

**The Conflict Early Warning and Response mechanism
(CEWARN)**

in the

Inter Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD)
Region

CEWARN Regional Reports

**7th Regional Report on the Karamoja Cluster
May – August 2006**

CEWARN, Addis Ababa

September 2006, CEWARN Unit, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

CEWARN Regional Report

Update Period:

May through August 2006

Area of Reporting:

Ethiopian, Kenyan and Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

Executive Summary

This seventh regional report of the Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) aims to provide and share “Cluster” based analysis on the nature, characteristics, and dynamics of the national and cross-border pastoral and related conflicts through the data and analysis of the period May through August 2006. The data was collected from the three country-sides of Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda. The Sudan-side of the Karamoja Cluster was not covered.

This regional report will contribute to the undertaking of early warning on indicated and potential conflicts by decision-makers on a timely, short-term, and medium term basis so as to facilitate the addressing of the immediate, medium, and long-term factors that drive and influence violent conflict in the areas of coverage.

During the period covered May to August 2006, violent conflicts occurred between communities, and between communities and government security organs within the country-sides of Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda. The country reports drawn from the three countries – from which this regional draws its “Cluster” analysis – indicate that violent conflict manifested itself – as in previous regional reports – in the form of raids, other crime, and armed clashes (refer to the Annex for the full description of these indicators). In addition, the country reports produced for May to August outline the key factors that influenced violence in the Karamoja Cluster – and which are the forceful disarmament in Uganda, competition over scarce water and pasture resources, and communal alliances. Important conflict generating issues that played a key role included environmental factors (drought and floods), availability of small arms and ammunition, and communities’ migration in search of pasture and water – which heightened tensions in certain areas.

During the reporting period, a total of 6,288 livestock losses were recorded lost through 148 violent incidents. The human death counts amounted to a total of 177. The month with the highest violence recorded was July as it had the highest human deaths and livestock losses. However, May had the highest number of incidents.

Violence decreased in the reporting period compared to the previous period of January to April 2006; this development may be attributed to the numerous peace initiatives that conducted in various parts of the Cluster by civil society institutions in collaboration with government administrative organs to reconcile and recover raided livestock and

property. The disarmament exercise in both the Kenya and Uganda sides of the Cluster contributed to decreased incidents and violence as armed communal groups were afraid of moving and conducting raids. However, in certain situations conflict broke out on the Uganda side as communities resented the forceful disarmament and the torture that the military applied to recover illegal arms.

Peace initiatives remained moderate due to the civil society peace initiatives as explained below, and the increased functioning of the law and order and security agencies as a result of the disarmament exercise.

Background

The term “Karamoja Cluster” is commonly used by CEWARN and other institutions to describe the pastoral and agro-pastoral ethnic communities that encompass Southwestern Ethiopia, Northwestern Kenya, Southeastern Sudan and Northeastern Uganda.. Some share a common language and culture. More specifically the Karamoja cluster in this report covers:

- Four districts in Uganda: Kotido, Moroto, Nakapiripirit and Kapchorwa;
- Three districts in Kenya: Turkana, West Pokot and Trans Nozia in Rift Valley Province;
- One Woreda: in Ethiopia Kuraz Woreda of the South Omo Zone of the Southern Nations & Nationalities Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS);
- Two counties in the Sudan: Kapoeta and Budi in the Eastern Equatoria Province in Southern Sudan **(the Sudanese side of the Karamoja cluster is not included in this report).**

The pastoral communities that inhabit the region live in poverty and insecurity which is exacerbated by the availability of small arms. The poor state of infrastructure makes it difficult for governments and civil society to provide social services while also curtailing the capacity of security forces to respond to the increasing violence and cattle rustling that have such a devastating impact on the livelihood of pastoral communities.

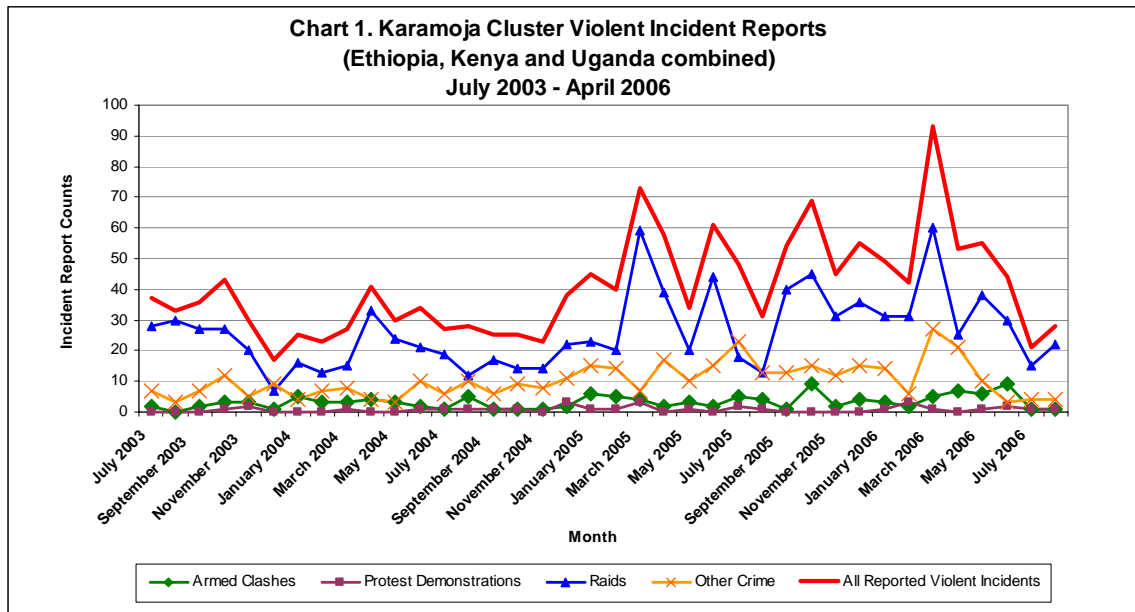
While arid lands of the Karamoja cluster have a diversity of ecosystems dependent on seasonal patterns of rainfall, the predominant mode of food production and livelihood is livestock keeping and subsistence agriculture mainly millet and sorghum. A characteristic feature of pastoral food production is the degree of movement associated with livestock in search of water and pasture. In

