

The Conflict Early Warning and Response mechanism (CEWARN)

in the

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

CEWARN Country Updates: January-April 2009

For the Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

May 16, 2009

CEWARN, Addis Abeba, Ethiopia

CEWARN Country Update

Update Period:

January through April 2009

Area of Reporting:

Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

National Research Institute:

Inter Africa Group (IAG)

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May16, 2009

Executive Summary

The purpose of this Country Update is to establish the incidence and outcomes of pastoral conflict on the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja cluster from January through April 2009 set in the context of all reports submitted from January 2004 through January 2009. The reporting locations on the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja cluster are 3 in number for the reporting period: Kibsih in Nyangatom Wereda; Bubua and Nebremus in Dassenech Wereda of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State. This Update presents both positive and negative precursors to the pastoral conflict situations as a means to illuminate trends that can help signal imminent outbreaks or escalations or mitigate ongoing conflicts in the cluster.

For the reporting period January through April 2009, 6 human deaths and 243 livestock losses were reported on the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja cluster. These losses were reported in a total of 9 incident reports involving the Dassenech, Nyangatom, Turkana, Hamer and Gabra communities from Ethiopia and Kenya.

The reporting period saw escalation of the conflict between Turkana of Kenya and Dassenech of Ethiopia as well as a couple of incidents between Turkana and Nyangatom. New internal conflicts between Hamer and Dassenech as well as cross border ones between Gabra of Kenya and Dassenech were also observed.

While the deteriorating relations between Turkana and Dassenech showed no sign of abating, the Turkana- Nyngatom conflict had experienced a brief lull in February and March before it was reignited in April. The semi-opeationalisation of the Nyngatom CEWARN peace committees was the main reason for the brief hiatus and showcased that community based peace committees backed by government can be a viable peace vehicle. On the other hand, the resumption of conflict in April between Turkana and Nyngatom showed that cross border conflicts cannot be resolved by the efforts of one side but rather require a commitment and collaboration of officials and peace actors on both sides of the border.

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The active engagement of local administration in trying to contain conflicts by initiating talks with their counterparts across the border and advising the communities to refrain from retaliation, and also ensuring uninterrupted provision of existing social services such as safety net program, education and health, that eased the vulnerability of the communities, also helped the conflict from spiraling out of control.

The Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) of The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, has coordinated the field reporting and editing of these reports. The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) have contributed funds towards this effort. CEWARN in collaboration with Virtual Research Associates (VRA) developed the early warning methodology and reporting tool.

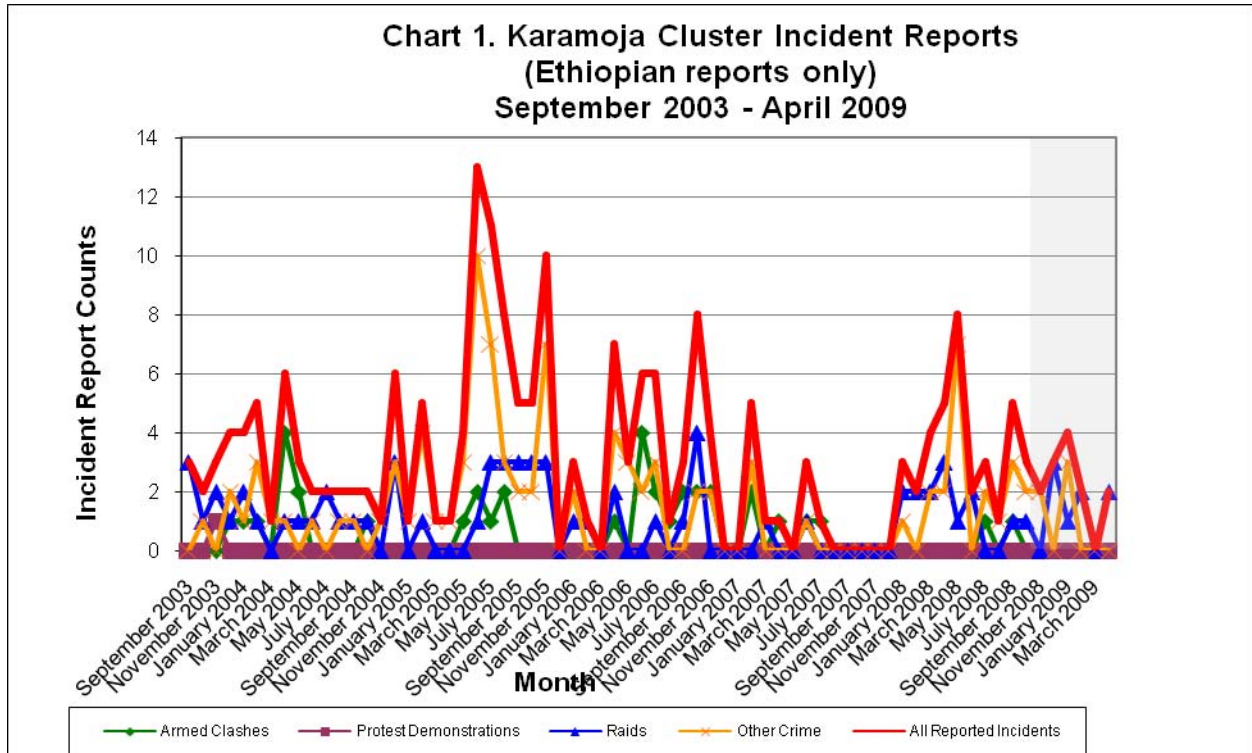
Suggestions and comments on this initial baseline are welcome. Please contact CEWARN (cewarn@ethionet.et) at the CEWARN office in Addis Ababa with any questions, comments or suggestions. The next CEWARN Country Update May-August 2009 for the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja cluster is scheduled for posting in September 2008. In the course of the year these Updates will be enhanced with specific response options identified and tied to their associated thresholds of indicator values that signal pastoral conflict escalation, destabilization or violence.

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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 violent incident counts for the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja Cluster for the reporting period.



A total of 9 incidents were reported to have occurred on the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja cluster in the reporting period. Violent incidents were at their highest levels in April.¹ Among the total 9 incidents reported on the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja cluster 6 (67%) were identified as cross border by the field reporters in that the protagonists were from Ethiopia and Kenya. Location wise, Kibish Area of Reporting (Nyangatom Wereda) reported 4 incidents while Bubua and Nebremus areas (Dassenech Wereda) together reported a total of 5 incidents.

