'Lobowa, Lobowa!' Naked Defiance in the Struggle for Land in Amuru District, Northern Uganda

How is the exposure of the naked female body used as an act of resistance against land grabbing in Amuru District, northern Uganda?

Jessica Winfield

6861849

Utrecht University

31 July 2020

A Thesis submitted to the

Board of Examiners

in Partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in Conflict Studies &

Human Rights

'Lobowa, Lobowa', means 'our land' in Luo dialect.

Cover image, women undress in protest in 2015, Amuru District. Sourced from: David Martin Aliker, 'Amuru Leaders Should Not Betray Their Naked Mothers', *Daily Monitor*, May 17 2018, accessed: https://www.monitor.co.ug/OpEd/Commentary/Amuru-leaders-should-betray-naked-mothers-/689364-4565426-5d40jrz/index.html, July 10, 2020.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank Chris van der Borgh for his support and encouragement throughout.

I would also like to express my gratitude and thanks to the everyone involved in the Conflict and Human Rights Master programme at Utrecht University, it has been an enriching experience and I am inspired by you all.

Finally, to my friends and family, you kept me going with every phone call and message of motivation, thank you for always believing in me. Especially to Jeroen, thank you for your endless patience and faith in me.

Abstract

As land grabbing sweeps across the Global South, increasing numbers of rural people face systematic displacement from their land. The perpetuation of exclusion and disregard for their basic access to land is often further enhanced by the post-conflict settings in which many land grabs occur. Leaving many without the formal channels to express their contentions. However, despite the odds pitted against them increasing numbers of landless people are resisting.

Rural resistance has been relatively under-studied in comparison to the extensive literature on land grabbing. The literature that does exist is dominated by structural theories with little regard for the agency of the individual even in marginalised settings. Therefore, through the discussion on naked protests in Amuru District, northern Uganda, this thesis aims to provide insight into one particular case of rural resistance against land grabbing. Highlighting how naked protests have come to define resistance against land grabbing in Amuru District.

This thesis will explore how processes of resistance against land grabs are highly complex and emotional processes. Requiring a shift to more emotional theories of resistance and social movement, which give value to the agent's lived experience whilst acknowledging the role of local context. Through the discussion of naked protests in Amuru District, this thesis aims to contribute to the conversation of emotional theories of resistance, outlining its value for understanding the drivers of social movement and the creation of group solidarity.

Key words: land grabbing, naked protests, Amuru District, displacement, emotion, culture, resistance.

Map of Conflict-Affected Areas 2007, Northern Uganda
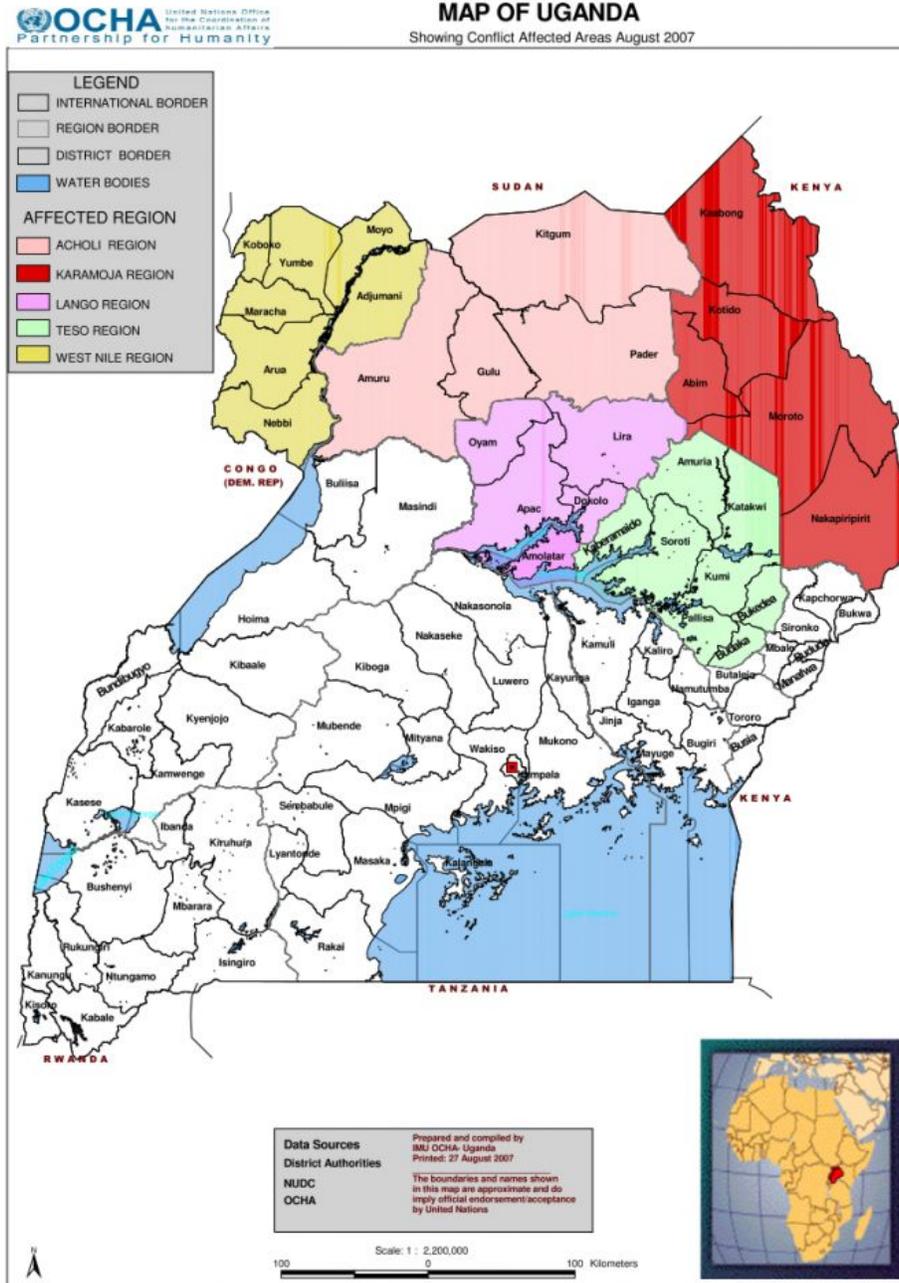
Source: OCHA Map of Uganda retrieved from Reliefweb,
https://reliefweb.int/map/uganda/map-uganda-showing-conflict-affected-areas-august-2007, accessed: 10 July 2020.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ASWL	Amuru Sugar Works Limited
IDP(S)	Internally Displaced Person(s)
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
UPDF	Uganda People's Defence Force
UWA	Uganda Wildlife Authority

Contents

Chapter 1:

Introduction

'One of the women approached him by rolling on the ground and then raised her leg.

He ran away'[1]

On April 14, 2015, a group of elderly women stripped naked before military and government officials during a peaceful demonstration in Apaa village, Amuru District.[2] Chanting and wailing, the women exposed their breasts and removed their wraps, undressing before government ministers, surveyors and armed security forces. They were stripping naked in protest against the violent evictions of communities in Amuru by the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA) in an ongoing land dispute between local residents and the government of Uganda.[3] Similar scenes can be observed in 2012 and 2017, as women stripped naked in opposition to the demarcation of land for the Amuru Sugar Works.[4] Described as, 'a new tactic of non-violent resistance,'[5] naked protests are emerging as an important source of dialogue for local residents to oppose government land grabbing in Amuru.

Land grabbing emerged as a term to describe the vast acquisitions of land in the Global South following the global spike in food prices in 2008.[6] Drawing attention from both the academic world and independent organisations, it has received multiple definitions.[7] For the purpose of this thesis, land

---

[1] Catherine Byaruhanga, 'The Ugandan Women Who Strip To Defend Their Land', *BBC*, June 01, 2015, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32938779, accessed: May 26, 2020.

[2] Julius Ocungi and Stephen Okello, 'Women Undress Before Migereko, Gen Aronda', *Daily Monitor*, April 18, 2015, https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Women--undress---Migereko-Gen-Aronda/688334-2689156-y46f4c/index.html, accessed: June 03, 2020.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Irene Abalo Otto, 'Amuru Women Undress in Protest Again...before Lands Minister Amongi', *PML Daily,* August 12, 2017, https://www.pmldaily.com/news/2017/08/amuru-women-undress-in-protest-again-before-lands-minister-amongi.html, accessed: June 03, 2020.

[5] Phil Wilmot, 'How a Ugandan Grandmother Fought the President for Her Community's Land - and Won', *The Ecologist*, June 09, 2015, https://theecologist.org/2015/jun/09/how-ugandan-grandmother-fought-president-her-communitys-land-and-won, accessed: July 13, 2020.

[6] Saturnino Jr. Borras and Jennifer Franco, 'From Threat to Opportunity - Problems with the Idea of a Code of Conduct for Land-Grabbing,' *Yale Human Rights & Development Law Journal* vol. 13, no. 2 (2010), 509.

[7] Chris van der Borgh and Carolijn Terwindt, *Political Space Under Pressure: Trends and Patterns*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 107; Saturnino Jr. Borras and Jennifer Franco, 'Global Land Grabbing and Political Reactions 'From Below'', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 9, (2013), 1723; Jeremy Akin, *Power & Vulnerability in Land Dispute Resolution: Evaluating Responses to Domestic Land Grabbing in Northern Uganda,* Northern Uganda Land Platform, May 2014, accessed: May 12, 2020, 6.

grabbing will be defined as, 'the control - whether through ownership, lease, concession, contracts, quotas, or general power - of larger than locally-typical amounts of land by any persons or entities - public or private, foreign or domestic - via any means - 'legal' or 'illegal' - for purposes of speculation, extraction, resource control or commodification at the expense of peasant farmers, agroecology, land stewardship, food sovereignty and human rights.'[8] The acquisitions of vast areas of land for agribusiness, conservation, climate or financial enterprise have been argued as a welcome investment providing, 'an opportunity to overcome decades of under-investment in the sector, create employment, and leapfrog and take advantage of recent technological development.'[9] Whilst on the other hand, the global rush for land has had a huge negative impact on rural populations, 'leading to social conflicts, massive internal displacement of people as well as loss of their cultural identity, systematic human rights violations, destruction of livelihoods, poverty, permanent environmental damage, pollution and loss of biodiversity.'[10]

Amuru District, situated in the Acholi region in northern Uganda was at the heart of the bloody civil war which lasted from 1986-2006.[11] Two decades of rebel insurgencies and equally violent government counteractions traumatised the region. Most importantly, was the aftershock of nearly two million internally displaced persons (IDPs) as villages were destroyed by both rebel and government forces alike. Key to this narrative was the government policy of 'protected villages,' during which the Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF) violently displaced the entire Acholi population into forced internment camps to protect residents from rebel forces.[12] The impact of 'protected villages' was two-fold, not only did citizens become even more vulnerable to rebel attacks but, whilst displaced, the government exploited the newly vacant land, repurposing it for internal or foreign investment. Sparking numerous conflicts between residents and government forces as IDPs returned to their homes following the cease-fire agreement in 2006, only to find their land claimed by the government. The prevalence of government land grabbing is a major driving force for protraction of conflict in the region.[13]

---

[8] 'Towards a Common Understanding and Definition of Land Grabbing Around the World', European Coordination Via Campesina, https://www.eurovia.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/defining-land-grabs.pdf, accessed: May 27, 2020.

[9] Rabah Arezki, et al., 'What Drives the Global Land Rush?', (working paper, International Monetary Fund (IMF) November 2011), 3.

[10] 'Continued Land Grabbing May Lead to Global Conflict', VIVAT International (official statement submitted Conflict Prevention, Post-Conflict Peace Building and Promotion of Durable Peace, Rule of Law and Governance, United Nations, February 6th, 2014), http://vivatinternational.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Land-Grab-_Post-2015_OWG_8th__EN.pdf, accessed: May 26, 2020.

[11] Adam Branch, 'Humanitarianism, Violence, and the Camp in Northern Uganda', *Civil Wars*, vol. 11, no. 4, (2009), 480.

[12] B. Morton et al., *A Time Between Moving on from Internal Displacement in Northern Uganda*, UNHCR, 4.

[13] Monica Llamazares et al., *Northern Uganda Conflict Analysis*, ACCS, 2013, accessed: June 07, 2020, viii.

1.1.   Objective of the thesis and research questions

This research is a progression from the initial empirical observation of continued displacement of residents in Amuru District as a result of government land grabbing. Preliminary research identified various disputes between residents and government agencies over land in Amuru District. The research showed that returning IDPs were facing continued displacement as government organisations evicted thousands from their homes, claiming that the land was theirs and the returnees had no rights to it. This narrative is familiar to stories of land grabbing; but what was interesting about Amuru District was the strong, nonviolent resistance movement that had emerged among the rural population in the area. A core feature of this resistance movement was the phenomena of women, particularly elderly women, stripping naked in front of government officials at nonviolent protests.

The phenomenon of naked protests in Amuru District is extensively covered via live news reports, however is under-studied in the academic world.[14] This signaled a significant gap in studies of resistance against land grabbing in Uganda, where naked protests have become a central feature of resistance against the structural inequality and systematic displacement of residents in Amuru District. In addition, resistance against land grabbing is often studied through a structural lens under-estimating the agency of the individual in settings with limited opportunities to engage with the political space. Therefore, this thesis endorses the emotional turn in resistance literature in an effort to understand what drives resistance among marginalised groups who engage in protest despite the odds stacked against them.

