



TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE MEDIA CAMPAIGN

REPORT

The quest for recognition and acknowledgement in Uganda's political spaces

28 DECEMBER 2020 - 9 FEBRUARY 2021





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List of acronyms

ASF	Avocats Sans Frontières
FJDI	Foundation for Justice and Development Initiative
RLP	Refugee Law Project
TJ	Truth and Justice
UVF	Uganda Victims Foundation
CSO	Civil Society Organisations
MP	Members of Parliament
ICTJ	International Center for Transitional Justice

Acknowledgements

Avocats Sans Frontieres and The Refugee Law Project would like to thank and express their appreciation in a very special way; Foundation for Justice and Development Initiative (FJDI) in the Acholi region, Uganda Victims Foundation in Lango and Ombacci Massacre Victims Association in the West Nile region.

In the same spirit, we acknowledge the institutional and technical support provided by Mohles Kalule Segululigamba and the entire TRAC FM team throughout the campaign.

We cannot fail to recognize and thank different Members of Parliament, members of the Civil Society Organizations, Representatives of victims for taking part in the radio discussions.

Special thanks go out to the victims and the general public who responded to the poll questions. 9,699 citizens from Acholi, Lango and West Nile regions responded to the poll

Executive Summary

During the 2020/21 general election cycle, ASF and partners undertook a radio campaign with the objective to create a linkage between political structures and transitional justice to ensure that debate is not lost and continues to thrive within political spaces. The interactive debates were steered by both aspiring and incumbent Members of Parliament, Civil Society Organizations working on Transitional Justice and representatives of Victim Groups.

This report draws upon the discussions of the 9 interactive radio debates, data analysis of three poll questions and the interactions of listeners conducted between December 2020-January 2021 by Avocats Sans Frontieres, Refugee Law Project, Foundation for Peace and Justice, Uganda Victims Foundation and Ombacsi Massacre Victims Association in partnership with TRAC FM.

Overall, 10,020 listeners responded to the polls from the sub regions of Acholi (4,046), Lango(3,401) and West Nile(2,573).

Key Findings

Quick Stats



10,020

Responses



3

Radio Stations



9

Talk Shows



3

Poll Questions

- 1 Government emphasis in the implementation of the National Transitional Justice policy

55%



Most (55%) of the respondents said truth and reconciliation; 27%, reparations while 18% were of the view that perpetrators should be held accountable.

- 2 Reparations programme most effective for victims of conflict and war

35%



Majority (35%) of the respondents said that provision of economic and financial support would be most effective.

- 3 Land wrangles still so rampant in post conflict areas

31%



Lack of documentation (31%) was the reason as to why land wrangles were still so rampant in post conflict areas.

1.0 Background

In June 2019, the Government of Uganda approved the National Transitional Justice Policy, demonstrating a commitment to address the country's legacy of conflict and related peace, justice, reconciliation, accountability and social reintegration concerns. With the policy in place, it presented a great opportunity to link these commitments to action by reflecting on the priority areas vis-a-vis past transitional justice and post-conflict recovery responses, the lingering effects of the conflict in Northern Uganda, unaddressed human rights violations, the underpinned structural causes, as well as the current justice needs and priorities of victims.

Indeed, a lot of effort has been invested by different stakeholders on Transitional Justice to address post conflict issues in Uganda. In February 2019, ASF, RLP and ICTJ conducted a TJ CSO stakeholders dialogue in which they laid strategies to promote the implementation of the policy. Participants recommended that members of parliament should consult their constituents about their expectations towards the TJ policy; organize civil society participation in the debates in Parliament and in particular, consider the proposed TJ Bill and fast track the vote on the same.

Parliament provides the stakeholders with the opportunity to present and debate their views, interests and concerns in order to find solutions for the common good. It is a three-way street: constituents delegate MPs who present and debate their demands with the Executive and then explain the dominant position to the electorate. As part of this interaction, parliamentarians fulfil a role as opinion leaders who can initiate and steer public debate on pressing issues and play an important role in advocating for change. It is against this backdrop that ASF in collaboration with Refugee Law Project and her regional partners implemented a radio campaign debate to engage Members of Parliament in a discourse on Transitional Justice.