Among the incidents, some of them have seldom occurred in the area. These rare incidents which all occurred in Bubua were four in number; out of which three incidents were between Hamer and Dassenech, and one between Gabra of Kenya and Dassenech. The conflict between Hamer and Dassenech had been triggered by Dassenech who went to Hamer Wereda and killed one Hamer but ended up suffering the greater loss because of the series of revenge attacks the Hamer carried out. The first such revenge attack occurred on April 6 where the Hamer wounded one Dassenech and went with 12 cattle from Nayikaye Kebele; the second came on April 7 where the Hamer killed two Dassenech and went with 220 goats from Erikal

¹ five incidents occurred in this month

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Kebele (also known as Eleret); and on the same day they wounded one Dassenech boy at Gerkilem Kebele. The attacks drew a quick intervention from Zonal administration and Wereda officials of both Hamer and Dassenech where they were able to contain the conflict².

On the other hand, the Gabra and Dassenech conflict was triggered by a group of Gabra who crossed from Kenya into Bubua Kebele and stole 79 cattle on March 12. They also killed two Dassenech and wounded another two in the process. The Dassenech Wereda administration officials quickly intervened and convinced the Dassenech to restrain from taking cross border revenge actions. However, the relative calm may come to abrupt end anytime if the administration officials fail to convince their Kenyan counterparts to bring those responsible for the incident to justice.

4 incidents occurred in Kibsih Area of Reporting, involving Turkana of Kenya and Nyangatom of Ethiopia. In January the Turkana raided 51 goats from Tirgiya, a grazing area in Nyangatom, but the Turkana Peace Committee returned 35 of those goats which was the outcome of strong relationship that existed at that time between The Turkana Peace Committee and the newly formed Nyangatom Peace Committee.³ However, on the 24th of February the Turkana again took 22 cattle from Nyangatom's in Lokomuagnan Kebele., while series of negotiations were being conducted between the two committee to recover the raided cattle. Again the Turkana raided the Nyangatom on 26th and 28th of April and made away with donkeys from Tirgiya e. These incidents made the on-going negotiations between the two Peace Committees difficult and eventually forced them to suspend contacts.

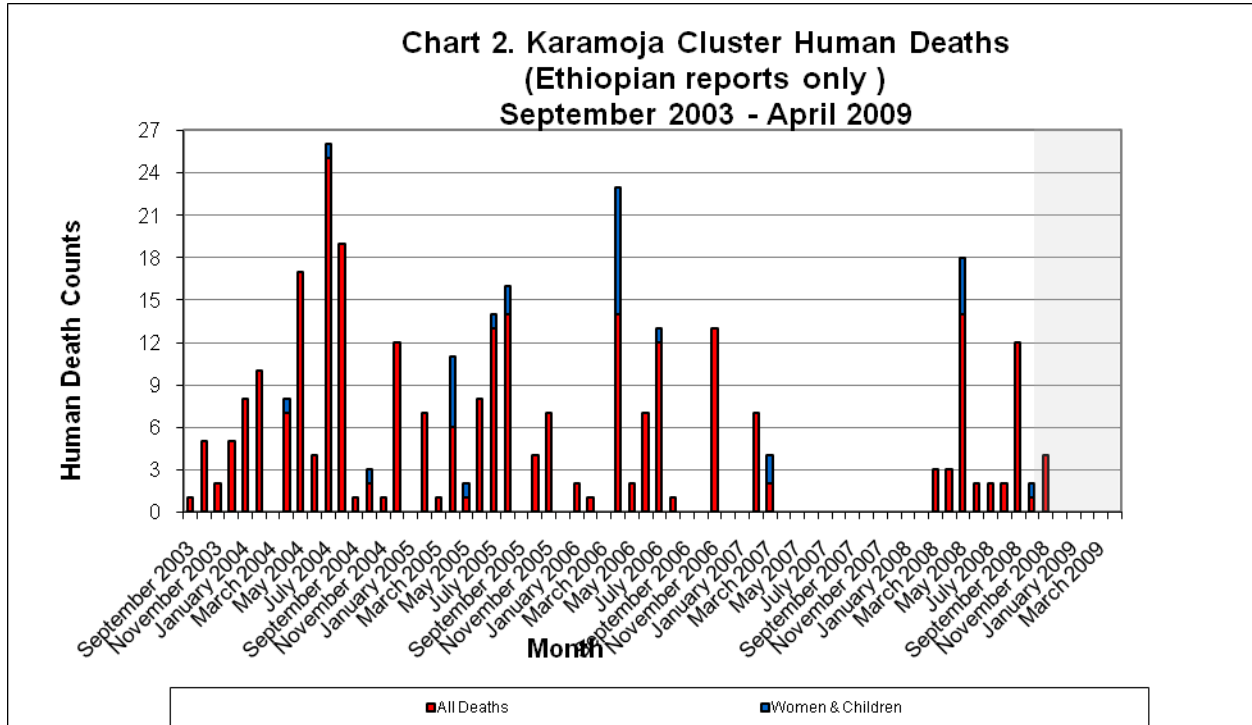
Only one incident occurred in the Neberemus Area of Reporting. The incident was recorded on the 14th of January 2009 where the Turkana fishermen killed 2 Dassenech fishermen who used to work for Ethiopian Fish Production and Marketing Cooperation. But a number of other incidents had occurred on the Kenya side making this corridor the most volatile compared to the other Areas of Reporting (AORs). Among the incidents that occurred on the Kenyan side and fanned the conflict were: two Dassenech fishermen killed by Turkana near Kenyan police station on the 8th of March; a disabled Dassenech boy who was killed on Kenyan side on the 20th of March and the killing of two Dassenech who were receiving treatment in a clinic on the Kenyan side on the 27th of April. All these incidents showcased the on-going Dassenech – Turkana conflict is developing into a more deadly and complex conflict.

² There is a planned meeting between these communities in May 2009 to return stolen cattle and discuss compensation for those killed.

