

The Conflict Early Warning and Response mechanism (CEWARN)



in the

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

CEWARN Baseline Studies

Baseline Study for the Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	Executive Summary.....	3
II.	Purpose and Scope.....	5
III.	Background, Actors and Historical Context.....	6
IV.	Current Situation.....	13
V.	Analysis and Vulnerability Assessment.....	16
VI.	Diagnoses and Response Options.....	21
V.	Scenarios and Implications.....	22

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AOR	Area of Reporting
CC	Country Coordinator
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism
CEWERU	Conflict Early Warning and Early Response Unit
DPPC	Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
IDS	Institute of Development Studies, U. of Sussex
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
SNNPRS	Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State

I. Executive Summary

This baseline study, commissioned by IGAD's Conflict Early Warning and Response mechanism (CEWARN), aims to provide IGAD, Ethiopian Government officials, donor agencies, and other concerned parties, with an enhanced understanding of pastoral conflict and its underlying causes in the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja Cluster. Together with similar studies from other Areas of Reporting (AORs), updated over time by regular field reports and analysis, it will assist CEWARN to provide the relevant Authorities with early warning of potential conflict. This can contribute to early response to pastoral conflicts that cause heavy losses in human lives and livelihoods, and intensified poverty in the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja Cluster.

The study aims to support CEWARN's goals by presenting actionable objectives, together with information on conflict causes, potential, and response options within the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja Cluster. To this end, it examines and analyses the historical and socio-economic context and underlying causes of pastoral conflict in the Kibish (southern) and Nebremus (southern) Areas of Reporting (AORs), and developments during September 2003- April 2004. The geographic scope of the study comprises Kuraz Woreda, South Omo Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State (SNNPRS), which shares borders with the Turkana District of Kenya and the Eastern Equatoria region of the Sudan. The cross-border issues addressed in the report are limited to Ethiopia's border with Kenya.

Kuraz Woreda, is part of a region affected by chronic drought, restrictions on pastoral movement, and traditional conflicts linked to these restrictions. These are exacerbated by increases in population and livestock numbers, leading to overgrazing, decline in pastoral resources and heightened vulnerability to drought. These lead to increased food insecurity and competition for pastoral resources, and contribute to conflict.

Pastoral conflict: major pastoral conflicts during September 2003-April 2004.

Aggregate human death toll and livestock losses

During the period 1 September 2003 -30 April 2004, in the Kibish AOR, there were seven organized raids. During the same period in the Nebremus AOR, there were six organized raids, and two "armed clashes." Both AORs reported incidents of banditry and other violent crimes. Overall, these incidents included 13 raids, 2-armed clashes, 9 other violent crimes, and one protest demonstration. Livestock losses amounted to 1,085.

Scenarios:

1. Status quo:
 - In the absence of effective action to address the current situation and the pressures underlying it, more raids are likely to occur, escalating the current situation, and making it more difficult to resolve.
2. Worst case scenario
 - Increased livelihood pressures and food insecurity lead to an escalated cycle of raids and revenge raids, fed by loss of lives and livestock on all sides, and social and livelihood pressures to respond in kind.
3. Recommended change scenario
 - Measures are put in place to strengthen the official presence in Kuraz, enable more input of local elders in governance, improve food security during drought episodes, and strengthen pastoral development, thus alleviating some of the pressures that contribute to livelihood insecurity and encourage raiding.
 - The authorities on both sides of the border arrange relief assistance for the worst affected pastoralists to reduce the pressures that stimulate raiding and thereby the immediate risk of further raiding.
 - Establishment of a mechanism for regular consultation between the Dassanech, Nyangatom and Turkana elders and the administrations/security forces on both sides of the border.

Recommendations and response options:

- Examine possibility of enhancing food insecurity through relief assistance for the most severely affected pastoralist groups in the current drought situation.
- Measures to provide information towards formulation of a pastoral development policy adapted to the realities of the Kuraz Woreda, South Omo zone, in the context of the pastoral policy being developed by the Ministry of Federal Affairs of the Government of Ethiopia
- Establishment of a regular consultative mechanism bringing together the key stakeholders to examine problem issues and seek solutions;
- Identify, encourage, and seek support for civil society and other potential 'change agents' capable of making a contribution to food security and development in Kuraz Woreda
- Establishment of a framework for regular consultation between the elders of the contending pastoral ethnic groups, woreda government, and security forces.

- In view of the cross-border nature of most of the conflict, this needs to be done in the context of a framework that would lead to regular joint consultations eventually involving woreda/district officials, security officials, pastoralist elders, civil society and community leaders from both sides of the border between Ethiopia and Kenya.
- In this context, work towards establishment of accountability, and eventually, practical disincentives for livestock raids, and other violent activities.

