

The Conflict Early Warning and Response mechanism (CEWARN)



in the

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

CEWARN Country Updates: May - August 2005

For the Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

**Report to the Ugandan CEWERU
December 6th, 2005**

CEWARN, Addis Abeba, Ethiopia

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CEWARN Country Update

Update Period:

May through August 2005

Area of Reporting:

Uganda Side of the Karamoja Cluster

National Research Institute:

Centre for Basic Research (CBR)

Country Coordinator:

Coordinator: Peter O. Otim

Assistant: Esther T. Cherop

Report to the Ugandan CEWERU

December 5, 2005

Executive Summary

The purpose of this Country Update is to establish the incidence and outcomes of pastoral conflict on the Ugandan side of the Karamoja cluster from May 2005 through August 2005, set in the context of all reports submitted from January 2004 through August 2005. The reporting locations on the Ugandan side of the Karamoja cluster are 6 in number for the reporting period¹. 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 May 2005 through August 2005, 163 human deaths occurred and 3,591 livestock were reported raided and stolen.. These human death counts and livestock losses were reported in a total of 114 violent incidents, and about 9% of these involved parties from the neighboring country of Kenya. Violence was highest in June 2005 while Peace Indicators were highest in July 2005.

The data shows an unstable conflict situation during the reporting period. Whereas, the month of May presents a low conflict situation, there is a sharp increase in June. This is followed by a steep decline in July and August. The sudden increase in June was as a result of the collapse of the communal alliances between the Bokora, Matheniko, and Pian. This exposed the Bokora to continued raids by the Jie, and also resulted in raids between and among these former allies. The incidents in Moroto district alone accounted for 45% of the total violent incidents in the reporting period. The subsequent decrease of violent incidents in July and August can be partly attributed to the shifts in communal alliances as groups moved further from each other into secure grazing areas. There were also reports of a new strategy by the Uganda Peoples Defense Forces (UPDF) in collaboration with the Special Presidential Assistant on Disarmament and Development, which focuses on kraal-based peace education. If this trend continues, it is likely that the reduction in violence we see in July-August will continue to improve. But if the new alliances break, there will likely be an increase in violence just as we see the increase in violence in June as a result of collapse of communal alliances.

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 the CEWARN Office in Addis Ababa (cewarn@ethionet.et) with any questions, comments or suggestions. The next CEWARN Country Update Sept-Dec 2005 for the Ugandan side of the Karamoja Cluster is scheduled for posting in January 2006. In the course of the next 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.

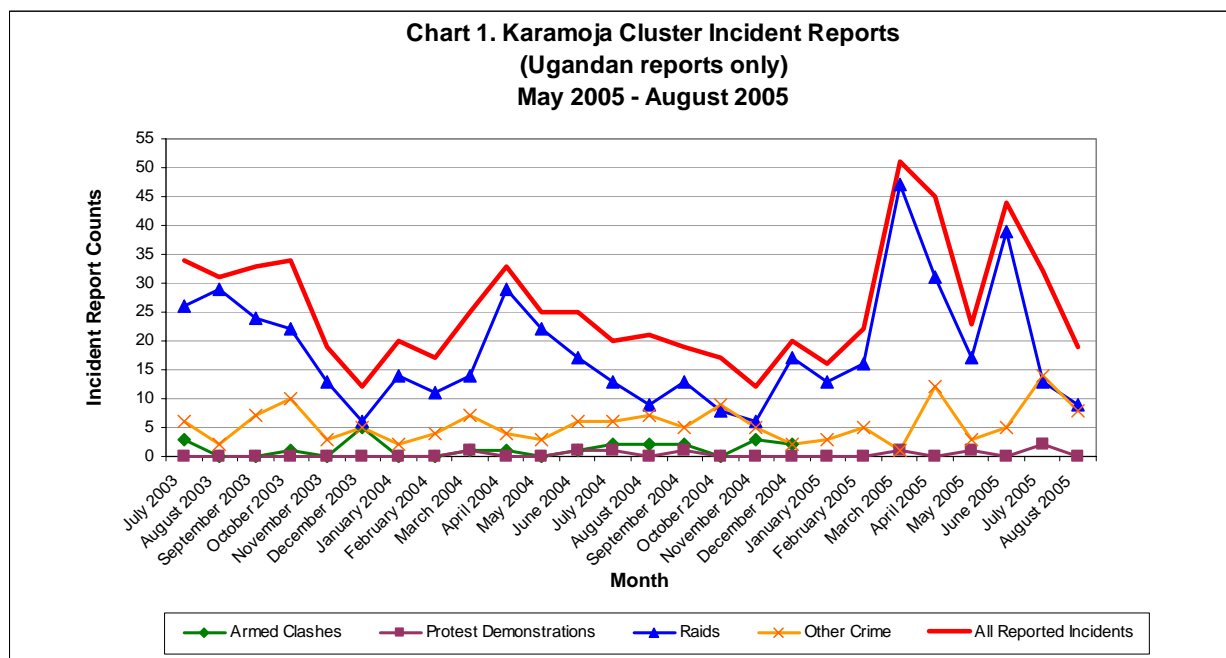
¹ The reporting areas are Kaabong district, Kotido district, Moroto district, Nakapiripirit district (Pokot county, and Pian and Chekwi counties), and Kapchorwa district.

