

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



in the

**Inter Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD)
Region**

CEWARN Regional Report

**2nd Regional Report on the Karamoja Cluster
May – December 2004**

CEWARN, Addis Ababa.

I. Executive Summary

This Second Regional Report of the Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) in the IGAD region seeks to provide member states, policy makers, development partners and other stakeholders with a coherent and informed understanding of the nature, characteristics and dynamics of the national and cross-border pastoral conflicts in **three (3)** IGAD member states of the Karamoja cluster; Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda. The report has been compiled using information from field reports and the CEWARN Country Updates from Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda from May-December 2004. It constitutes an ongoing effort by CEWARN to provide and share information on Conflict Early Warning in the Karamoja cluster.

The report provides insights of CEWARN's information gathering in three countries of the Karamoja cluster from May through December 2004 (It does not cover the Sudanese side of the Karamoja cluster). It is based on six CEWARN Country Updates that critically examine the socio-economic context and the socio-cultural causes of pastoral conflict in the three parts that constitute the "Karamoja cluster". It provides an assessment of the structural influences and constraints in the prevention of pastoral conflicts and is an attempt to inform and advocate the adoption of response strategies to conflicts in the Karamoja cluster.

The Karamoja cluster which covers the cross-border areas of Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan and Uganda is a region affected by seasonal patterns of drought and famine, seasonal movements of armed pastoralists and livestock within and across national borders, a continuing degradation of the environment leading to food insecurity and increasing competition for scarce resources mainly water and pasture. The characteristic feature of the Cluster are marked by underdevelopment when compared to regions within each country, high levels of insecurity and violence leading to lack of investment and a dependency on relief supplies from governments and civil society.

The pastoral communities that inhabit the region live in poverty and insecurity due to the proliferation 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.

Since July 2003 to December 2004 CEWARN's data has documented a total of 916 deaths and 68,660 herds of livestock raided if this trend continues it not only represents a high number of human lives lost but also losses in vital resources and livelihoods in an area that exhibits resource scarcity. This may also lead to greater internal displacement of pastoral and continued reliance of pastoral communities on relief assistance that is bound to a negative impact on development in the Karamoja cluster.

The temporal scope of this report covers the period May – December 2004. The report relies on information gathered from the Areas of Reporting (AORs) in Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda and the analysis provided in the six CEWARN Updates from May-December 2004. The Country Updates are based on field data gathered from the areas of reporting on a weekly basis using specific data collection tools developed by CEWARN in collaboration with all the National Research Institutes (NRIs) in the three countries.

This report will contribute to early warning on potential conflicts to decision-makers on a timely basis so as to initiate actionable responses that reduce the number of violent incidents and intensity of conflict in the Karamoja cluster.

II. Background

The term “Karamoja cluster” is commonly used to describe the pastoral and agro-pastoral ethnic groups, some who share a common language and culture, occupying a landmass that encompasses Southwestern Ethiopia, Northwestern Kenya, Southeastern Sudan and Northeastern Uganda. CEWARN's use of the term Karamoja cluster refers to the conflict system encompassing four IGAD member states. 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 Kapotea and Budi in the Eastern Equatoria Province in Southern Sudan **(the Sudanese side of the Karamoja cluster is not included in this report).**

While the dry 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. 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.

From the CEWARN Updates for 2004 the major cross-border issues that emerge are: the restriction of movement across of state boundaries; continuing marginalization of pastoralists and the pastoralism in national policies; the nature of traditional pastoralist communities; the proliferation of small arms among pastoral groups; ineffective and

