

The Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN)



in the

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

CEWARN Country Updates: May-August 2008

For the Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

Report to Ugandan CEWERU
September 5, 2008

CEWARN, Addis Abeba, Ethiopia

CEWARN Country Update

Update Period:

May through August 2008

Area of Reporting:

Ugandan Side of the Karamoja Cluster

National Research Institute:

Centre for Basic Research (CBR)

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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 through August 2008, set in the context of all reports submitted from July 2003 through April 2008. The reporting locations on the Ugandan side of the Karamoja cluster are 6 in number for the reporting period: Kaabong, Kapchorwa (including Bukwo), Kotido, and Moroto districts; Pokot and Pian/Chekwi counties in Nakapiripirit district. 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 2008 through September 2008, 113 human deaths were recorded and 6,664 livestock were lost on the Ugandan side of the Karamoja Cluster. These losses were reported in a total of 102 incident reports, and just over 6% of which involved parties from the neighboring countries of Sudan and Kenya.

The data shows an increase in conflict situation compared to the previous period of January – April 2008, the number of violent incidents increased from 69 of January – April to 102 of May – August 2008. There was an increase in the number of deaths registered from 35 of January – April to 113 of May – August 2008, the number of livestock losses increased as well from 6, 285 in January – April to 6,664 of May – August 2008. The period of reporting registered a general increase in violence despite the high presence of the army and the disarmament exercise that is ongoing. A culture of retribution in the region especially in the absence of an effective legal framework of obtaining justice or compensation for victims is a major influencing factor in the decision to counter raid. The need to augment livestock numbers and compensate for raids and thefts in order to survive , support families, and contribute not only to the productivity of the community but also struggle to survive especially during this period when famine continues to affect the area , also played an important role in perpetuating conflict. Poor recovery of lost livestock and failure to effectively protect life and people’s property remains a motivation to carry out revenge and counter raids.

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Whereas disarmament has reduced the arms available in the hands of the warriors, there is fear that rearmament may be taking place. Civilian disarmament needs to be emphasized as the communities need to embrace it and begin getting the dividends of peace. Otherwise the disarmament campaign may serve as “ forced upgrades of firearms” as the old weapons are confiscated, communities are forced to acquire more modern ones to protect themselves. There is need to build community confidence, fully involve them, their leaders, bring on board civil society organizations and give effective protection to the disarmed communities. This will improve the actual and perceived security threats as well as attitude towards disarmament. This therefore, calls on Member States of the IGAD region to develop not only a good coordinated strategy and legal framework for arms reduction and control but also develop a comprehensive strategy that contains clear objectives and benchmarks as cattle rustling is not a local or national problem but one that traverses international borders.

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.

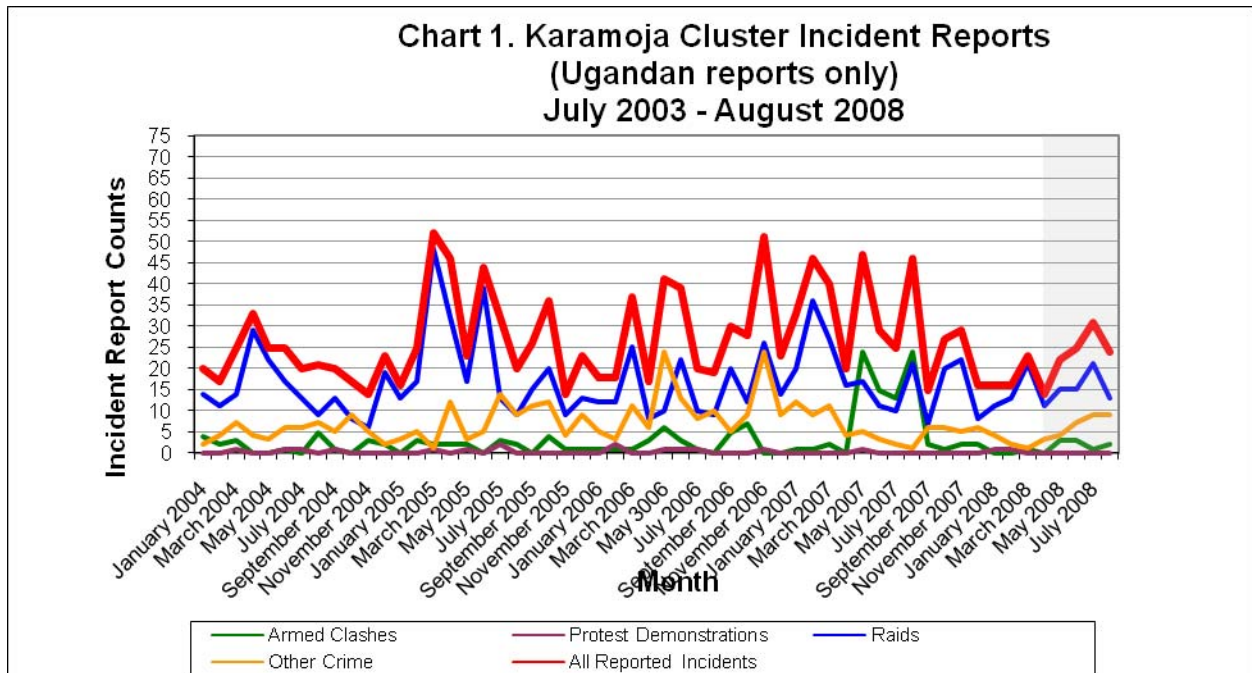
Suggestions and comments on this initial baseline are welcome. Please contact CEWARN (cewarn@ethionet.et) at the CEWARN office in Addis Ababa with any questions, comments or suggestions. The next CEWARN Country Update May-August 2008 for the Ugandan side of the Karamoja cluster is scheduled for posting 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-axis is 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 102 violent incidents were recorded in the reporting period; of which 29 were Other Crimes, 64 were Raids, and 9 were Armed Clashes¹. July was reported to have recorded the highest number of violent incidents 31, followed by June with 25, August had 24 while May had 22 incidents, the lowest number of recorded violent incidents. Out of the 102 incidents reported, only 6% were identified as crossborder incidents in that the actors were the Dinka, Toposa and the Didinga warriors from Southern Sudan and the Pokot warriors from Kenya.

In one such case, the Pokot warriors from Kenya on the 27th May 2008 raided 714 head of cattle belonging to the Matheniko of Lotirir parish, Nadunget subcounty, Matheniko county, Moroto district and drove away the livestock and left one shepherd injured. According to field reports the animals were driven through Achorichor in Loroo subcounty of Nakapiripirit district the army and the local people pursued the raiders but no recovery was made of the raided livestock.

