Youth Participation in Peacebuilding in Gulu District, Northern Uganda: Opportunities and Challenges

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Declaration

I, Kris Hartmann, hereby declare that this dissertation is my original work and has never been submitted, either in whole or in part, to this or any other university for any academic award.

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Acronyms

AAU	Action Aid International Uganda
ACCS	Advisory Consortium on Conflict Sensitivity
ACORD	Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development
AIN	Amnesty International Netherlands
AU	African Union
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CSOPNU Movement in	Civil Society Organisations for Peace Land and Equity Northern Uganda
DRT	Development Research and Training
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GoU	Government of Uganda
GWED-G	Gulu Women's Economic Development & Globalization
HRE	Human Rights Education
HURICAP	Human Rights Capacity-Building Programme
ICG	International Crisis Group
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre
IFSW	International Federation of Social Workers
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NRM	National Resistance Movement

NUHRP	Northern Uganda Human Rights Partnership
NUSAF	Northern Uganda Social Action Fund
NRA	National Resistance Army
NYC	National Youth Council
PRDP	Peace, Recovery and Development Plan for Northern Uganda
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education Training Programmes
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UGX	Ugandan Shilling
ULII	Uganda Legal Information Institute
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDESA – DSPD Division	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs – for Social Policy and Development Youth
UN-IANYD	United Nations Inter-Agency Network on Youth Development
UNNGOF	Uganda National NGO Forum
UNPF	United Nations Peacebuilding Fund
UPDF	Ugandan People's Defence Force
VSLA	Village Saving and Loan Association
YLP	Youth Livelihood Programme
YVCF	Youth Venture Capital Fund

Abstract

Title
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Key words
Youth participation; peacebuilding; post-conflict; power; Northern Uganda

Between 1986 and 2006 Northern Uganda was affected by one of the longest running and most brutal armed conflicts in the African history of the 20th century. Despite Ugandan government and NGO efforts the Acholi youth remain a marginalised group in society. The overall youth situation according to the literature is drastic: acute poverty, high unemployment, low literacy rates, socio-economic and political exclusion. Youth play a pivotal role, either they can threaten peace, or can be catalyst for peace and peacebuilding. This qualitative study explored opportunities and challenges for Acholi youth participation in peacebuilding activities. To gain insight into the findings a power analysis with regard to spaces for participation and levels of decision-making was applied. Through four interviews and four Focus Group Discussions with youth actively engaged in peacebuilding, young people described economic marginalisation and lack of awareness as the main challenges to their participation. The youth explicated their opportunities for participation as local and accessible, for example awareness raising on peace issues through drama and dialogues about main conflict drivers. Four interviews with NGO staff contrasted the youth's experiences, and provided a fuller picture of existing power relations. Both, opportunities and challenges for youth participation are framed by negative youth perceptions and stereotypes from the Acholi community, and the youth's internalisation of this. Despite of the collective stigmatisation of youth, a gradual change towards appreciation and dialogue has taken place where youth's impact through their peacebuilding activities was felt. Finally, the study recommends to consider economic empowerment as a mechanism for greater youth participation. If youth are given or create space they positively use it to contribute to, or even to promote greater participation in peacebuilding.

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Acknowledgements

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Ultimately, youth participation is not only about creativity and belief in youth. It is also about power. How much decision-making are we willing to let grow out of the voicing of concerns? (Noam 2002, p.2)

1.1 Background

Today the Ugandan society has one of the youngest populations worldwide, almost half of the population are under the age of 15, and even more than 75% of the entire population under the age of 30 (Uganda Bureau of Statistics 2016, p.14). The Global Forum on Youth, Peace and Security recently came together in August 2015 and emphasized the significance of youth participation in peacebuilding and beyond. It was the first gathering of this kind, consisting of young people, youth-led organisations, non-governmental organisations, governments, UN entities, and highlighted the decisive role of young people for peaceful societies (Amman Youth Declaration on Youth, Peace and Security 2015). Although Northern Uganda has experienced relative peace since 2006, youth in war-affected areas remain uniquely vulnerable, and had to face many forms of suffering: they were recruited as soldiers, killed, mutilated, sexually abused, orphaned, abducted, and are physically and psychically scarred for life. The breakdown of their social environment and of the state has often further devastative effects in terms lacking essential education and health care services. Such a far-reaching breakdown resulting out of conflict entails also unemployment, poverty and collapsed family and community structures. As a consequence, the impact of war-torn areas can last way beyond the conflict itself and leave youth as one, if not the most marginalised group in society in their transition to adulthood (UNDESA − DSPD 2015).

After 20 years of civil war, Northern Uganda has recently embarked on the path towards recovery. Between 1986 and 2006 Northern Uganda was affected by one of the longest running, multi-layered, and most brutal armed conflict in the African history of the 20th century (Spitzer & Twikirize 2013, p.68). Shortly after the beginning of the insurgency the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) was established and

became the major opponent of the Ugandan People's Defence Force (UPDF). During the war both the Ugandan army and the LRA committed profound human rights violations towards the local civilians. Tens of thousands people lost their lives, mostly members of the ethnic Acholi population (Vorhölter 2014). In the course of the 20 year war the distinct feature of the LRA became gradually evident, the abduction and exploitation of children and youth as combatants. Although the estimated number of unreported cases might be even higher, the LRA is inculpated to have abducted more than 25,000 children and youth (Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers 2008, p.347). For this and other presumable reasons of protection, the government began in 1996 to forcibly displace the population of the affected areas and concentrate them into Internally Displaced Person (IDP) camps. In 2006, the peace meetings held in Juba, today's Southern Sudan, between the government of Uganda and the LRA culminated in a truce under the condition that the LRA leaves Uganda. Despite of following meetings between both parties till 2008, a final resolution was not signed, because the representatives of the LRA refused to sign the final peace agreement (Vorhölter 2014). However, since the first provisional peace agreement in 2006 Northern Uganda has experienced relative peace, whereas the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central African Republic still face LRA aggression (International Crisis Group 2010; 2011). By the end of 2005 up to 1.8 million people including the vast majority of the Acholi population (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre 2010, p.7), and more than 80% of the local population exposed to the conflict (Dolan 2009, p.56), have been displaced into various camps under extremely poor conditions. In May 2015, the International Displacement Monitoring Centre (2015) estimates that approximately 30,000 people are still internally displaced in the remaining four camps. Out of the perception of the Acholi people, the forced displacement in camps "caused a breakdown of Acholi culture, i.e. formerly established economic practices, political orders, social relations, norms and values" (Vorhölter 2014, p.22).

1.2 Problem Statement

The literature affirms youth play a pivotal and ambiguous role, they are simultaneously a threat to peace and at the same time offer a force for peace and a

resource for peacebuilding (McEvoy-Levy 2001; UNDP 2007; Hilker & Fraser 2009). Consequently, there is a growing international consensus that young people are a decisive element in constructively shaping conflict situations and in preparing the ground for peaceful societies (Del Felice & Wisler 2007). As portrayed above, youth in post-conflict Northern Uganda are uniquely vulnerable with regard to various forms of social, political, economical marginalisation and the respect for human rights. Hence, it is seen as a societal obligation to enable youth in post-conflict settings to participate in all spheres of development (African Union 2006; Amman Youth Declaration on Youth, Peace and Security 2015). Out of the Ugandan perspective, the strategic key role of youth is illustrated by last released National Youth Policy (GoU 2001), and more specifically by the Peace, Recovery and Development Plans for Northern Uganda (GoU 2011) targeting youth employment and reintegration of vulnerable people, as well as overall mitigating conflict drivers.

However, several recently published reports attest that Northern Ugandan youth remain at the margins of society (International Alert 2013; ACCS 2013). Different socialisations processes and conflict-influenced biographies of young people have led also to new power struggles within Acholi communities. These young people never experienced peaceful co-existence, neither socialisation in traditional community structures (Vorhölter 2014). Combined with the demographic pressure of the youngest populations worldwide and compounded by forms of social, economic and political marginalization in post-war society, Acholi youth are supposedly the trouble spot in Uganda, and has the potential to become a source of new insurgencies.

The current study provides an important and timely opportunity for appreciating and understanding the nature, dynamics and involvement of the youth in strategic peacebuilding processes. It illuminates the state of affairs regarding youth engagement in peacebuilding practices in a phenomenological study design, and explores in-depth opportunities and challenges for further youth participation in peacebuilding by analysing power relations. This study aims to highlight mitigating factors of conflict-drivers and open up new perspectives of social development within this context. Due to the fact that social work in post-war settings is particularly challenged by the impact of structural and direct violence on young people (Spitzer & Twikirize 2014), this study will enrich the knowledge base on power relations regarding Acholi youth

in the sub-counties of Awach, Unyama and Paicho in Gulu District. Gaining more understanding of young people's ideas of social cohesion and capturing their potential for social change in post-war environments renders this study as highly relevant.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective is to explore and document the youth experiences of participation in peacebuilding in the sub-counties of Awach, Unyama and Paicho in Gulu District, in Northern Uganda.

Specific objectives:

1. To explore the ways in which youth are participating in peacebuilding in the sub-counties of Awach, Paicho, and Unyama in Gulu District.
2. To identify challenges of youth participation in peacebuilding related to the power dimensions of levels and spaces in the sub-counties of Awach, Paicho, and Unyama in Gulu District.
3. To identify opportunities of youth participation in peacebuilding related to the power dimensions of levels and spaces in the sub-counties of Awach, Paicho, and Unyama in Gulu District.
4. To capture and compare the perceptions of people who are in positions of power, with the experiences of youth in the sub-counties of Awach, Paicho, and Unyama in Gulu District.

1.4 Research Questions

Main research question:

- How is youth participation in peacebuilding shaped by power relations regarding levels and spaces of power in the sub-counties of Awach, Paicho, and Unyama in Gulu District?

Specific research questions:

1. What are the experiences of youth participating in peacebuilding?
2. What are the challenges of youth participation in peacebuilding shaped by power relations regarding levels and space of power?
3. What are the opportunities of youth participation in peacebuilding shaped by power relations regarding levels and space of power?
4. To what extent do the perceptions of people in positions of power conform or conflict with the youth's experiences of participation in peacebuilding?

1.5 Scope of the Study

The qualitative study was conducted in the field of peacebuilding, and in particular young people's participation in peacebuilding in the aftermath of Northern Uganda's 20 years long running civil war between the LRA and UPDF (1986-2006). This context is reflected through the Gulu Women's Economic Development & Globalisation (GWED-G) as the access point to Acholi youth. The sample was selected from GWED-G's Youth Project which consisted of "youth groups who are trained on human rights issues and conflict management, who engage in building their communities and their own livelihoods" (AIN 2016a, p.1).

The research results of this phenomenological study design with respect to the sample cannot be generalized across Uganda, but allows for insight into power relations in the context of Acholi youth realities in peacebuilding. The focus of analysis lies on spaces for participation and levels of decision-making as two out of three dimensions of the power analysis framework, the 'power cube' (Gaventa 2006). Despite of the focus on those two dimensions of power, the third dimension forms of power is inevitably interwoven and hence will also be considered for analysis. The analysis is further complemented by the framework of the four 'expressions of power' identifying the youth's source of power from an actor perspective; i.e. power over, power with, power to and power within (VeneKlasen & Miller 2002). In other words, this research analyses power dimensions and relations in the context of youth participation in peacebuilding. It does not assess the design of the Youth Project, neither does it

evaluate the effects of the recently finished Youth Project towards the communities represented through the individual youth. Further the study is time and resource bound and conforming to limitations of the research as a Master thesis in Social Work with Families and Children at Makerere University Kampala.

1.6 Justification and Policy Relevance

The literature disclosed a gap in terms of national efforts to promote youth participation in peacebuilding and the actual situation on the ground in the Acholi sub-region. In addition, it is clear that young people as one of the most marginalized groups in post-conflict society need to be heard and further understood. Capturing youth voices and perspectives provides the opportunity to develop sustainable and effective peacebuilding measures and policies. The analysis framework of the 'power cube' was chosen since it was successfully applied in numerous other studies to examine participation processes, and power relations in post-conflict environments such as Liberia, Sierra Leone or Colombia (Pantazidou 2012). However, it is the first time this framework is applied in the Northern Ugandan context.

Consequently, this study explores and documents power relations linked to opportunities and challenges towards local youth realities in peacebuilding in the war-torn sub-counties of Awach, Unyama, and Paicho in Gulu District. The information could be used to adjust existing youth-strategies and improve the effectiveness of peacebuilding measures. On a community and local level, the findings from this study provide contextualised information available to national and international actors operating in Acholi sub-region. Spitzer and Twikirize (2014, p.361) highlight, "peace-building, mediation and reconciliation efforts are central to social work in societies affected by ethnic and political conflict". As a conflict-affected area, the findings from this research in Northern Uganda will provide deeper knowledge about youth spaces for action towards peacebuilding within the communities.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This literature review on youth participation in peacebuilding in the context of power relations and dimensions is subdivided into different sections; i.e. clarification about the applied key terms and concepts, acknowledgement of youth diversity, exploration of youth participation in peacebuilding, power and participation in social work, peacebuilding in Acholiland, and finally power relations in Acholi society.

The process of searching for relevant literature was guided by a snowballing approach. Mainly used were the databases SuperSearch and ProQuest provided through the University of Gothenburg. The researcher applied single search terms and combinations of these; e.g. youth, participation, peacebuilding, peace, Uganda, post-conflict. Furthermore, found literature reviews around the chosen topic turned out to be very fruitful to advance the search and gather further access points for information (UNICEF 2006; Lopes Cardozo et al. 2015). In addition, some appropriate miscellanies allowed deeper understanding for youth participation in post-conflict environments (McEvoy-Levy 2006; Percy-Smith & Thomas 2010).

2.2 Operationalization of Key Terms and Concepts

2.2.1 Youth

The Ugandan National Youth Policy (GoU 2001, p.9) defines youth as all persons aged 12 to 30 years. Due to lack of consensus within the international community regarding the chronological definition of youth, and the contextualization of the research in Uganda, the definition of youth is based on the framework of GWED-G's project and correspondingly on the selected sample; i.e. youth between 14 and 30 years (NUHRP 2016, p.6).

2.2.2 Power

The researcher decided to apply Anthony Giddens's sociological structuration theory (1984) as his underlying definition of power, because he integrates structural as well agency-centred elements. Moreover, he stresses power as a relationship incorporating the individual's "capability" or "transformative capacity" for change.

Giddens (ibid.) uses the notion of "the duality of structure", pointing out that structures are both medium and output. "Structures, as rules and resources, are both the precondition and the unintended outcome of people's agency" (Baert 1998, p.104). Power is interpreted "both as transformative capacity (the characteristic view held by those treating power in terms of the conduct of agents), and as domination (the main focus of those concentrating upon power as a structural quality)" (Giddens 1984, p.91). Due to this dual conceptualization also emphasizing the importance of people's participation, this definition seems to be appropriate examining power and power relations in this phenomenological study. The "transformative capacity" of individuals as power holders is further elaborated as follows:

> Action depends on the capability of the individual to 'make a difference' to a preexisting state of affairs or course of events. An agent ceases to be such if he or she loses the capability to 'make a difference', that is, to exercise some sort of power (Giddens 1984, p.14).

For this reason all human actions are characterized and linked to power and the exercise of it. In addition, the exercise of the individual's power is framed by social rules and resources; both are unevenly distributed in society and lead to systems of domination as a structural quality in societies. According to Giddens (1984, p.15), "resources (focused via signification and legitimation) are structures properties of social systems, drawn upon and reproduced knowledgeable agents in the course of interaction." Instead of seeing power as a resource, "resources are media through which power is exercised, as a routine element of the instantiation of conduct in social reproduction" (ibid., p.16).

2.2.3 Participation

For the purpose of this study the definition of participation is based on the UN Guiding Principles on Young People's Participation in Peacebuilding (UN-IANYD

2014), referring to four different approaches; i.e. a human rights-based approach, an economic approach, a socio-political approach, and a socio-cultural approach. These four approaches of participation in aftermath of conflict are described as follows:

> (1) A *human rights-based approach*, grounded in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the World Programme of Action on Youth;
>
> (2) An *economic approach* that identifies young people as central to the economic development of their country, and promotes their access to economic opportunities as essential for their own development;
>
> (3) A *socio-political approach* that connects young people to civil society and the political arena, and provides them with opportunities, training and support for their active engagement and participation in public life; and
>
> (4) A *sociocultural approach* that analyses the roles of young people in existing structures and supports dialogue – including intergenerational dialogue – about these structures (UN-IANYD 2014, p.1).

Due to these various benchmarks of youth participation in peacebuilding, youth participation is defined as 'the space for youth to participate in decision-making processes, contribute to decisions, and require accountability'. Lopes Cardozo et al. (2015, p.4) specifically highlight in their literature review the linked economic, socio-political and socio-cultural dimensions in peacebuilding; the "inter-connected nature and the distorting effect of identifying or engaging with one dimension in isolation from each other". For this reason the stated definition was selected for being able to catch all forms of it and at the same time cope with the broader socio-cultural, political and economical context in Northern Uganda. In other words, the exploratory nature of this study leaves it to the youth on the ground to articulate their experiences of participation in peacebuilding. However, those four benchmarks of youth participation in peacebuilding were applied as the initial set of anticipated meanings.

2.2.4 Peacebuilding

The term *peacebuilding* originated from Johan Galtung's pioneering work '*Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking and Peacebuilding*' (1975). In his article he argued for the creation of peacebuilding structures to promote sustainable peace:

> Peace has a structure different from, perhaps over and above, peacekeeping and ad hoc peacemaking […]. The mechanisms that peace is based on should be built into the structure and be present as a reservoir for the system itself to draw up […]. More specifically, structures must be found that remove causes of wars and offer alternatives to war in situations where wars might occur (Galtung 1976, p.297-298).

In this context he also introduced the distinction between negative peace and positive peace. While negative peace is characterized by the absence of violence, positive peace means the absence of structural and cultural violence. Due to this Galtung (1975) defined peace in a more positive and wider way. In addition, Galtung established a tripartite classification among the concepts of peacekeeping, peacemaking, and peacebuilding with corresponding defined roles. Whereas peacemaking describes the negotiation procedures between different stakeholders aiming for truce, peace agreement, or peace resolution towards specific conflicts, peacekeeping comprises third-party intervention to reduce direct violence, or maintain the absence of it. Lastly, peacebuilding emphasizes the psychological, social, and economic environment at grassroots level (Galtung 1975). Peacebuilding is directed to create positive peace, structures of peace on the basis of equity, justice and collaboration, hence addressing root causes or potential causes of violence. As a result, it intends to set up societal peace so future conflicts become less likely (Lederach 1997).

Another key academic in the field of peace and conflict is John Paul Lederach, who postulates a broadening of the peacebuilding concept. Out of his perspective, peacebuilding means the following:

> Peacebuilding is understood as a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable, peaceful relationships. The term thus involves a wide range of activities that both precede and follow formal peace accords. Metaphorically, peace is seen not merely as a stage in time or a condition. It is a dynamic social construct (Lederach 1997, p.20).

For the purpose of the study this definition of peacebuilding by Lederach was selected, because it focuses on it as a fluent social construct depending on the activities and actors shaping them. Conflict transformation is seen as a holistic and multi-dimensional framework directed to violent conflicts in all stages of trajectory; it

characterizes conflict transformation as an ongoing process towards peace (Lederach 1995). Lederach's comprehensive approach is based on broad social participation and tries to cope with the multi-layered and contextualized nature of human experiences.

2.3 Acknowledging Youth Diversity

This section elaborates the need to include youth voices into analysis and development of communities, policies and programmes in the context of peacebuilding. There is not a singular conception of youth; youth has to be understood in all the variety of young people's experiences and identities contextualized across their social, economic and political environments. On the contrary, youth are often sketched in a binary understanding, as violent perpetrators or victims of conflicts (McEvoy-Levy 2006; Sommers 2006; Del Felice & Wisler 2007; Drummond-Mundal & Cave 2007; International Youth Foundation 2011). Such a reduction overshadows the diversified positions of youth in wartime and post-war scenarios, the altering situations with context-specific reasons, and lastly their contributions to peacebuilding (McEvoy-Levy 2006; Del Felice & Wisler 2007).

"Perhaps the most important requirement of peacebuilding programmes is that they are grounded in young people's realities" (Drummond-Mundal & Cave 2007, p.72). Based on this, McEvoy-Levy (2006) emphasizes the significance of elaborately examining how youth senses about and around issues of conflict, post-conflict and the peaceful future. Hence, youth voices should be included in peace-related issues, and in particular in programmes and policies focussing on youth peacebuilding actions. Numerous recently published studies seek to amplify those youth perspectives through qualitative research (Denov & Maclure 2006; Uvin 2007; MacKenzie 2009; Pruitt 2013). These studies provide insight into youth realities, give them opportunities to be heard by letting them speak, and lay the basis for further youth involvement into programming. Peacebuilding programmes have to ensure that especially vulnerable groups are included and enabled to voice themselves within shaping community development (Gervais et al. 2009). This is specifically the case in Acholi society, historically rooted in patriarchal structures and leadership by the eldest, neglecting youth and women (Vorhölter 2014; Baines & Gauvin 2014). However, Becker (2012)

specifies that giving space to young people is needed but not enough, programmes stressing youth participation have to go beyond offering framed opportunities; they have to enable youth shaping them.

Moreover, it should be ensured that programmes embrace the variety of youth and cope with the diversity of youth identities within the post-conflict society; in particularly it should "not assume that elite youth leaders from civil society represent them" (UN-IANYD, art.2.4). For this reason, the UN Guiding Principles on Young People's Participation in Peacebuilding (UN-IANYD 2014, art.2.3) recommend that tactics and programmes should "involve hard-to-reach young people and those who belong to groups often disproportionately affected by conflict, such as disabled young people and young people from minority or indigenous groups". Otherwise as illustrated by Palestinian youth, marginalised youth may perceive themselves as separated from the society and evolve deviant norms and values, thus including various youth realities in measures and programmes to support peacebuilding should be an imperative to construct peaceful societies (Stewart 2011).

Hilker and Fraser view especially the danger of the reproduction of gender inequalities, in case youth are interpreted solely as young males who retrieve a source for violence (Hilker & Fraser 2009). In addition, Hilker and Fraser (2009), and Sommers (2006) point out that the social status and social rights of female youth within their communities is often strongly connected to motherhood; in contrast, fatherhood of male youth does not necessarily alter the social status. This is for example illustrated by young mothers in Northern Uganda. After returning from the displacement camps they are culturally pressured to fulfil the role of a 'good' mother, "by performing Acholi women's work, by holding paternal lineages of their children accountable for their welfare, and by seeking to re-establish these kin relationships, the women contest their exclusion, and renegotiate a new sociality" (Baines & Gauvin 2014, p.298).

