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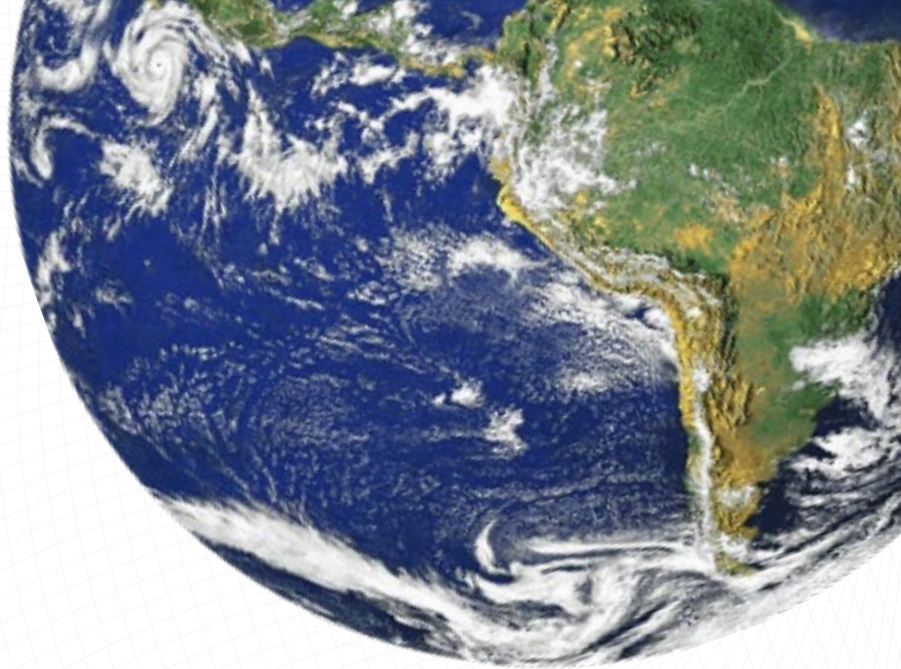


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WORD FROM EDITOR-IN-CHIEF



A NEW INTERNATIONAL ACADEMIC JOURNAL IS BORN

Nkumba University launched this First Issue of the First Volume of a new international journal on 16th July 2021. It has been baptized “**Nkumba International Research Journal**” and it is to be abbreviated as “**NIRJ**” in citations.

The NIRJ is an Online Open Access Academic Journal that provides a platform for presenting, discussing, and documenting research findings and other important academic concerns in a multi-disciplinary approach. It has been designed to disseminate research findings, latest discoveries and developments, and future research prospects to the public in a manner easily understood. Articles to be accepted for publication include formal reports of original research, re-analyses of others’ research, reviews of the literature in a specific area, proposals of new but untested theories, and opinion pieces.

This initiative is in recognition of the fact that journal articles, in academic life, are the final output of most research. A researcher’s

performance and productivity are judged largely on the number of publications, leading to the adage: “either you publish or you perish”. It is through publications that research findings are disseminated to others in a particular discourse. Journals are known to offer a wide selection of scholarly articles that can be used for understanding the progress of knowledge in a research field and for developing ideas for further research. Nkumba University is, therefore, committed to enhancing the reputation of the NIRJ through accepting quality manuscripts, selecting reputable reviewers, and having an experienced calibre of the Editorial Board and Editorial Team to increase the visibility and credibility of the contributing researchers as well as their career opportunities.

The articles to be published in this research journal will be peer-reviewed and approved by experts in the respective fields to ensure the reliability of the resources for referencing and use by researchers, policymakers, and the general public. Prospective authors can send their original manuscripts via e-mail to the journal for peer review and possible publication. The NIRJ will expect article contributions from wide expertise such as Education, Humanities, Social sciences, Business, Law, Natural and Applied Sciences, Languages, Art and Design, Psychology and Security Studies. The journal will bring together expertise from universities and the wider civil society worldwide and facilitate communication and collaboration between researchers, practitioners, and educators. Manuscripts from authors are, therefore, welcome. Instructions to authors appear on the inside cover of the journal.

The frequency of publication of the journal will, until further notice, be biannual. Its functional focus will be on well researched and useful information, education on various issues of national and global importance, and guidance on the latest innovations and developments.

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Nature's Challenges To Conflict Resolution And Peace

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Abstract

Humanity aspires for a world without conflict and war but the planet Earth has its natural challenges to conflict resolution and peace. This article, therefore, reviews and analyzes the historical and contemporary evidence of natural challenges to peaceful coexistence and conflict resolution, and suggests some technological policy responses that should be considered for adoption internationally to minimize conflicts and to ensure sustainable peace.

Competitive behaviours of organisms for scarce natural resources leading to conflicts, violent attacks, and wars among living things have existed since the start of life. Individuals have always been in competition with others over limited resources. Human societies, in particular, have throughout the existence of life, been fraught with conflicts and wars over shortages, inadequacies, or absence of their fundamental needs (Bible, 2015), which include “physiological”, “safety” and “security”, “belonging” and “love”, “esteem”, “self-actualization”, and “self-transcendence” requirements (Maslow, 1943). Biblical narratives are full of a world of scarce resources and violent competition for them (Schwartz, 1997 and Bible, 2015). The situation is worsened by the geometrically growing global population which is outstripping the arithmetically increasing resources (Malthus, 1798). Since nature operates on the theory of “the survival of the fittest” (Darwin, 1859) and since the resources for survival are limited on the planet earth, competitions are bound to persist with consequences of conflicts, violence, and wars. Based on Darwin’s (1871) theory of “survival of the fittest”, the most aggressive competitors will continue to survive while the weak will be progressively subjugated and eventually eliminated as long as there is earthly existence amidst scarcity.

Competitions and conflicts between nonhuman biological organisms are inevitable and should be left to natural forces including human interventions to create sustainable balance. Humans, on the other hand, have at least made efforts to address immediate and some root causes of conflicts among themselves (Bondurant, 1988). They have developed nearly 250 methods of conflict resolution that were recently enumerated by the Gandhian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (Gangal, 1988). For the existence of a peaceful or conflict-free society, it is imperative to meet the basic human needs and include among the techniques for resolving conflict (a) reciprocal defence strategy (Maynard, 1982) to overcome general insecurity and threats of conflict, (b) agricultural intensification (Abdulkadir, Orach-Meza and Edaku, 2017) to alleviate nutritional insecurity, and (c) adaptive technology (Boserup, 1965; 1981; Orach-Meza, 2011; Barredo, 2013; Botkin et.al, 2013; Ipate et al., 2015) to promote sustainable environmental and socio-economic development.

Keywords: Nature, nature’s challenges, peace, conflict resolution, basic human needs, adaptive technology

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Introduction

Humanity aspires for a world without conflict and war, but the planet Earth, with its limited natural resources to provide for the needs of humans, has its natural challenges to peaceful coexistence. Nature is the planet earth and the resources on it. The evolution of traits and behaviour for successful competition for the earth's resources, and survival among living things, based on the theory of "natural selection" (Darwin, 1859) through which adaptation and speciation take place is one such challenge. Natural selection, according to Darwin (1869), is the process in nature by which only the living things best adapted to their surroundings tend to survive and transmit their genetic traits and behaviour in increasing numbers to succeeding generations, while those less adapted tend to be eliminated. Both Darwin (1869) and Spencer (1864) referred to this evolutionary phenomenon as "survival of the fittest" in describing the mechanism of "natural selection" or "the preservation of favoured race (species) in the struggle for life (existence)".

Darwin (1871) and his contemporaries, therefore, theorized the existence of competitive and destructive behaviours as something inherent to living things that evolved to ensure their survival and species perpetuation through reproduction in the limited space and resources. One of the basic needs for physiological existence is food, but food becomes increasingly scarce as the number of consumers increases. It is, therefore, the increasingly limited supply of food and other basic needs for existence that compel organisms including humans to compete for them, at times, violently, sometimes leading to war. Humanity has other numerous needs besides food, which, if not met with adequate supplies, could lead to perpetual competition, conflicts, and wars.

Competitive behaviours leading to conflicts, violent attacks, and wars among living things have naturally become part of life. Individuals, including haploid cells in procreation, have always been in competition with each other over limited resources required for their existence and over dominance. Human societies have throughout the existence of life, right from the time of Adam, been fraught with conflicts and wars over shortages, inadequacies, or absence of their fundamental needs (Bible, 2015), which include "physiological", "safety" and "security", "belonging" and "love", "esteem", "self-actualization", and "self-transcendence" requirements (Maslow, 1943). Biblical narratives are full of a world of scarce resources and violent competition for them (Schwartz, 1997; Bible, 2015). The situation is worsened by the geometrically growing global population, which is outstripping the arithmetically increasing resources (Malthus, 1798). Since nature operates on the theory of "survival of the fittest" and since the resources for survival are limited, competitions are bound to persist with consequences of conflicts, violence, and wars. Based on Darwin's (1871) theory of "natural selection", the most aggressive competitors will continue to survive while the weak will be progressively deprived and eventually eliminated as long as there is earthly existence amidst scarcity of resources.

Conflicts, arising out of competition, between certain rivalling organisms are inevitable and should be left to natural forces to balance. However, humans have at least made efforts to address immediate and root causes of conflicts among themselves. They have developed nearly 250 methods of conflict resolution that were recently listed and reviewed by the Gandhian Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (Gangal, 1988). For the existence of a peaceful or conflict-free society, it is imperative to include among the techniques for resolving conflict "reciprocal defence strategy", (Maynard, 1982; von Clausewitz, 1943) to overcome general insecurity and

threats of conflict, “agricultural intensification” (Abdulkadir, Orach-Meza and Edaku, 2017) to alleviate nutritional insecurity, and “adaptive technology” or “precision agriculture”, (Boserup, 1965, 1981; Orach-Meza, 2011; Barredo, 2013; Ipate et al., 2015) to promote sustainable environmental and socio-economic development. These and other scientists believe that “the power of ingenuity would always outmatch that of demand” because “necessity is the mother of invention”. The global society, therefore, aims at the development of specific solutions based on the recommended techniques that are adaptable to local realities.

Methods

Relevant and pertinent literature was reviewed and analyzed for historical and contemporary records on the scarcity of global natural resources for human existence and on the persistence of competitions, conflicts, and wars. This article, therefore, presents evidence, after analysing the information gathered, on naturally evolving challenges to peaceful coexistence and conflict resolution. Some technological policy responses that should be considered for adoption and implementation to minimise the likelihood of conflicts were suggested to enhance sustainable peaceful coexistence on earth.

Findings, Discussions, and Recommendations on Natural Challenges to Conflict Resolution and Peace

(a) Humanity’s Common Village: The Struggle for the Limited Space on Earth

The Earth, which is about 4.6 billion years old, is one of the several planets in the Universe on which human nature has been able to evolve within the living ecosystem that comprises the atmosphere (air), hydrosphere (water), lithosphere (soil), and the biosphere (biodiversity or living things that includes humans).



Fig. 1: Map of the Earth Showing Oceans, Seas, Lakes, and Land (Arable Land, Ice/Snow, Deserts, etc.)
(Source: Google Map 2017)

Geographically, it has a surface area of 510,066,000 square kilometres of which 148,429,000 square kilometres (29.1%) is land area and 361,637,000 square kilometres (70.9%) is covered by water of which a small portion (9,028,300 Km²) is freshwater (Strahler, 1963; NASA, 2017). Historical, archaeological, chemical, and geological evidence indicates that the increasing human population and their expanding socio-economic activities, as well as demand for survival, are concentrated on the limited land, water, air, and biodiversity. Increasing human actions on the use of resources have been, are, and will continue to (a) affect the quantity and availability of water through modification of streams, rivers, lakes, groundwater, and even the oceans; (b) transform and degrade land through expansion of agriculture, human settlements, development

of infrastructure mining and land erosion; (c) pollute water and air through the generation of destructive wastes, and (d) alter the biosphere by changing or destroying natural habitats and causing the extinction of many living species. These usually competitive actions are often the causes of conflicts among organisms over the scarce natural resources, and the space available.

Table 1: Share of the Land Area (Source: *World Bank, 2015; NASA, 2015*)

Type of Land	Area in Km2	Percentage
Land for agriculture (crop and pasture)	71,671,207	48.29
Land with poor top soil	11,110,362	7.49
Rocky mountains	21,780,431	14.67
Dry (hot) deserts	15,767,000	10.62
Ice/Snow (mainly Arctic and Antarctica)	28,100,000	18.93
TOTAL	148,429,000	100.00

The share of the total land area of 148,429,000 square kilometres in Table 1, comprising arable land, ice/snow-covered land, deserts, mountains, and land without good topsoil for each of the current population of 7.8 billion is about 20,000 square meters. This is about 400 by 50 meters each, but by 2015, the available agricultural land was about 0.194 hectares per person (World Bank, 2015; NASA, 2015). In 2013, Uganda's arable land per capita was estimated at 0.189 hectares, which was a decline of about 10 times from 1.782 hectares per person in 1941. That may be the reason for increased conflicts over land in many parts of the world.

(b) The Effects of Human Population Growth and the Diverse Cultural Groups

The world population (Fig.2) is currently (2021) just over 7.8 billion people distributed unequally in 195 countries, 193 of which are members of the United Nations. An estimate of the people who have ever lived on Earth to 2016 is about 108+ billion (Hau; 2017). With improvement in human survival rate at the global level, despite efforts towards population control, the rapid increase in population will continue. Projections of population growth estimated in 2015 predicted that the world human population was expected to reach 8.5 billion in 2030, 9.7 billion in 2050, and 11.2 billion in 2100 (United Nations, 2017). The annual growth rate of the world population was 0.4 in 1800, 0.6 in 1900, but shot 1.03 in 2021 (Google 2021). It took 127 years from 1800 to 1927 for the human population to increase from one (1) billion to two (2) billion. It took another 33 years for the population to increase to three (3) billion in 1960, but only 14 years to grow to four (4) billion in 1974. Then, it took the next 13 years to reach five (5) billion in 1987 and finally dropped to 12 years to increase to six (6) billion in 1999. It was yet another 12 years for it to increase to seven (7) billion in 2011. The current level of 7.8 billion has been reached in six (8) years. At a national level, Uganda's population, which was only 3.5 million in 1941, some 78 years ago, is now 47,123,531 in 2021, and it is projected to grow to 202,867,655 in 2100 (United Nations, 2021).

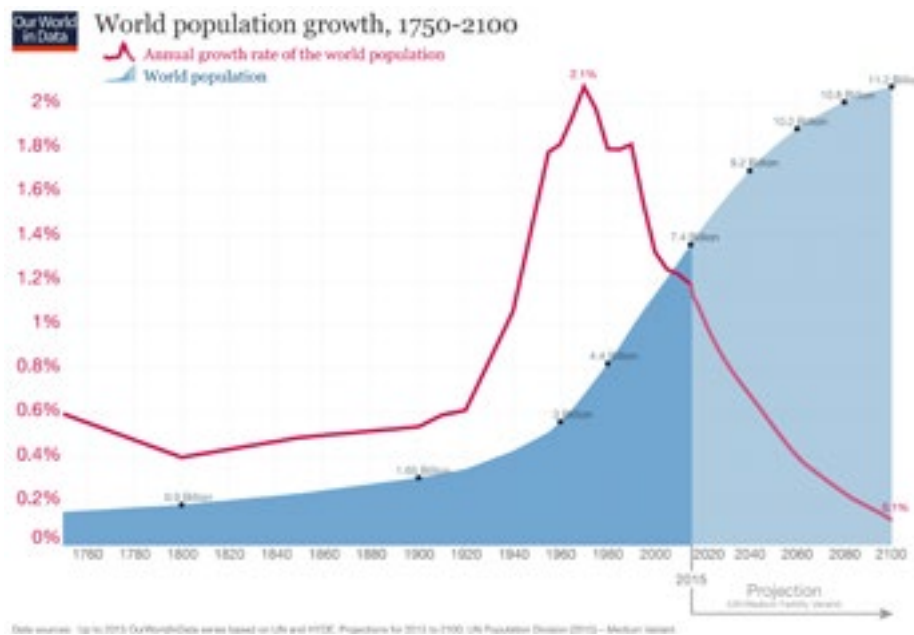


Fig. 2: World Population Growth and Forecast with the Growth Rate (1760 to 2100)
(Source: United Nations, 2021)

Although about 7,099 major ethnic groups have been identified and listed on Earth (Lewis et al., 2017 and Levinson, 1998), the exact figure of how many different societies, cultures, and ethnic subgroups is not certain. The estimated number of ethnic groups corresponds to the living languages spoken worldwide (Lewis et al., 2017) on the assumption that each language is spoken at least by one ethnic group. Fortunately, due to globalization, many cultural differences are increasingly becoming blurred, although ethnicity has remained mostly distinct. Ethnic groups and sub-groups are associated with shared cultural heritage, ancestry, history, homeland, language or dialect, and associations.

The many ethnic groups and their expanding interests and needs would tend to feud increasing competitions for scarce resources, and hence, ethnic tensions and conflicts. For instance, Europe had the 20th century cleansing of minority groups, and the conflicts over resources in Africa are mostly between ethnic groups and not between states (Kiernan, 2007; Ganguly, 2009).

For instance, in 1941, there was more than enough land in Uganda for a population of 3.5 million people. Uganda has a total land area of 241,550 square kilometres but 41,030 square kilometres is covered by fresh water in rivers and lakes. The population has since grown to 47,123,531 in 2021. With static land area and about 27 ethnic groups and many more ethnic subgroups whose populations are increasing (United Nations, 2021), the tendency for conflicts over the limited requirement of human needs appears progressively enhanced.

Diversity in human societies, for this paper, is having different races, nationalities, ethnic groups, communities, religions, professional organizations, political parties, etc., on earth and in a nation-state or country. Humanity is diverse in ethnic and socio-cultural terms and can therefore be a source of both benefits and conflicts. Diversity should be valued since it recognises differences in backgrounds, skills, attitudes, and experiences that bring benefits of fresh ideas and perceptions. On the other hand, according to Oyeniyi (2011), “conflict is an inevitable outcome of human diversity and a world without conflict is not desirable, because it would mean a world without diversity”. In the same vein, Wilson (2016) referred to warfare as

“humanity’s hereditary curse” and another evolutionary psychologist, Pinker (2013) believed that “chronic raiding and feuding characterize life in a state of nature”. All these views are right, but the latter three seem applicable in this discourse; and the conflicts, feuds, or wars are fueled by the desire to fulfil the fundamental needs of humans, which are entrenched in the limited natural resources.

(c) The Effects of Scarcity and Limitations of Essential Natural Resources

Natural resources are materials that occur in nature on the Earth and are essential or useful in meeting the needs of humans such as sunlight, air, water, land, and living things. These resources are limited in the planetary ecosystem comprising of the sun (solar radiation or sunlight), atmosphere (air), hydrosphere (water), lithosphere (land inclusive of all minerals), and the biosphere (living things). Sunlight, geothermal energy, and air can be found everywhere and are known as ubiquitous resources because they are omnipresent and inexhaustible (will not run out in the near future, though air can, however, be polluted). The majority of the other resources on Earth are theoretically exhaustible as they have a finite quantity and their use can deplete them. Water, although limited in volumes of salt and fresh water, is replaceable and can renew itself through the water cycle. Minerals are non-renewable but some can be recycled. Living things are renewable through reproduction and, along with some minerals and air, through biogeochemical cycles. Reproduction enables the population of organisms to increase in numbers while the amounts of the other resources remain the same.

