

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



in the

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

CEWARN Regional Reports

**9th Regional Report on the Karamoja Cluster
January – April 2007**

CEWARN, Addis Ababa

CEWARN Regional Report

Update Period:

January through April 2007

Areas of Reporting:

Ethiopian, Kenyan and Ugandan Sides of the Karamoja Cluster

Executive Summary

This report presents a regional perspective of the conflict and peace situation of Karamoja Cluster based on CEWARN field data with a focus on cross border elements. The reporting period covers a four months period - January to April 2007 – based on the data from three countries of Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda.

This report highlights the incidences, outcomes of the violence and outlines the driving factors that exacerbated or de-escalated conflicts for the reporting period. Overall violence continued to be recorded as previous similar reporting periods. Impact on women and children was on the rise as compared to the last report of Sept-Dec 2007.

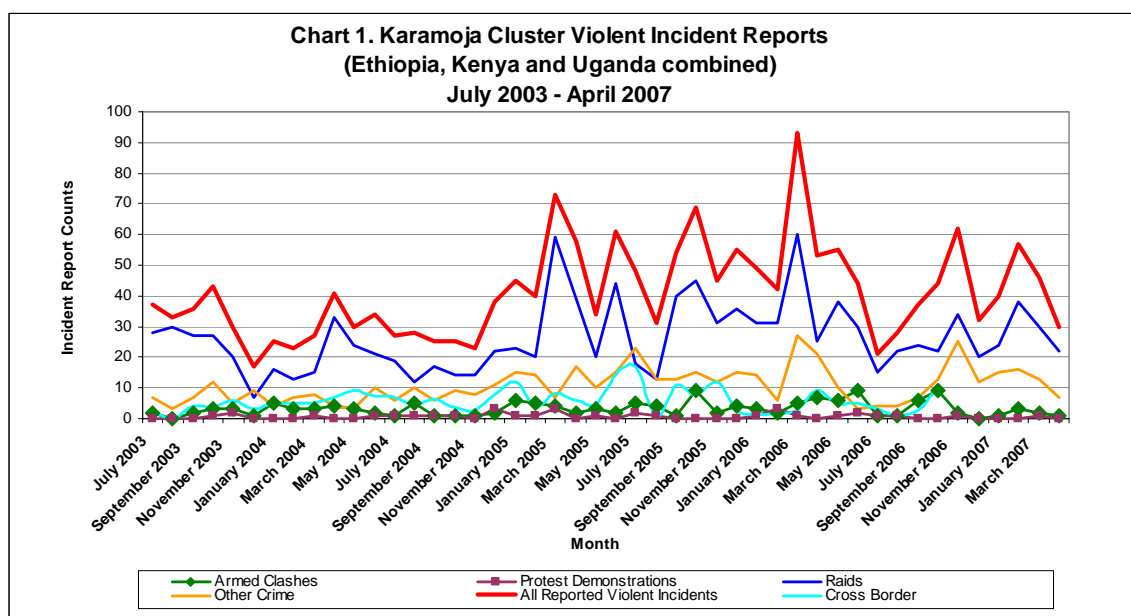
Formerly identified and few new factors continue to influence the dynamics of the conflict in these areas of reporting. Failure to timely deal with border disputes, lack of formal cross-border administrative structures and communications, ad hoc peace efforts, lack of foresight on impacts of programme on other communities featured prominently to aggravate the situation in the reporting periods. Traditional practices such as raids, assaults and also activities that encouraged further violence like blessings still continued to be major influencing factors in the conflict.

There was a slight decrease in the outcomes of the violence incidents and deaths compared to the previous period. A total of 173 violent incidents and 107 human deaths were recorded. Yet loss of livestock and the deaths of women and children were high, recording 33,082 and 107 as compared to the Sept-Dec, 28,087 and 77 respectively.

On the other hand limited efforts, as compared to the complexity and intensity of the problems, of governments, CSOs and the communities themselves to de-escalate the situation contributed to lessen the impact of the outcomes of the violence. Notable initiatives included the collaboration of government and CSOs both cross-border and within states to reinforce and ensure sustainability of peace agreements, continuous training on peace and maintaining discussions and communication in times of peace. Other notable efforts includes initiatives such as assistance given to pastoralists to engage in alternative sources of livelihoods like farming and establishment of school on border areas accessible to different ethnic groups that promote good communal relations.

Factors that contributed to the rise in tension or conflict for the reporting period were below moderate while the peace factors were above average. Despite this fact the impacts of incidences of violence were high. This indicates that the peace efforts and its impact are being undermined and needs to be increased and improved.

Activities such as alternative source of livelihood in the long run could ease the sole dependency on livestock and its product, thus the need to increase the livestock number. This may contribute to the lessening of instances of raids. Maintaining training on peace and communication and discussion in times of peace could be a replacement to the ad hoc and short shelf-life characteristic of most of the peace efforts that seem to emerge in times of tension and conflicts and phase out at it de-escalates, as it has featured since CEWARN started reporting.



A total of 173 incidents were recorded for the reporting period Jan-April 2007 from Karamoja Cluster of Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda. February recorded the highest incidents (57) followed by March (46). Raid accounted for 65% of the incidents and Other Crime was 29% while only 7 Armed Clashes and 1 Protest Demonstration¹ was reported, thus both accounting for about 6% of the total Incidents.

