



**WOMEN, ARMED CONFLICT AND FOOD
SECURITY IN UGANDA:**
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF FOUR DISTRICT

An Isis-WICCE Research Report
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Chapter One:

Introduction and Background

1.1 Introduction

One of the issues affecting women in Africa, and especially in the Great lakes Region, is armed conflict. Many areas of Uganda in particular, in the North (Gulu, Kitgum and Pader), North East (Katakwi, Kumi, Kaberamaido and Soroti) and South West (Kasese and Bundibugyo), have been devastated by civil strife and armed conflict for over 30 years. Countries like Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo, have suffered for even longer. The result has been generations of citizens who do not know what it is like to have peace and stability. These situations of armed conflict manifest in a subtle way into increased domestic violence and lawlessness at the community level. The violence in turn disrupts the economic fabric of the society, its production potential, thus threatening its food security for many years after the cessation of the conflict.

In the context of Uganda, violence and armed conflict have characterized the country since the mid-1960s when the first republican government led by Sir. Edward Mutesa was overthrown by the then Prime Minister Milton Obote. Five years later the Government of President Obote was overthrown by Idi Amin who led the country into 8-years (1971 - 1979), of bloodletting and economic mismanagement that crippled the country's productive capacity of both cash and food crops. In January 1979, Uganda dissidents supported by the Tanzania government overthrew Idi Amin regime and Dr Obote was re- instated by the 1980 elections as president of Uganda. The Second Obote government failed to restore the country's recovery and was toppled by its own army headed by the General Tito Okello. Tito Okello opted to reached a peace agreement with the then dissidents who led a five year (1980 - 1985) protracted war led by the National Resistance

Movement (NRM). This did not hold long before the NRM took over power in January 1986. This five-year war left the well-known Luweero Triangle's social and economic infrastructure in a limbo, let alone the agricultural production. The stability of the NRM government did not take long before the North, North East and South West parts of the country got inflicted with numerous insurgencies which include; the Lakwena spirit movement, the Uganda People Democratic Army (UPDA), the Lord Resistance Army (LRA), and the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF).¹ Likewise these insurgencies and other armed conflicts related attacks such as the Karimajong cattle raids have caused huge destructions in the said districts. This long span of conflicts (since 1986), has created a new phenomenon of Internally Displacement Persons (IDPs), who can no longer fend for themselves but depend on food aid.

1.2 Armed Conflict in the districts of study

A comprehensive study was carried out in Kasese and Kitgum as areas affected by armed conflict and Mbarara and Bugiri districts representing areas that have either never experienced direct-armed conflict (Bugiri) or have for a long time been stable (Mbarara).

1.2.1 Kasese District

The Rwenzori Mountainous region located in South Western Uganda is no exception to armed conflict. The Rwenzururu Movement, which started during the colonial times but became an open conflict soon after independence was a political struggle by the Bakonjo population to attain economic and political autonomy from the Toro kingdom (both ethnic groups were part of what was called kingdom of Toro, which later became Tooro district). The British colonial masters had used Batooro to

¹ Pick quotation of Isis publications

administer the area, and exploit the vast mineral and other natural resources in the then Kingdom of Tooro. Led by clan leaders and a royal family, which was still in its infancy, the Rwenzururu fighters fought bitter battles with the government of Uganda until the government granted them autonomy as a separate Kasese District in 1974.²

The granting of Kasese district an autonomy status generally placated the area until the mid-1980 when the National Resistance Army (NRA) rebel forces identified its strategic importance in occupying and controlling the Rwenzori Mountains. The NRA invaded the area in 1985. This enabled its rebels to spread the conflict to the rest of western Uganda, and provided a base for recruitment and training of fighters and provision of food for the rebellion.

Soon after the overthrow of the General Tito Okello Government in 1986, by the NRA/M the Rwenzururu Movement was revived and led by Amon Baziira, a former minister in the 1980-1985 UPC government. The Rwenzururu fighters then started fighting hit and run battles against government installations in the districts of Kasese and Bundibugyo until their leaders including Amon Bazira were killed.

The worst, most widespread and destructive form of armed conflict ever experienced in Kasese District was the Allied Democratic Front (ADF) insurgency. The ADF was a new Ugandan rebel group purportedly led mainly by Muslim youths with Islamic fundamentalist tendencies that started operating in 1996 from the bases they had established in Eastern Congo. The reason given for this insurgency was-----The rebels attacked Kasese and Bundibugyo districts in November 1996 from the eastern parts of the Democratic Republic of Congo and

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continued to operate hit and run operations using the Rwenzori Mountains and the forestlands of Eastern Congo as their base.

Thousands of people were displaced from their homes. In the first year of the insurgency, over 100,000 people were displaced from the sub-counties along the border with the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Soon armed conflict between the ADF rebels and the government forces led to the displacement of the population to nearly all rural sub-counties in the district with at least 30,000 people living in internally displaced persons (IDP) camps at any one time³.

While many of the men joined the fighters on either side or fled the area, the women and children were forced to run for safety among relatives in the more peaceful parts of the district or in Kasese Town. Where this was not possible the women, children and the elderly run into administrative centres, government facilities or into trading centres where the government forces were able to offer some protection. As the war continued and the numbers grew these centres were recognised by the district administration as internally displaced persons (IDP) camps that were to form the centres for distribution of relief and accessing organised public health utilities such as water and toilet facilities with NGO assistance. According to the district emergency plan of 1998, of the 59,884 people living in IDP camps at the end of 1997, 63% were below the age of 18 years while the women aged 18 years and above constituted 21% of this total population⁴.

The conflict quickly spread to other parts of Western Uganda and at one time covered the districts of Kasese, Bundibugyo, Kabarole, Kyenjojo, Kamwenge, Kibaale and parts of Hoima. The rebellion was quelled by the Uganda people's Defence Force (UPDF) in 2001.

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1.2.2 Kitgum

In Kitgum and indeed most of Acholi Region there used to be armed inter-clan conflicts that occasionally became bloody. The region has also continued to suffer from cattle raiding tribes in Eastern Uganda (the Karamojong) and Southern Sudan. However, the period after 1986 has been the bloodiest in the region. According to several finding, it is reported that, the war started in 1986 with the fall of the government of General Tito Okello who hailed from the Kitugm district. It was reported that soldiers royal to the deposed government has succumbed to the NRM call to lay down their arms and get integrated into communities. However, when 28 of them were killed in called blood at Omianyima, on their way to report to the authorities at the district head quarters.⁵ Those who had fled to Sudan took this opportunity to convince those still in Uganda that the government in place was planning to kill all of them. Many fled to the Sudan, where they re-organized and started infiltrating back into Uganda from their bases in the Sudan. The group has continued to attack the surrounding districts bordering the Sudan to date.

In retaliation, the new government met the popular rebellion with brutal force. A battalion of the National Resistance Army (NRA), comprising largely of former fighters of the Federal Democratic Movement (FEDEMU) was posted to Acholi region and deployed in Kitgum among other districts to quell the unrest. Unfortunately, due to attitude of revenge, lack of discipline and brutality, this battalion instead fuelled up the rebellion.

Using negotiated settlements and swelled by military success, the new government was able to contain the war and some of the rebel groups like the Uganda People's Democratic Army (UPDA) headed by former commanders in the defunct Uganda

⁵ This story was narrated to the research team by one informant during the data collection period in the sub county- ?june 2002

National Liberation Army (UNLA), later made peace with government. However, no sooner had the UNLA been absorbed in the army, than another rebellion led by a traditional priestess Alice Lakwena who formed the Holy Spirit Movement, sprung-up. The rebellion rapidly spread eastwards but was defeated by the government troops near Jinja in Eastern Uganda. Later on, the same defeated group was re-organised into the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) led by a local catechist, Joseph Kony, an insurgence that has persisted to date.

According to Amnesty International (1999) during the period 1996 - 1999, approximately 400,000 people were forced to flee their homes in Northern Uganda, the majority being peasant farmers who could no longer attend to their farms while others were forced to move to camps by government soldiers. The LRA continued to attack camps, raped women and girls, abducted civilians especially the youth and looted food. On the other hand, it was reported that the government forces forced civilians into Internally Displaced camps as a strategy to isolate the rebels from the civilian population in order to cut-off the rebels from their civilians food supply lines. Because of forced migration due to armed conflict, the districts making up Acholi region (Gulu, Kitgum and Pader) have approximately 80% of the rural population living in IDP camps where, at the survey time, they were heavily dependant on humanitarian aid.⁶ The combined effect of food insecurity and war has had grave social, economic and survival consequences for the majority of the population in Kitgum district and elsewhere in Acholi. * **(picture of the camp on this page)**

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Under these desperate circumstances, some villagers tried to return to their homes to cultivate or forage for food only to be faced by more attacks (Isis-WICCE, 1999, 2000) that culminated to the numerous consequences they have to face at the hands of the warring factions. To date the people of Kitgum have found themselves caught in the crossfire between the government army the Uganda People's Defence Forces (UPDF) LRA rebels, and in some the Karimojong cattle raids.

1.2.3 Mbarara and Bugiri

In 1979, the dissidents who had run to Tanzania were able to mobilise, got support from Tanzania government and entered Uganda through Mutukula via Kikagatti, in Mbarara district. ON their route to the capita, Kampala, Mbarara district experienced heavy infrastructural destruction, as well as loose of lives of its population. Since then, the district has not experienced and other conflict and has managed to rebuild. In the case of Bugiri district it is one of the few districts in Uganda, that has not experienced any direct-armed conflict but has for a long time suffered from neglect.

1.3 Isis-WICCE's Documentation of Women's War Experiences

In order to contribute to global initiatives to highlight women's human rights abuses, within the framework of the 1995 Beijing United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, Isis-WICCE, undertook to document the experiences of women, especially in situations of armed conflict. Since 1998, Isis-WICCE has completed documentations of women's experiences of war situations in six districts of Uganda as highlighted above.

In the earlier studies⁷ it was noted that women's role in situations of armed conflict can no longer be underrated. On the one hand, they are forced to witness the loss of their children, spouses, parents and other relatives who are engaged in direct combat or caught in the crossfire. Secondly, women hold families and community together during conflict. In this role they fend for their families in the absence of men. Women also cater for the bulk of feeding of combatants and civilians alike, and are forced to ensure post-conflict food supply for all the people in their localities. This is often in a new environment of internal displacement where there is usually shortage of food supplies and the food relief from humanitarian agencies is usually inadequate in quantity and quality and usually not sustainable. This finding has been echoed by many other studies conducted by other organisations⁸

While all those studies above looked at women's experiences of armed conflict generally, and each ended with an equally well documented medical intervention, it emerged that there was a need to have an in-depth examination of war effects on socio-economic livelihoods. Among the numerous consequences, Isis-WICCE opted to investigate women's contribution to household access of food in conflict situations. Hence, the study on food security in the war ravaged areas of Kasese and Kitgum. To effectively assess the magnitude of armed conflict on food security, districts that had long experienced stability such as Mbarara and Bugiri respectively, were included in the study as a control.

1.3 Definition of Food Security

The International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) defines Household Food Security as "the capacity of households to procure a stable and sustainable basket of adequate food" (IFAD, 1996).

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*The Food Insecurity and Vulnerability Information and Mapping Systems (FIVIMS)⁹ notes that **Food security** exists when all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food to meet their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life. Household food security is the application of this concept at the family level, with individuals within households as the focus of concern. **Food insecurity** on the other hand exists when people are undernourished because of the physical unavailability of food, their lack of social or economic access to adequate food, and/or inadequate food utilization. Food-insecure people are those individuals whose food intake falls below their minimum calorie (energy) requirements, as well as those who exhibit physical symptoms caused by energy and nutrient deficiencies resulting from an inadequate or unbalanced diet or from the body's inability to use food effectively because of infection or disease. An alternative view would define the concept of food insecurity as referring only to the consequence of inadequate consumption of nutritious food, considering the physiological utilization of food by the body as being within the domain of nutrition and health.*

***Vulnerability to food insecurity** refers to the full range of factors that place people at risk. In case of food insecurity, the degree of vulnerability of individuals, households or groups of people is determined by their exposure to the risk factors and their ability to cope with or withstand stressful situations, caused by food insecurity.*

Role of Agriculture in Uganda's Macro-level Economic and food security

Agriculture remains the major sector in Uganda's economy. It accounts for 42.5% of the GDP, generates 97% of the export earnings, employs 83% of the labour force Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (MFED, 2000), and provides raw materials for a number of manufacturing and processing industries in Uganda (World Bank, 2000). Crops contribute 84% to annual GDP, while animal

⁹ One of the steps towards achieving the 1996 World Food Summit goals in the fight against hunger in the world was the establishment of an inter-agency working group (IAWG) a programme to promote the development of information and mapping systems for an improved understanding of food insecurity and vulnerability. Subsequently the Food Insecurity and Vulnerability Information and Mapping Systems (FIVIMS) was established and has members representing international and bilateral donors, technical UN agencies and NGOs and is based at the FAO headquarters in Rome.

products, fisheries and forestry contribute only 13%, 1% and 2% respectively (MFED, 2000). A considerable proportion of the population cultivates food crops such as bananas, finger millet, simsim, peas, sorghum, maize, cassava, sweet potatoes, beans and groundnuts, while the most important cash crops are coffee, cotton, sugar and tea (MAAIF, 2001). Almost half of agricultural production (19% of GDP) is locally traded or bartered for subsistence consumption outside the market system. Agriculture is mostly performed on farms of less than 2 hectares, using family labour and non-mechanized methods. Women contribute about 80% of the agricultural labour-force. Subsistence production of agriculture still accounts for about two-fifths of agricultural output, and one-fifth of total economic output (FAO, 2000).

The total livestock population in Uganda is about 12.8 million, of which, 42% is cattle, and 7.6% is sheep, 46% goats, and 4% pigs. Dairy and beef farming is carried out in a few areas and on specialized farms, while fishing is done mainly in lakes Victoria, Kyoga, Albert, George, and river Nile (MFED, 2001). However, recent studies suggest that livestock farming is declining in favour of crop farming; meanwhile, there is a tendency towards integration of livestock and crop farming in a number of communities that were predominantly pastoral. Fish catch in 2001 was about 280,720 tones.

Uganda's population is essentially rural and poor, thus its ability to raise enough food for the household is threatened. Therefore, even in normal times, a large proportion of Uganda's population encounters inadequate diet, and the per capita calorie intake for the majority of Ugandans is below the minimum nutritional standards (MFED, 2000).

Food crops account for 72 percent of agricultural output, and take up 92 percent of planted land (FAO, 2000) A combined set of factors including weather and intensification of armed conflicts led to a sharp drop in food-crop production which

was much short of the population's needs in 1997. Severe food shortages were declared in more than half of the country and were more severe in the armed conflicts prone districts of the north, northeast northwest and southwest, which had large refugee and internally displaced peoples' settlements.

While according to the Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Planning (MFEP, 2000), poverty among cash crop farmers fell from 60 percent to 44 percent between 1992 and 1996, poverty among food crop farmers remained largely unchanged (falling marginally from 64 percent to 62 percent). In the western Uganda districts of Bundibugyo, Kasese and Kabarole, food production in some areas had prior to 2001 virtually collapsed, with villagers afraid to venture into the fields because of war. Similarly in northern Uganda, the production has stopped or ceased to exist in areas where land mines have been planted (Redfern, 2000).

1.4 The Research Problem

Existing literature on poverty and household access to food and other necessities in Uganda indicate that there has been little attention given to the impact of armed conflicts on food security.¹⁰ Considering the fact that armed conflict leads to massive displacement of people and alienation of whole societies from farm production, it is plausible to assume that armed conflict affects food security in a direct manner. What remains unclear are the roles played by different sub-groups such as women, men and children in the society's quest for survival during the war scenario.

In line with its mandate of documenting women's experiences and human rights abuses during situations of armed conflict, Isis-WICCE noted a gap in the knowledge of the realities of the impact of armed conflict to women's contribution to

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food security in Uganda. It was noted that the areas affected by conflict often have to bear the consequences of food insecurity for a long period beyond the conflict itself. Therefore, the challenge in identifying strategies to solve food security problems in areas affected with armed conflict as compared to areas enjoying peace need to be identified. Even more important was the need to identify the roles that individual sub-groups within the population, more especially women play in ensuring household and community food security needs. It is in light of the above that a study of Women, Armed Conflict and Food Security in the districts of Kasese, Mbarara, Kitgum and Bugiri was undertaken.

1.5 Rationale

There was need to find out the impact of armed conflict on food security in Uganda and develop an advocacy strategy to address the problem. As an organization concerned with promotion of women's human rights especially in situation of armed conflict, Isis-WICCE is best placed to identify critical factors associated with women's quest for household food security and related experiences in the armed conflict areas. However, to be able to isolate the effects of armed conflict from other general causes of food insecurity, there was need for a comparative critical analysis of women's experiences in relatively armed conflict-free districts. There was thus a need to investigate the manifestations of food insecurity in conflict and non-conflict areas and their causes. In addition, it was also necessary to find out the coping mechanisms adopted by communities in armed conflict areas and understand the gender related factors in ensuring access to food. Knowledge of the above was deemed critical in making fundamental recommendations of feasible strategies for solving food insecurity, and alleviating the plight of sub-groups within the armed conflict affected populations.

1.6 Study Aims and Objectives

The main objective of this study was to carry out a critical assessment of the linkages between armed conflicts and its effect on women's ability to contribute to household food security. More specifically the study sought to:

1. Find out the magnitude of the effects of armed conflict on women's ability to ensure household food security.
2. Find out the effect of changes in household structure due to conflict on women's contribution to household food security.
3. Find out non-armed conflict causes of household food insecurity and how these are manifest in conflict and non-conflict prone districts.
4. Identify women's coping mechanisms with the environment created by armed conflict generally and ensuring household food security in particular.
5. Make feasible recommendations for sustainable farm production and household food security among households.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

There are a couple of entry points in which armed conflict is likely to threaten women's ability to ensure household food security. For instance while the men often fail to cope with the war situation, and end up alcoholics (Isis-WICCE, 2000; 2002), the responsibility is ceded to women to ensure they provide households with the means to acquire food and other essential household needs. The men's contribution

to production, which is often in cash crops and livestock, is usually drastically curtailed by war. Where women's participation in production can still be risked, they often remain the only producers, whose farm output (food – crops) subsequently remains the sole source of household income, further threatening household food security.

Coupled with the above is the fact that in nearly all war situations, relatively more men than women are involved in direct combat. Most women are thus left with the role of catering for their families in an environment in which they themselves are insecure and severely lacking resources to offer the necessary care. As to whether this added challenge and responsibility is disadvantageous to women or not is not clear. It is likely however that those women who are forced to head households when their husbands are killed in war or go away for combat hide for safety are likely to be very vulnerable. Those who flee to town or refugee camps without their spouses and yet are single mothers have to adjust to the new environment in which there is high competition for resources in form of food, water, shelter and fuel.

The destruction of homes, abandonment of fields, loss of economic assets and lack of seed stocks that characterizes many armed conflict situations is likely to affect the women and totally disarm them by undermining their established patterns of survival strategies in food production, household chores and trading systems. For those who have to become internally displaced persons, access to land around the IDP camps is likely to be difficult and food supply by philanthropic agencies inadequate and unreliable.

This abrupt shift of roles, change in environment and circumstances, and lack of knowledge and skills among women has resulted into women getting overwhelmed with responsibility and thus producing less than usual.

On the other hand, widowhood in particular, fueled with patriarchal tendencies in most societies threatens the rights of many women to use their deceased husband's land particularly in the absence of grown-up male children (as defenders of their mothers). Since most women do not want to be inherited by the in-laws for fear of impoverishment and contracting HIV/AIDS, widows without male children and divorcees are left at the mercy of relatives or their own ability to hire and buy land. Where the capacity of the relatives is low and the poverty situation that characterizes most wars does not permit women to access land then the household food security will inevitably be negatively affected.

The resultant outcome of women's inability to provide basic food for the household is usually a pre-cursor of many social problems. Women's failure to provide enough for their families for instance may lead to post war conflicts such as domestic violence, prostitution, and the street children phenomenon. For example, statistics¹¹ show that youth from war torn areas have run away from their families in search of food in townships. When they fail to achieve their goal, they are forced into pick pocketing as well as violent acts such as burglary, rape and killings. For the case of girls, they are lured into prostitution.

There is also a belief that the present lack of differentiation between cash and food crops has resulted into most food crops being sold off for cash. Coupled with the escalating poverty among the populace, force many women to sell off even the little food they have to earn some money to cater for other basic needs i.e. medical services, clothing and school fees for the children.

*** (Graphics of pick pocketing and Rape) Note No 8 Which Statistics did you use**

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Chapter Two:

Methodology

2.1 Criteria and Study design

The methodology for this study was primarily guided by the need to gather sufficient background information to form a baseline to assist in the development of program indicators for subsequent intervention by different stakeholders. Other considerations included:

- The time and resources available to the study teams;
- Availability of background information on the two districts on which to base the sampling or develop indicators;
- The presence of other funding agencies in the area; and
- Security concerns at the time of study.

The study employed a mixed approach for data collection, incorporating both quantitative and qualitative methods.

2.2 Sampling

The questionnaire was applied to a stratified random sample of 577 respondents drawn from 12 sub-counties of Kasese, Mbarara, Kitgum and Bugiri. In each district the selection of sub-counties of study was purposively undertaken with consultation between the researchers and the district leadership. The criteria for selection of sub-counties for study were cost, experience of conflict and agro-ecological variation. The reasons for selection of sub-counties for study varied between the conflict districts and the control groups. In the conflict districts the presence of IDP camps or population displaced in the community but not in camps was the main reason for

selection of sub-counties. In the non-conflict districts of Bugiri and Mbarara the experience of transitory food shortages as one indicator of food insecurity and agro-ecological variability of the district determined the inclusion or omission of sub-counties.

On the basis of the above criteria Kasese District, two sub-counties Kicwamba and Kyondo were selected. The selection of study sub-counties in Kasese was dependent on the presence of internally displaced people's (IDP) camps within the sub-county. This information was obtained during the reconnaissance visit to the district and was confirmed a month later by the selected trainee Research Assistants and district leadership.

Sub-county selection in Kitgum depended on the camp and out of the camp population, but which had experienced armed conflict destabilization. Thus the largest camp in the district, Padibe Camp, which had just been split into two sub-counties Padibe West and East was selected and since there was no variation in the camp population except for the fact that East and West were only split by a road, both sub-counties were selected for study. In order to understand the phenomena of food security among the population living out of the camps but in the war affected district of Kitgum the district administration requested that Omiya-Anyima sub-county, which had just been carved out of Namukora to be studied together with its mother sub-county (Namukora).

In Mbarara, the selection was guided by the differences in agro-ecological zoning based mainly on the cattle and mixed farming activities. Other criteria considered here was the perception of vulnerability to food shortages brought about by annual weather pattern changes. Both Kikagati and Kikatsi sub-counties were reportedly extremely food and water vulnerable during the dry season. Kikagati however was in the mixed cropping pattern zone while Kikatsi was a pure pastoral sub-county

and since Mbarara District is characterized by these two agro-economic activity zones the two sub-counties were deemed representative of the district.

In Bugiri the selection of sub-counties for study was also based on the agro-ecological differences as well as the influence of the fish sector. The sub-counties of Nabukalu, Buyinja, Bulidha and Sigulu Islands were thus selected. Nabukalu in the north was flat flood prone area, Buyinja represented a mixture of cropping and fishing sub-counties, Sigulu Islands represented the predominantly fishing sub-county with hardly any cultivation taking place. While Bulidha was selected for its very poor infrastructure and subsistence cropping culture.

The selection of the specific villages for study was based on a listing of villages and parishes in the sub-counties or the targeted encamped population in internally displaced persons camps. These were sorted according to their population size¹² and cumulatively added. A random starting number was thereafter obtained using a calculator. The sampling interval was obtained by dividing the total number population (or count) by the maximum number of villages that could be selected from the district. The latter was a factor of cost and population within the sub-county in relative terms to other sub-counties selected in the district. The study villages were thus those that were picked by adding the sampling interval to the starting village and subsequent to each selected village.

The research assistants and/or local leaders undertook a listing of all households in the selected villages. The listing required information on name of head of household, age, sex of head of household, number of females above 12 years and number of persons staying in the household. From this listing all households that had no female persons aged above 12 years were dropped from the sample frame.

¹² Or where this was difficult to obtain according to the number of internally displaced persons recorded by the concerned agencies at the district.

While the *quantitative* section of the study concentrated on the household level, the *qualitative* section was based on the parish and village levels. The selection of parishes for the qualitative part of the study was purposive. Criteria for selection included location by agro-ecological zone, magnitude and duration of the armed conflict situation, and accessibility to major towns and markets.

Other methods used included key informant interviews and systematic observations of the respondent and the environment, as well as group meetings held with opinion leaders in the areas.

2.3 Study instruments

The quantitative study employed a structured household questionnaire seeking information on:

- (a) Household composition, agricultural production, employment household assets, access to basic amenities and organization of household labour in the pertaining situation.
- (b) Access to land, types and volumes of crops and animal production prior to, and at the time of survey. The dangers associated with production and other means of accessing food for the households.
- (c) Marketing and incomes from the farm and other sources, coping mechanisms with food shortages and situations to ensuring household food security.

- (d) Household power relations and any changes therein over the last 10 years. Roles, responsibilities, rights and perceptions over control of production inputs and outputs.

The qualitative study used interactive tools and techniques to:

- Encourage wider participant/group discussion and analysis;
- Be completely transparent and open about the information being recorded about the parish/village for the study; and
- Set the foundation for the participants to monitor and evaluate their progress with time at the parish and the village levels.

The tools and techniques included a series of facilitated visual exercises including in-depth interviews, group discussions, and participant observations.

