

The Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN)

in the

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

CEWARN Country Updates: September – December 2005

For the Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

Report to Ugandan CEWERU
March 21st , 2006

CEWARN, Addis Abeba, Ethiopia

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CEWARN Country Update

Update Period:

September through December 2005

Area of Reporting:

Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

National Research Institute:

Center for Basic Research

Country Coordinator:

Coordinator: Peter Otim

**Report to Ugandan CEWERU
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Executive Summary

The purpose of this Country Update is to establish the incidence and outcomes of pastoral conflict on the Uganda side of the Karamoja cluster from September 2005 through December 2005, set in the context of all reports submitted from July 2003 through December 2005. The reporting locations on the Uganda side of the Karamoja cluster are six in number for the reporting period: Kaabong District, Kotido District, Moroto District, Pian and Chekwi Counties in Nakapiripirit District, Pokot County in Nakapiripirit District and Kapchorwa and Bukwa Districts. 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 September 2005 through December 2005, 187 deaths occurred and 11,554 livestock were lost on the Uganda side of the Karamoja Cluster. These losses were reported in a total of 198 incident reports, and just over 7% of which involved parties from the neighboring country of Kenya. Violence was highest in October 2005. Peace indicators were also highest in October 2005.

The data shows an increase in incidents in September from the previous period, continued to increase in October and fell sharply in November. However, it is noted that the number of violent incidents started rising again in December. The high level of incidents in September and October was as a result of increased raiding caused by an alliance of the Jie, Bokora and Matheniko warriors. This alliance mounted a number of raids against the Pian and Pokot of Nakapiripirit district in September and October. It had been argued in the previous update (May-August 2005) that a Bokora, Matheniko and Pian alliance had left the Bokora exposed to raids by the Jie. This probably explains the change in this alliance where the Pian were left out in a new alliance that brought in the Jie. As a result, the alliance changed the trend and that the Pian were affected by raids as a result of the new alliance. Indeed it was mentioned in the previous update that if the alliances were to break up there was likely to be an increase in violence. This may explain the increase in violence in September and October.

The decrease in violent incidents beginning in November may be related to the negotiations that the Pian initiated with the Bokora, who were part of the alliance that had been raiding their livestock. These negotiations, (note: clarify what "this" is referring to) coupled with the start of conflict between the Jie and Bokora led to the beginning of the crumbling of this alliance between the Bokora, Jie and Matheniko. Also as arid conditions intensified, the different kraals started to shift further from each other in search of water, pasture and security.

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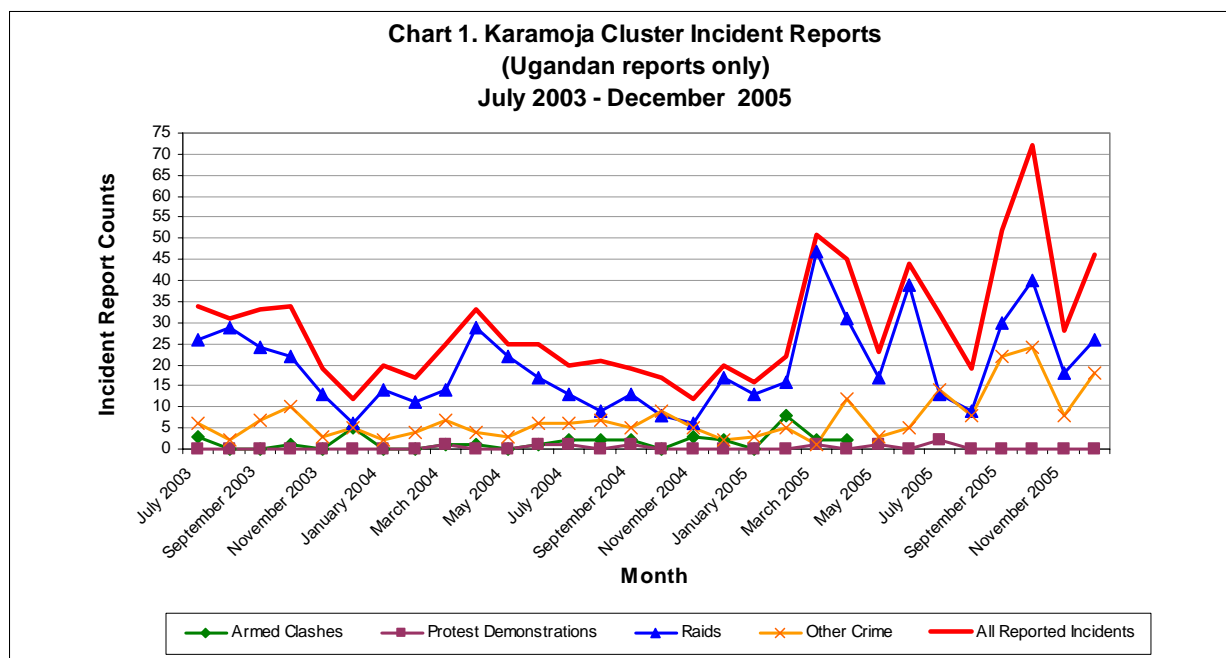
The reporting period covers part of the dry season (October – March). Changes in the grazing patterns often occur with the changes in the seasons as the different groups forge and break alliances for purposes of security and accessing resources. As the rains start, there may be a reduction in raids as the different groups move to their traditional wet season grazing areas, and as some of the existing alliances are broken and new ones are made.

