

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

in the

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

CEWARN Regional Report

**5th Regional Report on the Karamoja Cluster
September – December 2005**

CEWARN, Addis Ababa

Executive Summary

This fifth regional of the Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development aims to provide and share “Cluster” based analysis on the nature, characteristics, and dynamics of the national and cross-border pastoral and related conflicts on gathered field data for the period September through December 2005. The data was collected from the three countries of Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda, but does not cover the Sudanese side of the Karamoja Cluster.

This regional report will contribute to the 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.

During the period covered September to December 2005, violent conflicts occurred between communities within the country-sides of Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda, and between communities across the borders of these countries. The country reports produced of the three countries – from where this report draws its analysis – indicate that the violence manifested itself mostly in the form of raids, other crime, and armed clashes. In addition, the country reports indicate that competition over scarce pasture and water resources, communal alliances, environmental factors including drought, the availability of small arms, and the disarmament programme that was undertaken in both Uganda and Kenya and restricted movement of pastoral communities to traditional grazing areas were some of the key factors that influenced violent conflicts in the Cluster in the reporting period.

From September to December 2005, a total of 258 violent incidents, 239 human deaths, and 16, 244 livestock losses were reported. And since July 2003 (when the CEWARN field data started to be documented) a total of 88,805 livestock has been lost whilst 1678 human deaths occurred. The above losses both in human lives and livestock shall continue to have a negative impact on the livelihoods of the pastoral communities in the Karamoja Cluster if appropriate conflict mitigating measures are not taken to address the structural and proximate factors that feed the violence.

Various peace initiatives particularly in the Ethiopian, Kenyan and Ugandan-sides of the Cluster were undertaken by governmental institutions, civil society entities, and local communities in the reporting period to mediate and resolve conflicts and even build on existing peace building initiatives that had been started before. However, it is important to note that most of these initiatives were short-lived, and thus need to be sustained if they are to bear long-term positive outcomes. Some of the peace building initiatives, like the disarmament programme in both Kenya and Uganda could have a more positive impact if they adopted a regional approach to reduce the availability of small arms that fuel a number of the pastoral and related conflicts.

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:

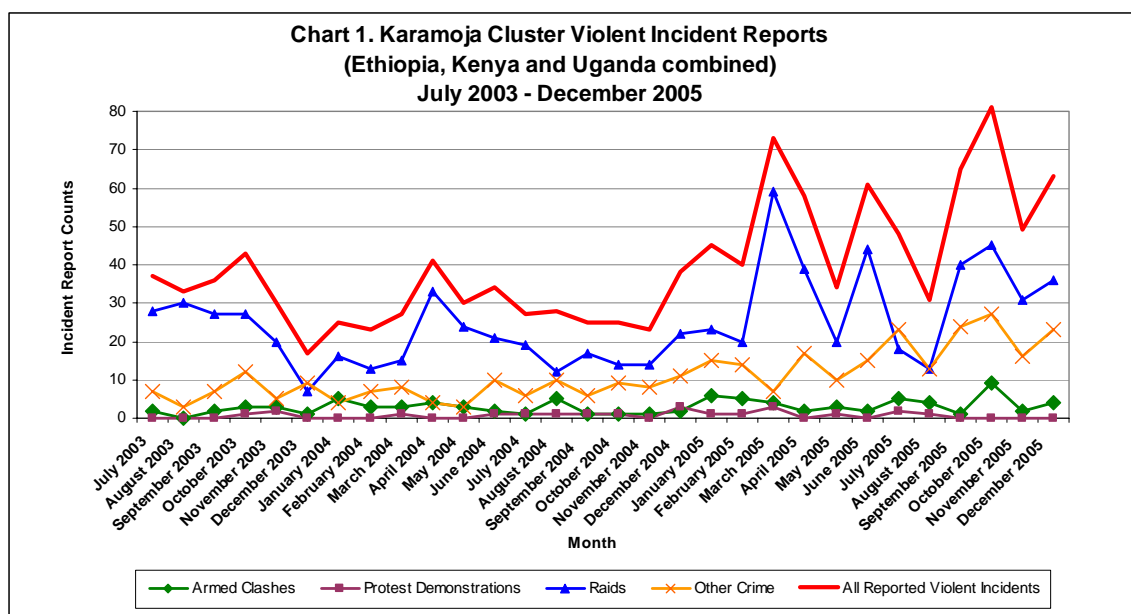
- Four districts in Uganda: Kotido, Moroto, Nakapiripirit and Kapchorwa;
- Three districts in Kenya: Turkana, West Pokot and Trans Nozia in Rift Valley Province;
- One Woreda: in Ethiopia Kuraz Woreda of the South Omo Zone of the Southern Nations & Nationalities Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS);
- Two 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.