The capacity of the Earth to support the diversity of species, humans included, is large but fundamentally limited. Living organisms exploit their surroundings for natural resources that they use for survival. However, there are limits to the life-sustaining resources that the earth, with its limited space, can provide as shown in Fig. 3. Due to the rapid increase in the human population, at the rate of 2.5 per cent in some countries, which in 2011 had peaked at 7 billion, natural resources are being used up at a more rapid rate than in the past. Renewable natural resources can be replenished but when they are used too rapidly and at an increasing rate, they cannot replenish fast enough to meet human demands. Non-renewable natural resources such as precious metals that are being exploited can run out completely and be gone forever. Efforts to recycle, reconstitute and/or substitute some non-renewable resources once or more time are possible (Ehrlich et al., 1977) but can be prohibitively costly in the long run. The rate of use of some non-renewable resources like groundwater, fossil fuels, and high-grade minerals can be no greater than the rate at which renewable resources that are being used sustainably can be substituted for these non-renewable resources. There is a finite planetary quantity of each non-renewable resource that can be recovered economically as it is possible to calculate when the earth will run out of a particular resource, given knowledge of the amount of the resource that exists, the technology being used, the costs, and the likely demand. Such resources cannot be used sustainably. The sustainable rate of emission of pollutants is determined by the degree that they can be absorbed and rendered harmless in the environment.

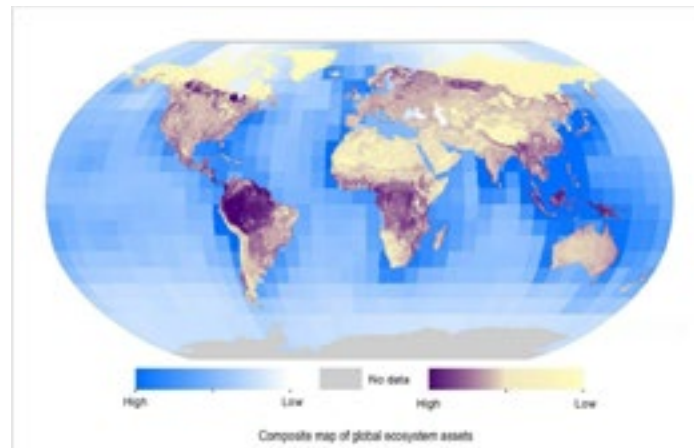


Fig. 3: Depicting Natural Resources of the World
(Source: United Nations, 2021)

There are resources that provide free services to humanity without necessarily undergoing depletion or degradation. These include microbial nutrients cyclers and soil generators, natural pest control agents, pollinators of crops, and forests that maintain balances of gases, water, soil, and biodiversity. However, other resources such as those for food, drinking water, energy, and the capacity of the environment to absorb pollutants are either consumed, or dispersed, or degraded as benefits are derived from them.

Depletion of natural resources has been associated with social inequality (Wittwer, 1989) since most virgin biodiversities are located in developing countries. These depletions can be viewed as major sources of social unrest and conflicts in developing nations.

Several studies (USA/IP, 2007; Wittwer, 1989; Le Billon, 2007) have shown that throughout history, countries have battled over natural resources. Demographic changes, increasing consumption, environmental degradation, and climate change are placing significant and potentially unsustainable pressure on the availability and usability of natural resources.

Two theories were proposed to explain the role of natural resources in conflict (Fig. 4): one argument points to scarcity and the other points to environmental resource abundance. With scarcity, it is argued by researchers such as Malthus (1798) that rapid population growth, environmental degradation, resource depletion, and unequal resource access combine to exacerbate poverty and income inequality among poorer communities. These deprivations are translated into grievances, increasing the risks of rebellion and societal conflict. This is the problem of overpopulation and scarcity of natural resources. Shortages of natural resources have been associated with population explosion overshooting the carrying capacity of the Earth. It is also argued that resource abundance is the bigger threat to create conflict due to “resource curse” like corruption, economic stagnation, and violent conflict over access to revenues. For instance, lucrative mineral resources like oil, diamonds, and other strategically important minerals have fueled conflicts in countries of Africa like Sierra Leone, Congo, Angola, and Liberia (USA/IP, 2007).

The natural resources problems, both renewable and nonrenewable, are real and are only going to get worse under the current political-economic system. What happens when resources are in the process of being ruined or depleted? There is a scramble, frequently violent, for the control of the remaining resources.

A graph illustrating the Malthusian theory of population growth where population increase geometrically while resources increase arithmetically.

Note: Point of Crisis

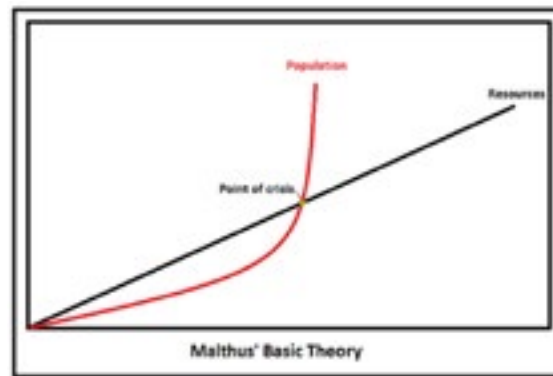


Fig. 4: Illustration of Malthusian Theory of Population Growth as Against Increase of Resources

(Source: USA/IP, 2007)

The increasing human population will soon deplete nonrenewable resources. Natural resources are already scarce per capita in the world, and thus, resource crises and resource wars are already occurring. There is no need to look very far to find evidence of friction, conflicts, and even some wars over access to resources especially oil and gas, water, and agricultural land (United Nations, 2017). The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan by the United States of America and their military bases and support provided to local governments in the Middle East and Central Asia have been about access to, or control of oil (Bouvard, 2012). The productive aquifers on the Palestinian West Bank must be factored into Israel's reluctance to end the occupation and return to the pre-1967 war borders (United Nations, 2017). In many countries, where no ruling class is in firm control, internal conflicts and even civil wars have been taking place as a result of efforts to profit from the exploitation of resources.

(d) The Effects of the Slow Progress in Technological Development

Gradual transition to sustainable development pathways to meet the expanding human needs will require all stakeholders to adapt and adopt state-of-the-art knowledge and technologies, and it will require trying multiple technological models (Boserup 1981; Godfray, 2010; Orach-Meza, 2011; Borredo, 2013; Botkin et al., 2013, Ipate et al., 2015). To address the challenges of increasing food needs will require sustainable agriculture intensification in small and larger farms throughout the world (Abdulgadir, Orach-Meza, and Edaku, 2017). Being able to feed 9 to 10 billion people by 2050 will require crop and animal productivity increases, reducing food losses and waste, and changing diets, and always keeping in mind that the Earth's natural resources base is finite (Fig. 5). In addition, technologies will have to be developed to guard against running out of water, preserving and improving soils, adapting to climatic extremes, creating better jobs and higher incomes, ensuring healthier diets and lifestyles in all countries.

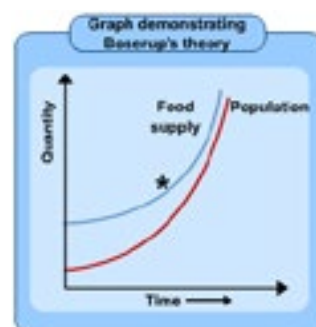


Fig. 5: Illustration of Increase in Food Supply as Technology Improves

(Source: Boserup 1965)

A sustainable development path will require decisive and ultimately transformative changes of the global food production systems to increase food availability and utilisation, improve the environment, make human beings healthier, and create more prosperous rural communities. Measures will have to be taken to address food demand, production, consumption, and losses. Management of population growth, food losses and waste will be important for reducing pressure on agricultural land, water and natural ecosystems, in addition to increases in agricultural productivity and efficiency, and measures to protect natural resources from unsustainable exploitation, degradation, or pollution.

Technological developments may be able to resolve many difficult issues related to human needs on a sustainable basis. However, many of the possible solutions are still ideas. As technology becomes more and more advanced, there will be many more changes. New ideas today could become solutions tomorrow. Drones, according to Ipate et al. (2015), are already being used to help with precision agriculture where new technological innovations and systems for monitoring, supervision, management, and controlling are replacing outdated traditional agricultural practices (See Fig. 6). As technology improves, it could do many more things. In addition, every aspect of the industry has some technology, including nanotechnology, and through these advancements, it is possible to improve the way problems of shortage shall be handled.

It will for example be possible to grow crops in 50 years to preserve the land, grow crops without polluting the air or destroying the soil, produce food without soil whether in hydroponic farms on land or platforms at sea and provide healthy and efficient ways to improve everyday life for humans. The idea about food technology is to solve broader issues, such as helping with world hunger and the fast-growing population, waste reduction, health problems, and to create a sustainable environment in which to live.



Fig. 6: Tomatoes Growing on Soilless Media
(Source: Courtesy Photo from The Monitor, Uganda)

Nevertheless, many of these are possibilities. Humans live in an ever-changing world in terms of increasing population, resource demands and constraints, possible climate extremes, and even political volatility. The demands of the increasing human population will, for certain, overwhelm the available scarce natural resources on the finite space of the planet Earth with disastrous consequences regarding peaceful coexistence. However, if these technological innovations being designed to satisfy the expanding human needs are combined with the intensification of human population control measures to reach replacement level, they could eventually be the solution for sustainable peaceful coexistence that humanity is searching for.

(e) Expanding Fundamental Needs of Human Society

The concept of human needs, conflict, and peace are interrelated and affect all aspects of human life. Humans need certain essentials of life to live and attain well-being. These essentials are human needs. Coate & Rosati (1988) argued that conflicts and violent conflicts that often result in wars are caused by unmet human needs. Violence occurs when certain individuals or groups do not see any other way to meet their needs. Rosenberg (2003) also states that violence is a tragic expression of unmet human needs, implying that all actions undertaken by human beings are attempts to satisfy their needs.

Several studies on human needs theory including human behaviour characterize human existence by the fulfilment of fundamental or human needs and they proposed that humans have certain basic universal needs, that if not met, conflict is likely to occur (Burton, 1993; Rosenberg, 2003; Maslow, 1943). Maslow (1943), in his theory, categorized human needs in a pyramid of hierarchy as “physiological”, “safety”, “belonging” and “love”, “esteem”, “self-actualization”, and “self-transcendence” in that order to explain how the patterns of human motivation to act generally move through. These begin with the need for food, water, and shelter, followed by the need for safety and security, then belonging or love, self-esteem and finally, personal fulfilment and self-actualization. However, since the human brain is a complex system, having parallel processes running at the same time, the different sources of motivation from the hierarchy can occur simultaneously. It is, therefore, essential to know what each of these needs entails, as deprivation from them, or their absence, can be major sources of natural challenges to conflict resolution and peace.

The first in Maslow’s (1943) hierarchy in Figure 7 is “physiological” or survival needs. These are the basic animal needs for such things as food, air, warmth, shelter, sex, water, and other body needs. If a person is hungry or thirsty or his body is chemically unbalanced, all of his energies turn toward remedying these deficiencies, and other needs remain inactive. If these basic biological needs required for survival are not met, the human body would struggle to function. Second in the hierarchy is “safety needs” which involves the human desire for a predictable, orderly and peaceful world in which injustice and inconsistency are under control. Inability to satisfy this can lead to feelings of doubt and shame as well as the need for discipline and orderliness. The third is social “belonging needs”. This involves friendship, sexual intimacy, and having a supportive and communicative society all of which are emotionally based relationships. Failure to meet this need leads to negative social emotions like guilt with low extraversion values. “Self-esteem needs” is the fourth hierarchy. Humans desire recognition, self-esteem, self-respect, and to be respected, and desire to be involved in activities that give them a sense of contribution or feel accepted and self-valued. Inability to meet this leads to feelings of inferiority, which in turn may lead to low agreeableness. “Self-actualization or cognitive needs”, the fifth hierarchy, is the need to increase human intelligence and knowledge, which is a natural human need to learn,

explore, discover, and create to get a better understanding of the world. When this need is not realized, it can lead to confusion and identity crisis. Humans also value pleasant and beautiful surroundings to refresh themselves in the presence and beauty of nature. Missing this need to

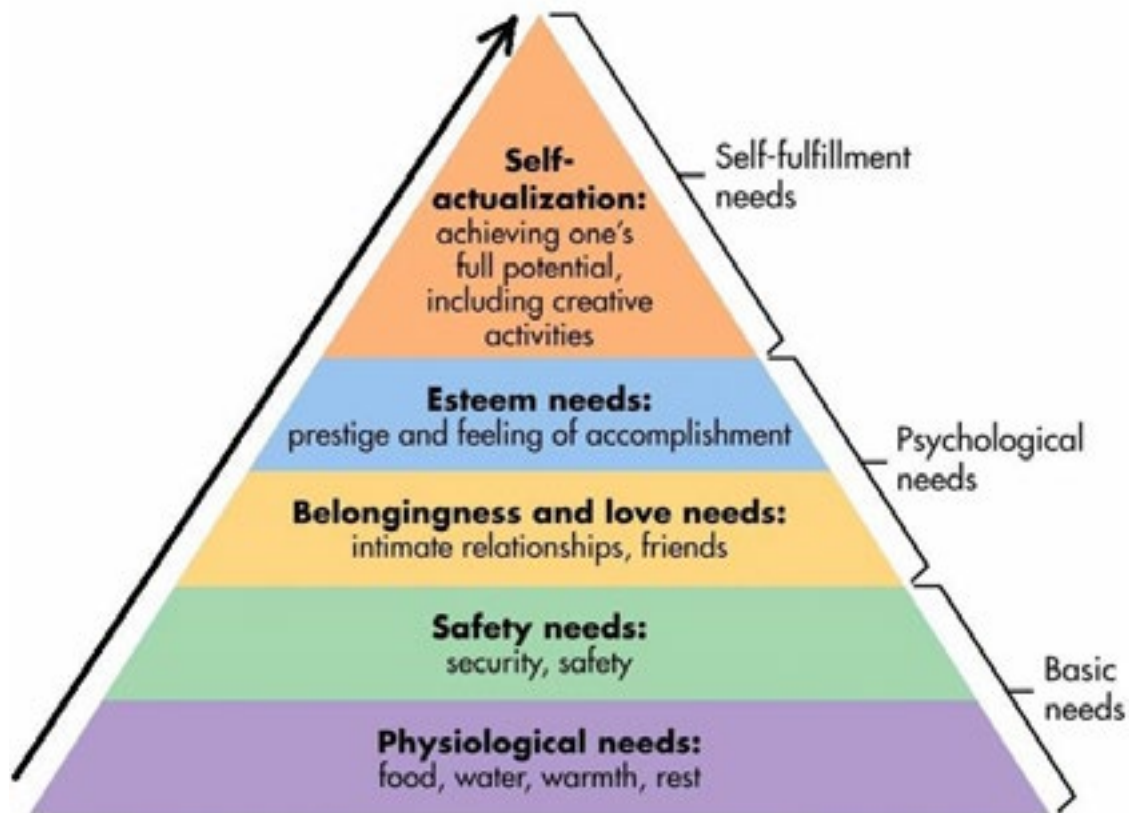


Fig. 7: Maslow's (1943) Theory: An Explanation of the General Movement Patterns of Human Motivation through the Hierarchy of Human Needs

(Source: Maslow's (1943))

relate with the beauty of the environment can lead to a feeling of the loss of the beauty that nature has to offer. It is also the need of humans to make the most of their abilities and to strive to be the best they can. Fulfilling this need leads to a feeling of being a generativist or positive contributor to the next generation. The last or the sixth hierarchy he included later is "self-transcendence needs". He referred to this as spiritual needs or the power to achieve beyond ones' limits. It is where service to others takes precedence over individual needs. Fulfilling this hierarchy would lead to feelings of integrity and spirituality or the highest peace of mind, and some individuals aspire to be at that level.

(f) The Struggle for Existence through Natural Survival Traits

Competitions, conflicts, and even wars are part of life, and they take place when living things are struggling to fulfil their basic universal needs for survival, possession of essential natural resources, dominance, and recognition. Population growth that leads to overcrowding of the Earth increases natural demands of the basic needs thereby escalating the struggle for scarce natural resources. In the past millennia, overcrowding on the Earth were resolved by major mass extinctions that have, so far, occurred five times besides twenty (20) other smaller events (McElwain & Punyasena, 2007). Mass extinction is an occurrence in which a large number

of species of life on Earth become extinct in a relatively short period as a result of natural forces. It affects a great many different groups of organisms occupying diverse and widespread environments. New species often emerge after the event. Many scientists are already predicting that the sixth major man-made mass extinction is underway and is being accelerated by climate change (Kaplan, 2015).

Competition is one of the most basic functions of nature. Individual organisms best able to compete within an environmental niche survive because they compete for a common resource that occurs in a limited supply relative to their demand. This occurs when the capability of the environment to supply the required resources is smaller than the potential biological requirement causing organisms to struggle or compete with each other for access and possession. As part of nature humans inherit, competition starts with haploid cells, when the fastest sperm cell from the many (hundreds to millions) succeeds in entering and fertilizing the egg and preventing others to enter. The individual produced among many others in the world of scarce resources automatically becomes competitive to amass resources to satisfy its needs. Competition is, therefore, part of life and highly essential in natural selection because it relates to the selection of traits that promote the success or survival of the fittest in particular environments.

Humans are naturally competitive beings and competition is rooted in their evolutionary heritage. They compete to win in practically everything regarding human needs. Once competition intensifies, Darwin's (1871) theory of "survival of the fittest" commences and the loser is naturally eliminated from the niche.

Conflict, on the other hand, being part of the make of humanity, is a struggle between two forces: a protagonist and an antagonist. The individuals or groups involved seek to achieve their needs by directly challenging the adversary by violence or threat of violence. Every individual differs from each other physically and possesses personal opinions, ideas, sets of beliefs, and own ways of looking at things. Conflict involves individuals, groups of individuals, or a struggle within one's self. Since individuals or groups have to make choices in case of conflicts, the decision to take and the choice to make are not always going to be acceptable or agreed upon by both sides. Conflicts arise primarily as a result of a clash of interests in the relationship within and between parties, groups, or states because they are pursuing either opposite or incompatible goals. Conflict is and has, therefore, been throughout history a normal way of conducting disputes between groups. For example, Malthus (1798) considered the reduced supply of the means of subsistence as a cause of conflict, and Darwin (1871) considered the struggle for existence or survival of the fittest as the main cause of conflict. Another cause in humans could be the difference between the rate of change in the normal norms of society and desire, hopes, dissatisfaction, or demands. Major conflicts, according to Oyenyi (2011), are normally over intrastate and interstate borders; territoriality; ethnicity or racism; politics; governance; persecution; economic performance; foreign intervention; personal, group or national interests or differences; etc., and are normally brought about by the desire to fulfil the basic human needs for existence. Nonviolent conflict of needs can degenerate into violent conflict, which is war.