2.4 The Research Team: Selections and Training

The selection of the study team was carried out by Isis-WICCE. The criteria for selection for the Principal Investigator and Co-Investigator were qualifications, knowledge and experience of the use of participatory research methods, rural community field experience and possession of complimentary skills in food security studies. The Principal Investigator, co-investigator and Isis-WICCE programme staff conceptualized and designed the study instruments, the sampling of the study parishes, villages and respondents. The team also carried recruitment and training of district-based research assistants in the four districts. The Principle Investigator ensured effective administration of all instruments during the field data collection (quantitative and qualitative), supervised the data entry and carried out the data

analysis. The draft report prepared by the Principle Investigator was edited by the editorial Team.

Isis-WICCE staff and six female Research Assistants per district made up the rest of the Research Team. The study teams of Mbarara and Kasese were trained in Mbarara between October 28th and November 2nd, 2001 while those of Kitgum and Bugiri team, were trained in Bugiri in April-May 2002. Training consisted of two main components namely; an introduction to Human Rights instruments and their application to Women in Uganda and; the management of the Women, Armed Conflict and Food Security Study. The programme coordinator and staff carried out the first part of the study, while the Principal and co-Investigators carried out the latter part.

Training consisted of explanation of key concepts, Human Rights in general, the Right to food in the context of Human Rights, Food Security – its definition and how to attain it in the context of Uganda, introduction to documentation, research methods and data collection, management of the study instruments namely the questionnaire and Group Discussion Guides. Towards the end of the training, a pre-test of the field instruments was carried out in one village outside the sampled villages. The pre-test experience was reviewed and data analyzed before finalizing the field instruments and designing plans for fieldwork.

2.5 Validation of Data

After the data collection, Isis-WICCE carried out district workshops to validate the findings. Cross sections of stakeholders were invited at the validation workshop. The Mbarara, Kasese validation workshop was carried out in October 2002 while the one for Bugiri took place in May 2003. Due to the escalating conflict in Northern Uganda,

Isis-WICCE was only able to carry out the validation workshop in Kitgum district in January 2004. This delayed the national dissemination of the findings.

2.6 Constraints

Lack of comprehensive statistics at the district levels, to compare the progress of the situation with the study findings was a major imitation of the study . The continuous cycle of conflict in Kitgum was yet another problem. This hindered the researchers from following up some of the key informants and interviewees required for more in depth analysis.

Chapter Three:

Background Characteristics of Study Population

3.1 Introduction

A total of 577 (96%) of the 600 target respondents were interviewed in the districts

Table 3.1: The Respondents		
District and Sub-county	Frequency	Percent
Kasese	137	100.0
Kicwamba	56	40.9
Kyondo	81	59.1
Mbarara	157	100.0
Kikagati	136	86.6
Kikatsi	21	13.4
Kitgum	127	100.0
Namukora	19	15.0
Omiya-anyima	38	29.9
Padibe East	17	13.4
Padibe West	47	37.0
Paloga	6	4.7
Bugiri	156	100.0
Bulidha	26	16.7
Buyinja	56	25.9
Nabukalu	46	29.5
Sigulu	28	17.9

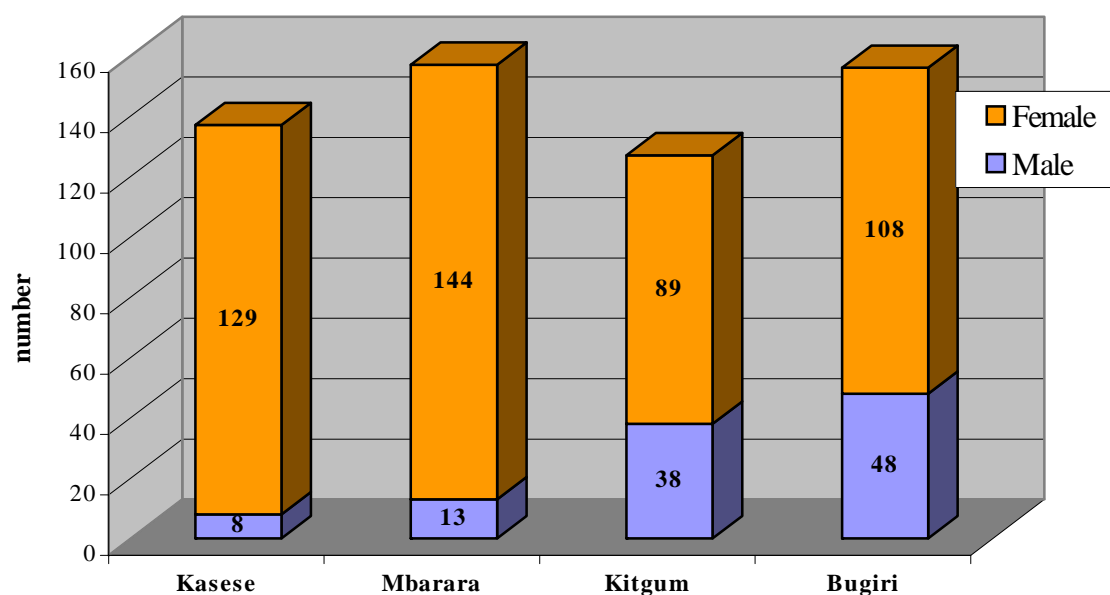
of Kasese, Mbarara, Kitgum and Bugiri between November 2001 and June 2002. In conflict-affected District of Kasese, the respondents were located in the camps and the surrounding villages of Kicwamba and Kyondo sub-counties (Table 3.1). In the district of Kitgum the

respondents were from Padibe Camp and the sub-counties of Omiya-Anyima and Namuokora. In the control district of Mbarara the respondents were largely from the refugee host sub-county of Kikagati in Isingiro County, with few (21) from the pastoral communities of Kikatsi in Nyabushozi county. In Bugiri respondents were from Bulidha, Buyinja, Nabukalu and the island sub-county of Sigulu.

As noted in Chapter 2, the selection of sub-counties of study in Mbarara and Bugiri was based on the perception to vulnerability to seasonal food shortages within the different agro-economic zones in the district. In Kasese the selection was based on the presence of internally displaced people's camps and the need to include IDPs from different areas of the district. The IDPs from Kyondo sub-county were predominantly Bakonjo from the Rwenzori slopes of Kasese District, while those of Kicwamba sub-county were from both Kasese and neighbouring Kabarole and Bundibugyo districts. The distribution of respondents by gender and district is shown in Figure 3.1¹³.

¹³ Unless otherwise specified, all statistics in this study refer to primary data collected during this study.

Figure 3.1: Distribution of Respondents by Gender and District



The distribution of respondents by district and functional role of location is indicated in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2: Respondents by District and Location of Residence

Description	Frequency	Percent
Kasese		
Rural	18	13.1
Camp	119	86.9
Mbarara		
Rural	153	97.3
Trading Centre	4	2.5
Kitgum		
Rural	72	56.7
Trading Centre	1	0.8
Camp	56	42.5
Bugiri		
Rural	155	99.7
Trading Centre	1	0.6

3.2 Place of residence

Most of the respondents were hailing from rural areas and/or internally displaced persons camps (IDPs). In Kasese (87%) and Kitgum (43%) of the respondents were in IDPs, while in the non-conflict affected districts of Mbarara and Bugiri nearly all the respondents were found in their rural setting and in their homes (Table 3.2).

3.3 Sex and Age

As indicated in Table 3.3, the majority of respondents in all districts were female. In

Sex of respondent	Kasese (n=137)	Mbarara (n=157)	Kitgum (n=127)	Bugiri (n=156)
Male	5.8	8.3	29.9	30.8
Female	94.2	91.7	70.1	69.2
Age				
Mean Age				
Males	29.4	34.0	43.8 years	45.6 yrs
Females	34.0	36.3	40.4 years	35.6 yrs
Age grouped				
Male				
< 20 years	0.0	9.1	5.3	0.0
20-29	75.0	36.4	18.4	16.7
30-39	12.5	27.3	15.8	37.5
40-49	0.0	18.2	23.7	8.3
50-59	15.5	9.1	7.9	12.5
60+ years	0.0	0.0	28.9	25.0
Female				
< 20 years	5.4	3.6	1.1	0.9
20-29	40.3	31.4	15.9	32.1
30-39	24.0	31.4	27.3	33.0
40-49	17.8	17.9	31.8	20.8
50-59	5.4	6.4	14.8	7.5
60+ years	7.0	9.3	9.1	5.7

Mbarara and Kasese 93% of the respondents were women while in Kitgum and Bugiri females were 70% of the entire sample.¹⁴ There was no relationship between armed conflict and the age of respondents.

¹⁴ As indicated in the methodology though the Kasese-Mbarara and Kitgum – Bugiri studies were similar, their design and timing were different. Thus while Kasese-Mbarara had a very small proportion of males (7%) Kitgum and Bugiri each had a purposively selected higher percentage of males (30%)

3.4 Marital Status

Marital status is usually a factor of age and gender. In a population that has relatively more male adults than female ones, the proportion of the widowed is likely to be lower as males have a higher tendency to remarry than the females. However armed conflict can also affect marital status. A population that has

Table 3.4: Marital, Migration and Headship Status by District

Background Characteristics	Kasese (n=137) %	Mbarara (n=157) %	Kitgum (n=127) %	Bugiri (n=156) %
Avg. Household size (No.)				
Before the war	6.6	5.3	6.0	4.9
Currently	5.8	5.9	7.0	9.2
Marital Status (2001/2)	$(\chi^2 = 4.64; p = 0.31)$		$(\chi^2 = 34.57; p = 0.00)$	
Never married	3.6	2.5	17.7	1.3
Married	71.5	79.0	66.7	89.7
Divorced/separated	7.3	7.6	2.4	3.2
Widowed	16.1	10.8	8.7	5.8
Co-habit	1.5	0.0	4.8	0.0
Migrated	$(\chi^2 = 170.7; p = 0.00)$		$(\chi^2 = 0.456; p = 0.50)$	
	97.8	22.3	45.7	41.7
Household headship status	$(\chi^2 = 2.9; p = 0.24)$		$(\chi^2 = 0.50; p = 0.78)$	
Adult headed	99.3	98.7	94.4	96.1
Grand parent	0.7	0.0	4.0	2.6
Child headed	0.0	1.3	1.6	1.3
Sex of head of household	$(\chi^2 = 4.1; p = 0.04)$		$(\chi^2 = 2.37; p = 0.08)$	
Male	65.7	76.4	73.6	81.3
Female	34.3	23.6	26.4	18.7

experienced war is more likely to have a higher proportion of widows since more men tend to be killed during the war than women. Since in this study the sample for Kasese and Mbarara had a higher female composition than that for Kitgum and Bugiri, the analysis of marital status will be done separately for the two studies.

Table 3.4 shows the percentage of married respondents Mbarara (79%) was higher than in Kasese (72%) while that of the widowed was higher in Kasese (16%) than in

Mbarara (11%). A similar trend was exhibited in the Kitgum-Bugiri study where war affected Kitgum had a relatively lower proportion of the married (67%) than Bugiri (90%). Kitgum also had a relatively higher proportion of widows (9%) compared to Bugiri (6%). The higher proportion of the population married in Bugiri may partly explain the relatively larger household size.

3.5 Household Headship

While there were no significant differences in the adulthood status of household heads between Kasese and Mbarara and between Kitgum and Bugiri with the majority of household heads being adults, there were statistically significant gender differences in headship of households in war-affected district compared to the non-war affected. Over one third of the households in Kasese (34%) were headed by women, in Mbarara the women heads of households were 24%. In Kitgum 26% of the households were headed by women compared to 19% of the households in Bugiri. This difference in the sex of household heads was statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 4.1$; $p = 0.04$ in the case of Kasese and Mbarara). Therefore, besides having a greater burden of fending for food, relatively more women in Kasese and Kitgum had the responsibility of managing their homes in an environment where household survival is marginal and insecure.

3.6 Occupation

The change in occupation and particularly the proportion of the population engaged in agriculture has serious implications for food security especially in economies, which are technologically backward. Even prior to the war in 1996 Kasese's respondents differed significantly in the type of occupation from those of Mbarara.

Table 3.5: Type of Occupation by District

Background Characteristics	Kasese (n=137) %		Mbarara (n=157) %		Kitgum (n=127) %		Bugiri (n=156) %	
	1996	2001	1996	2001	1985	2002	1985	2002
Past main occupation ¹⁵	1996	2001	1996	2001	1985	2002	1985	2002
Agriculture	90.5	26.5	77.1	82.7	69.6	78.4	69.9	90.4
Housework	3.6	2.6	10.2	7.7	48.8	45.6	12.2	13.5
Petty trader	1.5	0.9	5.7	5.8	0.8	1.7	8.3	9.0
Casual labourer	0.7	50.4	1.3	0.6	3.3	7.4	0.6	0.6
Craftsman	-	0.0	-	0.6	1.7	2.5	1.9	1.3
Professional/administrative	0.0	0.0	1.3	1.3	2.5	0.8	0.6	2.6
Clerical	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.6	1.7	0.0	0.6	0.0
Armed forces	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0
Looking for work	0.7	5.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0
Sick/disabled/retired/too old	0.7	2.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	1.3
Others	1.5	12.0	3.8	0.6	1.7	0.0	23.1	0.0

For instance while agriculture was deemed the main occupation of 91% of the women of Kasese (Table 3.5), it only accounted for 77% of the main occupations of the women of Mbarara. Nearly 6% of Mbarara's women were in 1996 engaged in petty trade compared to less than 2% of those in Kasese. However, the differences may be definitional as 10% of the respondents in Mbarara compared to 4% of their counterparts in Kasese reported they were in housework. In effect the 10% of Mbarara's house workers may have been in agriculture or farm related work as well.

The occupational categorization for Kasese had changed significantly five years later. The percentage of respondents in Kasese who reported agriculture as the main occupation had dropped by 64% from 91% in 1996 to 27% in 2001. Casual labour, which was almost non-existent in Kasese in 1996 (0.7%), had by 2001 become the lead occupation for the majority of Kasese respondents (50.4%). The reason for this is

¹⁵ Multiple responses allowed in the case of Kitgum and Bugiri but not for Mbarara and Kasese.

that while the respondents in Kasese fled their farmlands in the mountains and were therefore prevented by the war from farming their plots, in their lowland places of refuge they continued to access food and engage in casual labour through the sale of their labour among the host population, who had been largely undisturbed by the same war.

It is also noteworthy that while there was a decline in the population engaged in agriculture in Kasese district, in non-war affected Mbarara and Bugiri the proportion of the population reportedly engaged in agriculture was increasing over the same period of time.

Before the war, Kitgum and Bugiri on the other hand had an equal proportion of women engaged in agriculture (70%) and this was considerably lower than the proportion of respondents in the agricultural sector in either Kasese (90.5%) or Mbarara (77.1%)

In sum therefore, the period of armed conflict in Kasese and Kitgum districts implied a period of occupational destabilization with the population mainly being thrown into casual labour and labouring for food while Mbarara and Bugiri districts, which remained largely stable over the same time, did not register any significant changes in this occupation category. This deprivation of the agricultural sector of its labour supply, within a short period without reported farm technology improvements, is likely to have far reaching effects on food supply and security for armed conflict affected districts.

Chapter Four:

Effects of Armed Conflict on Population Socio-Economic Status

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter Three, the variations in background characteristics of the respondents were examined and a comparative analysis among the war affected and non-war affected districts carried out. Individual background characteristics serve a dual purpose in household food security. First, they reveal the magnitude of poverty among individual or groupings of women and men which in turn affects production, savings and hence economic and ultimately food security. Second, the demographic background characteristics including morbidity, mortality and household composition serve as a critical indicator of the labour supply available to individual household and the community in general. In this chapter, a comparative analysis of the war affected districts and the non-war affected ones is carried out to assess the extent of the armed conflict on these individual household economic, social and demographic characteristics and their possible contribution to household food security in the armed conflict and non-conflict areas.

A comparative analysis of the background factors was carried out in two ways. First, within the armed conflict affected districts of Kasese and Kitgum, the background variables were compared between the two time periods; namely the pre-armed conflict time and the time of survey. Secondly, a comparative analysis of the background variables was carried out between the armed-conflict affected districts and the districts of Bugiri and Mbarara, which were free from armed conflict. In both approaches these social and economic factors were analyzed in the context of armed conflict and how they are likely to affect food security.

4.2 Household Size and Structure

The war-affected districts present mixed trends with regard to household size. Table 3.4 indicates there was a decline in the household¹⁶ size in Kasese from an average of 6.6 persons in 1996 to 5.8 people in 2001. On the other hand Kitgum's average household size increased slightly from 6 to 7 persons between 1985 and 2002. During the same time period the non-conflict affected districts of Mbarara and Bugiri experienced an increase in the household size. Mbarara's average household size increased from 5.3 to 5.9 people, while Bugiri had a dramatic increase in the number of persons per household from 4.9 to 9.2 people per household (1985 – 2002).

The causes of the differences in trends among war affected Kasese and Kitgum are not clear. However, it is noteworthy that while the war in Kasese had taken a shorter period (5 years) the one in Kitgum had carried on for much longer (over 18 years). Therefore while households in Kasese may have lost some members to death, abductions, joining the armed forces or simply migration to safer areas, without completely dissolving yet, more households in Kitgum are likely to have dissolved over the long period of war with surviving members joining relatives and being amalgamated to give a picture of bigger household sizes. By implication therefore, Kitgum households would be more than one households merged. An examination of the morbidity, mortality and abduction patterns in the districts of study should shed some light on the above.

¹⁶ Household - defined as the people who have meals regularly in the particular household.

4.3 Morbidity

It would appear that the human toll of armed conflict on the population is much more indirect through the increase in contagious diseases among displaced populations and malnutrition than the more dramatic and widely publicized deaths and abductions by armed combatants. For instance, in the one year following the out-break of the ADF insurgency in 1996, malaria cases reported to Kagando Hospital in Kasese District, increased more than threefold from 12.7% in 1995/96 – 1996/97 period to 39.3%. HIV/ AIDs cases rose geometrically from 466 in 1994/95 to 881 the following year and to 2,313 cases in 1997/98 (Table 4.1). Recorded HIV/AIDs cases in the hospital remained high throughout the armed conflict period. Likewise the highly contagious and deadly diseases namely Cholera, Dysentery, Measles and Meningitis rose dramatically in the year following the outbreak of the war from 60 in 1995 to 1044 in 1997/98 and remained much higher than in the pre-war period.

Table 4.1: Selected Morbidity Cases in Kagando Hospital, 1994/95 – 1998/99

Disease	Year				
	1994/95	95/96	96/97	97/98	98/99
<i>Notifiable diseases</i>					
Cholera	0	0	0	664	495
Dysentery	0	0	200	71	75
Measles	0	27	5	261	48
Meningitis	0	0	29	45	38
Others	22	33	1	3	13
Totals	22	60	236	1044	669
<i>Common diseases</i>					
Malaria	11564	10968	12254	17073	12219
LDTI	1779	709	909	843	1795
AIDS	841	466	881	2313	1391
Diarrhoea	570	404	618	474	462
Malnutrition	676	381	346	336	340
Total	129	110	-	121	34
	15559	12938	15008	21160	16241

Disease	Year				
	1994/95	95/96	96/97	97/98	98/99
<i>Surgical</i>					
Admissions	1075	1005	1283	1574	1231
Deaths	16	12	5	33	55
Bed occupancy	-	-	136%	168%	131%
<i>Paediatrics</i>					
Admissions	-	3222	5250	8034	5621
Deaths	-	32	141	229	206
Bed occupancy	-	-	200%	306%	214%
<i>Laboratory</i>					
Transfusions	586	558	1733	3089	2257
Units donated	697	171	1582	1576	732
% HIV positive	38%	-	27%	59%	25%
<i>X-ray</i>					
Chest	4922	1008	1347	1407	1507
Others	1062	1243	1810	1047	2529
Total	1554	2251	3157	2454	4036

Source: Office of the Director, KARUDEC

It is important to note that the above cases reported in one health unit in a war affected Kasese district are just an indicator of the general health conditions among the war affected population. It is not unusual for war-affected populations to fail to access health services and die without a record such as the above being taken.

There are also gender and age implications of the two forms of morbidity and mortality. Whereas armed combat related mortality is more likely to affect combatants who are usually young adult males, and women, the elderly are more likely to suffer the contagious disease related morbidity and mortality due to the squalid conditions of internally displaced person's camps. The nutrition health related problems are usually caused by scarcity of food due to theft, destruction by the armed combatants, which hinders the population to produce enough food, and failure of the health systems to have the means for interventions. **Matte (2000)** concluded that the ADF insurgency and its suppression by government forces in Kasese district led to increased mortality of the population due to the outbreak of

cholera, malaria and respiratory tract infections among children. The latter were an outcome of poor sanitation and housing conditions due to internal displacement of the population and over-crowding of homes by displaced persons even where IDPs were non-existent.

A similar situation of rising incidence of malaria leading to fatality was reported in a women's focus group discussion in Kitgum as indicated in the following extract:

Before the war, malaria was not a common ailment...today, it is killing very many people..... may be it is because we are all put together in camps.

In addition, the failure of the public health care system increased the human death toll and the long duration of illnesses made disease management more difficult as reported in the following FGDs with women of Kitgum District:

We were forced to sleep in the bushes and mosquitoes would bite us causing malaria... because we could not effectively treat the children, many of them diedThe war has affected us in that diseases like kwashiorkor, syphilis, malaria, HIV/AIDS are killing many people. There is no effective treatment because people have no access to hospitals due to the presence of rebels. Many people died of diseases because they could not get proper treatment.

In some of the focus group discussions ill health was attributed to changes in the diet brought about by the inadequacies of war supplies. The following extracts from focus group discussions and key informant interviews in Kitgum indicate this:

Today, we do not eat enough and are not as strong and healthy. We eat beans throughout the month, which was never the case before. We can no longer eat vegetables, simsim or beef; that is why our bodies can no longer fight disease..... Children can get diseases like diarrhea, which require good feeding for one to recover quickly, and yet we are helpless, even adults are not as strong

We used not to eat fried foods because we had peanut and it was very good. These days we eat fried food, which is not very good for health.

The high level of poverty among most communities in areas that are affected by conflict, coupled with lack of access to land due to fear of abduction and landmines, has put these vulnerable women into desperate situations, that has forced some women to use all sorts of mechanisms to fend for their families (camp followers, isis-WICCE, 2000). This puts them in dangerous positions where they could attract sexually transmitted diseases, and even HIV/AIDs

Some people do not want to go back to their villages because of trauma... you find some women, after losing their husbands they come and stay in the camp, start selling themselves or even run a business.

The increased rates of morbidity were found to have lead to reduced productivity. Women's illnesses, and their role of caring for the sick was also found to have been one of the reasons for the reduction of individuals in the households to participation in the food production. This threatened household food security.

4.4 Death of the Civilian Population

That withstanding, there was evidence of a heavy loss of human life at the hands the warring factions Out of the 127 respondents in Kitgum 83 (65%) reported they had lost at least one relative through murder. The total number of relatives killed among the 83 respondents that reported at least one death of a relative was 215 giving an average of 2.6 deaths per each of these respondents. Thirty percent of all those killed were women.

Vivid details of the direct civilian murder were revealed at different focus group discussion of female and male respondents, key informant and with in-depth interviewees as indicated in the following extracts. This thus, greatly affected the production of food.

Many people lost lives men were a target for the rebels especially in 1988/89. Many men were killed in corner Kilak. Women were left to care and manage the family because the men had to go in hiding. It was difficult to get food. (key informant, Padibe)

Many people were killed, that is men, women and children. Some were killed when they had gone in search of food for their families Both men and women faced the danger of getting killed in case they came across rebels. Many lost their lives as a result.Some women were widowed. Others were forced to watch as their husbands were killed..... When the war got worse and civilians were being killed and homes burnt, we took refuge in the mission..... When rebels begun killing and burning homes, there was no time for cultivating. People were always on the run. Whenever rebels captured civilians and one tried to escape, he/she would be killed in front of everyone as an example of what could happen to anyone attempting an escape. (FGD, Omiya Nyima)

[In 1997] There were seven males and four females in the house.... All of them were beaten unconscious but all seven males were killed so that memory makes her not go back home..... fifty people were killed in one day in Padibe.their cattle were all taken. All my goats and chicken were also taken. I am fed up of seeing death all around me At one time I went back to my home and found the place empty...no chicken or animal except for a few dead bodies lying around. We had to bury these bodies and then returned to the camp. (In-depth interview, Padibe).

People were on the run for a period of 1-3 months. It was terrible. Whether you go digging you do things with a possibility of losing your life.... If they found you in the field they would ask you, " why are you digging?" they would kill you. Many were killed in the fields.

While civilians from the area died, it is also worth recalling that many of the soldiers and particularly the rebels who had been conscripted and later lost their lives during war. These formed part of the deficit in household size at the time of survey.

The rebels could take men, women and children forcefully.

Similarly high civilian mortality at the hands of ADF rebels were reported in Kasese.

They (ADF rebels in Kasese) are also responsible for the loss of lives, looting and destruction of property.

Kicongo camp- Kitwamba Kasese FGD Men

*A lot of killings, sometimes 8 people could be killed in one household
It was the fear of being killed by rebels- rebels were cutting-off people's heads.*

YMCA camp-men Kasese

4.5 Abductions

Some 50 (39%) of the 127 respondents from Kitgum reported they had members of their own households abducted by rebels or conscripted to fight in the army. From these 50 respondent households a total of 82 members or an average of 1.64 relatives had been abducted. The following extract was from a focus group discussion with male key informants of Omiya-Nyima sub-county, Kitgum:

Such young girls would be taken. If they come to look for food and rebels find them at home, obviously they would be taken.

Further evidence of abduction and conscription especially of children both boys and girls into the armed forces is indicated in the following FGDs from the war affected districts of Kitgum and Kasese:

Many children were abducted to join the war..... my brother's four sons were abducted.Kony also started his war and more children were abducted.....my sister's children were abducted... that one, three girls and two of her boys were taken.....young girls were abducted and forced to become wives to their abductors..... It was 1997...the rebels came at around 8:00p.m. while we were sitting by the fire. There is a village near ours and some people had run from there to our home. As I was trying to run they captured me and my father plus a young girl and my first-born. They took my father to their leader because they were stationed somewhere in the bush and came back and took more people.