Chart 1 Below presents the frequency of all Violent Incident counts combined for Ethiopia, Kenya, and Ugandan sides of the Karamoja cluster for the reporting period.



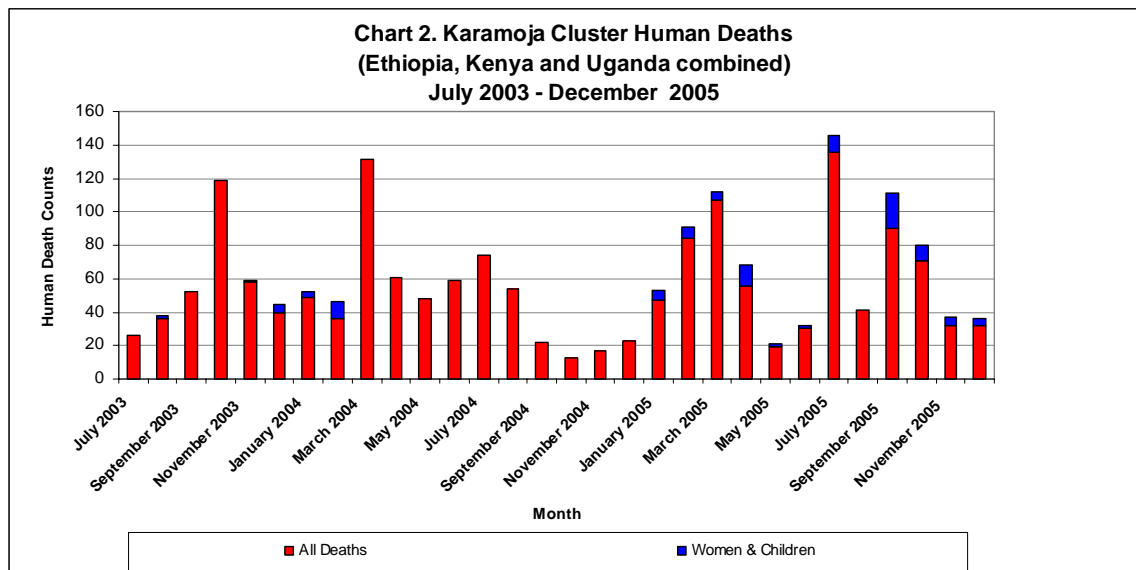
For the reporting period, a total of 258 incidents were recorded. Of these incidents, 90 were Other Crime, 152 were Organized Raids, and 16 were Armed Clashes. There were no Protest Demonstrations recorded¹. October 2005 had the highest numbers of violent incidents, followed by September, and December accordingly. Violence was lowest in November. Majority of these violent incidents occurred in the Ugandan-side side of the Karamoja Cluster – which contributed more than 80% of the total incidents recorded.

The high occurrence of violent incidents within the Ugandan-side of the Cluster may be attributed to the disarmament programme that was conducted in Ugandan and which curtailed movement of pastoralists to migrate to traditional grazing areas and thus increased resource competition in both Uganda and Kenya. In addition, communal alliances that were created between various communities to raid others contributed to increased violence. The absence of Protest Demonstrations incidents continues to portray the impunity that communities continue to practice in that they take law into their hands and thus they do not demonstrate whenever aggrieved.