Furthermore, international significance was given to youth and in particular youth participation in issues of peace and security at the Global Forum on Youth, Peace and Security in August 2015, culminating in the adoption of the Amman Youth

Declaration on Youth, Peace and Security (2015). The first article of the declaration sketches most of the previous discussion:

> We, young people, are highly engaged in transforming conflict, countering violence and building peace. Yet, our efforts remain largely invisible, unrecognized, and even undermined due to lack of adequate participatory and inclusive mechanisms and opportunities to partner with decision-making bodies. [---] We must also foster young people's leadership skills, creating an interdependent virtuous cycle to shift the negative perceptions and discourse on young people to that of partners in building peaceful and sustainable communities (Amman Youth Declaration on Youth, Peace and Security 2015, art.1).

Furthermore, the Amman Youth Declaration is also responsive to the gender-specific issues. It is essential to ensure gender equality in peacebuilding, "but also address the hardships that are gender specific" (Amman Youth Declaration on Youth, Peace and Security 2015, art.3).

In conclusion, youth perspectives imperatively need to be considered for analysis and development of communities, policies and programmes. Thus, examining youth participation in peacebuilding in post-war Gulu District contributes to a broader understanding of youth's societal participation.

2.4 Youth Participation in Peacebuilding

2.4.1 Human rights-based approach to Youth Participation in Peacebuilding

As the UN Guiding Principles on Young People's Participation in Peacebuilding assert, a human rights-based approach is rooted in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the World Programme of Action on Youth (UN-IANYD 2014). All of those three human rights conventions are grounded in principles of the international human rights system; i.e. legitimacy, accountability and transparency, participation, empowerment, equality, as well as non-discrimination and particularly in attention to vulnerable groups (UN General Assembly 1979; UN-Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights 1989).

The principles of the international human rights system characterise such a human rights-based approach to youth participation in peacebuilding as strongly connected to Human rights education (HRE). Holland and Martin (2014) conducted several qualitative studies on HRE programmes as part of peacebuilding in various post-conflict regions of the world; e.g. Sierra Leone, Mexico, Senegal or Liberia. The range of post-conflict contexts embraced various HRE programmes:

- Sierra Leone: three-day workshops for women and girls who experienced gender-based violence and discrimination
- Mexico: workshops for parents and community members on health care, healthy development of children, and prevention of child abuse; activities for children to raise critical thinking skills regarding potential human rights violations
- Senegal: introduction of HRE as a regular part of school curriculums across Senegal
- Liberia: implementation of HRE school curriculum in the Foya District

These qualitative studies highlighted the positive impact on individuals and/or communities by developing agency among HRE participants, raising awareness and generate an understanding of human rights, and encouraging active participation for empowerment (Holland & Martin 2014). However, obstacles and challenges consist of "the fact that human rights education within nations is still characterized by a smattering of unconnected HRE programs run by a wide variety of local and international agencies having little coordination, too little funding, and an absence of strategic planning" (Holland 2011, p.92). It emphasizes the importance of context and the embedment in other peacebuilding activities, otherwise it is "less and less likely that human rights will take deep root in a post-conflict nation, and more likely that the conflict will someday re-erupt" (ibid., p.92). These studies illustrate a human rights-based approach to youth participation in peacebuilding, and similarly highlight the link of human rights to the socio-cultural and socio-political realm of participation of young people.

2.4.2 Economic approach to Youth Participation in Peacebuilding

The UN Guiding Principles on Young People's Participation in Peacebuilding use an approach that "identifies young people as central to economic development of their country, and promotes their access to economic opportunities as essential for their own development' (UN-IANYD 2014, p.1). Similarly, Rabé and Kamanzi (2012) examining participation in rural and rather poor areas in Tanzania found out that economic empowerment is an essential starting point for social and political participation. It underlines the strong connection between the different forms of participation, and underscores the importance of economic opportunities. Those economic opportunities are often shaped by Village Saving and Loan Associations (VSLA), National Youth Funds and Technical and Vocational Education Training Programmes (TVET).

VSLA programmes are implemented in a group or community, saving money by depositing their money usually once per week. The saved money provides short-term loans with small interest rates to group members who request them. These interest rates on the lent funds and on the accumulated savings assist the group and support them further, so a proportion of the saved money is annually paid to each member (Cameron & Ananga 2015, p.1028). The exact procedures depend on the implemented programme, or on the group if it is a self-initiated informal savings group. Wakoko (2003) illustrates in a microfinance study in Uganda that for men and for women informal saving groups are the main source for microfinance. More specifically, it is the most important financial resource for women's empowerment in rural areas since informal saving groups enhance women's power of decision-making outside the realm of traditional gender roles. Several scholars recognise the increasing importance of VSLA or informal saving groups to open up new perspectives of financial assistance, hence decision-making and social development, especially in rural regions (Wakoko 2003; Lowicka-Zucca et al. 2014; Ksoll et al. 2016). Moreover, "community-managed groups offering savings and loans have a long history in both Africa and Asia, and the VSLA model drew on but adapted a tradition in many African countries of rotating savings groups" (Cameron & Ananga 2015, p.1028); in 2012 programmes in the sense of VSLA which are promoted by various organisation are estimated to reach more than six million people all over the world (VSL Associates 2012). Though VSLAs or

informal saving groups are not specifically targeting young people, these initiatives are widespread and provide opportunities to strengthen their economic participation, and hence may contribute to a peaceful co-existence.

In contrast to VSLAs, National Youth Funds are generally implemented by the government and mostly a reaction to growing youth unemployment in various countries. These funds operate through state structures, or sometimes in form of public-private partnerships, mainly aiming to generate or support smaller or medium-sized enterprises (Ahaibwe & Kasirye 2015). The National Development Plan of Uganda 2010/2011-2014/15 (GoU 2010) in accordance with the last released National Youth Policy (GoU 2001) identified entrepreneurship as a key tactic to tackle youth unemployment. Hence, the Ugandan government introduced recently two major schemes among other youth entrepreneur schemes; i.e. the Youth Livelihood Programme (YLP) and the Youth Venture Capital Fund (YVCF). The YLP targets the poor and unemployed youth in all districts of Uganda, and was initiated in 2013 for a five-year period by the Ugandan Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development. It aims to increase self-employment opportunities and income levels through vocational skill development and income-generating activities, consisting of a skill development and livelihood support component (GoU 2016). The YVCF was introduced in 2011 and aims to provide venture capital with low interest credit to individuals or groups to start projects in the private sector. Consequently, the major framework of these two initiatives consists of job creation, enterprise development and business skill training (Ahaibwe & Kasirye 2015). Such National Youth Funds may contribute to a peaceful society since they may generate new income-generating opportunities for youth.

TVET links education to employability and hence aims to lead to young people's participation in peacebuilding, community structures and lastly to poverty reduction. Due to the fact that post-conflict areas are characterized by potential future key drivers of conflict like high levels of unemployment and poverty, and general marginalization of youth, those programmes may contribute to peacebuilding itself and further help youth to integrate within economic and political spheres (Moberg & Johnson-Demen 2009; Walton 2010; Peterson 2013). Nonetheless, an absence of economic opportunities for adolescent entails disempowerment and frustration, in particular

since financial independence is often perceived as a cornerstone of the transition to adulthood (Sommers 2006; Hilker & Fraser 2009).

TVET programmes can directly influence such drivers of conflict and foster an inclusion of youth into post-conflict societies. The effect of TVET on youth participation in peacebuilding can comprehended at two different levels; i.e. on a macro level of policy development and economic planning, and a micro level of personal youth development, well being and self-esteem. TVET regarding a macro level is characterised by general economic opportunities and stimulation of the course of economy. Whereas on a micro levels aiming to address personal development and maybe fostering political, social and economic participation (Peterson 2013; USAID 2013). Several studies underline the potentially positive impact of TVET interventions on peacebuilding processes. For example, Fithen and Richards (2005) explored how skill training allows Sierra Leone's youth ex-combatants to open up new employment opportunities, and at the same time enhance participation in community rebuilding mitigating unemployment as a potential conflict driver. Furthermore, a conducted study in Sierra Leone showed that life skills and employability training resulted in increased self-awareness, communication skills and empathy, as well as in better conflict management. Hence, it created better perspectives to develop new livelihoods and also to contribute to peaceful communities (Fauth & Daniels 2011). Similarly, Petersen (2013) reviewed programmes primarily conducted in South Sudan and Liberia with mainly vulnerable groups, and asserts that TVET can reduce aggressive behaviour of youth and violence in local societies. These studies illustrate youth participation in peacebuilding out of an economic perspective, referring to employment and livelihood opportunities, and social participation in a wider sense.

2.4.3 Socio-political approach to Youth Participation in Peacebuilding

This section explores the socio-political approach to youth participation in peacebuilding by going beyond the dichotomy of victim-perpetrator, to a rather nuanced understanding of individual youth realities. The International Youth Foundation (2011) conducted Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and interviews with a representative amount of young people in several districts in Uganda. They assert, study participants communicated an overwhelming sense of being marginalized and

manipulated within the political realm, exclusion caused by their status as youth. Similarly, McEvoy-Levy (2006) and Helsing et al. (2006) underscore the exclusion of youth from official political bodies and peacebuilding measures. Thus, youth are lacking acknowledgement of their concerns and perspectives by being excluded in formal political systems. Firstly, this points to exclusion caused by age restrictions. Secondly, it refers to an overseeing of youth abilities to constructively shape the political realm. Restrictions by poor governance and weak political presentation can lead to youth viewing violence as an opportunity to voice themselves and make a difference (McEvoy-Levy 2001; Hilker & Fraser 2009).

Moreover, there is a stereotype that youth are supposedly uninterested in politics, especially young females. Such a perception covers the activity and involvement of young people (Pruit 2013). For this reason, youth's political engagement in conflict situations is often invisible (McEvoy-Levy 2001; Drummond-Mundal & Cave 2007). Furthermore, social hierarchies and cultural expectations may limit or discourage youth's political engagement (Fincham et al. 2013). This is for instance the case for Acholi female youth in Uganda, where rights attributed by the community rely on fulfilling the reproductive role as a mother and wife (Baines & Gauvin 2014). On the contrary, history has shown that youth engages themselves in strong political statements outside the formal systems; e.g. political protesting in Israel (Helsing et al. 2006; Del Felice & Wisler 2007), or active involvement in the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa (Feinstein, Giertsen & O'Kane 2009). These examples demonstrate the urgency to recognize such experiences, and provide youth with opportunities for their active engagement. Hence, this study examines youth participation for peacebuilding with regard to the power dimensions of levels and spaces within their realities and social environments.

2.4.4 Socio-cultural approach to Youth Participation in Peacebuilding

The socio-cultural approach to participation of young people deals with the roles young people have in existing societal structures and supports dialogue about these (UN-IANYD 2014). The literature review of Lopes Cardozo et al. (2015) summarised the main aspects of it. Despite the dangerous and limiting environments of young people in post-conflict areas, the literature discloses a significant gap of attention

towards the majority of youth living peacefully and being creative in challenging life (McEvoy-Levy 2001; Hilker & Fraser 2009). Such a perspective goes beyond the dichotomy of youth as victims or perpetrators and sets the focus on the "every day life" and "practices", arguing for recognition as well as enhancing this ingenuity of young people in conflict-affected contexts (Certeau 1984). This approach based on daily practices is exemplified by numerous qualitative studies. Berents' study in Colombia for example reveals that young people are often generally stigmatized due to violent acts by parts of the youth (Berents 2014). Consequently, it erodes the societal bases of all young people striving for peace and additionally diminishes the overall opportunity to participate in restoring the community. The stigmatization of youth further solidifies their poor strategic position to alter the challenging environment. Setting a focus directed towards everyday practices of youth allows on the contrary greater attention to opportunities shaping peace efforts (McEvoy-Levy 2006; Roberts 2011).

Moreover, such a focus helps to identify given peacebuilding actions in the specific locality. This appears obvious looking at three more qualitative studies in their context-specific settings. Khoury-Machool (2007) illustrates for instance how ongoing education and corresponding daily structures serve as a source for stability, and at the same time opposition to the Israeli occupation. Another example describes outstanding groups of street children and young people in Luanda, promoting each other in peaceful living. Despite the violent environment and their marginalized societal position, they independently established own communities enhancing peaceful patterns of everyday practices (Nordstrom 2006). Furthermore, Ensor (2013, p.526) asserts that youth in South Sudan "have traditionally been at the forefront in articulating local concerns and aspirations". She encountered young people who have been given guidance through skills training and space for accountability in conflict management and resolution regarding land-related conflicts. As uncovered by these diverse examples of youth building peace, youth have the capacity to act and cope with their individual conflict-affected environments. The focal point on trivial realities of youth incrementally informed peacebuilding literature (Roberts 2011). "It binds the everyday to legitimacy; it is a peace that is relevant, apposite and legitimate to a majority of everyday lives (ibid., p.422). Zooming into these trivial youth realities and

analysing frictions and conflicts can entail a re-organisation of peace engagement and actions, and may further lead to reinforced youth efforts in peacebuilding (McEvoy-Levy 2006).

2.5 Social Work: Participation and Power

The International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW 2014) defines social work as follows:

> Social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities are central to social work (IFSW 2014).

Social work linked to empowerment of people, as well as social change and development is inevitably interwoven with participation and power, respectively corresponding possibilities of empowerment (Percy-Smith 2006; Percy-Smith & Thomas 2010; Fitzgerald et al. 2010). As explicated above, the UN Guiding Principles on Young People's Participation in Peacebuilding (UN-IANYD 2014) illustrate different but at the same time overlapping approaches to participation. Consequently, it underscores the range of meanings which exemplify the diversity of participation. However, participation has to be all the time understood in its social, political and cultural setting since "the form and extent of participation is partly determined by dominant cultural norms which define roles and opportunities for young people" (Percy-Smith & Thomas 2010, p.357). The patriarchal Acholi community led by elders is an example for such dominant cultural norms which produce marginalised community groups and limit the participation of youth and women. Especially out of this perspective, participation can be interpreted as a "struggle *over* recognition" focussing on participation as a negotiated space (Fitzgerald et al. 2010, p.293). Similarly, Percy-Smith (2006, p.154) comprehends participation of children and young people as a "relational and dialogical process" in a communal context of social learning and development. According to Fitzgerald et al. (2010) a dialogical approach requires an examination of power and more specifically power relations which constrain and simultaneously enable opportunities for participation. Finally, an emancipatory approach in social work promoting change, social development and

social cohesion can solely start in the existing setting of social relations in order to change constructed social differences and the power relations surrounding them (Tew 2006).

Pettit (2012, p.5) elaborates on empowerment and participation. Empowerment "is most effective when it draws on the full range of concepts and meanings of power, taking into account the intersection of agency and structure, formal and informal structures, and positive and negative forms of agency". Hence, this study applied the theoretical framework of Gaventa's (2006) 'power cube' and the 'expressions of power' by VeneKlasen and Miller (2002) to explore power relations and identify opportunities and challenges for social change and development, enriching the knowledge base of social work in the sub-counties Awach, Unyama, and Paicho in Gulu District. In the context of structure it is essential to know that over 70% of social workers in Uganda are employed by national and supranational NGOs mainly engaged in community development actions; solely 15% of social workers work for the government (Twikirize et al. 2013, p.64).

2.6 Peacebuilding in Acholiland

The war between the LRA and the government forces lasted 20 years and was characterized by internal displacement of the vast majority of the Acholi population as well as the abduction of thousands of children and young people. The resettlement of Acholi and the reintegration of former child combatants have been immediate challenges after the truce agreement in 2006. More recently the final evaluation report of UN Peacebuilding Fund programmes in Acholiland (2012, p.9/10) identified the realm of peacebuilding corresponding to current conflict dynamics and their drivers; i.e. land-related issues, the remake of traditional justice systems, gender-based violence, lack of formal employment opportunities, mental illnesses, widespread alcohol abuse, still missing transitional justice framework and anxiety caused by LRA activities in neighbouring countries.

Land-related issues are still a major source of conflict due to the ongoing resettlement since 2006 and the fact that most land in Northern Uganda is held under customary

tenure instead of legal property ownership (Cotula 2007). In this sense land is held under custodianship and the rights over it can vary and depend on the use of the land without formal registering (CSOPNU 2004), as well as land itself strongly influences the identity, social class and social relationships of the people (Cotula 2007). During the war and the displacement of Acholi people their access to the land was irregular and limited, hence the return entailed an ambiguity over land use and custodianship. These land-related issues associated with informal agreements and general governance point to another conflict-driver, the remake of traditional justice systems. Although traditional justice mechanisms are still recognised among Acholi people, these patriarchal and hierarchical structures of authority and their decisions towards justice can have marginalising consequences for women and youth (UNPF 2012). Furthermore, females experienced various forms of gender-based violence during the war, and it remained a source for new conflicts. After returning to the villages and towns, women are still exposed to gender-based violence in terms of gender inequalities, poverty, lack of resources as well as lacking provision of justice and social services (Annan & Brier 2010). Another new conflict dynamic concerns a huge number of young people who missed out on education and thus face problems to find formal employment. This includes former LRA-abductees as well as ordinary youth being affected by war-times through dysfunctional family structures (UNPF 2012). All these post-conflict dynamics sketch the realm for peacebuilding in Acholiland, and most probably for youth participation in peacebuilding in the sub-counties Awach, Unyama and Paicho.

2.7 Power Relations in Acholi society

The traditional Acholi society in pre-war times was characterized by patriarchal, lineage- and clan-based structures and led by male elderly and spiritual leaders. This leadership had a powerful internal authority in Acholi society. The traditional culture is ingrained in the belief of a spiritual world and the corresponding punishments if rules are violated. Moreover, Acholi culture is described as communal, so the unity of the community is more valued than the individual, and based on specific normative rules interpreted by the leadership. This illustrates the structures of Acholi

ethnojustice, laws and ethics which form an individual justice system. Conflict resolution for instance is framed by both parties paying compensation and the ritual of drinking a root extract of a tree, so-called *mato oput*. Another part of the justice system is exemplified through cleaning rituals, if somebody of the community committed a crime, such as theft or murder (Vorhölter 2014).

As a consequence of the course of war and in particular of the displacement of the vast majority of Acholi population into camps, the traditional structures in terms of social, economical, ethical and political spheres have been devastated. Life in the camps was characterized by poor living conditions culminating in high mortality rates due to the lack physical protection, health care services, quickly rising HIV and Aids infection rates, as well as the absence of other crucial necessities for livelihood (Dolan 2009; Branch 2011; Vorhölter 2014). The incremental impoverishment in various spheres of life caused by the long lasting stay in camps eroded gradually the social framework of Acholi population. Prior social roles and responsibilities could not be fulfilled and led to fundamental changes in gender roles, norms and hierarchies. It is widely recognised that women became more independent and adopted tasks traditionally attributed to men (El-Bushra & Sahl 2005; Branch 2011). Women have gained independence from new businesses, as well as from educational and human rights interventions within the camps. On the contrary, male elderly and spiritual leaders lost their power of shaping social and political Acholi life (Branch 2014). Despite of wide agreement among the Acholi to some renewal of traditional value, norms and regulations, the extent and realms of traditional authority is controversial. Interviews conducted in the recent aftermath of the war underlined the ambitions of prior male leaders to correct the societal disruption of war and displacement. However, women and youth, particularly those from rather urban areas, consider a return to pre-war hierarchies as irreproducible. An external advancement of traditional idealized social pre-war order is seen critical, and does not encounter unanimous assent among Acholi, even not among males (Branch 2014). These examinations illustrate the power struggle for identity of Acholi society after 20 years of brutal war, displacement in camps, and resettlement in former villages and towns. Hence, it is more than interesting and necessary to illuminate where youth participation in peacebuilding is located in post-war Acholi society.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

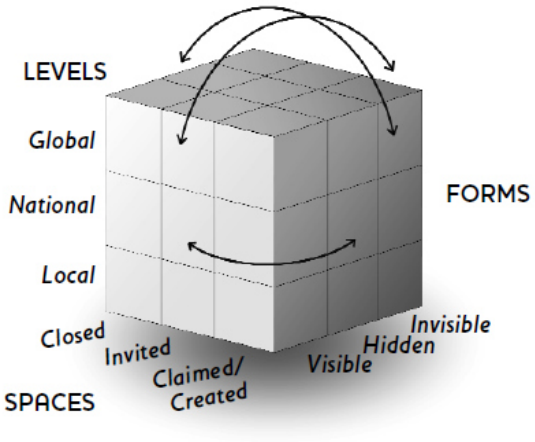
The study examines different power dimension regarding youth participation in peacebuilding. Due to the necessity to explore youth realities in post-conflict areas, and due to power struggles in Acholi society, an analysis of power is seen as an appropriate access point to disclose opportunities and challenges regarding youth participation. The 'power cube' as an approach to power was applied, and is based on three dimensions of power: spaces of participation, levels of decision-making, and forms of power. This section spells out all these dimensions. However, the study focuses on the power dimensions of levels and spaces to obtain a thick description. Although the focus is on those two dimensions of power, the third dimension is inevitably interwoven and hence is considered for analysis.

Moreover, this section comprises the framework of 'expressions of power'; i.e. power over, power with, power to, and power within. This framework was used to complement the power analysis by identifying the youth's source of power from an actor's perspective.

3.2 The 'Power Cube'

The framework of the 'power cube' focuses on the analysis of power by examining levels, spaces and forms of power, as well as their interdependence. With respect to the *power cube*, it is essential to see each side of the cube as a dimension of fluent reciprocal relationships, instead of fixed or static categories of power (Gaventa 2006).

The 'power cube': levels, spaces and forms of power



Source: Gaventa 2006, p.25

3.2.1 Spaces for Participation

The three spaces for participation can be seen as opportunities for action where citizens can act to influence decisions and relationships affecting their lives and interests. These spaces are distinguished with regard to *invited*, *closed* and *claimed/created* spaces for action.

- *Invited spaces:* Gaventa refers concerning the invited spaces to Cornwall who defines them as "those into which people (as users, citizens or beneficiaries) are invited to participate by various kinds of authorities, be they government, supranational agencies or non-governmental organisations" (Cornwall 2002, p.17). Hence, these spaces may be regularised by the hosts, since they are ongoing institutionalised consultations, or rather temporary in terms of one-off forms of 'invitations'. Due to increasing participatory forms of governance, these spaces are available at all levels, from local authorities, to national policies, up to global policy gatherings (Gaventa 2006).