Until colonialism in the 19th century boundaries among the ethnic groups of the Karamoja cluster were not rigid and limiting but rather were fluid and dependent on the relationships of the pastoral groups inhabiting certain areas. An intricate web of relations developed among pastoral communities to provide for the sharing of resources, these relationships were shaped by conflict and cooperation as adaptive strategies for survival by pastoral groups in an otherwise harsh environment.

Current Baseline Analysis

NOTE: The y-axis are dynamically scaled on all of the charts presented below. Therefore, the reader should pay special attention to the upper and lower values presented for each chart. The range of values for all “scores” is from 0 to 100.

Chart 1 below presents the frequency of all violent incident counts combined for Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda sides of the Karamoja Cluster for the reporting period.



For the reporting period, a total of 148 incidents were recorded. Of these incidents, 5 were Protest Demonstrations, 21 were Other Crime, 105 were Organized Raids, and 17 were Armed Clashes¹. May had the highest numbers of violent incidents, followed by June, and August accordingly. Violence was lowest in July. The Ugandan-side of the Cluster contributed majority of the violent incidents recorded in the reporting period – which amounted to more than 75%.

In the reporting period most of the incidents that were reported in the Ugandan-side were in the form of Organized Raids whereby the Karamojong communities raided each other more than across the border in Kenya due to the restrictions on their movement brought about by the disarmament exercise that was taking place in the two countries. The “Other Crime” incidents recorded were mainly as a result of the assaults that were committed by the military in Uganda while conducting cordon and search exercises during the disarmament. In addition, the Armed Clashes that occurred were as a result of the pastoral communities fighting with the military during the disarmament process, and in other situations when communal armed groups clashed both in Uganda and in Ethiopia. In Ethiopia particularly, armed clashes occurred on various occasions between the Turkana of Kenya and Nyangatom of Ethiopia. In some of the field reports from the

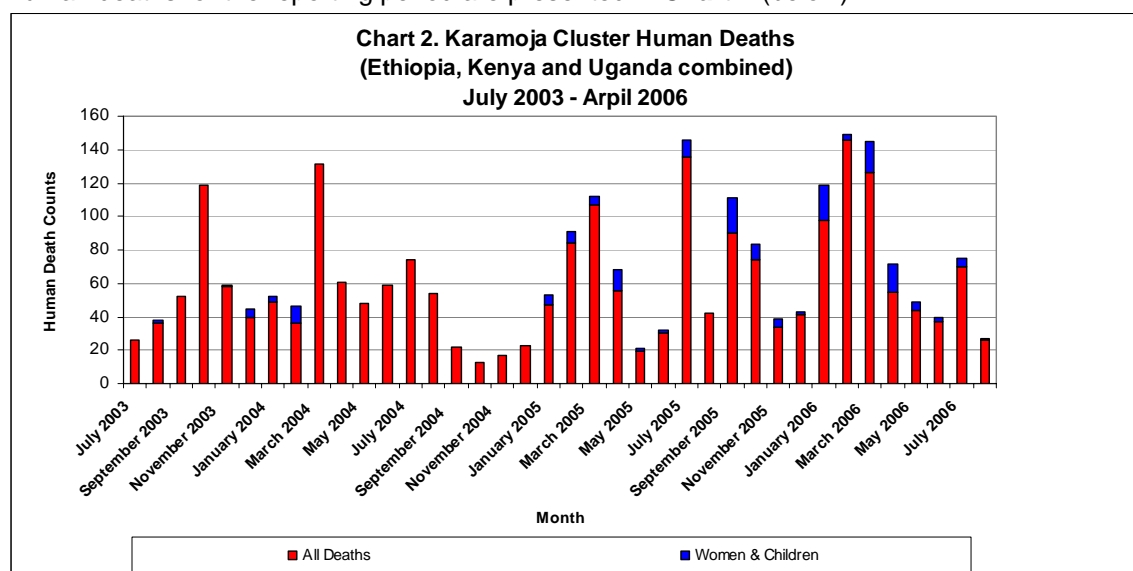
¹ For a full description of Indicators see Appendix 1.

Ethiopian side Kenyan security forces were reported to have aided the Turkana in fighting the Dassenech.