The reporting period recorded more incidents than the previous one of May to August 2005 which had 174 incidents.

¹ For full description of Indicators see Appendix 1.

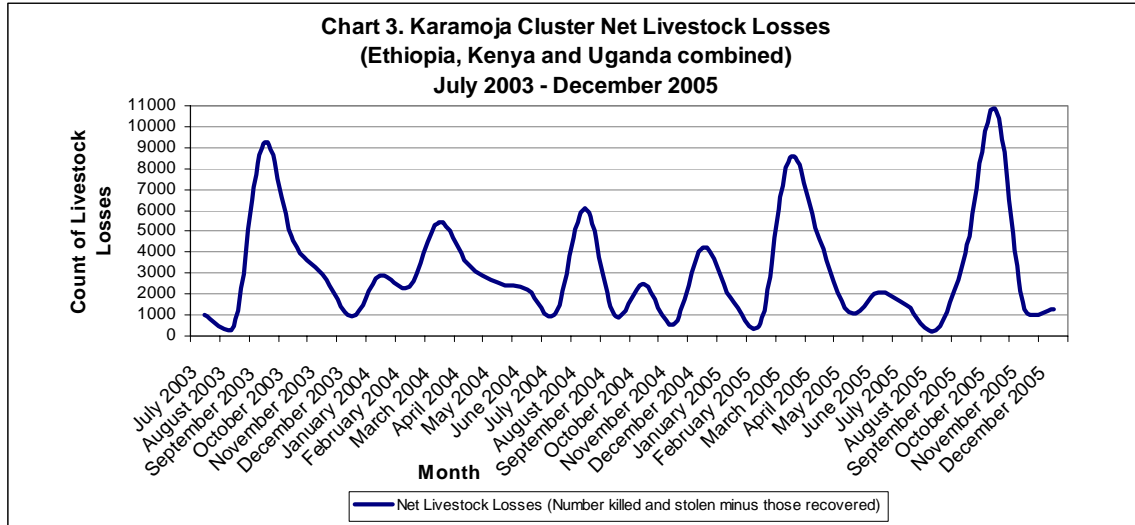
Chart 2 below presents Human Deaths for the Karamoja Cluster in the reporting period.



A total number of 239 deaths were recorded for the reporting period. Out of these 239 deaths 37 were women and children. The highest death counts were reported in September (90) and October (71). Both November and December had the lowest death counts – recording 32 respectively. The high death counts in both September and October could have occurred as a result of the high incident counts that were reported in the two months (see **Chart 1** above). In addition, both human death counts in September and October occurred as a result of the high number of both Organized Raids and Other Crime Incidents (banditry and assaults) that were recorded in the two months.

The Ugandan-side of the Karamoja Cluster contributed the largest number of human deaths (187) compared to both the Kenyan and Ethiopian sides which had a combined count of 38. As seen from Chart 1 above, the high number of incidents on the Ugandan –side contributed to the high death counts recorded on the Ugandan-side. And related to the high number of incidents and human death counts on the Ugandan side is that the violence claimed 35 women and children – the highest number of deaths involving women and children since CEWARN began collecting its field data in July 2003.