³ the important role of peace committees were also demonstrated in another instance; On February 3 the Nyangatom Peace committee has returned 7 donkeys which were taken by Nyngatom on the same day

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

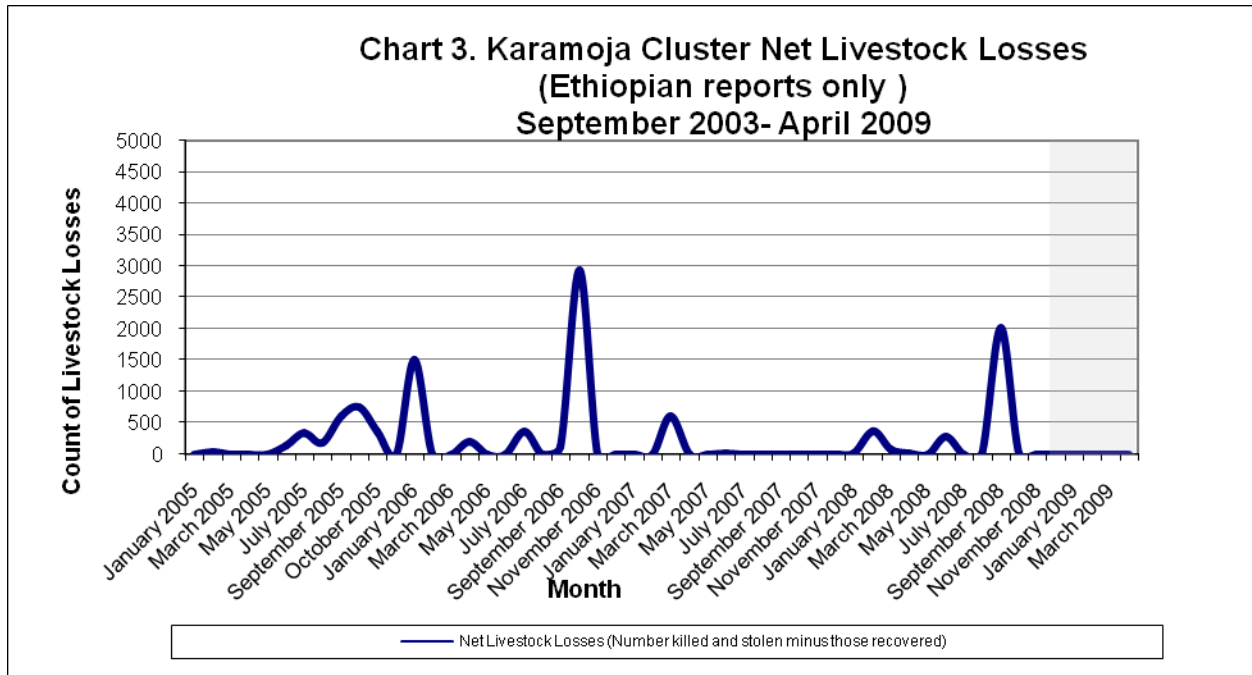


A total of 6 human deaths were reported on the Ethiopian side during the reporting period in a total of three incidents. These incidents were the March 12th Gabra attack where 2 Dassenech died; the April 7 Hamer raid where another two Dassenech died and the January 14 Turkana attack where two Dassnech fishermen were killed. The Dassenech also suffered from the incidents that occurred on the Kenyan side; a total of 5 Dassenech died in those incidents.

While the killing of the Dassenech by Gabra could be considered as an indirect consequence of a raid, the rest including those that occurred in Kenyan side revealed that the killings were a result of actions deliberately aimed at killing innocent and helpless individuals in revenge and counter revenge actions. This could be associated to the communal dimension of conflicts in pastoral areas which assumes that not matter an individual is directly involved in the conflict or not, by the virtue of being member of a community that is regarded as an “enemy” at certain point in time, h/she is often a “legitimate” target. .

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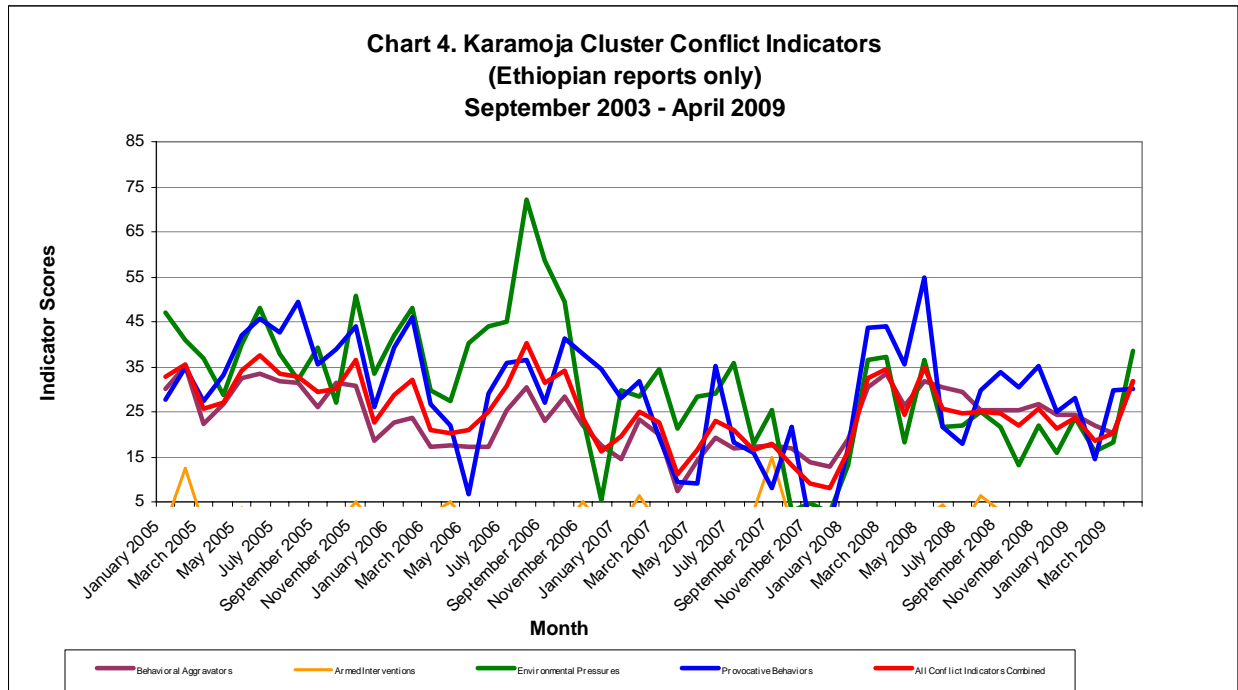
Livestock losses are presented in **Chart 3** (below).