II. Purpose and Scope

The purpose of this baseline study is to contribute to the development of a targeted regional analytical framework for analysis and assessment of cross-border pastoral conflicts along the borders of IGAD Member States. Its specific focus is on enhanced understanding of pastoral conflict and its underlying causes in the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja Cluster, and the border shared by the Kuraz Woreda of Ethiopia and the Turkana District of Kenya.

In the above context, InterAfrica Group is commissioned by the IGAD Secretariat to act as National Research Institute (NRI) and assist CEWARN in Ethiopia in:

- Development of an analytical framework;
- The establishment and implementation of local information networks; and
- Production of quarterly early warning reports.

CEWARN, and therefore the report, has the goal of presenting actionable objectives. The goal is to provide information on causes of conflict, conflict potential and response options, in the area covered by the geographic scope of this report. In the present case, the area of focus is the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja Cluster, comprising Kuraz Woreda (District) of the South Omo Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State. The Kuraz Woreda shares borders with the Turkana District of Kenya and the Eastern Equatoria region of the Sudan. The cross-border issues addressed in the present report only concern Ethiopia's border with Kenya.

The temporal scope of the report covers the period September 2003 – April 2004.

This baseline study, aims to provide IGAD, Ethiopian Government officials, donor agencies, and other concerned parties, with an entry point for enhanced understanding of pastoral conflict and its underlying causes in the Karamoja Cluster. Together with similar studies from other Areas of Reporting (AORs), updated over time by regular field reports and analysis, it will contribute to the background information needed to assist CEWARN to provide early warning of potential conflict to the relevant Authorities. It will thereby contribute to enabling a more timely response to pastoral conflict in the Karamoja Cluster.

Pastoral conflict: major pastoral conflicts during July-December 2003;
Events and responses
Aggregate human death toll and livestock losses

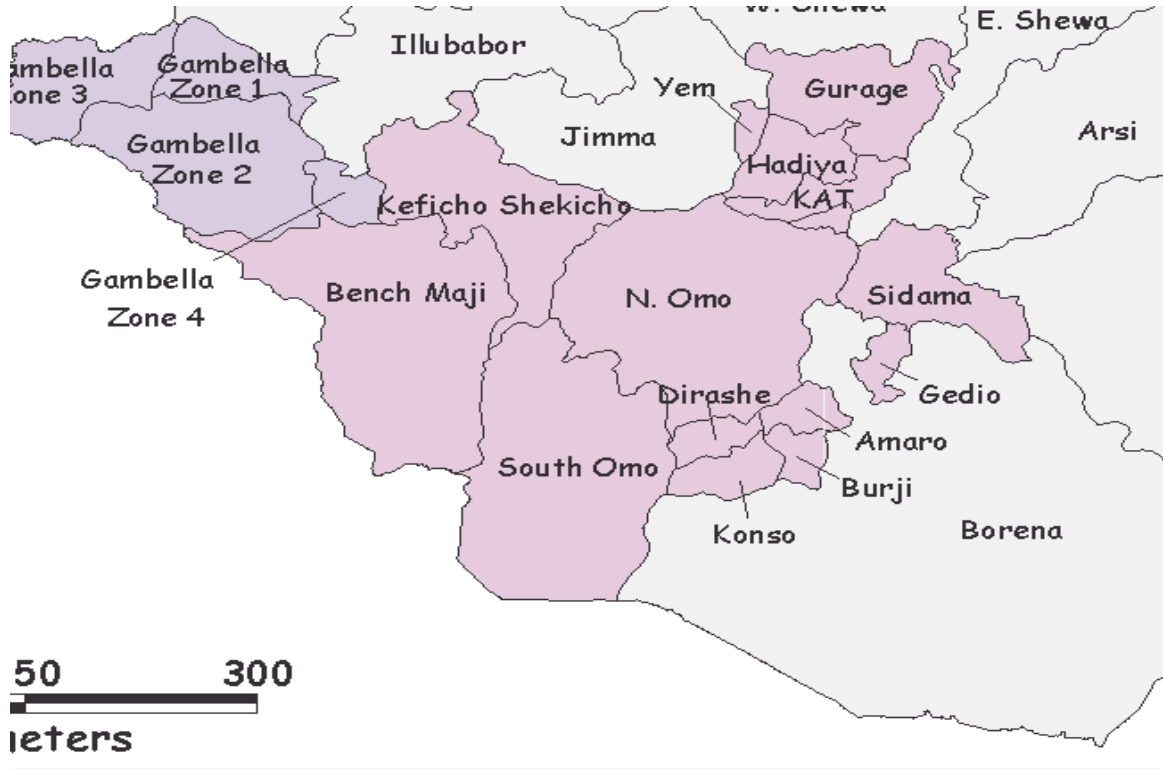
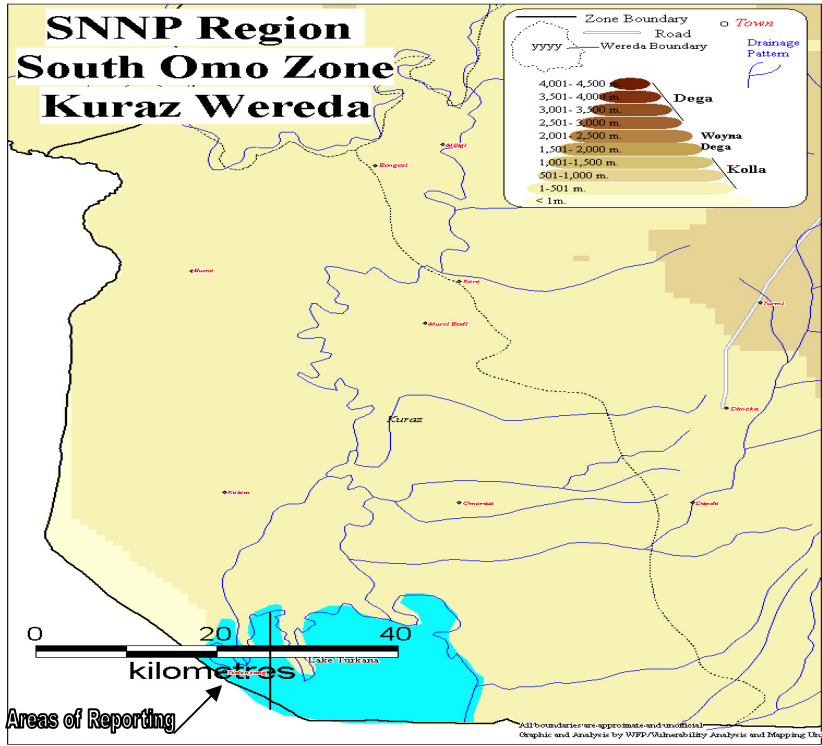