- *Closed spaces:* Closed spaces can be seen as challenges. These are spaces which can be considered off-limits for participation, because decisions are made without consultations of public behind closed doors; e.g. institutions, laws, design of programmes. Gaventa (ibid., p.26) describes those places

within the state "as 'provided' spaces in the sense that elites (be they bureaucrats, experts or elected representatives) make decisions and provide services to 'the people', without the need for broader consultation or involvement".

- *Claimed/created spaces:* Spaces which are claimed or created by less powerful people or marginalized groups, and which describe opportunities for action actively shaped and opened up by them. "These spaces range from ones created by social movements and community associations, to those simply involving natural places where people gather to debate, discuss and resist, outside of the institutionalised policy arenas" (Gaventa 2006, p.27).

3.2.2 Levels of Decision-Making

The second dimension of power related to levels intersects with the spaces for participation; it concerns the vertical levels or places where power resides and decisions are made. The 'power cube' comprises the local, national and global level, though Gaventa (2005) does not regard this as a fixed framework, rather as an initial point varying across contexts and purposes of analysis. For this reason the dimension of levels was refined with regard to the youth's reality in Gulu District. Instead of using global, national and local levels, the researcher applied the levels corresponding to legal frameworks of governmental administration, and added a family level. Thus, the study examined the following levels: *family, village, parish, sub-county, district, and national level.*

3.2.3 Forms of Power

Moreover, the relationship of levels and spaces in the context of participation is influenced by the third dimension of three different forms of power; i.e. *visible*, *hidden* and *invisible*. The dimension of power in terms of forms affects and shapes the inclusiveness/exclusiveness of participation regarding the other dimensions (Gaventa 2006).

- *Visible Power:* "Visible forms of power are contests over interests which are visible in public spaces or formal decision making bodies. Often these refer to political bodies, such as legislatures, local government bodies, local

assemblies, or consultative forums. However, they can equally apply to the decision-making arenas of organizations and even of social movements or other spaces for collective action" (Gaventa 2009, p.10).

- *Hidden Power:* Hidden power is used by "vested interests to maintain their power and privilege by creating barriers to participation, by excluding key issues from the public arena, or by controlling politics 'backstage'" (Gaventa 2009, p.11). Those proceedings may occur in political contexts, but also in other organizational forms like NGOs or CBOs.

- *Invisible Power:* Invisible power is characterized in a way that it is not only about excluding people from decisions, "but also from the minds and consciousness of the different players involved, even those directly affected by the problem. By influencing how individuals think about their place in the world, this level of power shapes people's beliefs, sense of self and acceptance of the *status quo* – even their own superiority or inferiority. Processes of socialisation, culture and ideology perpetuate exclusion and inequality by defining what is normal, acceptable and safe" (Gaventa 2006, p.29).

3.3 The 'Expressions of Power'

Lisa VeneKlasen and Valerie Miller (2002) describe four 'expressions of power'; i.e. power over, power with, power to and power within.

- *Power over:* This kind of power is commonly recognized and describes a classic win-lose situation. The relationship is characterized by somebody who has power since it was taken from somebody else, and used to dominate and keeping others away from obtaining it (VeneKlasen & Miller 2002).
- *Power to:* "Power refers to the unique potential of every person to shape his or her life and world. When based on mutual support, it opens up the possibilities of joint action, or power with" (ibid., p.45).
- *Power with:* This interpretation of power deals with collective agency and collaboration of individuals with different knowledge, interests and capacities,

including psychological and political power rooted in a united action. “Power with can help build bridges across different interests to transform or reduce social conflict and promote equitable relations” (ibid.).

- *Power within:* This sort of power is about the individual’s sense of self-worth, self-knowledge and self-esteem based on experiencing the awareness of one’s situation and the possibility influence it. It also includes respecting others while acknowledging each person’s differences. “Both these forms of power are referred to as agency – the ability to act and change the world – by scholars writing about development and social change” (ibid., p.45).

The feature of this conceptualization is the interpretation of power through three positive expressions of power. Power is seen as a positive rather than a negative force for individual and collective capacity and agency towards opportunities of change. These ‘expressions of power’ support the youth to identify “own sources of positive power and to reflect on ideas of dignity and self-esteem, solidarity and unity, critical awareness and experiential knowledge, networks and alliances and more” (Pantazidou 2012, p.13).

The theoretical frameworks the ‘power cube’ complemented by ‘expressions of power’ were used for a context analysis of young people’s participation in peacebuilding in the sub-counties of Awach, Unyama and Paicho. The power analysis in this study explored the effects and potential of current organisational everyday practices within youth realities.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This section illuminates how the study was conducted. It embraces a description of the study organization and side, research design, study population, sample size and selection procedures, data collection methods, data analysis, ethical considerations, and the limitations of the study.

4.2 Description of the Study Organization

The chosen organisation to access the youth sample was the Gulu Women's Economic Development & Globalization (GWED-G) located in Gulu, Northern Uganda. GWED-G was established in 2004 and operates in the three districts of Gulu, Amuru and Nwoya. It provides activities and conducts projects within the fields of human rights, peace-building, health, gender-based violence, economic empowerment and civic engagement (GWED-G 2016a, 2016b). Their mission is "to strengthen the capacity of grassroots communities in Northern Uganda to become self-reliant agents of change for peace and development through training and education for them to make decisions concerning their rights, health, and development" (GWED-G 2016a). In addition, their vision is "to have a healthy, non-violent environment free from poverty and discrimination" (GWED-G 2016a).

GWED-G is also a member of the *Northern Uganda Human Rights Partnership (NUHRP)* where the organisation plays the role of steering committee of the partnership as well as implementing partnership projects (GWED-G 2016b). Amnesty International Netherlands (AIN) initiated the Special Programme on Africa in 1994. In 2015, the programme was renamed the Human Rights Capacity-Building Programme, also known as HURICAP (AIN 2016a). The NUHRP Youth Project was one essential part of the HURICAP and lasted from 2011-2015. It was implemented by four civil society organisations in the districts of Gulu, Amuru, Kitgum, Lamwo, Pader and Agago under the leadership of Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development

(Awich Ochen & Luabaale 2016). GWED-G implemented the Youth Project in Gulu District and is in ongoing contact to the youth groups.

GWED-G was chosen as the case study NGO since the Youth Project has been positively evaluated in 2016 (Awich Ochen & Luabaale 2016). The evaluation report stated that the trained youth has became actively involved in issues concerning their communities and further spread the message of human rights, conflict resolution and good governance. The youth replicated "human rights knowledge at the local level and became agents of positive change" (ibid., p.xi). For this reason GWED-G and the corresponding Youth Project offered an interesting opportunity to explore youth participation in peacebuilding in post-conflict Gulu District.

4.3 Description of the Study Site

This study was conducted in the sub-counties of Awach, Unyama and Paicho in Gulu District which is part of the Acholi sub-region and located in Northern Uganda. The Acholi sub-region, also referred to as Acholiland, encompasses about 28,500 km² and borders in the North to South Sudan. The common language is Acholi and the area comprises the following districts: Gulu, Nwoya, Amuru, Kitgum, Lamwo, Pader and Agago (Summit Foundation 2014). The entire population of Uganda averages out almost 35 million; whereof around 150.000 people live in Gulu Municipality, and approximately 290.000 in the rural areas of Gulu District (UBOS 2016, p.51). More specifically, 29.502 in Awach, 27.009 in Unyama, and 24.306 in Paicho (UBOS 2014, p.46).

The Local Governments (Resistance Councils) Statute 1993 and the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda from 1995 provided the framework for decentralisation of governance. The district forms the local government which in case of Gulu has two Higher Local Governments; the Gulu Municipal Council, and two counties of Aswa and Omoro. In sum, there are twelve rural sub-counties and four divisions, as well as numerous lower administrative units in form of parishes and villages. The examined sub-counties belong to the county Aswa (Gulu District Local Government 2013, p.5).

The literacy level in Gulu District is far below the National Development Plan targeting 85% in 2013/2014. While the national literacy level in rural areas averages out only 67%, Gulu District's level is 64% (Gulu District Local Government 2013, p.21). The major source for income in Gulu District is agriculture in the context of customary land holding as the common system of land ownership due to Acholi tradition (Gulu District Local Government 2013). Although the poverty level in Northern Uganda significantly decreased since the end of the war in 2006, it is still the poorest part of the country. The national poverty rate is 19,7%, whereas the poverty rate in Northern Uganda amounts to 43,7% in 2012/13 (GoU 2014, p.11). A similar picture is presented in terms of reproductive health and health services in Gulu District. The accessibility of health services is poor, over 37% of the population have to move more than 5km to reach the next facility (Gulu District Local Government 2013, p.60); the major means of transport are bicycles. In contrast to a national infant mortality rate of 54 per 1000 live birth, in Gulu District it averages out 132 (ibid., p.68). Due to the specific history of Northern Uganda characterised by 20 years of war, displacement and resettlement of the majority of the Acholi people, Gulu District is also distinguished by a huge presence of civil society organisations and supranational organisations. However, Gulu District and generally-speaking Northern Uganda is one of most socio-economically marginalised areas in the country.

4.4 Description of the Research Design

The study was solely conducted in a qualitative nature. This choice was defined by the need to explore and document youth participation in peacebuilding within the individual post-conflict setting of Gulu District. The characteristics of qualitative research strategies are based on the epistemological position emphasizing rather interpretivism, as an "understanding of the social world through an examination of the interpretation of that world by its participants" (Bryman 2012, p.380). Moreover, it is rooted in an ontological position that describes constructivist elements, so "social properties are outcomes of the interaction between individuals" (ibid.).

Furthermore this study collected data in a phenomenological research design. Phenomenology as a qualitative method underlines people's perceptions of the environment they live in and concerns their meaning of it, as well as how it emerges in experiences (Groenewald 2004; Langdridge 2007). Hence, this research design was selected to zoom into the lived experiences of youth and enable them to voice their participation in peacebuilding. In other words, the findings cannot be generalized since a phenomenological research design tries to capture experiences of individuals in a specific context.

4.5 Study Population

The sample was drawn from the population of Acholi people and comprises as the primary source youth, and secondary NGO staff working with youth and other vulnerable groups in Gulu District.

4.5.1 Youth

Young people of Gulu District aged 14-30 were the primary study population. This age range was chosen according to the sample of youth groups who attended the Youth Project. GWED-G established between 2011 and 2015 ten youth groups with in total 153 male and 97 female participants (NUHRP 2016, p.5), five out of ten groups have been part of the sample. Hence, each youth group has different long experiences as actors in their communities; all youth groups include both sexes. The main objectives were to explore and document youth participation in peacebuilding, and to identify corresponding opportunities and challenges.

4.5.2 NGO Staff

The second study population comprised professionals of NGOs involved in peacebuilding activities. This perspective aimed to capture and compare their perceptions as people who are in positions of power with experiences of the youth. The selected NGOs are the GWED-G and the Agency for Cooperation and Research in Development (ACORD), since both are major organizations engaged in the fields of youth and peacebuilding in the Gulu District.

4.6 Sample Size and Sample Selection Procedures

4.6.1 Youth

The access point for the sample was GWED-G as one of the organisations who established the Youth Project in Gulu District and is still supervising ten youth groups. The chosen sampling is purposive because the units of analyses were selected regarding their relevance to the research questions focusing on participation in peacebuilding with regard to power dimensions. Due to the fact that there are various purposive sampling forms, this research project applied a typical case sampling (Bryman 2012, p.419). Typical case sampling, since the Youth Project pursued the objectives of enhancing "knowledge, understanding and appreciation of human rights and peaceful conflict transformation/sensitivity", "empower youth leaders to promote human rights and become agents of change in their communities", and providing "skills and opportunities for income generating activities to improve the socio-economic status" among others" (Awich Ochen & Luabaale 2016, p.1). The Youth Project used a multi-dimensional approach based on human-rights and embracing social, economical, political, and cultural elements. Hence, the youth groups were exemplifying the dimension of interest, youth experiences in the Gulu District in the context of youth participation in peacebuilding. More specifically, since the youth groups were formed outside of Gulu Municipality, the sample consisted of youth living in the rural sub-counties of Awach, Unyama, and Paicho.

The further selection procedures of the sample were based on the criteria of longest established groups and inclusion of both sexes. The selection of the longest established youth groups referred back to the broader experience horizons of the young people, and to supposedly greater experiences about youth participation in peacebuilding practices. Inclusion of both sexes was viewed as essential because the Acholi society is very patriarchal and traditional in terms of allocating gender roles within the community to each sex (Vorhölter 2014), thus gender was considered as one potential variable influencing the research findings.

Four semi-structured interviews and four FGDs were conducted. The sample was drawn from five out of ten established youth groups. The selection of interviewees' was determined by their position as leading figures of the youth groups. The formed

youth groups are organised in the following hierarchy from top to down: chairman, vice-chairperson, treasurer, secretary, mobiliser and ordinary members.

The study targeted to conduct two interviews and two FGDs per sex. Due to unscheduled absence of some female youth two contemplated FGDs with females could not be undertaken. Furthermore, one mixed FGD with males and females was conducted to reach an adequate number of participants for a FGD; also once male members were missing. In addition, despite the request for the longest established youth groups, half of the interviewed youth groups were just recently established.

4.6.2 NGO Staff

The study included four key informant interviews, two of each NGO: GWED-G and ACORD. The professionals were chosen regarding their position in the context of youth and peacebuilding: executive director, programme managers, and a project officer specifically attached to peacebuilding programmes.

4.7 Data Collection: Sources and Methods

The data collection for this research used qualitative methods; i.e. semi-structured interviews, and FGDs. It lasted for two weeks and took place in March 2016. Due to the anticipated fact that most youth participants might feel more comfortable to speak in Acholi instead of English, a research assistant from Gulu who speaks Acholi was provided. The data collection tool for the FGDs and interviews are based on the study of Rabé and Kamanzi (2012) examining participation on a local level in Tanzania, and were adjusted for the purpose of this study.

4.7.1 Semi-structured Interviews

This type of interview is often used in confine to structured interviews due to the varying degrees of structure in-between these extremes of qualitative methods. Semi-structured interviews are typically characterized by a series of questions, also often referred to as an interview guide, covering the areas of research interest, but not necessarily following the sequence outlined in the guide (Bryman 2012). This interview form was chosen to obtain a rather complete picture of lived experiences of

young people and explore some issues regarding youth participation in peacebuilding more in-depth.

According to the research questions the qualitative data collection tool of Rabé and Kamanzi (2012) was refined. The interview guide for the youth (appendix 4) and NGO staff (appendix 5) comprised open-ended or semi-open-ended questions to allow a flexible course of interview. Hence, it gives space to ask follow-up questions and to cope with the respondent's personal experience. The semi-structured interviews were conducted with four youth in leading positions of their groups and four professionals from NGOs; all of the respondents gave their consent for recording.

- *Youth*

The study included two interviews with male respondents and two interviews with female respondents in leading positions of the youth groups (table 1). Three interviews were conducted in Acholi with help of a research assistant, and one interview (male/Unyama) was held completely in English. All of the sessions were neither interrupted, nor disturbed by external influences, and lasted 45 to 65 minutes.

Table 1: Characteristics of interviews with youth in leading positions

Position in youth group	**Sex**	**Age**	**Parish of residence**	**Sub-county of residence**	**Youth group established**	**Place of interview**	**Duration of interview (minutes)**
Secretary	F	23	Gweng-diya	Awach	2011	Quiet market place	53
Chairperson	M	30	Gweng-diya	Awach	2011	Quiet market place	65
Secretary	F	20	Pakwelo	Unyama	2015	Private house	60
Chairperson	M	20	Unyama	Unyama	2015	Private house	47

- *NGO Staff*

The four semi-structured interviews conducted with professionals of the NGOs were held entirely in English and lasted between 50 and 95 minutes. The interview guide

consisted of the same set of questions as the interview guide for the youth, even though most of them have been adapted in the way that it asks for topics concerning the youth. The quotations of the NGO professionals will be reported throughout the paper marked as *R1, R2, R3* and *R4.*

4.7.2 Focus Group Discussions

FGDs as a qualitative method of data collection is designated by several participants who have a particular knowledge and/or experience, and discuss a specific topic so that they collectively construct meaning around it (Bryman, 2012).

The interview guide for the FGDs also comprised mainly open-ended question or semi-open-ended questions to leave space for the youth to articulate their views on the topic of participation in peacebuilding (see appendix 6). The four FGDs were solely conducted with youth, except one FGD which was not separated by sex; the FGDs lasted between 60 and 100 minutes (table 2).

Table 2: Characteristics of FGDs conducted among youth

FGD	**Sex**	**Size**	**Age (Ø)**	**Parish of residence**	**Sub-county of residence**	**Youth group established**	**Place of FGD**	**Duration of FGD (minutes)**
1	F	6	23.5	Gweng-diya	Awach	2011	Quiet market place	62
2	M	6	26.2	Gweng-diya	Awach	2011	Quiet market place	80
3	Mixed	5	21.6	Unyama	Unyama	2015	Private house	96
4	M	6	26	Kal-Ali	Paicho	2014	Sub-County headquarter	97
Total/average		**23**	**24.3**					

1. The FGD with female youth from Gweng-diya in Awach sub-county was completely conducted and translated in Acholi. The 6th person of the FGD joined 6 minutes later, though it was still possible to integrate her in the discussion; informed consent was given by reading and signing the form in Acholi. From the time the

session started there has been no interruption and the setting has been natural (mango tree shades).

2. The second FGD was held with male youth from Gweng-diya in Awach sub-county in the same environmental setting. The discussion was also completely conducted and translated in Acholi. The issue of speaking English instead of Acholi was never raised by the participants, neither somebody responded in English. Towards the end of the session sudden heavy rain interrupted the discussion, so after a break of circa 15 minutes the session continued.

3. This FGD in Unyama sub-county encompassed three female and two male youth, since due to missing participants it was not possible to conduct two FGDs with separate sexes. The session was conducted in an empty building shell which was owned by a relative of the youth leader. One of the participants responded sometimes in English, sometimes in Acholi. However, the rest of the participants spoke constantly Acholi. The session included a break of 12 minutes, because the two male youth asked for it.

4. The fourth FGD took place in a community hall of the Paicho sub-county headquarter. The session was not interrupted by any disturbances and completely conducted and translated from English to Acholi, respectively the reverse way.

All participants in the FGDs have been aged between 20 and 29, excluding three outliers aged 15, 17 and 33 years. This means that the vast majority of 20 participants were born between 1987 and 1996, and hence their childhood and adolescence has been heavily affected by the civil war from 1986 onwards as well as by the ongoing displacement of Acholi people from 1996 into camps. Consequently, they grew up in wartimes and during displacement, or even exclusively in the camps.

4.8 Quality Control

Rubin and Babbie (2014) stated that cross-cultural research requires culturally competent measurements. In regard to the research assistant they underlined three key factors of cultural competence in collecting data: same ethnicity as the target

population, ability to speak the same language, and previous adequate experience or training in working with the sample population (ibid., p.137/138). All those key factors were fulfilled by the research assistant who is member of the ethnical group of Acholi, grew up in Gulu and hence has a similar understanding of the conflict as well as the consequences. Moreover, his mother tongue is Acholi, he is holder of a Master degree and has extensive experience as a research assistant across the Acholi sub-region working with the target population. However, the fulfilment of the three key factors of cultural competent measurements in terms of a research assistant did not necessarily give guarantees, but enhanced the degree of cultural competent data collection process.

Before the researcher's arrival in Gulu, the research assistant was forwarded the synopsis of the study, the interview guides for the interviews/FGDs and the informed consent form in English. Consequently, the research assistant had a sufficient amount of time to get familiar with the study, translate the informed consent from English to Acholi and to reflect in advance on possible translation problems and ambiguities. At the first meeting between the research assistant and the researcher the study framework was talked through and issues were clarified. While in the field, the Acholi translation of the informed consent was reviewed and accuracy affirmed by one of the dissertation's supervisors of Makerere University whose mother tongue is Acholi.

4.9 Data Processing and Analysis

The research assistant transcribed the interviews and FGDs from Acholi to English verbatim, though he was responsible for seeing that the English transcription was comprehensible. After the transcription process, he was still available for follow-up questions in case of unintelligibility. The collected data was examined applying a thematic analysis, so that patterns in form of themes across the data set guided by the study objectives were highlighted. According to Bryman (2012, p.578), thematic analysis "is not an approach to analysis that has an identifiable heritage or that has been outlined in terms of a distinctive cluster of techniques". However, for this analysis an approach of Braun and Clarke (2006) was applied. It embraces six steps, though Braun and Clarke underline the recursivity of the analysis process:

familiarisation with the data, coding, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and finally writing up. As a qualitative study, the transcription and preliminary coding of interviews conducted in English started while being in the field to cope with the later immense volume of data. Furthermore, the researcher was looking for themes which relate to the study focus, builds on codes identified in transcripts and creates a ground for theoretical understanding of the data, as well as their theoretical contribution to the reviewed literature (Bryman 2012, p.580). This process of analysis was exercised through colour-coding and separate files of themes which were continuously reviewed and refined.

4.10 Ethical Issues

Conflict "heightens and amplifies the ethical challenges faced by all researchers" (Goodhand 2000, p.15). Hence, ethical issues in conflict and post-conflict areas are more complex, difficult and even more decisive than in non-conflict settings. Due to the fact that young people in post-conflict societies and settings are one of the most vulnerable groups, research ethics had to be thoroughly considered. The research proposal and concept was presented to a Social Work Departmental Academic and Research board and was ethically approved. In addition, a Research Assistant Confidentiality Agreement was signed (see appendix 7) to ensure also the confidentiality of the research assistant towards the study.

The research followed the ethical framework as suggested by Diener and Crandall (Diener and Crandall, quoted in Bryman 2012, p.135): no harm to participants, voluntary participation and informed consent, no invasion of privacy and no deception.