Within the Protest Demonstrations, most of them (3) occurred in Uganda involving security forces and local communities on the disarmament; in one particular incident of May 10, 2006, at Kalapata Parish of Sub-County in Kaabong District, Dodoth warriors attacked and burnt a military camp of the Uganda Peoples Defence Forces (UPDF) and the Local Defence Units (LDUs) as a protest of the military's presence in the area who had been restricting their free movement.

Despite violence taking place in many parts of the Karamoja Cluster, various peace Initiatives were conducted to address tension in certain areas- thus minimizing conflict between communities. These initiatives included the cross-border initiative between the Dassenech of Ethiopia and the Turkana of Kenya and facilitated by EPARDA NGO from Ethiopai and Riam Riam Community Peace Program of Kenya.

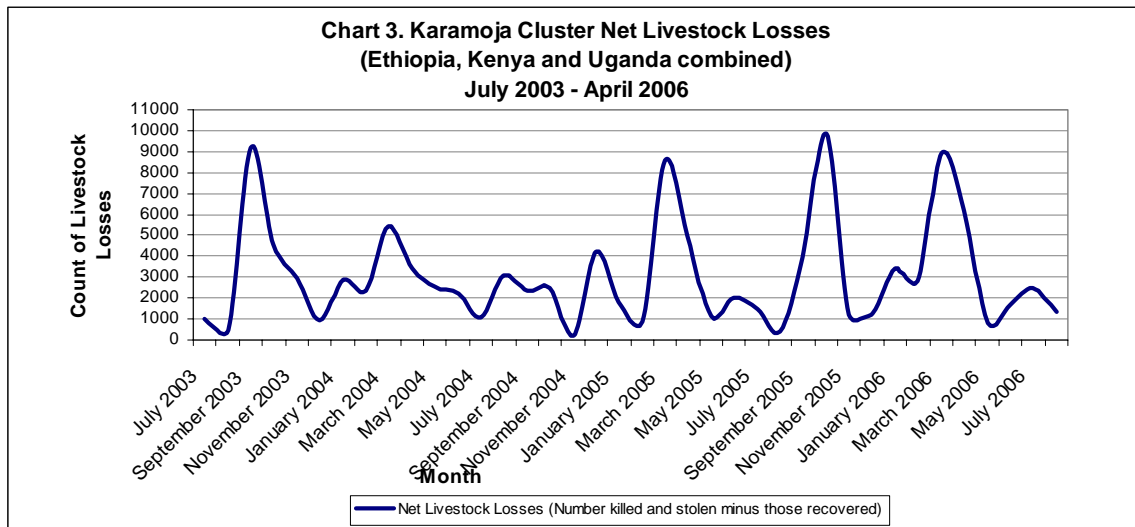
Human deaths for the reporting period are presented in **Chart 2** (below).



A total of 177 deaths were reported. Out of this number a total of 14 women and children were killed. The human deaths ranged from 26 in August, 37 in June, 44 in May, and 70 in July. Out of these 177 deaths 14 were women and children.

This was a significant drop from the earlier reporting period of January-April 2006 where 237 deaths were recorded. This drop in human deaths in the Cluster could be attributed to the increased presence of security forces along the Kenya-Uganda border as a result of the disarmament exercise – which restricted communities' ability to raid each other across the border. However, a significant number of deaths occurred on the Ugandan-side of the Cluster as communities raided each other.

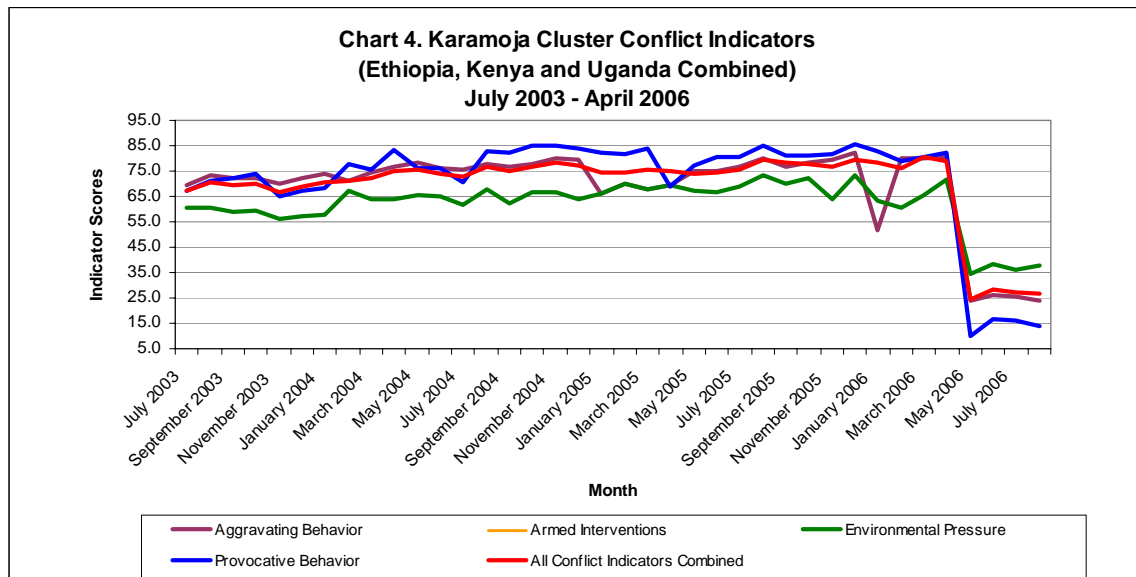
Livestock losses are presented in **Chart 3** below.



