Fragile States Country Report No. 9

# **Uganda**

October 2007



Events Coverage: September 2006 to February 2007

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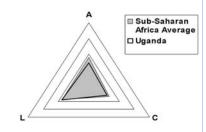
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FRAGILITY IN BRIEF

Uganda is on the road to recovery but still weak. In particular, the Capacity of the government to provide for the basic needs of its citizens is limited. In relation to 193 countries, Uganda is considered high risk in Capacity, ranking 25<sup>th</sup> out of 193 countries. Its Authority score is slightly stronger, at a level of medium risk, though still ranking Uganda at 20<sup>th</sup> overall — a reflection of the long-running conflict in the north of the country. Legitimacy is the strongest of the three, with the country ranking 78<sup>th</sup> among the same group of 193 countries. Uganda has been making progress toward meeting most of the MDG goals and in fact has already achieved its target for reducing the prevalence of HIV/AIDS. Further analysis reveals that Uganda has key strengths in areas of governance, economics and the environment but is also experiencing deficiencies in managing security and crime, human development, and demography. Problems in the country stem primarily from the ongoing conflict with the LRA in Northern Uganda. Over a million people remain in crowded internally displaced persons (IDP) camps, lacking proper sanitation.

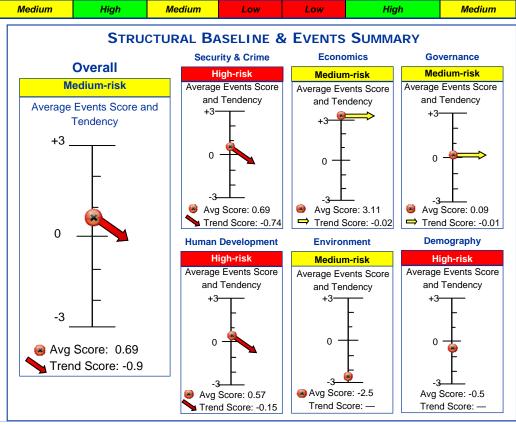
Events analysis reinforces these basic findings, and highlight positive changes related to governance and economic development that have recently taken place. With regards to security and crime, human development, and demography however, events reflect a downward trend. Improvements in basic health

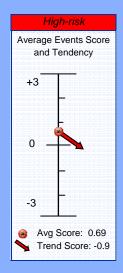
care, enhanced capacity to respond to the outbreak of disease, improved delivery of education, and the reintegration of child soldiers are among the most pressing challenges facing the Ugandan government. Furthermore, recent events suggest that despite current international efforts to address security and crime in Uganda, namely in supporting negotiations between the government and the LRA rebel leaders, little progress has been made toward a peace agreement since the Juba round of peace talks began in July 2006. However, there is reason to be cautiously optimistic as the security situation has improved in Northern Uganda where many IDPs have been able to return home, as the LRA is no longer carrying out regular attacks and child abductions.



Uganda Authority (A), Legitimacy (L), and Capacity (C) Triangle

MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS (MDGS): LIKELIHOOD OF ATTAINMENT (UNICEF, 2007)						
Extreme Poverty and Hunger	Education	Gender Equality	Child Mortality	Maternal Mortality	HIV/AIDS & Malaria	Environmental Sustainability
Medium	High	Medium	Low	Low	High	Medium





# SUMMARY

# STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

Uganda exhibits fragility as a result of demographic, security and development challenges. These problems are largely a result of the ongoing conflict with the Lord's Resistance Army in Northern Uganda and Uganda's poor overall capacity. Uganda's authority and legitimacy fare better however, as a result of stronger indicators for governance, the economy, and the environment. A critical area of concern is that the development of the northern region lags behind that of the rest of the country. Despite the problems created by poor security and a lack of human development, Uganda's most problematic indicator of fragility remains demographic. Aside from net migration, all demographic indicators provide reasons for concern, with the most worrisome indicators being the ethnic diversity of the population and the large youth bulge. Unless ethnic relations stabilize further and new economic opportunities emerge in the next few years, these two areas create a powder-keg situation that could ignite in a new crisis.

**EVENTS** Reflecting the ongoing conflict in the north, security events were the most prevalent during this period of observation. The downward trend reflects the lack of progress in negotiations. Violent setbacks to the Juba round of peace talks with the LRA in turn influenced state performance in many other clusters. The reduced volatility indicates some degree of increased stability towards the end of the events monitoring period. This increased stability can be attributed to positive developments in the economy, as new bilateral trade deals were signed and human development began to improve as hundreds of thousands of displaced persons returned home. These positive developments were facilitated by an improved security environment in Northern Uganda, but without any peace agreement between the LRA and the Ugandan government, the security situation will remain unstable, threatening gains in other areas. (See p. 7 for the OLS graph of the six month event trend.)

created by poor security and development, Uganda's most problematic indicator of fragility remains

demographic."

"Despite the problems

# KEY ISSUES AND FACTS

# Security and Crime:

- ✓ Juba round of peace talks began in July 2006
- The outstanding ICC arrest warrants are a point of contention negotiations
- LRA rebels began to move toward assembly points
- Negotiations have broken down
   Negotiation down
   Negotiation down
   Negotiation down
   Negotiation down
   Negotiation dow
- Karimojong warriors
- □ Uganda named as a source, destination and conduit for human and child trafficking for slavery and sex abuse

# **Economics:**

- Agreements with Iran, France, China, and Egypt to boost trade ties
- South Sudan and Uganda sign trade
- More oil found in Western Uganda Increased trade with Kenya

# Governance:

- Ugandan parliament passes resolution backing Juba peace talks
- excludes homosexuals
- after lecturers demand salary raise

# **Human Development:**

- Outbreaks of plague, cholera, meningitis
- ✓ Increased government attention to water access for poor, with assistance from World Bank
- ✓ Kapchorwa elders have decided to abandon genital mutilation of girls

# **Environment:**

- High levels of deforestation
- Landslides in northern Uganda

# **Demography:**

- At least 230,000 displaced persons to return to their homes
- Uganda and Rwanda hold talks about refugees
- Thousands flee DRC and enter western Uganda

# PRIMARY DRIVERS

# **GOVERNANCE**

# STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

Governance exhibits an overall medium risk rating. The percentage of female parliamentarians is the one indicator

with a low risk rating in this cluster. The positive representation of women in politics is reflected in Uganda's progress towards achieving Goal #3 of the Millennium Development Goals. However, Uganda has several problem areas, including corruption, poor levels of democracy, accountability and rule of law, and a high number of refugees and IDPs. On a more positive note, Uganda scores better in terms of its restrictions on political rights and civil liberties, and its effectiveness as a government. These areas of relative strength contribute to the overall medium risk rankings in **Authority** and **Legitimacy**.

