

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



**in the**

**Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)  
Region**

**CEWARN Regional Report**

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**8<sup>th</sup> Regional Report on the Karamoja Cluster  
September - December 2006**

**CEWARN, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**

# CEWARN Regional Report

## Update Period:

September through December 2006

## Area of Reporting:

Ethiopian, Kenyan and Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

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## Executive Summary

The 8th regional report of the Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (Mechanism) of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) aims to provide and share the "Cluster" based analysis on the nature, and dynamics of the national and cross-border pastoral and related conflicts. This report tries to capture and reflect the significant eventual observations that evolved from the data collection and analysis carried out within September and December 2006. The data was collected from the Ethiopian, Kenyan, and Ugandan sides of the karamoja Cluster. The Sudan-side of the same Cluster was not covered.

The report is produced to inform decision-making bodies of the CEWARN Mechanism regarding the reported conflicts and associated potential risks in the sub-region's Cluster areas of reporting. There is the trust and confidence that the recommended courses of action proposed by the National coordinating Units, CEWERUs, for the immediate, medium term, and long term, will be duly addressed by the relevant stakeholders to resolve the real issues and factors that drive and influence violent conflict in the areas of coverage.

During the period covering September to December 2006, a total of 592 Deaths, and 28087 livestock losses were registered in 175 incidences, out of which 12.1% were of cross border nature with the respective neighboring IGAD Member States.

Unlike Uganda that had the highest count of Incidences resulting in highest livestock loss in November and death toll in October; the reporting period had registered a decline in the number of incidences as compared with the previous quarter. The decline in incidences was partly attributed to the engagement of the Governments and civil society organizations in conflict prevention and peace building activities. It is reported that much of the deaths registered in the Ugandan side of the Karamoja cluster, is a consequence of the series of clashes between the UPDF and the warriors in Jie County.

There were reports of Peace initiatives undertaken in the Ethiopian and Kenyan side of the Karamoja cluster that are attributed to the tripartite collaboration between Dassenech Wereda administration, local peace committee and NGOs in peace and development areas which contained the conflict in Nebremus /Dassench Wereda, in the one hand, and the enhanced engagement of both the Kenyan and Ethiopian Governments, USAID/DAI, and Oxfam in mitigating the Turkana – South Omo Conflict.

Although there has been a reduction of conflict in the previous reporting period following the forceful disarmament, the present period shows an unprecedented increase in violence, which also led to an increase in recorded assaults associated with the cordon and search operations by the UPDF.

## Background

CEWARN and other institutions commonly use “the karamoja Cluster” to describe the area where the pastoral and agro-pastoral ethnic communities that encompass Southwestern Ethiopia, Northwestern Kenya, Southeastern Sudan and Northeastern Uganda reside. Some of these communities share a common language and culture.

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 this particular cluster live in abject poverty and lead an unsecured lifestyle that is exacerbated by the availability of small arms. Poor infrastructure makes it even difficult for Governments and civil society to access and provide essential social services, while at the same time curtailing the capacity of security forces to duly respond to the ever-increasing violence and cattle rustling that have devastating impact on the livelihood of pastoral communities

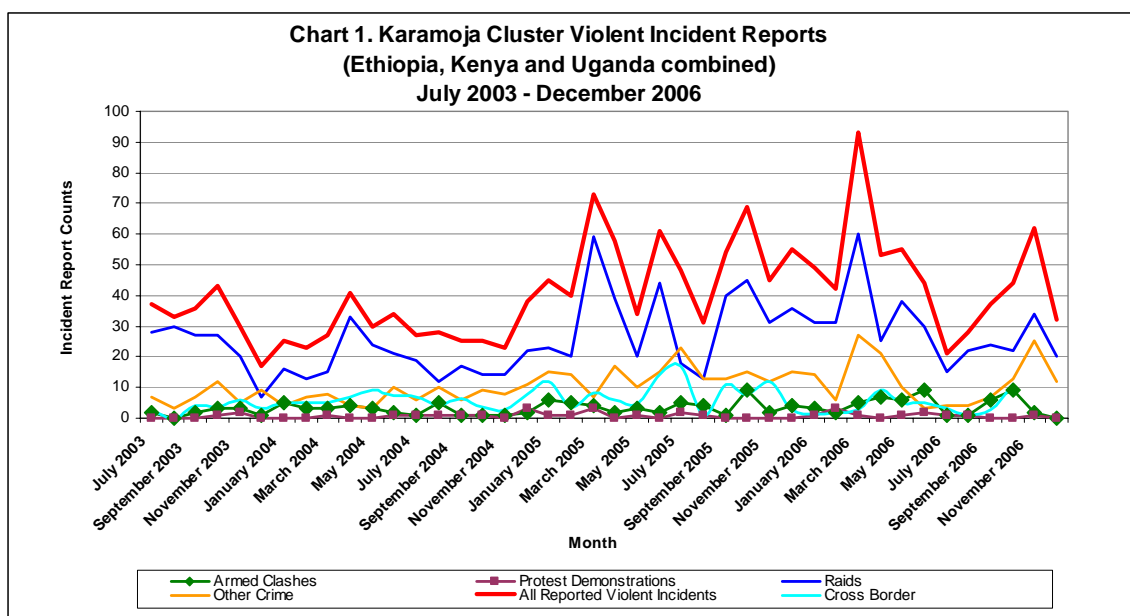
The arid and semi arid nature of the Karamoja, though endowed with diverse ecosystems, largely depends on seasonal patterns of rainfall, which influences the Agricultural production towards a subsistent yield of millet and sorghum, and the livelihood of the resident communities towards livestock keeping.