2.0 Methodology

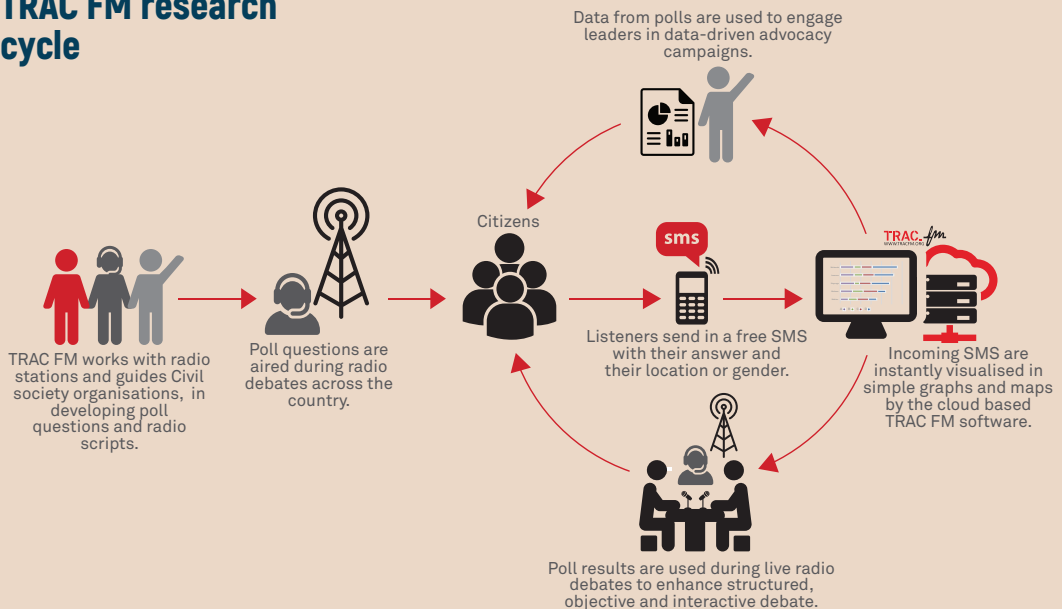
Public discourse can help reconcile differences. Informed public debate can build bridges among members of communities. TRAC FM promotes data-driven public debate through interactive radio talkshows. At the same time, TRAC collects data directly from radio listeners through SMS and an innovative software platform. Analysis of opinion polls assists Civil Society Organisations (CSO) to advocate for pro-citizen policies.

The poll questions were designed through a consultative process which involved ASF Uganda and their partners. The poll questions were broadcasted on 3 radio partners.

When the poll results started taking shape on the TRAC FM dashboard, preliminary analysis was done by the in-house team and shared with radio hosts to deepen their discussions during the talk shows. Expert guests were selected from the ASF and partner network and extensively briefed about the topic of discussion before featuring in the radio talkshows where poll results formed the basis for discussion.

The TJ media campaign ran from 31 December 2020, up to 9 February 2021 which included 3 poll questions and 3 talks shows at Mega FM (Acholi), Radio Pacis (West Nile) and Radio Wa (Lango).

Chart showing the TRAC FM research cycle



Talk shows

The talks shows were guided by scripts which ensured appropriate coherence of conversation among the guests. This is important for a data driven campaign in the Justice Sector as issues were identified and developed ahead of the radio programmes.

The conversations were also guided by the poll results and thematic concerns of the National Transitional Justice Policy; the role of political leaders in the Transitional Justice processes; how political candidates could table Transitional Justice issues in their campaigns and after; how aspirants could tackle the Transitional Justice issues once voted into power and the state of pledges made by different Government agents in relation to Transitional Justice.

Each radio talk show was attended by at least 2 guests; 2 politicians (1 - NRM and 1 - Opposition), and a technical representative of the implementing regional partner. During each radio talk show, listeners were given an opportunity to call into the studios and ask questions or comment on the discussion.