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

Current Baseline Analysis

NOTE: The y-axis 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 Ugandan side of the Karamoja Cluster for the reporting period May 2005 through August 2005². In this period, 118 violent incidents were reported of which 30 were Other Crimes, 78 were Raids, 7 were Armed Clashes, and 3 Protest Demonstrations.



All Violent Incidents reports were highest in June 2005. Violence was lowest during May, July and August. Among the 118 incidents reported on the Uganda side of the Karamoja cluster, 9% were identified as cross-border incidents by the reporters in that the protagonists were from different countries; that is from Kenya.

The majority of the Raids occurred in Moroto district, which accounted for 45% of the total violent incidents in the reporting period. The raids were mainly carried out by the Jie from Kotido district against the Bokora of Moroto district.

As an example, on the 14th of June 2005, the Jie attacked a kraal at Longolei village, Lokuwas parish in Matany sub-county, Bokora county in Moroto district. They were repulsed after meeting stiff resistance. From there they attacked another kraal in Napeipelu village within the same parish. They were also repulsed from here. The following night, the same group of Jie warriors again attacked the same parish. They managed to take some 27 head of cattle from Kololo village. A splitter group that had attacked Napeipelu village for a second night in a row was again repulsed and joined their colleagues who had succeeded in Kololo village. Another attack was reported in Lokopo sub-county, in the village of Lotaaba in Nakwamoru parish. The attackers took the only 4 head of cattle that were in the settlement.

² For full description of Violent Incidents see Appendix 1.

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

So in two days, Jie warriors had made 5 attacks against the Bokora. Lokopo and Matany sub-counties were the main targets of Jie raids against the Bokora.

Kololo village is near Matany trading center where there is a military detachment. However, the reports indicate that the raiders walked through without any response from the military. There is a general increase in night raids, and this could be because of a number of factors. Firstly, it is argued that livestock cover a long distance before they tire because it is cool. Secondly, it is strategically convenient for the raiders since darkness offers them cover – thereby minimizing the possibility of response since the enemy cannot easily be seen. Thirdly, the raiders know that the military does not respond in the night. These factors explain why the Jie could raid livestock from within the vicinity of a military detachment without fear. Whereas being in the vicinity of the military would act as hope for security (that is why most people keep their livestock around Matany trading center) the limitations in assuring this security as mentioned above demystify this hope.

In a feedback meeting that was held in Moroto district for the review of a DANIDA funded project entitled “Promoting the Role of Kraal Youth (Karachuna) in Peace Building” run by Karamoja Agro-Pastoral Development Program (KADEP), a local defence system that allows selected warriors to be deployed in the kraals and homesteads so that they can respond to attacks as and when there is need was strongly argued for. We would like to echo this because such a force would not be staying in barracks under military command and would therefore easily deploy. This is something that the UPDF could consider.

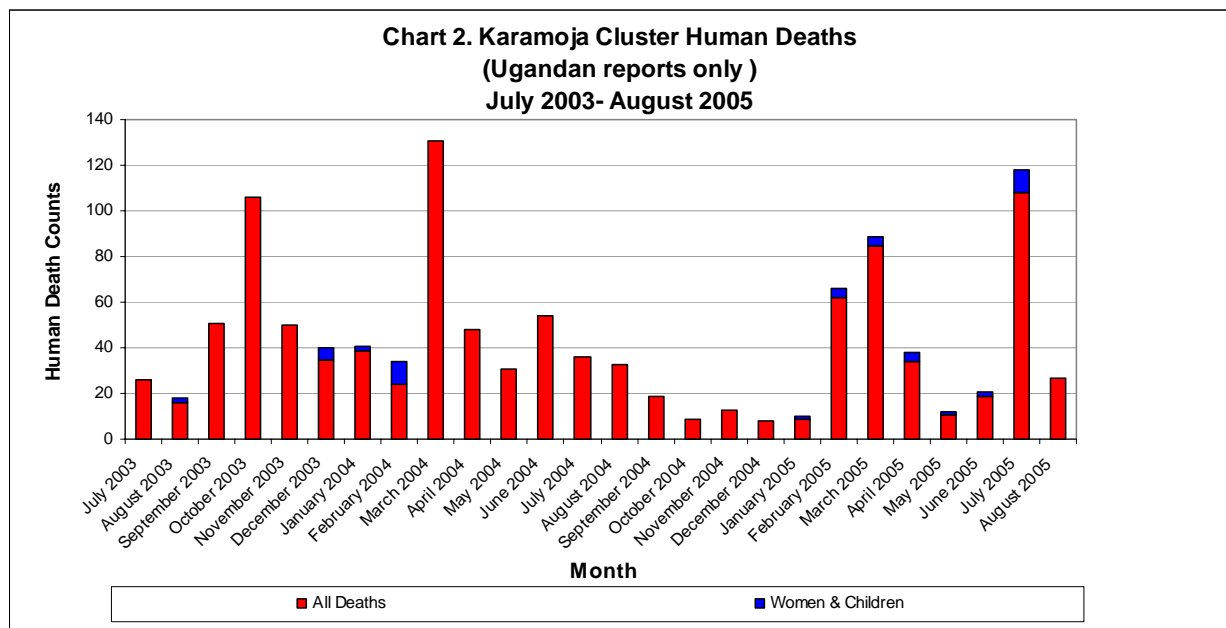
In the reporting period there appears to be an inverse relationship between cattle Raids and Other Crimes in that when raiding is high, other crime is low and when raiding is low other crime is high. This scenario is depicted in the month of June where there were 6 other crime and 39 raids reported. However, there was a general decline in both raids and other crime in the month of August. This could partly be explained by the increase in sensitization programs in July/August under the disarmament program and because most communities had started harvesting some crops this reduced the pressure and demand for ‘other’ sources of survival.