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



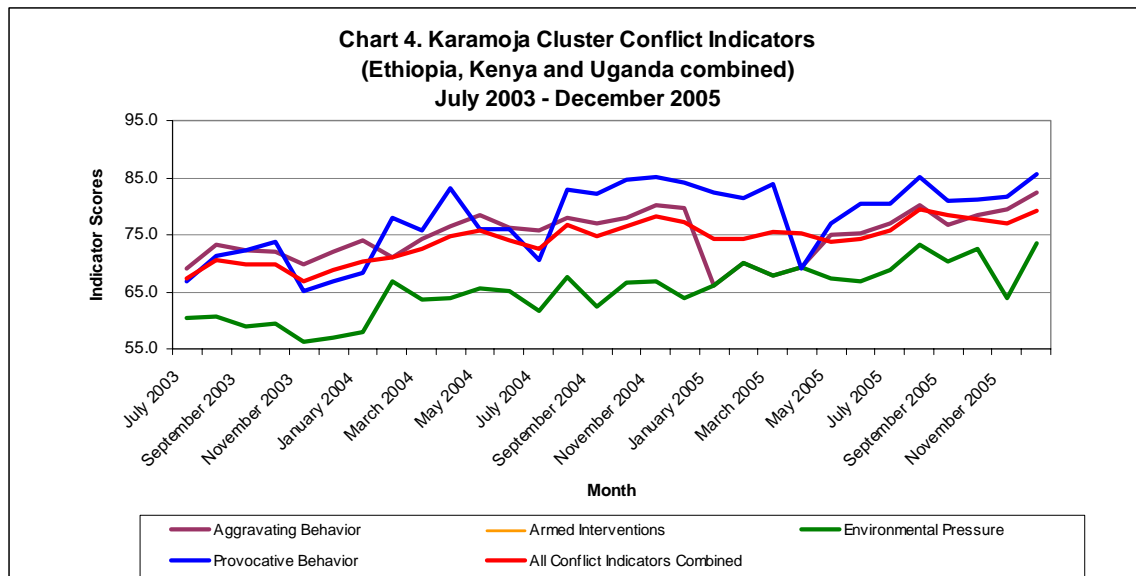
A total number of 16, 244 livestock were raided for the reporting period. Livestock losses were highest October (9,837), with September having the second highest number of livestock lost (3,926). The Ugandan-side of the Karamoja Cluster made the highest contribution to this big number of livestock losses whereby 10,554 livestock were reported lost on the Ugandan-side.

As seen above in **Charts 1** and **2**, the high level of violent incidents and human death counts that occurred on the Ugandan-side partly explains its linkages and contribution to the high livestock losses. In addition, it is interesting to note that the high number of violent incidents (particularly raids) in October contributed to the highest number of livestock losses (7,570) in Uganda in the same month in the reporting period.

According to the Ugandan reports, in one particular incident in Panyangara Sub-County in Jie County, Kotido District, a large group of Bokora warriors estimated to have been over 600 raided unattended Jie kraal on October 30, 2005, and made way with an estimated 6000-7000 heads of cattle.

The Kenyan-side of the Karamoja Cluster recorded the second highest number of livestock losses after Uganda. A total number of 4083 livestock were reported lost. These losses occurred as a result of cross-border raids mounted by communities from Ethiopia. Raids within the Kenyan-side contributed to the losses particularly in some of the incidents whereby Turkana and Pokot raiders also launched attacks against each other.

Conflict Indicators for the Karamoja Cluster are presented in **Chart 4** below.



The Chart highlights Aggravating Behaviors, Provocative Behaviors, Armed Interventions, Environmental Pressures, and Combined Conflict Indicators². Conflict indicators were high in the reporting period except for Environmental Pressures which was lower than the other two (Provocative and Aggravating Behaviors).