The guests included; aspiring members of parliament; representatives of campaign implementing partners in the region; selected victims and Civil Society Organization representatives.

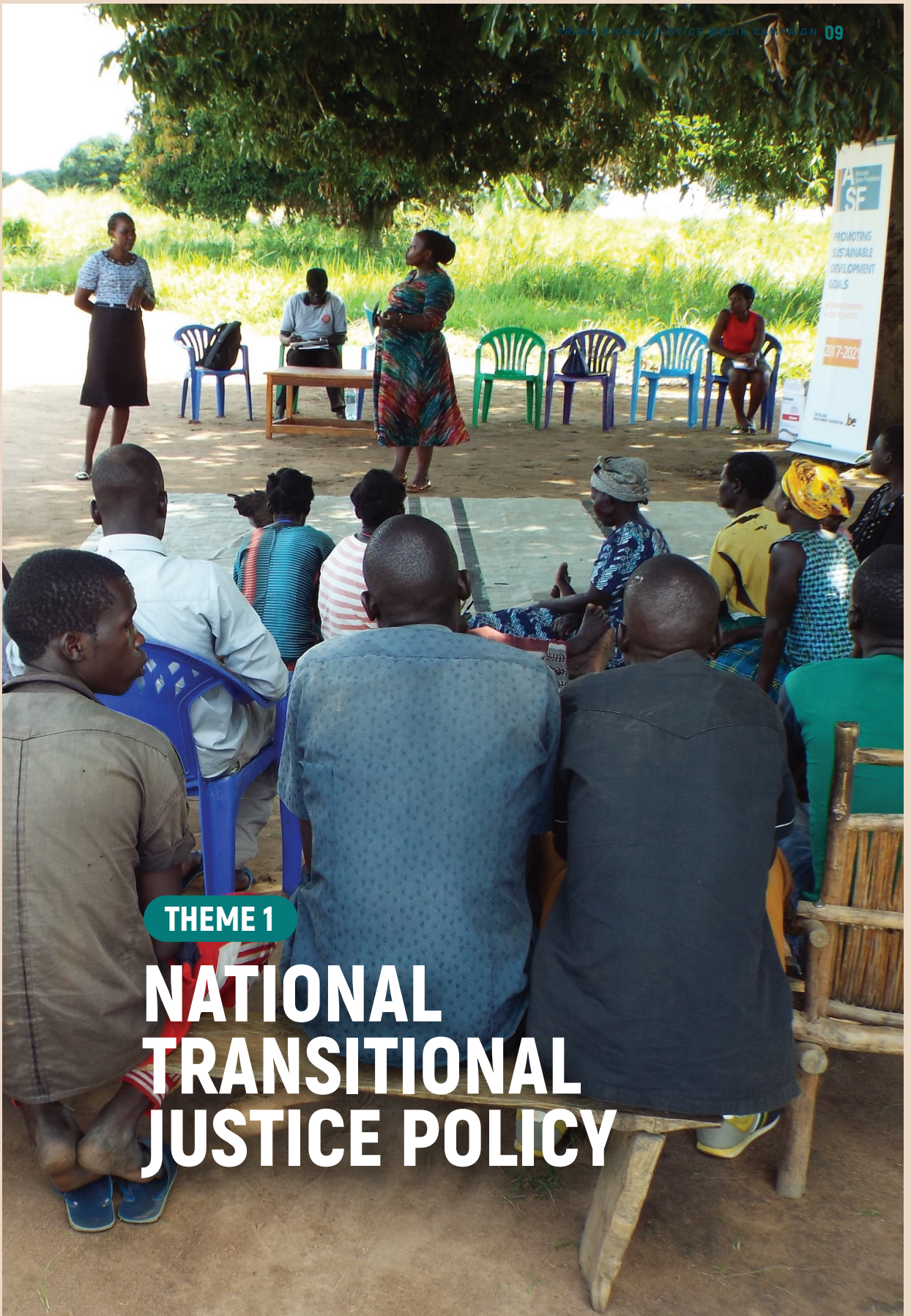
The notable guest appearances were retired Major Polar Awich, MP candidate Lira City West, Hon Benard Atiku-MP Ayivu West, 1. Lino Ogora- FDI, Chris Ongom of Uganda Victims Foundation, Hon Abia Christine-Former WMP Arua, 1.Ojara Martin Mapenduzi- Mp Candidate for Gulu West.