In the beginning of every interview or FGD, the researcher introduced himself and informed the participants about the purpose of the project, as well as their right whether they will participate in the study, even after the interview/FGD has been conducted. Furthermore, anonymity and confidentiality of the given information with respect to recordings and data was ensured, and it was pointed out that the data will be destroyed after finalizing the project. Given information by the participants will be

solely used for this study. Finally, the significance of participation was articulated and voluntary participation was underscored, especially with regard to potential withdraw of participation at any point during the process. After this introduction, which was also translated into Acholi in bilingual sessions, informed consent forms for participation and use of data were handed out to the respondents. With respect to possible language barriers, the informed consent was available in English (see appendix 8) and in Acholi (see appendix 9). The bilingual oral introduction and written informed consent was necessary to obtain truly informed consent due to interruption or even absence of school education during the civil war or displacement. If there have not been further questions, the interview/FGD started. In the end of each interview/FGD all participants were consciously given the space to comment and/or ask something to conclude the session. Given the ethical Acholi context, corresponding with own social, religious and cultural practices, the researcher considered separate FGDs (for female and male youth) from the very beginning. Despite of this, the researcher decided to conduct one FGD with mixed sexes due to missing participants and the promising previous FGDs.

Furthermore, although the youth has chosen the places of interview and FGD conduction, all participants had to come from scattered villages across the specific sub-county in Gulu District. Therefore, it was considered adequate to provide a transportation reimbursement of 5.000 UGX which equals 1,29 € (source: OANDA.com/March 2016), and offer some biscuits and refreshments. The selection of the places for gathering were left to the youth to be sensitive regarding their needs and resources, as well as the study was based on the principle of least possible harm to gather in places where they feel comfortable, safe, and are familiar with. It is also important to point out the detail that the researcher bought the majority of the biscuits and refreshments in the villages to support and give something back to the communities within the framework of good ethical research.

4.11 Circumstances and Limitations of the Study

4.11.1 General Limitations

A given limitation of this study due to its nature as a Master dissertation is the short time span from the researcher's arrival in Uganda end of January 2016 till the submission of the thesis in mid-May. Consequently, the time to collect data was also limited and didn't allow spending a discretionary amount of time in the field.

Moreover, it was the first time the researcher resided in Uganda. Hence, one challenge was to become familiar with the social, cultural and political environment, especially of the northern Acholi sub-region distinguished by own cultural practices and social structures. This familiarisation was of particular significance since from February onwards the societal climate was characterized by political tensions due to the elections period, starting with the National and Parliament elections on 18th of February followed up by further elections (e.g. the district chairpersons, Kampala mayor, municipality chairpersons) till the 10th of March.

4.11.2 Methodology

Another limitation of the study is the selection procedure of the youth sample, which was also based on the age range according to the youth project of the NUHRP, selected by applying purposive sampling, instead of a snowballing approach. A snowballing approach would have allowed to examine young people who have not been part of past trainings. However, this access point enabled the researcher to specifically point out opportunities and challenges of youth actively seeking for a peaceful coexistence in their communities through their engagement in peacebuilding activities.

4.11.3 Election Period

The already mentioned election period coincided with the time of data collection in Gulu District, thus it impacted the research in two ways. Firstly, the researcher noted that due to the significance of recent campaigning of different candidates the participants were sensitized towards politization of youth in the context of peacebuilding. Secondly, a meeting with two youth groups were arranged on the 8th of

March the same day sub-county elections in Unyama took place. The researcher and the contact organisation GWED-G have been aware of this, though it was not seen as a problem to conduct interviews and FGDs since the polling stations were open the whole day and the sessions would just take a maximum of 90 minutes. However, with regard to the study topic of youth participation in peacebuilding the researcher second-guessed that either way this day was not appropriate for data collection, especially in the face of political participation as one approach to youth participation in peacebuilding. More decisive, the number of participants for FGDs with separate sex could not be reached, not caused by voting instead most of the missing participants have been polling agents to guard the vote. This was also the background for the researcher's decision to have a FGD including both sexes, as well as it reasoned the break in the session as two participants were polling agents to the nearby polling station. In other words, youth was hired by different parties to control a specific polling station if the voting and counting was correctly carried out; i.e. the polling stations are mostly in open spaces for example under a tree and therefore can be controlled by plain attendance. The concept of 'guarding the vote' was not yet known to the researcher.

4.11.4 Study Population

While the limitations concerning the NGO staff were relatively low, the challenges to conduct interviews with knowledgeable representatives of the Gulu authorities to triangulate the data were essentially higher. Despite two arranged appointments with representatives of the Gulu authorities, one person has not been in office as formerly agreed, neither has he been reachable by phone, even though he knew about the researcher's departure to Kampala on the next day. The second person was very ambitious and arranged a short-term appointment, though due to other duties she could not keep the appointment, and the interview was postponed; she agreed to have an interview by telephone instead. The appointment of the phone interview was once more shifted due to other commitments. However, the telephone interview took place, but had to drop out from analysis since the recording was incomplete, as the interview was among other interruptions continuously disturbed by people entering her office. It is also essential to mention that the researcher started his two weeks data collection in Gulu District with his primary study population the youth, followed up by interviews

with NGO staff, and finally tried to conduct interviews with representatives of the Gulu authorities. For this reason the time reserved for interview conduction with representatives of the Gulu authorities has been apparently too short, a more comprehensive amount of time needs to be considered for future planning of field research respectively setting up appointments. However, it is an essential limitation of this study that representatives of the authorities could not contribute their perspectives on youth participation in peacebuilding.

4.11.5 Language Barrier

As already asserted in the section data collection (4.6), seven out of eight interviews/FGDs with youth were translated by the research assistant, thus he played a decisive role in capturing youth's experiences in peacebuilding and letting them speak. Since he speaks the same language as the respondents, is a part of the same ethnical group of Acholi people, and has previous experience in working with members of the target population, the research assistant mitigated the language barrier as much as possible. Moreover, as the researcher had the impression that most of the people in the visited rural areas of Gulu District had understandably limited command of English, he facilitated the entire research process in the field.

However, using a research assistant is always interlocked with the risk of inaccurate translation of the questions as well as the participant's responses. Hence, this may influence the detailedness of analysis, the corresponding findings, and has to be considered a limitation. The fact of verbatim transcription by the research assistant can also be seen as a limitation since it may entail linguistic issues how to translate unique Acholi terms and concepts into English. Finally, the researcher noted in particular in the FGDs that, as in every work of translation and interpretation, the flow of discussion and interaction was naturally disturbed due to the interruption of translating.

Chapter 5: Findings & Analysis

5.1 Introduction

The findings in form of emerged themes across the data are presented aligned the theoretical framework of the 'power cube'; i.e. spaces for participation, levels of decision-making, and forms of power. Furthermore, the analysis embraces sections for youth and NGO staff most essential challenges as well as opportunities for youth participation in peacebuilding, an application of a gender lens, and a section regarding young people's 'expressions of power'. As a preliminary step in contextualising the study objectives, the researcher investigated young people's perceptions of peacebuilding.

5.2 Peacebuilding in Gulu District: Youth Voices

The youth's comprehension of peacebuilding is on the one hand described by their notion of peace state. Peace for them is based on the freedom to express oneself, or in other words the absence of oppression:

> In short I want to say that peace is a situation where there is no physical violence, like they absence of things which can do harm to someone (P1, male FGD, Paicho).
>
> Being free do anything without being oppressed by anyone, in other words peace is freedom to do what you want to do (P3, male FGD, Awach).
>
> When we talk of peace, peace first of all it's a state of being free, able to do whatever you want to do, like freedom of expression, like expressing yourself freely in whatever level you want to be (P3 - female, mixed FGD, Unyama).

On the other hand, peacebuilding is rather understood as an activity which unfolds peace and helps to sustain it. These activities are illustrated by the creation of people's unity, to prevent the interference of this unity, and to prevent the interference of the above mentioned freedom of expression:

> What I think of peacebuilding is bringing people together (female, interview, Unyama).
>
> Peace begins from a household and when you have peace you have to relate well with your family before you move out of your household so it has to begin in each and every family (P2, male FGD, Paicho).
>
> What we understand by the word peacebuilding is unity whereby if your colleague engages in violence then you go and give advice for peace to prevail (P1, female FGD, Awach).
>
> Peacebuilding is like when you are in the community you have to make sure that each and every member should have freedom of speech, who ever want to access anything that cannot interfere with anybody's peace that is possible, anyone can do anything on his or her own that cannot interfere with anyone's peace in the community and you can also bring in some other things that can cause development in the community (male, interview, Unyama).

Moreover, peacebuilding for youth is also connected to economic empowerment and livelihood to generate sustainable peace:

> As youth coming together and doing activities which economically empowers the youth, I believe this is what brings peace in the society (P3 - female, mixed FGD, Unyama).
>
> The way I see peace is when people in the community know the laws and their rights and people also have what to do good things in terms of livelihood which leads to production and people are equipped with livelihood skills (P1, male FGD, Awach).
>
> People are free to work, there are no gun shots, there is no war, people are able to eat well, youth are employed, people are able to think the way they want. Exactly that is what I think of, what comes into my mind talking when we talk of peacebuilding … even having that kind of … people are economically empowered (male, interview, Awach).

In sum, peacebuilding has several interpretations for the youth, but is always framed by the following themes: unity of the community, freedom to express oneself, and livelihood generation.

5.3 Spaces for Participation

5.3.1 Invited Spaces

These spaces represent opportunities for change. They can be offered by various kinds of bodies like government and local authorities, civil society or supranational organisations, providing the space for participation in institutionalised forums for consultation, but also in form of temporary one-off forms; such as programmes or projects (Gaventa 2006). During the analysis of this section it became apparent that youth and NGO staff have significant differences regarding the awareness of invited spaces for participation.

The youth described mainly opportunities given by civil society organisations and groups, mostly in terms of the NGO which gave them the past trainings and support as part of the finished Youth Project, in particular the introduced VSLA. The other invitations to participate were mostly concerned with performing drama about conflict-issues and the consequences, one of the youth's main peacebuilding activities. Solely once youth referred to participation in a programme of a supranational organisation:

> Yes we have been invited like last year in the month of October, ACORD invited our group in Paibona parish, even GWED-G invited our group in Palema for a workshop where several members of other youth groups where also invited, five people per sub-county from all over Gulu District (P1, male FGD, Awach).
>
> I think we are have been invited I can remember we have always been invited by GWED-G to perform our drama in the community (P4 - female, mixed FGD, Unyama).
>
> World education is a NGO which has programme targeting youth who have dropped out of school, and I was a mentor the youth who are in their programme. I was told to guide them on issues of how to relate, and since I have also vocational skills I was also to instruct them on technical skills, and I know members of this group will be called soon to join this programme (P2, male FGD, Paicho).

In addition, two youth identified different governmental invitations in the context of participation in political bodies, such as sub-county meetings, annual meetings with the community development officer, youth leagues or other meetings for exchange organised by the political youth leadership. None of the other youth perceived these

invites to political forums. One youth displayed the situation as depending on from which administrational level it comes; the lower the level, the higher the chance of being invited:

> In most cases at the local level there down, at the village level, parish level, youth are taken seriously in most of the sittings and meetings usually youth are invited, at the sub-county level here also sometimes youth are invited, but looking at the district level in most of the cases we youth are not invited and so its usually the sub-county and grass root level, but at that upper level we are missing out (P2, male FGD, Paicho).

Besides the political realm, some youth define other governmental forums for participation, annual events organised by sub-county authorities in form of the International Youth Day or the International Women's Day, as well as sporadic noting of the Village Health Team and the Youth Livelihood Fund. The Village Health Team is a government structure which gives medical and first aid knowledge and medicaments to people who spread in the community, this is particularly important since health facilities are hard to access in rural areas of Gulu District (Gulu District Local Government 2013).

Moreover, one youth participant described several invitations by a vocational school where they went individually or as a group to sensitise their peer group on issues of peace:

> We have had several invitations, we were either invited individually or as a group for instance here in Paicho vocational school. We were invited as a group, and we went and taught the students there. There are several people of different age categories who are studying in that school, some are old people but most of them are youth, so we went and sensitized them on issues of peace (P2, male FGD, Paicho).

The invitations can be interpreted as an involvement in HRE, because the youth raised awareness and generated understanding for peace issues which are inevitably linked with human rights (Holland & Martin 2014). Across the youth data set, the defined invited spaces for participation, besides the frequently underlined NGO offers, were relatively little and sporadic with regard to governmental programmes and forums. An institutionalised structure of involving youth in decision-making processes was not visible.

On the contrary, the NGO staff explained the existence and at the same time limitations of several governmental programmes which were designed to reach youth; i.e. the Youth Livelihood Programme (YLP) and the Youth Venture Capital Fund (YVCF). Some NGO staff criticises both programmes for their bureaucracy to access and particularly the requirements which cannot be met by Northern Uganda rural youth, because young people have to present collateral, proof a specific level of education, or the entire programme is exercised in English, not in the local language:

> I would say now government has brought in the Youth Livelihood Fund which is still having, strenghten you know ... for youth to access there is a lot that is required. You must be able to present some kind of collateral, you must be able to be at some level of education, and be able to access that, but also you should have some guarantee around. Now that makes it impossible for our rural youth who have not gone to school completely, were not empowered before, and are still have nothing to attach to start borrowing of funding (R4).

> Unfortunately there was a lot of bureaucracy attached to that fund [YVCF], there were lots of requirements attached to that fund that left out majority of the youth to benefit. Knowing the context of Northern Uganda, maybe youth didn't go to school, and yet maybe ... it's a requirement […] or maybe you should have at least a security, or maybe land to present so you are able to access (R2).

In comparison to the selection criteria of the YLP it became apparent that rural youth has difficulties to access on their own. The YLP among other requirements solely gives funds to youth groups who are acknowledged by the authorities and set up enterprise which succeed a viability assessment including a production, marketing, profitability and sustainability analysis, and can show a valid land agreement where the proposed project will be conducted. Local governments are responsible to form groups and facilitate the process (GoU 2016). If this was done in a proper manner was not yet evaluated, neither assessed by NGO staff. Just two out of the whole youth sample mentioned that they are aware of the YLP; one also criticised the many requirements, the other one confirmed that a lot of youth groups has been formed. However, the selection criteria are very challenging and impossible for the examined rural Acholi youth since land is required and still one of the major conflict issues in the area (UNPF 2012). For this reason the requirements make it impossible to participate in such an economic approach to peacebuilding. Moreover, most youth

have no prior business skills to set up a business plan. One NGO professional described the application process accompanied by their support as very demanding:

> This is how you can fit within the system, this how you can budget, this is how you can write your proposal. We picked the form, we took it to them, we photocopied the first pile that one, then we copied to the other one. We constituted for them a group with a constitution, we brought it, and we managed to support those groups. At least four to five groups managed to get the funding (R4).

In contrast to the YLP, the YVCF requirements seem to be much lower. However, youth across the country perceive the requirements as too stringent to be fulfilled by young people (AAU, DRT & UNNGOF 2011). The highest hurdles here consist of the already existing business which has to be in operation for least for three months, and that at least two community members with good reputation have to be provided as guarantors. Nevertheless, a mixed method research comprising a survey of youth entrepreneurs (both youth fund beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries), and stakeholder consultations, evaluated the impacts of the programme and found out that even in contrast to the official selection criteria by the State, "bank officials in more remote areas insist on securities in form of land titles, houses and other assets" (Ahaibwe & Kasirye 2015, p.12). In addition, "the rural youth are largely engaged in agricultural activities that are less likely to be funded under the youth venture fund" (ibid., p.14); also the distance to next bank branches in rural areas plays an undermining role. These limitations touch again upon requirements for youth which are challenging to comply in the rural areas of the sample; i.e. land titles, assets, and the absence of other businesses as agriculture (Gulu District Local Government 2013). Since legal land property ownership is not common in Gulu District (Cotula 2007; Gulu District Local Government 2013), and land-related conflict is one of the key conflict drivers (UNPF 2012), the ownership of land is almost impossible to proof. Hence, the youth are excluded to use the YVCF as an opportunity for economic empowerment. Moreover, the study displayed that 95% of the control group across the country at least knew about the programme, though just 62% were informed about the access procedures (Ahaibwe & Kasirye 2015, p.12). This cannot be confirmed with regard to the youth sample where nobody showed awareness of the YVCF. Consequently, the information about the programme and possible access procedures did not reach the youth in the sub-counties of Awach, Unyama and Paicho. As a result, the invited spaces in form of

the government programmes YLP and YVCF targeting youth across the country can be described as rather ineffective to reach the rural youth sample since they had almost no information about it, as well as they probably would not be able to meet the selection criteria of the programmes.

Another area of invited spaces for youth defined by the NGO staff and provided by the authorities is the political participation in the Sub-County Council, Youth Council and District Council, as well as National Parliament. Although the extent of this representation will be later discussed in the section *visible power* (5.5.1), the impact of youth participation in the Sub-County Council was described by one NGO professional with several examples; e.g. passing on information about limited health centre services, or risky road conditions. It explicates youth participation and corresponding contributions in political forums:

> […] the youth also identified one particular area where a health care centre was denying women to access, or patients from accessing treatment beyond the time limit, like from 4 p.m. they are already closed. So at one time the woman came, and she wanted to access and […] to services, because she was due for giving birth. So the guard refused her to enter the gate, unfortunately she lost her pregnany. So this got to the youth, and they had again to […] another meeting and brought in the leaders, so they can wave off the restriction, time restriction put by the health centre authorities. That also yielded fruit, because right now the hospital, the health centre are working in two shifts (R3).

> So, in that same respect three of the youth groups, because they didn't understand the criteria of selection for beneficiaries, brought the sub-county authorities together and questioned the criteria they were using to select the beneficiaries for the youth livelihood fund. After that meeting, of course, things they need to change and three of the youth groups benefitted from that (R3).

The last example is specifically interesting since it describes youth who had information about the YLP, but could not comprehend the selection criteria, thus they initiated a sub-county meeting and questioned the criteria itself. However, also here just two youth from the youth sample perceived political decision-making forums as the Sub-County Council as an invited space.

Moreover, the last of the NGO professionals extensively discussed a governmental framework concerning youth participation in peacebuilding, the Peace, Recovery and Development Plan for Northern Uganda (PRDP). The PRDP started in 2007 and is

still active in its third phase. It is a comprehensive framework evolved to guide efforts to consolidate peace, lay the foundation for recovery and development to catch up with the other regions (GoU 2011). One staff comprehends this framework as important, because it engages them to contribute positively to peace:

> We had the PRDP which is of course a framework, but it's also a guide that also involved a lot of youth participation. So kind of it's engaging of the youth to keep them contributing positively, to keep them positively engaged instead of engaging themselves in bad actions, that would of course, disorganize or destabilize the region (R2).

On the contrary, the rest of the professionals have an in trend negative perception towards the results of PRDP 1 and PRDP 2 in the context of social empowerment and peacebuilding. They describe it as a framework missing out social issues and recovery guidance, and even the just quoted person asserts that it has been sparsely budgeted in terms of peacebuilding efforts:

> If you read it on paper, yes like the PRDP, you went and read, you see that they captures most of the issues, and they want to act upon those issues. But in terms of actions, I think there has been a lot of concentration on, on, they call it what, infrastructure, yeah. Infrastructure development, building roads, building schools, build ... yes, there are good things what we also want. The other social bit, even the peace, the peacebuilding that pillar on the PRDP, it is missed a lot (R1).

> There is a whole, how do you call it principle, it's a second or the third principle that takes about accountability and something like peacebuilding, but you go to the budgeting there is not so much allocation to ensure that people come out (R2).

> PRDP 1 and 2 was basically hardware, was nothing trickling down to the real beneficiaries (R4).

These statements are also reassured by a mixed method study examining nine regions affected by the war and included in the PRDP. The "national development statistics correlate with the findings of this report; incomes are meagre, and those who can afford to sustain their households are few and not increasing at a pace that demonstrates a 'catching up effect' for the PRDP implementing areas" (International Alert 2015, p.113). In addition, they asserted that at the time the PRDP funds were coming to the districts, a cut back in the regular district budget was noticed (ibid.). This might explain why nobody of the youth defined the PRDP or linked measures as invited spaces, not even mentioned it at all.

The NGO staff also introduced several of programmes and interventions as invited spaces for youth. Since civil society has different programmes this section gives an overview of examples with regard to the involved NGO professionals. Youth for instance was invited to the following: trainings and support in the context of the long-lasting Youth project which served as the access point for the youth sample; organised youth camps to keep informed about local youth issues; provision of furnished youth centres as platforms for exchange. Furthermore, they stated three big initiatives. Firstly, the creation of 110 youth groups and implementation of VSLAs, so that approximately 5500 youth are continuously participating in income-generating activities. According to the professionals this project produced great impact:

> Now the VSLA groups allow the youth to practice leadership, self-esteem, you know, how they can voice themselves, but in peaceful environment, forgiveness, reconciliations (R4).

One youth group became even a role model group. They expanded their businesses year by year, and hence were able to increase their annual production of crops through mechanising of ploughing land, created a small side business (they bought four motorcycles to let them to others), and even employed other youth. Consequently, this illustrates economic empowerment as opening up educational possibilities for their children and leading to new educational opportunities for them. In addition, it also resulted in own chosen participation as elected parts of political decision-making bodies and finally in recognition by their families:

> It is you, you know, and you could see now those groups and their families are proud of theses youth. It's not as ... because they are sending some of them back to school, to skill themselves in whatever they wanted and they are still part of the group, you know (R4).

> Seven of the youth leaders within the youth groups on VSLA has contested into the local position and were elected, you know. In their own consequence, because they were able to voice themselves, they were able to articulate issues (R4).

The NGO professional involved asserted that this economic empowerment created even more space for further knowledge transfer of peacebuilding aspects, since the youth group sees own opportunities to overcome problems:

> But these once are now intrusted in listening to some of these things, because they know there certain of their problems, they have money somewhere, the have opportunities somewhere that can be linked (R4).

Such an example illustrates Lopes Cardozo et al. (2015) conclusion of the inter-connected nature of the economic, social and political dimension of youth participation in peacebuilding. In other words, economic empowerment rooted in the impact of a VSLA intervention established in this case the base to follow up with other realms of youth participation. The possible impact of VSLA groups is also recognised by several scholars, since VSLAs open up new financial perspectives and can empower people in processes of decision-making and social participation (Wakoko 2003; Lowicka-Zucca et al. 2014; Ksoll et al. 2016).

Secondly, one NGO implemented so-called 'Peace Teams' or 'Peace Committees' in different communities. These embrace circa 30 people of one community including youth, women, elders, local leaders, religious leaders, and the chairperson LC 3 of the sub-county. The idea is rooted in an overarching local decision-making forum to respond within the community to various issues. Such an approach views youth as partners (Amman Youth Declaration on Youth, Peace and Security 2015), and grounds in an 'everyday'-peacebuilding concerning the entire community (Roberts 2011). The professional engaged in this project even described the youth as role models within the teams. Moreover, the professionals underlined seeing youth as people looking for spaces to participate; if this is given the youth will contribute to a peaceful society:

> So we enforced, we just provided that space for them to be there, and empowered them. And we have seen them doing very great things. They have taken the lead. So once they are given that space, then they will what? They will come and participate (R1).