Table 1. Area Highlights

Population	Ethnic groups	Area	Pop. Density	Livestock Carrying Capacity in Tropical Livestock Units (TLUs)	Livestock Stocking rate (TLUs)	Stocking rate/carrying capacity	TLUs/ha	% Overstocking ¹ (overgrazing)
63,136	Dassenech Nyangatom	5,034 sq km	12.5/sq km	151,525	211,622	140%	0.41	40%

Sources: Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Statistical Abstract 2001, Addis Ababa, March 2002.

FDRE, Ministry of Agriculture: Survey of the Agricultural Sector, in MEDAC, Survey of the Ethiopian Economy, April 2001.

III. Background, Actors and Historical Context

The region is affected by chronic drought, restrictions on pastoral movement, and traditional conflicts linked to these restrictions. These have led to the collapse of the systems of reciprocal assistance that had earlier served as coping mechanisms allowing disaster-affected pastoral groups to seek refuge among those less affected. This, together with increased population size and livestock numbers in excess of the carrying capacity of the available pastures, has led to overgrazing, degradation of the pastoral resource base, and increased vulnerability to drought. These factors, among others, underlie increasing food insecurity and competition for pastoral resources, and thereby, contribute to conflict.

History

The Lake Turkana Basin conflict system originated from the migration of the Turkana people into the area around Lake Turkana between the mid 18th century and mid-19th century, and the subsequent expansion of their territory in all directions.

¹ FDRE, Ministry of Agriculture: Survey of the Agricultural Sector, in MEDAC, Survey of the Ethiopian Economy, April 2001. Overgrazing and consequent degradation/deterioration of pasture lands, leads to the loss or decline of carrying capacity and to increased severity of drought impact on pastoralists. In times of particularly severe drought as at present, it can lead to increased competition for pastures and intensify the pressures that contribute to conflict. In this respect, whereas in the 1993 drought, only 8, 000 of the then smaller population were reported to be drought-affected, in 2000, this reached 39,400 or 62.4%, nearly two-thirds of the total population.

In the process, the Turkana displaced the Karamojong and Dodoth (Dodos) to the west; the Toposa, Nyangatom (Dongiro) and Dassanech (Merille) to the north; the Samburu to the southeast, and the Pokot to the south. Those who were forced out exerted further pressure on their neighbors, thereby extending the range of the conflict system.

The Ethiopian part of the Karamoja Cluster, which is part of the Lake Turkana Basin conflict system, includes the Kuraz woreda of South Omo Zone, inhabited by the Dassanech and Nyangatom. To the south it borders on the northern periphery of Kenya's Turkana District, to which it is closely linked, by history and pastoral resources. To the west, it borders on the Ilemi Triangle, which lies on the border of Kenya, Sudan and Ethiopia. The Ilemi Triangle is a key source of dry season grazing for the transhumant Karamoja Cluster communities of Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan and Uganda. Competition for the Ilemi pastures has often been a source of conflict.

During the late 19th century and early 20th century new influences were added. Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia was expanding his control over the southwestern region of Ethiopia. At the same time, the British were establishing themselves in what is now Kenya and Uganda, and expanding rapidly to the north. The British aimed to establish control of the then, disputed regions of Turkana and Karamoja.