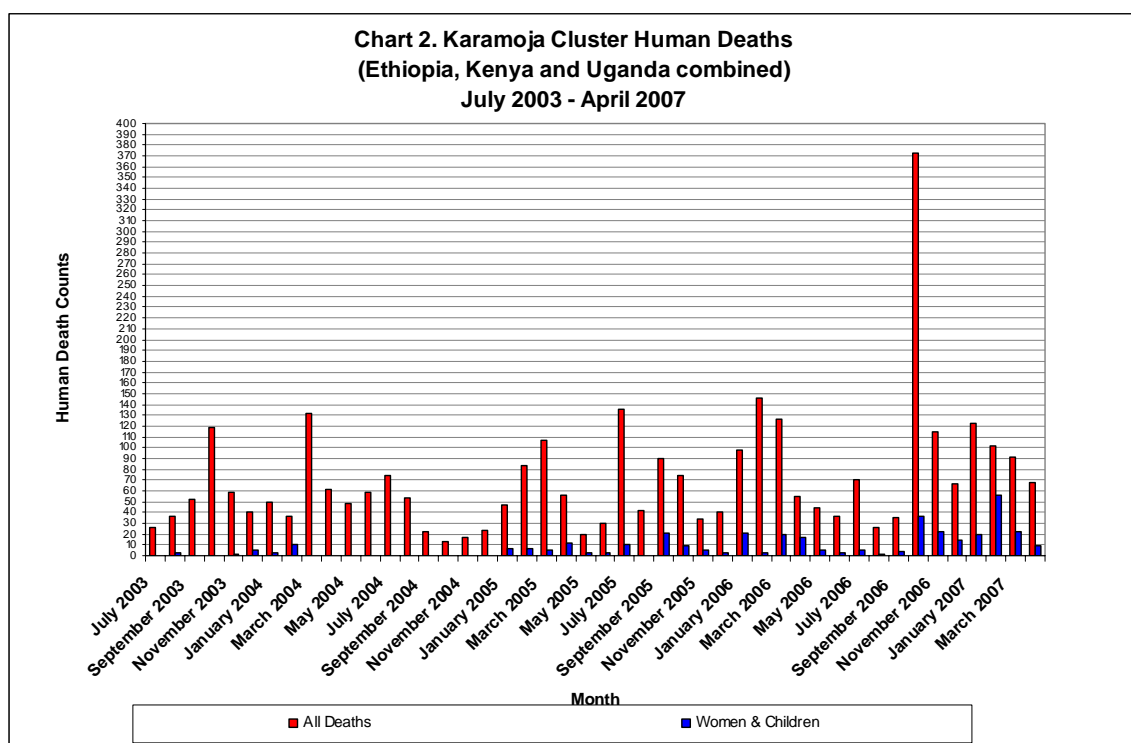
Reports of incidents from Uganda accounted for about 80% (139) of the total incidents. Kenya and Ethiopia recorded 27 and 7 incidents respectively. Of the total 173 incidents 17% (14) was cross-border, out of which 8 were from Uganda and 5 were from Ethiopia. Only 1 cross-border incident was reported from Kenyan side. Over 50% of the cross-border violent incidents reported in Uganda occurred in Kapchorwa/Bukwo Districts involving the Pokot community of West Pokot District of Kenya. All 5 cross border incidents reported from the Ethiopian side involved Nyangatom community from Kibish Woreda of Ethiopia and Turkana of Kenya from North Turkana.

¹ For full description of these Indicators, see Appendix 1

In one major cross border incident of January 28, 2007, a joint force of Dodoth of Uganda and Toposa from Southern Sudan raided Jie warriors of Kacheri parish, Kacheri sub county, Jie county, Kotido district and took about 1500 cattle. Another was a raid that took place on March 07, 2007 where Turkana of Kenya took about 600 cattle and killed two herd boys from Nyangatom of Ethiopia. It is notable to observe that while the total incident reports from Ethiopia has been low for the last consecutive reporting periods –Sept-Dec 06 (15) and Jan-April 07 (7), out of the total incidences reported the majority have been cross-border involving Nyangatom (including from Southern Sudan) and Hamer of Ethiopia and Turkana of Kenya.

Other Crime next to raid was another contributor to the high incidence of violence. A total of 59 incidents of this category were recorded. 38 were from Uganda, 18 from Kenya and 3 from Ethiopia.

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

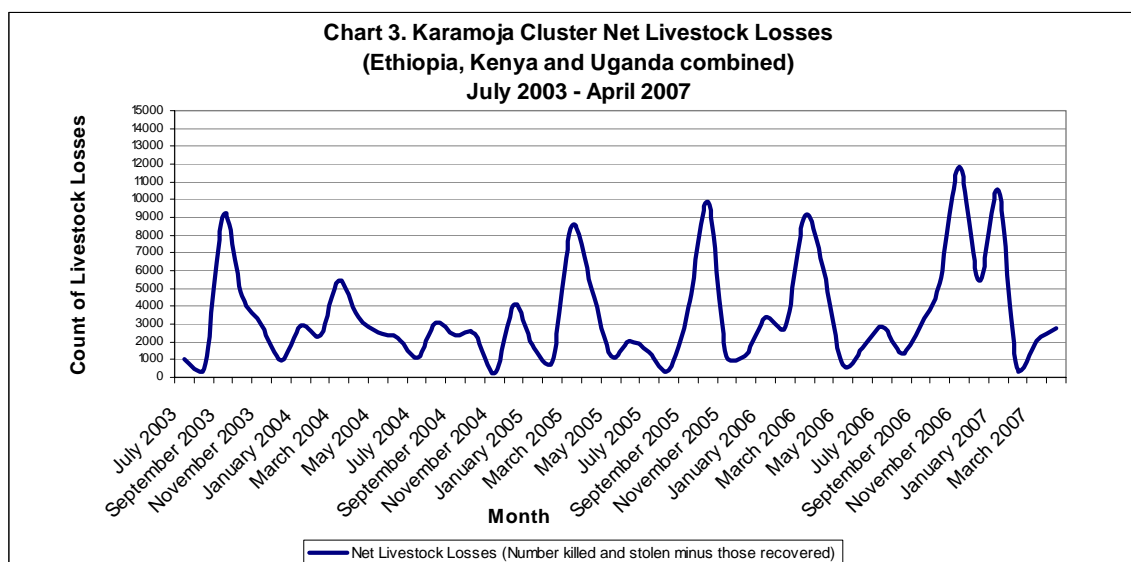


The 368 human deaths recorded in this reporting period is a marked decrease as compared to the last reporting period of Sept-Dec 2006 which recorded 592. Although Uganda reported fewer deaths than previous reporting period it still accounted for the highest human deaths in the cluster (89% ie. 295). Lobwar County of Kotido District recorded the highest death counts (164) while Turkana South of Kenya reported 43 and Kibish of Ethiopia 9.