The alliance between the Jie and the Dodoth on the other hand, which had lasted about 8 months, was beginning to crumble – shaken by increase in livestock thefts between the two communities. If the situation is not arrested, the crumbling of this alliance will result into organized raids between these two communities and other neighboring communities and this will cause more damage in terms of human deaths, livestock and property losses. The local civil society organizations in Kotido and Kaabong districts like the Kotido Peace Initiative should embark on peace initiatives in the area with the aim of maintaining harmony between the two communities. There were some armed clashes reported, which resulted into the single incident that accounted for most of the deaths in the month of July 2005 as explained below (there were also two protest demonstrations in July).

The situation as described above notwithstanding, there has been some civil society efforts that have resulted into peaceful resolution of conflicts, and such efforts should continue. For instance, when the Pokot from Alale Division in Kenya raided cattle from the Matheniko of Tapach Parish, Katikekile sub-county, Matheniko County, Moroto district in Uganda on 22nd July 2005, a local organization, Matheniko Development Forum (MADEFO) facilitated the process of dialogue between the two communities. The kraal peace youth from Matheniko went to Sasak village in Kenya and held a meeting with the kraal leaders off the Pokot kraals who then mobilized for the recovery of the livestock. All the 23 head of cattle were returned to the Matheniko in a period of 3 days.

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

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



A total number of 165 human deaths were reported from the Ugandan side of the Karamoja Cluster for the reporting period. The number of human deaths ranges from 11 in May; 19 in June, 27 in August, to 109 in July.

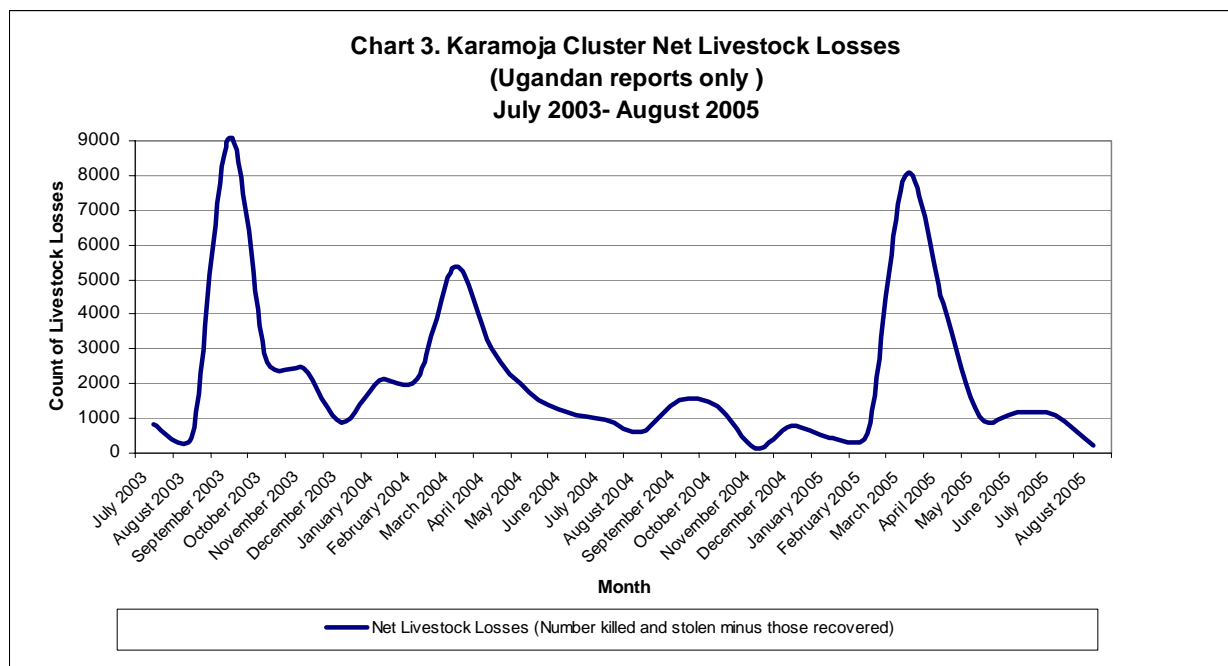
One of the incidents that accounts for the high death toll in July was an Armed Clash between the military- UPDF and Pian warriors that occurred at Kosike Parish, Nabilatuk sub-county in Nakapiripit District. This follows an alleged theft of 7 goats by Pian warriors from Iriir sub-county in Bokora. The warriors from Kosike parish were implicated, and the UPDF responded by confiscating 30 goats from them. The warriors retaliated by attacking the UPDF. In the ensuing armed clash it is estimated that some 80 people (from both sides) lost their lives, and out of these were 6 women and 3 children. This single incident accounts for about 50% of the total number of deaths in the reporting period. The other death counts were the result of the raids that occurred between the Pian, Matheniko and Bokora communities in the reporting period.