A total number of 6, 288 livestock were raided for the reporting period. Livestock losses were highest in July (2,501), with June having the second highest number of livestock losses (1,675). The Ugandan side of the Karamoja – as was with the violent incidents – contributed most of the livestock losses with 4,000. This was the same with Human Deaths whereby out of the total 179 deaths reported for the Karamoja Cluster (see **Chart 2** above), 147 were recorded on the Ugandan-side alone. This was due to the fact that the high number of violent incidents recorded on the Ugandan-side (see Chart 1 above), was responsible for the high death counts.

As was with the human deaths, July had the largest number of livestock losses through raids. Some of the major raids that took place on the Cluster include the July 17th incident that occurred in Kapedo, Turkana South Division where an estimated 70 Pokot raiders from West Pokot stole 819 heads of cattle. Another incident of a similar nature occurred on July 22 in Naroo grazing area, Nakadeli Parish, Rupa Sub-county in Matheniko County, Moroto District, in whereby Jie warriors raided over 900 head of cattle.

Chart 4 below presents Conflict Indicators for the Karamoja Cluster.



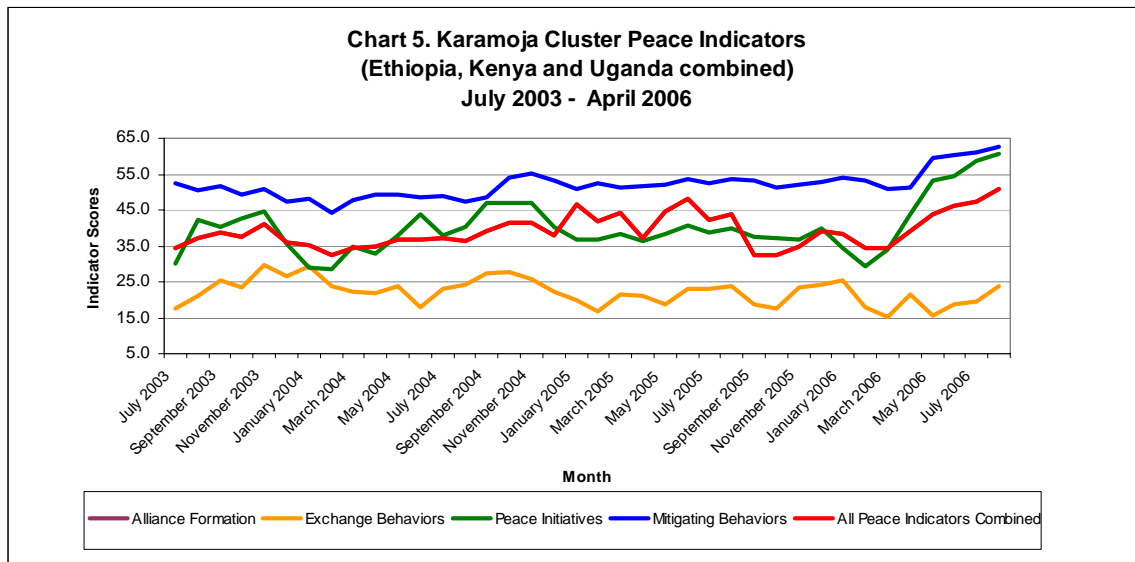
The Chart highlights Aggravating Behaviors, Provocative Behaviors, Armed Interventions, Environmental Pressures, and Combined Conflict Indicators². Conflict Indicators remained generally low in the reporting period – apart from Environmental Pressures which was slightly higher than the rest.

The low recording of Conflict Indicators may be attributed to the disarmament program in both Uganda and Kenya whereby communities were discouraged from engaging in large scale raids and violent activities. As a result, Aggravating Behaviors including small arms carrying and availability, post raid blessings etc. and Provocative Behaviors including all-male migration, pre-raid blessing and others declined as communities avoided acts that could draw the attention of security forces and thus attract attention and disarmament or arrest.

In addition, the peace initiatives between the Nyangatom and Dassenech in Ethiopia and between the Turkana of Kenya and Dassenech of Ethiopia which was initiated by Riam Riam and EPARDA may have contributed to the easing of tensions between the two communities as well.

² For full description of Indicators see Appendix 2.

Peace Indicators are presented in **Chart 5** (below).



The Chart highlights Alliance Formation, Exchange Behaviors, Mitigating Behaviors, Peace Initiatives, and All Peace Indicators Combined³. All Peace Indicators Combined were moderately low in the reporting period. Peace Initiatives and Mitigating Behaviors were the two indicators that showed a moderate increase in the reporting period.