Deaths through cross-border incidents totaled 78 out of which 69 were from Ugandan side. In one raid and recovery incident alone 60 deaths were reported where Dodoth warriors of Kaabong district together with their Toposa allies from Sudan raided the Jie at Lodipoc at Kacheri parish, Kacheri sub-county of Kotido District on January 28, 2007.

The number of deaths of women and children in the reporting period stands at a significant 107. Kenya and Ethiopia reported 5 and 2 deaths respectively. Out of the total women and children deaths Uganda reported a 100. The highest number recorded since CEWARN started monitoring. The major contributor to this number was one incident where 40 children were alleged to have been caught by a stampede trampling and exchange of fire during forceful disarmament exercise on February 12, 2007 Cuc, Lokitelaebu parish in Kotido sub-county, Kotido district. Another contributor to the vulnerability of women and children in Uganda was the result of moving the livestock from campsite to the homesteads for protection as the warriors have been disarmed.

The high death in January does not relate to a comparatively lower violent incidents recordings of the same month. (see Chart 1 & 2)
Livestock losses are presented in **Chart 3** (below).



A total of 16,173 livestock losses were reported for the current reporting period with a decrease compared to last reporting period of 28,087. January recorded the highest losses of 10,492 followed by April and March. February was the lowest with 890 livestock loss. Kenya reported the highest losses (11,826) while Uganda recorded one of its lowest (3,747) and Ethiopia 600.

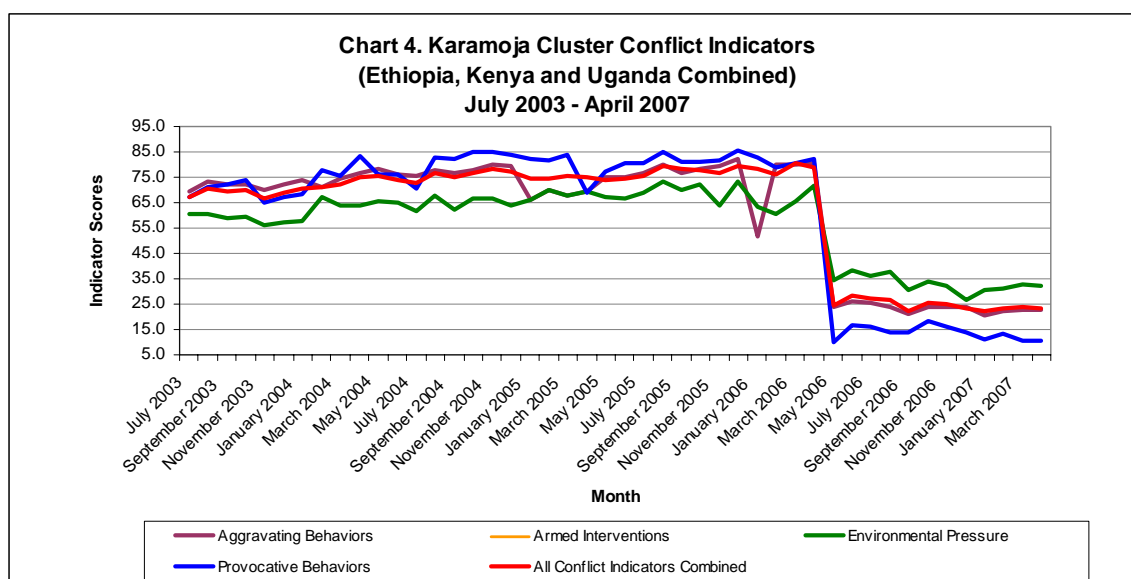
The high livestock loss recorded in January does correspond with the high counts of violent incidents (40) and human deaths (122). Over 75% (11,556) of the livestock losses reports of Kenya occurred in Turkana South. Most livestock loss reports were from Turkana South where the alleged raiding were initiated by the neighboring Pokot community of Kenya.

The continued disarmament exercise in Uganda, where the local communities avoided being spotted with arms, and successful livestock recovery records of Ugandan People Defense Force (UPDF) appeared to contribute to the decreased livestock loss records. In Ethiopia the peace agreement between communities in Ethiopia (Nyangatom and Dassenech) has not been breached up to the end of this reporting period (April) may have contributed to a low record of livestock loss. The 600 livestock losses reported from

Ethiopian side occurred in one incident where the Turkana from North Turkana of Kenya allegedly raided the livestock by killing two young herders.

Livestock losses due to cross border incidents was 1091 (about 7%) of the total livestock raided reported. In one major raid incident a combined force of Dodoth and Toposa of Southern Sudan against Jie warriors of Kacheri parish, Kacheri sub county, Jie county, Kotido district on January 28, 2007. In this said incident an estimated 1500 heads of cattle were reported to have been taken and in the battle that ensued for recovery 60 people were reported to have been killed.

Conflict indicators of the Karamoja Cluster are presented in **Chart 4** (below).



The Chart above highlights Aggravating Behaviours, Provocative Behaviours, Armed Interventions, Environmental Pressures and Combined Conflicts Indicators².