The number of women and children reported killed in the reporting period remains low. However, most of those reported killed in July happened during the incident mentioned above that occurred between Pian warriors and the UPDF.

Whereas, Raids peaked in June, there was no corresponding increase in the number of human deaths in the same month. Instead, human deaths increased in July when raids were decreasing. The above occurrence of incidents that led to high deaths indicates that few deaths may occur during raids. Possible explanation for this could be that most raids occurred during night time and as such take some of the victims unawares and so cannot mobilize to respond. In addition the fear to mobilize in the night also explains why very few livestock recoveries were attempted.

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

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

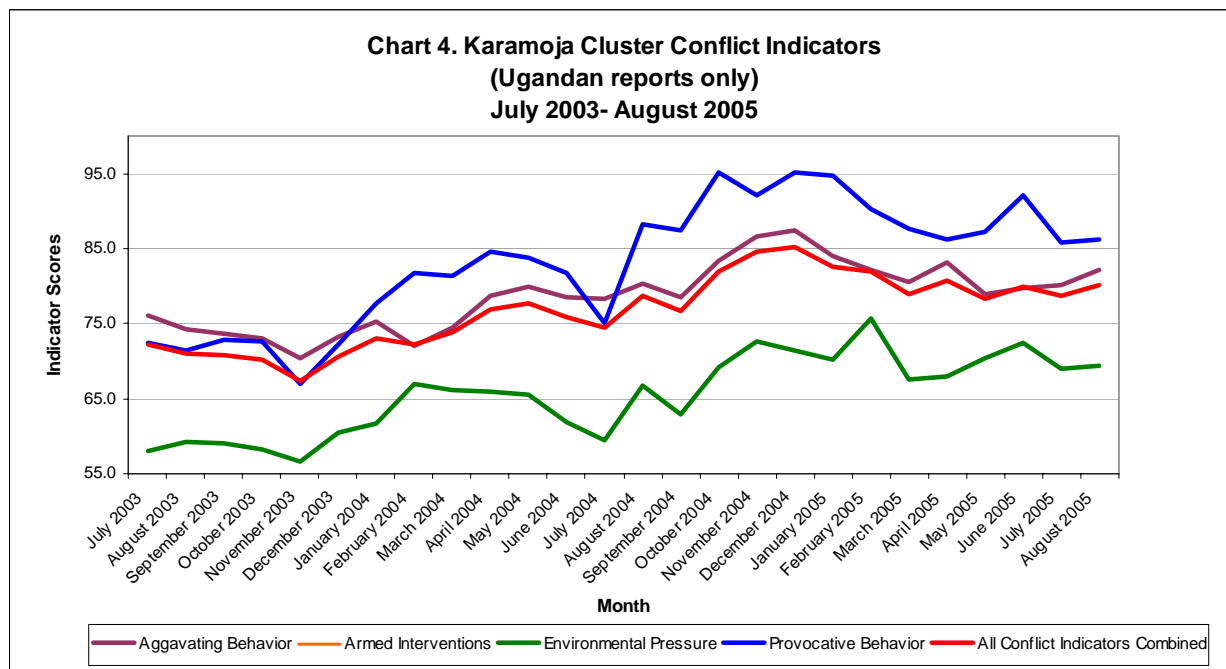


A total of 3,593 livestock were reported raided for the reporting period. In June, a total of 1,196 livestock were raided, the highest number in the reporting period. Slightly fewer livestock were raided in the months of May and July and very few in August.

Whereas, the number of Raids varied dramatically in May, June and July i.e. 17, 39, 13 respectively, the number of livestock lost did not correspondingly vary in those months (1068, 1196, 1097 respectively). This could be explained by the fact as some raids were abortive, or yielded only a few livestock, others resulted in large losses. The lowest livestock losses (232) were reported in August, and though, there were only 9 raids reported, this alone may not explain the dramatic reduction in the losses. Whereas Moroto district had recorded the majority of the raids in the preceding months, there were only 4 violent incidents reported in August, and out of these only one was a raid (where the only 2 bulls that were raided were recovered) and two were military battles. These armed clashes caused tension in the area as the military deployed heavy armor in the region. The presence of the military could have discouraged the warriors from raiding. The other possible explanation is that most of the raids in the other districts were either abortive or yielded little.

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

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



Conflict Indicators in Chart 4 (above) describes Aggravating Behavior, Provocative Behavior, Armed Interventions, Environmental Pressure, and the Combined Conflict Indicators³.

Provocative Behavior remained high in the reporting period with an increase in June. Similarly Environmental Pressure remained moderately high. Aggravating Behavior also remained high in the reporting period. All Combined Conflict Indicators remained high in the reporting period.

