

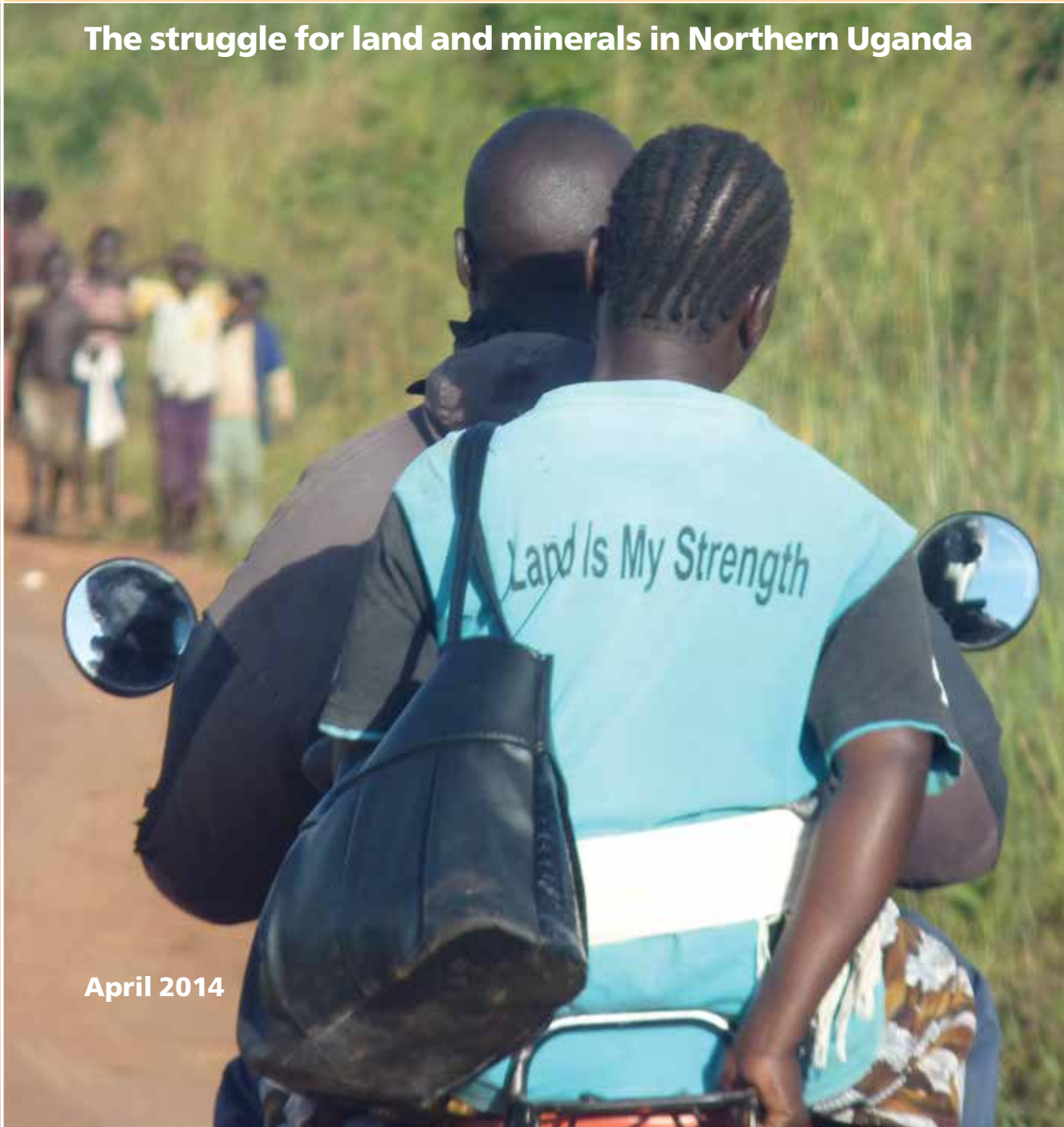


SAFERWORLD

PREVENTING VIOLENT CONFLICT. BUILDING SAFER LIVES

Beyond the reach of the hoe

The struggle for land and minerals in Northern Uganda



April 2014

Beyond the reach of the hoe

The struggle for land and minerals in Northern Uganda

David Otim, Mugisa Police Charles

(Additional writing by Bettie Atyam Amaso, Anja Hanisch and Mia Marzouk)

Acknowledgements

This report was written by David Otim and Mugisa Police Charles. Additional sections were written by Bettie Atyam Amaso, Anja Hanisch and Mia Marzouk. Special thanks go to Capson Sausi for overall leadership of the project team, and to Tamara Duffey-Janser for additional editing and quality control.

During the field data collection, a dedicated and knowledgeable team of research assistants made effective interactions with the communities possible. Special thanks therefore go to Jacinta Akullu, Innocent Oyet, Pamela Oder, Vivian Eton, Allan Lokerith, Moses Okot, Edward Drichi, Peter Amoseo, Joseline Iriama and Moses Loumo for their role as research assistants, as well as connecting to and interpreting for the different local communities during data collection.

Saferworld also wishes to thank the member organisations in the ACCS project – The Refugee Law Project and International Alert – for their partnership support towards this study.



This work was produced with financial support from the UK Department for International Development (DFID), through the Advisory Consortium on Conflict Sensitivity (ACCS) project in Uganda.

© Saferworld, April 2014. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without full attribution. Saferworld welcomes and encourages the utilisation and dissemination of the material included in this publication.

Contents

Executive summary	i
1. Introduction	1
1.1 The importance of land in Northern Uganda	2
1.2 Purpose, scope and methodology	4
2. Conflict lines over land in Northern Uganda	5
2.1 Land conflicts among indigenous people	5
2.2 Conflicts between communities and public institutions over land use	7
2.3 Conflicts over tenure and access between communities and the government	8
3. Conflicts over borders and boundaries in Northern Uganda	11
3.1 Conflicts relating to local government administrative boundaries	11
3.2 Conflicts over international borders	12
4. Focus: Land, minerals and conflict in Karamoja	14
4.1 Customary land ownership	15
4.2 Royalties and communities	16
4.3 Mineral smuggling	17
4.4 Lack of local participation in formalising mining	17
5. Youth and land conflicts	20
5.1 Young people as significant actors	20
5.2 Increased involvement in land sale	20
5.3 Youth involvement in land conflicts	21
6. Women and land conflicts	23
6.1 Women's land rights under customary tenure	23
6.2 Ownership, control and access	24
6.3 Violence against women over land	25
6.4 Land-related marginalisation of women	25
6.5 Escalation of clan-level conflicts to household relationships	25
7. Resolving conflicts over land	27
7.1 Conflict resolution structures	27
7.2 Challenges in resolving land conflicts	30
8. Conclusion	32
9. Recommendations	34
ANNEX 1: Categories of respondents	36
ANNEX 2: List of focus group discussions	37
ANNEX 3: List of mining concessions in Karamoja	38

Acronyms

ACCS	Advisory Consortium on Conflict Sensitivity
ALC	Area Land Committee
AMREF	African Medical and Research Foundation
ARLPI	Acholi Religious Leaders' Peace Initiative
CAO	Chief Administrative Officer
CSO	Civil society organisation
DEO	District Education Officer
DFID	Department for International Development (UK)
DGSM	Department of Geological Survey and Mines
DPC	District Police Commander
DVO	District Veterinary Officer
FGD	Focus group discussion
IDP	Internally displaced person
LC	Local Council
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Services
PPO	Principal Personnel Officer
PRDP	Peace, Recovery and Development Plan
RDC	Resident District Commissioner
MAAIF	Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries
TC	Town Council
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UPDF	Uganda People's Defence Force
UWA	Uganda Wildlife Authority

Executive summary

VIOLENT CONFLICT IN NORTHERN UGANDA is finally subsiding after three decades, and government programmes are in place to speed up the region's recovery and development. The mass return of people from camps for internally displaced persons (IDPs) to the region, as security improves, is bringing new challenges and threats. Competition over access to minerals and land ownership is increasing and is already causing violent conflict.

This study looks at the relationship of conflicts over land and natural resources with issues concerning gender relations, youth, and overall conflict reduction in Northern Uganda. It is based on extensive field research and interviews in seven districts: Amuru, Gulu, Lamwo and Nwoya in Acholi sub-region; Otuke and Lira in Lango sub-region; and Adjumani in West Nile sub-region. Given the specific importance of mineral extraction in Karamoja as a driver of conflict, two districts of Moroto and Amudat were also selected.

Different levels of land conflict

Most of the conflicts in Northern Uganda are between households, families, clans or tribes. These groups conflict over boundaries, the desire for more land, ownership and inheritance issues, and rights to access land. They can be small-scale disputes resolvable through informal community mechanisms, or they can escalate into long-running violent feuds among people and communities.

The growing importance of land as an asset has led to a demand for public authorities to return land given to them as far back as the 1940s and 1960s for schools, health centres and administration units. Land-related conflicts between central government and communities involve huge pieces of land, and people from outside the region. Forest and game reserves, wetlands and some government ranches are disputed. The army's use of land continues to be controversial.

Conflicts relating to local government administrative boundaries are occurring as administrative boundaries have moved or their level has been up- or downgraded. Most of the boundary conflicts appear to relate to the control of local revenue and other resources. Some communities feel that they do not belong to their new administrative units, preferring their previous authority. When part of a clan is placed in another district, people can feel disenfranchised and segregated.

Internationally, three districts, Lamwo, Amuru and Adjumani, have disputes with the Government of South Sudan over the precise demarcation of their borders. These disputes are particularly difficult to resolve because the argument between local people requires state-level interlocutors on both sides, who may have other priorities or perceive the situation differently.

Conflict in Karamoja

Rich in minerals and emerging from a period of acute insecurity, Karamoja has the opportunity to transform its economy for the benefit of its people. Land has not historically been a conflict driver, yet there is now a real risk of relapse to conflict over access to land for mineral extraction.

Companies that acquire mineral licences are required to negotiate with the districts and communities for surface rights to use the land. Lack of community consultation exacerbates mistrust of the authorities, and communities fear that, through the process of exploration, land is being grabbed. The Karimojong elders need to acquire more capacity to guide their communities. Small-scale miners and artisans need to organise into structures which companies and districts can negotiate with and pay royalties to.

Youth and land conflicts

Northern Uganda's young people are significant actors with a complex relationship to land matters. Growing up in camps or conscripted into the ranks of the Lord's Resistance Army, these people are poor, often unskilled and vulnerable to manipulation. Youth involvement in land conflicts has gone beyond the family level. Increasingly, youths in Northern Uganda are seen as 'fighters for and protectors of land'. Land sale by youths is increasing, pitting them against their families because under the customary land tenure system, youths do not own land; they may only utilise land as allocated to them by their parents or clan elders.

Women and land conflicts

Women are particularly vulnerable to having their rights to land abused by more powerful people, almost always men. Uganda's National Land Policy aims to "ensure recognition, strengthening and education on rights of women, children and other vulnerable groups in all existing and emerging land tenure regimes".¹ Women's unequal access to land challenges their equal participation in any development activity which requires land use.

Resolving conflicts over land

Structures involved in land conflict resolution include the clan system, which is mediatory and reconciliatory, with good local knowledge; the local council system, which needs to be (re)legalised, but which also has good local knowledge; various district-level structures, which receive praise when they communicate well with the community; and the courts, which are under-resourced and expensive, but which produce legally enforceable decisions. Respondents prefer mediatory approaches.

Conflict resolution is hampered by corruption, especially in the courts system. The role of elders in determining boundaries is no longer reliable. Central government is perceived to be reluctant to get involved in sensitive land disputes, with potential implications for the 2016 general elections. Officials receive little or no information about land issues in the communities they are mandated to serve, partly due to lack of effort and partly due to lack of clarity over roles for community liaison.

¹ National Land Policy 2013, Section 3.9, 33 (iii).

- Recommendations**
- Land titles should be formalised where possible, and boundaries demarcated on the ground, particularly for public institutions. Local communities should establish communal land associations to serve as legal group entities for the land.
 - The Government of Uganda should strengthen land governance structures, including renewing the mandate of the Local Council 1 and Local Council 2, re-establishing the Land Tribunals, appointing resident judges, and deploying a police presence within easy reach of every community. The land sector should establish a land management structure at regional or district levels to co-ordinate land actions of state and non-state structures.
 - Dialogue should be supported for resolving land conflicts. The Government of Uganda should officially recognise and support the village chiefs as facilitators of dialogue and mediation.
 - Companies and other investors should adopt a conflict-sensitive approach to community engagement so that they at minimum do not exacerbate conflict and instead maximise opportunities including through conducting thorough analysis and community consultations and acting transparently.

1

Introduction

AFTER THREE DECADES OF VIOLENT CONFLICT IN NORTHERN UGANDA,²

the incidence of violence is finally subsiding and government programmes are in place to speed up the region's recovery and development. The Government of Uganda has largely succeeded in displacing the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) from Acholi, Lango and Teso to neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Central African Republic (CAR), and disarming cattle raiders in the Karamoja sub-region.

The mass return of people, after 20 years living in camps for internally displaced persons (IDP), to the region, as security improves, brings new challenges and threats. The once strong cultural traditions and institutions have been weakened by the experience of life in the camps throughout the region. With improved security in Northern Uganda, competition over access to minerals and land ownership has gained new impetus, as global commodity prices continue to rise and land becomes commercialised.

Rhetoric around land – T-shirts read 'Land is my strength...' and 'My land, my Life...' – in the name of awareness-raising has heightened public consciousness; politicisation and commercialisation of land are accompanied by the need for protection of existing land, and acquisition of more land.