War, according to Cambridge Dictionary (2016) is a state of organized, open-ended, collective armed conflict or hostility between states or societies, and that it is characterized by extreme aggression, destruction, and deaths using regular or irregular military forces. War, being an extension of conflict, is a product of the inherited biology of humans. For war to occur, there must be some opposing interests regarding human needs, something to fight about, and capabilities to fight.

A review of the recorded history of humanity reveals that human beings have all along been bloodthirsty and aggressive species (Darwin, 1871; Holsti, 1991; Schwartz, 1997; Rosen, 2005; Bible, 2015). Warfare and brutality have been omnipresent and are natural to human beings. Throughout history, humans have shown themselves willing to fight and die to seize or defend their needs. Based on evolutionary nature in humans, the Bible presents a legacy of intolerant thinking about other people and “authorizes such intolerance as the will of God” with disastrous effects on religious, racial, and ethnic conflicts around the globe starting with Cain committing the first fratricide when he murdered Abel in a jealous rage (Schwartz, 1997; Bible, 2015).

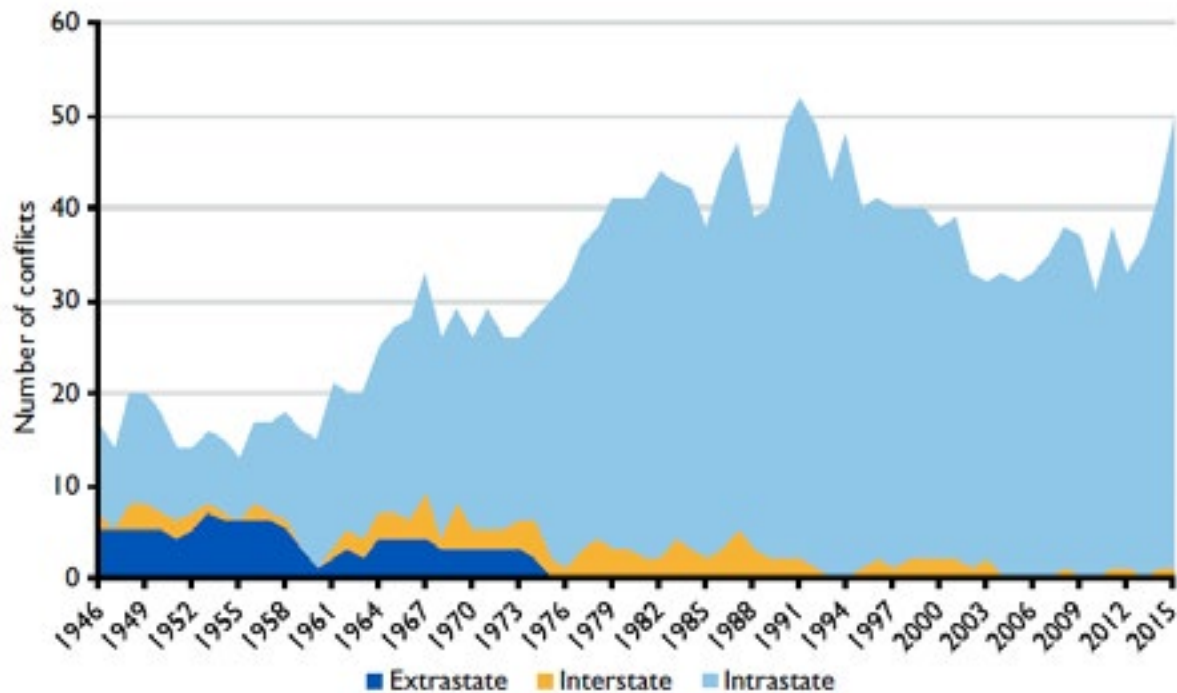


Fig. 8: Trends in Armed Conflict 1946-2015

(Source: United Nations 2017)

Territorial behaviour is central to some of the most vexing cases of wars because a territory can secure access to key natural resources like water, food, shelter, and security from adversaries among other needs and protects them from competitors. Holsti (1991) found that 79 per cent of all wars between 1648 and 1989 involved territorial issues, and Toft (2009) showed that 73 per cent of all ethnic wars involved territorial control (Fig. 8). Another major factor in the cause of civil wars was ethnic and national identity. However, territoriality across the animal kingdom is about the defence of natural resources essential for survival and reproduction besides other needs. In the case of human beings, Vasquez (2012) established that territorial interest influences individuals, groups, and even states to risk an escalation in, and persist with violence over land more often than over other issues. In all cases, the overriding reason for war is survival of the fittest and perpetuation of the existence of the surviving species by securing and protecting their needs.

The linkage between competition, conflict, and war is rooted in Darwin’s (1871) evolutionary theory and explains their linkage to concerns and needs of living things including humans.

(g) Current Challenges to Peaceful Co-Existence

Peace is the absence of war and meeting human needs satisfactorily. Peaceful co-existence is, therefore, a state of harmony characterized by lack of violent conflict (war), and commonly understood as the absence of hostility. The Macmillan Dictionary (2017) further adds that peaceful co-existence suggests the presence of healthy relationships, prosperity in matters of social or economic welfare, equality, and a working political order that serves the true interest of all. Everyone would wish to be in a conflict-free and peaceful status.

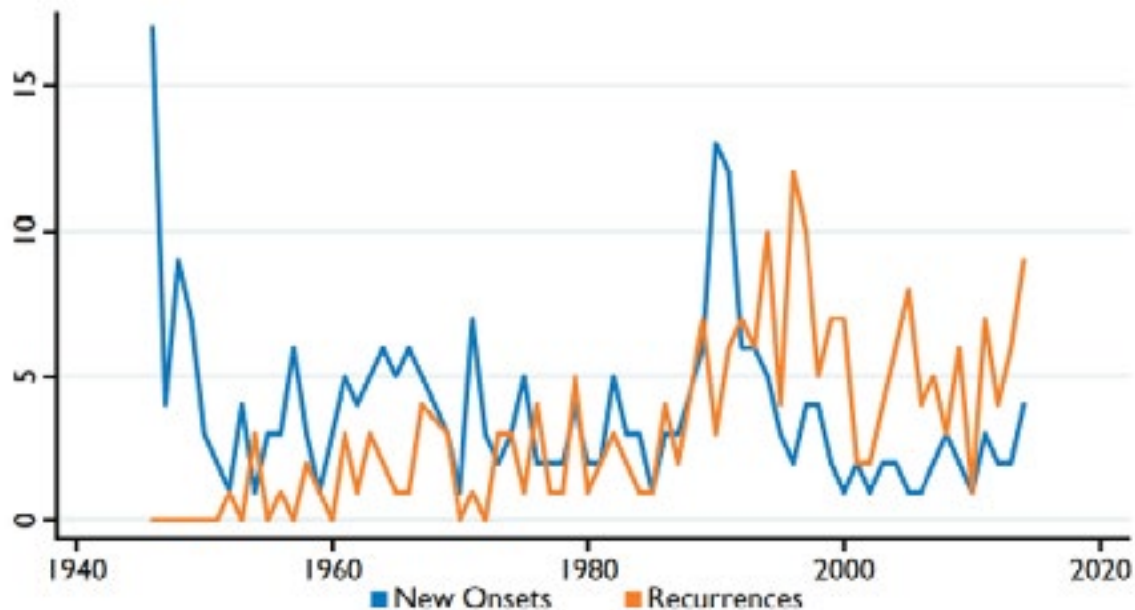


Fig. 9: New and recurring conflicts globally, 1946-2014 that Illustrates Futility of Mediated Conflict
(Source: Svensson 2015)

However, conflicts and wars are prevalent in life. Given the characteristic differences in humans and human behaviours, irrespective of current globalized interaction among human beings at family, clan, tribal, ethnic, national, regional, and international levels towards conflict resolution and peace, there will always be competition, nonviolent conflict, and violent conflict (war) which are bound to become worse as human population increases. The inevitability of conflicts being part of life is obvious and has been vividly reflected in the Bible (2015) and the theories in the Curse of Cain (Schwartz, 1997), Natural Selection and Survival of the Fittest (Darwin, 1871), Population Growth (Malthus, 1798), Territoriality (Johnson & Toft, 2013), Ethnicity/Racism (Ryan, 1994), Persecution (Limbaugh 2003), Governance (Blainey, 1973), Political Volatility (Gurr, 1991), Economic Inequality (Rosen, 2005), On War (von Clausewitz 1943; Pinker, 2015) and Foreign Intervention (Gurr, 1991), which are still having practical effects in the world. These are being worsened by the prevalence of extreme poverty, political differences, social inequalities, economic disparities, poor governance, high levels of unemployment, environmental degradation, and personal or group deprivation.

Figures 9 and 10 illustrate the futility of current efforts towards conflict resolution. The reasons for flouting the agreed positions during mediation should be researched, and natural challenges should be considered.

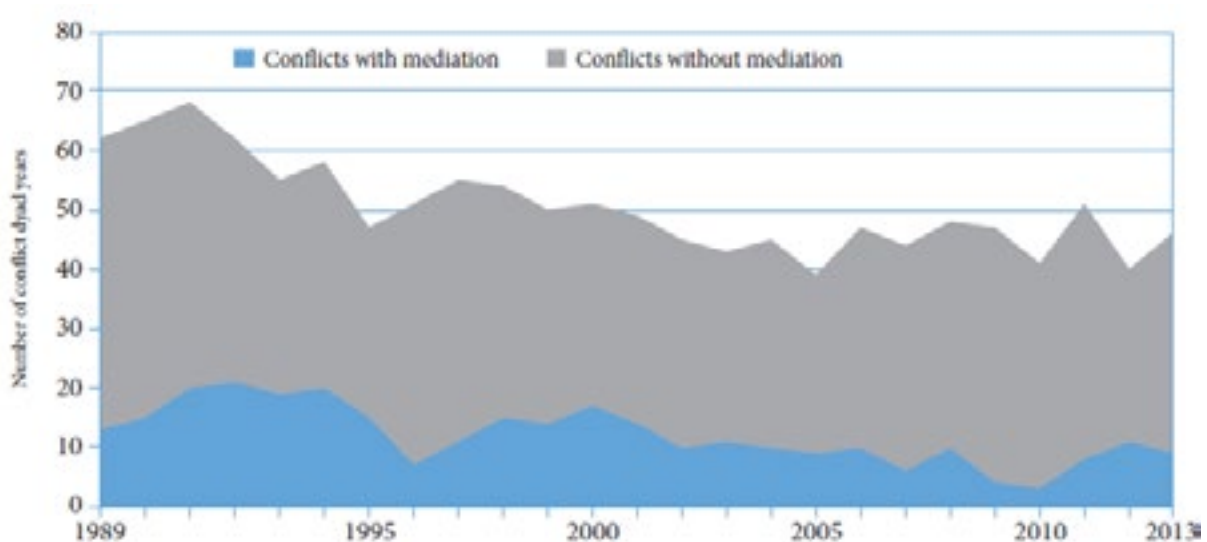


Fig. 10: Distribution of mediated and non-mediated conflict: 1989-2013

(Source: Svensson 2015)

Struggle for Sustainable Peaceful Coexistence

Every living thing is born a peaceful thing. It is the environment in which it lives that nurtures its behaviour to become aggressively competitive and conflict-ridden in its endeavour to survive and perpetuate its existence and that of its future generations amidst scarce and finite natural resources on planet Earth. The only sure way to avoid conflicts with others is for a human being to be able to access the basic needs for its survival and perpetuation of its existence on a sustainable basis.

Today, as illustrated in Figures 9 and 10, there are as many ways of conflict resolutions and conflict prevention as there are threats to prospects of conflict resolutions (Sharp, 1973 and Bondurant, 1988). Many deal with resolving contemporary conflicts as they occur without necessarily considering the root causes of the conflicts. The current options for resolutions and/or prevention include early warning systems, human capacity building, creating a climate of peace, preventative deployment for peace enforcement, continental development imperative, comprehending causes and histories of conflicts, and reverse intervention (Oyenyi, 2011).

In life, every individual is different and each one behaves differently; and every behaviour is according to Tinbergen (1953) driven by “proximate causes, ontogeny, survival value, and phylogeny”. (Recall the evolutionary maxim that “ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny” and both are tempered by changes in the surrounding environment). Environmental conditions are constantly changing, and individuals must, therefore, adapt their means of existence and behaviour to the changes over short, medium, and long geological periods. In the process, those that are best adapted to the changes are selected to survive and perpetuate their kinds, while those that fail to adapt are eliminated naturally unless nature’s challenges are mitigated.

Conditions for Sustainable Co-Existence Peacefully and Free of Conflicts

Sustainable peaceful coexistence among humans shall only prevail provided their basic needs are being met (Maslow 1943) with the available natural resources within the limits of the

earth. The primary requirement for action will be the development and sharpening of human intellectual and technological capacity to overcome the threats of shortages of needed resources for existence (Boserup, 1965). Intensification of agriculture and food production systems, ensuring territorial integrity and safety for everybody, and establishment of reciprocal and strategic defence mechanisms could be the required strategies. The approaches will have to involve actions in connection with the following strategic plans if conflicts and wars are to be avoided:

- a. Development of technology for the intensification of agriculture, e.g. perpendicular staircase farming system on the available land (Ali et al 2017 and Boserup 1965).
- b. Utilization of the aquatic systems particularly the oceans and seas more intensively for food production and other requirements (Orach-Meza, 2011 and FAO 2018).
- c. Making changes in human diets and feeding habits to include all edible and nutritious substances as foodstuffs (Bell 2019 and Luca et al 2010).
- d. Curbing human-induced climate change by using sustainable alternative energy resources (Kaplan, 2015 and Cao and Hu 2016).
- e. Securing ecosystem and biodiversity as well as their services that are useful to humanity (Mayer et al 2009).
- f. Concentrating urbanization for settlements, industries, and recreation in skyscrapers at locations suitable for it (Yaskova, 2018).
- g. Ensuring equitable sharing of water and other natural resources for the benefit of humanity (Ali et al., 2017; Alao, 2011).
- h. Implementation of population control of having only replacement off-springs since there shall be better healthcare, reduced infant, maternal, and adult mortalities, and increased lifespan, and also since there will be a limit to the number of human population earth can support (Meyer, 2004; Rosenberg, 2003; Maria, 2002).
- i. Apportioning the finite space on earth into satisfactory territorial and intra-territorial landholding entities with respected boundaries (Johnson & Toft, 2013).
- j. Transforming governance for sustainable development by ensuring the absence of political, economic, and societal stresses, and by adopting the following principles of life: ethics, integrity, responsibility, respect for laws and regulations, respect from the majority of citizens by right, the love of work, the effort to save and invest, the will to be productive, and punctuality (Gurr 1991 and Blainey 1973).
- k. Establishment of reciprocal and strategic defence mechanisms by individuals, groups of individuals, and each state or region as deterrence and since war is also costly (Sharp, 1973 and Bondurant, 1988).

Conclusion

A world without conflict and war is the aspiration of humanity, but the earth has its natural obstacles to peace and conflict resolution. The obstacles have been highlighted in this paper which was greatly influenced by theories based on natural laws. Tinbergen's (1953) theory on animal behaviour (ontology) stressed the role of biological inheritance as a major factor in aggressive behaviour in defending survival needs resulting in competition or violent conflict. Maslow (1943) identified the basic needs that must be met to survive and exist. The absence of

one or more basic needs results in conflict for access. Darwin (1869) theorized on how nature selects the fittest genetic traits to survive and perpetuate their existence and eliminate those that are not naturally selected or those that cannot defend their needs or territories. Competing for needs over the scarce natural resources available leads to violent conflict that results in the weak being eliminated by the strong or the fittest. Malthus (1798) worried over the geometrically increasing human population against the arithmetically increasing desired natural resources that could lead to the human population eventually overwhelming the available natural resources. This is a cause for serious competition over the depleting resources that can result in violent conflict (war).

These natural challenges, as analyzed above, are the causes of conflicts and wars among living things including humans. They are, also, therefore, challenges to peace and conflict resolutions. Unless appropriate mitigation measures for the natural challenges as discussed above are implemented, peace and conflict resolutions cannot be permanently achieved. Only temporary conflict resolutions can be achieved as the conflicts will recur as illustrated by Svensson, (2015) because their basic natural causes have not been addressed. When the strategic action for the intensification of agriculture and food production systems is enforced, peace can be realized. Such a strategic action ensures territorial integrity and safety of needs for everybody and establishes reciprocal and strategic defence mechanisms. These are taken along with the specific approaches listed elsewhere in this paper that peace and permanent resolutions can prevail at the levels of individuals, groups of individuals, States, regions, and the whole world. Other organisms will continue to be controlled and manipulated by natural forces coupled with the innovative technological intervention of humans to ensure the maximization and perpetuation of their beneficial services to humanity.

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District Security Committees and the oversight of Private Security Organisations in Uganda: A Case of Wakiso and Kampala Districts

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Abstract

Reliance on private security organizations to complement the state security architecture has become a norm in contemporary public law and order management. This norm has resulted in an unprecedented growth of the private security sector; hence necessitating legislative and oversight interventions. In several states, there are different levels of and actors in the oversight of private security that have not been fully understood. This article presents the findings of the study on the oversight role of Uganda's District Security Committees (DSCs) over Private Security Organizations (PSOs). It is based on 50 in-depth interviews involving members of DSCs, PSO supervisors, PSO supervisors at police headquarters and private security contractors in Wakiso and Kampala districts.

The article argues that, although Uganda has an elaborate legal framework for the oversight of PSOs at the different levels, there are many gaps at the district level, which should be addressed to ensure improved accountability and effective service delivery in the private security sector. The article is organized as follows: Part 1 provides the conceptual and contextual backgrounds to the discussion on the private security sector. Part 2 delves into the legislative and oversight frameworks for the private security sector in Uganda to foreground the discussion on the role of DSCs. Part 3 provides an analysis of the mechanisms used by the DSCs to oversee the activities of PSOs. Part 4 examines the challenges militating against DCSs' effective oversight of PSOs. Part 5 is a conclusion that also puts forward some recommendations for improvement of the oversight of PSOs at the district level.

Keywords: Private security, private security companies, private security organizations, private military companies, private security industry

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Private Security Organisations: A Conceptual and contextual overview

The available literature on private security and military companies is awash with competing definitions, hence, the difficulty in delineating its conceptual boundaries. Several authors use the terms private security, private security industry, private security companies, private security organizations and private military companies as synonyms (Born *et al.*, 2006; Cunningham *et al.*, 1990; Johnston, 2011). Johnston (2011) observes that the concept has been used to refer to a variety of activities. This has generated some conceptual confusion. Born *et al.* (2006) define private security companies as any commercial entity that provides security services to government and private clients. This particular definition provides a clear distinction between private and public security organizations by bringing out the profit oriented-ness of PSOs. This article adopts this definition because private security companies in most cases are formed to make a profit by offering a variety of security services at a fee. Hence, private security organizations, hereafter, will refer to all entities other than those that are government-owned, that are established to offer such security-related services as guarding, patrolling, consultancy, training and technology to governments, private companies, and individuals on a profit-making basis. The article, therefore, uses private security, private security companies, private security organizations, private military companies and private security industry as synonyms to offer a broader perspective of the sector.