A total of 360 livestock were raided during this period. In the month of April 243 livestock (including cattle and goats) were raided, the highest number lost for the period. The Dassenech suffered most of the losses in the period; out of the total 360 livestock raided 311 belonged to the Dassenech. The rest 49 belonged to the Nyangatom. The loss the Dassenech suffered were the result of the raid by Hamer and Gabra of Kenya on three different occasions in Bubua Area of Reporting. There is an assumption that the Dassenech suffered the loss because they likely were much more focused on fending off Turkana attack which was rapidly becoming the main threat during the course of this period, and thus, were least expecting such rare attacks from the other two communities.

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



The chart highlights Aggravating Behavior, Provocative Behavior, Armed Interventions, Environmental Pressure, and the Combined Conflict Indicators.⁴

Provocative Behaviors increased in January, declined in February, then bounced back in March and April. A number of activities in Nebremus and Kibish AORs contributed to the recordings in January. In Nebremus, Turkana footsteps were spotted in many areas. This was accompanied by a number of conflict provoking traditional forecasts by traditional Dassenech Seers prompted Dassenech male groups to be wary of and mobilize in large numbers to provide protection for their cattle. In Kibish similar observations of footsteps of Turkana in areas such as Lokorlam, Tirgiya, Kakuta made the Nyangatom to mobilize their warriors around grazing areas. In addition, the training of militias by Nyngatom administration was misconstrued by the Turkana as if the Nyangatom were preparing for launching attacks which increased the movement of Turkana male groups in the area. All these factors influenced provocative behaviors to increase in January.

In February, while the movement of male groups and traditional forecasts continued in Nebremus AOR, such conflict influencing activities declined in Kibish due to the fact that CEWARN peace committees created in November 2008 in Nyngatom Wereda have started meeting with their counterparts on the Kenya side which helped in allaying the fear and mistrust between the two communities. As a result, this might have made Provocative Behaviors to decline.

⁴ Please refer to the Appendix for a description of the conflict indicators.

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However, Provocative Behaviors increased in March and April. The continuing clashes between Dassenech and Turkana and new conflicts with Gabra of Kenya and Hamer agitated and mobilized the Dassenech youth to mobilize and fend off these attacks. The Nyangatom were also mobilizing their youth for two reasons; to deter the Turkana or Dassenech from using their land and thus drawing them in their dispute and; and to protect themselves from further Turkana attacks after the incidents in April.

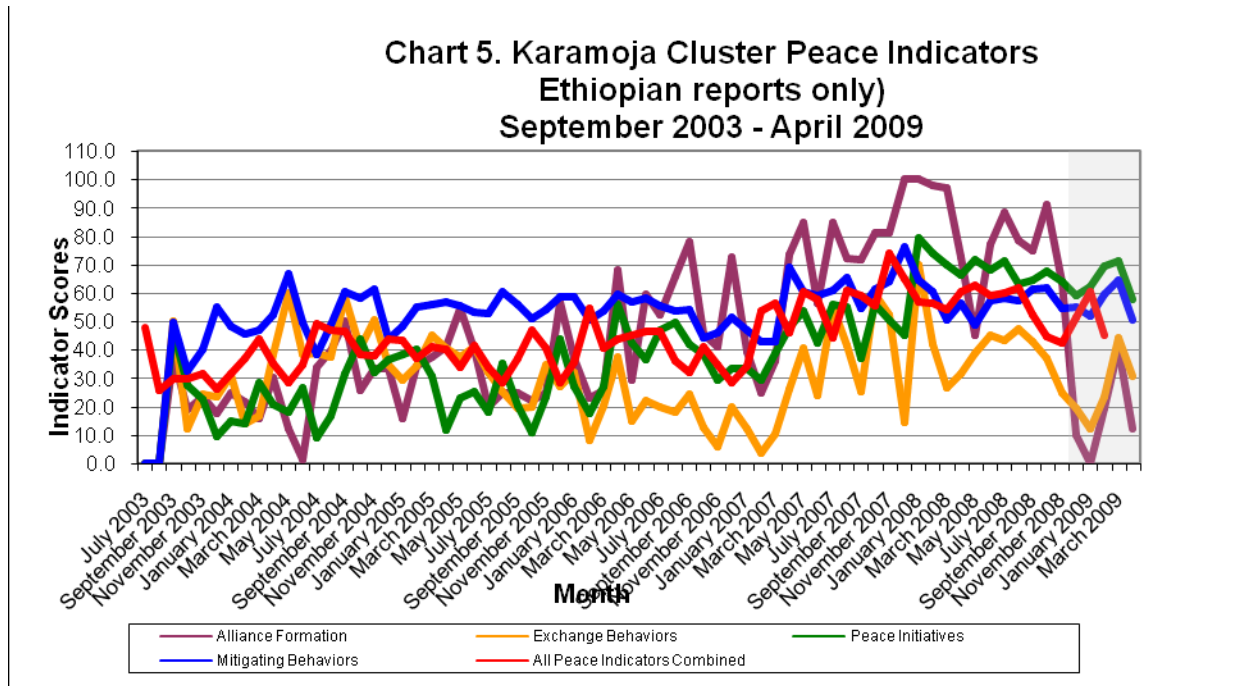
Environmental Pressures rose slightly in January, declined in February and March, and then increased in April. In January the weather had become very dry that the Nyangatom around Kibish migrated to Surma areas near Omo National Park. And this movement created concentration of livestock in small areas. Similarly the Dassenech were forced to abandon common grazing areas with Turkana as a result of ongoing escalating tension between the two. Both developments created pressure on secure grazing areas. In February, the CEWARN peace committees became very active and their cross border dialogue allowed the Nyangatom to share grazing areas with the Turkana and this eased the pressure for water and pasture. In March, the rain started and this in addition to the improved relations brought about by the cross border dialogue between the peace committees further eased the pressure for water and pasture in Nyangatom areas. While conflict has not subsided in Dassenech, the fact that they have taken their cattle to Desset (a rich grazing areas protected by the waters of Omo River) have at least temporarily eased the environmental tension.

In April environmental pressure increased despite the rains. The Nyangatom's improved relations with Turkana faced setback in this month with a rise of incidents instigated by the Turkana which led to restriction of access to grazing areas. Likewise due to the continued tension between Dassenech and Turkana the former remained unable to take out their cattle to fresh grazing areas near to the border as they feared Turkana raid .Moreover the Dassenech in Bubua AOR, due to the occurrence of new incidents with Gabra and Hamer couldn't also freely access grazing areas. All these developments made environmental pressure increased significantly in this month.