EVENTS The government has made positive advances in addressing the human development needs of its citizens, particularly with regards to water sanitation and the prevention, containment, and treatment of disease. The government was also active in expanding its diplomatic and economic ties with other countries. Such gains are nonetheless overshadowed by the government's inability or unwillingness to end the conflict with the LRA, and heavy handed tactics when dealing with social unrest. At times, Museveni's approach to dealing with the latter included forceful and extreme measures. Examples include closing Makerere University when the professors demanded a pay raise. Such tactics have provoked criticism from citizens and opposition parties. Accusations also persist that the Ugandan People's Defence Force (UPDF) is too involved in politics and harassing members of opposition parties. Reports of illegal detention of rebel suspects also reflect poorly on the independence of the judiciary.

# Medium-risk Average Events Score and Tendency +3 0 Avg Score: 0.09 → Trend Score: -0.01

# KEY EVENTS

- Ugandan parliament passes resolution backing Juba peace talks 8 September 2006, The New Vision Indicates whole of government support for the latest round of peace talks with the LRA
- Ugandan parliament passes equality bill

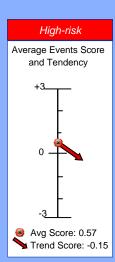
14 December 2006, The New Vision
An important legislative step forward but
homosexuals were excluded from the list
of marginalized groups

# **HUMAN DEVELOPMENT**

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS

Human development continues to be a major challenge for Uganda. All indicators except health infrastructure and the ratio of males to females in primary school present Capacity challenges. Malaria remains the leading cause of death in Uganda, primarily affecting pregnant women and children. Other areas of concern include improved access to water, primary school enrolment and completion rates, infant mortality and Uganda's low Human Development Index (HDI) rating. Uganda ranks 145<sup>th</sup> out of 177 countries on the HDI, though this still puts Uganda ahead of other Eastern African nations. More positively, Uganda has taken a leadership role in reforming its water sector. Water coverage levels have increased from 39 percent in 1996 to 51 percent in 2003, which is equivalent to an additional 5.3 million people having access to safe water in 2003 (UNDP 2006). Much of this increase occurred in rural areas. Uganda has also made progress towards meeting the MDG goal #2 of universal primary education.

EVENTS The UN under secretary-general for humanitarian affairs and emergency relief coordinator, Jan Egeland, commended Uganda for progress in addressing humanitarian needs in the north. At the national level, progress has been made with regards to human development, largely due to funding from other countries and international organizations. The EU pledged US\$24 million to assist with the return of the displaced people and the US has committed US\$88 million. The UK pledged £35 million for poverty reduction. If the Ugandan government uses these resources effectively, Capacity should increase further in coming years. The state has also focused on the need for improved water access, with the World Bank granting US\$6 million for water improvement projects. The downward trend in events is largely due to outbreaks of malaria, cholera, meningitis, and the plague, reminders of the continuing health challenges that Uganda faces.



# KEY EVENTS

- Kapchorwa elders abandon genital mutilation of girls
  - Radio Uganda, 6 December 2006 Important relinquishing of dangerous practice
- Visiting UN official hails "positive progress" in solving northern Uganda woes

Radio Uganda, 12 September 2006 Improvements in humanitarian conditions in the north

# High-risk Average Events Score and Tendency +3 0 -3 Avg Score: 0.69 Trend Score: -0.74

# PRIMARY DRIVERS

# **SECURITY AND CRIME**

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS With an overall high-risk score, security and crime in Uganda shows continuing weakness. Conflict intensity, the number of incidents of terrorism, and regional stability remain particular indicators of concern. The high risk score for conflict intensity is unsurprising as the conflict with the LRA has lasted 20 years with up to 12,000 people killed and approximately 25,000 children kidnapped since 1987. The high-risk indicators are moderated to some extent by the government's low dependence on external military support and low military expenditure as a percentage of GDP. However, the government's attempts to deal with security and crime often come at the expense of human rights.

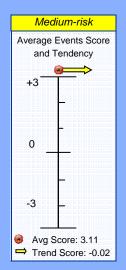
Uganda's security situation worsened during this period, largely due to events **EVENTS** related to the Juba round of peace talks with the LRA. Though the rebels did begin moving toward designated assembly points in September 2006, the talks have since broken down with LRA and the UPDF each accusing the other side of violating the ceasefire agreement reached that same month. The number of events also decreased towards the end of the monitoring period as the LRA leaders refused to resume talks in January 2007 until new conditions were met. There also continues to be military action against the Karimojong warriors in north-eastern Uganda. Particularly worrisome is the continuing politicization of the UPDF and the police, and the impact this may have on the population's willingness to rely on both institutions for their security. The security climate in the north for IDPs has improved somewhat; though a peace agreement has not yet been reached, the number of LRA attacks and child abductions has greatly diminished and many of IDPs have begun to return home. The government is beginning to de-mine the northern region, a move which will facilitate the resettlement of displaced persons. However, the improvements remain tenuous without any sustainable peace agreement.