All the guests were knowledgeable about transitional justice while others did work directly with victims of the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) war in the region. Other participants were Komakech Henry Kilama, a Lead lawyer in the case of Kwoyelo at the International Criminal Court (ICC); Lanam Stella Angel, a Director at War Victims and Children's Networking; Mr. Alebo Christopher, the Secretary for Konyi War Victims; Mr. Abibo Arowa Fred, The Executive Director, Human Rights Initiative; Paul Omara, the MP-Elect for Otuoke County and Ms. Hellen Acham, of Lira NGO Forum.

Target group

The campaign targeted citizens of Acholi, Lango and West Nile sub regions. Listeners turned in from Lira, Kole, Oyam, Alebtong, Kwanja, Otuoke and Apac on Radio Wa. On Mega FM, people tuned from Gulu, Omoro, Oyam, Amuru, Nwoya, Pader, Lamwo and Agago. Radio Pacis had listeners respond from Arua, Terego, Yumbe, Madi-Okollo, Koboko, Adjumani and Obongi.

The talk shows also targeted relevant stakeholders, duty bearers or leaders that participated in the radio debates.



THEME 1

NATIONAL TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE POLICY

3.0 Analysis of Polls

3.1 THEME 1 National Transitional Justice policy

Introduction

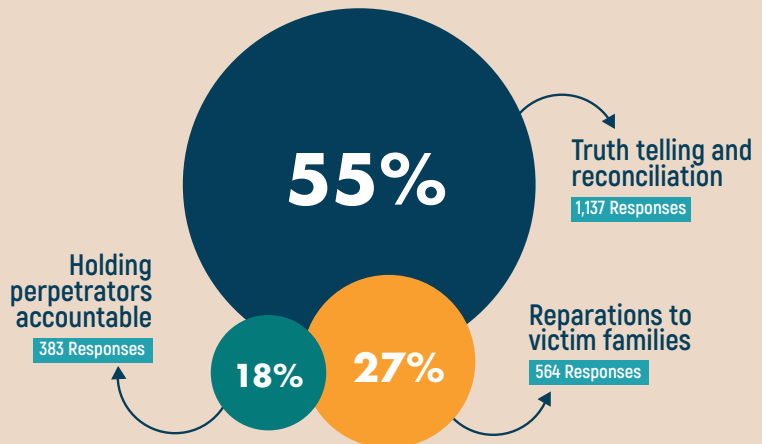
The Government of Uganda approved the National Transitional Justice policy, as a commitment to address the country's history of conflict and the yearning for peace, justice, reconciliation, accountability and social reintegration. Transitional justice provides redress to victims and creates opportunities for the transformation of the governmental systems, conflicts and other conditions that may have been at the root of human rights abuses.

POLL ONE

What should the government emphasise in the implementation of the National Transitional Justice policy?

TOTAL RESPONSES:

2,084



This poll question ran on 3 radio stations including Radio Pacis in West Nile, Radio Wa in Lango and Mega FM in Achol sub region from 3rd - 8th Jan 2021