In the Pre-colonial era the territorial boundaries of the communities living within the Karamoja cluster depended on the status of their communal relationships, being less rigid and non- limiting.

## Current Baseline Analysis:

NOTE: The y-axes 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.

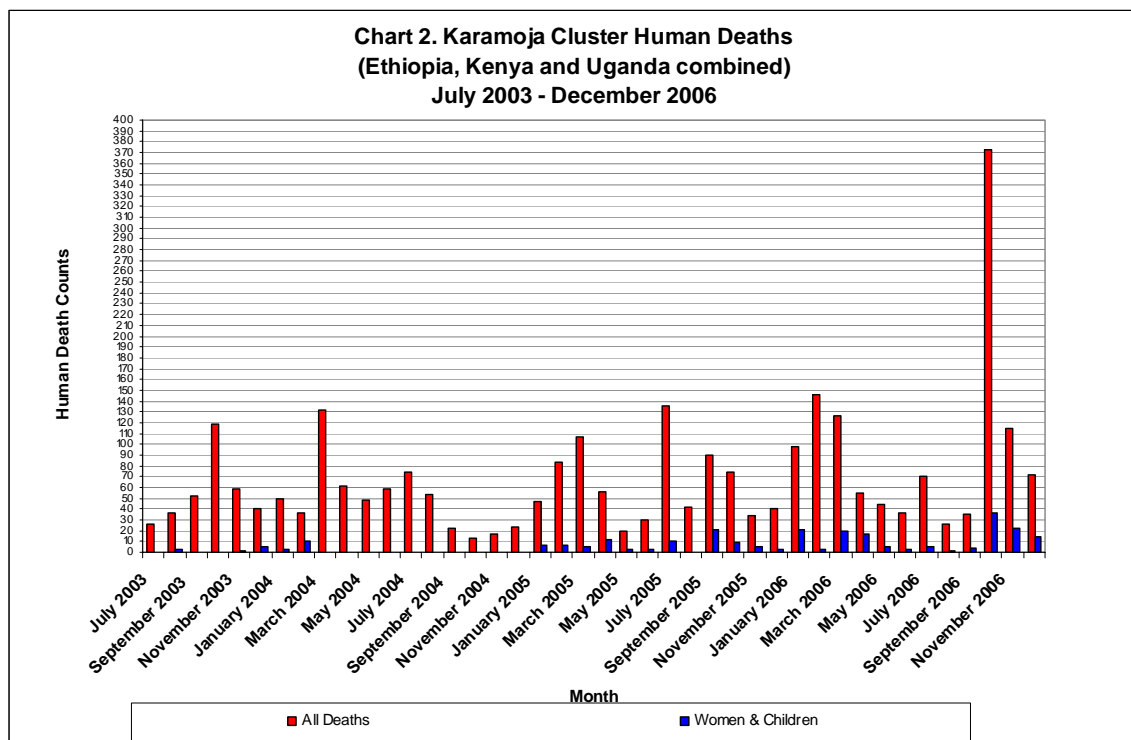
Chart 1 below presents the frequency of all violent incident counts combined for Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda sides of the Karamoja cluster for the reporting period.



In the reporting Period, a total of 175 incidents were recorded. Of these incidents, 100 were Organized Raids, 57 were Other Crimes, 17 were Armed Clashes and 1 was Protest Demonstration.

