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Conflict Baseline Study Report Conducted in the Karamajong Cluster of Kenya and Uganda

FEWS NET FAMINE EARLY WARNING SYSTEM NETWORK

August 2005

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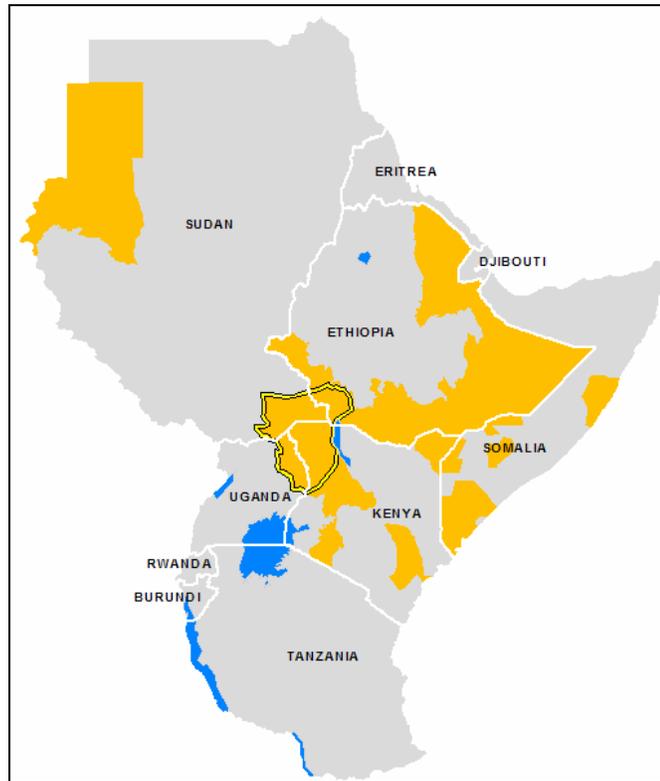
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**Conflict Early Warning and Mitigation of Resource Based Conflicts in the
Greater Horn of Africa:**

Conflict Baseline Study Report

**Conducted in the Karamajong Cluster
of Kenya and Uganda**



August 2005

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACCORD	Action for Community Research and Development
ASTU	Anti Stock Theft Unit
DADO	Dodoth Agro-pastoral Development Programme
DAI	Development Alternatives Inc.
ECOREDEP	Elemi Conflict Resolution and Development Project
FEWS NET	Famine Early Warning Systems Network
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GHA	Greater Horn of Africa
GoK	Government of Kenya
KADP	Karamoja Agro-pastoral Development Programme
LDU	Local Defense Unit
NAADS	National Agricultural Advisory Services
NDVI	Normalized Differenced Vegetation Index
NFA	National Forests Authority
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
POZIDEP	Pokot Zonal Integrated Development Project
REDSO	Regional Economic Development Services Office
SNV	Netherlands Development Organization
UPDF	Uganda People's Defense Forces
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VSF	Vétérinaire sans Frontières (Veterinarians Without Borders)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Conflicts in the Karamajong¹ Cluster of Kenya and Uganda are endemic. They often have profound impact on the livelihoods of the people living in the area. They are influenced by climatic variations and consequent drought and food crises, as well as cultural traits of pastoralists. The FEWS NET conflict pilot project, under which this study was conducted, was built on the premise that prevalent conflicts arise from resource scarcity and agro-climatic data can shed light on the relationship between resource scarcity and conflict.

This survey's inquiry focused on the relationship between natural resources and conflict, particularly on the link between conflict, climate, poverty, and livelihoods. The survey was conducted in all three districts of Karamoja in Uganda, namely Kotido, Moroto and Nakapiripirit and in two border divisions of Turkana, Kenya, namely Lapur and Lomelo.

The survey found that there were direct links between the changing climatic conditions, natural resource and livelihoods shrinkage and conflict in the cluster. Drastic change in climate affects the availability of resources, which leads to food deficits, and food insecure populations resort to conflict as a coping strategy against food shortage. Other causes of conflict in the cluster that were examined included cultural factors, poor governance, and marginalization.

The subject local communities have an established conflict early warning system in place. As a result of this elaborate early warning system, the communities are able to adopt coping mechanisms ahead of droughts. Government should take advantage of and integrate the established local systems into existing, larger-scale early warning programs in order to monitor, mitigate, and prepare against the effects of drought in these particular pastoralist areas prone to resource-based conflict.

The subject local communities have also established natural resource management systems and institutions that regulate the access and use of available resources. This involves setting rules on usage and on seasonal mobility. The system also includes provisions for reserving pastures for emergencies (*Apero/ Anaire/ Epaka/ Kuwanjamou*). Although these measures have been effective in the past, their effectiveness has waned due to increases in the incidence of drought and conflicts and to a wider prevalence of guns.

One finding of the study is that the government policies overseeing natural resource management and conflict prevention are often too restrictive and that they undermine pastoralists' livelihoods and tend to exacerbate conflict. Such policies easily arouse resentment from the communities in the Cluster. As with these government measures, the efforts of civil society to address conflict also often fall short. These measures are found to be too diversified and/or lacking in coordination and networking, and are often negatively impacted by competition among them.

In General, the study found a number of gaps which need to be addressed in the ongoing peace building endeavors of stakeholders working toward peace.

¹ The words Karamojong and Karamajong are used interchangeably. The Kenyans say Karamojong while the Ugandans say Karamajong.

INTRODUCTION

The Greater Horn of Africa (GHA) continues to experience violent conflicts that constrain sustainable food security, livelihoods, and development in the region. Conflicts within the GHA are many, complex, and occur at different levels. They can be inter-ethnic, intra-ethnic, or cross border in dimension. Excluding inter-state wars, conflicts in the GHA mostly manifest themselves as pastoralist conflicts (livestock raiding or rustling, violent disputes at watering points, etc.), highway banditry, abductions, generalized insecurity, and other crimes.

Pastoralist conflicts within the GHA occur mainly in arid and semi-arid areas and are thus principally resource-based, revolving around livestock. These conflicts now involve the use of fire arms, making them even more violent (e.g.; indiscriminate killing) and destructive. Marginalization by post-independence governments has also compounded the pastoralist problem within the GHA. Over the years, pastoralist conflicts have become more frequent, more unpredictable, and exhibit marked escalation in violence and geographical spread.

If drought causes resource strains and hunger, prompting conflicts, conflicts in turn disrupt livelihoods and cause or aggravate food insecurity. It follows then that the GHA has become one of the most food insecure regions in the world. To better understand resource-based conflicts and test the usefulness of integrating weather and climate information and any other information (such as community-based early warning systems) in reducing the potential for pastoralist conflicts, USAID/REDSO, through FEWS NET, has undertaken a pilot research project to test the relationship between pastoral resource scarcity, conflict, and food insecurity in the Karamajong Cluster. It is within this pilot project that the present baseline survey was conducted. The assumption was that the findings of the survey would provide insight into possible mitigation and response mechanisms that could in turn improve existing conflict prevention efforts.

The survey specifically aimed at establishing:

- Concrete data on how changes in climate affect the distribution and availability of natural resource and intensity of conflicts in the Cluster;
- Links between conflicts and poverty and how conflict affects the livelihoods of the people in the Cluster;
- A record of the various conflict and natural resource management systems and institutions in the area as well as the effectiveness of these institutions in the management of conflicts in the region;
- A better understanding of how natural resource policies affect pastoralists.

METHODOLOGY

Interviews were the primary source of information reflected in this report. 240 respondents were surveyed in Uganda, with an equal number interviewed in Turkana, Kenya. Respondents were interviewed in their traditional settings through a series of direct community interviews. They responded to a set of questions designed in a conversational manner to avoid the probing question and answer technique which pastoralist communities are wary of. However, the interviewers had an identical question guide (attached as an appendix) to ensure consistency of data.

Both Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant interviews were conducted. The study teams also obtained some information by participating in peace meetings that took place at the time of the survey, and received first hand accounts of pastoralist conflicts from people returning from cattle raids. Secondary information was obtained from various research initiatives and from documents provided by OXFAM GB, SNV, KADP, ACCORD and the Moroto District Planning Unit.

Picture 1: A research assistant with women at Loyaraboth



The primary data collected were then analyzed, and confirmed using secondary data from previous studies in this area and from relevant reports.

The survey was conducted in Ugandan and Kenyan border areas (see details in Annex 3). Work took place in all three districts of Karamoja in Uganda, namely Kotido, Moroto and Nakapiripirit, but was confined to four outlying sub-counties of Dodoth, Jie, Matheniko and Pokot on the border points of Kenya, Uganda, and Sudan. In Turkana, Kenya, the study covered two divisions of the district, namely

Lapur and Lomelo. Of these two Kenyan divisions, Lapur experiences conflicts of a cross-border nature, and Lomelo experiences intra-country conflict along the boundaries with the Pokot areas of Kenya. Due to the fact that significant research data and information exist on conflict in Turkana and Karamoja, this study focused primarily on border areas as the cross-border dimension has received less attention in previous studies.

GHA PASTORAL CONFLICTS IN CONTEXT

Pastoral Conflicts as components of larger conflicts

The various pastoral conflicts that have been noted in the GHA are just a “footnote to the much larger conflicts...”² that are prevalent not just in the region but the world over. Civil wars and related problems are widespread in the region, have a destabilizing effect on pastoralist communities of the Horn, and contribute to the escalation of violence within these groups. These civil wars include the protracted social conflict in the Sudan, the LRA insurgency in Uganda, instability caused by the Oromo Liberation Front along the Ethio-Kenya border, and the collapse of the government in Somalia. A number of future flashpoints of conflict along national borders of IGAD countries are currently occupied by feuding pastoralist communities or are in pastoral areas.

There are also national and international policy issues at the heart of the current pastoralist conflicts. For example, concerted international pressure by western donor governments in the early nineties, seeking to challenge the dictatorial governance systems in existence in many African states at the time, ensured that traditional forms of social organization and political mobilization continue to dominate through fear of jeopardizing donor goodwill and budgetary support. Kenya can best serve as an example of this phenomenon. Unfortunately, under the *laissez-faire* philosophy that has prevailed since the re-introduction of multi-party democracy in Kenya, age-old animosities between ethnic groups have revived and new rivalries and hostilities such as land clashes and displacements have appeared, even in high-potential agricultural areas. In the same stroke, pastoral conflicts have been rising and expanding in scope. Ethnic cleavages have been widened and inter-ethnic violence continues to recur, particularly during periods of heightened political processes and environmental stress, making pastoral conflicts a microcosm of a larger regional malaise.

Historical background and trends

The Karamajong Cluster is characterized by aridity and conflict. In fact, the two have become almost synonymous. Capricious and poorly distributed rains make pastoralism the most ideal form of livelihood in the region, which in turn means that the region rarely experiences peace. Inference from conflict analysis identifies livestock, pastures, water, minerals, and access routes as significant elements of the perpetual contention among the pastoralists.

Conflicts have existed in the Cluster since time immemorial, and livestock raiding was accepted as a traditional practice of replenishing depleted herds and as an opportunity for young men to acquire their herds and assert their manhood. Conflicts in the Cluster are both intra- and inter-ethnic in nature, and are increasingly becoming cross-border.

Low intensity conflicts in the area have increased in frequency and scale over the years and have changed form altogether since the 1950s. One reason that the conflicts have intensified is due to environmental deterioration that invariably resulted in the decline of land productivity. Frequency of drought (aggravating pasture and water scarcity and forcing pastoralists of a particular section to seek

² E S Kona quoting Fratlin (1994:2) in a draft research proposal presented to the Development Policy Management Forum, April, 05, Addis Ababa

for pasture and water outside their own territory) and changing consumption patterns are other causes. Restriction of access and migration to some of the traditional dry season grazing areas as a result of the creation of game reserves, forest reserves, large-scale agriculture, private land ownership, the creation of national boundaries, and the intrusion of a cash-based economy have also played a role in aggravating pastoral conflicts in the Cluster. These conflicts are further compounded by the fact that most tribes in the Cluster, such as the Pokot, Turkana, and Karamajong tribes, have a flourishing trade in arms and ammunition,³ and that each community now lives in ethnically defined territories that are off limits to neighboring pastoral groups.

In the past, pastoralist conflicts were well organized, sporadic, communal ventures that followed a designated set of rules that limited destruction of life and property. They were resolved in a manner that provided for mediation and compensation as opposed to reprisal and had to be sanctioned by the elders whose intention was to ensure acquisition of optimal herd size for the community. Raiding as a community undertaking has been overrun today by narrower motives in which the aim is individual gain.⁴ Initially insecurity was associated with cattle rustling, but because of the presence of modern firearms, it is increasingly being compounded with banditry, road robberies, and uncontrolled killing and lawlessness leading to low levels of development, poor infrastructure, abandonment of rich agricultural areas, change in grazing patterns, and the emergence of large settlements⁵. The high rate of fatality and viciousness associated with this type of conflict arises from a shift in weaponry from the use of sticks, spears, bows and arrows, and *Amatida* (Karamajong home-made gun), to modern automatic weapons. The possession of a gun has become a symbol of manhood in the present pastoralists' milieu, with tribes having left the spears to the past. Guns now tend to define how groups in the Karamajong relate with their neighbors and the State.⁶

Types of pastoralist conflicts in the Karamajong Cluster

Pastoralist conflicts in the region are very complex and take place within several levels of the Cluster:

1. Intra-clan conflicts, the most common type, are characterized by sections of one community (clan) or one Sub-county (Sub division) fighting with one another. The Tepeth and Matheniko have long been in conflict, and the Dodoth and the Ik (Teuso) have sometimes clashed over suspicion that the Ik give protection to the Turkana. Intra-clan conflicts increased in scale in 1980s. Myth in Matheniko holds that raiding began in Karamoja as a curse from the most prominent elder, Lokolimoi. Inter-clan conflict brings the different clan of Karamoja against each other, for instances, Pokot versus Matheniko, Jie versus Bokora, Turkana versus Pokot, or Pian versus Bokora. Since 1987, inter-clan clashes have become more violent and regular and involve all different clans of Karamoja confronting each other.