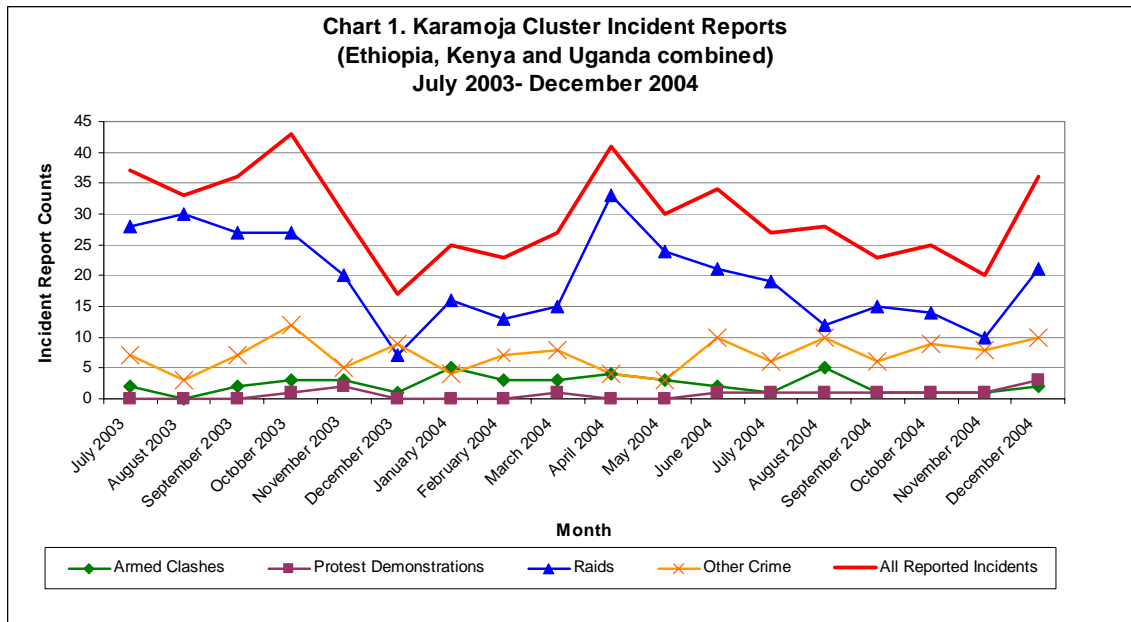
inappropriate responses to pastoral conflicts; the breakdown of law and order leading to a “culture of impunity” among pastoralists; and the provision of relief assistance at the expense of development.

III. Current Situation

During the period May – December 2004 in the Karamoja cluster there was tension along the Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda borders and sporadic violent incidents. All six CEWARN Updates indicate a decrease in the number of violent incidents reported i.e. raids and crime (compared to the previous reporting period of June 2003 to April 2004) . The poor harvests, the looming drought and famine, increased competition for resources, the acceptance of raiding as a survival strategy, the inability of governments to respond to violent incidents; and seasonal rainfall patterns were all factors that help explain the rise and fall of tensions and violence in the cluster.

In the reporting period there were 136 Raids, 16 Armed Clashes, 9 Protest Demonstrations and 62 Other Crimes¹ reported leading to a total of 308 deaths and 25,247 livestock raided. The high number of incidents from the Ugandan side of the Karamoja cluster does not indicate that Uganda is more violent than the other two Countries.

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



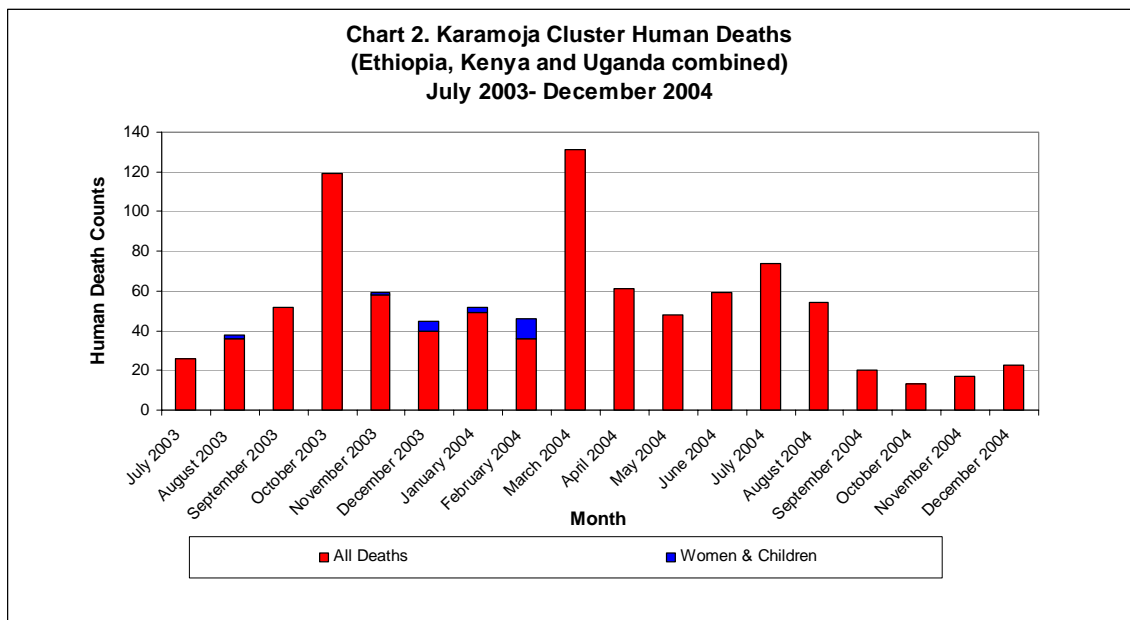
In December violent incident counts were at their highest levels. Violence was lowest during September (23), October (25) and November (20). Among the 223 incidents reported in the three countries 16 were Armed Clashes, 136 were Raids, 62 were Other