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 Jan-April 2006 for the Uganda side of the Karamoja Cluster is scheduled for posting in May 2006. 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.

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 Ugandan side of the Karamoja Cluster for the reporting period..



A total of 198 violent incidents were recorded in the reporting period; of which 72 were Other Crimes, 114 were Raids, and 12 were Armed Clashes¹. October 2005 had the highest number of violent incident reports, followed by September. Violence was lowest in November. Among the 198 incidents reported on the Ugandan side of the Karamoja cluster, 7% were identified as cross-border incidents in that the protagonists were from Kenya. All the cross border incidents involved the Pokot Community from Kenya raiding or stealing livestock from the Sabinu group in the districts of Bukwa and Kapchorwa.

The category of ‘Other Crime’ consisted of mainly assaults plus a few cases of banditry in form of road ambushes. There was a corresponding rise in other crime as the raids increased and vice versa. This is different from the general trend in the past where other crimes increased as cattle raids decreased and vice versa. This is probably because of the dry season and the general food shortage that was reported, which increased the need for other sources of survival. Pastoralists, like all other people, are more irritable in times of stress.

Nakapiripirit District recorded the highest number of violent incidents in the reporting period. The raids were conducted by Jie warriors from Kotido district, and the Matheniko and Bokora warriors from Moroto District against the Pian and Pokot communities of Nakapiripirit district.

Some of the reported incidents are indicative of the trends in conflict that followed. For instance, in the night of the 18th of September 2005, a combined group of Jie, Bokora and Matheniko warriors raided cattle from Sakale village at Lolachat sub-county, Pian county in Nakapiripirit district taking 387 head of cattle with them. When the foot and hoof marks were followed the next morning, they led to Iriir sub-county in Bokora county, Moroto district.

¹ For full description of Indicators see Appendix 1.

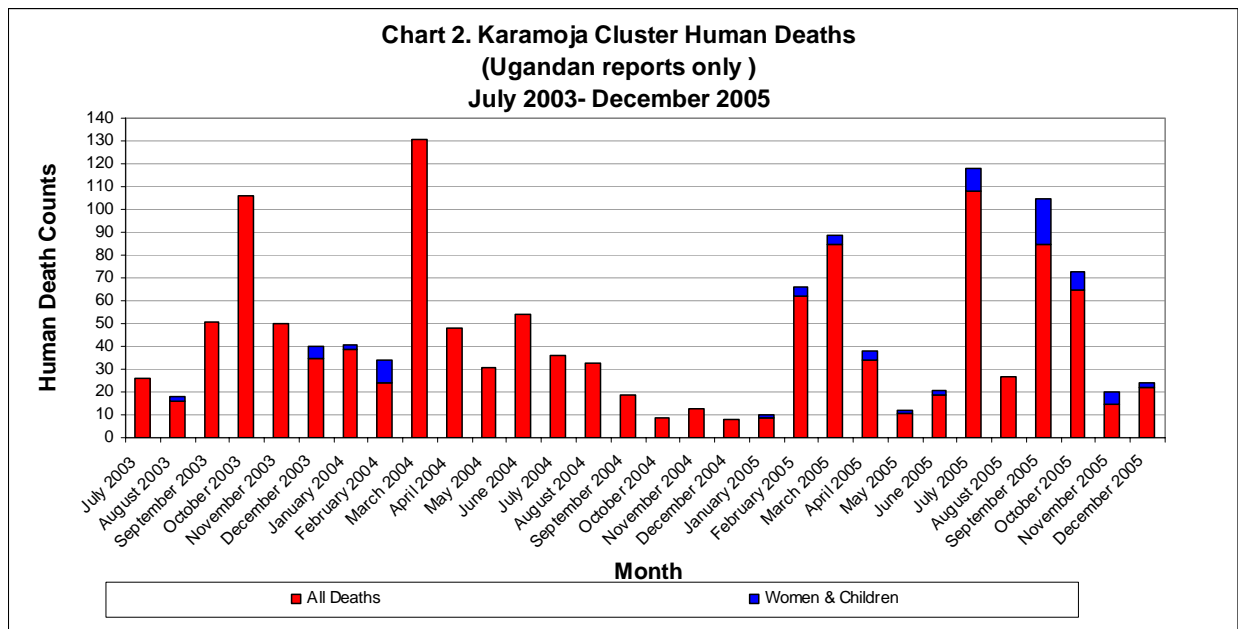
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On the 22nd September 2005, a force of Jie, Bokora, and Matheniko warriors again raided 345 head of cattle at night from Kaanangakinoi village in Namalu sub-county, Chekwi County in Nakapiripirit District. One month later, on the 22nd October 2005, an alliance of the same groups raided 870 head of cattle from Lomorimori village, Namalu sub-county in Chekwi County, Nakapiripirit District. Smaller incidents also continued to occur involving individual groups. It was reported that the communities appealed to government to put an end to the attacks the alliance was causing to the Pian.