2. Inter district conflicts bring the Karamajong against other tribes/ communities living in the districts neighboring the Cluster, possibly within the same country.

3. Cross border conflicts take place across the international borders of the Karamajong cluster groups where conflict exists between one tribe in one country against another tribe in the neighboring

³ Interview with Jefesa Lokidi Lomuriamoi

⁴ Interviews with Lomiat Elia of Tapac, See Ocan, C.E. (1992), "Pastoral Crisis in North-eastern Uganda: The changing Significance of cattle raiding"

⁵ Interviews with Tuber Lokomol of Karita

⁶ See Odhiambo M. O. (2003), "The Karamoja Conflict"

country. For example, the Karamajong of Uganda fighting the Turkana of Kenya or the Toposa of Sudan, or the Turkana of Kenya fighting the Merile of Ethiopia. Due to their complexity, cross border conflicts between the Turkana and the Karamajong pose a challenge to conflict analysis and management. Conflicts do not involve an entire group within either country, but one particular clan of Karamoja in Uganda against one particular section of the Turkana of Kenya. It may at any one time be the Jie against Kwatela, the Dodoth against the Lukmong, the Matheniko against the Woyakwara, or the Ngisonyoka against the Pokot. Each of these paired sections share frontiers.

The problem of violent conflict and insecurity in the Cluster causes great concern to the Governments and the pastoralists themselves. Although conflict has been characteristic of the region for decades, the current trends, patterns, and scope are worrying and need to be addressed. The intensity of conflict in the region has wreaked severe and far-reaching consequences in society. As a result of conflict, many livestock, people, and property have been lost or destroyed. These conflicts left many people impoverished, with reduced options for alternative livelihoods, and such conflicts increase the likelihood of further clashes and instability in the Cluster.

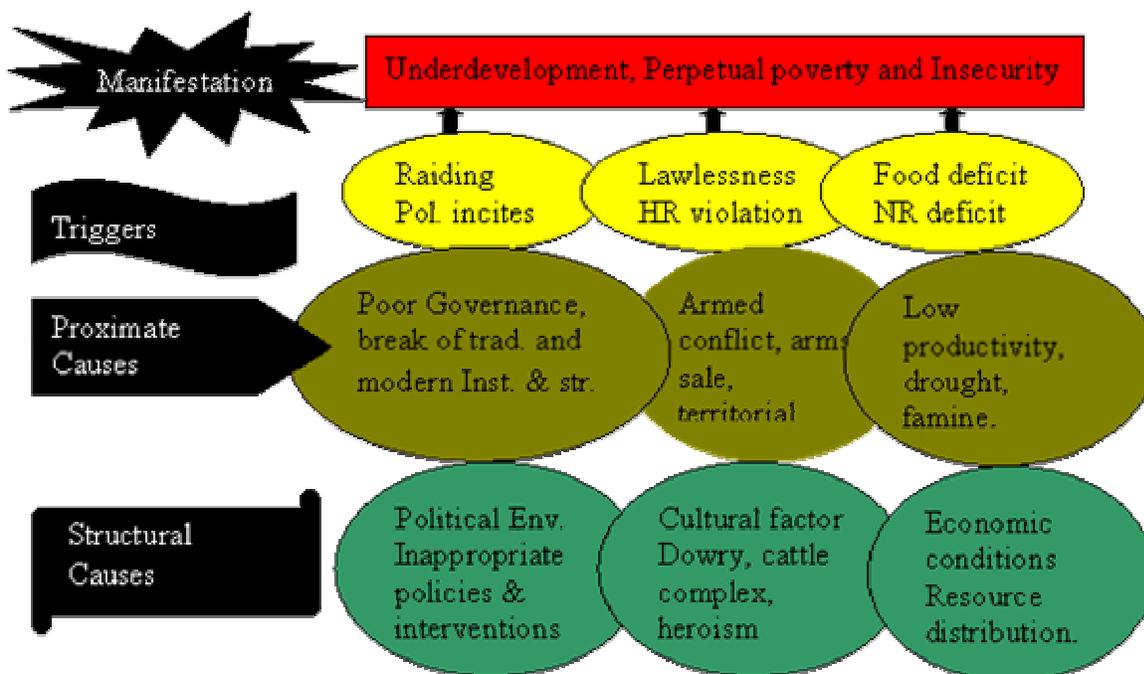
CAUSES OF CONFLICT IN THE KARAMAJONG CLUSTER

The causes of conflict in Karamajong cluster are varied and complex. There is no single cause to account for the frequent, unpredictable, and intermittent conflict in the Cluster.

There is no clear distinction either between the causes and outcomes of conflict in the region. At the far end of the continuum, the two appear to merge i.e. what appears to be a cause appears as a consequence too. Some issues emerging as causes as well as results pose a challenge to processes analysis and to the design of strategies and program to address them. The complexity of cause-effect relationship is probably one of the main reasons why peace building initiatives are not able to bring an end to conflict in the region.

A web of socio-cultural, economic, political, and environmental factors has led to intensification of conflict in the region. There is general agreement by respondents on a number of factors leading to conflicts in the Cluster. However, different people give differing emphasis and significance on varied causes. The main causes of conflict identified in the Cluster are summarized in the model below.

Figure 1: Main causes of conflict in the Cluster



Limited natural resources and economic conditions

According to the study, scarcity of natural resources and a poor economic environment seem to be the main cause of insidious conflict in the Cluster. The bio-physical complex arising from long term environmental changes in the cluster characterized by worsening climatic conditions (such as low and

erratic rainfall and prevalent prolonged drought) has increased competition over diminishing scarce resources. Dwindling resources compel pastoralist communities to fight with one another. The frequency of drought has increased the speed and degree at which surface water dries up, reducing water availability for human and livestock consumption. At the same time, the grass cover becomes scarcer and unable to sustain livestock populations. Consequently, disputes over access to and control of these resources develop among pastoralists. Subsequently, the need to monopolize the utilization of resources in a particular place degenerates into conflict with a particular group to force competing groups out of the region. This obliges groups to move with their livestock away from highly contested areas as a protection against being raided. Sometimes, allies are sought as a strategy to scare away the rival group from accessing the resources.

Abject poverty and underdevelopment in the Cluster are another cause of conflict among pastoralists. The fact that pastoralists do not receive proportional consideration in the mainstream development programs in their region, coupled with lopsided distribution of national resources, significantly adds to tribal discontent. The contemporary school of thought holds that development is crucial to conflict management, and sustainable peace is to a great extent a consequence of sustainable development. Development is therefore a foundation for security as most of the security problems in Africa are related to poverty and underdevelopment.⁷

Another reason for the persistence of conflict in the Cluster results from a shift in raiding targets. Originally livestock raiding was purely for restocking depleted stocks or for marriage. It was taboo to sell stolen livestock because such livestock was a safety net to help others to also restock when the need arises. Nowadays, raiding has become the cheapest way of quickly accumulating wealth. While livestock previously just changed hands and ownership within the region, it has now become a way of adjusting and fitting into the contemporary monetary economy. Commercialization of raiding in the Cluster fuels conflicts and causes them to endure. Powerful kraal leaders, businessmen, opportunistic gun traffickers, and 'warlords' have taken advantage of the conflict that is rife in the region to amass exorbitant profits through the sale of arms and stolen livestock. Raiding takes place a few days before a market day to permit a rapid sale of raided animals, thus avoiding keeping animals too long to so as to evade detection. Raided livestock is quickly taken to cattle markets and sold cheaply to traders outside of Karamoja. Traditional raiding is thus gradually vanishing and giving way to a profitable enterprise in the control of specialized raiders. While one group of these skillful raiders encourages youth to go raiding, offering to buy the livestock raided if they succeeded in the expedition, another hires out their guns to the youth who in turn give them part of the booty after a successful mission. This is not only alluring some youth to accumulate as much wealth as their masterminds, but also makes conflict in the region interminable. A number of young men testified that it is easier to steal a few animals for sale than to organize a formal raid.

⁷ Omach, P. (2003) Presentation on "Security Sector Reform in Eastern Africa: The Interplay of Domestic Politics and International Contexts" and Interviews with Hon. Peter Lokoris, Minister for Karamoja Development.

Cultural dimension

Among pastoralists, livestock plays a central part in their entire socio-economic set up. Conflict can be motivated by economic motives such as restocking after a devastating calamity, but it can also result from cultural pressures such as requirements to pay high bride prices or the desire to enhance personal or generational status.

Culture is thus a fundamental factor to conflict in the Karamajong Cluster. Livestock possession is not only a source of wealth, but it is also a source of power, status, heroism, and recognition in society. This provides a basis for pastoralists to believe that in as much as it is their right to own livestock, it is also absolutely right for them to graze and water their livestock anywhere and to forcefully dispossess others of herds. This gives justification for continued livestock raiding and conflict among the pastoralists. As a basis of socialization, young men without livestock are despised and rebuked for not being any better than women. This cultural emphasis on livestock underpins the cultural attraction of raiding. Both men and women obtain status in society through marriage which demands men to part with many livestock for dowry. Even though livestock numbers have reduced today, due to drought and diseases, no one would allow his/her daughter to marry a man who is not ready to pay for her. In order to marry or protect one's fiancée from being married away by those who are wealthy, a young man is forced to go and raid to get the livestock required.⁸

The cultural attributes attached to audacious raiding inspires *Karachuna* (young men) to raid. The *Karachuna* fancy raiding and conflict as a ladder to prominence, tattooing, and acquisition of warrior (heroic) names in society. Indeed, the community sees raiders and their leaders not as criminals but as heroes and men of valor. The community believes that it needs them for its security and protection. Traditional anecdotes, proverbs, poem, and poetic songs composed or sung in praise of valiant raiders not only make their families proud, but prompt the society to instill the spirit of warriorhood into the young.

Culture has also tended to groom and nurture ethnic conflict in the region through promotion of ethnic stereotyping and prejudices. Derogatory utterances such as "*Ngidwee anakodadoli*" (children of beggars) used by the Bokora to refer to the Matheniko or "*Ngimoe akwara, Omin*" (enemies of the spear - literally meaning traditional and undying enemies) play a vital role in fueling conflict. Another example is the expression "*Ngidwee angimaniko*" (descendants of the bulls), a figurative expression used by the Matheniko to refer to themselves as being more superior and stronger than any other clans in Karamoja. These stereotypes promote divisive ethnic sentiments.

⁸ Interviews with Lemgole Lounyale of Lopodot, Loroos/county

Poor Governance and Marginalization of pastoralists

Government policies have never been friendly to pastoralists in Kenya or Uganda. The governments have pursued policies that tend to brutalize and marginalize pastoralists, making pastoralists view state policies with serious misgiving. Pastoralist groups feel that their needs and interests are not adequately addressed in the general planning of national mainstream development. The states consider pastoralism as a non viable economic undertaking with little contribution to the greater national GDP. Governments have therefore tended to force the modernization of pastoralism through the promotion of ranching, the nationalization of resources, and privatization of rangelands. These policies are detrimental to pastoralism in its entirety. Thus, through the endorsement of inappropriate policies and poor implementation of programs and interventions, the states play an integral role in perpetrating pastoralist conflicts.

The governments have often considered conflicts among the pastoralists as a localized issue, rather than a national one. Government response to intercommunity conflicts is relatively slow, inconsistent, and provocative. Government operatives are ineffective in the recovery of stolen livestock. In the opinion of pastoralist communities, security personnel conduct biased security operations, confiscate livestock belonging to innocent people, and sell recovered livestock⁹. Government forces have been blamed for pillaging communities and abetting livestock prowling. The failure of government to arrest the perpetrators of conflict and cattle thefts paves the way for counter revenge and escalation of conflict. The community and other peace actors find it difficult to understand why it is hard for government and security forces to foil impending raids even after a tip off. The most upsetting is the feeling that the security appears to be feeble and powerless to contain livestock raiding, and to curb availability, illicit transfers, and unlawful use of guns.¹⁰

In Karamoja, the government response is blamed for the escalation of conflict. According to interviews, the army unleashes indiscriminate reprisals during security and disarmament operations. They rape, loot, violate human rights, and inflict violent and dehumanizing punishments on the people. The security forces at times unleash their fury on innocent people, not on the guilty. This damages relations and cooperation between the government and the community. The army possesses a strong predisposition to resort to force, a feature that contradicts other officials' attempts to intervene peacefully in inter-ethnic conflicts. Political utterances also trigger inter-ethnic conflicts. Politicians unconsciously make statements that rouse ethnic sentiments. Some public remarks spur clans against each other and as politicians may appear biased and are accused of providing partisan leadership by taking sides along ethnic lines.¹¹

Additionally in Karamoja, the various levels of local government are seen to be ineffective, especially in the delivery of social service and conflict prevention. The customary traditional system has no faith in the modern public administration system which views the traditional governance system as illegal and unproductive. Both systems operate on the ground completely apart from one another, thus

⁹ From interviews with Moru and Locheng, Rikitae village, Panyangara s/county

¹⁰ From interviews with Lochomin Lomer, Kamion, Timu s/county and La[ur] division

¹¹ See Kona, E. S, Concept Paper on "Transforming Conflicts and Building Peace in the Turkana-Pokot-Pian-Sabiny Sub-cluster" (2005) and from interviews with Elders of Lorukumo village, Rupa s/county

creating a favorable environment for conflict¹². Because of economic and political isolation, the pastoralists have often viewed the government as an “enemy”. They usually look at any initiatives from the government or her agents with mistrust. Recent incidents for example, especially the failure by the government to protect those who handed over their guns to the Disarmament Centers in Karamoja, have served to reinforce the suspicion of the Karamajong to government programs.