¹ For full description of these Indicators, see Appendix 1.

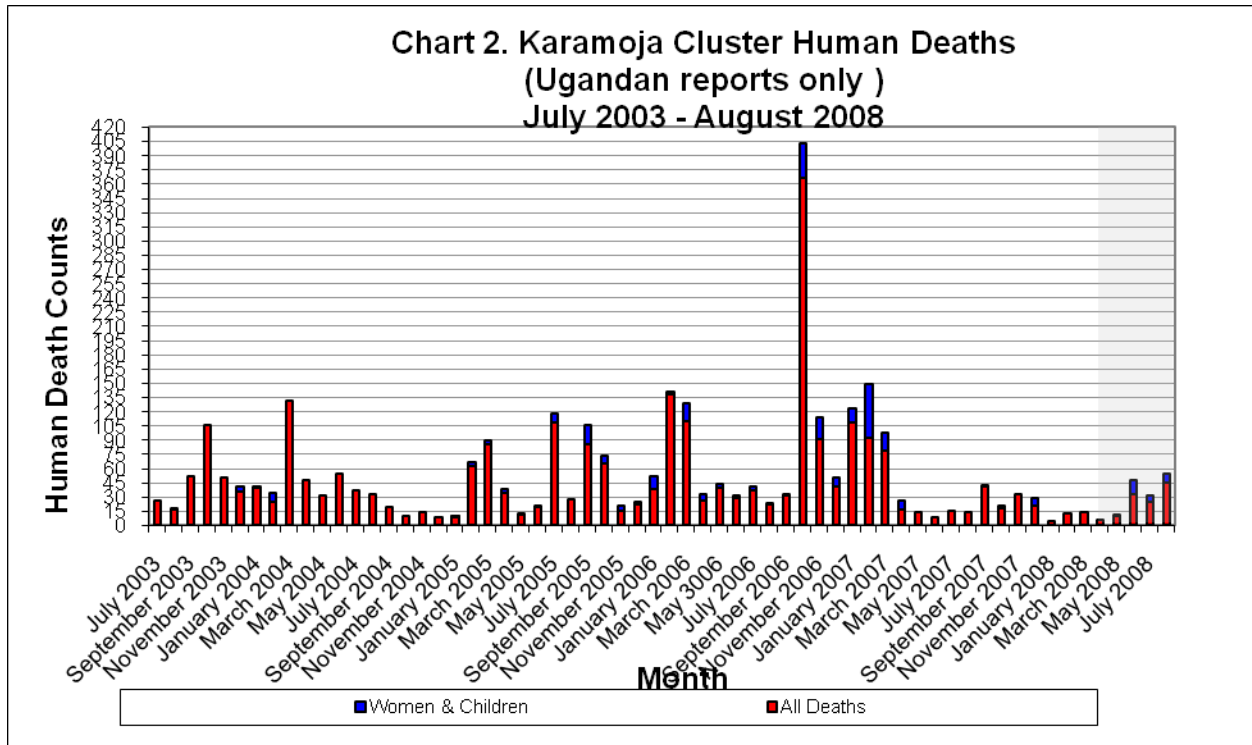
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In another incident that happened on the 4th August 2008 the Dinka traders from Southern Sudan crossed to Kaabong district but were ambushed by the Jie warriors who probably had gone to Kaabong for a raid mission. The Dinka fell into an ambush set by the Jie warriors but they were lucky to be rescued by the army which intervened quickly as an alarm was made. The army engaged the Jie warriors in a battle that left 10 Jie warriors dead. All the 25 Dinka traders were rescued by the army.

The category of Other Crimes increased from 10 of January – April 2008 reporting period to 29 in the current period. There is fear that communities may be rearming as road ambushes continue to be carried out and raids with counter raids. In one such case of road ambushes, the Bokora warriors from Moroto district ambushed the Gateway Bus on the 14th and 15th of August, 2008 killing 1 woman and 1 man and left 8 people injured. Disarmament in Uganda is geographically limited, which highlights the need for simultaneous crossborder initiatives. Failure to provide adequate security to the disarmed communities and the protected kraals only confirms the communities' worries that with porous borders surrounding them, external threats, and the absence of effective state provided security they look upon themselves and their rifles as the only source and guarantee for personal security and that of their property. Disarmament is often viewed by them as a conspiracy to have them wiped out.