Overall Conflict Indicators remained low for the reporting period. Few reports of activities that aggravate situation in these areas such as post-raid blessings, interruption of services, inter and intra communal relations including trade increase in the availability and exchange of bullets, in the majority of the Areas of Reporting (AORs) contributed to the low recordings of Aggravating Behavior. However, it is to be noted that particularly Aggravating Behaviours were high in two areas; Kibish of Ethiopia specially during the beginning of the two months of this reporting period due to incidences between the two communities of Nyangatom of Ethiopia and Turkana of Kenya, and between Pokot and Turkana in South Turkana. In both these areas peaceful relations were severed and increase in bullets availability and exchange was observed. Post-raid blessings by elders of Nyangatom of Ethiopia that encouraged retaliation were common while the border dispute between Pokot and Turkana exacerbated the situation which were expressed through raids and counter raids.

² For full description of Indicators see Appendix II.

Except from Kibish of Ethiopia no other significant cross-border indicators of Aggravating Behaviours were recorded. Communal relations, trade and services continued on the other Areas of Reporting of the Cluster

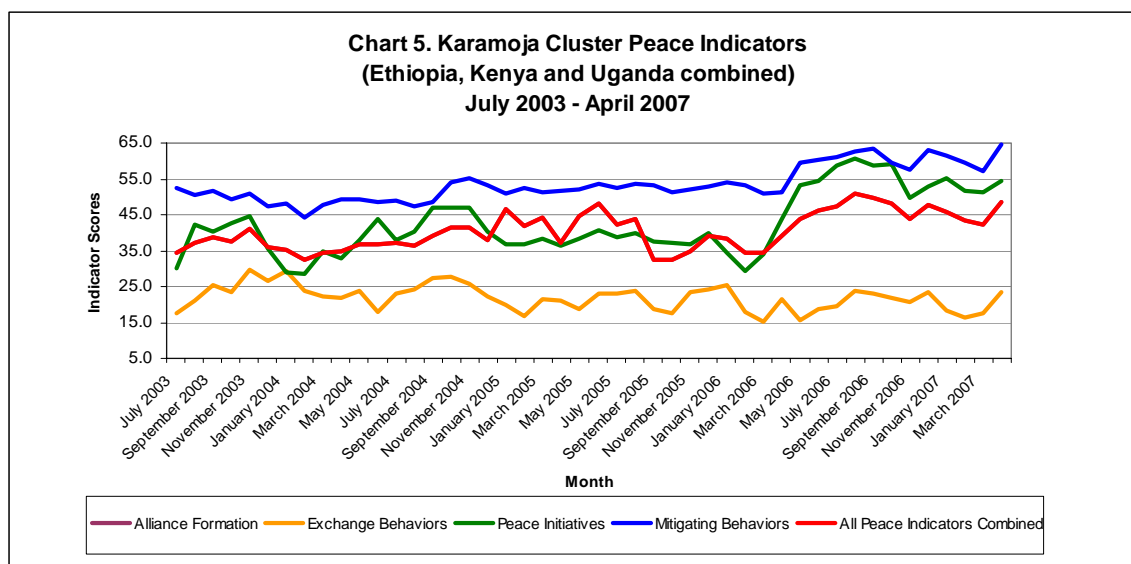
Provocative Behaviors were the lowest of the Conflict Indicators as it was in the previous reporting period. Reports of activities that could provoke violence were very few except in Kibish of Ethiopia where pre-raid blessings were being given before peace negotiation to stop the raids and counter raids as well as assaults was started between the North Turkana of Kenya and Nyangatom of Ethiopia in March.

Presence of UPDF in Uganda for the forceful disarmament exercise forcing communities to remain low and avoid detection in groups with arms or other provocative traditional activities such as pre or post-raid blessings, peace agreements and activities that were still being sustained in Ethiopia and Kenya contributed to the low recordings of both Aggravating and Provocative Behaviours.

Environmental Pressures though low in general was the highest of the conflict indicators for the reporting period. The relative high recordings may have mainly attributed to the competition for pasture due to dry season and concentration of livestock in secure areas due to insecurity both in Ethiopia and Uganda. In Ethiopia the dry season ended with the onset of rains in March while in Uganda it was in April.

Reported adequate amount of rainfall in Kenya side of the AORs contributed to the low recording of Environmental Pressure. Important to note here is that due to forceful disarmament exercise in Uganda traditional grazing areas of Northern Karamoja of Uganda were inaccessible to the Turkana of Kenya.

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



The Chart above highlights Alliance Formations, Exchange Behaviours, Mitigating Behaviours, Peace Initiatives and All Peace Indicators Combined³.

Overall Peace Initiatives for the reporting period were moderate. Engagement of civil society and government on peace works was high in Kenya and Ethiopia. Local administrations in collaboration with CSOs and faith based organizations held peace meetings and came up with various resolutions and agreements on addressing various peace and related issues.

In Kenya, construction of a school at the border area of Pokot-Turkana, establishment of a committee to address land dispute in Chepchoina that brought together communities of Pokot, Luhya and Turkana, and the visit of the Rift Valley Provincial Commissioner to address a peace meeting were few of the initiatives on Kenyan side. At the same time continuous training to peace committees on conflict prevention by Ethiopian Pastoralist Research and Development Association (EPARDA), collaborative efforts of local administration and CSOs to initiate peace talks with their counter parts in Kenya (North Turkana) that resulted in a resolution to bring forth spoilers of the peace, share early warning information and include Nayita elders of Southern Sudan in the peace talks were other effective initiatives taken in Ethiopia. In Uganda Omani Community Development Initiative (OCODI) organized peace meetings between the Pian and Bokora which resulted in an agreement to coexist in peaceful relationship. In Uganda the commander of the UPDF provided mobile telephone to each community to ease communication between communities and local leadership.

Another peace initiative that needs noting was the peace efforts that are being taken by the elders and communities themselves. In Ethiopia the Dassench elders took the initiative to have a meeting to discuss on how they could avail their office to mediate between Turkana and Nyangatom of Ethiopia. Communities in Uganda formed peace with each other. The agreement reached between Jie and Dodoth and Pokot and Pian of Nabilatuk sub-county are example of such initiative.