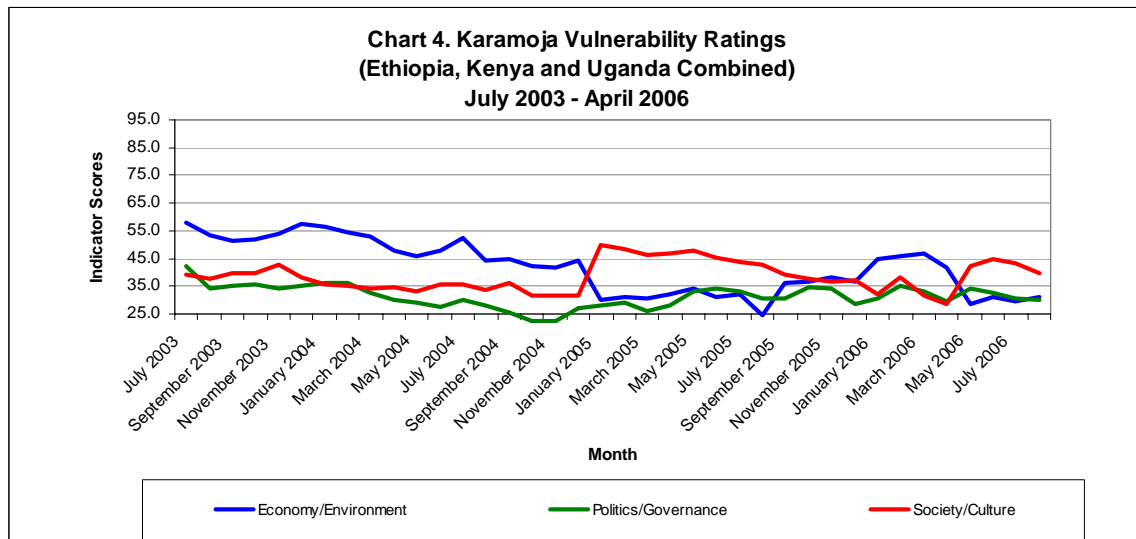
For the Peace Initiatives this could be attributed to the joint EPARDA-Riam Riam peace initiative that was conducted in South Omo in Ethiopia between the Dassenech and Turkana – an activity that improved relations between the two communities. In addition, on the Ugandan-side civil society peace initiatives were initiated by civil society institutions following allegations of human rights abuses by the military and other security agencies during the disarmament exercise. Other peace initiatives in the Cluster included Oxfam GB's installing of a radio communication system in Todonyang in Turkana North in June to air peace messages between the Turkana and Dassenech. And on July 16th various communities including the Tepeth and Karamojong (Uganda), and Turkana and Pokot (Kenya) attended a peace meeting at Lokiriama in Turkana Central.

The rise in Mitigating Behaviors may be attributed to the increase in law enforcement in both Kenya and Uganda due to the disarmament exercise that was taking place in the two countries, and other related factors including relief supply to communities after the drought (in both Kenya and Uganda sides) and floods (in Ethiopia).

The low recording of Exchange Behaviours can be attributed to the low exchange of goods between communities due to the adverse effects of drought in certain parts of Uganda and Kenya, and floods in Ethiopian side whereby there were limited supplies of goods for exchange, sharing, and trade.

³ For full description of Peace Indicators see Appendix 2.

Chart 6 (below) presents Vulnerability Ratings for the Karamoja Cluster for the reporting period.



All Vulnerability Ratings remained low in the reporting period.

For Society/Culture ratings, they remained low due to the Peace Initiatives (mentioned above) where in most instances peace initiatives conducted in various parts of the Cluster minimized communal conflicts including raids, clashes, and other violent incidents on a large scale. The disarmament exercise in both Uganda and Kenya sides discouraged communities and particularly raiders from moving with arms, blessing of youth, traditional forecasting etc.

The low recording in Politics/Governance ratings was a result of the local administration and security institutions being involving in peace initiatives involving local civil society groups and the donor community. The disarmament exercise in both the Kenya and Ethiopia sides of the Cluster also slowed political activity as no major political activities took place as many political institutions were involved in coordinating and conducting the exercise in collaboration with local leadership and administration.

The Economy/Environment was low as well as the environmental conditions began to improve due to the rains which began after May in both the Kenya and Ethiopia-sides.

Comparative Analysis

The reporting period was characterized by reduced incidences of violence, human deaths, and livestock losses compared to the previous reporting period of January-April 2006. Particularly for the Kenya and Uganda sides of the Cluster, this reduction in violence could be attributed to the disarmament exercise that both governments have been conducting in the area of reporting. The disarmament in various ways – including deployment of security personnel – as armed sections of the communities and particularly the warriors and raiders shied away from conducting raids or moving around due to the fear of getting arrested or disarmed. In addition, the various peace initiatives conducted by local civil society groups in collaboration with local authorities influenced the reduction of violence.

However, it should be noted that on the Ugandan-side the disarmament process of cordon and search initiated by the security institutions was resented by local communities, civil society institutions, donor community, and some politicians due to the gross human rights violations and atrocities – including torture and arbitrary arrests – that accompanied it.

Analysis of Structural Aggravating Factors

As can be adduced from the violent incidents, livestock losses, and human deaths (refer Charts 1, 2, and 3) the continued culture of raiding, impunity, and availability of arms are some of the factors that influenced violence in the reporting areas. Coupled traditional practices including initiation and blessing of youth, and traditional forecasting contributed in many ways in which armed communal groups attacked, killed, and took away livestock from others.

Other structural factors that exacerbated conflict in the reporting period included inadequate resource allocation to these areas as well as remoteness and poor infrastructure that hampered relief distribution and general distribution of services that could lessened the suffering of the communities. Secondly, environmental factors reported included floods (in Omo Delta) and dry spells in Kenya depleted communities livestock herds thus impacting negatively on their livelihoods and adversely affecting trade, exchange of goods etc.