Nevertheless, actual land use is still very low throughout the region. Several expanses of land in Amuru, Otuke and Nwoya boast thick bush and lie unused. The District Land Officer for Amuru remarked to researchers, "I think we need a land use policy to force our people to use their land. Why would they protect land which is unutilised? In some countries idle land is taxed, and such a policy should be introduced here!"³

The 2013 *Northern Uganda Conflict Analysis*, published by the Advisory Consortium on Conflict Sensitivity (ACCS), revealed four key threats to long-term peace across the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan (PRDP)⁴ region. These are: (i) conflicts over land and other natural resources, (ii) changing gender relations during and after the conflict, which have contributed to high levels of domestic and sexual and gender-based violence, (iii) youth unemployment, disillusionment and lack of opportunity, and (iv) incomplete or inadequate transitional justice, reconciliation and return processes.

Land is central to all aspects of livelihood in Northern Uganda. According to the ACCS *Conflict Analysis*, "community representatives [...] identified land, natural and mineral resources as the most prominent conflict drivers in the region". Additionally,

² The term 'Northern Uganda' refers to the eight sub-regions covered by the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan of the Government of Uganda: the north-west sub-regions of West Nile and Bunyoro, the central and north sub-regions of Acholi and Lango, and the sub-regions of the north-east: Karamoja, Teso, Bukedi and Elgon.

³ Mildred Aber, Land Officer for Amuru District, in an interview on 1 November 2013.

⁴ *Northern Uganda Conflict Analysis*, Advisory Consortium on Conflict Sensitivity (2013), p ix, available at: www.saferworld.org.uk/resources/view-resource/762-northern-uganda-conflict-analysis

“land and boundary disputes are two of the most prominent conflict drivers across the eight sub-regions of Northern Uganda. If left unaddressed, these disputes could cause a return to violent conflict. Already, people are acquiring guns to protect and settle land disputes.”⁵

This study reflects on the “particular interplay and overlay”⁶ of conflicts over land and natural resources with issues concerning gender relations, youth, and overall conflict reduction that characterise Northern Uganda. The difficult transition from customary to private ownership of land, a lack of knowledge about land legislation, and the difficulty in obtaining property deeds have left many Northern Ugandans vulnerable to abuses of their property rights. Vulnerable groups such as women and girls, children-headed households, and returnees are particularly at risk of losing their property rights in disputes, as their interests may not be upheld or reflected in the outcomes of formal or informal resolution processes. A lack of institutional capacity of relevant government bodies and the judiciary to handle land disputes, and the reported erosion of traditional dispute resolution mechanisms, leave many without adequate redress. The controversial role of districts in facilitating land acquisition by investors, for instance of the extractive industries sector, also impairs their ability to legitimately and effectively mediate land disputes.⁷

1.1 The importance of land in Northern Uganda

Land disputes affect communities across Uganda, but context-specific issues, such as displacement and return, the comparatively higher occurrence of customary ownership, and widespread grievances towards the authorities, make this a pressing issue in the northern part of the country.

The end of the LRA war has reinforced the importance of land in different ways. Prior to the war, people in northern Uganda had owned cattle as their major source of livelihood. The loss of their cattle upon their forced displacement resulted in a new focus on land as a primary income opportunity. At the same time, when northern Ugandans returned from IDP camps after 20 years of war, they found that the physical features that they had formerly used to identify the boundaries of their properties had changed or were gone altogether. Gardens were no longer separated by a piece of undug land, a trench, heaps of grass, pathways or trees, making it nearly impossible for the returnees to identify their share of land. Exacerbating this, most of the elders who knew the boundaries had died in the camps and the young people, some of whom were born in the camps, did not know their parents’ land, let alone the boundaries.

In addition, those who returned from the camps earlier than others, finding the physical markers changed, sometimes did not settle on their exact original pieces of land. Others took up more than they originally owned or chose fertile pieces of land that had not been theirs before the war.

Northern Ugandan land is indeed a valuable asset. For example, Karamoja in the north-east reportedly is home to deposits of over 50 different minerals and stones, ranging from gold, copper, iron, limestone and marble to silver and gemstones, yet has never been officially mapped for its natural resources. Around 18,000 local Karimojong engage in small-scale mining activity; suspected mineral wealth has led to an influx of mining companies with prospecting and exploration licences, creating potential for a numerous conflicts over questions of land ownership and use.

At the household level, land conflicts can result from the different uses of land by different household members. In most cases, women utilise land for subsistence farming, while men utilise land for cash crops. Given that the average land share owned by a

⁵ *Ibid.*, p 10 and p 12.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p ix.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p 15.

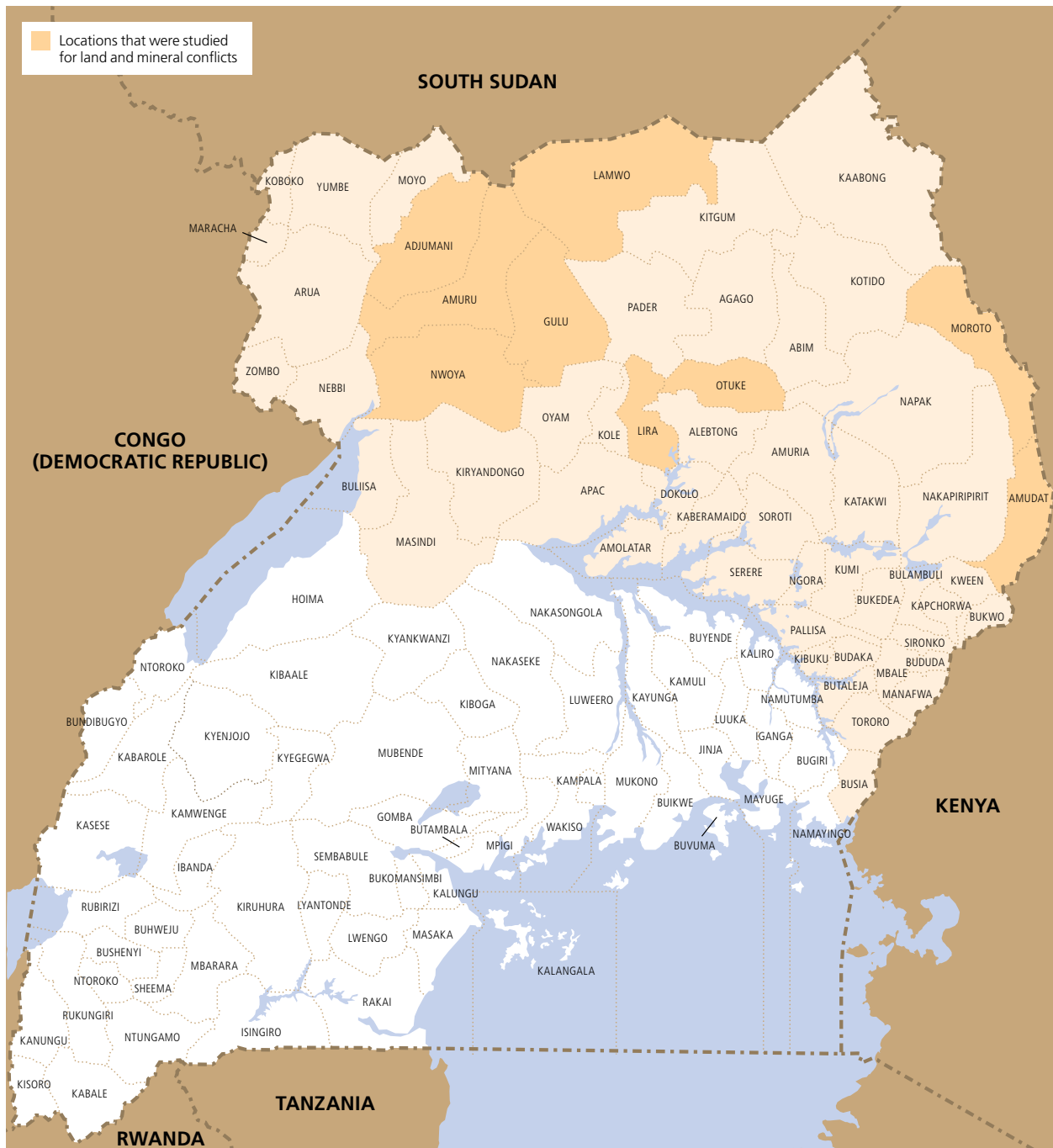


Figure 1: Highlighted districts show locations that were studied for land and mineral conflicts
 © Saferworld. This map is intended for illustrative purposes only. Saferworld takes no position on whether this representation is legally or politically valid.

household is small, it has resulted in conflicts between husbands and wives, in turn leading to domestic disputes and sexual and gender-based violence.

Population pressure adds to the competition surrounding land. The population in Northern Uganda is growing more quickly than the rest of the country. For instance, Lamwo District's growth rate is 4.1 per cent, higher than the national average of 3.2 per cent.

Land-related conflicts are reported to be on the increase throughout Northern Uganda. This study found that in the seven districts visited for the main body of field research, over 70 per cent of cases reported to police stations related to land conflicts. Analysis of such conflicts and their links with cross-cutting issues is also topical: the run-up to the 2016 presidential, parliamentary and local elections is likely to increase existing tensions. Likewise, the projected date for the start of oil extraction and production in 2017 might spur tensions between claimants, for instance, for revenues.

1.2 Purpose, scope and methodology

Saferworld was asked to conduct a study that would provide its partners in the ACCS with a clearer understanding of the land conflicts in Northern Uganda, and generate evidence to guide programming. In particular, researchers looked at the local specificities of land-related conflicts, key actors and dynamics, and community-preferred methods of mitigation and resolution. Because land conflicts in Northern Uganda, especially in Karamoja, are closely linked to land use, including mineral extraction, the study includes a focus on this conflict driver.

The report is based on extensive field research and interviews in seven districts distributed in three sub-regions of the PRDP: Amuru, Gulu, Lamwo and Nwoya in Acholi sub-region; Otuke and Lira in Lango sub-region; and Adjumani in West Nile sub-region. In each of these districts, interviews and focus group discussions were conducted in two sub-counties, making a total of fourteen sub-counties.⁸ Twenty-eight focus group discussions and 192 interviews with district officials, clan leaders and community members were held in total.

Given the specific importance of mineral extraction in Karamoja as a driver of conflict, a separate analysis was conducted in this sub-region. Two districts of Moroto (Rupa and Katikekile Sub-Counties) and Amudat (Karita Sub-County) were selected because of the increased activity in the mining sector there. Moroto especially has several private companies carrying out mineral exploration and actual mining; while Karita in Amudat was selected because, although no company has yet begun operations there, the local artisanal and small-scale mining community there is bracing itself for the likely arrival of investors.

Five different questionnaires were used to standardise the interview format, depending on the context of the interviewee.⁹ These questionnaires captured information about the categories of land conflicts and the manner in which they are manifested, their causes, how the land conflicts affect gender issues, youth and the transitional process, the structures involved in resolving land conflicts, the challenges these structures face, and recommendations on how to manage land conflict.

Table 1: Sub-counties where the research was carried out

Sub-region	District	Sub-county
Lango	Lira	Ngetta, Aromo
	Otuke	Olilim, Okwang
Acholi	Amuru	Pabbo, Lamogi
	Gulu	Odek, Palaro
	Lamwo	Lokung, Padibe East
	Nwoya	Alero, Purongo
West Nile	Adjumani	Itirikwa, Ofua

Data from Karamoja was generated through a review of existing policy documents and literature, interviews and focus group discussions in the region. Interviews were conducted with officials at the Department of Geological Survey and Mines (DGSM), district officials, representatives of mining companies, individual opinion leaders and elders, political leaders and members of civil society groups. Focus group discussions were held with communities and district authorities.

⁸ The districts were selected because (i) the work Saferworld has done in Amuru, Nwoya, Lira and Gulu indicates that land conflicts are a problem, and (ii) a scoping visit by Saferworld in July 2013 highlighted the various forms and effects of land conflicts in the districts of Lamwo and Otuke. The two sub-counties from each of the districts were identified by the district authorities as the sub-counties with the highest incidences of land conflicts.

⁹ There was a questionnaire for key informants at the district level, another for sub-county level respondents, a third for focus group discussions at district and sub-county level, a fourth for cultural leaders and a fifth for national-level respondents.

2

Conflict lines over land in Northern Uganda

CONFLICTS OVER LAND occur at several different levels in Northern Uganda. With the increasing scarcity and politicisation of land, competition for it is growing; with large numbers of young people without employment prospects and often with combat experience and easy access to small arms, there is potential for these conflicts to turn violent and to escalate beyond local communities.

“Your land ends at the point where your hoe reaches.”

Proverb from Buganda area.¹⁰

Several people interviewed suggested attitudes towards land were changing fundamentally, whereby people are now accruing it as an asset which comes with a need for protection, while previously they claimed only as much land as they could till. “People believe in protection of land alone and are not adequately utilising the land they own,” said one local government leader.¹¹ A land official believed the districts should intervene to prevent conflict: “As people focus on protecting land, they should also have equal interest and effort in utilising the land that has no conflict. The districts should pass ordinances to enforce land use, even if it means levying tax on unused land.”¹²

2.1 Land conflicts among indigenous people

Most of the conflicts in Northern Uganda are between households, families, clans or tribes. These groups conflict over boundaries, the need or desire for more land, ownership and inheritance issues, rights to access land, and rights for passage or transit. They can be small-scale disputes resolvable through established informal community mechanisms, yet failure to do so can cause escalation into violence, resulting in injury or death.