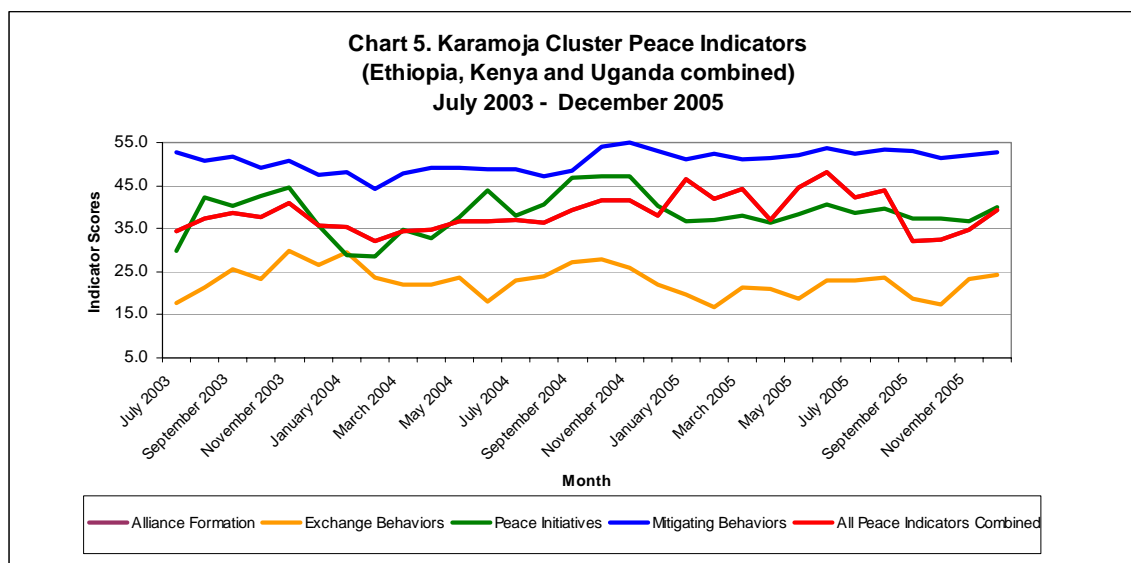
The highest indicators were Provocative and Aggravating Behaviors. The high number recording of Provocative and Aggravating Behaviors may have contributed to the high number of violent incidents particularly Organized Raids (see **Chart 1** above) in the reporting period. Numerous reported cases of male movement particularly armed youth, traditional forecasting by traditional leaders/healers of impending raids and other disasters, and pre-raid blessings in all three-country-sides of the Cluster all contributed to the increase in Provocative Behaviors indicators. And most of these Provocative Behaviors were reported on the Ugandan-side.

The same can be said of Aggravating Behaviours whereby increased security escorts, presence of illegal arms, and the migration of armed unknown persons in certain areas who were avoiding the disarmament programme are factors that influenced the rise in Aggravating Behaviors. As earlier explained, the disarmament programme is one particular factor that prevented pastoral communities' movements and thus restricted communities in both Uganda and Kenya from moving to traditional grazing areas in search of pasture and water or conduct trade amongst themselves.

² For full description of Indicators see Appendix 2.

Environmental Pressures were decreased slightly in November due to the presence of the short rains which occurred in a few areas in the Cluster. However, the high recording of the Environmental Pressures in the reporting period could be attributed to the subsequent poor rainfall and dry conditions that occasioned the drought that affected the Cluster.

Peace Indicators for the Karamoja Cluster are presented in **Chart 5** below.



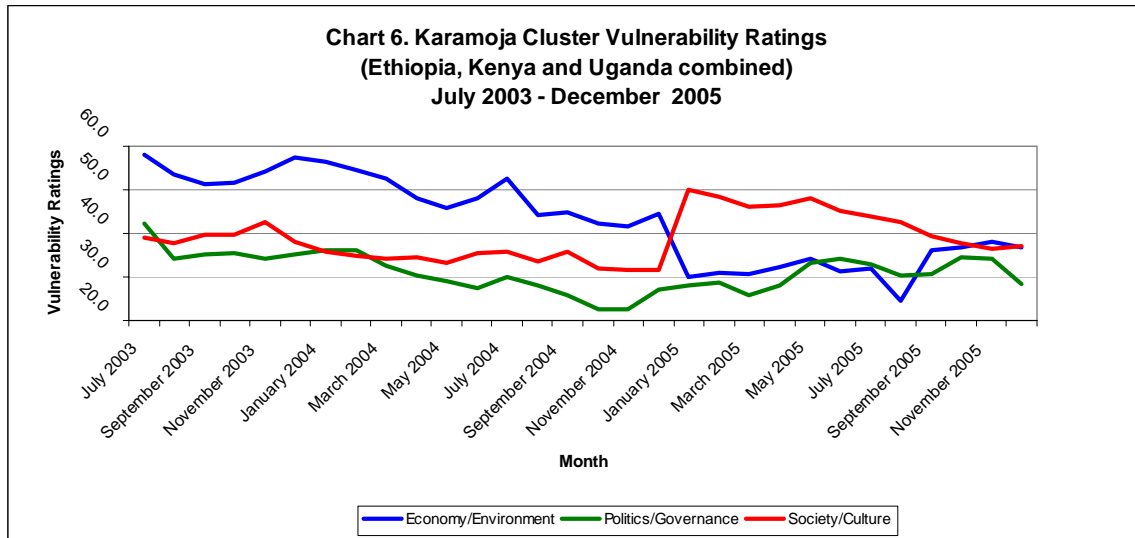
The Chart highlights Alliance Formation, Exchange Behavior, Mitigating Behavior, Peace Initiatives, and All Peace Indicators Combined³. All Peace Indicators Combined were low in the reporting period.