November had the highest number of violent incidents [in Kenya and Uganda] followed by October [Ethiopia]. The lowest incidents took place in September and December for Kenya and Uganda respectively. The Ugandan side of the karamoja takes a bigger proportion, 75% [132/175] of the incidents in the cluster, where by the continued cordon-and-search operations run by the Uganda Peoples Defence Forces (UPDF) in search of illegal guns, [as part of the disarmament exercise] contributed to the cases of assaults. With the exception of the later, that had 96% inter communal conflictual incidences, many of the incidents that evolved in the cluster during the reported period were of cross border Nature.

Chart 2 (below) presents Human Deaths for the Karamoja cluster in the reporting period

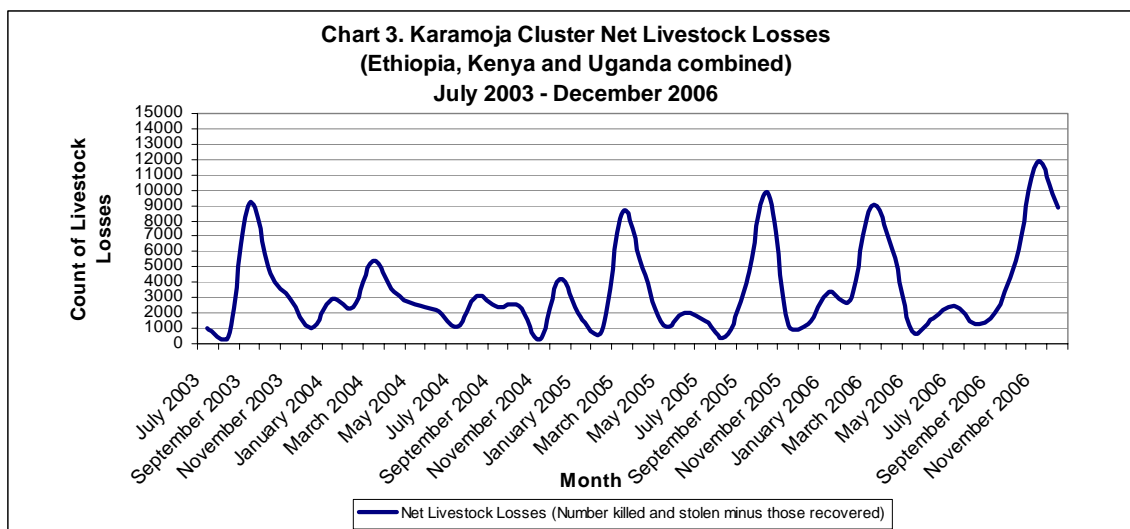


There was a total of 588 Human deaths in the Ethiopian, Kenyan and Ugandan side of the karamoja cluster, of which, 2.2% were attributed to the Ethiopian side of the karamoja mainly involving the Turkana of Kenya in November; 7.8% were accounted to the Kenyan side involving 4 women and a child, and 90% accounted to the Ugandan side, which is also reported to be the highest since the reporting of incidences commenced in Uganda, where the highest deaths within the same reporting period took place in October, costing 366 human lives, which is also noted as a significant contrast when compared with the total death of the prior period, which was reported as 126.

In general, a significant rise in Human death was noted in most of the incidences of the Sub-region e.g., [46 vs. 11 in the Kenyan], and [529 vs 126 in Ugandan the sides] of the karamoja clusters.

The Ugandan update of the same period revealed the involvement of Women and children upto 13-14% of the total Death toll within the Reported period. In the Ugandan side of the karamoja alone 37 women and children were reported to have died in the month of October. While 46 deaths were registered on the Kenyan side, involving 15% Women and children.