Significant cross-border peace efforts like those made by Riam-Raim and Catholic Church of North Kenya and EPARDA of Ethiopia to promote and sustain the existing peace between Turkana and Dassench and collaborative efforts of government and CSO from Nyangatom of Ethiopia and North Turkana of Kenya to deal with the tense situation of the area also contributed to peace initiative indicators.

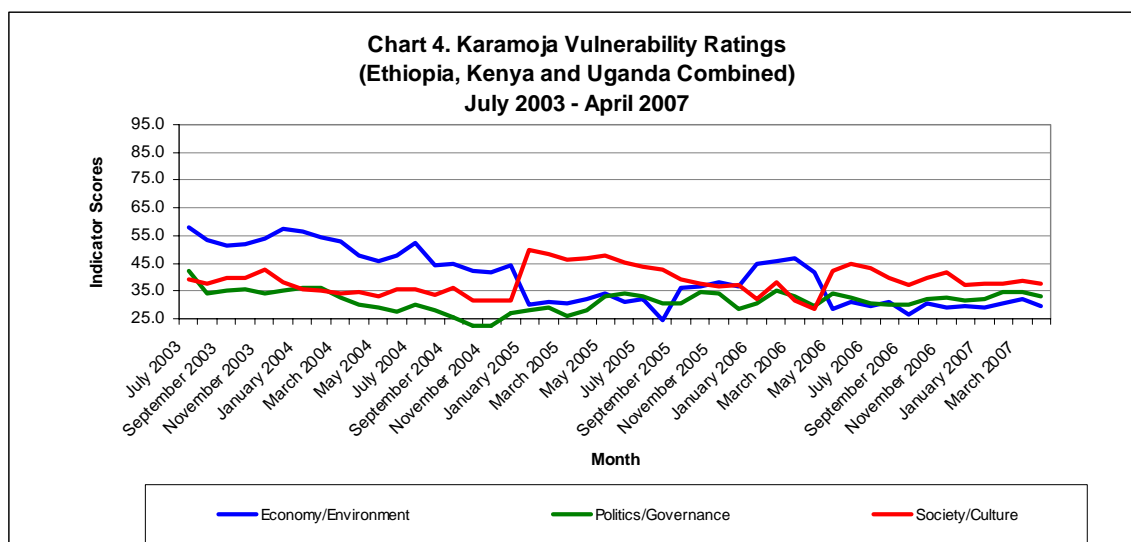
Mitigating Behaviours were the highest indicators of the Peace Indicators. The involvement of security forces in recoveries of raided livestock and repulsing raids both in Kenya and Uganda, forceful disarmament in Uganda, negotiations on peace and uninterrupted service provisions in most AORs contributed to a high recordings. Notable schemes of mitigating factors included provision of micro financing in Kenya, and assistance provided to selected households with a programme to till 20 hectares of land in Ethiopia as alternate source of livelihood.

Exchange Behaviours recorded the lowest of the Peace Indicators. This is mainly due to recordings of interruptions of relation between South Turkana and Pokot communities, North Turkana and Nyangatom of Ethiopia and spread of Mt. Elgon conflict into Transzoia District.

³ For full description of Indicators see Appendix II.

Alliance Formation was also moderately low. There were very few reports of new alliances between communities. The few were the collaborations of the community and government in Ethiopia and Kenya as mentioned in above sections. In Uganda fear of putting livestock together with “inadequate” provision of security resulted in fewer alliances between communities. Warriors were either disarmed or hidden their arms for fear of detection by UPDF.

Chart 6 (below) presents vulnerability ratings for the reporting period.



Economy/Environment remained low for the reporting period. Although there were reports of trade interruptions, land competitions and concentration of livestock in secure areas, in most cases peace initiatives undertaken and maintained like in Ethiopia and Kenya, UPDF's pressure on suspected raiding groups in Uganda and the rains in Kenya and later on in Ethiopia and towards the end (April) in Uganda contributed to the low recordings. The various peace initiatives also assisted communities to maintain relations both within and across borders.

Politics/Governance Vulnerability Ratings was also low mostly due to the peace efforts by civil society and government. The change of approach to forceful disarmament like easing on cordon and search and concentrating on livestock recovery and suspected armed groups, involvement of Ethiopian Kibish Woreda local administration in the peace initiative between Nyangatom of Ethiopia and Turkana of Kenya in March and with no major political issue in all AORs, Politics/Governance Vulnerability Ratings remained low. The only significant issue is the border dispute between the Pokot and Turkana communities in Turkana South and the spread of Mt Elgon conflict into Tran-Nzoia.

Society/Culture was the highest of the ratings recorded. Though it is still low the interruption of relations due to conflicts between Nyangatom of Ethiopia and Turkana of Kenya as well as Turkana and Pokot in Turkana South, strained relations between communities due to competition of resources in Uganda may have contributed to the slight higher recordings. Despite these communal relations continued without interruptions in most Areas of Reporting (AORs).

Comparative Analysis

The overall incident reports, deaths and livestock loss showed a slight decrease compared to the previous Sept-Dec 2006 period. Despite this the toll of the violence in Karamoja still continues to impact the communities. The death of women and children was on the rise. Compared to the previous period of Sept-Dec 2007 Conflict indicators also decreased slightly. Peace indicators remained the same. The decrease in the impact of the conflicts while peace indicators remained the same may explain the slight decrease on the aggregate records of incidents, deaths and loss of livestock.

Analysis of Structural Conflict Aggravating Factors

Dependency on rain for pasture and water continued to affect the pastoral communities. With no forage storage and water harvesting culture and capability or very few or non-existent boreholes the seasonal changes and absence or abundance of rainfall water remained to be one major single factor influencing conflicts in the area. The scramble for pasture and water and its effects as in other reporting period also was one conflict aggravating factor in this period.

