



STUCK IN THE MIST

Contextual Analysis of the Conflicts in the Rwenzori Region

Authors:
Kabarole Research and Resource Centre (KRC) and
Rwenzori Forum for Peace and Justice (RFPJ).

December 2012

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Foreword

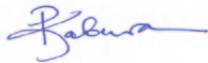
I am humbled to give credit to the two lead organizations Kabarole Research and Resource Center (KRC) and Rwenzori Forum for Peace and Justice (RFPJ) that have carried out this study and prepared this report. We appreciate all those who have supported this exercise including other Civil Society Organizations and Development Partners, respondents and Leaders' Retreat participants and many people of goodwill.

Among many things that Kabarole Research and Resource Centre (KRC) should be applauded is its dedication to promote peace in the Rwenzori region. KRC has for the last 17 years taken lead in mobilizing and working with relevant stakeholders like Rwenzori Forum for Peace and Justice (RFPJ) which is a partner in this particular research project. The names of the two organizations never escape mention at every campaign for peace in the region.

It is with great pleasure that I invite all peace-loving people; the communities in the Rwenzori region, Civil society organizations, the government of Uganda, development partners and all well wishers to read this report, which presents an elaborate analysis of the Rwenzori region, with emphasis on the recent occurrences that are indicative of a subtle escalation of conflicts that for decades had been overshadowed by the bigger conflicts; i.e. the country's civil wars.

It is my hope that your familiarization with the content of the report shall evoke your instinct to join in the noble crusade against violence and dysfunctional conflict in Rwenzori region and support initiatives aimed at building a peaceful region.

Dr.Fr. Pascal Kabura



Director, Bishop Magambo Counselor Training Institute

Abstract

The Rwenzori region consisting of 7 districts (Kabarole, Kyenjojo, Kamwenge, Kasese, Kyegegwa, Ntoroko and Bundibugyo) of Western Uganda has for decades been characterized by conflicts associated with cultural and ethnic differences that exist among the people of the region. The conflicts between cultural groups have always raised questions about governance; leadership and fairness in the sharing and use of natural resources e.g. land. Although the recent conflicts could have some connection with historical incidents in the region, they possess a distinguishable character of their own. The current conflicts between ethnic groups have been triggered by the recent reintroduction and recognition of cultural leadership. This recognition and facilitation by the government of Uganda resulted into the re awakening of historical conflicts, the feeling of inequality between ethnic groups and the fears that certain cultural groups will have little or no share in the natural resources including the recently discovered oil and gas.

The historical factors refer to the 19th century conflicts between the Bamba – Bakonzo and Batooro. The three were the original citizens of Tooro Kingdom whose leadership was dominated by the Batooro. The Bakonzo and Bamba demanded for a fair representation in the Rukurato [Tooro Kingdom parliament] which demand was unacceptable to the majority Batooro. This resulted into a protest by the Bamba and Bakonzo and eventually a war between the two groups.

The different conflict contexts however are that; whereas in the 19th century kingdoms in Uganda were self-governing and had defined geographical territorial boundaries, today they are regulated by the Central Government through national legislation. Besides, the constitution empowers the citizens of Uganda to choose, to form, belong or not to belong to a given cultural institution even if it is of their cultural community. This has prompted the minority cultural communities in the region to demand for recognition as independent cultural institutions. One of the underlying reasons for this demand are the benefits accorded to the leaders of cultural institutions.

The decentralization policy which allows people to demand for district status has also contributed to the escalation of the current conflicts in the Rwenzori region. This is because a district is perceived as a centre for service delivery in terms of access to employment, social services and power to control resources and influence decisions. This motivates people that share common interests and identity to unite and ask for a separate district. This is evident in Kasese and Bundibugyo districts, the Basongora and Banyabindi, as well as the Bakonzo are demanding for separate districts owing to the marginalization by the majority Bakonzo and Bamba/Babwisi respectively.

The report recommends that historical injustices should be documented and addressed by way of reparations, preferably physical compensation in case of lost property, sensitization on the legislations concerning cultural institutions, governance and natural resources, promotion of initiatives that foster attitude change for social cohesion, leadership commitment to promoting unity for development, and respect for cultural and other human rights.

List of Acronyms

| | |
|--------|--|
| ADF | Allied Democratic Forces |
| AHURIO | Association of Human Rights Organizations |
| DISO | District Internal Security Officer |
| DPC | District Police Commander |
| FDC | Forum for Democratic Change |
| KRC | Kabarole Research and Resource Centre |
| LC | Local Council |
| NALU | National Army for the Liberation of Uganda |
| NFA | National Forestry Authority |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organization |
| NRM | National Resistance Movement |
| OBB | Obudingiya Bwa Bwamba |
| OBR | Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu |
| PRO | Public Relations Officer |
| QENP | Queen Elizabeth National Park |
| RDC | Resident District Commissioner |
| RFPJ | Rwenzori Forum for Peace and Justice |
| RNP | Rwenzori National Park |
| UWA | Uganda Wildlife Authority |

Acknowledgements

We greatly appreciate International Alert, Democratic Governance Facility (DGF) and HURINET without whose financial support; we would barely implement this research project. Further credit goes to the participating organizations namely: Rwenzori Forum for Peace and Justice (RFPJ), Association of Human Rights Organizations (AHURIO), and National Youth Organization for Development (NAYODE).

Special appreciation goes to the Research team from the above organizations namely: Busiinge Christopher, Primus Bahiigi, Sr. Florence Ahaisibwe, Tuhaise Francis, Moses Muhumuza, Fred Kaahwa and Tumwine Yasin who committed their precious time and energies to collect data from the field, analyzed it and developed the draft report that formed the basis for the Kasunga 6 dialogue.

We further acknowledge the respondents who participated in the interviews, focus group discussions and validation workshops. Without their opinions, this report would never have been.

We also appreciate the contribution of Narcisio Bangirana, whose editorial skills and input added value to this final report.

Finally, our appreciation goes to Deborah Baguma who coordinated the final editing and publication of this report.

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The contextual analysis of the conflicts report is a collection of facts, views and opinions of the people of the Rwenzori region. The data collection methods included key informant interviews and focus group discussions in which about 400 respondents participated. The research was commissioned by KRC and RFPJ with the intent to understand the contentious issues, the underlying factors for such contestations, as well as the proximate causes of the recurring conflicts in the region. The findings would inform the relevant stakeholders on appropriate interventions for peace building. The research captured the historical as well as the contemporary issues and stakeholders in the prevailing conflicts with specific interests; and recommended a range of interventions to address the issues for sustainable peace.

The scope of the research was limited to the seven political districts that constitute the Rwenzori region which are: Bundibugyo, Ntoroko, Kyegegwa, Kamwenge, Kyenjojo, Kabarole and Kasese. According to the 2002 population and housing census, the region had 2.2 million people; it is today estimated at 3million. The implication of this population growth is that it exerts more pressure on land and government in demand for provision of social services. The researchers targeted elders who gave the historical perspectives of the region, the political leaders including Members of Parliament and district councilors; civil servants at the district level, security personnel, women, youth and civil society organizations working in the area. Besides the historical perspective, the other target groups were meant to give the contemporary dynamics such as the relevant policies and legal perspectives of the conflict over resources, identity and structural dimensions.

The research established that conflict in the region can be traced right from the monarchical times when Tooro Kingdom had jurisdiction over the area. Open conflict manifested in the cessation movements, particularly the *Rwenzururu* rebellion that saw a combination of Bamba and Bakonzo forces fighting for liberation from Tooro dominance. The first phase of these movements led to the recognition of Bundibugyo and Kasese districts in 1974, and the subsequent recognition of the *Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu* in 2009. The current phase is characterized by the Bamba/Babwisi, Basongora and Banyabindi also agitating for liberation from Bakonzo dominance under the OBR cultural institution. The historical and contemporary ethnic differences are premised on the dominance of 'bigger' tribes over 'smaller' ones that exhibited a Master-slave relationship; beginning with Tooro against other tribes of the Bakonzo and Bamba; and now the Bakonzo against the 'smaller' ones of Bamba/Babwisi, Basongora and Banyabindi. The research also confirmed conflicts associated with land whereby individuals, and sometimes whole communities were forcefully displaced from lands either by Rwenzururu war or Central Government programs and have not been compensated to date. Other conflicts that were established in the region concern Oil and Gas prospects that are causing anxiety in the population, governance and leadership that have seen people from minority communities marginalized regarding access to jobs, public resources and social services.

The report is structured around the themes of introduction, background and findings that are arranged in five chapters namely: the historical context which gives the trend of events right from the 19th century, land and other natural resources which explores conflicts over land involving families, ethnic groups, and government institutions, the question of ethnic

identity and cultural institutions that investigates conflicts that have come up as a result of recognition of cultural institutions in Uganda; conclusions and recommendations for the different actors to take part in constructing a sustainable peaceful region.