# KEY EVENTS

- Ugandan rebels begin moving towards assembly zones
  - 1 September 2006, The New Vision
    The assembly zones were designated as part
    of the Juba round of peace talks and this
    early compliance evoked hope for peace
- Security in northern Uganda improving, UN official
  - 11 September 2006, IRIN, Jan Egeland visited the IDP camps in Northern Uganda and commented on improvements in security.
- Uganda LRA withdraws from peace talks 30 November 2006, Radio France Internationale
- LRA withdraws claiming UPDF had killed three rebel fighters
- Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (CHA), signed in August 2006 by the LRA and the Government of Uganda expired 28 February 2007, The New Vision Ceasefire expired even as peace talks collapsed

# **SECONDARY DRIVERS**

# **ECONOMICS**



SUMMARY Uganda is rich in natural resources and has a largely agricultural economy. Since coming to power in 1986, Museveni's government has made good progress to rebuild the economy, which was devastated by war and neglect. Investment as a percentage of GDP has increased, inflation rates have fallen, and the economy is growing. Uganda negotiated a policy framework with the IMF and the World Bank, and continues to work with these organizations. Strengthened trade ties with a number of countries also contribute to improved economic conditions. As with virtually all of Sub-Saharan Africa, GDP per capita remains a problem, particularly because of the high percentage of the population living below the poverty line; estimates place the number at 35% in 2001. Uganda has experienced a major crisis in power supply, although the World Bank has committed to providing assistance. While the assistance is needed it also demonstrates the state's inability to effectively manage resources, a fact reflected in the country's high-risk Capacity rating. Economic growth would thus benefit from improved electricity generation, along with enhanced railway transport and reduced interest rates. Still, oil reserves were discovered in western Uganda in 2006, and Museveni has stated that oil profits will be used for development projects. Both the oil and the projects could provide a strong boost to the economy.

# SECONDARY DRIVERS

# **ENVIRONMENT**

# **SUMMARY**

Between 1991 and 1994, Uganda created the National Environment Action Plan (NEAP), which streamlined its laws and policies in relation to the challenges for a sustainable future. However, Uganda's high population growth rate is a main contributor to environmental degradation, which in turn leads to food shortages in a primarily agricultural society. Policy failures are also to blame as there are regional inequalities in access, use, and quality of natural resources across the country. In September 2006, approximately 300 East African soldiers completed special training in natural disaster preparedness and response in Uganda (Uganda Television). While this bodes well for emergency preparedness, management of natural resources remains a challenge. Environmentalists predicted that Uganda may start importing timber in the next 20 years if it fails to conserve its forests now (Radio Uganda).

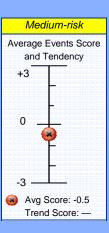
# Medium-risk Average Events Score and Tendency +3 0 -3 Average Events Score and Tendency -3 Trend Score: -2.5 Trend Score: -

# **DEMOGRAPHY**

# **SUMMARY**

Uganda suffers from several demographic problems. Uganda has one of the highest population growth rates in the world, estimated at 3.57% for 2007.

With such high population growth, it is difficult to make real progress in improving quality of life. There is a need for increased public education about the link between population growth and development. The population is predominantly rural with just 14% of the population in urban areas, and youth make up a large portion of the population. An estimated 50% of the population is aged 14 and under. Though net migration is low (estimated at 0.24 migrants per 1000 people for 2007), internal displacement has been a major problem throughout the 20 years of conflict with the LRA. An estimated 1.7 million people remain internally displaced in northern Uganda. Further, the ongoing government disarmament process of the Karamojong warriors has resulted in new displacement in northeast Uganda.



# CANADA AND UGANDA

# **CANADIAN CONTRIBUTIONS**

Regional CIDA projects that include Uganda have only been listed below if Uganda is receiving 25% of more of the project resources.

- Water Sanitation and Hygiene Education Project duration: 2006–2008 CIDA contribution: \$281,820 (25% for Uganda) Develop proper water and sanitation facilities and educate the urban poor
- Film: A Song for Africa
   Project Duration: 2006-2007
   CIDA Contribution: \$125,000
   Documentary about Ugandan children orphaned by
   AIDS who are part of the Watoto Children's Choir
- War Affected Youth Project Phase II Projection Duration: 2005-2007-04-23 CIDA Contribution: \$5,447,292 (25% for Uganda) Training, counselling, and education for former child soldiers
- Knowledge for Development Fund Project Duration: 2006-2011 CIDA contribution: \$500,000 (25% for Uganda) Research in CIDA's areas of bilateral involvement to assist in implementation of programs
- Juba Initiative Project (managed by the Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs) DFAIT contribution: \$500,000 (25% for Uganda) Canada ranks first among donor contributions to this fund.

# LINKS

- Canadian exports to Uganda (2006):CAD \$7,688,215, primarily textile products but also significant chemical, mechanical, machinery products (Statistics Canada)
- Canadian imports from Uganda (2006): CAD \$3,070,622, primarily vegetable products but also significant mineral and animal products (Statistics Canada)
- Ugandan Diaspora in Canada (2001): In the 1996-2001 period Statistics Canada reported 550 immigrants and 315 nonpermanent residents for a t total of 11,030
- Development engagement: Since 2000, CIDA has provided approximately \$23.6 million in targeted humanitarian assistance to Uganda but there is no strong history of engagement.

(Data from CIDA, 2007, and DFAIT, 2006)

# 6—12 MONTH SCENARIOS

# BASELINE LIKELY CASE BASED ON MOST LIKELY

ASSUMPTIONS FOR EACH CLUSTER

The peace talks between the Ugandan government and the LRA will continue with slow progress and periodic setbacks but the overall security climate in the north will improve. Internally displaced persons will continue to return home as a result. The resettlement progress will be slowed by the ongoing conflict between the Karamojong warriors and the UPDF however. Progress will continue toward most MDG targets but goals to reduce infant mortality and improve maternal health are unlikely to be met. Some progress will be made as use of DDT reduces cases of malaria. Economic growth spurred on by new or expanded bilateral trade agreements and the development of oil reserves will be hindered by high population growth and high youth unemployment as a result of the youth bulge and Uganda will remain highly dependent on donor funds.