They released my father and my daughter and I. The rest were taken, about thirteen. The following day, my father decided we come to the camp.

A true narrative story of three girls who were abducted by ADF rebels and later escaped indicates the manner in which abductions took place, the loss of life and productivity involved. Grace (15years) and her sister Joyce (13 years) and their neighbour Matilda (13 years) (not their real names), were born and grew -up in Bukutu Village in Kabarole District, where they went to a local primary school until March 1st, 2000 when their lives were totally changed. On the evening of that day, their village was attacked, the three girls, two other boys and one man were captured by ADF rebels who burnt down Matilda's home after looting it of all goats and chicken, cooking utensils and other valuables such as radios and blankets. In Grace and Joyce's home the mother was beaten up with sticks and gun-butts by the rebels and left for dead. The captives (the three girls, two boys and a man) were then ordered to carry the loot and follow the ADF rebels who were about 20 in number. In the following extract the girls narrated their ordeal.

Besides the rebels government, forces are also reported to have carried out abductions of civilian population. The latter were accused of having abducted young men, as well as the cattle. The following extract from a FGDs in Omiya-Nyima, Kitgum District indicates actions by government forces.

"We went deep into the national park. We walked non-stop until 3.00 a.m. when in the middle of the park we were ordered to rest. We slept in the coldness, thick bushes, without any sweaters or blankets."

At 6.00 a.m. of the following morning, we got up and started walking till 12.00 noon when we sat on the top of the mountain. UPDF soldiers chased these rebels and us. The rebels were also shooting back. It became a daily routine for us to go up the mountain in the morning then come down the river in the evening. We continued cooking for soldiers.

When we reached Zaire, we were given to rebels' wives most of whom had been captured in earlier raids. Each one of us was assigned to one of these to work as maids and we called them "mama". They were like our mothers and we would go on stealing missions with the soldiers and carry the loot. This was both in Zaire and Uganda. After looting, the girls would carry heavy loads of looted property (mainly food), then cook. Headache also was a common disease while in captivity but had no medicine. Thorns were another major problem.

Since my return, I cannot go back to school, I get constant headache, I am miserable especially having to look after my sick mother who needs to be lifted and attended to daily. I lack clothing and cannot even go to work to get money for my own upkeep because I need to take care of my mother (beaten up by rebels).

Her bitter experience and hopelessness since returning from rebel captivity is summed-up in the tears that well in her eyes during this stage of the interview. She cannot go to the gardens because she fears getting recaptured by rebels.

The Karamajong came and rustled..... and then armed forces especially FEDEMU and NRA took the cattle and even children from the area to go following the cattle and were forced to join the army..... many of them have already been killed.

We have have many wars, the Karamajong, rebel activities and government soldiers all fighting us.

In addition, government soldiers were accused of harassing male civilians including arresting and imprisoning them on the pretext of weeding out the rebels from the

area. As the following extract from an FGD in Omiya Nyima indicates, some of those arrested and imprisoned faced the danger of dying in detention.

Men always lived in fear of being got by the rebels or government forces. If you were found without an identity card, you would be imprisoned and you were never sure whether you would live or die.

4.6 Social Welfare

War has a unique way in which it affects the most basic of household needs such as water, health services, latrines facilities and household lighting at night. The quest for these basics may also have implications on household labour supply and hence ability of the household to procure food sustenance. As the majority of family caregivers will note, there is a lot more that goes into ensuring household food

Table 4.2: Sources of Water, lighting and toilet facilities in Kasese and Mbarara

	Kasese		Mbarara		Kitgum		Bugiri	
DESCRIPTION	1996	2001	1996	2001	1985	2002	1985	2002
Main source of water								
Compound ¹	7.3	10.2	4.4	3.8	2.4	0.0	1.3	1.3
Communal ²	16.8	40.9	46.5	44.6	10.6	61.4	55.1	68.6
River/Stream	73.7	48.2	44.6	43.9	83.7	37.0	35.3	24.4
Other	2.2	0.7	4.5	7.6	3.3	1.6	8.3	5.8
Source of lighting								
Fire	2.2	16.1	6.4	2.5	36.4	24.0	1.9	0.6
Candles/Tadooba/Laput	71.5	75.9	85.4	86.0	49.2	70.4	82.0	85.2
Paraffin/lamp/electric	26.2	1.6	7.6	10.2	14.1	4.8	16.0	14.1
Other	0.0	6.6	0.6	1.3				
None						0.8		0.0
Toilet facility								
Communal pit latrine	0.7	83.2	3.8	1.3	1.7	14.2	1.3	2.6
Own pit latrine	97.1	15.3	76.4	77.1	33.9	27.5	90.9	79.2
Flush	0.0	1.5	0.0	1.3	0.0	6.7	1.3	5.2
None	2.2	0.0	19.8	20.4	64.4	51.7	6.5	13.0

¹ Well, tap. ² Tap, well, borehole.

security than the mere presence of food in the home. For example, water is required for many personal and domestic activities.

As indicated in Table 4.2, there was an improvement in the sources of water for the population in the war affected districts of Kasese and Kitgum with 47% more people using communal tap/borehole water in Kitgum in 2002 than in 1985, while Kasese had a 24% rise in the use of communal tap/well/borehole over the five year period 1996 – 2001. Bugiri also experienced some improvement in water sources with a 14% increment in the people using communal boreholes in 2002 as opposed to those of 1985. The reason for the increase in access to safe water was attributed to the priority placed to sanitation by different humanitarian agencies¹⁷

With regard to the source of lighting at night which is usually determined by the households ability to afford lamps and paraffin, there is a noticeable difference in the different war affected districts as well as between the war affected and none war affected districts. In Kasese there was a decline in the population using kerosene lamps from 26% in 1996 to 2% in 2001. In Kitgum the proportion of the population using kerosene lamps declined from 14% to 5% between 1985 and 2002. In none-war affected Mbarara, the proportion of the population using lamps rose from 8% to 10% between 1996 and 2001 while in Bugiri during the 16-year period (1985 – 2002) there was a decline in kerosene lamp usage from 16% to 14% despite the peace in the area, with a corresponding increase in the use of wicker lamps (tadooba) from 82% to 85%. This was attributed to the high level of poverty among the poor populace.

For the population in the camps of Kasese there was a significant change in the type of latrines usage brought about by displacement. While in 1996 97% of the respondents reported they had been using their own pit-latrines, in 2001 those using their own pit latrines were only 15% for obvious reasons. The majority of these people (83%) had shifted to using communal pit latrines in the IDPs. In Kitgum the population that did not have any pit-latrines in 1985 were the majority at 64%. This

¹⁷ Action Aid (U), World Vision, UNICEF and International Rescue Committee were reported to having contributed immensely to the provision of boreholes and latrines to the IDPs in northern Uganda.

proportion had declined slightly to 58% by 2002. While those who owned their own pit latrines also decline from 34% in 1985 to 28% in 2002.

It is ironic that in both Mbarara and Bugiri the proportion of those who did not own toilets increased. In Bugiri especially, the proportion increased from 7% to 17%. Correspondingly, in Mbarara the proportion of the population that had pit latrines declined from 91% in 1985 to 79% in 2002. The reason for these changes could be due to reporting errors for the past period. It is possible that latrine usage for the past period was over-reported since it could not be verified, while for the time of the survey it was more accurately reported. However, it could also be an indicator of the decline in public health standards within the population of Kikagati/Kikatsi in Mbarara and in Bugiri districts where the study was carried out.

In effect, the supply of water and toilet facilities will have to be seriously addressed in any settlement programmes of Kasese and Kitgum as the population who live in the camps have got used to communal facilities often provided by humanitarian organizations. The same organizations or government need to put in effort and resources to ensure rehabilitation of these facilities in the communities as part of the package for resettlement in the event of an end to the war.

4.7 Population Displacement

In both Kasese and Kitgum armed conflict induced population displacement can be



classified into three major categories. First, there is intra-sub-county displacement. Here a number of villages or parishes remain relatively calm compared to their neighbours, leading to the in-flow of people from affected parishes within the sub-county. Second, inter-sub-county displacement where the population from an embattled sub-county run to a neighbouring sub-county or some peaceful parts of a neighbouring sub-county.

Bulembia Club in Kasese District that housed IDPs from Kilembe Hills

The third, inter-district displacement where the population are forced to flee the district into another district or the population with relatives in major towns are forced to run and seek refuge in the towns. Often the three types of displacement occurred in all the sub-counties (of Kasese) at different times and some of the displaced persons were forced to experience second or third step displacement as places of refuge were attacked and the population were forced to seek new places of refuge.

Of all places of refuge the worst are the internal displaced people's camps in terms of living conditions. The population who seek refugee in IDPs are generally those who cannot get anywhere else to stay either among relatives in townships or among the friendly population. They usually opt to stay on the outskirts of the urban places, at government facilities such as sub-county headquarters, schools or health units where the local administration is hard-put to expel them. This means therefore that the population figures of IDPs in established camps generally under-estimate the magnitude of armed conflict related displacement leaving out a bigger numbers of the population that simply dissolve among relatives and friendly neighbourhoods. A study in Kasese district concluded that in general, an average of 37% of the IDPs were in the displacement camps while 63% were in relatives homes in safer areas .It

was however, reported that majority of the displaced persons in sub-counties, which are safer, were leaving with relatives from the disturbed areas.

Table 3.2 shows there were differences in migration between Mbarara and Kasese but not between Kitgum and Bugiri. While 98% of the respondents in Kasese reported they were staying in a home different from the one in which they were in 1996, only about one fifth (22%) of their counterparts in Mbarara had changed residence over the same period (1996 – 2001). Although some of the camps in Kasese had by the time of survey been officially closed, the majority of camp residents still feared an eminent attack from the ADF rebels. Many also had no homes to return to since these had been destroyed in the ADF/UPDF confrontation. Others feared land mines in their homes and yet others reported they were too traumatized by the war atrocities committed to their loved ones in their homes to ever return to their homes.

This camp has existed for the last 3 years, the population originated mainly from Kabarole and Bundibugyo Districts. They were displaced as a result of armed conflict waged by the ADF rebels. 240 families were originally registered in the camp; the current number is 70 families.

Key informant-Kicongo camp-Kasese

In Lagoro ogalo village most people had not gone back home because it is very far from the trading centre and the village is a common hit for the rebels.

4.8 The Economic Effects of Armed Conflict

All sampled respondents were asked about the different items they possessed in their households. These items were used as a proxy indicator of wealth for each household. During the preparation for fieldwork and training of interviewers, the list of items was discussed with the Research Assistants before it was finally adopted. In the analysis each of the individual wealth items was cross-tabulated by

districts¹⁸ and separately for the period before the war and at the time of survey. The Chi-square (χ^2) was used to test the significance of the difference between the districts in possession of the particular item at any one-time period. Table 4.3 shows the percentage differences in wealth possessions by district at the different time periods. The emboldened figures indicate those items, which were significantly different between the districts at the specific period.

¹⁸ Mbarara was cross-tabulated with Kasese while Bugiri was cross-tabulated with Kitgum.

Table 4.3: Household Possessions by district before the war¹⁹ and at time of survey

	<i>Kasese</i> (n=137)		<i>Mbarara</i> (n=157)		<i>Kitgum</i> (n=127)		<i>Bugiri</i> (n=156)	
Household possessions	1996	2001	1996	2001	1985	2002	1985	2002
Radio	43.8	7.3	47.1	59.2	29.1	10.2	41.0	36.5
Radio Cassette	36.5	5.8	21.0	22.3	12.6	2.4	30.1	29.5
Bicycle	36.5	2.9	36.9	34.4	47.2	37.0	60.3	56.4
Wheel barrow	2.9	0.0	3.2	1.9	2.4	0.8	5.8	5.1
Shop/kiosk	13.9	0.7	4.5	4.5	6.3	0.8	9.0	11.5
Weighing scale	2.9	0.0	1.9	1.3	4.7	0.0	9.0	9.6
Sewing machine	9.5	3.6	0.6	2.5	10.2	0.8	8.3	3.8
Ox-Plough	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	48.0	5.5	13.5	3.8
TV	1.5	0.0	1.9	1.9	0.8	0.0	4.5	3.8
Sponge mattress	65.7	10.2	52.2	64.3	34.6	8.7	55.8	80.8
Motorcycle	1.5	0.0	0.6	0.0	1.6	0.8	5.1	4.5
Tractor	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	-	-	-	-
Refrigerator	0.0	0.0	0.6	1.3	1.6	1.6	2.6	0.6
Car	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	1.6	0.0	2.6	0.8
Improved roof ²⁰	50.4	22.6	39.5	71.4	8.7	1.6	19.9	28.8
Improved Walls ²¹	8.0	3.6	1.9	3.8	4.7	5.5	10.2	13.5

In Kasese and Kitgum there was a systematic, drastic decline in all-household wealth possessions between the period before the war and the time of the survey indicating a near universal impoverishment for the community. In Kasese for instance, the number of households with radios declined from 44% to 7%, radio cassettes from 37% to 6% and households with sponge mattresses from 66% to 10%. Households with bicycles declined from 37% to 3%, those that owned shops or kiosks declined from 14% to <1%, sewing machines from 10% to 4%. Households with improved roofs declined from 50% to 23%.

¹⁹ The figures in **bold** indicate a statistically significant difference between the districts in possession of the item.

²⁰ Roof made of tiles or corrugated sheets as opposed to grass/banana fibre thatched.

²¹ Walls made of burnt bricks or cement blocks.

In Kitgum, the number of households with radios declined from 29% to 10%, radio cassettes from 13% to 2% and households with sponge mattresses from 35% to 9%. Households with bicycles declined from 47% to 37%, those that owned shops or kiosks declined from 6% to <1%, sewing machines from 10% to <1%. Households with improved roofs declined from 9% to 2%. Of particular significance to food security, the number of households that possessed ox-ploughs declined from 48% to 6% or from one in every two households to one in every 17 households.

Respondent in Omiya Nyima indicated that before the war they used cows to plough and that they were able to produce surpluses, which they sometimes sold to purchase the basics they required. It was observed, the warring factions had eaten most of the animals and that they cannot produce enough food because they are not used to using hoes. Some indicated that they did not even have hoes to use.

Table 44: HWI Score Board

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Score</i>
Radio	1
Cassette-player	1
Bicycle	2
Wheel barrow	2
Weighing scale	2
Shop or kiosk	3
Sewing machine	3
Plough	2
Television	4
Sponge mattress	2
Motorcycle	4
Refrigerator	4
Car	5
Tractor	5
Roof of corrugated iron	3
Roof of corrugated tiles	5
Brick walls	3
Cement block walls	4
Cattle 1 -3	1
Cattle 4 -5	2
Cattle 6-7	3
Cattle 8 - 9	4
Cattle 10 and more	5
Goats 1 - 10	1
Goats 11 - 19	2
Goats 20 and more	3
Sheep 1 - 10	1
Sheep 11 - 19	2
Sheep 20 and more	3
Pigs 1 - 2	1
Pigs > 3	2
Max. possible score	62

Over the same period, in Mbarara District there was no decline in household wealth possessions and in some instances there was a considerable improvement in the number of households that owned particular possessions. For instance households with radios in Mbarara increased from 47% to 59%, those with sponge mattresses increased from 52 to 64% and those with improved roofs from 40% to 71%. In Bugiri however there was a decline in wealth possessions between 1985 and 2002. For instance the proportion of households with radios, radio cassettes, bicycles, wheel barrows, sewing

machines, ox-ploughs, television sets, motorcycles, and cars in rural Bugiri declined over the 1985 – 2002 period although this decline was not as drastic as in the war affected districts of Kasese and Kitgum. The only improvements in wealth possessions for Bugiri over this time were in possession of sponge mattresses, improved roofs and walls.

The decline in wealth possessions in a peaceful district like Bugiri suggests that between 1985 and 2002 there was a decline in economic well being of the population. The population in 1985 were living in households with better facilities or possessing more livestock than the current population in the district. This suggests increased impoverishment of the population in the district despite the peace prevailing in the area²².

To take stock of the full effects of the armed conflict on the household economic welfare in Kasese and Kitgum, a *Household Socio-economic Index* was computed using individual household wealth variables including household possessions, conditions of housing and livestock owned in 1996, and 2001. Each of these socio-economic indicator variables was assigned a value ranging from 1 to 5 according to their relative cost to other goods. The variables used and scores assigned²³ are indicated in Table 4.4. The sum score for each household was thereafter computed with the richest household in Kasese scoring a sum total of 24 before the war and 12

in 2001 out of a maximum possible score of 62 points. In Mbarara the richest household had a score of 26 in 1996, which remained the

**Table 4.5: Household Wealth Index (HWI)
Score by District**

District	Year	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Kasese	1996	24.0	7.8	5.60
	2001	12.0	1.7	2.65
Mbarara	1996	26.0	6.4	5.19
	2001	26.0	7.2	4.45
Kitgum	1985	40.0	12.5	8.21
	2002	16.0	2.0	2.88
Bugiri	1985	49.0	11.9	7.28
	2002	39.0	7.5	5.66

minus the lower scores on roof and walls of

same as in 2001. (Table 4.5). In Kitgum the richest household had a score of 40 before the war in 1985 and this sharply decreased to 16 at the time of survey in June 2002. In Bugiri, though not war affected, the richest household declined from a score of 49 in 1985 to 39 in 2001.

On average the wealth status of the population of Kasese has declined four-fold from a mean score of almost 8 points to less than 2 points over the 5-year war period 1996 – 2001. The wealth of the population of Mbarara rose slightly from 6.4 to 7.2 points. In war affected Kitgum there was massive overall impoverishment from 12.5 points before the war to 2.0 points. In Bugiri the decline was from 11.9 points to 7.5 points over the period 1985 to 2002 indicating increased average impoverishment despite the presence of peace.

To aggregate the cost of war across groups of people the “rich”, “average” and “poor” using the wealth possessions and Household Wealth Index computed above, the Household Wealth Index score was grouped into 5 equal groupings to obtain quintile (equal 20%) wealth groups for the entire population studied in each of the two surveys. For purposes of standardization, the weights obtained for the period before the war in each study were applied for the districts at the time of survey. This was done in order to ensure accurate evaluation of the cost of war and/or other factors that affect wealth of households. The minimum and maximum limits of each quintile were determined on the scoreboard after arranging the entire sample of respondent’s household according to their Wealth Score. Thereafter the entire data set was split between the two districts in each of the studies. The limits obtained for 1996 were applied for 2001. The score obtained for both years is indicated in Table 4.6.

The table shows a generally “even” distribution

Table 4.6: Household Wealth Index (HWI) Grouped Score by District (Standardised to pre-war period)						
District	Year	Poorest	Poor	Average	Above Average	Rich
Kasese	1996	26.3	13.9	25.5	15.3	19.0
	2001	73.7	19.7	2.2	4.4	-
Mbarara	1996	19.1	23.6	16.6	20.4	20.4
	2001	11.5	14.6	29.3	24.8	19.7
Kitgum	1985	18.9	20.5	18.9	19.7	22.0
	2002	87.4	10.2	-	2.4	-
Bugiri	1985	19.9	17.3	23.7	17.3	21.8
	2002	56.4	16.0	9.6	5.1	12.8

” of persons in the five wealth categories in each of the districts for the period before the war.²⁴ In 1996, both Kasese and Kitgum had about 42% of their population in the “very poor” and “poor” groups. When the same wealth measures of 1996 were weighted against 2001, 93% of the households in Kasese were found in the lowest two categories of “very poor” and “poor” and no single household was in the “rich” category that had 19% of the people in 1996. On the other hand Mbarara’s proportion of the “poor” and “very poor “ was reduced from the 42% of 1996 to 26% by 2001. So in effect, while Kasese’s population in the poorest two groups increased from 42% to 93% the Mbarara poorest two groups were reducing from 42% to 26% between 1996 and 2001 using the same standard measures for wealth over the two time periods.

Likewise Kitgum was impoverished over the period 1985 to 2002 with the poorest 2 groups rising from 39% to 98%. During the same period, Bugiri’s poorest two groups increased from 37% to 72%. The increased impoverishment in Bugiri cannot be explained by armed conflict as the district enjoyed peace during the time. Other factors leading to impoverishment in the district need to be explored.

***Photo of a woman in her house in Nakivamba village**

²⁴ Ideally there should have been a “20% grouping” for each category before the war but borderline cases do not permit this distribution.

Chapter Five:

Armed Conflict and Food Production

5.1 Introduction

As indicated in Chapter Three and Four the war in Kasese and Kitgum has had a devastating impact on several facets of human life including destruction of life and property, displacement of the population and the destruction of the productive potential of the population as well as infrastructure. In this Chapter we examine in greater detail the magnitude of the impact of armed conflict on food security.

The most dangerous disease we are suffering from is hunger. We eat once every 24 hours. Our bodies are too weak to do anything...some people practically shake because of hunger...If a child sees you moving your mouth, he would immediately ask...“Mother what are you eating?.....” That is the situation we are in, absolute poverty.

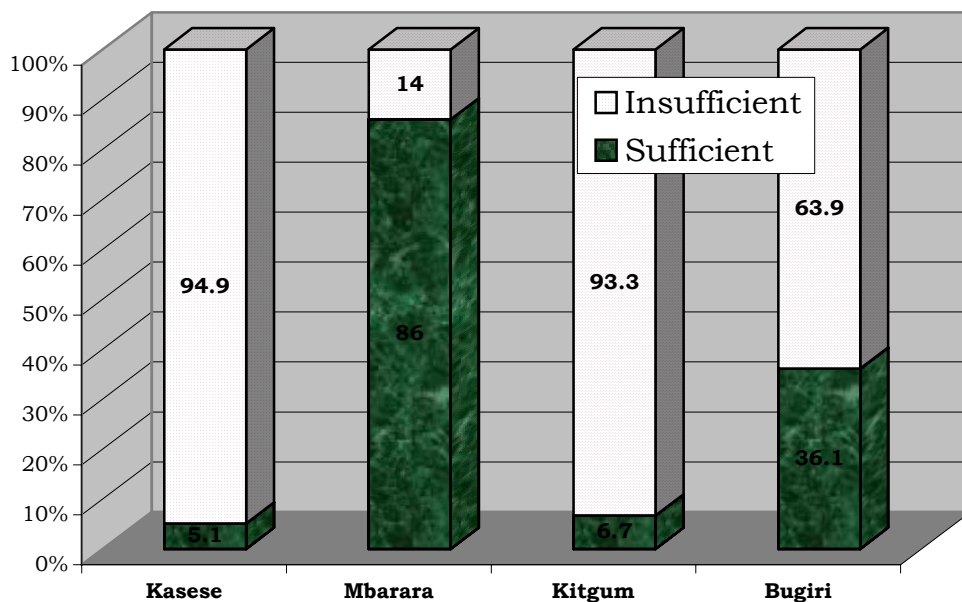
Women’s FGD, Puyuda, Kitgum District

Noting that many districts in Uganda have for two decades or longer enjoyed peace, this chapter will also attempt to examine the food security situation in the non-conflict areas and contrast this with that in the war affected districts, while analysing the factors threatening food security in areas not affected by armed conflicts. In carrying out the comparative analysis, two questions are pertinent in the context of this study. First, are the districts which have not experienced armed conflict necessarily food secure? Second, what are the factors behind the food security or insecurity in the non-conflict affected districts?

5.2 Incidence of food insecurity

All participants were asked whether they produced sufficient food to meet their needs throughout the year. Figure 5.1 indicates that in the four districts, whether in conflict or non-conflict areas, some households reported that they were not producing enough food to meet their needs.

Figure 5.1: Survey-time reported household annual food sufficiency



While it was anticipated that war affected districts were not producing enough food due to the different war related effects, the case of non-conflict affected districts such as Bugiri, with nearly two thirds of the households not able to meet sufficient food supply needs throughout the year, is a justification that there are other factors that have contributed to food insecurity at household levels.

5.3 Pre-war food security in Armed Conflict affected districts

Reports from focus group discussions and key informant interviews as will be revealed in subsequent sections of this Chapter, show that there was a much higher degree of food security in war affected Kasese and Kitgum districts prior to the war than at the time of survey. In both Kasese and Kitgum, the population enjoyed

greater access to food and were having more meals per day for both children and adults. Likewise the varieties of foodstuffs consumed were reportedly high as indicated from the following extracts from key informant interviews with female and male elders from Omiya-Nyima Sub-county, Kitgum District:

Before the war, we had our homes and gardens.....we used to have a balanced diet because we were responsible for whatever we had to eat. We cultivated all sorts of crops like maize, g/nuts, simsim, cabbage, greens, and sweet potatoes e.t.c. We had chicken and one could slaughter and eat at ones pleasure... we could also eat game meat. All these things kept us healthy and strong.

Before the war we used to eat very well. There are foods that are energy giving such that when you eat them you remain satisfied for a long time. Foods like beans in peanut paste, processed beans without test (ngoo), guinea peas in peanut with sweet potatoes or millet bread. Before the war we could afford to eat millet bread which is highly energy giving. Today, we only eat maize (posho), which cannot keep one satisfied for long. With millet bread, if you are a farmer, you can work in your garden from early morning till mid-day without feeling hungry.

All the farm produce except cotton and tobacco was for domestic consumption. We used not to buy food, as I told you, people used to cultivate big plots, produce food in bulk and put in granarie... big ones. All the food grown was supposed to be stored in big granaries. That capacity was because we were using animal power... We were using oxen and ploughs...

We used to eat a variety of foods unlike today. There are no more seeds for planting today no land. We used to have chicken and ate whenever we wanted. Today there is no chicken, goats or cows. We are facing so many problems...

The only constraints to food production in the area prior to the war included occasional seasonal prolonged dry weather, and weeds which would hamper the growing of some of the crops especially if there was inadequate labour supply.