> We believed in that collective energy and strength that youth has, and we know that if they focus what they want, they will do it (R4).

Such a perspective overcomes the criticised dichotomy of youth as victims or perpetrators (McEvoy-Levy 2006; Sommers 2006; Del Felice & Wisler 2007; Drummond-Mundal & Cave 2007), and sketches spaces for youth participation as an imperative to pacify communities, in particular since those forums enhance the intergenerational dialogue as demanded by the UN Guiding Principles on Young

People's Participation in Peacebuilding (UN-IANYD 2014), and include the traditionally marginalised youth and women of Acholi society.

Finally, one NGO invited youth for a training to act afterwards as election observers during the national elections period. Youth did not only observe the elections at the tally centres, they also generated a report which was given to the organising NGO and forwarded to inform the civil society network. According to the professional involved, it gave youth a different opportunity to understand and participate in the election process, thus led to transparency and targeted community peace, instead of rioting based on rumours:

> When you hear a rumour spreading, oh so and so, you are the one who won, but has lost then that is how they are going to begin rioting, really a lot of bad things that can bring also a lot of insecurity issues. Then they get caught up in breaking the law and all that. So we wanted to avoid that by making them to be part of the process, observe and see exactly what? Transparency (R1).

> And I think at least you noted here, unlike other places where youth are rioting, they are discontented. Unless here people are a bit stable, because a few of them have been there at the forefront, they have seen what exactly has happened (R1).

Instead of exercising violence caused by missing opportunities to participate in the political sphere (McEvoy-Levy 2001; Hilker & Fraser 2009), youth was encouraged to observe and report the election process, thus contributed through their participation to transparency and used the offered space for the common good.

Moreover, another invited space was displayed by one NGO professional; the participation of youth in cultural Acholi rituals exemplified by ceremonial cleansing:

> Yeah, that is spearheaded by the community chief, but of course the youth is having an active role in mobilization of people, as well as a contribution to make in terms of ... contribution of materials for the items, for the cleansing. As well as, also ensuring that after the cleansing ceremony they come up with, maybe an action plan to follow up and the people, the people ... also to conduct counselling or psycho-social support for those people who have gone mad. Some, those are some of the roles (R3).

This participation in cultural rituals can also be interpreted as a space for action, but this space is limited to the cultural hierarchy and societal expectations as Fincham et al. (2013) are stating, in this case with respect to the patriarchal Acholi communities.

There have been, and still are a lot of programmes and interventions by government and local authorities, as well as by CSOs, but one of the NGO professionals concludes that the majority of youth still needs help and interventions which have to be accessible and meet the individual youth needs:

> For me the fact that, there is a branding name of some opportunity in the name of youth, and yet on other hand accessibility really completely is a problem. As, still does not give majority youth, you know, support. I know there is some youth has really benefitted from civil society, from probably government support, but it's still not enough (R4).

In conclusion, the youth has a significantly low awareness of invited spaces for youth participation in peacebuilding. Whereas the NGO staff seems to have a fuller picture of youth's opportunities as well as the corresponding limitations regarding government programmes, youth are not informed and hence is missing out opportunities to participate. Moreover, it became apparent that governmental programmes like YLP and YVCF trying to target young people do not necessarily reach them with regard to the youth sample. Youth mostly do not know about these possibilities for economic empowerment and would be challenged complying the access requirements, in particular regarding proof of land titles. Moreover, the overview of invited spaces exemplified by two civil society organisations showed that the approaches are much more individualised towards meeting youth's needs and involve them in political and economical activities. However, the youth neither explicated the illustrated spaces by them, except the training and support connected to the past Youth Project.

5.3.2 Closed Spaces

These kinds of spaces illustrate challenges for youth participation. Closed spaces can be considered off-limits for participation, because decisions are made without consultations of public behind closed doors (Gaventa 2006). While youth indicated rarely space for political participation as invited spaces, some youth perceived the political realm as a rather closed space. They describe the leadership of the district and mainly the sub-county authorities as not concerned about young people, so youth are not invited to attend decision-making forums such as the sub-county meetings, or are informed about governmental programmes and interventions for youth. Similarly, also one NGO professional confirms it:

> During Sub-County Council meetings youth are not usually invited for those meetings, yet there are a lot of issues which are discussed in the meeting which affects the youth and youth are never heard during those meeting. We only hear that the council meeting has been done without inviting us (female, interview, Unyama).

> Basically what I can say because in the sub-county here things to do with that thing [peacebuilding], they normally in fact they neglect youth any programme that is coming up they do not consider youth too much as the way I have seen, they do not consider youth too much (male, interview, Unyama).

> And then we ask ourselves, when you go to sub-county meetings, there is a lot of space always. Nobody proposes them. The youth don't even join the sub-county meeting, then they don't know what the sub-county is planning for them (R4).

> In most cases you find that there are certain issues that the youth ought to be invited because some programmes specifically targets youth but you will also find that we are not invited, the only thing you hear is that these people have been there and they will try to tell you something like the youth have not contributed (P5, male FGD, Paicho).

One of them elaborates further on the sub-county meetings where according to her youth consciously are not invited since the sub-county leadership anticipates problems with inviting the young people. This absence of information has been a big issue in her sub-county regarding the YLP:

> The youth here in Unyama sub-county they did not know anything going on, until there was a time that they invited certain people to go to Gulu town, they went there and they explained to them about the Youth Livelihood Fund […]. And they started inquiring from the sub-county leadership why they didn't tell them of that programme and it was a big issue here, so they would love to have those scenarios that there are a lot of information that they are hiding away and bring the youth into those meeting the youth will get to know about them and cause problems to them, so they do not want the youth to know some of the things (female, interview, Unyama).

Such exclusion processes from political bodies like the Sub-County Council demonstrate an overseeing of the young people's potential to constructively engage in the political realm (McEvoy-Levy 2006; Helsing et al. 2006). Moreover, a research study of International Alert (2013a) which examined youth participation in government programmes reassures the youth's experiences of limited participation out

of a programme perspective. The study analysed the participation in the Northern Uganda Social Action Fund (NUSAF), Skilling Uganda Programme, YVCF, and the National Agriculture Advisory Services (NAADS); unlike the others the latter is not specifically designed for youth. Their findings reveal that youth participation is limited. This conforms to the youth's experiences of lacking information about governmental programmes, therefore limited participation. In contrast, many authors demand the participation of youth in designing and implementation processes, since these programmes target youth, and hence should be grounded in youth realities (Drummond-Mundal & Cave 2007; Gervais et al. 2009; Becker 2012). For this reason the mentioned government programmes are rather viewed as closed spaces instead of opportunities, particularly regarding trickling down information through the authority levels. One NGO professional criticises in this context that the entire methodology of designing and implementing government programmes is supposedly ineffective. She describes it as a top-down approach starting from a national level without involvement of local people. As a result, the District Authorities are supposedly missing the resources to roll out the programmes, and young people are missing opportunities to benefit:

> By the time the programme comes to the district it already has its criteria selection and what is supposed to be done, they are just supposed to roll it out (R4).

> Now the grant and support to roll out programmes is limited, they begin to say: We need logistic, you know. Several times we received records from district, requesting as for fuel, Airtime [credit of mobile phone operator], to roll out an activity which is adopted by government (R4).

> The same thing with ... actually youth had opportunity to benefit from many things, if people were involved in the design of this programme (R4).

Similarly, the study of youth participation in government programmes (International Alert 2013a) criticised those top-down approaches. They highlight that young people's participation in designing and implementation is very low, hence the benefits of these programmes reaching the youth are modest (ibid.). This is also clarified by the fact that none of the examined programmes such as NUSAF, Skilling Uganda Programme, YVCF, and NAADS made use of youth structures such as Youth Councils to let them contribute in decision-making; youth are described as "only

passive participants – mere recipients of the programmes with no control and influence" (ibid., p.49). A similar criticism concerning patterns of top-down is illustrated with the broader PRDP planning. Another conclusion of International Alert (2015, p.113), who monitored the impact of the PRDP in nine regions in a mixed-method study, is that it is "widely believed that management of PRDP implementation should be moved to regional level, with resources sent directly for a more hands-on and responsive strategy." This is reasoned by the asserted lack of community and local ownership, and the significance of conflict-sensitive development planning based on a local perspective (ibid.). These examples underline the criticism of a top-down methodology in government programmes by one NGO professional. Moreover it point outs, even though not indicated by the youth, but referring to the already by NGO staff mentioned problems of programme accessibility (5.3.1 *invited spaces*), design and implementation of these governmental programmes is considered off-limits for youth participation.

Another NGO professional confirms similar experiences of missing out information, but refers to the election of youth members in parliament where youth were not informed about the importance, neither the election process, nor has the majority of youth voted:

> All of a sudden I just heard that youth members of parliament have been elected, even in my district. [---] So that means majority of this youth, they have been left out and they don't know that it is something key that they are supposed to be part of, making that decision who should really go and present us. So no one took time to first come and inform these people that now we are having elections for your representative. So what, first of all, what do you expect your representative to go and do? Nothing (R1).

An interesting insight is also given by one youth who reasoned why the sub-county does not invite youth to their meetings. She describes youth's participation as strongly connected to requesting money, if this money is not given in return for participation they do not attend. Hence, sub-county authorities do not invite them:

> Nobody is particularly preventing the youth from attending the meetings, but as I told you earlier, you know, the youth have shown to people that they are always interested in money. In case they are invited for those forums, so most people organizing for those meeting do not invite them, because they know that once they are invited they will come because they

> will not have some money, so now they do not bother inviting them (female, interview, Awach).

The connection of participation and money points to the very difficult economic situation of young people in Gulu District, and underlines the seeking and the significance of livelihood opportunities as a base for further social participation (Rabé & Kamanzi 2012).

Moreover, one NGO professional stated the Acholi culture as ingrained by leadership of the elders. Consequently, youth are left out in elder forums or cultural meetings. Such experiences were not described by the youth, because such an exclusion did not happen, or more likely youth does not consider this as closed, neither invited space since those meetings are part of the culture and hence may be perceived as not questionable.

In sum, closed spaces for participation in peacebuilding comprise according to the youth mainly sub-county meetings, and in a broader context leadership issues up to the district level. Information in general, and specifically in form of information about the described government programmes do not trickle down to the actual beneficiaries, the youth. These impressions are also shared by some NGO professionals. Moreover, it was explicated that youth has no influence to refine design and implementation of government programmes targeting youth, here illustrated with the NUSAF, YVCF, and the Skilling Uganda Programme. As a result, youth participation is low and impact in form of benefits reaching youth is modest according to the study of International Alert (2013). Finally, a closed space in terms of cultural meetings is also indicated by one professional. It's considered off-limits, because traditional Acholi culture restricts the access of youth since communities are informally led by eldest and local chiefs (Vorhölter 2014).

5.3.3 Claimed/Created Spaces

This section can be seen as opportunities for youth participation in peacebuilding. Claimed/created spaces describe opportunities for action opened up and shaped by the youth themselves (Gaventa 2006). However, for some areas of youth engagement it cannot clearly be distinguished whether it is an invited space or created participation in peacebuilding. Most of these spaces were initiated through the Youth Project, and

hence can be also viewed as invited spaces; i.e. specific training in conflict management, creating awareness through drama, VSLA groups and income-generating skills, and improved collaboration with authorities. The staff of GWED-G was aware of those initiated structures, so it will not be explicitly mentioned in this part of the analysis, except new findings occur. Nevertheless, those spaces were initiated, the shaping and further development was characterized by youth, especially since the past training is depending on the specific youth group years ago. The youth groups are mainly engaged in four areas of peacebuilding; i.e. counselling and mediating inter-personal and community conflicts; sensitising about conflict-drivers through performing drama and concerts; community work; and income-generating activities. Such a focus on everyday practices in youth realities allows greater attention for the opportunities shaping peace efforts (McEvoy-Levy 2006; Roberts 2011).

Firstly, the youth across the sub-counties is actively involved in counselling and mediating conflict issues in their communities. These conflicts concern all parts of Acholi society and are mainly linked to excessive alcohol consumption, land-related issues and violence in general, and more specifically gender-based violence. However, one respondent also stated that particularly returned ex-combatants of the LRA, and issues of trauma due to war experiences as challenges:

> In most cases [of land-conflict] what we do is like we try to bring out the negative aspect we usually do not act like a judge, we do not judge like you "Ojok you are on the wrong", but we try really to bring them together and see away of like making them talk and realize the problem which is causing that (female, interview, Unyama).

> We can contribute by guidance and counselling especially where there is violence, you go them and give in your opinion how people should live, how people have to co-exist with others, so it should be guidance, counselling and giving positive views (P4, male FGD, Paicho).

> What we are doing is counselling and guidance because there are a lot of issues trauma and you know this is a community which has gone through war and a lot of trauma which an issue so usually what we do is counselling and guiding those who are going through terrible things and trying to see who we can support those people especially those who have been ex-combatant and other where child-soldiers and they have seen and done a lot of horrible things there in the bush (P1, male, mixed FGD, Unyama).

The noted conflict-drivers by the youth confirm the existing literature regarding conflict issues in Acholiland (UNPF 2012), and make the need for continuous peacebuilding activities related to these issues visible. Youth engages in counselling and mediating conflicts primarily as a group, but also as individuals; if further support is needed the group will be activated. In doing so two youth reported that they are also challenged by facing physical violence:

> Sometimes we face a lot of insults and abuses and even sometimes they assault you physically, yet you have gone to assist them. It's only after detailed discussion with them that they sometimes accept and listen to you and in those instances we call our colleagues in the group to assist and always this approach has worked for us (P2, female FGD, Awach).

> Yeah, one of the challenges we have met is like, you know, there are many times when you go to mediate in cases where there is conflict, when you reach there, in some places you face physical abuses, and even physically people may assault you, so it's not that easy yet, most of them end up using the advice (P1, male FGD, Paicho).

Secondly, all youth respondents perform drama and concerts to sensitise people regarding the above mentioned conflict-drivers and displays the consequences, in particular where conflict happened:

> The drama performances have to be organized like if today we decide to go to place we can perform a drama on the family whose family members do not consume alcohol and those that consume so that the people are able to compare in between the two families which one they would want to associate, belong to (female, interview, Unyama).

> What we have done is performing drama in the community and even in the market places, in the drama we have been showing peace the benefits of peace and negative effects of violence and conflicts in our community and household (P3, male FGD, Awach).

In addition, one elaborated example of how youth displays the possible consequences of land-conflict exemplified even more the arbitrary law acted out by families and clan structures with corresponding violence as a result. This underlines on the one hand the close and essential family bonds and clan structures in Acholi communities (Vorhölter 2014), and other the other hand the potential of violent actions in the context of land-conflicts (UNPF 2012). At the same time the youth showed up alternatives on how to deal with these situations in terms of using legal structures, or

contact traditional leaders and community elders for mediation. Moreover, the example points out the impact of youth peacebuilding activities through drama; i.e. a reduction of violent land conflict:

> What we have been doing is drama performance on land conflict issues, in the drama we portray what usually happens in case of land-conflict, like for instance if you kill someone while fighting for land, the relatives of the person you killed will attack your clan members and burn down your village. Then the state will arrest you and imprison you or sometimes give you a death penalty that means if you have children your children will be orphans without school fees or means of livelihood. So that way people would see the negative impacts of violent land conflicts and after the drama sessions we would come out with alternative ways of solving land grabbing, for example using the legal structures like the court or police or contacting the traditional chiefs and community elders for advice and mediation and this has led to a reduction of violent land conflicts which involves loss of lives and properties (P2, male FGD, Awach).

Another youth group attained specific attention since they evolved a drama illustrating politicians during the election period, and how they involve the youth in risky behaviour. However, the majority of youth stated that these claimed spaces in shape of awareness creation through mediating various conflicts and performing drama allowed them to have a serious impact by mitigating conflict-drivers and contributing to peace in communities:

> I believe it really has caused change, because there a lot of things that has been happening in the past and they are no longer happening. And also we ourselves, we are happy with all that is happening now because we are seeing success in that area of peace (P5, male FGD, Paicho).

> Other people are completely wasted and some of them are mentally disturbed, they do not understand how life is changing these day, handling them is not easy, but we are not giving up that is why if look at the cases of violent land-conflict, the incidence is reducing and if you visit our prison or police you will find few of those cases these days, not as it used to be (P1, male FGD, Awach).

> People have been listening to us, because violence before we started was too much in our community, men would go and take alcohol and they would go back home fighting their wives but when we started sensitizing community members and household members we saw a reduction in those cases of violence in our community (P1, female FGD, Awach).

Thirdly, the majority of the young people are actively involved in community work. These activities contributing to peace in the community consist of voluntarily cleaning

common locations like water places, health centre facilities or markets, and informing sub-county authorities about broken boreholes or impassable roads:

> We sometimes decide to go and clean the water places and also we do some cleaning at the health centre and we also clean the markets and this we believe also creates peace because people should live in clean environment (P6, male FGD, Awach).

> We had the Youth day that is International Youth Day. It was held at Unyama sub-county, so we though it is wise, we us the youth in Unyama sub-county we have to do something, so we organized people and we went to Pakwelo primary school and slashed the compound that was the thing that we did (male, interview, Unyama).

Another example of created spaces and the corresponding appreciation is presented by youth who were not invited by sub-county authorities to the International Youth Day celebrations, but were later informed about it by a CSO. The specific youth perceived this as a challenge to show the authorities that they are active and important, thus they cleaned the venue and pitched up tents in the morning of the feast:

> […] so what we did to show to them that we also received an invitation was like we organized ourselves, went and cleaned the venue for the celebration. And the next morning we got up very early and went, erected the tents. And that did not go unrecognized because the sub-county people appreciated our group during that function for our efforts. (female, interview, Unyama).

Finally, youth across the data set are all engaged in income-generating activities in form of VSLA programmes implemented within the Youth Project. All those mentioned peacebuilding activities overcome a portrayed binary understanding of youth as violent perpetrators or victims of conflict (McEvoy-Levy 2006; Sommers 2006; Del Felice & Wisler 2007; Drummond-Mundal & Cave 2007; International Youth Foundation 2011), and uncover several examples of youth being engaged to contribute to a peaceful society and creatively cope with their individual post-conflict environment. This is also demonstrated by NGO staff experience, since youth started self-support initiatives in the economic realm, illustrated by saving or brick-laying groups:

> Some youth on their own, as their own initiative, they started their own activities that keep them busy, keep them part of the community, part of the society. Maybe a youth as started a group, maybe I may not call it a

> savings group, maybe let me say a brick-laying group. A group of youth who laid bricks, maybe they even laid it for other people. [---] There are quite a number of youth who have started self-support initiatives (R1).

> I've been with groups that start-up their own savings. They come together as a group and then they lift up what they have and put it in one basket, in a pool. And then those who want begin to work with that, you borrow, you go, invest and bringing back with interest (R2).

Though just youth in one sub-county created several other spaces for income-generating activities like piggery, rearing bulls for ploughing land, farming, and producing, selling as well as laying bricks. This is explainable due to the early establishment of the youth group in 2011. However, these youth illustrate with their efforts during the last years that they are actively engaged to develop their income-generating activities further and use this money to assist them towards opening up new opportunities. Moreover, one of the youth in a leading position defined an empowering concept which is integrated in their ploughing service; i.e. they specifically support youth and other vulnerable people through ploughing their land to a reduced cost:

> We are using that to help the so-called 'vulnerable people', because our charges is not, is not you know, we charge them, we don't charge highly compared to others, the way other people charging it. (…) So, it's like we give it them at a reduced cost. I think that's how we help our fellow youth and other vulnerable people, because we plough for them the garden at a reduced price (male, interview, Awach).

Such an initiative does not only underline their efforts to create new perspectives for them, but also emphasises the interest to empower other community members and hence contribute even more to a peaceful co-existence. What is more, these youth are engaged in using the money of the VSLA also for helping other community members, though the respondents did not specify in what kind of situations. Another newly created space of these youth, and maybe the even most essential, is the creation of new groups among their peers, train them on peace-related topics, and hence involve more people:

> There are groups that we have created and trained on issues of peace, and they usually help us in spreading the information on peace in the community (P1, female FGD, Awach).

These specific youth efforts are even more underscored by the following quotation describing their decision-making based on regular meetings where they commonly consult what to do, instead of waiting for external initiatives:

> We, as the youth in this area we do not wait for any decision to come from anyone but we always organize meetings and during those meeting we decide what to do (P1, male FGD, Awach).

In sum, these old-established groups created several spaces for participation in peacebuilding within their community, for youth but also for other members who need to be supported and/or want to be involved. Generally, income-generating among the others peacebuilding activities are very appreciated by all youth due to the possibility to gain livelihood support and overcome unemployment. It becomes even more comprehensible with regard to Northern Uganda's poverty rate of more than 40% (GoU 2014), and the generally high unemployment in Acholiland (UNPF 2012). Moreover, some youth also see created economic spaces as the opportunity to showcase others and motivate them to join, or create own actions to gain money:

> What we are doing at the moment which I see is attracting a lot of youth to come and join us is the programming of saving and loan association, at the beginning we were encouraging all the interested youth to join us in the saving, and at the end of last year some of them who had saved with us realized a lot of money saved and this encouraged other youth to join us, so this year a lot of them joined our saving and loan association (female, interview, Awach).

> […] for one who is unemployed and doesn't earn any monthly salary, but you see him earning something like 100.000 UGX in year that would also be something good for them. It will build on their heart that they should also join such kind of things [VSLA]. So that next time when they are picking that one up, the other year they will also have something at hand. It would encourage them to be in the same way like us (male, interview, Unyama).

One youth even stated that one way how they respond to critique towards the group from older community members is to invite their children in the group, or advise them how to start an own one:

> It is not enough criticizing, we are open, we are receiving any youth, let them come. That is how we have in changed their habits, and as we talk now, a lot of them are interested in us. They are trying to find the way, like advising, asking as us to admit their youth to our group. Also

> advising, give them advice of how we opened up this group. So, they also advise their children to open a similar group like this in the future (male, interview, Awach).

Outside of the realm of these four main activities of youth participation in peacebuilding, some youth claimed extraordinary spaces. For instance, in form of "sports for peace" where they organise informal sport gatherings to enhance interaction and consequently "promote peace within a society", and using media in form of radio shows (P2 - male, mixed FGD, Unyama). Moreover, some youth from one sub-county stated, they actively aim to be exemplary role models working towards peace without being engaged in any violence, and also consciously keep themselves out of any political activities to maintain neutral and be directed towards their contributions to harmony in the community, since they are aware of the impacts of political positioning:

> Apart from that you know before you promote peace you have to be exemplary so we ourselves have tried to portray as working towards peace, we do not engage ourselves in violence (P2, male FGD, Paicho).