The objective of this thesis is to show how the desperate emotion of rural people, particularly women, in Amuru District led them to choose naked protesting as a way of resisting government-led land grabbing.

How and why is the exposure of the naked female body used as an act of resistance against land grabbing in Amuru District, northern Uganda?

Conducive to the objective, the following sub-questions will be addressed,

1. What are the theories that explain resistance against land grabbing?
2. What are the key emotional drivers of protest?
3. How does culture shape resistance?

---

[14] Francis Abonga et al., 'Naked Bodies and Collective Action: Repertoires of Protest in Uganda's Militarised, Authoritarian Regime', *Civil Wars*, (2019), 1-26; Florence Ebila and Aili Mari Tripp, 'Naked Transgressions: Gendered Symbolism in Ugandan Land Protests', *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, vol. 5, no. 1, (2017), 25-45.

4. What does resistance look like when there is limited, or non-existent political space?

5. What are the main characteristics of the 'protracted crisis' in which naked protests take place?

6. How and when do Amuru women perform these kinds of protests? Towards whom are they directed?

To answer these questions, this thesis will take the form of a literature review. Providing an in-depth discussion on naked protest in Amuru District and the importance of culture and local context. This thesis does not rely on one particular framework, instead, it utilises the emotional turn in social movement more broadly, drawing on different scholarly contributions. Therefore, it aims to contribute to the conversation of the emotional turn as an important lens for understanding resistance.

Chapter 2 will provide the theoretical discussion of resistance, advocating the emotional turn as an important school for understanding the key drivers of resistance. First it provides an overview of theoretical explanations of resistance against land grabbing, before an in-depth discussion of the role emotion and culture as drivers and facilitators of resistance. The first half of the chapter: resisting the land grab contains the following subsections; everyday peasant resistance; contentious politics; and trapped in structure? The second half: the shift to a more dynamic understanding: the emotional turn, is divided into the following; emotion as a driver of protest; and culture, place and time.

Chapter 3 is a contextual analysis of Amuru District, this chapter is divided into two subsections: A history of forced displacement in Amuru District; and domestic land grabbing: the role of the state.

Chapter 4 is an empirical analysis and evaluation of naked protests in Amuru District. This chapter will provide a close examination of three cases of naked protesting between 2012 and 2017. In line with the emotional turn, this chapter identifies the emotional drivers, threats and the role of culture as key for participation in naked resistance. The chapter is divided into the following sections: resisting the Amuru Sugar Works, 2012 and 2017; disputing the East Madi Wildlife Reserve, 2015; observations of the 2012, 2015 and 2017 naked protests in Amuru District; the multi-levelled dimensions of land loss; brutality of armed security forces during land evictions in Amuru District; and the fallout from a militarised government: the restriction of political space.

The paper will close with a final conclusion and assessment of naked protests in Amuru District.

1.2. Methodology

Research for this thesis was conducted between 01 May and 04 June 2020, using desk-based qualitative methods. Academic literature was sourced from online academic journals gathered from Google Scholar. Secondary research was also based on literature from hard-copy books as well as eBooks retrieved from

WorldCat. Access via these libraries was sufficient especially for resistance literature and academic work on land grabbing. The high presence of these topics in a variety of scholarly fields, from political ecology to feminism meant it was not possible to exhaust all of the literature. In fact, the density of available literature made it difficult to decide on appropriate definitions of key concepts, such as land grabbing and resistance. Despite this setback, the breadth of research helped create true oversight of the phenomena of land grabbing in general and in Uganda, which guided this research.

Since I was not able to engage in fieldwork in Uganda neither in person nor via skype I relied on primary data generated from online news, think tanks, NGO reports and academic literature. Online news sources were mostly retrieved from African or Ugandan news channels and provided a significant amount of data. However, the reliance on online news sources as the main data collection meant that there were often unanswered questions, particularly surrounding the enquiry into the organisation of the naked protests. Furthermore, due to the nature of news reports as directed towards particular audiences, on occasion there were overlapping claims between different sources. This required extensive cross-referencing to bring clarity to what was being said about the different events. On the whole, it was possible to gather enough data from the online sources, but fieldwork could have provided extra clarity via conversations and observations.

This thesis approaches the case of naked protests from a critical realist approach, as defined by Jane Ritchie and Jane Lewis, critical realism views, 'external reality which exists independent of our beliefs and understanding [...] is only knowable through the human mind and socially constructed meanings.'[15] Informing the interpretivist epistemological stance, which emphasises how the social world 'is not governed by law-like regularities but is mediated through meaning and human agency.'[16] In application to the case in hand, it is important to be aware of context in shaping naked protests; yet, at the same time, it is also important to account for the powerful manifestations of individual agency of the women engaging in this form of protest in Amuru.

1.3.   Structure of the thesis

The structure of this thesis is divided into three main chapters: theories of resistance, contextualising Amuru District, and evaluating naked protests in Amuru. Chapter two will first provide a theoretical overview of the contemporary conversation of social movement and resistance theory. Endorsing the emotional turn and James Jasper's *Moral Vision of Protest*, further incorporating feminist understandings

---

[15] Jane Ritchie and Jane Lewis, *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, (London: SAGE Publications, 2003), 16.
[16] Ibid, 17.

of the power of the female body and the political application of nakedness as a means of resistance in Uganda. The aim of this chapter is to position naked protests as a phenomena that requires an evaluation of existing resistance literature. To achieve this, the chapter will be divided into three subsections: the main theoretical approaches to resistance, understanding resistance against LSLAs, and the power of the female form: a new vision of resistance.

Chapter three will position naked protests in Amuru within the turbulent history of Acholiland. First, this section will address the history of displacement in the Acholi region, it will then analyse contemporary government-led LSLAs in the Amuru District.

Chapter four is an empirical analysis of naked protests in Amuru District. This chapter will provide a close examination of three cases of naked protests between 2012 and 2017. Before an in-depth evaluation identifying the immediate and future threats of LSLAs to rural people living in Amuru District Land the role of land loss; lack of political space; emotion and local culture as key drivers of naked protests.

The paper will end with final conclusions and assessments.

Chapter 2:

Theorising Resistance

Naked protests rarely feature in theoretical discussions of resistance. However, there is an emerging field that attempts to understand how marginalised groups are resisting land grabs in the Global South.[17] Providing useful insight into the variety of ways resistance emerges at the local level among marginalised groups. This chapter endorses the emotional turn in resistance literature, therefore, the first half of this chapter will start by providing a definition of resistance. Before offering a brief analysis of everyday peasant resistance and contentious politics as theories applied to resistance against land grabbing. The chapter will then move into the second half, discussing the emotional turn as a more dynamic approach to social movement theory. Deconstructing the key emotional drivers of social movement, before an overview of the role of culture, place and time as key components of protest. The aim of this chapter is to outline the key components of the emotional turn, providing a discussion on its use as a theory that can explain the mobilisation of protest in settings with little or no political space.

First and foremost, resistance is a form of contentious social movement, defined as, 'to minimally apprehend the conditions of one's subordination, to endure or withstand those conditions in everyday life, and to act with sufficient intention and purpose to negotiate power relations from below in order to rework them in a more favourable or emancipatory direction.'[18] The aforementioned definition is most suited for the trajectory of resistance for this thesis because it outlines key points of departure which are almost unanimously agreed upon in the following debate; first, there has to be a realisation of one's conditions before there can be any action; and second, resistance is an intentional act that aims to redefine unequal power relations.[19]

---

[17] Saturnino M. Borras Jr and Jennifer C. Franco, 'Global Land Grabbing and Political Reactions 'from Below'', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 9, (2013); Ruth Hall et al, 'Resistance, Acquiescence or Incorporation? An Introduction to Land Grabbing and Political Reactions 'from Below'', *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, vol. 42, nos. 3-4, (2015); Giuliano Martiniello, 'Social Struggles in Uganda's Acholiland: Understanding Responses and Resistance to Amuru Sugar Works', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, vol. 42, nos. 3-4, (2015); James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990).

[18] Uday Chadra, 'Rethinking Subaltern Resistance', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 45, no. 4, (2015), 565.

[19] Hall, 'Resistance Acquiescence or Incorporation?', 467-488; Jocelyn A. Hollander and Rachel L. Einwohner, 'Conceptualising Resistance', *Sociology Forum*, vol. 19, no. 4, (2014), 533-554; James Jasper, 'Social Movement Theory: Toward a Theory of Action?', *Sociology Compass*, vol. 4, no. 11, (2010), 965-976; Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*.

2.1. Resisting the land grab

The rise of land grabs in the Global South has demanded a shift in theoretical understandings of resistance. Following the increased marginalisation of rural people by state and non-state actors, populations dependent on land for subsistence are being forced into a state of landlessness. Resistance literature is shifting its focus to understand how social action occurs among these marginalised groups who lack the political space to express their grievances. Traditionally resistance to land grabs has been described through two lenses, everyday peasant resistance and contentious politics.

One of the main struggles in resistance theory is how landless and marginalised people are able to resist in settings where they are disadvantaged and lack the political space to do so. 'Space' in this context, refers to the 'heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical and more propositions - in short, the said as much as the unsaid.'[20] The application of the Foucauldian definition of space in resistance literature is important because it helps to define the cultural structures in which groups can resist and express contentions via formal institutions, engaging with the political system or the court of law. Land grabbing affects these spaces, subjecting them to corporate and state control generating a power imbalance that impedes rural groups from expressing contention through formal channels.

2.1.1. Everyday peasant resistance

Many scholars have mobilised James Scott's notion of 'everyday peasant resistance' in an attempt to explain how rural peasants resist land grabs in the Global South.[21] Defined as, everyday forms of noncompliance, 'foot-dragging, dissimulation, desertion, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so on.'[22] Scott argues that the exclusion from formal channels of contention following years of structural oppression have denied, 'subordinates the ordinary luxury of negative reciprocity.'[23] Therefore, rural peasants in the Global South who suffered long histories of

---

[20] Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon, (New York: Harvester Press, 1980), 194-195.

[21] Alison Elizabeth Schneider, 'What Shall We Do Without Our Land? Land Grabs and Resistance in Rural Cambodia', (paper presented at, the International Conference on Global Land Grabbing, University of Sussex, Brighton, UK, April, 2011); Giuliano Martiniello, 'The Accumulation of Dispossession and Resistance in Northern Uganda', (paper presented at, the International Conference on Global Land Grabbing II, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, October, 2012); 1-35; Kevin Malseed, 'Where There Is No Movement: Local Resistance and the Potential for Solidarity', *Journal of Agrarian Change,* vol. 8, nos, 2-3, (2008), 489-514.

[22] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak,* xvi.

[23] James C. Scott, *Domination and the Art of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), xii.

marginalisation,[24] are more likely to engage in covert mechanisms of resistance. Covert resistance is defined as, 'acts that are intentional yet go unnoticed (and, therefore, unpunished) by their targets, although they are recognized as resistance by other, culturally aware observers.'[25]

Everyday resistance assumes that rural peasants in the Global South are essentially 'powerless', lacking the formal organisation and resources for the ability to create sustained or defensive campaigns.[26] When it comes to resisting land grabs, peasants are likely to avoid outright confrontation with authority, and are more likely to engage in, 'piecemeal squatting; in place of open mutiny.'[27] Therefore, without the formal channels of contention for marginalised groups to resist they, 'are often obliged to adopt a strategic pose in the presence of the powerful,' resulting in, 'every subordinate group create[ing], out of its ordeal, a "hidden" transcript that represents a critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant.'[28]

2.1.2. Contentious Politics

Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow's *Contentious Politics* provides a revised view of why and how people engage in contentious social movements. Based on the core principles of, 'interests, organization, mobilization, and opportunity.'[29] Contentious politics is defined as the, 'interactions in which actors make claims bearing on others' interests, leading to coordinated efforts on behalf of shared interests or programs, in which governments are involved as targets, initiators of claims, or third parties.'[30] An essential component and core driver of contentious politics is the concept of opportunity structures, which identifies the aspects of a regime or social order which provides the space for challengers to assert their claims.[31] Defined by Tarrow as, 'consistent - but not necessarily formal, permanent, or national - set of clues that encourage people to engage in contentious politics.'[32] Which are expressed via, 'access to power, shifting alignments, availability of influential elites, and cleavages within and among elites.'[33] Therefore, resistance as a realisation of contentious politics and collective action will only emerge when,

---

[24] The majority of land grabs occur in post-colonial countries, many of which are further marginalised by repressive governments resulting from decades of post-independence conflicts.
[25] Hollander and Einwohner, 'Conceptualising Resistance', 545.
[26] Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, xvii.
[27] Ibid, xvi.
[28] Scott, *Domination and the Art of Resistance*, xii.
[29] Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution*, (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1978), 7.
[30] Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, (Boulder: Paradigm Press, 2007), 7.
[31] Goodwin and Tilly, 2001, as cited in, Tilly and Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, 49.
[32] Sidney G. Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, 3rd Ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 32.
[33] Borras Jr and Franco, 'Global Land Grabbing and Political Reactions 'From Below', 1733.