The above evidence of food security were borne out in a summary of daily activities of the research team in which one of the Research Assistants reporting about her previous day interaction with respondents in the she noted:

They (group discussion participants) told us that here in Acholi land they never used to eat light soups. They used to eat meat with groundnuts paste with thick soup but now that is just a dream. They only depend on greens and maize (the later supplied by humanitarian relief agencies such as World Food Programme).

The surplus food produced every year was either sold off to meet household needs or was kept to be consumed during bad seasons.

When we had our farms and livestock, we could afford to send our children to school, but all that is no more.

5.4 Magnitude of war impact on food security

To make an assessment of the magnitude of war effects on food security several measures were employed. Respondents were asked whether they had ever experienced conflict related food shortages; the number of meals children and adults were having before the war, and at the time of survey; what there are presenting producing, consuming, and whether they have food surpluses of the different food varieties in the farming system on a regular basis.

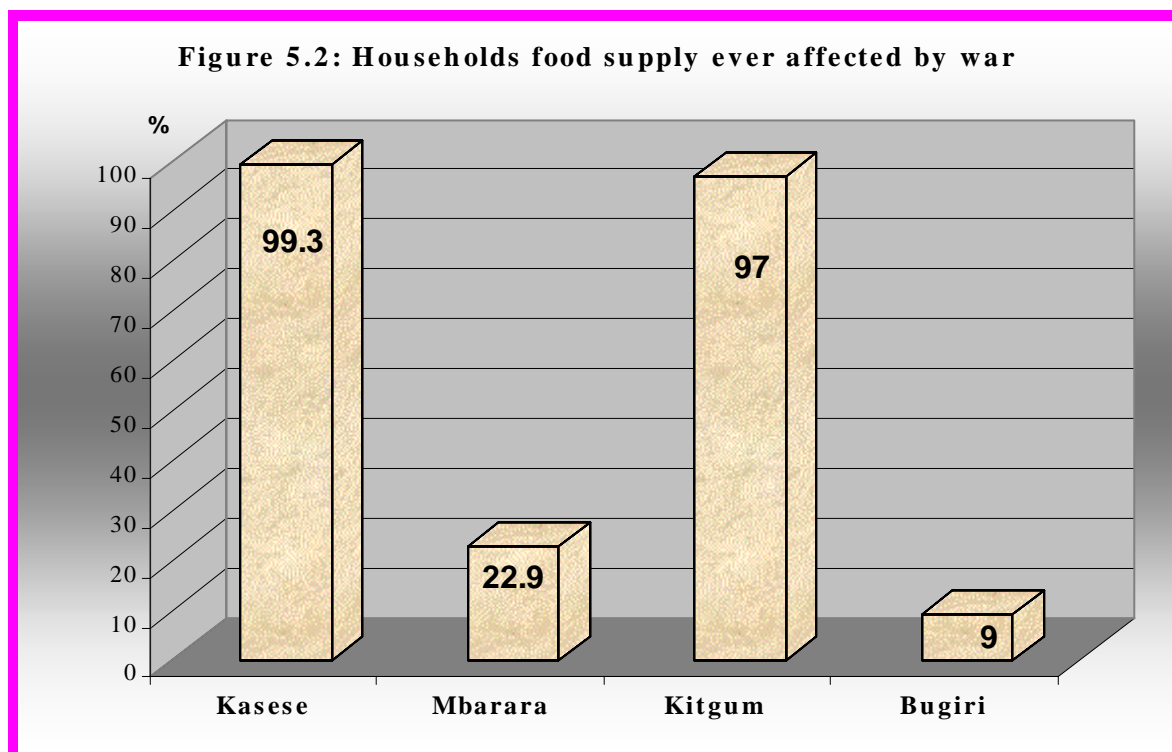
5.4.1 Experience of war effects on food supply

Table 5.1 and Figure 5.2 indicate the lifetime experience of food insecurity related to armed conflict in all the four districts of study. The lifetime experience of armed conflict related food insecurity for Mbarara (23%) and Bugiri (9%) was significantly lower than that of Kasese and Kitgum at 99% and 97% respectively.

Table 5.1: Households whose food supply was ever affected by armed conflict

	Kasese	Mbarara	Kitgum	Bugiri
--	--------	---------	--------	--------

	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%	Freq	%
Before (1985 or 1996)	13	9.5	1	0.6	38	29.9	4	2.6
Time of survey (2001 - 02)	119	86.9	1	0.6	117	92.1	3	1.9
Ever	136	99.3	36	22.9	124	97.0	14	9.0



The experience of armed conflict related food insecurity for Bugiri and Mbarara first, if it is construed to relate to the distant past when many of the current households had not been formed. Secondly, the 1979 Liberation War (more than 30 years ago) may fit this category as far as both Mbarara and Bugiri are concerned. In this case, the nature of the conflict that affected these districts may have been for a short time, that many of the households did not experience an impact on food security per se and hence, the relatively low proportion of households that reported armed-conflict related food insecurity. Thirdly, in the case of Bugiri, the Lakwena incursion of 1987 into parts of the district may be the type of conflict that lasted a short time and may have affected few families over a short period of time. Fourthly, the armed conflict may have affected a section of the population such as refugees or in migrants into the area. This would leave the bulk of the population largely unaffected. Thus, Kikagati sub-county which hosts a number of refugees and Nyabushozi County in Mbarara District with some of the resettled internally displaced people of the 5-year Luweero Triangle War (1985 - 1986), may have recorded people reporting household food insecurity, although the area of current residence (Mbarara) had not suffered any armed conflict for a long time.

5.4.2 Production trends

To appreciate the magnitude of loss imposed by war on production, one needs only to examine trends in production of some crops before and after the war. Unfortunately in the majority of instances, the collection of production and trade statistics during armed conflict usually suffers alongside the breakdown of social and economic services. Another shortcoming of trade statistics in a predominantly subsistence economy like Uganda, is that trade statistics refer to crops that have already entered the cash economy. There are very few farmers if any that keep records of production. The agricultural extension department that should have been educating farmers about this aspect, like elsewhere in Africa, is handicapped to

effectively carry out its task. The only detailed statistics available at the district level was the passion fruits in Kasese District as highlighted in table 5.2 and figure 5.3. Table 5.2 and Figure 5.3 indicates passion fruit production in Kasese District²⁵ in the period 1994 – 1999.

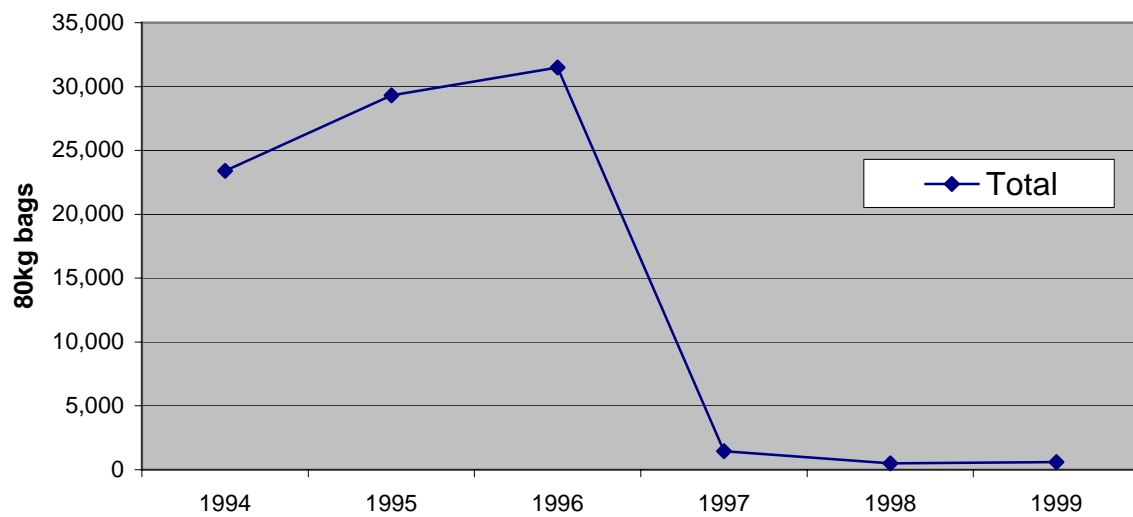
Table 5.2: Passion Fruit Production and Marketing, 1994-1999

Month	Quantity (80 kg bags)					
	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
January	2584	3950	4250	300	60	70
February	2723	3750	3825	255	40	58
March	2720	3063	2879	123	35	45
April	1937	2473	2379	67	25	25
May	1750	1897	2511	111	20	20
June	1505	1500	2100	90	35	40
July	1420	1719	3515	113	40	60
August	1370	1603	3375	47	50	70
September	1302	1491	1300	23	39	50
October	1200	1319	825	20	15	40
November	1990	2757	1372	125	60	45
December	2911	3802	3172	188	80	80
Total	23,412	29,324	31,503	1,462	499	603
% change	-	25%	7%	95%	65%	21%

Source: Rwenzori Passion Fruit Association (2000); in Matte (2000)

²⁵ By the break-up of the war in 1996 passion fruits had become one of the major cash-crops for Kasese and the Rwenzori Passion Fruit Association had spent over two years collecting trade statistics of all passion fruits marketed by individual farmers.

Figure 5.3: Passion fruits produced in Kasese, 1994-99



There was a sharp drop in passion fruit production with the onset of war in 1996. Production plummeted from 31,500 bags in 1996 to less than 509 bags by 1998.

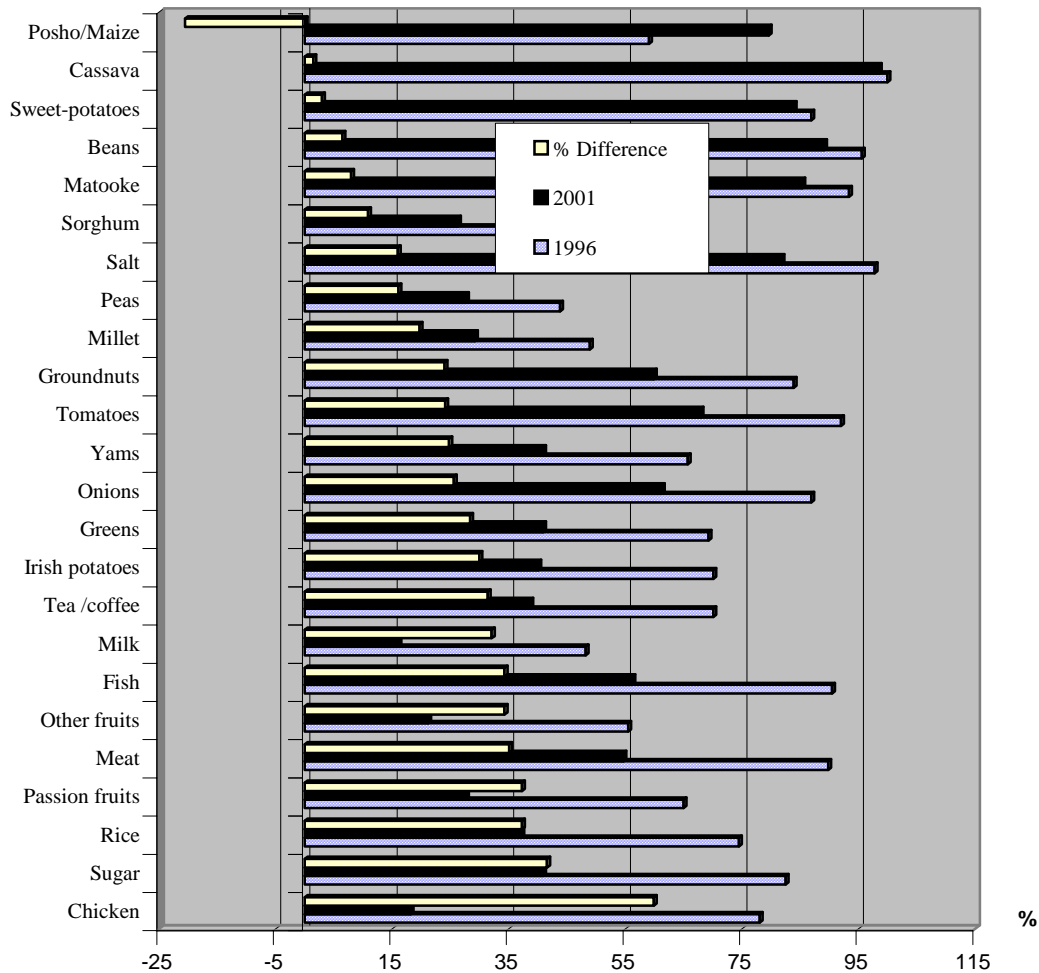
5.4.3 Access to Food Varieties

Assessing the effects of armed conflict on food security can be done through an examination of the households that accessed certain foodstuffs at a particular time. To assess the changes in the variety of foodstuff varieties occurring as a result of armed conflict, respondents were asked whether they produced particular foodstuffs, whether these were produced for domestic consumption, sale or both consumption and sale. Tables 5.3, 5.4 and Figures 5.4 and 5.5 show that in war plagued districts of Kitgum and Kasese, there was hardly any foodstuff whose accessibility to households had significantly increased over the war period. For all crops there was an invariable sharp decline in the households that produced each of the foodstuffs after the breakout of armed conflict. More than one third of the respondents in Kasese District reported that while they could eat chicken, sugar, rice, passion fruits, other fruits, meat and fish before the break out of armed conflict, they were unable to eat them in 2001 because of not being able to produce enough due to the destructions caused by.

Table 5.3: Kasese Households' access to common foodstuffs (1996 – 2001)

<i>Foodstuffs</i>	<i>1996 %</i>	<i>2001 %</i>	<i>% Difference 1996 –2001</i>	<i>Surplus availability %</i>
Chicken	78.1	18.2	59.9	0.0
Sugar	82.5	40.9	41.6	0.0
Rice	74.5	37.2	37.3	0.0
Passion fruits	65.0	27.7	37.3	0.0
Meat	89.8	54.7	35.1	0.0
Other fruits	55.5	21.2	34.3	0.0
Fish	90.5	56.2	34.3	0.0
Milk	48.2	16.1	32.1	0.0
Tea /coffee	70.1	38.7	31.4	0.7
Irish potatoes	70.1	40.1	30	0.0
Greens	69.3	40.9	28.4	0.0
Onions	86.9	61.3	25.6	0.0
Yams	65.7	40.9	24.8	0.7
Tomatoes	92.0	67.9	24.1	0.0
Groundnuts	83.9	59.9	24	0.0
Millet	48.9	29.2	19.7	0.7
Peas	43.8	27.7	16.1	0.7
Salt	97.8	81.8	16	0.0
Sorghum	37.2	26.3	10.9	0.7
Matooke	93.4	85.4	8	1.5
Beans	95.6	89.1	6.5	1.5
Sweet-potatoes	86.9	83.9	3	0.7
Cassava	100.0	98.5	1.5	2.9
Posho/Maize	59.1	79.6	-20.5	0.0

Figure 5.4: Kasese access to common foodstuffs (1996 - 2001)



Between 25% and 32% of the households could no longer access milk, tea /coffee, irish-potatoes, greens and onions which they readily did before the war in 1996. Most households increased their dependence on maize/posho, cassava and sweet potatoes, which became the new staple food. This has very high implications to the nourishment of the population especially children and pregnant mothers. Nearly all households in Kasese reported they had not produced a surplus for almost all crops in the one year prior to the survey. Only 2.9% of the households were producing

some surplus cassava, 1.5% of the households still produced surplus beans and matooke in 2001.

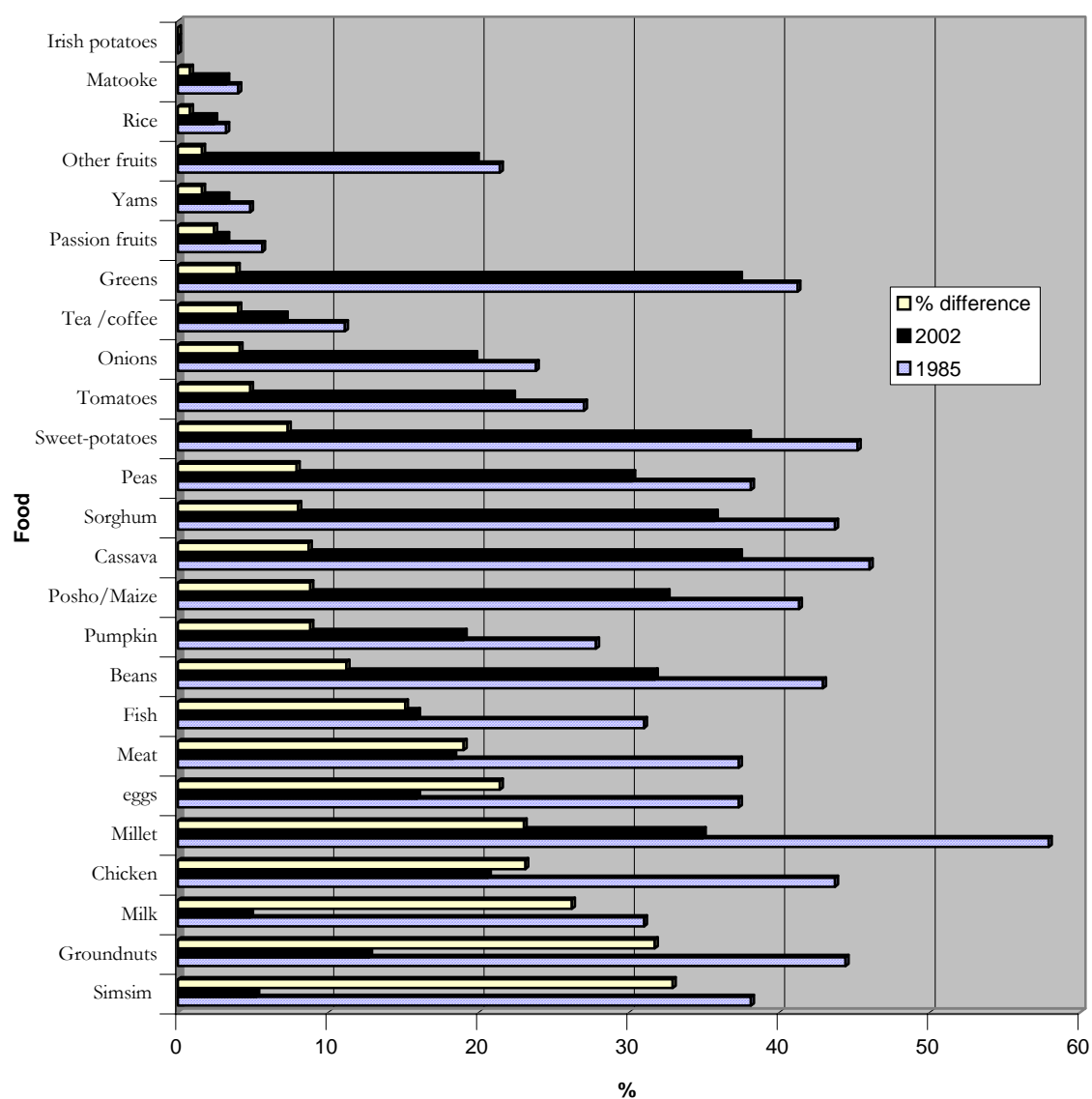
A similar trend with regard to households' access to different foodstuffs is noted for Kitgum district. Table 5.4 and Figure 5.5 show that for all the foodstuffs, the percentage of households in Kitgum accessing them in 2002 was lower than in 1985. While some of the foodstuffs such as millet, simsim, sweet potatoes, cassava, sorghum, maize and beans were widely produced nearly by all the families before the war, other foodstuffs such as rice, sugar, baking flour could easily be purchased from the markets after the sale of farm produce.

Table 5.4: Kitgum Household Access to foodstuffs (1985-2002)

Foodstuffs	1985 %	2002 %	Difference %	Surplus availability %
Simsim	38.1	5.2	32.9	3.1
Groundnuts	44.4	12.7	31.7	4.7
Milk	31.0	4.8	26.2	3.1
Chicken	43.7	20.6	23.1	4.7
Millet	57.9	34.9	23.0	4.7
Eggs	37.3	15.9	21.4	4.7
Meat	37.3	18.3	19.0	2.4
Fish	31.0	15.9	15.1	3.1
Beans	42.9	31.7	11.2	4.7
Pumpkin	27.8	19.0	8.8	2.4
Posho/Maize	41.3	32.5	8.8	3.9
Cassava	46.0	37.3	8.7	7.9
Sorghum	43.7	35.7	8.0	6.3
Peas	38.1	30.2	7.9	4.7
Sweet-potatoes	45.2	37.9	7.3	6.3
Tomatoes	27.0	22.2	4.8	0.8
Onions	23.8	19.7	4.1	0.0
Tea /coffee	11.1	7.1	4.0	0.0
Greens	41.2	37.3	3.9	3.1
Passion fruits	5.6	3.2	2.4	0.0

Foodstuffs	1985 %	2002 %	Difference %	Surplus availability %
Yams	4.8	3.2	1.6	0.8
Other fruits	21.4	19.8	1.6	3.1
Rice	3.2	2.4	0.8	4.7
Matooke	4.0	3.2	0.8	0.0

Figure 5.5:Kitgum access to common food stuffs



In Kitgum, 10% of the household that used to consume for some foodstuffs such as simsim, groundnuts, milk, chicken, millet, eggs, meat, fish and beans before the war no longer accessed them at the time of survey. Simsim had experienced the highest decline at 33%. For all the foodstuffs in Kitgum, the district had very few households reporting any surplus foodstuff in the year prior to the survey. Besides cassava, sweet potatoes and sorghum, there was no other foodstuff, reported as having been produced in surplus in the year prior to the survey.

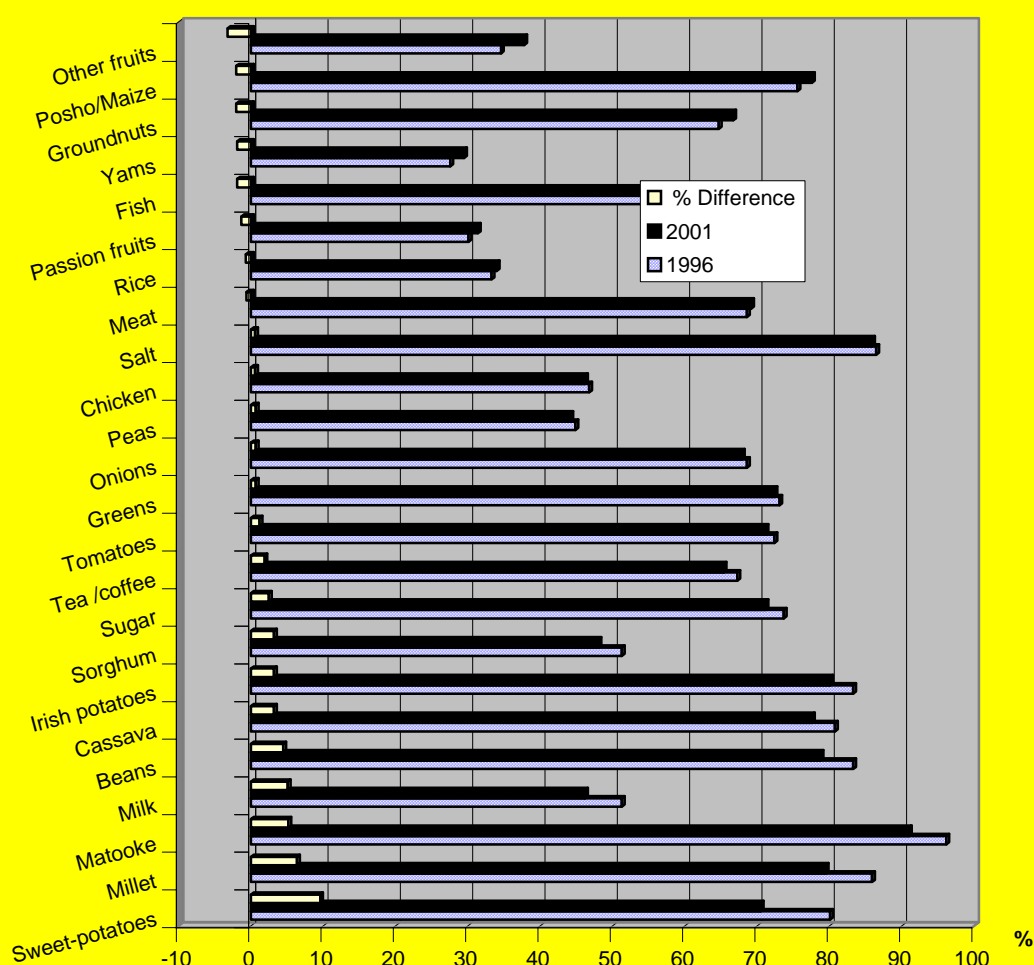
Unlike the experience of Kasese and Kitgum districts Table 5.5 and Figure 5.6 shows that in Mbarara there were few changes in the households' access to most of the foodstuffs between 1996 and 2001.