Having provided the conceptual scope of PSOs, we now turn our attention to the evolution and size of the private security sector to foreground the discussion on the need for oversight of the sector. The private security sector has expanded so rapidly that in almost every state, the number in terms of employees far outstrip those in the public security sector (Provost, 2017). The industry has grown to about 20 million employees worldwide with an estimated financial value of \$180 billion, which was projected to rise to \$240 billion by 2020 (McCarthy, 2017). One such example of large security companies with far-reaching economic implications is Group4Securicor which employs in excess of 100,000 people in Africa.

While the presence of private security companies in the developed world does not signify a weak security sector, for many parts of Africa, the growth of the sector somehow reflects shortfalls in the ability of the state to secure citizens (Kirunda, 2008). A number of reasons have been given to explain the rise of PSOs, outstanding of which is the downsizing of state militaries that came with the end of the Cold War and the attendant liberalization policies (Connors *et al.*, 2000). Another recent factor for the growth of the private security sector is the global rise of the terrorism threat especially after the September 11 attacks on the US (Caroline, 2005; Dun & Bradstreet, 2003; McCarthy, 2017). When the US declared a war on Iraq [in 2003], many private companies gained opportunities to provide military training, intelligence and interrogation services in the war against terrorism, (Caroline, 2005). Therefore, across the world, privatization coupled with the low police-population ratios amid rising threats to security has impelled

many governments to allow societies to increasingly depend on private security companies to ensure law and order, (Sakira, 2006).

One major concern about private security companies to governments is the security companies' transnational nature with real potential to influence global economic and political dynamics. For example, Securitas, a Swedish security company, has a presence in over 40 countries around the world with employees close to a quarter a million (Caroline, 2005). The sector has become so strong that it is creating a global wealth divide between the north and the south with the majority of companies coming from the north. This means that if national governments in the global south do not regulate the private security industry, it will perpetuate the income gap and exploitation of the South by Northern private security companies (McCarthy, 2017).

Why legislation and oversight of the private security sector are important

The foregoing discussion has provided evidence that the private security sector has become so powerful that it cannot be wished away. As Abrahansen & William (2006) observed, the growth of this sector has been interpreted in some scholarly circles as posing a direct challenge to the traditional role of the state. While security is still considered one of the public goods to be supplied by the state, the increased delegation of this duty to the private sector has raised several questions including concerns on security versus equity, affordability and human rights-related questions as well as accountability in the sector (Caroline, 2005). As evidence shows, an unregulated private security sector has the potential to contribute to a poorly governed security sector, hence the need for regulation. As observed by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime [UNODC] (2014), the private security sector touches on a number of issues that if left unregulated may compromise human and state security.

The UNODC argues that with the number of private security companies growing, there is a need to regulate them so that they operate within the precincts of national and international norms and regulations like respect for human rights. Further, since private security companies play police and military-related roles, they too should be regulated to become accountable to the population. Without doing that, there are likely to be so many challenges (UNODC, 2014).

Hess & Wroblewski (2012) outline three specific reasons why governments and the international community, in general, should regulate the private security sector. The first reason is to ensure that the private consumers of the services provided by the security companies are commensurate with what they pay. In other words, governments need to regulate private security service providers to ensure fair treatment of the public which uses their services. Secondly, since private security companies are legitimately allowed to exercise force of some sort, there is a need for the government to ensure that they are supervised in the exercise of that authority so that they do not abuse the use of force while in service of the population. In Hess and Wroblewski's view, since private security guards, for example, are authorized to come into direct contact

with people, they need to be controlled for the sake of ensuring public safety. Thirdly, because private security companies are permitted to carry weapons, there is a need for governments to ensure that they regulate [them as to] when and how to use these weapons. In other words, if the private military and security companies are left unregulated, there could be a danger of them misusing the guns especially in this era of terrorism. That can immensely undermine the human rights, safety and security of global citizens.

The need to regulate the private security sector has been strengthened by the current normative drive to democratize the security sector in which accountability, transparency and human rights protection have been emphasized (Born, *et al*, 2006). In this way, the democratic oversight of the security sector- which also includes private security companies, has been stressed under what has been widely known as Security Sector Reform (SSR). Private security actors are considered to be part of the security sector which has to be placed under serious oversight to ensure that it is democratically governed (DCAF, 2008). Like the public security sector which is required to be efficient and effective in the discharge of its duties and mandates, the private security sector also has to be monitored.

Many cases have been reported about employees of private security companies getting implicated in criminal activities globally. As observed by Kirunda (2008), regulation of the private security sector will ensure that the sector operates in a disciplined manner to meet the expectation of the population. Regulating the private security sector also ensures that state resources are managed efficiently and effectively, that the security sector personnel behave with honour and integrity, and provides for the punishment of those that abuse the regulations. Overall, as argued by DCAF (2008), it is important to regulate the private security sector to subject it to serious oversight so that it acts in the interest of both government and the population.

Indeed, many national governments have come up with legislation aimed at regulating the private security industry, although there are variations across the globe. For example, in 2001, the British government introduced legislation for the private security sector known as the Private Security Industry Act (2001), and many other countries have since followed suit (Mawby & Gill, 2017; Button, 2007). In the US, the private security sector is regulated under the Private Security Officers' Employment Standards Act of 2002 (*ibid*). According to Bradley (2014), the expansion of the private security sector compelled states like New Zealand to revisit the regulatory framework for the sector. In Uganda, the sector is now regulated by the 2013 Control of Private Security Organisations' Regulations. These regulations span a range of areas including licensing, recruitment and training, use of arms, compensation and remuneration, among others.

According to UNODC (2014), there are two ways of looking at the regulation of the private security sector. The first is to look at the problems that may arise from an unregulated sector and the second way is to look at the benefits of regulating the sector. In other words, regulating the private security sector should aim at avoiding abuse of the sector while at the same time helping

to tap into the immense benefits of the private security industry as far as crime prevention and law enforcement are concerned. In the first case, there is ample evidence to show that private security companies have been involved in unethical conduct including the blatant abuse of fundamental human rights, involvement in illicit international trade like drug trafficking and arms smuggling and some corruption tendencies (Mawby & Gill, 2017). In some other countries such as South Africa, the need to regulate PSOs has been raised by the threat of globalization in which unregulated flow of armed military personnel is considered a threat to national and citizen's security (Abrahansen & William, 2008). In Uganda, private security guards have been implicated in committing crimes (Oporoti, 2006).

It has also been noted that in some countries like South Africa, some private security companies become connected with powerful politicians and other civilian economic actors that exploit the poor (UNODC, 2014). In many parts of the developing world, many owners of private security companies ignore training, remuneration of employees, working hours for all, which translate into poor working conditions that are in total disregard of international labour standards (UNODC, 2014). Hence, the regulation of private security companies will ensure adherence to the rule of law.

Another angle along which the regulation of the private security sector should be thought about is the consideration of the positive role played by these companies in not only ensuring law and order but also in the provision of economic opportunities for a larger section of global citizens, (McCarthy, 2017). While the private security sector may not be a danger to public and international security, they can prove to be dangerous to their very employees in the drive to maximize profits. Hence, their regulation should be motivated by the desire to protect the rights of employees who in most cases find themselves working in too risky environments. As observed by UNODC (2014), although states must regulate the working conditions of all citizens, the private security industry requires specific regulations because of the unique nature of the security and military occupation.

Oversight of PSOs by the District Security Committees

Before we examine the oversight of PSOs by the DSCs, it is important to have an overview of the regulatory framework for PSOs in Uganda. The Police Control of Private Security Organizations Regulations of 2013 regulates private security companies in Uganda. The 1995 Ugandan Constitution gives powers to the minister for internal affairs and under section 74(1) (p) of the Police Act, to make regulations for the control of PSCs. The main provisions of the 2013 regulations are: - the establishment and operation of PSCs, registration requirements, employment of personnel, use of uniforms and equipment as well as the fees for operating a PSO, (Regulations, 2013).

Regulations provide that the constitutional responsibility for life and property is vested in the

Uganda Police Force under the command of the Inspector General of Police (IGP) and therefore, all private security organizations exist as a complementary force to assist the national police force in protecting life and property. The police force is mandated to oversee the PSOs, (Allio & Candia, 2007).

Despite the existence of legislation providing for the oversight of PSCs in Uganda, there is a general public outcry in some parts of the country over high levels of crime by PSCs personnel. As indicated already, private security guards have been implicated in committing crimes in Uganda for a long time, (Oporoti, 2006). The 2011 annual Uganda police report indicated that private guards committed 339 crimes as compared to 164 crimes by police. The crime rate in Kampala and Wakiso districts has particularly been worrying. For example, in January 2007, a security guard from Group4 Securicor Company was involved in the robbery of Stanbic Bank in Kampala (*The New Vision*, 2007) while in July 2019, private security guards were arrested for armed robbery in Nansana, in Wakiso district (*The Observer*, 2019). These realities have prompted the questioning of the effectiveness of the Uganda Police's oversight of private security companies.

One of the available mechanisms through which PSOs are monitored is the DSCs. The Constitution of Uganda provides for the National Security Council (NSC) and charges it with security policymaking. The NSC is provided for under Article 219 of the Constitution and is operationalized by the National Security Council Act of 2000. The functions of the Council are six: - first, providing advice to the president on matters relating to national security; second, coordinating and advising on policy matters relating to intelligence and security; third, reviewing national security needs and goals; fourth, briefing the cabinet regularly on matters relating to national security; fifth, receiving and acting on reports from the joint intelligence and district security committees; and sixth, carrying out any other function as Parliament may assign to it.

Among its many organs, the National Security Council Act has District Security Committees (DSCs) and District Intelligence Committees (DICs) that are also extended to the Sub-country level (NSC, 2000). A DSC is the topmost security policy and oversight organ of a district and is the organ of the state closest to the PSOs on the ground. Although DSCs are mandated to oversee the operations of PSCs, research has not been conducted to examine what roles they can play in ensuring the effective oversight of PSCs in their areas of operation; hence, the need to examine their oversight mechanisms-the central task of this article.

PSO oversight mechanism used by DSCs

The main objective of the study was to analyse the mechanisms used by the DSCs to ensure effective oversight of the PSCs in their respective areas of jurisdiction. Members of DSCs were asked to show how they monitor the operations of PSCs, whether there is a designated official for such work; whether they hold meetings with PSCs and if so, with what regularity and the

measures they take to deal with PSCs working against the regulations. Data from interviews with various members of the district security committees, meetings, office inspections, review of monthly returns revealed that the requirement to deposit guns at police stations and community policing arrangements were the common oversight mechanisms employed by the DSCs.

Although the respondents mentioned meetings, there was no uniformity, regularity, or frequency of meetings with PSCs. The DSC by law must at least hold monthly security meetings though at which all issues of security including private security businesses are discussed (NSC, 2000). According to the District Internal Security Officer of Wakiso, although private security organizations are not members of the DSC, the law, particularly the National Security Council Act of 2000, authorizes the DSC to co-opt any person deemed necessary for the enforcement of security in the district. He also added that even though PSOs are not involved in the DSC meetings, there is a designated officer in the police responsible for direct monitoring of these organizations. This is the Crime Intelligence officer, who is a member of the DSC and as a member; his /her reports to the DSC cover such issues as the conduct of the PSCs in the district upon which decisions are taken in case of need.

Indeed, many officers interviewed mentioned that the Crime Intelligence officer is the designated officer for monitoring the activities of the PSCs in the district. This officer must receive, analyse and crosscheck the monthly personnel and arms and ammunitions returns that the PSCs file to members of the DSCs particularly to the office of the District Police Commander (DPC). In an interview with the regional crime intelligence officer, it was reported that the PSCs are supposed to file monthly reports, which must include details of arms and personnel, security incidents encountered in the month and how they were dealt with.

One of the supervisors of the PSCs in Entebbe Town who said that they interact mostly with the DPC and the District Internal Security Officer whenever they deliver monthly security reports confirmed this. However, while the reports are filed monthly, some supervisors send their junior guards to deliver them adding that such guards do not have the whole picture of the company's operations.

Further, while members of the DSCs mentioned that they hold meetings with PSCs, most PSCs said they rarely meet the members of the DSCs. This could be true because there seemed to be no standard for when meetings should take place. While a member of the DSC based at Nansana town council said he had never attended any meeting for the ten months he had been at the station, the one in Wandegaya Police Station talked about having attended one in a year meeting. A respondent from Jinja Road Police Station only said 'sometimes', indicating a lack of scheduled oversight meetings. Another respondent at Kiira Police Station said they hold meetings quarterly although responses from PSC supervisors contradicted those of members of the DSC.

Another oversight mechanism mentioned by respondents was the impromptu checks on the deployment posts and inspection of office premises to check on a range of things including whether the guards were putting on designated company uniforms, whether they were following the arms storage guidelines, and whether deployments were in accordance with the established regulations. According to the Crime Intelligence Officer at Kira Police division, these impromptu visits always keep the supervisors alert hence increasing their alertness on duty. While the supervisors also report such impromptu checks, they are not regular and systematic. For example, according to one respondent from the District Internal Security office in Wakiso, they had not at the District Security Committee level conducted PSC inspection in the last year. He, however, noted that individual members of the DSC especially the crime intelligence officers of the police department have a duty to regularly inspect PSCs in their areas of jurisdiction.

While members of DSCs and supervisors of security firms said they used impromptu visits, those hiring the services of these companies were found not to have ever interacted with members of the DSCs. Three different organizations hiring private security services were asked whether they had ever interfaced with any member of the DSC on matters of PSCs in their premises to which all of them replied in the negative.

For example, an entrepreneur running a supermarket business in Nansana said he had never met any member of the DSC yet he had encountered situations where they could have been of help. He said that sometimes the security guards confided in them concerning how their companies take long without paying them salaries. In his view, the DSCs should be finding out from the public so that some of the misbehaving security companies guards can be controlled.

One of the proprietors at a petrol station in Kampala wondered how government can improve security without interfacing with those that use these private security guards. He said, “I have worked here for more than 15 years, employing many different PSC guards. I have seen many weaknesses and strengths, which could inform public policy on security, but I have never had a chance to share my experience with government officials. I have worked with poorly trained, well trained, undisciplined and all sorts of guards”. This observation contradicts the modern ways of public policing in which there must be regular interfacing between the providers and users of private security services for improvement in security services delivery.

It was further found that the DSCs also rely on the monthly PSCs reports submitted by supervisors to the office of the DPC and the District Internal Security Officer (DISO). These reports according to the Crime Intelligence officer of Entebbe are supposed to indicate the number of ammunitions used, where, and for what. They are also supposed to detail the personnel and their workstations. All the supervisors of the PSCs who were interviewed also confirmed this. For example, a supervisor at Tight Security Company in Kampala said; ‘we normally report on fire-arms and ammos (sic), we make crime reports at assignments and also report about manpower’.

Overall, DSCs are mandated to oversee the performance of PSCs in their areas of jurisdiction right from licensing, recruitment, training to routine operational checks as the DISO Wakiso mentioned;

“Under the law, the DSCs are the ones that consider applications for a license to operate a private security company. The DSC relies on the vetting report of the District Internal Security Officer and the District Crime Intelligence Officer about the criminal record of the owners of the proposed company. When the DSC makes a decision, it is forwarded to the Inspector General of Police for consideration.

The DSCs rarely get feedback on the decisions made about the recommendations. However, we normally receive communication from the owners of the companies when they begin deploying in our areas. Even during recruitment, the DSC attaches officers to ensure that recruitment guidelines are not flouted.

While the above response indicates the oversight role of PSOs from registration to recruitment and training and deployments, there are several challenges, which militate against DSCs oversight functions as discussed below.

Challenges faced by DSCs in the oversight of Private Security Companies

Another objective of this study was to identify the challenges the DSCs encountered in the oversight of the PSCs in their areas of jurisdiction to suggest solutions for the effective governance of PSCs in Uganda. Respondents were asked to enumerate the challenges as well as the possible solutions to the identified challenges. Different categories enumerated different challenges ranging from logistics, training, to political interference. Most of the members of the DSCs mentioned the challenge of logistics particularly transport and fuel for monitoring the various PSCs operating in their areas. They also identified the issue of lack of or limited interfaces between PSC company headquarters with the field officers, which makes implementing recommendations difficult.

In an interview with the district security officer who also works as the secretary to the DSC for Wakiso, it was revealed that although the DSCs are empowered by law to oversee the operations of the PSCs in our districts, there are many limitations to fulfilment of this oversight role. He said:

“In as much as we try to monitor the operations of PSCs, there is a very big disconnect between DSCs and the police headquarters who take final decisions on our recommendations. Sometimes, our recommendations on a number of things are never responded to. For example, so many companies deploy one armed guard contrary to the recommended two but they continue working’. The respondent added that sometimes the effectiveness of the DSCs is compromised

by conflicts of interest because some of the owners of these companies are either former security officials or highly connected.”

He added:

“All security companies are supposed to deposit their guns in safe places recommended by the DSCs. But because most companies want to cut costs, they do not adhere to these specifications. This is the same with deployments. Many companies overwork their personnel yet they are underpaid. When we recommend improvement, either they are rarely implemented because the owners are big government officials or have patrons in government circles. Therefore, the small man on the ground finds his hands tied. There are companies you cannot talk about”.

The same sentiment was expressed by a DPC of one of the stations in Wakiso who said that sometimes, they experience interference from the politically connected owners of these companies. For example, when they disarm security guards for misconduct, they receive many calls from higher offices to have guns released back to the company. According to the DPC, it is very hard for the DSC to close the office of a PSC even though they fall well below the minimum operating standards.

Another respondent argued that one of the factors hindering effective oversight of security companies is the tendency by the owners of security firms to operate from offices far away from where they deploy. She revealed that most of the companies deploying in districts have their offices in other areas, which makes interactions with top managers difficult. She said:

“Many times, when you interact with deployed guards, they refer you to their bosses in Kampala. When you ask them where they keep their guns when they are off duty, they tell you they keep them in their rented houses. When you succeed in getting to the supervisors in the field, who are called operations officers, what they tell you is, ‘this matter is for our bosses’. The bosses rarely come on ground. So, this is a very big challenge”.

This certainly undermines oversight since some of the cases of misconduct recorded among the PSCs are not addressed. It is indeed a big task.

Another trial identified was the lack of knowledge among the officers of the laws governing the conduct of private security organisations. Some of the security officers interviewed did not mention the 2013 private security organisations regulations as their core monitoring instrument. The majority referred to the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda and the Penal Code Act. A Crime Intelligence Officer in Wakiso made this point clear when he said that many police officers have not been sensitized about the new regulations.

He said that for example, sometimes you find a private security guard on duty without full uniform and some police officers just keep quiet because they do not know it is against the law.