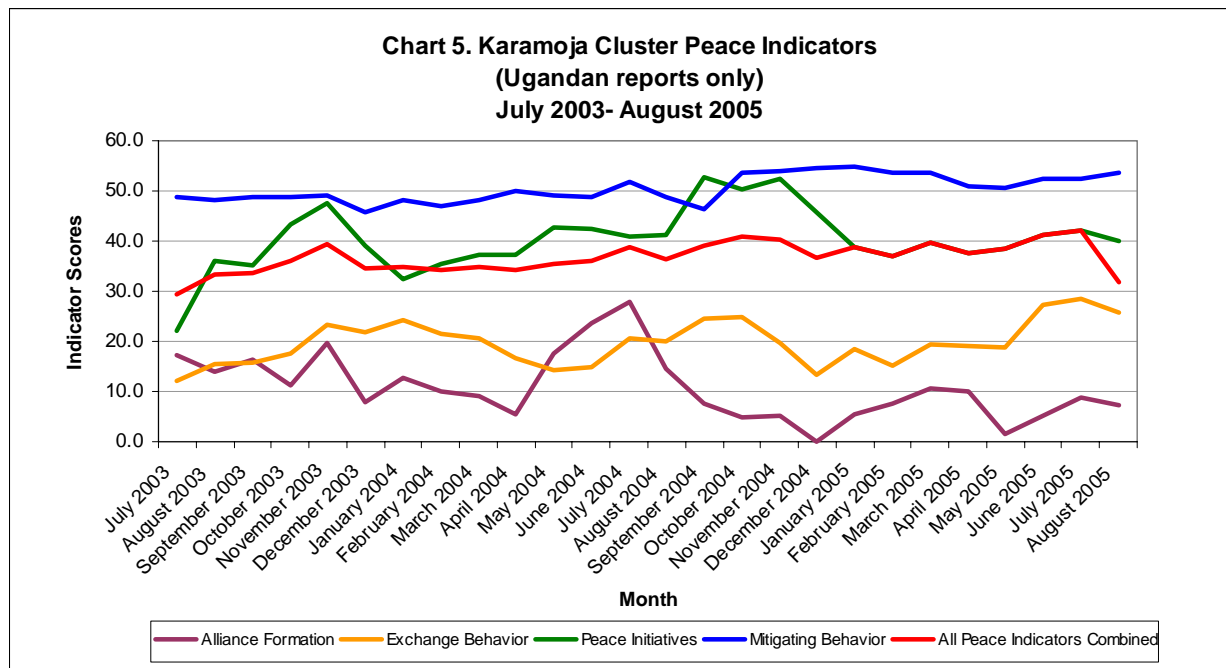
The increase in conflicts in June (Chart 1) is related to the increase in Provocative Behavior. This is linked to the increase in all-male migration, pre-raid blessings, and traditional forecasting as the different communities sought to protect themselves and their property, and also mobilized to increase their stocks through raiding. Environmental Pressure could also have played part since collapse of the communal alliances forced most communities to shift their livestock to secure grazing areas. The trends in Aggravating Behavior are mainly accounted for by factors such as pastoral migration, post raid blessings, and interruption of other activities. These were the main indicators that explain the trends in Aggravating Behavior. Because of the break in communal alliances, pastoral migration was increasingly experienced. The increase in raids also led to an increase in post raid blessings – which are often conducted to protect the warriors and the livestock from revenge or retaliation. These were the main factors that explain the similarity for Combined Conflict and Aggravating Behavior.

Whereas Environmental Pressure remains generally high, the slight drop in July compared to June in spite of the migrations caused by collapse of communal alliances can be explained by the availability of grazing land and water in much of the region because of the preceding wet season. The increase in pastureland reduces competition for grazing land.

³ For full list of Conflict Indicators please refer to Appendix 1.

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

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



Peace Indicators (below) present Alliance Formation, Exchange Behavior, Mitigating Behavior, Peace Initiatives, and All Peace Indicators Combined⁴.

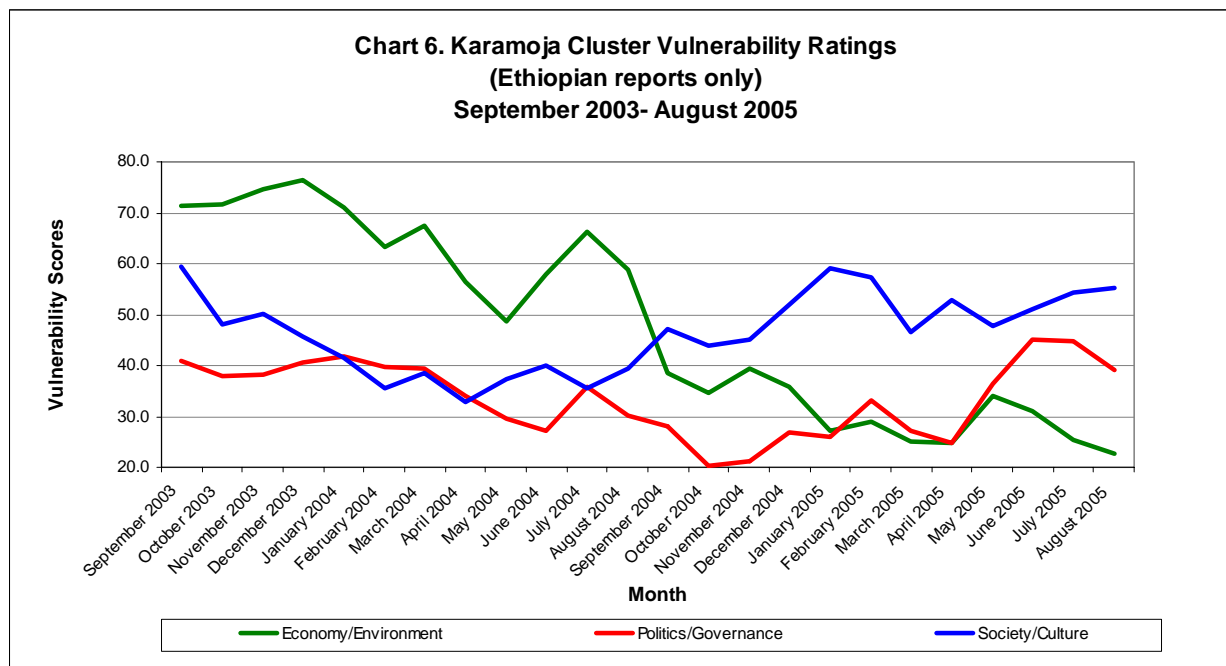
Alliance Formation was at its lowest in May, and this coincides with low intensity of conflict as seen in Chart 1. As the raids increase in June (Chart 1) we see increasing Alliance Formation, Exchange Behavior, and Peace Initiatives. The low point in Alliance Formation in May (where is the drop and in which month?) is mainly because of the disintegration of the alliance between the Bokora, Matheniko and the Pian. The subsequent escalation in the raids by the Jie of Kotido district against the Bokora of Moroto district, and the raids by the Matheniko (Moroto district) on the other hand against the Pian of Nakapiripirt district were as a result of a breakdown of the Pian-Bokora-Matheniko alliance.