As a result of this weakening of both traditional and modern institutions and conflict management structures, inter-ethnic conflicts in the Cluster have become endemic. In the traditional system, the elders formed the authority in planning and organizing battles in the past, but they also played a crucial part in resolving conflicts. Although the authority and power of the elders is gradually shifting and becoming irrelevant (due to presence of illegal guns and to current commercial, political, educational and administrative developments), they are still capable of influencing decisions and enforcing traditional punishments such as “*ameto*” to preserve ritualized inter-ethnic peace agreements. Some elders have been compromised though as they share raided animals with the youth, and the power of the elders has also plummeted as diviners (*Emuron / Ngimurok*) and “warlords” (fortune racketeers) with lucrative commercial interests in cattle raids have gained considerable authority and control over the *Karachuna* (Youth)¹³.

One more cause of conflict associated with poor governance is the tension that exist between customary and formal mechanisms of conflict management and systems of justice. There is discrepancy between the two in terms of content, procedure, process, and product of conflict management processes. The difference between these two systems makes it difficult to agree on a peaceful transformation of inter-ethnic conflicts. More often than not, confusion arises as to what system to use after a raid, theft or violent outbreak. The situation is further aggravated by the failure to integrate modern public administration systems of conflict management and governance in the community structures.

¹² Lotee, P. D, Research report on, “Practices of Good Governance and Human Rights in Moroto and Nakapiripirit Districts” (2003)

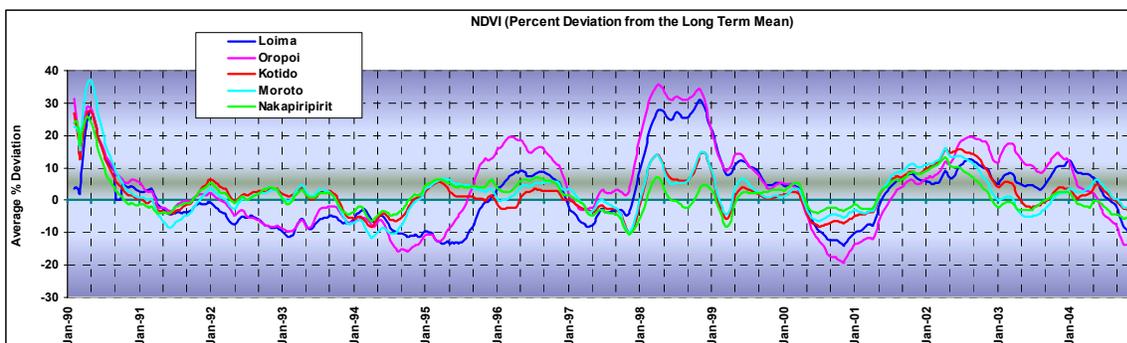
¹³ Interviews with various respondents in Nakiloro, Rupa s/county

THE EFFECT OF CLIMATIC VARIATION ON CONFLICT

Drought and conflict episodes

Conflict indicators change drastically when there is a change in climatic conditions, especially with reference to drought. The incidence of traditional raiding is linked to climatic factors, and this raiding is clearly also tied to the prevailing tribal or clan peace. Although drought is a common phenomenon in the region, there are distinct years when it spanned the entire cluster. Even within a particular year, drought varies considerably from place to place. For instances, a good year of rain in Pokot may not be the same for Dodoth or Jie. The recent years of severe drought are 1992, 1994, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002, and 2004. Mild drought was experienced in 1990, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1999, and 2003. Highest incidences of conflict were recorded in severe drought years. These statistics and other data indicate that there is an upsurge of conflict when there is drought. However, drought alone cannot be seen as the sole reason for conflict as raiding takes place even in years of favorable climate depending on other underlying conditions at a particular time.

Figure 2: 1990-2004 NDVI FOR KARAMOJA



Though conflict is a year round activity in Karamoja, increased incidence of conflict occurs during the dry season as opposed to during the wet season. Scarcity of pastures during drought and the dry seasons forces pastoralists to take their livestock to graze in enemy territory. Occasionally, the Turkana of Kenya, for example, seek peace agreements during drought to allow access to pasture in Dodoth, however, if not given access, they and other groups often still unilaterally decide to use the pastures and water points, which results in conflict.¹⁴ With limited pasture though, the resulting proximity of the enemy's cattle leads to identification of animals raided in the past, which arouses the need to reacquire them.

Another reason for increased conflict is the reduced workloads that are common among pastoralists in the dry season. With less work to do, herders have more free time to engage in raiding in order to acquire livestock for payment of dowry and marriage during the festive dry season.

Food deficits also cause conflict, so raid incidences naturally increase as people attempt to cope during lean periods brought about by droughts. Conflicts also occur during the wet season though, but again, food deficits (such as when cereal grains have been sown and little is left for consumption) are

¹⁴ Interviews with Lokwang Logiel, Moroto, Kalapata S/county

often a fundamental cause of the escalated raiding. In contrast to the violence that accompanies lean years, years of favorable climate, good harvest, and healthy pasture are spiced with ceasefire, traditional ceremonies, inter-clan socializing, replacing depleted stocks through friends and marriage, and joint *Alomar/ Adakar* in common grazing areas.

Early Warning Systems

Every community has a number of traditional indicators considered as precursors to a hazard. The warning signs become cues for people in their daily lives to prepare and plan for a particular incident. The Karamajong communities have tended to blend the traditional and modern early warning signals to allow them to better interpret the constantly changing phenomena of current time.

Most people interviewed consider that drought is the most recurrent disaster affecting pastoralists, followed by epidemic diseases. Drought is also the main cause of conflicts. This section will therefore focus on early warning signals of drought and conflicts. It must be noted that this list is not comprehensive as it represents only views of the respondents living within the area of study. In addition, these early warning signs may be similar across the Cluster but not uniform, given the diversity of people living in the Karamajong Cluster. Similarly, the use and spelling of native/indigenous expressions or words differ depending on the respondent's clan.

Traditional drought and conflict early warning signs

Drought early warning signs

According to the interviews, the traditional early warning signs for drought that communities relied on and their interpretation are the following:

- Rain coming from the south (*Nakilama*) for the Ik - *good rains and a good year*
- Appearance of rain birds (*Ngaculoi, Ngabanga*) – *good rains and beginning of rains and planting season*
- Movement of winds from north-south implies *drought, no rain, dry winds*
- Appearance of Red Star (*Lodiri*) in the sky – *drought*
- Appearance of comet “*Lomoroko*” – *drought*
- Lightning coming from the north, “*Loliokoliok*” (Ik) – *good rains, good harvest expected*
- Rainbow appearing frequently – *rains due to end, inadequate rain*
- Half moon (crescent) facing the south – *a lot of rain, rivers flowing*
- Half moon facing the north – *drought*
- Presence of large wild game – buffaloes and elephants – *drought*
- Movement of bees – *good year, year of rain*
- Rays forming a ring or circle round the sun – *drought, dry season still on*
- Interpretation of intestines of a sacrificial animals (*Kwanyang*)
 - white, red, yellow and clear intestines – *drought*
 - dirty green pigments in the intestines – *good rains, good year, plenty of pasture*
- “*Ngiremotom*” a group of seven stars descending down the horizon in the north in a straight line – *beginning of rains, planting season*
- “*Ngatiang, Ngakuliak, Ngakareny, Ngangareny, Ngakanyer, soota*” group of stars within the Milky Way descending to the west at 8.00 p.m. – *rains due to begin, hence embark on planting*
- Bearing of fruit by *Ejor, Ngadungo, Ngalam, Balanatines (Ekorete), Ebe*, (all species of trees) – *Year of rain and start of rains*

- Flowering of tamarind tree – *beginning of rains*
- Tamarind bearing fruit – *drought, no harvest, bad year*
- Strong winds destroying big trees and houses during dry season – *heavy, wild rains*
- Animal and human droppings are pellets stained with blood – *drought, famine, no pasture, no milk, little food intake.*
- Migration of black ants (*Songok*) to the east among the Pokot implies *drought, looking for water*

Manifestation of drought

Among the pastoralists, drought affects a broad-spectrum of society and impacts people's daily lives. A number of characteristics that appear in a pastoralist community hit by drought include, but are not limited to the list below:

- Poor or no harvest
- Reduction of natural resources (pastures and surface water)
- Death of livestock and people due to food shortage
- Migration of people in search of food to towns or to zones where some harvest was realized
- Families having only a single meal or no meals at all during the day
- Empty granaries and gourds and widespread hunger
- No construction of new granaries
- Bare gardens with crops failing to grow or withering up
- Animals beginning to feed on strange items such as paper or soil
- Livestock and human diseases aggravated due to shortage of food
- Absence of livestock near homesteads as they go in search of pasture to distant regions beyond the traditional grazing grounds
- Livestock leaving the kraal at dawn to travel long distances in search of pasture and water and returning very late at about 10:00 P.M
- Escalation of raids: hungry populations consider raiding as a source of food and livelihood
- Diets mainly composed of wild vegetables and fruits
- Reduction in livestock milk production
- Reduced instances of social gatherings such as traditional dances

Coping strategies during drought

Pastoralists live in drought prone areas with scarce and unstable resources. Vulnerability is thus inherent to the system. Over time, pastoralists have developed complex strategies of mitigating the effects of environmental uncertainty. Some of the forms through which the people try to cope with drought are enumerated below:

- Engaging in day-labor as a livelihood strategy in towns such as Lofwar, Lokichoggio, Kotido, Kaabong, or to organizations such as OXFAM/GB in road construction (e.g. Kamion-Oropoi road) and de-silting of dams
- Burning and sale of charcoal and wood
- Migration to places where harvests were more productive
- Hunting and gathering of honey, wild fruits, and vegetables

- Extraction (quarrying) of minerals (e.g.; gold at Namorukosikiria, Kurao and Lokales; limestone at Kosiroi, Karukocom and Chepkarat)

Picture 1: Opportunity for change: warriors quarrying limestone at Kosiroi



- Sale of livestock
- Appeal to government/NGO for emergency food relief
- Crushing stones for construction
- Storing milk for future use during dry spell; this is a common drought coping strategy among the Pokot
- Brick making.
- Stealing and raiding livestock from other clans. Send children to Universal Primary Education schools to survive. Enrolled girl children are given take-home rations by World Food Program (WFP) to make parents develop a positive attitude towards girl education. This ration has become a fortune in food scare households.
- Brewing local liquor and selling “*Ebuking*”. (This is a common business among the Matheniko; the liquor is very popular among the youth.
- Collecting and drying sisal.

Conflicts early warning signs

According to the interviews, the traditional early warning signs for conflicts that communities relied on and their interpretation are the following:

- Shooting star – *direction of attack or attackers*
- Strange footmarks – *presence of strangers or enemies*

- Dogs' barking – *presence of stranger*
- Yelling of baboons – *presence of stranger*
- Dreams of soothsayers – *predicting attacks from outsiders*
- Red moon or sun – *bloodshed, mass raid*
- Cattle mooing and jumping unnecessarily – *place will be attacked, the herd will be taken away by enemies*
- Sale of many animals in the market – *disposing of stolen animals, raid has taken place*
- Presence or absence of warriors in the cattle markets – *men on raiding mission*
- Theft of animals/calves – *provoking opponent*
- Intestinal reading i.e. presence of red or brown pigments – *bloodshed or enemies*
- Red/dusty sky – *a lot of bloodshed*
- Tails of cattle bending rather than staying stretched straight downwards – *cattle will be raided away, cattle demonstrating to owner for protection*
- Fox barking and defecating under the tree of men – *an attack will occur and many men will die, a prominent/ senior elder of the place will die*

Official early warning systems

At the national level in Uganda, an Early warning Unit in the Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries (MAAIF) previously existed. This Unit originally analyzed information from districts and provided farmers with information that enabled them to plan their activities adequately. This Early Warning Unit was later transferred to the planning unit during the restructuring of the ministry, but has since closed. There is no drought early warning system for livestock production. Also, there is no system for generating information for early warning systems in the districts and local levels for disaster management. In general, there is insufficient preparedness for drought which causes deaths of thousands of people in drought prone areas every year.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONFLICT AND OWNERSHIP OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Conflict over ownership and access to natural resources

Conflicts among the different groups in the Cluster often revolve around resources. There are disagreements over livestock, grazing and cultivable land, and watering points. Disputes over access and control of natural resources regularly escalate to trigger violent conflict. According to interviewees, the most contested resources are the following:

1. Land, the source of pasture, gathering and hunting, is the most prized natural resource. Each group vies for prime real estate.
2. Livestock, which forms a basis of livelihoods and occupies the entire life of pastoralists, also appears supreme.
3. Water, which is a crucial resource in arid zones, including for livestock. The need for scarce water drives the pastoralists into the lands where they normally would not think of going.
4. Other resources, including minerals (limestone, gold, marble and salt licks), medicinal plants, and grains/cereals especially during severe droughts and famine are also contested. Minerals become a source of conflict during droughts and widespread famines as communities resort to mining as a coping strategy.