Traditionally, strong relationships within communities were weakened by life in the camps, where the concept of individualism developed and the focus was often on survival. Almost everything was monetised. Many households are finding it difficult to adapt this ‘monetised lifestyle’ to the more communal life back in the villages, which had fostered social cohesion. Some family social ties have broken down.

¹⁰ Interview with James Mwesige, Resident District Commissioner of Amuru District on 31 October 2013.

¹¹ Interview with Christopher Ochen, Sub-County Chief of Alero Sub-County, Nwoya District 1 November 2013.

¹² Interview with Mildred Aber, Land Officer of Amuru District 1 November 2013.

Figure 2: A peasant farmer tending her field in Okwang Sub-County, Otuke District. Land is a key factor in the livelihoods in Northern Uganda, with over 90% of households depending on subsistence farming.

© SAFERWORLD/
BETTIE ATYAM AMASO



Examples of conflicts between clans over land issues are numerous. In Lamwo District, violent clan conflicts were cited in Padibe Sub-County: between the Madi Opei in Pobura Parish versus that in Palugar Parish; Loi clan versus Katum clan; and Paloga versus Madi Opei. In Ngomoromo Sub-County (Lamwo District), the Abongo Lajuk clan is trying to drive other clans from the area. The Principal Personnel Officer of Lamwo District reported that, at Akelikongo Primary School, Lokung Sub-County, the host community is blocking teachers from cultivating their fields by tethering animals in teachers' gardens.

In Nwoya District, participants in a focus group discussion described an incident in Lateko Odong Village of Alero Sub-County where almost 200 houses were burnt following clashes between the Lamogi and Alero clans. Still in Nwoya, participants cited inter-tribal land conflicts between the Jonam and Acholi over Got Apwoyo and Aringo-Kec in Purongo Sub-County; and in Gulu there is an ongoing conflict between the Acholi and the Langi in Kochi Goma Sub-County. In Amuru District, there are conflicts between the Pabiri and Pakuma in Pabbo Sub-County and between the Ogoropi and Toro in Lamogi.

Box 1: Children as bargaining chips in land disputes

Children are sometimes used as bargaining chips in disputes between clans or with public authorities over land, while young people are incited to violent acts, including towards children.

A community primary school in Ayita-Konya Kiting Village in Alero Sub-County is constructed on disputed land. In an attempt to disrupt the school, community youth often abduct pupils as they walk to school, often triggering more violence as parents intervene to rescue their children. According to Christine Okello Laura of Acholi Religious Leaders' Peace Initiative (ARLPI), children are therefore likely to grow up with a feeling that fighting is the only means for resolving conflicts.

The Katum and Loi clans in Padibe East Sub-County, Lamwo District, are locked in bitter and violent land conflicts. For instance, eight children from the Loi clan were abducted by the people of Katum while on their way to school and hidden in the bush. The Lamwo District chairperson was called in to calm the deteriorating situation and the ensuing discussions led to the release of the children, although some had been beaten and injured. Many arrests were then made on both sides, and the district authorities reported using the people in jail as an incentive for the clans to end the impasse if they want their people to be released.

Florence Atti, a councillor of Lokung Sub-County, said, "The conflict between these two clans has escalated to the point that all the youth in the area walk with knives for protection. Incidentally, members of the two clans live in the same area, but each clan does not allow its members to buy items from a shop owned by a member of the other clan."¹³

¹³ Interview on 5 October 2013, Florence Atti is a councillor of Lokung Sub-County, which borders Padibe East Sub-County. She has witnessed the conflict between the Katum and Loi clans degenerate into violence.

Because of increased violence relating to land conflict, people are arming themselves with weapons such as machetes, spears, and bows and arrows. Research participants reported a readiness to use these weapons for protection and for attack in case of a fight with another community. In a focus group discussion in Lamogi Sub-County, Amuru District, nine out of the ten people present (four of them being women) admitted having bows and arrows in their home. This group was quite clear that although some of these tools – such as machetes – are also used for gardening work, their purpose was now for the protection of their land. The widespread possession of bows, arrows and spears (categorised as small arms) demonstrates the potential for armed violence over land in Northern Uganda if conflicts are not resolved peacefully.

2.2 Conflicts between communities and public institutions over land use

The growing importance of land as an asset has led to a demand for public authorities to return land given to them as far back as the 1940s and 1960s. Schools, health centres, sub-county headquarters and churches have been built on such land. Descendants of those who donated the land, not yet born when the land was originally given away, claim that there is no proof of the transfer of their land to public bodies, and that in any case, they were not properly compensated at the time. Kiplagat Martin, Otuke Chief Administrative Officer (CAO), attributes this to learning the value of land during camp life: “People learnt that land is a very valuable asset and given that their other sources of livelihood had been taken away, they started claiming the land on which these facilities had been built.”¹⁴ Part of the difficulty may be in not being clear about the nature of the gift in the first place: Was the land given away in perpetuity? Or for as long as it was needed? Was use of it given exclusively to the beneficiary or for inclusive use of other community members?¹⁵

In almost every district visited, there was a case of conflict between the community and public institutions. Participants in this research cited several such cases of conflict over land used by schools. Schools have been burnt or closed, and children have been displaced, making the provision of education services to such communities very difficult. In Adjumani District, the land size of Koli-didi Primary School has been reduced by the community members who have taken back the bigger portion of the land.

In Otuke District, a focus group discussion with the community of Okwang Sub-County on 5 October 2013 reported that the Obakolang clan is claiming the whole piece of land on which Ogoro P7 School sits. Members of this clan have planted trees very close to the school and there have been no attempts thus far to resolve the conflict.

Charles Keny, the founder of Wanglobo Primary School in Otwal Sub-County, Oyam District, was killed and his body set on fire by parents, in February 2014. Apparently, the government had taken over the school when Keny had joined the army, but on retiring he was asking to have part of the school land. Keny was killed only days before the Oyam Magistrate Court had been due to give its verdict on his land request.¹⁶

In Ngetta Sub-County (Lira District), people want to take the land belonging to a church mission. They are meeting to try to resolve the matter. During a research interview with Mildred Aber, the Amuru District Land Officer, she received a call in which Awach Sub-County Gulu District had allegedly encroached on land belonging to her

¹⁴ Interview, 4 November 2013.

¹⁵ One comprehensive report on land conflicts suggests explains the lack of clarity: What was the donor giving 50 years ago? “Was it (a) Perpetual use of as much land as required by the friend and his heirs? (b) Perpetual use of a particular and delimited piece of land by the friend and as many of his heirs as can be accommodated there? (c) Full and equal clan land rights? (d) Temporary use of a particular piece of land on the assumption that the friend and/or his heirs would return to their own land within a period of time convenient to the gifter? The first of these seems to be what is often assumed by guests, whereas the last is a common presumption of the land-holding groups. Independent parties (on the basis of tradition, it would seem) tend to favour (b).” *Land Conflict Monitoring and Mapping Tool for the Acholi Sub-Region: Final Report*, Human Rights Focus (March 2013), p 11. Available at: www.lcmt.org/pdf/final_report.pdf (accessed 20 March 2014).

¹⁶ ‘Parents kill school founder’, *The Daily Monitor*, 24 February 2014, p 3, available at: www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Parents-kill-school-founder/-/688334/2219236/-/nl7hgbz/-/index.html (accessed 11 March 2014).

own father. By the time of the call the sub-county had already cut down nine mvule trees.¹⁷

Other conflicts involve water points and roads constructed by government and development partners. For example, at Oloma in Amuru District, a water point was sunk with the help of UNICEF and AMREF. Although nobody complained during the various processes to identify that water point and the three-day drilling process, a family appeared later claiming ownership of that piece of land. This family fenced off the water point to block people from accessing it.

2.3 Conflicts over tenure and access between communities and the government

Land-related conflicts between the Government of Uganda and communities are some of the most complex of all land conflicts, involving huge pieces of land, and involving mainly people from outside the region. Land such as that used by the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA), the forest reserves, the game reserves, wetland and some government ranches in Northern Uganda are all subject to disputes of some sort. The discrepancy between codified land-use and ownership law and customary practices of communal use and ownership, poor relations between people in Northern Uganda and central government, and the widespread suspicion that companies and investors are linked to corrupt politicians all fuel these disputes.

Both sides refer to the constitution to support their land ownership claims. Reagan Okumu, Member of Parliament and Chairperson of the Acholi Parliamentary Group, referring to the constitution,¹⁸ argues that community members understand that “anyone who wants land should consult and involve the owners, but instead some investors who have interest in acquiring land in Northern Uganda often go through the Presidential State House, which is not the owner of land.”¹⁹ On the other hand, sections of the public who counter this argument note that the same constitution asserts: “government shall hold in trust for the people and protect natural lakes, rivers, wetlands, forest reserves, game reserves, national parks and any land to be reserved for the common good of all citizens,”²⁰ which implies that in the public interest, government could acquire such land for national development.

The case of land in Apaa Village (Amuru District) illustrates the suspicions of local people concerning the acquisition of large tracts of land. In 2005, when people were still living in the camps, land was given to Bruce Martin from South Africa who was investing in game reserves for sports hunting. When resistance from the community intensified, it is claimed that the government changed tactics and asked the neighbouring district of Adjumani to contest ownership and claim that this land actually lies within Adjumani District. The Adjumani District authorities then passed a council resolution giving the land away to the ‘investor’. Some participants in this research argued that the boundaries between the two districts of Adjumani and Acholi are clear, and that some district politicians are manufacturing the boundary conflict. During an interview with the District Chairperson of Adjumani, he showed a map of the area in dispute claiming the area belongs to Adjumani District.

According to leaders of Lamwo District, the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF) operated various ranches in Northern Uganda including Agago ranch, Aswa ranch, Acholi ranch, Got Apwoyo land and Lututu land as breeding grounds for livestock development. These operations began as early as the 1960s, long before the start of the current government’s tenure. Following the end of the LRA war,

¹⁷ Interview with Mildred Aber, *op. cit.*

¹⁸ Interview with Reagan Okumu, Member of Parliament and Chairperson of the Acholi Parliamentary Group, December 2013. The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, Article 237 (1) states that “land in Uganda belongs to the citizens of Uganda and shall vest in them in accordance with the land tenure systems provided for in this constitution.”

¹⁹ Interview with Reagan Okumu, *op. cit.*

²⁰ The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, Article 237(2)b.

Figure 3: Hon. Owale Nixon Levy, the Adjumani District Local Council 5 (LC5) Chairperson (left), describing the disputed boundaries on the map to a Saferworld researcher.

© SAFERWORLD/CAPSON SAUSI



MAAIF wanted to continue using these facilities for the same purpose, but has met resistance from some residents.²¹ The research team did not obtain any documentation to establish true ownership of these pieces of land. It was reported that in this conflict, MAAIF is prepared to use coercion to acquire these pieces.

The army's use of land in post-war Northern Uganda continues to be controversial. During the war with the LRA rebels, the Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF) established units in various places including on private citizens' land, which it has not yet vacated.²² Komaketch Micheal Comboni, Sub-County Chief of Pabbo, told the research team: "The army claims that the area of the State Farm is theirs but the communities say that the land is theirs. It is also claimed that the army left the farm to engage in the war, people occupied it and when the war ended, the army now wants to regain its land. Incidentally, neither of the two groups (community and UPDF) has documentation to show ownership. Recently, the UPDF tried to plant mark stones, which the community have since uprooted."

Hostility towards government land policy is acute. MP Reagan Okumu asserts that there is a kind of 'scramble' for Northern Uganda, accompanied by a deliberate effort to deny Northern Uganda any development by scaring away investors. He says that because people in Northern Uganda are poor, whenever one flashes money around, they will sell their land at even low prices.²³

Politicians have seized on land as an electoral issue. MP for Kilak County, Olanya Gilbert, is considered to have been elected for demonstrating he would protect the people's land. Political slogans can be incendiary: "Land is the only asset that Acholi people are left with!" "We must protect our land with whatever weapons we have!"

²¹ For an illustration of community resistance to and suspicion of one investor in Got Opwoyo, see Refugee Law Project, *Land and investment – Balancing local and investor interest*, available at: www.refugeelawproject.org/files/ACCS_activity_briefs/Land_and_investment_-_Balancing_Local_and_Investor_Interests.pdf (accessed 20 March 2014).

²² See for example, 'Pader District Petitions Land Ministry over Former Ranches,' *Uganda Radio Network* (24 January 2012), available at: <http://ugandaradionetwork.com/a/story.php?s=39824> (accessed 20 March 2014).

²³ Interview with Reagan Okumu, *op. cit.*

Box 2: Controversy over the Madhvani Group of Companies in Amuru District

Ongoing controversy surrounds a large tract of land allocated to the Madhvani Group of Companies,²⁴ an established Ugandan family firm with an annual turnover of USD\$ 100 million,²⁵ for a new sugar factory and sugarcane growing.²⁶

The project has divided the Acholi community, as well as pitting local authorities against the national government. Reasons cited for opposing the project vary. MP Olanya Gilbert claims, "The Madhvani Group of Companies is being fronted as the applicant, but the real owners behind this application are big people in government."²⁷ There is also suspicion among residents of Amuru and Nwoya of the presence of minerals in Pailyel and also oil wells as discovered in the Albertaine region. This group questions the need for Madhvani to own rather than lease the land. They also fault Madhvani for not negotiating with the rightful land owners, i.e., the community, by going through the State House.

Supporters of the Madhvani project also come from different angles. Some argue that it is the government's constitutional duty to acquire the land for national development. The Lamogi clan says that if the project is successful, they will become shareholders and open up a Lamogi Trust Fund to use for clan development purposes and for accessing employment.