1.1 Background

Ethnic related conflicts are neither a new phenomenon in the world nor specific to Uganda or the Rwenzori region. Apartheid in South Africa, the 1933 genocide in the Germany Holocaust¹ that saw Hitler command the killing of Jews, and using them for human sacrifice, the 1994 Rwanda Genocide² that saw bloodshed between the Tutsi and Hutu, the 2003 killings in Darfur where the Arabs were deliberately killing the Blacks just because of their color, and the post 2007 electoral violence in Kenya that left over 1000 people dead and over 600,000 displaced³ are clear examples of the reality and danger of tribal or racial conflicts to humanity.

In Uganda, ethnic perceptions and stereotyping are at the centre of people's differences with those of other ethnicities, especially when it comes to access and control over resources. These perceptions have greatly contributed to the perpetration of destructive conflicts in the country. As Mwambusa observes, *"There are Ugandans who, for instance, think the current government is of Banyankore, or worse still, a Bahima state. During the short-lived Okello Lutwa rule, southerners defined the regime as the 'Anyanya' government. The UPC-Obote regime was christened a 'Badokolo' state, by the southerners. The Amin one was called the 'Nubian' state. The Baganda, or to be more specific, the monarchical societies in Uganda think they are civilized and the non-monarchists are primitive. The Batooro think the Bakonzo are not civilized simply because the latter are short and have different cultural practices. The Iteso regard the Bagisu as cannibals, or at least they used to think so"*⁴. It is this same thinking that was responsible for the 2006 bloody conflicts in Kibaale district, and the infamous 2009 Kayunga riots⁵ which left about 27 people dead. Uganda as a country faces a big challenge of ethnicity and ethnic stereotyping which has in a way hampered national cohesion and development.

The Rwenzori region has not been spared by the stereotyping syndrome which is majorly responsible for the conflicts in the region. For instance, in the past while the Batooro considered themselves royals, they perceived all other ethnic groups in the region as their subjects. Similarly, since the recognition of *Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu* cultural institution, the leadership of the institution believes that all people living in Kasese and Bundibugyo districts, irrespective of their cultural inclinations and identities, are supposed to be subject to the institution. This situation has escalated ethnic related tensions in the region and prompted other cultural groups in the district to intensify the demand for recognition of their own cultural institutions from the central government.

Tooro kingdom at the time of its formation in 1822 had diverse cultural groups, notably the Batooro, Bakonzo, Bamba and Babwisi. Though the Kingdom Constitution provided for the representation of non-Batooro in the Rukurato, many non-Batooro felt under represented and marginalized in the management of kingdom affairs. As one of the respondents pointed

1 See <http://fcit.usf.edu/holocaust/resource/document/DocMurdr.htm>

2 See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rwandan_Genocide

3 See <http://www.irinnews.org/in-depth/76116/68/kenya-s-post-election-crisis>

4 See Ndebesa Mwabusya, *The Observer Newspaper*, September 6th 2012.

5 In 2009, the Kabaka of Buganda was stopped from visiting Kayunga due to the resistance of the Banyara, an ethnic group in Kayunga District, formerly subject to Buganda Kingdom. This sparked riots by Buganda loyalists who attacked non-Baganda, particularly the Banyakore in Kampala and other urban areas of Buganda. This prompted the intervention of the police and the army to quell the riots.

out, “*The Omukama-appointed chiefs in Bwamba were almost all Batooro. These chiefs were not only eyes and ears of the Omukama but agents of Batooro hegemony in Bwamba.*” The feelings of marginalization drove the Bamba, Babwisi and Bakonzo into rebellion against Tooro. Both the Bakonzo and Bamba wanted to have their views expressed in the Rukurato of Tooro and also have the constitution of Tooro Kingdom amended to consider some of their interests. This marginalization led to the first rebellion in the Rwenzori region which was locally known as the *Abayola* revolt that took place between 1919 and 1921⁶. This conflict was between the Batooro and the Bakonzo/Bamba tribes. This conflict led to the “memorable” execution of the three ring leaders: Nyamutsa, Tibamwenda and Kapolya. The Kasese district local government erected a monument to pay tribute to the three who were executed on 14th April, 1921 and buried in one grave in Kisinga Sub County, Kasese district.

The conflicts did not end with the death of the three ringleaders. On 30th June 1962, the Bamba, Babwisi and Bakonzo under the leadership of Mukirane, Kawamara and Mupaliya walked out of the Tooro Rukurato, marking the beginning of the *Rwenzururu* rebellion. This rebellion was characterized by massive displacements of people and brutal executions whose wounds have not healed to date and proper reparations have not been handled. In an attempt to address the inter-tribal standoff then, President Idi Amin Dada created Rwenzori and Semuliki districts out of Tooro district in 1974 to guarantee administrative independence of Bakonzo and Bamba from Tooro. President Binaisa later renamed Rwenzori and Semuliki as Kasese and Bundibugyo Districts respectively.

The people of Rwenzori, in their different ethnicities, used to peacefully co-exist save the effects of the *Rwenzururu* rebellion of 1962 to 1982, the ADF, and NALU insurrections which claimed lives and displaced others from their homelands. Following the central government’s recognition of Obusinga Bwa *Rwenzururu* (OBR), the Baamba/Babwisi declared that they were not under the cultural leadership of the current OBR and started the quest for their own cultural institution, Obudingiya Bwa Bwamba (OBB); which was endorsed by Bundibugyo District council. Other minority cultural communities in Kasese district: - the Basongora and Banyabindi also started agitating for recognition as independent cultural institutions but the two have not been endorsed by the district council. In a gesture of protest to the ‘denial’ of recognition, on 3rd July, 2012, the Basongora privately crowned Rwigi IV Rutakirwa Agutamba Kabumba Ivan Bwebale as their cultural leader.

The post Omusinga coronation period has been characterized by ethnic related clashes in the region. For example, it is alleged that a group of Bakonzo youth loyal to OBR launched an attack on the home of the cultural leader of the Basongora, and took away his Royal drum and the Flag. In Bundibugyo, the Baamba/Babwisi protested the visit of the Omusinga and the construction of the royal shrine in Kirindi village in Bwamba County. Shortly after the contested visit of the Omusinga to Bundibugyo, the Batoro and some Batuku living in Ntoroko also organized for the visit of the Omukama of Tooro. This triggered another conflict between two factions, one of pro-Obukama and another of anti-Obukama. The anti- Obukama denied the entry of the Omukama of Tooro into Ntoroko district. This prompted government to beef up security for the Omukama of Tooro, especially during his visit to Rwebisengo and Bweramule sub-counties on 4 August, 2012. The anti-Obukama group alleged that they have never been part of, and are not subject to Tooro Kingdom. In September 2012 a rally was organized in Fort-Portal town by section of the anti-Obukama group, including local councilors to discuss

6 See Stacy Tom, (2003), *The Tribe*.

among other things: the relevance of Tooro Kingdom and its activities to the subjects, the influence of the Queen mother, and the possibility of holding a referendum to denounce the Kingdom. Consequently, the same group shunned the *Kasiki* (Pre-party) of Princess Komutale that was meant to take place at the taxi park in Fort-portal town on 16th November, 2012. The said group instead lit up fire to express disregard for the kingdom.



Figure 1: Shrine in Kirindi Village, at the Ancestral land of Omusinga

The impact of these conflicts on the people of Rwenzori has been disastrous. They have broken the social cohesion that used to exist between the different ethnic communities. There have been massive displacements of people from their homesteads as well as the land they depended on for economic livelihoods. Many people lost their lives and loved ones; and the moral fiber in the public sector is so distorted that access to jobs, business opportunities and social services is more determined by one's ethnic identity rather than competence in skills.

In response to the above conflicts, there have been a series of attempts to resolve the conflicts over time. In September 1962, the government of Uganda constituted a commission of inquiry chaired by Dr. F.C. Ssembeguya to look into the allegations of suppression of the Bakonzo-Bamba by Tooro Kingdom. The commission opposed the Bakonzo-Bamba request of either cessation from Uganda or creation of a separate district citing the need for National Unity and the cost of administration for a separate district. Following a subsequent insurrection, the government of Uganda declared a state of emergency in the counties of Busongora and Bwamba that precipitated another commission of inquiry chaired by L.Lubowa. Following the advice of the Lubowa commission, the government curtailed the powers of all Batooro civil servants working in areas dominated by Bakonzo and Bamba; and permitted the Bakonzo and Bamba to select their own agents who would act as chiefs to replace the Batooro civil servants.