Analysis of Proximate Conflict Aggravating Factors

The easy availability of arms and bullets, and the overall impact of the floods and drought generally influenced violence in the Cluster as communities raided others for purposes of restocking depleted herds. In addition, the disarmament exercise in the Uganda side of the Cluster exacerbated conflict between communities and security agencies – leading in most cases to the armed clashes that were reported. It is a fact that the animosity between the Ugandan pastoral communities and the Uganda Peoples Defence Forces needs to be countered by improving the approaches of the forceful disarmament. This will result in the local pastoral communities improving their attitudes towards the military and thus cooperate in the disarmament exercise.

Analysis of Structural Conflict Mitigating Factors

If the disarmament exercise is well coordinated in both the Kenya and Ugandan sides and does not create tensions and conflict between government/security institutions and local communities, its long term goal will be the reduction of illegal arms in those areas and hence violence. Such a result will encourage investment, peace, and development in those areas as well as better governance and provision of services.

Analysis of Proximate Conflict Mitigating Factors

Numerous peace and development initiatives that various governmental and non-governmental institutions conducted in the Cluster illustrate the efforts towards addressing some of the medium-term challenges to peace in the Karamoja Cluster. The Dassenech-Turkana cross-border peace initiative that was conducted by EPARDA and Riam Riam is one case study, while Oxfam GB's installation of a radio communication in Turkana North is another one.

The efforts by local communities and government institutions to recover raided livestock were initiatives that prevented counter-raids and reprisals by the affected communities.

Response Recommendations

CEWERUs

- a) Short-term – the three CEWERUs of Kenya, Uganda, and Ethiopia should play a key role in bringing together all the major stakeholders (governmental, non-governmental, donor, local communities etc.) to adopt best practices in conducting the disarmament.
 - respond immediately and timely to indications of alerts and impending conflicts
 - establish local networks for response as well as cross-border initiatives for coordination of peace building
- b) Medium-term – liaise with relevant government structures for a better coordinated and long-term solution in disarmament.
 - initiate and support the development of long-term national Peace Policies in member countries to be applied as basis for addressing pastoral and other related conflicts.

Local Communities

- a) Short-term – mobilize application of communal practices and structures in mobilizing communities for peace initiatives and CPMR, as well the sharing of resources.
 - support efforts to recover stolen livestock as well in conflict resolution
 - support civil society and government efforts in peace efforts such as disarmament
- b) Long-term – mobilize the youth, women, and other key communal sectors for long-term projects including poverty alleviation programs, education, peace awareness etc.

Civil Society

- a) Short-term- support initiatives that seek to reduce violence such as disarmament
 - help in sustaining peace initiatives to avert conflict escalation and resurgence
- b) Long-term**
 - mobilize local communities in planning and implementation of peace and development initiatives
 - support governments in the planning and establishing of policies for pastoralists, as well as in disarmament and peace building activities

International NGOs/Donors

- a) Short-term**
 - support government, civil society and local communities' initiatives in alleviating effects/ impacts of floods and drought
 - Fund and support local, national, and regional peace building and development initiatives
- b) Medium-term**
 - support on long-term basis initiatives aimed at improving pastoralists livelihoods such as Poverty Eradication Plans
 - support long-term projects aimed at conflict resolution and development in marginalized areas including pastoral ones.

Appendix 1: Definitions of the Incident Categories

- Armed Clashes
 - Military Battle (Armed hostilities or engagements between an official military unit of a government and an armed party. Includes both civil war and inter-state war battles.
 - Other Armed Clashes (All other armed hostilities or engagements. Includes all communal and inter-communal battles.
- Raids
 - Raids with Abductions (Raids focused around abductions of people or the taking of hostages. May include injuries or death to humans, and/or damage, destruction or theft of other property).
 - Organized Raids (Other organized raids. May include injuries or deaths to humans, and/or damage, destruction or theft of other property).
 - Livestock Theft (Raids focused around the theft of livestock. May include injuries or death to humans, and/or damage, destruction or theft of other property).
- Protest Demonstrations
 - Peaceful Protests (peaceful protest demonstrations or assemblies. May include isolated or low-level violence).
 - Violent Turmoil or Riots (Assemblies or crowds that get out of control. Marked by violence, disorder, damage and/or destruction).
- Other Crime
 - Assaults (Physical attacks and abuse involving the actual use of physical force against individuals, and/or groups. Does not include abductions.
 - Banditry (Commandeering of vehicles, highway robbery, and other similar criminal activities).