Hon. Benson Ogwang Ogoo, the LC5 of Otuke District, who was the President's Private Secretary at the time and co-ordinated Madhvani efforts to acquire this land, complains, "Land has become a tool of political fights... The anti-Madhvani group knew that the government would become more popular when this project transformed people's lives. This is why local people want Madhvani to negotiate with them directly not through politicians – because some politicians had already 'eaten' from the deal before the community even knew about Madhvani. Others had personal interests such as preferring different companies from Canada to Madhvani."²⁸

24 See *Land Conflict Monitoring and Mapping Tool for the Acholi Sub-Region op. cit.*, pp 19–20, for more detailed explanation of the dispute.

25 Madhvani Group website, available at: www.madhvanifoundation.com/madhvani-group.html (accessed 14 March 2014).

26 At the time of this research there was a court process, i.e., an appeal was pending at the Constitutional Court over the land conflict involving Madhvani.

27 Telephone interview with Hon. Gilbert Olanya, MP Kilak County in December 2013.

28 Interview with Hon Benson Ogwang Ogoo, in Lira District on 5 November 2013.

3

Conflicts over borders and boundaries in Northern Uganda

3.1 Conflicts relating to local government administrative boundaries

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION IN UGANDA HAS SEVERAL LAYERS. Below the national level, the country is divided into over 100 districts, which are in turn divided into counties (or municipalities) and sub-counties (or towns). Sub-counties are divided into parishes, which are further divided into villages. Over the past 15 years, decentralisation has led to the creation of new districts (from 78 in 2006 to 111 in 2010).²⁹ For example, Pader District and Lamwo District were carved out of Kitgum District in 2001 and 2009 respectively.

As administrative boundaries have moved or their level has been up- or downgraded, conflicts have emerged over the new boundaries. For example, the districts of Nwoya and Amuru contest the location of Amuru Town Council offices. The two districts were originally part of Gulu District. Amuru was made a district first, in 2006, while Nwoya was carved out of southern Amuru in 2010. The boundary between the two districts now passes through Amuru District headquarters, which had previously been in the centre of the original Amuru District. Some Amuru District buildings, such as Amuru Police Station, now lie in Nwoya District.

In some cases, there are conflicts over boundaries between a district and a sub-county or a parish in another district, which could be over only a few metres. Amuru and Gulu Districts conflict over the whole parish of Mede, while Adjumani and Amuru District contest their boundary: the latter claims the boundary to be at River Zoka, while Adjumani claims that the boundary is 8km from Apaa towards Amuru. Otuke District contests Okwii and Te-boke Village with Agago District, and Atira Sub-County with Abim District.

Most of the boundary conflicts appear to relate to the control of local revenue and other resources such as timber. Participants in the research reported that boundary conflicts between the sub-counties of Awach and Patiko (Gulu District) and between Ofua and Itirikwa (Adjumani District) result from local revenue issues.

Some communities feel that they do not belong to their new administrative units, and prefer to belong to their previous authority. When part of a clan is placed in another

²⁹ *The Dynamics of District Creation in Uganda*, DENIVA (2011), p 5, available at www.deniva.or.ug/reports/2011/DynamicsofDistrictReport.pdf (accessed 15 March 2014). This source is critical of the number of districts created, calling it "fragmentation" of administration.

district, becoming a minority group, people feel disenfranchised and segregated. A prominent example is the conflict between Jonam and Acholi in Purongo Sub-County, Nwoya District. The Jonam who live on the eastern side of the River Nile in Purongo feel a cultural allegiance with the Jonam across the Nile, and the Nwoya District authorities complain that criminals cross the river to avoid prosecution. This conflict has resulted in several violent encounters,³⁰ and attempts to resolve the dispute have failed.³¹

3.2 Conflicts over international borders

Three districts in Northern Uganda – Lamwo, Amuru and Adjumani – have disputes with the Government of South Sudan over the precise demarcation of their borders. Being international, these disputes are particularly difficult to resolve because the argument between local people requires state-level interlocutors on both sides, who may have other priorities or perceive the situation differently. Therefore, though there is inter-state dialogue, there is an antagonistic relationship between the local Ugandans and South Sudanese in these locations.³² This, at times, manifests in the destruction and stealing of or grazing on other's crops; harassment by South Sudanese; abduction of children; and laying of ambushes with bows and arrows, and sometimes guns, at harvest time.

Research participants in Adjumani District asserted that the international border is in fact 6.7km beyond where South Sudan claims the border is now and that it is occupied by the Madi people. There are also similar claims by Amuru District against South Sudan for the Bibia area.

South Sudan and Lokung Sub-County in Lamwo, Uganda have a dispute over Madi Opei, where the Government of South Sudan claims that the border is wrongly placed 12km inside Uganda and claims that Uganda altered the Geographical Positioning Systems (GPS) reading claim to 12km of South Sudan.³³ The Ugandan side even indicates that a physical feature (the river in Limur) is the border line. From the checkpoint at Ngomoromo, according to the GPS readings, Uganda is supposed to extend 7.6km into South Sudan, yet South Sudan claims their administration starts at the checkpoint.

The conflicts between the two countries are referred to by local media and leaders using increasingly inflammatory language. For example, the Resident District Commissioner for Lamwo District, Ayoo Molly Obua, “urged residents... to stay calm, but remain alert because these encroachers [allegedly South Sudanese officials surveying land in Madi Opei] have the tendency of moving with ammunition, which puts the lives of any resident who attempts to tackle them in grave danger”³⁴ Uganda Radio Network reported that 400 extra army personnel would be deployed to the Apirti border market in Madi Opei in January 2014. Charles Obong Okwere, Madi Opei Sub-County Chairperson, said that this deployment “follows a special request... to bolster security, conduct surveillance, seal the border and weed out criminals from taking advantage of the conflict in South Sudan to cause mayhem at the border market.”³⁵

30 For example, 15 people were injured in January 2014 when Jonam elders invited for a conflict resolution meeting were allegedly ambushed, Okaba, P, ‘Tribal land dispute leaves 15 people injured’, *The Daily Monitor*, 21 January 2014, available at: <http://mobile.monitor.co.ug/News/Tribal-land-dispute-leaves-15-people-injured-/691252/2154022/-/format/xhtml/-/ybnbtq/-/index.html> (accessed 15 March 2014).

31 See for example, Odong, M and Makumbi, C, ‘Acholi-Jonam land row meeting turns chaotic’, *The Daily Monitor*, 28 January 2014, available at: www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Acholi--Jonam-land-row-meeting-turns-chaotic-/688334/2162610/-/22r7pz/-/index.html (accessed 15 March 2014).

32 For an example of the complexity of protagonists in these conflicts, see Otim Denis Barnabas, *Uganda: Local land dispute threatens violence*, Insight on Conflict (December 2012), available at: www.insightonconflict.org/2012/12/land-dispute-in-elegu/ (accessed 15 March 2014). Otim argues that it was the establishment of Elegu as a customs point and its consequent elevation in importance that contributed greatly to the dispute becoming violent.

33 www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?iframe&page=imprimable&id_article=40532

34 Komakech, M, ‘South Sudan Officials Halted From Surveying Land in Madi-Opei’, *The Acholi Times* (18 February 2013), available at: www.acholimes.com/index.php/acholi-news/1226-south-sudan-officials-halted-from-surveying-land-in-madi-opei (accessed 15 March 2014).

35 ‘UPDF Beefs up Security at Border Market’, *Uganda Radio Network* (17 January 2014), available at: <http://ugandaradionetwork.com/a/story.php?s=60160> (accessed 15 March 2014).

At the same time, refugee flows into Uganda resulting from the conflict in South Sudan that began in December 2013, and ensuing Ugandan military support to the South Sudanese government, make an already complicated situation more volatile.

The conflict between Pajok, Magwi County, Eastern Equatoria State in South Sudan and Ngomoromo, Lokung Sub-County, Lamwo District in Uganda is over a piece of land around Limur stream and Apirti, which spreads over 14km. The District Police Commander (DPC) of Lamwo Police station told the research team that the authorities of South Sudan had planted a signpost reading, 'Limur Farmers Association, Pajok Payam, Magwi County', and claimed it had been positioned about 700 metres inside Uganda. According to him, the Ugandan police removed the signpost in order to prevent further conflict and held it at the police station.

Figure 4: A signpost at Lamwo Police station after it was uprooted from the disputed location between Uganda and South Sudan.
© SAFERWORLD/CAPSON SAUSI



4

Focus: Land, minerals and conflict in Karamoja

Figure 5: A Pokot artisanal gold miner searches for gold particles from the mud using water in Karita, Amudat District.

© SAFERWORLD/
ALAN LOKERITH



RICH IN MINERALS and emerging from a period of acute insecurity, Karamoja has the opportunity to transform its economy for the benefit of its people. Land has not historically been a conflict driver, yet there are risks of a return to conflict over access to land for mineral extraction. Distrust by the Karamojong of government authorities and speculation by mining companies combine to make development of a mining industry that benefits the people of the region and does not cause conflict very difficult. Genuine community consultation is essential however; Ugandan authorities, mining company representatives and Karamojong will have to overcome the twin challenges of community organisation and clarification of customary land tenure in Karamoja's specific circumstances.

The Ugandan Department of Geological Survey and Mines (DGSM) at the Ministry of Energy assesses that Karamoja is endowed with minerals including marble,³⁶ copper,

³⁶ For example, in Katikékile, Moroto District. See *New Potential Targets for Mineral Exploration*, Department of Geological Survey and Mines (2012), pp 9–11, available at: www.uganda-mining.go.ug/magnoliaPublic/en/InvestorsGuide/mainColumnParagraphs/01/content_files/file/Min_pot_flyer_Part1.pdf (accessed 16 March 2014).

asbestos, chromite, gold, iron ore, limestone, wolfram (tungsten), mica, and nickel.³⁷ Most mining is currently artisanal or small-scale, involving men, women and children, seasonally or year-round,³⁸ but the Government of Uganda is pushing to develop the mining industry in the region.³⁹

4.1 Customary land ownership

Karamoja's land tenure systems are complex and nuanced. Over 70 per cent of households hold land under customary tenure.⁴⁰ This is split into communal customary tenure (grazing lands and worship shrines) and individual customary tenure⁴¹ (homesteads and gardens).⁴² A Karamojong member from Rientum explained: "Most of the land is owned communally in clans and for us the land we are currently occupying and using belonged to our ancestors; and we inherited it. The inheritance system follows generations: a mother will show the children the land that her husband or father-in-law gave her when she got married, and when the father or mother or both are deceased, the children know which land belongs to them."⁴³

At the same time, 40.8 per cent of land in Karamoja is still gazetted by the government for wildlife and forestry, rising to an estimated 60 per cent if concession land for mining is included. This leaves very little for human settlement and other activities, such as agriculture. People are already contesting the gazetted lands, asking that they be de-gazetted. The traditional use of the land by the Karimojong (pastoralist and transhumance) did not seem antagonistic to the purpose for which government gazetted it. Now, with the growth of alternative livelihoods in the region and the changing dynamics of the people (for instance, the adoption of a sedentary lifestyle), there is a growing need for clarity of land ownership.

Customary land used for grazing and hunting may appear unoccupied seasonally. Homesteads (manyattas) occupy very limited spaces, and religious shrines are traditionally gazetted under trees by the elders. Although government and other actors have constructed dams, Karamoja cattle drink from traditional natural swamps and seasonal rivers. However, the Mining Act 2003 fails to define land tenure and use in Karamoja fully, referring to private or customary land as land inhabited and occupied/site identified for a house or building, land ploughed or prepared for an agricultural purpose, and land occupied by a cattle dip, tank or a similar body of water.⁴⁴

At the ministry level, the government acknowledges the complexity of transacting within customary land tenure. Nevertheless, this is an area where districts and communities need to be empowered. In the mining sector, companies that acquire mineral licences are required to negotiate with the districts and communities for surface rights

³⁷ *Sector Performance Report*, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development, Government of Uganda (2011), p 134, available at: www.energyandminerals.go.ug/uploads/reports/JSR_REPORT.pdf (accessed 16 March 2014). While the rest of Uganda has had substantial aerial geophysical surveys done, the Karamoja region has not yet been formally surveyed due to insecurity and now lack of funding, *ibid.* p 135. Nevertheless, there is a large amount of accurate information on the mineral deposits in Karamoja. For example, the research team accessed an unpublished report, *Preliminary Mineral Survey Report for Valuable Minerals in Karamoja Region*, Nam-Nam Cooperation Company of the Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea (30 June 1994), submitted to the Office of the President, Ministry of State for Karamoja Affairs. The report details the co-ordinates, nature and geology, character and scope, distribution and prospecting methods for 14 key minerals and in 16 different locations. Saferworld research team visited locations in Rupa (Moroto) and Karita (now in Amudat District), and the locations and distances that were mentioned in the report were accurate.

³⁸ See for example, Hinton, J, et. al., *The mining and minerals sector in Karamoja Region: Development opportunities and constraints*, Ecological Christian Organization (2011), p 18, available at: <http://thisisafrika.files.wordpress.com/2011/12/mining-sector-report-karamoja-region.pdf> (accessed 16 March 2014).

³⁹ *Annual Report 2011*, Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development, Government of Uganda, p 92, available at: www.energyandminerals.go.ug/uploads/reports/MINISTRY%20OF%20ENERGY%20AND%20MINERAL%20DEVELOPMENT.pdf (accessed 16 March 2014).

⁴⁰ Uganda national household survey, conducted by the Uganda Bureau of Statistics put the figure at 70 per cent for holders of customary tenure.