According to field reports there was increased food shortage. This situation could explain the progressive increase in conflicts between the different communities in areas of reporting.

⁴ For list of Peace Indicators refer to Appendix 1.

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

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



We see an increase in Society/Culture ratings between July and August just about the same time the economy/environment indicators decrease. The possible explanation for this is that since the month of August is normally the height of the harvest season, this is the time when traditional festivities like marriages and initiation are conducted. The reason for this happening in August is that such festivities are often associated with feasting and therefore are conducted when food is available. At the same time, the harvested fields provide grazing land for livestock – thereby reducing pressure on pastureland.

The Politics/Governance indicator remains generally low with a slight increase in August. The intensification of patrols by the UPDF that occurred in August could have been responsible for not only the reduction of violent conflicts and livestock losses as mentioned above but may also have affected the Politics/Governance indicators.

Comparative Analysis

Analysis of Structural Conflict Aggravating Factors

The reporting period, the month of May to August, presents a fragile conflict situation in the region. Whereas we have made an attempt at explaining the factors responsible for the scenario, the unpredictable behavior of the pastoral groups as they respond to phenomena within and outside their domain is responsible for the seesaw scenario in the various indicators.

The disarmament program falls under the 3rd pillar of the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP)⁵. Whereas the second disarmament program was launched in September 2004, it is yet to be operational so as to have a positive effect in the lives of the people in Karamoja and the neighboring districts.

⁵ The PEAP is the main planning document for the Government of Uganda. Pillar 3 of the revised PEAP (2004/5 – 2007/8) on 'security, conflict resolution and disaster management' recognizes that Uganda has suffered from insecurity of various kinds including rebel insurgency and cattle rustling. Whereas it is recognized that government will continue to use security forces to protect the security of the population, the search for peaceful methods of conflict resolution is appreciated.

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

Field reports indicate that whereas the warriors are to be disarmed under the disarmament program, they are still armed and continue to wreck havoc with their guns. Government Effective disarmament may be the immediate hope for security and social and economic development to be realized in the Karamoja region. However, because there is still free flow of arms and ammunition in the region, the security situation remains wanting.

On the other hand, although the PEAP carries impressive proposals for interventions that can address both the Structural and Proximate causes of conflicts, there are gaps in providing specific interventions for the Karamoja cluster in areas of services (water, healthcare, education, et cetera)

Tradition continues to inform what the Karimojong do. However, these traditional practices foster both sharing with and exclusion of others from resources. Communal alliances are a tradition that both foster sharing and can also be used for exclusion of others. It is therefore important to emphasize on the positive side of these alliances, sharing. Civil society and government should therefore emphasize the positive side of such cultures in order to ease conflict.

Analysis of Proximate Conflict Aggravating Factors

The unstable communal alliances are some of the proximate conflict aggravating factors. Because of the break of the alliances especially between the Pian, Bokora and Matheniko, most of the grazing parties moved away from the previously common grazing areas they shared. This fueled the conflict situation in reporting period as the groups raided each other.

Because of resource availability (water and pasture) in virtually the whole region because of the preceding rainy season, we do not see any strategic need for formation of alliances for purposes of sharing resources. On the other hand, the reports of increased food shortage in the months of May, June, and July could also explain the progressive increase in conflicts between the different groups that we seen in these months. Assuming there will be a good harvest, we anticipate a relatively peaceful situation in the next period.

Analysis of Structural Conflict Mitigating Factors

The disarmament program is aimed at removing illegal guns from the warriors because these guns are used for aggression. Whereas there have been military operations in response to some raids, the sensitization and education programs have continued albeit in a sporadic manner. The military escorts for travelers and military deployment along roads have also sent the message of government presence. Other than the military side, the disarmament program also mentions areas for social and economic development. This is an area of intervention for both government and development agencies, and the aim is to address some of the structural factors that have hindered social and economic development in the region.