In 1971, President Iddi Amin constituted another commission of inquiry chaired by Mr. Ovonji which worked alongside a military committee chaired by Lt. Col. Musa to investigate the security situation in the region. Owing to the recommendations of the two committees, the government of Uganda in January 1974 separated Tooro into three districts namely: Tooro (now Kabarole) District, Rwenzori (now Kasese) District and Semuliki (now Bundibugyo) District. This was meant to address the aspirations of Bakonzo and Bamba to participate in the administration of their districts. This not only led to their participation in district administration but also national politics as Amon Bazira and Amos Kambere won parliamentary seats in the 1980 elections. It was with the influence of these local politicians that the Rwenzururu fighters, under the leadership of Charles Wesley Mumbere handed down their arms and committed to working with the government of Uganda on August 15th, 1982.

Following the enactment of the 1995 constitution that rejuvenated the institution of cultural institutions, the leadership of the Rwenzururu started demanding for the recognition of the Rwenzururu Kingdom. This prompted President Yoweri Museveni to constitute a ministerial committee chaired by Rt. Hon. Muganwa Kajura to investigate the issue in April 2005. The committee recommended that the Kingdom be recognized as per Article 246(1) of the constitution of Uganda, 1995⁷. The Central Government implemented part of the recommendations of the Ministerial committee report, recognized the cultural institution of Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu and installed His Majesty Charles Wesley Mubere as its King on 19th October, 2009. Although the ministerial committee recommended that the other constitutionally recognized ethnic groups in the region be recognized as different cultural institutions if they so wish, the Central Government has not expedited this in respect to the Basongora, Bamba/Babwisi, and Banyabindi in spite of their persistent demands.

The Civil Society Organizations have also undertaken initiatives to address the conflicts in the region. For example, CARE tried to intervene in the conflicts involving UWA and the people neighboring Queen Elizabeth National Park, especially the Basongora. This led to the awareness of legislations concerning National Parks and the communities though the conflicts were not resolved. KRC has been organizing annual dialogue meetings codenamed “*Kasunga Leaders’ Retreats*” for six consecutive years starting from 2006 to promote regional unity, harmonious coexistence and development in the region. In these dialogue meetings, all leaders in the region: political, religious and cultural, gather and deliberate on issues of peace building and development in the region. They make resolutions and commitments which serve as benchmarks for civil society organizations and other stakeholders to bring them to account.

1.2 Methodology

The research was conducted using Qualitative research methods. This was aimed at gathering data that gives in-depth understanding of the conflicts in Rwenzori region, the underlying causes of the conflicts; the actors and their interests. In order to get quality data, the research targeted smaller samples of respondents who were purposively selected since the required information was specific to issues of conflict.

1.2.1 Data collection

Data collection methods included documentary analysis, Key Informant Interviews,

7 See Report of the Ministerial Committee on the Controversy Surrounding Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu Cultural Institution. October, 2005

Structured Interviews and Focus Group Discussions. The tools for data collection included structured questions and conflict analysis tools of the Tree and Onion. The tree was used to illustrate the root causes of the conflicts, the problem/parties and the effects. The onion on the other hand was used to illustrate the Positions, Interests and Needs/aspirations/values of the parties in the conflicts. The structured interview was used to ensure that each interview is presented with exactly the same questions in the same order. This helped to ensure that the responses from the different sample groups could be reliably concluded to draw appropriate conclusions. Interviews and Focus Group Discussions were held in the local languages.

1.2.2 *Data analysis*

The data was analyzed using the observer impression. This was where experts on conflict analysis and peace building examined the data, interpreted it and formed impressions that were representative of the research findings and their implications for social, political and economic developments in the region. From the analysis, conclusions and recommendations were drawn.

1.2.3 *Sampling*

The research employed systematic sampling method in selecting the community respondents who participated in the study. In applying systematic sampling as an equal probability method,

$$k = \frac{N}{n}$$

Where k is the sampling interval, n is the sample size, and N is the population size.

Where k is the sampling interval, n is the sample size, and N is the population size.

This was considered the most appropriate because the given population of women, youth, elders and men was logically homogeneous throughout the communities, and the sample units were uniformly distributed over the population.

The other sampling method employed was the Non-Probability Sampling. This was used in identification of local government leaders such as the RDCs, DISOs, LC V chairpersons, and DPCs who were selected to participate in the study by virtue of their positions. These were instrumental in giving the structural dimensions of the conflicts.



Figure 2:
Participants
in focus group
discussion on the
conflict issues in
Kasese

2.0 The Findings

The research was commissioned to investigate the causes of conflicts in the Rwenzori region as manifested in the recent past. The investigation focused on the parties involved and their specific interests, analysis of the conflict implications for the region and the suitable interventions to avert negative implications and promote positive ones. The analysis informed the recommendations to various stakeholders who include the government of Uganda, Civil Society organizations, NGOs and development partners on appropriate interventions to address the conflicts. The information was obtained from local leaders, community members, civil society organizations and cultural institutions. This information is presented in four themes: Historical context, Land and other Natural resources, Ethnic representation in Public Institutions, Governance and Leadership.

2.1 The Historical Context of the Rwenzori Region

2.1.1 *The evolution of Tooro Kingdom*

Tooro Kingdom was part of the greater Bunyoro-Kitara Empire until 1822 when Omukama Kaboyo Olimi Kasunsunkwanzi, the eldest son of Omukama Nyamutukura Kyebambe III of Bunyoro rebelled and established his own independent Kingdom⁸. In 1876, Bunyoro reconquered Tooro Kingdom until Tooro reasserted her independence in 1891 with the help of British colonial rulers. In 1967, President Apollo Milton Obote abolished all Kingdoms in Uganda throwing cultural institutions into abeyance until July 1993, when the National Resistance Council (NRC) reinstated kingdoms as Non-Political Cultural Institutions⁹.

Prior to the conflicts, the Bakonzo supported the creation of Tooro kingdom between 1820s and 1830s under the rule of Prince Kaboyo the favorite son of Omukama Kyebambe III Nyamutukura. It is believed that the Batooro and Bakonzo farmers at the foothills of the Rwenzori Mountains supported the revolt because they saw in the Prince's aspirations for independence an opportunity for creating a new society separate from that of Bunyoro; with separate and more favorable administrative structures. One example to justify the Batooro/Bakonzo relationship in those days is that after the death of Omukama Nyaika who fell victim to Kabalega's invasion, his wife Kahinju fled with Nyaika's young son Kasagama, who later became King of Tooro with the help of colonial administration, and three other siblings to the slopes of the Rwenzori where they were welcomed by one Mukonzo chief Ruhandika of the Baswaga clan, who saved them from the Bunyoro army by hiding them in a cave. This helped to preserve the life of King Kasagama who ascended the throne of Tooro Kingdom at a later date.

2.1.2 *The 1921 Abayola rebellion*

The present intra-tribal and inter-tribal conflicts are not a new phenomenon in the Rwenzori Region. A historical review shows that the first ever recorded inter-tribal conflict which Stacey (2003) referred to as the first rebellion in the Rwenzori region was the Abayola revolt which took place between 1919 and 1921. This conflict was between the Batoro and

8 See www.torokindom.org/toro.htm

9 Article 118 of the 1967 constitution that abolished cultural institutions was repealed in 1993 by the NRC which reinstated cultural institutions. This was consolidated by Article 246 of the constitution of Uganda, 1995.



the Bakonzo/Bamba tribes. Notable about this conflict is the “memorable” execution of the three ring leaders: Nyamutswa, Tibamwenda and Kapolya. The figure below is a monument in Kisinga Sub County in Kasese District at the spot where the three were executed on 14th April 1921 and buried in the same grave.

Figure 3: The monument in Kisinga on the grave of the first leaders of the Abayola revolt

2.1.3 The walk out from the Tooro Rukurato

Following the brutal execution of the Abayola revolt ring leaders, tensions heightened among the Bakonzo and Bamba but Tooro Kingdom moved to suppress them with a strong hand. This escalated the feelings of marginalization among the Bamba, Babwisi and Bakonzo who staged another rebellion against Tooro. This was sparked off by the walkout of the Rukurato¹⁰ by both the Bakonzo and Bamba on 30th June, 1962 under the leadership of Mukirane, Kawamara and Mupalya. They advanced two reasons for the walkout: first they wanted to have their views expressed in the Rukurato of Tooro and second the constitution of Tooro Kingdom to be amended to consider some of their interests. This marked the beginning of the Rwenzururu rebellion. Although there were many interventions to address the conflicts, the Rwenzururu fighters remained in the mountains fighting for liberation from Uganda until 1982 when, under the leadership of Charles Wesley Mumbere, they accepted to lay down arms and work with the government of Uganda.