⁴¹ In Karamoja, an individual does not necessarily mean one nuclear family, but rather a kraal or 'manyatta', which can involve tens of families of common kinship, headed by a kraal leader.

⁴² Rugadya, M A et al – *Tenure in Mystery: status of land under wildlife, forestry and mining concessions in Karamoja region, Uganda*, Associates Research Uganda (2010), pp30-34, available at: www.aresearchug.org/reports/partnership-research/Tenure%20in%20Mystery,%20Status%20of%20Forestry,%20Mining%20and%20Conservation%20in%20Karamoja,%202010.pdf (accessed 15 March 2014).

⁴³ Interview with a local community member at Rientum, Karita gold-mining community, 10 December 2013.

⁴⁴ The Mining Act, 2003: Part VII; Mineral Rights and Surface Rights, 78(1).

to use the land. The licence alone does not permit surface rights since the Mining Act reserves these for the community. Therefore, holders of licences must further negotiate with the respective district to acquire the land. One official explained, “Land in a mineral sector is a serious legal matter. For the case of Karamoja, land belongs to the community through elders. In the Mining Act, the licensee is required to negotiate for surface rights, but as you know our people tend to react differently to foreigners.”⁴⁵

Box 3: The challenge of identifying land owners

The marble mining company DAO Ltd acquired surface rights on a piece of land that is being disputed both by the community and government and also by Rupa and Katikekile Sub-Counties.⁴⁶ DAO paid US\$ 2,400,000 to each of the 21 families for the 4sq km where it conducts marble exploration in order to avoid conflict rather than paying the true owners of the land.

“Identifying a land owner in Karamoja is a nightmare: the same piece of land can be gazetted for forestry, but the community will claim it is customary land for grazing. In order to make progress in our operations, we identified the most prominent claimants and we tried to avoid politicians as much as possible.”

Arnold Ananura, Head of Logistics and Commercial Operations, DAO Ltd.

4.2 Royalties and communities

The Mining Act allocates royalties as follows: central government, 80 per cent; local government, 17 per cent (10 per cent to district and 7 per cent to sub-county); and land owner, 3 per cent.⁴⁷ Companies are required to pay the total royalty percentage to government, and it is the government’s role to distribute the percentages accordingly. However, none of the royalties due to the community has been received. Mining companies claim they have paid this money to government and it is government’s responsibility to remit to the land owners.

Figure 6: Marble blocks cut out by DAO Company for export, Rupa Sub-County in Moroto District. Until December 2013 no individual land owner has been paid the 3% in royalties accruing from mining activities.

© SAFERWORLD/DAVID OTIM



⁴⁵ Interview with Gabriel Data, Senior Geologist and Project Co-ordinator for Karamoja Surveys, Department for Geological Survey and Mines, 4 December 2013.

⁴⁶ Telephone interview with Arnold Ananura, Head of Logistics and Commercial Operations at DAO Ltd. January 2014. DAO holds an exploration licence and has applied for (and at the time of the research, was due to be granted) a 21-year mining lease for marble mining.

⁴⁷ The Mining Act, 2003: Sharing of Royalties; section 98, and Second Schedule.

In some communities, there is conflict over ownership of land, making it difficult to pay royalties without causing further controversy. For example, in Rupa Sub-County, Simon Loduk, a member both of Karamoja Miners' Association and the Rupa Students' Association, described a dispute between the district and the community over ownership of the land where the company DAO is mining marble. Loduk asserts that while DAO has paid what it should, the district has held onto the 3 per cent due to the dispute. DAO agrees, saying, "We have fulfilled our obligations so far. We have paid up to USh. 58 million in royalties to the government in Kampala; it is now up to them to allocate and pay the rest."⁴⁸

The government has recommended that districts organise people into specific groups and allocate land to these groups following traditional patterns. This will help the groups to become legal entities and thus negotiate with companies for surface rights agreements, making it easier for them to claim royalties.⁴⁹ It will be important that when land provides cash income from royalties, it is disbursed fairly in a community; the risk is that vulnerable community members, especially women, will not benefit and their position will be weakened further in relation to men, despite the fact that women are currently at least equal participants in Karamoja's indigenous mining sector.

4.3 Mineral smuggling

Both small- and large-scale smuggling of minerals mean that the Government of Uganda as well as local communities lose out on much-needed revenue. A loophole in the law allows ore to be removed for sampling without paying royalties, using an exploration licence. Because there are no testing facilities in Uganda itself, this can provide a cover for shipping commercially saleable quantities of minerals out of the country.⁵⁰

4.4 Lack of local participation in formalising mining

The Mining Act centralises power in the Commissioner of Mines, who issues licences to mining companies. This can encourage companies to seek favour from the Commissioner and his or her team. Officials in Moroto District observe that mining companies tend to deal directly with the Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development. "Some investors do not follow all the proper channels and they tend to ignore the local authorities."⁵¹

Secondly, the Act does not provide for community participation in the licensing process itself. Communities are allowed to get involved only when it comes to granting surface rights to the companies, which happens after a licence is issued. However, this study established that the right for the community to negotiate granting surface rights is not effectively exercised because some companies prefer to deal with the district-level officials.

At the moment, the lack of community consultation exacerbates mistrust of the authorities. "We wonder how prospective miners know where these mineral areas are, because they have never come to Karamoja before. We suspect that they get this information from the ministry or central government. Imagine, one time, an investor was describing an area in Karamoja as having a lot of bananas!" [Bananas are not grown in Karamoja].⁵²

⁴⁸ Interview with Arnold Ananura, *op. cit.*

⁴⁹ Interview with Gabriel Data, *op. cit.*

⁵⁰ See Kagolo, F, 'Uganda losing billions to mineral smuggling', *New Vision* (25 January 2014), available at: www.newvision.co.ug/news/651794-uganda-losing-billions-to-mineral-smuggling.html (accessed 15 March 2014) for more detail on the illicit trade in minerals.

⁵¹ Interview with Hon. Wotunya Peter Henry, Deputy Chief Admin Officer, Moroto, District Local Government, 9 December 2013.

⁵² Interview with local community member who gave his name as John, Moroto District, 9 December 2013.

Communities fear that through the process of exploration, land is being grabbed. For example, the Chairperson of Moroto District, Hon. Mark Aol Musyoka, claims that Moroto Cement Company has acquired 500 acres for limestone without paying anything to community members in Kosiroi, while 413 acres of land in Nadunget Sub-County were sold for only US\$ 625 million to the Uganda Investment Authority. Musyoka claims that the local elite and district officials manipulated local people to sign transfer agreements with thumb prints in exchange for alcohol.⁵³

Traditionally, kraal⁵⁴ leaders had responsibility for appropriating customary land and settling disputes. Given the loose nature of traditional leadership, the community is susceptible to manipulation by whoever wants to acquire surface rights; and it gives district authorities a less accountable system to transfer land rights.

With the growth of the mining sector and other alternative livelihoods that have an economic bearing on the land, the Karimojong elders will need to expand their mandate and acquire more knowledge and capacity to guide their communities. “The attitude to land ownership, use and management needs to adapt to the changes that are taking place; but we must admit that our elders will take a long time to adapt, let alone to be able to interpret the law. Some of their fears are what will happen to our traditional customs and livelihoods when investors come in.”⁵⁵

The lack of an organised negotiating structure among small-scale miners and artisans makes upscaling any mining activity – with potential benefits for community employment and infrastructure – very difficult. The artisanal gold miners of Rientum, Chepkarat Village in Karita Sub-County (Amudat District) work on land customarily owned by the Pokot people, but many people from other parts of Uganda and Kenya have settled here to carry out mining activity.⁵⁶ Gold is sold openly to middlemen from Kenya and Uganda. While happy with this transaction, the community has insufficient clean water and no school or health centre. Community members are nervous about upscaling with the involvement of larger mining companies and allege that unidentified persons who look like investors (given the big vehicles they travel in) have made three site visits, although they have not spoken to anyone regarding their intentions. The community has no structured leadership that would be able to engage or negotiate strategically with a mining company.

Case study: Involving the local community⁵⁷

DAO Uganda is a Kuwaiti-owned company that began operations in Karamoja in September 2012. It holds an exploration licence and is in the process of acquiring a mining lease. It cuts marble rocks into blocks for export to Egypt, Italy and Kuwait. DAO employs a total of 30 persons, seven of whom are Karimojong.

DAO described its community-based approach: “We are completely in harmony with the community. We have a memorandum of understanding that allows the local artisans who were originally there to break some of the uncut rocks on site for their own use. In the future we hope to form them into organised groups and offer them some employment.”⁵⁸ The Deputy Chief Administrative Officer of Moroto confirmed that DAO came in professionally and followed proper channels – the agreement was done by a local lawyer, and the company held community dialogues. “There is harmony in DAO’s venture. The marble agreement was participatory, but the gold agreement [with Jan Mangal in nearby Katikekile Sub-County] was unclear.”⁵⁹

53 Interview, Chairperson LC5 for Moroto, Hon. Mark Aol Musyoka, 10 December 2013.

54 A kraal can be tens of homesteads related by kinship.

55 Interview with Simon Peter Nangiro, Chairman of Karamoja Miners’ Association, October 2013.

56 Observation and discussion with the local miners (numbering more than 150 on the site that day), on 9 December 2013.

57 A report by Human Rights Watch also investigated the relationship of large mining companies to local communities in Karamoja, including DAO and Jan Mangal. It found that many local community members praised DAO for the transparency with which it arranged compensation for affected communities, and the level of compensation was in line with the law. However, the report asserts that DAO’s Environmental Impact Assessment missed several key aspects such as noise and the longer-term impacts on the natural environment; the report suggests that affected people have therefore not been sufficiently compensated. “How can we survive here?” *The impact of mining on human rights in Karamoja, Uganda*, Human Rights Watch (2014), pp 61–64, available at: www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/uganda0214_ForUpload.pdf (accessed 18 March 2014).

58 Interview with Arnold Ananura, *op. cit.*

59 Interview with Wotunya Peter Henry, a district official on 9 December 2013, *op. cit.*

Figure 7: Local artisanal gold miners in Nakabat village, Moroto District. Behind them are excavators belonging to Jan Mangal, gold mining company.

© SAFERWORLD/DAVID OTIM



Case study: Nakabat mining community

Nakabat is located in Katikekile Sub-County in Moroto District, about 20km north-east of Moroto town towards the Uganda/Kenya border via Nakiloro. The area has gold deposits which local Karimojong miners have been digging since the early 1980s.

Nakabat community consists of about 800 local small-scale gold miners and artisans. At the time of the research team's visit, there were about 90 women, men and children at work along Lopogor River. According to the residents in Nakabat community, a gram of gold costs US\$. 85,000 and is sold to dealers from Moroto town.

Recently, the gold potential in the area has attracted an external mining company, Jan Mangal, from India. Jan Mangal holds a location licence. According to the site managers interviewed,⁶⁰ the company employs up to 30 persons and has very good relationships with the community, for instance, through having provided piped water.

However, local miners accuse the company of encroachment and mistreatment, and while they appreciate the piped water, they say that water is located where there are potential deposits but the company orders them not to mine there. The company has installed heavy machinery to excavate gold deposits at the same site where local people are carrying out artisanal mining. "We have heard reports accusing Jan Mangal of going into the community without passing through any authority; they are intervening in the same place where the local community is trying to mine gold. This is a recipe for conflict with our people, and such actions by mining companies must be discouraged."⁶¹

When locals discover sizeable gold deposits, the company either sends them away or piles heavy soil using their excavator machines in order to bury the gold deeper beyond reach by the locals. "That company found us here; they came here only six months ago but they have started to send us away using their heavy machines. This is our livelihood!"⁶² The officer in charge of Nakiloro Police Post confirmed that they had received complaints from Nakabat mining community accusing Jan Mangal of encroachment into the locals' mining area, and mistreatment of local miners.

⁶⁰ Interview with Jan Mangal's site managers, who only told us their first names, (Laxman, Dhuru and Satish) on 9 December 2013.

⁶¹ Interview with Hon. Simon P. Aleper, MP Moroto Municipality, October 2013.

⁶² Remarks by a local miner during an impromptu gold mine visit and meeting with miners in Nakabat village, Katikekile Sub-County, Moroto, 9 December 2013.

5

Youth and land conflicts

5.1 Young people as significant actors

THE YOUTH IN NORTHERN UGANDA are significant actors with a complex relationship to land matters. With 78 per cent of the total population under 30 years old, there are 6.5 million people between 18 and 30 years old in Uganda.⁶³ Nationally, around 83 per cent of young people have no formal employment.⁶⁴ A sizeable percentage of them were born at the time of displacement and grew up in camps, while others were abducted by the LRA and conscripted into rebel ranks, and have not been re-integrated adequately. These young people have experience using guns and can be militaristic in their approach to conflict resolution.

All these factors make the youth in Northern Uganda vulnerable to manipulation, for example, in becoming parties to land conflicts. The majority of those born in camps cannot be certain of their family boundary demarcations and, in cases where their parents are dead, they rely on community or family elders to show them their boundaries, putting them at risk of being exploited. The need for economic empowerment was cited by participants in this research as the major cause of youth involvement in land conflicts especially arising from land grabbing and illegal or contested sale of family land.