Analysis of Proximate Conflict Mitigating Factors

Formation of alliances by the pastoralists in the Karamoja region serves both to mitigate and aggravate conflict. The reduced alliance formation we see in this reporting period is as a result of the disintegration of the previous alliances between the Bokora, Matheniko and the Pian. This leaves the communities open to attacks as was shown above about the Bokora. Whereas the disarmament program has components of peacebuilding, neither government nor civil society has embraced this as an on-going concern. If the various activities under the disarmament program are affected then there will be visible structural factors to mitigate conflict in the short and long run

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

RESPONSE RECOMMENDATIONS

ACTORS	SHORT TERM	MEDIUM TERM
CEWERU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Respond to immediate indications of break of alliances in order to prevent violence from occurring between communities. ◆ Coordinate government and civil society initiatives for peace and conflict resolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Establish response structures at Districts and/or sub counties where both governmental and civil society initiatives are able to come together to provide early warning and response to conflict situation. ◆ Encourage government to pursue the disarmament program that addresses some of the political and development lacuna that have been the root causes of pastoral conflicts
NATIONAL GOVERNMENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Whereas the disarmament program is currently the main government policy that is meant to address the conflict and development situation in the region, its effect is not felt on the ground and so there is need to rekindle it through constant campaigns and education through all possible means in the area. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ There is a common strategy for disarmament between Uganda and Kenya, but there is need to include the Sudan and Ethiopia in this strategy. Addressing the flow of illegal firearms in the region should be part of such intergovernmental strategy. ◆ The need for deliberate planning for the development of the region needs to be emphasized. Development partners (donors) need to be brought on board in this respect. UNDP is already on board, but is not enough. It is the responsibility of government to bring others on board.
LOCAL COMMUNITIES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Efforts should be geared towards encouraging those cultural attributes that promote peace and harmony in the community. Traditional civil society institutions are key in this area. ◆ Encourage the use interethnic alliances formed for community peace and resource sharing rather than as strengths for raiding 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Traditional leaders need to deal with attitudinal change to make warriorhood find heroism in social activities like inter-clan sports, and development and self-help activities rather than in rustling and killing the “enemy”. ◆ Encourage children to attend formal education – or where available join the Alternative Basic Education (ABEK) schools. Ensure that girls are part of this scheme. <p>Mobilize for and embrace the disarmament program.</p>
CIVIL SOCIETY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ There are different civil society organizations operating in the region that are engaged in peace and development activities. However, there is need to coordinate this activities in order to avoid duplication, create impact and ensure sustainability. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Emphasize on those programs that encourage communities to hold onto only those cultures that encourage peace and develop discourage violence. ◆ Together with government and other stakeholders, introduce viable alternatives for survival and livelihood to reduce on people’s reliance on livestock ◆ Engage in advocacy for survival of pastoral peoples and play a part in designing viable provision of social services (Education, health, sports, transport and communication systems, etc.)

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

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).

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

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

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

Incidents

Month & Year	Protest Demonstrations	Other Crime	Organized Raids	Armed Clashes	all incidents
July 2003	0	6	26	2	34
August 2003	0	2	29	0	31
September 2003	0	7	24	2	33
October 2003	0	10	22	2	34
November 2003	0	3	13	3	19
December 2003	0	5	6	1	12
January 2004	0	2	14	4	20
February 2004	0	4	11	2	17
March 2004	1	7	14	3	25
April 2004	0	4	29	0	33
May 2004	0	3	22	0	25
June 2004	1	6	17	1	25
July 2004	1	6	13	0	20
August 2004	0	7	9	5	21
September 2004	1	5	13	0	19
October 2004	0	9	8	0	17
November 2004	0	5	6	1	12
December 2004	0	2	17	1	20
January 2005	0	3	13	0	16
February 2005	0	5	16	1	22
March 2005	1	1	47	2	51
April 2005	0	12	31	2	45
May 2005	1	3	17	2	23
June 2005	0	5	39	0	44
July 2005	2	14	13	3	32
August 2005	0	8	9	2	19
totals	8	136	469	37	551

Human Deaths

Month & Year	Outcomes - Human Deaths Low Estimates	Outcomes - Deaths of Women & Children Low Estimates	percents W&C
July 2003	26	0	0.0
August 2003	16	2	12.5
September 2003	51	0	0.0
October 2003	106	0	0.0
November 2003	50	0	0.0
December 2003	35	5	14.3
January 2004	39	2	5.1
February 2004	24	10	41.7
March 2004	131	0	0.0
April 2004	48	0	0.0
May 2004	31	0	0.0
June 2004	54	0	0.0
July 2004	36	0	0.0
August 2004	33	0	0.0
September 2004	19	0	0.0
October 2004	9	0	0.0
November 2004	13	0	0.0
December 2004	8	0	0.0
January 2005	9	1	11.1
February 2005	62	4	6.5
March 2005	85	4	4.7
April 2005	34	4	11.8
May 2005	11	1	9.1
June 2005	19	2	10.5
July 2005	108	10	9.3
August 2005	27	0	0.0
totals	1057	45	4.3