# ALTERNATIVE LIKELY CASE BASED ON VARIATION IN WEAK-

EST ASSUMPTION — ACTIVITIES BY THE LRA

In the alternative likely case, talks remain suspended during the coming months as the LRA maintains its demands for a new venue and the dissolution of the ICC warrants. The government will in turn become increasingly frustrated and the desire of both parties to reach a peace agreement will gradually dissolve. With little progress being made in reaching a sustainable peace agreement, displaced persons may feel reluctant to return home and progress will not be made in resettling and rehabilitating the northern region. Lack of peace talk progress would likely dissuade potential investors and trade partners from increasing economic ties with Uganda, thereby slowing growth in the country.

# **BEST CASE** BASED ON ASSUMPTION THAT THE PEACE PROCESS RESUMES

In Uganda's best case scenario, peace talks resume with both sides accepting a new venue and mediator and a viable peace agreement is reached. The government commits, and begins to implement, a reintegration program for the former LRA rebels. The IDP's return home en masse, thereby facilitating economic and human development advances in the northern region, bringing it in line with the rest of the country. The Karamojong disarmament program successfully concludes with minimal casualties. With two major security threats addressed the government is able to focus the majority of resources on human development and economic growth.

# **WORST CASE** BASED ON ASSUMPTION THAT PEACE TALKS BREAK DOWN AND VIOLENCE RESUMES

In the worst case scenario, the LRA rejects the peace talks entirely and resumes attacks on civilians and the abduction of children in northern Uganda. The reestablishment of LRA camps in DRC and South Sudan strain relationship between Uganda and these neighbouring countries. The government responds by launching a full scale UPDF offensive against the LRA and may forcibly enter the territory of neighbouring to root out the rebels. The number of IDPs increases as the violence escalates and those who had returned home no long feel safe there. Human development, environmental and economic concerns are sidelined as the government focuses on LRA conflict. The MDG targets that were on track show rapid decline.

# POSSIBLE POLICY ENTRY POINTS

# Security & Crime:

- Training for the UPDF to depoliticize their role
- Work with neighbouring countries to ensure their commitment to LRA peace talks

# **Economics:**

- Support job skills training for youth, particularly in slum areas
- Support improvements to availability and quality of agricultural tools and materials

# Governance:

- Support programs and training to monitor and fight corruption within government institutions
- Support NGOs that promote democratic principles, irrespective of political party
- Encourage and support inter-party talks to articulate challenges and opportunities for Uganda

# **Human Development:**

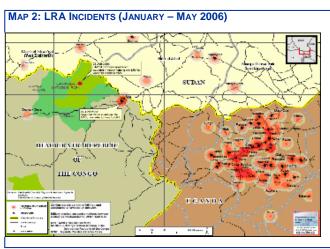
- Support the rehabilitation of LRA rebels
- Support the resettlement of IDPs
- Assist NGOs educating people about infectious diseases

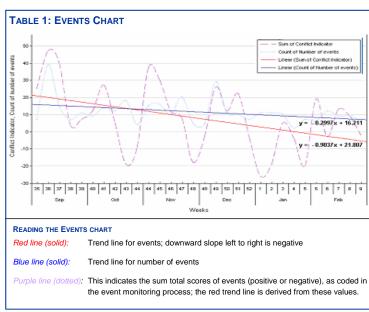
# **Environment:**

- Support regional information sharing and best practices exchanges on resources management and natural disaster preparedness and response
- Assist local NGOs educating people about the importance of sustainable living
- Encourage environmentallyfriendly policies to combat the spread of infectious diseases

# **MAPS**







# INDEX METHODOLOGY

Like its predecessor the CIFP conflict risk index, the fragility index employs a methodology of relative structural assessment. The analysis begins with a structural profile of the country, a composite index that measures overall country fragility along six dimensions or clusters: governance, economics, security, human development, demography and environment. Each of these clusters is based on a number of indicators; for example, indicators under the 'economics cluster' include economic growth, gross domestic product, inflation and unemployment, etc. The data is further analyzed to provide insight into relative state strength and weakness along three dimensions of 'stateness', namely authority, legitimacy, and capacity. This multidimensional assessment methodology is a direct response to the multi-causal nature of fragility and failure; states can weaken in any number of ways, such that any attempt to attribute fragility to a single deterministic set of causal variables inevitably remains underdetermined, capturing only a limited subset of all fragile states. Instead, CIFP adopts a more inductive approach, identifying areas of relative strength and weakness across all measures of state performance.

In ranking state performance on a given indicator, global scores are distributed across a nine-point index. The best performing state receives a score of one, the worst a score of nine, and the rest continuously distributed between these two extremes based on relative performance. As country performance for some types of data can vary significantly from year to year – as in the case of economic shocks, natural disasters, and other externalities – averages are taken for global rank scores over a five-year time frame. Once all indicators have been indexed using this method, the results for a given country are then averaged in each fragility cluster to produce the final scores for the country.

In general, a high score - 6.5 or higher - indicates that a country is performing poorly relative to other states. Such a score may be indicative of an arbitrary and autocratic government, a history of non-

transparent government, the presence of significant barriers to political participation, the absence of a consistently enforced legal framework, or a poor human rights record.

A low score – in the range of 1 to 3.5 – indicates that a country is performing well relative to others, or that a country's structural conditions present little cause for concern. Values in the moderate 3.5 to 6.5 range indicate performance approaching the global mean.

Table 1: Fragility index scoring scale				
Score	Description			
1-3.5	Country performing well relative to others			
3.5-6.5	Country performing at or around the median			
6.5+	Country performing poorly relative to others			

# **EVENTS MONITORING METHODOLOGY**

# **SUMMARY**

The purpose of CIFP event monitoring is to observe and report on events within a country to better understand the dynamic trends affecting democratic processes and governance in the country. This data, when combined with structural data, provides a more comprehensive analysis of both the underlying conditions and recent developments, thereby informing a more nuanced and ultimately policy-relevant analysis.