Paul Olweny, the acting Local Council 3 (LC3) Chairperson of Lokung Sub-County, says that young people “are used to fighting and destroying crops. They normally end up getting injured after being incited by elders and other people who take advantage of them. Whenever there is a fight and we go to the scene, we find them and not the people who incited them.” At the same time, Olweny argues that youth lack proper guidance from elders on land-related issues.⁶⁵

5.2 Increased involvement in land sale

Land sale by youth in Northern Uganda is increasing according to the majority of respondents across the seven districts of this study. This has been intensified by high poverty levels and the need to meet basic needs by the affected youths, the majority of whom are unemployed because they missed education opportunities during the war and therefore cannot favourably compete in the job market. Without a guaranteed or potential source of income, selling land is considered the only option.

This has pitted the affected youth against their family members and others opposed to selling land, especially in Acholi sub-region. Many respondents blamed a growing culture of ‘no hard labour’ among the youths, resulting from several years of living on

⁶³ *The state of Uganda population report 2012*, Population Secretariat, p3, available at: http://mail2.unfpa.or.ug/pub/2012/2012_SUPRE.pdf (accessed 18 March 2014).

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p 34.

⁶⁵ Interview with Paul Olweny, acting Chairperson LC 3 Lokung Sub-County, on 5 November 2013.

hand-outs while in IDP camps, for making sales of land more appealing than its utilisation for productive agricultural practices.

Under the customary land tenure system, youth do not own land; they may only utilise land as allocated to them by their parents or clan elders. This means that decisions on land sale should not be made by youths but rather should go through consultations and processes agreed by parents and/or elders. This occurs successfully in Lango sub-region, reducing conflicts over illegitimate land sale by the youths according to research participants. The Lango Cultural Foundation has ensured that all customary land sales follow a documented process of consultation and participation of all parties known to have a stake in the land; the sale agreement has to be signed by a cultural leader, a local council representative, a family member and the buyer.

In Guru-guru, Lamogi Sub-County (Amuru District), the research team saw several advertisements selling land by the road side, clearly substantiating the views of the people interviewed. The youth are accused of threatening and even killing elders, demanding that the elders tell lies about land boundaries, all to their advantage. The lack of truth-telling in land management and conflict prevention is further perpetuating land conflicts.

Marriage and the responsibilities that come with it can cause conflicts over land. As young people become eligible for marriage (18 years old), peer pressure mounts for them to own land. As a result of population growth (one of the world's highest at 3.2 per cent annually⁶⁶ – even higher in Northern Uganda – demand for land is also growing. It was reported that in some instances three to five adults from the same family marry at the same time and the demand for separate homesteads and land allocation for cultivation increases correspondingly.

Box 4: Selling land for dowries

In Lamogi Sub-County, Amuru District, Mandela, a youth involved in a *boda boda* (motorcycle) transport business said that his brother sold two acres of land in exchange for five goats because he needed goats for the bride price (dowry). He added that the five goats were not enough so he expected more land to be sold off soon. "We are not happy with him because our family is expanding and we need this land," said Mandela.⁶⁷

Some of the youths who are allocated land for family settlement and other development purposes go on to sell their portions, arguing that they have no other source of income after their cattle were taken away during the LRA war. Even young people involved in productive activities were also said to be selling land with the intention of investing the proceeds in other sources of livelihood, such as chicken farming and retail shops. Young people interviewed for this research gave the following reasons for land sale: the need to purchase motorcycles (*boda boda*) for commercial transport use, purchase of alcohol, and being able to pay the dowry (in the case of men). The need to pay school fees was also mentioned, but respondents said that there were fewer such cases.

5.3 Youth involvement in land conflicts

Youth involvement in land conflicts has gone beyond the family level. Increasingly, youths in Northern Uganda are seen as 'fighters for and protectors of land', particularly due to the high level of unemployment in the region, although these 'fighters' are often without guidance. In a focus group discussion with members of the Area Land Committee in Padibe East Sub-County in Lamwo District, youth were likened to 'an army without a commander'.

⁶⁶ Uganda Bureau of Statistics quoted in *About Uganda*, UNDP, available at: www.undp.org/content/uganda/en/home/countryinfo/ (accessed 18 March 2014).

⁶⁷ Focus group discussion at Lamogi Sub-County on 1 November 2013.

The LC3 Chairperson of Itirikwa Sub-County in Adjumani District said, “Youth in Itirikwa Sub-County are ready to fight over land matters with the Acholi tribe.”⁶⁸ In September 2013, youth from the clans of Palakwee and Toro in Amuru District clashed violently over a piece of land shared by both clans; they used pangas, bows, spears and arrows and homes were destroyed. Poultry, goats and cows were killed. Police intervened and calmed the situation, but some people from Palakwee clan were displaced to Omeewang in Amuru Trading Centre while the perpetrators from Toro have gone into hiding.

⁶⁸ Interview with the Local Council 3 Chairperson of Itirikwa Sub-County, Adjumani District on 12 December 2013.

6

Women and land conflicts

Figure 8: A widow in Cwera village, Amuru Sub-County narrates her ordeal to a Saferworld researcher.

© SAFERWORLD/DAVID OTIM



“Cultural aspects of land management cast a shadow on women and yet we are household keepers, children keepers and men keepers.”⁶⁹

Gender relations in Northern Uganda have been significantly affected by the current wave of land conflicts in the region. The research team found an increase in gender-related land conflicts, corresponding with women being pushed further to the periphery because men control land. This section therefore looks more into women’s land-related dilemmas.

6.1 Women’s land rights under customary tenure

Women’s vulnerability *vis-à-vis* their secure access to land lies less in their rights under the system of customary tenure, and more in the management of these rights by more powerful people, almost always men. “Under custom, everyone who is born, married into or accepted as a member of a family has automatic land rights. This is true both for girls and boys, men and women. What changes is the land management responsibility, which is passed on to members of the family through the actualisation of events such as marriage (for boys), divorce (for wives who return to their homes), death of husband

⁶⁹ Christine, a widow in Acwera village, Amuru Sub-County in an interview on 1 November 2013.

(for widows), death of fathers (for heirs), or death of brothers (for uncles managing the land of orphans).⁷⁰ The Land and Equity Movement in Uganda (LEMU) further argues that it is a woman's specific vulnerabilities, for example, being physically weaker, moving away from her maiden home, or looking out for children's interests over her own, that make her susceptible to land-grabbing more than men, but not her lack of rights *per se*.

Uganda's National Land Policy of 2013 admits that the situation of women regarding land ownership under customary tenure is vulnerable to abuse, and criticises the Land Act 1998 for weak implementation and enforcement, and for failing to protect divorcees, widows and children.⁷¹ It aims inter alia to "redress historical injustices to protect the land rights of groups and communities marginalised by history or on the basis of gender, religion, ethnicity and other forms of vulnerability to achieve balanced growth and social equity."⁷² One of its guiding principles is "equity and justice in access to land irrespective of gender, age, disability or any other reason created by history, tradition or custom."⁷³ Recognising that the existing system of customary tenure has been weakened, the policy wants to "ensure recognition, strengthening and education on rights of women, children and other vulnerable groups in all existing and emerging land tenure regimes".

6.2 Ownership, control and access

"Most women are not accessing land for production because it is either being sold off or other relatives are fighting them over it."

Olwedo Kasomiro, Area Land Committee member, Lamogi Sub-County

The focus of land and gender discourse has previously been on improving women's property rights, first by individualising property rights (which favoured the usually male head of household) and then within the customary tenure system. However, it may "not essentially be about women or vulnerable individuals' rights to [...] customary land, but land access in a context of [...] traditional justice."⁷⁴ For women to have successful access to land, through safeguarding recognised land rights, effective local leadership, is necessary especially from traditional authorities, according to this line of argument.

Respondents in all seven districts involved in the research attest that the customary land practices of the Acholi, Langi and Madi are not favourable to women or girls. For instance, when a man dies, his widow has little or no voice over her husband's land. The land is in most cases taken over by the deceased's relatives. Within a family, a girl is not allocated land because it is assumed that she will get married and use her in-laws' share of land. In essence, women's unequal access to land challenges their equal participation in any development activity which requires land use. However, one of the characteristics of customary tenure is its flexibility over the long-term. For example, LC5 Vice-Chair of Amuru District said that practices that exclude certain groups are slowly changing.

⁷⁰ Adoko, J., et. al., *Understanding and strengthening women's land rights under customary tenure in Uganda*, Land and Equity Movement in Uganda (2011), pp 1–2, available at: http://landportal.info/sites/default/files/2._understanding_and_strengthening_womens_land_rights_under_customary_tenure_in_uganda_lemu_ug.pdf (accessed 18 March 2014).

⁷¹ *The Uganda National Land Policy* (February 2013), Section 4.10, 63, available at: http://landportal.info/sites/default/files/the_uganda_national_land_policy_-_february_2013.pdf (accessed 18 March 2014).

⁷² *Ibid.*, Section 2.4, 4 (iv).

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Section 2.5, 5 (ii).

⁷⁴ *Land Conflict Monitoring and Mapping Tool, op. cit.*, pp 13–17. The quotation is from p 16.

6.3 Violence against women over land

The eruption of violence in a home when family land is sold off is common, according to respondents. Men have been blamed for selling off family land and not sharing the money with their wives for family upkeep. In some cases, husbands have disappeared after selling land, to return only when they have spent the proceeds, leaving women with the burden of feeding the family. Family feuds over land have led to widespread domestic violence. Increased domestic violence causes instability in families, which results in divorce, alcoholism and extra marital relations. Respondents in Lamwo attributed the high rates of domestic violence, HIV/AIDS, and alcoholism in the district to the increased land sales by the men.

6.4 Land-related marginalisation of women

Young women who were abducted by the LRA and returned with children can be especially marginalised. Stigmatised by their abduction, they can then be denied access to land because the children were fathered by rebels who have since died or are still in the bush. Because of the high value attached to land and the increased number of persons per family who need it, these women are considered a burden. In some cases, they are sent away to look for the paternal relatives of their children.

Case study: The vulnerability of widows – Esther's story

Esther, from Lira District, married a man from Gulu District. After his death, Esther continued to live at her husband's home until she and her nine children were driven out by her brothers-in-law. Esther and the children returned to her parents' home where she lived for a year before her elder brother asked her to return to her late husband's home because the land was not enough to accommodate her and the children. Her uncle offered her a one-acre piece of land on which to settle temporarily but her brothers asked her to leave this piece of land as well.

Esther's uncles resolved that the family land be divided among all her late father's children, and Esther was given two acres where she could live with her children. However, her brothers continue to threaten her to leave, so Esther has one meal a day in order to save money to acquire a different piece of land herself.

"Women have had to endure so much in a world dominated by men to the extent that my own brothers have turned against me. I live in fear, knowing that one day, they may even kill me for this piece of land," she says.

6.5 Escalation of clan-level conflicts to household relationships

Atkinson Ojara, the LC3 Chairperson of Lamogi Sub-County says: "Addressing land conflicts will make families in Lamogi live happily." In Amuru, in particular, it emerged that family relations are being impaired by conflicts over land between and among clans. If, for instance, there is a conflict between the husband's clan and the wife's clan, both spouses may extend their clan-level grievances to the household. In some cases, women have abandoned their families as a show of solidarity to their clans, especially where their family members have been injured by their husbands' clan members.

Box 5: Women as perpetrators of land conflicts

While some women were said to offer good advice about determining land boundaries to resolve conflicts, others are active in exacerbating conflict. During a focus group discussion in Padibe-East Sub-County, Lamwo District, the role of women in the escalation of land conflicts was described by a member of the Area Land Committee:

“In Katum parish, there was a conflict and we were called in to mediate. We were able to notice that many of the arrested culprits were women. It is the women who ululate for the men to fight while they harvest the crops in their rivals’ gardens. We as mediators were spied on by children and then the women later descended upon us while making a lot of noise. They managed to disrupt our meeting.”⁷⁵

In Amuru, some respondents blamed women for giving away secrets and plans of attacks to their clans (targets). For instance, both the Pagoro and Toro clansmen who have been involved in violent acts over land sent away their wives. Only after the intervention of the Chairperson of Acholi Religious Leaders’ Peace Initiative (ARLPI) did the broken families reconcile.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ A member of the Area Land Committee in Lokung Sub-County in a focus group discussion, on 5 November 2013.

⁷⁶ According to Miss Christine Laura Okello, Program Officer/Team Leader Democratic Governance Program at Acholi Religious Leaders’ Peace Initiative, during an interview, 1 November 2013.

7

Resolving conflicts over land

DESPITE EFFORTS TO RESOLVE LAND CONFLICTS IN NORTHERN UGANDA, the problem persists and risks degenerating into full-scale violence. The research team endeavoured to establish the status of the land conflict resolution structures and the challenges they face, with the aim of making suggestions for how they might be improved.

7.1 Conflict resolution structures

There are several structures involved in land conflict resolution, formal and informal, local and national. The general feeling among respondents is that although all the structures described below do their best to resolve land conflicts, mediation is the preferred approach.

The clan/cultural system consists of traditional mechanisms for organising communities, usually through a lineage of relatives. There are several clans in Northern Uganda. According to the Lango Cultural Foundation, Lango alone has 152 clans, which are headed by a cultural leader known as *won nyaci*. Below the *won nyaci* at village level are clan leaders referred to as the *rwot kwer* ('chief of the hoe'), who is elected by the village assembly. The *rwot kwer* plays an instrumental role in mediating land conflicts. In both Lango and Acholi, the *rwot kwer* is the most approached person for resolving land conflicts.⁷⁷ This is because the clan leaders are nearer to the people where the land conflicts are, they are knowledgeable about the boundaries, and understand the history and context of the land conflicts. Their approach is mediatory and reconciliatory, leaving enduring solutions. They are also inexpensive. If either party to a dispute is unsatisfied with the outcome of the mediation, they can approach the formal courts.⁷⁸

The Local Council System (LC1, LC2 and LC3) refers to the local government structures. These (especially LC2) are mandated to resolve conflicts including over land in the communities. The Land Act, 1998, stipulates that the LC2 is the first point of reference for land conflict resolution. In the process of resolving land conflicts, the LC2 may apply the law but also use mediation – which is the preferred option. LC2 are close to the problem, cost-effective, and have enough time and focus, and their decision can be enforced at the magistrate's court. However, there have been no elections to the posts

⁷⁷ Mabiikke, Samuel B – *Escalating land grabbing in post-conflict region...*, *op. cit.*, p 11.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p 12.