'threats are experienced and opportunities are perceived, when the existence of available allies is demonstrated, and when the vulnerability of opponents is exposed.'[34]

Land grabs are characterised by shifting power dynamics as state and non-state actors work together or in competition with each other to acquire and invest in land. By applying contentious politics, Saturnino Borras and Jennifer Franco argue that this inherent characteristic of land grabs dictates how affected communities are able to resist. They argue that collective action does not come from the threat of dispossession, exclusion or displacement; but instead arises from changing political opportunity structures and the rural poor's ability to perceive and take advantage of them.[35] Borras and Franco examine two features of land grabs that change the political opportunity structures; first, the contradictory role of the state, 'in maintaining political legitimacy while advancing capital accumulation —often triggers shifts in the political opportunity structure, including divisions among the ranks of state officials.'[36] Second, the emergence of elites both within and outside the state enables the rural poor's ability to engage with contentious politics, describing how rural villages can, 'invoke the official promises of the state to demand discipling of those who are disloyal to the official state narrative.'[37] Therefore, Borras and Franco emphasise the importance of political opportunity structures and the collective's ability to recognise them.

2.1.3. Trapped in structure?

Everyday resistance and contentious politics are overly-structural explanations of resistance against land grabs, which are often highly localised events. Everyday resistance is overly focused on the structures of oppression that prevent rural peasants from engaging in overt forms of resistance. Therefore, it fails to account for the agency of the individual who is automatically categorised as 'powerless.' On the other hand, contentious politics relies too heavily on political structures as a prerequisite for resistance, which diverts away from the potential of 'open-ended strategic interplay.'[38] Furthermore, contentious politics does not perceive the threats of exclusion, dispossession or displacement to be enough to generate collective action. Which, as argued throughout this thesis, are essential characteristics of rural resistance to land grabbing.

---

[34] Tarrow, *Power in Movement,* 33.
[35] Borras and Franco, 'Global Land Grabbing', 1733.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid, 36.

2.2.   The shift to a more dynamic understanding: the emotional turn

The influx of emotion in social movement theory has been endorsed by a growing number of scholars,[39] and has recently appeared in studies of resistance against land grabbing and environmental conflict.[40] The emergence of emotional theories of resistance are reflective of the wider cultural-turn of the social sciences in recent years.[41] Broadly, the emotional turn in resistance literature identifies concepts of narrative, collective identity, emotion and culture as key drivers of social movement that provide, 'effective ties and allegiances to other movement participants [as] an essential ingredient in mobilization and frequently accounted[ing] for why people unite and struggle in the face of daunting risks and unfavourable odds.'[42] Therefore, emotional theories of resistance have significant potential for analysing how resistance emerges in repressive settings, where the outcome of success is unlikely.

The emotional turn emerged as a reaction to the macro-approaches of social movement theory.[43] On the one hand, it provides an alternative to the incentive driven, individual centred resource mobilisation theory[44] described as, 'too abstract or realistic to be helpful.'[45] Instead, through an emotional lens it understands the factors of participation in social movement to be far more complex, transgressing both culture and the individual, and not reducible to resource incentive. On the other hand, the emotional turn is critical of the dominance of structure and the dependence on existing social ties, evident in James Jasper's critique of contentious politics. Jasper argues that the focus on opportunity structures is representative of the structure-heavy approach to social movement theory as a whole, and the result is an overly fixed understanding, 'the term *structure* misleadingly implies relatively fixed entities.'[46] Furthermore, Jasper argues that the approach provides no theory of action, premised on the idea that 'potential participants were taken for granted as already formed, just waiting for opportunities to act.'[47] Therefore, the emotional turn attempts to provide a theory of social movement that acknowledges the

---

[39] Erika Summers-Effler, *Laughing Saints and Righteous Heroes: Emotional Rhythms in Social Movement Groups*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010); Jeff Goodwin et al., *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001); James Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography, and Creativity in Social Movements*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007).

[40] Anne Hennings, 'The Dark Underbelly of Land Struggles: The Instrumentalization of Female Activism and Emotional Resistance in Cambodia', *Critical Asian Studies,* vol. 51, no.1, (2019), 103-119; Marien Gonza´lez-Hidalgo and Christos Zografos, 'Emotions, Power, and Environmental Conflict: Expanding the 'Emotional Turn' in Political Ecology', *Progress in Human Geography*, (2019), 1-21.

[41] Jeff Goodwin, et al., 'The Return of the Repressed: The Fall and Rise of Emotions in Social Movement Theory', *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, vol. 5, no. 1, (2000), 77.

[42] Hall et al., 'Resistance, Acquiescence or Incorporation?', 469.

[43] Ibid.

[44] See Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action: Public goods and the Theory of Groups*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965).

[45] Jasper, 'Social Movement Theory Today', 965.

[46] Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest*, 36.

[47] Jasper, 'Social Movement Theory', 966.

complex array of emotional drivers that facilitate mobilisation, create alliances, and build solidarity among participants.[48]

2.2.1. Emotion as a driver of protest

At the foundational level, there are three key emotional drivers of protest.[49] First, is a sense of fear or dread which contributes to feelings of discontent or outrage arising, 'from a sense of threat to one's daily routines or moral beliefs.[50] Second, is the role of grief, whether from a personal loss of a loved one, or a more broad sense of cultural loss.[51] Third is shame which, 'can lead to anger or aggressive reactions.'[52] However, the emotional turn is not necessarily interested in what emotions are but rather, 'what do emotions do?'[53]

The active role of emotions in shaping protests are centered around three key concepts, 'threat', 'moral shock' and 'blame.' 'Threat' produces the negative emotion related to the subject of contention, for example the loss of land as a result of land grabbing.[54] The notion of 'threat' is multi-levelled, it overlaps and intertwines with the other concepts of 'moral shock' and 'blame'. It exists between the immediate and future realms, and emits a vast array of different emotions.[55] Newly discovered and existing threats often produce emotions of trauma and resignation, 'when we cannot find or identify the appropriate object for our indignation.'[56] Anger is often mobilised towards the party responsible for the threat, often governments. Constant threats are likely to produce emotions associated with defence mechanisms such as denial and resignation. When the threat has already caused damage to health, anger becomes overwhelmed by grief.[57]

'Moral shock' understands and transforms the emotion behind the threat, describing the 'trigger' of the social movement such as an unexpected event or information that produces the emotion of outrage. [58] The moral shock varies between personal and public events and experiences, it can be sudden or gradual, such as the sudden death of a child or the ongoing destruction of a landscape. [59] Protesters often

---

[48] Hennings, 'The Dark Underbelly of Land Struggles', 105.
[49] Summers-Effler, *Laughing Saints and Righteous Heroes*, 109; Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest*, 112-113.
[50] Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest*, 113.
[51] Ibid, 112.
[52] Ibid, 113.
[53] Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 4.
[54] Jeff Goodwin, et al., 'The Return of the Repressed', 76.
[55] James Jasper, 'The Emotions of Protest: Affective and Reactive Emotions in and Around Social Movement', *Sociological Forum*, vol. 13, no. 3, (1998), 412.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid, 409.
[59] Ibid.

mobilise moral systems via confrontation with the main life passages, birth, reproduction and death. Jasper argues that protests will be most powerful when they are linked with these universal existential threats.[60] Coined by Jasper, the concept 'moral shock' gives new insight into what mobilises participants of social movements, especially because it requires no previous ties to the group or cause. It offers room for solidarity and alliance creation via the provision of complex emotional processes for people to, 'channel their fear and anger into indignation and individual or collective political activity.'[61] Therefore, offering a new pathway for individuals to engage in social movements which is not dependent on resources or collective prerequisites. Instead, the concept of 'moral shock' provides a tangible and flexible understanding of the role of events and experience in generating emotion powerful enough for action.

The final concept discussed in this section is the notion of 'blame,' rooted in a universal understanding in social movement theory that expressive behaviour via action creates the need for opposition.[62] For scholars of the emotional turn, the notion of 'opposition' is carried on the articulation of blame, which is seen as an essential feature of protest dependent on, 'the perceived ultimate causes and direct embodiments of each threat.'[63] The boundaries of 'blame' are fluid and ever-shifting, especially influenced by social or political conflict with 'outrage' the common emotional response for 'threats' generated from human cause.[64] However, the notion of 'blame' is not restricted to the social world, although engagement in protest is uncommon if the threat is perceived to originate from a natural cause, instead often offloaded as 'Acts of God.'[65] The 'threats' that blur between the natural and social world—as many associated with land grabbing do—often find that the blame is shifted onto a tangible person or group, often the government primarily due to their role as the responsible agent.[66] 'Blame' offers a target for the direction of a protest.

2.3.1. Culture, place and time

Scholars of the emotional turn have highlighted how the concepts of emotion and culture are interlinked in social movement.[67] Overtly demonstrated in Jasper's definition of culture as, 'cognition, emotion, and

---

[60] Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest*, 96.
[61] Ibid, 107.
[62] Hollander and Einwohner, 'Conceptualising Resistance', 538.
[63] Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest*, 119.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid. 118.
[66] Ibid. 120.
[67] Goodwin et al., 'Return of the Repressed' 78; Goodwin et al, *Passionate Politics*, 16; Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest*.

morality.'[68] Goodwin et al. emphasise this interplay, describing how emotions 'are shaped by social expectations as much as they are emanations from individual personalities [...] and mediate between individuals and the social world, without being reducible to either.'[69] Pointing to this intricate, overlap of emotion that flows through concepts of culture and the individual. Emotions are governed by cultural rules and moral values as much as culture is governed by them.

Social movement generates two kinds of collective emotion, 'recipriocial' and 'shared.'[70] 'Reciprocal' emotions are, 'the affective ties of friendship, love, solidarity, and loyalty, and the specific emotions they give rise to.'[71] 'Shared' emotions, 'are held by a group at the same time, but they do not have the other group members as their objects. The group nurtures anger towards outsiders, or outrage over government policies.'[72] Together, both 'recipriocial' and 'shared' emotions provide a key source of group identification and generate feelings of solidarity.[73] Therefore, emotion not only shapes our response but also the 'affective attachments' between group participants.[74] It is important to understand emotion as multi-leveled and fluid, then it is possible to trace movement solidarity and group identification within entire communities whether they have close ties or not.

Place and time overlap with notions of culture, through the production of shared values. For example, home, whether the immediate family home, or the extension of the neighbourhood or region provide people with shared values that help them connect to each other. Key to Jasper's theory of moral protest, these ties to a particular setting are 'crucial to both our identity and agency.'[75] If people have a special connection to a place then they are more likely going to be prepared to defend it and protest incoming threats to their connection with that setting, as Jasper defines, 'protesters are often motivated to protect special places, perhaps because they help to define one's home.'[76] This is essential to understand how solidarity is achieved throughout entire communities or villages, as Jasper diverges, 'emotionally, our sense of place and home shade into our feelings of community [...] as a result places associated with our moral community reinforce our collective identity [...] they encourage political outrage when threatened.'[77] Therefore, place not only provides individuals or groups with an origin of solidarity

---

[68] Jasper, 'Social Movement Theory Today', 970.
[69] Goodwin, et al., 'The Return of the Repressed', 78.
[70] Ibid, 76.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid, 77.
[74] Jasper, 'The Emotions of Protest', 401.
[75] Jasper, *The Art of the Moral Protest*, 93.
[76] Ibid, 94.
[77] Ibid.

provided by shared values, but it also provides a point of contention. If that place, whether a home, village or region comes under threat then there it is a clear point of departure for protest.

In addition to this, a specific place or time gives meaning to a movement, for example, protesting police brutality at the site of a police murder adds symbolic meaning to the protest by sparking resonance with the event that generated the emotion that drove in the first place. According to Jasper, political action relies on the symbolism of place which are carefully chosen for impact, a notion shared with the timing of a movement. Jasper argues that time is used to 'appeal to the sweep of history, or to the urgency of the moment.'[78] Indicating that the time and place of protests are conscious choices which give meaning through emotive resonance. Therefore, empowering a movement to have the biggest impact.

2.4.   Summary

To conclude, the emotional turn in resistance literature provides useful insight into how protests are shaped and in-group solidarity is constructed. Offering an alternative insight into protest and resistance in settings with little or no formal routes of contention. The active role of emotions centered around the notions of 'threat', 'moral shock' and 'blame' are key for understanding how group participants attach themselves to a cause, providing the triggers and the targets. Whilst, the acknowledgement of shared emotion generates new understandings of affection among participants, in turn creating solidarity within a movement. The emotional turn provides a fresh view of social action, offering insight into the role of culture, place and time, as overlapping and moving through the concept of emotion. People are more likely to participate if they share ties and association to a place expressed by shared values generated by culture. Furthermore, the emotional turn brings to light the role of place and time as meaning-productive. Specific places and timing of movements are conscious choices by participants to evoke particular emotions associated with an event or location, and to drive emotion and empower the movement. Therefore, this theoretical conversation empowers the individual agent, whilst acknowledging the influence of structure via the local context.

---

[78] Ibid, 95.

Chapter 3:

Contextualising Amuru District

Amuru District, located in the Acholi sub-region in northern Uganda, has become a hot-bed for land disputes since the return of IDPs following the end of the civil war in 2006. Decades of insecurity driven by repeated waves of forced displacement has ultimately left Amuru District in a state of latent conflict.[79] Therefore, this chapter aims to contextualise the despair and continued marginalisation of the people in Amuru District. To achieve this, it will first historise forced displacement in the area; before examining government-led land grabs at both the local and global level, addressing the characteristics of protracted conflict in Amuru District via the discussion of land.

3.1.   A history of forced displacement in Amuru District

Amuru District has succumbed to waves of enforced displacement dating back to the British colonial administration. This has engrained a sense of deep distrust among those living within the region with the governing elite.[80] The expropriation of land and disregard for those dependent on it has created the conditions for continued marginalisation, contributing to the long-term suffering of the many communities that call Acholiland[81] their home. Therefore, this section aims to identify the roots of contemporary contention within historic processes of displacement. First, addressing the colonial tactics of 'divide and rule,' before an in-depth discussion on the forced evacuations from 1996 by the Ugandan government during the civil war.