Cultural practices as youth blessing for raids and revenges and alliances that were being formed for raid as in the case of Dodoth with Toposa of Sudan to raid the Jie of Uganda are such examples. Raids and counter raids whether as a cultural practice or coping mechanism helped foment further violence.

Inadequate and failure to timely respond to insecurity by the government encourages communities to take matters into their own hands which fed the cycle of violence. Unresolved border disputes and subsequent violence that continued in the reporting period in South Turkana and belated responses of local administration to the complaints of violence that the Nyangatom communities in Kibish made were few examples in the reporting period.

Analysis of Proximate Conflict Aggravating Factors

The proximate conflict aggravating factors of this period include spillover of the Mt. Elgon settlement scheme to Trans-Nzoia, inability of Turkana of Kenya to access the traditional grazing areas of Northern Uganda due to forceful disarmament and border disputes that featured strongly in Kenya with a number of violent incidents and loss of both human death and livestock loss.

Easy availability of bullets and small arms enabled communities to launch attacks against others.

Another factor was disruption of services due to conflicts. Both in Kibish and Turkana North there were reports of interruptions of relations in these areas for fear of attacks.

Analysis of Structural Conflict Mitigating Factors

Limited development programme were implemented by the governments and institutions of Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda. Establishment of one school was reported, alternative means of livelihood such as subsistence farming, livestock management and scientific

information on weather predictions were provided. Services such as education and healthcare continued to be given without interruption in most AORs.

Forceful disarmament program in Uganda may have resulted at least into a change of attitudes to possession of illegal arms for fear of detection by UPDF. Scenes of civilians with weapons in public were limited, though it may be too early to reach at any conclusion on the real impact of the disarmament exercise.

Analysis of Proximate Conflict Mitigating Factors

The various peace initiatives taken by CSOs and Governemnts to deal with hostile communities and efforts to sustain those existing were the major mitigating factors of the reporting period. Collaboration of government with CSOs in Kenya and Ethiopia on these initiatives is also to be encouraged since this ensures sustainability. The peace initiatives between Turkana-Dassench and Nyangatom-Dassench are models. Self initiated peace arrangements by communities as reported from Uganda and Ethiopia could be sustainable if assistance by Governments and CSOs are accorded to them.

The change of approach to cordon and search by UPDF during the disarmament exercise in targeting suspected raiders as well as participating more on the recovery of livestock did contribute to the drop in the incidences of armed clashes and deaths on the Ugandan side. Collaboration with the communities on recovery was also reported from Kenya. This could be a confidence building scheme for the government with the community and lessen the mistrust.

Relief supply in Ethiopia contributed to ensure food security thus lessening the reliance on livestock products which could have led to raids. Peace programme like trainings on conflict prevention, on alternative means of livelihoods may also have lessened the dependence on livestock.

Response Recommendations

	Short Term	Medium Term
Local Administration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - inform and advice proper authorities on conflicts that could not be handled at their level such as border disputes - inform policy makers on the real needs and feasible long term strategies to deal with problems at the ground - use available resources to provide security - use available media to propagate peace by focusing on positive and cooperative aspects of other/neighbouring communities, cooperative histories etc... - encourage and work with communities on self initiated activities such as peace efforts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - put formal structures and systems of communication especially across borders - ensure proper implementation of schemes that encourages communities cooperation and collaboration with communities - ensure the proper implementation of policies and programmes such us law and order
CEWERUs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - use platforms provided by IGAD and CEWARN to share experience and information to come up with regional or bi-lateral actions ex. Recent disarmament meeting organized by CEWARN - establish fast and easy channels of communication with local administration and local committees on peace and security issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - assist CEWARN's effort by facilitating implementation such as through realization of the regional disarmament recommendations, development of regional response framework -
CEWARN/Regional/ International Organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - facilitate collaboration and networking between CEWERUs, local administrations and CSOs by providing platform, communication facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - continue to identify problems and solutions of regional or bi-lateral levels and provide platforms of discussion - continue to give trainings on conflict prevention - encourage and assist both the government and communities in finding, training and providing resources to avail alternative source of livelihood to pastoralists

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - critically examine impacts of programmes like disarmament and come up with recommendations to share with other countries
<p>CSOs/Local Communities</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - encourage collaboration with government through education and training on peace dividends using their proximity to the communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - use existing administration structures to inform government and also policy makers regularly on the needs of the communities - prioritize on ways of making peace initiatives sustainable by including government and other stakeholders in such efforts - encourage and assist both the government and communities in finding, training and providing resources to avail alternative sources of livelihood to pastoralists - invest on projects accessible to different communities encouraging relations ex. building health cares, schools etc... on border areas

Appendix 1: Description of Indicators (from the Situation Reports)

- 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: Definitions of the Incident Categories