2.1.4 The recognition of Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu (OBR) cultural institution

The institution of Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu is a contested matter in the region. Whereas the official position of OBR affirms that the OBR cultural institution started right on 30th June 1962, other sections of the population in the region believe that OBR as an institution started on 19th October, 2009 when the Central Government recognized it following the Kajura Commission Report. Besides, the Bamba and Babwisi who participated in the Rwenzururu rebellion assert that Rwenzururu was a name of a struggle for political liberation from Tooro oppression not a cultural institution. They contend that if it is to be a cultural institution, it should be named after the Bakonzo culture to which they are not a party, not Rwenzururu, a struggle they fully participated in and identify with. This argument is still advanced in the quest for an independent cultural institution-Obudingiya Bwa Bwamba (OBB). Other non-Bakonzo cultural/ethnic communities in the region have not submitted to the OBR in spite of the latter’s claim that they are her subjects¹¹. Consequent to this disparity, Basongora and Banyabindi are also agitating for recognition of their independent cultural institutions.

10 Rukurato is the Rutooro word for Parliament

11 Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu asserts that the Basongora are just a clan called the Basonga within the Bakonzo ethnic group and not a separate cultural/ethnic community.

2.2 Land and Other Natural Resources

2.2.1 Land and population

Data obtained from the region shows that there are numerous conflicts over land due to its scarcity in the face of a fast growing population. For example, in Kasese district alone, the district has a total land area of 2,724 square kilometers (1,052 sq mi). Much of this land was gazetted into protected areas as follows: 885 square kilometers (342 sq mi) is *Queen Elizabeth National Park* and 652 square kilometers (252 sq mi) *Mt. Rwenzori National Park*, which takes over 56% of the total land coverage, leaving only **1,187** square kilometers (458 sq mi), which is about 43% for public and private use. Notably, the 43% includes public institutions like government prisons in Mubuku and Rukooki, district headquarters, Kilembe mines, Sub County headquarters, hospitals churches and schools. This means that about 30% (817.2 sq mi) of the land is what is left for private ownership and use for the population. When the number of the square miles of the land is distributed to the population of 533,000¹² in the district, by simple mathematics this means that on average, there are approximately 652.2 people per square mile of land. This shows that the competition over land, other factors notwithstanding, is quite high and conflict over land is inevitable. This serves to explain the numerous land conflicts in the region.

2.2.2 Varied economic livelihoods

In Rwenzori region, there are varied forms of land use namely: cash crop farming, subsistence crop farming and cattle rearing. In regard to cash crop farming, Bundibugyo grows Cocoa, Kyenjojo and Kabarole – Tea, Kasese grows cotton and coffee. The Basongora of Kasese the Batuku of Ntoroko and Bundibugyo are mainly cattle keepers. The varied economic livelihoods have often occasioned conflicts between the cattle keepers and the crop farmers. For example, the Bakonzo suspected the Basongora of killing a mukonzo who was found dead in the garden in Karusandara on 5th October, 2012. They alleged that the death was associated with the conflicts between the cultivators and cattle keepers in the area at the time which, as the respondents pointed out, had been characterized by violent acts including the Bakonzo cultivators killing the Basongora cows which were found or had been suspected of eating up their crops. On the other hand, the Basongora of Karusandara claimed that land grabbing and killing of their animals by the Bakonzo was a deliberate agenda either to finish off or threaten their livelihood in the area until they are forced to shift to other places.

2.2.3 Competition for access to Protected Areas

In Ntoroko district, the Batuku cattle keepers frequently complained of being stopped from grazing in Semuliki National Park while the Bahima were let to freely graze in the park. One local leader from Ntoroko claimed, *“Many Bahima cattle keepers are grazing their cattle in the Semuliki Park with the protection of the military and yet local people are not allowed to graze in these lands on the pretext that these lands are protected.”* Further, some respondents in Ntoroko noted that some of the indigenous people had settled in parts of Semuliki National Park for a long time and wanted the Central Government to de-gazette those areas and accord the inhabitants’ legitimacy of occupancy. Similarly, in Bufunjo Sub County of Kyenjojo district, the local leaders cited cases of unknown people occupying Kanyegaramire and Kitechura forest reserves. The ‘unknown’ occupants were so obstinate to the local leadership’s demand to

12 See the Uganda National Housing and Population Census Report, 2002.

know the circumstances under which these people occupied the forest reserves that they kept referring them to the Central Government for clarification. This has made protected areas in the region sources of contention among the people neighboring them, the encroachers and the government authorities.

2.2.4 *Domestic land disputes*

In almost all districts visited, respondents mentioned land conflicts over ownership and inheritance especially at the family level. For example, in Nyankwanzi Sub County, Kyenjojo district, the respondents cited severe cases of land conflicts in families that had resulted into the death of some of the conflicting parties. Most of the respondents in this study mentioned high cases of land disputes among families and between individuals over land boundaries. Conflicts over land boundaries are partly exacerbated by absence of land titles. The respondents across the districts cited the complex bureaucracy, corruption, and high costs as key stumbling blocks to successfully completing the process of land registration. The difficulty in the process of land registration has led many to abandon the exercise thus leaving gaps that accelerate land conflicts.



In the villages of Mabira A, Kyebanja, Kikyedu A and B of Nyankwanzi Sub County Kyenjojo, the daughter of one late Karugaba is said to have a land title covering these four villages and is threatening to evict all the occupants. In Katooke Sub County of Kyenjojo district, local leaders reported conflicts over the Mailo land in Nyakisi, Mwaro and Rwamukora parishes. Tooro Kingdom is said to have sold land twice to one Mr. Kadyebo and Mukole church of Uganda. The duo is currently in court over this matter. Similarly, in Rwamukora, Bwahuurro and Kigabo villages, Tooro Kingdom is said to have sold land to Mukwano Group of Companies without consulting the tenants and later on not properly compensating them.

Figure 4: DPC Ntoroko elaborates a point on land conflicts

2.2.5 *Immigration, migration and land grabbing*

In Kanara and Rwebisengo Sub Counties in Ntoroko district, local leaders noted the increasing number of Congolese moving into the district and buying land from locals. In Kyenjojo District, the local leaders observed that immigrants from Rwanda and Congo¹³ were acquiring large chunks of land in Kasaba and Kigoyera parishes in Kyarusenzi Sub County and in other parts of Bufenjo Sub County. One local leader in Kyenjojo confirmed that the district security meetings had discussed the issue of land acquisition by immigrants from Rwanda but no intervention had been done by the central government. One respondent in Kyenjojo noted “*Rwandese come to work in Kyarusenzi tea plantation for some time before moving into the community to buy land; in most cases offering more money than local buyers are willing to offer. As local leaders we have failed to stop these transactions without the support of Central Government. Local people are not after the buyer but the amount of money the buyer is offering.*”

13 According to section 40(4) of the 1998 Uganda Land Act, noncitizens are prohibited from acquiring Mailo or Freehold land.

Besides, migration in Kyenjojo was mentioned as a key driver of political and land conflicts. The common tribes said to be migrating to the district include the Bakiga, Bakonzo and Bafumbira. During political activities, the question of ethnicity becomes common. In Kasese, respondents noted that the district was increasingly becoming cosmopolitan with over 40 tribes settling in different parts of the district, thus increasing competition for land and other natural resources.

2.2.6 *Unresolved Cases of land grabbing*

Historical and unresolved cases of land grabbing continue to surface in contemporary conflicts, especially in Kasese district. The Basongora for example claim that the colonial government grabbed their land and turned it into a National Park. Besides, the Banyabindi also claimed that their land was grabbed by the Bakonzo during the Rwenzururu rebellion and it has never been returned to them. The areas they said were grabbed include: Kisinga, Kitojo, Kichamba, Muhokya, Kilembe, Mahango, Kyarumba, and Munkunyu. They said that grabbing those areas had made them live in displaced people's camps for the last 50 years. In Karusandara, different tribes claim to be living as squatters on their own land since they did not have land titles due to bureaucracy, corruption, expensive costs and lengthy land registration process. Different communities in Karusandara also claim that some of the Rwezururu veterans are claiming part of their land such as Mubuku, Busunga and Rweiingo. The above factors have occasioned incidents of violent conflicts, perpetuated tension and hegemony among the different ethnic groups.

Government land distribution and settlement practices in Rwenzori region were also mentioned as a source of conflict. In Muhokya Sub County in Kasese for example, the Banyabindi complained of selective government distribution of land resources. The government was said to have distributed land to the Basongora and Bakonzo, leaving out the landless Banyabindi who have been living in camps for the past 50 years. In Rwamwanja, in Kamwenge district the government settlement scheme remains a conflict issue especially due to non-compensation of former land occupants who were displaced by the refugee settlement.