Conclusion

Uganda's legislative framework for PSOs provides for the oversight of the PSOs at the district level. The study found out that most DSCs rely on reactive rather than proactive oversight because the majority of the respondents indicated that they relied on monthly report submissions from PSCs and the punishment of those violating established regulations. There was no mechanism to track PSCs that did not submit returns, because of the lack of district-based PSC databases. Although meetings were mentioned as one of the oversight mechanisms, these were found to be so irregular in the two districts. However, lack of coordination between the police headquarters and the DSCs, lack of logistics especially fuel facilitation for designated officers, and political patronage of PSCs were the most outstanding challenges facing DSCs in their oversight role of PSCs. Also, although not directly mentioned by respondents, most members of the DSCs were not well acquainted with the 2013 private security organizations regulations which limited their ability to effectively monitor the operations of PSCs. To improve the effectiveness of DSCs in the oversight of the operations of PSCs in their areas of jurisdiction, the article recommends that:

1. There must be a targeted induction of all DSC members on the 2013 private security Organisations Regulations to equip them with knowledge for effective oversight of PSCs.
2. There is a need for the establishment of district-based PSC databases which can enable the monitoring of the discipline of private security guards. This will require the establishment of a mechanism for the interface between the department of PSCs at the central and the district levels of government for effective monitoring of PSCs.
3. There is a need for annual conferences between the private security service users, government security agencies, and the PSCs operators to share experiences of how to improve the operations of PSCs for sustainable security and development.

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Potential Behavioral and Societal Responses to Human Health Risks Resulting from Climate Change in Kawaala, Kampala Suburb in Uganda

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Abstract

Climate change poses greater human health risks associated with its impacts, bringing urban and peri-urban populations into disarray. The study investigated (a) the relationship between climate change impacts and human health risks, (b) gender aspects associated with human health risks, and (c) the survival tactics and response mechanisms to human health risks resulting from climate change impacts. It targeted a population of 1500 residents of Kawaala and randomly selected 234 respondents. The findings show that there is a significant relationship between climate change impacts, and human health risks, with $[r(189) = 0.67]$, $P < 0.05$. Erratic heavy rains posed more human health risks [Mean = 1.500, SD .50107] accompanied by prolonged dry spells [Mean = 1.4316, SD = .49636] followed by floods [Mean = 1.1368, SD = .34432] which had serious effects on children, women and the elderly. These result in building wooden bridges and using flying toilets while respondents preferred to stay indoors during flooding as opposed to moving to higher grounds immediately. Significant variations existed between residents who preferred staying out of floodwaters, avoiding driving through flooded areas, staying away from power lines and electrical wires and turning off electricity and gas during flooding. Climate change impacts were viewed as significant predictors for reduced availability of water for drinking, cooking and hygiene evidenced by the ($R^2 = .618$, adjusted $R^2 = .792$, $F = 62.386$) while rising temperatures increased the spread of malaria in some locations. A high regression value of 33.217 compared to the residual 19.700 was obtained, meaning that climate change impacts explain at least 79% of the variation of the risk of water stress in the area.

Keywords: Human Health Risks, Climate Change Impacts, Behavioral and Societal Responses

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Introduction

The paper reports on the findings of a study that was carried out in Kawaala which is a peri-urban area in Kampala. Kawaala was originally a wetland area with natural supportive ecosystems to the surrounding areas but has become increasingly inhabited to the point that the wetland is extinct. The climate change impacts are already manifesting in the form of floods, erratic rains, hailstones, among others with direct and indirect impacts on the health of people. This paper reports on the outcomes of the study objectives that were investigated, namely; (i) the relationship between climate change impacts and the human health risks, (ii) the gender aspects associated with human health risks, and (iii) the survival tactics and response mechanisms to human health risks resulting from climate change impacts.

Meehl (2007) observed that when more extreme weather events such as floods, heatwaves, el-niños and lamina, occur in an area, they propel the spread of infectious diseases and detrimental impacts on air and water, and human health. Evidence has proven that as global weather patterns become increasingly altered, they change the nature of global rainfall, evaporation, snow, streamflow and other factors that affect water supply and quality. Specific impacts include warmer water temperatures which affect water quality and accelerate water pollution. The effects of climate change include warming temperatures, changes in precipitation, increases in the frequency or intensity of some extreme weather events, and rising sea levels. These threaten human health by contaminating food, water, and air. Scientists have argued that the severity of these health risks depends on the ability of public healthcare and safety systems to address or prepare for these changing threats, as well as factors such as an individual's behaviour, age, gender, and economic status. Impacts will vary based on where a person stays, how sensitive they are to health threats, how much they are exposed to climate change impacts, and how well they and their community can adapt to change. People in developing countries may be the most vulnerable to health risks, but climate change poses significant health threats even in wealthy nations (Berry, 2009). Children, pregnant women, older adults, and people with low incomes face increased risks.

Methodology

This study adopted a mixed-methods design and used questionnaires and an interview guide as research tools. It used frequency, percentages, mean, standard deviation, collinearity, correlation and regression as statistical analysis tools, while the content validity index (CVI) was used to test the validity and reliability of the research findings. The selection of the sample size was based on a scientific formula given by Michael Slovin in 1960; $n = N / (1 + Ne^2)$ where n = number of samples, N = total population and e = error or tolerance level. It targeted a population of 1500 residents of Kawaala and randomly selected 234 male and female respondents. Slovin's formula was preferred because the study population was not known at the start of the research.

Literature review

Meehl et al. (2007) noted that climate change causes both direct and indirect impacts on human health and society. Direct impacts on mental health occur when a community experiences extreme weather and a changing environment. Direct impacts like landscape changes, impaired place attachment, and psychological trauma are all immediate and localized problems resulting from extreme weather events and environmental changes.

Meehl et al. (2007) further noted that extreme weather events cause negative changes to landscape and agriculture. This exposes persons to economic risks especially those that depend on agriculture for income. Communities exposed to extreme weather events face the risk of losing livelihoods and poverty. Many communities also face isolation, alienation, grief, bereavement, and displacement from these effects.

Davenport (2016) observed that the effects of global warming include its effects on human health and the severity of climate-related impacts further exacerbate the effects on human health if remedial responses are not undertaken.

Berry et al (2009) also argued that individuals are more likely to have increased rates of anxiety and emotional stress resulting from the effects of climate change, and its effects on mental health increases in already vulnerable communities.

Doherty and Clayton (2011) reinforce the view that the more powerful and frequent the extreme weather events are, the severe the damage to mental health. Some of the extreme weather events responsible for these mental health changes include wildfires, earthquakes, hurricanes, floods, and extreme heat, El Nino and La Nina.

Indirect impacts on mental health occur via impacts on physical health and community wellbeing. Physical health and mental health have a reciprocal relationship (Berry & Helen, 2009). If the physical health of an individual is negatively impacted, the decline in mental health soon follows. These impacts are more gradual and cumulative. They are threats to emotional wellbeing through concern and uncertainty about future risks.

Doherty et al. (2011) noted that there are also large-scale community and social effects, like conflicts related to migration and subsequent shortages or adjustment after a disaster. Extreme weather events play a major role here. Their impacts can be indirect. This is due to the effect on physical health from extreme weather events. Each extreme weather event affects humans in different ways, but they all lead to the decline of mental health. Heat indirectly causes mental health issues through physical health challenges. The World Health Organization reports that extreme heat is directly related to certain ailments like cardiovascular disease, respiratory disease, and asthma. One piece of their evidence is that in the summer of 2003, during Europe's big heatwave, there were 70,000 recorded deaths related to the heat.

According to the World Health Organization (2018), heat exhaustion also occurs during extreme heat. As climate change continues, temperatures will continue to rise and these problems will exacerbate. These physical problems lead to mental health problems. As physical health worsens and is less curable, mental stability starts to deteriorate. As extreme heat makes landscapes dry, nature is more prone to fire. Research shows that rising heat due to climate change has caused an increase in fires around the United States. Smoke inhalation from wildfires leads to a decline in physical health, which in turn leads to mental health problems. The death of a family member or a friend can cause individuals to suffer from stress and other conditions. Some people hurting due to the loss of family and friends may internalize their emotions, feel extreme guilt and helplessness, and become paranoid. Others may develop a fear of future loss and have an overall displacement of feelings that could last for years.

Anderson (2001) published research in the American Psychological Association that shows the increase in murders in the United States directly correlates with the temperature increase. For every one-degree Fahrenheit, there will be nine more murders in the country, which leads to an additional 24,000 murders or assaults per year in the United States.

There is also an increased risk of suicide in communities that suffer from extreme weather events. Studies show that suicide rates increase after extreme weather events. This is evidence of a decline in mental health. For example, in the Australian countryside where drought has resulted in crop failure, farmers were left with almost nothing. They were forced to sell their belongings, reduce their stock, and borrow large sums of money to plant crops at the start of the next season. These consequences caused a surge in depression, domestic violence, and suicide. More than one hundred farmers in the Australian countryside had committed suicide by 2007. The suicide of a person often leads to mental health problems for loved ones. They face grief, sadness, anger, paranoia, among others.

Lorna and Bowlby (1983) showed that some impacts pertaining to mental health are more gradual and cumulative than others, for instance, social interaction, media, and communication. The social interaction between communities and within communities is greatly affected by migration. Communities choose to migrate or are forced to migrate due to stress on limited resources. This is worsened by extreme weather events caused by climate change. Common mental health conditions associated indirectly with these extreme weather events include acute traumatic stress, post-traumatic stress disorder, depression, complicated grief, anxiety disorders, sleep difficulties, and sexual dysfunction. Drug and alcohol abuse are also common aftereffects and can lead to both physical and mental health issues, addiction and substance dependency.

The effects of Hurricane Katrina, an extreme weather event that occurred in New Orleans, led to a variety of mental health problems due to the destruction of resources (Epstein et al., 2011). Many people impacted by Hurricane Katrina were left homeless, disenfranchised, stressed, and suffering physical illness—imposing a strain on the public healthcare system and decreasing

access to and availability of medical resources. Some climate change adaptation measures may prevent the need for displacement. However, some communities may be unable to implement adaptation strategies, and this will create added stress, further exacerbating already existing mental health issues. Extreme weather events and population displacement lead to limited availability of medications, one of the primary resources required to meet the psychological and physical needs of those affected by such events. Less medication and medical resources mean fewer people can get the help they need to recover. Slowed recovery and lack of recovery worsen overall mental health.

The world disaster report recognizes the widespread concern that women and girls are at higher risk of sexual exploitation and abuse by trafficking and domestic violence in the aftermath of disasters (IFRC, 2007). In a study conducted by the WHO (2005), it was noted that women who were subjected to violence are more likely to experience increased violence after a disaster or may become separated from family, friends, and other potential support and protective systems. The WHO further noted that after a natural disaster, women are more likely to become victims of domestic and sexual violence and may shun their shelter as a result of fear (Ariyabandu, 2005; IFRC, 2007).

Wilbanks et al. (2012) observed that the amount of future climate change will largely be determined by choices society makes about emissions. Lower emissions of heat-trapping gases and particles mean less future warming and less severe impacts; higher emissions mean more warming and more severe impacts. Efforts to limit emissions or increase carbon uptake fall into a category of response options known as “mitigation” (WHO, 2002).

Carbon dioxide accounted for 84% of total U.S. greenhouse gas emissions in 2011. The vast majority (97%) of this CO₂ comes from energy use. Thus, the most direct way to reduce future climate change is to reduce emissions from the energy sector by using energy more efficiently and switching to lower-carbon energy sources. In 2011, 41% of U.S. carbon dioxide emissions were attributable to liquid fuels (petroleum), followed closely by solid fuels (principally, coal in electric generation), and to a lesser extent by natural gas. Electric power generation (coal and gas) and transportation (petroleum) are the sectors predominantly responsible.

Conceptual Framework

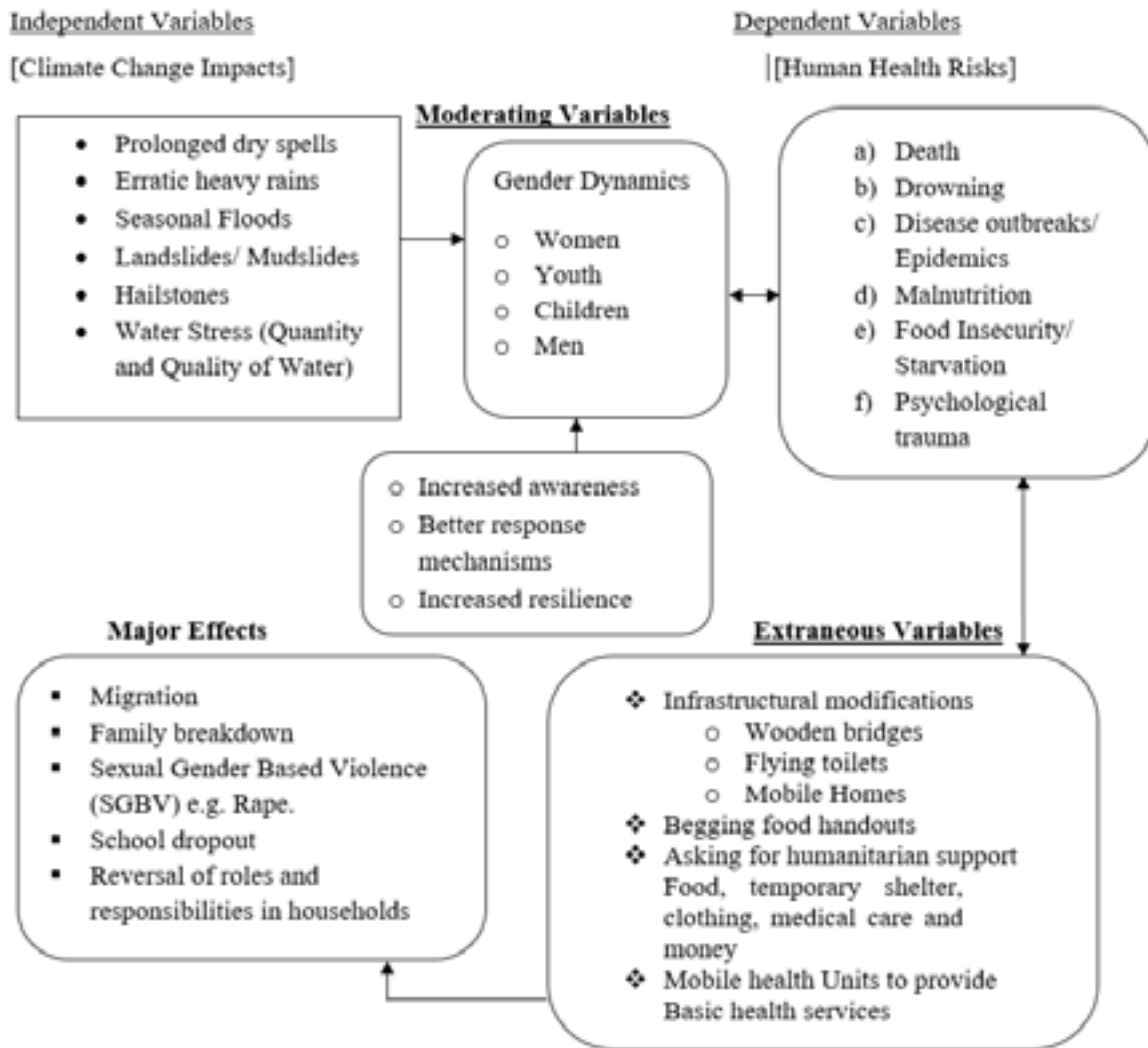


Figure 1: Relationship Between Climate Change Impacts, gender aspects and response mechanisms.
(Source: Adapted and Modified from Maria Magher (2001))

The conceptual framework (Figure 1) was adopted from the views of Maria Magher (2001) in which it tried to explain the relationship between the dependent, independent and extraneous variables. Magher (2001) suggested that when all the variables are analyzed, the dependent variables are the ones that inform the outcomes of the study.

Results and Discussions

The results are discussed in tables, charts, plates and so on.

Table 1: Gender of the Respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	103	44.0	44.0	44.0
Female	131	56.0	56.0	100.0
Total	234	100.0	100.0	

Table 1 shows the number and percentages of participants who provided primary data by gender. The study engaged 234 respondents.

Age of respondents

The females were more than the males by a slight difference of respondents to this study.

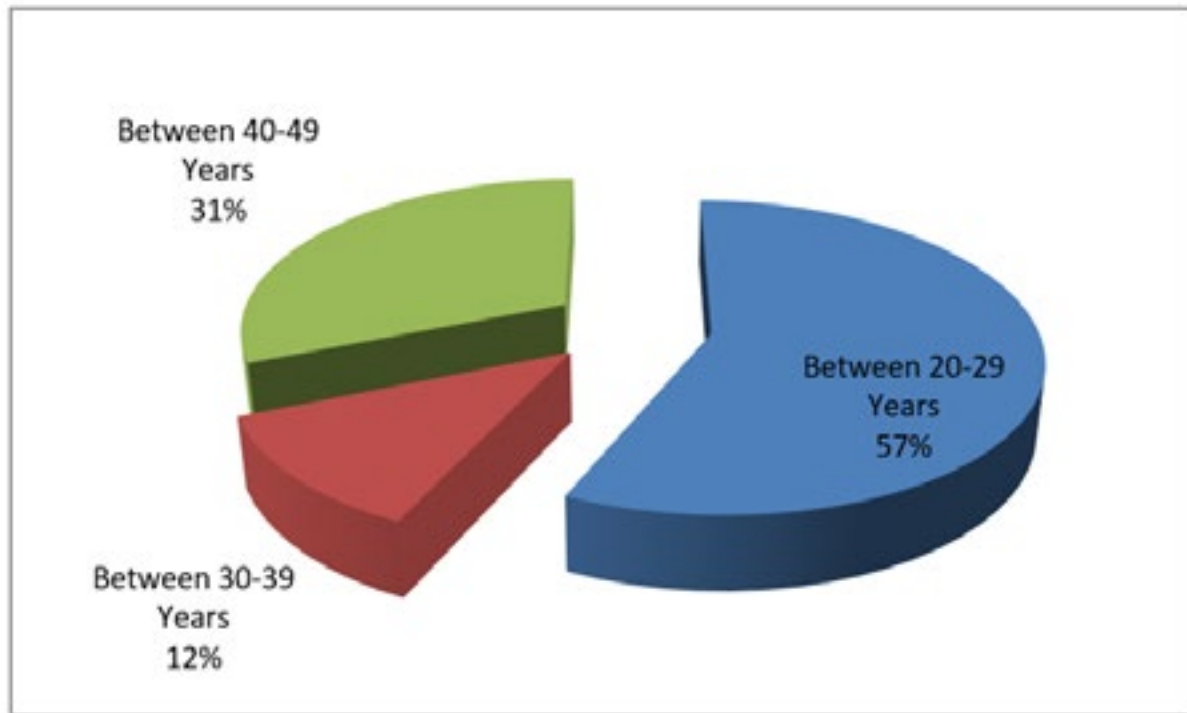


Figure 2: Age of the Respondents

There was a variation in the age brackets of the respondents who participated in this study with the majority (57%) being young adults within the age bracket of between 20-29 years as seen in figure 2. This was followed by respondents in the age category of between 40-49 years (31%) while the rest (12%) were in the middle age group of between 30-39 years.