<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

Month & Year	Protest Demonstrations	Other Crime	Organize Raids	Armed Clash	all incidents	Month & Year	Livestock Losses, net
July 2003	0	7	28	2	37	July 2003	1034
August 2003	0	3	30	0	33	August 2003	448
September 2003	0	7	27	2	36	September 2003	9157
October 2003	1	12	27	3	43	October 2003	4543
November 2003	2	5	20	3	30	November 2003	2925
December 2003	0	9	7	1	17	December 2003	968
January 2004	0	4	16	5	25	January 2004	2890
February 2004	0	7	13	3	23	February 2004	2342
March 2004	1	8	15	3	27	March 2004	5409
April 2004	0	4	33	4	41	April 2004	3407
May 2004	0	3	24	3	30	May 2004	2562
June 2004	1	10	21	2	34	June 2004	2234
July 2004	1	6	19	1	27	July 2004	1098
August 2004	1	10	12	5	28	August 2004	3098
September 2004	1	6	17	1	25	September 2004	2348
October 2004	1	9	14	1	25	October 2004	2470
November 2004	0	8	14	1	23	November 2004	229
December 2004	3	11	22	2	38	December 2004	4137
January 2005	1	15	23	6	45	January 2005	1779
February 2005	1	14	20	5	40	February 2005	845
March 2005	3	7	59	4	73	March 2005	8559
April 2005	0	17	39	2	58	April 2005	4952
May 2005	1	10	20	3	34	May 2005	1149
June 2005	0	15	44	2	61	June 2005	2034
July 2005	2	23	18	5	48	July 2005	1443
August 2005	1	13	13	4	31	August 2005	414
September 2005	0	13	40	1	54	September 2005	3926
October 2005	0	15	45	9	69	October 2005	9837
November 2005	0	12	31	2	45	November 2005	1190
December 2005	0	15	36	4	55	December 2005	1291
January 2006	1	14	31	3	49	January 2006	3429
February 2006	3	6	31	2	42	February 2006	2824
March 2006	1	27	60	5	93	March 2006	9044
April 2006	0	21	25	7	53	April 2006	6168
May 2006	1	10	38	6	55	May 2006	739
June 2006	2	3	30	9	44	June 2006	1672
July 2006	1	4	15	1	21	July 2006	2842
August 2006	1	4	22	1	28	August 2006	1326
September 2006	0	7	24	6	37	September 2006	2843
October 2006	0	13	22	9	44	October 2006	5325
November 2006	1	25	34	2	62	November 2006	11827
December 2006	0	12	20	0	32	December 2006	5438
January 2007	0	15	24	1	40	January 2007	10492
February 2007	0	16	38	3	57	February 2007	590
March 2007	1	13	30	2	46	March 2007	2066
April 2007	0	7	22	1	30	April 2007	2787
totals	33	495	1213	147	1888	totals	158130

Month & Year	Peace Initiatives	Mitigating Behavior	Exchange Behavior	Alliance Formation	Combined	Month & Year	Outcomes - Human Deaths Low Estimates	Outcomes - Deaths of Women & Children Low Estimates	percents W&C
July 2003	30.0	52.6	17.7	17.3	34.5	July 2003	26	0	0.0
August 2003	42.2	50.6	21.2	11.0	37.3	August 2003	36	2	5.6
September 2003	40.2	51.6	25.5	17.1	38.8	September 2003	52	0	0.0
October 2003	42.7	49.1	23.3	13.9	37.6	October 2003	119	0	0.0
November 2003	44.6	50.8	29.7	20.4	41.1	November 2003	58	1	1.7
December 2003	35.8	47.4	26.4	12.7	35.9	December 2003	40	5	12.5
January 2004	28.8	48.1	29.4	15.6	35.4	January 2004	49	3	6.1
February 2004	28.5	44.1	23.7	16.0	32.3	February 2004	36	10	27.8
March 2004	34.8	47.6	22.1	9.3	34.3	March 2004	131	0	0.0
April 2004	32.8	49.2	21.9	13.2	34.7	April 2004	61	0	0.0
May 2004	37.8	49.2	23.7	16.9	36.7	May 2004	48	0	0.0
June 2004	43.9	48.7	18.1	16.0	36.6	June 2004	59	0	0.0
July 2004	38.0	48.8	23.1	24.1	37.2	July 2004	74	0	0.0
August 2004	40.5	47.3	24.0	12.3	36.4	August 2004	54	0	0.0
September 2004	46.9	48.6	27.4	10.5	39.3	September 2004	22	0	0.0
October 2004	47.1	54.0	27.8	10.0	41.5	October 2004	13	0	0.0
November 2004	47.0	55.1	25.8	11.7	41.6	November 2004	17	0	0.0
December 2004	40.4	53.2	22.1	10.5	37.9	December 2004	23	0	0.0
January 2005	36.7	50.9	19.8	9.2	46.6	January 2005	47	6	12.8
February 2005	36.9	52.5	16.8	11.7	41.9	February 2005	84	7	8.3
March 2005	38.2	51.1	21.3	12.1	44.2	March 2005	107	5	4.7
April 2005	36.5	51.6	21.0	13.0	37.1	April 2005	56	12	21.4
May 2005	38.3	52.1	18.8	15.7	44.7	May 2005	19	2	10.5
June 2005	40.7	53.7	23.0	12.9	48.1	June 2005	30	2	6.7
July 2005	38.7	52.3	23.1	13.2	42.4	July 2005	136	10	7.4
August 2005	39.7	53.5	23.7	13.1	44.0	August 2005	42	0	0.0
September 2005	37.4	53.1	18.7	16.3	32.3	September 2005	90	21	23.3
October 2005	37.3	51.5	17.4	11.2	32.5	October 2005	74	9	12.2
November 2005	36.6	52.1	23.4	12.4	34.8	November 2005	34	5	14.7
December 2005	40.0	52.8	24.3	22.9	39.3	December 2005	41	2	4.9
January 2006	34.4	54.1	25.3	18.4	38.4	January 2006	98	21	21.4
February 2006	29.2	53.4	18.0	15.2	34.5	February 2006	146	3	2.1
March 2006	34.0	51.0	15.3	18.1	34.4	March 2006	126	19	15.1
April 2006	43.7	51.5	21.3	25.5	39.3	April 2006	55	17	30.9
May 2006	53.3	59.5	15.7	10.1	43.8	May 2006	44	5	11.4
June 2006	54.4	60.2	18.9	21.3	46.2	June 2006	37	3	8.1
July 2006	58.7	61.2	19.4	15.3	47.5	July 2006	70	5	7.1
August 2006	60.8	62.6	23.8	20.7	50.7	August 2006	26	1	3.8
September 2006	58.9	63.5	23.0	22.8	49.9	September 2006	35	4	11.4
October 2006	59.2	59.6	22.0	21.0	48.2	October 2006	372	37	9.9
November 2006	49.8	57.7	20.7	20.0	44.0	November 2006	115	22	19.1
December 2006	53.0	63.0	23.4	21.3	47.6	December 2006	66	14	21.2
January 2007	55.1	61.3	18.4	12.4	45.9	January 2007	122	20	16.4
February 2007	51.7	59.4	16.5	10.1	43.4	February 2007	101	56	55.4
March 2007	51.4	57.1	17.5	12.1	42.4	March 2007	91	22	24.2
April 2007	54.3	64.6	23.4	20.2	48.6	April 2007	68	9	13.2
						totals	3250	360	11.1