In CIFP event monitoring methodology, events are all coded using a number of criteria. First, each event is assigned to the specific cluster area to which it is *most directly* related, either governance, economics, security and crime, human development, demography, or environment. Second, the event is coded as being either stabilizing or destabilizing to the state. The event score is then determined by answering the following three questions:

- 1. How direct is the impact of the event on state stability?
- 2. How broad is the impact of the event?
- 3. How intense is the event, in comparison with past events in the country?

Each question is answered quantitatively using a three-point scale.

# **EVENTS MONITORING METHODOLOGY**

# COMPONENTS OF THE COMPOSITE EVENT SCORE

**CAUSAL RELEVANCE** 1. Event is relevant, but with no clearly delineable direct causal linkage to state stability or fragility (e.g. an announcement of funding, or an international soccer friendly).

- 2. Event is relevant, with a delineable, though indirect causal linkage to state stability or fragility (e.g. New legislation enhancing minority rights is passed, or a bomb detonates within an ethnically divided region).
- 3. Event is relevant with a delineable and direct causal linkage to state fragility (e.g. Declaration of a ceasefire or the assassination of a government minister.)

- 1. Event affects less than 25% of political stakeholders.
- 2. Event affects 25% 75% of political stakeholders.
- 3. Event affects more than 75% of political stakeholders.

# INTENSITY/ESCALATION 1. Event is comparable to others experienced in the state in the previous six months.

- 2. Event is more intense than others experienced in the state in the previous six months.
- 3. Event is more intense than others experienced in the state in the previous five years.

# **STAKEHOLDERS**

As part of the initial country profile, the analyst compiles a list of stakeholders. Stakeholders are those individuals or groups that possess an identifiable, broadly similar political agenda and either have an effect on or are affected by state stability or fragility. They often have an organizational structure in addition to sufficient resources to pursue explicitly or implicitly articulated

# **EVENT ANALYSIS**

The analysis occurs in both aggregate (all events) and disaggregate (events analysed by cluster) by using quantitative data in two ways. First, summary statistics provide the analyst with an overview of the average event scores. Positive average event scores are indicative of an environment that experiences more or more significant positive events than

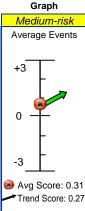
negative events. Negative average scores indicate the opposite.

Tendency	Negative	Status quo	Positive	
Key	Slope	Slope	Slope	
OLS Slope value	Below	Between1	Above	
	-0.1	and .1	+0.1	
Symbol	1	$\hat{1}$	Z	

The second avenue of analysis is via regression lines to observe whether the events demonstrate any positive or negative tendency over time (left).

These two types of information average event score and event tendency - are combined into a single graph (see right). The graph may be thought of as analogous to a thermometer and

barometer. The risk score given at the top of the graph — color-coded as green, yellow, or red — is based upon the structural analysis for a given cluster. The colour indicates the relative level of risk in the cluster, and may be thought of as the "thermometer," providing an indication of the overall risk in the country. The arrow and bar below may be thought of as the "barometer", providing both the average event score and the event tendency, which are akin to the level and direction of barometric pressure, respectively.



**Example Summary** 

# **SCENARIO GENERATION**

The report includes scenarios for the country's fragility over the short term, normally 6-18 months. Normally, the analysis includes four scenarios: a baseline case, an alternative case, a best-case, and a worst-case. Each is based on an analysis of overall and cluster summary statistics and trends, as well as stakeholder interests. The best-case identifies the most positive outcome possible (most conducive to stable democratic governance and poverty reduction) in the near future. Conversely, the worst-case scenario identifies the opposite. These two scenarios are intended to highlight different facets of the situation for the reader, by considering the strongest trends among stabilizing and destabilizing events, drawing attention both to dominant threats and potential points of entry. Finally, the baseline and alternative scenarios extrapolate future tendencies based on analysts best assumptions for the state, again combined with likely stakeholder interaction. Dominant trends-those most likely to continue in each of the 6 dimensions of fragility over the next six to eighteen months-become underlying assumptions. These are then combined to form an overall portrait of the country for the near term, providing a baseline "likely" scenario. The alternative case simply considers what would happen if the weakest of these assumptions did not hold, thereby giving some indication of the scenarios' robustness. Taken together, the scenarios define both the probable and potential developments in the country over the near term. Such insights may inform contingency policy planning processes, and provide some basis for benchmarks with which to evaluate the success of initiatives intended to improve state fragility.