Aggravating Behaviors were moderately high from January to March and further increased in April. The tension between Turkana, Nyangatom and Dassenech in January restricted pastoral movements on the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja cluster, and further disrupted cross border activities such as cross border trade and forced the Nyangatom to migrate to Surma-Mursi Lands near Omo National Park. Although the situation improved in February and March on Nyangatom side, the situation continued the same on the Dassenech side. In addition to the tension with Turkana, new tensions occurred between Gabra of Kenya and Dassnech in March which further restricted movements in previously calm areas such as Bubua. All these factors contributed to the moderately high aggravating behavior from Jan-March. While the on-going tension between Turkana and Dassenech still continued to restrict normal movement pattern of the Dassenech , another conflict between Dassenech and Hamer further expanded the “no-go areas” in April. In addition, the return of conflict between Turkana and Nyangatom similarly restricted the Nyangatom movements and interrupted the booming cross border trade between the two communities.

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



The chart highlights Alliance Formations, Exchange Behaviors, Mitigating Behaviors, Peace Initiatives, and All Peace Indicators Combined⁵.

Peace Initiatives remained high the first three months but declined in April. Various peace initiatives were observed during this reporting period. The peace initiatives declined in April with the escalation of incidents that made peace work difficult. During Jan-March, the Nyangatom peace committees became semi-operational and were mobilized by the Wereda administration for cross border dialogue with the Turkana. This, as stated earlier, improved cross border relations including cross border trade and brought semblance of peace in the area. Yet this peaceful atmosphere was interrupted in April as a result of successive attacks launched by Turkana on Nyangatom. In Dassenech wereda, the EPARDA peace committees, in collaboration with the wereda administration were in contact with their Kenyan counterparts to diffuse the escalating tension between the Turkana and Dassenech. The Dassenech Wereda administration was also quick to intervene and inhibit the Dassenech from launching attacks on the Grabra of Kenya after the incidents of March 12. All these efforts however didn't achieve the desired outcome of lasting peace. Conflict continued to escalate and peace efforts began to erode towards end of April mainly because they had weak partners across the border.

Alliance Formations were low in January and April and moderately high in February and March. The factors for these ups and downs lied in the fluctuations in Turkana – Nyangatom relation which was directly linked to the activities of the Nyangatom CEWARN peace committees. At the pinnacle of their activities in February and March the Nyangatom peace committees were able to forge good relations with the Turkana and the two seemed in alliance for peace at least for the time being. However, as the situation deteriorated due to the Turkana aggression in April this peaceful alliance collapsed.

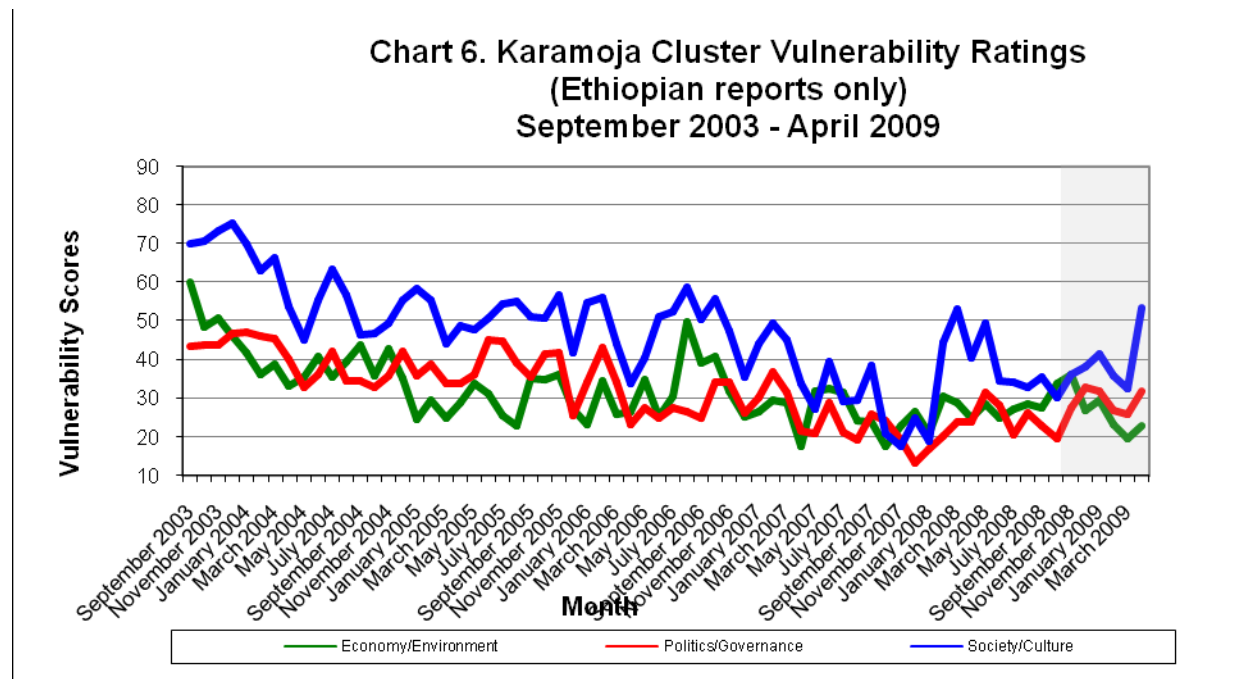
⁵ Please refer to the Appendix for a description of the peace indicators.

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Exchange Behaviors increased in February and in March and declined in January and April. The cause for the increase and decrease again was linked to the fluctuating Turkana and Nyangatom relations. In the wake of improved relations between the two, cross border trade and exchange of goods had also improved until the relation deteriorated in April, and as a consequence both sides avoided trade and contacts.

Mitigating Behaviors remained moderately high throughout the reporting period. Health posts, schools, relief supply and safety net programs such as food for work have been accessible in good and bad times. In addition the wereda administration officials had demonstrated their desire to bring peace in the area with their active intervention such as in the Gabra attack as well as in their use of the Nyangatom peace committees. However, due to lack of corresponding cooperation across the border in Kenya their efforts have not brought the desired peace in the area.

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



Economic/Environment Vulnerability Ratings increased in January, declined slightly in February and March, and then rebound in April. The dry spell and the conflict in January had increased the vulnerability of the Nyangatom and Dassenech. In February and March particularly on the Nyangatom side the semi-operationalisation of the Nyangatom peace committee led to negotiated access to grazing areas as well as resumption of cross border trades which eased the Environment/Economic vulnerability. However in April due to the resumption of conflicts, cross border trade declined and access to grazing areas became difficult. This might have led to the slight rise in Economic/Environment vulnerability.