The British colonial administration uprooted the entire western population of Acholiland between 1913 and 1914 following the outbreak of sleeping sickness.[82] Sleeping sickness is a parasitic disease transmitted by the tsetse fly, which in 1913-1914 had spread from the Nile River Valley into Lakang.[83] As a result the British quarantined Lakang and surrounding areas. The displaced communities were forced to resettle closer to Gulu town, conveniently located closer to the newly established colonial administrative

---

[79] Llamazares et al., *Northern Uganda Conflict Analysis*, 53.

[80] Demonstrated in the response to the outbreak of nodding disease, discussed in further detail in the following text.

[81] Acholiland is the sub-region of northern Uganda where Amuru District is situated.

[82] Tessa Laing and Sara Weschler, 'Displacement as Resistance in Northern Uganda: How 234 Rural Farmers Occupied a UN Compound to Defend their Land.' Web blog post. *#LSEReturn series. Africa at LSE,* October 23, 2018, https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2018/10/23/displacement-as-resistance-in-northern-uganda-how-234-rural-farmers-occupied-a-un-compound-to-defend-their-land/, accessed: May 19, 2020.

[83] Ronald Atkinson and Arthur Owor, ''Land Grabbing': The Ugandan Government, Madhvani, and Others Versus the Community of Lakang, Amuru District', *JPSS*, vol. 1, (2013), 55;

centre and the newly built roads linking Gulu and Nimule in southern Sudan. The forced relocation has been described as a control campaign by the British to assert their dominance within the region.[84]

The displacement of Lakang and surrounding area in 1913-1914 illustrates the first wave of strategised relocation and displacement of citizens in Acholiland by the governing elite. For the British, 'divide and rule' campaigns asserted their control in new territories by, 'reduce[ing] conflicts with indgenous peoples by a means of territorial exclusion.'[85] By displacing entire villages and excluding indigenous people from their land and resources the British were able to weaken any potential for opposition, severing communities and ultimately destabilising entire groups. Making it extremely difficult for them to organise with any effect against the British. Therefore, the relocation of Lakang can be described as an illustration of Britain's drive to control the movements of 'tribes' throughout Uganda.[86]

In addition, the British relocation of Lankang manifested the colonial concern for keeping people in the places they belonged.[87] Therefore, not only were the British using 'divide and rule' as a means of asserting explicit control via destabilising the indigenous Lakang by excluding them from their resources; but the British were also redefining boundaries and territories based that benefited their own interests. They were able to 'free-up' areas by forcing indigenous groups to move to land that was more suited to the colonial vision. This was a key moment in the history of land for Acholiland as it would mark the beginning of a succession of elite land claims founded in political or economic benefits. The British reorganisation of Lakang was driven by political incentives, and was the first wave of territorial separation and demarcation of land imposed for the sole benefit of the governing elite. Contemporary disputes are similarly characterised by continual displacement as a result of the governing elite claiming land for their benefit, as they create new boundaries and assertions of who and who does not belong. In the following section the role of the Ugandan state in contemporary land acquisitions and disputes will be contextualised further, but it is important to address the colonial legacy which provided the pretext for modern land disputes in Amuru District.

The second major spike in a sea of continual waves of internal displacement were the mass evacuations between 1996 and 2006 by the Ugandan government during the civil war. For twenty-three years, northern Uganda was terrorised by brutal rebel insurgencies and equally bloody government counter-insurgencies.[88] Following the overthrow of the Acholi majority government by Yoweri Museveni

---

[84] Ibid; Atkinson and Owor, ''Land Grabbing', 55; Sverker Finnström, *Living With Bad Surroundings: War, History, and Everyday Moments in Northern Uganda*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 144.
[85] A. J. Christopher, ''Divide and Rule': The Impress of British Separation Policies', *The Royal Geographical Society*, vol. 21, no. 3, (1988), 233.
[86] Finnström, *Living With Bad Surroundings*, 144
[87] Ibid.
[88] Branch, 'Humanitarianism, Violence, and the Camp in Northern Uganda', 480.

and the National Resistance Army (NRA). The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) emerged in the early 1990s as one of the strongest rebel forces, becoming infamous for their brutal campaigns of massacres, maimings and forced recruitment, especially of child soldiers.[89] The direct impact of violence and continual insurgencies by both rebel and government forces had a devastating effect on thousands of lives. However, the main driver of displacement in the conflict which produced nearly two million IDPs, was the mass evacuations of Acholiland as part of the Ugandan government's security policy.[90]

Perceived failings of the rebel forces and subjection to heavy violence from both sides resulted in the decline in Acholi support for the rebels and the conflict in general. However, this was mistakenly interpreted by the LRA as an indication of Acholi support for the government, as they turned their violence towards civilians who they now suspected were 'government collaborators.'[91] In 1996, the Uganda government created its policy of 'protected villages,' designed to ensure protection and security for the communities in the Acholi region against the LRA insurgencies.[92] However, the realisation of these camps would bring a very different story than one of sanctuary and security.

From their conception, 'protected villages' did not end the structural insecurity of civilians in Acholiland. Instead, the 'villages' became internment camps. Witnessing the moment when the destruction of villages and infliction of violence transferred from rebel insurgencies to a government relocation project. The UPDF drove, 'hundreds of thousands of Acholi peasants out of their villages and into camps through a campaign of murder, intimidation, and the bombing and burning of entire villages.'[93] The 'protected villages' —former towns and commercial hubs— quickly became overwhelmed by thousands of IDPs. Conditions in the 'villages' deteriorated rapidly as rising populations resulted in high mortality rates. Combined with squalid and overcrowded living conditions, women faced additional threats of rape, with young girls particularly at risk with many falling victim to early pregnancies and abductions by rebels.[94] Further insecurity derived from the positioning of military bases within the 'villages,' which resulted in repeated attacks on civilians by LRA forces.[95] Therefore, the result of the

---

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid; Ruth Mukwana and Katinka Ridderbos, 'Uganda's Response to Displacement: Contrasting Policy and Practice', *Forced Migration Review*, December 2008, online: https://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/FMRdownloads/en/GuidingPrinciples10/mukwana-ridderbos.pdf, accessed: June 03, 2020.

[91] Branch, 'Humanitarianism, Violence, and the Camp in Northern Uganda', 480.

[92] Morton et al., *A Time Between Moving on from Internal Displacement in Northern Uganda*, 4.

[93] Ibid.

[94] 'Uganda: Cautious Welcome for Scaling Down Protected Villages', *The New Humanitarian*, April 20, 1999, https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news/1999/04/20/uganda-cautious-welcome-scaling-down-protected-villages.accessed: accessed: June 30, 2020.

[95] Mukwana and Ridderbos, 'Uganda's Response to Displacement.'

poor management and protection of IDPs by the Ugandan government intensified the civilian victimisation.

The historic discourse of Amuru District has had a lasting impact on the lack of trust in Amuru District with the government, 'every event, decision and intervention from government is often seen against a history of violence and exclusion.'[96] This additional layer has extreme impacts on how the region receives the government, for example, the outbreak of nodding disease was believed to be orchestrated, either directly infecting people or poisoning food assistance during the war.[97] This level of distrust has been generated by years of oppression and the disproportionate impact of the LRA conflict in northern regions. Therefore, years of insecurity and victimisation by government forces in Amuru District protrude beyond initial conversations of land and into a general sense of distrust with the governing elite.

The unaddressed legacy of the 'protected villages' and civil war following the cease-fire agreement in 2006 created a climate for continued systematic land dispossession by both state and non-state actors.[98] On the one hand, those who had the political connections and enough wealth were able to manipulate and exploit the state's repressive power to claim land and dispossess peasants returning to their ancestral homes; on the other hand, displacement and years of poverty forced many peasants to sacrifice their land.[99] In addition, the state sought the opportunity to profit from 'vacant' land, manipulating traditional customary systems of land tenure. Returning IDPs following the cease-fire agreement in 2006 often returned to find their land repurposed by the government or sold to a private investor.[100] The expropriation of supposedly vacant land by the government elite is key for understanding modern land disputes in Amuru, and throughout northern Uganda in general, because it represents a key moment in the ongoing conflict over land titles.

3.2.   Domestic land grabbing: the role of the state

Land constitutes the most common type of dispute within Uganda's communities and courts, both in rural and urban areas.[101] This not only points towards the significant presence of land conflicts within Ugandan

---

[96] Llamazares et al., *Northern Uganda Conflict Analysis*, ix.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Giuliano Martiniello, 'Social Struggles in Uganda's Acholiland: Understanding Responses and Resistance to the Amuru Sugar Works', *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, vol. 42, nos. 3-4, (2015), 658.

[99] Ibid.

[100] For example in 2007 land surveyed for the Amuru Sugar Works was deemed 'vacant,' however the land was only unused due to forced displacement of people from Amuru and surrounding areas during the LRA conflict.

[101] Teddy Kisembo, '"This plot is not for sale!": Land Administration and Land Disputes in Uganda', Land Portal, November 6, 2019, https://landportal.org/blog-post/2019/11/%E2%80%9C-plot-not-sale%E2%80%9D-land-administration-and-land-disputes-uganda, accessed: March 30, 2020.

society, but also towards the sheer complexity and density of land contestations. In consideration of this, the following section is allocated to analyse two specific features surrounding processes of government-led land grabs following the cease-fire agreement in 2006. Therefore, the aim of this section is to address the role of the Ugandan state in land disputes at the local level in Amuru District; before taking a broader, structural lense to analyse how the Ugandan state justifies its acquisition of customary land on global paradigms of development.

As touched on in the previous section, returning IDPs to Amuru District are facing systematic dispossession from land as a result of government encroachment into 'vacated' land. This highlights the state's ability to exploit the informal nature of customary land tenure systems which characterise land ownership throughout northern Uganda. Customary land tenure, 'refers to the terms and conditions on which land is held, used and transacted in accordance with the ethos and customs of a given community. The local customs govern ownership, use and occupation and transactions in land.'[102] Customary land claims are easily disregarded by high powered elites and government officials due to the lack of recorded documents given that customary land agreements are reliant on inter-community understandings and are rarely written down.[103] Authorities are able to take advantage of the lack of formal records, either making a decision based on their self-interests or 'biased towards the more powerful and richer members of the community - on whom they depend.'[104] Therefore, customary tenure held by oral records are easily manipulated and struggle to keep up with formal courts of law. Customary land claims are extremely complex and there is neither the space or capacity within this thesis to provide a fully comprehensive examination of customary versus private land claims. However, as illustrated by this text, the confusion and inability to prove customary ties to land not only enabled the state to move in when the the residents of Amuru District were interned in 'protected villages;' signifying to the inability of returning IDPs to prove their claims to land, and win against the state.

In Amuru District, returning IDPs are often accused of 'squatting' or 'encroaching' on private land and are frequently evicted.[105] With violence validated by justifications of the protection of forests from encroachers who present a threat to wildlife.[106] The evictions circulate the customary versus private tenure claims between returning IDPs and governing elites, with returnees claiming that they are only

---

[102] Justice Musene cited in Atkinson and Owor, 'Land Grabbing', 12.
[103] *Why is Land Administration Failing to Protect Land Rights?*, LEMA, Policy Brief, 2009, 1.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Llamazares et al., *Northern Uganda Conflict Analysis*, 23; Susan Murphy et al., 'When Rights Collide: Land Grabbing, force and Injustice in Uganda', *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, vol. 44, no. 3, (2017), 2.
[106] Murphy et al., 'When Rights Collide', 2.

returning to their homelands the government forced away from in the first place.[107] Often extremely violent, evictions are carried out by armed security forces who act on behalf of the state and mirror the brutality of UPDF and LRA insurgencies during the civil war.[108] One of the key actors in facilitating these violent expulsions of resettled IDPs is the semi-autonomous government agency the UWA. Originally established in 1996, following the merger of the Uganda National Parks and the Game Department, the UWA was, 'mandated to ensure sustainable management of wildlife resources and supervise wildlife activities in Uganda both within and outside the protected areas.'[109] However, since the return of IDPs to areas now declared wildlife reserves by UWA, the organisation has been involved in a series of violent clashes with returnees and are noted for playing a significant role in contemporary land disputes in both Amuru District and elsewhere.[110] This is evident in the implication of protected areas being sold to private investors,[111] which shifts the role of the UWA away from wildlife protection into an extension of the Ugandan state's economic ambitions. Therefore, the violence that perpetuates the succession of evictions and claims surrounding land titles is an extension of state action. Thus indicating that the assertion of land as an economic entity is more important than securing a stable and secure post-conflict setting for returning IDPs.