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

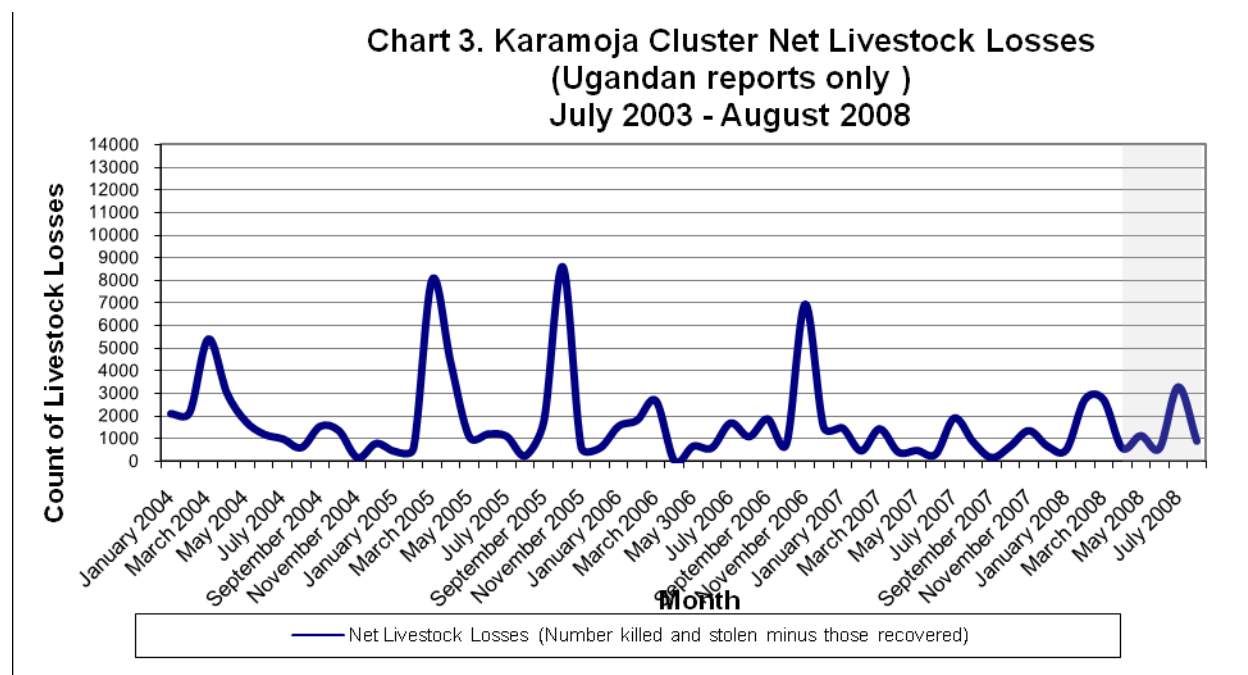


A total of 113 human deaths were reported from the Ugandan side of the Karamoja Cluster for the reporting period of May – August 2008. The number of human deaths ranged from a low 10 in May, 25 in July, 33 in June to 45 in August, the highest single death toll in a month. This is a marked contrast from the total of 35 human deaths registered in the previous reporting of January – April 2008. Whereas July had the highest number of violent incidents most, deaths occurred in August. Two incidents that left 20 Jie warriors dead contributed to the highest death toll in the reporting period. The raid by the Bokora on the Jie on 1st June, 2008 in Lokitelaebu parish, Kotido subcounty, Jie county, Kotido district left 10 Jie dead and over 300 head of cattle raided. The second incident that left 10 Jie warriors dead took place in Kaabong on the 4th August 2008 when the Jie warriors who had gone for raid met with the Dinka traders from South Sudan whom they ambushed but the Dinka made an alarm that attracted the attention of the army who responded quickly, engaged the Jie and left 10 of them dead before rescuing the Dinka.

Out of the 113 human deaths registered 16 were women and 14 were children, this was a marked increase in women and children deaths recorded compared to only 5 women who were killed in January – April 2008. Two incidents contributed to the high number of women and children killed in the period of reporting. In one incident 4 women were killed in Losongolo parish, Kaabong subcounty, Dodoth county, Kaabong district when the Jie warriors attacked the area with the intention of raiding but met stiff resistance from the Dodoth warriors. In the exchange of gunfire 4 women were killed and one got injured. As a result of disarmament operations some individuals prefer to keep their livestock in homesteads than in the protected kraals and this attracts raiders to the homes which has exposed women and children. In another incident 4 children were killed by the Jie warriors on 11th June 2008 in Iriir parish, Iriir sub county, Bokora county, Moroto district when the Jie warriors shot in the house at night as people slept. Several household properties and food stuffs were looted. The nature of this incident indicates how famine is influencing social behavior of the communities.

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



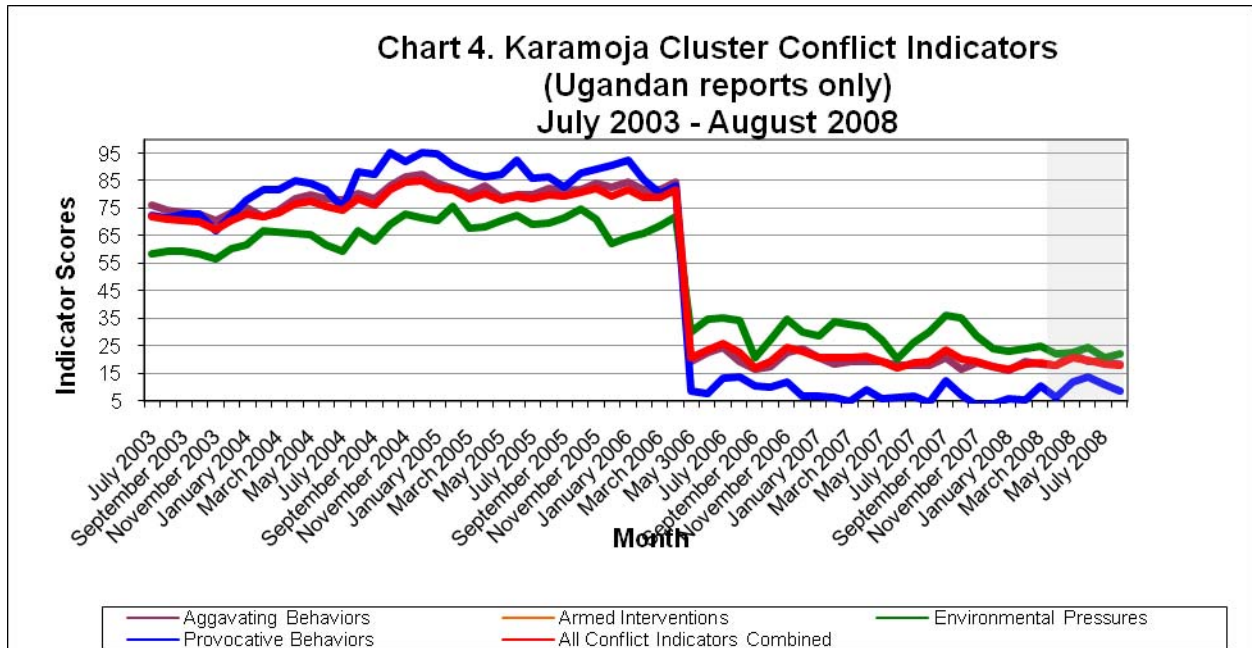
A total of 6,664 livestock were reported raided or stolen in the reporting period between May to August 2008. There was no major change from the previous period where 6,285 livestock were reported raided or stolen. The highest number of livestock losses was reported in July with 3,491. Incidentally this month had the highest number of violent incidents, May had the second highest number of livestock losses 1,230, August 1,175 and June 768 as third and fourth respectively. The highest single raid in the reporting period took place on the 8th July 2008 when the Jie warriors raided the Bokora warriors of Lopei parish, Lopei sub county, Bokora county, Moroto district and drove away 1600 head of cattle.

Raids and counterraided continued in the period of reporting as communities needed to restock their herds following the devastating drought that hit the region. By the area receiving some amount of rainfall which increased the availability of water and pasture for livestock and by the communities emerging from the drought that had killed many herds, there was motivation to restock the lost livestock through raiding. Famine remained a big factor as well in influencing violence as people struggled to survive. Karamoja has faced two consecutive years of crop failure and communities are desperate to find food. Famine has forced women and children to move to neighboring districts and other towns in search of food and this has increased their vulnerability by reducing them to beggars.