Table 2: Education level of the Respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Primary Level	1	0.4	0.4	0.4
Secondary Level	97	41.5	41.5	41.9
Tertiary/ University Level	120	51.3	51.3	93.2
Have'nt gone to school at all	16	6.8	6.8	100
Total	234	100.0	100.0	

As shown in Table 2, three levels of education of the respondents who participated in the study were sought, and 120 of them had reached tertiary and or university. A relatively big number of respondents (97) had only reached or attained secondary school education while only one

individual, which is an insignificant number, had attained primary level education. Some respondents had not gone to school at all but were also heavily affected by the factors which were being investigated in the study. The choice of the participants with varied education levels had a significant impact on the outcome of the results because choosing the majority of the tertiary/university graduates and those who studied up to secondary school meant that these participants were well informed and would provide genuine and meaningful opinions which again contributed to the reliability of the results.

Table 3: Employment Status of the Respondents

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Formal	118	50.4	50.4	50.4
Informal	116	49.6	49.6	100.0
Total	234	100	100	

It can be seen from Table 3 that the study took an almost equal number of respondents from those employed in the formal and casual labour jobs. This particular aspect informed the study about how people of different categories of employment categories perceive climate change impacts relating to human health risks. The study revealed that individuals who were employed in the informal sector (casual jobs) were significantly affected by the climate change impacts such as flooding, prolonged drought and erratic heavy rains as compared to their counterparts in the formal sector. The people in the informal sector were prone to experiencing more human health risks most especially in times of flooding than those in the formal sector. It was revealed that if there was a heavy downpour or a flood, for example, more people in the informal sector would be hospitalized than would their counterparts in the formal sector, as a result of easily contracting waterborne infections such as cholera, typhoid, and dysentery as well as urinary tract infections most especially for the female gender.

This is because the majority of the people in this vulnerable group can not afford to buy bottled water every day, and their literacy levels, coupled with low incomes, meant that they cannot as well afford decent housing, cannot dispose of human waste in proper facilities. However, some individuals in the formal sector would also get affected by human health risks such as drowning, most especially if driving and cars got washed away by flash floods, or due to heatwaves or, although in rare cases, if they contracted a waterborne infection.

Table 4: Descriptive Statistics on the Magnitude of Climate Change Impacts

	Prolonged dry spells	Erratic heavy rains	Seasonal floods
Mean	1.4316	1.5000	1.1368
Std. Deviation	.49636	.50107	.34432
Variance	.246	.251	.119

From Table 4, the study analyzed the magnitude of major climatic impacts which cause serious

human health risks in Kawaala, a Kampala suburb and the findings show that erratic heavy rains posed more human health risks [Mean = 1.500, SD .50107] accompanied by prolonged dry spells [Mean = 1.4316, SD = .49636] followed by floods [Mean = 1.1368, SD = .34432]. In-depth interviews and Focus Group Discussions with the respondents showed that prolonged dry spells, erratic heavy rains and floods were identified as the greatest threats leading to water scarcity in the area. It was revealed that the area flooded, many residents were unable to access water collection points. Latrines got submerged and other waterborne sanitary systems in some places overflowed, which aggravated the spread of water-borne infections and reduced the availability of clean water for drinking, cooking and personal hygiene.

Flooding also caused serious consequences for the people of Kawaala areas such as school-going children, young girls, older persons and at times men would drown and eventually die. It was revealed that prolonged dry spells caused serious food insecurity leading to hunger and starvation for some individuals.

Table 5: Model Summary for Climate Change Impacts

Model		R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	
1		.792 ^a	.628	.618	.29789	
ANOVA ^a						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig
1	Regression	33.217	6	5.536	62.386	.000 ^b
	Residual	19.700	222	.089		
	Total	52.917	228			

- a. Dependent Variable: Reduced availability of water for drinking, cooking and hygiene
- b. Predictors: (Constant), Prolonged dry spells, Erratic heavy rains, Seasonal Floods, Disruption of agricultural and other supportive ecosystems, Landslides/ Mudslides, Hailstones.

The measure of the relationship between climate change impacts and human health risks is shown in table 5. The results indicate that climate change impacts are significant predictors for reduced availability of water for drinking, cooking and personal hygiene. This is evidenced by $R = .792$ which accounts for 79% indicating that climate change impacts and reduction in water for drinking, cooking and hygiene are strongly positively correlated.

Table 6: Regression to Predict Water Availability. Coefficients.

Regression Model		Standardized		Unstandardized coefficients	T	Sig.
1		B	Std. Error	Beta	.590	.556
	(Constant)	.356	.603		11.712	.000
	Prolonged dry spells	.827	.071	.852	4.288	.000
	Erratic heavy rains	-.271	.063	-.282	-4.851	.000
	Seasonal Floods	-.398	.082	-.287	1.808	.072
	Landslides/ Mudslides	.560	.309	.077	3.838	.000
	Hailstones	.257	.067	.223	-4.605	.000
	Disruption of agricultural and other supportive ecosystems	-.331	.072	-.241		

a. Dependent Variable: Reduced availability of water for drinking, cooking and hygiene

It can be seen from Table 6 that the risk of water stress was largely dependent on prolonged dry spells than the rest of the other predictors in the model. Statistical analysis of this result yielded the unstandardized positive beta value of .827 and its equivalent t-value of 4.288 which is also positive.

Table 7: ANOVA^a. Relationship between Drowning and Climate Change Impacts

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	21.271	4	5.318	35.255	.000 ^b
Residual	30.469	202	.151		
Total	51.739	206			

Regression Model		Standardized		Unstandardized coefficients	T	Sig.
1		B	Std. Error	Beta	.590	.556
	(Constant)	-.493	.280		-1.762	.080
	Erratic heavy rains	.358	.055	.359	6.536	.000
	Seasonal Floods	.209	.082	.143	2.540	.012
	Landslides/ Mudslides	.073	.112	.035	.651	.516
	Hailstones	.598	.070	.490	8.559	.000
	(Constant)	-.493	.280		-1.762	.080

a. Dependent Variable: Drowning

b. Predictors: (Constant), Hailstones, Landslides/ Mudslides, Erratic heavy rains, Seasonal Floods.

In determining which climate change impacts would lead to drowning, four possible variables were analyzed together and the results are shown in Table 7. The model reveals that although a statistically calculated p-value = 0.000, $P < .05$ shows that the results were significant, the

F- statistic ($F = 35.25$) was too low meaning that in the event of a climatic impact such as those mentioned in table 7, the occurrence of drowning would only be by chance. The study further reveals that only three variables yielded P-values less than 0.05 i.e. erratic heavy rains; $\beta = .358$, $P = .000$, seasonal floods $\beta = .209$ $P = .012$ and hailstones; $\beta = .598$, $P = .000$. Out of the three variables tested, it can be seen that the chance of one getting drowned was largely dependent on heavy rains, floods and hailstones.

Table 8: Coefficients. Predicting the Occurrence of Waterborne Infections

Model	Un-standardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig
	B	Std. Error	Beta		
Constant	1.000	.098		10.173	.000
Erratic heavy rains	.282	.062	.285	4.537	.000

a. Dependent Variable: Increase in waterborne infections

The study investigated the contribution of erratic heavy rains towards an increase in waterborne infections and it can be seen that the un-standardized beta coefficient value of 0.282 positive and its equivalent t-value ($t = 4.537$, with $P < 0.05$) was statistically significant. This means that whenever there was an occurrence of erratic heavy rains, there was also a 28% chance of increasing the spread of waterborne infections in Kawaala, a Kampala suburb.

Table 9: Excluded Variable

Model	Beta In	t	Sig.	Partial Correlation	Collinearity Statistics Tolerance
.Seasonal Floods	.44 ^b	.697	.486	.46	.999

a. Dependent Variable: Increase in waterborne infections

b. Predictors in the Model: (Constant), Erratic heavy rains

The collinearity statistic was run and the results indicate that there is a strong positive relationship of 0.999 between erratic heavy rains and increases in waterborne infections. This, therefore, implies that the occurrence of erratic heavy rains is a predictor ($\text{Beta} = 0.44$) of an increase in waterborne infections.

Table 10: Analysis of Gender Aspects with Occurrence of Human Health Risks

Human Health Risks	Gender Aspects					Total
	Women	Youth	Children	Men	Elderly	
Death	50	17	50	17	51	83
Drowning	67	17	67	17	68	117
Increase in waterborne infections	67	17	85	17	51	135
Rising temperatures increase the spread of malaria in some locations	67	17	68	17	51	101
Malnutrition	35	17	34	17	34	35
Food insecurity	82	49	82	49	66	115
Reduced availability of water for drinking, cooking and hygiene	67	32	83	32	32	84
Psychological trauma	18	17	17	17	17	18
Total	116	49	167	49	100	234

Table 10 shows the results of the cross-tabulation between human health risks and the gender aspects. The study considered women, youth, children, men, and the elderly. The respondents cited that human health risks resulting from climate change affected all aspects of gender. It was found that the risk of drowning and subsequent death most especially due to heavy rains and flooding affected mostly the elderly, women and children while an increase in waterborne infections was prominent among the children and women. Rising temperatures were reported to increase the spread of malaria in some locations, but children were the most affected by the disease. A high number of respondents (83) cited that reduced availability of water for drinking, cooking and hygiene is also a major health risk affecting mostly children and women. It was revealed that while the youth have sufficient energy to run up and down to search for drinking water, the children have to rely on their parents in times of water stress. It was observed that the risk of psychological trauma seems not to have any significant impact on the residents of Kawaala suburb.

Table 11: Effects of Climate Change and Human Health risks on Gender Aspects

	N	Percent	Percent of Cases
Abandon homes and migrate permanently	134	19.1%	57.5%
Family breakdown	133	19.0%	57.1%
Sexual Gender-Based Violence such as rape	102	14.6%	43.8%
School dropout for school going children	182	26.0%	78.1%
Reversal of roles and responsibilities in households	150	21.4%	64.4%

Table 11 shows the general effects of climate change in relation to human health risks. Key

among the major findings was that a high number of children dropped out of school and flocked to the streets in the city to beg, as a result of not being able to cope with the harsh environmental conditions. Many people have ended up abandoning homes for new areas. Some respondents revealed that there were cases of sexual harassment such as rape, while in many households, men neglected their responsibilities and left them to their wives, resulting in some cases in family breakdown.

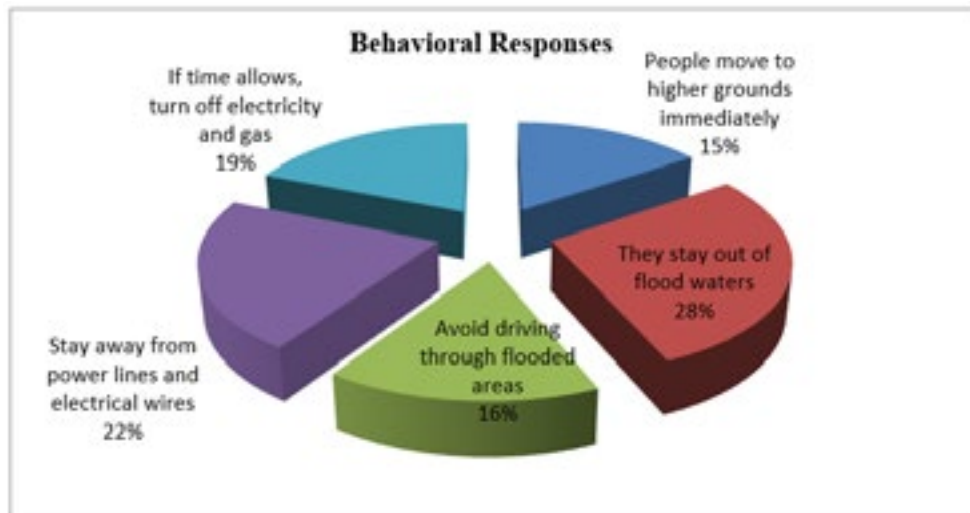


Figure 3: Behavioral Responses

Some behavioural responses were statistically analyzed and the study showed that there were significant variations between respondents who preferred to stay indoors during a flood and those who moved and sought raised ground immediately. Some respondents said that when floods came, they turned off electricity and gas while others said that they stay away from power lines and electrical wires because they understand the danger of being electrocuted while walking in the floodwaters.

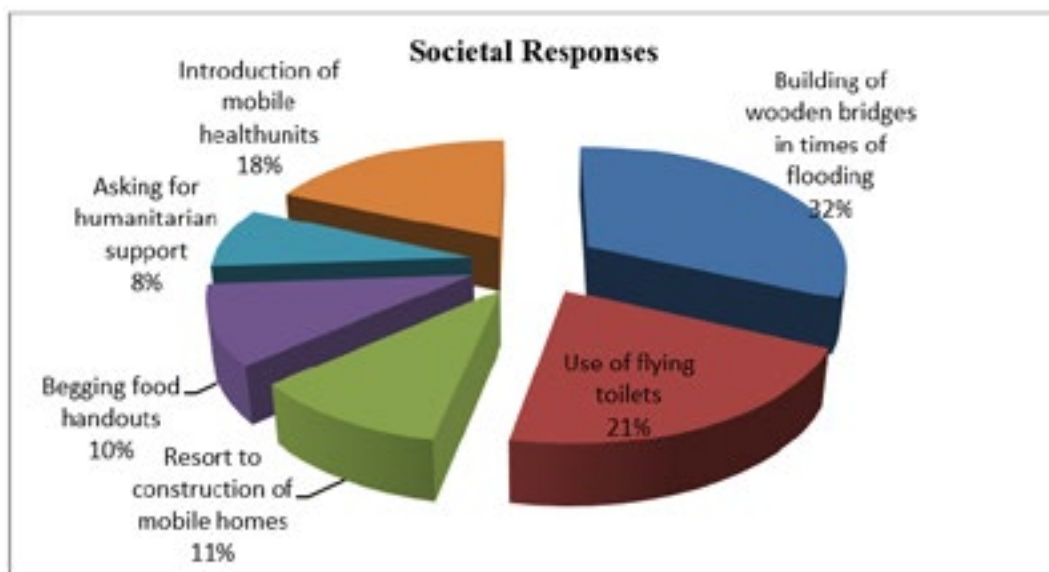


Figure 4: Societal Responses to Climate Change Impacts

Societal responses to human health risks were studied and the results showed the following. Individuals built wooden bridges (32%), used flying toilets (21%), resorted to the construction of mobile homes (11%), begged for food handouts (10%), and asked for humanitarian support (8%) while others resorted to the introduction of mobile health units (18%). As seen in figure 4, the biggest percentage (32%) of the respondents reported that it was very common for the people of Kawaala to construct wooden bridges before and after a flood has occurred. The study found that these wooden bridges were the leading cause of drowning for some individuals. several individuals were reported to have lost their lives due to drowning as their bodies were found floating on running water in open water channels and trenches. This study further revealed that these cases of lost lives as a result of drowning point to individuals who insist and walking in floodwaters during heavy rains and those who use wooden bridges and fall in the water when the structures collapse. It was further established that individuals defecated in polythene bags and threw them on other people's rooftops because they feared to get out of their houses when the area flooded. This particular problem was reported to be the leading cause of many hospitalizations due to the spread of waterborne infections such as cholera, typhoid and dysentery in many parts of Kawaala.

Reliability Statistics

The statistical package for social scientists (SPSS version 20) was used to establish the reliability of the results.

Table 12: Rule of Thumb for Cronbach's Alpha (Coefficient Value

Alpha ($\bar{\alpha}$) Coefficient Range	Strength of Association
<0.60	Poor
0.60 to < 0.70	Moderate
0.70 to < 0.80	Good
0.80 to < 0.90	Very Good
0.90	Excellent

Source: Adapted from Lund Research Ltd © 2018

Sekaran and Bougie (2010) suggested that using Cronbach's alpha which is the reliability coefficient (most common measure of internal consistency), is a good measure of determining how well the items in a set are positively correlated to one another. Their argument is based on the rule of thumb for Cronbach's alpha coefficient values which give the strength of association of the studied variables against the standard of 0.70 as given in table 12.

Table 13: Summary of Reliability Statistics on Human Health Risks

No	Constructs	Cronbach's Alpha	Number of Items	Number of Respondents
1	Death	.662	14	234
2	Drowning	.673	14	234
3	Increase in waterborne infections	.748	14	234
4	Rising temperatures increase the spread of malaria in some locations	.710	14	234
5	Malnutrition	.702	14	234
6	Food insecurity	.681	14	234
7	Reduced availability of water for drinking, cooking and hygiene	.742	14	234
8	Psychological trauma	.704	14	234
	Average	.724		

Source: Primary Data © 2019

The variables were tested as seen in table 13 above. Death, drowning and food insecurity as dependent variables scored poorly during the reliability test with values ranging from 0.662, 0.673 and 0.681 respectively which are slightly below the standard Cronbach's coefficient of 0.70, meaning that their strength of association was moderately reliable. However, the rest of the variables under investigation are in good reliability since their Cronbach's alpha is equal or slightly exceeds the standard coefficient value of 0.7. It can, therefore, be concluded that most of the variables fall under reliability scores and are, therefore, in agreement with the rule of thumb which indicates that a Cronbach's alpha value which falls within the coefficient range of between 0.7- 0.8 is good while that between 0.80 to < 0.90 is very good as seen in the table. This means, therefore, that the 234 respondents in various age groups and gender were in a position to provide good results to this study.

Conclusions and recommendation

There is a strong positive relationship between climate change impacts and the occurrence of human health risks. An increase in climate change impacts potentially led to an increase in health risks which confirms the findings of Davenport (2016) and Meehl et al. (2007) in the literature review. Prolonged dry spells directly affected food security and led to a reduction in the quality of water for domestic consumption, while erratic heavy rains and floods led to an increase in waterborne infections, drowning and death for some individuals. An increase in temperatures on the other hand led to the spread of malaria in some locations because mosquitos larvae hatch in warmer temperatures quickly and spread to many areas. During inundation, individuals

resorted to building wooden bridges which further added to the chances of drowning for school-going children, women and the elderly. The study further revealed that due to the low incomes of individuals, several resorted to begging for food handouts, asking for humanitarian support while others end up constructing makeshift shelters.

Therefore, the National Environmental Management Authority together with the Ministry of Water and Environment and Ministry of Health, should not only spend government resources on curative approaches but should also put in more resources on mitigation measures and building resilience against the impacts of climate change. The study further recommends that people should conserve the environment both in the rural, urban, and peri-urban areas and they should learn to co-exist with supportive natural ecosystems so that climate change impacts do not continue to cause aggravated human health risks such as those covered under this study.

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Integrating Social Solidarity Into Economic Development

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Abstract

The concept of socialism is very broad and because of this, it has been misunderstood and demonised as a phenomenon that undermines development. Capitalist thinkers are the culprits. Their demonisation of socialism is predicated on an insular understanding of it. However, besides politico-economic socialism, which capitalist thinkers are critical of, there is also cultural or traditional socialism.