Society/Cultural Vulnerability Ratings increased in January and April, and was low in February and March. In tandem with the rise in conflict in April as well as in January, societal/Cultural interaction at community level significantly declined. Particularly in April due to the resumption of conflicts in many fronts, societal interactions among various groups were curtailed. To cite a few: an improving relationship between Turkana and Nyngatom deteriorated; relations between Dassenech and Turkana worsened; even relation between Hamer and Dassnech deteriorated.

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Whereas in February and March the improved relations between Turkana and Nyngatom increased cross border interactions such as cross border trade; and this may explain why the vulnerability index showed a decline.

Comparative Analysis

<u>Type</u>	<u>Sep-Dec 08</u>	<u>Jan-Apr' 09</u>
Incidents	11	9
Human Deaths	20	6
Livestock Losses	2107	243

In Comparison to the last reporting period of Sep-Dec, 2008 this period showed a slight decline in number of incidents and significant reductions in human deaths and livestock losses. While in contrast the above figures seemed to show an overall decline, this should not be construed that the area had become more peaceful. In the contrary, the period saw further escalation of tension and conflict between Dassenech and Turkana as well as witnessed new conflicts between Hamer and Dassenech and between Gabra of Kenya and Dassenech. While the Nyngatom –Turkana conflict declined in February and March it resumed in April. All these scenarios reinforce the recommendations made in the last reporting period that a comprehensive and all inclusive sub-cluster peace process need to be initiated to address existing and any other emerging communal conflicts. And there is no other institution better placed than CEWARN and its stakeholders (both government bodies and civil society) in initiating this process by mobilizing cross border resources, institutions, and their commitments.

Analysis of Structural Conflict Aggravating Factors

Environmental Pressures remained the main structural conflict aggravating behavior in the areas of reporting. Resource scarcity induced by long dry spells and fear of revenge and counter revenge attacks directly created a condition for the prevalence of conflicts in the area by limiting access to scarce and fragile resources (water and pastures for livestock) and hence igniting fierce competition. This problem was compounded further by the absence of viable and sustainable traditional/formal resource sharing mechanisms among the communities which made it difficult to access relatively better resource endowed locations in other areas without risking conflict in the process. Traditional cultural beliefs and practices such as sanctioning of raids by elders through pre-raid blessing or traditional forecasting that incites conflicts were also the other structural aggravating factors observed in the reporting period.

Analysis of Proximate Conflict Aggravating Factors

Cross border collaboration is critical for addressing cross border conflicts. Absence of viable and institutionalized cross border mechanisms between Ethiopia and Kenya that would serve as medium for resolving differences and for containing conflict before or after they escalate, has significantly contributed to the rise of tension and paved the way for entrenchment of culture of impunity in the area. The fact that isolated incidents immediately assume inter-community dispute also make the conflicts to quickly expand and ignite revenge and counter revenge actions. Moreover the presence and use of small arms makes communal conflict deadly further hardening communal divides and hatred

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Analysis of Proximate Conflict Mitigating Factors

Interventions by local Wereda administration officials and various civil society organisations in mitigating conflicts helped the incidents and conflicts did not spiral out of control. But since the conflicts have cross border nature collaboration and joint efforts across the border are required to bring lasting peace in the area. At the moment such collaborations are lacking. Access to social services and provision of relief in the form of safety net programs also helped in easing the vulnerability of the communities.

RESPONSE OPTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

ACTORS	SHORT TERM	MEDIUM TERM
CEWERU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen the CEWARN local peace committees recently established in the Nyangatom area of reporting • Continue supporting the recent CEWARN cross border peace communal initiatives/peace process • Assess and fill the gaps created by the relaxation of the Dassenech Peace Committees created by EPARDA due to funding • Broaden the CEWARN peace process by bringing on board other relevant communities such as the Toposa that were not present at the April 2008 Turmi meeting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhance the institutional and operational capacity of the Ethiopian CEWERU through expansion and review for broader membership and inclusion of relevant institutions for peace-building • Develop cross-border operational modalities to strengthen the coordination and linkages between cross-border CEWERUs and peace initiatives • Formulate strategies and arrangements for the effective utilization of resources to support peace initiatives i.e. Rapid Response Fund of CEWARN and CEWARN Response Framework
LOCAL COMMUNITIES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Broaden the peace initiatives to include all stakeholders • Develop and maintain a strong communication and dialogue with communities on the other side of the border (Kenya and Sudan sides) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustain peace activities by mobilizing local resources, creating local support/base for the peace process and through the involvements of various groups that are critical in implementing peace agreements and initiatives (i.e. youth, women, and elders)

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CIVIL SOCIETY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Avoid duplication of peace efforts and support and participate in peace initiatives conducted by CEWARN Mechanism and its stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on addressing structural and developmental issues that will enhance/strengthen the communal peace initiatives at the local and cross-border levels.
INTERNATIONAL NGOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support the CEWARN peace process by providing funds and capacity building 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide resources and expertise for development programs in the areas of coverage or pilot areas

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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).

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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 areas abandoned	Land competition Livestock disease	More livestock in secure areas grazing
<u>Exchange Behavior</u>		
Celebration Inter-group sharing	Inter-group marriage Cross-border trade	Gift offering
<u>Mitigating Behavior</u>		
Access to health care Small arms disclosure Access to education	Relief distributions Markets remain open Positive media coverage	Law enforcement Bride price stable Negotiations taking place
<u>Peace Initiatives</u>		
Women peace messengers Religious peace building	Weapons reduction program NGO peace initiatives	Local peace initiatives
<u>Provocative Behavior</u>		
All-male migration	Pre-raid blessing	Traditional forecasting