Shifting away from the local lens, local dispossession, evictions and exclusion from land in Amuru District are part of a wider phenomenon of government-led land grabs throughout the Global South. Especially prevalent in northern Uganda, where the government is maintaining their claim over customary land on the basis of global development discourses.[112] By adopting the development rhetoric from worldwide institutions such as the World Bank, Museveni's government is able to justify and legitimise the systematic expulsion and dispossession of people from land on claims of development, progression and conservation.[113] However, there is little evidence that these vast acquisitions of land are successful in bringing development, instead their impact on rural people who rely on land for both subsistence and livelihoods is often extremely negative.[114] Employment in the projects following the

---

[107] 'Never Give Up: The Struggle for a Birthright', Actionaid, July 31, 2019,
https://actionaid.org/stories/2019/never-give-struggle-birthright, accessed: June 03, 2020.
[108] See chapter 4, subsection 4.4. for the discussion on the brutal evictions in Apaa, Amuru District.
[109] 'Uganda Wildlife Authority: About', https://www.ugandawildlife.org/about/uganda-wildlife-authority, accessed: June 03, 2020.
[110] Llamazares et al., *Northern Uganda Conflict Analysis*, 13.
[111] As was the case of the East Madi Wildlife Reserve, Amuru.
[112] Joshua K. Maiyo and Sandra J.T.M. Evers, 'Claim Making in Transnational Land Deals: Discourses of Legitimisation and Stakeholder Relations in Central Uganda', *Geoforum*, vol. 109, no. 1, (2020), 127.
[113] Ibid; Angela Kintu Rwabose, 'Madhvani Group Magazine', *Madhvani Group*, vol. 23, no. 10, (2015), 5; Giuliano Martiniello, 'The Accumulation of Dispossession and Resistance in Northern Uganda', (paper presented at The International Conference on Global Land Grabbing II, LDPI, New York October 17-19, 2012), 7;
[114] *Land Is for Life,* La Via Campesina, May 2013.
https://viacampesina.org/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2013/06/EN-notebook5-1.pdf, accessed: June 02, 2020, 7.

take-over of land is often poorly paid, and limited to a small number of individuals as, 'the labour unfriendly technologies of mechanization do not allow for the absorption of labour power.'[115] Further contributing to a state of poverty and marginalisation, resulting in heightened figures of unemployment.[116] Thus, contributing to and not mitigating, levels of insecurity and poverty in affected regions.

In addition, organisations and industries that move in on grabbed land often fail to maintain promises of building sustainable infrastructure. The promise of schools, hospitals, roads and other facilities often never emerge.[117] Therefore, the impact of land grabs on rural populations go beyond the initial processes of displacement, instead they provide future threats to the security of the region. Particularly in post-conflict settings where land remains a valuable source for re-establishing security among affected peoples.[118] Therefore, in Amuru District, and the sub-region of Acholi more broadly, government-led land grabs are presenting a risk to the security of the rural population, both in the immediate and future sense. The exclusion from land presents threats that extend beyond the initial evictions from homesteads, contributing to the marginalisation of Acholiland. Illustrating how land grabs perpetuate the protracted conflict in Amuru District and the surrounding areas.

3.3.   Summary

To summarise, land is a central feature of the protracted conflict in Amuru District. The governing elite's disregard for customary land tenure systems contributes to a historic setting of systematic exclusion from land. Displacement has been a common feature in the historic and lived memory of the region, most importantly the methodological displacement of Amuru District during the civil war to 'protected villages.' It is impossible to fully comprehend the trauma of returning IDPs, as they return to their land, scars of the civil war fresh in their memories, only to find themselves displaced once more. The role of the state in grabbing vast hectares of land shows no regard for the lived experiences of those who they now label 'encroachers' and 'squatters.' As global development norms provide a useful tool for the state to advance its economic goals. As the state continues to violently grab land from those who need it most, land grabs will be an ongoing threat to those in Amuru District; both to their immediate and future security.

---

[115] Martiniello, 'The Accumulation of Dispossession', 14.

[116] Ibid, 15.

[117] Roberts K.Muriisa et al., 'Land Deals in Uganda: An Invisible Hand in Land Grabbing and Rural Development', in *International Land Deals in Eastern and Southern Africa*, ed. Paschal B. Mihyo, (Ethiopia: OSSREA, 2014), 14

[118] Margaret A. Rugadya, *A Review of Literature on Post Conflict Land Policy and Administration Issues, During Return and Resettlement of Idps: International Experience and Lessons from Uganda,* World Bank, September 2006, https://www.globalprotectioncluster.org/_assets/files/field_protection_clusters/Uganda/files/HLP%20AoR/Uganda_Post-conflict_Land_Administration_and_IDP_Return_2006_EN.pdf, accessed: July 26, 2020.

Evaluating naked protests in Amuru District

This chapter will provide a discussion of naked protests in Amuru District against LSLAs between 2012 and 2017. The first half of this chapter will analyse three cases of naked protests, the 2012 and 2017 opposition to the Amuru Sugar Works, and the 2015 protests against the further demarcation of land for the East Madi Wildlife Reserve. Observations will be made to how naked protests emerge as a mode of resistance and their specific relation with Amuru and Acholi understandings of nakedness. The second section will provide an in depth evaluation of the key drivers specifically the role of emotion and the immediate and future threat of land dispossession. The chapter will conclude with a short summary and evaluation of the data.

4.1.   Resisting the Amuru Sugar Works, 2012 and 2017.

In 2012, sixty women from the Amuru District stripped naked in front of representatives from the Local District Board and surveyors of the Ugandan Madhvani Group.[119] Leading a larger resistance movement consisting of hundreds of people from the local communities of Lakang, Kololo and Bana areas in Pailyec Parish[120] who had gathered in Lakang Village to protest the establishment of the Amuru Sugar Works project. The project belonged to the Madhvani Group, a Ugandan conglomerate who sought forty-thousand hectares of land for the commercial sugar estate. The Madhvani Group claimed that the plantation would provide seven-thousand new jobs and provide livelihoods for seven to ten-thousand outgrower farmers.[121] However, this was heavily opposed by people living in Amuru District who claimed that the disputed land was communal and was wrongfully allocated to the private investors by the government.[122] The disputed land, initially surveyed by the Madhvani Group in 2007 was declared vacant, fueling the dispute as the Madhvani Group argue that people returning to the land are only doing so to

---

[119] Sam Lawino, 'Amuru Women Undress Before Madhvani Boss', *Daily Monitor*, April 21, 2012, https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/-/688334/1390386/-/avks9ez/-/index.html, accessed: June 03, 2020.
[120] Arthur Owor and Carolin Dieterle, 'Customary Land Claims are at Stake in Northern Uganda', https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2020/04/07/customary-land-claims-reform-unrecognised-in-northern-uganda/, accessed: June 03, 2020.
[121] Martiniello, 'Social Struggles in Uganda's Acholiland', 653.
[122] Stephen Kafeero, 'Breaking Down the Amuru Land Conflict', *Daily Monitor*, August 14, 2017, https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Breaking-down-the-Amuru-land-conflict-/688334-4056238-qwsjy7/index.html, accessed: May 26, 2020.

retrieve compensation.[123] Residents in Amuru District contend this claim, arguing that the land was only vacant because they were withheld in the 'protected villages' and that they are only returning to their homes.[124] When officials arrived in April 2012 to persuade local residents to vacate the land they were met with resistance. Men, women and youth charged towards them, angered by attempts to calm the protestors, women began undressing and wailing in anguish, followed by men pulling out spears, as others pelted the surveyors with stones, arrows and sticks.[125]

Like many contestations over land in northern Uganda, the Amuru Sugar Works dispute was a continuous process, evolving in waves over a number of years. In 2015, the Lamogi community in Amuru District withdrew their petition against Amuru Sugar Works Limited (ASWL).[126] The formal withdrawal, signed in the presence of President Museveni would allow the Madhvani Group to pursue plans for the sugarcane plantation and factory in the Amuru District. The incentive for the withdrawal is unknown, but the extension of the project would lead to further resistance.

In 2017, the Madhvani Group advanced into the Amuru District with further plans to establish a sugar plantation and factory, this time requiring ten thousand hectares. Government ministers were held at a roadblock for over four hours on the road to Kololo in 2017, as residents refused to let them pass into land they had come to survey for the Kakira sugar plantation.[127] Women marched topless towards the minister's vehicle, where Betty Amongi the minister for Lands sat. Whilst a number of local residents, both men and women, remained fixed to the roadblock, a group of women threw themselves to the ground and rolling around crying and chanting for their land.[128] Whilst writhing on the ground some women exposed their genitals, whilst others wept on their knees.

In retaliation, armed police dispersed the crowds using teargas and firing live bullets at the protesters.[129] Reminiscent of scenes from the civil war, the armed forces attacked protesters, resulting in two taken to hospital and an unconfirmed number of others injured.[130]

---

[123] Liam Taylor, 'Naked Force Meets Naked Resistance in Northern Uganda Land Conflict', *Reuters*, November 24, 2017, https://news.trust.org/item/20171124130614-o29zt/, accessed: May 26, 2020.
[124] Ibid.
[125] Joseph Were, 'Amuru Women's Naked Power', *The Independent*, May 03, 2015, https://www.independent.co.ug/amuru-womens-naked-power/, accessed: June 03, 2020; Lawino, 'Amuru Women Undress Before Madhvani Boss.'
[126] Nelson Wesonga, 'Amuru Sugar Works: What is in it for Uganda?', *Daily Monitor*, January 24, 2015, https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Amuru-Sugar-Works--What-is-in-it-for-Uganda-/688334-2600142-y5a5vqz/index.html, accessed: June 03, 2020.
[127] Irene Abalo Otto, 'Amuru Women Undress in Protest Again...before Lands Minister Amongi.'
[128] NTVUganda, 'Women Strip to Protest Land Give-Away in Amuru', YouTube video, posted August 11, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rn1GGJKL4k4, accessed: June 03, 2020.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.

4.2. Disputing the East Madi Wildlife Reserve, 2015

In 2015, a group of elderly women stripped naked in front of military and government officials in protest against the continued land dispute in the Amuru District.[131] The protests formed a lengthy battle between the Acholi people and the UWA after the eviction of six thousand residents in 2012 and the waves of continued displacement and violence which followed.[132] The protest was an extension of a long-term dispute over land between the Acholi and the government who had gazetted the land during the civil war. [133] In 2015, the gazetted land, now called the East Madi Wildlife Reserve, had been leased to Lake Albert Safaris as a game hunting reserve.[134] Two weeks before the protest it was reported that armed security forces composed of soldiers, police, crime preventers or cadres dressed in state uniform, 'had raided the area, beaten civilians with sticks and thrown them out of their homes.'[135]

Between three to five thousand people gathered in Apaa, Amuru District during April 2015, to participate in a seated protest, at the front sat elders holding symbolic objects calabash, water and obeke olwedo (tree leaves) which are used in both blessing and curse rituals.[136] Behind them sat women of child bearing years, with men seated behind them.[137] As the protest commenced, a group of five elderly women stood forward exposing their naked bodies, baring their breasts and showing their genitals.[138] The elderly women purposely directed their movements towards the government officials, protruding from the rest of the crowd who remained seated.[139] The elderly women grabbed their breasts and waved sacred branches, as some somersaulted naked, together they cried and wailed in unison with the rest of the seated protesters.[140] Chanting, 'Lobowa, Lobowa' meaning our land in Luo dialect,[141] the naked women brought the government minister for Lands Daudi Migereko to tears, whilst others hid their view unable to watch. [142]

---

[131] Ocungi and Okello, 'Women Undress before Migereko, Gen Aronda.'

[132] Christina Okello, 'Angry Women Strip Bare in Ongoing North Ugandan Land Dispute', *RIF*, May 19, 2015, https://www.rfi.fr/en/africa/20150419-women-strip-north-uganda-unresolved-land-conflict, accessed: June 02, 2020.

[133] 'Never Give Up: The Struggle for a Birthright.'

[134] Ibid.

[135] Abonga et al., 'Naked Bodies and Collective Action', 13.

[136] Ibid, 14.

[137] Ibid.

[138] Ibid, 13.

[139] NTVUganda, 'Amuru Women Strip Before Ministers in Protest Over Land', Youtube video, posted April 17, 2015, accessed: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F4DdYt-SnsA, accessed: June 03, 2020.

[140] NTVUganda, 'Amuru Women Strip Before Ministers in Protest Over Land.'

[141] Catherine Byaruhanga, 'The Ugandan Women Who Strip to Defend Their Land', *BBC Africa*, June 01, 2015, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32938779, accessed: May 26, 2020.

[142] Ocungi and Okello, 'Women Undress before Migereko, Gen Aronda.'

4.3. Observations of the 2012, 2015 and 2017 naked protests in Amuru District

The most obvious way women are engaging in naked protests is the removal of their clothing, either partially or fully to expose their breasts and/or genitalia. Women participated in various degrees of nakedness in which women engaged in, 'off came their tops - then some of the women pulled down their wrappers and skirts so they were completely naked.'[143] One constant in each moment of naked protest which was the deliberate act of women revealing their breasts. The exposure of their breasts suggests that women are politically embarking on symbolic narratives of motherhood.[144] In Uganda, the naked female body is defined by localised gendered transcripts of motherhood which symbolically identifies the female body as the creators of life. When women expose their bodies, particularly their breasts, as they did during the protests in Amuru District, they are highlighting their femine, life-giving features. Their breasts by which they feed their child, and their vagina's from where they give birth. Each protest represents the same message, *I as a woman, gave you life, and I as a woman can take that away*. This is further enhanced by the role of elderly women, who after their fertile years where they might expose their breasts for nurturing their children, are not expected to expose their breasts in public.[145]

Traditionally women exposing their naked body is an expression of utmost anger and is historically linked with social conflict in Acholi culture.[146] The use of ritualistic materials in combination with stripping naked refers to local custom that when a woman strips naked in social conflict they invoke a curse that causes deep shame.[147] This is enhanced by the role of elderly women engaged in naked protests who are symbolically responsible for the younger members of their community, which empowers the meaning of shame evoked.[148] This is illustrated in the reaction of receiving officials, 'Overwhelmed by the sight of sobbing residents and naked women, Mr Migereko broke down and let out a gush of tears. Gen Aronda, who appeared unshaken, stood motionlessly looking in different directions to avoid eye contact with the nudity.'[149] Therefore, elderly women were able to use their naked bodies as a cultural asset to empower their civil resistance, harnessing the emotive power of 'shame.'