Results Analysis

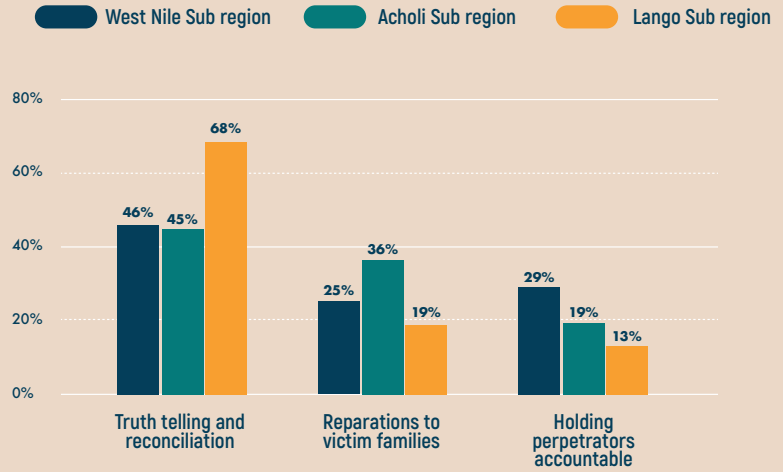
A total of 2,084 listeners responded to poll one on what the government should emphasise in the implementation of the National Transitional Justice policy. Most (55%) of the respondents said truth and reconciliation; 27%, reparations while 18% were of the view that perpetrators should be held accountable.

POLL ONE REGIONAL

What should the government emphasise in the implementation of the National Transitional Justice policy?

TOTAL
RESPONSES:

2,084



There were some regional variations in the audience responses. For instance, in Lira, 68.4% chose truth and reconciliation compared to 44.7% in Gulu and 45.6% in West Nile. In Lira, 18.7% said that holding perpetrators accountable was the second most important TRJ issue compared to Gulu (36.4%) and West Nile (25.1%). Relatedly, reparations to victim families formed 25.1% in West Nile; 36.4% in Gulu and 18.7% in Lira.

Peculiarly, some respondents in Lira put reparations to victim families last in their aspiration for TRJ; 36.4% of respondents in West Nile chose reparations above those in Lira and Gulu - which points to a more nuanced rise of such responses.

“ This implies that restorative justice is much valued by the people because it emphasises acknowledging responsibility for the wrong done and taking steps to atone in order to keep harmony in the community

Eron Kiiza Human Rights Lawyer

“ Their preference for truth and reconciliation speaks to their understanding of justice. This is linked (and as well limited) to their cultural perception of their own justice mechanisms which take the same format i.e. mato oput among others

Musiime Michael Lawyer

Recommendations

1. The Government should prioritize establishing a truth telling commission to be supported by all actors in Transitional Justice
2. Accountability for the atrocities should be carried out



THEME 2

REPARATIONS

3.2

THEME 2

Reparations

Introduction

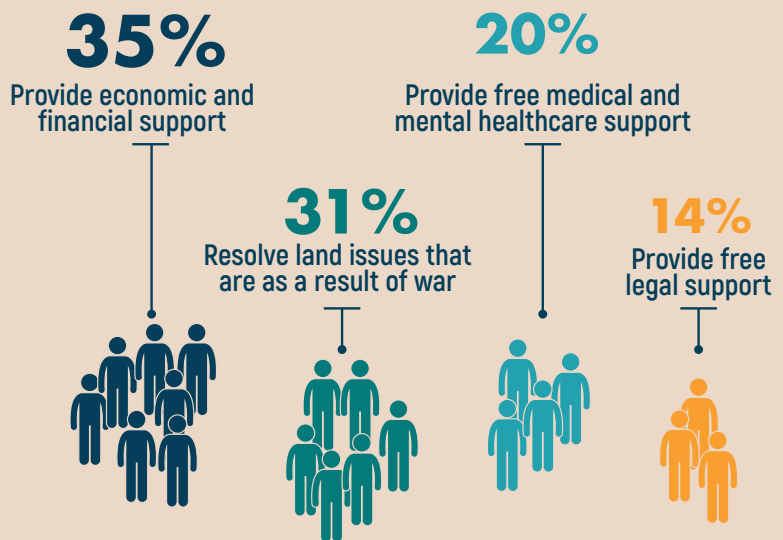
Following previous conflicts in the sub region, demands for accountability have risen and politics plays a central role at every step. Several strategies to promote the implementation of the National Transitional Justice policy, recommend that Members of Parliament should consult their constituents about their expectations towards the policy.