¹ Refer to Appendix 1 for a description of Indicators

Crimes, and 9 were Protest Demonstrations. From the combined violent incident reports on the Karamoja cluster, Raids alone account for 61% of all violent incidents in the reporting period. All these violent incidents involved communities within each country and across their borders, and from Sudan.

The general trend for “All reported violent incidents” appears to be influenced by the association between Raids and Other Crime. An interesting feature in the violent incidents is the similar pattern of Raids and Other Crimes; an increase in Raids seems to correspond with a decrease in Other Crimes, and vice versa. Seasonal patterns of rainfall seem to be a de-escalator in violent incidents as the pressure for water and pasture reduces thus minimizing competitions with other pastoral groups, whereas dry season grazing intensifies competition for water and pasture.

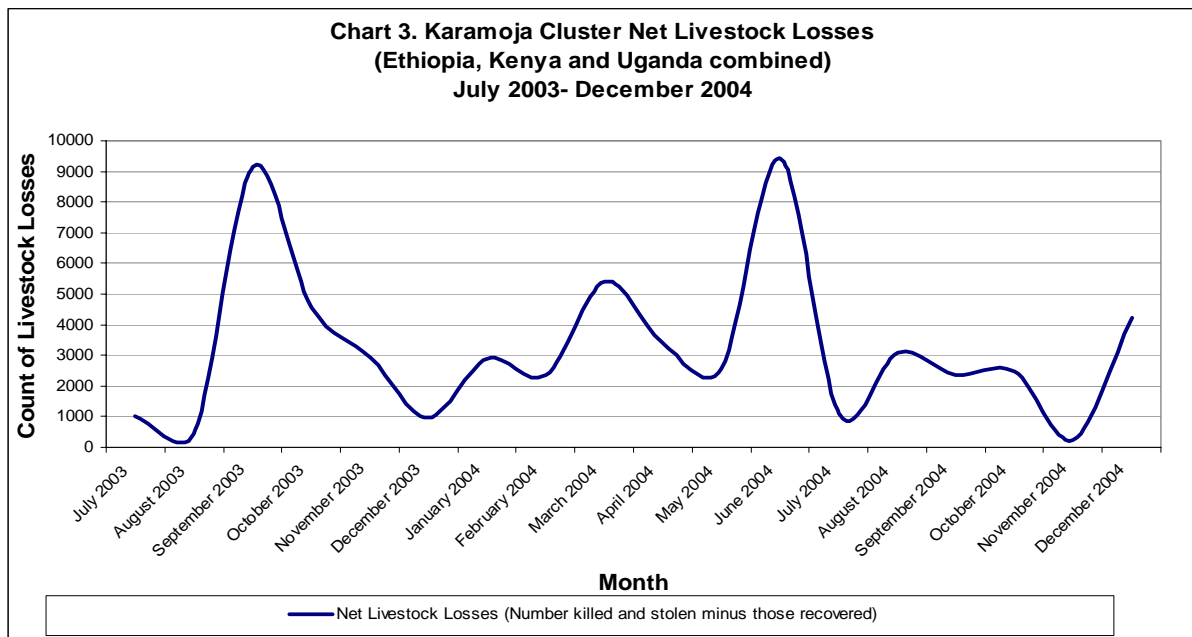
Human deaths for the reporting period are presented in **Chart 2** below.



A total number of 308 deaths were reported from May – December 2004 in Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda sides of the Karamoja cluster. Of the 308 deaths the highest numbers were reported in June, July and August while the lowest numbers were in October, November and September. The month with the highest deaths was July with 74 deaths and the lowest was October in which 13 deaths were reported. Although the highest number of incidents was reported in December (**see Chart 1**), it should be noted that the number of violent incidents does not correspond with the number of deaths.

As field reports indicated, the availability and use of small arms was a major contributing factor to the high casualty rate in the Karamoja cluster. Nearly all-violent incidents involved the use firearms and yet guns are the only protection/security that pastoral communities have to secure their livestock and livelihood against plunder by other armed pastoral communities.