STRUCTURAL DATA (SOURCE AND	Cluster avg.	Fragility index score	index	Raw Data Five	Year of	Trend Score
SCALE OF RAW DATA IN PARENTHESES)			rank	year avg	Data	
1. Governance 6.28						
Freedom of the Press (FH, index, 0-100)			91	45.4	2006	neg
Gov't Effectiveness (WB Governance Matters, index, Deviation from mean)			77	-0.5	2005	*
Level of Corruption (TI, index, 0-10)			43	2.4	2006	pos
Level of Democracy (Polity IV, index, (-10 - 10))			33	-4.0	2004	s.q.
Level of participation in international political organizations (CIFP)			23	8.3	2005	*
Percentage of Female Parliamentarians, index, (WB WDI)		2.3	160	23.4	2005	s.q.
Permanence of Regime Type (Polity IV, years since regime chang	je)	6.3	56	9.0	2004	s.q.
Refugees hosted (UNHCR, total)		8.4	13	231135.8	2005	neg
Restrictions on Civil Liberties (FH, index, 1-7)		5.7	63	4.2	2005	s.q.
Restrictions on Political Rights (FH, index, 1-7)		6.5	51	5.4	2005	pos
Rule of Law (WB GM, Deviation from mean)		6.6	58	-0.8	2005	*
Voice and Accountability in Decision-making (WB GM, Dev. from	mean)	6.6	58	-0.7	2005	*
2. Economics	5.53					
Economic growth — Percentage of GDP (WB WDI)		3.5	149	5.4	2005	s.q.
Economic Size — Relative (WB WDI, GDP per capita, cons	tant	0.0		011	2000	0.4.
2000 US\$)		8.2	20	258.0	2005	s.q.
Economic Size — Total (WB WD, GDP, constant 2000 US	5)	5.5	81	6.95E+09	2005	s.q.
External Debt — percentage of GNI (WB WDI)		3.1	98	33.4	2004	*
FDI — percentage of GDP (WB WDI)		5.4	73	3.0	2004	s.q.
Foreign Aid — percent of Central Government Expenditures (WB	WDI)	8.3	8	69.8	2003	pos
Foreign Aid — Total per capita (WB WDI)		5.5	72	34.1	2004	s.q.
Inequality — GINI Coefficient (WB WDI)		6.3	42	43.0	2003	*
Inflation (WB WDI)			85	4.2	2005	neg
Informal Economy — Black Market (Heritage Fund, Index,	1-5)	4.7 5.9	38	4.2	2006	pos
Informal Economy — Ratio of PPP to GDP (WB WDI)	,	8.3	15	5.1	2005	s.q.
Infrastructure — Reliability of Electricity Supply (WB, % out	put lost)	0.0				
Infrastructure — Telephone mainlines per 1000 inhabitants		8.8	6	2.3	2004	s.q.
Infrastructure — Internet Usage per 1000 inhabitants (WB)	· /	7.8	31	3.9	2004	neg
Investment Climate — Contract Regulation (Heritage Found	dation,	7.0	- 51	0.0	2004	neg
Index, 1-5)		4.3	84	3.8	2006	neg
Level of participation in international economic organization	s (CIFP)	3.7	125	6.0	2005	*
Paying Taxes (WB Doing Business, global rank)		2.9	130	44.5	2006	*
Regulatory Quality (WB GM, deviation from mean)		4.5	110	0.0	2005	*
Remittances Received — percentage of GDP (WB)		7.1	37	0.1	2005	s.q.
Reserve Holdings — Total (WB)		5.4	81	1.13E+09	2005	s.q.
Trade Balance — percentage of GDP (WB)		6.4	49	-4.8	2005	s.q.
Trade Openness — percentage of GDP (WB)		8.4	14	39.5	2005	s.q.
Unemployment — Total (WB)		1.4	92	3.2	2003	*
Percentage of Women in the Labour Force (WB)			162	48.1	2005	s.q.
3. Security & Crime 6.77			.02		2000	0.9.
Conflict intensity (Uppasala PRIO, number of conflict-related deaths)			5	994.5	2005	*
Dependence on External Military Support (FFP, Index, 1-10)			25	7.4	2006	*
Human Rights — Empowerment (CIRI, Index, 0-10)			39	3.0	2004	C 0
Human Rights — Physical Integrity (CIRI, Index, 0-8)			32		2004	s.q.
Military Expenditure — percentage of GDP (WDI)				3.0		s.q.
Political Stability (WB GM, deviation from mean)			52	2.2	2004	neg *
Refugees Produced (WB, total)			20	-1.4	2005	nac
Risk of ethnic Rebellion (CIFP, based on MaR dataset)			29	36038.0	2004	pos *
Terrorism Number of fatalities (US NCTC, number of fatalities)			77	2.5	2005	
			37	191.5	2005	*
Terrorism Number of Incidents (US NCTC, number of incidents)			22	21.0	2005	*

# STRUCTURAL DATA (CONT'D)

4. Human Development 6.94					
Access to Improved Water (WB, percent of the population)	7.8	28	60.0	2004	*
Access to Sanitation (WB, percent of the population)	7.0	42	43.0	2004	*
Education — Primary Completion — female (WB, percent)	7.7	22	54.5	2004	*
Education — Primary Completion — total (WB, percent)	7.7	23	59.2	2004	*
Education — Primary Enrolment — total (WB. percent)	7.7	23	59.2	2004	*
Education — Primary Enrolment — Ratio Female to Male	7.1	20	00.2	2004	
(WB)	4.3	97	98.6	2005	s.q.
Food Security — Aid as percentage of total consumption					
(FAO STAT)	6.0	52	1.6	2001	*
Gender Empowerment Measure (UNDP, index, 0-1)					
Gender-related Development Index (UNDP, index, 0-1)	7.4	31	0.5	2004	pos
Health Infrastructure — Expenditures as a percentage of GDP (WB)	3.5	132	7.0	2003	nos
HIV/AIDS — New AIDS Cases Reported (UN, total)	3.3	132	7.0	2003	pos
HIV/AIDS — Percent of Adult Females Infected (WB)	6.6	36	 57.7	2005	*
` '	6.6	36	57.7	2005	
HIV/AIDS — Percent of Adult population infected (WB)	8.3	13	6.7	2005	*
Human Development Index (UNDP, index 0-1)	7.7	30	0.5	2004	pos
Infant Mortality (WB, per 1000 live births)	7.7	29	82.6	2004	*
Literacy (WB, percent of population age 15 and above)					
	7.4	24	66.8	2004	*
Literacy — female (WB, percent of female population age 15	7.0	0.4	F7 7	0004	*
and above)	7.3	24	57.7	2004	,
5. Demography 7.34 Life Expectancy — Female (WB)	7.0	07	47.0	0004	*
Life Expectancy — Pennale (WB)	7.9	27	47.6	2004	*
Life Expectancy — Total (WB)	7.9	26	47.1	2004	
Migration — Estimated Net Rate (UN)	4.6	102	-0.1	2005	*
Population Density (WB, population per square km)	7.0	49	136.6	2005	neg
Population Diversity — Ethnic (CIFP)	9.0	1	0.9	2005	*
Population Diversity — Religious (CIFP)	8.3	14	0.7	2005	*
Population Growth (WB, annual percent)	8.7	7	3.4	2005	neg
Slum Population — proportion of population (WDI, UN)	3.0	75	0.1	2001	*
Urban Growth Rate — Annual percent (WB)	8.0	24	4.2	2005	neg
Youth Bulge — Percent aged 0-14 of total population (WB)	9.0	1	50.4	2005	neg
6. Environment 4.10					
Arable/fertile land availability (WB, hectares per person)	4.4	110	0.2	2002	neg
Consumption — Commercial energy consumption per capita	7.7	110	0.2	2002	neg
(UN, kg of oil equivalent)	1.3	176	24.4	2003	s.q.
Consumption — Use of solid fuels (UN, percent of population					
using) Disaster Risk Index, (UNDP, average number of deaths per	7.9	1	95.0	2003	*
million)	4.6	97	0.7	2001	*
Ecological Footprint — Global hectares per capita (WWF,	4.0	- 51	0.7	2001	
Global Footprint Network)	3.6	99	1.1	2003	*
Water — Annual withdrawal (FAO STAT, percent of total					
renewable)	1.9	139	0.5	2002	*
Water — Available renewable per capita (FAO STAT, m³/	6.4	EO	05144	2006	*
inhabitants/year) Forest — Annual percent change in area (FAO)	6.4	58	2514.4	2006	
Pollution — CO <sub>2</sub> emissions per capita (WB, metric tons per	8.6	9	-2.2	2005	*
capita)	1.2	174	0.1	2002	s.q.
Pollution — CO <sub>2</sub> emissions per dollar PPP (WB, kg per 2000	1.2	.,,=	0.1	2002	0.4.
US\$ PPP)	1.1	160	0.1	2002	s.q.
TOTAL	6.4				
TOTAL For trend scores, (s.q.) indicates continuation of status	6.1	indica	os a no	citivo tro	nd to