Competition over natural resources is the greatest cause of conflict in the Cluster. Each ethnic group, clan or tribe has control and ownership of resources within its territorial bounds. The scarcity or reduction of these resources in a particular area prompts venturing into another's territory to momentarily cope with insufficiency in their land. The owners of the land in which the resources are located deny their use to outsiders and assert their ownership and control over the resources. The control and effective use of a resource depends on who owns it. Due to fuzzy borders, the groups sharing the border fight over the control of resources in border areas, resulting in accusations of territorial expansionist tendencies. For example, the Turkana and Pokot have clashed over the control and ownership of pastureland around the Turkwell gorge, and the Dodoth and the Jie claim that the Turkana strive to displace them from their ancestral lands.

The variation in the amount of available resources is rather unpredictable but has been important from year to year due to erratic rainfall. The quantity and quality of pastures and water have varied considerably. During droughts, quarrels over access to the resources are common. Water is the key to pasture utilization and management, particularly in the dry season. Competition for scarce resources leads to differences/disagreements hence conflicts. Those hit by drought force their way to access and utilize the resource wherever they lie, but the owners bar them from using them for fear that they may be depleted. Forced access thus provokes violent clashes. In 1999/2000, the Bokora confronted the army which was poised at the border to prevent them from entering Teso where they have their traditional dry seasonal marshy grazing lands. The Turkana and Dodoth clashed in 2004 after the Turkana used the muscle of the gun to force their way to graze their livestock in Dodoth areas. The importance of access to natural resources varies according to the relative abundance of the resources. Where a resource is relatively abundant, problems of access have less impact. Recurrent confrontation over land use is intimately linked to ownership of a territory. The holder strives to maintain a communal agreement that his rights are long established by usage. This rights form the basis for extending and reinforcing the web of relationships on whose support the agreement depends.

Traditionally, pastoralists considered natural resources as gifts of nature and therefore had no private ownership to claim. Everybody could access and use them wherever they were located. The safeguard of these resources was the concern of all users, and conflicts developed as a result of the manner in which they were utilized. Wasteful and destructive utilization undisputedly lead to confrontations. Traditional norm necessitated that the resources be used in a protective way for the benefit of all the people in the society, but unfortunately, communal ownership of natural resources can lead to abuse/misuse, a reality referred to as the “*Tragedy of the Commons*”.

During drought and conflict, natural resources become scarce, causing intense competition over them to paralyze the effective functioning of traditional resource management systems. Conflicts have undermined efforts to regulate the utilization of natural resources owned and used in common especially grazing areas and watering points. During conflict, the natural environment and pastures located in very insecure locations regenerate, but concentration of people and animals in areas purported to be secure causes over-use of resources and horrendous environment degradation.

Picture 2: Livestock is at center of conflict



Traditional natural resource management structures

Traditional management systems governing the use of natural resources have flowed from generation to generation, with land usage at the heart of these systems. Wetlands are reserved for grazing during the dry season instead of being reclaimed for cultivation. Also, watering points are reserved either for

livestock or for humans (domestic use and drinking). In instances of silting, the communities dig silted water pans/ ponds to restore water availability for different uses (Godana & Gargute 1999).¹⁵

Pastoralists have a variety of social controls relating to access and use of natural resources. They have developed sound ecological strategies such as utilizing different layers of vegetation by rearing different livestock species (grazers such as cattle, sheep and donkeys, and browsers like goats and camels). The strategies also include the use of large and diverse rangelands, access to productive dry season rangelands, high mobility, adjustment in the number of stock units per person, diversification of sources of food by use of wild fruits and tree foods, labor input in rain-fed crop growing, etc...

The pastoralists maximize the use of vegetation both in time and space through a transhumant system of wet and dry season grazing in addition to setting aside specific dry season grazing reserves (*Apero/ Kuwanjamou/ Epaka/ Amaire*). Such system of resource management is made more complex because of a variety of social controls concerned with sharing, flexibility and mobility. It is important to note that the rules governing the use of natural resources are part of an encompassing network of rights and obligations (Pratt and Gwynne, 1977).

Councils of elders

This is the traditional unit that governs ownership, use and management of natural resources in pastoral societies of the Karamajong Cluster. The elders make all decisions regarding control and utilization of natural resources, and they counsel the youth who are the implementing arm of territorial resources management. The council of elders decides on the time and direction of migration of *Alomar/ adakar*, based on natural resource availability. As an authority, the elders define what pasture belongs to what livestock. They set up *Apero/ Kuwanjamou* (rangeland) for specific animals such as calves, goats and sheep, kids or sick animals. They even reserve pastures for supplementary feeding of livestock during periods of pasture scarcity. The elders settle disputes and mete out punishment against cases arising from the misuse and mismanagement of natural resources. They protect the community's natural resources against misuse and outsiders.

While traditional this group has effectively controlled the domain or resource management, the council of elders is no longer an effective institution for the management and control of natural resources. The three main reasons for this change are: 1) people are increasingly becoming more sedentary; 2) the use of guns is becoming more widespread; and 3) drought and conflict are increasing in prevalence.

***Akiriket* (Sacred Assembly)**

Akiriket is a traditional sacred assembly attended by all male adults of the Karamajong tribes of the cluster. Traditional rituals and sacrifices for the welfare of the people and society are performed in this sacred place. This institution is highly revered by the Karamajong. The senior elders in this ceremonial place pass decisions on the better utilization of pastures and course of movement of *Alomar/ adakar*. Likewise, this institution addresses all decisions relating to the sharing of resources or settlement of disputes with other tribes.

¹⁵ Interviews with elders of Lorukumo village, Rupa s/county, See also Godana & Gargute (1999); and Muhereza (2003b)

This institution is effective in the management of natural resource or any other problems faced by the community by virtue of its being a sacred and dreaded institution. The problem with *Akiriket* is that it tends to make compromises on certain grave issues such as punishment of criminals.

Etem/ Ekokwa (men’s gathering/ meeting/ tree of men)

Like the council of elders, this is an institution where men make decisions on issues pertaining to the clan. It is a body that determines the use of natural resources and punishes those who breach the by-laws governing the use of natural resources. Disciplinary procedures are defined for resource misuse or mismanagement. This body is also involved with framing the by-laws that govern the allocation and utilization of resources such as rangelands.

Picture 3: “Tree of men” at work



This structure is effective because it includes the council of elders. Formed either sectionally, by village, or by age-set based, this institution strengthens community solidarity and can deter crime or deny criminals from hiding in the community (*Kimuk/ tarap ekile*).

Alomar/ Adakar/ Kraal leaders

This institution is a replica of the council of elders when *Alomar/ Adakar/ Kraals* are farther away in the dry season grazing areas. This body assumes full responsibility for the elders and entire command of grazing areas. This group is composed of prominent warriors and elders. These leaders define the

migration route for the *Alomar/ adakar/ Kraals* based on accessibility of pasturage. *Alomar/ Adakar* leaders usually travel through lands to locate better pastures for the *Alomar/ Adakar* to reposition after pasture in the present location is downgraded. It is this institution that mediates access and use of resources with neighboring clans. They punish those who breach the norms governing the use and management of natural resources. *Alomar/ adakar* usually follows roughly, but not precisely, the same annual movements, and retains a relationship with other *Alomar/ Adakar* controlling different grazing areas and who may want or need to use an alternative route.

A number of factors are making this institution less effective. The *Alomar/ Adakar* leaders are becoming powerless because a new wave of leaders is emerging through the accumulation of wealth and guns. Individualization of authority has further eroded the influence of this institution. Every young man based on his economic position assumes a role of a Kraal leader in his kraal and can make and implement his own decisions without reference to the entire group. Most of these leaders are too young to command respect and as a result offer no respect to the elders or societal norms.

In addition, frequent droughts have undermined the authority and effectiveness of all traditional structures responsible for managing the use of natural resources.

Resource trucking/ Mobility

Mobility is the most fundamental traditional resources management strategy for pastoralists. This form of resource trucking enables the pastoralist to regulate the utilization of resources. Movement is carefully planned and adheres to defined routes. The pastoralists move their livestock on the basis of resource availability in the direction of migration. This involves breaking the herds into small sizes to afford the carrying capacity of the resources so as not to destroy the existing resources.

Government policies on natural resources

Wildlife policies in Kenya and Uganda deny pastoralists access to pasture land in the game reserves and also to wild game meat, wild fruits and honey in game reserves and national parks. However, the communities still illegally access these resources, often resulting in conflict with the authorities.

Uganda's Land Sector Strategic Plan, 2001

The Land Sector Strategic Plan (LSSP) is designed to remove barriers to increased land utilization, broaden land services to rural areas and customary land, address inequality, tenure insecurity, inequitable systems and processes, strengthen land rights of the vulnerable groups and women, empower local governments and communities to make and implement their own policies and plans for their land, and provide an appropriate and supportive framework for sound environmental and natural resources management. The LSSP recognizes the need to secure land rights for rural farmers in order to ensure sustainability of livelihoods. Pastoralists constitute a category recognized to be among the poorest and most land-insecure. The LSSP proposes specific measures to enhance the land rights of vulnerable groups. Rights to land in gazetted areas and desire for the community management of gazetted areas are becoming great concerns in Karamoja.

Both in Kenya and Uganda, the law does not effectively protect pastoralists' land tenure due to pastoralists' mobility. Government policies promote privatization of rangelands through certification

and titling. Large chunks of land are placed in the hands of private developers at the expense of helpless pastoralists. The sustainable use of rangeland resources is becoming increasingly compromised by encroachment of marginal ecosystems by permanent settlements and cultivation, both of which are incompatible with traditional rangeland management. Loss of communal grazing resources has led to inequities in access to critical land resources.

In addition, forest policies in both countries deny pastoralists access to the forest, yet the sale of wood is one of their main coping mechanisms. Pastoralists are forced to access forests illegally and are prosecuted for that. As an example, the NFA accused the community of Tapac in 2003 of burning and clearing part of a mountain slope for agriculture after their livestock had been raided. Another example is the GoK restricting the Pokot from clearing forests to start agro-pastoralism. The 2001 Forest Policy recognizes the challenge of managing forest resources on private or customary lands, which constitute 70% of the woodlands and forest areas and where most degradation and forest clearing is taking place. Clearing is done in order to grow crops or to raise animals. The loss of forest is detrimental to the environment because forests protect, among other things, watershed catchment areas. The policy calls for the development of integrated land use practices (such as agro-forestry) on steep slope hills to protect watersheds. Grazing is prohibited in all forest-reserved lands. Thus, through the various forms of land alienation, especially establishments of protected areas, pastoralists have been denied fundamental right to an environment adequate for pastoral livelihoods.

Additionally, Kenyan and Ugandan government environmental policies do not permit pastoralist to settle in wetlands or to burn grass or forest land to eliminate disease vectors. For instance in Uganda, the National Environment Regulations (2000) stipulates that for any activity likely to have an adverse impact on wetlands, an environmental assessment must be done. These mandates should be integrated into local wetland management through education efforts. For any activity undertaken in the wetlands, permission should be sought. Regulated activities include brick making, cultivation exceeding more than 25% of the total area of the wetland, drainage, and commercial exploitation. Traditional harvesting of papyrus, medicinal plants, trees and reeds, fishing, water collection and hunting do not require permits. Where a permit has been granted for regulated activities, the permit holder is required to restore the wetland within one year of expiry or revocation of the permit.

Although the national directives do not address grazing explicitly, they note that local government councils can regulate it. The regulations are silent on the extent to which grazing is allowed in the wetlands; they only mention the need for their sustainable and non-destructive use. These regulations offset the 1995 National Policy for the conservation and management of wetland resources which permitted grazing, labeling it as a public amenity, but required that maximum numbers of animals be set according to the carrying capacity of the rangeland and discouraged fencing.

Livestock Production Policies. Pastoralists have no say in the design and implementation of public policy. They suffer powerlessness and rarely have the opportunity to influence things around them. They do not have a vehicle through which to participate in environmental decision-making, not even for critical issues such as quality of veterinary medicines (which are frequently adulterated). Furthermore, information on harmful and expired drugs in pastoral communities is not available, and even when such information is available, pastoralists often can not afford costly alternatives.

The “Livestock Improvement Development Policy” aims at reducing livestock quantities in the bid to modernize agricultural and livestock production. This, coupled with the Government of Uganda

restricting pastoralists from accessing pastures in the districts neighboring Karamoja greatly affects pastoralists.

In the livestock sector of Uganda, constraints abound in the delivery of both private and government veterinary services. Veterinary services are not readily available for livestock even in times of drought. District veterinary departments are poorly facilitated and severely constrained by lack of adequate human resources and transport to effectively monitor activities of private service practitioners. The NAADS “demand-driven extension service delivery” framework targets mainly crop production; but it could be more effective if it integrated veterinary extension service delivery as the livestock sector is crucial to the livelihood of millions of people. The government has yet to develop a NAADS-like framework for the livestock sub-sector. Livestock extension service delivery is yet to be integrated into the unified extension services delivery system. Planned training of private enterprises involved in provision of extension services under NAADS program has mainly targeted crops and not livestock.

Mineral prospecting policy. All mineral areas exclusively belong to the Government. Anyone extracting these minerals is required to pay royalties to the Government. As a result, pastoralists cannot benefit maximally from quarrying limestone and marble. On top of this, Exclusive Mining and Prospecting Licenses (EMPL) have been offered by the Government to various companies. Most of the areas like Kosiroyi and Karukocom where EMPLs have been issued covered dry season grazing and critical water points for the pastoralists (See also Muhereza and Bledsoe, 2003). Mineral prospecting grossly bars pastoralists from access to suitable pastures. In Uganda, the 2002 Mining Bill provided for 17% royalties to local councils and 3% to be paid to land owners for mineral extraction. However, this 3% royalty provision has not been implemented. Besides, local communities are not aware of the 17% provision and many do not know how local governments should use the revenues accruing from the mineral royalties.