**Chart 3** (below) presents Net Livestock Losses for the Karamoja cluster in the reporting period

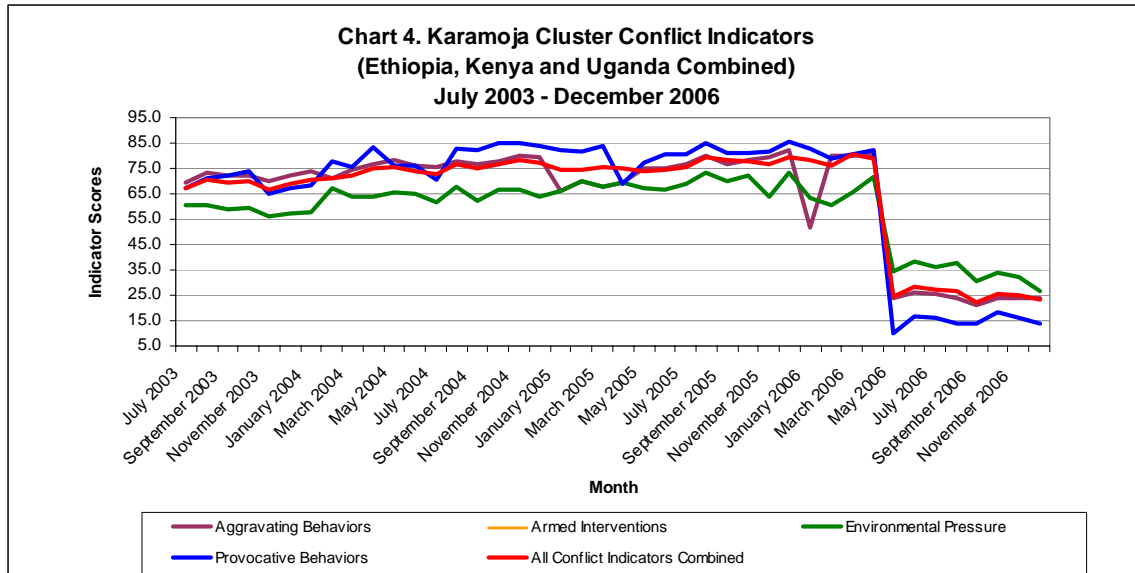


In the reporting period, the total Livestock lost within the Ethiopian, Kenyan and Ugandan side of the Karamoja cluster were 3061, 13, 998, and 11,028 respectively. This brings the aggregate loss for this same cluster to 28087. It was noted that many of the raids took place at night on the Ethiopian side, which subsided in November and December due to the rise in volume of the kibish River.

On the Kenyan side it was observed that livestock raided September through December was more than the preceding reporting period, which was only 1991, and the highest number was lost in November and December. e.g. [In one major incident in Turkana Central, an approximate of 7,000 livestock were raided on 13<sup>th</sup> December 2006]. The number of incidences of raids was 21 which was much more significant than the previous reporting period [which was 16.] The increase in raids was attributed to the pastoralists' need to restock their herds following the devastating drought that hit the AORs earlier in the year.

On the Ugandan side, the highest number of livestock raided was in November where 6,919 livestock were reported raided. This is the same month that recorded the highest number of organized raids, 26 – accounting for 50% of the raids in the reporting period. There was a significant increase from the previous month in which only 12 organized raids were reported.

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



The Chart reflects that the Aggravating Behaviors, Provocative Behaviors, Armed Interventions, Environmental Pressures, and Combined Conflict Indicators remained low as in the previous reporting period, which was generally attributed to the:

- a) Availability of adequate volume and geographic coverage of rain, leading to sufficient pasture and water that was available in most parts of the areas of reporting. Despite certain competition over access to fresh water and pasture in the Ethiopian side, Dassench area, In some parts e.g. Kibish-Ethiopia, there was significant reduction of tension due to the rise in volume of Kibish River, which interrupted movement, and, thus, reduced violent incidents.
- b) Provocative Behaviors manifested by factors such as all-male migration, pre-raid blessing and traditional forecasting remained low, Which is attributed to a combination of climatic and interventional influences like favorable weather conditions and the intensification of peace building efforts by civil society organizations in close collaboration with the government. The Provocative Behaviors reached their highest peak in October and slightly declined then after. In the case of the Ethiopian side of the karamoja, it was a consequence of the continued clashes between Nyangatom of Ethiopia and Turkana of Kenya. Such escalating trends were noticed in relation to the elder's role in giving blessings for the youth to go on an attack. More over, youth in groups, carrying guns, and wandering around areas such as grazing lands and watering points were evident in some areas of Reporting such as Kibish – Ethiopia, where Traditional seers contributed to rise in Provocative Behaviors by telling forecasts that indicated suitable time and place to launch attacks.