The onset of the dry season may have contributed to the increase in violence in September and October. Due to poor harvest, food shortage was already evident soon after harvest. Since the fall back for food shortages is animal products, most communities sought to increase their livestock through raiding as a way of assuring their survival.

The increase in raids at night in the reporting period is an indication of the belief by the warriors that the military does not usually respond to raids in the night. They also know that the warriors themselves are often reluctant to respond to an attack in the night because of the fear of the unknown – unless of course they had prior knowledge of the raid. It was reported that the Pian had appealed to government to help them fight off the Jie, Bokora, and Matheniko warriors, but to no avail. If this alliance continues to raid the Nakapiripirit communities, the latter are likely to either devise ways of reprisals, or seek alliance with them in order to protect their own livestock.

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



A total number of 187 human deaths were reported from the Ugandan side of the Karamoja Cluster for the reporting period. The number of human deaths range from a low of 15 in November, 22 in December, and 65 in October to a high of 85 in September 2005.

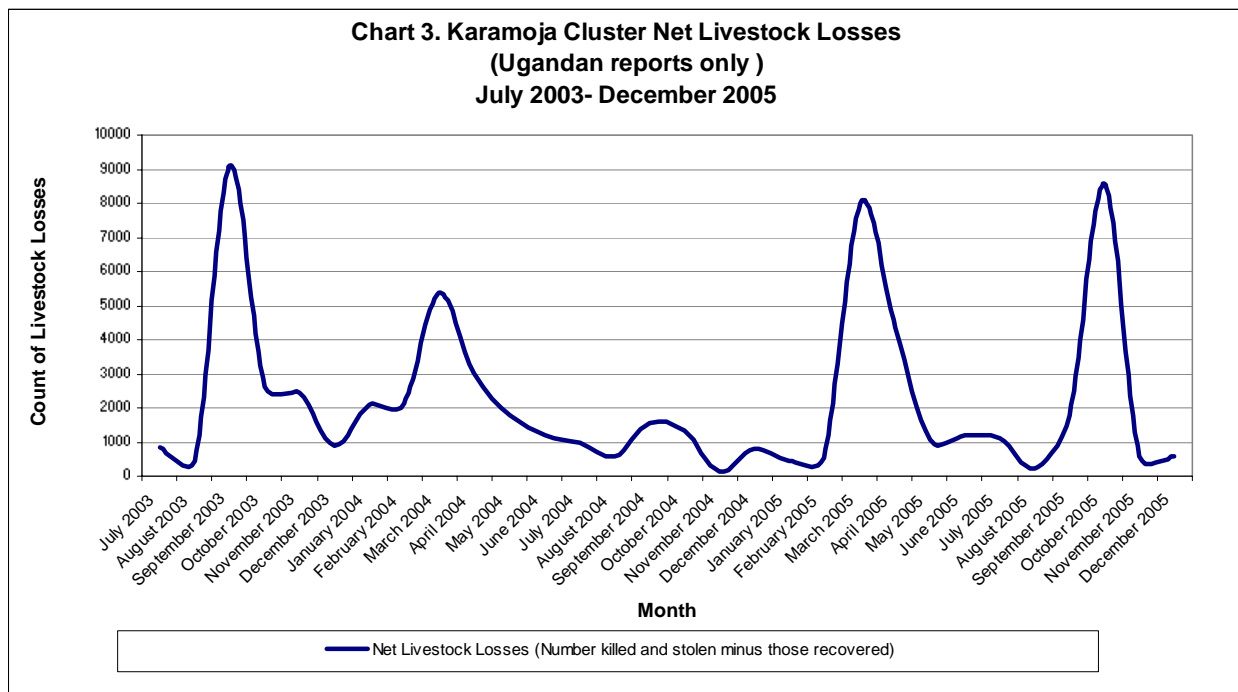
The high number of deaths in September was a sharp increase from August 2005. One of the incidents that contributed to the high death toll was an event that occurred in the night of 28th September 2005 in a kraal at Kalapata parish, Kalapata sub-county in Dodoth County. About 30 people were reported killed when Jie raiders fired on the people who they found dancing. The other incident occurred in Moroto district where, on the 19th September, Pian warriors were tracking their cattle allegedly raided by Bokora warriors. After they failed to recover the livestock, they surrounded Kodike village in Tepeth parish, Iriir sub-county in Bokora County and opened fire on the people as they basked under the morning sun. As a result, 10 children, 2 women and 1 man were killed.