Whereas the army tried to recover some raided animals in collaboration with the affected communities in most cases, on the overall, most of the attempts at recovery were not successful. It is important that the disarmed members of the community enjoy or benefit from dividends of disarmament as this would not only increase confidence of the disarmed communities but would also encourage the reluctant members who still have guns to surrender them. Though the security situation is relatively improved but a lot needs to be done for the communities to feel more secure. In other wards the communities need to feel that by possessing firearms they are more insecure than the contrarily.

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



The chart above highlights Aggravating Behaviors, Armed Interventions, Environmental Pressures, Provocative Behaviors, and all Combined Conflict Indicators.² The Conflict Indicators during this period continued to be low just as in the previous period.

Aggravating Behaviors (manifested by factors like Protest, Bullets as commodities, Media controls, Post-raid blessing, Small arms availability, New markets) remained low in the reporting period. Because of the high presence of the army in the area the warriors could not freely and openly engage in the trade of arms and ammunitions, openly use bullets as commodities or engage in post raid blessings. True, arms and ammunitions are still available in the area, as evidenced by raids carried out using guns, but these arms are no longer exposed and their availability, trade and movement tend to be more concealed.

Environmental Pressure also remained low although comparatively it remains the highest conflict indicator. The slight drop in May is related to the return of rain which tried to decongest the dry season. However, Environmental Pressure starts to increase in July a month that had the highest number of registered violent incidents as it is reported that the army re-introduced protected kraals in Kotido district among the Jie and this could have probably led to depletion of resources as large herds were brought together. In Kaabong district the warriors ran away with their animals to no man's land between Uganda and Kenya and this affected the grazing patterns as traditional grazing areas were abandoned and herds moved to far locations to avoid the army.

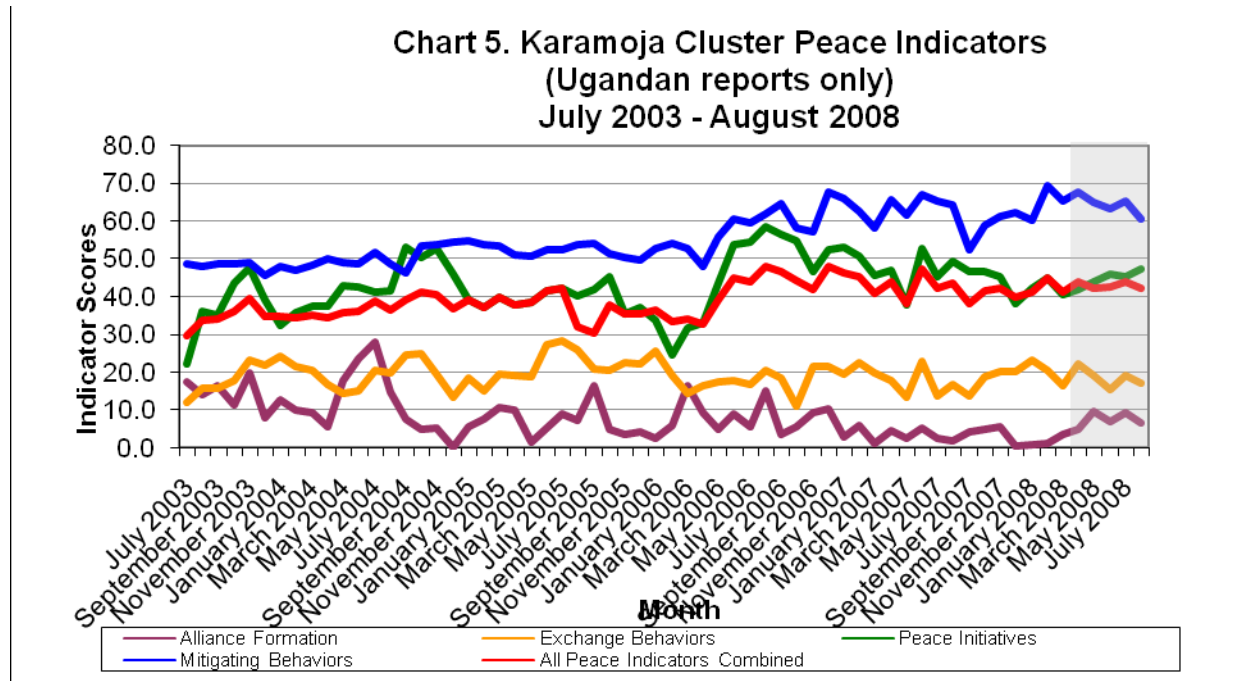
Provocative Behaviors remained the lowest conflict indicator as in the previous reporting period. Such acts like pre-raid blessing and traditional forecasting that were traditionally conducted in preparation for raids are no longer openly conducted. The type of forecast that is openly conducted is for protection of people, livestock and protection from hunger. The forecasts by

² For full list of Conflict Indicators see Appendix 2.

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soothsayers instructing the communities to make sacrifices contributed to the rise for instance, on 19th May, 2008, it is reported that a soothsayer instructed the people of Nabilatuk subcounty in Nakapiripirit district to sacrifice 2 bulls for the protection of the community and one black bull should be killed to bring rain and stop famine. In Kotido district a soothsayer from Nagoroit instructed the community to kill a white bull in order to get protection for their livestock and from disarmament operations. The rise can be attributed as well to the unusual all male youth movements especially in Pokot area of reporting that is reported to have resulted into raids.

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



The Chart highlights Alliance Formation, Exchange Behavior, Mitigating Behaviors, Peace Initiatives, and All Peace Indicators Combined.³

Alliance Formation remained the lowest peace indicator comparatively, however, it begins to rise by June as the strong Alliance between the Jie and Turkana was celebrated. Celebrations were held in Kotido district witnessed by the Kenyan Minister, district officials from Turkana and the Chairperson district peace committee for Kotido and other members. The strong alliance between the two groups aimed at sharing resources and recovering lost livestock of either community. It was in this spirit that the Jie community on 9th June 2008 in Panyangara subcounty agreed to compensate the Turkana with their earlier raided camels by the Jie warriors. The Turkana also offered one bull for roasting to the Kotido district peace chairperson and some members for *ngakile angikapolok* meaning milk for the leaders.

Exchange Behavior (manifested by factors such as celebration, inter group marriage, gift offering and cross- border trade) remained low and had a slight decline by May and June before rising again by July. Because of the ongoing disarmament exercises there has been disruption of some of the group sharing activities like intermarriages, giving gifts in form of cows as they would be impounded once a raid takes place all this contributed to the drop of the indicator.

³ For full list of Peace Indicators see Appendix 2.