2.2.7 *The question of Oil and Gas*

The recent exploration of Oil and Gas in the Albertine region has created anxiety in the Rwenzori region. Individuals and institutions speculate that there will be high returns to those who have access to the Oil and Gas resources. Consequently, local and opinion leaders in Ntoroko district strongly linked Tooro Kingdom and OBR cultural institutions' interest in Ntoroko district and the agitation for new cultural institutions in Kasese district to the desire to have access to the resources in form of royalties. To these local leaders, Tooro Kingdom and OBR were only rushing to expand their territories in Ntoroko in order to have a share of the proceeds from the Oil and Gas resources discovered in the district. One local leader noted that these institutions were inspired by Bunyoro Kingdom's demand to have a share on Oil and Gas resources which were found in the Kingdom's area of jurisdiction. Another local leader claimed that there was an emerging unity between cultural institutions in the Albertine region to demand a share on Oil and Gas which, as one OBR official observed, had accelerated the Banyabindi and Basongora's demand for recognition as cultural institutions.

The other notable recent development in Ntoroko District was the alleged rush by highly placed government and army officials, assisted by affluent families in Ntoroko to acquire large chunks of lands believed to be in one of the Oil blocks. Furthermore, some leaders pointed out that a number of business people and private companies such as Mineral service, Mukwano

Group of Companies and Semuliki Rift Valley Trans-marine had purchased land in Kanaara Town Council because of the prospective Oil activities. One local leader noted that “*some of the companies and rich buyers came with lots of money to entice local people to sell land, at times offering four times the price at which one would ordinarily sell land in the local community.*” This trend in Ntoroko District had increased cases of landlessness, encroachment on protected areas, and inter-family land conflicts due to reduced land for economic production.

In Kasese District, some respondents noted that the speculation about the location of Oil and Gas had greatly contributed to the conflicts over boundaries of the proposed district(s). There is contention over a proposal to divide the current Kasese district. One group which is predominantly Basongora and Banyabindi would like the new district to constitute the low lying areas, preferably using the Fort-Portal Bwera main road to be the boundary while the majority Bakonzo in the district council would like to have three districts namely; Bwera, Rwenzori and Kasese; with boundaries running right from the mountains to the lowlands. One respondent noted, “*a horizontal division of the districts will leave all fertile land, lakes, Hima Cement and other minerals in the low land district, while leaving one district with a less economically productive mountain.*” Other respondents favoring vertical division mentioned the likely existence of Oil and Gas in the low land area which all proposed districts need to share and that this share could only be realized if the division of districts was done vertically, starting from the mountain. This contention has stalled the decision to split the district.

2.3 Ethnic Representation in Public Institutions

2.3.1 Political representation and Service Commissions

Public institutions in this case refer to the government departments such as the District Local Government Council, the District Service Commission and other statutory institutions in the public sector. Ethnic representation implies that people from all ethnic groups in the region can easily access employment opportunities, favorably compete for elective positions in the political sector and are equally nominated to statutory commissions without segregation.

The research established that in the Rwenzori region, the minority ethnic groups are marginalized in public participation, particularly at the district level. The Basongora and Banyabindi in Kasese alleged that they were not represented on strategic Boards and Committees of the District, and that this hindered their access to job opportunities. Ultimately, the minority groups felt that they were left out in the decision making process, contrary to article 36 of the 1995 constitution of the Republic of Uganda¹⁴. In order to justify their assertions, the respondents presented the names of successive members of the District Service Commission in Kasese district that were specifically representative of Bakonzo identity and no other ethnic group in the district thus: *the District service Commission (2001 – 2006: Kabanyoro – Chairperson, Rev. Kule, Pantaleo Baluku, Ruth Kahwa Kanzenze, Fr. Blaise; 2006 – 2011: Muhindi Erfaz – Chairperson, Muliwabyo Elijah, Justine Muhindo, Kamuhanda Ali, Mathe Misusera; 2011 – 2016: Bwenge Emmanuel – Chairperson, Kamuhanda Ali, Anne Muhindo, Mathe Misusera, Kabarole Elijah)*¹⁵. This was reflective of perpetual marginalization of other ethnicities from public participation in the district.

14 Article 36 of the 1995 constitution states that Minorities have a right to participate in decision making processes and their views and interests shall be taken into account in the making of national plans and programs

15 It should be noted that the research team/organization do not support implications of nepotism and corruption purported by such assertions.

2.3.2 Service delivery

Marginalization was further noticed in the area of service delivery whereby poor services were evident in areas dominated by minority communities in the regional districts. For example, in Karusandara Sub County Kasese district, the respondents said that they had only one secondary school and only one road in the area, yet the area was the food Basket of the District. In Bufunjo Sub County in Kyenjojo district, there was only one ill-facilitated health center III and one poorly constructed public secondary school. In Bundibugyo, the Bakonzo from Bughendera county asserted that the Bamba/Babwisi dominated Bundibugyo district administration continued to marginalize them in service delivery. For example, out of a total of seven sub counties in Bughendera County, there were only three government aided secondary schools, while none of the four seed secondary schools in Bundibugyo district was in Bughendera County¹⁶. It was noted that this marginalization aroused frustration, bitterness and hatred among the Bakonzo towards the Bamba/Babwisi leadership thus perpetual conflict.

2.3.3 The quest for Administrative units

The underlying philosophy of decentralization is taking services nearer to the people. Basing on this philosophy, district local governments are the focal centre of service delivery in Uganda. Owing to this fact, there have been numerous demands from different parts of the country to be accorded district status. One of the shortcomings of such demands however, is that they are mainly influenced by ethnic interests, the ramifications of the nepotism notwithstanding. It is generally believed that when an area gets a district, there is greater distribution of the national cake and more people get access to employment opportunities as well as better services. It is this perception that has intensified the demand for new districts in the Rwenzori region thus prompting associated conflicts. For example, the Basongora and Banyabindi are demanding for a new (Katwe) district to be cut from Kasese district, while the Bakonzo of Bundibugyo want a new (Bughendera) district cut from Bundibugyo district. Similarly, the Bakiga in Mwenge North want a new district cut from Kyenjojo district. These demands are not only expressions of marginalization as a cause of the conflict but also indicative of the discontent within the population.

2.4 Governance and Leadership

2.4.1 The role of governance and leadership

The basic roles of governance and leadership are to plan, organize and distribute resources and services to the citizens and ensure that they have access to them. These roles cut across the social political and economic sectors.

2.4.2 Governance, leadership and conflict

The research found out that in the Rwenzori Region, governance and leadership are key drivers of conflict. In the social sector, it was found out that cultural and religious leaders were at the forefront of promoting ethnic conflict. In Kasese district for example, the respondents revealed that some religious leaders compelled the congregants to sing the Obusinga Bwa Rwenzururu anthem on church functions well knowing that not all church members subscribe to the cultural institution. Others reported that the leadership of Obusinga Bwa

16 See the attached Mmemorandum of Bakonzo of Bundibugyo to the President of the Republic of Uganda

Rwenzururu had openly condoned the youth raid on the home of “Omukama wa Basongora”. Besides, they assert that the Basongora are only a clan (the Basonga) within the Bakonzo and not a different ethnic group.

In the political sector, politicians are said to ride on the differences between the ethnic groups in the region to gain election to office and perpetuate marginalization in return by extending services along tribal lines. When the politicians get to the majority communities, they ask them to vote ‘their own’, on the other hand they form alliances with minority groups on promises to deliver services but once elected they never honor the promises. In Kasese district for instance, the minority Basongora and Banyabindi assert that they have severally voted leaders who promise to extend services to their areas and give them jobs in return but this has not happened. Instead, they do not have roads in their areas, even those who neighbor the National Park do not benefit from the park fees collections in terms of accruing services.

In Bundibugyo, one of the key leaders in the District asserted that the Bamba/Babwisi were using Bakonzo to gain political positions, but in turn they always neglected them. They also said they (Bakonzo) had never had a Mukonzo as the District Chairperson. In essence, their rights as minority communities are denied, and unfortunately, there are no government efforts to help them enjoy their constitutional rights.

2.4.3 *The influence of ethnicity in local party politics*

The aspect of multiparty politics is more vivid in Kasese district where it is a common assumption that Basongora and Banyabindi support NRM while the majority Bakonzo support FDC. Whereas it is true that political candidates for the respective political parties obtain relatively higher votes from areas dominated by the different ethnic groups during elections, it would be untenable in the long run to justify such an assumption because the political parties have ideologies which are not necessarily in conformity with the cultural values and aspirations of either ethnic group. However, this argument helped the research to establish two issues: one, that the perception influences the distribution of resources and services to the respective communities depending on who is in power, and two, that the political leadership in the region have not labored to educate their constituents on the political ideologies of their political parties and the relationship between governance, cultural communities and institutions, and service delivery. It clearly revealed that because political leaders have failed in their duty to promote their political ideologies, the population is still obsessed with the primitive tendency of voting ‘their own’ not based on competencies of individual candidates

2.4.4 *Commitment to promoting unity*

The research established that there was no commitment among the local leaders, political, religious and cultural to work towards promoting harmony among the diverse ethnic groups in the region. This was justified by the fact that even when they had participated in the five consecutive Kasunga dialogue meetings organized by KRC and pledged commitment to promoting unity, there was no such visible initiative by the respective leaders to unite the people. Instead, the leaders were thriving on the divisions to achieve their individual interests. This has greatly accelerated the agitation for self-determination by way of creating new districts and recognition of cultural institutions by the different ethnic groups.