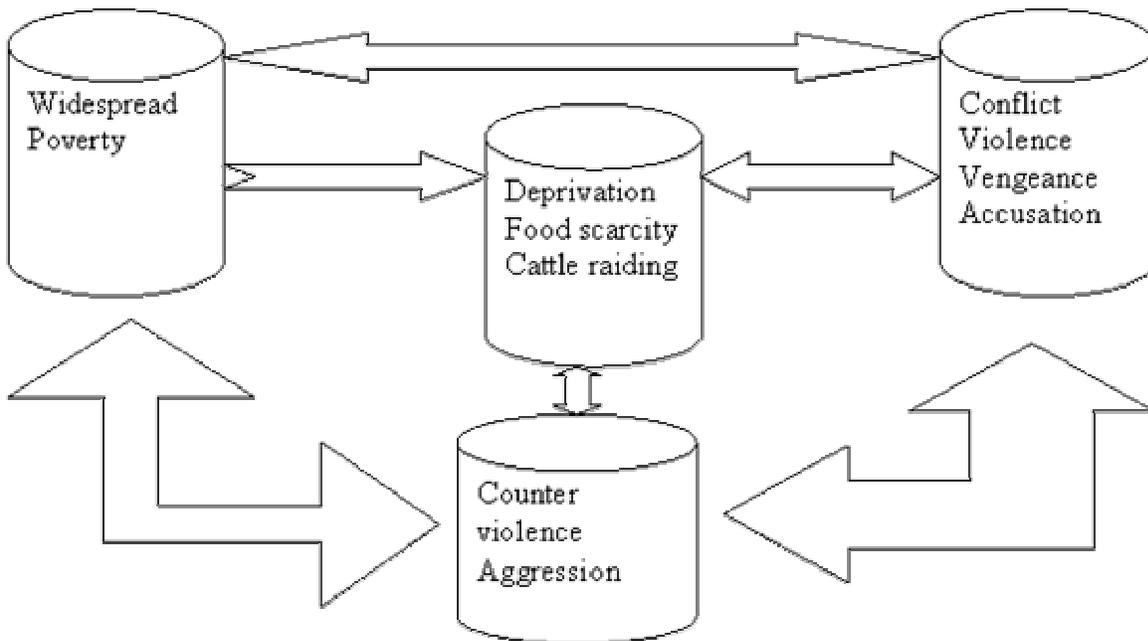
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONFLICT AND POVERTY

Although conflict and poverty influence each other, conflict is one of the major causes of the poverty prevalent in the Cluster. Conflicts within the Cluster are reportedly responsible for the pastoralists' under development. The unrelenting skirmishes are blamed for the displacements of whole settlements and for destitution in the region. In Todonyang village (Lapur division, Turkana District) for instance, frequent raids from neighboring Dassenech forced the relocation of the entire village to Lowareng'ak, twenty-three kilometers away. The attendant poverty and destitution is visible in the kind of livelihood activities undertaken by the newly displaced. These activities include fishing, basketry, and small scale retail trade. In such areas, pastoralism as a livelihood activity is itself threatened since very few pastoralist respondents are willing to take up the activity again because of lack of initial capital and the prevailing insecurity.

Due to drought and endemic conflicts, the number of livestock and the wealth possessed by pastoralists have significantly declined. If the traditional criteria for riches, i.e. possessing many livestock, wives, children/dependents and food granaries were to be used, as in the past, very few pastoralists would now pass the test.

Poverty, exacerbated by conflict, is increasingly becoming the main source of vulnerability in the Cluster for pastoralist. Strong sentiments of deprivation and neglect by government are a fertile ground for ethnic clashes and inter-communal violence. Lack of employment opportunities to absorb victims of fatal livestock raiding was also cited as a cause of sustained conflict in the region. A lack of alternative livelihoods prompts the frustrated groups to revert to raiding, thus perpetuating inter-ethnic violence. In desperation and in order to survive, destitute pastoralists target livestock of other clans or tribes. While poverty was most often cited as a catalyst of conflict, it was also said that conflicts often worsen poverty and deprivation and lead to cyclical hostilities.

Figure 2: Model of cyclical relationship between poverty and conflict



Effect of conflict on calendar activities

Protracted conflicts have had a far-reaching impact on the activities of pastoralists. People have been forced to adopt new activities or modify them to suit the changing circumstances. As herding declines, many pastoralists are turning to crop growing. However, this is not easy either. Cultivation which traditionally started at 5: 00 a.m. now starts as late as 10:00 a.m., as it is generally safer to be in the fields at that time. Early morning activities such as going to fetch water in distant places have also become daytime programs because of insecurity.

In addition, livestock is now mainly confined to homes areas. The traditional mobility/resource trucking schedules has been disrupted. Livestock is let out around mid morning after youth patrols have gone out to check enemy spying lines. Traditional pastures are no longer utilized as they have become unsafe. Seasonal migration and migratory routes for *Alomar/ Adakar* have changed and women and children have taken up new forms of activities such as burning and selling charcoal, collecting and selling firewood, brick making, stone crushing and quarrying, or performing odd jobs in towns. Vending of *Ebuking* (local liquor) has become another important activity of women and children in Matheniko.

Other traditional sources of livelihood have also been disrupted. Gardens in most risky areas are being abandoned. Hunting and gathering, often done during the dry season, have been disrupted. As a result, people no longer have access to bush products such as honey, wild game, fruits, and medicines.

Effect of conflict on food security

Conflict has a strong bearing on the food security status of a region. Food reserves in many households can rapidly deplete because they are either burnt or stolen. Raiders have a tendency to take food and household property if they don't get livestock or if hunger is very severe. The deprivation of both food and livestock expose more families to hunger.

An atmosphere of widespread insecurity caused by conflicts disrupts most economic activities of the communities. For example, gardens can neither be cultivated nor harvested. Conflicts also prevent people from hunting and gathering natural foods like wild fruits, vegetables and honey.

Picture 4: Drought aggravates also livestock diseases



Mass losses of livestock coupled with the disruption of crop cultivation have left many families with little money to purchase food on the market. The climate of insecurity prevailing in Karamoja also causes outside traders to fear bringing foodstuffs to markets there, or if they are brave enough to bring them, they sell them at exorbitant prices to cover their risks. Conflict obviously worsens food insecurity if a household's bread-winner gets killed.

Coping strategies

The main coping strategies cited by the respondents living in conflict-ridden, precarious situations to alleviate food insecurity are the following:

- Seeking food assistance from the Government, the WFP or religious organizations.
- Engaging in peace negotiation with a rival party to be safe enough to search for food.
- Asking the government to provide adequate security to enable people to attend to their fields and protect livestock and other property.
- Crushing stones into pebbles for building, quarrying and mining limestone, marble and gold (around Mt. Moroto, Lopedo and Lokales).
- Going to urban centres to look for odd jobs (e.g. girls in Matheniko go to Moroto town everyday to look for casual employment and food).
- Collecting wild fruits and vegetables and *Mira* for home consumption and sale.
- Requesting food assistance from friends and relatives living in neighboring areas.
- Burning charcoal and collecting firewood and logs for sale in towns such as Moroto, Kotido, Kacheliba and Karita.

Picture 5 : Charcoal lined for sale by the roadside at Sidok



- Brewing local liquor.
- Migrating to secure places; this usually involves many villages merging together to better defend themselves.

- For those who possess livestock, selling them to buy food. Similarly, those who have a lot of sorghum sell some to buy animals from the market to replace those raided.
- Retaliation raiding by the *Karachuna* to replace animals taken or to get some food or other articles to sell.
- Building stores in far away areas and on hilly areas. Among the Dodoth food is stored in strategic places such as caves, away from the home.
- Securing and reserving select pastures for supplementary feeding of weak and young animals
- Dry season sowing in order to maximize the rains.
- Engaging in de-silting and construction dams for food or wages.
- Entrusting livestock to friends and relatives living in relatively safer areas to safeguard them from raids.
- Cultivating vegetables to sell in towns.

SOCIO-CULTURAL ASPECTS OF CONFLICT

Cultural characteristics and conflict

The socio-cultural set up of pastoralists provides fertile ground for the breeding of relentless conflicts. The numerous social and cultural traits which are cherished by the society turn out to be support pillars for wrangles over livestock. Conflict may endure as long as these characteristics stay but can subside if these aspects of society yield to change. Permission of polygamous marriages paid out with a high dowry compels the youth to raid their neighbors to acquire the animals needed to enable them wed. The only source of livestock for marrying many wives is livestock rustling. Young men without cows are obliged to raid to be able to marry a wife and have children to name. Marriage and participation in livestock raiding determine the place of an individual in the society. These two conditions are measures of warrior-hood. To enjoy this recognition, many young men look for livestock to raid.

The art of tattooing, which portrays one as a raiding maestro, exacerbates the unrelenting desire to kill those branded as enemies. Tattooing is an element of the quest of heroism and “pet-naming”. Pet names are associated with having big bulls and killing enemies. Special warrior names distinguish one from the rest of the men in the society.

Constant reference and praise of heroes in meetings and cultural festivals encourages others to engage in raiding and in other acts of lawlessness as a way of emulating or surpassing the prowess of heroes.

Youth are the people generally entrusted with implementation of the decisions of the elders and the security of the community. Extensively encouraged by a composition of anecdotes and proverbs, music, dance and drama, the youth execute this task whatever the cost. Inevitably, this provokes counter revenge from the opponent party. Among the pastoralists, men are considered to be the bread-winners for their families. In times of scarcity, men must replenish food supplies through any means, including raiding. Raiding is in fact considered by the society as the first option. Livestock rustling is believed to be the most direct way to wealth accumulation because livestock occupies such a central place among pastoralists. Social status being determined by the number of livestock in one’s possession, those without cattle are rebuked as poor and enthused to raid other clans to overcome their condition. Rites of passage/ initiation ceremonies that graduate a youth into an elder of a special age-set are an entitlement to all men, but they are only possible for those who have cattle. The need to go through this rite encourages those without cattle to go raiding to get cattle to undergo it. Without that ceremony, one becomes a laughing stock in the community. Every successful raid is accompanied by a traditional ceremony of “*Lokwa*” – bull killed by the youth for the elders as a thanksgiving, for further blessings and for success in upcoming raids.

Role of community structures in conflict dynamics

Councils of elders

As discussed above, traditional authority and power among the Karamoja Cluster communities still rests with the elders to some extent. They make decisions and pass judgment on issues such as

forming relationships with other groups and declaring war. During wartime, the elders furnish the raiders with blessings. The elders sometimes encourage conflict when they accept rewards or bribes from the youth. Though they encourage youth to participate in livestock raiding, the elders are very instrumental at advocating for peace, recovery of stolen livestock, and compensation of innocent people murdered. Elders usually negotiate for peace, settle internal disputes and are willing to act as emissaries of peace with other groups. However, their influence over livestock raiding and peace building is sometimes compromised when they are given part of the lootings by the youth.

Soothsayers/ Diviners/ Fortune tellers (*Emuron/ Ngimurok*)

This is the most influential institution in fanning inter-clan conflicts. This group of people is revered in society and is believed to possess some supernatural power. They are regularly consulted by potential raiders before and after an expedition. Consequently, they incite and hearten the youth to go for raids by giving them false assurance of fortune and protection. The diviners (*Emuron/ Ngimurok*) are entitled to a few cows after a successful raid. The prominence of a soothsayer (*Emuron, Chepkewon*) arises from interpreting the sandals after casting them and interpreting natural phenomena and relating them to social events in the community. They alert the communities of an impending raid so that they can in turn prepare to counter raid the attackers.

Age set/ Generation set

The age set system enables the community to have a hierarchy of authority. The senior elders (*Ngimoru*) make decisions; grown men or second rank elders (*Ngigetei*) and the youth (*Ngimirio*) implement the decisions. Power is transmitted from one generation set to the next. This gives every age set the chance to enjoy the benefits of power. Forming part of this process is the focus of every growing male. Unfortunately, the current reigning age set (*Ngimoru*), despite reduction in its population, has failed to pass over power to *Ngigetei* forcing the youth to disobey their orders. Every generation strives to do something for which it would be remembered as a distinct group. The present *Karachuna* age set, *Ngimirio* are pursuing a life of tenacity and raiding, which it performs pitilessly.

Picture 6: Weapon of destruction



Etem/ Ekokwa (Tree of Men)

The tree of men (*Ekokwa/ Etem*), described above, is a public meeting open to all adults in an area, but this institution often turns into a forum for organizing and planning for conflict. In meetings, reference is made on achievements and prowess of past heroes in the protection of the clan, thus instilling courage and morale and enticing the youth to go raiding. Conversely, the tree of men is a strong force for ending conflict, castigation of wrong doers and promotion of good morals.

Inter-ethnic alliances and the changing face of conflict

Traditional approaches to raiding are better understood as part of a continuum in which cooperation and alliances are formed to carry out raids. Extended networks among friends mean that people exchange livestock to gain access to critical pastoralist resources in time of shortage. When the balance of power between groups shifts, relationship based on peaceful exchange can be quickly replaced by reciprocal raiding.