Figure 9: An elder shows off the *omara omara* tree that is often used to demarcate land boundaries in most communities throughout Uganda.

© SAFERWORLD/CAPSON SAUSI



of LC1 and LC2 since their term expired in 2006 and therefore they are currently not legally constituted; there is a constitutional ruling against their existence. Because they are not legally constituted, some people do not approve of the decisions they make, even at the community level.

The Area Land Committee (ALC) is a legal entity under the Land Act. ALCs are located at the sub-county, town council and municipal council levels and their work supports the District Land Board. According to the Land Act, their role includes documenting land issues and mediating land conflicts when called upon. They help to prevent the occurrence of land conflicts. In places where the committee is known to the community, its performance is praised and it is trusted in its dealings with land matters. In Padibe East Sub-County (Lamwo District), the public is satisfied with the work of the ALC. ALC members are trained in land law and are informed about their work. However, this structure lacks adequate budget to enable it to effectively carry out its role.

The Resident District Commissioner (RDC) office is instrumental in resolving land conflicts, especially when they become violent. The RDC, who represents the Office of the President, was reported to participate in arbitrating and using the police to enforce decisions over land. While some research participants valued their neutrality (because they are not elected but appointed by the president), others were suspicious of their motivations when a land issue relates to central government.

Civil society organisations (CSOs) were listed by respondents as an important group in resolving land conflicts in Northern Uganda. This list of particular CSOs identified included faith-based organisations, national non-governmental organisations and international organisations. In broad terms, CSOs are involved in mediation, providing legal counsel, and advocacy. Almost all respondents acknowledged that CSOs are filling gaps in land conflict resolution and fostering sustainability through dialogue. For example, the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI), a coalition of all the religious leaders in the Acholi sub-region, mediated successfully in land conflicts and translated the Land Act into the local language. (Since its main donor stopped funds,

ARLPI is no longer active.) The Joint Acholi Sub-region Leaders Forum (JASLF) comprises all the elected leaders and is chaired by the Chairperson of Gulu District. They meet periodically to discuss matters of interest and land is usually top of the agenda.

The courts have helped settle a number of cases related to land. For example, the DPC of Lamwo District reported that in August 2013, 60 people tried to evade the law, and the court issued arrest warrants for them, and arrested 11, while the others went into hiding. Those who were arrested are now requesting an opportunity for a mediation process. Some respondents considered the courts to be preferred by the rich who pay bribes for favourable judgements, causing people to lose trust in the courts. However, people still respect the courts because their decisions can be enforced. However, issues of access still undermine the effective use of the courts. Not all the districts have courts, so claimants need to go to neighbouring districts. For example, there is no court in Lamwo District, but “in Lamwo, it is too expensive for our people to travel to Kitgum to get court services. It is even worse where one has to make an appeal then they have to travel up to Gulu,” according to a councillor in Lamwo District.⁷⁹

Respondents felt that courts often do not know the facts on the ground and take too long to resolve issues. Respondents assert that it can take six to ten years to resolve a land issue in court, yet with the clan system it takes a few weeks. Moreover, because the formal legal system does not use a win-win approach, the defeated side is usually unhappy with the judgement. Examples of good practice cited by participants included holding court sessions from the site of disputes, such as the LC3 court which held its sessions in Ochula Lamwo Town Council at the location of the dispute, with results welcomed by all stakeholders.

The police become involved when a land dispute becomes a criminal matter; and it is the institution most approached when the matter becomes violent. However, the police are understaffed and under-resourced. At the same time, however, local people felt that the police are often used by the more powerful parties in the land conflict. It was cited that because of the lack of adequate community policing mechanisms in Northern Uganda, the police often act upon the criminal matter in the manner that it is filed. Respondents were concerned that richer parties in the land conflict would bribe the police and frame the matter as criminal against the poor. Over 80 per cent of the cases seen from the criminal register in both Amuru and Otuke Districts reported criminal aspects of land conflicts, such as criminal trespass, threatening to kill, destroyed crops fields, and injured animals.

Case study: Flexibility and community consultation in Gulu and Nwoya Districts

There was a boundary dispute between Nwoya and Gulu Districts over a stretch of land in Korober. The LC5 Chairperson of Nwoya District told the research team:

“I contacted the LC5 Chairperson of Gulu and we decided to hold a joint community meeting. We both agreed to be transparent and we involved the technical people in determining the boundary using the existing maps. The District Chairperson of Gulu District came to the meeting with his map and I too carried along my map. Each of us also went along with our District Physical Planners. We then asked community members whether they wanted their boundaries determined immediately to which they answered in the affirmative. The two Physical Planners then interpreted the two maps and it was found that Gulu District boundary had entered Nwoya by 4km. The district chairperson of Gulu then declared that the area belongs to Nwoya.”

79 Interview with Achen, a councillor, Lamwo District on 4 November 2013.

7.2 Challenges in resolving land conflicts

Corruption – This was reported at all levels of land dispute resolution. All land governance structures were stymied by corruption or dishonesty. Christine of Amuru Trading Centre said: “I can’t afford to bribe and as such I have lost out on my land. There are many rightful owners of land who have lost court cases because of corruption and these people remain aggrieved.” According to participants, some elders do not tell the truth when asked to determine historical boundaries because young people threaten to kill them. Participants perceive that elders tend to support the richer side in a dispute because of their own poverty.

Lack of training – Most community members and some members of the land conflict resolution structures are perceived to be ignorant about the laws relating to land. “Not everybody involved in land conflict resolution is knowledgeable enough about the laws governing land. It is even worse with the general population, which makes it easy for them to be manipulated.”⁸⁰

No enforcement mandate at informal level – Some people do not respect the decisions of clan leaders and the local council system even when a resolution is arrived at in a meeting because they know that they do not have the mandate to enforce those decisions unlike the law courts. The clan system is not recognised by the courts system, while the Constitutional Court ruled against the local councils’ mandate. Missing out these lower-level structures (for example, if people can afford to) impairs the quality of the rulings since it is at the local level where knowledge of boundaries resides.

Inadequate facilities – Institutions involved in resolving land conflicts lack office space, clear record-keeping systems, and facilities for convening and transport. The law provides that every district should have a land office, but some districts, such as Amuru, do not. The Amuru land office currently resides in Land Regional office in Lira District. The mediation process itself is not always well documented, which is vital for future processes.

High costs of using the courts – The costs involved in resolving land matters in court are prohibitively high for the majority of Northern Ugandans, and the need to travel to the court several times over a long period of time (up to several years) is time-consuming. Moreover, the court fees are not always clear, which can be abused by people in authority accustomed to extort money. For example, in Awach Sub-County, the local council charged people US\$ 50,000 instead of US\$ 1,500.

Involvement of government – There is a general feeling that the central government is reluctant to get involved in resolving land conflicts because of their sensitive nature and potential implications for the 2016 general elections. Government is also seen as being selective in its actions on land issues in Northern Uganda: the government has reportedly told the Acholi people to leave the Akaa forest reserve area while allowing the Madi people (from West Nile) to stay.

Inadequate communications with villages – Officials at all levels receive little or no information about land issues in the communities they are mandated to serve. Once every three months, they use radio talk shows; several participants from Gulu commented on the good messages regularly presented on the local FM radio stations by the District Chairperson of Gulu about land resolutions. However, lack of resources has a more significant impact: the Amuru Land Officer has no transport means and cannot communicate with all parts of the district; Christine Laura Okello of ARLPI notes that most district officials rely on NGOs’ field trips to reach the villages.

Lack of clarity over roles for community liaison – Given how under-resourced local officials are, it is unsurprising that officials may assume that certain duties are being undertaken at a different level of local government, without checking that this is the case. In Otuke, during the focus group discussion with the district technical officers,

⁸⁰ Miss Mildred Aber, Amuru District Land Officer in an interview on 1 November 2013.

the research team asked how often they met with local communities. They said that this happened seldom – they recalled only one incident in 2013 – and instead assume that the sub-counties met the communities. In Olilim Sub-County, still in Otuke District, the research team tested the assumption of the district technical officers by asking how often the sub-county met the local communities. The response of the sub-county officials was similar to that of the district officials – they seldom meet and interact with the grassroots, but all assume that the structure below them was doing it.



Conclusion

LAND PLAYS A CENTRAL ROLE IN ANY ASPECT OF LIFE IN NORTHERN UGANDA.

Having been deprived of their former way of living through cattle farming before the LRA war, the people of Northern Uganda have turned to land as a primary source of income following their return from the camps. In Karamoja, following the disarmament by the government, and the reducing reliance on pastoralism, crop farming, mining and trade are growing alternative livelihoods. Land in Northern Uganda is increasingly considered a valuable asset – either for subsistence farming or for sale – and competition for it has consequently increased.

In a region where over half of the population is under 30 yet employment prospects are poor, where young people have significant combat experience, and where pressures on young people are growing, the potential for small conflicts to escalate and to turn violent is high. If left unaddressed, land-related conflicts could lead to widespread violence in the near future.

Conflict between the genders over land use and access is increasing the vulnerability of women, especially those who have been widowed or divorced or who are unmarried. While women's rights to land may be present in the customary tenure system of Northern Ugandan people, their ability to enjoy these rights is being diminished as land itself increases in value. Women, who have left their natal homesteads – and support networks – in order to marry, are less able to advocate for their own rights in a competitive environment, and incentives of men to protect these rights are reduced.

The Karamoja sub-region is now acutely vulnerable to renewed conflict given the interest of international and Ugandan companies in its mineral wealth. Small-scale and artisanal mining have had only limited impact on the land to date; any up-scaling of mining will certainly have a detrimental impact on the environment and may well disrupt delicately balanced inter-community relations. Land as an asset will fast become extremely valuable. While the Constitution allows companies only surface rights (ownership itself being held in trust by the government for the resident community), the full impact of the exercise of these rights on resident communities' own land use may result in further conflict. Beyond the land lies the whole question of royalties. Mining is anticipated to earn the region a lot of economic returns, if the on-going exploration activity moves to actual mining stages. It is therefore critical that government clarifies the question of royalties; and local communities organise themselves as legal entities to negotiate for royalty payments due to them.

There is growing distrust, among Ugandans, of the central government, an atmosphere that may become more volatile in the run-up to elections in 2016. At the same time increasing interest of large Ugandan and international companies in land and mineral extraction exacerbate the potential for violent widespread conflict. This can be more

precarious in a situation of post-conflict Northern Uganda, where people were displaced for over a decade and have only returned to rediscover their land boundaries. Northern Uganda and Karamoja have more than 80 per cent of the land governed under customary tenure, which makes land transactions more complicated.

With the adoption of the Land Policy in 2013, there is a window of opportunity to improve or set up the institutions and legal mechanisms. This, however, should be supported by adequately resourcing land governance structures and training relevant officials, to protect vulnerable people's access to land rights, and to mitigate conflict. There is also growing interest in matters relating to land by several stakeholders, such as CSOs, local community groups, politicians – a trend that will see increased discourse and problem-solving. This study argues that with a better understanding of land conflicts and their complexity, with timely conflict-sensitive interventions, and with collaborative efforts that involve communities, land conflicts in Northern Uganda can be effectively transformed.

9

Recommendations

THIS REPORT does not aim to make a series of technical recommendations for all aspects of the wide-ranging land issue, nor does it aim to make highly specific recommendations of interest only at the most local level. Instead, the recommendations focus on the law, institutions, responsibilities and co-ordination of land-related issues which flow directly from the research material.

1. Formalise land titles where possible

- a) Public institutions, such as schools, health centres, administrative headquarters, and churches, should demarcate their current land and acquire land titles. Where there is potential for this to cause conflict, concerted efforts should be made to consult with the affected communities and to undertake demarcation in a fully transparent manner, if necessary using outside mediation to guarantee the process is fair. For future acquisition of land for public use or investment, there should be proof of proper community involvement and documentation of any agreements of donation or sale by legal owners.
- b) The Government of Uganda should review and expedite the provision for Certificate of Customary Ownership (CCO), which will allow clans to acquire legal certificate of ownership of their land pieces. Government should help boundary marking of land blocks by use of modern Geographical Positioning Systems (GPS).
- c) Local communities should, in cases where clan systems are less definitive, establish communal land associations to serve as legal group entities for the land. Communities should consider demarcating land boundaries with agreed physical markers. The *omara omara* tree was recommended by both government and the Lango Cultural Foundation for demarcating land.

2. Strengthen and conflict-sensitise land governance structures

- a) The Government of Uganda should renew the mandate of the LC1 and LC2 by organising their elections. These structures have the potential to be effective in resolving local land disputes but their lack of legal basis currently stymies their attempts at finding lasting and universally accepted solutions. The government should re-establish the Land Tribunals⁸¹ in order to reduce case backlogs in court and provide a forum for poorer people to access legally recognised judgements.