The low recording of Peace Initiatives could be explained by the few peace initiatives recorded and their un-sustained nature that were conducted in the Karamoja Cluster in the reporting period. Exchange Behavior was the lowest peace indicator – and this could be attributed to the high number of incidents that occurred and which adversely affected inter-communal relations and other aspects like trade and sharing of resources.

Mitigating Behaviors remained slightly higher than the rest, and could have had such a recording de to the reason that most communities had access to social services and other amenities in their respective areas despite the general insecurity that prevailed in most parts of the Cluster.

³ For full description of Peace Indicators see Appendix 2.

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



Vulnerability Ratings remained low in the reporting period. Specifically for Politics and Governance Vulnerability Ratings, they remained low despite the high prevalence of incidents due to the presence of security agencies that had been deployed in both the Kenyan and Ugandan-sides to implement the disarmament programme. In addition, the November referendum in Kenya availed for political campaigns that were peaceful and hence could have contributed to general peace on the Kenyan-side of the Cluster. Thirdly, peace initiatives and agreements reached between some of the communities (i.e. in Ethiopian-side between Dassenech and Nyangatom, in Kenya between the Turkana, Pokot and Ugandan communities) could have been other factors.

The peace initiatives conducted could also have led to the low recordings in Environmental Ratings in that despite the poor rainfall occurrence and the onset of drought, peace negotiations conducted by both Governmental institutions and civil society bodies helped ensure access to and sharing of pasture and water resources – and thus averting severe competition in most instances.

Comparative Analysis

The reporting period September to December 2005 recorded an increase in violence and general insecurity compared to the previous period of May to August 2005. And this situation can be better understood by looking at the number of violent incidents, human deaths and livestock losses which were higher than the previous period. Indeed, the reporting period recorded the highest number of women and children killed in one particular period since CEWARN began collecting its field information in July 2003.

Another particular development noted in the reporting period was the continued availability of small arms that enabled the pastoral communities to attack one another, loot livestock, kill, and destroy property.

Analysis of Structural Conflict Aggravating Factors

In the reporting period climatic conditions particularly poor rainfall and resultant drought played an important role in influencing pastoral communal relations and specifically violent incidents. Scanty and near-absence of the short rains particularly in October to December contributed to decreased pasture and water resources resulting in increased competition in parts of the Cluster particularly Kenya and Ethiopia.

Another important feature that influenced pastoral conflicts was cultural practices whereby traditional forecasting and blessing of youth by traditional healers influenced communities to strategize and raid others. And related to cultural practices are cattle raiding that in many ways fed the many violent incidents recorded in the reporting period whereby communal attacked each other to restock diminished. The raiding was also conducted by young armed men as a way to initiate them into adulthood.

Analysis of Proximate Conflict Aggravating Factors

The availability of arms and bullets, sightings of movements of armed all male youth, and the discontinuation and disruption of self-help activities were factors that that created tension and fed into communal conflicts in the reporting period. In addition, the disarmament programme conducted in the Kenyan and Ugandan-sides of the Cluster, though well-intentioned, in many ways contributed to violence as the armed warriors sought to carry out raids and other crime against other communities as they avoided the army personnel who carrying out the exercise. In this case certain parts of the Cluster where the military were not well deployed experienced increased cases of violence.