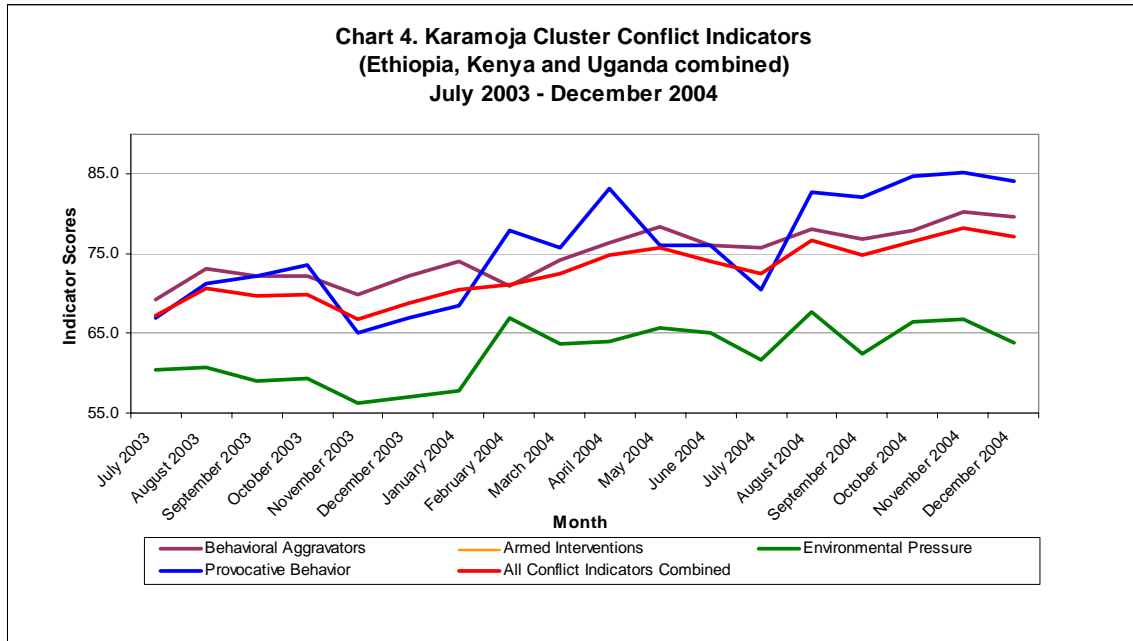
Livestock Raided for the reporting period are presented in **Chart 3** below.



A total of 25,247 heads of livestock were reported as raided during the reporting period. The month with the highest number of livestock raided was in June, which accounted for 37% of the total number of raided livestock in the reporting period. The increase in livestock losses in June is as a result of a cross-border incident in which the Turkana of Kenya reportedly raided 8,050 herds of livestock from the Dassenech of Ethiopia.

The prevailing drought in June, July and August may in part explain the high numbers of livestock raided in the reporting period. From the **Chart 2 and 3** above, Human deaths and Livestock raided it appears that there are variations in violent incidents in relation to deaths and the livestock raided. The high livestock raids are as a result of both internal (within countries) and cross-border raids in the Karamoja cluster.

Chart 4 (below) presents Conflict Indicators for the Karamoja cluster in the reporting period.