The expansion of the British East Africa colony, now Kenya, up to the borders of Ethiopia, established artificial boundaries that divided the grazing lands of the pastoral peoples living along those boundaries. Much the same was happening in what was then the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. This was exacerbated by the efforts of colonial administrators to restrict pastoralist movements across the newly imposed boundaries, thereby severely damaging pastoral livelihood systems.

Prior to the Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement of 6 December 1907 that laid out the border dividing these pastoral groups, the Nyangatom, Didinga, Turkana, Toposa and Dassanech traded and grazed in the Ilemi Triangle on the basis of inter-community arrangements. Raiding took place in the context of a cultural framework in which it served as a strategy for coping with natural disasters, as well as a mechanism for the political domination of neighbors through monopolizing wealth in the form of livestock. It also contributed to maintaining livestock quality by introducing new blood into different herds to reduce inbreeding, and served as a rite of passage for young warriors. It was controlled by multi-tribal councils of elders who exercised a measure of constraint on its destructive potential.

These councils of elders were destroyed by colonial rule in the early 20th century. This put an end to the control mechanisms and eventually contributed to much more destructive forms of commercialized and politicized raiding, with widespread use of modern firearms.

Despite a difficult environmental situation, as long as relations between different groups were good, there was reciprocity in access to grazing and water resources. The hosts, by admitting groups in need could expect reciprocal rights in future. This worked well as long as there was a balance of power, but when the balance of power was upset between groups competing for access to pastures and water, raiding became the dominate mode of inter-tribal relations.

The balance of power in the region was upset when the British defeated and disarmed the Turkana. During 1911-1918, the British mounted a series of military expeditions aimed at breaking Turkana resistance and seizing firearms. Their eventual success in 1918 and the large-scale confiscation of Turkana livestock, disrupted the pastoral economy, reduced much of the population to extreme poverty, and ended Turkana resistance to colonial rule.

By disarming the Turkana, this defeat dramatically shifted the balance of power in favor of the Dassenech who had earlier been displaced to the north by the Turkana. Eventually it led to the escalation of hostilities between the two groups.

The British attempted to contain pastoral groups within artificial borders. This further complicated the existing problems and affected most of the groups living in or near the border areas. When the colonial administrators established 'tribal areas' with fixed boundaries, several groups along Ethiopia's borders with Kenya and Sudan, including the Dassenech, were driven out their traditional pastures in northwestern Kenya. Ethiopia responded by denying Turkana fishermen access to fisheries within Ethiopian territory.

Overall, the effort to impose fixed borders on pastoral land use, particularly during periods of drought, led to continuous violations. The result of the fixed border-lines was that essential pasture and water resources that the different pastoral tribes depended on during drought, were made legally inaccessible, thereby threatening livelihoods and often the survival of pastoralists.

It also disrupted the vital social security system of reciprocal assistance, among the pastoral groups of the Lake Turkana Basin. This in turn contributed significantly to the extent and nature of future conflict. It limited the vital mobility of the pastoral groups and undermined earlier systems of reciprocity and economic alliance, that had provided a mechanism to cope with periodic drought and famine by allowing seriously affected groups, including former enemies, to seek refuge among less affected groups.

The British also excluded the Dassenech from their traditional grazing in the Ilemi Triangle, on the southeastern corner of Sudan administered from Kenya, where the colonial authorities deemed them likely to come into conflict with the Turkana.² This

The British also excluded the Dassenech from their traditional grazing in the Ilemi Triangle, on the southeastern corner of Sudan administered from Kenya, where the colonial authorities deemed them likely to come into conflict with the Turkana.³ This further restricted Dassenech mobility as it deprived them of nearly 80 percent of their traditional dry season grazing area. Such policies worsened tensions between the Turkana, Dassenech and Nyangatom, further aggravated resource competition, and increased the frequency of armed raids, and consequently the proliferation of modern arms.

These policies contributed to the desperate conflicts between Dassanech and Turkana from 1920 to 1940 for control of the former Dassenech dry season grazing in the grasslands of northern Turkana District. The Dassenech won, forcing the Turkana to withdraw to the south. But this served to intensify the long-term hostility between Turkana and Dassenech.

Social Influences

The inhabitants of the Lake Turkana basin and its immediate surroundings represent a very heterogeneous population, living in a very diverse ecosystem (as discussed above).