For trend scores, (s.q.) indicates continuation of status quo, (pos) indicates a positive trend toward stability, and (neg) indicates a negative trend toward fragility. (\*) indicates insufficient data for calculation of trend and volatility scores.

# STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS

# **GOVERNMENT OF UGANDA**

Yoweri Museveni has been President since 1986, with National Resistance Movement. He was criticized for running for a third term in 2006 after reducing constitutional limits of presidential terms but he won 59% of the vote. Museveni has brought relative economic growth and stability to the country, with the exception of the northern region. His party won 205 seats in the National Assembly in the 2006 elections.

# Interests

- · Maintaining position in power
- Defeating rebel groups
- Increasing economic growth
- Addressing human development issues including poverty, malaria deaths
- Fighting corruption

# **Recent Actions and Attitude**

- Museveni has undertaken a number of approaches to deal with the rebels groups from peace talks to brutal offensives but since July 2006 the government has been committed to the Juba round of peace talks with the LRA.
- Violent disarmament exercise against the Karamojong warriors is ongoing.
- Actively seeking new trade partners
- Providing troops for the African Union mission to Somalia.
- Museveni pledged that revenue from a recent oil reserves discovery will be used for development and he has taken action recently to improve water access, particularly for the poor.

# **OPPOSITION**

- Dr. Kizzy Besigye, Forum for Democratic Change. He won 37% of the vote in 2006 elections and contested Museveni's win. He was arrested for treason but later released. The FDC won 37 seats in the 2006 National Assembly elections.
- The Uganda People's Congress and the Democratic Party, each received under 2% of the presidential vote in 2006 and under 10 seats each in the National Assembly elections.

# Interests

 Increasing electoral support to eventually become the governing party

# **Recent Actions and Attitude**

- The Uganda People's Congress has been plagued by internal struggles and Miria Obote fired a number of top party officials in November 2006
- Police violently dispersed a Forum for Democratic Change rally in a city square; the party wanted to sell party cards, prompting accusations from the FDC that their members had been beaten, assaulted and arrested by not only the police but also the UPDF
- The Democratic Party (DP) is challenging the election of the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) members The party is planning to go to court to challenge what it says are bogus elections

# LORD'S RESISTANCE ARMY (LRA)

 Joseph Kony is the leader of this paramilitary group operating mainly in northern Uganda and parts of Sudan. The LRA is accused of widespread human rights violations, including mutilation, torture, rape, the abduction of civilians, the use of child soldiers and a number of massacres.

## Interests

- LRA was formed out of dissatisfaction among the northern Acholi people, who were favoured by the colonial British and subsequent regimes, but lost influence after Yoweri Museveni, a southerner, became president in 1986.
- As support for the LRA among the Acholi people waned, Kony felt betrayed by them and many of the LRA attacks have been carried out against Acholi people
- The LRA now ostensibly seeks a form of reconciliation so that the fighters can return home without fearing prosecution from the government or the ICC.

# **Recent Actions and Attitude**

- The LRA entered in peace talks with the Ugandan government in July 2006 in Juba, Sudan
- On 4 August 2006, Vincent Otti declared a unilateral ceasefire and asked the Ugandan government to reciprocate. A truce was signed on 26 August 2006 and LRA fighters began moving to designated assembly zones
- Talks have been hindered by demands and counter-demands and accusation by both UPDF and the LRA that each side was violating the truce. Hundreds of LRA fighters have left the assembly zones and gone back into the bush
- The LRA has demanded a new venue, claiming they no longer accept Sudan as a neutral third party.

# **INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS (IDPs)**

 An estimated 1.7 million people remain internally displaced in northern Uganda as a result of the conflict between the government and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the Karamojong warriors

# Interests

Improvements in the security climate so they can return to their homes

# **Recent Actions and Attitude**

- The UN World Food Program said 230,000 Internally Displaced Persons returned to their homes this year thanks to increased security
- The government has stepped up efforts to de-mine the northern region
- Uganda moved to register internal refugees due for resettlement to ascertain the number of people living in camps for the IDPs to help in planning for relief food and distribution of other humanitarian assistance to the IDPs

# STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS

# KARAMOJONG WARRIORS

 Ethnic group of agro-pastoral herders in northeast Uganda. The Karimojong are in constant conflict with their neighbours in Uganda, Sudan and Kenya due to frequent cattle raids.

# Interests

- Ensuring adequate food and water for their people and cattle.
- History of belligerence with the government.

# **Recent Actions and Attitude**

- In 2000, the government launched a disarmament drive in the area, leading to several clashes between the army the warriors. In recent months the disarmament program has been intensified.
- 52 warriors and four UPDF soldiers died in two days of running battles in February 2007.