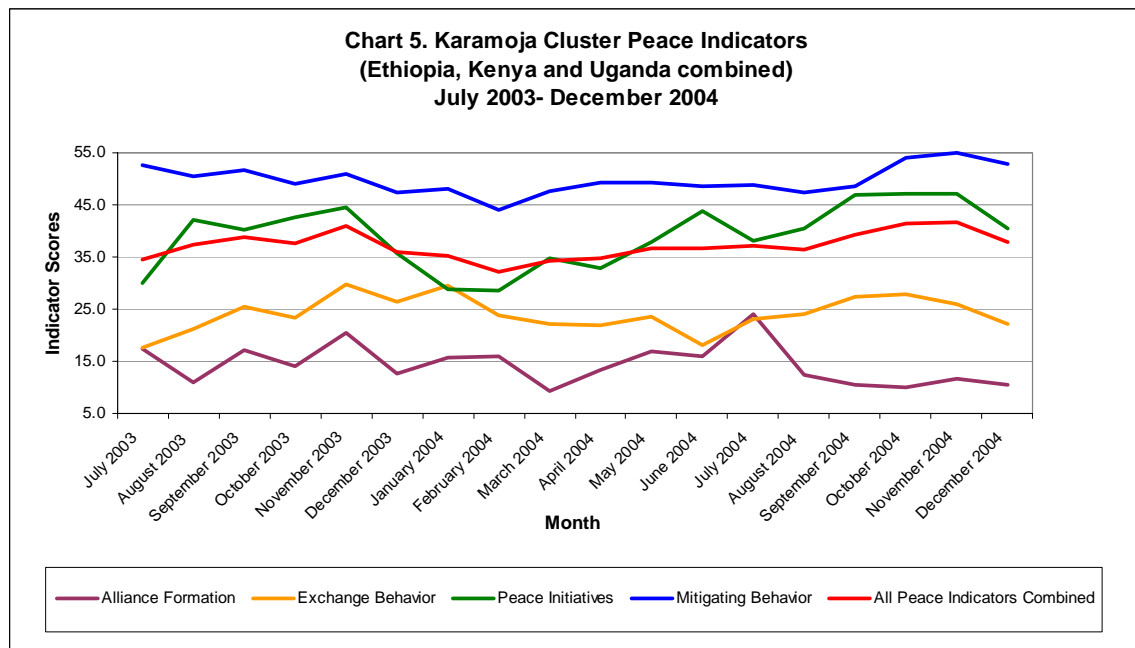


Conflict Indicators describe Aggravating Behavior, Provocative Behavior, Armed Interventions, Environmental Pressure and the Combined Conflict Indicators². The Combined Conflict Indicators remained fairly constant, as did Aggravating Behavior. Provocative Behavior was high in May, rose in July and remained high through to December. Environmental Pressures remained rather constant but rose slightly in August.

Although Environmental pressures remained constant in the reporting period, Provocative Behavior increased in July and remained high until December. This may explain the high number of violent incident counts as seen in **Chart 1**.

² No Armed Interventions were documented for the reporting period. For the full list of Indicators see Appendix 1

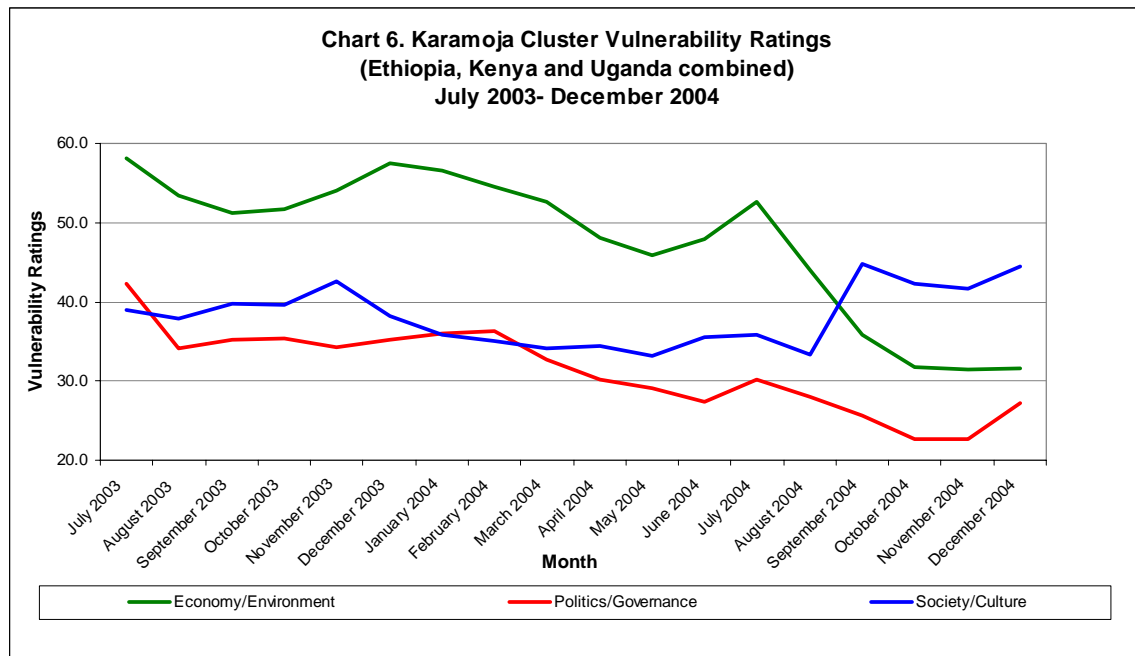
Chart 5 (below) presents Peace Indicators for the reporting period in the Karamoja cluster



Alliance Formation was low with a peak in July. Exchange Behavior remained moderate and fairly constant while Peace Initiatives rose from May to September and slightly declined in December. Mitigating Behavior was fairly constant rising slightly in August to November.