The major ethnic (or population) groups in the part of the Karamojong cluster lying in the Turkana basin system are:

- The Turkana, by far the largest group, live in northwestern Kenya just to the south of the Dassenech, and in southeastern Sudan, to the south of the Didinga who live in Uganda and southern Sudan.
- The Dassenech: live mainly in Kuraz Woreda of the South Omo Zone of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State (SNNPRS) of

² Nene Mburu (Dr.), Delimitation of the Elastic Ilemi Triangle: Pastoral; Conflicts and Official Indifference in the Horn of Africa, African Studies Quarterly. The online Journal for African Studies, Spring 2003, 12 www.africa.ufl.edu

³ Nene Mburu (Dr.), Delimitation of the Elastic Ilemi Triangle: Pastoral; Conflicts and Official Indifference in the Horn of Africa, African Studies Quarterly. The online Journal for African Studies, Spring 2003, 12 www.africa.ufl.edu

southwestern Ethiopia, around the Omo and Kibish rivers, with about one-third of their traditional pastures in Kenya.

- The Nyangatom: immediate neighbors of the Dassenech, live in the Equatoria region of southeastern Sudan and in Kuraz Woreda of the SNNPR. They also live along the Kibish and Omo rivers, with a type of economy similar to that of the Dassenech. During the dry season Dassenech and Nyangatom men move their herds to the west for long periods to the dry season pastures of the Ilemi Triangle.
- The Toposa, who live on the borders of Kenya and Sudan, are traditional enemies of the Turkana. The Toposa are closely related to the Nyangatom and have been a major source of modern arms for the Nyangatom.
- The Turkana, Toposa and Nyangatom all speak closely related dialects. Linguistically, these are usually classified as belonging to the 'Karamoja' cluster of the Teso language group of Paraniotic languages.
- The main inhabitants of the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja Cluster (Kuraz Woreda), are the Nyangatom and the Cushitic-speaking Dassenech /Merille. Their immediate neighbors are the Turkana and Toposa, the Omotic-speaking Hamar and Kara; and the Surma-speaking, Mursi.

Prior to the colonial intrusion, the various pastoral groups had developed coping mechanisms to accommodate each others survival needs through reciprocal assistance allowing for increased mobility during drought and famine periods. These inter-community arrangements alleviated some of the pressures leading to resource conflict. The subsequent weakening of these coping mechanisms due to restrictions on mobility have contributed to conflict

Despite their overall ethnic diversity, the pastoral groups of the region also share many similarities, particularly as relate to cattle raising. Dassenech and Nyangatom men raise cattle, which are at the center of many of their social systems. But both Dassenech and Nyangatom women make a critical contribution to food security by growing crops on land watered by flood recession along the banks of the Kibish and Omo rivers. This experience needs to be taken into account in seeking solutions for the region, as a means of reducing the contribution of food insecurity to inter-group conflict.

Economic Influences

The Dassenech, Nyangatom, Turkana and their neighbors live in a very diverse ecosystem, which offers very low livelihood potential. But it also includes pockets of high potential rangelands, comprising plains, mountains, valleys, streams and rivers that are crucial to the livelihood of these pastoral groups. To survive in this difficult environment, the pastoral inhabitants of the region have had to develop systems of multi-resource exploitation and a high level of mobility to take advantage of the patchy distribution of rainfall and grazing.

Their coping strategy, particularly among the Turkana, is based on management of multiple species of livestock comprising camels, goats, cattle, sheep and donkeys. This allows them to exploit the region's diverse types of rangeland throughout the year. Camels, sheep and goats can browse the plains throughout the year, while the cattle can graze in the plains during the wet season and move to highland areas and river courses during the dry season.

The seasonality and distribution of rainfall is critical to land-use patterns. Rainfall in Kuraz Woreda is very low, with mean annual rainfall between 300mm and 700mm, and highly variable. Due to the low volume and high variability of rainfall, rainfed agriculture is a very risky venture and often not viable.

However, the Nyangatom and Dassenech women produce small subsistence crops by flood recession irrigation along the rivers. Nevertheless, mobility remains a key factor in resource use, particularly for livestock raising, enabling the pastoralists to take maximum advantage of the patchy rainfall distribution and related vegetation productivity.

The economy of the Kuraz Woreda and generally of the area of the Karamoja Cluster, is based on subsistence agro-pastoralism, characterized by poverty, inequitable access to resources in many areas, and frequent shocks arising from drought, livestock diseases, etc. that affect its sustainability. Increases in population size and livestock numbers, have led to shortages of pasture, leading to increased competition for a diminishing resource.

Environmental Factors

Kuraz Woreda lies in a semi-arid region of Ethiopia's southwestern lowlands. The woreda has an area of 5,034 sq kms, a population of 63,136 and population density of 12.5 per sq km. There are significant problems of overgrazing in some areas. The total livestock population of the Woreda is equivalent to 211,600 tropical livestock units (TLUs), as compared to a carrying capacity of 151,500 TLUs (tropical livestock units). The stocking rate reported, exceeds the estimated carrying capacity of the area by some 40 percent.⁴ This is an unsustainable level of overgrazing, with potential to lead to deterioration of pastures, diminished productivity and livestock carrying capacity, and increased vulnerability to drought and severity of drought impacts.