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The field reports show that the incidents resulted in the deaths of 35 women and children. This is the highest number of deaths involving women and children since collection of field data started in the Area of Reporting started In July 2003. The shooting at Kodike village mentioned above accounted for the most deaths of children. The other incidents that occurred at the kraals did not result in high number of deaths of women and children because women, children and the elderly normally stay in the homes when conflicts are rife.

The above paragraphs indicate that deaths do not necessarily occur during raids, that is why the highest number of deaths occurred in September (85) when 15 raids were reported and yet when the deaths drop to 65 in October, we have the highest number of raids (20) in the reporting period. The common phenomenon of raids occurring at night also explains the low deaths with high numbers of raids because victims often do not respond quickly due to the fear of not knowing the number of the raiding force and their positions.

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



A total of 10,554 livestock were reported raided in the reporting period. In October alone 7,570 livestock were raided, the highest number lost for the period. Few livestock were raided in the months of November and December, and slightly more in September, 2005.

Whereas the number of livestock raided in September is relatively low, it is a marked increase from the previous month (August 2005). The marked increase in livestock losses in October was as a result of a single incident that occurred at Kalorwakomol kraals in Loposa parish, Panyangara sub-county in Jie County, Kotido District on October 30, 2005. The attack happened when virtually all the men had gone to the village for a dance. A large group of Bokora warriors, estimated to have been over 600, attacked the kraals and took with them an estimated 6000-7000 heads of cattle with minimal resistance from the few herdsboy who were left behind to take care of the livestock. The Jie were apparently unaware of the plan to raid them and this explains why a large group of the warriors left the kraal to go and have fun at the village giving the well organized Bokora warriors an opportunity to raid. By the time the Jie were informed of the loss, it was too late for any meaningful follow-up.

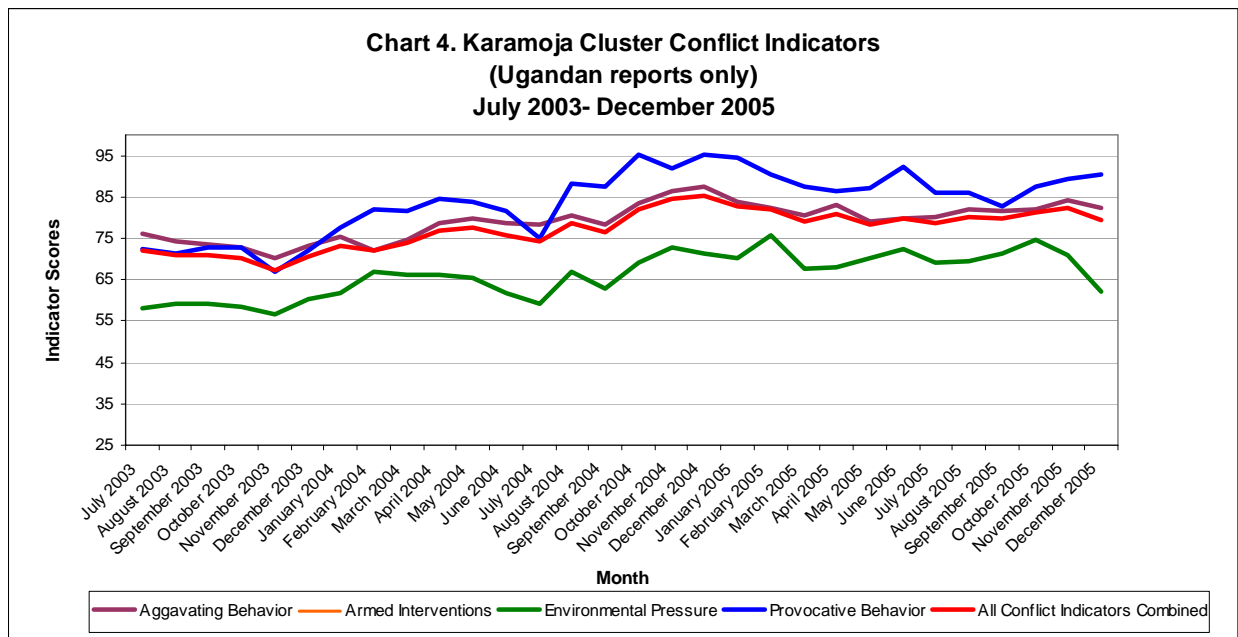
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When major losses like these occur and no attempts at recovery of the raided livestock are made, the victims often plan to restock the lost livestock through counter raids. Indeed, field reports indicate such restocking strategy by the Jie warriors against the Dodoth, Pian, Pokot and Bokora in the successive months.

