in Western Uganda, which lies around the great Mt. Rwenzori (Mountains of the Moon) and stretches across the border to the DRC. It mainly covers the Districts of Kasese, Bundibugyo and Ntoroko.

The main town of the Rwenzururu sub region is Kasese which is 518 Kms west of Kampala via Mbarara and 375 Kms via Fort portal – Kabarole. According to Google Maps (2019), the coordinates of Kasese town are 0°11'12.0"N, 30°05'17.0"E (Latitude: 0.186667; Longitude: 30.088050).

**Figure 2: Map of the Rwenzururu Sub Region**



### 3.5 Study Population

According to Funkeye and Nafiu (2016), study population refers to the total population of the area of study. It is the total of the subjects that meet the designated set of the research criteria and thus, it is a complete set of elements (persons or objects) that possess some common characteristics defined by the sampling criteria established by the researcher. Study population could be people, objects and events from which the study sample is drawn.

According to Asiamah, et al (2010), study population is the entire group about which some information is required to be ascertained. Participants in the general population must share at least a single attribute



of interest. It is this attribute that makes participants eligible as population members. The Study population can be total population, target population and sample population among others.

### **3.5.1 Total Population**

According to the Uganda National Bureau of Statistics - UBOS (2014), the total population of the study was 944,600 people; with Kasese (715, 300), and Bundibugyo (229,300) people. It is from this that the target population and the sample sizes were derived by use of the confidence level, the rule-of-the thumb formula or principles and the Yamane formula.

Respondents were drawn from the various categories such as: the security, the members of the cultural institutions of Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu and Obudingiya Bwa Baamba, the Politicians, the International Organisations, the civil society organisations, and the local community.

### **3.5.2 Target Population**

The target population for this study was **403,181** people drawn from Kasese District; the Municipality (**101,679** people) and Bukonzo county (**165,067** people), and Bwamba County of Bundibugyo district (**136,435** people). These included politicians, cultural leaders, academicians, government officials and members of the public who were found useful to the topic of study. Kumar (2000), describes target population as the number of the target individuals (respondents) that the researcher is interested in and wishes to engage for the study. It is the entire group of people or objects to which the researcher wishes to generalise the study findings and conclusions in order to meet a set of criteria of research interests. Target population is also called the theoretical population and it usually has varying characteristics.

### **3.6 Sample Size**

Funkeye and Nafiu (2016), describes a sample size as a subset of the study or target population. The concept of sample arises from the inability of the researcher to test all the members of the target population. The sample must be representative of the population from which it was drawn and it must have good size to warrant statistical analysis. The main function of the sample, according to Funkeye and Nafiu (2016), is to allow the researchers to conduct the study to individuals from the population so

that the results of their study can be used to derive conclusions that will apply to the entire population. It is a give-and-take process. The population gives the sample, and then it takes conclusions from the results obtained from the sample.

### 3.6.1 Sample Size Determination

Sample size was determined from the target population by use of the Yamane formula thus:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

This can also be expressed as:  $n = N / (1 + Ne^2)$

Where: n = corrected sample size,

N = population size, and

e = Margin of error (MoE), e = 0.05 (5%) based on the research condition.

$$N = 403,181, e = 0.05$$

$$\text{Thus; } n = \frac{403,181}{1 + 403,181 (0.05)^2} = \frac{403,181}{1 + 403,181(0.0025)} = \frac{403,181}{1009} \quad n = 399.6 = 400$$

The sample size of 400 included politicians at all levels (48), leaders of cultural/traditional institutions (57), religious leaders (44), NGO officials (48), government officials (45), security officers (57) and members of the public (101); who were selected by snowball and purposive/judgmental sampling techniques. It suffices to note that a sample size larger than 30 and less than 500 is appropriate for most research (Kumar, 2000).

### 3.6.2 Categories of Respondents

These were determined by snowball and purposive sampling techniques as indicated in Table 1 below:

**Table 1: Categories of Respondents with their totals and percentiles**

Categories	Sample Size	Percentile	Sampling technique
Politicians	48	12	Purposive sampling
Traditional/cultural leaders	57	14.25	Purposive sampling
Religious leaders	44	11	Snowball Sampling
Government officials	45	11.25	Snowball Sampling
Security officials	57	14.25	Snowball Sampling
Members of the Public	101	25.25	Snowball Sampling
NGO officials	48	12	Purposive sampling
<b>Total</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>Snowball/purposive</b>

Source: primary data (2019)

### **3.7 Sampling Techniques**

According to Copley (2008), sampling techniques are the methods or procedures that are employed for sampling. This study employed non-probability sampling techniques of **snowball** and **Purposive/Judgmental** sampling. According to Katebire (2007), snowball sampling technique is most appropriate where most of the potential respondents are hard-to-reach and cagey with information. Thus, these techniques were most appropriate for this study, being of security related nature. According to Joshua (1998), Purposive sampling involves selecting a certain number of respondents based on their experience and knowledge about the topic of study. Thus, this method was used appropriately to select respondents from the politicians, NGOs and Cultural Leaders because it comprised of informed persons who possessed vital data that was comprehensive enough for a better understanding of the problem.

### **3.8 Sources of Data**

The study employed both primary and secondary sources of data collection:

#### **3.8.1 Secondary Sources of Data**

The study obtained secondary data from secondary sources that included pieces of existing literature materials by distinguished scholars and commentators such as; articles, print and electronic media, journals, textbooks, internet, magazines, reports and newspapers among others.

As contended by Chimbuto (2011), secondary data is the data that is not gathered first hand by the researcher. The reason for the use of secondary data in research is to have a fair appreciation of the problem under study and possibly explore alternatives on interpretational tools of analysing the problem to arrive at a logical conclusion. Data from secondary sources is valid and relevant because it is sourced from acknowledged reputable academic sources and/or databases.

#### **3.8.2 Primary Sources of Data**

The study obtained primary data sourced direct from the field using interviews, focus group discussions (FGD) and questionnaires. The reason for obtaining primary data was to supplement the secondary data.

The interviews, focus group discussions were conducted and questionnaires were given to the different categories of respondents as indicated in Table 1 above.

### **3.9 Data Collection Methods**

These are the means or procedures that are employed for purposes of collecting data from the target study population (Chimbuto, 2011). This study employed interviews, focus group discussions, questionnaires and review of existing literature as data collection methods; while strictly observing the research ethical considerations.

#### **3.9.1 Interviews**

This study adopted the interview method of data collection. Interviews were conducted following a number of successive steps using the interview guide. It involved approaching the respondents who were selected under knowledge based criteria and arranging with them the time, date, duration and conditions of the interview. This is because interviews are the commonly used method of collecting data and/or information from people. In many occupations data or information is collected through different forms of interaction between the researcher and the potential respondents.

According to Chimbuto (2011), an interview is a verbal interchange or interaction, often face to face or by telephone, between two or more individuals with a specific purpose of the interviewer trying to elicit information, beliefs or opinions from another person. Chimbuto states further that interviews are justified method of data collection because they permit the researcher to obtain the data direct from the respondents. It is adopted for intentions of obtaining valid and reliable data direct from the respondent(s) to verify or reject the hypothesis drawn.

Interviews allow the respondents to express their minds freely, allow the study of non-verbal communications and enables the researcher to avoid alienation from the respondents. It is flexible, and with high response rate, easy to administer and facilitates the ability to probe and seek clarifications.

Interviews involve the interviewer reading questions to the respondents and recording their responses.

According to Creswell (2005), the easiest way to understand a person is to speak to them. Interviews are a way to connect with and speak to people. It is an opportunity to hear them describe in their own words, the experiences about the study topic. Interviews also act as evidence as to why the work is needed, and the possible impact that is likely to be created by the research work.

### **3.9.2 Focus Group Discussions**

The study employed 03 (three) focus group discussions (FGDs) each consisting of 08 (eight) participants using the FGD guide. This method was chosen because it is appropriate for bringing together people from similar backgrounds or experiences to discuss the study topic.

The focus groups were guided by a moderator (facilitator) who introduced the topic for discussion and helped the participants to have a lively and neutral discussion using the FGD guide and recorded the proceedings of the discussions

### **3.9.3 Survey**

This study also employed survey as a method for data collection using questionnaires. This involved preparing a set of questions (questionnaire) and dispatching them to the prospective target respondents.

Funkeye and Nafiu (2016), describe Survey as a method of collecting data or information from a sample of individuals through their responses to a prepared set of questions (Questionnaire). It is a research method used for collecting data from a predefined group of respondents to gain information and insights into various topics of interest to the researcher.

Survey method was adopted by this study because it allows for a variety of methods to recruit participants, collect data, and utilise various methods of instrumentation. It easily uses mixed methods of both quantitative research strategies such as questionnaires with numerically rated items, and qualitative research strategies such as open-ended questions. It is also often used to describe and explore human behavior. This researcher therefore, concludes that survey is a very useful and legitimate method of data collection that has clear benefits in helping to describe and explore variables and constructs of research interest. It has several strategies to reduce the potential for errors to improve survey findings.

### **3.9.4 Review of Existing Literature**

The study reviewed existing literature such as published papers, magazines, brochures, minutes, textbooks, internet, library research, published and unpublished official reports and other important policy documents and position papers; in order to collect the secondary data that was relevant to the topic of study. These were obtained from resource centers such as; newspaper publication houses, government departmental archives, Nkumba and other University libraries, public libraries and other sources that were deemed important.

### **3.10 Data Collection Tools/Instruments**

This study employed the Interview guide, Focus Group Discussion Guide and questionnaires as the main data collection tools or instruments; applying interviews, focus group discussions and survey as the data collection methods. These are discussed hereunder:

#### **3.10.1 Interview Guide**

This study employed the interview guide as a research tool, and it was constructed in such a way that it allowed flexibility during the interviewing process. It involved the researcher setting questions to guide the oral exchange with the respondents and during the focus group discussions while the lead discussant was recording the proceedings.

Interview guide was employed in this study because it is more flexible and the data collected using this tool was more accurate and reliable as compared to the other tools or instruments for data collection. Besides, the researcher went to the field personally and physically interacted with the respondents from whom all the data or information that was necessary for the study was collected.

This is supported by Chimbuto (2011), who describes an interview guide as a list of questions the researcher intends to cover during the interview(s) with the respondent(s). It acts as an unobtrusive road map for the researcher during the interview to keep the researcher on course. An interview guide provides the researcher with prompts and a general direction of the interview; it keeps the

researcher on track and ensures that the researcher covers all the topics needed to answer the research question(s).

### **3.10.2 Focus Group Discussion Guide**

This study employed a focus group discussion guide to conduct the focus group discussions with the respondents. It involved the researcher setting questions to guide the oral exchange with the respondents during the focus group discussions while the lead discussant and the note taker were recording the proceedings.

### **3.10.3 Questionnaire**

This study employed questionnaire as a tool/instrument for data collection. This involved preparing a set of questions (questionnaire) in a printed form and dispatching them to the prospective target respondents.

In this study, 350 questionnaires were despatched to the prospective respondents but only 300 were returned. Questionnaire was adopted because it poses a number of advantages: it is considered as one of the most effective tools of data collection under the interview method, it permits wide coverage for minimum costs physically and financially, it allows more considerable answers, it is most preferable in situations where the respondent has to check and; it brings more candid and objective replicas due to impersonality.

According to Funkeye and Nafiu (2016), a questionnaire is defined as a set of questions provided by the researcher of which the respondent is expected to fill in his/her answers. These questions are fashioned to gather data for diagnosis and the results thereof are used to answer the research questions or test the hypothesis. They are important in gathering feelings, beliefs and activities of the respondents.

Questionnaires were designed under the following guiding principles among others: don't include not two or more questions were included in one; the number of questions were kept at the very minimum; questions were short, clear and unambiguous to the respondent(s); offensive and biased questions that

are inferential or leading were avoided; questions were easy to answer; and were centred on specific concrete matters hence, specific and direct answers.

#### **3.10.4 Document Review Check List**

Document review check list was used for sourcing secondary data from; previous studies and some publications such as magazines, brochures, minutes, textbooks, and internet. Obtainable documents such as reports, journals, textbooks, minutes and publications were used to get relevant information for the study. The various reports and publications concerning ethnic conflicts and national security were used to help in the findings. These included; library research, published and unpublished literature, official reports and other important policy documents and position papers were sought from resource centers such as; Newspaper publications, Nkumba and other University libraries, public libraries and other sources deemed important

#### **3.11 Data Processing**

Data processing refers to the process of editing, classifying, coding, tabulating and synchronising the data collected. It is intended to examine the collected data in order to detect and correct the errors and omissions; and putting that data in respective characteristic or attribute classes (Katebire, 2007).