Traditional alliances force conflict to continually spiral because a particular clan thinks their enemies and allies are planning to attack, hence, triggering attacks from the threatened community. Alliances increase the severity of the conflicts, as they result in increased damages on the other parties. Weak communities are destroyed and made poorer. The gravity of harm suffered precipitates the injured party to form counter-alliances, thus escalating conflicts and their severity. Shifting alliances complicates the pace of reconciliation because community dialogue is made more complex. Alliances involve many communities with differing motives for joining, which causes lack of single authority/command to enforce orders. Each party in an alliance comes with its own leadership, which adversely affects the possibility of alliance accepting a common decision. Alliances further reduce the likelihood of peace due to differences among allies over issues sharing loot or other prejudices among themselves. Alliances disrupt ongoing peace initiatives.

Women and conflict

Conflict among pastoralist is indiscriminate and affects all people. Women and children are generally the most affected because they are vulnerable and defenseless, they aren't in a position to feed themselves, they can lose loved ones (spouses, parents and sons), and they are easily made homeless and turned into refugees. The pastoralists women play a significant role in the conflict environment.

Role of women in conflict causation

Women play a central part in raiding in a number of ways. When faced with shortages of household necessities, married women scorn the male members of the household, singing songs that pressure them to go raiding. They do this physically or indirectly, through beating of children and telling them things such as: "where can I get the milk to give you when your father is seated while other men have gone to look for cattle for their children's milk."¹⁶ In the past, renowned women were consulted by raiders. Warriors on a mission brought them gifts of tobacco or a ram in exchange for blessings for the raid. Women bless the men and smear them with protective soil, *Emunyen*. There is considerable dancing, ululation, celebration and merry making spearheaded by women after a very successful raid. Women are also at the base of raiding because men are forced to pay high bride prices for them in exchange for social status. Sometimes women incite conflicts by abandoning men who have not paid dowries to join those who are capable of paying them off, or by belittling men who marry their daughters with few animal dowries. Such mortification compels men to collect livestock before they decide to marry. Disrespect accorded to men who are not fully married through dowry payment forces men to raid.

¹⁶ Interviews Kongai madelena, Nakapelimoru s/county, Kotido

Role of women in conflict prevention

Women suffer the effects conflict a great deal. They are left as widows, displaced, left without food, and often bear the consequences of being inherited by the kinship of their deceased husbands. To avert this anguish, women have considerably contributed to reducing conflicts in the region. Their various involvements are summarized below:

- Due to death of many male members of the households, most women discourage their husbands and sons from going for raids.
- Women have been organizing peace marches and peace campaign rallies in the villages of Rupa, Tapac, and Iriir. Women peace group of Naoi Parish organize peace retreats and peace meetings.
- Refusing to praise raiders.
- Women have composed songs that draw warriors' attention to the tribulations of raiding. They sing these songs to discourage the men from participating in raiding.
- Women encourage and entreat men to give back their guns to the government during disarmament exercises. Some women actually physically handed over their husbands' guns.
- They enrollment their children in schools with the hope of transforming the society in the future.
- Senior women lament for peace at dawn before men are out. They decry the way raiding and the young generation have strayed.

Table 1: Future action/ trends

- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Include women in peace initiatives and open air peace meetings• Encourage women to join church peace crusades• Help women need to organize music, dance and drama festivals on peace• Establish women-led effervescent peace committees• Encourage women to form advocacy group to pressure men into permitting women's participation in 'Etem' where issues on peace and other matters pertaining the society are discussed and decided• Promote agro-pastoralism as an alternative to over-reliance on pastoralism e.g. cultivating kale spinach (<i>sukumawiki</i>) |
|---|

Link between traditional leadership structures and formal administrative systems

The nature in which the formal system of administration was introduced and implemented in Karamoja prompted mistrust and limited collaboration between formal administration and the traditional leadership from the beginning. The formal administrative system has remained secondary in dispensing authority in the community; that authority is still retained by the council of elders. The key structures for the formal system of governance at the community level are the local councils. Every homestead (*ere*) has an elder as its head. The homestead is known by its *ere* and by the local council (LC I) chairperson. In the community, the authority of the formal government structures is limited to mobilization for programs of the government and civil society organizations such as immunization, food relief distribution, elections, tax sensitization and meetings. Conversely, the authority pertaining to the use of natural resources, migration for pastures and water, administration of justice, relations within the homestead and with other clans lies with the head of the *ere* or council of elders.

The formal system of government is overlain on the traditional leadership structures which have significant power, however there is apparently no strong formal institutional linkage between the two systems of governance. Although both systems continue to assert their authority, they seldom cooperate with each other. Within the frameworks of formal public administration, the council of elders has been ignored. However, in a few cases where the government recognizes the traditional leadership, traditional leaders have acted as links between the people and the government. Additionally, the traditional leadership is sometimes consulted on matters affecting their communities. In return, modern government officials are given recognition and allowed to participate in traditional ceremonies such as *Akiriket*. This situation is common in places where certain traditional sets of elders are also leaders within the formal system of governance. For example, the head of an *ere* may also be the local council (LC I) chairperson of the *ere*. In cases such as this, both groups therefore could have a role in the settlement of conflicts and disputes.

PEACE BUILDING INITIATIVES

Role of peace building institutions in conflict mitigation

The Role of the State

The communities agree that the prime responsibility of the government, apart from being a facilitator of development is to provide security to its citizens. This includes the provision of security personnel and materiel as well as opening up security outposts within insecure pastoral lands. It is viewed that government commitment to this last responsibility has been weak given the poor manning or even closure of some outposts. Rapid response initiatives by the governments are also viewed as wanting as they come usually late and do not entirely address the longer term security needs of pastoral communities.

The return of animals through the use of military force is another recognized function of the government. The communities feel that this is one aspect that reinforces trust in government. Individuals should be able to get back their property without resorting to violent means to restock.

The Kenyan and Ugandan Governments have been organizing a number of peace and security meetings to end conflict in the Cluster. These are open public meetings in which government officials implore warriors to settle their disputes which they say would open the doors to development and service delivery in the region. Most of these meetings do not bare fruit because attendants of such meetings are community opinion leaders who have lost popularity and elders who are not active in raiding and whose power seems to no longer count. Another problem with these meetings is that government officials tend to simply dictate decisions or deliver readymade resolutions to the people. Those decisions are not implemented because the local community had not participated in the decision-making process.

Government interventions used to be mainly in the field of restoration of law and order by forceful means within military operations. Though within its mandate, this initial approach caused a lot of resentment among the communities because of human rights abuses and the suffering that was attributed to these operations.¹⁷ The late 90's saw a softening of government positions as they opened up to civil society overtures for an all-inclusive, multi-partner approach. Currently, the emergence of network-based interventions means that government, which has the advantage of on the ground presence and acceptance, can mobilize the civil society towards an intervention. *Riam Riam* supports government's rapid response activities (through the provision of fuel and allowances) in times of need. This new type of collaboration has been a major incentive to peacebuilding.

Disarmament

The governments of Kenya and Uganda feel that disarmament can bring peace to the Karamajong Cluster. There were several disarmament attempts made from 1985 to date. However, the process has

¹⁷ *The disarmament exercise among the Turkana and Pokot communities in the 80's and the two exercises in Karamoja (2001-2, 2004 to date) are a case in point*

been flawed and to a certain extent escalated conflict instead because it was not a collective endeavor which would have drawn from the community's cohesion. Among the flaws identified were:

1. The inducements for the disarmament were not forthcoming and the few guns recovered ended up in the hands of local councilors, kraal leaders, chiefs and 'big shots' in the security department
2. The gun collection centers were placed in trading centers which were located too far from the communities
3. The protection and security for those disarmed was not forthcoming; in fact, they exposed themselves to attacks from those who did not give back their guns
4. The exercise was marred by insufficient logistics and a lack of public trust, administrative ability, and technical expertise.

Recovery of stolen livestock

This has been a parallel initiative to facilitate the disarmament exercise. In Uganda, the UPDF and LDU headed up the most recent efforts and were assigned to recover all stolen livestock and return them to their owners through tracking and military interventions in suspected kraals. Livestock were to be rounded and guarded at a military unit for identification or replacement of stolen ones. The intervention experienced a number of shortcomings. People were tortured and ill-treated during military operations in which the soldiers acted with excessive force. During the recovery several innocent people lost their animals. Complainants often exaggerated the number of livestock stolen. Additionally, the high military command either sold or kept some of the animals collected from the people for themselves. In 2003, an army Major was intercepted transporting a truckload of animals from Karamoja. The soldiers also sometimes adopted stringent measures to recover animals even where negotiation with either the community or the culprits would have yielded more fruit because of their grievances against particular groups. The inappropriate livestock recovery process sometimes fomented further inter-ethnic conflict.

Deployment of security personnel

Another action that the government has taken is deploying security forces to border points between the different ethnic clans in Karamoja to control raiding itineraries. With the increase in available forces due to a reduction in the insurgency in Northern Uganda and the recruitment of LDU in the districts of Lira, Soroti, Katakwi, Kapchorwa and Apach, more military personnel have been deployed nearer to the village settlements. The intention of this buildup has been to allow fast action response against raids and road ambushes and to allow the forces to patrol and keep the roads clear of carjackers. Despite their presence, the military have not been very effective in restoring security and stability. In fact, the small arm units have become sources of ammunitions for the warriors, and some security outposts have even been overrun by the warriors with soldiers forced to withdraw to trading centers. The Jie, Pian and Dodoth have sometimes confronted the army, forcing temporarily withdrawals and resulting in significant casualties.

Recruitment of vigilantes, home guards, ASTU and LDU

The deteriorating security situation in the Karamajong Cluster has compelled the two governments to take additional measures aimed at taming the insecurity.

In Uganda, this has been done through the recruitment of the Karamajong warriors themselves, who constitute a potentially formidable force to contain raiding. Former warriors were recruited as vigilantes. As state employees, they were earning about US \$9 – US \$11 per month. The warriors underwent some basic military training, retained their guns, and were supplied with uniforms. The main duty of the vigilantes was to track stolen livestock and culprits. Additionally they were also directed to convince other warriors who were still at large to join the force. In 1993, an estimated force of 800 warriors under vigilante leadership helped restore some form of security, with reduced incidences of raiding and road ambushes, but struggles over control of the force between the army and police led to delayed salaries that forced the vigilantes to go back to raiding. The force was later modified, regularized, and turned into the LDU under the army, but the elders were unwilling to relinquish control over the group since the group's mandate is local defence. The LDU unfortunately has its own limitations such as loose control from the UPDF, poor logistics (in connection with feeding, ammunition supply, and transport), lack of training and military discipline, and these limitations have a negative impact on the group's effectiveness in law enforcement. These conditions convinced some LDU to desert the forces and go back to raiding. Insufficient coordination, command and control seem therefore to be leading to an impasse in the region.

In the Turkana Region of Kenya, the Government, through the community, recruited “home guards” and armed them with guns. In addition, the government deployed paramilitary troops to the area. However, these measures have only served to reduce raiding incidences in the areas where troops are deployed. Given the vastness of the region, most areas are still quite vulnerable.

The role of communities

Community dialogue

Over the years, the community has been largely responsible for its own peace. The elders have the powers to sanction war or peace with rival groups. The elders send peace emissaries to the opponent party once the toll of a conflict becomes too great or if it has reached a stalemate. Decisions to make peace and end conflict used to be entirely within the hands of the elders, but today, even youth and women -in consultation with the elders- can supplicate for peace. Community dialogue meetings are open to all men in competing factions and involve each side making concessions to the other. This is a common community system of addressing conflict. This method is effective only if it involves the active youth and allows them to implement the resolutions of the meetings. The problem with community peace meetings is that they are merely considered by the parties as temporary ceasefire to permit stock taking and to allow assessments of the impact of the conflict. Sometimes, the youth and profiteers of raiding deliberately disregard the consensus reached by the elders.

Recovery of stolen animals

The community is very active in tracking, recovery, and return of stolen animals after a raid. The community does this by identifying and isolating the culprits. The youth are summoned by the elders

and charged with the task of rounding up the culprits through *Ameto* (traditional operation of bringing wrong doers for punishment.). The culprits are asked to bring back the exact number of livestock stolen, together with a fine. The fine acts as a deterrent against further attempts. Although this system helps restore peace, it sometimes generates conflict where excess fine is imposed or where there is some dishonesty (which often happens).

Peace crusades

Women particularly have been known to engage in peace crusades. This is due to the fact that women and children are often the most affected by the conflict. As a result, women have taken the initiative to engage in the mass campaigns for peace to convince the broader population to back the peace effort. They rove through villages, highlighting the atrocities the conflicts have inflicted on them and soliciting the support of the rest of the women to join the peace drive. This effort is winning a lot of success both within the local community and the international community because women have chosen to challenge the men into promoting peace in the Cluster. This campaign for peace is also supported by the church. Although the women's efforts have been recognized by the society as a likely way to achieve peace in Karamoja Cluster, they face opposition and challenges from the male population in this patriarchal community.

Identifying and apprehending criminals

Local communities have played a vital role in arresting livestock rustling criminals. Through the *ameto*, the community rounds up all those suspect of having participated in a particular raid. The community traditionally punishes criminals and hands recidivist criminals over to the police or court for prosecution. This is the only way the community can expect to get support from and coordinate with the government. The community is very effective in arresting the criminals but it often gets frustrated when it finds that culprits are soon released to continue menacing the members of the community who apprehended them. The traditional law finds the modern system of administering justice strange and lenient. According to the traditional judicial system, a criminal is a criminal and needs to be punished without waiting for evidence beyond doubt. The community knows who the criminals are and does not need any other evidence. For the community, any release of criminal by the police, prisons or courts of law means that the government is corrupt. This perception has caused the community to be wary of facilitating further arrests of criminals.