A new trend in cattle raiding was noted in the reporting period. On the 19th November 2005, Jie warriors attacked Naguleangolol village in Nawaikorot parish in Ngoleriet sub-county, Bokora County in Moroto District. A large number of livestock were kept in this village and the warriors provided ample security. However, at about mid-night, an estimated 300 Jie warriors in 7 groups attacked the kraal. Bokora warriors on guard immediately realized the intrusion and a fierce battle started and lasted up to about 4 o'clock in the morning. During the battle, the Jie warriors shot into the kraal in order to cause stampede of the livestock so that they could get some. The Jie warriors managed to drive away about 600 head of cattle. However, because of the long duration of the fighting, there was heavy reinforcement by other Bokora warriors such that when the Jie tried to drive away the livestock, they were met by other Bokora warriors who immediately engaged them in running battles. In all, about 400 heads of cattle were recovered. The shooting of Jie warriors to cause the stampede resulted in the death of about 200 cattle.

Jie warriors used a similar approach in a raid they conducted against the Dodoth on 6th December 2005 at Longaro parish, Sidok sub-county, Dodoth County in the newly created Dodoth District. As Dodoth warriors engaged in celebrating the victory of their candidate for the National Resistance Movement (NRM) party primaries, Jie warriors sneaked in and raided cattle from the kraal. However, the Dodoth managed to mobilize reinforcement from the Ugandan Peoples Defense Force (UPDF) in an attempt to recover the cattle. Jie warriors opened fire at the livestock to cause a stampede. In the process, 70 heads of cattle were killed. However, the combined force of the Dodoth and UPDF foiled the raid.

Conflict Indicators for the Ugandan 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 Indicators². Provocative Behaviors remained high in the reporting period. Environmental Pressures also remained moderately high with a slight decrease in December. All Combined Conflict Indicators remained generally high in the reporting period.

² For full list of Conflict Indicators see Appendix 2.

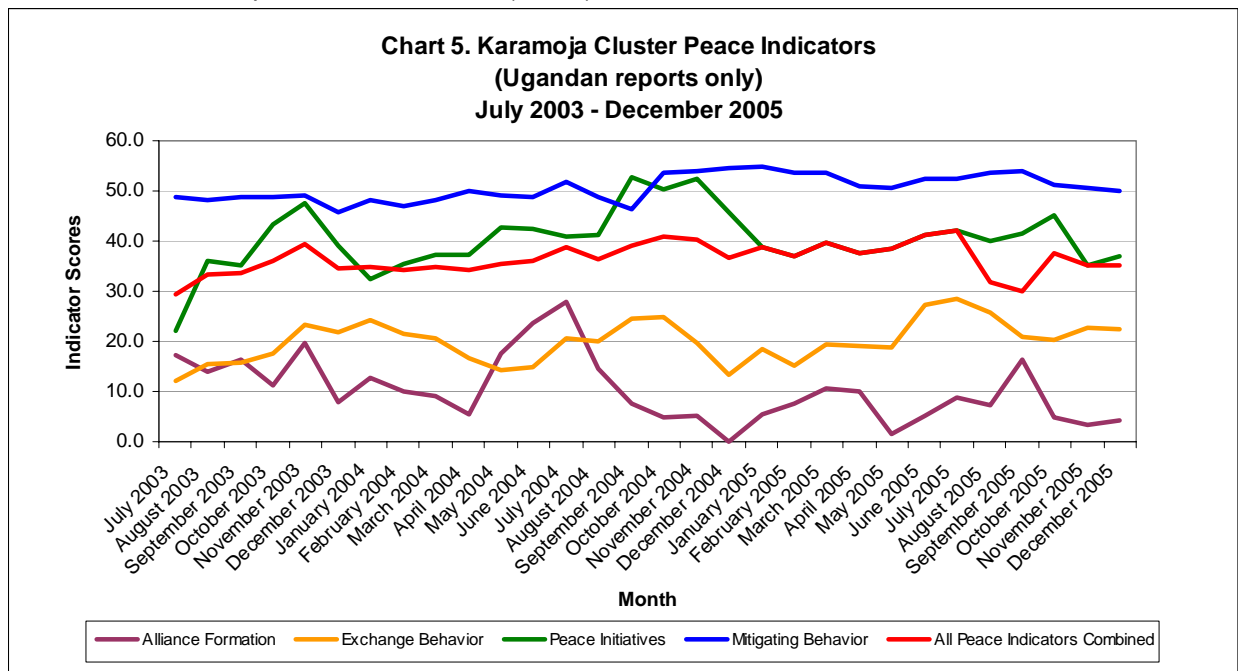
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The slight increase in Provocative Behavior in December could be related to the increase in violent incidents in the same month (see Chart 1). The explanation is that activities like all male migration, pre-raid blessing, and traditional forecasting frequent during conflict situations were prevalent in the reporting period, which is the reason for the rise in Provocative Behavior at the time conflict is rising.