This study effectively employed the three broad ways of processing the research findings under the cross sectional research approach. That is: developing a narrative to describe a situation, episode, event or instance; identifying the main themes that emerged from the field notes or transcription of the in-depth interviews and writing about them, quoting extensively in verbatim format; and quantifying the main themes in order to provide their prevalence and thus, significance. In order to enhance the power of the researcher/participant relationship, the data collection was conducted in conducive environments that were selected by the respondents. Thus, Interviews were conducted in comfortable places for the respondents and key informants were interviewed at their convenience. In this way, these were interviewee-guided sessions and the researcher was able to direct, select and structure the research stories. Data editing, coding and cleaning was done after collection to ensure that all mistakes made by respondents were cleared before entry into the computer for analysis and summarising.



### **3.12 Data Analysis**

This indicates the appropriate techniques employed during the study in organising and interpreting the data generated (Collins, 2002). This study, employed content analysis technique which, involved analysing the contents of the existing literature about the subject of study, supplemented by contents of the data collected from the respondents. During information collection and analysis, information from documents and in-depth interviews was related to the assumptions made before, in the theoretical discourse as well as during the data collection. They were assessed with regard to the degree of validity of the information collected. Interpretation of findings was done in the context of the research topic, nature and objectives of the study as well as the methodology employed. While in some cases inductive generalisation was made, in other cases analytical generalisation was also used. Data analysis was based on both descriptive and inferential statistical techniques where the researcher examined and explained the findings to give them the meaning.

### **3.13 Data Quality Control**

In order to control the quality of data and make the research more credible, reliability and validity tests were performed. Checking of respondents was also performed in order to give credibility to the analysis. It was up to the reader to determine whether the text has sufficient credibility so as to describe it as a quality piece of research.

#### **3.13.1 Validity**

Questions relevant to the objectives were asked and were first taken to the distinguished academics to ensure validity and relevance and then to the supervisor for approval. The researcher also reviewed literature to ensure that questions tallied with objectives.

#### **3.13.2 Reliability**

The researcher ensured that the data given was consistent and accurate which underlined the reliability of the data collection instruments. The researcher also ensured that the information given was in line

with the objectives and instruments that were designed in unbiased manner. Errors and omissions were avoided since data was collected from different sources using different data collection methods.

### **3.14 Ethical Considerations**

According to Kumar (2000), ethical consideration refers to the morality, uprightness and justification of the researcher's conduct in carrying out the research. Research involving human subjects or participants imposes a duty on the researcher to safeguard and promote the physical and mental wellbeing of the human participants involved in the research. Hence, the researcher's knowledge and conscience must be highly dedicated. Kumar (2000), expounds that for any research to be valid and objective in nature, it has to take into consideration the ethical aspects. This researcher therefore, was guided by a number of ethical considerations among which included:

- a) Maintaining the confidentiality of the information obtained from the respondents.
- b) Seeking consent of the authorities concerned.
- c) Ensuring the safety of the researcher and his assistants, the respondents, and the documents.
- d) Observing the integrity of the respondent(s), the researcher and his assistants.
- e) Observing the truthfulness of the respondents.
- f) Avoiding plagiarism, copying, falsification, or misrepresentation by citing the data sources
- g) Avoiding any form of academic malpractice that could compromise data dependability.
- h) Ensuring that participation in research is voluntary, based on consent to avoid collection of wrong data and other inconveniences to the researcher.
- i) Being non-discriminative when selecting samples; avoiding bias in selecting respondents according to their sex, tribes and even culture. Thus, the researcher gave all the people equal chances of being chosen.
- j) Being prudent to document information from archives only with the consent of respondents.

### **3.15 Limitations of the Study**

Limitations of the study, refers to the problems, risks or constraints which are anticipated to be encountered while carrying out the study (Kumar, 2000). The limitations of this study among others

included: identifying and accessing respondents, time constraints, financial constraints, and spoilage of data collection tools.

**a) Identifying and accessing respondents**

The biggest limitation was identifying and accessing respondents considering the security sensitive nature of the subject of study. However, this was addressed by employing snowballing and judgmental/purposive sampling techniques.

**b) Time constraints**

The researcher was constrained by the timing of the respondents from the rural agricultural areas since it was a busy agricultural season and most of them had to attend to their gardens and coming back very late in the evening. This was addressed by making appropriate arrangements in advance such as making prior appointments with the respondents.

The researcher was also constrained by his busy schedule with legal practicionering and other political and security operational engagements and yet had to go to the field for data collection at the same time. However, appropriate scheduling was done so as to conduct the study satisfactorily.

**c) Financial constraints**

There was also the limitation of financial resources to facilitate the study which included travel expenses, accommodation and feeding during field study. This was addressed by the researcher undertaking extensive resource mobilisation and also carrying packed dry foods to the field.

**d) Spoilage of data collection tools**

Spoilage of data collection tools due to poor handling by the respondents, and possible destruction by rain. This was minimised by the researcher's prior sensitisation of the respondents and always carrying umbrellas, raincoats, and waterproof bags.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### PRESENTATION, DISCUSSIONS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents, discusses and interprets the study findings about conflict as a predictor of rule of law and security with specific reference to the case of the Rwenzururu sub region in Western Uganda. This study was anchored on the main objective of examining the influence of conflict on Security and Rule of law; with the specific objectives of: examining the drivers of the conflict; assessing the influence of conflict on security; and examining the influence of conflict on Rule of Law and security; a case of Rwenzururu sub region in western Uganda. Hence, making recommendations on the strategies to resolve the Conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region, leading to lasting security and rule of law in the area.

#### 4.2 Background Information

The study established that Rwenzururu sub-region lies in the ranges of Mt. Rwenzori, in Western Uganda, consisting of the districts of Kasese, Ntoroko and Bundibugyo with a total population of 1,020,200 people (UBOS, 2014), with an average population of 18,366 per square kilometer density and a total area of 5,652 sq Kms. It stretches across the national border to the DRC.

The study also found out that the main economic activities of the Rwenzururu sub region are mining, tourism and crop farming with bananas, coffee, maize, cassava, and cocoa as the main crops. The sub region is also rich with minerals such as Gypsum, salt, copper, limestone, graphite, volcanic ash, Cobalt and the recently discovered oil and gas among others. The sub region also boasts of tourism sites such as; Semuliki, Queen Elizabeth and Rwenzori National Parks. Kasese town, which is considered as the main town of the Rwenzururu sub region, is 518 Kms west of Kampala via Mbarara and 375 Kms via Fort portal - Kabarole. It is located at Latitude 0<sup>0</sup>.10' North and Longitude 30<sup>0</sup>.06' East. Bundibugyo is located at Latitude 0<sup>0</sup>.20 North and Longitude 32<sup>0</sup>.35 East and Ntoroko is located at 1<sup>0</sup>.04' North and Longitude 30.32' East. The study found out that conflicts, and hence, insecurity and breakdown of rule of law in the Rwenzururu sub region did not at all start with the current NRM government but during

pre-colonial times, intensified during colonial era and have lingered on throughout Uganda’s span of independence. For decades, Rwenzururu sub region has been characterised by conflicts associated and thus, raising from questions of political governance and self-determination, economic, cultural and ethnic disputes, access and control of natural resources such as land and minerals among others.

Based on the findings, the study recommended strategies to resolve the conflicts and achieve lasting. These should be both situational and contextual, and take into consideration the traditional, historical and contemporary perspectives of the drivers of these conflicts which lead to insecurity and the breakdown of rule of law in the Rwenzururu sub region.

### 4.3 Demographic Information of the Respondents

This section presents an analysis, discussion and interpretation of the demographic information of the respondents such as age, gender/sex, marital status, tribe, religion, occupation, education background, and duration of stay in the area. Details of the findings are presented hereunder:

#### 4.3.1 Age Group of the Respondents

The study asked respondents their age and the results were as indicated in table 2 below;

**Table 2: Age group of the Respondents**

	<b>Sex</b>	<b>Age of Respondents</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%age</b>
Valid	Male	20 – 40	133	33.25
		41 and above	140	35
	Female	20– 40	79	19.75
		41 and above	48	12
		<b>Total</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Primary data (2019)**

From the study findings as shown in Table 2 above, male respondents aged between 20 and 40 were 133 (33.3%) and those aged above 40 years were 140 (35%) of the respondents. For the female respondents, 79 (19.7%) were aged between 20 and 40 and those aged above 40 years were 48 (12%). The results obtained indicate that majority of the respondents (212) were aged between 20 and 40 representing 53%

of the total sample. Out of these, males represented 33.3% and females 19.7%. This influenced the study in that, males were more involved in the study than females and were willing to give information about the study. The findings also imply that majority of the respondents were mature enough to provide the relevant data and information required in the study.

### 4.3.2 Gender/Sex of the Respondents

The study asked respondents their gender/sex and the findings were as indicated in table 3 below:

**Table 3: Gender/Sex of Respondents**

<b>Sex of Respondents</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%age</b>
Male	273	68.3
Female	127	31.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Primary data (2019)**

From the study findings as shown in Table 3 above, 127 (31.7%) of the respondents were females and the majority (273) were males representing 68.3% of the respondents. This means that males were more involved and hence, influenced the study more than the females.

### 4.3.3 Ethnic setting of the Respondents

The study asked respondents to state their tribes and the findings were as indicated in table 4 below:

**Table 4: Ethnic Setting of the Respondents**

<b>Tribe of Respondents</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>% age</b>
Bakonzu	146	36.4
Baamba	133	33.3
Others	121	30.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source: Primary data (2019)**

From the study findings as in Table 4 above, 146 (36.4%) of the respondents were Bakonzu by tribe, 133 (33.3%) were Baamba and 121 (30.3%) of the respondents were from other tribes such as the

Batooro, Batuku, and members of the security forces, civil society, Academia and religious institutions. Thus Bakonzo and Baamba were the main tribes concentrated in the area of study and were involved in, and hence, influenced the study more than the others.

#### 4.3.4 Religion of Respondents

The study asked respondents, their religious denomination and the findings were as indicated in table 5 below:

**Table 5: Religious Affiliation of Respondents**

Religion of respondents	Frequency	%age
Catholic	140	35
Muslim	60	15
Church of Uganda	80	20
SDAs	80	20
Others	40	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Primary data (2019)**

From Table 5 above, the study found out that 145 (35%) of the respondents were from the Catholic Faith, 60 (15%) were Moslems, 80 (20%) of the respondents were from Church of Uganda (Protestants) by religion, 80 (20%) represented the Seventh Day Adventists (SDAs) and 40 (10%) represented other religious denominations in the area. This shows that Catholics, Protestants, SDAs and Muslims are the dominant religious denomination and key actors in the area and thus, greatly influenced the study.

The study also found out that this religious domination in the area explains as to why majority of those killed during the Omusinga Palace attack by combined security forces were SDAs followed by Catholics, Protestants and the Moslems. The same pattern applies to those arrested and imprisoned alongside the Omusinga. Another important finding was that the politics of the Rwenzururu sub region is dominated by the same religious pattern; with the Catholics taking the lead, followed by the Protestants, the SDAs, the Moslems and others.

#### 4.3.5 Marital Status of the Respondents

The study asked respondents their marital status and the findings were as indicated in table 6 below:

**Table 6: Marital Status of the Respondents**

<b>Marital status of the respondents</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%age</b>
Divorced/ Separated	160	40.0
Abandoned	40	10.0
Married	200	50.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source: Primary data (2019)**

From the study findings as shown in Table 6 above, 160 (40%) of the respondents were divorced/separated, 40 (10%) of the respondents were abandoned and 200 (50%) of them were married. This means that the research study got information from the right people since most of them were married or once married hence have children in their homes and are well versed with the challenges or effects of the conflict(s); especially with regard to domestic relations.

#### 4.3.6 Educational background of Respondents

The study asked respondents to state their educational backgrounds and the findings were as below:

**Table 7: Educational background of respondents**

<b>Educational level of Respondents</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%age</b>
None	24	6.0
Primary	96	24.0
Secondary	133	33.3
Tertiary and above	147	36.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source: Primary data (2019)**

From the study findings indicated under Table 7 above, 24 of the respondents (6%) did not go to school at all, 96 of the respondents (24%) went to school but did not go beyond primary, 133 of the



respondents (33.3%) finished Secondary education and 147 (36.7%) of the respondents finished tertiary and above. This means that this study collected data from the right people since most of them were elites and hence, they were well versed with the challenges or effects of the conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region. Majority of the respondents had attained higher education levels and this implies that respondents would understand and interpret questions put to them and they gave reliable data.