Aggravating Behaviors manifested by interruption of other activities, development aid problems, pastoral migrations, protests, post-raid blessing, separation of groups and harmful migration and livestock policies were also low in the reporting period. This was reportedly attributed to the calm that prevailed in Turkana North and Trans-Nzoia – a

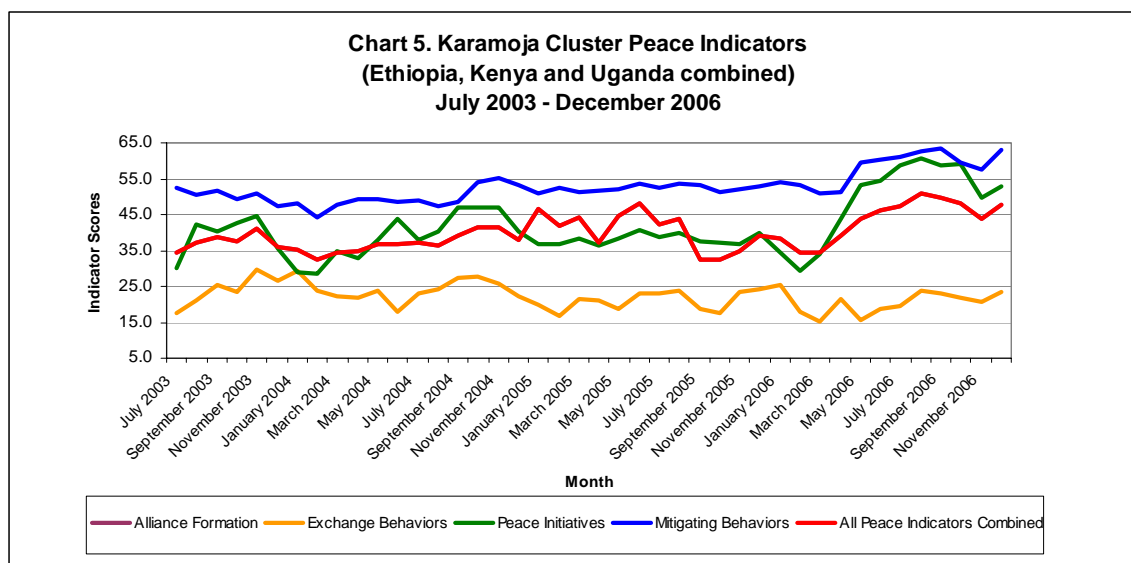
consequence of the enhanced engagement of the Government and civil society organizations in peace building. The Aggravating Behaviors, which was particular in the Ethiopian side of Karamoja -Kibish Area of Reporting, was moderately high until its decline in December, characterized by Interruption of self help activities such as farming in fear of Turkana attacks; and disruption of pastoral movements. Besides these elements, increased presence of small arms and exchange of bullets contributed to the rise. On the Ugandan side of the karamoja Cluster, all combined Conflict Indicators also showed low level in the reporting period, while violence was recorded as very high. The possible explanation for this was the continued forceful disarmament exercise, which led to more actions by the warriors.

Aggravating Behavior recorded in the Ugandan side of the karamoja cluster, remained at low score, as the warriors could not overtly mobilize for raiding, partly due to the fear to respond to raiders.

Environmental Pressures was declining, but rose in October-November before starting to decline again in December. The possible explanation for the rise in October-November was due to the relocation of most of the herds in Kotido and Kaabong districts following the clashes between the warriors and the UPDF in Uganda...

Provocative Behavior remained lowest, due to the warrior's fear of attracting the UPDF.who are reported to be targeting and arresting males who moved in groups of 5 and above.

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



In General, the combined peace indicator remained strong. Peace initiatives and activities also remained strong in some parts e.g. Nebremus-Ethiopian, Local peace committees, which were established by local Riam Riam-EPARDA peace initiative in both Kenya and Ethiopia accordingly, continued to undertake major peace activities that greatly contributed to preservation of peaceful relations between Sassenech and Turkana as well as between Dassenech and Nyangatom.



Mitigating Behaviors remained moderately high throughout the reporting period, characterized by:

- Continued Relief supply distribution to victims of Omo River flooding by both the Government and NGOs such as EPARDA, International Rescue Committee (IRC), and Farm Africa.
- Uninterrupted access to education and Health facilities in the case of the Ethiopian side of the karamoja cluster...

There was a rise in Peace Initiatives during the period as a result of the increase in peace initiatives by civil society organizations in collaboration with the provincial administration. Hence, Turkana North and Trans-Nzoia, in the case of the Kenyan side of the Karamoja cluster, remained unusually calm and peaceful owing to the peace building work by civil society in close collaboration with the government. The Turkana – South Omo Conflict Mitigation Project supported by Oxfam and DAI; and the Catholic Diocese of Lodwar's medical services outreach programme helped promote peaceful co-existence between the Turkana and the Merille in Turkana North.