Table 5.5: Mbarara Household Access to common foodstuffs (1996-2001)

Foodstuffs	1996 %	2001 %	Difference %	Surplus availability %
Sweet-potatoes	80.1	70.5	9.6	14.0
Millet	85.9	79.5	6.4	29.3
Matooke	96.2	91.0	5.2	42.0
Milk	51.3	46.2	5.1	3.8
Beans	83.3	78.8	4.5	50.3
Cassava	80.8	77.6	3.2	21.0
Irish potatoes	83.3	80.1	3.2	16.6
Sorghum	51.3	48.1	3.2	12.8
Sugar	73.7	71.2	2.5	0.6
Tea /coffee	67.3	65.4	1.9	0.7
Tomatoes	72.4	71.2	1.2	0.6
Greens	73.1	72.4	0.7	1.9
Onions	68.6	67.9	0.7	1.3
Peas	44.9	44.2	0.7	8.9
Chicken	46.8	46.2	0.6	3.2
Salt	86.5	85.9	0.6	0.6
Meat	68.6	69.2	-0.6	2.5
Rice	33.3	34.0	-0.7	0.0

Foodstuffs	1996 %	2001 %	Difference %	Surplus availability %
Passion fruits	30.1	31.4	-1.3	1.3
Fish	57.1	59.0	-1.9	0.6
Yams	27.6	29.5	-1.9	3.8
Groundnuts	64.7	66.7	-2.0	7.0
Posho/Maize	75.6	77.6	-2.0	2.5
Other fruits	34.6	37.8	-3.2	1.3

Figure 5.6 Mbarara Household Access to foodstuffs (1996-2001)



For some foodstuffs such as sweet potatoes, millet, matooke, milk, beans, cassava, Irish potatoes, sorghum, sugar and tea/coffee there was a reduction ranging from

about 2% to 10% of the households, which were consuming the foodstuff in 1996 and not being able/affording to consume it in 2001.

Table 5.5 indicates that Mbarara had some surplus production in sweet potatoes, millet, matooke, beans, cassava, Irish potatoes, sorghum, cowpeas and groundnuts. There was an increase in the number of households consuming fruits, posho/maize, groundnuts, yams and fish in Mbarara in 2001 compared to 1996 though this increase is small. In Mbarara, for all foodstuffs, the proportion of households reporting a surplus did not exceed 17% except for beans, matooke, millet and cassava.

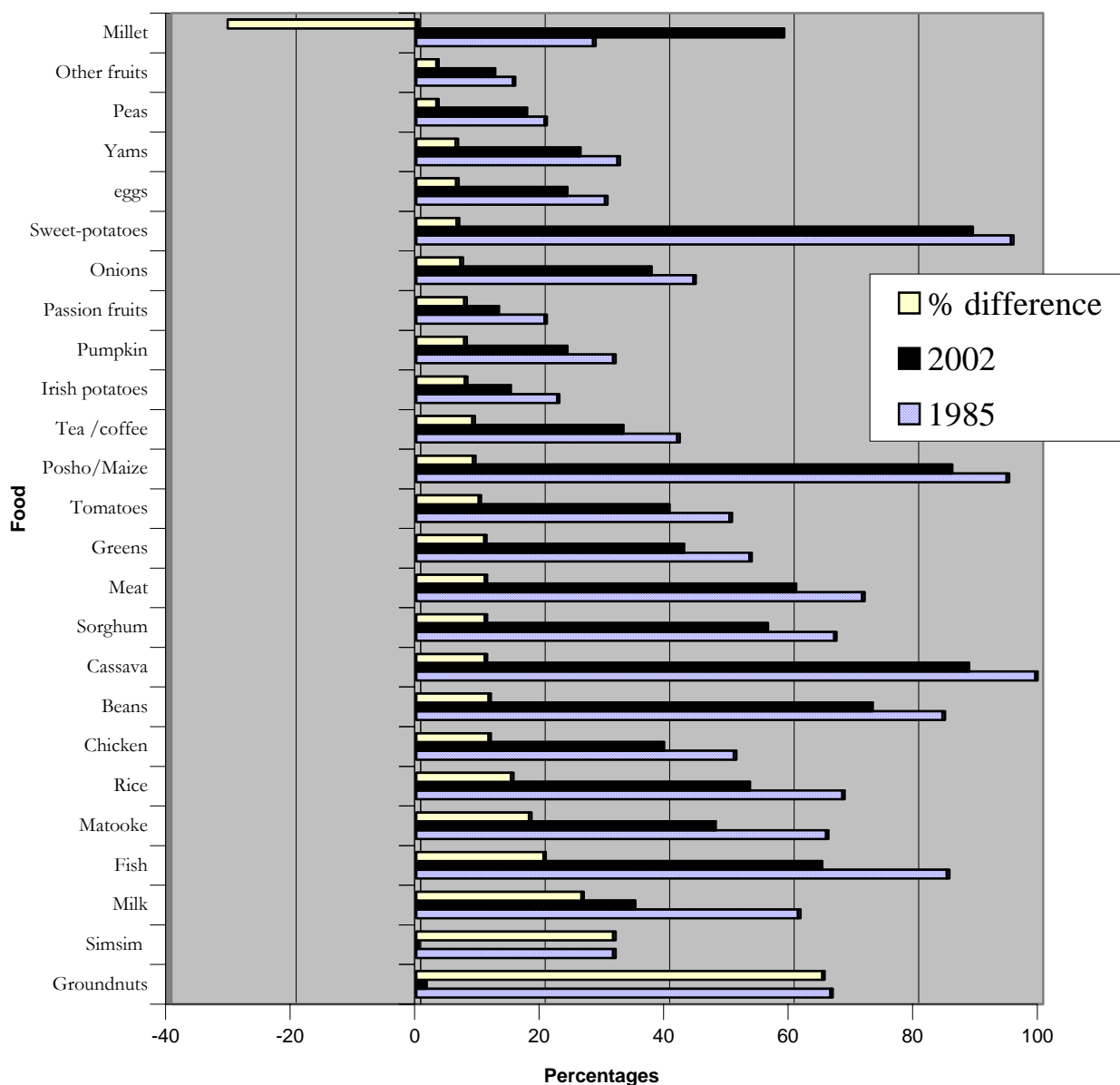
In Bugiri (Table 5.6 and Figure 5.7) the proportion of households accessing each of the highlighted foodstuffs has drastically declined between 1985 and 2002. Some of the crops grown 16 years ago (1985) such as simsim and groundnuts are almost extinct today. For others such as milk, fish, matooke and rice, 15 – 25% of the households that consumed them regularly in 1985 could no longer eat them in 2002.

Table 5.6: Bugiri Household Access to foodstuffs (1985-2002)

Foodstuffs	1985 %	2002 %	%Age Difference	Surplus availability %
Groundnuts	66.5	1.3	65.2	9.0
Milk	61.3	34.8	26.5	3.2
Fish	85.2	64.8	20.4	7.7
Matooke	65.8	47.7	18.1	7.1
Rice	68.4	53.2	15.2	5.1
Chicken	51	39.4	11.6	6.4
Beans	84.5	72.9	11.6	29.5
Cassava	99.4	88.4	11.0	41.7
Sorghum	67.1	56.1	11.0	15.4
Meat	71.6	60.6	11.0	0.0
Greens	53.5	42.6	10.9	1.9
Tomatoes	50.3	40.3	10.0	3.2

Foodstuffs	1985 %	2002 %	%Age Difference	Surplus availability %
Posho/Maize	94.8	85.7	9.1	51.3
Tea /coffee	41.9	32.9	9.0	0
Irish potatoes	22.6	14.8	7.8	1.3
Pumpkin	31.6	23.9	7.7	1.3
Passion fruits	20.6	12.9	7.7	0.6
Onions	44.5	37.4	7.1	1.9
Sweet-potatoes	95.5	89	6.5	16.7
Eggs	30.3	23.9	6.4	1.3
Yams	32.3	26	6.3	3.8
Peas	20.6	17.4	3.2	3.2
Other fruits	15.5	12.3	3.2	1.3
Millet	28.4	58.7	-30.3	21.8

Figure 5.7: Foods consumed by households in Bugiri district



In Bugiri there was a preponderance of maize, cassava and beans as crops in which many households reported production of a surplus (Table 5.6). Crops in which there was a strong showing in Bugiri in terms of surplus production were millet, sweet potatoes and sorghum. , Bugiri as a peaceful district, this decline in the variety of

foodstuffs has serious implications for the district's food security standing, considering that it is the district with the highest average household size among the four studied districts.

To assess the changes that have taken place in individual households' access to food

Table 5.7: Food varieties available to households

District	Year	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Kasese	1996	137	5	24	18.07	4.76
	2001	137	0	24	12.23	4.90
Mbarara	1996	157	0	24	15.40	5.96
	2001	157	0	24	14.92	6.23
Bugiri	1985	155	0	25	13.78	6.12
	2002	154	0	23	10.36	5.67
Kitgum	1985	126	0	21	7.33	8.41
	2002	126	0	16	4.71	5.79

varieties, the sum total of foodstuffs per each household was obtained by adding-up the foodstuff normally eaten by

the household at different time periods. These were then analyzed to find out the average score on the number of foodstuffs eaten on average per district at different time periods. Table 5.7 shows that on average Kasese household enjoyed the highest variety in foodstuffs consumed per household at an average of 18 food varieties in 1996. By 2001 this had declined to an average of 12 foodstuffs per household. Mbarara, which had 15 foodstuffs per household on average, had a very slight decline in varieties. Bugiri also had a decline in varieties from almost 14 foodstuffs per household to 10 foodstuffs per household between 1985 and 2002. Kitgum, which initially had a low average variety of foodstuffs in 1985 at 7 foodstuffs per household, realized a further decline to an average of less than 5 per household foodstuffs. This was testified by one key informant.

. Few people have this. There is no sweet potatoes, g/nuts, and some cassava. Some families do not have cassava. Meat is eaten occasionally you can eat meat once a month because there are no animals. Meat is 2000/= a kilo...very expensive. Then pork ranges from 1200-1300/=...can afford this. Goat meat is hardly got... immediately it is slaughtered it is quickly finished because the demand is very high.

5.4.4 Number of Meals

The average number of meals consumed per household is an indicator of the households' access to food regardless of variety. Households that are more food secure can have five or more meals per person per day. Usually the number of meals accessible to children is more than that for adults.

For the war-affected districts, extracts from different group discussions and key informant interviews, indicated that there was an abundance of food before the war that enabled the population to have many more meals than at the time of survey. But even then the reported self sufficiency of food on the basis of number of meals differed from district to district and among individual respondents. Thus, the perceptions below could have been affected by the existing state of food access at the time of survey. For someone unable to get one square meal for the family in a day, a previous time or period where the family was able to access two meals per day may be perceived as a period of abundance.

It is also possible that there was a difference in perception of what constituted a meal. For some, the consumption of food in between main meals such as taking tea between lunch and dinner may not be construed as having a meal, while for others this is a meal. Nonetheless the information below is a useful pointer to the state of food sufficiency among households in armed conflict-affected households at the time of survey and before the war.

*We used to have two meals a day. In the morning and in the evening.
Respondent from Kitgum District*

Before the war when preparing supper you had to do it in large quantities so that children going to school had a meal in the morning. Those who stayed at home would have a morning meal around 10: 00 am, it would be ready then you go to the garden. We had enough food through out the year.
Respondent from Kasese District

The immediate reaction to inadequate food was the reduction in the number of meals consumed by individual household members. In Kasese and Kitgum there was a sharp difference in the number of meals eaten per day before the war and those reportedly consumed at the time of survey (Figures 5.8 and 5.9).

Figure 5.8: Average number of meals for children by District

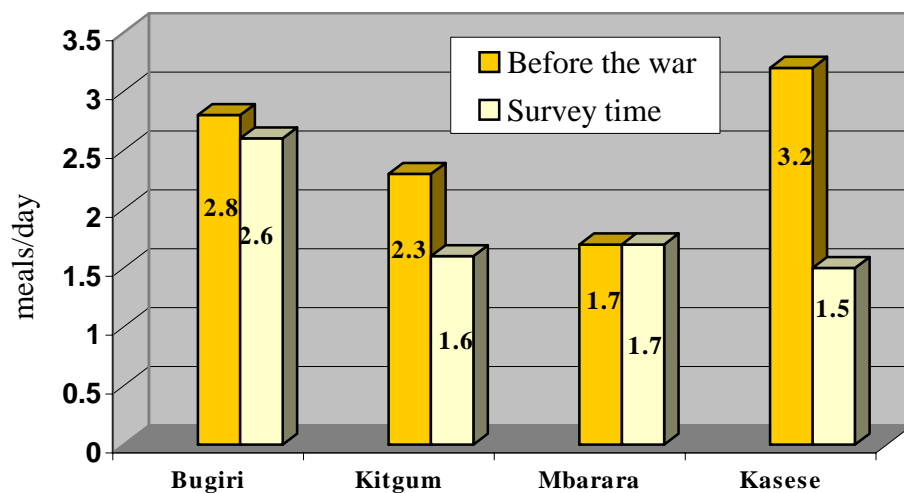
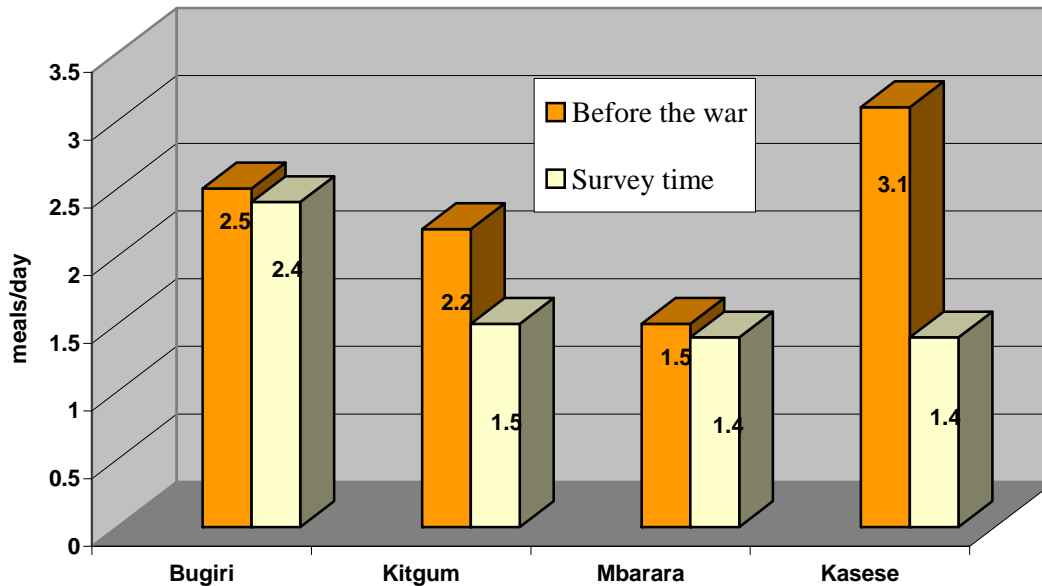


Figure 5.9: Avg. No. of Meals for adults per day by District



In Kitgum prior to the war children used to eat on average 2.3 meals per day but at the time of survey these had been reduced to 1.6 meals (Figure 5.8). In Kasese there was a reduction from 3.2 meals per child before the war in 1996 to 1.5 meals at the time of survey. A corresponding reduction in the average number of meals for adults is also notable.

For the non-war affected districts of Mbarara and Bugiri however a different picture with regard to the number of meals emerged. Figure 5.8 indicates that the average number of meals per child had slightly reduced from 2.8 to 2.6 for Bugiri between 1985 and 2002, while for Mbarara it remained constant over the five-year period 1996 to 2001. Likewise for the adults (Figure 5.9) there was a slight decrease in the average number of meals from 2.5 to 2.4 between 1985 and 2002 for Bugiri and 1.5 to 1.4 for Mbarara between 1996 and 2001.

In the war-affected districts therefore, there is no doubt that the cause of food insecurity is related to the war as indicated in the group discussions below:

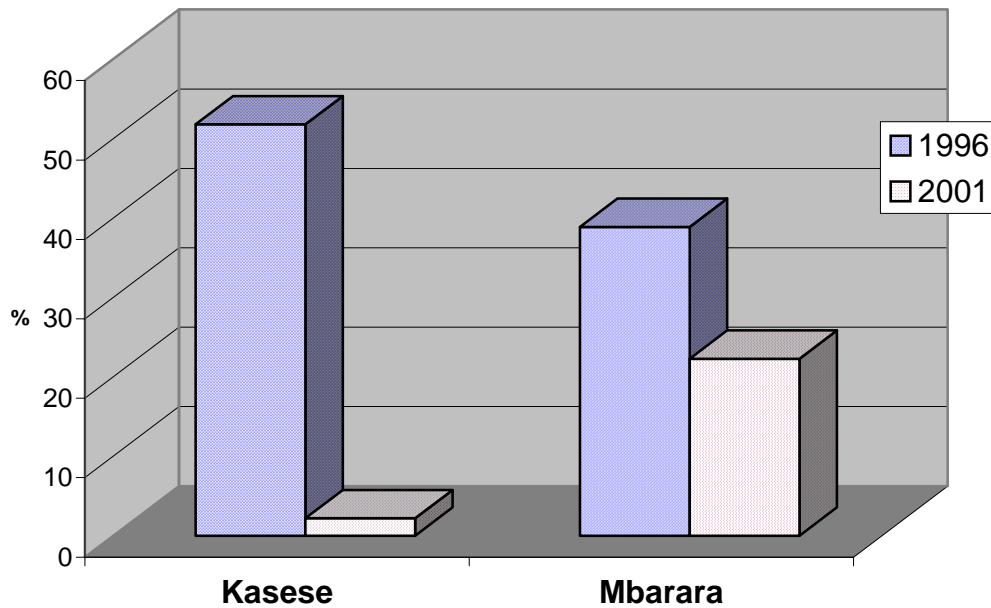
Today we hardly have enough food.....We eat once a day at about 3:00p.m. Children cannot get satisfied because the food is not enough.....The food we get is not enough. We (women of Puyuda, in Kitgum) eat once a day we get 2 mugs of beans and 10 mugs of maize. These 10 mugs cannot be sufficient for a month. We have to prepare little food at a time so that it can last until the next time they are to give more. Otherwise you starve. Lack of sufficient food has affected school going children. They cannot concentrate in class. By 10:00 a.m. the children just sleep in class because of hunger. If the children are unhealthy, they cannot study well..... there is no enough and around here for all of us...we cannot go to our villages it is not safe...

It is important to note however that for both adults and children, of all the districts covered in this study, Bugiri had the highest number of meals for children and adults at both time periods of study. Mbarara on the other hand, presented the lowest average number of meals in the pre-war period and was not much different from the war-affected districts at the time of survey. The low number of average meals consumed in Mbarara District may be an indicator of food insecurity for the district generally or the perception of what constitutes a meal among most households. This was in sharp contrast to the war affected districts where there was a much more drastic reduction in the average number of meals.

5.4.5 Food Storage Capacity

Figure 5.10 shows that in 1996 about one half (52%) of the households in Kasese had a granary. At the time of survey 2% of the respondents reported they had a granary implying a near end to food storage capacity in Kasese District. In Mbarara District as well there was a drastic decline in the proportion of households that possessed granaries from 39% in 1996 to 22% in 2002.

Figure 5.10: Possession of granary by district



Regarding the contents of foodstuff kept in granaries, in Kasese it was reported that in 1996 coffee, beans, groundnuts, cassava, maize, matooke, millet, rice, sorghum, soyabeans and irish potatoes were kept in granaries in 1996. By 2001 maize, matooke, rice, sorghum, soyabeans and irish potatoes had been struck of the list of the foodstuffs kept in the granaries and only coffee, beans, groundnuts, cassava and millet were reported as being kept in the granaries. In Mbarara it was reported that in 1996 millet, cassava, maize, sorghum, beans, groundnuts and peas were stored in the granaries. By 2001 the Mbarara granary had lost out on cassava, groundnuts and peas and only millet, beans, maize and sorghum. In effect therefore, for both war affected Kasese and relatively peaceful Mbarara districts, there was a decline in the households that possessed food storage granaries and a decrease in the range of food products stored.

For the Bugiri and Kitgum the question put to respondents was to investigate the methods used to store foodstuff. However, a question as to what was done with the surplus food produced in 1985 respondents in Bugiri reported storing food in

granaries in 1985 had been more than halved by 2002 from 72% to 31% and in Kitgum it was only a fifth of what it had been in 1985 at only 10% in 2002 compared to the proportion of 54% in 1985 (Table 5.8). In Bugiri there was a corresponding increase in the proportion of households that used storage in the homes over the years with 46% of the households reporting they kept food in the households in 2002 compared to less than 10% of the households that kept food in by the same means in 1985.

Table 5.8: Place of food storage of surplus food by district

Place of food storage	Bugiri (n=156)		Kitgum (n=127)	
	1985	2002	1985	2002
Granary	72.4	31.4	54.3	10.2
Store	4.5	5.1	.8	1.6
Garage	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0
Gardens	.6	3.8	0.0	0.0
Packed/ kept in houses	9.6	46.2	0.0	35.4
None/not reported	12.8	12.8	44.9	52.8

In conclusion therefore, not only had the practices of keeping food in the granaries been reduced in all districts, but the content varieties had shrunk as indicated for Kasese and Mbarara. The reasons for this, as reported were several. In Mbarara little land was available and hence very little surplus was being produced. Another factor was increased food thefts forcing many of the households to store the little they had in sacks kept within the residential houses. In Kasese there were very few respondents who had surplus food to consider having granaries. The little food they gathered from donations and other sources had to be guarded within the tents where the rest of the household resided. A male participant in an FGD in Kitgum summed-up their situation as follows:

* (Photo depicting storage of cassava in houses)

Even if you go and take a look at the granary, the rats are just dying because they do not have anything to eat. The granaries are there for decoration."

5.5 Conclusion

In the war affected districts of Kasese and Kitgum there was a drastic reduction in the number of households able to access food in terms of varieties and quantity as well as a result of armed conflict. In the case of peaceful districts, despite the fall in the number of households recording access to some food varieties, for some foodstuffs there was a notable increase. Secondly, the proportion of households reporting the failure to access foodstuffs at the time of survey compared to the period before the conflict was much higher for the conflict affected districts than the non-conflict affected districts. In relative terms Mbarara and Bugiri generally presented a better picture than Kasese and Kitgum in terms of surplus food production in the one year prior to the survey.

*(Photo of a granary)

Chapter 6:

Causes of food insecurity

6.1 Introduction

In Chapter 5 it became evident that there is food insecurity in both war affected districts of Kitgum and Kasese. While for the non-war affected districts of Bugiri and Mbarara food insecurity is not yet as evident as in the war affected districts, there is evidence of reduced food production, varieties of foodstuffs available to the households, and declining number of meals at household level. This Chapter examines the causes of food insecurity in both the armed conflict and non-conflict affected districts.

Available literature (Isis-WICCE, 2000; 2002). points to the first major effect of conflict being population displacement. In all areas of armed conflict the civilian population are displaced from their basic source of livelihood – the land, and this gets their food production interrupted. Soon after fleeing their homes they are confronted with the realization that they cannot easily access their gardens without endangering their lives. Later as they flee to IDP camps their vulnerability increases and have to depend on food relief, which is usually inadequate and intermittent. “ In January 2004 WFP in Kitgum District reported only 50%”

While means of production are not the only issue in ensuring household food security, they form a critical base in rural food supply chain. Most of the rural populations subsist on the food they produce and hence the factors of land, climate, labour and household management of the production process are critical in ensuring household food security. Some of these factors were examined in detail at

household level and in the community group activities to assess their impact on food security in the war and non-conflict affected districts.

There is also a gender dimension to wartime production and supplementation of relief food. Often the women are left by men with a burden of catering for all household food and economic needs in the hostile environment.

6.2 Armed Conflict and associated factors for food Insecurity

It was with the above in mind that all respondents were asked the reasons for food shortage in their homes at two time periods namely before 1996 and 2001 for Kasese and Mbarara and before 1985 and 2002 for Kitgum and Bugiri. Table 6.1 indicates that prior to the war in 1996, Kasese's most frequently reported causes of food shortage were unreliable weather (30%) and infertile soils (15%). The proportion of respondents reporting these as causes of food shortage had not only more than doubled by 2001, but new causes of household food shortage had assumed prominence as highlighted in table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Causes of food shortage by time period

	Kasese		Mbarara		Kitgum		Bugiri	
DESCRIPTION	1996	2001	1996	2001	1985	2002	1985	2002
Unreliable weather	29.9	71.3	76.4	67.2	78.7	88.2	59.6	59.0
Infertile soils	14.6	31.2	3.8	32.8	22.8	38.6	21.8	28.8
Limited land/ loss of land	8.8	22.9	34.4	21.2	11.0	28.3	21.2	18.6
High cost of hiring land	0.0	9.6	8.3	5.8	7.1	11.8	3.8	5.1
Lack of labour	2.2	25.5	10.2	21.9	8.7	31.5	17.9	19.2
Lack of seeds for planting	5.8	50.3	0.6	21.9	33.9	62.2	16.7	19.2
Pests and diseases	4.4	28.0	13.4	47.4	36.2	34.6	42.3	41.7
Ill health/ death in family	8.8	35.7	3.8	27.0	28.3	44.1	17.3	23.7
Domestic problems	2.9	24.8	6.4	5.8	18.1	30.7	5.1	5.1
High food prices	2.2	16.6	0.6	2.2	9.4	20.5	0.6	1.9
Destruction of homes	8.0	70.1	0.0	1.5	26.0	86.6	1.3	1.3
Abandonment of fields	2.9	46.5	0.6	1.5	17.3	57.5	1.9	1.3

	Kasese		Mbarara		Kitgum		Bugiri	
Lack of farm implements	1.5	48.4	5.1	8.0	16.5	59.8	3.2	7.1
Too insecure to cultivate	1.5	42.7	0.0	0.7	5.5	52.8	0.6	0.6
Animals/poultry looted	0.0	63.1	0.0	1.5	26.0	78.0	0.6	1.3

In Kasese district destruction of homes and food stock had increased from 8% to 70%; lack of seeds for planting had risen to 50% from 5% in 1996. Other factors which featured prominently in the catalogue of food shortage causes in 2001 and yet had barely been mentioned for the period 1996 were lack of farm implements and seeds, insecure environment for farming, abandonment of fields and farmlands, loss of animals and poultry all of which were reported by more than 40% of the respondents. Pests and diseases as a cause of food shortage increased from 4% to 28%.