#### 4.3.7 Occupation of the Respondents

The researcher asked the respondents their occupational status and the findings were as below:

**Table 8: Shows the occupation of the respondents**

<b>Occupation of Respondents</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>%age</b>
Politicians	48	12
Traditional/cultural leaders	57	14.25
Religious leaders	44	11
Government officials	45	11.25
Security officials	57	14.25
Unemployed Members of the Public	101	25.25
NGO officials	48	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Primary data (2019)**

The study findings under Table 8 above are that; 48 (12%) of the respondents were politicians, 57 respondents representing (14.25%) were traditional/cultural leaders, 44 respondents (11%) were religious leaders, 45 respondents representing (11.25%) were government officials, 57 representing (14.25%) of the respondents were Security officials, 48 representing (12%) were NGO officials and, 101 representing (25.25) were unemployed members of the Public. This means that the unemployed were the majority and thus, influenced this study more followed by the security, and NGO officials.

#### 4.3.8 Duration of stay in the area of study

Respondents were asked the period of stay in the area and the results were as in table 9 below:

**Table 9: Duration of stay in the area of study**

<b>Duration of Stay in Area of Study</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1 year and below	56	14.0
1 – 4 years	80	20.0
5 – 9 years	88	22.0
Above 10 years	176	44.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>100.0</b>

**Source: Primary Data (2019)**

The findings of the study as indicated in table 9 above indicate that 56 (14%) of the respondents had stayed in the area of study for a period of 1 year and below, 80 (20%) of the respondents had stayed for a period of 1 - 4 years, 88 (22%) of the respondents had stayed for a period of 5 - 9 years and, 176 (44%) of the respondents had stayed for 10 years and above.

This means that majority of the respondents had stayed in the area of study for more than one year and this implied that they had enough experience about the conflicts and its drivers and effects on rule of law and security. These majority respondents greatly influenced the study in that having stayed in the area of study for long, they had gathered enough information about the topic of study and indeed they gave reliable data.

#### **4.4 The Drivers of Conflict in Rwenzururu Sub Region**

In this section, the researcher sought to establish, present, discuss and interpret the drivers of conflict in the Rwenzururu sub region of Western Uganda. The researcher asked respondents whether the factors listed in table 10 below, were drivers of conflict in the Rwenzururu sub region of Western Uganda and the results were as indicated below:

**Table 10: The Drivers of Conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region**

Where; F - Frequency, SA - Strongly Agree, A - Agree, NS - Not Sure, SD - Strongly Disagree D - Disagree.

Conflict Driver	SA		A		NS		SD		D		Total	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Historical Connotations and Colonial Legacies	188	47	160	40	52	13	0	0	0	0	400	100
Agitation for Political Autonomy/self determination	188	47	160	40	52	13	0	0	0	0	400	100
Struggle for Leadership and power	188	47	160	40	52	13	0	0	0	0	400	100
Post - election activities	132	33	120	30	52	13	44	11	52	13	400	100
Discriminatory and misconceived governance policies	160	40	100	25	20	5	80	20	40	10	400	100
Ethnic divisions and cultural differences	88	22	188	47	20	5	80	20	24	6	400	100
Ethnic and Political Perceptions and stereotyping	88	22	188	47	20	5	80	20	24	6	400	100
Social Inequalities	200	50	160	40	0	0	24	6	12	3	400	100
Struggle for access and control of Land and Natural resources.	80	20	180	45	40	10	60	15	40	10	400	100
High levels of Poverty	132	33	200	50	0	0	68	17	0	0	400	100
High rate of unemployment	132	33	200	50	0	0	68	17	0	0	400	100

**Source: Primary data (2019)**

The study found out that the drivers of conflict in the Rwenzururu sub region in Western Uganda are multiple and complex and often, underlie actual or perceived inequalities and grievances between identity groups, which among others lead to violent expression of these grievances. This is collaborated by Suliman (2011) that the major drivers or root causes of conflicts in the world are complex since they are both historical and contemporary, and hence, there is no single cause for conflict as most of the conflicts are always attributed to the interplay of a number of factors. Thus, the drivers of conflict in the Rwenzururu sub region are broadly categorised into political, economic and social contexts; and they are expounded hereunder:

#### **4.4.1 Political Drivers of Conflict in the Rwenzururu Sub Region**

##### **a) Historical Connotations and Colonial Legacies**

The study findings as indicated in table 10 above, were that 188 (47%) of the respondents strongly agreed, 160 (40%) agreed, 52 (13%) were not sure and none disagreed. The majority of the respondents

(348 representing 87%) agreed and this means that historical connotations and colonial legacies is a serious driver of conflict in the Rwenzururu sub region. The study revealed that conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region of Western Uganda have connections with historical incidents and legacies of the colonial governance in the country. The end of the colonial era did not end the divisions it had created arising from their divide and rule policies, but become firmly rooted and they continue to drive conflicts in the area for generations.

This is collaborated by Refugee Law Project – MUK (2014); that the Ugandan successive Governments inherited more than just the boundaries of the State of “Uganda” from the British Protectorate; but a political landscape characterised by divisions, tribal rivalries, resentments, conflicts and struggles for political power that had developed overtime. Some limited attempts to deal with the colonial connotations and legacies were arguably made. It is possible to consider the structure of Uganda’s first post-Independence Constitution in this fashion, as well as Obote’s abolition of Kingdoms in 1966/67. None of these actions, however, were considered to constitute a genuine and comprehensive process to deal with colonial legacies. This colonial legacy has never been comprehensively addressed by the post-Independence Governments of Uganda hence, the perpetual conflicts especially ethnic related like the case of the Rwenzururu sub region.

#### **b) Agitation for political autonomy and self-determination**

The study findings as indicated in table 10 above, were that 188 (47%) of the respondents strongly agreed, 160 (40%) agreed, 52 (13%) were not sure and none disagreed. This meant that the majority of the respondents (348 representing 87%) agreed and thus, this means that the struggle or agitation for political autonomy and self-determination is a serious driver of conflict in the Rwenzururu sub region where power is mainly shared based on ethnic divides.

Conferring to the Internal Affairs Minister who was interviewed by this researcher, pointed out Political drivers of conflicts; the talk of cessation and creation of the Bakonzo dominated State of Yiira had been publicised in the public domain for quite long. However, Government took a hard stand against this, which was very clear that, this dream is impossible in the present times of the Republic of Uganda. He observed however, that Government needs to investigate thoroughly the drivers of the violent actions

of; and the tensions between the Obudingiya Bwa Bwamba (OBB) and Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu (OBR) because the government's recognition of Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu (OBR) and later the Obudingiya Bwa Bwamba (OBB) cultural institutions was hinged on achieving political and social harmony in the area. However, this instead, created jurisdictional and control conflicts between the two cultural institutions of which the government ought to continue investigating in order to determine a lasting solution to address the situation.

### **c) The Yiira State (Republic) Mystery**

As contended by the respondents and collaborated by Nabukeera (2016), this study found out that the Yiira State / Republic mystery is closely connected to the Rwenzururu monarchy, which is located in the Rwenzururu sub region in Western Uganda. It spans into the DRC. Rwenzururu sub region is inhabited by over ten ethnic groups among which include; the Bakonzo, Banande, Bamba, Basongora, Vonomas, Babwisi, Babutoku (Batuku), Babila and Basumba. All these ethnic groups originally lived and still dwell around Mt. Rwenzori which was mistakenly re-named Mountains of the Moon by explorer H.M, Stanley.

The study established that currently, the Bakonzo alone who constitute and dominate the OBR monarchy are about seven million people with an estimated 1.2 million on the Ugandan side of the Rwenzori Mountain and 5.8 millions on the DRC side where they are more commonly known as Banande. Both the Bakonzo and Banande belong to the Bayiira community, a Bantu speaking people. On the Ugandan side, the Bakonzo occupy the Rwenzori Mountains cutting across the Districts of Kasese, Bundibugyo and Ntoroko. Those in Congo are found in North Kivu province with Butembo and Beni as their major towns. The Baamba who are sub-divided into Babwisi, Babutoku, Vonoma and Babila predominantly occupy the plains of Bundibugyo district.

This research revealed that, because of this strong linkage and lineage in the Congo, the two groups harboured the motive of merging and creating the Yiira State. The Uganda security authorities always suspect that, Omusinga Charles Wesley Mumbere has always harboured the same intentions born out of the Rwenzururu Movement ideology, leading to the creation of military training camps in the DRC to

propel this long-standing motive. However, many times, Mumbere has always denied these allegations and instead, putting it as propaganda by government to muzzle the supporters of the Rwenzururu Monarchy.

### **Origin of the Yiira Republic or State Idea**

As collaborated by the RFPJ (2012), the study revealed that Yiira is a word associated with a place called Buihira or Buyiira, located north of Mt. Rwenzori across the border in the DRC. It is here that the Bakonzo and Baamba among others, trace their origin and hence, the Bahiira or Bayiira people then they migrated to the current Busongora and Bwamba areas.

The idea of creating the Yiira State or Republic, emerged after a prolonged struggle by the Rwenzururu people against the Tooro Kingdom and the Colonial Government, which resulted into the Rwenzururus agitating for fair representation and/or a separate district status but without success as the central government and the Tooro monarchists were opposed to the demands of the Rwenzururus led by the Bakonzo and Baamba representatives in the Tooro Rukurato. As such, the agitation for political autonomy and self-determination was propagated and hence, the idea of a Liberation Movement (the Rwenzururu Movement) was borne to mobilise and champion the cause. Initially, the Rwenzururu Movement struggle was under the leadership of three representatives of the Bakonzo and Baamba in the Tooro Parliament (Rukurato): Nyamutswa, Tibamwenda the chief of Bulwa and Kapolia, who were arrested and executed in 1921 at Kagando, the place of the current Kagando Hospital.

This study noted that Kapolia was the grandfather of the current Omudingiya of Baamba and Tibamwenda was the grandfather of the current Tibamwenda Swaleh, who is one of the prominent claimants to the OBR throne. In 1951 - 54, Isia Mukirania, another local representative of Bakonzo in the Rukurato of Tooro emerged and furthered the agitation for political autonomy and self-determination of the Bakonzo and Bamba and where possible, the cessation and formation of the Yiira State which agitation evolved into the establishment of the Bakonzo Life History Research Association (BLHRA) with Isia Mukirania as its President. As collaborated by Bayinda (2015), Mukirania subsequently promoted his “Presidency” of BLHRA to the “Presidency” of a proposed independent

State to be called Yiira State. All human beings being naturally political animals, this political instinct was live in the minds of Mukirania and in the grandeur of his political stature, he had reasons to believe that he was the President of the Rwenzururu people under the Yiira Republic.

Contending to one respondent who is a historical elder born in Bundibugyo but currently residing in Kampala; in 1961 Mukirania invited some elders, advisors and founders of the Rwenzururu Movement such as; Daudi Kibatsi Muhindo, Blasio Maate and Emilio Kibingo to whom he introduced his idea of secession into the Yiira State but they objected insisting that they remain under Uganda governance but they continue demanding for self-determination not session. Mukirania then ordered his sergeant at arms one Ezekiel Mwigha to cane them into submission. The Sergeant at Arms disobeyed the order and Mukirania instead caned them himself. Some agreed and he directed the ridge leaders (Bakulhu ba Malhambo) to go and consult the gods, build the shrines and give the offerings to the gods. This means Mukirania had resorted to myths on which kingdoms thrive.

Inferring to the respondents, the study found out that, it was in the continued pursuit of the Yiira State idea, that Isia Mukirania declared the Rwenzururu sub region in Uganda and across the border into the DRC (then Zaire), as a State of its own (the Yiira State). He exterminated all his cofounders of the Rwenzururu Movement upon branding them traitors. He started originating correspondences to the Government, National and International organisations under the title of President that the Government of Uganda was encroaching on his state by deploying troops there. He even wrote to the Prime Minister of Uganda warning him about the consequences of not respecting the sovereignty of the Rwenzururu (Yiira) State. However, quite early, as Mukirania run the Kingdom-State affair, he realised that being a President of a republican State subordinated him to the dictates of the people and which people from Mukirania's view were illiterates in all regards. Mukirania did not want to be questioned by the illiterate Rwenzururu people whom he believed did not have political thoughts of their own. He thus, quietly discarded the title of a "**President**" and he declared himself and hence, adopted the title of a '**king**' of the Rwenzururu. He declared himself King Kibanzanga with a strong belief that the king must be of the Bakonzo birth and not the Baamba. In other words, the Bakonzo were to be the Royal lineage while the Baamba and other ethnic groups would be sourced as the subjects. The conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub

region went on until 1964 when Mukirania was arrested and charged of treason, murder, and terrorism among others. He was granted bail, which he jumped and retreated to the mountains to continue with the rebellious activities under the Rwenzururu Movement; from where he died under mysterious circumstances in the same year. It is observed therefore, that it is this political and monarchical ambition which was bequeathed to the son, a militarily trained Charles Wesley Mumbere, the current Omusinga Bwa Rwenzururu who was also arrested and subjected to court process; charged of the same offences as was the father.