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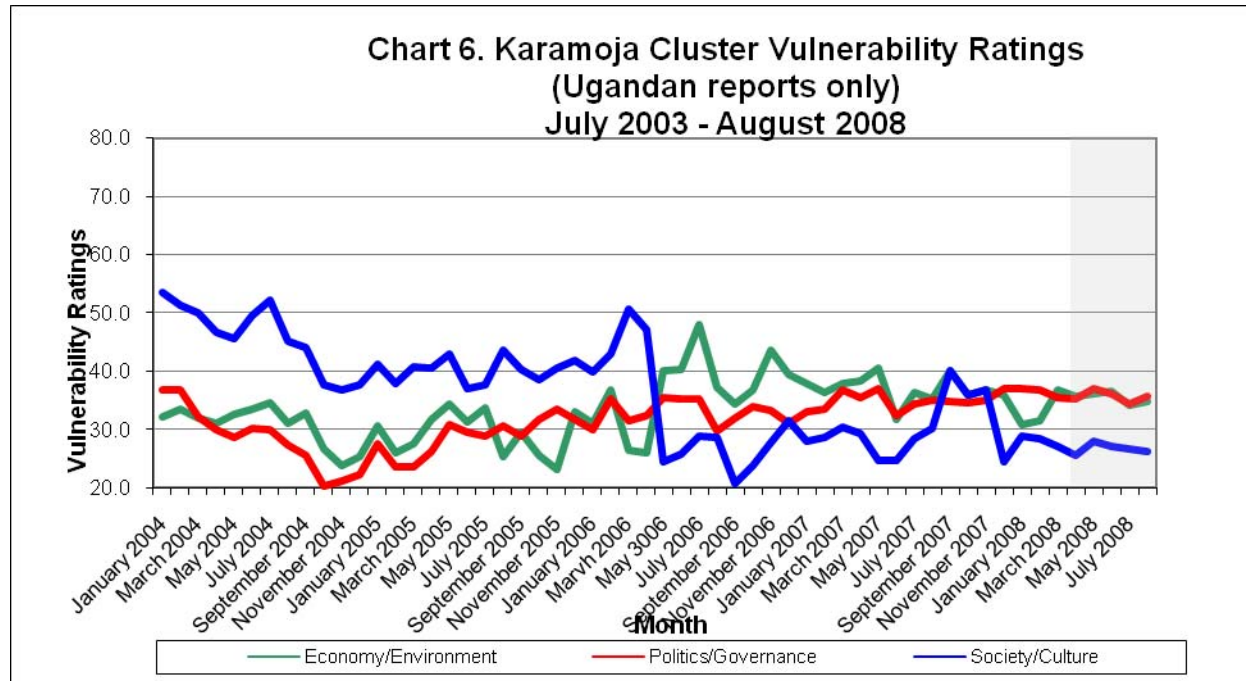
However, celebrations of inter group sharing and gift exchange was realized as groups celebrated formation of alliances and recoveries of lost animals. There were celebrations when 170 head of cattle for the Pokot of Kenya were handed over by the district peace committee for Bukwo to the Kenyan authorities. There were celebrations as well to mark the peace agreement on how to share resources between the Jie and Turkana on the 7th July 2008 in Kotido district. A number of dignitaries from Kenya and Uganda attended the function.

Peace Initiatives (manifested by factors like women peace messengers, weapon reduction programme, local peace initiatives and NGO peace initiative) started rising from May up to August. This steady rise can be attributed to the peace initiatives aimed at peacebuilding work by civil society organizations and government. On 8th August 2008, there was a crossborder peace meeting held in Kapchorwa organized by Action Aid Uganda. The meeting aimed at discussing how crossborder conflicts can be prevented and was attended by district chairpersons, Members of parliament from Kapchorwa, Bukwo, Nakapiripirit, Amuria, Katakwi and Mt Elgon district in Kenya. There were also peace consultation meetings between the Dodoth and Jie kraal leaders held at Kacheri on the 21st June 2008 and Rengen on 9th August 2008 respectively. There was a cross border peace initiative between the Jie, Dodoth, Turkana, Toposa and Didinga of Southern Sudan. The meeting was held at Kapoeta in South Sudan on 13th May, 2008. There were peace initiatives as well between the Matheniko and the Turkana at Nakabaat in Kenya on 28th June 2008. This significant cross – border meeting was organized by Riam Riam Turkana and Karamoja Agro-pastoral Development Program (KADP) and was attended by Moroto district leadership. The meeting aimed at laying strategies for crossborder grazing collaboration. Another important peace initiative was the inauguration of the district peace committees in Karamoja cluster between 8th - 17th June 2008 by CEWERU and CEWARN. PACT as well was engaged in peace initiatives as they held a series of meetings in Nakapiripirit district and agreed to work with Karamoja Initiative for Peace a local NGO on crossborder issues.

Mitigating Behavior (manifested by factors such as access to education, relief distribution, small arms reduction, positive media coverage) is comparatively the highest peace indicator in the period of reporting. However, it begins to decline by May and this may be attributed to the slowing down of social services especially failure to access education. In Nakapiripirit district schools closed temporarily when World Food Programme ran out of food for school going children. This forced soldiers of the Uganda People's Defence Forces and the Police to collect school age going children from villages and take them to schools by force.

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



The Economy/Environmental Vulnerability ratings remained low in the reporting period declining slightly by May, rising briefly and then dropping by July. The months of May and June started receiving some rain and this could have led to the drop as to some extent water and pasture became available there by reducing the Economy/Environment Vulnerability Ratings. The slight increase in the ratings may be as a result of the tension between the communities and the army, as the latter continues to remove by force illegally held arms by the warriors. For instance reports from the field indicate that the Dodoth warriors abandoned their traditional grazing areas avoiding disarmament and are now grazing in Morungole Mountains and in no man's land between Uganda Kenya.

Politics/Governance Vulnerability Ratings remained low, but rose slightly by May before declining by June. The continued disarmament programme may have continued to influence the Politics/Governance Ratings as it is the major political governance issue that is taking place within the area of reporting. But the increased initiatives in peacebuilding work like the launch and inauguration of the district peace committees by CEWERU and CEWARN and the continued work of peace building by civil society organization like KADP , KOPEIN may have also have played a role in keeping the Politics/Governance Vulnerability Ratings low.