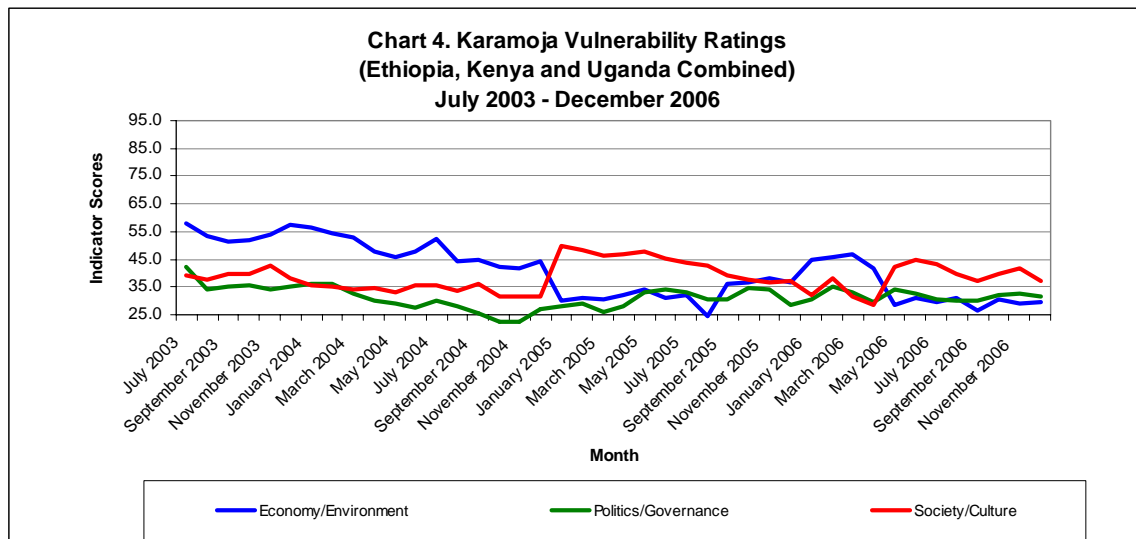
Alliance Formation remained low although it started to rise through October, November and December. There were reports of meetings between the Jie, Bokora and Matheniko groups to forge an alliance.

Exchange Behavior was observed to remain low; due to the ongoing forceful disarmament exercise which has interrupted the inter-group sharing, inter-group marriages, gift offering and cross-border trade.

Mitigating Behavior also remained high, which is the highest of all the peace indicators in the period. This could be as a result of the response by civil society organizations to the increased violence because of the negative effects of the forceful disarmament.

The All Peace Indicators Combined is relatively low during the reporting period. There is need to increase the Peace initiatives in the region in order to mitigate conflict. Consistent peace-building activities by both government and civil society will ultimately lead to de-escalation of conflict in the region.

**Chart 4** (below) presents Vulnerability Ratings for the Karamoja cluster in the reporting period.



### Comparative Analysis:

The reporting period was characterized by an unprecedented increase of all conflict incidences, 175 against 148 of the prior period resulting in increased Human deaths involving 594 against 177 of all ages of the previous reporting period, of these the lives of 77 Women and children were involved against 14 of the prior reporting period. [This brings a marginal increment in percentage of human loss to 336%. And aggregate livestock losses of 28087 against .6288 of the previous period.

This increased in violence and related loss of human lives and animals is significantly attributed to the disarmament exercise on the Ugandan side of the Karamoja undertaken by the government of Uganda that had an aggravated side effects e.g. cases of assaults, on the vulnerable segments of communities. [The Ugandan side of the karamoja absorbs greater proportion, 75% [132/175] of the incidents in the cluster, due to continued cordon-and-search operations run by the Uganda Peoples Defense Forces (UPDF) in search of illegal guns]

### Analysis of Structural Aggravating Factors;

As can be observed from the violent incidents, livestock losses, and human deaths (refer Charts 1, 2, and 3) the culture of raiding, impunity, and availability of arms still remain as factors that influenced violence in the reporting areas. Traditional practices including initiation and blessing of youth, and traditional forecasting were also reported. However the intensity of such aggravating behavioral index were found to be some what less as compared with the previous reporting period. [An aggregate of 96.1 against 105.8 of the previous reporting period]. This may be attributed due to the combination of both climatic and interventional factors like easing of tension via distribution of essential commodities by relief agencies, flooding and or fullness of river bodies, and also as the result of the disarmament program in the Ugandan side partly discouraging the warriors to overtly mobilize for raiding,