This paper argues that African Societies practised their socialism before the Western, politico-economic conception of socialism ever saw the light of day. The paper focuses on the Jopadhola in Eastern Uganda and how they practised their traditional/cultural socialism under the rubrics of “misingo” and “wretch” to achieve communal wellbeing and community development. It further argues that the current model of economic development being pursued by the government of Uganda, under which several economic policy interventions (Entadkiwa, Plan for the Modernisation of Agriculture, Bonna Baggaggawale, NAADS, Operation Wealth Creation, Youth Livelihood Programme, Women Empowerment Programme, etc.) have been made, may never achieve the stated goal of transforming societies socioeconomically, unless Ugandans are returned to the traditional conception and practice of socialism/collectivism.

Keywords: community development, cultural socialism, African traditional socialism, African socialism, social solidarity, community, inequality, *Misingo* and *Wretch*.

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1.0 Introduction

1.1 Socialism and wellbeing

In political economy, socialism is the first step towards communism and is a politico-economic system that during the cold war permeated the “Eastern Bloc”: Russia, China, North Korea, Cuba and generally most countries in Central Asia. Within African states, socialism was predominant in Tanzania and was introduced there by Julius Nyerere in 1967. Like Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Nyerere tried to establish a society free of exploitation. One of the tenets of politico-economic socialism is that the state should be the controller of all the factors of production, meaning that it should be in charge of people’s welfare and people should be the recipients. Equality of persons is also one of the tenets of this brand of socialism.

Inequality according to Marx, was a hallmark of the capitalist tradition, and could only be extinguished by socialism. Socialism according to Marx’s thinking would be when people came together to work for the good of every member of a group, community or society. This collective effort would eliminate lack, inequality, and poverty.

Socialist philosophers also observed that capitalism excludes the rural poor people from the centre of economic power, yet they are the majority. This narrowed down the scope of the society to only a class of a few wealthy people at the expense of the majority—the poor, hence undermining community development. Although capitalist thinking is critical of socialist thinking for undermining the efforts of hard-working people and encouraging laziness in society, it fails to appreciate the basic fact that caring about the wellbeing of the majority of the members of the society is the best strategy for achieving community development.

Socialism thus was implemented in many countries to achieve that end. In Tanzania, Nyerere (1967/8) implemented this brand of socialism, which he called Ujaama, as a panacea for extinguishing poverty and inequality, and for creating a classless society, all at once.

It is imperative, however, to stress that the ideals of socialism had been pursued in African societies long before Marx and Angels put forth their socialist/communist philosophy. Although not known by the name socialism, Africans have always been bound by their belief in collectivism and social solidarity. In his study of the Bantu people, Tempels (1945) noted that what binds Africans together as the “vital force”, the central point and strong solidarity is the behaviour of the people. This strong solidarity cuts across all African tribes and it has been handed down from one generation to the other. On the other hand, Mbiti (1969) in his social philosophy referred to this as a “motivational force to brotherhood” as the foundation of the nature of solidarity, the very basis of social capital. Connected to this, Masolo (1995) observed that “complex family and lineage groups formed separate units of labour force.... to work together by taking turns to work collectively on respective house plots”.

According to Nyerere, everybody, including the capitalists can become socialists in such a way that they can share their proceeds or give a hand to others who are in need. Because of the way socialism works, Ishtig & Muriisa (2004) preferred to call it collective capitalism implying that one exists for the good of the others in the community. Social solidarity agrees with the observation made by Anadha (2009) that community development is a strategy through which its practitioners are involved in problem identification, identification of assets, location of resources, analysis of local power structures, assessment of human needs and investigation of other concerns that comprise the community’s character.

In this case, people through their own experience should be responsible for establishing the conditions of achieving their welfare, which can be best done through the traditional way of socialism. The Jopadhola practised social solidarity through communal work, group work, community meetings, food support and financial help.

1.2 African socialism and “Misingo” and “Wretch” among the Jopadhola

Africans had traditional ways of organising themselves socially and economically to achieve community development. Their forms of association were embedded within the lineage of birth and brotherhood in families and clans of kinship. The Jopadhola in Eastern Uganda practised wretch and misingo. Misingo and wretch were forms of traditional solidarity under which families and groups of members of the community came together to perform an activity that in the end improved their social and economic standards. They were embodiments of African traditional values of social solidarity, which is itself according to Mawa (2010), as old as African Societies.

The role of social solidarity embedded within a traditional culture cannot be ignored in the economic development of the community. Misingo and wretch, since they were entrenched values in the Jopadhola traditional culture, were very important in economic development. Moncrieffe (2004) has observed that it is important to understand the significance of culture in African societies, the root to both positive and negative perceptions and how cultural traditions influence forms of behaviour that can support or undermine development.

Misingo and wretch were forms of association analogous to the principles of cooperatives and cooperative values, and according to Behayo (2017), they include: self-help, self-responsibility, democracy, equality, equity, and solidarity are cooperative values. Cooperatives are voluntary associations that are open to all persons able to use their services and willing to accept the responsibilities of membership, without gender, social, racial, political or religious discrimination (Behayo, 2017). Through “misingo” and “wretch” formations, communities could leverage the synergistic advantages of collective action to improve themselves better than they would when each community member acted on their own.

With “misingo”, several households or individuals in the locality came together and worked in a garden one member for a given period, after which they worked in another’s until all members were served. During harvest time, households or individuals threw merrymaking festivities at which traditionally brewed ale (kongo-kali) and food were served to members of the group. Moreover, it is also a time for the members to exchange gifts including money, chickens, turkeys or even goats. These gifts are meant to further cement group solidarity.

On the other hand, with wretch the members were appreciated immediately after each day’s work with a serving of food and a drink. There would be no grandiose celebrations. The aim of “misingo” and “wretch” was to boost the efforts of individuals and households to produce enough food for the family and to become socially and economically sustainable. “Misingo” and “wretch” could also be utilised in tasks other than farming, for example, in building houses, and in community tasks including clearing roads, cleaning and opening water points, etc.

The collectivism/socialism under Misingo and Wretch was incentivised by the belief that “I live because you are” (Mbiti 1969). The same spirit of togetherness is also cherished by Ubuntu philosophy, according to which a person is said to be a person through other persons. None of us comes into the world fully developed. We would not know how to think or walk, or speak, or

behave as human beings unless we learned it from other human beings. We need other human beings to be human (Tutu, 2004).

1.3 Comparative analysis of Ujamaa

Ujaama was a politico-socialist system of production practised in Tanzania as an alternative to the capitalist system. Capitalism is private ownership of all the factors of production and is, thus, about individualistic gain that leads to the domination of the majority by the few who accumulate wealth.

Holding the belief that capitalism is exploitative, impoverishing, and unjust to the majority, Julius Nyerere in 1967 enacted a socialist system of production in Tanzania called Ujamaa. He believed that if the State directed the production and distribution of all goods and services, it would create a more equal society and lead to greater equality of citizens. The government of Tanzania looked at Ujamaa as a means through which to increase the production of both agricultural and industrial products. Under Ujamaa socialism, the main focus was goods and services from the government. It is important to note that the misingo and wretch socialism is similar to Ujamaa socialism, but different in practice because the focus misingo and wretch socialism is on voluntary communal and group participation aimed at achieving economic wellbeing.

The Ujamaa experiment was poorly conceived because people of disparate social and ethnic backgrounds were forced to live in one setting to achieve a common goal. The villages were unnatural settings that could not conduce the attainment of socioeconomic progress. Moreover, Ujamaa was directed and controlled from the top without consideration to the wishes of the people. Ujaama can therefore be described as an imposed, artificial socialist system, which was in all ways the direct opposite of African, traditional socialism.

Ujaama was also anti-development. Development is a multifaceted phenomenon that does not only mean economic growth, but goes beyond borders. The broadness of the meaning of the term 'development' has been clearly described by Todaro (1992), who calibrates it to three core values, including; life sustenance, self-esteem and freedom from servitude. According to Todaro, if any of the three core values is missing, then a condition of absolute poverty exists. Societies develop their unique ways of organisation in the pursuit of their wellbeing and happiness. Thus, it is always a bad idea to impose a way of life that is alien to a community and which did not organically develop.

The way the Ujaama concept was implemented ran counter to the common sense described above. It ignored the basic tenet that man cannot be separated from his culture, for culture made him (Mbakogu, 2004). The social reality articulated by Mbiti (1969) "I am because we are; and since we are, therefore I am". This kind of wellbeing availed to us by nature cannot be provided by coercion.

1.4 The philosophy behind "Misingo" and "Wretch"

Misingo and wretch had a philosophical grounding that attached meaning to social development that should be scrutinised properly to bring out additional knowledge that can be leveraged for development planning.

The major philosophy behind "misingo" and "wretch" is the push for economic sustainability.

African proverbs are very good at stating the hidden meaning of an event which most times turn out to become a reality. The words “misingo” and “wretch” are proverbs used in the local mobilisation of the community for “an economic activity. For example, the Jopadhola have a saying that, “Oyeyo achiel kikunyi buri” translated in English to mean, ‘one rat cannot dig a hole. This kind of traditional communal attitude induces members of the community to come together to perform tasks for the good of all the members of the community. This proverb further means that ‘two heads are better than one, and ‘together we can stand and divided we fall’. In other words, carrying out an activity single-handedly is a burdensome, inefficient and ineffective effort. An individual/household encounters more hardship to overcome social and economic challenges and easier when assisted. Hence the unity of the members and households to pool together is very important in surmounting difficult social and economic challenges.

Misingo and wretch were forms of social organisation that cemented social relationships. Masolo observed that a social organisation is not only a system of mutual or interdependent social security (Masolo, 1995) but that it also serves as a vehicle for individual participation and community service for less advantaged persons. This is a true description of what misingo and wretch traditional/cultural socialism was about among the Jopadhola.

1.5 The philosophy of socialism as exhibited by African traditional values

The philosophy of traditional/cultural socialism is well exhibited through African proverbs, sayings and songs. These proverbs, sayings, and songs carry the hidden power of unity through African socialism, which if utilised properly can be used to fight famine in the community, improve the economic standing of the people and as a mobilisation tool for politics. For example, the Baganda have a saying that, “agali awamu gegaluma enyama”. Loosely translated, it means that it is more than one tooth that can bite a piece of meat. The saying emphasises the importance of collectivism. Other tribes in Eastern Uganda refer to this kind of unity as Obwoko by the Samia, while the Basoga refer to it as kikinsu, and the Bamasaba refer to it as kibaga. Among the Jopadhola, this kind of collectivism is referred to as ‘bedo kanyaci’, which they carry out in two forms; misingo and wretch.

1.6 The distorted meaning and impact of socialism

The distortion of socialism started with the intellectual conception of the philosophy in Europe, and later its implementation. It was conceived and implemented in Russia and the Soviet states, Communist China, North Korea, Cuba, Vietnam, Tanzania, and everywhere else it was implemented, as a top-down model of development with the state in charge of every and all aspects of production and distribution of goods and services. The idea of centralising decision making at the state level and from there directing action was the beginning of aberration from the true meaning and promise of socialism.

The conceptual distortion of socialism was also, surprisingly (because he was a socialist adherent), observed by Nyerere and contended socialism, above all else (e.g. Being a politico-economic system as understood by socialist thinkers) is an attitude of the mind, and hence anyone can become a socialist if their attitude changed towards the common good and equality. Nyerere’s conception of socialism is in line with the idea of social and group bonding for a common purpose. If socialism is an attitude and not necessarily a politico-economic system, the imposition of a set of values upon an individual, a group or a society, such as what politico-economic socialism does, has no place. Attitudes cannot be changed by coercion; they are changed by persuasion. Yet, politico-economic socialism as implemented in so-called socialist/

communist countries bore the hallmarks of coercion.

By contrast, African traditional/cultural socialism germinated and grew organically. The people in those societies were persuaded of the benefit of traditional/cultural socialism and participated in it voluntarily and consensually. In the African setting, people are already organised in clans and tribes.

Because politico-economic socialism in Tanzania ignored the traditional settings in favour of a politically imposed system, it was marred by confusion and disorganisation. Clan/cultural leaders were ignored in favour of imposed government administrators. Ujaama and other forms of politico-economic socialism were not the peoples' but political initiatives conceived and controlled at the top echelons of the political pyramid—and were doomed to failure at implementation.

1.6 The economic development through traditional/cultural socialism

It is a given that politico-economic socialism was a huge failure everywhere it was implemented: In Russia and the later the Soviet Union, China, and Tanzania, among countries. The failure of politico-economic socialism, however, should not justify the implementation of capitalism in its ideal, pure form because it also has its weaknesses, namely, exploitation, exclusion, inequality, classification of society (into the rich and the poor, the haves and have-nots), and impoverishment and marginalisation of many peoples and communities. Accordingly, while capitalism may be practised as a better alternative to the failed politico-economic socialism, yet to mitigate the adverse effects of capitalism enumerated above and others, behoves the implementation of traditional/cultural socialism. It is the last hope for inclusive development and the answer to both the inherent weakness of politico-economic socialism (manifesting in dictatorial imposition and implementation of policies and programmes by the State) and the adverse effects of capitalism (consisting in wealth accumulation for a few and the impoverishment of the majority).

Inclusive economic development in Uganda can be achieved if economic activity is promoted through traditional forms of social solidarity. The traditional forms of social solidarity worked very well in mobilising communities for production initiatives. Development programmes would score more success if the chance was given to the communities to mobilise themselves through traditional systems and practices modelled on, for instance, misingo and wretch, among the Japadhola. For example, misingo and wretch, which have a track record of increasing agricultural production can be leveraged by the government's desire to see large-scale agricultural farming.

Yet, traditional/cultural collectivism has been replaced with individualism, and where groups are formed, they are not organic but usually at the behest of the government. They are formed to seize the opportunity to rake in money from the government. For that reason, interventions like NAADS, Entandikwa scheme, SACCOs, bonna baggaggawale (prosperity for all), youth livelihood programme, and operation wealth creation by the government of Uganda, have not paid off in terms of achieving the fundamental socioeconomic transformation of the people, which they were envisioned to achieve.

Conclusion

The key takeaway of this paper is the exposition that socialism is not just the politico-economic type that was conceived in Western Europe and implemented in Eastern Europe, parts of Asia, parts of Latin America and parts of Africa. Socialism is a fluid concept that takes many forms. Another takeaway is that before the Western conception of socialism ever existed, African societies were already practising their form of socialism. This paper attempts to make it clear that through traditional forms of social solidarity, economic inequality can be reduced or minimized, and that adopting the traditional/cultural form of socialism is the only chance there is for Uganda to have economic development.

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Collective Security Diplomacy in Africa's Great Lakes Region: Reflections on the Management of the Lord's Resistance Army Transnational Insurgency

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Abstract

This article assesses the ability of Africa Great Lakes Region's (GLR) multilateral organisations for security to address the endemic challenge of transnational threats through the collective security approach. Based on a desk study of literature on regional security of the GLR, the paper uses the case of the Africa Union's (AU) multilateral hunt of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) to argue that GLR institutions for security have defaulted on their promise to collectively deal with transnational insurgencies. This not only undermines efforts geared towards the socio-economic development of the region, but also directly hampers Africa's continental agenda of silencing the guns by 2020. On the evidence of the attendant regional institutional complexities underpinned by indelible interstate mistrust, the paper recommends the reliance on extra-regional hybrid mechanisms to fast track the vision of a peaceful and secure African.

Keywords: Africa Great Lakes, Multilateral, security, Diplomacy.

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Introduction

One of the defining characteristics of post-colonial instability in the GLR of Africa is the perennial tendency by insurgent groups to utilise sanctuaries in neighbouring states as bases for sustaining guerrilla warfare against their target states largely aided by the easy-to-cross international borders and cross-border ethnic linkages (Salehyean, 2010; Orugun, 2002). For decades, several illegal cross-border armed groups like the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) from Uganda, the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda (FDLR), the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) from Uganda, and of recent, and the National Salvation Army from South Sudan have been, and continue to be, transnational threats to regional peace and security (Okoth, 2018). The activities of these transnational groups have not only contributed to a horrid humanitarian situation but also led to interstate hostilities (Uvin, Borque & Cohen, 2005). This has been so because, whenever these armed groups cross into the territory of another state, the domestic conflict metamorphoses into an international one, hence bringing two or more states into the conflict dynamic (Stanland, 2005). Depending on the situation, some states have reacted either unilaterally, bilaterally or multilaterally to resolve such cross-border security problems (Okoth, 2018). However, today, the multilateral approach has become the most favoured as evidenced by the high number of cooperative initiatives committed to dealing with a wide range of issues linked to the phenomenon of transnational insurgencies within the territories of member states in the GLR (Hull, Emma & Karl, 2011). Whereas this is the case, the challenge of transnational insurgencies persists in the GLR accounting for thousands of refugees, scores of internally displaced persons, and perennial interstate hostilities and mistrust (Okoth, 2018). Such realities beg the question; why, despite the rhetoric about regional security cooperation against transnational security issues, have such problems persisted?

This article attempts to address the preceding question by examining the role played by GLR multilateral institutions for peace and security in the management of the transnational LRA insurgency with a view of analysing their commitment towards issues of collective stability, peace and development in the region. To accomplish this task, the paper is organised as follows. The immediate section after the above brief introduction provides clarification of the key concepts underpinning the paper. The second section presents a critical overview of the multiple, formal and informal multilateral organisations for peace and security in the GLR. Section three concentrates on the multilateral hunt for the LRA as a test case for collective regional security diplomacy in the GLR. The final section, the conclusion suggests to the AU a continued reliance on extra-regional hybrid interventions to fast track the AU's 2020 agenda of "silencing the guns" on the Continent.

Conceptual Clarification

This article is underpinned by four major concepts which need to be clarified from the outset. These are diplomacy, multilateralism, transnational insurgency and GLR. As is common with most social science concepts, there are as many definitions as there are authors on these concepts. Given the space limitations here, the paper deliberately avoids the deeper debates surrounding these concepts to dive straight into the adopted definitions. I begin with the GLR. The GLR is here defined as that geographical space on the African continent occupied by twelve states that constitute the membership of the International Conference of the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR). These are Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic (CAR), the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the Republic of Congo, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, South Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia (Hauch, 2017). The ICGLR co-opts other neighbouring states like Namibia, Botswana, Mali and Ethiopia, which makes it cover most parts of eastern, central and southern Africa (ibid). This is considered a more encompassing conceptualisation because it reflects the interlocking nature of the conflict systems in this part of Africa (Okoth, 2018).

The concept of diplomacy is concerned with the management of relations between states and other actors to ensure international order (Bartson, 2006). As a practice, diplomacy aims to produce normative rules that provide structure to the international system (Mwagiru, 2008). In this paper, diplomacy is defined as a professional practice concerned with the promotion of good relations between and among state and non-state actors through the creation of acceptable modes of conduct in both bilateral and multilateral contexts. Multilateral diplomacy is where three or more states come together, formally or informally, to manage problems affecting their relations (Deyang, 2011).