Appendix 2: Description of Indicators (from the Situation Reports)

<u>Alliance Formation</u>		
Inter-ethnic group alliance	Ethnic group – government alliance	
<u>Armed Intervention</u>		
Internal armed support	External armed support	
<u>Aggravating Behavior</u>		
Interrupt other activities Development aid problems Media controls Migrant laborers New Markets Negative media coverage	Pastoral migration Harmful migration policy Harmful livestock policy Influx of IDPs Security escorts Small arms availability	Bullets as commodities Protest Student attendance interrupted Separation of groups Livestock prices dropped Post-raid blessing Livestock sales increase
<u>Environmental Pressure</u>		
Natural disaster grazing areas abandoned	Land competition Livestock disease	More livestock in secure areas
<u>Exchange Behavior</u>		
Celebration Inter-group sharing	Inter-group marriage Cross-border trade	Gift offering
<u>Mitigating Behavior</u>		
Access to health care Small arms disclosure Access to education	Relief distributions Markets remain open Positive media coverage	Law enforcement Bride price stable Negotiations taking place
<u>Peace Initiatives</u>		
Women peace messengers Religious peace building	Weapons reduction program NGO peace initiatives	Local peace initiatives
<u>Provocative Behavior</u>		

All-male migration	Pre-raid blessing	Traditional forecasting
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Month & Year	Protest Demonstrations	Other Crime	Organized Raids	Armed Clash	all incident	Month & Year	Outcomes -	
							Outcomes - Human Deaths Low Estimates	Deaths of Women & Children Low Estimates
July 2003	0	7	28	2	37	July 2003	26	0
August 2003	0	3	30	0	33	August 2003	36	2
September 2003	0	7	27	2	36	September 2003	52	0
October 2003	1	12	27	3	43	October 2003	119	0
November 2003	2	5	20	3	30	November 2003	58	1
December 2003	0	9	7	1	17	December 2003	40	5
January 2004	0	4	16	5	25	January 2004	49	3
February 2004	0	7	13	3	23	February 2004	36	10
March 2004	1	8	15	3	27	March 2004	131	0
April 2004	0	4	33	4	41	April 2004	61	0
May 2004	0	3	24	3	30	May 2004	48	0
June 2004	1	10	21	2	34	June 2004	59	0
July 2004	1	6	19	1	27	July 2004	74	0
August 2004	1	10	12	5	28	August 2004	54	0
September 2004	1	6	17	1	25	September 2004	22	0
October 2004	1	9	14	1	25	October 2004	13	0
November 2004	0	8	14	1	23	November 2004	17	0
December 2004	3	11	22	2	38	December 2004	23	0
January 2005	1	15	23	6	45	January 2005	47	6
February 2005	1	14	20	5	40	February 2005	84	7
March 2005	3	7	59	4	73	March 2005	107	5
April 2005	0	17	39	2	58	April 2005	56	12
May 2005	1	10	20	3	34	May 2005	19	2
June 2005	0	15	44	2	61	June 2005	30	2
July 2005	2	23	18	5	48	July 2005	136	10
August 2005	1	13	13	4	31	August 2005	42	0
September 2005	0	13	40	1	54	September 2005	90	21
October 2005	0	15	45	9	69	October 2005	74	9
November 2005	0	12	31	2	45	November 2005	34	5
December 2005	0	15	36	4	55	December 2005	41	2
January 2006	1	14	31	3	49	January 2006	98	21
February 2006	3	6	31	2	42	February 2006	146	3
March 2006	1	27	60	5	93	March 2006	126	19
April 2006	0	21	25	7	53	April 2006	55	17
May 2006	1	10	38	6	55	May 2006	44	5
June 2006	2	3	30	9	44	June 2006	37	3
July 2006	1	4	15	1	21	July 2006	70	5
August 2006	1	4	22	1	28	August 2006	26	1
totals	31	387	999	123	1155	totals	2280	176

Month & Year	Livestock Losses, net	Month & Year	Economy/ Environment	Politics/ Governance	Society/ Culture
July 2003	1034	July 2003	58.1	42.2	39.0
August 2003	448	August 2003	53.4	34.1	37.9
September 2003	9157	September 2003	51.2	35.3	39.8
October 2003	4543	October 2003	51.7	35.4	39.6
November 2003	2925	November 2003	54.1	34.3	42.6
December 2003	968	December 2003	57.5	35.3	38.1
January 2004	2890	January 2004	56.5	36.0	35.8
February 2004	2342	February 2004	54.5	36.3	35.0
March 2004	5409	March 2004	52.7	32.7	34.1
April 2004	3407	April 2004	48.0	30.2	34.5
May 2004	2562	May 2004	46.0	29.1	33.1
June 2004	2234	June 2004	48.0	27.4	35.5
July 2004	1098	July 2004	52.6	30.2	35.8
August 2004	3098	August 2004	44.1	28.0	33.4
September 2004	2348	September 2004	44.8	25.7	35.9
October 2004	2470	October 2004	42.3	22.6	31.8
November 2004	229	November 2004	41.6	22.7	31.5
December 2004	4224	December 2004	44.4	27.2	31.6
January 2005	1779	January 2005	29.9	28.2	50.1
February 2005	845	February 2005	31.0	28.8	48.3
March 2005	8559	March 2005	30.5	25.9	46.2
April 2005	4952	April 2005	32.2	28.1	46.6
May 2005	1149	May 2005	34.2	33.3	47.9
June 2005	2034	June 2005	31.2	34.3	45.3
July 2005	1443	July 2005	31.9	33.0	43.9
August 2005	414	August 2005	24.6	30.4	42.7
September 2005	3926	September 2005	36.2	30.8	39.3
October 2005	9837	October 2005	36.7	34.4	37.7
November 2005	1190	November 2005	38.0	34.1	36.4
December 2005	1291	December 2005	36.8	28.4	37.1
January 2006	3417	January 2006	44.6	30.6	32.2
February 2006	2824	February 2006	45.8	35.3	38.4
March 2006	8924	March 2006	46.6	33.3	31.8
April 2006	6168	April 2006	41.6	29.6	28.8
May 2006	789	May 2006	28.8	33.9	42.4
June 2006	1672	June 2006	31.0	32.8	44.8
July 2006	2501	July 2006	29.5	30.6	43.2
August 2006	1326	August 2006	31.0	30.1	39.9
totals	116426				