Livestock Raided

Month & Year	Livestock Losses, net
July 2003	829
August 2003	448
September 2003	9102
October 2003	2635
November 2003	2437
December 2003	868
January 2004	2091
February 2004	2135
March 2004	5386
April 2004	3007
May 2004	1762
June 2004	1184
July 2004	978
August 2004	598
September 2004	1538
October 2004	1342
November 2004	150
December 2004	778
January 2005	431
February 2005	553
March 2005	8002
April 2005	4345
May 2005	1068
June 2005	1196
July 2005	1097
August 2005	232
totals	51667

IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

Peace Indicators

Vulnerability Ratings

Month & Year	Peace Indicators					Vulnerability Ratings			
	Peace Initiatives	Mitigating Behavior	Exchange Behavior	Alliance Formation	Combined	Month & Year	Society/Culture	Politics/Governance	Economy/Environment
July 2003	22.0	48.9	12.0	17.3	29.5	July 2003	57.5	40.4	40.5
August 2003	35.9	48.1	15.6	13.9	33.5	August 2003	53.3	37.2	40.0
September 2003	35.0	48.8	15.7	16.4	33.8	September 2003	52.6	37.1	40.4
October 2003	43.4	48.8	17.6	11.2	36.0	October 2003	51.4	36.4	40.6
November 2003	47.5	49.2	23.3	19.6	39.4	November 2003	52.6	36.3	43.8
December 2003	39.1	45.7	22.0	7.9	34.5	December 2003	54.8	35.9	36.1
January 2004	32.3	48.1	24.3	12.6	34.7	January 2004	53.5	36.7	32.1
February 2004	35.6	47.0	21.5	10.0	34.2	February 2004	51.2	36.9	33.6
March 2004	37.4	48.3	20.6	9.1	34.8	March 2004	49.9	32.2	31.9
April 2004	37.3	50.1	16.7	5.5	34.2	April 2004	46.8	30.0	31.1
May 2004	42.7	49.0	14.3	17.6	35.5	May 2004	45.5	28.7	32.6
June 2004	42.3	48.9	15.0	23.5	36.1	June 2004	49.6	30.2	33.4
July 2004	41.1	51.9	20.5	27.9	38.8	July 2004	52.2	30.0	34.5
August 2004	41.3	48.9	19.9	14.6	36.3	August 2004	45.1	27.2	31.2
September 2004	52.8	46.2	24.7	7.5	39.0	September 2004	44.1	25.5	32.9
October 2004	50.2	53.6	24.9	4.7	41.0	October 2004	37.8	20.2	26.6
November 2004	52.5	53.9	19.6	5.2	40.3	November 2004	36.7	21.1	23.8
December 2004	45.6	54.6	13.3	0.0	36.8	December 2004	37.7	22.3	25.3
January 2005	38.9	54.8	18.5	5.6	38.9	January 2005	41.2	27.5	30.6
February 2005	36.9	53.7	15.2	7.5	36.9	February 2005	37.8	23.4	26.0
March 2005	39.8	53.6	19.5	10.5	39.8	March 2005	40.8	23.5	27.5
April 2005	37.5	51.0	19.0	10.0	37.5	April 2005	40.6	26.1	31.7
May 2005	38.4	50.7	18.6	1.5	38.4	May 2005	42.9	30.8	34.5
June 2005	41.2	52.6	27.4	5.2	41.2	June 2005	37.0	29.4	31.4
July 2005	42.1	52.4	28.4	8.8	42.1	July 2005	37.6	28.9	33.7
August 2005	40.0	53.7	25.8	7.1	31.8	August	43.7	30.6	25.4

Conflict Indicators

Month & Year	Armed Intervention	Provocative Behavior	Environmental Pressure	Aggravating Behavior	Combined
July 2003	0.0	72.4	58.1	76.0	72.2
August 2003	0.0	71.5	59.3	74.3	71.1
September 2003	0.0	72.8	59.1	73.6	70.8
October 2003	0.0	72.7	58.3	73.0	70.2
November 2003	0.0	66.9	56.6	70.4	67.4
December 2003	0.0	72.2	60.4	73.2	70.7
January 2004	0.0	77.7	61.7	75.2	73.0
February 2004	0.0	81.8	66.9	72.1	72.2
March 2004	0.0	81.4	66.1	74.6	73.8
April 2004	0.0	84.7	66.0	78.6	77.0
May 2004	0.0	83.7	65.4	79.9	77.7
June 2004	0.0	81.7	61.8	78.6	75.8
July 2004	0.0	75.1	59.4	78.3	74.4
August 2004	0.0	88.3	66.8	80.4	78.7
September 2004	0.0	87.3	63.0	78.5	76.6
October 2004	0.0	95.1	69.3	83.3	82.0
November 2004	0.0	92.0	72.6	86.5	84.6
December 2004	0.0	95.1	71.4	87.4	85.3
January 2005	0.0	94.7	70.2	84.0	82.6
February 2005	0.0	90.3	75.6	82.3	81.9
March 2005	0.0	87.7	67.6	80.5	78.9
April 2005	0.0	86.3	68.0	83.2	80.7
May 2005	0.0	87.2	70.4	79.0	78.30
June 2005	0.0	92.2	72.5	79.8	79.84
July 2005	0.0	85.9	69.0	80.1	78.70
August 2005	0.0	86.2	69.4	82.1	80.19