3.0

Implications of conflict in the Rwenzori region

Persistent conflicts in the Rwenzori region have adversely affected its social, economic and political development. Apart from hampering local cohesion and dynamism, they also pose a threat to national security and development programs; and could be an entry point for external actors with interests in the region; thus extending the conflict frontiers beyond national borders.

3.1 Economic Implications

The Rwenzori Region is the economic hub of Uganda due to its tourism potential, agriculture and industry. The high population growth rate of 3% in the region is also potential for human resource development needed for promotion of agriculture and industrialization. An unabated conflict situation in this region will no doubt hamper productivity; affect people's livelihood and quality of life among communities and threaten this economic potential.

3.1.1 *Agriculture*

Currently Bundibugyo district earns 85billions from the sale of Cocoa annually. This is a huge economic activity that is threatened by agents of conflict. Elsewhere in the region, Tea growing in Tooro, crop farming in Mubuku and other agricultural activities in the region are economically viable undertakings that should be developed and sustained in a peaceful environment. The prevalence of conflict affects sustainable agricultural production and food security.

3.1.2 *Tourism and natural resources*

Rwenzori region is one of the popular tourist destinations in Uganda. It has many tourist destinations that contribute to the tourism industry in the country. For example, recent statistics from UBOS show that 1529 visitors visited Mount Rwenzori National Park alone. Developments in the mining sectors, prospects for the Oil and Gas sector, present yet another economic opportunity for Ugandans, particularly in the Rwenzori region. However conflicts among communities could easily become a threat to exploration activities and above all scare away investors who are interested in the Region thus hindering industrialization prospects.

3.1.3 *Trade and employment*

The potential for industrialization in the region does not only present opportunities for international companies to invest in the area and promote trade for both local and external markets but also avails more opportunities for both skilled and non-skilled employment. However, when conflict persists in the region, such opportunities will be lost as there will be no atmosphere for business operations. Besides, conflicts hamper economic activities when people are not settled and the energetic population that would be very productive gets absorbed in clashes and war thus bringing down the business development prospects.

3.2 Social implications

The constitution of Uganda provides for the liberty of citizens to belong to a culture, enjoy, practice and profess a culture of their choice. The same constitution provides for formation and reinstatement of cultural institutions if the people so wish¹⁷. This means that if the leadership and the people in the Rwenzori region were committed to promoting the national constitution, the current conflicts involving the cultural communities of Banyabindi, Basongora, Bamba/Babwisi Bakonzo and Batuku would be toned down.

The implications for curtailed promotion of culture through the cultural institutions are that there are to be perpetual ethnic conflicts and rivalries that affect social cohesion. The resultant impact is that morals will go down, there will be increased broken marriages thus precipitating high levels of violence in the young generation influenced by lack of parental upbringing and the sense of community.

3.3 Political implications

The adherence to the principles of democracy without factoring in a provision for representation of minority groups by Affirmative Action perpetuates marginalization of minority groups in decision making processes. This implies that there will be persistent bitterness and the feeling of resentment among minority communities who feel their interests will not be taken care of since they do not participate in decision making processes.

The Creation of Semuliki and Rwenzori districts along tribal lines in 1974 put a precedent for ethnic inspired dissent by the different ethnic groups that feel marginalized by the present administration in the region. Besides, the current law requires a district council resolution to endorse recognition of a cultural institution and subsequent installation of a cultural leader before Central Government recognition. This partly explains why there is high demand for the creation of Katwe and Bungendera¹⁸ districts in Kasese and Bundibugyo respectively. This perception perpetuates future breakaway demands in the quest for self-determination along ethnic lines

17 See Articles 37 and 246 of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995.

18 Whereas Semuliki, Rwenzori, and Kamwenge districts were meant to serve the interests of Bamba, Bakonzo and Bakiga respectively, the non-Bakonzo of Kasese want a separate district just as the Bakonzo of Bundibugyo want a separate one too.

4.0 | Conclusions

4.1 Historical injustices

The research established that there were historical injustices in the region that have not been addressed. These involve forced displacement of people from their land, cases of murder, physical injuries and property destruction which have never been compensated. Secondly, the research noted that the failure to address historical injustices has perpetuated hegemony and is partly responsible for the current bitterness among sections of the population thus breeding conflict.

4.2 Natural resources

The research further concluded that the presence of natural resources with potential to generate high revenues attracts business stakeholders with varying interests to the region. Some are interested in investment, some in trade and others employment. It was realized that the potential revenues accruing from the resources were responsible for the sharp ethnic inclined divisions in the region, the quest for creation of new districts and recognition of new cultural institutions. It was also noted that such prospects were partly responsible for domestic conflicts over land.

4.3 Ethnic representation and Cultural institutions

The research established that owing to their small numbers in a situation where ethnic identity influenced the behavioral patterns when voting leaders, the minority groups were least represented in elective positions and statutory commissions. The trend was bound to continue unless deliberate measures were put in place to address the imbalance. Secondly, besides the privileges accorded to the leaders of the recognized cultural institutions, the quest for such institutions was prompted by oppressive tendencies by the already recognized institutions; and their disrespect towards other cultural communities in the region. It was also noted that culture related conflicts were due to the people's ignorance of their cultural rights, and the mandate of cultural institutions.

4.4 Leadership and Governance

It was noted that the leadership in the region had not exercised their mandate to educate the citizens about their constitutional obligations and entitlements in respect to exercising their cultural rights. Instead, the leaders, especially politicians, had taken advantage of the people's ignorance to instill divisions and promote their interests at the expense of the population. It was also noted that the leadership exercised segregation in distribution of services hence prompting discontent which has greatly contributed to the existing conflicts in the region.

5.0 Recommendations

5.1 Historical injustices

- Civil Society organizations, particularly KRC and RFPJ should document the historical injustices in the Rwenzori region covering all ethnic /tribal groups from 1900 to 2012 as a basis for acknowledging the past and fostering healing and reconciliation prospects in the region.
- The government should engage in, and support initiatives by different actors that are aimed at promoting harmony, unity and reconciliation among the different ethnic groups in the region. Specifically, the government should institute a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to reconcile the different ethnic groups over historical differences.
- The government should expedite genuine reparations for the previous hurts and losses experienced by different people in the region.

5.2 Natural resources

- Statutory authorities, specifically Uganda Wild Life Authority (UWA) and National Forestry Authority (NFA) should involve local leaders in the communities neighboring Protected Areas (PA) in decision making processes concerning access to the resources and utilization of the percentage of the revenue collections from those who visit the National Park.
- The respective authorities – UWA and NFA should intensively sensitize the communities surrounding the resources about the laws managing such resources, and the permissible ways and procedures through which the communities should access and utilize the resources.
- The government should simplify the land registration process to enable all land owners access land registration certificates and land titles as one way of minimizing land conflicts and increasing the value of the land.
- The Central Government should work with local governments to investigate cases of illegal immigration, work and acquisition of property in Uganda by non-nationals to minimize conflicts.
- In order to avert future landlessness in the region local governments should conduct intensive public awareness on the dangers of disposing off their land in exchange for quick cash.
- Civil Society Organizations and other Actors should deepen sensitization on Oil and Gas issues, especially the current legislations so as to defuse the anxiety that has engulfed the region.

5.3 Ethnic representation and Cultural Institutions

- The existing cultural institutions in Rwenzori Region should respect other cultural communities and stop compelling them to be their subjects against the latter's wish.
- There should be deliberate efforts by Civil Society Organizations to engage the population in initiatives aimed at changing people's attitudes from conflict and cultural biases to collaboration and cooperation of the different ethnic groups in constructive engagements.
- The cultural communities who wish to be recognized as cultural institutions should be granted their wish as it is their constitutional right.

5.4 Leadership and Governance

- Civil Society organizations in collaboration with local governments should train the leaders on issues of Human Rights, Conflict resolution, Good Governance and Cross-cultural peace building.
- The Human Rights Commission (HRC) in collaboration with local organizations in the region should engage in intensive Civic Education to empower the citizens with knowledge and information about their rights, obligations and bringing leaders to account.
- The Human Rights Commission should document Human Rights abuses and violations with the intent to have perpetrators brought to account and the victims compensated.
- Government should compensate all people who lost their land as a result of forced displacement during the Rwenzururu rebellion.
- The government should task law enforcement agents in the region to ensure that leaders who are involved in the promotion of violence and conflict in the region are brought to account.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Structured interview guide

General questions

- What is the political, economic and social-cultural context?
- What are the emergent political, economic and social issues?
- What conflicts prone/affected areas can be situated within the context?
- Is there a history of conflict?