This is evidenced by declining rangeland productivity, leading eventually, and especially during episodes of recurrent drought, to increased competition for pasturage and water, and to loss of livestock. Throughout much of this region, frequent drought, land degradation and declining productivity of rangeland, are contributing to increased competition for water and pastoral resources.

⁴ FDRE, Ministry of Agriculture: Survey of the Agricultural Sector, in MEDAC, Survey of the Ethiopian Economy, April 2001.

Kuraz Woreda is affected by recurrent and protracted drought. The severity of drought impacts appears to be increasing. In 1993 the drought-affected population was estimated at 8000. In 2000, the affected population was reported at 39,440.⁵

The impacts of drought are exacerbated by the spread of tsetse fly-borne trypanosomiasis, a major risk for livestock. In what would otherwise be some of the best grazing areas. This further diminishes the availability of grazing land, and puts additional pressure on existing pastures, accelerating their degradation. These and related factors, leading to declining pastoral resources as compared to the population depending on those resources, contribute to increasing food insecurity and competition for pastoral resources, and by extension, to conflict.

Governance and Social Services Factors

The area comprising the present Kuraz Woreda, has long existed at the periphery of the state system, with limited integration into the state structure. In this respect, the civil administration has limited presence on the ground and little capacity to deliver even minimal services. In the past, centralized governance meant that in peripheral areas, such as Kuraz, most state institutions were remote, with limited direct impact on the lives of the population. This is now being addressed through the current processes of decentralization and civil service reform

The key problems that are now being addressed included poor governance or weak governance and the lack of effective institutional mechanisms for power-sharing and effective civil participation in the modern political structure. They also included a general lack of understanding among policy makers and administrative officials of pastoralism and pastoralists, of their culture and livelihood requirements. For instance, pastoralists in arid and semi-arid regions, where vegetation is sparse and seasonal, need high mobility to enable them to take advantage of scattered pastoral resources of grazing and water wherever they can be found. This was often not easily understood by officials from non-pastoral backgrounds. A lack of official understanding of the livelihood, development, and governance needs of the pastoral populations has been seen as contributing to the marginalization and alienation of pastoralist groups.

These problems were manifested in weak governance and administrative capacity at the local level, while human and material resources tended to be concentrated at zonal, regional and central levels. In remote areas like Kuraz, this was often reflected in a general lack of basic services and of the necessary resources and capacity for effective service delivery.

The report of a field visit in July 2003 to Omorate, Kuraz Woreda's main town, draws attention to an extreme lack of basic infrastructure in such key areas as

communications, health and education. The report was aware of only one telephone line and no fax facilities in Omorate. Among others, the police seemed to be understaffed and to lack the necessary vehicles and communication equipment to effectively apprehend law-breakers. The effective maintenance of law and order also appeared to be affected by lack of demarcation of the border between Ethiopia and Kenya, making it difficult to apprehend suspects in the border zone.⁶

These are among the problems that have contributed to the current situation in Kuraz Woreda. However, they are already being addressed under ongoing programs that include civil service reform and decentralization of local governance to the woreda level. Under the decentralization program, each woreda has its own development plan and budget, including a block grant to enable it to embark on local development based on local priorities.

IV. Current Situation

During most of the period September 2003-April 2004, there was chronic tension with sporadic violent incidents in the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja Cluster, i.e. the Kuraz Woreda AORs of Kibish and Nebermuse, with an apparent increase in organized raids between the Turkana on the Kenya side, and the Dassenech and Nyangatom on the Ethiopian side. However, from March 2004, there was a significant decrease in tension and reports of violent incidents.

Violent Incidents

(Armed clashes, protest demonstrations, raids, other crimes)

Kibish

- Organized raiders from Kenya (Turkana) attacked the Nyangatom at Natikar, Kibish and took 12 calves and 43 goats and sheep
- On November 8, 2003, Turkana pastoralists raided the Nawoyake area of Kuraz and took 124 heads of cattle
- On 24 November, a peaceful demonstration took place in Kajamakin, Kibish, where community leaders requested officials to seek ways to make peace
- On 26 November 2003, 10 Turkana pastoralists came to Nyape area, Loibish Location and killed one Nyangatom pastoralist
- On 25 December, 2003, one herder was shot and killed by unidentified individuals, at Chunkura in Kibish
- On 28 December, bandits killed two people at Kuchuru, Kibish
- On 10 January, unidentified criminals at Natikar, Kibish, killed two persons, and wounded, another, businessman

⁶ Getachew Demeke: Report of CC on Field Visit to Kuraz Woreda, July 1960.