Reporting incidences of raiding to the army

After disarmament, the local community that has been disarmed relies on prompt reporting of any incident of raids to the army for recovery. Unfortunately, the army's response has rarely been prompt enough. As a result, the community has lost faith in government response and this has widened the gap between the two. Disarmament is hence proving ineffective in curbing cattle rustling.

Scouting/ surveillance

The community directs the youth to patrol and scout pathways and sanctuaries of the raiders. Through this practice, some youth thwart any raiding plans of other youth within the community or attacks from the opponent parties. This reduces the frequency of raiding. A surveillance force can unfortunately easily turn into a raiding force toward other clans.

Civil Society

Civil society interventions in peacebuilding began in earnest only in recent years. Before then, matters of security and conflict resolution were mainly viewed as a government domain as the state moved to exert its power through military purges of the “errant” communities. With time however, it became apparent that peacebuilding and the resolution of conflicts was not just a matter of maintaining law and order but that it had a socio-economic dimension to it in view of altered livelihoods, displacements, and the wanton loss of lives and property. This realization is what led governments to start tolerating civil society interventions which at first began with religious institutions.

Civil society organizations in the Cluster dwell mostly on facilitating and conducting peace dialogue meetings between communities as well as on advocacy for pastoralist issues intended for the national and regional platform. Other interventions currently being undertaken by the civil society include conflict early warning and the recovery and return of stolen livestock.

Local organizations and international NGOs in this respect have begun to recognize the potential synergies that can be tapped into through developing networks as opposed to carrying out individual ventures which characterized previous interventions. Cluster peacebuilding interventions currently revolve around Riam Riam, a peacebuilding co-ordination model that is run by community, civil society and¹⁸ government representatives working as a committee. While individual member organizations of Riam Riam conduct individual resource mobilization efforts, the resulting funds are put at the disposal of Riam Riam for use in cases of rapid response and other peacebuilding interventions.

Organizations that have directly supported Riam Riam activities include Oxfam GB, VSF-Belgium and recently, USAID/REDSO through DAI (Development Alternatives, Inc). The activities of the various players are listed below:

Church

- Transforms society by inculcating good morals and humane feelings
- Preaches peace and alerting the people on the evils of raiding
- Mobilizes the community for peace meetings
- Takes peace missions to the kraals
- Mediates and facilitates peace dialogues

Kotido Peace Initiative (KOPIEN)

- Facilitates peace meetings
- Facilitates recovery and returning of stolen animals

¹⁸ “Riam Riam”, in the language of the Cluster means coming together for a common purpose. It is currently active in Karamoja and Turkana districts as a peacebuilding co-ordination nucleus within the respective regions. Its members include members of the civil society, government representatives, elders and local politicians, women and youth representatives. At the village level Riam Riam is constituted as the Adakar Peace and Development Committee, with members drawn from the classes given above. This is how Riam Riam connects directly with the communities.

- Trains peace teachers who continue to sensitize the people on peace
- Identifies and works with the clan elders in the promotion of peace
- Monitors *kraals* during the dry season in the neighboring districts of Acholi, Pader and Lira

Action for Development of Local Communities (ADOL)

- Conducts trainings on human rights and peace issues
- Carries out human rights observance activities
- Researches and reports on conflict in the region

OXFAM- GB

- Facilitates the construction of a cross-border road to connect Dodoth to Turkana
- Integrates peace into community development programs
- Supports women groups through income generating activities
- Supports community-driven conflict reduction activities
- Works with the Dodoth Agro-pastoral Development Organization to execute peace and other community programs

Dodoth Agro-pastoral Development Organisation (DADO)

- Trains community animal health workers
- Facilitates cross-border peace programs
- Encourages the formation of associations for promoting peace e.g. Pastoral Women Association

Karamoja Association for Peace and Environmental Protection Service (KAPEPS)

- Engages in community peace education, through music choirs and dance
- Forms women groups who sensitize on peace through songs
- Carries out environmental conservation initiatives
- Plays a critical role in the organization of *Alomar/Adakar* (a number/ group of kraal) security councils
- Organizes peace retreats for youth

Karamoja Initiative for Sustainable Peace (KISP)

- Sensitizes people on peace
- Mobilizes the community for peace meetings
- Mobilizes elders for peace campaigns
- Uses an integrated and con-based approach to conflict resolution using both traditional and modern mechanism of conflict management

Matheniko Development Forum (MADEFO)

- Sensitizes the community on the dangers of conflict
- Facilitates peace meetings

- Conducts peace campaigns
- Helps pastoralists change their life from over-reliance on livestock to other development ventures such as bee keeping

Karamoja Agro-pastoral Development Programme (KADP)

- Gives loans for goat rearing and integrating peace building to other development programs
- Facilitates peace meetings
- Trains community peace committees
- Establishes youth and women peace groups
- Initiates activities to build capacity of peace actors on conflict prevention, mitigation and response
- Carries out research and advocacy programs

Moroto-Nakapiripirit Religious Leaders Initiative for Peace (MONARLIP)

- Organizes problem-solving workshops for kraal youth
- Puts on trainings for peace teachers
- Carries out Kraal missions
- Organizes peace retreats and behavior change programs for rural youth

Pokot- Karamajong-Turkana-Sabiny Conflict Project (POKATUSA)

- Undertakes cross-border peace negotiation
- Provides training and encourages resource mobilization
- Emphasizes education and culture
- Carries out advocacy programs
- Facilitates peace sports activities

Pokot Zonal Integrated Development Project (POZIDEP)

- Delivers peace sensitization
- Facilitates and mobilizes the community for peace meetings
- Integrates peace, development and religious programs.

Government policies and their role in the resolution and escalation of conflict

There are a number of interventions and policies put in place by government to contain violent conflict in Karamoja that cause extraordinary suffering for the people rather than mitigating the impact of conflict. A few of the interventions that have a predisposition to spiral conflict in Karamoja are examined below.

Disarmament

The pacification of the region through disarmament has been a government strategy since the colonial era. It is widely believed that for Karamoja to develop it must be peaceful and to become peaceful it must get rid of firearms that are in illegal hands. Therefore efforts of disarmament of Karamoja have been the concern of successive regimes in Uganda from colonial to the present day administration. Obote in his attempt to use force, made an enemy of, and created bitter mistrust from the Karamajong. The second Obote disarmament (December 1980 to July 1985) twice unsuccessfully attempted to disarm the Karamajong.

Museveni in his first 1987 attempt also used force via a '*kandoya*' or '*three-piece*' system was used. In this method a person was tied up with their hands behind their back until the elbows met and the chest bent behind causing severe pain to penetrate inside the ribs. This method left many people disabled and economically unproductive, and the campaign did not solve the disarmament objectives. Instead, the movement resulted in the warriors acquiring more guns through victories in direct confrontational battles over the government soldiers, the then National Resistance Army/Movement (NRA/M), a rebel force that had just taken over state control to liberate it from the then dictators: Dr. A. M. Obote, Gen. Idi Amin and Tito Okello Lotwa.

The realization that forceful disarmament was not successful but was instead prompting the Karamajong to re-arm, led President Yoweri Museveni to opt for a peaceful disarmament which was launched on 2nd December 2001. During this exercise all stakeholders in Karamoja, including the civil society organizations (CSO), were heavily involved in both the sensitization and disarmament activities. This involvement saw a good success of gun-recovery that numbered to 9,472 voluntarily submitted and 1,339 forcefully recovered arms being handed in to the government (total 10,811).

During the course of the disarmament exercise, the insurgency in northern Uganda intensified and the UPDF soldiers were logically withdrawn from Karamoja to go and fight Kony's Lord Resistance Army (LRA) rebels. This abrupt withdrawal left a dead vacuum in Karamoja hence, the people who did not disarm terrorized those who had disarmed with the immediate aim of getting rich quickly or re-stocking their herds before the soldiers returned to continue with the disarmament program. Also the exercise was marred by many challenges such as lack of protection for those that had disarmed, failure of government to fulfill its promises to those who conformed to the disarmament, and the sale of recovered guns by military commandant in charge of gun collection units. The government set a series of conflicts in motion when it re-armed the Pian ethnic group of Nakapiripirit district against other Karamajong clans. For this reason, the community lost confidence in the government and the disarmament. Mounting distrust of the government forced those who felt vulnerable and less defended to re-arm. Rather than reduce conflict, disarmament has led to escalations of violent confrontation among the Karamajong.

Northern Uganda Youth Rehabilitation Project (NUYRP)

The goal of projects such as the NUYRP is to provide vocational training to vulnerable youth as a deterrent from raiding, but these projects target only a limited number of youth under the age of 30 years leaving those above this age bracket without similar opportunities. But while the program does successfully draw part of the population out of the conflict cycle, the program falls short of success even within its primary target: the urban and semi-urban youth. The youth on the front lines and the actual raiders are left at large. The project leaves those who have been victims of cattle rustling and those that have demilitarized themselves frustrated as they feel that they are being passed over for opportunities to adjust to new forms of livelihoods and to reintegrate themselves into the mainstream programs of their communities and government. This feeling of neglect and abandonment further encourages youth to return to their old ways or to engage in banditry and road ambushes/ highway robbery.

Deployment of soldiers

Deployment of security personnel closer to the conflict areas has helped to reduce conflict in certain areas of Karamoja. The overall objective of this strategy is to curb cattle rustling through effective presence on the ground. This presence is intended to enable a rapid response by soldiers immediately after (or even before) a raid occurs, and there are a number of security details dispatched throughout Karamoja patrolling the getaway routes and corridors popularly used by the raiders to attack their opponents. The forces deployed in Karamoja for this purpose mainly constitute LDU from the districts adjoining to Karamoja such as of *Amuka Boys*, *Arrow Boys*, *Blue Boys*, to mention but a few. The group is augmented by LDU from Karamoja and is commanded by a small team of the ASTU division of the UPDF, but the composition of these forces is one of the problems that thwarts the success of the program, along with the operational challenges that they face. These forces are often ill-equipped, with little food, ammunition, transportation, clean water, or communications equipment to enable them to function effectively. As a result, these defense forces have failed to contain livestock rustling, even in instances of raids taking place a few yards away from their barracks. They harass the victims of raids instead of the enemy, and they fail to track stolen animals saying they came to disarm the Karamajong not to look after their cattle.¹⁹ People have therefore lost confidence in the LDU. Indifference of the LDU to cattle rustling has forced many youth to raid as only means of recovering their livestock.

Water for production

The Government of Uganda through the Directorate of department tendered the construction of several valley tanks in the drought prone Karamoja, and the government, through Ziimwe contractors, has excavated dams in places such as Lodoon, Lokisilei, Kulodong, Longorikipi, Komuriapus, and Kailong. The goal of these public works projects was to provide water for the region, but unfortunately the dams and other structures were not well constructed and thus did not trap any water. The thinking behind the government's plan to construct two valley tanks per every sub-county in Karamoja was that it was believed that this would help resolve conflict by reducing the need for pastoralist to move to far places to water the animals, however, the dams occasionally serve as target

¹⁹ Interviews with various men at Kalapata s/county, Dodoth

areas for raid. In the absence of water in the valley tanks, people continue to have to take their livestock nearer to the enemy territory to utilize their traditional water sources. Most detrimental to the pastoralists is that the dams and boreholes are not evenly distributed and often are least effective in conflict prone areas. It might prove essential for government to consider alternative measures to increase availability of water in drought prone areas. Additionally, the maintenance costs of valley tanks are prohibitive as many of them have already fallen into disrepair, and yet a considerable amount of surface run-off water in Karamoja has not been appropriately harvested in the past.

Branding

Branding of all livestock was enforced in May 2002 as part of the disarmament to enable easy recovery of stolen animals but this measure has not helped, especially as branding is often viewed negatively by the Karamajong. The pastoralists suspiciously consider branding as a process through which the government can take stock of livestock populations. Many people simply evade or miss the exercise accidentally because the branding takes place when they are grazing in areas poorly accessed by road, and branding in many places of Karamoja was not accomplished due to logistical and resource constraints. In February 2003, Kotido district suspended the branding program because the district veterinary department ran out of the resources. In a perfect world, branding is a good measure to the recovery of stolen livestock and diminution of conflict but it has never achieved the desired results. In spite of, government initiatives to brand livestock, control in the markets continues to be a problem due to inability of local government to enforce market security measures. Because government has failed to control the commercialization of raiding, by allowing stolen animals that are branded to be sold in markets, branding as an anti-raiding policy is a flawed.

Functional Adult Literacy Programs

Introduction of Community Education Programs such as Functional Adult Literacy has helped reduce conflict by helping to generate a positive outlook among elders. Through the programs, positive values are instilled in the community. Community leaders begin to see life differently and being to perceive raiding as an evil of annihilation. Education programs act as a deterrent from raiding in other ways too, one being that the participants commit their time to learning, giving them little time to join the rest to plan for a raid. The fact that participants also receive food rations has encouraged many to join this program, although this undertaking has a number of shortcomings as food rations are rarely actually distributed and those who enroll are mainly women and old men who are not active participants in raiding.

Veterinary quarantine

Livestock purported to be suffering from disease are not allowed in markets beyond Karamoja. But for the pastoralists, being able to sell sick animals in the markets helps them avoid total losses on sick animals. Sick animals are usually sold to help them protect or reserve the rest of their livestock holdings, thus the pastoralists resent policies that forbid these sales. Those who see the sale of these animals as a way out of hunger embark on serious raiding once they see their herds reducing. This situation exacerbates the lost livelihood due to lack of adequate logistical and medical supplies in the district veterinary department to curtail livestock diseases. Livestock deaths coupled by the quarantine conditions impel the pastoralists to open new conflict corridors to sustain raiding and acquisition of animals.