---

[143] Byaruhanga, 'The Ugandan Women Who Strip to Defend Their Land.'

[144] Abonga et al., 'Naked Bodies and Collective Action', 17; Ebila and Tripp, 'Naked Transgressions', 25.

[145] Ingrid Turinawe, 'April: Month of Breast Protests in Uganda', Mon pi Mon: Women for Women Uganda, April 24, 2015, https://monpimon.wordpress.com/2015/04/27/april-month-of-breast-protests-in-uganda/, accessed: May 26, 2020.

[146] Ali Mari Tripp interviewed in Nangayi Guyson, 'Undress for Redress: the Rise of Naked Protests in Africa', Africa Arguments, June 10, 2016, accessed: https://africanarguments.org/2016/06/10/anything-to-get-justice-the-rise-of-naked-protests-africa/, May 26, 2020.

[147] Phil Wilmot, 'Stripping Power in Uganda', Beautiful Rising, https://beautifulrising.org/tool/stripping-power-in-uganda, accessed: May 26, 2020.

[148] Abonga et al., 'Naked Bodies and Collective Action', 8.

[149] Okello, 'Women Undress before Migereko, Gen Aronda.'

The timing of naked protests is crucial for understanding how the exposure of the female body is used as a resistant act. In each case, the occurrence of naked protests emerge in combination with peaceful, sit-down protests. Erupting when confronted with representatives from the government. This is a direct and conscious act, speaking towards the 'message' of protests. Naked protests are a nonviolent way to express anger towards the authorities. It is clear that naked protests against land grabs in Amuru District are a performance vis-à-vis specific state actors —they are directly aimed at the government and corresponding elites. In 2017, images of women latched onto the Minister of Land's vehicle as they lay naked on the ground, dirtied by sand and wailing their mourning cries.[150] In 2015, women reserved their nakedness for the officials only, emerging from the rest of the seated crowd when the officials arrived. Again, in 2012, the first of the three cases, it was the arrival of the district board and representatives of the Madhvani Group that spurred women into action, as they led the protests naked ahead of the men.[151] Therefore, it can be understood that the specific timing and direction of stripping naked towards the arrival of the governing elite was intentional. Drawing on the notion endorsed Jasper that place and timing are meaning productive.[152] Suggesting that naked protests were designed to be loud and head-on engagement with the state.

Another key element that builds on how public nakedness is used as a resistant act is the explicit repetition of naked protests in Amuru District. Women show willingness to repeatedly engage in naked protests, not only evident in the concentrated location of Amuru and enhanced by further declarations of future naked protests, 'if they [the Madhvani Group] insist to get this land, we shall strip naked again.'[153] Following the dispersal of government and Madhvani representatives in 2012 after the resistance they met in Amuru.[154] Museveni declared he personally would go to the area to handle the dispute, sustained on his insistence that the disputed land is government-owned. The women who had already engaged in public nakedness in the first instance threatened to strip again as soon as Museveni would start his speech.[155] Museveni's address on April 23, 2012 was rapidly called off due to bad weather, but what is important is that the threat of naked protesting remained the same, 'we are very sad with the President for giving away our land. If he comes, we will do an abomination, we will strip naked again to show our anger.'[156]

---

[150] 'Amuru women strip to block land survey', *New Vision*, August 11, 2017, https://www.newvision.co.ug/news/1459649/amuru-women-strip-block-land-survey, accessed: June 03, 2020.
[151] Abonga et al., 'Naked Bodies and Collective Action', 13.
[152] Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest*, 95.
[153] Lawino, 'Amuru Women Undress Before Madhvani Boss.'
[154] Phil Wilmot, 'Meet the Ugandan Peasant Grandmother Who Terrifies Her President', Waging Nonviolence, https://wagingnonviolence.org/2015/05/meet-ugandan-peasant-grandmother-terrifies-president/, accessed: June 03, 2020.
[155] Were, 'Amuru Women's Naked Power.'
[156] Lawino, 'Amuru Women Undress Before Madhvani Boss.'

However, it is not clear, the level of organisation or whether it is the same women who participated in the protests in 2012, 2015 and 2017. What is clear is the commitment among the women who participated in 2012 to continue undressing in opposition against the Amuru Sugar Works. This suggests that it could be possible that the women involved in undressing in 2017 could be the same as those who participated in 2012. However, it could also be interpreted that the success of the stripping naked in 2012 provided the source of inspiration for the later protests. Therefore, it is difficult to draw solid conclusions regarding the precise level of organisation through repetition, instead it suggests that nakedness holds significant meaning in Amuru culture which is reflected in these expressions of contention. A notion that will be uncovered in greater detail in the second half of this chapter.

Observations of the naked protests in 2012, 2015 and 2017 show that they were fractions of larger resistance movements against LSLAs in Amuru District, that reflected collective emotion. In each case, women, men and youth were engaged in similar emotional expressions. In 2012, women led the confrontation with authorities charged by anger as they undressed, mirrored by men and other participants waving spears and throwing objects.[157] In 2015, women stripped as they wailed and wept, embodying notions of grief and loss, at the same time, seated protesters wailed in unison with images of men crying with their head in their hands.[158] Similar patterns in 2017 are also observed, as men and other participants wept together with the women who undressed.[159] In each case grief, anger, and pain can be identified as core emotions both among the naked protesters and the rest of the participants in the wider movement. Therefore, it is clear that the naked protests themselves and the movements from which they emerge are driven by emotion.

4.4.   The multi-leveled dimensions of land loss

This section will discuss the different layers of threats and emotions that accompany processes of land grabbing through multidimensional understandings of land dispossession. To achieve this, analysis will be made to three key levels of land dispossession in Amuru which act as drivers for naked protests; the victimisation of Amuru residents by the Ugandan government; the trauma of protracted displacement and social conflict in Acholiland; the loss of livelihoods and the concern for the future of their families.

In Amuru, government-victimisation vis-à-vis land loss is both an immediate and future threat. The naked protests in 2012 against the Madhvani Sugar works were laced with feelings of government victimisation of the Acholi, embodied in the immediate threat of dispossession from land. As one

---

[157] Ibid; Were, 'Amuru Women's Naked Power.'
[158] NTVUganda, 'Amuru Women Strip Before Ministers in Protest Over Land.'
[159] NTVUganda, 'Women Strip to Protest Land Give-Away In Amuru.'

protester exclaimed, 'why is the government targeting our land, why why…?'[160] Likewise, Ms Grace Akot, one of the women who participated in the 2012 naked protests in Amuru, reported to the *Daily Monitor* that she too believed the government's acquisition of Acholi land was a personal attack on the residents who lived there, 'I think this is (aimed) at causing us mental anguish.'[161] From these accounts, it is clear that the Acholi felt victimised by the state, suggesting that immediate contestations over land are in fact a progression of forced displacement.

The naked protests succeeded the cease-fire agreement by only six years, therefore the legacy of the mass evacuations to 'protected villages' were still fresh in the Acholi memory. In the interview with *Daily Monitor*, Akot describes the motive for undressing in 2012 as rooted in the agony of protracted land dispossession, 'It is painful because we have just left camps for our villages.'[162] A notion further emphasised by Ms Lucy Ajani, another woman who actively engaged in the naked protests against the Madhvani Sugar Works in 2012 who argued that undressing was, 'to show anger over the continued eviction threat against them.'[163] Therefore, it is apparent that the 2012 naked protests were largely in response to the protraction of government-enforced displacement of the Acholi. The loss of land in the immediate sense further suggests a sense of grief generated in the notion of cultural loss, evoked through the transcript of victimisation of Amuru people.

Government victimisation via the displacement of Amuru constitutes the threat to the residents future security. This can be conceptualised in two ways, first is the use of naked protests to express the collective concern over future displacement. As reported in 2015, 'this scenario [the Apaa land dispute] is likely to create a landless community or a new set of land grab related to IDPs in northern Uganda.'[164] The threat of further displacement is negotiated in the context of the protracted displacement and feelings of victimisation that have been reflected on throughout this thesis. The second level of the threat to the future security of those living within Amuru District is represented in the concern of what the loss of land means for women in the region. Land is extremely important for women, not only does farming and crop cultivation provide food and economic security, but it also fulfills women with a sense of autonomy and economic independence.[165] In Uganda, women dominate the percentage of agricultural workers,

---

[160] Ocungi and Okello, 'Women Undress before Migereko, Gen Aronda.'
[161] Ibid.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Eria Serwajja cited in, Nelson Wesonga, 'Amuru Sugar Works: What is in it for Uganda?', *Daily Monitor*, January 24, 2015, https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Amuru-Sugar-Works--What-is-in-it-for-Uganda-/688334-2600142-y5a5vqz/index.html, accessed: May 26, 2020.
[165] Silvia Federici, 'Women, Land-Struggles and the Valorization of Labor', *The Commoner*, vol. 10, (2005), 221.

consisting of seventy-two percent of the entire workforce,[166] and in northern Uganda almost a quarter of all households are headed by women.[167] Therefore, highlighting women's significant role in the household and the direct threat land grabbing presents to women. In addition, women living in Amuru District face additional hardships as a result of the conflict which increased their dependency on land, 'When they take it how shall we feed our children? Most of us are widows; the land doesn't belong to politicians: it belongs to us. In any case, with the loss of our land, there is nothing more to lose.'[168] This account highlights the importance of land for women living in Amuru District, as many have been widowed and suffer the legacy of the civil war, which fractured the entire community, 'we are widows and have many orphans to cater for, we are not sure there is another land they would relocate us to.'[169] These accounts symbolise the additional burden women face, not only do they need to look after their families but have taken on the role of piecing together a broken community. In this sense, women are extremely vulnerable to the threat of land dispossession, if they lose their land they have lost access to their whole livelihood and the means to support those dependent on them. Symbolising that land is not only essential to their and their family's survival but land is the only thing they have left after the devastation of the conflict and years of forced internment. Therefore, it can be observed that women's engagement in naked protests is rooted in fear generated by the threat land grabbing presents to their future security.

4.5.   Brutality of armed security forces during land evictions in Amuru District

The excessive use of violence by armed security forces operating on the instruction of the state acts as a significant driver for women to engage in naked protests. Constituting the 'moral shock' which provides the emotional-drivers of resistance. This will be analysed with specific focus to protests in Apaa in 2015.[170]

In 2015, a group of elderly Apaa residents stripped naked as part of a larger protest against their continued eviction from disputed land claimed by the UWA for the East Madi Wildlife reserve. Contentions were rooted in a series of events surrounding the brutal treatment of Apaa residents by the heavy-handed security forces. Significant are the series of violent evictions by the UWA in 2010, 2011 and 2012, —the latter resulting in two deaths, multiple arrests and six-thousand displaced as UWA forces

---

[166] Chiara Capraro and Jessica Woodroffe, *Digging Deep: The Impact of Uganda's Land Rush on Women's Rights*, Womankind/Nawad/NAPE, 2018, 8.

[167] Llamazares et al., *Northern Uganda Conflict Analysis*, 12.

[168] Testimony of a woman from Amuru at a workshop organised by Centre for Basic Research Kampala, November 25, 2016, sourced from Capraro and Woodroffe, *Digging Deep,* 29.

[169] Lawino, 'Amuru Women Undress Before Madhvani Boss.'

[170] The 2015 protests are chosen because they are an explicit response to the brutality of the security forces in evictions and handling of protesters. This does not suggest that the other cases were without violence.

destroyed homes and villages.[171] Despite a High Court injunction set in 2012 forbidding further evictions, the UWA, UPDF and police forces continue to subject the Apaa residents to excessive violence, resulting in an ongoing assault of brutal evictions.[172] In early April 2015, when residents became aware of a new team sent to survey the land they stood in opposition.[173] However, the movement was violently dispersed by armed forces, injuring eighty-two residents during an operation to nip the resistance 'in the bud.'[174] The next time government officials arrived at Apaa they were greeted by the sight of elderly women stripping naked. This can be understood as a reaction to the permeation of protracted conflict within contemporary land disputes in Apaa, in particular the assault of men by the armed forces.

'During this conflict over land, the army has been arresting the young men and taking them to Madi (Adjumani), and while on their way, they are tortured. They are made to lie on the ground and then the army men walk all over them, stepping on their bodies, right from the top of their heads to their feet. One of the young men's testicles was crushed like that and now he is unable to have children. Even the young men who were arrested recently when they came and fired tear gas at us, suffered the same torture. This has been a big problem. They have also mutilated the hands of two young men. They cut their hands off.'

[175]

The humiliating treatment of men through naked torture is a major source of rage among Amuru women. [176] It engages with layers of emotion such as shame and anger which are key components of emotionally-driven protests.[177] Furthermore, parallels have been drawn between the emasculation of men in contemporary land conflicts in Amuru District and the use of male rape as a weapon of war during the LRA conflict; which is used to explain the deep-set feelings of anger towards the army experienced by Amuru women.[178] Understanding anger as integral to naked protests helps to identify the different layers of emotion that drive movement, key is the interplay between deep-rooted anger and manifestations of grief.

---

[171] 'Never Give Up: The Struggle for a Birthright.'

[172] Ibid.

[173] Okumu Langol, 'Uganda Land Grab: Women Protestors, Facing Armed Soldiers, Unleash Secret Weapon -- Nudity', *Black Star News*, April 20, 2015, https://www.blackstarnews.com/global-politics/africa/uganda-land-grab-women-protestors-facing-armed-soldiers, accessed: June 03, 2020.