In conclusion, the study noted that it is this political and monarchical perception and stereotyping that has always caused conflicts between the Bakonzo on one hand and the Baamba and other ethnic groups in the Rwenzururu sub region on the other hand. Hence, resulting into the Baamba breaking way and creating their own Kingdom, the Obudingiya Bwa Baamba (OBB) which was dully recognised by the central government and the Obudingiya (King) was installed in 2013 igniting another theater of conflict in the sub region leading to armed incursions between the Rwenzururu royal guards and the government forces that claimed several lives and destruction of properties.

#### **d) Attacks on the OBR palace by combined government forces**

As contended by the respondents, this study found out that the attack on the OBR palace by a combination of government forces on November 27, 2016 was driven by a number of factors such as:

##### ***i) Attacks by the Rwenzururu Royal Guards on Security and civilian Installations***

As contended by the respondents, prior to the November 27, 2016 palace attack by the combined government security forces, there were numerous attacks on the joint security installations and patrol teams in the areas of; Ihandiro, Kagando, Kisunga, Bwesumbu, Kyabarungira, Mubuku, Maliba and Ibanda in Bugoyi by the OBR cultural guards also called **Kirumira Mutima** who were said to be a creation and under the direct command of the King of Rwenzururu. In all, a number of soldiers and policemen lost their lives, a number of guns were taken and property destroyed by the attackers. These attacks provoked the National Security Agencies and thus, they had to respond in such a way that resulted into violent clashes in which 137 people lost their lives and property. Many were displaced and



several were arrested including the King and these were aligned before the courts of law over several charges including murder, robbery, treason and terrorism among others.

*ii) Alleged denial of the Rwenzururu King and Subjects their Constitutional Rights*

The Government was accused of depriving the Rwenzururu King and his subjects of enjoying their constitutional rights under article 37 of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, to cherish their culture in the entire kingdom that is legally recognised. Article 37 states that, every person has a right to belong to, enjoy, profess, maintain and promote any culture, cultural institution, language, tradition, creed or religion with others.

The Rwenzururu King went to the constitutional court for interpretation of Article 37 of the Constitution. He was stopped from travelling to Bundibugyo district to officiate over celebrations scheduled to take place on June 30, 2013 to mark the Kingdom's peace day which means a lot to them since it was the day the Bakonzo and Bamba broke away from Toro Kingdom.

However, the government directed the Rwenzururu King, Charles Wesley Mumbere, to cancel this visit so as to prevent possible tribal clashes between the Bamba / Babwisi and Bakonzo. It was a government decision which was final with no bargains, well considered, not negotiable and must be respected. It was taken for the good of security in the sub region though it was misconceived by the Rwenzururu monarchists. The incident in 2016 was not any different from what happened on June 30, 2012 when King Charles Mumbere visited Bundibugyo and among other things set up a royal shrine and a flag at Kirindi Village in Bwamba County. Soon thereafter, clashes erupted between the Bakonzo and Baamba-Babwisi ethnicities, leaving one person dead and several Bakonzo displaced as the latter declined paying allegiance to the Rwenzururu King. The Omusinga Mumbere requested government to constitute an independent commission to investigate the matter and conclusively come up with sustainable solutions to the tribal clashes.

*iii) The Omusinga's refusal to reduce on the number of royal guards*

As contended by one Resident District Commissioner (RDC) from the Rwenzururu sub region that was interviewed by this researcher, the government had instructed all cultural institutions countrywide to

trim down their royal guards. The Rwenzururu Kingdom refused to comply with government's directive. Government forces also suspected that the Omusinga, Charles Wesley Mumbere and others were still connected and thus, had linkages with the illegal forces fighting government coupled with the allegations of the motives for the creation of the Yiira state by Charles Wesley Mumbere together with his counter parts from Congo hence, the justification for the attack of the Kingdom Palace.

This was collaborated by Basiime (2016), that prior to the attack on the Rwenzururu Kingdom palace in Kasese District by the combined government forces in an operation that left 137 people dead and 139 arrested; government had ordered all traditional and cultural institutions to reduce on the number of their security guards to only nine; because Government had deployed UPDF soldiers to the various traditional and cultural institutions to oversee the security thereof. In the case of Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu, the guards, of which majority are youth, are claimed to have been recruited to guard the Omusinga but both the UPDF and other security operatives had linked them to the violent conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub-region.

Inferring to Arinaitwe (2016), the country's Commander-in-Chief maintained that the Rwenzururu King, Omusinga Charles Wesley Mumbere, rejected repeated calls to disband or reduce his royal guards. The Commander-in-Chief stated that a group of Omusinga's royal guards collaborating with other subversive forces carried out thirteen coordinated attacks against security units and civilians in the Rwenzururu sub region. This justified the assault by the combined security forces on the OBR palace on November 27, 2016.

#### **e) Struggle for leadership and Power**

The study asked respondents whether struggle for Political power is a serious driver of conflicts in Rwenzururu sub region and the results as indicated in table 10 above; were that 188 (47%) of the respondents strongly agreed, 160 (40%) agreed, 52 (13%) were not sure and none disagreed. Thus, majority of the respondents agreed and this means that struggle for leadership and power is a serious driver of conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region where the study found out that power is in most cases shared based on ethnic divides.

The study revealed that, conflict in the Rwenzururu sub region has posed numerous challenges to the peaceful coexistence of the local population and sometimes to the peaceful relations with the State. This is rightly collaborated by Horowitz (1985) arguing that conflict strains the bonds that sustain civility and is often at the root of violence that results into looting, death, displacements of large numbers of people, and homelessness. He pointed out that in divided societies, conflict is always at the center of politics.

As contended by the respondents, the study also revealed that the Rwenzururu people especially in Kasese district vote their leaders basing on the ethnic groupings. For example, the Bakonzo respondents on March 4, 2019 told this researcher thus; “*we cannot vote a person who belongs or is connected to the Basongora*”. This was proved by the fact that, apparently there was no member of parliament from Kasese district who is from the Basongora group. In return, the Bakonzo majority use their dominance of the political power to attack and fight the weaker ethnic groups not only in Kasese district but in the entire Rwenzururu sub region hence, the continuing conflicts in the sub region. This to a greater extent, drives the Basongora to push for their independent cultural institution.

#### **f) Post-election Activities**

The study asked respondents whether the post-election activities are among the drivers of conflicts in Rwenzururu sub region and the results as indicated in table 10 above; were that 132 respondents representing (33%) strongly agreed, 120 respondents representing (30%) agreed, 52 (13%) were not sure, 44 respondents representing (11%) disagreed and 52 (13) of the respondents strongly disagreed.

This means that the majority (252 representing 63%) of the respondents this researcher interviewed agreed that post-election activities are a serious driver of conflicts in that the outcome of the 2016 general elections serious drivers of the 2016 post-election violent clashes in the Rwenzururu sub region. They largely attributed the late 2016 Rwenzururu clashes to the government (NRM) loss in the 2016 general elections in the sub region.

This study found out that during the 2016 general elections, the opposition Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) made alliance with the Bakonzo based OBR Monarchy to gain political power by the

later hoping that the former would grant their ethnical demands because access to political power by and large, determines the distribution of socio-economic and socio-political benefits.

As such, the FDC took almost all the Parliamentary seats in the Bakonzo dominated areas of the Rwenzururu sub region. They asserted that this political loss did not auger well with the government (NRM) and thus, could have made the government and its security forces to fabricate rebel and other criminal allegations against the leaders of OBR institution in order to justify the attacks on the OBR palace that occurred on November 27, 2016.

However, the security operatives and government officials who were interviewed for this study contended that NRM loss of 2016 general elections happened not only in the Rwenzururu sub region but in many other parts of the country and there has been no such violent conflictual occurrences. In any case, the attacks in Rwenzururu sub region occurred in 2012 and 2014 far before 2016 general elections.

According to the respondents' assertions, this study established that in 2014, the attacks were conducted by the youth wing of the Rwenzururu Kingdom; the *Isyomango Syo Businga*. These attackers subsequently graduated into a militia, that was trained, uniformed, armed, camped, and under a well-established command and control structure that was composed of the strong hearted and keepers of a secret (the Kilhumira Mutima) who occasioned most of the violent attacks in the sub region. The security respondents emphasised that the violent occurrences in the area are a matter of security and rule of law (criminality) for which some people should be held accountable. The study also discovered that majority of the people in the Rwenzururu sub region are youth who in most cases become most vulnerable to socio-economic and socio-political manipulations and these are politically radicalised. For instance, these engaged much in the post-election violent activities in 2016/2017, which included riots and demonstrations and left 137 people dead, over 200 injured and over 150 displaced.

#### **g) Discriminative and Misconceived Governance Policies**

The study asked respondents whether discriminative and misconceived governance policies are significant drivers of conflicts in Rwenzururu sub region and the results as indicated in table 10 above were that: 160 (40%) Strongly Agreed, 100 (25%) agreed, 20 (5%) were not sure, 80 (20%) disagreed,

40 (10%) strongly disagreed. This meant that majority of the respondents (260 representing 65%), agreed that discriminative and misconceived governance policies have significantly aggravated the conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region.

The study found out that political leadership and power in Rwenzururu sub region is held on ethnic basis, the ethnic group in control formulates and enforces governance policies that favour mainly members of their own ethnic group and hence, discriminate against other ethnic groups in the sub region. For example, the Basongora group in Kasese district was allocated land that was part of the gazetted Queen Elizabeth National Park, which has been long restricted to the Bakonzo and this makes them to feel that they are being excluded, ignored and discriminated in their own land. Therefore, this study concluded that these discriminative governance tendencies drive the prospects for violent conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region.

The study also found out that there was the problem of misconception of some of the government policies such the creation of more cultural institutions and administrative units like the Districts, Counties, municipalities or sub counties and town councils in the sub region.

As contended by the respondents, the study established that the decentralisation policy of governance introduced in Uganda in the 1990s, allowed people to demand for separate districts and other administrative units based on ethnic sentiments. This has contributed to the escalation of conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region because a district or administrative unit is perceived as an autonomous center for social service delivery, employment opportunities and power to access and control resources and influence governance decisions. This has motivated people that share common interests and identity in the area, to demand for separate district status. This is evident in Kasese and Bundibugyo districts, where the Basongora and Banyabindi were demanding for separate districts owing to the perceived marginalisation by the majority Bakonzo and Bamba/Babwisi communities who are currently in control.

This situation was rightly collaborated by RFPJ and KRC (2012), when they observe that the NRM government policy of decentralisation allowing the creation of new administrative units and new cultural institutions in the various parts of the country, re-awakened the historical conflicts and the

feelings of inequality between the various ethnic groups in the Rwenzururu sub region. Thus, they developed the fears that certain cultural or ethnic groups would have little or no share in the available natural resources such as land and the recently discovered oil and gas in the region. As a result thereof; the Rwenzururus revived their idea of cessation to form their own separate State - the Yiira State for purposes of political autonomy, self-governance and self-determination.

The study therefore, concluded that failure by the government to grant the demands for the cultural institutions, districts and administrative units, makes the aggrieved groups misconceive the policy as being discriminative and thus, the conflictual conduct.

#### **4.4.2 Economic Drivers of Conflict in the Rwenzururu Sub Region**

##### **a) Struggle for Access and Control of Natural Resources**

The study asked respondents whether the struggle for access and control of natural resources such as land and minerals is another driver of conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region. The results as indicated in table 10 were that: 80 (20%) strongly agreed, 180 (45%) agreed, 40 (10%) were not sure, 60 (15%) disagreed and 40 (10%) strongly disagreed.

The majority of 260 representing 65% of the respondents agreed with the statement and thus, meaning that struggling or fighting for access and control of natural resources such as land and minerals is another driver of especially ethnic related conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region.

The study revealed that the Rwenzururu people have perceptions and stereotype thinking that, other ethnic groups in the area especially the Batooro were highly favored by both colonial and post-independence governance structures in Uganda, when distributing natural resources such as land and minerals and social service benefits.

The study also found out that the high level of unequal distribution of land is a key driver of conflicts in this area yet land access and use are significant factors of growth and development of an area. Following the colonial government's decision to gazette most of the land in this sub region as national parks and game reserves such as Semuliki, Queen Elizabeth, and Rwenzori National Parks, there is

inequitable access to and use of arable land. This has since become one of the structural causes of the high levels of poverty that has always been exploited by the organisers and perpetrators of conflicts in the region leading to breakdown of rule of law and hence, insecurity.