Similar trends obtained in Kitgum as those attributed to Kasese. There was systematic increase in the proportion of respondents citing different causes for food shortage at the time of survey compared to those of the period prior to 1985. Destruction of homes (increased from 26% to 87%), looting of animals and poultry (26% to 78%), failure to raise seeds for planting and lack of implements (34% to 62%), forced abandonment of fields (17% to 58%), insecurity of cultivation fields (6% to 53%) and ill health/death in the family (28% to 44%) were reported as lead causes of food shortages across seasons in Kitgum at the time of survey compared to what the case was before the war i.e. unreliable weather and in particular short rains (79% to 88%), infertile soils (23% to 39%) and weeds which remained high for the pre-war period. It is important to note that the factors were also for during the period of survey.

It is worthy to note that the prominent role played by armed conflict as highlighted in table 6.2 to food insecurity to households in Kasese are similar to that in Kitgum

suggesting the critical impact of armed conflict as to food security as discussed below

Table 6.2: Effect of war on household food security

Description	Kasese	Mbarara	Kitgum	Bugiri
Destruction of homes	82.5	10.8	85.8	1.3
Destruction of crops/granaries	63.5	7.6	95.3	0.6
Animals/poultry/food looted	-	-	76.4	0.0
Displacement/ abandonment of fields	93.4	8.9	89.8	1.3
Too insecure to cultivate	27.0	1.9	52.8	1.9
Fear of landmines	8.0	0.0	19.7	0.0
Loss of land	78.8	1.9	29.1	0.6
Loss of farm implements	60.6	1.3	75.6	0.0
Lack of planting seeds/materials	16.1	0.0	70.1	1.3
Lack of fertilizers	3.6	0.0	15.7	0.0
Lack of labour	1.5	0.6	33.1	0.0
Loss of family members	24.8	1.9	43.3	2.6
Lack of energy to work	2.2	0.0	42.5	1.3
Disability	0.7	0.0	21.3	0.0
Lack of access to markets	2.2	0.0	11.0	1.3

6.2.1 Displacement from land and farms

As indicated in chapter five, the immediate impact of the war on the civilian population is displacement as indicated in Chapter 3. The primary consequence of displacement is the alienation of the population from the crop production base. Many people are forced to flee for their lives and abandon their houses among others; their farmlands, food stocks in the granaries, tools as well as seed stock for planting. Nearly all respondents in both Kasese and Kitgum reported displacement and abandonment of fields, destruction of homes, crops and granaries as the major causes of their current food insecurity.

The war has forced us into camps. There is not enough land for us around here to grow crops. When people were put in the camps, there are so many problems regarding feeding. There is no food.

FGD Padibe,

Kitgum

As a result civilians are forced into pseudo-urban lifestyles in the internally displaced persons camps. The study reveals that the displacement of the population into internally displaced persons camps endangers all aspects of food security.

In a situation where food production is highly dependent on proper timing of main seasons, even a temporal cessation of work within the farming calendar easily leads to serious consequences on the quantity of food produces. Respondent also indicates that rebel attacks (especially during weeding seasons), causing them to depend only on humanitarian relief aid which was usually inadequate.

*** (Insert the graphic of women fleeing away 2)**

6.2.2 Land ownership and access

A common feature of war is a rapid reduction in the proportion of households that are able to provide adequate labour force for food production. Although all the districts experienced a reduction in the households that had over one acre of land under food crops, there were more reduction in the war affected districts than the none war affected districts in this proportion. In Kasese for example, while nearly two-thirds of the population interviewed (64%) owned/accessed over one acre of land in 1996, by 2001 only 7% had access to over one acre of land, with 83% having no land whatsoever for cultivation (Table 6.3).

Table 6.3: Land Owned by household and for food crops by district and time period

Description	Kasese		Mbarara		Kitgum		Bugiri	
Size of land owned by household	1996	2001	1996	2001	1985	2002	1985	2002
None	0.0	83.2	3.8	1.9	6.3	6.3	6.4	5.1
<1/2 an acre	13.1	5.1	44.6	45.9	1.6	6.3	7.1	13.5
1/2-1 acre	22.6	5.1	22.9	30.6	1.6	9.4	12.2	19.2
>1 acre – 1 1/2 acres	12.4	2.2	8.9	7.6	4.7	17.3	5.1	9.0
>1 1/2 acre – 2 acres	13.9	2.9	7.0	5.1	10.2	12.6	9.6	13.5
>2 acres	38.0	1.5	12.7	8.9	75.6	48.0	59.6	39.7
Size of land for food crops by household								
None	2.2	81.0	5.1	2.5	6.3	7.1	7.1	5.1
<1/2 an acre	27.0	8.8	45.9	50.3	3.1	11.8	11.5	24.4
1/2-1 acre	23.4	3.6	28.0	31.2	1.6	20.5	16.7	19.2
>1 acre – 1 1/2 acres	13.1	3.6	8.9	7.0	7.1	26.0	10.3	9.6
>1 1/2 acre – 2 acres	21.2	1.5	5.1	4.5	35.4	11.0	12.2	15.4
>2 acres	13.1	1.5	7.0	4.5	46.5	23.6	42.3	26.3

In Kasese the proportion of households with more than an acre of land under food crops dropped from 47% in 1996 to less than 7% in 2001, a 40% reduction in five years, compared to Mbarara, where the proportion of households with more than one acre under food crops dropped from 21% to 16% a mere 5% reduction over the same period.

Likewise, while in Kitgum only 10% of the respondents reported they owned less than one acre of land prior to the war in 1985, by 2002 the population owning an acre or less of land had more than doubled to 22%. In Kitgum there was a 28% drop in the households with more than one acre of land under food crops from 89% to 61% compared to Bugiri's 14% reduction from 65% to 51% between 1985 and 2002. The scenario is summarised by womensfocus group discussions at Kigongo camp in Kitswamba county.

The displaced people do not possess land to produce food. They cannot afford to hire land for cultivation, which is at Uganda Shillings 25,000 per acre... as a consequence, they cannot engage in activities for food crop production for their households...therefore they have no enough food...

Women FGD Kikongo Camp Kitwamba County.

That war related displacement has disabled many families from optimum food production on account of reducing land for cultivation is not in doubt. The following extract from Kitgum indicates this.

.....since we had very large pieces of land there were no strict measurement of land acres.... I can just tell you the size of land we used to di.... In one field, it could consist of about two acres. That is why in one field, you could get 30-60 bags of groundnuts....

It can be concluded that the crisis of food shortage for war affected districts such as Kasese and Kitgum is strongly linked to the inadequacy of land accessed by the affected communities especially the displaced persons. It is however important to note that although it is not as drastic as in the war affected districts, even the non-conflicted affected districts of Mbarara and Bugiri are faced with an increase in the land shortage, as well as the management of land for food crop production as will be explained later.

6.2.3 War effects on farming tools and other inputs

Table 6.4 shows a decline in the adequacy of farming tool in all districts. In the no-conflict district of Mbarara only one third of the respondents (33%) had enough hoes for cultivation at the time of survey in 2001. The households with adequate hoes had declined from nearly 40% in 1996. A similar situation regarding inadequacy of farming tools pertained to Bugiri district where in the 17 years between 1985 and 2002 the households that had adequate hoes had declined from 59% to 31%.

Table 6.4: Agricultural inputs by district

	Kasese		Mbarara		Kitgum		Bugiri	
DESCRIPTION	1996	2001	1996	2001	1985	2002	1985	2002
Had adequate hoes	83.2	7.3	39.5	33.1	66.9	11.0	59.0	31.4
Use of fertilizers in farming	8.0	3.6	4.5	5.7	9.4	3.1	7.1	5.8
Agricultural extension services	21.2	9.5	1.9	5.1	13.4	24.6	5.8	9.9

However, in war affected Kasese and Kitgum districts the decline in the proportion of households with adequate hoes was much more pronounced than in the non-conflict affected districts. In Kasese the households with adequate hoes declined from 83% in 1996 to 7% in 2001 and in Kitgum the decline in households with adequate hoes was from 67% to 11% between 1985 and 2002 respectively. The only possible cause of this sudden decline in adequacy of hoes for cultivation in the war-affected districts was lose of property on flight, destruction cause by the warring factions, and the high level of poverty among the conflict ridden communities. The use of fertilizers in all the districts of study was very low at both references periods. However there was a further decline in their usage in all the districts except Mbarara.

As indicated in Table 6.4 it would appear that farming in all the districts except Kasese, is beginning to receive a boost in terms of extension services. In Mbarara the extension services had increased from 2% to 5% of the household in the five-year period between 1996 and 2001. In Kitgum it had increased from 13% to 25%, while in Bugiri households, which had access to extension services, had a modest rise from 6% to 10%. In the case of Kasese district, the respondents already had a relatively high access to extension services before the war in 1996 at 21%. This had declined to 9%.

6.2.4 Livestock ownership and Ox-plough tillage

It was reported that by 1985 Kitgum district had adopted animal traction in most on-farm activities. The evidence in this survey revealed that nearly half of all the households in Kitgum (48%) had an ox-plough before the war (1985), compared to 5.5% of the households at the time of survey in 2002. One respondent in Payuda said;

We had no serious problems as far as farming was concerned. We had cattle with which we used to plough our fields.

The livestock therefore, was regarded as a very vital property for their well being. Most of the households interviewed reported having used cattle to produce food stuff. They lamented that the war caused looting and destruction of the livestock and thus the reason for not producing enough for their family. At the time of study, most of the households visited depended on mangoes for a meal. On the other hand, it was reported that livestock was also a source of in-come that provided them with other necessities such as fees for school going children, salt, sugar and clothing. The extract below sums this up.

There used to be separate land for grazing and for cultivation....Cattle were very important in the sense that it had multiple use...for cultivation and for sale.....we used to produce a lot of foodstuffs. An average family would produce about 12 bags of simsim in a family.....how did they yield this? ...because it was the oxen that used to plough the fields. Therefore, without restocking in this particular area there will be no end to food insecurity.....

In-depth interview, Kitgum district.

***Graphic 1**

Likewise, Mbarara, Kasese and Bugiri reported livestock to have mainly been a source of income for accessing the basic requirement described above.

In the war-affected districts of Kitgum and Kasese, there was a sharp reduction in the number of livestock at the time of the survey. Likewise, the number of people

who owned stock was low in most cases by more than half per each category of livestock. In Kitgum for instance, not only was the proportion of cattle owners reduced from 70%(89/127) to 5%(6/127), and the mean number of cattle per cattle owner was reduced from 38% to 3%. Similar trends in the reduction of goats, sheep and chicken non conflict districts were recorded as highlighted below.

Table 6.5: Mean number of livestock, 1985/2002

Type of Livestock	Kitgum				Kasese				Mbarara				Bugiri			
	Number		Mean		Number		Mean		Number		Mean		Number		Mean	
	1985	2002	1985	2002	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001	1996	2001	1985	2002	1985	2002
Cattle	89	6	38.0	3.3	23	1	5.6	1.0	23	22	21.5	25.1	73	33	13.4	5.5
Goats	84	18	26.2	2.7	92	10	6.1	1.2	53	62	11.2	3.1	106	73	11.3	5.1
Sheep	56	3	17.2	1.3	26	3	3.7	2.3	13	6	6.2	3.7	18	8	7.4	9.5
Pig	5	17	6.4	3.9	20	2	2.5	1.0	10	5	1.5	2.0	19	10	6.5	2.8
Rabbits	2	1	6.0	24.0	18	7	12.1	3.1	5	5	9.2	2.6	6	6	15.7	4.0
Chicken etc.	104	77	34.7	9.3	110	25	10.8	2.8	44	76	9.3	4.8	113	97	24.7	8.9
Pigeons	3	3	16.0	7.0									2	3	17.0	19.3

In Kasese, originally the number of stockowners was lower than in Kitgum but the effect of the war was equally remarkable. Whereas in 1996 out of the total sample of 137 some 17% owned cattle, by 2001 only one person still owned cattle. The number of goat owners was reduced from 92 to 10, sheep from 26 to 3 and chicken from 110 to 25. In table above a comparison for Kasese and Mbarara indicates that while in Kasese the number of stockowners for all types of livestock decreased as testified by women's FGD group in Kikongo camp

Prior to the displacement, the population owned some cattle. It was not much.....between 2 and 50 for the richest people.....we also had goats in bigger numbers, poultry and pigs. Almost all these were looted/eaten/burnt by the rebels.

Women FGD Kikongo Camp, Kitwamba Sub-County.

In the case of Bugiri district, there was a systematic decline in the number of stockowners, as well as in the average number of stock between 1985 and 2001 suggesting increased impoverishment of the population.

Several reasons for the decline of livestock ownership of livestock were given, however, multiple looting of cattle by different warring factions (rebel, karamojong and government soldiers), was said to have been the major cause of the decline of livestock in war affected districts as narrated by the different respondents below.

To me that was a very big tragedy. Of course when the rebels came they were interested in cattle for eating not for keeping. They slaughtered the cattle there and then, ate and that was that.... So it was the Karamajong, rebels and the NRA who depreciated the area of cattle. In -depth interview Padibe IDP camp.

In Omiya-anyima we had a series of groups, which took away the cattle. Before the war in 1986, on average a person who had the least number of cattle were 20. Some went as much as 1000 cows. But when the Karamajong came and rustled...The armed forces especially FEDEMU and NRA took the cattle to Mbarara.... In addition they took children from the area to go and graze the cattle. Later these were forced to join the army. And many of them have already been killed.

Government troops were the first to take our cows and children. Before we used to plough with oxen, now we have to use hand hoes. Then, you cannot plough as much as with the oxen.

Key informant interview, Omiya Nyima

Our problems are obvious. Our parents were wealthy with so much cattle, chicken, sheep, goats but where is any of it now? We have never seen such misery and suffering. We do not have any cattle, water or food. If you saw the kind of food we eat you'd say these people really feed on rubbish. We are starving and lack energy to dig. This is what you must know. People are starving.

We started noticing malnutrition diseases like kwashiorkor, after our cattle were taken. In the past if you have your child going to secondary school you just picked one bull and sold it to pay fees. Now no one can do this because the cows are not available.

Women's FGD Puyuda

The Karamajong stole our cattle, we lack implements like hoes, pangas and seeds. We used oxen to plough before the war but now we have to dig. A human being cannot do as much as an oxen.

Men's FGD, Padibe

The food situation, the pressure is simply too high; because there is no more cattle to plough large pieces of land in order to acquire food in large quantities and the capacity of poverty is pressing us.

The effects of this on the entire agricultural system in Kitgum were such that the hand hoe replaced ox-ploughing. This entailed a change in the organization of labour at the household level with reduced men's participation in the opening-up of land.

In the case of Kitgum, the loss of cattle and associated ox-ploughing as a practice was not replaced by an adequate supply of alternative farm tools, further aggravating the production challenges. The respondents' responses also suggest that the demise of the ox-ploughing associated with looting of cattle was a major factor preventing the population from returning to the villages and preferring to remain in the camps even where relative peace had been restored.

6.2.5 Threatening production of famine foods

As a result of the war, production of foodstuffs that were more vulnerable to looting or would ensure food security for the rebels were avoided. It was reported that cassava was one crop whose production on a large scale was discouraged at community level. A big garden of cassava in a village would be attractive for a rebel or Karamajong attack and prolonged stay as it would ensure food security for these forces. Cassava is important as a famine crop and hence its limited production on

account of village vulnerability to rebel attacks rendered the population critically food insecure especially during the usual food shortage period.

Due to the rebel activities and Karamajong invasions people no longer grow certain foods because when the rebels or Karamajong come they do not move until the food is finished.....therefore, we no longer grow g/nuts, cassava, beans, cassava...these crops keep these people around.

6.2.6 Threat to inter-generational transfer of farming skills

The inter generational transfer of farming skills is also being undermined by the long duration of camp life especially in Kitgum where the population have spent nearly two decades in the internally displaced persons camps which has affected their production capacity.

6.2.7 Looting of food

The looting of food by the rebels proved to be a food production de-motivating factor. In several key informant interviews and the focus groups discussions, it was reported that many people are discouraged from production when there is periodic looting of foodstuffs as narrated below

In 1985 a landmine hit my uncle on his way to Lira. His mother went to look after him in the hospital. I stayed home with the children. Shortly after rebels came to our home and took all the food we had in the granaries. They forced three of us, all girls to carry the loot. There were six sacks of g/nuts that we took. Three other girls were taken. One of these stayed in the bush with the rebel for a very long time but managed to escape, another died and one is still with the rebels...crop production was affected because some of us who remained had to abandon the land and flee to the camp.....even Chicken was no longer reared because rebels would take them.

6.2.8 Ill-health and Trauma

The health of the family members assumed a prominent role in the household food shortage. As indicated in table 6.1, each district identified an increase in ill health as the cause of the reduction of labour force. More than (36%) of the respondents reporting this as a cause of food shortage. This was more so, especially when it was a woman who fell sick, since they were responsible for the household production and management.

Information obtained from group discussions, key informants and through direct individual interviews indicated universal agreement that the sanitation in the internally displaced persons camps at one time were generally in very bad conditions. In most cases, IDP camps lack adequate supplies of clean and safe water and adequate number of latrines. The health providers indicated that such conditions in the crowded camps increase the problems further by the populations contracting malaria, dysentery, URTI, among other diseases. The focus group discussion in Rutooma confirmed this

The outbreak of malaria affected us so we could not produce that much to keep in granaries.

Rutooma-Women FGD

In conflict districts the trauma resulting from losing many people during the war, fear and experience of many atrocities including rape of women and abduction, uncertainty and anxiety resulting from different war related consequences has left a population whose production and development revolves around basic survival. Most of the survivors were withdrawn, and unable to effectively participate in the food production, with no hope of ever-securing food for their household. Evidence of this is narrated in the extract below.

Most people work for survival. They just think of what we shall eat tomorrow. They see no development and women tend to forget but men are rigid. They just think of what they used to have. We are overwhelmed with trauma..... we cannot manage our home any more.... cannot educate our children...our children will only get the UPE and that is the end.....

It was reported that for the men, the trauma of the war has led to increased drunkenness which consequently leads to domestic violence, which adversely affects women and in turn household food security.

*** the graphic where a man is with a bottle of waragi**

6.2.9 Sexually Transmitted Diseases /HIV/AIDS

HIV/AIDS scourge was feared to be a challenging factor to food production. According to Barton and Mutiti (1998), STD prevalence is high in the region, and linked to army movements, camp following and prostitution. Early sexual activity among boys and girls and unwanted pregnancies are also reported to be high. The following extracts from a key informant interview in Padibe, Kitgum reveals the magnitude of the problem in relation to food security.

That Mzee (Swahili for old man) one of his sons was in civil service that guy just died. He died of AIDS. He had had three women leaving 19 children. The three women also died so they are just there.....

In conflict affected districts high prevalence of HIV/AIDS morbidity and mortality was a great fear to the population. The diseases affected families by taking away the active labour force. The illness had the potential of crippling many households food security status. Unfortunately, for many of the population in the war-affected districts

the multiple occurrences of war related food deprivation factors as well as HIV/AIDS related illness is a reality they are faced with.

In areas not affected by conflict such as Mbarara and Bugiri one of the biggest challenges to food security was reported to be is HIV/AIDS. The following extract from Mbarara indicates the challenge of HIV/AIDS and its effect on food insecurity:

I am looking after children who lost both parents, I am the only one who digs for them and sell what I produce to get school fees and it gets finished. The school fees are not enough I am left with no food to sustain my family.

In the same district the challenges of land shortage have been compounded by HIV/AIDS related mortality. Upon the death of adults, many orphans are forced to relocate and live with relatives thus expanding the number of dependants for such families. Alternatively, older children are forced to abandon schooling and provide care and support for their siblings. The child heads of households usually lack the skills and experience required to manage food production on top of domestic administration. The extract below indicates the challenges imposed on the community by increased HIV/AIDS related mortality and the destitution of the orphan care-giving households.

We have the problem of orphans in our families for instance I have got 19 orphans whom I am looking after. Feeding them, clothing them is a problem yet I've got a very small piece of land.

I was born an orphan and I suffered a lot. I stopped in primary seven and joined a technical school....I have just finished my 3years. During my school life, I was looking after my sister's children, my brothers and my mother, so you find that as far as money and food is concerned, I am not secure.

6.2.10 Dependence on relief and increased vulnerability

In the IDPs camps, the primary source of sustenance is food aid relief. Owing to the numbers of people involved and the long duration of stay resulting from continued insecurity, the food provided by humanitarian agencies and to some extent government institutions proved inadequate in quantity, variety and quality, and in some extent was found to be culturally unsuitable. The extract below, from a FGD in Kitgum illustrates the above.

[Before the war] we had different crops today we have no food, no land for cultivating and the assistance we get from WFP of 10 mugs of beans per month is not enough for a normal human being..... People are suffering from hunger....We cannot grow our own food and must depend on relief....there are instances where a family cannot even afford to grind the maize given by WFP into flour...one is left to either boil the maize and beans together...for a meal, which we are not used to...or sell some to those shops there to get sorghum flour...we are given very little...not even enough for two days1..FGD Padibe.

6.2.11 Broken families

As the case of orphans cited above, the increase in numbers of broken homes were noted as a threat to household food security. There was also a large number of adolescents produced children before marriage. These children are thereafter looked after by the relatives mainly grandparents. The burden of care to these grandparents and the big number of dependants increases vulnerability of these homes to food insecurity.

The children are very young. They have neither of the parents so they totally depend on us; you find that only one person is cultivating for a family of twelve people thus causing food shortage.

They [girls from broken marriages] dig but sometimes others rent houses in the trading centres and venture in prostitution. Not all of them agree to dig or work with their mothers.

6.2.12 The fear of death and abduction

More than one-quarter (27%) of the respondents in Kasese, and 53% of their counterparts in Kitgum noted that the reason for their food insecurity was because, it was too insecure to attempt any farming, even around the camps. The following extract from an FGD in Kitgum indicates the wanton manner in which lives were lost at the hands of the fighting forces.

Once in a while we would sneak back to the village and dig. One time the rebels found us weeding. Some of us managed to run off but my aunt could not. They cut off her breasts and mouth. They got a shea nut tree branch and forced it down my mother's throat. Both my aunt and mother died. My father was also killed. This happened in Katika village in 1989. That day, nine people were killed in the garden...it is a big problem now for us to produce enough food.

It is important to note that at the height of the rebel invasion, the search for food and sustenance of the families was a job, which only women dared do. The children were in danger of abduction. On the other hand, the men faced the danger of death at the hands of rebels, or as suspected rebels or corroborators by the government army. Testimonies below alluded to this.

Some times husbands go to look for food, if they meet the rebels the men are killed. So this led to only women going in search for food..... Some men could sneak out of their hiding to look for food for the family. If they are unfortunate and run into the rebels they would torture or even kill them. Many men were killed in Corner Kilak.....women were left to care and manage the family because the men had to go in hiding. It was difficult to get food. Women FGD, Padibe.

The fear of death at the hands of the rebels, led to near complete cessation of food production, owing largely to the threat of personal security and relocation to internally displaced persons camps.

When rebels begun killing and burning homes, there was no time for cultivating. People were always on the run.....While we were on the run in

the bush, we used to survive on wild millet. When the war got worse and civilians were being killed and homes burnt, we took refuge in the mission. they would assist us with some food at the mission. The burning of homes brought a lot of uncertainty to the civilians. People could no longer sneak back home for dry foods like maize, millet, sorghum or simsim. This factor forced many people to go into camps.What really drove most people into camps was lack of food and also the abduction of children by rebels. Government encouraged people to move into camps.

6.2.13 Fear of landmines

Eight percent of the respondents in Kasese and a quarter of those in Kitgum also blamed their wartime experience of food shortages on the danger of landmines (Table 6.2). According to the group discussions, both government and rebel forces planted landmines. It was reported that landmines caused fear to the women and men and were a source of insecurity for the population seeking to go to the gardens. This is evident from the information collected from a women's FGD from Kitgum.

The government forces and rebels have planted land mines...when the villagers had been going back to dig some were blown off by landmine...whenever villagers went back to the villages they would be blown off...evening the granaries landmines were planted...one would open the granary and they would immediately get blown off...they really wanted to finish us...

My mother was hit by a land mine while she was in her garden. That day she woke up and went to her garden as usual in the course of the day she decided to rest under her favourite tree in the garden. A landmine planted under that tree hit her.....besides, those who lost their limbs cannot do productive farm work.

6.2.14 Sexual harassment of women and girls

The pressure on women to undertake the role of searching for food in this war situation generally exposed them to sexual abuses as the following extract from a FGD with women of Padibe indicates:

It(rape) was very common. If you met with rebels they would do what ever they liked with you. Some young boys would also take advantage of you.

Some women were beaten to unconsciousness. This left them physically weak. Secondly, many women were raped. Some rapists may be HIV positive and this has left many sick yet also continue spreading to others.

6.3 Other determinants of food insecurity

As indicated above, all the districts, the general trend witnessed a declining proportion of households consuming different type of foodstuff between the two time reference period, with an exception of a few foodstuffs in Mbarara district. For the war affected districts of Kitgum and Kasese, and the district of Bugiri, this decline among most foodstuffs consumed was much more severe than in Mbarara.

While war is largely responsible for food insecurity, the fact that there is food insecurity in relatively peaceful districts like Mbarara and Bugiri is not in doubt. Evidence from both the quantitative data and qualitative information indicates a decline in food production for the majority of families. Other underlying reasons for the declining food production include the following:

6.3.1 Inadequate or inaccessibility of land

Seventy seven percent of the households in Mbarara District owned one acre or less of land at the time of survey. The proportion of households with an acre or less of land had increased by 10% from 67% in 1996. The increased poverty that forced many families to sell some of their land as well as the subdivision of land among male off-springs of a family upon getting to the age of marriage was reported as the primary reasons behind this decline in land acreage. Consequently, the remaining pieces of land have become too small (less than an acre) for effective production and sustenance of the family.