POLL TWO

Which reparations programme would be most effective for victims of conflict and war?

TOTAL RESPONSES:

3,527



This poll question ran on 3 radio stations including Radio Pacis in West Nile, Radio Wa in Lango and Mega FM in Achol sub region from 8th - 28th Jan 2021

Results Analysis

3,257 listeners responded to the poll, with the biggest majority (35%) saying that provision of economic and financial support would be most effective; 31% said resolving land issues that are as a result of war was most effective; 20% said the government should provide free medical and mental healthcare support and 14% chose provision of free legal support.

Despite concerted government efforts to provide legal aid for victims of the war in the North, provision of economic and financial support and resolving land issues that are as a result of war were considered the most effective reparations programmes by respondents in the survey. The poll responses amplify the real needs of the affected communities. Restoration of their financial well-being is at the heart of restoring their livelihoods as both economic and

financial needs are inexorably linked with land as a factor of production.

All forms of reparations are important but financial support and land issues were most favoured among the respondents.

Regionally, most (45%) listeners in Lango sub region said that resolving land issues that are as a result of war was most effective; while public opinion was split at 42% between the West Nile and Acholi subregion who chose provision of economic and financial support.

Overall, provision of legal support was chosen least by all regions at 16% for West Nile; 13% Acholi and 12% for Lango sub regions respectively.

POLL TWO REGIONAL

West Nile Sub region

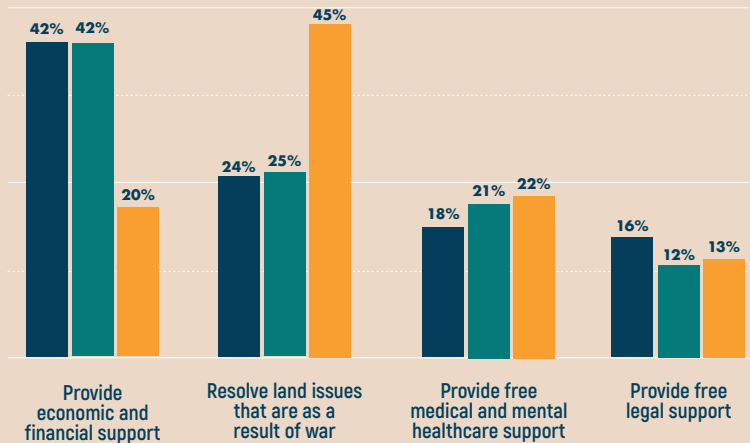
Acholi Sub region

Lango Sub region

Which reparations programme would be most effective for victims of conflict and war?

TOTAL RESPONSES:

3,527



They just don't understand if these are legal issues...sometimes we need legal literacy before people are able to understand that they have a legal issue

legal expert Wishes to remain unnamed

Recommendations

1. Truth and Justice interventions in Lango ought to emphasise resolution of land issues
2. Stakeholder interventions need to be more affirmative and targeted in order to assist victims of conflict. Government interventions should issue specific aid to particular victims instead of targeting entire communities.
3. Financial support and resolution of land issues are critical to implementation of the National Transitional Justice Policy.