### **Analysis of Proximate Conflict Aggravating Factors:**

The shift from traditional tools to light weapons, arms and bullets, and its availability; the overall impact of natural calamities such as floods and or drought, generally conditions the human mind towards survival via violence for purposes of restocking of depleted herds. More over, the disarmament programme in the Uganda side of the Cluster exacerbated conflict between communities and UPDF – in some cases leading to armed clashes with detrimental undesired consequences<sup>1</sup>.

### **Analysis of Structural Conflict Mitigating Factors:**

Continued adoption of comprehensive approaches including the promotion of access for essential social services like education and health, and efforts to addressing the security and other essential needs of Pastoral Commodities before undertaking any other corrective legal measures may have a greater impact.<sup>2</sup>

Instituting bottom-up Interactive and consultative law Enforcement mechanisms, the taking a multilaterally coordinated approach to disarmament exercise may alleviate tension and the conflict between government/security institutions and local communities. Its long term goal will be the reduction of Poverty and meeting the essential/prime needs of the pastoral community e.g. water, pasture, food, educational and health facilities. Hence, investment in these interventions will have a positive bearing on peace, security and development in those areas of reporting<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *A reflection on the Ugandan update for the same period highlighted the following: This is an example of how a well-intentioned policy meant to mitigate conflict combines with structural factors to aggravate the conflict situation. The reasons for the unintended consequences need to be critically underscored in order to realize conflict mitigation and socioeconomic development.*

<sup>2</sup> *The government and international agencies initiated numerous development projects in the AORs in the Kenyan side of the Karamoja. The construction of access roads, schools and health centres and the drilling of boreholes were reported in the AORs. The creation of new districts in the areas of reporting will help address the problem of insecurity in the long-term. The vastness of districts and inadequate policing, have been partially responsible for perpetuating pastoral conflicts. The creation of Turkana North and Turkana South Districts out of Turkana District; Trans-Nzoia East and Trans-Nzoia West out of Trans-Nzoia District, and North Pokot District which was carved out of West Pokot District, will help take government services including security closer to the people, considering that national resources are distributed on the basis of districts.*

*There is need to improve infrastructure and to ensure that adequate social services are provided; pastoral communities should also be assured of their security. More effort should be directed towards supporting pastoralism i.e. improvement of the quality of herds, provision of veterinary services and greater market access*

<sup>3</sup> *Availability of grazing lands/ pasture and water reduced as the dry season persisted during September and to some extent in October. This was the familiar pattern as the rain is not expected normally until the beginning of November*

## Analysis of Proximate Conflict Mitigating Factors

The Adoption of and instituting a regional approach to address the proximate causes of conflict and violence in the karamoja clusters is considered as effective. Benefits from the Positive and negative Lessons of the Dassenech-Turkana cross-border peace initiative that was conducted by EPARDA and Riam Riam, Projects that target long term benefits to the pastoral communities are important development initiatives that would help easing livelihood pressure. Supply of relief to the needy; building infrastructure were the other mitigating factors reported in the Ethiopian side of the karamoja cluster during this period<sup>4</sup>.

The disarmament program of Uganda can be drawn to mitigate proximate conflicts<sup>5</sup>.

## Response Recommendations

### **CEWERUs:**

#### A. Short-term – The CEWERUs of Kenya, Uganda, and Ethiopia

- a) Hasten the establishment of linkages between the CEWERU and the District Peace Committees to address communal conflicts, and further ensure greater coordination of the activities of the various actors involved in peace building.
- b) The CEWERUs in the sub-region should organize a meeting of stakeholders to discuss best practices and approaches for the successful disarmament, and further respond to immediate indications of conflict and alerts.
- c) Further Support on-going peace initiatives of local governments and the civil society in averting conflict.

#### B) Medium-term –

- Multilaterally Work together with other CEWERUs and IGAD in coordinating and implementing regional disarmament initiative;
- Work towards the formulation and or realization of an on-going national policy on peace building and conflict transformation.
- Take initiative discussions on the development and improvement of delivery of social services as part of a sustainable disarmament; and work towards the establishment of response structures in the Districts.
- Strengthen the coordination and institutional mechanism linking federal and local organs of government and civil society to solicit better response

### **Local Communities:**

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<sup>4</sup> Projects that target long term benefits to the pastoral communities, such as EPARDA- Dassenech Wereda irrigation project, if properly managed, are important development initiatives that would help easing livelihood pressure. Supply of relief to the needy; building infrastructure were the other mitigating factors during this period.