In some areas of Mbarara District some land has been gazetted as National Park (Lake Mburo) and for refugee resettlement (Nakivale and Oruchinga Valley Resettlement Schemes). Elsewhere land had been parceled out into ranches and given to progressive ranchers. This left limited land for the peasants whose families were expanding with time. Consequently, in places such as Kikagati which are neighbouring the Oruchinga Valley Refugee Resettlement Scheme the influx of refugees running away from wars in neighbouring countries has constituted their experience of war related food insecurity in two respects. First, the refugees initially lack adequate food and are forced to go to neighbouring villages and beg or work for food. Secondly, the refugees' presence in the area prevents the local resident population from accessing the gazetted land to graze animals or cultivate food and hence cannot have pressure relieved from their own small plots.

They [refugees] occupied the whole land, which was available for grazing; there is no plot where you can graze. If you go there and they get you, then you are arrested after heavy beatings, I was given 50 strokes. They even stopped us from going to the lake to get fish.

However, the refugee's perspective of the food security challenges in the area and its causes generally differed from that of the resident population. To the refugees, and some of the residents in the neighbouring villages, it was not the presence of refugees that was responsible for the food insecurity in the area as indicated in the following extract from an FGD with women of Kayonza Parish and Nshungyenzi, which borders with the Oruchinga Refugee Re-settlement Scheme.

They used to come to us for food when they had just come from Rwanda. Government used to give them posho and they would come to us to exchange it with matooke but after sometime they also cultivated their own...therefore, refugees cultivate their own food and do not contribute to the food insecurity in the area.

However, besides gazetting of land it was evident that irresponsibility of some men coupled with the gender related power relations were also affecting household accessibility to food security because of land. It was reported in the following group discussion extracts for instance that some men sold family land and used the resources for personal non-productive ventures.

The land used to be enough but after sometime, men started dividing it into small plots selling one by one. They even started marrying second wives and we found ourselves left with small plots. Limited land, because whichever money is got, the man spends it on drinking and there is no money left to buy land. We the women are unable to work and get money to buy land..... Land is owned by men, who may sell it without the knowledge/approval of the wife thereby further contributing to scarcity of the land. Proceeds from any sale are spent in drinking, which sometimes leads to fighting, and compensation hence depleting even further the household resources.

In an attempt to overcome the challenge of food shortages arising out of lack of land to produce food, many families have resorted renting land. In Kajaho, Kikagati sub-county for instance it was reported that land is rented at Ushs 8,000 – 10,000 (USD 5 –7) per season for $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre.

We produce Irish potatoes for subsistence because we don't have enough land, but those who have enough land produce a lot for selling.

Besides limiting the acreage that can be used for food production, land shortage is a barrier to the variety of food crops and animal stock that can be raised by individual families. Some crops, which ordinarily offer tremendous relief during famine, such as cassava, it was reported, are discouraged by land owners because such crops take longer to mature, and if allowed, the tenant pays more for renting the land.

We don't keep domestic animals because we lack grazing land. The refugees have cultivated all the land. In the villages, people live in the middle of plantations so there is lack of land for grazing.

6.3.2 Irresponsible expenditure especially by men

According to women respondents in Mbarara district wasteful expenditure by men on booze, extra-marital relations, selfish eating habits and lack of the spirit of responsibility were at the heart of some household's food insecurity and lack of household savings. The following extracts from group discussions illustrate the depth of feelings that women in Mbarara district felt about men's behaviour in relation to the household problems.

Can a man labour to meet family needs....? he only gets money for drinking..... it is us the wives to suffer with the children so you have to go and labour in order to get food for your children..... and sometimes when the man comes he demands for food...at times men leave us at home and they go to eat roasted meat from drinking places, and we have nothing to do about it.

*****graphic on drunkards**

6.3.3 Food thefts

There were several complaints about food thefts within the district of Mbarara as a cause of household food shortages. Some of the food thefts were due to child delinquents especially with cited examples being those of orphans.

The orphans we are looking after, even our own orphans steal beans while they are still in the fields. They even steal matooke and take them for sale in order to get money to help themselves..... Also when such orphans are not satisfied, they steal what we have storedwhen you plan to preserve a bunch of matooke in the plantation, it's always stolen.

Kajaho-Fuzi FGD.

6.3.4 Pests

In the case of Bugiri district, pests in the field and vermin in the home were reported as a major problem that contributes to the threat of household food security. The

district was reported to have cassava mosaic, bean weevils and ground nuts wilt. In addition, it was also reported that the soil was exhausted. The extract below provides the scenario the population is faced with

Another alternative would be beans but the rats also destroyed them. Even the pests destroyed them in their early stages so the rats finished the little that survived. They attack beans when they start flowering, then they eat up pods and sometimes the whole plant.

6.3.5 Lack of extension services and training for leaders

Another problem we have is poor leadership. If we had good leaders who would sensitize us maybe we wouldn't be this poor.

They should give us agricultural advice because once you get such advice; you can plan and know how to work instead of laboring for food all the time, which is even not enough. Men need to be advised also because if they are not advised, they will keep on eating meat from the market place and we shall never escape food shortage.

6.3.6 Water supply

In some places like Banda, and Genguluho (Buyinja and Banda sub counties), Bugiri district; and Rutooma and Kajaho in Isingiro County in Mbarara district, water is collected from long distance of over 2 miles. This inadequate water supply implies that women use considerable time in fetching water, hence putting more time in cultivation.

6.3.7 Climate uncertainties especially pro-longed dry season.

The respondents in all the districts also put the problem to poor climatic conditions and shifts in seasons of rainfall that has resulted into disastrous consequences for food security. The testimony of women's FGD in Mbarara District sums it;

The food isn't enough...sometimes, too much rain destroy Irish potatoes, which would be the alternative...where you expect one sack of beans, you find yourself getting only one tin...We had prolonged dry season that year... We experienced food shortage and reached an extent of buying eggplants and groundnuts from the market for our meals.....can you imagine? Three years ago there was prolonged drought, the beans dried before they were ready. The banana plantations were also affected.

6.4.8 Poverty as a barrier to supplementary food or ensuring productivity

The manner in which poverty manifested itself as a barrier to food insecurity was reportedly when it came to supplementing on – farm produced foodstuffs particularly with animal protein foodstuffs that required cash income to purchase. The majority of poor households were reportedly too poor to afford the cost of purchasing foodstuffs such as milk, meat, fish, and sugar. If they did this was more irregular and in insufficient quantities.

We don't normally eat fish or meat it's not easy to get them. We buy it from Kajaho but it's once in a while because money is a problem.....If you are poor and your husband is also poor, you cannot even think of buying meat. The little money you get is to buy a piece of cloth instead of meat. It's not that we can't eat meat but the problem is lack of money. We do not even have enough plantations where we can get a bunch of matooke for sale so that we can buy a kilo of meat.....For us we take long to eat meat because money is a problem.If he [the husband] has money he can [buy meat] but if he doesn't you just take heart.Another thing is that women lack development projects, which would fetch money. If we had money, we would buy meat whenever we need it. May be during the season, you can sell 1 tin of beans and meat.

In addition Lack of cash growing crops by many communities today has led to over dependence on the sale of food for the bulk of household income needs, which in most cases, bring very little returns prompting household to sell all the food crops

and hence the cycle of food insecurity. It is also to note that conflict areas are also faced with the above discussed problems.

6.5 Conclusion

From the above, there is no doubt that armed conflict is a primary factor in food insecurity through disabling production, increasing food waste, destabilizing extension services and markets and leading to abduction and death of farm labourers, general trauma for the whole community and alienation of the population from their production base- the land into internally displaced peoples camps or other places of refuge such as urban centres. It is necessary to note however, that there are other very critical factors contributing to food insecurity in different communities.

6.6 War and its effects on gender division of labour

As a result of war, the involvement of women in food production in Kitgum has increased from 58% before the war in 1985 to 85% at the survey time in 2002 (Table 6.6). At the same time the proportion of men involved in food production decreased from 99% for the period before the war to 76% at the time of survey. In Kasese the proportion of women in food production decreased from 97% to 21% between the period before the war (1996) and the time of survey after the war in 2001. Likewise the proportion of men involved in food production drastically decreased from 86% to 18% over the same period respectively. So in effect armed conflict decreases men's participation in the production of food, as was the case in both Kasese and Kitgum.

Table 6.6: Participation in food production by Gender

	<i>Women</i>		<i>Men</i>	
District	Before	Survey time	Before	Survey time
Bugiri	90.5	87.8	71.8	60.3
Kitgum	57.5	85.0	99.1	75.6
Mbarara	83.4	78.3	51.6	32.5
Kasese	97.1	21.2	86.1	17.5

On the other hand it may increase women's participation (as was the case in Kitgum) or also reduce women's participation as the case was in Kasese indicated in the following extract:

Currently, the men do not participate in food crop production because households have no land to cultivate. They however contribute to getting food through selling their labour in exchange for food/cash.

Women FGD Kikongo Camp Kicwamba Sub- County.

Besides access to land the other critical input into food production is labour. The manner in which households structure their labour input into farming and the number of labourers versus the consumers of food will determine the amount of food available to the family. At the design stage it was postulated that armed conflict was likely to reduce men's participation in food procurement for the families and that the burden of feeding families lay more heavily on women. It thus became necessary to assess the structure of household productivity and the contribution of women vis-à-vis other members of the household with regard to household food security in areas affected and free of armed conflict.

Table 6.7 shows a varied effect of war on gender participation in farm production between Kasese and Kitgum. In Kasese the war had the effect of lowering the participation of both men and women significantly. In general it was reported that in 1985, nearly all women (97%) and the majority (86%) of the men were participating in household food production. As is evident from the range of activities (Table 6.7) prior to the war in 1996, Kasese women's participation in land ploughing, planting, weeding and harvesting was very high (above 80%) and only became less significant (55%) in post harvest management. Likewise men's participation was high in ploughing, albeit less than women's participation with regard to planting, weeding and harvesting. This picture of high participation for women and men in food production was sharply changed by the war resulting in significantly lower participation for both men and women as indicated in Table 6.7.

Table 6.7: Involvement in food production by Gender

Involvement by Gender	Kasese		Mbarara		Kitgum		Bugiri	
	1996	2001	1996	2001	1985	2002	1985	2002
Women in food production	97.1	21.2	83.4	78.3	57.5	85.0	90.4	87.8
Land ploughing	84.7	17.5	66.2	63.7	21.3	85.0	61.5	64.1
Planting	91.2	19.7	85.4	84.1	33.9	86.6	91.7	91.0
Weeding	90.5	19.0	84.1	84.1	67.7	89.0	89.7	89.1
Harvesting	82.5	16.1	73.2	70.7	63.8	85.8	85.9	85.3
Post-harvest management	54.7	13.9	23.7	24.2	50.4	66.1	54.5	60.9

Men in food production	86.1	17.5	51.6	32.5	88.2	75.6	71.8	60.3
Land ploughing	79.6	16.8	49.0	29.9	93.7	83.5	72.4	64.7
Planting	56.9	13.9	38.9	25.5	78.7	72.4	66.0	62.2
Weeding	51.1	13.1	39.5	28.7	44.1	52.0	62.2	59.0
Harvesting	57.7	13.1	28.7	20.4	28.3	51.2	54.5	50.6
Post-harvest management	51.5	11.5	5.9	6.5	15.0	36.2	46.8	47.4

In Kitgum, prior to the war, women's participation in food production was considerably lower than that of men. Nearly 80% of the women were not participating in ploughing, while 94% of the men did and two thirds of Kitgum's women were not participating in planting, while 79% of the men did. Women featured more prominently than men in weeding (68%) and harvesting (64%).

The high pre-war participation of men in food production in Kitgum was also reported in FGDs as the following extracts indicate:

Men were responsible for preparing the gardens ready to plant. Women were responsible for weeding. When the crops were ready for harvest, the women harvested some men could also participate in the harvest. In case the garden was far from home, the men would help the women carry the harvest home. Back home, women had to prepare the place for drying the produce. They also winnowed and sorted. In case the harvest was a lot, some would be sold and the women were responsible for taking the produce to the market.

FGD men Padibe

Information from FGDs indicates that prior to the war society had moved from mere subsistence to a mixture of commercial and subsistence farming. In this arrangement where production was a joint undertaking there was women's involvement including in the decision making process in production, marketing and expenditure. For instance, there was a degree of cooperation between husbands and wife with regard to the control of financial resources obtained from farm produce. Generally while

the men took a major decision in the sale of the produce, the women were responsible for keeping the funds as a means of ensuring it is not spent on alcohol and non essential expenditure as indicated by the following FGD extracts:

The husband and wife discussed when there is a need to sell certain produce. The woman would take the produce and sell.

Prior to the war we did not have many problems. Women were the custodians of the money received from any produce sold. Today, they are different. If you let the woman keep the money, when you ask for it they become mean and abusive.

This money was shared by the husband and wife. Both had a say as to how the money would be used. The man paid tax with part of the money and the rest was for domestic needs like food, and school fees.

Padibe men FGD

The funds obtained from farm produce were on several occasions ploughed back into the purchase of farm inputs such as seeds, ox-ploughs in addition to meeting education needs for the children as well as basic households needs.

Before the war, we worked together with women (my wife); when we sold the produce, we bought some cows. Then we grew more crops and bought a plough to make our work easier. When we sold the produce, the money was used to meet our own needs while the rest was kept for emergencies like health problems. My wife was responsible for keeping the money because if I kept it, I may misuse it. It was the same with other families.

While this cooperation and decision making process that involved women was largely feasible with regard to crop production, it proved rather untenable when it came to livestock sales. The sale of animals and control of livestock in the home was a preserve of men while women had greater say on the sale of crop farm products as indicated in the following extracts from different FGDs.

Traditionally, the woman was responsible for the granary. Nothing could be removed from the granary without her consent.

So women were responsible for the sell of food crops. Men on the other hand were responsible for the animals. They decided which animal needed to be sold and why.

Women had no say on what animal is to be sold. If a woman needed money for anything, she had to ask the husband for permission. It is only the men who sold animals... Traditionally, women were not supposed to sell chicken, cattle, goats, millet and sorghum flour but the war has changed all that.

That was a man's responsibility. Men decided which animals were to be sold. Often an animal would be sold when there was a problem to be solved in the home.

Padibe Men FGD

The trends in food production between the Kasese and Kitgum resulting from war differed. While as indicated above in Kasese war reduced the participation of both men and women in food production activities, in Kitgum the war period led to increased women's participation in ploughing by 64% from 21% in 1985 to 85% in 2002, planting by 53%, and weeding and harvesting by 22%, while women's participation in post harvest management was increased by 16%.

Meanwhile during the war the participation of men in ploughing and planting decreased while it increased in weeding, harvesting and post harvest management all of which were engaging a relatively higher proportion of women than ploughing and planting.

The main reasons for these changes in participation by women and men of Kitgum arising out of the war were tradition, increased mortality and abductions especially of men, the loss of oxen and accompanying changes in the culture of ox-ploughing. Under the traditional farming system arrangement, men were primarily responsible for ox-ploughing and planting, while women participated more highly in weeding, harvesting and post harvesting activities of food crops. With the onset of war and

accompanying looting cattle herds including oxen, the men's role in ploughing diminished and women had to use the more labourious hand hoe to open-up the land and during the planting. Moreover the death of many men and abductions/conscription into the fighting forces has left more families without male figures to carry out the cultivation. All these have increased the burden of work for women in searching for food.

It is noteworthy that in the non-war affected districts of Mbarara and Bugiri there were no proportionate changes in women's participation over the same time. In Mbarara and to an extent Bugiri, there were considerable gender variations in performance of farm activities both in the past and now. It is important to note also that the participation of men has decreased with time in these districts.

One of the ways of assessing the participation of men and women in production is to carry out an activity timeline inquiry. This records a 30 minute follow-up of an individual from the time of waking-up to the time of sleeping on a daily basis. Therefore from 5.00 a.m. to midnight the usual record of activities of an individual was obtained (Table 6.8)

Table 6.8: Descriptive Statistics of usual time spent on different activities by district and gender

District	Sex	Hours spent on	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Dev.
Kasese	Male	Personal care, leisure and sleep	8	8.0	12.5	9.8	1.7
		Domestic work	8	.0	6.5	2.4	2.3
		Farm and other production	8	5.0	10.5	7.9	1.7
	Female	Personal care, leisure and sleep	129	.0	19.5	8.5	2.9
		Domestic work	129	.0	30.5	4.2	3.4
		Farm and other production	129	.0	14.0	7.4	2.6
Mbarara	Male	Personal care, leisure and sleep	13	4.5	11.0	7.9	2.1
		Domestic work	13	.0	7.0	3.3	2.7

		Farm and other production	13	5.0	15.5	7.8	3.0
	Female	Personal care, leisure and sleep	144	4.5	20.0	9.0	2.7
		Domestic work	144	.0	16.0	4.9	2.4
		Farm and other production	144	.0	13.0	5.7	2.7
Kitgum	Male	Personal care, leisure and sleep	38	.0	18.0	9.3	5.1
		Domestic work	38	.0	7.0	1.2	1.9
		Farm and other production	38	.0	13.0	5.9	3.4
	Female	Personal care, leisure and sleep	88	.0	17.0	8.1	3.9
		Domestic work	88	.0	13.0	4.0	2.6
		Farm and other production	88	.0	11.5	5.0	3.1
Bugiri	Male	Personal care, leisure and sleep	48	5.5	17.0	12.8	2.9
		Domestic work	48	.0	8.0	1.1	1.8
		Farm and other production	48	.0	13.5	5.8	3.1
	Female	Personal care, leisure and sleep	107	2.5	47.0	10.8	4.3
		Domestic work	107	1.5	11.0	4.7	1.9
		Farm and other production	107	.0	10.5	4.4	2.6

In all the districts except Mbarara, men put in less time into on and off the farm labour. In Kasese while women on average put in 11.6 hours of productive work every day, the men put 10.3 hours. In Mbarara while men put in an average of 11.1 hours of work the women put in 10.6 hours. In Kitgum while the men put in only 7 hours into in and off farm production, the women put in on average 9 hours. In Bugiri while women spend 9.1 hours in production the men's input is two hours less than that of the women at 6.9 hours of productive work.

Labour supply, the distribution of labour at the household level and the involvement of all potentially productive members were deemed important factors in ensuring household food security. In Mbarara 25% of the respondents reported that increasing household productive labour force would help to solve their food security challenges. This proportion was double that of Kasese which had 12% of the respondents reporting labour as a factor in ensuring household food security.

As indicated in Table 6.9, There was relatively higher participation of both men and women in the production of food on the farm in Kasese than in Mbarara before the ADF attacked Kasese in 1996. By gender, it is important to note that both in the period before 1996 and after the ADF war in 2001, there were relatively more women than men engaged in food production in both districts.

Table 6.9: participation in food production prior to 1996 and in 2001 by gender and district

Participation in food production	Kasese		Mbarara	
	Before the war	In 2001	Before 1996	In 2001
Female	97.1	21.2	83.4	78.3
Male	86.1	17.5	51.6	32.5

The inadequate distribution of responsibilities that leaves the bulk of food production in the hands of women and the limitless power of men to abuse their 'privileged' position in the home is proving a major danger to food security in several homes in the district.

In all the districts except Kitgum the proportion of men involved in food production was much lower than that of women before the war. For instance in Bugiri while over 90% of the women were reportedly involved in food production before 1985 the proportion of men was 72%. In Mbarara the proportion of women involved in food production in 1996 was 83% compared to the 52% of the men. In Kasese the proportion of women in food production before the war was 97% while that of the men was less by 10% at 86%.

The reasons for the relatively lower participation of men in food production in the none-conflict areas were hinted upon in the focus group discussions and appear to

be social – mainly related to growing social irresponsibility of men and increased widowhood possibly as a result of HIV/ AIDS.

Most men are drunkards and they spend their money on drinking. They don't care about their families, whether children have got something to eat or not doesn't concern them. Like me, I am the only one who caters for my children yet I have a husband .I get contracts, dig and get some money to buy food for my children. Men go to the markets on Thursdays to eat roasted meat and matooke and come back when they are satisfied. At times the wife and children sleep on empty stomachs or if you manage to get some beans, he comes home and starts complaining of stomach up sets but the real truth is that he doesn't want to mix his meat with your beans.

Kajaho-Fuzi-Kweterarana group FGD [men/women]

Those who are lucky and have men work with them. A man goes to the plantation while the woman goes to cultivate other things. But most of us are widows and others are un lucky that their husbands are drunkards, they are the ones who eat roasted meat from the market so they go early in the morning and do not contribute any thing in the home. .

Kajaho-Fuzi-Kweterarana group FGD [men/women]

The complaint about unproductive family members was frequent in group discussions and key informant interviews. It frequently reported that some men and big boys do not work. The complaint about men's heavy drinking and consequent reduction in participation food production is indicated in the following extracts. Women and girls are forced to undertake the bulk of food production.

Most of them [men] are drunkards and they spend their money on drinking. They don't care about their families, whether children have got something to eat or not doesn't concern them. Like me, I am the only one who caters for my children yet I have a husband. I get contracts, dig and get some money to buy food for my children. Men go to the markets on Thursdays to eat roasted meat and matooke and come back when they are satisfied. At times the wife and children sleep on empty stomachs or if you manage to get some beans, he comes home and start complaining of stomach up sets but the real truth is that he doesn't want to mix his meat with your beans.

Its us women who try our best, because many times, the man doesn't meet family needs because he is never home.

Ehee! Men are for prestige, just to hear that you have got a man. There is no man in Kajaho who can realize that the work is too much for his wife.

Even where male members of the households are employed outside the home, it was noted that they did not necessarily contribute to the domestic food demands, increase of the household production capacity or home expenses.

Even when they are not in school, boys do not dig but girls do. Whether he is in school or not, a boy child from Kajaho can never dig, its very difficult for a boy to help you. Normally when lorries come to the village, they need boys to carry matooke and they pay them 50/= per bunch or 100/= so he can't leave that money that he is going to work for you. In most cases boys refuse to work because their fathers do not work also.

Besides relatively less participation by men in the production process the unequal power relations based on gender and the low status of women in the community is a threat to food security. The women plant, weed and harvest the crops. This is manifest in the fact that while men rarely give their optimum in food production, they control the sell of farm produce including critical food reserves. On top of this they spend the proceeds from the sale of produce in selfish personal ventures. Post-harvest management is however done by men who manage all the funds. Some of the men consume the money in alcohol or spend it on "other" women. With luck they may buy a little salt, soap, and a piece of kitenge for the wife "if she is putting on rags".

... Because of low income, when we cultivate food the man sells almost the whole of it; they use the money to meet their personal needs. If you try to talk then quarrels start in a family. ... When he gets money, he goes to drinking places for alcohol and comes back when we are already asleep. He eats roasted meat and matooke which is normally prepared at the stage (shops and bars) and when he finds the poor sauce we have prepared with posho, he goes to bed and starts complaining of stomach upset.

If you have a man then it's the man who controls it [land]. Us women have no say because the land belongs to the men. May be recently like two years back its when we learnt of what to do but our land was already gone..... In the past

we had not known what to do but even today when you report to the LC's, they can't help you, they just tell you how women are now big headed, how we were emancipated, such things which do not help us and we fail to get what to do.

***Graphic on domestic violence**

Beyond food production, the gender-based inequalities are further evident in food distribution and consumption at the household level. These imbalances may portend further food insecurity for women especially in the resource poorer homes. Gender inequalities, reflected in the privileged position of men and the cultural reinforcements that traditionally prevented women from ownership of the means to purchase money-requiring foodstuffs. For instance it is considered uncultured for a woman in Ankole to be found in a butchery purchasing meat even if she is doing so with her own money.

In the poor homes, it appears there is unequal access to food especially if it is the protein rich fish or meat. The women and children in the poorer homes are at the receiving end of this uneven food distribution.

I assure you, it takes time for a man to buy meat. He gets money from matooke and us wives are not entitled to share on that money. May be if we decide to steal like one bunch of matooke and sell it otherwise there is no other way we can get money. And still if the man learns of it, then he has to ask you for that money but sometimes you can refuse to give him the money and he tells you that you were emancipated- that Matembe (a prominent women activist and Women parliamentarian in Uganda 1996-2006) saved you.

Men of these days do not allow their wives to own anything but during our days, we used to get money from our produce and sustain ourselves because men would not dress us.

Even when he brings fish, he ties it with banana fibres to make sure that he eats one at lunch and another one at supper and you give your children water mixed with salt. Others bring meat on condition that he is the one to serve it so you don't serve before he comes and sometimes he comes at midnight when children are already asleep.

Chapter 7:

Survival Strategies in Conflict and non-Conflict Areas

7.1 Introduction

This Chapter examines the food insecurity and coping strategies adopted by the population in the conflict and non-conflict districts of study. As indicated in table 7.1, the most common strategy used mostly by women to access food especially in conflict areas included; reducing on the amounts of food consumed, relying on food relief and food handouts, selling of personal labour for food, selling of household property. In extreme cases and where this was possible, the adults were forced to be separated from their children, by distributing them among relatives and friends in more peaceful areas with some adequate access to food.

7.2 Coping with food Shortages in armed Conflict situations

Table 7.1: Mechanisms of coping with food Needs during conflict		
Coping mechanism	Kasese (n=137)	Kitgum (n=123)
Foraging/gathering	17.6	37.4
Buying	66.9	53.6
Cultivation	14.0	35.0
Food aid	49.3	24.4
Gifts of food	37.0	8.7
Armed forces	2.2	3.1
Fishing	0.0	0.8
Household stock	-	7.1
Sale of property	4.4	-
Forced prostitution/marriage	0.0	1.6
Labouring for food	89.7	70.1
Relocation of family/members	10.3	-

The following group discussion extract from women in Kitgum district indicate the innovative ways in which women obtain food during the

insurgency as well as the magnitude of risk involved:

Some times you go and dig in return for a small pay.Some men do not usually help. The woman has to look for some work... Some men can go and burn bricks and when sold can also buy some food in the home..... Still the food cannot be enough.

The mechanisms of coping with food needs during conflict times are further explained in the sections below.