Month & Year	Armed Intervention	Provocative Behavior	Environmental Pressure	Aggravating Behavior	Combined
July 2003	0.0	67.0	60.4	69.2	67.2
August 2003	0.0	71.3	60.8	73.2	70.6
September 2003	0.0	72.3	59.0	72.2	69.7
October 2003	0.0	73.7	59.3	72.1	69.9
November 2003	0.0	65.1	56.2	69.9	66.8
December 2003	0.0	67.0	57.0	72.1	68.8
January 2004	0.0	68.5	57.9	74.0	70.4
February 2004	0.0	77.9	67.0	71.0	71.0
March 2004	0.0	75.8	63.6	74.3	72.5
April 2004	0.0	83.1	64.0	76.4	74.9
May 2004	0.0	76.0	65.7	78.4	75.8
June 2004	0.0	76.0	65.1	76.1	74.1
July 2004	0.0	70.5	61.7	75.7	72.5
August 2004	0.0	82.8	67.7	78.0	76.6
September 2004	0.0	82.1	62.4	76.9	74.8
October 2004	0.0	84.7	66.5	77.8	76.5
November 2004	0.0	85.2	66.8	80.2	78.3
December 2004	0.0	84.1	63.9	79.6	77.2
January 2005	0.0	82.3	66.1	66.1	74.3
February 2005	0.0	81.5	70.0	70.0	74.4
March 2005	0.0	83.9	67.9	67.9	75.6
April 2005	0.0	69.1	69.4	69.4	75.3
May 2005	0.0	77.0	67.5	74.9	73.8
June 2005	0.0	80.5	66.9	75.3	74.3
July 2005	0.0	80.3	68.8	76.9	75.8
August 2005	0.0	85.1	73.2	80.1	79.4
September 2005	0.0	81.0	70.3	76.6	78.3
October 2005	0.0	81.3	72.4	78.5	77.7
November 2005	0.0	81.6	63.9	79.5	76.9
December 2005	0.0	85.5	73.5	82.5	79.3
January 2006	0.0	83.0	63.3	51.6	78.4
February 2006	0.0	78.8	60.4	79.9	76.1
March 2006	0.0	80.8	65.6	80.2	80.6
April 2006	0.0	82.0	71.5	80.7	79.2
May 2006	0.0	10.2	34.7	23.8	24.2
June 2006	0.0	16.8	38.5	26.2	28.1
July 2006	0.0	16.1	36.1	25.5	27.0
August 2006	0.0	13.8	37.8	23.7	26.5

Month & Year	Peace Initiatives	Mitigating Behavior	Exchange Behavior	Alliance Formation	Combined
July 2003	30.0	52.6	17.7	17.3	34.5
August 2003	42.2	50.6	21.2	11.0	37.3
September 2003	40.2	51.6	25.5	17.1	38.8
October 2003	42.7	49.1	23.3	13.9	37.6
November 2003	44.6	50.8	29.7	20.4	41.1
December 2003	35.8	47.4	26.4	12.7	35.9
January 2004	28.8	48.1	29.4	15.6	35.4
February 2004	28.5	44.1	23.7	16.0	32.3
March 2004	34.8	47.6	22.1	9.3	34.3
April 2004	32.8	49.2	21.9	13.2	34.7
May 2004	37.8	49.2	23.7	16.9	36.7
June 2004	43.9	48.7	18.1	16.0	36.6
July 2004	38.0	48.8	23.1	24.1	37.2
August 2004	40.5	47.3	24.0	12.3	36.4
September 2004	46.9	48.6	27.4	10.5	39.3
October 2004	47.1	54.0	27.8	10.0	41.5
November 2004	47.0	55.1	25.8	11.7	41.6
December 2004	40.4	53.2	22.1	10.5	37.9
January 2005	36.7	50.9	19.8	9.2	46.6
February 2005	36.9	52.5	16.8	11.7	41.9
March 2005	38.2	51.1	21.3	12.1	44.2
April 2005	36.5	51.6	21.0	13.0	37.1
May 2005	38.3	52.1	18.8	15.7	44.7
June 2005	40.7	53.7	23.0	12.9	48.1
July 2005	38.7	52.3	23.1	13.2	42.4
August 2005	39.7	53.5	23.7	13.1	44.0
September 2005	37.4	53.1	18.7	16.3	32.3
October 2005	37.3	51.5	17.4	11.2	32.5
November 2005	36.6	52.1	23.4	12.4	34.8
December 2005	40.0	52.8	24.3	22.9	39.3
January 2006	34.4	54.1	25.3	18.4	38.4
February 2006	29.2	53.4	18.0	15.2	34.5
March 2006	34.0	51.0	15.3	18.1	34.4
April 2006	43.7	51.5	21.3	25.5	39.3
May 2006	53.3	59.5	15.7	10.1	43.8
June 2006	54.4	60.2	18.9	21.3	46.2
July 2006	58.7	61.2	19.4	15.3	47.5
August 2006	60.8	62.6	23.8	20.7	50.7