[174] NTVUganda, 'Women Strip to Protest Land Give-Away in Amuru.'

[175] Testimony of female protester as cited in Florence Ebila & Aili Mari Tripp, 'Naked Transgressions', 37.

[176] Ebila and Tripp, 'Naked Transgressions', 36.

[177] Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest*, 114.

[178] Ebila and Tripp, 'Naked Transgressions', 37.

'I'm one of the women who participated in the nude protest in 2015. My son Okot Alaba was killed in 2014 by Uganda Wildlife Authority during the forceful evictions and I'm still mourning him to this day. I lost over fifty acres of land. My hut was burnt twice. Now I have just roofed my new shelter here on the narrow strip I was given as a refugee, and it is here in this shelter I now live with my grandchildren in Apaa Centre. I keep these burnt belongings as reminders of what happened.'[179]

This testimony highlights the sense of personal loss that underlies the motivations of the women who participate in naked protests in Amuru District. In this sense, naked protests can be understood as emotional processes of mourning and remembrance, driven by feelings of grief and sorrow. A complex notion that encounters both intimate memories of those personally grieving for a loved one and a wider sense of cultural loss, through the discussion of displacement. Here, intertwined notions of personal and cultural loss are transcribed through the experience of violent evictions and treatment of male residents in Amuru.

On the other hand, it can be observed that women used naked protest to confront the state with the humiliation and emasculation that the men had suffered at the hands of the government. Giving weight to the movement by engaging explicitly with death, and confronting them with their atrocities. Therefore, the process of strippng naked is a representation of the way men had been killed,

'I told them to leave us on our land but they were adamant and refused. I was overcome by anger and took off my clothes. I told them the first time you came, you assaulted my child, you undressed others and blindfolded them, you wanted to shoot them while they were naked…So now I am taking off my clothes so that you can shoot and kill me while I am naked.'[180]

Here the engagement in the 2015 naked protest in Apaa is an explicit and loud confrontation with the state emerging as a symbolic presentation of the atrocities committed by government forces. It is a direct manifestation of anger of a mother who has lost her son and her land, entrenching the notion of personal and cultural loss.

---

[179] Testimony of Anek Karamera, an elder of the Apaa community cited in Actionaid, 'Never give Up.'
[180] Testimony of Anek Karmella, a female protester in Apaa, Uganda, cited in Ebila and Tripp, 'Naked Transgressions', 25.

4.6.   The fallout from a militarised government: the restriction of political space

The militarisation of public spaces, control of public gatherings and the protraction of violence via brutal evictions and land dispossession has diminished the space for citizens to actively channel grievances. Therefore, stripping naked, empowered by conscious engagements with cultural understandings of nakedness have been mobilised as mechanisms of resistance. Described by a Gulu elder, 'when you attack a defenceless woman, or plot to grab her property or when her children drive her to the wall, she has no option, she either undresses or uses her breast, to cast a spell on you […] In Acholi, when women are deeply touched, annoyed or troubled with a seemingly powerful opponent, this is the distress expression.' [181] A notion also reflected by a woman engaged in the 2017 protest against the Madhvani Group, 'we were told 'if you do not allow them to survey your land, then you will see fire' said one of the women [...] 'but the weapon to fight back is within us: we should walk naked.'[182] Further exclaimed by a participant of the 2015 protest in Apaa who adds, 'Stripping naked was our own instrument because we realised that the only weapon we had was to get naked. We didn't have guns or energy for physical violence.'[183] The final testimony highlights that the restriction of space is interlaced with exhaustion with violence. Therefore, the lack of political space available for expression of contention drove women to strip naked as a means of available resistance whilst also reflecting the exhaustion among the Amuru with protracted violence.

4.7.   Summary

In summary, naked protests are overt and direct confrontations with the governing elite that represent both collective and personal contentions. Through undressing, women are explicitly opposing the continual marginalisation and violent displacement by government forces, drawing on the legacy of conflict in Amuru. Exhausted with violence, women activate specific cultural visions of nakedness unique to Amuru and the Acholi region, mobilising their bodies as a powerful tool of civil resistance in an otherwise unavailable political space. Therefore, naked protests are explicitly driven by unique, lived and personal experiences that are exclusive to those living in Amuru. They are also highly emotional processes that not

---

[181] Nicholas Opoka, 80, a resident of Gulu in interview with *Daily Monitor*, 2015, cited in Julius Ocungi, Nude Protests: the Acholi Signal of Distress', *Daily Monitor*, April 30, 2015, https://www.monitor.co.ug/artsculture/Reviews/Nude-protests--the-Acholi-signal-of-distress/691232-2701176-tcu4yv/index.html, accessed: May 26, 2020.

[182] Taylor, 'Naked Force Meets Naked Resistance in Northern Uganda Land Conflict.'

[183] Testimony of a woman from Amuru at a workshop organised by Centre for Basic Research Kampala, November 25, 2016, sourced from Capraro and Woodroffe, *Digging Deep*, 29.

only represent the anger felt among Amuru of further land dispossession, but express their grief, rage and shame of their long-term abuse and marginalisation by the state.

Chapter 5:

Conclusion

The literature review of resistance and naked protests conducted in this thesis has explored the use of the emotional turn for understanding naked protests in Amuru District. Positioned in a broader theoretical conversation with other authors, this thesis has presented an analysis of why women are engaging in stripping naked as a resistant act primarily driven by emotion. This thesis aims to contribute to the limited discussion in the academic field on naked protesting, by offering insight into the different ways women engage with nonviolent resistance. In addition, this thesis further advocates the presence of emotional theories of resistance as essential for understanding how resistance emerges in unlikely settings, among marginalised people who lack access to political space.

Therefore, the following conclusion will first provide an overview of the empirical findings and application of the emotional turn in resistance literature as a theoretical perspective for the analysis of naked protests in Amuru District. It will then outline three key arguments detracted from the review of literature, before providing a discussion of the contribution of this analysis to other protest movements in repressive settings.

Naked protests as demonstrated in this thesis are highly complex and emotional manifestations of contention. Therefore, the adoption of the emotional turn as the theoretical perspective provided insight into the role of emotion and culture as main drivers of naked protests. The emotional turn in resistance literature gives power to the emotions felt by participants at a level of detail excluded by theories more commonly associated with resistance against land grabbing. From this perspective, the exclamations of grief, anger, pain and shame from women engaged in naked protests can be understood as key drivers for action. These emotions shaped the way women engaged in resistance through their undressing, as they mobilised deep cultural practices. Emphasising the notion that emotions and culture are intrinsically linked and influence each other.

The emotional turn in resistance theory has inserted culture into the forefront of protest. Encapsulating the importance of local culture, context and shared values as drivers and facilitators of social movement. In Amuru District, culture plays a significant role not only in influencing who the key participants are but also how solidarity is generated within a group. For example, women and specifically elderly women were the only ones participating in undressing. Speaking towards the symbolism of motherhood in Amuru culture which resonates with deep cultural expressions of anger and shame,

translated through repertoires of life passages; birth, reproduction and death. Culture translates through place and time helps to understand how groups generate solidarity via association to place. The collective emotion and shared association to land in Amuru District defined the solidarity within the resistance. Their association to land and the value of their connection to that place helped them to connect to each other, resonating the notion that setting is crucial to one's agency.

The systematic displacement of rural peoples in Amuru District emerges as a continual cry during the 2012, 2015 and 2017 protests, with particular attention to the violence attached to these evictions in Apaa. This constitutes the 'moral shock' or trigger of the protest which have emerged as key features in emotional approaches to resistance. Translated to negative emotions via perceived threats, the trigger of these protests provided the pathway for collective action, directing the blame at the common enemy - the state.

The benefit of applying theories of emotion to resistance and protest in repressive settings, is the insight into how groups form when there are no resource incentives or existing collective ties. Returning IDPs had lost collective networks by years of displacement, women were widowed and children were orphaned, however they still found solidarity with each other and the cause. With the odds against them, people could still unite together because they shared the same emotions generated from the same triggers.

There are three conclusions drawn from this literature review that directly answer the research question, *How and why is the exposure of the naked female body used as an act of resistance against land grabbing in Amuru District, northern Uganda?* First, women engage in naked protests because land grabbing presents an enormous risk to their present and future security. The stakes are so high for both women individually and the community as a whole, due to their reliance on land. Years of displacement and conflict left those returning to Amuru District with little else than their customary ties to land. Faced with further dispossession and marginalisation, communities have no other choice than to stand together and protect all they have left. Second, naked protests have emerged as a reaction to the lack of political space for formal engagement with contention. The imbalance between state and citizen has been created by years of marginalisation and land grabbing in Amuru District, which has led to the destruction of formal avenues of resistance. Finally, this thesis concludes that naked protests are driven by culture which is interlinked with notions of emotion. Evident in the need for a culturally sympathetic theoretical perspective, the role of culture permeates naked protests in Amuru from the initial undressing as a resonance to particular associations of shame and punishment unique to culture in Amuru District, to their association to land. Therefore, naked protests are driven by specific local culture.

It is difficult to transplant this analysis of naked protests in Amuru District to other movements elsewhere. However, it does highlight that protests and overt resistance movements are possible—and do

emerge—in settings where opportunities are absent. This analysis also highlighted that local culture and context is extremely important both as a driver of action and the character of the movement that emerges. Finally, assumptions should not be made about resistance to land grabbing. They are complex, unique and often an accumulation of grievances. As demonstrated in the highly emotional protests in Amuru District where residents did not only lose their land, but they lost everything, most importantly their chance at future security. In this way, it is clear the protests highlight how land grabbing in Amuru District contributes to the protraction of conflict in the region. Emphasising that naked protests have deeper roots than the surface level of land conflicts. This does not dispute that the removal from homesteads and farm lands is not in itself a major factor that generates conflict, but it doesn't tell the whole story. What we are dealing with is the tip of the iceberg that has become the catalyst for deep historical and cultural frustrations that do not just generate resistance but generate powerful and highly emotional manifestations of resistance.

Bibliography

Primary sources

Online news and magazine reports

Aliker, David Martin. 'Amuru Leaders Should Not Betray Their Naked Mothers', *Daily Monitor*, May 17, 2018, accessed:
https://www.monitor.co.ug/OpEd/Commentary/Amuru-leaders-should-betray-naked-mothers-/689364-4565426-5d40jrz/index.html, July 10, 2020.

Byaruhanga, Catherine. 'The Ugandan Women Who Strip to Defend Their Land', *BBC Africa*, June 01, 2015, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32938779, accessed: May 26, 2020.

Capraro, Chiara and Jessica Woodroffe. *Digging Deep: The Impact of Uganda's Land Rush on Women's Rights*, Womankind/Nawad/NAPE, 2018, 1-34.

Guyson, Nangayi. 'Undress for Redress: the Rise of Naked Protests in Africa', Africa Arguments, June 10, 2016, accessed:
https://africanarguments.org/2016/06/10/anything-to-get-justice-the-rise-of-naked-protests-africa/, May 26, 2020.

Kafeero, Stephen. 'Breaking Down the Amuru Land Conflict', *Daily Monitor*, August 14, 2017, https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Breaking-down-the-Amuru-land-conflict-/688334-4056238-qwsjy7/index.html, accessed: May 26, 2020.

Langol, Okumu. 'Uganda Land Grab: Women Protestors, Facing Armed Soldiers, Unleash Secret Weapon -- Nudity', *Black Star News*, April 20, 2015, https://www.blackstarnews.com/global-politics/africa/uganda-land-grab-women-protestors-facing-armed-soldiers, accessed: June 03, 2020.

Lawino, Sam. 'Amuru Women Undress Before Madhvani Boss', *Daily Monitor*, April 21, 2012, https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/-/688334/1390386/-/avks9ez/-/index.html, accessed: June 03, 2020.

Ocungi, Julius. 'Nude Protests: the Acholi Signal of Distress', *Daily Monitor*, April 30, 2015, https://www.monitor.co.ug/artsculture/Reviews/Nude-protests--the-Acholi-signal-of-distress/691232-2701176-tcu4yv/index.html, accessed: May 26, 2020.

Ocungi, Julius and Stephen Okello. 'Women Undress before Migereko, Gen Aronda', *Daily Monitor*,
     April 18, 2015,
     https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Women--undress---Migereko-Gen-Aronda/688334-26
     89156-y46f4c/index.html, accessed: June 03, 2020.

Okello, Christina. 'Angry Women Strip Bare in Ongoing North Ugandan Land Dispute', *RIF*, May 19,
     2015, https://www.rfi.fr/en/africa/20150419-women-strip-north-uganda-unresolved-land-conflict,
     accessed: June 02, 2020.

Otto, Irene Abalo. 'Amuru Women Undress in Protest Again...before Lands Minister Amongi', *PML
     Daily,* August 12, 2017,
     https://www.pmldaily.com/news/2017/08/amuru-women-undress-in-protest-again-before-lands-m
     inister-amongi.html, accessed: June 03, 2020.

Owor, Arthur and Carolin Dieterle. 'Customary Land Claims are at Stake in Northern Uganda',
     https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2020/04/07/customary-land-claims-reform-unrecognised-in-nort
     hern-uganda/, accessed: June 03, 2020.

Rwabose, Angela Kintu. 'Madhvani Group Magazine'*, Madhvani Group*, vol. 23, no. 10, (2015).

Taylor, Liam. 'Naked Force Meets Naked Resistance in Northern Uganda Land Conflict', *Reuters*,
     November 24, 2017, https://news.trust.org/item/20171124130614-o29zt/, accessed: May 26,
     2020.