> We have not opened our group to political activities because we do not want to be identified with a particular political party. Imagine you are invited by a person who belong to a particular political party, usually people will associate you with that political party and it would be very difficult for you to give your view or for your advice to be accepted, because I do not think a person from the opposite party would want to accept your view if the person saw you supporting the candidate of the other party which he/she does not support, so we have played sort of a neutral role (P3, male FGD, Paicho).

In conclusion, the different forms of youth participation in peacebuilding illustrate a variety of claimed and created spaces. However, even if most of these spaces are viewed as invited, being initiated by the past Youth Project, the longer the group was established, the further spaces were claimed and shaped by youth. It also became obvious that youth in the sub-counties perceive income-generating activities as most essential and precious. The longest established youth groups created the most opportunities within a livelihood context. Other youth created specific space to showcase to peers particularly income-generating activities since these activities attract most youth to join. Another extraordinary space for participation was claimed by one youth group who offers ploughing land services to a reduced price for who

they consider vulnerable people in the community. Furthermore, NGO staff rarely mentioned own initiatives and activities started by youth, but if they did it concerned creating spaces for livelihood generation.

5.4 Levels of Decision-Making

5.4.1 The Significance of the Local Level

Levels of decision-making intersect with spaces for participation; it concerns the vertical levels or places where power resides and decisions are made (Gaventa 2006). Out of the youth perspective, the most important levels of their participation in peacebuilding are the lower levels; i.e. village, parish, and sub-county. With regard to these levels it was particularly underscored that these are very essential due to the youth's understanding of local dynamics and their impact as the people see what they frequently do:

> To me it is parish because people at parish level tend to know what takes place in the grassroots and do understand the local dynamics (P2, female FGD, Awach).
>
> Yeah, we do most of these things, but basically looking at the frequency of doing it I believe we do it at the parish and village level (P1, male FGD, Paicho).
>
> Basically I think at the village, parish and then sub-county level that's where people are appreciating our work (P2, male FGD, Paicho).

However, most of the youth perceive the sub-county level as the limit of their participation and impact, though two youth mentioned their participation going up to the district level and further in the context of radio participation. Similarly, the NGO professionals view the local level as the area for youth participation in Gulu District:

> I think in Gulu we have seen youth mainly involved in community-level peacebuilding (R1).
>
> Dialogueing, identifying problems, solutions, plannings for service provision to avoid conflicts and tensions and all that. Lots of youth do that at the community, most lower community levels has been so much of NGO support (R2).
>
> You can't see, you can't just keep quit when you see two people hacking themselves over land. And this happens mainly at the sub-county, at the

> village level, because you are into direct contact with the daily activities. So, youth as the village level intervene more directly (R3).

Whereas the NGOs reason the numerous NGO interventions in these levels, or the direct affection of youth on the ground, the youth also described issues of transport and hence mobility as another limitation towards their overall participation:

> […] we don't have transport, so we cannot move to those other far distances. So, our impact is felt were we can reach, we can foot up from here up to there, and pass on our information and we come back (male, interview, Awach).

> […] we have some problems especially the issue of transport because there are other places which are far off and sometimes we have to go and perform this drama in all these place so we find difficult travelling from here up to there, and that is a big challenge affecting us and also hindering our work (P2 - male, mixed FGD, Unyama).

Issues of transport were even displayed by one youth with respect to the LC1 chairperson as the lowest official authority who had problems to deliver official letters to Gulu town. In sum, the local levels in form of the village, parish and sub-county level offer the usual spaces for their participation in peacebuilding engaging in performing drama, sensitising, community work and income-generating activities.

5.4.2 Influence of Non-State Actors

The respondents named mainly CSOs and informal community leaders as influential non-state actors. Further influencing actors are politicians respectively parties with regard to the past national and the more impacting sub-county elections.

- Civil Society Organisations

According to the respondents, CSOs, including NGOs and CBOs, play a significant role and have a big influence regarding youth participation in peacebuilding. Similar results with regard to the economic dimension of peacebuilding are displayed by findings of International Alert (2013b) among Acholi and Lango youth who mainly perceive NGOs as responding to their needs. This was already illustrated by youth describing invited spaces for participation (section 5.3.1), and the following statements of youth from one sub-county. These quotations frame the relation to authority efforts:

> Youth have always been invited by mostly NGOs not Sub-county authorities (female, interview, Awach).
>
> In most cases it has been the NGOs, we have not been invited by district authorities. It is in most cases the NGOs who invite us (male, interview, Awach).
>
> […] they [government] should also come in and implement other things, because I also know that they have people that have specialist knowledge, those who can train not only may be NGOs, they are there so they should also come in place and do their part (male, interview, Unyama).

The representatives of NGOs also asserted that the civil society has significant influence on youth participation in terms of bringing youth together through programming and reaching them in the rural areas, but also with regard to yet missing national peacebuilding policies and transitional justice policies:

> So I would say it's so much of the civil society, it's so much of some of these organisation as we are, in reaching out to the people (R2).
>
> We have been involved in a lot government work. But they are majorly groups that have been formed, it's in most cases it is so much formed by NGOs to hope to send some messages to the communities (R2).
>
> So, youth involvement is critical and if it was not civil society, I don't know how much government would have done to bring together youth platforms (R4).
>
> Leave alone, the policies are not there at national level, they just try to bring in peacebuilding policies, transitional justice policies. It's just the work of the NGOs that are trying to do it (R3).

Out of the perspective of one NGO professional, CSOs also enhance the communication of government programmes, so young people are informed and may possibly attend. This is exemplified by one youth stating that without NGO-information, they as a registered youth group on sub-county level would not have been invited to the International Youth Day Celebrations:

> It's so much of the civil society informing the young people about most of the programmes that exists for them, for them to tap into them. It's so much the civil society building on the capacity of the youth or the young people, to be able to tap into some of this, even government programmes (R2).
>
> […] the recent International youth day celebration which was in Pakwelo youth groups were invited by the sub-county authorities, but our group was not invited, […] but later we received invitation from GWED-G since

> they were also part of the organization organizing for that day (female, interview, Unyama).

In sum, the CSOs provide a lot of different programmes for youth participation in peacebuilding, mostly referred to in the section *invited spaces* (5.3.1). Moreover, also the youth acknowledges their efforts and perceives them as influential non-state actors.

- Local Leaders

The used term local leader comprises mainly the informal community leader who is a male, so-called 'rwot-kweri'. On the one hand, the informal community leaders are described as very influential and trusted authorities due to their broad knowledge about the community, culture, and land boundaries. In addition, they are supposedly the first instance of reference if it comes to daily decision-making:

> These people are very influential, because they know a lot about our community here. Because they know the boundaries, they know your boundary that your lands begin from here up to there, and they speak with authority. And they know they speak the truth, so those are the people trust most, because they know, they have been interacting with the community (male, interview, Awach).

> […] people usually tend to value the decision of these people at the lower level, because in most cases like if your goat has got and destroyed someone's crops in the garden usually it's those people who are at the ground like 'rwot-kweri' who are contacted first, and even if you go up to the sub-county and report that, the sub-county people will refer you back to them (female, interview, Unyama).

On the other hand, they are described by some youth as biased, not being able to make fair decisions, for instance with regard to land-related conflicts:

> […] most people do not consider the village leadership as being fair because they have their own biases because they are related to certain people so people tend not trust their judgment (P1 - male, mixed FGD, Unyama).

Only one NGO professional talked about persons in power, instead of political bodies on a specific level. She explained a split opinion towards the local leaders. While she views local leaders as a source of information about Acholi culture and traditional conflict management procedures, at the same time she criticises that they are biased, accepting money which influence their decisions. As a result, these conflicting

opinions exemplify the lost trust in informal community leaders in comparison to pre-war times, even though not necessarily their loss of authority since they are still considered as leaders. Either way, youth participation in peacebuilding activities is influenced since social hierarchies and cultural expectations limit youth's involvement (Fincham et al. 2013). Due to patriarchal Acholi community structures spear-headed by informal community leaders, youth's contributions to peacebuilding are in the case of involvement of informal leadership most likely ruled out.

- Political parties/election candidates

Due to the election period at the time of data collection election candidates, in particular of the ruling party, the National Resistance Movement (NRM), were described as people in positions of power. Mostly youth are hired by parties or election candidates to be polling agents and control the voting process, and to promote the candidate in public. Several youth mostly from one sub-county mentioned the influence of election candidates, as well as one NGO professional. According to the participants the power of politicians is based on money allowances which are paid after elections, whether the candidate won or not. This motivates youth to join and touches upon a bigger challenge for youth participation in general, high unemployment and corresponding poverty in Gulu District:

> So, that is something that we feel like it is not going on well, because they use the money they have, the politicians to give to the youth, to make them to do other things which are stupid (male, interview, Awach).
>
> They [youth] were agents to candidates, political parties and all that. And that is their nature, because they know immediately after finishing, your candidate goes through you are going to be paid. Even if the candidate does not go through you are going to be paid (R1).
>
> […] there was one officer who was campaigning for the ruling party, I heard he invited a lot of youth groups and he was giving them a lot of money (P2 - male FGD, Paicho).

The respondents defined the impact of the party or candidate as risky for youth. Politicians divide youth along party lines, incite violence towards non-supporters of the party, and put youth in jeopardy to get arrested:

> Another thing is like, youth have been abused, and they have been manipulated by politicians. There is one who started to manipulate the

> youth, he is trying to really engage them into certain risky behaviour, created conflicts between the youth like using section of some of the youth who attack other youth (male, interview, Awach).
>
> We also have the politicians who have not used the youth well, politicians are dividing the youth along political party lines, they mobilise and incite the youth to cause violence to other youth who are not in their political party (P4 - male FGD, Awach).
>
> They started using youth, pretend belonging to a certain pressure group, then eventually you are arrested by police and all that (R1).

The exercise of power illustrated by politicians goes hand in hand with the general perception of Ugandan youth feeling manipulated and marginalised by politicians, especially during election periods (International Youth Foundation 2011). During the period of campaigning for elections a youth group which witnessed violence towards other youth developed a drama to sensitise people about politicians and illustrate the potential risk of being an agent.

5.5 Forms of Power

The foci of this study and the corresponding interview guide have been on levels of decision-making and spaces for participation, yet different forms of power emerged out of the data due to the fluent and reciprocal relationship between the three dimensions of the 'power cube'. The dimension of power in terms of forms affects and shapes the inclusiveness/exclusiveness of participation regarding the other dimensions (Gaventa 2006).

5.5.1 Visible Power

This form of power is visible, since it comprises negotiations or exercised interests in public spaces or formal decision making bodies (Gaventa 2006). The youth mentioned solely two decision making bodies: village meetings and sub-county meetings. In addition, those forums were only touched upon to describe youth's participation in specific spaces, above illustrated by experiences in *invited* and *closed spaces*. An assessment of the significance or the characteristic of those official bodies was not explicated by the youth. On the contrary, the NGO professionals talked about several

political decision-making forums coming along with an assessment regarding the general inclusiveness respectively exclusiveness of these.

Whereas one respondent reports on the youth's political representation and participation in official governmental bodies, such as youth councillors on the sub-county level, in the Youth Council and District Council, as well as the National Parliament, an almost ideal picture of a bottom-up approach, the rest of the staff criticised the exclusiveness; exclusiveness in terms of a very limited representation of the vast majority of Ugandans which are classified as youth up to the age of 30 years (GoU 2001, p.9):

> We have out of the 460 members of parliament who are elected, we only have space for four youth members of parliament. That is quite a drop in the ocean, and that cannot sustainably present the issues of the youth (R3).
>
> Even at the district level, you find, around 30 councillors, yeah, around 30 councillors. There are only two youth councillors who are represented in that particular forum (R3).

The literature confirms there are solely two youth representing the district (ULII 1997); an official source for the exact amount of youth members in parliament could not be found. However, the sparse representation of youth in the Ugandan parliament and in the second important political body the District Councils is contrary to the literature demanding an acknowledgement, inclusion and finally a just political representation of youth (McEvoy-Levy 2006; Helsing et al. 2006; Del Felice & Wisler 2007; UN-IANYD 2014; Amman Youth Declaration on Youth, Peace and Security 2015). In addition, such political exclusion can lead to violent reactions of the youth who seek to voice themselves since no opportunities to participate are given (McEvoy-Levy 2001; Hilker & Fraser 2009).

Moreover, one NGO respondent explicated the lack of engagement among the youth councillors at the district using two examples for illustration, the lack of communication with the local youth, the absence in their office during business hours, as well as lacking administrative material:

> Because we realized that the one elected, even getting more […], are not really engaged, and that is a problem. When we went to the youth offices in the district, it was full of termites. The youth officer in the district

> doesn't even sit in the office. They don't have papers, they don't have anything (R4).
>
> We found that all the youth councillors elected at sub-county level, and they tell them they are youth councillors, youth leaders at grassroots level. They never met, and that was five years almost (R4).

Lack of engagement is even more underscoring the limited representation, youth who have the possibility to participate and represent other youth in political bodies do not use it. Moreover, it was criticised that youth in general lacks information about how to participate consistently in political processes and forums for youth:

> The structures [political system] are not strong, and there is not too much transparency about the youth organisations, the youth structures, something like that. There has not been a lot of transparency about that, I am sorry to say (R1).

The fact that the youth did not mention those political decision-making forums demonstrates the lack of transparency and confirms the insignificance for their participation in political peacebuilding.

5.5.2 Hidden power

Hidden forms of power describe 'backstage' politics which privilege certain people and create barriers of participation. Such an exclusion process can be exercised in various levels and spaces (Gaventa 2006). The only time informal power was described by one youth concerned the LC1 chairperson, as the lowest official representative of the authorities on the village level, who expects bribe to write an authorization letter. The source of hidden power is framed by his function as an authority representative, since he authorizes the official way to reach higher levels; e.g. to the sub-county or district level:

> […] LC1 is the only man who can allow you to access anything in the community if LC1 deny you access you will not also be given anything (male, interview, Unyama).
>
> The problem we have been getting is majorly how to link up with people because in case there is any issue you have to pass that information to those who are supposed to help on that problem. Even before, you have to get authorization from LC 1 chairperson who in most cases expects some money before they write the authorization letter (female, interview, Awach).

The possibility of such actions was also confirmed by one NGO respondent, even though the statement was related to cultural leaders and elders. Since the cultural leaders and elders are mostly respected within the traditional Acholi communities, their opinions are decisive in land-related issues, deciding who owns the specific piece of land and therefore is allowed to cultivate it:

> When you pay them [cultural leaders] some money, they don't even respect that the customer land right existed (R4).

> The one [elders] are being brainwashed on the other side, sometimes are commercialized because of money they can say wrong things. Because if it is a land-conflict for people to believe that you are the only son, your parents are not their, you don't have any other family trees or people around, then they bring you to the elderly and say: Is he really the son of so and so? And elderly person can deny that fact and you loose your parent's asset, because he is on the other side. And that happens in these days (R4).

Hence, bribe money shapes power relations and restricts youth access to channels of participation; illustrated by denied access to higher political levels to pass on information, and access as well as use of customer land rights. Furthermore, another form of hidden power was mentioned by NGO staff; i.e. governmental programmes solely accessed by supporters of the ruling party. This example concerned the sub-county authorities, and in particular their leaders which select only youth for the programme which supposingly support the government party:

> Even within the sub-counties that we talk about, there are some programmes that come, and it's so much driven towards the party that's supports the government, the government party, I mean. So it's kind of, it kind of isolates some youth who are not ready supporting the ruling party. [---] Some of these programmes come and then the political leaders only look for their, the people who support them, the people who support the government. So it just kind of isolated some youth (R2).

Political power here leads to binary youth classes. Those who are privileged due to their political attitude are allowed to join a programme, and those who are excluded because they do not support the ruling party. It demonstrates once again why Ugandan youth feel marginalised and manipulated within the political realm (International Youth Foundation 2011). Nevertheless, these are just three cases of hidden forms of power limiting youth participation, though it shows how people in political or cultural positions of power may influence youth participation.

5.5.3 Invisible Power

Finally, invisible power describes not only an exclusion from decision-making processes, but also what is socially accepted shaped by socialisation, culture and ideology (Gaventa 2006). Due to the beginning of the war in 1986 and the ongoing displacement since 1996 into IDP camps almost all youth respondents have been born into conflict and had to spent their childhood or even partly their adolescence in the camps. As a result they have been heavily affected by the war since their socialisation was based on the camp life without experiences and knowledge about the pre-war times. Hence, an ambiguous feeling of identity and belonging has shaped their re-integration:

> They found themselves, imagine being born in camp, in the IDP camp, coming back home and you didn't know what was it like before. And only what you know is what transpired in the IDP camps. Some kids were telling us, they didn't even know where their homes is, especially child-headed families (R4).

> They were not sure where they belong. They don't know what they are supposed to actually be doing for their own lives, for their own development, and for the development of their community (R1).

A similar, although different experience was made by youth who were abused and forced to participate in the conflict as child combatants. Afterwards they found themselves also in-between childhood and adolescence without knowing a peaceful life:

> There are youth that were affected by conflict, and directly, you know, abused, they were directly encountered in conflict. They participated in the phases, you know, through all this conflict. And they came back when they were wounded, and yet they were also entangled between being a child and growing up (R4).

As a result of the resettlement from the camps and return of former abductees, youth has been explicated by NGO staff as fuelling conflict, in particular because of gaining quick money by selling off land:

> They want to secure it, and sell it, so that they get quick money. They don't want to own it and then cultivate and get crops and then sell for money. No, that's not the intention. So they have been struggling, they have been putting a lot of pressure, they have been disorganizing a lot of systems in their

> community, because they are looking for quick ways of earning income (R1).
>
> As they perpetrated, we needed to convert, to change their perception and ensure that the youth contribute more to peace than perpetrating conflict (R2).

The missing socialisation within Acholi norms and values concerning the essential childhood as well as the youth's violent behaviour after the war described by the NGO staff is the bases for the negative perceptions and stereotypes of the Acholi communities towards the youth. Such a collective stigmatisation due to violent acts by parts of the youth erodes the overall youth opportunities to contribute peacefully (Berents 2014). In addition, due to the war-times most of the youth missed out on education which led to further contempt:

> They were just in the middle there, everybody says: Ah ah, this youth, ah ah, no. Education you have not got. You can't even come out with that centre without being educated, via manners, respect and all that, people fear that, because you have lack of manners, lack of discipline (R1).

Nowadays, youth are still struggling with the disadvantage of missed education in terms of social recognition, even among the youth itself:

> People usually despise us and look down at us and this behaviour does not promote peace in our society, like we have some people here who are highly educated but are unemployed so the look at us who have stopped at, say lower primary level, and they would not want to listen or appreciate the advice (P1, male FGD, Awach).
>
> Apart from what she has mentioned, you know we have some youth here who have attained higher levels of education so they look at us as the stupid ones and they would not love to associate with us, this group of ours is mostly constituted of people who have not gone to school, so they would not love to come and join us because we are not of their levels (P3, female FGD, Awach).

The lack of education as an invisible power results therefore in two consequences. Firstly, the lack of education is another critical challenge and barrier for youth trying to work in unity towards a peaceful co-existence. Secondly, it is part of the present negative Acholi perception of youth related to missing education. Generally-speaking, youth are not socially recognised by the communities, rather they are seen as people who do not know what to do with themselves. All youth groups from the different

sub-counties as well as NGO staff agreed that the communities encounter them as inferior to the rest of society, not being able to do something good:

> We have been hearing some negative comments about us from other people for instance some people say "what good thing can come from those youth"[…] (P1, female FGD, Awach).

> […] our society is already, they already, there is a preconceived mind, mind-set which feels like youth are impatient people, they are rowdy, they are people who are stubborn, they are not organised. (---) Normally people think they should leave out youth (R1).

> […] the general perception in the region is so much negative. It's been looked at as a group of people who are hassling with live, I would say. Hassling to survive, we need this, we need quick money, we need to get into these, we need to get into this (R2).

This youth image of inferiority embraces all realms of life. However, youth also illustrated it in relation to the limited political participation at sub-county level, because "they think that there is nothing good that can come from us" (P3, male FGD, Paicho). Since the traditional Acholi society has a male-leadership of the elders, youth elder power relations seem to be even more problematic, in particular as the elders lost their authority in parts during war and displacement (Branch 2014). Their controversial role in communities was already discussed above in the section *levels of decision-making* (5.4). Although the youth and NGO participants assert that elders hardly recognize their activities in trying to shape peaceful co-existence, both stated that the general perception of youth gradually changed through their activities; already explicated through their displayed impact in the sections of *invited* (5.3.1) and *claimed/created spaces* (5.3.3):

> To me there has been a lot of negative comments about our group more especially coming from the old people, some would say 'look at these young people who think they can advice old ones, for me I cannot attend those kind of meetings which are taught by the young people', but as we went on they started appreciating our work and started speaking good about us and we started see a reduction of incidences of physical violence (P1, female FGD, Awach).

> So, right now you find youth engaged in so many activities in different fronts to ensure that they first of all clear the perception of the community (R3).

In sum, invisible power as limiting youth participation can be seen here as part of socialisation and culturally affected by war and displacement. The young people were born into conflict, never experienced living in peaceful communities, missed out education and thus struggled with re-integration after the war. In addition, the lack of education also led to contempt between the youth who received education and the ones who missed out, and hence creates another barrier for united youth activities towards peace. Moreover, the rest of Acholi society who are traditionally very hierarchical, demand respect towards elders, and a subordination of youth. Additionally, the societal perception of youth was at a disadvantage due to their described return as violent perpetrators, whether from IDP camps or as former combatants. One NGO professional even talked in terms of socialisation about "camp culture", and described the elders-youth relation regarding the youth as a "lost generation" (R2). For those reasons the negative and generalized image of youth, as well as the youth's internalisation of it is viewed by half of the NGO staff as one of the biggest obstacles for youth participation in peacebuilding in Acholi communities:

> Of course apart from incluseviness where the obstacle is that youth involvement, you know, the fact that the youth can be appreciated for being a youth, that the way they are, you know. People begin to think about them, because people don't think sometimes about issues of the youth, because they generalize them (R4).