THEME 3

LAND CONFLICT

3.3

THEME 3

Land conflict

Introduction

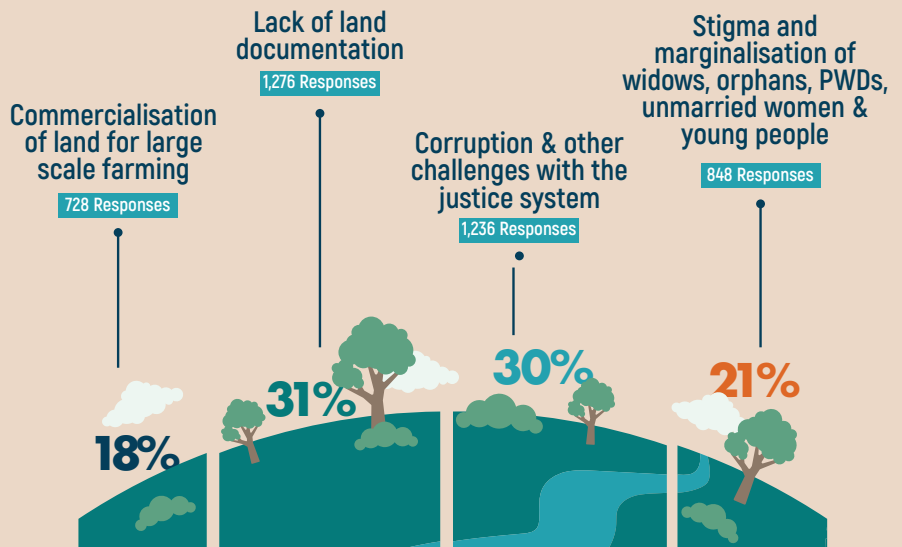
Transitional Justice ought to address structural powerlessness which arises from not just conflict but also notions of patriarchy, marginalisation of widows, orphans and discrimination of people with disabilities among other challenges. The TR policy is expected to provide redress to victims and create opportunities for victims to overcome such human rights abuses.

POLL THREE

Why are land wrangles still so rampant in post conflict areas?

TOTAL RESPONSES:

4,088



This poll question ran on 3 radio stations including Radio Pacis in West Nile, Radio Wa in Lango and Mega FM in Achol sub region from 30th Jan - Feb 9th 2021

Results Analysis

Of the 4,088 respondents, the majority (31%) said lack of documentation was the reason as to why land wrangles were still so rampant in post conflict areas. This was followed by 30% who pointed to corruption and other challenges with the justice system; 21% chose stigma and marginalisation of widows, orphans, PWDs, unmarried women and young people and lastly; 18% selected the commercialisation of land for large scale farming.

Although traditional justice like truth telling is valuable (poll 1) - in other ways traditional justice is not working so well in handling the land disputes. No documentation and communal land is a big problem.

POLL THREE REGIONAL

West Nile Sub region

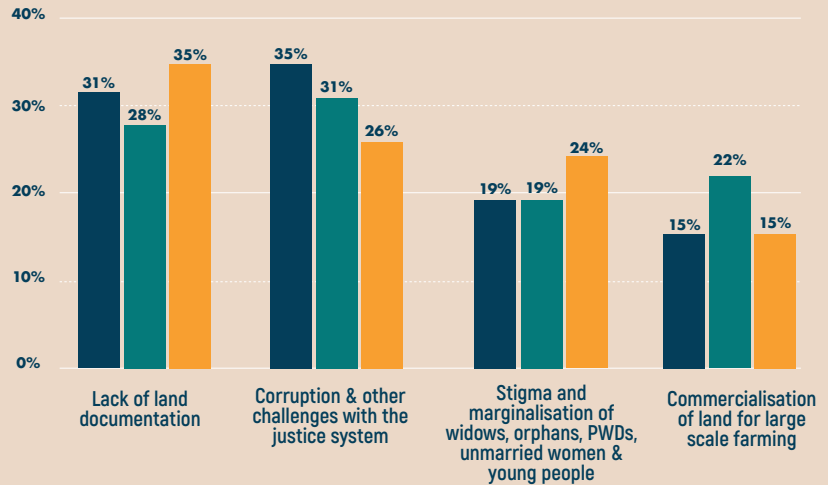
Acholi Sub region

Lango Sub region

Why are land wrangles still so rampant in post conflict areas?

TOTAL RESPONSES:

4,088



The results show that there were no significant differences by region in terms of why land wrangles were still rampant in post conflict areas. A large number (35%) in Lango chose lack of land documentation; 35% of respondents chose corruption in West Nile; the majority (34%) said stigma in Lango while 22% of respondents from Acholi selected commercialisation of land for large scale farming.



Documents such as sales agreements, survey reports and titles are better than traditional methods of land marking which use rocks, trees and water bodies.

Akullo Betty land rights advocate.