Questions on causes of conflict

- What are the structural causes of conflict?
- What issues can be considered as proximate causes of conflict?
- What triggers could contribute to the outbreak/further escalation of conflict?
- What new factors contribute to prolonging conflict dynamic?
- What factors can contribute to peace?

Stakeholders in the conflict situation

- Who are the main actors?
- What are their interest, goals, positions, capacities and relationships?
- What capacities for peace can be identified?
- What actors can be identified as spoilers? Why are they?
- In advertent or intentional spoilers?

Other dynamics of the conflict

- What are the current conflict trends/
- What are the windows of opportunity?
- What scenarios can be developed from the analysis of the conflict profile, causes and actors?

Appendix 2: Groups that were interviewed

| NO | DESIGNATION | NUMBER INTERVIEWED |
|----|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 | CDOs | 2 |
| 2 | CSOs & CBOs (All districts) | 20 |
| 3 | DPCs | 4 |
| 4 | DISOs | 3 |
| 5 | District Councilors | 40 |
| 6 | District executive members | 15 |
| 7 | District Information Officer | 3 |
| 8 | District Planner | 1 |
| 9 | Elders (5 Districts) | 30 |
| 10 | Entale Yabanyabindi | 1 |
| 11 | LCIII-Chair-person | 16 |
| 12 | LCIII Councilors (All Districts) | 60 |
| 13 | LCV-Chairperson | 4 |
| 14 | Muhuza Cattle Keepers | 15 |
| 15 | OBR Officials | 12 |
| 16 | Omukama Wa Basongora | 1 |
| 17 | PWDs | 10 |
| 18 | RDCs | 3 |
| 19 | Rwenzururu Veterans | 20 |
| 20 | Students | 20 |
| 21 | Vice-Chairperson (LCV) | 3 |
| 22 | Women in all Districts | 80 |
| 23 | Youth | 60 |

Appendix 3: Profiles of organizations that participated in Research

Kabarole Research and Resource Centre

Kabarole Research and Resource Center (KRC) is a well-established NGO operating in the Rwenzori Region of Western Uganda. Founded in 1996, with a research mission and a long-term commitment to understanding the measures and drivers of poverty and its solutions, KRC has accumulated substantial experience in research and created numerous development programs based on community analyses of the activities which would be most helpful in achieving sustainable and equitable socio-economic development. The over Fifteen years of experience in community development work has led KRC to identify a new strategic direction currently being implemented, focusing on supporting the need for integration and effectiveness of development research, information, decision-making and implementation, reaching to national levels of research, information and policy formulation.

KRC focus is on strengthening skills in the areas of (1) producing in-depth and insightful research for socio-economic development, packaging information and disseminating it to strategic development partners; (2) facilitating and supporting the process of prioritizing opportunities, selecting partners, and making the decisions that get initiatives successfully started, and (3) facilitating the most effective monitoring and interaction between grass root households, decision-makers and implementers to see each program through the stages of implementation to successful socio-economic sustainable conclusion. Behind all this, working with partners inside and outside the region, KRC also aims to create the support needed to sustain and continuously improve development innovative mechanisms in the region.

Rwenzori Forum for Peace and Justice (RFPJ)

Formed in 2002, RFPJ is a forum for civil society organizations and individuals involved in peace-building and conflict resolution across the Rwenzori region of western Uganda. The remit of RFPJ is to support, develop and implement mechanisms for resolving conflicts and fostering peaceful coexistence across the seven districts of the region i.e. Kabarole, Kamwenge, Kyenjojo, Bundibugyo, Ntoroko, Kyegegwa and Kasese. RFPJ was initially created as a response to the need for coordinated action on issues of peace, human rights and social justice in the wake of the violent insurgency by the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) between 1998 and 2001. As the region moved out of a post-conflict transformative phase into a period of peace, it became clear to us that the on-going high level of disputes and small-scale conflicts arising between individuals, neighbours, families or communities were one of the most salient issues continuing to undermine the region's peace and development. It is from this deduction that RFPJ derived her current programs to meet her goal – strengthening conflict prevention and transformation mechanisms that guide long term conflict sensitive planning among the local actors in the Rwenzori region

With the secretariat located in the heart of Fort Portal - Kabarole district, RFPJ is duly registered with the Ministry of Internal Affairs under the Uganda National NGO Board; Registration Number: S.5914/4621. Membership is open to registered organizations working in the area of peace building and/or human rights in the Rwenzori region and individual peace building professionals.

NAYODE: National Youth Organization for Development was formed in 2002 as a [CBO] Community Based Organization. It was registered by ministry of internal affairs NGO board registration number **S. 5914/4387** as an NGO in 2003 and the organization was formed to fight for the rights of the children,

youth and women. It was also formed to act as a voice of the voiceless in our community. It inspires the youth and adolescents; it involves them and empowers them to think for solutions for their problems.

NAYODE Vision; is a healthy future generation that is free from injustices, empowered and sustainable. **Our Mission** is; to strengthen community social support structures that defend the rights for the children, youth and women for purposes of justice, good health, democracy and sustainable development.

Primary constituency; NAYODE primary constituency is the youth, both female and males. And the overall approach is to integrate youth, children and women programs together and work as a team. NAYODE use Participatory Learning Sustainable System [PALS] principles/approach in engaging all and being able to include all the marginalized members of our community for a positive change

NAYODE beneficiaries play a big role in the design of the project proposals, they do generate activities and feed the secretariat with up to date community based information on costs of goods and materials needed for the implementation of the activities. They contribute a lot in making the budget and qualitative indicators for evaluation of the project. They contribute resources and sometimes volunteer services in the organization.

Appendix 4: Receipt presented by Munyabindi

No.

UGANDA.
(TORO).

Etikiti erukuhaisa obusobozi omusi wensi owa Toro okuba n'ekibanja.

Hamu nokuikiriza okw'Owekitinisa Gavana kandi Obulemi obwa Toro nirwetegera obusobozi bwa Arabairi Binyama obwokuba n'Ekibanja eki ekiyayerimire.

Kihuguru Orugonjo (Ekibanja).
..... Omugongo.
Mutinda Gombolola.
Babirwa Isaza.

Etikiti enu emuikirizibwe uwe habwe miringo egi :-

- (1) Omuntu anyakugambirweho eruguru rundi omugwetwawe, alisobora okuikara omukibanja eki hatali kubingwa nkokukisoboroirwe eruguru, rundi hali ebi ebilyetagwa ebyo muringo oguli ahansi mu (7).
- (2) Omuntu anyakugambirweho eruguru, rundi omugwetwawe, nuwe mukama wa byona ebyombekerwe uwe, nemiti yona eyiyabyaire nebyokulya byona ebialimire ha itaka eri.
- (3) Busaho Ntende rundi ebintu ebyomulingo nk'Ogu eberisabwa omuntu wena rukama w'Itaka eri.
- (4) Omuntu anyakugambirweho eruguru, rundi omugwetwawe, talisobora okuguza rundi kuhingisa rundi okutiza ekiweka kyona ha itaka eri ; baitu obwaragonza okulifurukamu arabanzaga okuranga ebyarukugende'ra hali Obulemi obwa Toro, nukwo aguze ebyombekerwe nemiti, nebimera nibyo bintubye omusi wensi Omutoro ondi.
- (5) Omuntu anyakugambirweho eruguru, rundi omugwetwawe, alina obusobozi habwa Tikiti enu okugweta hali mwene wabu owe Ihanga lye itaka nebiroho omu baruha enu eyokugweta, rundi obwaraba tasigire ebaruha eyokugweta, omugwetwawe habwengeso ezabasi benshi alimugweta.
- (6) Omuntu ugu rundi mugwetwawe arahaga hali Obulemi obwa Toro Omusoro gwona, n'ehoza yona nebindi ebiramusabwaga obwakasumi karabaga kahikire okubimusaba habwokuba talemege kubijunanizibwa nkokwekiragiro kiri, rundi habwokuikiriza okw'Owekitinisa Gavana.
- (7) Omuntu anyakugambirweho eruguru, rundi omugwetwawe, kirisoboka okumubinga omukibanja eki, kakuba nikizoka ngu nihahiki'ra okukoraho emirimu habwoburungi bwensi, ekyokuro'raho, nk'Engudo, rundi engudo ye gali yo Muika, rundi Masomero, rundi Enju za Marwa'ro, habweki omuntu ugu anyakugambirweho eruguru, rundi omugwetwawe, alisasurwa habwebi byona ebyaferirwe (mukibanjakyeye).
- (8) Obusobozi obugumya Etikiti egi bulihwaho obutakyakilima (ekibanja eki) rundi busamu muntu onu anyakugambirweho eruguru, rundi omugwetwawe.

BITAIRWEHO OMUKONO habw'Obulemi obwa Toro.