This was collaborated by the Kajura Commission of Inquiry (2005), that there are serious claims after claims over land rights between the Bakonzo and other communities in the Rwenzururu sub region. It is alleged to be one of the key causes of conflict in the sub region. The commission strongly recommended government intervention on the matter of land rights and thus, Land disputes entail thorough investigations in order to provide lasting solutions for peace and stability of the Rwenzururu sub region and entire Rwenzori region of Western Uganda.

This is collaborated by Alisan (2000); that in the northern part of Kenya, the distribution of the colonial settler land to the local communities took an ethnic twist leading to unequal economic growth and development as in all other areas. They lack good roads, health and education facilities, and other essential national services yet these are some of the key drivers of economic growth and development of an area.

As a result thereof, this has caused many conflicts such as inter-ethnic clashes. All these have had severe implications on the rule of law and security in the affected areas.

### **b) High levels of Poverty**

The study asked respondents whether poverty is a driver of conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region and the results as indicated in table 10 above, were that; 132 (33%) strongly agreed, 200 (50%) agreed and 68 (17%) disagreed. This means that majority of the respondents (332 representing 83%) agreed with the statement and thus, it implies that the high level of poverty is a serious driver of conflict in the Rwenzururu sub region. As contended by the respondents, the study found out that there is a high level of poverty in the Rwenzururu sub region. This makes people in the area to resort to violent activities as a way of earning a living. The unemployed youth are highly manipulated into radicalism when they are duped into securing them income-generating placements and hence, some of them end up into rebel

activities and other law violating transactions. As such, they create challenges of insecurity and hence, breakdown of the rule of law and vice versa.

#### **4.4.3 Social Drivers of Conflict in the Rwenzururu Sub Region**

##### **a) Ethnic Divisions and cultural differences**

The study asked respondents whether ethnic divisions and cultural differences among the people of the Rwenzururu sub region are drivers of conflicts. The results as indicated in table 10 above were that; 88 (22%) of the respondents strongly agreed, 188 (47%) agreed, 80 (20%) of the respondents disagreed, 20 (7%) strongly disagreed and 20 (5%) of the respondents were not sure. This means therefore that, majority of the respondents (268 representing 67%) agreed with the statement and this implied that ethnic divisions and cultural differences among the people living in Rwenzururu sub region are also a driver for conflicts in the area.

Contending to the respondents, the study found out that the differences in ethnicity, tradition, cultural practices, values, beliefs, norms and the possible fear of suppression is a driver of ethnic based conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region. On 5<sup>th</sup> March 2019, one respondent - the Chairman LCV of Bundibugyo District told this researcher that the Bakonzo who are the dominant group especially in Kasese District, have always wanted to impose their traditions, and cultural values and beliefs on all the other ethnic groups in the area such as the Baamba and Basongora. The Bakonzo claimed that the existence of Baamba and Basongora in an area under the Bakonzo dominated OBR was in a way undermining the OBR Kingdom powers and authority. The Basongora on the other hand, also wanted to establish their own kingdom following the creation of OBB and all within the jurisdiction of the Bakonzo dominated OBR. This has always caused conflicts in the sub region. This was well collaborated by Elisha (2003), that cultural or ethnic related conflicts are always the result of the quest for cultural/group autonomy by those groups who are suspicious of cultural assimilation by the dominant group(s).

This position is also supported by Kanyangara (2016), when he observes that ethnic and cultural dynamics are a strong conflict driver in the countries of the great lakes region of Africa (Uganda or Rwenzururu sub region inclusive). Unlike other regions, conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region in



particular and Uganda at large, have been motivated not by ideology, but typically by ethnicity or by political leaders' ability to arouse ethnic and cultural hostility for their own gains. To understand the dimension of ethnicity in the Rwenzururu sub region, one has to first understand that the ethnic distribution of Bakonzo, Banande and Baamba is not confined within the political boundaries of Uganda. More than five million Bakonzo and Banande are located across in the DRC. These trace their ancestry to the Bayiira community in the DRC's Kivu province. Therefore, once a conflict with an ethnic factor erupts in the Rwenzururu sub region or Eastern DRC, it is very easy for politicians and other elites who have direct interests to manipulate and exploit these cross-border ethnic ties to create alliances, regardless of the political boundaries of the countries. Kanyangara (2016), emphasises that conflicts over intolerable moral differences tend to be intractable and long lasting. These fundamental moral, religious, political, cultural and personal values, norms and beliefs are not easily changed, and people who adhere to a particular ideology may very well be unwilling to compromise their world view and hence eminence of conflict.

The study therefore, concluded that the case of Rwenzururu in Western Uganda is a clear replica in that the Rwenzururus have their fundamental moral, religious, political, cultural and social values, norms and beliefs that they safeguard strongly and are not ready for any kind of compromise. Hence, any clash in the values, norms, beliefs and Ideologies of the various ethnic groups in the Rwenzururu sub region is a key driver of ethnic and cultural related conflicts in the area.

### **b) Perceptions and Stereotyping**

The study asked respondents whether ethnic and political perceptions and stereotyping were drivers of the destructive conflicts in Rwenzururu sub region; and the results as indicated in table 10 above were that; 88 (22%) of the respondents strongly agreed, 188 (47%) agreed, 80 (20%) disagreed, 24 (6%) strongly disagreed and 20 (5%) of the respondents were not sure. This means therefore that, majority of the respondents (276 representing 68%) agreed with the statement; implying that ethnic and political perceptions and stereotyping greatly contributed to the perpetration of destructive conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region. The study found out that initially the Batooro always thought that the Rwenzururus were not civilised simply because of their difference in physique and cultural practices

that were believed to be inferior to theirs. This historically caused tensions and hence, violent conflicts between the Batooro and Bakonzo/Baamba. Later the conflict arose between the Bakonzo and Baamba, Basongora and other ethnicities in the area when the Bakonzo monarchy diehards also held similar sentiments that they were more superior to the rest of the ethnic groups in the area. This was well collaborated by Mwambusia (2012), that ethnic and political perceptions and stereotyping are at the center and thus, have greatly contributed to the perpetration of destructive conflicts in Uganda as a country. The monarchical societies in Uganda possess such ethnic and political perceptions and stereotype of thinking that they are more civilised and hence superior, and the non-monarchists are primitive. Mwambusa (2012), argues further that it is this ethnic and political perceptions and stereotype of thinking which was responsible for the 2009 Kayunga riots that left 27 people dead when the Government security forces stopped the Kabaka of Buganda from visiting Bugerere which now under the Banyara Cultural leader – the Sabanyara (Mwambusa, 2012). This always leads to the breakdown of rule of law and hence, a cause for insecurity in the affected area.

### **c) Social Inequalities**

The study asked respondents whether social inequalities is considered as a driver of conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region and the results as indicated in table 10 above were that; 200 (50%) of the respondents strongly agreed, 160 (40%) agreed, 24 (6%) disagreed and 12 (3%) strongly disagreed. Thus, the majority (360 representing 90 %) of the respondents agreed and this implied that social inequalities is considered as a serious driver of conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region. The study therefore concluded that Social inequalities is another serious cause of conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region leading to a breakdown in the rule of law and thus, cause for insecurity.

### **d) Unemployment**

The researcher asked the respondents whether unemployment is also a serious driver of conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region and the results as indicated in table 10 above were that; 132 (33%) strongly agreed, 200 (50%) agreed and 68 (17%) disagreed. This means that majority (332 representing 83%) of

the respondents agreed with the statement and thus, it implied that the high level of unemployment is a serious driver of conflict in the Rwenzururu sub region.

Inferring to the respondents, the study found out that there is a high level of unemployment in the Rwenzururu sub region especially the young generation who are very energetic and active. Many of them have families both nucleus and extended, which they have to support both socially and economically and yet they are unemployed. This forces them into dubious and sometimes violent activities in order to earn a living. The unemployed youth are highly manipulated into radicalism by the perpetrators of conflict and insecurity in the area, when they are duped into being offered income-generating placements. Some of them end up into rebel activities and other law violating transactions. As such, they create challenges of insecurity and hence, breakdown of the rule of law and vice versa.

This is rightly collaborated by Akowe (2010), that employment opportunities are a gate-path to social and economic welfare, which in return influences all the other undertakings of humanity. As such, causes of conflict also revolve around issues of income generating placements hence, the concerns of unemployment. Challenges of unemployment cut across age and ethnicity. The youth especially, feel highly marginalised, leaving them to be manipulated and used by the perpetrators of conflicts and insecurity where they engage for purposes of social identity, economic survival and to let out their frustrations. This leaves all the qualified members of the other ethnic groups feeling deprived and marginalised and hence, they resort to violent or aggressive means of addressing their grievances and in any attempt to address their numerous political, economic and social needs and wants.

This researcher therefore, concludes that biased or ethnic based employment/placements where the appointing or employing ethnic group only favours members of their own ethnic group; is a serious driver of conflict in many parts of the world and thus, it leads to outright outbreak of conflict and causing a breakdown of the rule of law and resulting into insecurity.

#### **4.5 Influence of Conflict on Security**

Conflicts in the world always take a violent or physical nature but also structural and the effects of such conflicts are many and they are of a multiple and complex nature. Thus, the effects of the Rwenzururu

conflict, like the drivers, take the forms of political, economic and social contexts.

The researcher asked respondents whether conflict has influence on security in the Rwenzururu sub region; and the results were as indicated in table 11 below:

**Table 11: Influence of Conflict on Security in the Rwenzururu sub region**

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly Disagree	27	6.7	6.7
	Disagree	54	13.4	20.1
	Not Sure	0	0	20.1
	Agree	186	46.6	66.7
	Strongly Agree	133	33.3	100
	<b>Total</b>	<b>400</b>	<b>100</b>	

**Source: Primary data (2019)**

From table 11 above, 133 (33.3%) of the respondents strongly agreed, 186 (46.6%) agreed, 27 (6.7%) strongly disagreed and 54 (13.4%) disagreed. This means that majority of the respondents (319 representing 79.9%) agreed with the statement that conflict has influence on security in the Rwenzururu sub region both politically, economically and socially.

The study found out that conflict greatly influences the provision of in the Rwenzururu sub region in that it leads to political, economic and social instabilities. These instabilities lead to both State and human insecurity. This was collaborated by Kanyangara (2016), that the community with conflicts is prone to both political, economic and social crises.

The study thus, concluded that conflictual mindset leads to break down in the observation of rule of law and hence, causing both State and human insecurity. Equally, public mistrust causes insecurity leading to the breakdown of rule of law. These are expounded as hereunder:

#### **4.5.1 Political Instabilities**

Inferring to the majority of the respondents, the study found out that conflict influences security in the Rwenzururu sub region of Western Uganda and thus, it causes political insatiability / insecurity such as

public mistrust, public riots and demonstrations, and in some cases rebel activities. The study found out that some groups of people try to get through unconstitutional means to address their perceived political inequalities. This was clearly out-played in the political landscape of Rwenzururu sub region especially in Kasese district where it was clearly visible that the events that led to post-election violent conflicts in 2016, were dully perpetuated mostly by politicians especially those who had lost during the elections. This sometimes leads to destructive riots and demonstrations that exert pressure and thus, compromises both National and human security.

The study established that ethnic motivated conflicts like the one between the Bakonzo and Baamba, and between the Bakonzo and Basongora, leave the community with a lot of public mistrust. The environment becomes unsuitable for any growth and development activity to take place and weaves through people's minds in that, good political leaders are not chosen to run the state/public affairs simply because of the bias arising from the conflictual mindset and mistrust.

UBOS (2014), states that the youth constitute 78.9% of the Population in Uganda; and as collaborated by the Human Rights Watch (2017), the 2016 post-election violence in the Rwenzururu sub region especially in Kasese district, demonstrated how violent the youth engaged in the Rwenzururu conflict under the umbrella of Omusinga Royal guards; a paramilitary youth militia believed to have been funded and mobilised by the non-youth officials of the Rwenzururu monarchy. The study, concluded that conflict has greatly influenced the provision of security and in the Rwenzururu sub region.

#### **4.5.2 Economic Insecurity**

As indicated in table 11 above, majority of the respondents told this researcher that conflict has greatly influenced security in the Rwenzururu sub region in that; conflicts had created economic insecurity by hindering the economic growth and development activities in the sub region.

The study found out that due to persistent conflicts, the Rwenzururu sub region had suffered irreparable loss of both human, financial and natural resources that could have propelled the economic growth and development of the area. Other problems such as food insecurity, destruction of property and infrastructural disruption, Waste of Human and Economic Resources, and Weakening and slowing

down Economic Development had greatly accelerated economic insecurity in the Rwenzururu sub region. The study further found out that, local and international investors fear to invest in the Rwenzururu sub region partially due to the persistent conflicts. Tourism was also hindered by the level of insecurity faced during such conflicts. This researcher therefore, concluded that conflict greatly influences security in the Rwenzururu sub region.