The communal alliances established in Uganda by some communities to raid others were other factors that heavily influenced violence and contributed to the high human deaths and livestock losses.

Analysis of Structural Conflict Mitigating Factors

The disarmament programme and conduct of peace education and campaigns by both governmental and civil society institutions reduced sought to reduce the level of violence as the exercise encouraged communities to surrender illegal firearms. In addition, the disarmament exercise led to the increased presence of military deployment along roads for travelers and other areas that reducing banditry and cross-border attacks particularly between Kenya and Uganda. It is believed that the continued conduct of the disarmament programme between Kenya and Uganda and accompanied by economic and social development will bring about behavioral change in the area.

Analysis of Proximate Conflict Mitigating Factors

In the reporting period several attempts were made by both governmental and civil society actors to create harmony between the various communities. However, most of these initiatives were not sustained, but can be commended for reducing tensions between various communities particularly those conducted between Kenyan and Ethiopian communities by both countries' governments and others by civil society bodies.

Particularly for Kenya and Ethiopia, peace meetings helped avert heightened tension between the Turkana (Kenya) and Dassenech and Nyangatom (Ethiopia) and this may partly explain the fewer number of violent incidents and human deaths that were recorded in the two countries sides.

The disarmament programme conducted on both the Kenyan and Ugandan-sides is another factor that contributed to reduction of tensions on short-term basis. Secondly, communal alliances, as reported particularly on the Ugandan side, in many cases were established strategically to raid others. However, in other instances the alliances were made for peaceful coexistence and sharing of resources. One such particular alliance in the reporting period was established between the Jie, Matheniko, and Bokora in Uganda.

Response Recommendations

	Short-term	Medium-term
CEWERUs	Coordinate, support and strengthen the various peace initiatives that aim to create harmony, put in place development programs, and address other immediate communal needs including access to and sharing of scarce resources in situations of drought.- CEWERUs to respond to indications of break of alliances and attacks in order to prevent violence from recurring between communities due to the possibility of renewed conflicts and revenge attacks. In addition, other initiatives like disarmament need to be planned and carried on a regional or Cluster basis with CEWERUs playing a central role in coordinating and ensuring development and civil society institutions have a contributory role.	Establish cross-border initiatives and strengthen existing ones to ensure various structures including communities, civil society bodies, and bilateral governmental institutions are actively involved in peace building and particularly in responding to conflicts whenever attacks occur or tensions are high.
Local Communities/ Administrations	Local community initiatives and institutions need to utilize their capacities in conflict mitigation by involving elders councils to ensure cross-border sharing of scarce resources in situations of drought. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Local administrations and local communities need to establish channels of sharing early warning information with field monitors and other actors so as to ensure that conflicts are addressed on timely basis and information verification and reliability is realized. 	Actively involve local communities and administrations in the designing and implementing of peace building and development initiatives so as to ensure ownership at the local levels
Civil Society Institutions	Coordinated civil society approach in the local, national, and regional levels in peace building and development programs to avoid duplication and competition and ensure impact is achieved.	Civil society bodies to seek avenues of actively participating in national and regional programmes such as disarmament. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conduct and be actively involved in peace education and conflict reduction campaigns and programmes that seek to address cultural practices that promote violence. - Seek to support and promote youth,

		women, and elders initiatives that promote peace and development.
International Non-Governmental Organizations	Support conflict reduction programmes such as disarmament with technical capacity and funds	Introduce viable approaches and programmes that seek to introduce alternatives for enhancing livelihoods and thus reduce communities' continue reliance on livestock keeping

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)