- On 1 January 2004, Turkana cattle rustlers attempted to raid the Nyangatom in Kopriay, Kibish. Three of the raiders were killed and their rifles taken by the Nyangatom.
- In the same week a pre-raid blessing had been held by the Nyangatom who were also organizing to raid the Turkana and were therefore on high alert, as evidenced by unusual movements of all-male groups of youth, and holding of a traditional freecasting, which, in such circumstances usually reflects increased tension, and is likely to predict, and often contribute to conflict.
- On January 17, Turkana cattle raiders from Kenya captured 798 head of cattle and three guns from the Nyangatom, at Kajamakin, Kibish, in a particularly large raid in which they killed three Nyangatom herders. None of the livestock were recovered.
- On February 7, 2004, armed Turkana militia attacked the Nyangatom at Natikar, Kibish. They killed 3 Nyangatom pastoralists, wounded 7 and looted 76 livestock of which 69 were returned through negotiations.
- During this period, 11 pre-raid blessings were held, indicating planned raids, and nine post-raid blessings were reported. One group of youths from Kajamak Kebele were reportedly provided a post-raid blessing on returning from their raid with 15 looted donkeys. Another group from Nawoyape Kebele were provided with a post-raid blessing on returning with 25 livestock, reportedly looted from the Turkana on 12 February 2004.
- The period was marked by increased movements of groups of young men, including armed groups, apparently patrolling the borders of there area to guard against expected livestock raiding. In March, there were reports of competition between the Turkana and Nyangatom over grazing, and reports of increasing numbers of livestock being held in secure areas, for protection from raids. There were also reports of interruption of pastoral movements, also an indication of expected conflict or raiding.

Nebremus

- 6-12 September: a raid reportedly carried out in Kuraz Woreda by Turkana from Kenya; "three Ethiopians" killed, apparently Dassenech.
- On 2 January 2004, an organized raid by Turkana pastoralists at Barkanoch, Nebremus, Kuraz, led to death of a Dassenech herder
- On 25 January, 2004, Turkana pastoralists from Kenya raided the Dassenech at Nebremus, Teltele, Libakumet Kebele in Kuraz Woreda, and killed one Dassenech herder, no livestock were lost.
- In another raid on 25 January, at Libamuket, Nebremus, Kuraz, Turkana raiders killed one person but failed to take livestock.
- On 2 February, unidentified bandits stopped a government vehicle in Nebremus, Kuraz, Kimagurana kebele and killed four people, taking some property.
- On 13 February in another case of banditry, a group of Dassenech killed a Kenyan at Edbayi, in Lomosiya Kebele and took his property.

- On 19 February, In other violence, apparently non-ethnic, an individual at Lobekument, killed a local 'aristocrat' and was himself killed by the local community.
- On 26 February, at Lobekumet, Nebremus, Kuraz, an organized raid by Turkana raiders, took looted livestock from the Dassenech, but by chance the Dassenech encountered them and recovered their livestock, except for an unknown number of milk cows. There were no human deaths or injuries reported.
- This period was characterized by some interruption of pastoral movement patterns, concentration of livestock in secure grazing areas. However, the security forces were actively engaged in peace initiatives. In collaboration with local security forces, Dassenech community leaders returned five camels looted from the Turkanas.
- A traditional forecasting took place, warning that the Turkana would come to the Dassenech territory to raid livestock. Thereafter, movements of armed Dassenech youth were observed.

Outcomes

During the period 1 September 2003-30 April 2004, in the Kibish AOR, there were seven organized raids. During the same period in the Nebremus AOR, there were six organized raids, and two "armed clashes." Both AORs reported incidents of banditry and other violent crimes. Overall these incidents amounted to 13 raids, 2-armed clashes, 9 other violent crimes, and one protest demonstration. Livestock losses amounted to 1,085.