#### **4.5.3 Social Insecurity**

From the majority of respondents as indicated in table 11 above, the study found out that conflict has influence on security in the Rwenzururu sub region in that; conflicts had damaged relationships between the different social groups in the sub region and hence, the society had become difficult to manage and control which was a clear indicator of a collapse of rule of law leading to insecurity.

The study revealed that ethnic related conflicts created serious lawlessness and thus, insecurity in the Rwenzururu sub region with spillover effects to the entire Rwenzori region of Western Uganda. This has created national security implications. People were afraid that the growing ethnic animosity in the area especially between Bakonzo and Basongora and, between the Bakonzo and Baamba would adversely affect the entire sub region, despite the claims to the contrary by some actors.

The study also found out that the said elimination or displacement of the breadwinners of the families had caused social insecurity in the sub region in that there was increase of destitutes, beggars, prostitution, school drop outs, early marriages and idleness of the unemployed among others.

Sadly, still, where both parents died, the children both boys and girls were forced to assume parental roles at tender ages. This has its negative social implications hence, the social insecurity. In most cases the wounds left in the psyche of these people might not be obvious, but are often said to be mentally, psychologically and emotionally far reaching. These children always grow up with their minds fixed on hatred and set for revenge when given the chance.

The study revealed that conflict has greatly affected and destroyed the social democratic values and norms of the people in the Rwenzururu sub region in that, there are common social and democratic

concerns that conflicts had increased social insecurity evidenced by the increased crime rates in the area which have distorted the democratic norms and values of the Rwenzururu people hence, cause for insecurity in the area. The study also found out that socially, conflict greatly influenced the provision of security in the Rwenzururu sub region by causing loss of lives and property and, displacement and traumatising of many of the Rwenzururu people.

The study found out that, social effects of conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region included victims of the conflict who were left homeless, injured, destitute dead, abused, and increased public mistrust. For instance, during the 2016/17 clashes between the different ethnic groups in the sub region, and between the government security forces and the OBR royal guards, there was rampant violation of rule of law coupled with insecurity.

Conflict also influences security by causing social divisions and social polarization or displacements besides damaging social relationships. Conflicts undermine positive social attitudes and hence, creates opposition between social groups, deepens differences between people and thus, social amenities and lives of the people are affected at large.

Social insecurity was rightly collaborated by Jafaru (1987), that conflicts create acute insecurity among social groups in society. Conflicts usually result into not only the destruction and loss of property and lives, but also damages social relationships and causes social divisions and social polarisation, and social displacements in terms of refugees and forced migration of hundreds of thousands of people. Conflict also undermines positive social attitudes, creates opposition between social groups, deepens differences between people, causes public mistrust and hence, social amenities and lives of the people are affected at large. The study therefore, concludes that conflict has serious influence on security in that conflict leads to social insecurity which leads to the breakdown of rule of law and cause for both State and human insecurity.

#### **4.6 Influence of Conflict on Rule of Law and Security**

The researcher asked respondents whether conflict has influence on the rule of law and security in the Rwenzururu sub region. The results were as indicated in table 12 below:

**Table 12: Influence of Conflict on Rule of Law and Security in Rwenzururu sub region**

		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Cumulative Percent</b>
Valid	Strongly Disagree	0	0	0
	Disagree	60	15	15
	Not Sure	20	5	20
	Agree	212	53	73
	Strongly Agree	108	27	100
	Total	400	100	

**Source: Primary data (2019)**

From table 12 above, 108 (27%) strongly agreed, 212 (53%) agreed, 20 (5%) were not sure and 60 (15%) disagreed. This means that majority (320 representing 80%) of the respondents agreed with the statement that Conflict has influence on the rule of law and security in the Rwenzururu sub region though there was the minority of 60 representing 15% of the respondents who disagreed.

#### **4.6.1 Influence of conflict on Rule of law**

Inferring to the majority of the respondents as indicated in table 12 above, the study found out that conflict has influence on rule of law which in turn also has influence on security in that; law enforcers and security actors face a number of challenges in their endeavours to observe rule of law and guarantee security in conflict situations such as in the case of the Rwenzururu sub region. Failure to observe the principles or elements of rule of law such as respect for: human rights; constitutionalism; international norms, laws and standards; and good governance leads to lapses in the provision of and hence, guaranteeing both state and human security in the sub region. This causes both political, economic and social insecurity (effects) to the people in the area and hence, creating misnomers and misconceptions, promoting corruption tendencies, and politicisation of security matters among others.

Contending to the respondents coupled with the review of available literature, the study revealed that conflict influences rule of law which in turn also influences security as discussed hereunder.

Inferring from the majority of the respondents, the study found out that conflict has influence on rule of law in the Rwenzururu sub region in that; during conflict situations, actors face several challenges that



hamper the effective debating, Planning, agreement on and implementation of rule of law the security programs and operations. These challenges have connotation to the observation of the principles of rule of law hence, influencing the provision of security in society. As collaborated by Chuter (2016), security and conflict resolution policy frameworks and the long-term peace and stability of society are all best built on the solid foundation of the rule of law under its five major elements of: Efficacy; Stability; Supremacy of the legal authority; impartial justice and; the capacity of legal rules, standards, or principles to guide all people in the conduct of their affairs. The study revealed that once conflict breaks out, it causes a breakdown of that solid foundation by collapsing the basic rule of law principles which are: Existence of a strong government; Governance according to the law; Equality before the law by all citizens; Independence of the judiciary; Respect for Human Rights; Representative Government; parliamentary supremacy; Fair law of criminal process; Effective system of administrative law; Respect for international laws; and ensuring Social justice. Rule of law is therefore, the vehicle and its manifestation towards the attainment of peace and security of the society. Thus, when conflict breaks out, it collapses the solid foundation of rule of law which, *inter alia*, leads to the following:

**a) Political mistrust among the Public**

Inferring to the majority of the respondents, the study found out that conflict leads to Political mistrust among the public in that, a web of biased thinking is weaved in people's minds such that good leaders are not chosen to run the state or public affairs simply because of the bias in identifying key political players, as a result of public mistrust. This leaves a state led by all kinds of leaders who in turn create animosity rather than building nationhood and hence, the breakdown of rule of law. This is collaborated by Copley (2008), positing that healthy politics holistically brings about democracy, negative politics normally causes conflicts and conflicts lead to poor democracy as well as bad politics. This leads to the breakdown of rule of law and hence, a cause of insecurity.

**b) Total Breakdown of rule of law principles**

Inferring to Chuter (2016), the study found out that in a conflict situation, both state and human security are compromised or grossly abused in that there is always severe breakdown or failure of observing the

principles of rule of law, by the actors in that there is always: gross abuse of human rights; no respect for municipal or international laws, norms and standards; principles of good governance are neither respected nor followed; not all people are equally subjected to the same law of the land; independence of the judiciary is grossly compromised; there is governance according to the law but by the law; representative government becomes of theory rather than practice; parliamentary supremacy turns out to be parliamentary rubber stamping; there is unfair law of criminal process; there is no effective system of administrative law. As such, the end result of all this, is existence of a weak government in which case; the country may end up with a maximal state conception where social justice and public security are never guaranteed.

### **c) Hampering National Political Development**

Conflicts affect the democratic values and norms of the affected society (the Rwenzururu people) and thus, derail the country's viable political transitions and consequently decimates the aspirations of producing and building a nation or statehood hence, hampering the national political growth and development.

All these contribute to the electoral violence and conflicts that we have witnessed over the years. For instance, the electoral manipulations and violence instigated in the 1980 general elections in Uganda, led to the political instability and total breakdown of rule of law, which culminated into a violent conflict of the 1981 to 1986 civil war that brought NRA/NRM to power and not forgetting the 1985 military coup.

As collaborated by Gandu (2004), in Africa (Uganda inclusive), political evaluation has been characterised by periodic instabilities instigated mostly as a result of manipulations of community by the political elitists as a political survival strategy since it is the Community rather than the political parties, who select the political leaders through elections.

In a conflict situation, most politicians are particular about who takes what, rather than how democratic norms and values would be entrenched in the nation. Thus, country's political future depends on the level at which the various community components can avoid conflicts by tolerating each other.

#### **4.6.2 Influence of Rule of Law on Security**

Inferring to the majority of the respondents as indicated in table 12 above, coupled with the literature review, the study found out that rule of law is the basic structure that holds the social justice, legal and security frameworks. Thus, rule of law ought to be observed at all times so as to ensure prevention and mitigation of conflicts or recovery from conflict situations that involve complex sets of interrelated problems; from concrete manifestations of violence and injustice to broader institutional gaps, as well as social-political and socio-economic failures. As such, rule of law influences both state and human security and in attempt by the actors to resolve or prevent conflicts in that:

##### **a) Rule of law is the Basic Structure for peace and security**

The study revealed that rule of law is the basic structure that holds the social justice, legal and security frameworks. Thus, once rule of law is observed at all times so is conflict prevention, mitigation or recovery from conflict situations that involve complex sets of interrelated problems; from concrete manifestations of violence and injustice to broader institutional gaps, as well as social-political and socio-economic failures.

This was collaborated by Asiimwe (2017), that rule of Law means a basic structural system where all the people and the government institutions and officials are equally subjected to the same law of the land which is formal, substantive, non-contradictory and it is enforced impartially while observing both national and international norms and standards. Thus, rule of law means the supremacy of the law and hence, the basic structure upon which the provision of security depends. As such, rule of law supports everything: the functioning of the economy, a functioning free and fair political system, development of the civil society and public confidence in the country's law enforcement institutions and mechanisms. All these in turn lead to peace and stability of society.

##### **b) Rule of law facilitates policy framework for conflict resolution**

The study found out that rule of law influences security in that; security and conflict resolution policy frameworks and the long-term peace and stability of society are all best built on the solid foundation of

the rule of law under its five major elements of: Efficacy; Stability; Supremacy of the legal authority; impartial justice and; the capacity of legal rules, standards, or principles to guide all people in the conduct of their routine affairs. This is collaborated by Chuter (2016), that peace and stability of a country is sustained when the security and conflict policy frameworks are all built on a solid foundation of rule of law under its major elements and principles. These guide both the state and the citizenry in the conduct of their daily affairs.

### **c) Rule of law guarantees Good Governance**

The study revealed that rule of law influences security in that it guarantees good governance once its principles are observed such as constitutionalism, respect for human rights, equal subjection to the law of the law and, observing international standards and norms hence, ensuring peace and stability of society.

This is collaborated by Kanyeihamba (1975), that rule of law means mainly three things: absolute supremacy of regular law as opposed to the influence or arbitrary exercise of power and everyman owes allegiance only to the law of the land; equality of all citizens before the same law of the land and; law is not the source but the consequence of the rights of individuals.

This is also collaborated by Katherine (2008), that the widespread purposes of the rule of law are essentially three: It guarantees good governance by ensuring security, predictability and reason; It serves and thus, protects against anarchy and the Hobbesian war of all against all; It enables people plan their lives confidently knowing in advance the legal consequences of their actions; and It guards against some official arbitrariness.

### **d) Rule of law helps Building the Social Contractual Relationship**

The study found out that Rule of law helps in the building of the social contractual relationship between the state/government and the citizenry by facilitating the security forces in their routines in that; they must observe the principles and elements of rule of law in such a manner that increases peace and stability, prevents or resolves conflict(s) and advances common interests, norms and standards; both

municipal and international. This is collaborated by Chuter (2016), when he stated that Rule of Law is fundamentally about the social contractual relationship between the citizenry and the state, and the state actions in turn are influenced by cultural, social, military, economic and historical specificities, and by the processes of politics.

**e) Rule of law is a Pillar of justice and security**

The study found out that rule of law is a pillar of justice and security in that; both Rule of Law and access to Justice fall within the focus areas of democratic governance and, conflict prevention and recovery. Rule of law equally helps to address the need for security and access to justice by the vulnerable groups such as women and children. As such, particular emphasis is placed on principles of rule of law and hence, ensuring effective access to justice for the victims of conflict.

This is collaborated by the UN Security Council Report (2004), that the strengthening of the rule of law to prevent, mitigate or recover from conflict entails a complex set of interrelated factors; from concrete manifestations of violence and injustice to broader institutional gaps of socio-political and socio-economic needs. In a conflict situation, the protection of citizens' rights and freedoms warrants empowerment of national capacities to counter the "rule by force" with the rule of law to facilitate early recovery and subsequent conflict management. In the aftermath of a conflict, rule of law is paramount in creating a conducive environment that enhances recovery; and in the final analysis, the rule of law provides the very foundation for the achievement of the country's lasting peace and stability.