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

Month & Year	Protest Demonstrations	Other Crime	Organized Raids	Armed Clashes	all incidents
July 2003	0	7	28	2	37
August 2003	0	3	30	0	33
September 2003	0	7	27	2	36
October 2003	1	12	27	3	43
November 2003	2	5	20	3	30
December 2003	0	9	7	1	17
January 2004	0	4	16	5	25
February 2004	0	7	13	3	23
March 2004	1	8	15	3	27
April 2004	0	4	33	4	41
May 2004	0	3	24	3	30
June 2004	1	10	21	2	34
July 2004	1	6	19	1	27
August 2004	1	10	12	5	28
September 2004	1	6	17	1	25
October 2004	1	9	14	1	25
November 2004	0	8	14	1	23
December 2004	3	11	22	2	38
January 2005	1	15	23	6	45
February 2005	1	14	20	5	40
March 2005	3	7	59	4	73
April 2005	0	17	39	2	58
May 2005	1	10	20	3	34
June 2005	0	15	44	2	61
July 2005	2	23	18	5	48
August 2005	1	13	13	4	31
September 2005	0	24	40	1	65
October 2005	0	27	45	9	81
November 2005	0	16	31	2	49
December 2005	0	23	36	4	63
totals	21	333	747	89	1190

Month & Year	Outcomes - Human Deaths Low Estimates	Outcomes - Deaths of Women & Children Low Estimates
July 2003	26	0
August 2003	36	2
September 2003	52	0
October 2003	119	0
November 2003	58	1
December 2003	40	5
January 2004	49	3
February 2004	36	10
March 2004	131	0
April 2004	61	0
May 2004	48	0
June 2004	59	0
July 2004	74	0
August 2004	54	0
September 2004	22	0
October 2004	13	0
November 2004	17	0
December 2004	23	0
January 2005	47	6
February 2005	84	7
March 2005	107	5
April 2005	56	12
May 2005	19	2
June 2005	30	2
July 2005	136	10
August 2005	42	0
September 2005	90	21
October 2005	74	9
November 2005	34	5
December 2005	41	2
totals	1678	65

Month & Year	Livestock Losses, net
July 2003	1034
August 2003	448
September 2003	9157
October 2003	4543
November 2003	2925
December 2003	968
January 2004	2890
February 2004	2342
March 2004	5409
April 2004	3407
May 2004	2562
June 2004	2234
July 2004	1098
August 2004	3098
September 2004	2348
October 2004	2470
November 2004	229
December 2004	4224
January 2005	1779
February 2005	845
March 2005	8559
April 2005	4952
May 2005	1149
June 2005	2034
July 2005	1443
August 2005	414
September 2005	3926
October 2005	9837
November 2005	1190
December 2005	1291
totals	88805

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

Month & Year	Economy/ Environment	Politics/ Governance	Society/ Culture
July 2003	58.1	42.2	39.0
August 2003	53.4	34.1	37.9
September 2003	51.2	35.3	39.8
October 2003	51.7	35.4	39.6
November 2003	54.1	34.3	42.6
December 2003	57.5	35.3	38.1
January 2004	56.5	36.0	35.8
February 2004	54.5	36.3	35.0
March 2004	52.7	32.7	34.1
April 2004	48.0	30.2	34.5
May 2004	46.0	29.1	33.1
June 2004	48.0	27.4	35.5
July 2004	52.6	30.2	35.8
August 2004	44.1	28.0	33.4
September 2004	44.8	25.7	35.9
October 2004	42.3	22.6	31.8
November 2004	41.6	22.7	31.5
December 2004	44.4	27.2	31.6
January 2005	29.9	28.2	50.1
February 2005	31.0	28.8	48.3
March 2005	30.5	25.9	46.2
April 2005	32.2	28.1	46.6
May 2005	34.2	33.3	47.9
June 2005	31.2	34.3	45.3
July 2005	31.9	33.0	43.9
August 2005	24.6	30.4	42.7
September 2005	36.2	30.8	39.3
October 2005	36.7	34.4	37.7
November 2005	38.0	34.1	36.4
December 2005	36.8	28.4	37.1

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