Recommendations

1. NTJ policy efforts should emphasise resolving land issues that are a result of displacement and conflict.
2. Government should expedite documentation of land in the post conflict areas because the communal ownership does not provide practical solutions to land wrangles.
3. Alternative justice measures of truth telling (mato oput) should only be applied in tandem with land documentation.
4. The legal aid providers need to repackage the way their services are promoted so that communities appreciate better their role in the resolution of land conflicts and documentation of land.

4.0 Conclusion

Despite the similarities in the responses on the poll questions, the voting pattern in the Lango sub region for the three poll questions was quite different from the other two regions of Acholi and West Nile. This means that although they suffered similar effects of the LRA civil war, the needs of the victims across the three regions remain different.

Evidentially, the polls indicate that both alternative and formal justice systems should be applied where they are most valuable. From poll one, respondents in Lango, Acholi and West Nile put truth telling and reconciliation above other government emphasis in the implementation of the TJ policy. Big portions in poll three, indicated that lack of documentation was the reason as to why land wrangles were still so rampant in post conflict areas while another 30% pointed to corruption and other challenges with the justice system. This reveals that while the traditional justice system works in terms of reconciliation, the solution to land wrangles lies in effective land registration and stopping corruption in the justice system.

5.0 Collaborators

AVOCATS SANS FRONTIÈRES



ASF is an international NGO specializing in defending human rights and access to justice. ASF informs people about their rights, helps civil society and lawyers to provide them with better assistance, and promotes legislative reforms designed to increase respect for human rights. ASF's mission is to assist people, particularly those in a vulnerable situation, to become emancipated by demanding and asserting their rights. Our vision is for us, justice is essential for preventing and managing conflicts as well as for promoting human rights.

REFUGEE LAW PROJECT



Refugees Law Project (RLP) a Centre for Justice and Forced Migrants, was established in 1999 to provide legal aid to asylum seekers and refugees in Uganda. It is a Community Outreach Project of the School of Law, Makerere University. It seeks to ensure fundamental human rights for all forced migrants and their hosts. RLP envisions a country that treats all people within its borders with the same standards of respect and social justice. For more information, visit www.refugeelawproject.org

FOUNDATION FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE



FJDI works with children, youth, women and communities to promote justice, development and economic recovery in northern Uganda. FJDI seeks solutions to the long-term impacts of the conflict which ravaged northern Uganda by advocating for redress of human rights violations and atrocities committed during the conflict, implementation of sustainable development initiatives, and promotion of economic empowerment through livelihood programs.

UGANDA VICTIMS FOUNDATION



The Uganda Victims' Foundation (UVF) is a coalition of human rights and civil society NGOs in Uganda working with victims and on victims' rights issues. The objectives of the working group are to lobby and advocate for victims' rights especially with respect to the conflict in northern Uganda. The group was formed in 2006 following an International meeting of the Victims' Rights Working Group in London and a second in Kampala.

OMBACI MASSACRE VICTIMS ASSOCIATION



is a Community Based War Victims Association established by the survivors of Liberation war of 1981 on 31st March 2014 in Arua district. The association was formed to ensure unity amongst the massacre Survivors for enhanced livelihood and detest any form of Massacres in the region.

TRAC FM



TRAC FM transforms citizens from passive listeners to active participants by facilitating informed and interactive debate. Through live radio talk-shows and SMS polls we collect data that helps us advocate for pro-citizen policies.



In memory of the people massacred
by the NRA at Burcoro on 18
April 1991

NAMES

1. OKOT OGBO
2. OJABU
3. OI WONYA SAMUEL
4. OKEMA RODENTO
5. KAPERE ALIFONCIO
6. ALBERTINO KINYERA
7. OKWERA RAYMOND
8. OKUMU JUSTINO
9. OTTO MACILINO
10. LALAM DOREN
11. ONGABA PETER

VILLAGES

OLANO
BURCORO
LABONGOOGURU
ATEDE
LABONGOOGURU
OBYELA
ATEDE
ATEDE
PABIT
ONGOLE
OLANO

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