Home guards

As referenced above, The Government of Kenya has recruited Home Guards as one means of protecting the cattle of the Pokot against their enemies. This system is similar to that employed in Uganda through the LDU, but the restriction of Home Guards from following their kraals to dry seasons grazing areas of Lomerai, Achorichor, Toreikinae and Nakonyen in Karamoja, Uganda leaves the cattle a ready prey to Karamajong attacks. On top of this, the Home Guard are paramilitary units aimed at protecting the herds of their kinsmen, but are more armed and better organized than the tribes they are protecting, they sometimes sneak out and become lead organizers and ringleaders of the raiding parties. The situation may be worse for LDU in Uganda who are under loose control, but in both cases, the failures of these groups leave many people wondering whether they are a security agents or squads for insecurity. In Uganda, there is no clear policy regarding who controls (between the police and the army) the LDU and pays their wages , and yet the LDU have been crucial in helping to maintain law and order and the recovery of stolen animals, despite the lawlessness that they have perpetuated.

Gaps in the existing peace building interventions

There were many gaps identified in the present peace building initiatives in the Cluster. This list provides a few of them but it is not exhaustive and does not address those cited as the major ones which if dealt with would lead to a radical reduction in the recurrence of conflict.

GAPS	SUGGESTIONS
Lack of comprehensive policy on disarmament for the region	Develop a uniform policy on disarmament with an emphasis on community participation
Lack of cohesion among different approaches & strategies to peace-building	Harmonize peace-building approaches and strategies
Lack of contingency planning in mitigating conflict; The present interventions are reactionary	Strengthen strategic conflict analysis and contingency planning and make peace initiatives more proactive
Poor coordination among cross- border peace actors	Work with Cross-border peace actors to improve coordination through increased information sharing
Low commitment of political leaders in peace process	Share information with and sensitize political leaders on peace building programs and improve dialogue with and among politicians
Lack of continuous peace monitoring mechanisms to address isolated incidents of theft after a peace agreement	Improve and adopt early warning and rapid response mechanisms
Targeting wrong groups of people (e.g.; elders or those who have lost command of or participation in peace activities)	Involve active youth and/or victims in the peace process
Peace is made with a section of the people rather than with entire society or clan	Consultations for peace should cover and spread to the entire clan quickly
Compromising with peace saboteurs.	Prompt community action to arrest saboteurs

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Some conclusions can be drawn from the findings of the baseline study which may help to shape how future Cluster peacebuilding interventions are designed and implemented. Though they may not provide all of the answers, these conclusions will generally add to the already existing body of knowledge in the Cluster. Several other conclusions can also be drawn from the body of the report as readers should also aim to repackage and apply other information from the report to develop recommendations suited to their particular initiatives.

Conclusions

Conflict in the Cluster, although often tied to natural resources availability, stems from multiple and compounding factors. Thus, any attempt to intervene and mitigate the conflict must examine all these complex cause and effect relationships. The problem of escalating conflict in the Karamajong Cluster is worsened by the fact that competition for the shrinking resources is increasing due to changes in climate and that the rising poverty levels within the Cluster and the neighboring communities make traditional coping strategies less effective. An attempt to address conflict in the region necessitates a deeper understanding of the root causes of conflict through a comprehensive analysis and an appreciation of the views of the various stakeholders.

The dynamics exhibited in contemporary cross-border conflicts overwhelm both customary and formal mechanisms of conflict prevention and reconciliation. The integration of customary and formal instruments of conflict resolution and the strengthening of grass root capacities for peace hold the key to finding a sustainable solution to these conflicts. Conflict prevention, mitigation and response strategies with the potential for long-term sustainability must address the underlying issues that cause cross-border conflicts. Addressing critical issues that underlie these conflicts and engaging conflicting communities in creative problem-solving processes is fundamental in the eventual transformation of conflicts among the pastoralists. There is also an imminent need to sort out historical and developmental problems related to some of the groups in conflict, participatory pastoralists and pastoralism, in the sub-cluster.

Many previous efforts to reduce conflict were disjointed and failed to yield results because they were not conceived from the participation of people (*Karachuna*) at the center of conflict, and most of the peace building initiatives have been reactionary rather than proactive. Most of them have been externally driven and forced on the local people. To change the fundamental approach to these initiatives, there is thus a need for a coherent policy on conflict and resource management in Karamoja. New policies should be developed with full participation of the Karamajong so that they accommodate the aspirations and needs of the target communities.

Finally, strengthening community policing will help empower and restore confidence of the traditional authority within the modern system of government. The widening relationship gap between the traditional authority and the modern leadership needs to be reduced through as an approach to managing crime.

Recommendations

1. The Karamajong Cluster is an area noted for lagging behind and not reaping the same post-independence benefits that other regions have capitalized on. In the Cluster, this is evident in the general lack of basic infrastructure such as schools, healthcare centers, and communication systems. The socio-economic base of the communities of the Cluster revolves around livestock and pastoralism, an activity that has been demonized for its propensity to cause conflict. Although the official figures for the contribution of pastoralism to national economies of the respective countries will forever remain obscure, the absence of pro-pastoralist development action plans have been (rightly, or wrongly) blamed on the settled communities who control the formal production and financial systems of the region. This has also been complicated by the refusal to accept pastoralism as a legitimate production system which if harnessed wisely, could trigger an improvement to the lifestyles of the practicing communities as well as boost the economy of the respective countries.
2. From the survey findings, there is an urgent need for injection of social and economic capital into the Cluster for the purposes of promoting parity in development as well as creating a suitable avenue for pastoralists disenfranchised by conflicts and frequent droughts. This, alongside sustained peacebuilding activities should be reflected in the change in attitude between pastoralists themselves and between pastoralists and other communities. The improved socio-economic well-being of a few individuals within a community will also serve as an attractive alternative to pastoralism.
3. There is a continued need for livelihood diversification among the communities of the Cluster into such activities as the exploitation of locally available natural resources (especially in Karamoja) like *Gum arabica*, *Aloe vera* and limestone.
4. There is a need to increase resource allocation in the national budgetary process targeting activities that promote the sustainable management of natural resources in the pastoralism sub-sector, especially with viable systems of management of common property resources.
5. Continued marginalization, disempowerment and poverty among pastoralists undermine ability of government to address the overriding poverty eradication goal. It is not simply a development issue but a human rights problem. A Rights Based approach (RBA) should therefore be adopted to integrate the pastoralists concerns and grievances into the National Poverty elimination agenda. The perspectives of the pastoralists need to be taken into consideration when developing the national and civil society interventions intended to benefit the pastoralists.
6. Benefits from protected areas should primarily target those communities who live in areas contiguous with protected areas.
7. Regarding disarmament, governments need to adopt a regional approach involving Kenya, Sudan, and other Greater Horn Africa countries.

8. Governments and organizations working on conflict should develop a regional approach to address the root causes of conflict involving the pastoralists. Particularly, the regional approach should focus on addressing issues of land use, resource management, and governance.
9. Future peacebuilding interventions need to be accompanied by concrete development plans for the provision of health care and the development of education and other infrastructure within the region. A thorough community consultation and participation process should accompany these interventions.
10. Governments and civil society organizations should work to revitalize the early warning system to incorporate elements of traditional early warning and should increase efforts to monitor and ensure contingency planning to mitigate and warn pastoralists on threats or likelihood of drought.
11. There is a need to adopt interventions that stabilize pastoral production in the face of recurrent climatic and natural disasters, and government should develop an elaborate and more acceptable policy aimed at sustaining pastoralism.
12. LDU and Home Guards need to be given regular training on civil, legal, and security issues. This must be accompanied by an effective control and monitoring system in which roles of each stakeholder involved in the management of the forces is discernable.
13. The civil society whether as individual organizations or networks should influence and work with government to harmonize and integrate the customary governance system with modern public administration as well as the modern legal system. This should involve recognizing them as an authority with whom to cooperate.
14. There is need for increased donor support for existing civil society cross-border peace initiatives so that these become a useful link not only for policing cross-border arms proliferation, but also as a building block for promoting collaboration between peace builders and initiatives across the borders of Sudan, Uganda and Kenya.
15. There is need for an entirely cross-border conflict project to champion coordination peace initiatives of the different cross-border actors and to ensure the peace building agencies and groups promote the implementation of the Cross-border Peace Mater Plan, which must be integrated into the Regional Peace Plan.

APPENDIX

Annex I: Terms of Reference

The baseline survey will seek to obtain adequate information on:

- i. The causes of insecurity and conflict between the Turkana and neighbors,
- ii. Types of conflicts, specific conflict occurrences, the conflict parties, location of conflict,
- iii. The historical dimensions of the conflicts,
- iv. How people perceive insecurity or conflict and its causes,
- v. The link between conflict and poverty, livelihoods, natural resource use and climate,
- vi. Linkage between conflict, food security and HIV/Aids,
- vii. Establish the annual migration calendar of the Turkana pastoralists,
- viii. The role of early warning in these conflict scenarios,
- ix. The role of cultural beliefs and practices in conflict,
- x. Major cause(s) of conflict with far-reaching impact on the community,
- xi. How insecurity and conflict have affected settlement and migration patterns of the Turkana,
- xii. The traditional conflict reduction mechanisms and strategies employed over time vis-à-vis the contemporary mechanisms,
- xiii. The role of alliances in the occurrence or escalation of conflicts,
- xiv. The role of state actors in conflict,
- xv. The role of community structures in conflict mitigation and the
- xvi. Lessons learnt from the past peace building initiatives.

Annex II: Baseline Study Questionnaire
14th – 30 March 2005

Karamajong Cluster Baseline Questionnaire

Section I: Conflict Background

Questions:

- i. Give a brief history of the conflicts in your area
- ii. Describe the different types of conflicts experienced by your community, their causes and the parties involved

Conflict	Cause	Parties

- iii. How do you perceive conflicts in your community
- iv. Give a timeline conflict trends account in your community and the neighboring communities going back to the last fifteen years

Section II: Conflict, Natural Resources and Climatic Changes

Questions:

- i. How have changes in climate affected the conflict situation in your community
- ii. Focusing on the last fifteen years, how often has your community experienced periods of drought
- iii. During the drought years mentioned above, how has drought manifested itself and what coping strategies has your community employed to survive the drought season(s)
- iv. How is conflict related to ownership, access and management of natural resources?
- v. What resources are at the center of these conflicts
- vi. What seasons of the year do you experience an upsurge of conflicts. Why is this so?
- vii. Which years (in terms of climatic favorability)²⁰ had the most or least incidences of conflict
- viii. Describe the traditional natural resource management structures and their effectiveness in your community

Section III: The Effects of Conflicts on Livelihoods and Food Security

Questions

- i. Describe the relationship between conflict and poverty in your community
- ii. Whom do you perceive as poor or rich in your community
 - a. What are the benchmarks (for being rich/poor)?
 - b. How is the wealth situation now as compared to fifteen years ago?(is it improving, worsening, the same?)

²⁰ Get rainfall data from the Meteorological Department

- c. What class of people takes part in raids?
- d. Who are the most affected by conflicts? How are they affected?
- iii. How does conflict affect the activities in your community's seasonal calendar?²¹
- iv. What have been the effects of conflicts on the food security at the household level in your community
- v. What coping strategies has your community being employing to stem the effects described in (iv) above

Section IV: The Socio-Cultural Aspects of Conflicts

Questions

- i. Explain how traditional and cultural pastoralist attitudes lead to or contribute to conflicts
- ii. Mention how inter-ethnic alliances have changed the face and severity of conflicts
- iii. What role have women played in conflict causation and prevention. What would be the desired role(s)

Present roles	Desired roles

- iv. Describe the traditional leadership structures and their link with the current formal administrative systems

Section V: The Role of Peacebuilding Institutions in Conflict Mitigation

Questions

- i. Describe the role of government and local community structures in conflict prevention and mitigation (state specific functions and their effectiveness as perceived by the community)

Government	Community structures

- ii. What is the role of the civil society in conflict prevention and mitigation (identify the specific actors, what they do and their relative effectiveness as perceived by the communities)
- iii. How have the existing government policies been able to resolve or escalate conflicts in your community?
- iv. How have existing government natural resource management policies affected pastoralist access to these resources?
- v. What is the role of community structures in conflict dynamics
- vi. What are some of the gaps in the existing conflict reduction processes. Give suggestions for improvement

Gaps	Suggestions

Section VI: The Role of Early Warning in Conflict Reduction

Questions

- i. Does your community have any form of "early warning" if yes, describe the existing early warning mechanisms and how they contribute to the mitigation of conflicts

²¹ There is need to first get the community's seasonal calendar

Annex II: Specific Study Locations and Research Team

14th – 30 March 2005

Locations

Turkana District: *Lapur Division*
Lomelo Division

Karamoja Region: *Dodoch County*
Jie County
Matheniko County
Pokot County

Research Team Members:

Research Co-ordinator: *Ali Ahmed*

Turkana District: *Edaan JohnMark Team Leader*
Michael Bosco Elim
William Edoket
Daniel K Kine *Elemi Conflict Resolution and Development Project (ECOREDEP)*
Rose Ogola *Intern- FEWS NET*

Karamoja Region: *Peter Debasset* *Team Leader*
Loboke John Bosco *Karamoja NGO Forum*
Nanyia Rebecca *Dodoch Agro-pastoral Development Programme*
(DADO)
Lokor Peter *Pokot Zonal Integrated Development Project*
(POZIDEP)
Rose Ogola *Intern- FEWS NET*

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