**f) Rule of law Supports Capacity Development of Key Security and Justice Institutions**

The study found out that rule of law influences security in that it supports the capacity development of security and justice institutions; because a comprehensive approach to peace and security warrants fully-fledged investment in national rule of law institutions leading to stabilisation of the security situation.

Given the interdependence between rule of law institutions and security institutions, mutually reinforcing assistance will address. This is collaborated by the UNDP Strategic Plan (2008 – 2011); that

developing the capacity of security and justice institutions encompasses legal and policy advice and legal technical assistance in:

- i) Developing plans and measures for structural/institutional reforms;
- ii) Upgrading knowledge base and developing technical/professional skills, as well as legal imperatives and principles, among the security and justice service providers;
- iii) Providing access to operational tools and basic infrastructure;
- iv) Promoting attitudes conducive to professional integrity, human rights and gender-equality in the security and justice institutions; and
- v) Supporting knowledge-sharing networks among the security and justice institutions.

**g) Rule of law facilitates Transitional Justice, Peace and Stability**

Inferring to the respondents and literature review, the study found out that Rule of law facilitates building of transitional justice and hence, the consolidation of peace, security and stability of the country and hence, helping in addressing justice in the aftermath of massive human rights violations and restoring public confidence in justice and security institutions, and providing an avenue for national reconciliation. As such, the design of transitional justice mechanisms will be anchored in national peace building processes and oriented towards international norms and standards. This will entail inclusive and participatory consultations, capacity development of justice and security institutions and confidence-building.

This is collaborated by the UNDP Strategic Plan (2008 – 2011), that rule of law facilitates transitional justice, peace and stability which is very instrumental in the restoration of the post-conflict community security and social cohesion. Rule of law entails the full range of processes and mechanisms to address past large-scale abuses, such as individual prosecutions, reparations, truth-seeking, institutional reforms, vetting, dismissals or a combination of these in post-conflict settings.

**h) Rule of law promotes Confidence Building and Reconciliation**

Inferring to the majority of the respondents as indicated under table 12 above, the study found out that rule of law promotes confidence building and reconciliation, leading to peace and security of the

society. By observing the principles and elements of rule of law, particular attention is given to effective rebuilding of public trust and nurturing national reconciliation. Cutting across the full spectrum of assistance, confidence-building activities will seek to promote dialogue, communication and peaceful conflict resolution.

This is collaborated by Buzan (1991), that confidence and trust building activities underpin all rule of law programming. These efforts include peace and conflict-sensitive programming; focused on structural causes of conflict, participatory methods, consensus building, awareness raising, communication and dialogue between rule of law service providers such as the Police, Intelligentsia and Army on one hand, and the population on the other.

**i) Rule of law facilitates developing effective Justice Systems**

The study revealed that rule of law influences the provision of security in that, it helps to develop effective justice systems in the country which leads to effective law enforcement mechanisms. Rule of law helps the country to strengthen national systems for the administration of justice in conflict situations in accordance with international norms and standards. This is collaborated by Buzan (1991); that the management of public security obliges to act directly for the protection of human rights and freedoms and, human security in general where conflict has eroded or frustrated the functioning of rule of law. In the long term, no adhoc, temporary or external measures can ever replace a functioning national justice system. Thus, rule of law helps the country to strengthen national systems for the administration of justice in conflict areas in accordance with international norms and standards.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study based on the findings; anchored on the study objectives and research questions.

#### 5.2 Summary of Study Findings

This section presents the summary of the major findings obtained as per the research objectives and research questions anchored on the topic of study.

##### 5.2.1 The Drivers of the Rwenzururu Conflict

The study found out that the drivers of conflict in the Rwenzururu sub region of Western Uganda are complex and often, they underlie actual or perceived inequalities, grievances and differences between ethnic groups, which among others results into violent expression of the grievances. Majority of the respondents agreed that the drivers of these conflicts are essentially and broadly anchored on political, economic and social contexts. Political grievances are essentially attributed to historical connotations and colonial legacies (with 87% agree rate), struggle for political autonomy and self-determination (with 87% agree rate), struggle for leadership and power (with 86% agree rate), discriminatory and misconceived government policies (with 65% agree rate), ethnic divisions and cultural differences (with 68% agree rate), post-election activities (with 67% agree rate).

Economic factors are mainly anchored on the struggle for access and control of economic resources such as land and minerals (with 65% agree rate), high levels of poverty (with 83% agree rate), high levels of unemployment especially the youth who are easily manipulated (with 83% agree rate) and unequal distribution of resources and opportunities (with 73% agree rate).

Social factors are anchored on perception and stereo typing (with 68% agree rate), and social inequalities (with 90% agree rate) among others. The study also found out that a number of stakeholders



including the religious leaders were not fully involved in conflict resolution yet they are a big determining factor in the area.

### **5.2.2 The Influence of Conflict on Security in the Rwenzururu sub region**

The study found out that, conflict had greatly influenced and hence, affected the provision of security in the Rwenzururu sub region both politically, economically and socially. Rwenzururu sub region has suffered rampant political instabilities as a result of persistent conflicts (basing on 80% agree rate), public mistrust (basing on 86% agree rate), destruction of social, economic and democratic values and norms (basing on 80% agree rate), loss of lives and property, and displacements and traumatising (basing on 88% agree rate), Social insecurity (basing on 67% agree rate), and economic insecurity (basing on 80% agree rate).

### **5.2.3 Influence of Conflict on Rule of Law and Security in the Rwenzururu Sub Region**

With 80% agree rate, the study revealed that conflict has greatly influenced the rule of law and security in the Rwenzururu sub region in that; conflict collapses the basic principles of rule of law and security. Rule of law is the basic structure that holds the social justice, legal and security frameworks. Rule of law is both a vehicle and its manifestation towards the attainment of peace and security of the society. It is the basic structure that holds the social justice, legal and security frameworks. Rule of Law is the basic structural system where all state and non-state actors are equally subjected to the same law of the land which is formal, substantive, non-contradictory and enforced impartially while observing both national and international norms and standards. Rule of law therefore, means the supremacy of the law and hence, the basic structure upon which peace and security depends. As such, rule of law supports everything: the functioning of the economy, a functioning free and fair political system, development of the civil society and public confidence in the country's law enforcement institutions and mechanisms. All these in turn lead to peace and stability of society and thus, rule of law must be observed at all times so as to prevent conflicts, mitigate conflicts or recover from conflict situations that involve complex sets of interrelated problems; from concrete manifestations of violence and injustice to broader institutional gaps, as well as social-political and socio-economic failures.

Therefore, rule of law must be observed at all times so as to prevent conflicts, mitigate conflicts or recover from conflict situations that involve complex sets of interrelated problems in the Rwenzururu sub region; from concrete manifestations of violence and injustices to broader institutional gaps, as well as social-political and socio-economic failures.

### **5.3 Conclusions**

The study concluded that the genesis and exodus of conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region did not at all start under the current NRM government, but during the pre-colonial times, intensified during the colonial era and have lingered on throughout Uganda's span of independence. The submissions of this study therefore, take into consideration both traditional, historical and contemporary perspectives of the drivers of the conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region and how these conflicts have influenced security and rule of law in the area. As such, the strategies recommended to resolve the conflicts and hence, attain lasting peace and security in the Rwenzururu sub region, ought to be both contextual and situational.

#### **5.3.1 The Drivers of Conflict in the Rwenzururu Sub region**

The study concluded that, the drivers of the conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region are many, multifaceted in nature, and with both constructive and destructive effects on both State and human security. In multi-ethnic communities like in the Rwenzururu sub region, ethnic conflicts are an additional variable in socio-economic development over and above those normally present in more homogeneous communities or societies. The conflicts are anchored on political, economic and social contexts. However, the political drivers of these conflicts are far more considered than the economic and social ones because the political class highly influences all the other factors and hence, most of the conflicts are politically motivated based on ethnic sentiments.

#### **5.3.2 Influence of Conflict on Security**

The study concluded that, the conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region have greatly affected the security in the area and hence, causing both political, economic and social insecurities ; such as: public mistrust, destruction of social democratic values and norms of the Rwenzururu people, loss of lives and property

and, displacement and traumatising of many Rwenzururu people. Economic activities can hardly be seen, physical assaults and loss of lives and property are rampantly witnessed during the conflicts. Very few children were going to schools during conflict times, health services drastically collapsed and the entire growth and development infrastructure totally destroyed. Thus, these instabilities or insecurities eventually lead to the breakdown of rule of law and hence, cause for both state and human insecurity in the sub region.

### **5.3.3 Influence of Conflict on Rule of law and Security**

The study concluded that conflict has greatly influenced the rule of law and security in the Rwenzururu sub region in that; conflict collapses the basic rule of law principles such as: existence of a strong government; governance according to the law; equality before the law by all citizens; independence of the judiciary; respect for human rights; representative government; parliamentary supremacy; fair law of criminal process; effective system of administrative law; respect for international law; and ensuring social justice.

Rule of law influences peace and security in that: it facilitates policy framework for conflict resolution; it guarantees good governance by emphasising constitutionalism, respect for human rights, equal subjection to the law of the law and observing international standards and norms hence, ensuring peace and stability of society; it helps in building the social contractual relationship between the state/government and the citizenry by facilitating the security forces in their routines; it is a pillar of justice and security; it supports capacity development of key security and justice institutions; it facilitates transitional justice, peace and stability; it promotes confidence building and reconciliation; and it facilitates developing effective justice systems. Thus, failure to observe rule of law promotes political, economic and social insecurities, leading to retarded growth and development.

## **5.4 Recommendations**

The study recommended strategies to resolve the conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region, and the need for conducting further research.

#### **5.4.1 Strategies to resolve the Conflict in the Rwenzururu sub region**

The study recommended a number of strategies that can be employed so as to resolve conflicts and achieve lasting rule of law, peace and security in the Rwenzururu sub region:

##### **a) Adopting the Liberalism rather than Realism Approach**

Both state and non-state actors should pursue the all-inclusive and broad-based liberalism approach rather than the realism approach of conventional, confrontational, militarism and criminalisation. This is by involving both state and non-state actors such as; NGOs, traditional and cultural institutions, Religious leaders/institutions, Central and Local Governments, Civil society organisations (CSOs), international organisations, and the local community through their elders and opinion leaders; in identifying the major drivers, effects and dynamics of conflicts and the mechanism for their mitigation, prevention, resolution and management because most of these are indigenous and thus, they are well versed with the situation and hence, can contribute effectively to the lasting solutions thereto.

For this case, all stakeholders and actors including government officials, such as RDCs, DISOs, CAOs and CDOs should be allowed to give their views freely, and should be tasked to submit regular reports regarding conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region in order to guide timely interventions and effective policy formulation.

##### **b) Employing Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) Mechanisms**

State and non-state actors should employ Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) Mechanisms such as; negotiations, mediation, arbitration, conciliation, reconciliation and traditional peace and reconciliation mechanisms such as through the elders, cultural courts and cultural rituals; should be highly encouraged. ADR mechanisms will promote community cohesion, group sentiment, and progressive improvement in an integrated society and hence, achieve lasting peace and security in the area.

##### **c) Employing Traditional Justice Systems**

Local traditional justice methods such as local courts should be encouraged and strengthened to deal with conflicts and violence in the Rwenzururu sub region in order to promote social justice, social

cohesion and co-existence, build peace and stability leading to lasting peace and stability and hence, sustainable growth and development as it was witnessed in other parts of the country such as: *Culo Kwor, Mato Oput, Kayo Cuk, Ailuc, Tonu ci Koka* in Northern Uganda, to deal with the aftermath of the LRA and other conflicts, The *akiriket* for the Karamojongs, and *kitewuliza* for Baganda.

These traditional justice mechanisms should be appropriately considered as *parallel* to formal justice systems, rather than as alternatives. These councils of elders can adjudicate disputes according to traditional customs, values, norms and beliefs; incorporating various cultural teachings and ritual cleansing ceremonies. Sometimes these traditional justice systems can be applied as juridical processes with a strong element of reconciliation to bring justice.

#### **d) Establishing a Truth and Reconciliation Commission**

The government in consultation with other stake holders should work to establish the Truth and Reconciliation Commission to comprehensively and holistically study the grievances of all the ethnic groups in the Rwenzururu sub region in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995 as amended, and recommend the possible redresses; with all stakeholders expounding unity and co-existence among the communities of the Rwenzururu sub region to promote common understanding, harmony and hence, social transformation leading to sustainable growth and development of the area.