7.2.1 Selling human labour for food

The sale of human labour for food is a practice that usually takes place during periods of famine among poorer households with no alternative means of obtaining support. It had a compound effect of taking away the most productive farm labour from their household at a critical time when this labour was most needed. It is important to note that 90% of the respondents in Kasese, and 70% of the residents of Kitgum, as means of survival, reported having had to sell personal labour in mostly safer areas for food during the war.

Table 7.2 shows the distribution of households, which had to sell personal labour for food in Kasese and Mbarara. With the exception of matooke, there was not a single foodstuff in Mbarara for which more than 2% of the households had to obtain through selling personal labour. On the other hand in armed-conflict affected Kasese, the proportion of households that had to sell personal labour to obtain food was much higher and for some foodstuffs more than 20 times higher.

Table 7.2: Households consuming foodstuff through sell of labour

Foodstuff	Kasese		Mbarara	
	Number	%	Number	%
Sweet potatoes	60	43.8	1	0.6
Cassava	60	43.8	2	1.3
Beans	51	37.2	1	0.6
Matooke	45	32.8	5	3.2
G.nuts	30	21.9	2	1.3
Yams	28	20.4	2	1.3
Irish potatoes	26	19.0	2	1.3
Tomatoes	22	16.1	2	1.3
Onions	21	15.3	2	1.3
Posho	19	13.9	2	1.3
Peas	15	10.9	1	0.6
Greens	13	9.5	1	0.6
Sorghum	12	8.8	2	1.3
Coffee/tea	11	8.0	2	1.3
Passion fruits	10	7.3	2	1.3
Millet	9	6.6	3	1.9
Rice	7	5.1	0	0.0
Meat	6	4.4	2	1.3
Fish	6	4.4	3	1.9
Chicken	6	4.4	1	0.6
Sugar	5	3.6	2	1.3
Salt	5	3.6	2	1.3
Other fruits	5	3.6	2	1.3
Milk	2	1.5	2	1.3

It is evident that war ravaged Kasese had more people reportedly selling labour for food than Mbarara.

7.2.3 Food Relief

Food relief has been a major source of livelihood for the population in IDP camps particularly in Kitgum where the war has persisted for the last 18 years. Nearly half

of the population in Kasese (49%) and a quarter of those in Kitgum (24%) reported food aid as a major mechanism for coping with war related food insecurity (Table 7.1) above. The following extracts indicate the manner in which food aid proved useful as a stop gap measure for the war affected by armed conflict.

We receive assistance from NGOs like World Food Programme, which is providing us with food..... WFP is providing us with food but the rationing is not enough. If one is given 10 mugs of beans per month that is definitely not enough.....Then when we went to the mission, they would give us food later, some NGOs also started giving assistance.... NGOs gave us saucepans, blankets, cups, plates and jerry cans, which became very handy and useful.Then when we run to Kitgum public, government gave us maize flour and beans. Later, AVSI, an NGO gave us food aid. When we were brought to the camps, we started receiving food aid from WFP. Most of the food we used to get in aid from the camps included maize flour, sorghum, millet and beans. Today, we mainly receive maize, beans and cooking oil.

In both Kasese and Kitgum there was unanimity among the IDP camp population that the food obtained from food relief was inadequate both in terms of quantity and quality. With regard to the latter however the population devise means of exchanging some of the WFP relief with some other foodstuffs from less affected populations. This is usually met with disapproval from the WFP officers, and sanctions by the local distributors. It should be appreciated that culturally unacceptable, mono-foodstuffs provided over several years as in Kitgum could themselves be a source of food insecurity for the population.

The food relief from World Food Program is not enough. The balance in the diet is not there and if you do not have children the amount you are given is very little. It cannot last even a week...Since we came to the camps, we lack food. Despite the assistance we get from WFP, we do not have land to grow supplementary foods. ; because of that, we do not have enough food. It is very difficult to feed our families.We get maize, beans and cooking oil from WFP. This food is not enough. We also get sorghum, sweet potatoes and cassava. We had different crops, today we have no food, and no land for cultivating and the assistance we get from

WFP of 10 mugs of beans per month is not enough for a normal human being. People are suffering from hunger

In Kitgum it was also noted that there is another challenge associated with food relief. Often the food and particularly maize is provided in seed form before it has been ground into flour. Given the fact that there is usually no enough firewood to cook the maize into a meal, respondents reported to having no option but to exchange the maize with a more n easier foodstuff to prepare, or to get money to grind the maize.

7.2.4 Foraging for food

The population the search for survival usually had to be weighed against personal security and imminent death from the fighting forces.

We would leave our hiding places in search for food, if you were got, you were killed. While in the bush, men would often sneak to their home for some food..... While we were on the run, we would sneak and get foods like beans, sorghum and millet form our homes. Some people managed to run with some chicken, which they slaughtered and ate, cassava and sweet potatoes.

Men's FGD, Padibe

Whenever there is some peace, some people go back and cultivate their fields in order to supplement the food from WFP. We also did some odd jobs and got money to buy some food from the market. Women's FGD, Padibe

As indicated earlier, the danger entailed in this process to the family members who went out look for food includes death, abduction, being hit by landmines, arrests and torture, sexual harassment including rapes and gang rapes as well as body mutilation when one fell in the hands of any of the fighting forces as they pursued the search for food. The narration below helps to relate to the realities faced by the survivors.

In 1988, we ran from Siribino Okoya to the camp. When hunger struck, I went back to the village, leaving the children behind. I had gone to harvest some maize in my garden. On our way back, there were other people who had gone, we met

the rebels who beat us up. We were seven altogether we managed to survive because the NRA intervened. Because of the beatings I received, I can no longer attempt to go back to the village for food. We just have to stay hungry if there is no food. Two of my children got sick of malnutrition.

The long adaptation to the war situation has led to a strategy of devising unconventional food preservation methods. For instance storage of food in the granaries left at home had to be replaced with keeping some of the food such as cassava in the gardens where it would not be easily carried away in a short time. However, some of the food gets spoilt in the process. Other techniques involved include shelling the seeds and grains and hiding these in the bush. Often storage of food using these techniques involves high post-harvest food losses as when the bush in which the grain has been hidden gets burnt in an attempt by the army to deny rebels a hiding place or as a result of practicing traditional bush burning practices by the population, the food also got burnt.

There are people who had harvested millet, sorghum and simsim and did not store it in the granaries but hid it near the home in the bushes. So whenever one sneaked back home this is what one would use. If you found the food you left at home taken or burnt, whatever you left in the bush would be used if it had not gone bad. Some sweet potatoes would also be harvested and some cassava which the rebels had no time to up-root.

7.2.5 Buying food

Given the long duration of the war situation all household cash savings are exhausted. The camp environment however gives some people a little employment. If there is construction of such facilities as health centers, or the humanitarian agencies require some work to be done like the construction of boreholes and road maintenance they employ some people to get materials ready for such work. In this way men usually earn some money that can be used to purchase food. The women and particularly single mothers or old women have to devise alternative means of earning income such as selling of local brew, participate in activities which were traditionally the preserve of men such as road works, depend solely on the

inadequate food relief or be faced with starvation for their dependants or children. The following extract is one of the several examples of survival that is pertinent here.

We can complement the food we are given but only minimally. One can collect firewood, sell it and buy some food. Some men can go and burn bricks and when sold can also buy some food in the home. Still the food cannot be enough.

In order to get extra food, the mother can sell firewood or work for a pay and then probably buy some beef or you dig in exchange for food.

*Those who are constructing houses can employ you to build or at times one can tell you to go and dig and they can pay you. There is what they call katana here, something to do with 5*6 feet and they pay you 600/=. You two, with your wife can dig four of them and you get 2,400/=. Out of the money you can buy green vegetables then you can squeeze some for treatment...*

7.2.5 Exchange of sexual favours for food

In addition, the desperate situation that women are usually faced with during the conflict leads them as well as their daughters into prostituting themselves or exchanging sexual favours for food. Since there are not many people within the civilian population (except the few traders) who have the surplus food to give away or the cash income the most eligible clients of the girls are usually the army in the barracks or guards of the internally displaced peoples camps. These exploits for survival by the girls however are usually dangerous in the long run as they are fraught with the possibility of catching HIV/AIDS. It is for the reason of the prevalent armed conflict that both Kasese region and Acholi region have some of the highest recorded HIV prevalence rates in Uganda (UAC, 2001). The community is so desperate for food and survival that parents cannot afford to advise or dissuade their daughters from sexually interacting with the soldiers or traders as long as such relationships can provide the family with some little food for survival. The following extract further explains this situation:

At times you would see your daughter bringing home some food and when you ask her where she got the food from she would say that she did some work whereas she would have traded sex for food. Many shop keepers did this. Some girls would go to work as house girls then they come back pregnant or even sick. Many girls have dropped out of school in this manner.

Padibe-women.

Some times at work you are forced into sex so as to get some food.....me women have resorted to prostitution.....You find some women after losing their husbands they come and stay in the camp, start selling themselves or even run a business. Not only that, when they go back they find that the property left by their husband has been grabbed so where do you go except stay around.

The fact that there are so many female-headed house holds, they are easily deceived especially by the soldiers who have money. The soldiers spread diseases like AIDS are killing many people and after sometime the household is left to children. This is a very serious problem.

Puyuda,women FGD

7.3: Mechanisms of ensuring household food security

A comparison of the measures considered important for ensuring household food security in war affected Kitgum and non-affected Bugiri, shows a sharp difference. For the population of Kitgum, ending the war, returning to their homes, getting free food, rehabilitating their fields, re-stocking of cattle, accessing farm implements were considered vital to ensuring household food security and yet these hardly counted as measures in Bugiri (Table 7.3).

Table 7.3: Mechanisms for ensuring household food security

Description	Kasese	Mbarara	Kitgum	Bugiri
Getting affordable fertilizers	5.8	3.8	29.9	39.7
Getting enough land	69.3	68.8	25.2	34.3
Getting labour	11.7	24.8	22.8	30.8
Enough seeds for planting	43.1	3.8	72.4	49.4
Pests and disease control	5.1	20.4	43.3	48.1
Improved health in family	40.1	1.9	48.8	26.9
Getting free/cheap food	65.0	4.5	48.8	10.9
Ending the War improving security	77.4	1.3	82.7	1.3
Returning to our homes	57.7	0.0	49.6	0.0
Rehabilitating our fields	29.9	0.0	35.4	3.2
Access to farm implements	29.2	7.6	58.3	15.4
Restocking of livestock	20.4	0.0	88.2	2.6
Control family expansion	3.6	0.6	17.3	1.9
Stopping sell of foodstuffs	1.5	0.6	18.9	5.1
Reducing unproductive adults in the home	3.6	0.6	13.4	0.0
Re-establishment of granaries	-	-	44.9	3.4
Setting-up national silos	-	-	33.1	5.1
Re-instatement of cultural values	-	-	18.9	0.0

Others measures deemed important in Kitgum and not in Bugiri included control family expansion, stopping sell of foodstuffs, reducing unproductive adults in the homes, re-establishment of granaries, setting-up national silos and re-instatement of cultural values. Less differences between Bugiri and Kitgum with regard to measures for ensuring household food security were getting affordable fertilisers,

enough land, labour, seeds for planting, pests, weed and disease control and improved health in family.

***graphic on sale of food and domestic violence**

In Mbarara and Kasese the question of shortage of farming land was pertinent. On most of the other measures that could improve their food security there were however sharp differences in the frequency of their occurrence. Problems such as inadequate seeds for planting, the need for improved health in family, getting free food, ending the war and improving security, returning to homes, rehabilitating of fields, increasing access to farm implements, and restocking of livestock were of greater significance to Kasese than Mbarara. While control of pests and disease was deemed important among the pastoralists and some crop farmers in Mbarara, it was less so in Kasese.

Chapter Eight:

Conclusion and Recommendations

8.1 Conclusion

At the outset of carrying out the study of Women, food security and armed conflict in four districts of Uganda, it was obvious that massive displacement of people and alienation of whole societies from farm production, had taken place in different parts of Uganda. However what was not clear was the impact of population alienation from the land had on food security, the manner in which it exhibited itself, the coping mechanisms of the population with the realities of food insecurity and the role and realities of women in relationship to food security in the conflict areas of Uganda. To carry out this study two armed conflict affected districts that had not been covered in the Isis-WICCE Women's Experience of Conflict studies were deemed pertinent. The duration of recent conflicts in different parts of Uganda has ranged from short 2-5 years as was the case in West Nile, Luwero, Teso Region and Kasese, Kabarole and Bundibudgyo, to very long (over 15 years) as was the case in Acholi region or the Karamoja Teso Conflict. It was therefore seen necessary that one district (Kasese) in the short duration conflict regions and one district (Kitgum) representing the long conflict areas be selected for this study. As a control group two additional districts namely Mbarara and Bugiri were selected. The latter were to help in identifying the causes, magnitude, manner of food insecurity in non-conflict areas as well as mechanisms that can foster food security across the board.

To effectively meet the objectives of this study as indicated above, an appropriate methodological approach that would enable the measurement of the magnitude of food insecurity and determine the participation of men and women in employing coping strategies while at the same time identifying non-quantifiable explanatory factors for the identified phenomenon was necessary. A mixed method approach including the use of a semi-coded questionnaire, focus group discussions, key

informant interviews, observations and review of existing reports was employed. In addition four research teams were selected, trained and deployed in 2001 (Kasese and Mbarara) and 2002 (Bugiri and Kitgum) to carry out the fieldwork. The data were analysed as soon as the fieldwork were completed and district based reports compiled and disseminated.

This report is a synthesis of the two data sets Mbarara /Kasese and Bugiri/Kitgum and is influenced by the fieldwork findings as well as the comments and recommendations made during the dissemination process. Since the details of the findings and discussions are laid out clearly in the body of the report, this Chapter will confine itself to pointing out the salient findings and pointing out the strategies to solve food security problems of war affected areas and areas enjoying peace as well as the potential role that women, other sub-groups within the population and other stakeholders such as government, NGOs and donors can play in ensuring household and community food security needs.

The first major effect of the conflict was population displacement. In the predominantly peasant economy of Uganda most of the population's displacement from their homes also implies alienation of the producers from the primary production base – the land. Thus thousands of people in both Kasese and Kitgum have been displaced to internally displaced people's camps and towns where the production of food is not feasible, while their fields grow wild. The removal of labourers from the production process was also associated with abductions, high levels of mortality with over two people per family having died during the war in Kitgum, increased morbidity and inability to access medical services leading to debilitation or increased loss of time for production during short peace intervals.

At the same time, war, especially when prolonged as in Kitgum, has an effect of expanding household sizes and hence the number of consumers. While whole

families are being wiped out, those remaining become large due to non-usual resident membership. The increased impoverishment of households also hinders efforts to acquire food through purchasing. Traditional coping mechanisms such as selling of animals and poultry to alleviate relatively shorter periods of famine are not feasible as most livestock are the first target for looting of the armed fighters. Selling of labour for food another traditional coping mechanism is also wrought with danger as it entails a possibility of death, harassment, torture and in the case of women-rape/gang rape by the fighting forces. Moreover the widespread nature of these conflicts usually disables wider areas from producing enough, let alone a surplus that could be exchanged for labour.

To accentuate the tragedy of the conflict displaced population, is the fact that all the population are for prolonged periods unable to access the gardens and food stocks where the fighting forces roam freely looting whatever little was left behind and planting anti-personnel landmines in an effort to prevent belligerent forces from easy movement over the same area. In addition, relief food is also not easily transported to the population as the relief convoys are prone to attacks by the fighters.

Given the above, it is no wonder that for all foodstuffs commonly produced in the area there was significant reduction in the proportion of households that had them at the time of survey compared to the period prior to the survey and that the same pattern obtained for Kasere as it did for Kitgum. In both districts hardly any households produced a surplus for sell. Yet the only remaining source of income for most households affected by war is the sale of food, which is done when the households are faced with more urgent life threatening scenarios like imminent death of members unless treatment is obtained. Likewise as noted earlier, there was a significant reduction in the number of meals that were consumed on average by both adults and children were high. Thus food insecurity was experienced from

both the decrease in the variety of foodstuff that could be consumed as well as the amounts that the households were able to access.

Amidst the above challenges to production and other means for acquisition of food is the fact that families must continue to survive. The traditional role of women to procure food for the families here becomes even more accentuated as the contribution of men is lowered by departure of men to join the fighters either by coercion through abduction or voluntarily. Many of the men also cease participation in the search for food as they are less likely than women to survive death, abduction or arrest than women when they dare set out of hiding or from the IDPs. Not that the danger to the women is any less. Many women were reportedly forced into marriages, raped, killed, tortured and maimed in the quest for food for their families. Where labouring for food or gathering leftovers from the villages is not feasible, it was reported that most women and particularly younger girls are forced to enter sex slavery for their own survival as well as a means of obtaining a livelihood for their families. The challenge becomes double accentuated for the women when some of the men are not only unable to lend a hand but decide to sell off the household means of survival – land or food stock and wastefully spend the income.

With regard to the non-conflict areas, while food security was much better than in the conflict affected districts, threats to production such as land shortage, natural calamities, lack of agricultural development challenges and extension services, gender issues, social cultural and political constraints, food thefts, pests, low labour supply and poor producer prices were noted as responsible for food insecurity in the affected households as these are more or less country-wide problems perpetuating poverty, the conflict areas are not exempted, they further compounds the problem. Like in the conflict-affected areas, irresponsible expenditure by men and the low participation of men in production were found significant in increasing the women's

roles towards ensuring household survival. One of the biggest threats to food security in the non conflict areas which is even more prominent in the conflict areas is HIV/AIDS. This has led to increased orphan hood and widow hood and the capacities of households to take on orphans are getting over stretched.

In the fishing communities of Bugiri district and Lake Victoria shores, the reasons raised for food shortage included: over concentration fishing activity in relation to other food generating activities, refusal of men to participate in land cultivation with their wives, lack of community sensitisation about responsibilities of men and women and bias on some food items especially by women like mud fish and chicken.

There was relatively higher participation of both men and women in the production of food on the farm in war conflict regions of Kasese and Kitgum than the non conflict regions of Mbarara and Bugiri by the time of this survey. The inadequate distribution of responsibilities that leaves the bulk of food production in the hands of women and the limitless power of men to abuse their 'privileged' position in the home proved a major danger to food security in several homes in Bugiri and Mbarara. The abuses by men included, wasteful expenditure on booze, extra-marital relations, selfish eating habits and lack of the spirit of responsibility were at the heart of some household's food insecurity and lack of household savings.

As a result food of shortage, food thefts cropped up especially among the households headed by children especially due to lack of skills required to manage food production on top of domestic administration.

Due to food insecurity, also like in conflict areas, the number of average meals consumed in Mbarara and Bugiri reduced, there was limited access to various food varieties, reduction in the number of livestock reared and a reduction in the

possession of food storage capacity which resulted into no or little surplus food production.

8.2 Recommendations

The recommendations made in this section are based on those made during the fieldwork, during debriefing sessions with district staff and Councils as well as at the time of presentation of the reports to the districts. They have been re-arranged into short term or immediate and long term, which ought to enter the district and national strategic plans for conflict affected and non-conflict affected areas.

8.2.1 Short Term recommendations for conflict-affected Areas

1. One of the major challenges of the population displaced by war is trauma. In war affected areas such as Kitgum and Kasese for example the most productive age is too traumatized which affects food production. Even as the war continues there is a need to have a cadre of trained volunteers to identify, counsel and carry out referral for psychosocial support. Since conflicts are endemic to Uganda, the Government department responsible for disaster preparedness should recruit and train local volunteers in skills of offering psychosocial support. In addition there is a special need for setting up relevant information systems to educate women and men about their responsibilities in society. Other related interventions include education on laws and dangers of early marriage, rape, social irresponsibility, drinking and substance abuse.

2. HIV/AIDS is another problem, which should continue to be and intensified in terms of prevention programs , and provision of drugs to patients to prolong their life span.
3. There are many more displaced people living among relatives homes than perhaps those within the IDP camps. However, government, NGO and support is usually offered only to inmates of IDP camps. This is the primary reason why IDP camps get overcrowded leading to new challenges of health, sanitation, idleness, production failure and cultural breakdown. Humanitarian agencies and government should always identify mechanisms for ensuring all families in areas affected by conflict – whether internally displaced or not but which have increased non-usual resident membership are assisted where they are and according to individual needs. Formation of IDPs and assistance to the IDP camp population should be a last resort and not the first option as it leads to the above problems and the evolution of a dependency syndrome within the population.
4. Armed conflict is a challenge to food production and no matter the amount of relief that can be availed to the population, it will never suffice to replace the population's own produce. There is a need therefore to reduce the dependency syndrome of the IDP's, improve on their food security (supplement food donations) and also allow balanced diet through production. All government

structures (both local and central level) should always therefore collaborate and make sure that some large enough land is gazetted for IDP's to allow farming to continue. In addition seeds, fertilizers, pest-control and farm extension services should be availed. Care should be taken to ensure the gender dimensions of production and distribution of inputs are included in planning land and other input distribution. The need to protect women in more vulnerable situations such as widows, elderly women looking after many orphans and the girl children who are likely to end up in prostitution for survival if they are not targeted with interventions should be recognized and effectively managed at the planning stage of all stakeholders.

5. Conflict areas suffer cultural erosion. For instance the 18 years armed conflict in the Acholi region has affected the culture of the Acholi community seriously. Children who were born in the IDPs camps are completely in total black out of the Acholi culture yet the elderly who know the culture are getting finished. Some of the traditional cultures within conflict areas are rich, address local humanitarian conditions, preserve the environment and enhance good conduct and behaviour. Such cultural practices need to be protected and documentation is the first step that can be done so that the children born in the cultures can learn such values as the value of communal eating in eliminating the negative impact of orphanhood.

6. While the war continues and the population remains in internal displacement, there is a need for the Government of Uganda and the International Community to recognize that violation of the human rights of the inmates of the camp is a crime under international law. All human rights of the inmates in IDPs, including the right to food, must to the extent possible be respected. As a first step government should set-up a code of minimum standards to be observed in humanitarian situations including internal displacement.
7. The humanitarian agencies should continue and increase supplies of food to feed the IDPS until the conflict has ended, the population re-settled and accessed their farmland for cultivation.

8.2.2 Long- term recommendations

1. In the long run the end to the food insecurity and resultant humanitarian tragedy that areas affected by conflict have become is the prevention of conflict and the end to the conflicts that are raging by pursuing peaceful means to the absolute logical end. Resorting to war with its tragic consequences is a reflection of poor governance and political decadence as well as institutional weaknesses. All belligerents in war should recognize that the victory of war is not worth a single life that dies in the cross-fire or the thousands that die or are impaired by starvation and diseases. It is therefore the duty of government and its partners to protect the lives of its population and there is no better protection that can be offered than to avoid conflicts and pursue peaceful resolution of conflicts.

2. When the guns fall silent and the folly of having resorted to them in the first instance is assessed the real challenge of the conflict will be resettlement of the population. Rebuilding or establishing infrastructure will be needed. The package suggested by participants in a debriefing session in Kitgum indicates the magnitude of needs that have been created by the war. The household suggested package for re-settlement included building materials, household utensils, clothing, seeds and tools for farming, cows for re-stocking, emergency food supplies, bicycles. With regard to community re-construction it was noted that schools, health facilities, water works should be provided in the process of post-conflict resettlement.
3. Micro-credit finance to curb the level of poverty. Though it is the responsibility of the government to provide the above, it is not certain that the time when this will be feasible (when the war ends) is known. Perhaps we must emphasize that in resettlement, the special needs and potential of women for managing the post war period MUST be recognized and taken care of. Otherwise, the cost will be larger and the duration for resettlement longer if ever it will be.

6.3 Labour Supply, production participation and Gender

To sustain the food production capacity when 'improved technology' is no longer feasible would call for increased labour inputs with the less advanced tools. However in armed-conflict affected districts such as Kitgum this is not feasible considering that many of the youths (boys and girls) have been abducted. The few men available are in hiding, while the women have been traumatized, are sick and in fear of mortal danger. The war has resulted in loss of farm laborers through abduction and death, which resulted in:

- i. Shortage of labour due to the abduction of children, injuries and many illnesses that could not be treated because health infrastructure and services have been destroyed by war.
- ii. Hunger due to lack of food.
- iii. Massive poverty.
- iv. Food production management challenges resulting from conflict related destruction of functioning family structures with increased single parent and child headed households as well as deficit of energetic young adults.

Our sons and daughters who were assisting our families to dig have deteriorated. There is no manpower. The children were abducted and the parents are weaker so the production is low. Women's FGD, Puyuda

Particularly hit are the families which lost many people and the many widow headed households.

Even when the widow has her garden, there is no one to help her with all the garden work. She cannot dig a large piece of land such that she can store some of the harvest for the dry season or even sale. The end result is hunger and starvation in such homes.

In the more settled areas such as Omiya-Nyima sub-county, some NGOs and in particular World Vision Uganda have stepped-in to restock bulls for purpose of increasing production. It is expected that these will be used on communal rotational basis. However, this arrangement is grossly inadequate taking into account the demand and the limited time within which ploughing can take place. The following group discussion extract illustrates this further:

Women's groups of about between 30 and 50 women are given a pair of bulls and they have to use these cattle for all that fields. By the time they finish the planting season is over. Take into consideration the period each member has to use. Then when they talk of Acholi men they are very evasive. Think of the situation they are traumatized. They used to care for the family but these days they cannot keep the family.

Besides the lack of implements, many families do not have seeds for planting. Sometimes some of the seeds preserved for planting is eaten before the planting season owing to serious food shortages.

They were also complaining that they do not have seeds. Even cassava, they do not have the stems. They have no seeds to plant. At times you have to labor for seeds. Some is eaten. They do not have farm implements. Most of them do not have hoes in fact, most of them were asking if government could give them oxen and ploughs. I only met one LC of the area, a woman, she said government is advocating for modernization of agriculture, why can't they modernize the tools also so that when they go back, it is easier?

Research Assistants Recap session