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Month & Year	Protest Demonstration	Other Crime	Organized Raids	Armed Clash	all incident
January 2005	0	1	0	0	1
February 2005	0	4	1	0	5
March 2005	0	1	0	0	1
April 2005	0	1	0	0	1
May 2005	0	3	0	1	4
June 2005	0	10	1	2	13
July 2005	0	7	3	1	11
August 2005	0	3	3	2	8
September 2005	0	2	3	0	5
October 2005	0	2	3	0	5
November 2005	0	7	3	0	10
December 2005	0	0	0	0	0
January 2006	0	2	1	0	3
February 2006	0	0	1	0	1
March 2006	0	0	0	0	0
April 2006	0	4	2	1	7
May 2006	0	3	0	0	3
June 2006	0	2	0	4	6
July 2006	0	3	1	2	6
August 2006	0	0	0	1	1
September 2006	0	0	1	2	3
October 2006	0	2	4	2	8
November 2006	0	2	0	2	4
December 2006	0	0	0	0	0
January 2007	0	0	0	0	0
February 2007	0	3	0	2	5
March 2007	0	0	1	0	1
April 2007	0	0	0	1	1
May 2007	0	0	0	0	0
June 2007	0	1	1	1	3
July 2007	0	0	0	1	1
August 2007	0	0	0	0	0
September 2007	0	0	0	0	0
October 2007	0	0	0	0	0
November 2007	0	0	0	0	0
December 2007	0	0	0	0	0
January 2008	0	1	2	0	3
February 2008	0	0	2	0	2
March 2008	0	2	2	0	4
April 2008	0	2	3	0	5
May 2008	0	7	1	0	8
June 2008	0	0	2	0	2
July 2008	0	2	0	1	3
August 2008	0	1	0	0	1
September 2008	0	3	1	1	5
October 2008	0	2	1	0	3
November 2008	0	2	0	0	2
December 2008	0	0	3	0	3
January 2009	0	3	1	0	4
February 2009	0	0	2	0	2
March 2009	0	0	0	0	0
April 2009	0	0	2	0	2
totals	1	104	72	37	214

Month & Year	Outcomes - Human Deaths Low Estimates	Outcomes - Deaths of Women & Children Low Estimates	percents W&C
January 2005	0	0	N/A
February 2005	7	0	0.0
March 2005	1	0	0.0
April 2005	6	5	83.3
May 2005	1	1	100.0
June 2005	8	0	0.0
July 2005	13	1	7.7
August 2005	14	2	14.3
September 2005	0	0	N/A
October 2005	4	0	0.0
November 2005	7	0	0.0
December 2005	0	0	N/A
January 2006	2	0	0.0
February 2006	1	0	0.0
March 2006	0	0	N/A
April 2006	14	9	64.3
May 2006	2	0	0.0
June 2006	7	0	0.0
July 2006	12	1	8.3
August 2006	1	0	0.0
September 2006	0	0	N/A
October 2006	0	0	N/A
November 2006	13	0	0.0
December 2006	0	0	N/A
January 2007	0	0	N/A
February 2007	7	0	0.0
March 2007	2	2	100.0
April 2007	0	0	N/A
May 2007	0	0	N/A
June 2007	0	0	N/A
July 2007	0	0	N/A
August 2007	0	0	N/A
September 2007	0	0	N/A
October 2007	0	0	N/A
November 2007	0	0	N/A
December 2007	0	0	N/A
January 2008	0	0	N/A
February 2008	0	0	N/A
March 2008	3	0	0.0
April 2008	3	0	0.0
May 2008	14	4	28.6
June 2008	2	0	0.0
July 2008	2	0	0.0
August 2008	2	0	0.0
September 2008	12	0	0.0
October 2008	1	1	100.0
November 2008	4	0	0.0
December 2008	0	0	N/A
January 2009	0	0	N/A
February 2009	0	0	N/A
March 2009	0	0	N/A
April 2009	0	0	N/A
totals	284	29	10.2

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Month & Year	Livestock Losses, net	Month & Year	Peace Initiatives	Mitigating Behavior	Exchange Behavior	Alliance Formation	Combined
January 2005	0	January 2005	38.6	48.4	29.5	15.9	38.2
February 2005	43	February 2005	40.4	55	34.3	34.5	44
March 2005	0	March 2005	30.7	55.9	45.2	37.7	43.6
April 2005	0	April 2005	12	57.1	40.8	41.1	37.3
May 2005	0	May 2005	23	55.6	37.4	54.5	41
June 2005	140	June 2005	25.3	53.1	41.1	40.3	40.2
July 2005	341	July 2005	18	52.7	31.9	20	33.8
August 2005	182	August 2005	35.1	60.4	25.4	25	41.5
September 2005	609	September 2005	20.2	56.2	19.7	25	33.8
November 2005	750	October 2005	11.1	50.9	20	22.4	28.6
October 2005	366	November 2005	23.7	54	35	24.8	37.3
December 2005	0	December 2005	43.9	58.5	27.3	57.1	47.2
January 2006	1500	January 2006	27.1	58.6	32.3	36.9	40.7
February 2006	0	February 2006	17.9	50.7	8.1	22.9	28.5
March 2006	0	March 2006	27.2	53.9	20.6	26	35.6
April 2006	209	April 2006	55.9	59.6	37.5	68.2	54.7
May 2006	0	May 2006	42.6	56.7	15	29.3	40.9
June 2006	0	June 2006	36.4	58.2	22	59.5	43.8
July 2006	369	July 2006	46.9	55.4	19.8	52.3	45.1
August 2006	0	August 2006	49.6	53.9	18.2	65.9	46.4
September 2006	127	September 2006	42.2	54.4	24.4	78.2	46.5
October 2006	2934	October 2006	38.4	44.3	12.6	45.5	36
November 2006	0	November 2006	29.3	46.3	5.8	41.1	32
December 2006	0	December 2006	33.4	51.7	19.8	72.7	41.2
January 2007	0	January 2007	33.6	46.9	12.5	39.5	34.8
February 2007	0	February 2007	29.2	43	3.7	25	28.7
March 2007	600	March 2007	39	43.1	10.6	36	34.5
April 2007	0	April 2007	47.7	69	26.3	73.8	53.7
May 2007	0	May 2007	53.6	60.3	40.5	84.9	56.5
June 2007	18	June 2007	42.3	59.3	24.2	56.6	46.3
July 2007	0	July 2007	56.1	61.1	55.2	84.8	60.5
August 2007	0	August 2007	55.3	65.7	41.4	72.4	58
September 2007	0	September 2007	37.2	54.6	25.2	71.8	44.5
October 2007	0	October 2007	55.9	61.2	59.5	81.3	61
November 2007	0	November 2007	50.8	64.3	52.2	81.3	59
December 2007	0	December 2007	45.1	76.2	14.7	100	55.7
January 2008	13	January 2008	79.5	64.8	69.9	100	74.1
February 2008	372	February 2008	74.2	60.7	42.1	97.9	65
March 2008	79	March 2008	69.9	50.6	26.9	97	56.7
April 2008	23	April 2008	66.5	56.4	31.6	72.5	56.3
May 2008	0	May 2008	71.8	48.6	38.9	45.2	54
June 2008	280	June 2008	68.4	57.3	45.4	77.1	60.5
July 2008	0	July 2008	71.3	58.4	43.4	88.6	62.6
August 2008	0	August 2008	63.4	57.2	47.4	78.4	59.3
September 2008	2022	September 2008	64.5	61.4	43.1	75	60.1
October 2008	15	October 2008	67.9	62	37.3	91.1	61.8
November 2008	0	November 2008	64	54.6	25	63.6	52.6
December 2008	0	December 2008					
January 2009	0	2008	59.1	54.9	19.6	9.8	44.8
February 2009	0	January 2009	62.1	51.8	12.3	0	42.3
March 2009	0	February 2009	69.5	59.4	23.4	19.3	51.6
April 2009	0	March 2009	71.3	64.4	44.1	40.9	60.4
		April 2009	58	50.4	30.8	12.5	45.3
Totals	19736						