The Society/Culture Vulnerability Ratings were the lowest in the reporting period. Had a slight increase by May but then started declining by June. The increase by May may be a result of tension between different worrying groups and the army as the army continued to carry out forceful disarmament especially in Pokot area of Nakapiripirit district where cordon and search was implemented. Reports from the field indicate that cordon and search and disarmament generally have forced sections of the Pokot community to flee to Kenya to their fellow Pokot brothers to avoid disarmament.

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Comparative Analysis

The matrix below compares the incidents, human deaths and livestock losses of the present and previously reporting periods:

Type	January April 2008	May August 2008	Variance
Incidents	69	102	33
Human deaths	35	113	78
Livestock losses	6,285	6,664	379

The data shows an increase in the number of violent incidents in the May August period of reporting. There was an increase in the number of human deaths registered from 35 of the previous reporting period to 99 in May August 2008. There was an increase in the number of livestock losses from 6,285 to 6,664 in May August 2008 period of reporting.

Analysis of Structural Conflict Aggravating Factors

The reporting period covered part of the dry season that continued to wreck havoc on the communities as famine contributed to an increase in violence as people employed all means to survive. A number of structural factors continue to play a major role in sustaining insecurity in the area despite conflict indicators remaining low in the period of reporting. Conflicts in the neighboring countries like Sudan coupled with porous international borders, poor infrastructure, poverty coupled with scarce resource continue to perpetuate conflict and instability in the region. Porous international borders continue to facilitate movement of small arms and light weapons as warriors continue to wreck havoc on communities using small arms and light weapons.

Analysis of Proximate Conflict Aggravating Factors

The continued availability of small arms and light weapons continue to play a major role in sustaining conflict in this region. The plentiful supply of fire arms and high demand internally and across international borders have stimulated a powerful regional gun trade. From the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), Equatorial Defence Forces (EDF), EDF 11, Boya Forces, Didinga Forces, Lafon Forces, Toposa and Mundat militias and the different armed warriors in the region. As a result, a culture of cattle rustling compounded by lack of basic services, unreliable water supplies, depressed economies, insufficient response to drought, wide spread poverty and famine among the pastoral communities exacerbated by widespread access to and misuse of firearms.

Analysis of Structural Conflict Mitigating Factors

The Government and International Agencies initiated some development projects in the areas of reporting; of particular significance is the continued encouragement of children to go to schools by providing them with school feeding programme. The school feeding programme has attracted children to attend schools and end up learning by default. With Universal primary education in place if fully embraced will help to change the attitude of the people within the region.

There is need to encourage civilian disarmament programme, improve infrastructure even in the neighboring communities. The Karamoja region of Uganda, South Sudan, Turkana and Pokot region of Kenya for example are also inhabited by pastoral communities characterized by the same set of chronic issues; poverty and social marginalization, absence of effective governance and security, wide spread arms circulation internally and across the borders, diminishing roles of traditional authorities, high levels of criminality and lawlessness and antagonistic relationship with central government.

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Analysis of Proximate Conflict Mitigating Factors

The disarmament programme is being implemented by the government as a policy aimed at mitigating conflict in the area. With some guns recovered from the warriors there is need to make the Karamoja Integrated and Disarmament Programme (KIDDP) that does not only aim at removal of the gun alone but also will try to address the root causes of the problem a working document. Supply of relief to the famine hit families by both Relief Agencies and Government and some recoveries of lost livestock played a big part in conflict mitigation. The continued engagement of stakeholders in the period of reporting particularly in Kaabong by UN-OCHA in collaboration with the local government, NGO's and CBO's looking at how health, water and sanitation, food security, education and good governance in Kaabong district had performed and see how agencies can come up with strategic interventions; this helped also to mitigate conflict.

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RESPONSE RECOMMENDATIONS

ACTORS	SHORT TERM	MEDIUM TERM
CEWERU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of relief (food) should continue to be a priority as famine continues to wreck havoc on the population leading to raids and counter raids. • Recovery of raided/stolen livestock should be a priority and fewer days should be used and recovered livestock should be returned to the right owners. • Support the established district peace committees and build their capacity to handle and manage conflicts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plan for long term strategies for provision of alternative livelihoods. • Effective governance or lack of it remains a fundamental obstacle to human security therefore government should increase its presence and provision of services to the area. • Enhance regional cooperation, joint operations, capacity building and exchange of information.
LOCAL COMMUNITIES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Help and support the army in recovery of raided/stolen livestock. • Assist the army in identifying corridors that are used for raiding and movement of arms; corridors like Nakouakimat, Kailikong, Turfuko, Lotenepus, Lokitala arengak, Lochowakwang, these corridors can be monitored by the army 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobilize communities for development projects. • Make use of the CEWARN Rapid Response Fund to address short and medium term causes of conflict. • Support education of young people to break recruitment of young boys into warriorhood and encourage girls to go school and stay in school.
CIVIL SOCIETY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assist the communities especially those affected by famine by resettling them and provide relief. • Sustain peace dialogues and advocate for accountable leadership in the pastoral communities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Empower the communities with life skills. • Involve all stakeholders in community sensitization, mobilization, and voluntary disarmament programs.
INTERNATIONAL NGOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue to work with Government and Civil societies to provide relief especially food. • Support crossborder peace initiatives. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify and support long term development alternative livelihood programmes. • Support the Police and the Judiciary to bring law and order in the region.