The slight decrease in Environmental Pressure towards the end of the reporting period, in spite of the conflicts and the resultant migrations, may be explained by the fact that some of the livestock were moved from the grazing areas closer to the homesteads for security purposes. This may also partly explain the raids that took place in the homes and resulted in high death counts. The newly created alliance between the Jie, Bokora and Matheniko that allowed them to freely share the resources in the vast territory they controlled may have in a way contributed to the ease in competition of resources and conflict.

Aggravating Behavior remained high in the reporting period. This is mainly because of the use of security escorts, availability of small arms and pastoral migration in the Areas of Reporting as a result of the prevailing insecurity in the region.

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



The Chart highlights Alliance Formation, Exchange Behavior, Mitigating Behavior, Peace Initiatives, and All Peace Indicators Combined³.

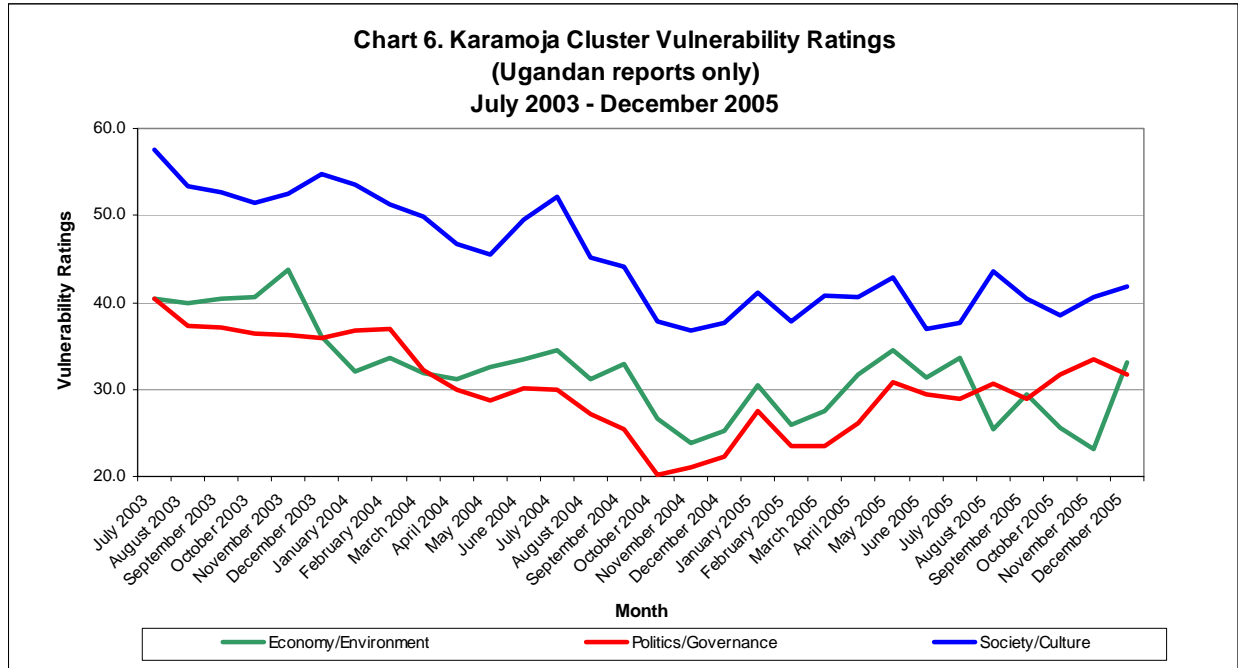
The slight increase in Alliance Formation in September, and the low record for October and December are partly due to the Jie, Bokora, Matheniko peace alliance formed in September, and the absence of any other major new alliances for the rest of the reporting period. The low recordings of Exchange Behavior could be attributed to the ongoing conflicts that affected communal relations. The slight decrease in Peace Initiatives in November maybe partly due to the lag caused by the need for the various stakeholders to re-strategize to address the recently formed alliance of the Jie, Bokora, and Matheniko after the collapse of the earlier Pian, Bokora, Matheniko alliance. Mitigating Behaviors remained moderate in the reporting period, as there was general access to social services by communities in their respective areas.

³ For full list of Peace Indicators see Appendix 2.