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Month & Year	Armed Intervention	Provocative Behavior	Environmental Pressure	Aggravating Behavior	Combined
January 2005	0	27.8	47.2	30.2	32.8
February 2005	12.5	34.7	40.8	35.3	35.6
March 2005	0	27.5	36.9	22.3	25.7
April 2005	0	33.1	28.7	26.8	27
May 2005	3.8	41.8	39.8	32.3	34.2
June 2005	0	45.7	47.9	33.6	37.4
July 2005	3.3	42.7	37.8	31.9	33.6
August 2005	0	49.3	32.1	31.4	32.7
September 2005	0	35.5	39.1	26.1	29.5
October 2005	0	38.8	27	31.6	30
November 2005	5	44	50.8	30.9	36.6
December 2005	0	26	33.5	18.5	22.5
January 2006	0	39.2	42.1	22.6	28.8
February 2006	3.1	46	48.1	23.6	32
March 2006	2.3	26.7	29.7	17.1	21
April 2006	5	22	27.3	17.6	20.1
May 2006	0	6.8	40.3	17.1	20.8
June 2006	0	29.1	44	17.3	24.9
July 2006	0	36	45.1	25.4	30.8
August 2006	0	36.5	72.1	30.3	40.4
September 2006	0	27	58.4	22.9	31.4
October 2006	0	41.4	49.5	28.4	34.3
November 2006	5	37.8	23.7	21.9	23.8
December 2006	0	34.5	5.4	17.7	16.1
January 2007	0	28.2	29.7	14.4	19.6
February 2007	6.3	31.7	28.5	23.3	25.1
March 2007	0	19.1	34.4	19.9	22.6
April 2007	2.3	9.5	21.4	7.5	11
May 2007	0	9.1	28.5	14.3	16.5
June 2007	0	35.3	29.2	19.2	23.1
July 2007	0	18.2	36	16.7	21.1
August 2007	3.1	15.8	17.8	17.3	16.6
September 2007	15	8.1	25.3	17.5	18
October 2007	0	21.5	2.9	16.7	13.1
November 2007	0	0	4.8	13.7	8.9
December 2007	0	0	2.7	12.9	7.9
January 2008	0	16.7	13.2	18.9	16.3
February 2008	0	43.7	36.5	30.3	32.4
March 2008	1.4	44	37.2	33.5	34.4
April 2008	0	35.6	18.1	26.3	24.3
May 2008	1.3	54.8	36.4	31.9	34.9
June 2008	4.2	21.7	21.7	30.4	25.8
July 2008	0	17.8	21.8	29.5	24.6
August 2008	6.3	29.8	25.1	25.2	25
September 2008	2.9	33.7	21.5	25.4	24.6
October 2008	0	30.4	13	25.3	21.8
November 2008	2.5	35.1	22	26.8	25.7
December 2008	1	25	16	24.4	21.3
January 2009	0	28	23.7	24.4	23.7
February 2009	2.1	14.6	16.3	22.1	18.7
March 2009	0	29.7	18.3	20.1	20.1
April 2009	0	30	38.6	31.7	31.8

Month & Year	Economy/ Environment	Politics/ Governance	Society/ Culture
January 2005	24.6	35.8	58.4
February 2005	29.5	38.8	55.4
March 2005	24.9	33.8	44.2
April 2005	29	33.8	48.7
May 2005	34	36.3	47.7
June 2005	31.2	45.1	50.9
July 2005	25.5	44.7	54.3
August 2005	22.8	39.1	55.2
September 2005	35	35.6	51
October 2005	34.8	41.6	50.8
November 2005	36.1	41.7	56.8
December 2005	27.1	25.6	41.7
January 2006	23.1	34.1	54.7
February 2006	34.4	43.3	56
March 2006	25.9	34.1	44.1
April 2006	26.4	23.2	33.9
May 2006	34.8	27.6	40.5
June 2006	25.3	25	51.2
July 2006	30.6	27.4	52.5
August 2006	49.7	26.6	58.9
September 2006	39.3	24.7	50.3
October 2006	40.7	34.2	55.6
November 2006	31.8	34.3	47.4
December 2006	25.1	26.1	35.5
January 2007	26.6	30.3	44.3
February 2007	29.4	36.7	49.4
March 2007	29	31.5	45.1
April 2007	17.5	21.7	33.8
May 2007	31.9	20.9	27.2
June 2007	32.5	29	39.6
July 2007	31.6	21.1	29.3
August 2007	24.2	19.3	29.4
September 2007	24	25.7	38.6
October 2007	17.5	24.3	21
November 2007	23	19.3	17.6
December 2007	26.6	13.4	24.9
January 2008	21	17	18.9
February 2008	30.5	20.3	44.6
March 2008	28.7	23.8	53
April 2008	24.7	23.9	40.6
May 2008	28.4	31.5	49.6
June 2008	25	28.1	34.5
July 2008	27.1	20.5	34.1
August 2008	28.5	26.2	33
September 2008	27.6	22.9	35.4
October 2008	33.8	19.4	30.1
November 2008	36.1	27.5	36.2
December 2008	27	32.9	38.3
January 2009	29.6	31.7	41.4
February 2009	23.3	26.7	35.7
March 2009	19.5	25.8	32.5
April 2009	22.9	31.8	53.4

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