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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 Demonstrations	Other Crime	Organized Raids	Armed Clashes	all incidents	Month & Year	Human Deaths	Deaths of Women & Children	percents W&C
January 2004	0	2	14	4	20	January 2004	39	2	5.1
February 2004	0	4	11	2	17	February 2004	24	10	41.7
March 2004	1	7	14	3	25	March 2004	131	0	0.0
April 2004	0	4	29	0	33	April 2004	48	0	0.0
May 2004	0	3	22	0	25	May 2004	31	0	0.0
June 2004	1	6	17	1	25	June 2004	54	0	0.0
July 2004	1	6	13	0	20	July 2004	36	0	0.0
August 2004	0	7	9	5	21	August 2004	33	0	0.0
September 2004	1	5	13	1	20	September 2004	19	0	0.0
October 2004	0	9	8	0	17	October 2004	9	0	0.0
November 2004	0	5	6	3	14	November 2004	13	0	0.0
December 2004	0	2	19	2	23	December 2004	8	0	0.0
January 2005	0	3	13	0	16	January 2005	9	1	11.1
February 2005	0	5	17	3	25	February 2005	62	4	6.5
March 2005	1	1	48	2	52	March 2005	85	4	4.7
April 2005	0	12	32	2	46	April 2005	34	4	11.8
May 2005	1	3	17	2	23	May 2005	11	1	9.1
June 2005	0	5	39	0	44	June 2005	19	2	10.5
July 2005	2	14	13	3	32	July 2005	108	10	9.3
August 2005	0	9	9	2	20	August 2005	27	0	0.0
September 2005	0	11	15	0	26	September 2005	85	20	23.5
October 2005	0	12	20	4	36	October 2005	65	8	12.3
November 2005	0	4	9	1	14	November 2005	15	5	33.3
December 2005	0	9	13	1	23	December 2005	22	2	9.1
January 2006	0	5	12	1	18	January 2006	38	13	34.2
February 2006	2	3	12	1	18	February 2006	138	3	2.2
March 2006	0	11	25	1	37	March 2006	110	19	17.3
April 2006	0	6	8	3	17	April 2006	26	6	23.1
May 2006	1	24	10	6	41	May 2006	39	5	12.8
June 2006	1	13	22	3	39	June 2006	28	3	10.7
July 2006	1	8	10	1	20	July 2006	37	4	10.8
August 2006	0	10	9	0	19	August 2006	22	1	4.5
September 2006	0	5	20	5	30	September 2006	31	2	6.5
October 2006	0	9	12	7	28	October 2006	366	37	10.1
November 2006	1	24	26	0	51	November 2006	91	22	24.2
December 2006	0	9	14	0	23	December 2006	41	9	22.0
January 2007	0	12	20	1	33	January 2007	108	15	13.9
February 2007	0	9	36	1	46	February 2007	92	56	60.9
March 2007	0	11	27	2	40	March 2007	78	20	25.6
April 2007	0	4	16	0	20	April 2007	17	9	52.9
May 2007	1	5	17	24	47	May 2007	13	0	0.0
June 2007	0	3	11	15	29	June 2007	8	0	0.0
July 2007	0	2	10	13	25	July 2007	15	0	0.0
August 2007	0	1	21	24	46	August 2007	14	0	0.0
September 2007	0	6	7	2	15	September 2007	40	2	5.0
October 2007	0	6	20	1	27	October 2007	18	3	16.7
November 2007	0	5	22	2	29	November 2007	32	0	0.0
December 2007	0	6	8	2	16	December 2007	20	9	45.0
January 2008	1	4	11	0	16	January 2008	4	0	0.0
February 2008	1	2	13	0	16	February 2008	12	0	0.0
March 2008	0	1	21	1	23	March 2008	14	0	0.0
April 2008	0	3	11	0	14	April 2008	5	0	0.0
May 2008	0	4	15	3	22	May 2008	10	1	0.0
June 2008	0	7	15	3	25	June 2008	33	14	0.0
July 2008	0	9	21	1	31	July 2008	25	6	0.0
August 2008	0	9	13	2	24	August 2008	45	9	6.8
totals	17	417	1055	176	1665	totals	2827	321	11.4

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Month & Year	Peace Initiatives	Mitigating Behavior	Exchange Behavior	Alliance Formation	Combined	Month & Year	Livestock Losses, net
January 2004	32.3	48.1	24.3	12.6	34.7	January 2004	2091
February 2004	35.6	47.0	21.5	10.0	34.2	February 2004	2135
March 2004	37.4	48.3	20.6	9.1	34.8	March 2004	5386
April 2004	37.3	50.1	16.7	5.5	34.2	April 2004	3007
May 2004	42.7	49.0	14.3	17.6	35.5	May 2004	1762
June 2004	42.3	48.9	15.0	23.5	36.1	June 2004	1184
July 2004	41.1	51.9	20.5	27.9	38.8	July 2004	978
August 2004	41.3	48.9	19.9	14.6	36.3	August 2004	598
September 2004	52.8	46.2	24.7	7.5	39.0	September 2004	1538
October 2004	50.2	53.6	24.9	4.7	41.0	October 2004	1342
November 2004	52.5	53.9	19.6	5.2	40.3	November 2004	150
December 2004	45.6	54.6	13.3	0.0	36.8	December 2004	778
January 2005	38.9	54.8	18.5	5.6	38.9	January 2005	431
February 2005	36.9	53.7	15.2	7.5	36.9	February 2005	553
March 2005	39.8	53.6	19.5	10.5	39.8	March 2005	8002
April 2005	37.5	51.0	19.0	10.0	37.5	April 2005	4345
May 2005	38.4	50.7	18.6	1.5	38.4	May 2005	1068
June 2005	41.2	52.6	27.4	5.2	41.2	June 2005	1196
July 2005	42.1	52.4	28.4	8.8	42.1	July 2005	1097
August 2005	40.0	53.7	25.8	7.1	31.8	August 2005	232
September 2005	41.5	54.1	20.8	16.3	30.0	September 2005	1792
October 2005	45.2	51.3	20.4	4.8	37.5	October 2005	8578
November 2005	35.1	50.6	22.7	3.3	35.2	November 2005	597
December 2005	37.1	49.9	22.4	4.2	35.2	December 2005	577
January 2006	33.6	52.8	25.6	2.5	36.3	January 2006	1536
February 2006	24.5	54.0	19.2	5.9	33.1	February 2006	1808
March 2006	31.4	52.7	14.2	16.3	33.9	March 2006	2660
April 2006	32.9	48.1	16.4	9.1	32.5	April 2006	7
May 2006	43.3	56.0	17.4	4.6	39.0	May 2006	660
June 2006	53.7	60.6	17.8	8.7	44.7	June 2006	582
July 2006	54.1	59.6	16.7	5.5	43.9	July 2006	1682
August 2006	58.3	62.1	20.4	14.9	47.9	August 2006	1076
September 2006	56.3	64.6	18.6	3.4	46.6	September 2006	1866
October 2006	54.4	58.1	10.9	5.5	44.1	October 2006	760
November 2006	46.3	57.3	21.5	9.3	41.8	November 2006	6919
December 2006	52.3	67.6	21.5	10.3	47.7	December 2006	1483
January 2007	53.0	65.9	19.4	2.6	46.1	January 2007	1472
February 2007	50.6	62.6	22.7	5.9	45.1	February 2007	454
March 2007	45.3	58.2	19.9	1.0	40.6	March 2007	1423
April 2007	46.9	65.6	17.7	4.3	43.8	April 2007	398
May 2007	37.6	61.6	13.2	2.3	38.1	May 2007	470
June 2007	52.5	66.9	23.0	5.2	47.28	June 2007	303
July 2007	45.1	65.4	13.6	2.4	42.09	July 2007	1902
August 2007	49.1	64.2	16.6	1.8	43.54	August 2007	858
September 2007	46.5	52.5	13.5	4.2	37.95	September 2007	155
October 2007	46.4	58.9	18.8	4.8	41.43	October 2007	657
November 2007	45.2	61.1	20.0	5.5	42.15	November 2007	1347
December 2007	38.0	62.2	20.0	0.3	39.7	December 2007	658
January 2008	42.0	60.4	23.3	0.7	41.0	January 2008	498
February 2008	44.8	69.4	20.5	1.0	44.8	February 2008	2719
March 2008	40.4	65.3	16.3	3.3	41.1	March 2008	2714
April 2008	41.6	67.9	22.4	4.9	43.7	April 2008	582
May 2008	43.7	64.9	19.1	9.4	42.3	May 2008	1230
June 2008	45.7	63.2	15.5	6.8	42.3	June 2008	768
July 2008	45.2	65.3	19.3	9.1	43.9	July 2008	3491
August 2008	47.0	60.7	17.1	6.3	42.1	August 2008	1175
totals						totals	109232