> It is also important for the youth themselves to have a positive attitude, like changing their attitude from the different perceptions that people have about them. They are wrongdoers, they are useless, to something that gives them high self-esteem, so they can deconstruct the commentive perception, and engage positively in some of these issues (R3).

Since invisible power shapes the inclusion or exclusion with regard to all the other spaces for participation, the stereotypes and negative attributions towards young people and among them is one of the linchpins for greater youth participation. Though the perception is gradually changing towards a rather comprehensive understanding of youth due to their appreciated activities. In general, youth need to be recognized as a full member of the community, and more specific regarding their opportunities for participating in and impacting peacebuilding (McEvoy-Levy 2001; Hilker & Fraser 2009).

5.6 Opportunities & Challenges in promoting Youth Participation

This section defines the most important obstacles towards youth participation in peacebuilding, and essential factors to promote a greater participation of youth according to youth and NGO professionals. This information was seen as substantial to frame the earlier findings and to give the participants space to complete the picture of peacebuilding in the sub-counties of Awach, Paicho and Unyama.

The biggest challenge according to the youth and NGO professionals for promoting youth participation is poverty and unemployment among the Acholi population:

> […] there is this issue of poverty and this a serious thing and this what is contributing to a lot of family conflict and leading to divorce and separation, in a family for people to relate well they have to eat and they should have the basic needs so if those basic needs like food is not there it creates conflict (P1 - male, mixed FGD, Unyama).
>
> There is a great deal of youth who are unemployed and therefore that ... that makes them vulnerable and it makes them unable to construct living and engage in peacebuilding initiatives (R3).
>
> I would still think the biggest issue that keeps the youth perpetrating conflict instead of contributing to peacebuilding is so much of poverty, addressing the issue of poverty (R2).

Since the vast majority of the youth respondents have been born into conflict, and have been growing up in IDP camps, this again refers to the already above described invisible power in terms of absence or interruption of education. This challenge points for youth and most of NGO professionals directly to the corresponding opportunity to promote peacebuilding; i.e. bringing them together, skill and educate them to open up new livelihood perspectives:

> We have to really do some like schooling and give some vocational skills to the youth who had been their education interrupted, so that they get required skills to continue surviving, because it's not easy to survive **(**male, interview, Awach).
>
> I believe like if youth are brought together like in a vocational school, that would promote peace because this would bring youth together and this would create avenue for supporting one another and building longer relationship, not only skilling them (P2 - male, mixed FGD, Unyama).

The demanded possibility of TVET programmes is understandable since these programmes aim to link education to employability and can lead to poverty reduction.

Consequently, TVET interventions may contribute to community peace and enhance youth to be part of the economic development, as it may lead to further social and political participation (Moberg & Johnson-Demen 2009; Walton 2010; Peterson 2013).

Due to spending most of their childhood in IDP camps it was pointed out by several youth and NGO staff that this led to youth who became used to free-handouts. One youth even talked about a "dependency syndrome" which is a big problem for any kind of youth participation. Consequently, the immense challenge through poverty and unemployment combined with the main socialisation of youth in the camps entailed unanimous assent regarding a strong connection between participation and the corresponding request for money for it. This was in particular illustrated by youth in connection with despising volunteers being engaged in peacebuilding activities:

> […] spirit of voluntarism is not common to several of our youth here, because there is this word of 'chasing after money'. So most of the youth tend to single out activities which will result into monetary outcome […]. […] most of the youth would not want associate with what we are doing because they will not get money out of it (P6, male FGD, Paicho).

> […] they will ask you "is there something like money in that meeting", and if they get to know that nothing in terms of money will be given, they will not come or leave the meeting (P3, male FGD, Awach).

> It's not so much easy to get the youth really involved in all these processes, because sometime they think it's a waste of time. I mean, why would I get involved in sensitizing people and yet I get nothing out of it (R2).

> So in terms of youth involvement in peace activities, youth are willing, but they are not very easy to be persuade. As I told you, they are very interested in earning their living (R1).

A linkage between various forms of participation and income generation is also circumscribed in the literature, since economic empowerment is viewed as key element for social and political engagement (Rabé and Kamanzi (2012). As already described in the section of *invisible power* (5.5.3) this attitude and the feeling of inferiority are main challenges for youth participation. For this reason several NGO professionals think youth needs to be empowered in order to embrace peacebuilding approaches and gain self-esteem in the first place.

Moreover, the youth stated that the excessive consume of alcohol especially among youth is one of the main conflict-drivers, as well as it hinders youth participation in peacebuilding. More specifically, alcoholism often results in violence:

> The main problem here is alcohol consumption among the youth who tend to drink a lot and if they get some money all they think about is drinking alcohol (P4, female FGD, Awach).

> Apart from the issues of land, the main problem we are having these days which is really contributing to conflict is the issue of alcohol abuse, excessive consumption has become too much across all gender and age groups (female, interview, Unyama).

Reasons for this kind of alcohol abuse were pointed out several times in connection with forgetting other problems, mainly issues of livelihood:

> The youth should have something to do which can give them something to live on, so that it can keep them busy and that would enable them abandon alcohol (female, interview, Awach).

> What I can say is people are too poor and this is forcing people to find other ways of getting out of that poverty, and they are engaging in certain behaviours that will make them forget the situation they are going through, and some of these behaviour leads one to consume a lot of alcohol (P1 - male, mixed FGD, Unyama).

> Youth are not seeing these peacebuilding activities as important like for instance instead of meeting fellow colleagues to discuss good things, a youth would choose to go and take one or two sachets of alcohol or bottles of liquor, so that it enables them to forget the problems (P4, male FGD, Paicho).

These linkages are indications for a vicious circle of unemployment, poverty and lastly violence in its different forms. Such a circular relationship between conflict and poverty, as well as in reverse poverty causing conflict is also illustrated in the cases of post-conflict Rwanda and Burundi (Lemarchand 2006; Gasana as cited in Spitzer & Twikirize 2014). Furthermore, this also gives a deeper understanding of the multidimensional and interwoven challenges towards a promotion of greater youth participation in peacebuilding.

Moreover, many young people view unity with their peers as one condition to promote greater participation in peacebuilding activities, and to contribute to a peaceful co-existence. This was expressed through the need to form more youth groups, the lack of

communication platforms, and more sensitizing and awareness creation on issues of peace and peacebuilding whether by engaged youth or external actors.

While youth mainly talked about challenges and opportunities to promote greater youth participation contextualised within the communities of origin, some of the NGO staff outlined also broader perspectives on the topic of peacebuilding. Half of the NGO professionals criticised still missing transitional justice policies and laws. In this context it is essential to recognise that the PRDP is a comprehensive development framework (GoU 2011), but not a transitional justice policy, neither a law which enables people to file a lawsuit in case of compensation issues. In addition, the traditional Acholi people believe in a social justice system characterised by reparation through paying compensation which therefore leads to frustration and absence of acknowledgement if not carried out (Vorhölter 2014). A single comment of one professional with regard to challenges consists of missing role models for the youth since if people have the possibility they would leave the rural areas or even the country. Moreover, one NGO professional realized space for promoting greater peacebuilding in shape of increasing budget of the Ministry of Labour, Gender and Social Development which is responsible for various population groups like women, youth, or the elderly, but is supposed to be almost the ministry with almost the lowest budget. What is more, he thinks peacebuilding or aspects if it should be integrated it in all curriculums from the lower levels up to higher education institutions such as universities.

In conclusion, the main challenges for greater youth participation in peacebuilding consist of linkages among poverty, alcohol abuse, and violence. The findings suggest to interpret these challenges as a vicious circle since the connections seem to be strong. Furthermore, the absence or interruption of education due to war and displacement into camps corresponding with the socialisation within these, as well as unemployment and poverty indicate the current general attitude of youth as a big challenge. An attitude characterised by feelings of inferiority and the overall goal to gain money whenever possible. As a consequence, youth anticipates money for participation in various realms. In addition, it was stated by one professional that role models for the youth are missing since most of the educated people who have the possibility leave the area, or even the country. Opportunities to promote greater youth

participation are seen commonly of youth and NGO staff in TVET interventions to economically empower them in the first place, and hence open up new perspectives for social and political participation. Furthermore, youth views unity with their peers as one key to enhance participation in peacebuilding. Out of a broader perspective, two NGO professionals demand for example the implementation of a transitional justice law to enable Acholi to file a lawsuit, increasing the budget of the Ministry of Labour, Gender and Social Development to put a greater focus on social issues, and the integration of peacebuilding concepts in all levels of formal education.

5.7 Gender Analysis of Youth Participation in Peacebuilding

This section applies a gender lens on the data to cope with the youth sample as part of the traditionally male-dominated Acholi community. Gender-specific questions were not part of the interview-guide, though across the youth data set it was determined that both sexes described gender-based violence, mainly in form of domestic violence as one major conflict-driver. However, with regard to the interviews and FGDs it became visible that in trend women voiced domestic violence more often.

Although most youth did not explicate domestic violence as coming from men against women, some youth respondents explicitly described it this way. As already asserted in the previous section domestic violence is often strongly connected to alcohol abuse:

> People have been listening to us because violence before we started was too much in our community, men would go and take alcohol and they would go back home fighting their wives (P1, female FGD, Awach).

> […] these parents of nowadays what they like most is drinking, so when a father goes and takes alcohol he may come back home when he is so drank and begin just abusing young children, even the mother may also be abused, and would start to fight with people (male, interview, Unyama).

The literature reassures that gender-based violence whether structurally or physically is mainly against women in patriarchal Acholi communities (Annan & Brier 2010; Vorhölter 2014). This probably explains the more frequent mentioning of domestic violence by female youth since they are the victims of it. Despite the fact that the post-conflict Acholi sub-region is also characterised by other forms of structural gender-based violence, such as gender inequality, poverty, lack of resources and lacking

provision of justice and social services (Annan & Brier 2010; UNPF 2012), none of it was explicitly mentioned by the youth as gender-specific, rather as general issues.

Nevertheless, one female youth stated a gender-related dimension concerning their participation in mediating conflicts. As a consequence, this underlines the double-burdening of being a female and a youth in Acholi society:

> In some cases we are undermined, like in case someone is conflicting with the other if you go they will look down at you and they will say "what this young woman do to solve this problem" […] (P3, female FGD, Awach).

It accords with Fincham et al. (2013) which describe social hierarchies and cultural expectations as possible limitations to youth's involvement. The previous analysis in other sections has shown that domestic violence is acknowledged across the examined youth, and even more, actively faced through performing drama on domestic violence and meditating conflicts within the household.

Moreover, one NGO professional explicates that due to cultural norms and values among Acholi people women are responsible for reproductive realms, and hence also have been preferably targeted in NGO programmes which support families. In other words, men are supposed to be less trustworthy in passing on support to the families:

> But if we look at it genderwise, it is so much of, we had very many NGOs starting to women, young women, most especially formerly abducted young women to recover. So economically they get positively engaged in some of those businesses, which of course trickle down to their families, to support their families. Men were kind of left out, because there was so much into cultural men, if you give support to men and it doesn't reach home (R2).

According to the same professional the role allocation towards gender has also consequences for women's participation in peacebuilding since they are harder to reach. Most women rather stay at home, whereas male youth are more present in public spaces:

> Female youth are bit different. You know, the women are so much not in the public. Yeah, we have a lot of women coming out in the public, but most of the female youth, young women are not so much in the public. (---) The female youth are bit, are so much isolated. Majority of them if you don't encourage them to come out in youth groups they prefer to stay home as women, even when they are really young women that maybe require support. It's a bit different when you talk about youth male and

> female, if go to a community and you want to see youth, majority you will see only male (R2).

The behaviour is in conformity with traditional women's roles, especially after the resettlement. Acholi women renegotiate their social space by fulfilling the reproductive role, mainly as mother and wife, which mostly takes place in the private sphere, and hence might be entitled to rights of an Acholi woman attributed through familial structures (Baines & Gauvin 2014). The researcher also noted that half of the women attending the FGD had their children with them. As a result, the cultural context leads to their limited participation in peacebuilding activities. Acholi women become young mothers and feel the need to fulfil reproductive gender roles, hence in trend stay at home and are harder to reach for peacebuilding interventions. Such a low participation is also illustrated by the Youth project from GWED-G which consisted of approximately 30% female direct beneficiaries in Gulu District. However, the NUHRP (2016) stated that the numbers of women in community platforms or forums increased over the last years. Furthermore, Acholi women are due to patrilineal principles in terms of inheritance of land and important household belongings generally excluded from governmental programmes like the YLP and YVCF. These programmes require land ownership or collaterals. While in the YLP this is an official requirement, in the YVCF it is unofficial, but property or assets are required by banks which execute the programme (Ahaibwe & Kasirye (2015). Hence, the participation of Acholi women in these economic empowerment programmes is very low.

In conclusion, gender and the corresponding allocation of functions, roles and inheritance principles is still a very influencing variable in the context of patriarchal Acholi communities. Whereas the participation in youth's peacebuilding activities displayed besides one statement not continuous limitation with regard to the youth data, the literature describes the social space for action limited due to their attributed gender roles. Moreover, the restricted space for participation in peacebuilding becomes inevitably visible regarding the government programmes YLP and YVCF. However, violence and in particular domestic violence, as one of the main current conflict issues in Acholi communities, and specifically confirmed by the youth for the sub-counties of Paicho, Unyama and Awach, is heavily influencing women's life.

5.8 Youth's 'Expressions of Power'

This section comprises the framework 'expressions of power'; i.e. power over, power with, power to, and power within. The framework is used to complement the power analysis by identifying the youth's source of power from an actor's perspective.

Across the data set it became very clear that the major source of power for young people is characterised by 'power with' relying on collective agency and collaboration of individuals to act and influence the world around them:

> First of all we have start with sensitization and awareness creation on the importance of coming together as youth […] (female, interview, Awach).
>
> To me I think what the youth can do at least to build up the peace in the community is that they come together as a group (male, interview, Unyama).
>
> […] create different youth groups, sometimes even bring them together to share experience and they learn from each other (P4, male FGD, Paicho).

The significance of being united was also demonstrated several times during the previous analysis, as well as indicated in the beginning through youth's perceptions of peace respectively peacebuilding. Moreover, the 'power with' approach is further underlined by CSOs which form groups or just bring youth together, as well as by governmental programmes such as the YLP where it is a requirement to be a group.

Another important source of power is illustrated by 'power to' as the potential of every person to influence his or her social environment, and particularly here based on mutual support to establish joint actions in form of 'power with':

> We usually have cases of land conflicts, domestic violence and if you get those complains then you go and try to intervene and mediate, and if you discover that it's more complex then you invite your group members to come and give their different views […] (P3, female FGD, Awach).
>
> I think there is no way other that coming together as a group because its very difficult to support you as an individual, it's only when you come as a group that you can easily be empowered on issues of human rights and peacebuilding (P1, female FGD, Awach).

On the contrary, 'power over' is not seen as a source for action by the youth sample. The encountered exercise of violence can be interpreted as 'power over', but this is denied by the respondents. Their marginalised role in traditional Acholi society and

the youth as one of the most vulnerable groups in post-conflict Northern Uganda rather illustrate their position as the one where 'power over' is exercised against them (Vorhölter 2014).

Finally, 'power within' as individual's sense of self-worth, self-knowledge and self-esteem cannot be necessarily perceived as a source for power. Youth from the examined sub-counties are characterised by the absence or interruption of education in the context of socialisation in war-times and IDP camps, the lack of self-esteem, and the negative perception of youth in Acholi communities, even though this perception is gradually changing due to the peacebuilding activities of them.

As a result, 'power to' especially in connection with 'power with' are the main sources for youth participation in peacebuilding activities with regard to the youth sample. Unity in form of groups gives them mutual support, leads to strengthen the individual, and allows them to commonly tackle conflict-drivers in the communities; it makes it even easier to tap into offered opportunities by civil society or the Ugandan government and local authorities.

Chapter 6: Conclusions & Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

This section summarizes the findings of the analysis and provides recommendations from the study respondents, as well as recommendations from the researcher directed towards the Ugandan government, local authorities, CSOs and international actors operating in the rural areas of Gulu District. The study explored and documented opportunities and challenges for youth participation in peacebuilding.

6.2 Conclusions

6.2.1 Overall findings

The two-week study conducted in the sub-counties of Awach, Unyama and Paicho in Gulu District allowed multifaceted insights into power relations of youth participation in peacebuilding. The overall youth's experiences in participating in peacebuilding are framed by youth's seeking for sources of livelihood. This was illustrated across the data particularly in terms of claimed spaces of income-generating activities, and invited spaces through mentioned government programmes and measures of CSOs. Moreover, youth's participation is characterised by lacking information about youth programmes and institutionalised participation mechanisms as ways to contribute to peacebuilding. On the contrary, non-state actors such as CSOs, informal community leaders and elders, as well as politicians mainly in the context of the election period have been described as very influential. However, all of them except the CSOs were limiting in different ways youth participation in peacebuilding. The following sections specify the findings aligned to the research objectives.

6.2.2 Challenges for Youth Participation in Peacebuilding

The drastic economic situation of youth determines on one hand a challenge to break the vicious circle of unemployment, poverty, alcoholism and lastly violence. On the

other hand, it is an initial point to create necessary opportunities for income-generation like saving groups or brick production, brick-laying and selling groups. This is also mostly acknowledged by the NGO respondents. Government programmes for livelihood support are existent, but the youth lack information about it, or would not fulfil the access requirements. In other words, government programmes, even though they were particularly designed to economically lift up youth and tackle unemployment do not necessarily reach youth in the rural sub-counties of Awach, Unyama and Paicho. As a result, most economic approaches to youth participation in peacebuilding are claimed by the youth themselves, or offered in form of VSLA programmes by CSOs.

Another challenge of youth participation in the context of poverty resulting out of unemployment is the relationship between motivation to participate in peacebuilding activities and anticipated money gains. Voluntary participation is often considered as a "waste of time" or not taken seriously. This is commonly identified by young people and NGO staff. The lack of economic incentive is a major obstacle in promoting greater youth participation in peacebuilding. Consequently, for peacebuilding measures to be effective they need to include TVET and/or VSLA components to their programmes to attract youth. Economic empowerment can be interpreted as a pre-condition for youth participation, or at least has to go alongside other elements like sensitising on peace issues, conflict management, human rights, or in general knowledge transfer for peaceful co-existence.

Furthermore, most of the NGO staff described the ineffective political involvement of youth. One major example is the very limited youth representation and participation in political bodies, such as the District Council or the National Parliament. It demonstrates a lack of transparency and the insignificance of young people's political participation. Even at a lower level most of the young do not feel invited to participate in political forums like sub-county meetings, or are not aware of their possible attendance.

Moreover, in applying a gender lens, it was shown that gender roles and inheritance principles within the traditional patriarchal Acholi communities is still very influential. While just one female respondent mentioned these gendered divisions as a

limiting factor to youth participation in peacebuilding, the literature and one NGO professional emphasised the social space for participation of young girls as seriously constrained due to their mostly reproductive role.

6.2.3 Current Practices and Opportunities for Youth Participation in Peacebuilding

Considering the opportunities for participation in peacebuilding, the youth respondents were engaged in creating awareness through drama and dialogues about main conflict issues, for example, land conflict and violence in household or community. Young people in the sample also were participating in peacebuilding through counselling and mediating interpersonal conflicts within the community. Whilst such forms of participation in peacebuilding were initiated through NGO training, as well as a VSLA to generate income, they have become actively shaped and further developed by the youth. It could be asserted that the longer the group was established, the further spaces were claimed and shaped by youth. This was highlighted by the examples of youth offering their land ploughing service for a reduced price to other vulnerable people, or forming and training new groups on issues of peace.

Consequently, initiated space for youth participation was successfully used to create further realms of peacebuilding. As above mentioned, income-generating activities in the sub-counties are perceived as most substantial and precious. Furthermore, it became apparent that youth also involve themselves in different community activities, like cleaning market places or informing authorities about security issues. This contributes to peace and creates another function for youth in Acholi communities; traditionally youth and women are subordinated in the patriarchal hierarchy. It was found that youth peacebuilding activities are mainly undertaken in the local levels; i.e. family, village, parish up to the sub-county. According to the findings, these are the spaces where young people understand the dynamics; they are involved in these spaces on a daily basis and within these spaces, their actions are recognised. In addition, issues of limited transport and mobility confine their radius of participation in peacebuilding and direct it to the local level.

6.2.4 Perceptions of those in power compared to youth's experiences

Both the opportunities and the challenges for youth participation are framed by invisible powers of the Acholi community, that manifest in negative perceptions and stereotypes of young people and the internalisation of these perceptions by young people. These negative perceptions are characteristics of a post-war context. Acholi youth were born into conflict and lived most of their childhood within the camps or were abducted, never experiencing societal peace, consequently the findings highlighted the insecurities of belonging, self-worth and self-development of young people. The interruption or lack of formal education due to war and displacement also was identified as a contributor to negative perceptions of youth as perpetrators. This missing education is also another critical challenge and barrier among youth to promote greater participation in peacebuilding, because youth who missed out education are despised. Despite of this collective stigmatisation of youth who were heavily affected by war, a gradual change towards appreciation and dialogue has taken place where youth's impact through their peacebuilding activities is felt.

There were different perceptions of youth participation found between NGO staff and among the youth themselves. For the NGO staff, as people in positions of power, youth participation in peacebuilding was a much broader concept and also related to regional and national peacebuilding mechanisms. NGO professionals had significantly more knowledge about the opportunities given by the Ugandan government and possible political involvement of youth in national and local political decision-making bodies. For the youth themselves, the reality of peacebuilding participation is related to their opportunities and challenges within their direct social environment up to the sub-county level. Their own perceptions of participation in peacebuilding were related to what was directly accessible. Contrastingly, NGO staff also viewed youth participation in peacebuilding as part of policy and structural challenges, whereas youth solely experienced participation in peacebuilding in form of direct interventions, if the information reaches them.

Youth perceives unity and togetherness as one of the strongest sources for their power. Mainly this is viewed as 'power with', as the power of collective agency of individuals to make a difference as a group, but also as 'power to', experiencing the

awareness of one's situation and the possibility to influence it. Such a scenario is illustrated by the established youth groups being ready and able to be further supported by CSOs or government programmes. Furthermore, the majority of the youth emphasized the purpose to motivate other community members to join peacebuilding activities to help each other by showing solidarity. NGO staff and youth from the sub-counties of Awach, Unyama and Paicho strongly agreed, young people are seeking for opportunities to participate in society. One NGO professional formulated well: "When you give them that space, you direct them. Then they will do as expected, they will participate. They will be strong peacebuilders".