All Peace Indicators Combined remained moderate and constant for the reporting period. While Peace Indicators were slightly lower in December it should be noted that the level of violence (see in **Chart 1**) was high during the same period.

Chart 6 (below) present's vulnerability ratings in Karamoja Cluster.



The Politics/Governance vulnerability ratings had the lowest values in October and November 2004. The overall vulnerability rating for Society/Culture began to increase in August 2004. Economy/Environment vulnerability ratings decreased from July to October and were constant thereafter.

IV Comparative Analysis

The Karamoja cluster as a whole is characterized by underdevelopment, lack of any significant investment by both public/private sectors, and a poor infrastructure that makes it difficult to provide services and deliver goods (mainly livestock) to markets outside the cluster. The high insecurity that has become a distinctive feature of the Karamoja cluster is compounded by the instability in some parts of the region and the availability of small arms and contributes to the intensity and high casualty rates of resource based conflicts in the cluster.

Analysis of Structural Conflict Aggravating Factors

In the reporting period climatic conditions and cultural practices (livestock raiding) are the two most important factors in understanding and explaining the levels and trends of violent conflicts in the Karamoja cluster.

The competition over scarce resources (water, pasture and land) remains a critical factor in explaining the high levels of violence in the Karamoja Cluster. The prevailing climatic conditions also account for the increasing competition over resources, in areas used for dry season grazing as dry condition intensify so do the number of violent incidents which manifest themselves as Raids and other violent incidents.

The traditional cultural practice of cattle raiding is the other important factor that influences the high incidence of violence in the Karamoja Cluster. Livestock raiding remains an important survival strategy in situations of drought and a mode for perpetuating socio-cultural values/practices among pastoralists in the cluster.

Proximate Conflict Aggravating Factors

The proximate influences on conflict vulnerability in the Karamoja cluster include: economic and political developments in the three countries; the seasonal patterns which impact on drought and famine; seasonal migration of pastoral groups, disarmament, and the inadequate provision of social services (health, education etc).

Analysis of Structural Conflict Mitigating Factors

The activities of the Joint cross-border Commissions: The Ethiopia-Kenya Border Commission and the Kenya-Uganda border Commission have minimized conflicts from escalating into armed violent conflict on a greater scale. The levels of poverty in the Karamoja cluster, compounded by insecurity, cattle raiding and lack of access to markets are to some extent being addressed in the country Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper(s) and the various interventions by civil society which seek to improve the livelihoods of pastoralists. Pastoral issues have recently begun to impact on the policy dialogue between governments and pastoral communities

Proximate Conflict Mitigating Factors

There are changes occurring in the three countries, which may have a positive impact on the current conflict situation in the cluster. For example Ethiopia's policy of decentralization to the Woreda level will help ensure adequate local input on governance creating a more locally based administration familiar with pastoral issues. In Kenya and Uganda the participation of communities and institutions of civil society is leading to productive initiatives as trust and collaboration take root in the transformation of pastoral conflict. The disarmament process launched in Uganda in September 2004 minimized cross-border movement of pastoralists that in turn reduced cross-border raids and other violent incidents.

VI. Regional Response Options and Recommendations.

There are a number of responses that need to be undertaken to address and minimize pastoral conflicts in the Karamoja Cluster.

Short Term

- Deployment of security personnel to preempt or recover livestock raided
- Timely exchange of information between government and other key actors on impending raids, pastoral movements, and other conflict aggravating factors
- Encourage and strengthen participation of communities and civil society in cross-border peace initiatives to reconcile communities when major violent incidents occur for the purposes of averting counter attacks and de-escalate tensions

Medium Term

- Initiate cross-border mechanisms to mediate access to natural resources (pasture and water) in situations of drought.
- Initiate joint anti-stock theft mechanisms which re-enforce the rule of law to curtail the “culture of impunity”
- Implement coordinated and joint disarmament and arms reduction programs in the Cluster
- Encourage national and international NGOs to be involved in pastoral community development

Long Term

- The need to develop forums that engage pastoral communities in regular consultations and sensitization to diminish and de-legitimize the culture of cattle raiding. This should include government efforts in dealing with stock theft to further de-legitimize and de-popularizing traditional raiding.
- Implement poverty reductions programs aimed at improving pastoral livelihoods including livestock marketing, social services etc...
- Encourage investments through tax incentives in pastoral areas