⁸¹ Land Tribunals are provided for in the Constitution and the Land Act, but their administration was formally suspended in 2006 and their cases effectively handed to the courts system. They were intended as a cheap and easily accessible forum for resolving land disputes, with their judgements having the same force as law. See Foley, C., *Human settlements in crisis: A guide to property law in Uganda*, UN-HABITAT (2007), pp 17–19. For advocacy of land tribunals, see for example Kulumba-Kiingi, 'Land tribunals protected the poor', *New Vision* (27 January 2007), available at: www.newvision.co.ug/D/8/20/545456 (accessed 20 March 2014).

- b) The government should prioritise appointing resident judges and deploying a police presence within easy reach of every community. The role of the police should, however, be more conflict-sensitive. For example, though a community policing framework, the institution should seek collaborative partnership with the communities in identifying, prioritising, and addressing local conflicts and insecurity issues.
- c) District structures should better co-ordinate the efforts of their land governance structures in order to reduce ‘forum shopping’, where people take advantage of a lack of co-ordination to file the same cases in multiple courts in search of the most favourable judgement. The land sector should establish a land management structure either at regional or district level to co-ordinate land actions of state and non-state, that is, informal structures. This structure should be empowered and adequately equipped to be custodian of the different processes that are available in the region or district. This structure could also co-ordinate capacity-building of the people and institutions involved in the governance of access to minerals and conflict management, and help with identifying districts’ needs, such as office space, transport, and surveying tools.

3. Promote dialogue at the local level

Dialogue should be supported as the first option of resolving land conflicts. The Land Act also advocates for this approach under the customary land disputes clause,⁸² which encourages the parties involved in land disputes to use mediation.

The Government of Uganda should officially recognise the village chiefs referred to as the *rwodi kweri* (in Acholi), or their equivalent in other communities, as facilitators of dialogue and mediation.

Local communities should continue approaching the village chiefs as first instance when a land-related conflict occurs. At the same time, there should be deliberate efforts by local government and civil society organisations to build the capacity of traditional structures by providing training on land legislation and conflict resolution mechanisms, including mediation.

4. Conflict-sensitise actors involved in land and mineral acquisition

Companies and other investors should adopt a more conflict-sensitive approach to community engagement in the development and management of the mining sector. This will not only do no harm, but also enable the companies themselves, the government and the communities to maximise the opportunities for development. Some of the practical ways to realise this include: companies ensuring that they conduct context and conflict analyses on the sites that have been identified for investment, in order to understand existing land conflicts and actors; undertaking dialogue and wide community consultations during acquisition of surface rights; and exercising transparency and accountability in the relationship with the communities.

5. Improve channels of information flow

Land and mineral governance institutions (both at central and local government levels) should become more deliberate in sharing available information with local communities. Provision of adequate information regarding land laws, land rights, the Mining Act, concessions, investors and royalties will go a long way in reducing the negative perceptions held by communities, due to lack of such information.

⁸² Land Act 1998, Section 88(2): “At the commencement of a case or at any time during the hearing of the case, land tribunal may advise the parties to the case that, in its opinion, the nature of the case is such that the parties would be better served by using mediation to resolve their differences than by continuing with litigation in the tribunal.”

Annex 1: Categories of respondents

For the broader land analysis, 192 interviews were conducted with various categories of people in society. These included community members and leaders, CSOs, and officials at sub-county, district and national levels.

Community level: 28 focus group discussions with community members and leaders, interviews with 14 clan leaders, and stories from individual cases documented.

Sub-county level: Interviews were conducted in two sub-counties in each of the seven districts. These sub-counties were identified by the district authorities as those with the highest incidences of land conflicts in their respective districts. Interviews were conducted with the LC3 Chairpersons, sub-county chiefs and clan leaders at the sub-county level. In addition, in each sub-county, focus group discussions were conducted with ALC and LC3 Court committee members.

District level: In each district, interviews were conducted with the political leaders and the technical officers. Interviewees included the RDC, LC5 chairperson, and chief administrative officer, and land officer, registrar of land, cultural leader, and chairperson of the District Land Board, representatives of civil society organisations, the district police commander and the court clerk.

Focus group discussions in each district were conducted with the district water officer, production co-ordinator, land officer, and National Agricultural Advisory Services co-ordinator, forestry officer, community development officer, District Education Officer, district engineer and District Veterinary Officer.

National/Sub-regional level: Interviews were conducted with members of parliament from the seven districts, representatives of national civil society organisations and other key informants.

Karamoja rapid assessment on minerals: Interviews were conducted at the national level with the co-ordinator for Karamoja survey at the DGSM, Moroto Municipality Member of Parliament, district leaders in political and technical fields, mining company representatives, individuals and civil society organisations. Field trips were made to meet members of the local community and local mining groups.

Research team

The land-related research was conducted by three Saferworld staff, assisted by a local government specialist and seven research assistants who were selected from the local communities in the districts. These were persons who understand the local language and contextual issues. The rapid mineral assessment for Karamoja was carried out by one Saferworld staff, three local research assistants and an external consultant.

Annex 2: List of focus group discussions

Sub-region	District	Sub-county	
Lango	Lira <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ ALC and LC3 ■ local government technical staff 	Ngetta <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Community members 	
		Aromo Aromo Sub-County Acutkumu Parish <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Community members 	
	Otuke <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ ALC together with Clan leaders ■ technical staff (Otuke district) 	Olilim <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Female community members ■ Youth community members 	
		Okwang <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Sub-county court committee ■ Community members 	
Acholi	Amuru <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Heads of Department 	Pabbo <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Lumule A and B community Lamogi Sub-County <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Community members 	
		Odek <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ ALC together with community members 	
	Gulu <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Heads of Department ■ And District Technical team 	Palaro <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Community members ■ ALC and LC2 committee 	
		Lokung <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Community members 	
	Lamwo <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Department heads 	Padibe East <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ ALC of Luri Tal Group and LC2 court 	
		Nwoya <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Heads of Department 	Alero <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Alero Sub-County community ■ Bwobo village ■ Wilabalabi village
			Purongo <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ ALC and cultural leaders ■ Community members
West Nile	Adjumani	Itirikwa <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Community members 	
		Ofua <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Community members 	
Karamoja	Amudat	Karita <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Mining community members 	
	Moroto	Katikekile <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Nakabat mining community Rupa <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Community at the market 	

Annex 3: List of mining concessions in Karamoja

No.	Type ⁸³	Status ⁸⁴	Party (alphabetically)	Resources
1.	Exploration License	Active	African Minerals Limited (100%) ⁸⁵	Limestone
2.	Exploration License	Active	Aljouda Mining Co. Ltd (100%)	Base Metals, Gold, Limestone, Marble
3.	Exploration License	Active	Andrew Kabiito Rubuubi (100%)	Base Metals, Gold, Platinum Group Metals
4.	Exploration License	Application	Angaro Investments Company Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
5.	Exploration License	Active	AVR Engineering & Infrastructure Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Iron Ore
6.	Exploration License	Active	AVT Engineering & Infrastructure Limited (100%)	Iron Ore
7.	Exploration License	Active	Baracat Minerals (U) Limited (100%)	Gold, Limestone, Nickel
8.	Exploration License	Application	Beatrice Akissa Locker (100%)	Gold, Limestone
9.	Exploration License	Active	Blackstone Ichiban Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
10.	Exploration License	Active	Blue Earth Refineries Uganda (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
11.	Exploration License	Application	Brian Ochieng Tefro (100%)	Gold, Limestone
12.	Exploration License	Active	Capital Ventures International Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold, Platinum Group Metals
13.	Exploration License	Active	Chezho Valley and Mining Ltd (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
14.	Exploration License	Application	CHN Henen zhonghua Geology and Mines (U) Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold, Wolfram
15.	Exploration License	Application	Chui Resources Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
16.	Exploration License	Active	Clear Water Mining Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
17.	Exploration License	Application	Cozumel Energy (U) Limited (100%)	Limestone, Marble
18.	Exploration License	Active	DAO Africa Limited (100%)	Limestone, Marble
19.	Exploration License	Active	East African Mining Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold, Platinum Group Metals
20.	Exploration License	Active	Ecco Minerals Uganda Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold, Platinum Group Metals
21.	Exploration License	Application	Editz Joy Akissa (100%)	Gold, Limestone
22.	Exploration License	Approved for Granting	Emmanuel Kyoyeta (100%)	Base Metals, Gold, Limestone
23.	Exploration License	Active	Fang Min (100%)	Copper, Gold
24.	Exploration License	Active	FCN Energy Limited (100%)	Geothermal
25.	Exploration License	Active	Frontier Exploration (U) Limited (100%)	Rare Earth Elements
26.	Exploration License	Application	Fulin Mines Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
27.	Exploration License	Application	GIL Enterprises Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Iron Ore

⁸³ Exploration licence is given for initial 4 years and renewable twice (each renewal lasting 3 years). A holder of an exploration licence can take samples away to test their commercial viability. However, this licence is often abused by companies not declaring sample quantities. Most licences in Karamoja are exploration licences.

⁸⁴ Active status refers that a company has acquired the licence to begin carrying out activities as stipulated in the category of licence. Application status shows companies who have file an application for a licence.

⁸⁵ Percentages refers to ownership.

No.	Type	Status	Party (alphabetically)	Resources
28.	Exploration License	Application	Gilter's Mines (U) Ltd (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
29.	Exploration License	Application	Golan Mining Company Limited (100%)	Gold, Precious Metals
30.	Exploration License	Active	Gold Hunters Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
31.	Exploration License	Application	Gordon Wavamuno (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
32.	Exploration License	Active	Great Lakes Mining Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Rare Earth Elements
33.	Exploration License	Active	Infinity Minerals Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
34.	Exploration License	Active	International University of East Africa (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
35.	Exploration License	Active	Jan Mangal (U) Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold, Platinum Group Metals, Rare Earth Elements, Uranium
36.	Exploration License	Application	Jiahao Mining (U) Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
37.	Exploration License	Active	Jinja Marble Products (U) Limited (100%)	Marble
38.	Exploration License	Application	Jovena Mines (U) Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
39.	Exploration License	Application	Kiboko Cement Industries Limited (100%)	Limestone, Marble
40.	Exploration License	Application	Kimberlites Mining Ltd (100%)	Base Metals, Gold, Limestone, Marble
41.	Exploration License	Application	King of Kings Mining Company Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
42.	Exploration License	Application	Kirabita Stephen (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
43.	Exploration License	Active	Kripto International Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold, Platinum Group Metals, Uranium
44.	Exploration License	Active	Lokodo Simon (100%)	Base Metals, Gold, Limestone
45.	Exploration License	Application	MCB Resources Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold, Limestone
46.	Exploration License	Application	Mineral Research & Mines Limited (100%)	Gold
47.	Exploration License	Application	Moon Mining Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
48.	Exploration License	Active	Moroto Cement Industries (U) Limited (100%)	Limestone, Marble
49.	Exploration License	Active	Ndovu Investments Limited (100%)	Marble, Granite, Dimension Stone
50.	Exploration License	Active	Nicobat Interservices (U) Ltd (100%)	Base Metals, Gold, Marble
51.	Exploration License	Application	Occhio Investments Ltd (100%)	Base Metals, Gold, Industrial Minerals
52.	Exploration License	Application	Rakai Resources Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
53.	Exploration License	Active	Red Apple Resources Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
54.	Exploration License	Active	Rhino United Agencies Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
55.	Exploration License	Active	Rift Vally Minerals Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Iron Ore, Limestone

No.	Type	Status	Party (alphabetically)	Resources
56.	Exploration License	Active	Rockmarks Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
57.	Exploration License	Active	Royal African Mining Co. Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold, Platinum Group Metals
58.	Exploration License	Active	Saba Saba Mining Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
59.	Exploration License	Active	Savanah Mines Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Copper, Gold
60.	Exploration License	Active	Sun and Sand Mining Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold, Platinum Group Metals, Rare Earth Elements, Uranium
61.	Exploration License	Active	Sunder Wallia Kaka (100%)	Gold
62.	Exploration License	Active	Supercom International Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Limestone, Marble, Platinum, Pozzolana
63.	Mining Lease	Active	Tororo Cement Limited (100%)	Limestone
64.	Exploration License	Active	Universal Empire Infrastructure Limited (100%)	Iron Ore
65.	Exploration License	Active	Utrack Africa (U) Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
66.	Exploration License	Active	William Babigumira (100%)	Base Metals, Gold, Platinum Group Metals
67.	Exploration License	Active	Wogabaga Stephen K. (100%)	Base Metals, Gold
68.	Exploration License	Active	XL Mining Limited (100%)	Limestone, Marble
69.	Exploration License	Active	Zamani Mining Limited (100%)	Base Metals, Gold

Source: www.flexicadastre.com/uganda (accessed on 6 March 2014).

Saferworld is an independent international organisation working to prevent violent conflict and build safer lives. We work with local people affected by conflict to improve their safety and sense of security, and conduct wider research and analysis. We use this evidence and learning to improve local, national and international policies and practices that can help build lasting peace. Our priority is people – we believe that everyone should be able to lead peaceful, fulfilling lives, free from insecurity and violent conflict.

COVER PHOTO: A woman wears a T-shirt that emphasises the critical importance of land in Northern Uganda. © CAPSON SAUSI/SAFERWORLD



SAFERWORLD

UK OFFICE

The Grayston Centre
28 Charles Square
London N1 6HT, UK
Phone: +44 (0)20 7324 4646
Fax: +44 (0)20 7324 4647
Email: general@saferworld.org.uk
Web: www.saferworld.org.uk

UGANDA OFFICE

PO Box 8415
4th Floor, NIC Building
Pilkington Road, Kampala
Uganda
Phone: +256 (0)414 231130/
+256 (0)414 231150

Registered charity no. 1043843
A company limited by guarantee no. 3015948

ISBN 978-1-909390-13-3