Lastly, the word transnational according to the Oxford English dictionary means beyond a country's borders while insurgency, according to Goldstein and Pevehouse is a type of armed civil war fought between factions within a given state (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2011). Transnational insurgency is defined here as a type of civil war fought outside the territory of the target state (Salehyean, 2010). Having clarified the meaning of the key concepts, this paper next offers an overview of the existing multilateral organisations for peace and security in the GLR.

Overview of Multilateral Institutions for Peace and security in the GLR

Since the 1990s, the GLR has given birth to a plethora of formal and informal organisations to control the common phenomenon of armed groups that have terrorised civilians within and across borders of many member states (Malan, 1999). There are no less than 10 organisations- both formal and informal, to which most ICGLR member states subscribe. These include the East African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Southern Africa Development Cooperation (SADC), the Common Market for Eastern and

Southern Africa (COMESA), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the ICGLR itself, the Tripartite Plus Joint Commission (TPJC), the Economic Community for the Great Lakes Countries (ECGLR), the East Africa Standby Force (EASF), the Lake Chad Basin Commission (CBLT), Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC), the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD) (Hauck, 2017). This is on top of the presence of many other extra-regional intergovernmental organisations like the United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO), the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic, the United Nations Regional Office for Central Africa (UNOCA) among others also working for regional stabilisation (Okoth, 2018).

Two main reasons have been advanced to explain the proliferation of regional organisations for peace in this part of Africa. The first and most obvious is linked to the individual state's inability to tackle internal civil wars that usually have transnational ramifications (Uvin, Bourque & Cohen, 2005). The second is the espousal of the concept of the security-development nexus in international development discourse that drew the attention of many states in Africa towards the need for more cooperation in peace and security for sustainable development (Fanta, 2009). It has been argued that around the 1990s, many African leaders were awakened to the fact that no amount of development interventions would create meaningful impact if no deliberate efforts were made to address the issue of pervasive intrastate violence with continent-wide ramifications (ibid). This explains why all the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) which traditionally exclusively focused on economic cooperation, enacted protocols to accommodate peace and security (Meyer, 2008).

Despite the said enactments, RECs, particularly those covering countries in the GLR have in reality failed to systematically and collectively tackle the problems of insecurity arising from the common phenomenon of transnational insurgencies (Okoth, 2018). This has occasioned the emergence of hybrid regional security arrangements like the ICGLR, Tripartite Joint Commission (TPJC) and the African Union Central Regional Initiative, to hunt down the LRA (RCI-LRA) - the last one being the focus of this paper. Perplexingly, all the issues for which these informal hybrid arrangements were created fall within the official mandates of such RECs as the EAC, the ECCAS, the SADC and the IGAD (Hull, *et al.*, 2011).

For example, between 1998 and early 2000 when intra-and inter-state armed conflicts in the eastern part of the DRC pushed some regional states into a real war situation, none of the official AU RECs directly intervened to address the situation. Instead, a new organisation known as the ICGLR emerged in 2004 with support from extra-regional players under what was called the "*Group of Friends of the Great Lakes*" (Hauch, 2017). What followed was the signing of the "Pact on Security, Stability and Development" in 2006 by eleven Heads of State and governments in the region to ensure sustainable peace and security (ICGLR, 2006). Under this arrangement, specifically under Article 5 of the protocol on non-aggression and mutual defence

of the ICGLR, promises were made to maintain peace and security through three main ways.

The first was to denounce the use of force as a means to achieve national security objectives; the second was a commitment to desist from supporting armed insurgents fighting against governments in the region, and, the third and the more critical to this paper's analytical focus, was the pledge to disarm and dismantle existing armed rebel groups common to their borders (Lotsberg & Ndizeye, 2009). And, to effectively deal with transnational armed groups, the ICGLR adopted a zonal border security approach under Article 17 whereby states close to one another were allowed to initiate and execute security interventions unique to their common borders (ibid). While these were novel paper agreements, there is little evidence to show that they were implemented as the LRA case will demonstrate.

Except for ICGLR's successful engagement to disarm Congolese M23 rebels, there are still big numbers of external and internal armed groups active in the DRC almost fifteen years since the signing of the protocol on mutual defence and non-aggression (Hauch, 2017). The FDLR, the ADF, the Forces Nationales de Libération (FNL) from Burundi and the LRA from Uganda among other local groups are still troubling the GLR generally (Okoth, 2018). All this serves to support the argument in this paper that there are more failures than successes in most of the GLR organisations for peace and security since they have failed to address these issues. Several reasons have been put forth by different regional observers for the failure of these organisations to deliver on peace and security promises. Critical among these is the issue of institutional multiplicity and the resultant mandate duplication (Nathan, 2004). According to Westerkhamp and colleagues, the presence of multiple, parallel and often competing regional peace and security initiatives undermine the potential of regional organisations evolving into serious actors because they do not only create unnecessary competition for membership and financial resources but also inhibit institutional effectiveness (Westerkhamp, Feil & Thompson, 2009).

It has been observed that whenever a security issue arises in the GLR, there is always no lead institution with a clear mandate to intervene directly. For example, when a civil war broke out in newly independent South Sudan in 2013, neither the ICGLR, the EAC nor the East African Standby Brigade (EABRIG) - which South Sudan is a member of, intervened, officially, to stop the fighting. Instead, it was Uganda, reportedly under the request of the UN Secretary-General, which unilaterally intervened before the incoming of the IGAD supported by Norway, the United Kingdom and the United States (Nyaburi, 2018). More surprising was the fact that most of the regional organisations for peace and security in the GLR have an elaborate conflict early warning system (Special Advisor, 2018). In the case of the South Sudan conflict that has so far claimed more than 400,000 lives of people and displaced close to 2.4 million (Nyaburi, 2018), the question is, why did the early warning systems of the various regional organisations not help to stop this humanitarian crisis? It is because of such inconsistencies between what

is provided for on paper and the practices that regional security analysts like Hull *et al* (2011) have remarked that theory always runs far ahead of practice in the development of Africa's sub-regional peace and security cooperation frameworks.

The logic behind the rush to form new and competing organisations for peace and security outside of the officially recognised RECs has been difficult to fathom. The establishment of the ICGLR for example, neither replaced nor integrated with existing regional mechanisms for peace and security (Okoth, 2018). It is reasonable to assume that since the ICGLR boasts more member states than any other regional organisation in the GLR, all the existing security arrangements and formations ought to be subsumed under the ICGLR to provide a uniform framework for peace and security in the region. Instead, the idea of recognising the ICGLR as one of the official RECs was rejected by the AU on the ground that it was not necessary to create more RECs (Hauch, 2017). The ICGLR hence entered into a memorandum of understanding with the AU which allowed it to join the AU as an observer thus retaining a more or less informal status (*ibid*).

Surprisingly, all the members of the ICGLR belong to various other intergovernmental organisations like the EAC, the IGAD, the SADC and the ECCAS that are officially recognised by the AU. Why the AU could not rely on the already existing mechanisms to address issues of security affecting their members is not clear. It is this institutional multiplicity and duplication as well as overlapping memberships that largely contribute to the failure of member states to develop harmonised approaches to peace and security issues in the GLR (Hull *et al.*, 2011). Another issue that has been raised to account for the failures of GLR organisations in peace and security management is the absence of a hegemonic state (Okoth, 2018). Scholars of international organisations' effectiveness have long argued that there is a positive correlation between the performance of an intergovernmental organisation and the presence of a member with hegemonic power (Møller, 2009).

This argument is based on the Hegemonic Stability Theory, which holds that hegemony provides a kind of order akin to a central government in the international system that ensures order among member states (Møller, 2009). In Africa, this argument has been supported with evidence from the comparative success of both the SADC and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in addressing peace and security issues in their respective southern and western regions (Okoth, 2018). It has been argued that, unlike the EAC and ECCAS, which lack an identifiable lead nation, South Africa and Nigeria have been able to deploy their hegemonic influences within their RECs to tackle security issues within their regions (Nathen, 2004). Compounding this leadership problem is the lack of a lead organisation that can be relied on to deal with peace and security issues in the GLR. These factors in the view of many regional analysts are the factors responsible for the persistence of weak institutions in the region (Møller, 2009).

According to Nathan, intergovernmental organisations in the GLR have remained weak due to pervasive internal instabilities that often extend to neighbouring states. Other scholars like Westerkhamp *et al.*, have attributed the failure of these organisations to interstate mistrust. The same view is held by Young, who opined that mistrust is rooted in how individual states historically approached the issue of transnational insurgencies (Westerkhamp *et al*, 2009). Specifically, the underhand methods like illegal cross-border raids and engagement in proxy wars badly damaged interstate relations hence the current suspicion among states when it comes to the implementation of regional security diplomatic activities.

The 1996 and the 1998 regional wars in the DRC involving Uganda, Rwanda and other countries were partly caused by some states deciding to independently pursue their insurgents (Okoth, 2018). Also commonly cited is the long-standing hostility between the Kampala and Khartoum governments over each other's allegations of supporting and openly hosting rebel groups aimed at toppling their regimes at home (Uvin *et al*, 2005). While Uganda remained sympathetic to the South Sudan People's Liberation Movement's (SPLM) struggle for cession from Sudan, the latter retaliated by supporting the LRA to destabilise Uganda (Okoth, 2018). As will be further illustrated, these historical intrastate conflicts continue to undermine efforts aimed at building a common regional security approach (Arief, Ploch & Husted, 2015). The intricacies of multiplicity, mistrust and the lack of commitment to peace and security by the GLR organisations become clearer when one examines their contribution to the RCI-LRA.

The Hunt for the Marauding LRA: An Experimental case for GLR Multilateral Commitment to Peace and Security issues

The failures behind GLR member states' promises to cooperate in the management of transnational security threats become very vivid when one reviews anti-LRA operations within and beyond Uganda's borders. The LRA has been and continues to be, one of the most deadly transnational insurgent groups that have affected human security in the GLR countries of DRC, CAR, Sudan, South Sudan, and Uganda where it originates (Prah, 2019). Emerging around the late 1980s mainly in reaction to the capture of Uganda state power by the western and southern dominated National Resistance Movement (NRM), the LRA operated in the northern districts of Uganda until 2006 when sustained military activity from the NRM government drove the insurgent group into the jungles of South Sudan, DRC, and later to the CAR where it has been holed up for more than a decade now (Kasaija, 2016). Motivated by the desire to challenge the systematic socio-economic and political marginalisation of the northern districts of Uganda by colonial and post-colonial governments, the LRA over the years destroyed thousands of human lives, including the killing of an estimated 100, 000 people while leaving more than two million homeless (Prah, 2019). The group used coercive recruitment strategies mainly child abductions whereby over 6,700 people, including children and women were forced into brutal rebel activities that involved maiming, arson, raping and looting (*ibid*).

Despite those numerous heinous activities, it took ages for the international community, including states neighbouring Uganda to conceive the LRA as a true transnational security threat. Until around 2012, there had not been any formally sanctioned regional intervention to address the rampages of the LRA even though it had long metamorphosed into a regional security menace. For a long time, the challenge of the LRA has been left to Uganda alone, hence pushing the Uganda government to engage in a unilateral, bilateral and multilateral hunt for the LRA beyond her borders (Okoth, 2018). Before 2012, two prominent cross-border pursuits of the LRA by the Uganda armed forces have been widely documented in the literature. The first was the 2002 “*operation iron fist*” which targeted to destroy LRA bases in South Sudan (Westerkhamp *et al.*, 2009). While this operation, with permission from the South Sudanese Liberation Movement (SPLM)-controlled South Sudan, was able to uproot the LRA from their havens in South Sudan, it occasioned the splitting of the group, leading to more brutal retaliation against unprotected civilians back home including spreading its deadly operations to more districts in eastern Uganda (Kasaija, 2016).

The second cross-border operation happened in 2008 dubbed “*operation lightning thunder*”. This was intended to destroy LRA bases in the Garamba forests in the east of the DRC. Unlike the first one where Uganda went it alone, this was a tripartite arrangement involving Uganda, the DRC and South Sudan with logistical support from the U.S.A. (Arief *et al.*, 2015). The result was the pushing of the LRA further into the jungles of the CAR thus bringing in a fourth country into the equation (*ibid*). On entering the CAR, the LRA did not relent in its characteristic operations of plunder, looting and abductions. This development made the LRA a truly regional security threat that necessitated a more concrete international reaction (ISS, 2012). It was at this point that the AU and the UN become more concerned and started to directly support the efforts that were already underway by the four directly affected states, hence the birth of the RCI-LRA in July 2012 (Prah, 2019).

From the foregoing background, the question of concern in this paper is; why did GLR organisations remain quiet for long about LRA inflictions and horrors? Why did a solution have to come from extra-regional actors yet all the LRA affected states belonged to RECs and other arrangements mandated to tackle such transnational security threats? It is the lack of clear answers to such questions that this paper argues that GLR organisations for peace and security lack commitment towards the collective management of peace and security problems affecting their members. In the next subsection, the contribution of the various GLR organisations for peace and security to the RCI-LRA is explored and analysed to further justify the central argument of this paper.

The role of GLR peace and security organisations in the RCI-LRA

The official multilateral hunt for the LRA commenced in July 2012 when both the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and the AU authorised a multinational task force to conduct

military operations against the group in the vast jungles of the central African region (New Vision, 2012). The intervention comprising 5000 soldiers and dubbed as the Africa Union-Led Regional Cooperative Initiative for the Elimination of the Lord's Resistance Army (RCI-LRA), brought together Uganda, South Sudan, the DRC and the CAR that were directly suffering the impact of the marauding LRA insurgents (Prah, 2019). Although this initiative has been hailed in some academic and policy quarters as an important step in the implementation of the popular AU adage of '*African solution to African problems*' (ibid), it exposed the ineptness of most of the GLR organisations for peace and security including the IGAD, ICGLR, TPJC, ECCAS, EAC and even the SADC. Had it not been for extra-regional actors like the U.S.A. and the AU to exert diplomatic pressure (Kasaija, 2016), the LRA would have probably grown out of reach of most of the capacity of these regional organisations because of a clear lack of interest in arresting the problem from the start.

Even after Uganda had used her diplomatic relations with the U.S.A. to cause international actions, there was no substantial personnel, logistical and financial contribution from the GLR RECs and other organisations in the hunt for the LRA. Instead, extra-regional actors like the U.S.A. and the European Union (E.U.) bore the greatest financial burden for this regional peace and security operation (Arief *et al*, 2012). Apart from initially contributing 100 intelligence personnel which later grew to about 300 by 2013, the U.S. also contributed close to 74 million dollars between 2009 and 2013 (ibid). According to Arieff and colleagues, the EU contributed 11 million Euros as support to the humanitarian aspects of the operation. As already mentioned, there is no evidence of financial contributions from the RECs and other organisations for peace in the GLR to the cause of stopping LRA rampages.

Surprisingly, at some point in time there have been reports of inadequate troops for the operation yet among the RECs, there are initiatives like the Eastern African Standby Brigade (EASBRIG) and the Central African Multinational Force mechanisms that should be deployed in response to such negative occurrences like the LRA (Okoth, 2018). Why the AU could not activate these mechanisms remains unclear yet they would have solved the problem of troop shortages. Unlike the other international peace and security operations supported by the AU such as the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) where troop remuneration is the responsibility of the AU with support from other international donors, under the RCI-LRA operation, troop remuneration was left to individual participating states (Prah, 2019). It has been reported that during the operation, troop shortages often led to inadequate troop rotation because of financial challenges of the troop-contributing states hence undermining the effectiveness of the operation (ibid).

Therefore, it is ironic that the RCI-LRA, well-intentioned as it was, was never coordinated through any of the existing formal regional organisations mandated to handle issues of cross-border insurgencies. For example, although the ICGLR protocol on non-aggression and mutual

defence enjoin member states to cooperate and deal with all illegal armed groups operating within the region (ICGLR, 2006), it was bypassed by the AU in the hunt for the LRA. Neither was the ICGLR's zonal border security approach which allows member states within a given border area to work together to solve security problems common to them, used. The ICGLR created 12 border zones in its mutual defence cooperation framework but the combination of Uganda, CAR, DRC and South Sudan as was under the RCI-LRA fits in none of the 12 zones. In the case of LRA affected countries, the most suitable zone would have been either zone 4 or 5 but the CAR is not a member of zone 4 and in zone 5 where it was placed, Uganda is excluded (ICGLR, 2006). This, as Okoth (2018) suggests, also calls for the review of the ICGLR zonal approach to put into consideration different conflict and operational scenarios.

It is such empirical realities that have prompted diplomacy and international relations scholars of the GLR to conclude that it will take a very long time for states in this region to evolve into a serious security community (Westerkham *et al.*, 2009). Undeniably, such conclusions are not accidental given the fact that for several decades, states in this region have failed to come up with a harmonised regional security strategy that can deal squarely with the perennial challenge of internal civil wars that spill across international boundaries (Okoth, 2018). The case of the LRA hunt gives further credence to the prevalent misgivings about the institutions for peace and security in the GLR. Another important question to ask is; why doesn't the AU empower her own RECs to address matters of regional security as envisaged under the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)? Doesn't the sidestepping of formal RECs by the AU undermine the development of the capacity of RECs to deliver on peace and security? It is out of the scope of this paper to address these questions, but in the case of the LRA and the GLR, one or two hypotheses can be put forward as plausible explanations for the AU's bypassing of the formal RECs.

One, as Hull *et al* (2011) observed, the fact that there is no lead organisation in the GLR for peace and security due to a multiplicity of them with overlapping mandates, the AU might have found it very difficult to mobilise in a short time a force needed to deal with the threat of the LRA. This, therefore, might have impelled the AU to move with the already mobilised group of the four states that were already working towards a military solution to the LRA's menace (Okoth, 2018). Hence, as rightly observed by Okoth, it could have taken the AU much more time and other resources in the absence of a fully-fledged regional standing military force to mobilise and convince all regional members scattered across different but interlocking organisations to decide on the military strategy against the LRA. This argument is supported by Prah (2019) who argued that the AU's inactivation of formal regional security mechanisms to deal with the LRA was perhaps due to the fact that member states were scattered in different organisations where it was not an institutional priority for states to deal with the LRA. It also remains unclear why the formal RECs in the GLR did not challenge the AU for overlooking them and favouring cooperation with an informal arrangement. But as Prah has indicated, this was never conceived

as a priority for most RECs. Overall, while the AU initiative against the LRA remarkably downgraded the threat of the LRA in the GLR, the operation left an indelible scar on almost all the GLR organisations for peace and security by exposing their lack of commitment towards addressing peace and security issues on their own and within the APSA framework.

Conclusion

On the evidence of the dismal contribution from the formal GLR multilateral institutions for peace and security toward the extra-regional intervention from the AU against the LRA, it can be concluded that states in this region have defaulted on their pledge to deal with transnational insurgencies collectively. Given that GLR member states have failed to implement what they promised due to multiple reasons discussed in this paper, a hybrid arrangement like the RCI-LRA by the AU remains the most feasible path to take in both the short and medium terms. For the AU not to lag in the pursuit of its agenda of silencing the guns on the continent by 2020, it is necessary to sidestep what Malan (1999) has described as utopian and complex institutional arrangements, such as those found within the GLR, which have proven to be less effective in addressing their security challenges.

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