<sup>5</sup> The Kenyan Updates highlights the following: Recent efforts at disarmament have not yielded much because illicit small arms are still widely available in the AORs. A regional disarmament approach has to be implemented, but first, the pastoral communities' confidence has been won. A regional coordinated disarmament approach should ensure a buy-in by the pastoral communities

A). Short-term –

- a. Extend and further render support to the ongoing peace initiatives by CSOs and the Government.
- b. Encourage the use of traditional institutions and structures to prompt sharing of resources, peace building and conflict resolution.

B) Medium term –

- a. Liaise with the Government, local leaders and CSOs in identifying development priorities
- b. Mobilization for long-term development strategies of the region, further lay the ground for sustainable peace
- c. Pursue and sustain the peace activities (cross border/national) by including pastoralist elders, youth, women, etc

**Civil Society:**

A) Short-term-

- a. Sustain and further enhance peace building and conflict management.
- b. Involve in peace initiatives with government and the local communities and Contribute to the disarmament program running civic education campaigns on the advantages of disarmament
- c. Strengthen coordination and networking to mitigate conflict across borders.

B) Medium-term-

- a) Focus on long-term peace and development programmes that seek to improve pastoral communities' livelihoods.
- b) Sustained peace and development programs contribute to delivery of social services.
- c) Consolidate and possibly expand development initiatives by involving the pastoralists themselves

**International NGOs/Donors**

A) Short-term-

- a. Work with the relevant line ministries in supporting peace building programmes in pastoral areas
- b. Support government and civil society initiatives for peace
- c. Support the peace activities of local NGOs, especially the cross border ones

B) Medium-term

- a. Partner with Government in long-term development initiatives aimed at reducing poverty and diversifying livelihood options
- b. As part of the Poverty Eradication Action Plan or any other feasible development Initiatives Support those that seek to provide scientific alternatives for survival and livelihood in order to reduce the people's reliance on livestock.
- c. Provide resource and “expertise” for development and peace initiatives using every viable means. e.g. RRF

## 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

Month & Year	Protest Demonstration	Other Crime	Organized Raids	Armed Clash	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	13	40	1	54
October 2005	0	15	45	9	69
November 2005	0	12	31	2	45
December 2005	0	15	36	4	55
January 2006	1	14	31	3	49
February 2006	3	6	31	2	42
March 2006	1	27	60	5	93
April 2006	0	21	25	7	53
May 2006	1	10	38	6	55
June 2006	2	3	30	9	44
July 2006	1	4	15	1	21
August 2006	1	4	22	1	28
September 2006	0	7	24	6	37
October 2006	0	13	22	9	44
November 2006	1	25	34	2	62
December 2006	0	12	20	0	32
<b>totals</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>444</b>	<b>1099</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>1715</b>

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
January 2006	98	21
February 2006	146	3
March 2006	126	19
April 2006	55	17
May 2006	44	5
June 2006	37	3
July 2006	70	5
August 2006	26	1
September 2006	35	4
October 2006	372	37
November 2006	115	22
December 2006	72	14
<b>totals</b>	<b>2874</b>	<b>253</b>



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
September 2006	0.0	13.8	30.3	21.1	22.5
October 2006	0.0	18.5	33.9	23.7	25.6
November 2006	0.0	16.0	32.3	23.8	24.9
December 2006	0.0	14.0	26.8	23.7	23.1

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
January 2006	44.6	30.6	32.2
February 2006	45.8	35.3	38.4
March 2006	46.6	33.3	31.8
April 2006	41.6	29.6	28.8
May 2006	28.8	33.9	42.4
June 2006	31.0	32.8	44.8
July 2006	29.5	30.6	43.2
August 2006	31.0	30.1	39.9
September 2006	26.3	30.1	37.0
October 2006	30.6	32.3	39.5
November 2006	29.1	32.4	41.7
December 2006	29.3	31.4	37.3

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
September 2006	58.9	63.5	23.0	22.8	49.9
October 2006	59.2	59.6	22.0	21.0	48.2
November 2006	49.8	57.7	20.7	20.0	44.0
December 2006	53.0	63.0	23.4	21.3	47.6