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Month & Year	Armed Intervention	Provocative Behavior	Environmental Pressure	Aggravating Behavior	Ci	Month & Year	Society/Culture	Politics/Governance	Economy/Environment
January 2004	0.0	77.7	61.7	75.2		January 2004	53.5	36.7	32.1
February 2004	0.0	81.8	66.9	72.1		February 2004	51.2	36.9	33.6
March 2004	0.0	81.4	66.1	74.6		March 2004	49.9	32.2	31.9
April 2004	0.0	84.7	66.0	78.6		April 2004	46.8	30.0	31.1
May 2004	0.0	83.7	65.4	79.9		May 2004	45.5	28.7	32.6
June 2004	0.0	81.7	61.8	78.6		June 2004	49.6	30.2	33.4
July 2004	0.0	75.1	59.4	78.3		July 2004	52.2	30.0	34.5
August 2004	0.0	88.3	66.8	80.4		August 2004	45.1	27.2	31.2
September 2004	0.0	87.3	63.0	78.5		September 2004	44.1	25.5	32.9
October 2004	0.0	95.1	69.3	83.3		October 2004	37.8	20.2	26.6
November 2004	0.0	92.0	72.6	86.5		November 2004	36.7	21.1	23.8
December 2004	0.0	95.1	71.4	87.4		December 2004	37.7	22.3	25.3
January 2005	0.0	94.7	70.2	84.0		January 2005	41.2	27.5	30.6
February 2005	0.0	90.3	75.6	82.3		February 2005	37.8	23.4	26.0
March 2005	0.0	87.7	67.6	80.5		March 2005	40.8	23.5	27.5
April 2005	0.0	86.3	68.0	83.2		April 2005	40.6	26.1	31.7
May 2005	0.0	87.2	70.4	79.0		May 2005	42.9	30.8	34.5
June 2005	0.0	92.2	72.5	79.8		June 2005	37.0	29.4	31.4
July 2005	0.0	85.9	69.0	80.1		July 2005	37.6	28.9	33.7
August 2005	0.0	86.2	69.4	82.1		August 2005	43.7	30.6	25.4
September 2005	0.0	82.8	71.3	81.6		September 2005	40.4	28.9	29.5
October 2005	0.0	87.7	74.8	82.0		October 2005	38.6	31.7	25.6
November 2005	0.0	89.2	71.0	84.3		November 2005	40.5	33.5	23.1
December 2005	0.0	90.3	62.2	82.5		December 2005	41.8	31.7	33.1
January 2006	0.0	92.4	64.4	84.7		January 2006	39.8	30.0	31.1
February 2006	0.0	85.5	65.6	81.9		February 2006	42.9	35.2	36.8
March 2006	0.0	80.0	68.5	81.9		Marvh 2006	50.6	31.5	26.3
April 2006	0.0	83.0	71.8	84.5		April 2006	47.2	32.4	26.1
May 3006	0.0	8.7	29.8	19.2		May 3006	24.4	35.5	40.1
June 2006	0.0	7.9	34.5	22.4		June 2006	25.9	35.2	40.3
July 2006	0.0	13.5	34.9	24.5		July 2006	29.0	35.3	48.1
August 2006	0.0	14.0	33.9	19.6		August 2006	28.7	29.8	37.2
September 2006	0.0	10.54	20.3	16.8		September 2006	20.8	31.8	34.4
October 2006	0.0	10.1	27.0	17.6		October 2006	23.8	33.8	36.9
November 2006	0.0	11.87	34.7	22.7		November 2006	27.8	33.3	43.7
December 2006	0.0	6.81	29.9	23.9		December 2006	31.4	31.1	39.5
January 2007	0.0	6.9	28.7	20.6		January 2007	27.9	33.0	37.9
February 2007	0.0	6.3	33.8	18.5		February 2007	28.7	33.5	36.4
March 2007	0.0	5	32.9	19.3		March 2007	30.4	36.7	37.9
April 2007	0.0	9	31.8	19.6		April 2007	29.3	35.5	38.2
May 2007	0.0	5.91	26.85	19.2		May 2007	24.6	36.9	40.5
June 2007	0.0	6.54	20.07	18.0		June 2007	24.6	32.4	31.8
July 2007	0.0	7.1	26.1	18.1		July 2007	28.5	34.4	36.4
August 2007	0.0	4.4	29.8	18.2		August 2007	30.2	35.1	35.3
September 2007	0.0	12.4	35.7	20.9		September 2007	40.1	34.8	40.1
October 2007	0.0	7.3	35.1	16.5		October 2007	35.9	34.6	35.9
November 2007	0.0	3.6	28.3	18.9		November 2007	36.8	35.0	36.8
December 2007	0.0	4.2	23.6	17.4		December 2007	24.6	37.0	36.0
January 2008	0.0	6.0	23.0	16.1		January 2008	28.9	37.0	30.9
February 3008	0.0	5.3	23.6	19.2		February 3008	28.4	36.8	31.5
March 2008	0.0	10.6	24.8	18.2		March 2008	27.2	35.4	36.9
April 2008	0.0	6.5	22.0	18.1		April 2008	25.7	35.3	35.6
May 2008	0.0	11.8	22.2	22.4		May 2008	28.0	36.9	36.2
June 2008	0.0	13.6	24.2	19.2		June 2008	27.1	36.1	36.6
July 2008	0.0	10.9	20.4	19.2		July 2008	26.7	34.3	34.1
August 2008	0.0	8.6	22.0	18.5		August 2008	26.3	35.8	34.8

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