#### **e) Shifting from Traditional Power Politics**

The State (government) should shift from the traditional power politics and avoid the negative effects thereof by acting liberal and morally in their routine engagements encouraging non-partisanship. Much as State is the main security and rule of law actor; there are also important non-state actors such as; the people (the Citizens), NGOs and CSOs, and international community who should always be involved in the formulation of security and rule of law policies because much as power remains the main concern of the State; they don't always search for it.

#### **f) Creation of supra-national institutions**

Government (both central and local), supported by other stakeholders, should facilitate the creation of supra-national and supra ethnic institutions replacing the current competitive and conflict prone systems of agitations for tribal/ethnic territorial controls; calling for new transitional norms to check the initiations and perpetuations of conflicts and wars, and their possible negative effects or destructions. There is also need to build non-sectarian strong student (youth) bodies from the grassroots up to the local levels. These will help to solve problems of sectarianism and hence, the alleged marginalisation. There is also need to build non-sectarian student (youth) bodies up to the local levels. These will help to solve problems of sectarianism and hence, the alleged marginalisation.

#### **g) Addressing perceived Historical Injustices**

The government and other stakeholders should thoroughly trace, investigate and, document historical injustices and possible redress by way of reparations preferably physical compensations in case of lost property and human lives; and dully supported by civic education, sensitising the masses on the legislations concerning traditional and cultural institutions, governance and natural resources management and the promotion of initiatives that foster attitude change for social cohesion and transformation, leadership commitment to promoting unity for development and, respect for cultural and other human rights.

The demands for truth and justice, apology and compensation by the colonial powers for the injustices they mated on the people of Uganda in general, and the Rwenzurus in particular, should be addressed for the country to achieve meaningful national and societal reconciliation and unity and hence, lasting peace and security in not only Rwenzuru sub region but the entire country.

#### **h) Revisiting the misperceived and misconceived Government Policies**

The government should consider reformulating some of the policies that are misperceived and hence address the misconceptions that cause conflicts, such as; creations of parallel cultural institutions, creations of administrative units and the decentralisation, which have created a lot of conflicts at the

local levels of governance because in many areas the and RDCs, DISOs and CAOs among others, are clashing with cultural leaders, elders, Local Councils, and the community.

**i) Enhancing Security-Community Relations**

Both State and non-state actors should enhance security-community relations and proactively resolving conflicts by: effectively gathering information, building security-community partnerships to solve an array of societal problems emanating from conflicts; enhancing effectiveness of security operatives through proper training and provision of modern equipment and improved welfare; recruiting and retaining law and security enforcement professionals at the local level so as to ensure presence of highly trained, experienced and thus, professional security forces with enhanced capabilities to provide multi-pronged security services and conduct complex investigations for timely strategic interventions; and effectively anticipate and prepare for new conflict trends and possible exploitation of the emerging opportunities; Human rights organisations and activists should be encouraged to intervene in peace building missions in the area; Government agencies such as DISOs and GISOs should be empowered for the effective and efficient management of the security and rule of law enforcement in the sub region.

**j) Avoid politicising security matters and sectarianism for political gains**

Political and Security (state and non-state) actors in the Rwenzururu sub region, should avoid politicising security and rule of law matters, and sectarianism for political gains but instead, work together as stakeholders to inform the communities on the need for cohesion and co-existence, to exceed denominational and narrow-minded tribalism/ethnic divisions by looking at everybody as a fellow Ugandan brother or sister and thus, equal stakeholders. All actors should embrace the principles of true democracy and allow open, free and fair competition, and freedom of expression that are essential in the process of aggregating unity, cohesion and thus, the growth and development choices. State and non-State actors should employ integrated approach to conflict resolution and accountability in order to fulfil the goals of peace and stability; allowing for all possible justice mechanisms to apply equally without fear or favour. The actors should therefore avoid the political and sectarian gimmicks and

ensure that Justice is affirmed through legitimate processes, and the necessary remedies should be made available to the victims timely.

**k) Re-enforcing the Norms and Values of the Rwenzururu People**

All actors should develop interest in the orientation and re-orientation of the norms and values system of the Rwenzururu people in order to build dynamic families for societal integration and combat the drivers and effects of conflicts such as gender-based violence. Thus, the actors should endeavour to impact on the individuals those norms, values and moral standards that reshape them to make meaningful contributions to the society through exemplary life style and hence, lasting peace and security in the area will be achieved.

**l) Employing Responsible media Campaigns**

The government and other stakeholders should employ responsible media campaigns through the various media platforms such as; electronic media, print media, television stations, radio stations, billboards, newspapers, books and radios (Bizindaro) in the village trading centres. These should be used responsibly to effectively reach the people for effective mass sensitisation and civic education; and hence, to campaign for societal cohesion, co-existence and, conflict resolution, prevention and management. The government through Uganda Communications Commission (UCC) should closely monitor all activities of all local, national and international media houses and networks, operating in the Rwenzururu sub region and ensure that they an eagle's eye in highlighting the possibilities of conflicts and play an integral role of creating harmony to achieve lasting peace, security, nationhood building and development, and avoid hate campaigns, inciting violence and manipulate/misinform the public which is already polarised; as this prolongs and cauterises the conflicts, which may end up into full scale genocide as was the 1994 case in the neighbouring Rwanda.

**m) Review and Implement Recommendations of the 2005 Kajura Ministerial Commission**

The government should review and implement the recommendations of the 2005 Kajura Ministerial Commission (the Kajura Commission) which was set up by President Museveni with emphasis of



investigating the long-standing ethnic conflicts in the Rwenzori sub region. For example, Government should review the territorial boundaries of the ethnic groups within the region; which will be a premise for settling a number of the long-standing tribal/ethnic related conflicts and disputes in the region including the prominent land tensions.

**n) Application of Constitutional and Subordinate Legal means**

The government, in consultation with all the relevant stakeholders, should assess the country's constitutionalism and rule of law, and thus, review the Constitution and the entire legal regime and amend or expunge where necessary areas that are found creating conflicts and insecurity. Through Parliament, Article (246) of the Constitution and other subordinate laws, should be reviewed to address the existing ambiguities and clearly define the powers, functions and attributes of cultural and traditional institutions in Uganda. This will reduce on the ethnic related clashes in the Rwenzururu sub region and elsewhere.

**o) Expediting Investigations and Court Processes**

Law enforcers and security actors should always expedite the processes of investigating cases of suspected conflict perpetrators with a view to respecting the legal provisions appertaining to the rights of the detainees and prisoners; and the circumstances of those who lost their lives and property in the conflicts so as to facilitate possible compensation. Courts of law should expedite the court proceedings and police internal disciplinary processes in order to ensure impartial, transparent, fair and speedy trials, so that justice prevails for the suspects and victims of the conflict incidents in the Rwenzururu incidents.

**p) Political Socialisation and Dialogue**

The government and other stakeholders should enhance political socialisation and dialogue through social events such as sports and games, cultural galas, political debates and study tours; for the local people or groups to acquire social learning in terms of: knowledge, skills, and dispositions that enable them to participate as responsible members of ethnic groups or the entire society. The socialisation and dialogue process creates social order and empowers citizens for political and social participation and

societal integration which are essential for peace and security, leading to sustainable growth and development. Dialogue always leads to opening up, clarifying and solving important issues.

#### **q) Mass Sensitisation and Civic Education**

The government in consultation with other actors, should design a positive policy towards mass sensitization of the general public which is key in curbing negative ethnicity; involving application of Civic education in order to avert the potential danger of inter-ethnic animosity by addressing the need for inter-ethnic harmony and peaceful co-existence among plural ethnic society. This will lead to the development of positive attitudes, interdependence, social justice, equitable distribution, informed decision making, conflict resolution, democracy, and respect for human rights among others

#### **r) Stepping up Government's economic intervention Programs**

Government in collaboration with the development partners, should effectively step up the operationalisation of strategic economic intervention programs for the idle youth and women who are susceptible to unlawful activities: Youth Livelihood Program, SAGE, Women's Fund, Savings and Credit Cooperative Organisations (SACCOs) and Government funded women's groups. Government should also expedite the extension of social amenities and infrastructure such as roads, water and electricity in the sub region. This will have an ultimate improvement on the livelihoods of the people and hence, minimise the conflict drivers.

### **5.4.2 The need for further Research**

Inferring to the findings, both state and non-state actors should commission more comprehensive research on the rule of law and security in conflict situations. This will also help to shed more light on the subject of law and security in conflict situations. Further research should be undertaken by the academicians, scholars and any other concerned party or stakeholder in areas such as: The effectiveness of Alternative Dispute Resolution mechanisms in the management of conflicts; The drivers, effects and dynamics of ethnic conflicts in Uganda; and The role of state and non-state actors in conflict prevention, management and resolution in Uganda; This is because not all data about the drivers, effects, and dynamics of the conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region could have been revealed by this study, and hence, the continuous influence on rule of law and security in the area.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I: Questionnaire

Dear respondent, I am **Kamba Saleh Moses Wilson**, conducting research on “Conflict as a predictor of Security and Rule of Law: A case of the Rwenzururu sub region in Western Uganda”. This research is in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Master of Arts in Security and Strategic Studies of Nkumba University. Thus, the information obtained will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

#### SECTION ONE: GENERAL INFORMATION

Please Tick your appropriate Choice:

1. **Age (Years):** 18 -30     31 – 40     41 – 50     Above 50

2. **Gender:** Male     Female

**3. Level of Education**

Certificate     Diploma     Degree     Post graduate

**4. Length of stay in Kasese District**

Less than one year     1 – 3 years     3 – 6 years     Above 6 years

#### SECTION TWO:

##### The drivers of conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region

In this section, the researcher seeks to establish the drivers of conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region. Please Tick the appropriate alternative box.

Key: Where SA-strongly agree, A- agree, NS-not sure, SD-strongly disagree D-disagree.

	SA	A	NS	SD	D
Historical Connotations and Colonial Legacies					
Agitation for self determination					
Struggle for power as a driver of conflicts					
Post-election activities as a driver of conflicts					
Discriminatory and misconceived governance policies					
Ethnic divisions and cultural differences as a driver of conflicts					
Perceptions and stereotyping					
Social Inequalities					
Struggle for access and control of natural resources					
High levels of Poverty as a driver of conflicts					
High rate of unemployment as a driver of conflicts					



### SECTION THREE:

#### **The Influence of Conflict on Security in Rwenzururu Sub Region**

In this section the researcher seeks to establish the influence / effects of conflicts on Security in the Rwenzururu Sub Region. Please Tick the appropriate alternative.

Key: Where, SA=strongly agree, A= Agree, NS= Not sure, D=Disagree, SD=strongly disagree

	SA	A	NS	SD	D
Political instability as an effect of conflicts					
Public mistrust as an effect of conflicts					
Destruction of social democratic values and norms					
Loss of lives and property, displacement and traumatisation					
Social Insecurity as an effect of conflicts					
Economic Insecurity as an effect of Conflict					

### SECTION FOUR:

#### **The Influence of Conflict on rule of law and security in the Rwenzururu Sub Region.**

In this section, the researcher seeks to find out the Influence of Conflict on rule of law and security in the Rwenzururu Sub Region. Please Tick the appropriate alternative.

Key: Where, SA=strongly agree, A= Agree, NS= Not sure, D=Disagree, SD=strongly disagree.

	SA	A	NS	SD	D
Political mistrust among the Public					
Total Breakdown of rule of law principles					
Hampering National Political Development					
Geo-politics challenges					
Politicisation of security matters					

### SECTION FIVE:

#### **Strategies to resolve the conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region for lasting peace and security and hence, sustainable growth and development.**

In this section the researcher seeks to establish and assess some of the strategies to resolve the conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region leading to lasting rule of law, peace and security and hence, sustainable growth and development of the sub region. Please Tick the appropriate alternative.

Key: SA = strongly agree, A = Agree, NS = Not sure, D = Disagree, SD = strongly disagree

	SA	A	NS	SD	D
Addressing Historical Injustices					
Engaging in political socialisation and dialogue					
Employing Responsible Media Campaigns					
Undertaking Civic Education					
Setting up Justice, Peace and Reconciliation Committee					
Organising social events: games, sports and cultural galas.					
Stepping up government's economic intervention programs such as YLP, SAGE, SACCOs, and Women Fund.					

**Thank you for your cooperation**

**Appendix II: Interview Guide**

- 1. Are there conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region?  
.....
- 2. What are the drivers or cause(s) of conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region?  
.....
- 3. What is the influence or effects of these conflicts on security in the Rwenzururu sub region?  
.....
- 4. How has these conflicts influenced or affected rule of law in the Rwenzururu sub region?  
.....
- 5. What are the strategies in place to resolve the conflicts in the Rwenzururu sub region?  
.....

*Thank you so much*