# **UGANDA PEOPLE'S DEFENCE FORCE (UPDF)**

- Commander In Chief is President Museveni
- Originally the National Resistance Army, a guerrilla army led by Museveni in the 1980's.

## nterest

- Maintaining the security of Uganda's territory and people
- Ending the LRA conflict, though the UPDF would prefer to use force rather than peace talks due to distrust between LRA and UPDF
- Disarming the Karamojong warriors

# Recent actions and attitudes

- Training with the British army
- Accusation of assault by members of the FDC opposition party
- Accusations by the LRA that the UPDF violated the ceasefire agreement

# CIVIL SOCIETY

 Civil society in Uganda has been playing an increasingly important role and generally the state sees civil society organisations as partners

# Interests

- Working with the government and/or pressuring the government to act
- Running programs and activities to improve security, democratisation, and development levels, as well as upholding human rights

# Recent actions and attitudes

- A number of NGOs are assisting with the provision of humanitarian aid to IDPs in the camps
- Civil Society Organizations for Peace in Northern Uganda was active in pushing the government to resume peace talks with the LRA

# INTERNATIONAL DONORS

# Interests

 Ensuring a secure, political stable, economically prosperous Uganda that is active in international organizations and where human rights and political freedoms are respected

# **Recent Actions and Attitude**

- Widespead international support for the peace talks with the LRA but the international community has generally condemned ideas of dissolving the ICC arrest warrants
- China, France, Iran all increase economic cooperation with Uganda
- Museveni requests assistance of IMF to attract greater private sector investment
- World Bank committed to helping address power shortage
- Jan Egeland, UN Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator praises Uganda for progress in addressing humanitarian concerns in northern region

# **N**EIGHBOURING STATES

- DRC
- Tanzania
- Kenya
- Rwanda
- Sudan

# Interests

- Maintaining secure borders to prevent the illegal flow of people, goods
- Protection of shared natural resources
- Prosperity of trade relationships
- The end of the LRA conflict

# Recent action and attitudes

- Maintaining secure borders to prevent the illegal flow of people, goods
- Protection of shared natural resources
- Prosperity of trade relationships
- The end of the LRA conflict

# **UGANDAN POPULATION**

 30,262,610 people with one of the highest growth rates in the world with an average age of 15

# Interests

- Economic prosperity
- A secure environment
- Higher levels of human development

# Recent actions and attitudes

- Malaria kills over 300 people a day in Uganda and remains the leading cause of death
- Unemployment rates continue to be a problem, affecting women disproportionately
- Electricity shortage has impacted the running of businesses and households

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# **EVENT MONITORING SOURCES**

Agence France Presse	KTN Television (Kenya)		
BBC News	MENA (Egypt)		
CBC.ca	Radio France Internationale		
Daily Nation	Radio Uganda		
ENA	Rwanda News Agency		
Fars News Agency (Iran)	STA (New Zealand)		
Ghanaweb	The Daily Monitor (Uganda)		
Integrated Regional Informa-			
tion Network (IRIN -	The New Vision (Uganda)		
UNHCR)			
IRNA (Iran)	Uganda Television		
Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Radio	Xinhua (China)		

# ABOUT THE STATE FRAGILITY PROJECT

This project is intended to contribute to a better understanding of fragility in Uganda, thereby providing support to decision-making for Canadian foreign policy and development actors in the country. The project aims to support informed, evidence-based decision making for Canadian foreign policy and development assistance related to fragile states. The report is intended to communicate the preliminary findings of the project; its findings should not be considered definitive or final.

The report is based on three elements. First, structural indicators are grouped into six clusters capturing different facets of state fragility: Security and Crime, Governance, Economics, Human Development, Environment and Demography. The structural data includes more than 80 separate structural indicators providing a detailed quantitative baseline portrait of the country.

Second, the analysis draws on event monitoring data compiled by CIFP researchers over a six month period extending from September 2006 to February 2007. Collected from a variety of web-based news aggregators, which include both international and domestic news sources, the events are evaluated and assigned quantitative scores to identify fragility trends. Third, the report includes a series of analytical exercises, including stakeholder analysis and scenario generation. This multi-source data structure enables more robust analysis than any single method of data collection and assessment.

# **ABOUT COUNTRY INDICATORS FOR FOREIGN POLICY**

CIFP is a project located at Carleton University. Its core mandate is to develop analytical methodologies that will generate information on the key features of the political, economic, social and cultural environments of countries around the world, providing at-a-glance global overviews, issue-based perspectives and country performance measures. While the initial dataset focuses on measures of domestic armed conflict, as part of this project that database has been substantially revised to capture state fragility.

The CIFP database includes statistical data in the form of over one hundred performance indicators for 197 countries. With its focus on policy relevance, the CIFP provides a rich information resource to policy officers across all government departments. By offering a detailed assessment methodology for evaluating individual country performance, the CIFP provides guidance to program officers working in complex and fragile environments, enabling them to focus their efforts and resources on the root structural causes rather than the outward symptoms of a problem.

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# **ABOUT FRAGILITY**

CIFP employs fragility as the most effective lens through which to view state risk, broadly understood. Though the use of the concept of the concept remains controversial, when properly understood as a technical term of country analysis, it enables analysts to conduct a more thorough assessment of country risk than more specific concepts such as conflict or human development, both of which are effectively components of overall state fragility. Further, the concept allows the incorporation of environmental, demographic, political, and economic considerations, providing a more complete portrait of a state's overall risk than narrow examination of any one of those factors. In effect, the concept incorporates all such areas of study into a complete analysis of the risks present in a given state or region.

When understood in this sense, all states exhibit some elements of fragility, whether in the form of demographic stress, politicized ethnic divisions, high levels of pollution, the presence of internal conflict, or low levels of human development. Through the use of transparent and quantifiable data, CIFP strives to bring together all such phenomena into a coherent country narrative, thereby rendering the concept of fragility an objective aid to country analysis, rather than a divisive element of subjective political discourse.

www.carleton.ca/cifp