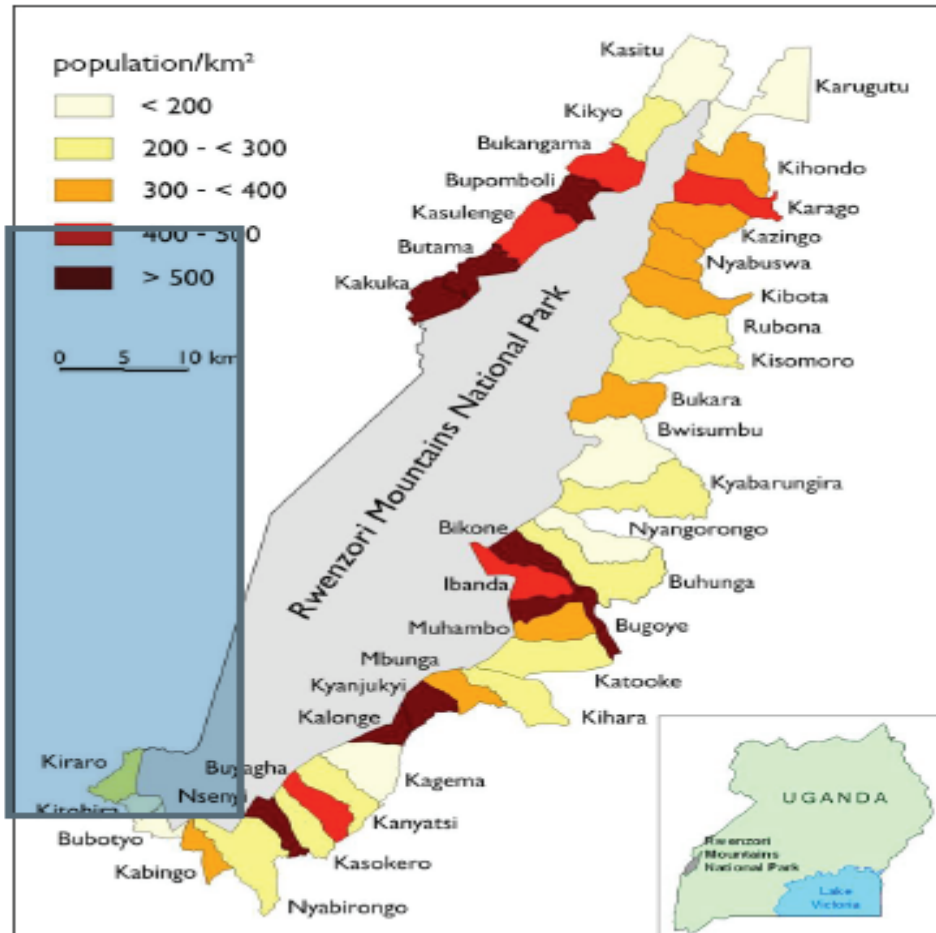
} Abakuru
} Babiri.

ATAIREHO OMUKONO.

District Commissioner.
Eliso kuu kwezi

Appendix 5: Map showing population density along Mt. Rwenzori

Source: adapted from Steinicke (2011)



Appendix 6: Ntoroko council resolution

Minute Extract

WSE

Agree my copy to Steady Dances the person with Bukwira/Banyingi to stop holding such Bukwira meetings 5/10/2012-

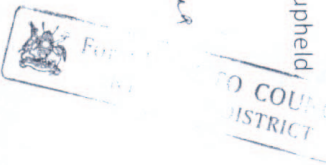
Following a motion moved by Hon. Bagonza Onan during the council meeting that convened on 31st /8/2012 concerning Ntoroko District council's stand on the status of cultural institutions in the District, council under minute **CM/09/08/NDLC/2012** resolved as follows:

1. No cultural institution whatsoever should have a collective claim for the people and land; including geographical features (natural endowments) of Ntoroko District as their subjects and properties respectively.
2. Individuals who on their own choose to pay allegiance to any cultural institution(s) are free to do so individually.
3. Public institutions like schools and others or Local Councils should not be compelled to paying cultural respects like the singing of any cultural anthem whenever they are conducting public functions.
4. Cultural leaders who have their individual subjects within Ntoroko District are free to visit them any time they so wish as long as they don't inconvenience other people and the programs of Government (both central and local) and are duly authorized by Government at all its levels.
5. The provisions of the law as laid out in the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda concerning cultural institutions are strictly upheld.

Minute extract prepared by:

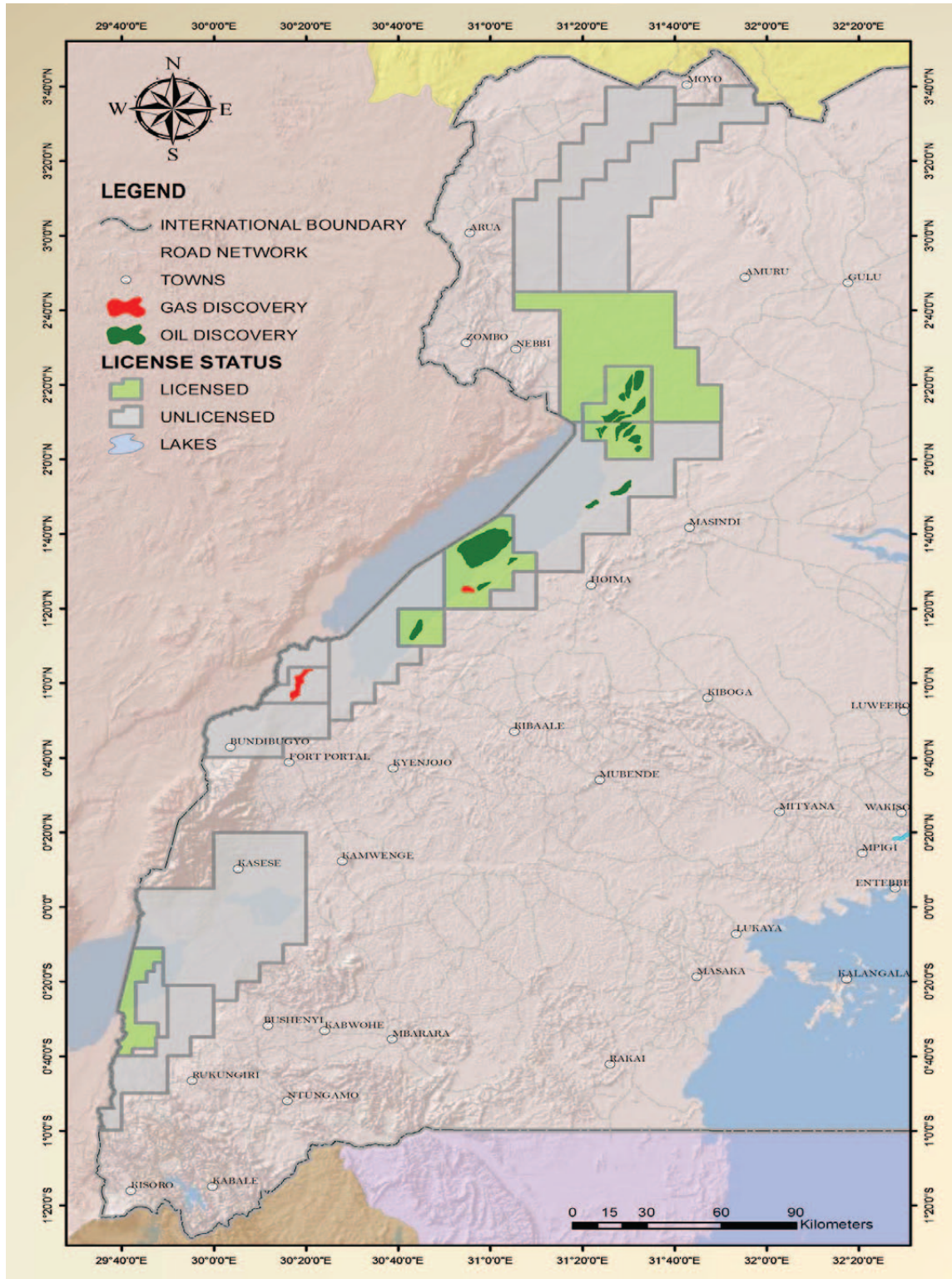
BAHEMUKA KEITH

CLERK TO COUNCIL



Approved by
DISTRICT SPEAKER
 HON. *Sambe M. Betty*
 DISTRICT SPEAKER -NTOROKO DISTRICT

Appendix 7: Map showing prospected areas of oil and Gas in Albertine Grabben as of 2012 (PEPD)





DGF

HURINET

U g a n d a

DFID

Department for
International
Development



Irish Aid

An Roinn Gnóthaí Eachtracha agus Trádála
Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade

International Alert.

Understanding conflict. Building peace.



Sida