Due to the fact that the vast majority of social workers in Uganda are employed by NGOs, and predominantly work towards community development, the Ugandan social work perspective is largely shaped through these structures. According to the study findings their work is important and essential since most of the CSO programmes are based on inclusion, listening to youth voices and their needs. However, the Ugandan government is the key figure to a systemic and meaningful participation of youth in peacebuilding. It is a demographic imperative and a democratic necessity to tap youth's peacebuilding potential, enhance youth's future, and at the same time the overall development of Northern Uganda.

6.3 Recommendations for greater Youth Participation in Peacebuilding

Based on the findings of the power analysis of youth participation in peacebuilding, the researcher provides recommendations to adjust existing youth strategies and improve the effectiveness of peacebuilding measures in the Acholi sub-region. Furthermore, youth and NGO staff have been asked how to promote greater youth participation in peacebuilding. Due to this given space to voice themselves, the first section begins with their priorities for reform.

6.3.1 Respondents' Priorities for Reform

From Youth & NGO staff

- Northern Uganda is by far still the poorest part of the country and could not catch up yet with the socio-economic development of the other regions. For this reason both actors view TVET programmes as the decisive element to economically empower youth and thereby enhance their perspectives to participate in other spheres of peacebuilding. Such initiatives entail at the same boosting their self-esteem and reduce their feeling of inferiority.

From Youth

- Due to young people's positive experiences of sensitising Acholi people on issues of peace and peacebuilding, the youth recommends ongoing programmes and measures of awareness creation in their communities.
- Since unity and togetherness of youth has for them a high value in peacebuilding, they propose to form more youth groups, showing solidarity with their peers and sharing experiences.

From NGO staff

- Despite the framework of the different PRDPs, a transitional justice law is required and corresponding policies should be accountable for Acholi people, giving guidance on the ground in post-conflict areas. In this context it is essential to recognise that the PRDP is a comprehensive development framework (GoU 2011), but not a transitional justice policy, neither a law which enables people to file a lawsuit in case of compensation issues. More specifically, Acholi tradition is based on reconciliation through compensation, so such a law would enable the war victims to file a law suit and hence contribute to pacify Northern Uganda to cope with war-related losses.
- While the Ugandan Ministry of Labour, Gender and Social Development is in charge of the social and economic issues of the county, as well as the protection of vulnerable people, it is one of the ministries with the lowest

budget. Hence, an increased budget is seen as important to put greater focus on social issues.

6.3.2 Researcher's Recommendations

To GoU, Local Authorities & CSOs

- Since the young people's awareness of government programmes and CSO interventions is very low, information needs to reach the rural youth, allowing them to apply or attend. While CSOs measures are naturally limited to chosen areas of intervention, nation-wide programmes of the government should ensure effectiveness across the country. This can be done by comparing participation rates of young people in different districts, and if needed develop new interventions to specifically reach the missed out youth.
- Peacebuilding programmes should apply a multidimensional approach, including economic empowerment. The link between income generation and participation is very strong, and the need for livelihood sources so apparent that effective peacebuilding measures have to integrate an income-generating element to motivate young people.

To Sub-County & lower Authorities

- As the study findings demonstrate, youth do not perceive sub-county meetings as a space for participation, resulting in an absence of representation and information of issues concerning youth. Thus, sub-county authorities should be clear and transparent about youth participation to young people themselves.

To GoU

- Representation and participation in major political decision-making forums, such as the Ugandan National Parliament and the District Councils is alarmingly low in ratio to the youth population in Uganda. Therefore young people need to be enabled to contribute in a just way in political decision-making directed towards the social, economic and political development of the country.

- The Ugandan government has identified youth unemployment as a national key challenge in the National Development Plan 2010/2011-2014/15 (GoU 2010) and in the National Youth Policy (GoU 2001). Nevertheless, major programmes like the YLP and the YVCF targeting this are ineffective in allowing the rural youth in the sub-counties of Awach, Unyama and Paicho to access them. Hence, the government and also local authorities should involve youth into design and implementation of programmes to ensure their needs are met and the requirements to attend adequately depending on the target group. Considering the historical context of Northern Uganda and thereby land-related issues, combined with gender roles and their consequences towards spaces for participation, programmes tackling poverty and unemployment should be more conflict-sensitive and gender-sensitive. Otherwise, the rural youth in Gulu District are still missing out opportunities for an overall development.
- Due to the fact that the vast majority of the Ugandan population are classified as youth, as well as the category youth embraces diverse identities and realities, a decentralisation of design and implementation of governmental interventions from the National Parliament to the District Councils is advised, creating more context-specific and therefore more effective peacebuilding interventions.
- Micro financial initiatives open up new perspectives of livelihood generation and furthermore spaces for participation, such as VSLAs and informal saving groups illustrated in the literature and respondents' experiences. Out of this perspective, providing some start capital is recommended to encourage people to start VSLA or VSLA-like groups. In this way it would be possible to contribute to economic empowerment for vulnerable people even rural areas, because once they are set up, locals on the ground can manage it by themselves without external support. In addition, these savings and corresponding investments flow back into the local community, going someway to contribute to reducing marginalisation and encouraging participation.

For further research

- Due to the fact that this study presented just a snapshot of power dimensions and their relations, further research could make a fruitful contribution by applying the same study design in a few years to compare changes, or even by conducting a longitudinal study to obtain a fuller picture of power relations.

- In this context it is seen as critical to include representatives of Gulu authorities and informal community leaders, since they are powerful actors in constraining or enabling youth participation.

- Considering the study which applied a typical case sampling, it would be very interesting to use a snowballing approach and diversify the findings according to youth who had not the opportunity of past training on issues of peacebuilding. Consequently, young people's post-conflict demands and desires would be further amplified how to participate in restoring the communities.

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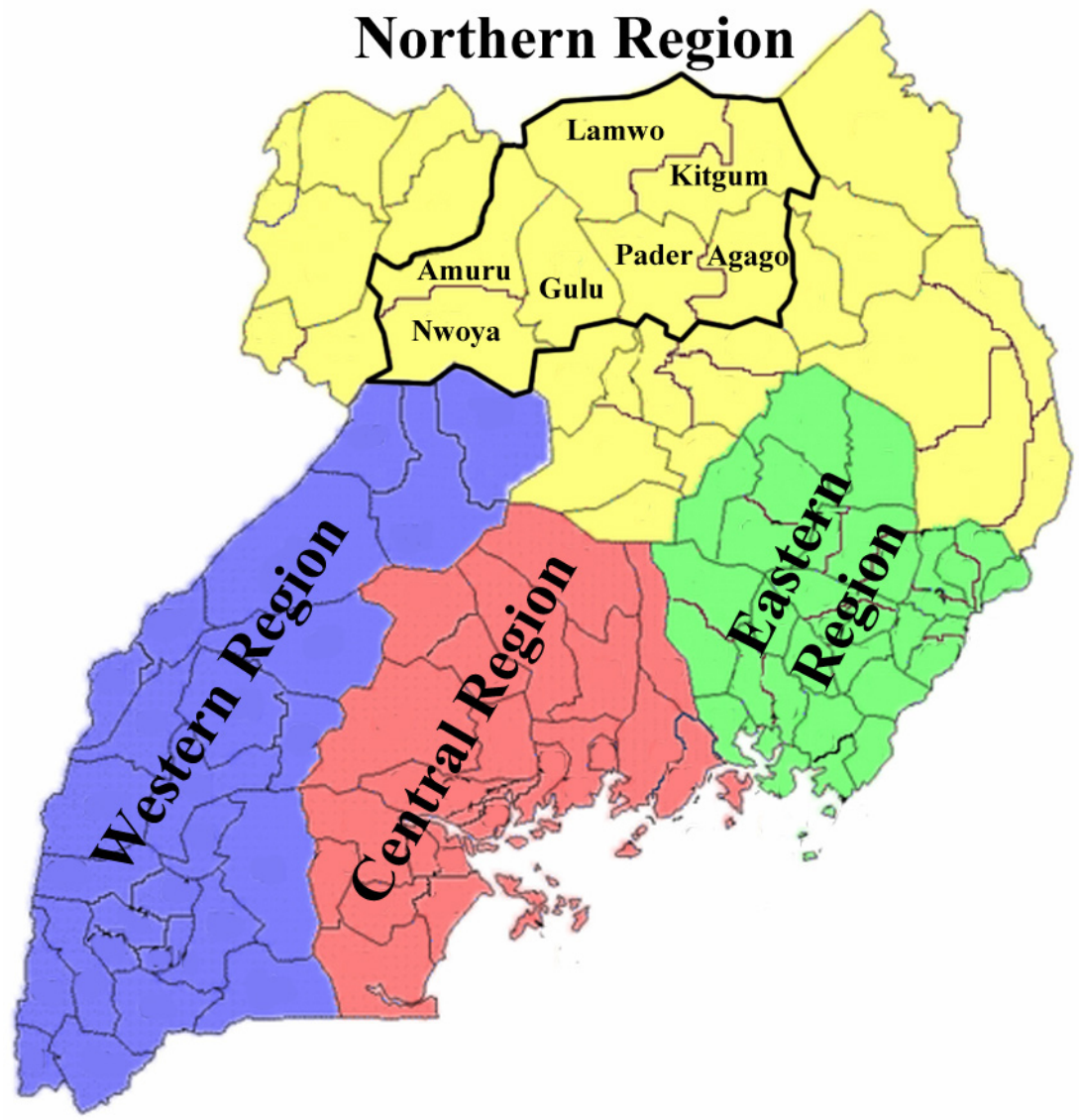
Appendices

Appendix 1: Map of Uganda, including major towns & neighbouring countries

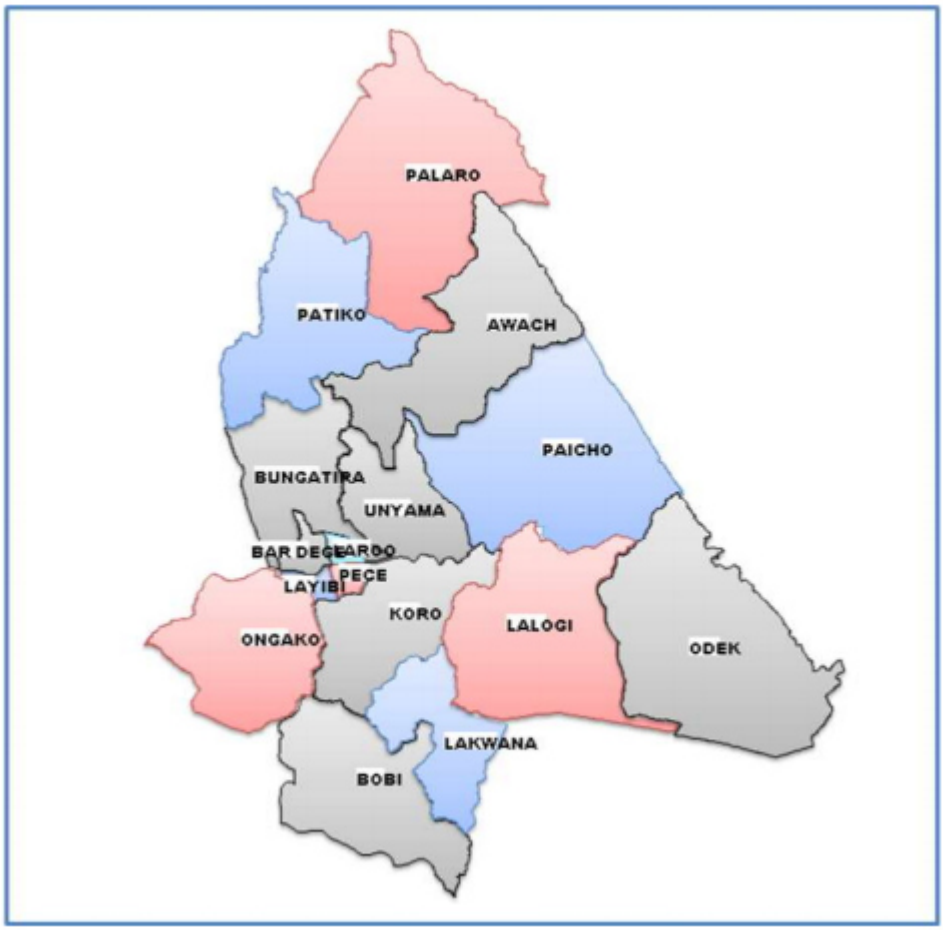
Map of Uganda including major towns and neighbouring countries [Busia and Palabek added by J.V.] (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Uganda_Regions_map.png, cited 16.05.2014); circled: Gulu Municipality – no changes made.

Appendix 2: Map of Uganda, including Acholi Sub-Region



Map of Uganda (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Uganda_districts_2010.png, cited 18.02.2013; modified by Martin Morlock); black-rimmed: Acholi sub-region with its seven districts Gulu, Kitgum, Pader, Amuru, Nwoya, Lamwo and Agago (status as of 2011) – no changes made.

Appendix 3: Map of Gulu District showing Sub-Counties



Source: Gulu District Local Government 2013, p.i

Appendix 4: Interview-Guide for Youth (semi-structured interview)

General - open ended questions

- Peacebuilding has a lot of meanings. What does it mean to you?
- Do you have also other associations with peacebuilding?
- What issues are you engaging with and how in the context of peacebuilding?
- In your work on issues of peacebuilding, what strategies do you use to help strengthen
  peacebuilding?
- How do you see your work helping to strengthen the participation of marginalized people in decisions that affect their lives?

Spaces of Power

Claimed/created

- What spaces do you claim? What kind of spaces do you create for participating in peacebuilding?
- What are your strategies to claim these spaces?
- What challenges did you face in claiming or creating the space?
  → What is your strategy to deal with these challenges?
- Do you feel that you were able to influence decisions about peacebuilding in your community/town through your claimed spaces?
- Do you feel that you have become more or less successful at influencing decisions in your community/town related to peacebuilding during the past 5 years - or has it stayed the same?

Invited

- In what kind of spaces for peacebuilding are you invited to participate?
- How are you invited?
- And by whom, or through which structures are you invited? (e.g. national/local authorities, NGOs/CBOs, community leaders, family clans, or others)

- Do you feel that you were able to influence decisions about peacebuilding in your community/town through the invited spaces?

Closed

- What are the closed spaces or closed forums for peacebuilding, where you are not invited to participate?
- Who restricts the participation towards these spaces?
- Why do you think these spaces are considered off-limits for youth participation?

Levels of Power

- In what levels do you usually participate in the context of peacebuilding? National, local, community or family level?
- In which levels do you find it easier to participate or deal with? Please explain.
  → Could you give some examples how you are participating in this level?
- Which of these structures has the most influence on peacebuilding in your communities/towns?
  → National, district, sub-county, parish, village, family level, or other
  → What is the reason for your answer?
- Has the way in which decisions related to peacebuilding are made in your community/town changed during the past 5 years? Please explain.
- At what level of decisions is peacebuilding in your community/town most influenced by? National, district, sub-county, parish, village, family level?
- From who or what comes the biggest influence? Explain the reasons for your answer.

Conclusion

- What is the most important factor that you think would help to promote greater participation in peacebuilding among people such as yourselves in your community/town? Mention only one factor.
- What do you think is the most important obstacle to greater participation in peacebuilding among people such as yourselves in your community/town?
- What can be done to enhance youth peacebuilding initiatives?

Appendix 5: Interview-Guide for Staff (semi-structured interview)

General - open ended questions

- Peacebuilding has a lot of meanings. What does it mean to you?
- And what do you think it means to the youth in Gulu district?
- What issues do you think is youth in their communities/towns engaging with and how in the context of peacebuilding?
- What strategies do you think youth uses to help strengthen peacebuilding?
- How do you think the work of the youth is helping to strengthen the participation of marginalized people in decisions that affect their lives?

Spaces of Power

Claimed/created

- What spaces does the youth claim? What kind of spaces do they create for participating in peacebuilding?
- What do you think are their strategies to claim these spaces?
- What challenges did they face in claiming or creating the space? → What is their strategy to deal with these challenges?
- Do you feel they were able to influence decisions about peacebuilding in their communities/towns through their claimed spaces?
- Do you feel that youth has become more or less successful at influencing decisions in their communities/towns related to peacebuilding during the past 5 years - or has it stayed the same?

Invited

- In what kind of spaces for peacebuilding are youth invited to participate?
- How are they invited?
- And by whom, or through which structures are they invited? (e.g. national/local authorities, NGOs/CBOs, community leaders, family clans, or others)

- Do you think they were able to influence decisions about peacebuilding in their communities/towns through the invited spaces?

Closed

- What are the closed spaces or closed forums for peacebuilding, where youth are not invited to participate?
- Who restricts the participation towards these spaces?
- Why do you think these spaces are considered off-limits for youth participation?

Levels of Power

- In what levels do you think youth usually participates in the context of peacebuilding? National, local, community or family level?
- In which levels do you think they find it easier to participate or deal with? Please explain.
  → Could you give some examples how youth are participating in this level?
- Which of these structures has the most influence on peacebuilding in their communities/towns?
  → National, district, sub-county, parish, village, family level, or other
  → What is the reason for your answer?
- Has the way in which decisions related to peacebuilding are made in your community/town changed during the past 5 years? Please explain.
- At what level of decisions is peacebuilding in their community/town most influenced by? National, district, sub-county, parish, village, family level?
- From who or what comes the biggest influence? Explain the reasons for your answer.

Conclusion

- What is the most important factor that you think would help youth to promote greater participation in peacebuilding among people such as themselves in their communities/towns? Mention only one factor.
- What do you think is the most important obstacle for youth to greater participation in peacebuilding among people such as themselves in their communities/towns?

- What can be done to enhance youth peacebuilding initiatives?

Appendix 6: Interview-Guide (Focus Group Discussion)

General - open ended questions

- Peacebuilding can have a lot of meanings. What does peacebuilding mean to you?
- Do you have also other associations with peacebuilding?
- What issues are you engaging with and how in the context of peacebuilding?

Spaces of Power

Claimed/created

- What spaces do you claim? What kind of spaces do you create for participating in peacebuilding?
- What are your strategies to claim these spaces?
- What challenges did you face in claiming or creating the space?
  → What is your strategy to deal with these challenges?
- Do you feel that you were able to influence decisions about peacebuilding in your community/town through your claimed spaces?
- Do you feel that you have become more or less successful at influencing decisions in your community/town related to peacebuilding during the past 5 years - or has it stayed the same?

Invited

- In what kind of spaces for peacebuilding are you invited to participate?
- Do you feel that you were able to influence decisions about peacebuilding in your community/town through the invited spaces?

Closed

- What are the closed spaces or closed forums for peacebuilding, where you are not invited to participate?

- Why do you think these spaces are considered off-limits for youth participation?

Levels of Power

- In what levels do you usually participate in the context of peacebuilding? National, local, community or family level?

- In which levels do you find it easier to participate or deal with? Please explain.
  → Could you give some examples how you are participating in this level?

- At what level of decisions is peacebuilding in your community/town most influenced by? National, district, sub-county, parish, village, family level?

Conclusion

- What is the most important factor that you think would help to promote greater participation in peacebuilding among people such as yourselves in your community/town? Mention only one factor.

- What do you think is the most important obstacle to greater participation in peacebuilding among people such as yourselves in your community/town?

- What can be done to enhance youth peacebuilding initiatives?

Appendix 7: Research Assistant Confidentiality Agreement

Research Assistant Confidentiality Agreement

This study, Youth Participation in Peacebuilding, is being undertaken by Kris Hartmann at Makerere University Kampala.

I, [name of research assistant], agree to:

1. Keep all the research information shared with me confidential by not discussing or sharing the research information in any form or format (e.g. disks, tapes, transcripts) with anyone other than the Principal Investigator;
2. Keep all research information in any form or format secure while it is in my possession;
3. Return all research information in any form or format to the Principal Investigator(s) when I have completed the research tasks;
4. After consulting with the Principal Investigator, erase or destroy all research information in any form or format regarding this research project that is not returnable to the Principal Investigator (e.g. information sorted on computer hard drive).

Research Assistant:

_____	_____	_____
(print name)	(signature)	(date)

Principal Investigator:

_____	_____	_____
(print name)	(signature)	(date)

Appendix 8: Informed consent (English)

The following is a presentation of how I will use the data collected in the interview.

In order to insure that projects meet the ethical requirements for good research I promise to adhere to the following principles:

- Interviewees in the project will be given information about the purpose of the project.
- Interviewees have the right to decide whether they will participate in the project, even after the interview has been concluded.
- The collected data will be handled confidentially and will be kept in such a way that no unauthorized person can view or access it.

The interview will be recorded as this makes it easier for me to document what is said during the interview and also helps me in the continuing work with the project. In my analysis, some data may be changed so that no interviewee will be recognized. After finishing the project, the data will be destroyed. The data I collect will only be used in this project.

You have the right to decline answering any questions, or terminate the interview without giving an explanation.

You are welcome to contact me or my supervisor in case you have any questions (e-mail addresses below).

Kris Hartmann
krishartmann7@gmail.com

Dr. Janestic Twirikize
janestic@gmail.com

Interviewee

Appendix 9: Informed consent (Acholi)

Eni aye yoo maa abitiyo ki ngec maa anguru i kwan nyoo kwed ma anoo ki ikom kacoke nywako tam. Yoo maa kwan man be lobo aye yoo maa bi weko kwan man lubo chik ma doro kweed maber.

1-*Joo weng ma gibi nywako tam nyo miyo ngec mito gu gee pingo kwan onyoo kweed man tyee ka time.*

2-Obedo twero paaa joo weng ma gibu obedo I kweed man me mede onyoo weko kweed man labongo dic moo keken.

3-Ngec onyooo tam maa kibe guru I kweed man kibe kanu nee ii muung mape ngat moo keken bebedo ki ngec iyeee.

4-ii nywaako tam man gibe mako dwon ki macine mee mako dwon,man biweko tic doko yot kibee weko tic mukeene calo kweed matut bibedo yot,ii mako dwon man nying ngat moo keken pe bi kati .ii gee tweko kweed man tape dwon maa ki mako ki bi balo onyoo turu wek ngec moo poo kiii kamo.Dak ngec maa ki nongo ii kweed man ki bi tiyo kede ii kwan man kekeen.

5-Obedo twero nii me kwero gamo lapeny moo kekeen onyoo bwoto kacoke moo kekeen labongo nywako/leyo tam ki ngat moo kekeen.

Kaa ityee ki lapeny moo ma lube ki kweed maan itweero penyo an onyoo ngat ma loyo an (itwero cwalo tam,lapeny kun itiyo ki adwec man kicooyo piny).

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