Month & Year	Armed Intervention	Provocative Behavior	Environmental Pressure	Aggravating Behavior	Combined	Month & Year	Economy/Environment	Politics/Governance	Society/Culture
July 2003	0.0	67.0	60.4	69.2	67.2	July 2003	58.1	42.2	39.0
August 2003	0.0	71.3	60.8	73.2	70.6	August 2003	53.4	34.1	37.9
September 2003	0.0	72.3	59.0	72.2	69.7	September 2003	51.2	35.3	39.8
October 2003	0.0	73.7	59.3	72.1	69.9	October 2003	51.7	35.4	39.6
November 2003	0.0	65.1	56.2	69.9	66.8	November 2003	54.1	34.3	42.6
December 2003	0.0	67.0	57.0	72.1	68.8	December 2003	57.5	35.3	38.1
January 2004	0.0	68.5	57.9	74.0	70.4	January 2004	56.5	36.0	35.8
February 2004	0.0	77.9	67.0	71.0	71.0	February 2004	54.5	36.3	35.0
March 2004	0.0	75.8	63.6	74.3	72.5	March 2004	52.7	32.7	34.1
April 2004	0.0	83.1	64.0	76.4	74.9	April 2004	48.0	30.2	34.5
May 2004	0.0	76.0	65.7	78.4	75.8	May 2004	46.0	29.1	33.1
June 2004	0.0	76.0	65.1	76.1	74.1	June 2004	48.0	27.4	35.5
July 2004	0.0	70.5	61.7	75.7	72.5	July 2004	52.6	30.2	35.8
August 2004	0.0	82.8	67.7	78.0	76.6	August 2004	44.1	28.0	33.4
September 2004	0.0	82.1	62.4	76.9	74.8	September 2004	44.8	25.7	35.9
October 2004	0.0	84.7	66.5	77.8	76.5	October 2004	42.3	22.6	31.8
November 2004	0.0	85.2	66.8	80.2	78.3	November 2004	41.6	22.7	31.5
December 2004	0.0	84.1	63.9	79.6	77.2	December 2004	44.4	27.2	31.6
January 2005	0.0	82.3	66.1	66.1	74.3	January 2005	29.9	28.2	50.1
February 2005	0.0	81.5	70.0	70.0	74.4	February 2005	31.0	28.8	48.3
March 2005	0.0	83.9	67.9	67.9	75.6	March 2005	30.5	25.9	46.2
April 2005	0.0	69.1	69.4	69.4	75.3	April 2005	32.2	28.1	46.6
May 2005	0.0	77.0	67.5	74.9	73.8	May 2005	34.2	33.3	47.9
June 2005	0.0	80.5	66.9	75.3	74.3	June 2005	31.2	34.3	45.3
July 2005	0.0	80.3	68.8	76.9	75.8	July 2005	31.9	33.0	43.9
August 2005	0.0	85.1	73.2	80.1	79.4	August 2005	24.6	30.4	42.7
September 2005	0.0	81.0	70.3	76.6	78.3	September 2005	36.2	30.8	39.3
October 2005	0.0	81.3	72.4	78.5	77.7	October 2005	36.7	34.4	37.7
November 2005	0.0	81.6	63.9	79.5	76.9	November 2005	38.0	34.1	36.4
December 2005	0.0	85.5	73.5	82.5	79.3	December 2005	36.8	28.4	37.1
January 2006	0.0	83.0	63.3	51.6	78.4	January 2006	44.6	30.6	32.2
February 2006	0.0	78.8	60.4	79.9	76.1	February 2006	45.8	35.3	38.4
March 2006	0.0	80.8	65.6	80.2	80.6	March 2006	46.6	33.3	31.8
April 2006	0.0	82.0	71.5	80.7	79.2	April 2006	41.6	29.6	28.8
May 2006	0.0	10.2	34.7	23.8	24.2	May 2006	28.8	33.9	42.4
June 2006	0.0	16.8	38.5	26.2	28.1	June 2006	31.0	32.8	44.8
July 2006	0.0	16.1	36.1	25.5	27.0	July 2006	29.5	30.6	43.2
August 2006	0.0	13.8	37.8	23.7	26.5	August 2006	31.0	30.1	39.9
September 2006	0.0	13.8	30.3	21.1	22.5	September 2006	26.3	30.1	37.0
October 2006	0.0	18.5	33.9	23.7	25.6	October 2006	30.6	32.3	39.5
November 2006	0.0	16.0	32.3	23.8	24.9	November 2006	29.1	32.4	41.7
December 2006	0.0	14.0	26.8	23.7	23.1	December 2006	29.3	31.4	37.3
January 2007	0.0	11.4	30.8	20.8	22.1	January 2007	29.1	32.3	37.6
February 2007	0.0	13.2	31.0	22.0	23.1	February 2007	30.8	34.6	37.6
March 2007	0.0	10.5	33.0	22.7	23.7	March 2007	31.9	34.5	38.6
April 2007	0.0	10.7	32.5	22.7	23.5	April 2007	29.4	33.0	37.7