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However, alliances sometimes do not include all sections of the community; that is why even when there was an alliance of Jie, Bokora and Matheniko communities, field reports recorded the, Jie raiding Bokora or Matheniko raiding Bokora. Such instances could cause alliances to break up and spark conflicts.

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



The Economy/Environment Vulnerability ratings remained low in the reporting period. . The low recordings could partly be explained by the interferences in economic activities like trade, and in grazing patterns, caused by conflict. The slight increase in December could be related to relocation of herds cause by drought and conflict.

Society/Culture Vulnerability Ratings remained low for the reporting period. The low point ironically coincides with the time when conflict is highest. In deed traditional festivities could not be held during time of conflict. They then start rising as conflicts drop. But those activities that are considered to be indicative of conflict like traditional forecasting remain high during the same period as shown on table 4 above.

The reporting period covers a time when the campaigns for the presidential and parliamentary elections were well underway. As a result, some government programs that had been unpopular, especially the disarmament program, were affected as the different candidates avoid promoting it as they sought support of the electorate. This explains the reducing politics/governance indicators in the reporting period.

Comparative Analysis

Analysis of Structural Conflict Aggravating Factors

The reporting period covered part of the dry season in the Karamoja region. Competition for pasture and water is often highest in the dry season, and the data shows an increase in raids at the onset of the dry season.

The response by the different groups to the need to access secure water is to fall back on those practices that have been taken as tradition for sharing of resources with some groups and exclusion of others. This is achieved through formation of strategic alliances with some groups. It is at the time such alliances are held dear by the different groups that government, development, and civil society organizations should design interventions that use such alliances for peaceful; and developmental purposes.

The disarmament program remained to impact on the security situation in the region both positively and negatively. Whereas on the positive side there was significant reduction in the visible carrying of arms, the negative impact was that the warriors were reluctant to engage the enemy because of fear of victimization by the military, which has adopted the strategy of apprehending those communities that engage in battle in order to disarm them. As a result, it is common for the different communities to wait for an opportunity for a revenge raid rather than engage the enemy to recover raided livestock.

Analysis of Proximate Conflict Aggravating Factors

As explained in the text above the Jie, Bokora and Matheniko communities had formed an alliance following the collapse of the previous one involving the Bokora, Pian and Matheniko. These shifting communal alliances are some of the factors that aggravated conflict in the reporting period and thus shifting centers of conflict related to the alliances. Some grazing areas were rendered insecure by such alliances since the raiders often attacked and overcame their victims. As a result, livestock were on many occasions being kept in the homesteads, something that has not been happening for decades. This increased the death counts particularly for women and children in reporting period as the groups raided each other.

Analysis of Structural Conflict Mitigating Factors

In the reporting period the government continued to push for the disarmament of the Karimojong communities under the Disarmament Program. But whereas there is an approved comprehensive disarmament program, it has not been fully implemented yet – probably because of the general elections. However, military escorts for travelers and military deployment along roads continued.

It is expected that disarmament may be pursued after the elections. The participation of other stakeholders, especially development partners and organizations, will be critical in bringing about economic and social development in the region.

Analysis of Proximate Conflict Mitigating Factors

The field data showed that there was minimal effort either government or civil society organizations were doing to mitigate conflicts in the reporting period. As mentioned above, the political environment at the time was not conducive. The bulk of the responsibility to mitigate conflict therefore remained with civil society.

It is noted that the alliances formed by the pastoralists served both to mitigate and aggravate conflicts. The mitigation is because the groups that are in alliance are not in conflict, in this case the Jie, Bokora and Matheniko. However, these alliances were also used as a raiding strategy against other groups. On their own, these communities cannot engage in peaceful relationships with each other, and therefore government, civil society organizations and development organizations should utilize the alliances for peaceful coexistence and sharing of resources. In addition, the components of conflict resolution and peacebuilding under the comprehensive disarmament program should be used by the various stakeholders including government, development agencies, and civil society to enhance peace activities in the area.

RESPONSE RECOMMENDATIONS

ACTORS	SHORT TERM	MEDIUM TERM
CEWERU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Coordinate various government and civil society initiatives for peace, conflict resolution in the region ◆ Respond to immediate indications of break of alliances in order to prevent violence from occurring between communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Establish response structures at Districts and/or sub counties where both governmental and civil society initiatives are brought together to provide early warning and early response to conflict situations. ◆ Encourage government to pursue a coordinated disarmament while addressing the political and development lacuna that have been the root causes of pastoral conflicts. 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.
LOCAL COMMUNITIES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Utilize traditional institutions and structures to encourage sharing of resources, peacebuilding and conflict resolution ◆ Invoke the traditional institutions and structures to promote the disarmament program. The traditional institutions should work with government and CSOs for sustainability. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Mobilize the local community, involving both genders, and involve them in planning and prioritizing for the development of the region. ◆ Encourage various self-help initiatives for development as a strategy of involving the local communities.
CIVIL SOCIETY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Coordinated civil society activities aimed at conflict resolution, peacebuilding, service provision, and development in order to avoid duplication, and therefore have impact. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Conduct civic education to encourage cultures that promote peace and development but discourage violence. ◆ Liaise with the relevant government structures to bolster the various initiatives.
INTERNATIONAL NGOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ UNDP is involved in establishing district structures for the disarmament program. However, government should encourage other development partners to come on board because of the need for developmental and other approaches to move together with the collecting of guns. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ◆ Development organizations to introduce viable alternatives for survival and livelihood to reduce the people's reliance on livestock in line with government's Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP)