Turinawe, Ingrid. 'April: Month of Breast Protests in Uganda', Mon pi Mon: Women for Women
     Uganda, April 24, 2015,
     https://monpimon.wordpress.com/2015/04/27/april-month-of-breast-protests-in-uganda/,
     accessed: May 26, 2020.

Were, Joseph. 'Amuru Women's Naked Power', *The Independent*, May 03, 2015,
     https://www.independent.co.ug/amuru-womens-naked-power/, accessed: June 03, 2020; Lawino,
     'Amuru Women Undress Before Madhvani Boss.'

Wesonga, Nelson. 'Amuru Sugar Works: What is in it for Uganda?', *Daily Monitor*, January 24, 2015,
     https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Amuru-Sugar-Works--What-is-in-it-for-Uganda-/6883
     34-2600142-y5a5vqz/index.html, accessed: June 03, 2020.

Wilmot, Phil. 'How a Ugandan Grandmother Fought the President for Her Community's Land - and
     Won', *The Ecologist*, June 09, 2015,
     https://theecologist.org/2015/jun/09/how-ugandan-grandmother-fought-president-her-communitys
     -land-and-won, accessed: July 13, 2020.

'Amuru women strip to block land survey', *New Vision*, August 11, 2017,
    https://www.newvision.co.ug/news/1459649/amuru-women-strip-block-land-survey, accessed:
    June 03, 2020.

'Uganda: Cautious Welcome for Scaling Down Protected Villages', *The New Humanitarian*, April 20,
    1999,
    https://www.thenewhumanitarian.org/news/1999/04/20/uganda-cautious-welcome-scaling-down-
    protected-villages.accessed: accessed: June 30, 2020.

Youtube videos

NTVUganda. 'Amuru Women Strip Before Ministers in Protest Over Land', Youtube video, posted April
    17, 2015, accessed: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F4DdYt-SnsA, accessed: June 03, 2020.

NTVUganda. 'Women Strip to Protest Land Give-Away in Amuru', YouTube video, posted August 11,
    2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rn1GGJKL4k4, accessed: June 03, 2020.

Blogs and web articles

Laing, Tessa and Sara Weschler. 'Displacement as Resistance in Northern Uganda: How 234 Rural
    Farmers Occupied a UN Compound to Defend their Land.' Web blog post. *#LSEReturn series.*
    Africa at LSE, October 23, 2018,
    https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2018/10/23/displacement-as-resistance-in-northern-uganda-how
    -234-rural-farmers-occupied-a-un-compound-to-defend-their-land/, accessed: May 19, 2020.

Wilmot, Phil. 'Meet the Ugandan Peasant Grandmother Who Terrifies Her President', Waging
    Nonviolence,
    https://wagingnonviolence.org/2015/05/meet-ugandan-peasant-grandmother-terrifies-president/,
    accessed: June 03, 2020.

Wilmot, Phil. 'Stripping Power in Uganda', Beautiful Rising,
    https://beautifulrising.org/tool/stripping-power-in-uganda, accessed: May 26, 2020.

Online documents

Arezki, Rabah et al. 'What Drives the Global Land Rush?', (working paper, International Monetary Fund (IMF) November 2011), https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/wp/2011/wp11251.pdf, accessed: July 01, 2020.

Kisembo, Teddy. '"This plot is not for sale!": Land Administration and Land Disputes in Uganda', Land Portal, November 6, 2019, https://landportal.org/blog-post/2019/11/%E2%80%9C-plot-not-sale%E2%80%9D-land-administration-and-land-disputes-uganda, accessed: March 30, 2020.

Land Is for Life, La Via Campesina, May 2013. https://viacampesina.org/en/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2013/06/EN-notebook5-1.pdf, accessed: June 02, 2020, 7.

Why is Land Administration Failing to Protect Land Rights?, LEMA, Policy Brief, 2009, 1.

'Continued Land Grabbing May Lead to Global Conflict', VIVAT International (official statement submitted Conflict Prevention, Post-Conflict Peace Building and Promotion of Durable Peace, Rule of Law and Governance, United Nations, February 6th, 2014), http://vivatinternational.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Land-Grab-_Post-2015_OWG_8th__EN.pdf, accessed: May 26, 2020.

'Never Give Up: The Struggle for a Birthright', Actionaid, July 31, 2019, https://actionaid.org/stories/2019/never-give-struggle-birthright, accessed: June 03, 2020.

'Towards a Common Understanding and Definition of Land Grabbing Around the World', European Coordination Via Campesina, https://www.eurovia.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/defining-land-grabs.pdf, accessed: May 27, 2020.

Websites

'Uganda Wildlife Authority: About', https://www.ugandawildlife.org/about/uganda-wildlife-authority, accessed: June 03, 2020.

Reports

Akin, Jeremy. *Power & Vulnerability in Land Dispute Resolution: Evaluating Responses to Domestic Land Grabbing in Northern Uganda,* Northern Uganda Land Platform, May 2014, accessed: May 12, 2020, 1-154.

Llamazares, Monica et al. *Northern Uganda Conflict Analysis*, ACCS, 2013, i-86.

Morton, B. et al. *A Time Between Moving on from Internal Displacement in Northern Uganda*, UNHCR, January 2010, 1-32.

Mukwana, Ruth and Katinka Ridderbos. 'Uganda's Response to Displacement: Contrasting Policy and Practice', *Forced Migration Review*, December 2008, online: https://www.fmreview.org/sites/fmr/files/FMRdownloads/en/GuidingPrinciples10/mukwana-ridderbos.pdf, accessed: June 03, 2020.

Muriisa, Roberts K. et al. 'Land Deals in Uganda: An Invisible Hand in Land Grabbing and Rural Development', in *International Land Deals in Eastern and Southern Africa*, ed. Paschal B. Mihyo, (Ethiopia: OSSREA, 2014), 159-189.

Rugadya, Margaret A. *A Review of Literature on Post Conflict Land Policy and Administration Issues, During Return and Resettlement of Idps: International Experience and Lessons from Uganda,* (World Bank, September 2006), iv-61.

Maps

OCHA Map of Uganda retrieved from Reliefweb, https://reliefweb.int/map/uganda/map-uganda-showing-conflict-affected-areas-august-2007, accessed: 10 July 2020.

Secondary literature

Abonga, Francis et al. 'Naked Bodies and Collective Action: Repertoires of Protest in Uganda's Militarised, Authoritarian Regime', *Civil Wars*, (2019), 198-223.

Ahmed, Sara. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004).

Anne Hennings. 'The Dark Underbelly of Land Struggles: The Instrumentalization of Female Activism and Emotional Resistance in Cambodia', *Critical Asian Studies,* vol. 51, no.1, (2019), 103-119.

Atkinson, Ronald and Arthur Owor. ''Land Grabbing': The Ugandan Government, Madhvani, and Others Versus the Community of Lakang, Amuru District', *JPSS*, vol. 1, (2013), 49-63.

Borgh, Chris van der and Carolijn Terwindt. *Political Space Under Pressure: Trends and Patterns*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

Borras, Saturnino Jr. and Jennifer Franco. 'From Threat to Opportunity - Problems with the Idea of a Code of Conduct for Land-Grabbing,' *Yale Human Rights & Development Law Journal* vol. 13, no. 2 (2010), 507-523.

Borras Saturnino Jr. and Jennifer Franco. 'Global Land Grabbing and Political Reactions 'From Below'', *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 9, (2013), 1723-1747.

Branch, Adam. 'Humanitarianism, Violence, and the Camp in Northern Uganda', *Civil Wars*, vol. 11, no. 4, (2009), 477-501.

Chadra, Uday. 'Rethinking Subaltern Resistance', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 45, no. 4, (2015), 563-573.

Christopher, A. J. ''Divide and Rule': The Impress of British Separation Policies', *The Royal Geographical Society*, vol. 21, no. 3, (1988), 233-240.

Ebila, Florence and Aili Mari Tripp, 'Naked Transgressions: Gendered Symbolism in Ugandan Land Protests', *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, vol. 5, no. 1, (2017), 25-45.

Federici, Silvia. 'Women, Land-Struggles and the Valorization of Labor', *The Commoner*, vol. 10, (2005), 41-56.

Finnström, Sverker. *Living With Bad Surroundings: War, History, and Everyday Moments in Northern Uganda*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

Gonza´lez-Hidalgo, Marien and Christos Zografos. 'Emotions, Power, and Environmental Conflict: Expanding the 'emotional Turn' in Political Ecology', *Progress in Human Geography*, (2019), 1-21.

Goodwin, Jeff et al., *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001).

Goodwin, Jeff et al. 'The Return of the Repressed: The Fall and Rise of Emotions in Social Movement Theory', *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, vol. 5, no. 1, (2000), 65-83.

Hall, Ruth et al. 'Resistance, Acquiescence or Incorporation? An Introduction to Land Grabbing and Political Reactions 'from Below'', *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, vol. 42, nos. 3-4, (2015), 468-488.

Hollander, Jocelyn A. and Rachel L. Einwohner. 'Conceptualising Resistance', *Sociology Forum*, vol. 19, no. 4, (2014), 533-554.

Jasper, James. *The Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography, and Creativity in Social Movements*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2007).

Jasper, James. 'Social Movement Theory: Toward a Theory of Action?', *Sociology Compass*, vol. 4, no. 11, (2010), 965–976.

Jasper, James. 'The Emotions of Protest: Affective and Reactive Emotions in and Around Social Movement', *Sociological Forum*, vol. 13, no. 3, (1998), 397–424.

Maiyo, Joshua K. and Sandra J.T.M. Evers, 'Claim Making in Transnational Land Deals: Discourses of Legitimisation and Stakeholder Relations in Central Uganda', *Geoforum*, vol. 109, no. 1, (2020), 125-134.

Malseed, Kevin. 'Where There Is No Movement: Local Resistance and the Potential for Solidarity', *Journal of Agrarian Change,* vol. 8, nos, 2-3, (2008), 489-514.

Martiniello, Giuliano. 'Social Struggles in Uganda's Acholiland: Understanding Responses and Resistance to Amuru Sugar Works', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, vol. 42, nos. 3-4, (2015), 653-669.

Martiniello, Giuliano. 'The Accumulation of Dispossession and Resistance in Northern Uganda', (paper presented at, the International Conference on Global Land Grabbing II, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, October, 2012); 1-35

Michel Foucault. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon, (New York: Harvester Press, 1980).

Murphy, Susan et al. 'When Rights Collide: Land Grabbing, force and Injustice in Uganda', *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, vol. 44, no. 3, (2017), 677-696.

Olson, Mancur. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public goods and the Theory of Groups*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965).

Ritchie, Jane and Jane Lewis. *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*, (London: SAGE Publications, 2003).

Schneider, Alison Elizabeth. 'What Shall We Do Without Our Land? Land Grabs and Resistance in Rural Cambodia', (paper presented at the International Conference on Global Land Grabbing, University of Sussex, Brighton, UK, April, 2011), 1-35.

Scott, James C. *Domination and the Art of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

Scott, James C. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990).

Summers-Effler, Erika. *Laughing Saints and Righteous Heroes: Emotional Rhythms in Social Movement Groups*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010).

Tarrow, Sidney G. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, 3rd ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Tilly, Charles. *From Mobilization to Revolution*, (Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1978).

Tilly, Charles and Sidney Tarrow. *Contentious Politics*, (Boulder: Paradigm Press, 2007).

Annex

Figure 1: Declaration of originality

Declaration of Originality/Plagiarism Declaration
MA Thesis in Conflict Studies & Human Rights
Utrecht University

(course module GKMV 16028)

I hereby declare:

·   that the content of this submission is entirely my own work, except for quotations from published and unpublished sources. These are clearly indicated and acknowledged as such, with a reference to their sources provided in the thesis text, and a full reference provided in the bibliography;

·   that the sources of all paraphrased texts, pictures, maps, or other illustrations not resulting from my own experimentation, observation, or data collection have been correctly referenced in the thesis, and in the bibliography;

·   that this Master of Arts thesis in Conflict Studies & Human Rights does not contain material from unreferenced external sources (including the work of other students, academic personnel, or professional agencies);

·   that this thesis, in whole or in part, has never been submitted elsewhere for academic credit;

·   that I have read and understood Utrecht University's definition of plagiarism, as stated on the University's information website on "Fraud and Plagiarism":

"Plagiarism is the appropriation of another author's works, thoughts, or ideas and the representation of such as one's own work." (Emphasis added.)[1]

Similarly, the University of Cambridge defines "plagiarism" as *" ... submitting as one's own work, irrespective of intent to deceive, that which derives in part or in its entirety from the work of others without due acknowledgement. It is both poor scholarship and a breach of academic integrity."* (Emphasis added.)[2]

- that I am aware of the sanction applied by the Examination Committee when instances of plagiarism have been detected;
- that I am aware that every effort will be made to detect plagiarism in my thesis, including the standard use of plagiarism detection software such as Turnitin.

Name and Surname of Student: Jessica Winfield

Title of MA thesis in Conflict Studies & Human Rights:

'Lobowa, Lobowa!' Naked Defiance in the Struggle for Land in Amuru District, Northern Uganda
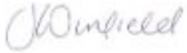
Signature	Date of Submission 31/07/2020

---

[1] https://students.uu.nl/en/practical-information/policies-and-procedures/fraud-and-plagiarism

[2] http://www.plagiarism.admin.cam.ac.uk/what-plagiarism/universitys-definition-plagiarism