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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Tables for Incident Counts, Human Deaths, Livestock Losses and Indicator Ratings

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
September 2005	0	22	30	0	52
October 2005	0	24	40	8	72
November 2005	0	8	18	2	28
December 2005	0	18	26	2	46
totals	8	136	469	37	551

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
September 2005	85	20	23.5
October 2005	65	8	12.3
November 2005	15	5	33.3
December 2005	22	2	9.1
totals	1057	45	4.3

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
September 2005	1792
October 2005	8578
November 2005	597
December 2005	577
totals	51667

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Month & Year	Peace Initiatives	Mitigating Behavior	Exchange Behavior	Alliance Formation	Combined
July 2003	22.0	48.9	12.0	17.3	29.5
August 2003	35.9	48.1	15.6	13.9	33.5
September 2003	35.0	48.8	15.7	16.4	33.8
October 2003	43.4	48.8	17.6	11.2	36.0
November 2003	47.5	49.2	23.3	19.6	39.4
December 2003	39.1	45.7	22.0	7.9	34.5
January 2004	32.3	48.1	24.3	12.6	34.7
February 2004	35.6	47.0	21.5	10.0	34.2
March 2004	37.4	48.3	20.6	9.1	34.8
April 2004	37.3	50.1	16.7	5.5	34.2
May 2004	42.7	49.0	14.3	17.6	35.5
June 2004	42.3	48.9	15.0	23.5	36.1
July 2004	41.1	51.9	20.5	27.9	38.8
August 2004	41.3	48.9	19.9	14.6	36.3
September 2004	52.8	46.2	24.7	7.5	39.0
October 2004	50.2	53.6	24.9	4.7	41.0
November 2004	52.5	53.9	19.6	5.2	40.3
December 2004	45.6	54.6	13.3	0.0	36.8
January 2005	38.9	54.8	18.5	5.6	38.9
February 2005	36.9	53.7	15.2	7.5	36.9
March 2005	39.8	53.6	19.5	10.5	39.8
April 2005	37.5	51.0	19.0	10.0	37.5
May 2005	38.4	50.7	18.6	1.5	38.4
June 2005	41.2	52.6	27.4	5.2	41.2
July 2005	42.1	52.4	28.4	8.8	42.1
August 2005	40.0	53.7	25.8	7.1	31.8
September 2005	41.5	54.1	20.8	16.3	30.0
October 2005	45.2	51.3	20.4	4.8	37.5
November 2005	35.1	50.6	22.7	3.3	35.2
December 2005	37.1	49.9	22.4	4.2	35.2

Month & Year	Society/Culture	Politics/Governance	Economy/Environment
July 2003	57.5	40.4	40.5
August 2003	53.3	37.2	40.0
September 2003	52.6	37.1	40.4
October 2003	51.4	36.4	40.6
November 2003	52.6	36.3	43.8
December 2003	54.8	35.9	36.1
January 2004	53.5	36.7	32.1
February 2004	51.2	36.9	33.6
March 2004	49.9	32.2	31.9
April 2004	46.8	30.0	31.1
May 2004	45.5	28.7	32.6
June 2004	49.6	30.2	33.4
July 2004	52.2	30.0	34.5
August 2004	45.1	27.2	31.2
September 2004	44.1	25.5	32.9
October 2004	37.8	20.2	26.6
November 2004	36.7	21.1	23.8
December 2004	37.7	22.3	25.3
January 2005	41.2	27.5	30.6
February 2005	37.8	23.4	26.0
March 2005	40.8	23.5	27.5
April 2005	40.6	26.1	31.7
May 2005	42.9	30.8	34.5
June 2005	37.0	29.4	31.4
July 2005	37.6	28.9	33.7
August 2005	43.7	30.6	25.4
September 2005	40.4	28.9	29.5
October 2005	38.6	31.7	25.6
November 2005	40.5	33.5	23.1
December 2005	41.8	31.7	33.1

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
September 2005	0.0	82.8	71.3	81.6	79.85
October 2005	0.0	87.7	74.8	82.0	81.28
November 2005	0.0	89.2	71.0	84.3	82.36
December 2005	0.0	90.3	62.2	82.5	79.59