Actors

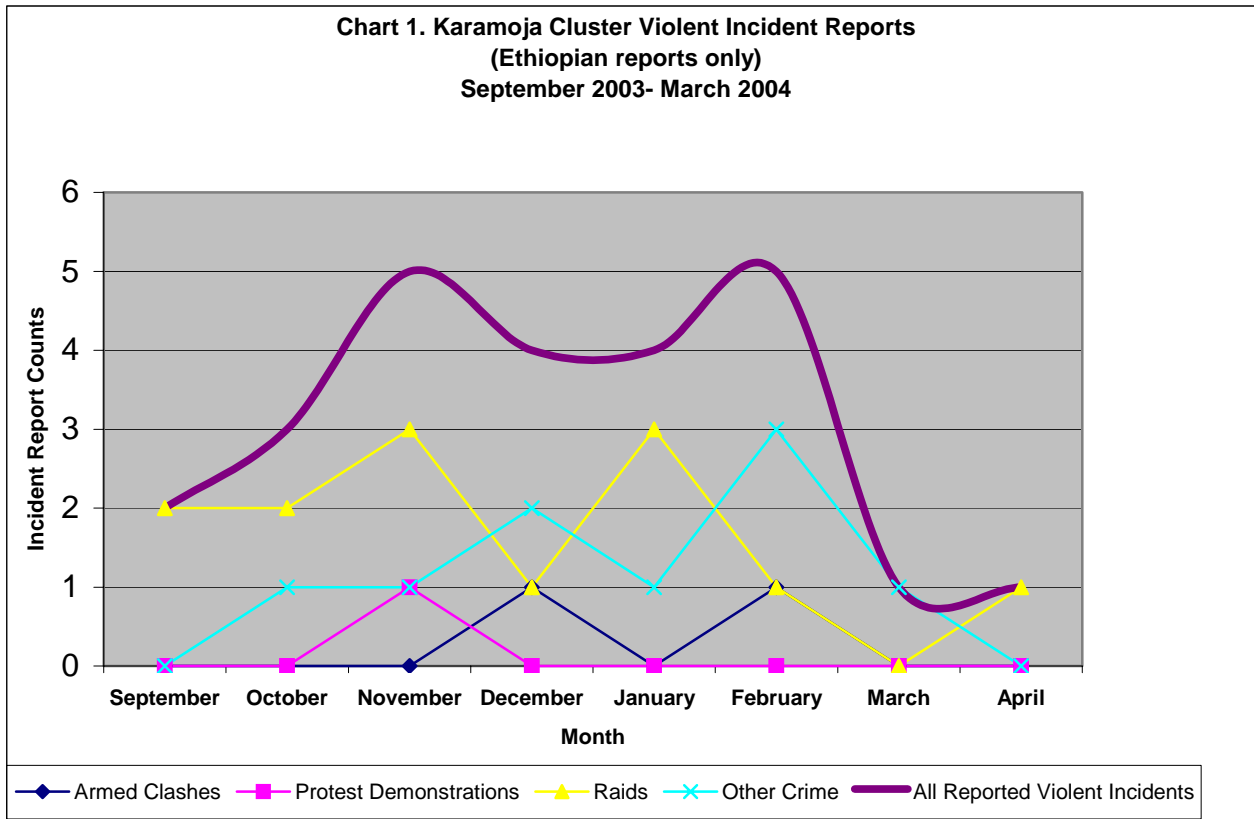
In all cases reported of organized raids, the adversaries were the Turkana on the Kenya side of the common border, and the Dassenech or the Nyangatom on the Ethiopian side. In some cases there were also reports of official attempts to intervene.

Peace Initiatives

Dassenech elders have proposed to local government to help them to make peace with the Turkana and some progress has been made. At a recent peace meeting held at Todenyang market on the Kenya side, attended by officials from both countries, the two communities agreed to hold regular meetings to reduce hostilities, and empower elders from either community to arbitrate in disputes over pasture and fishing.⁷

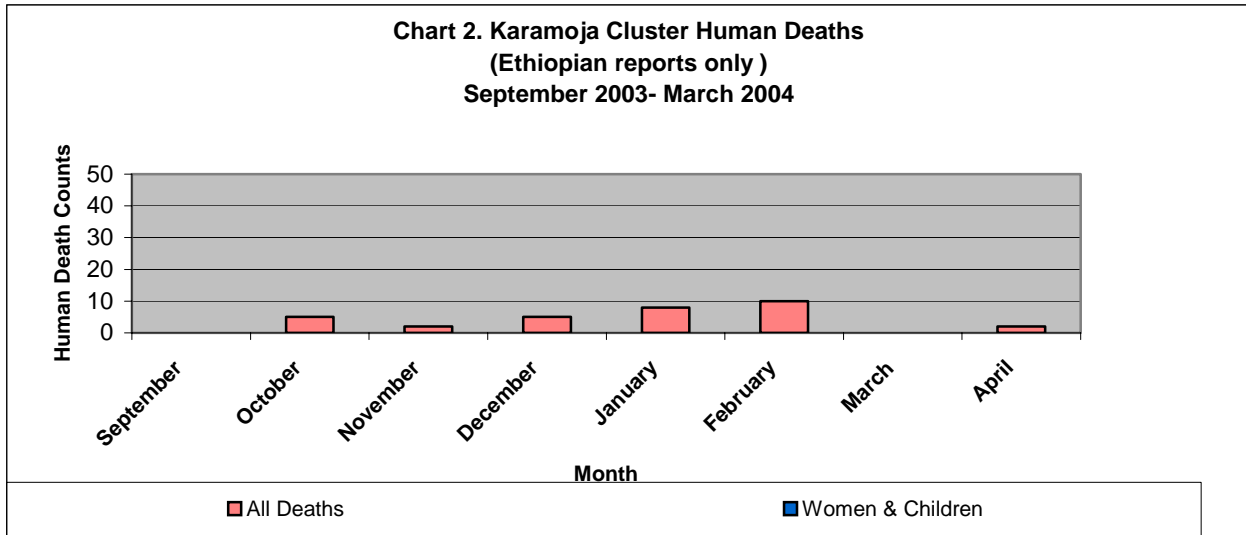
⁷ Daily Nation, Nairobi, Kenya, 20 April 2004,
<http://www.nationmedia.com/dailynation/printpage.asp?newsid=6585>

Graph 1. – Karamoja Cluster Ethiopia: Violent Incident Reports



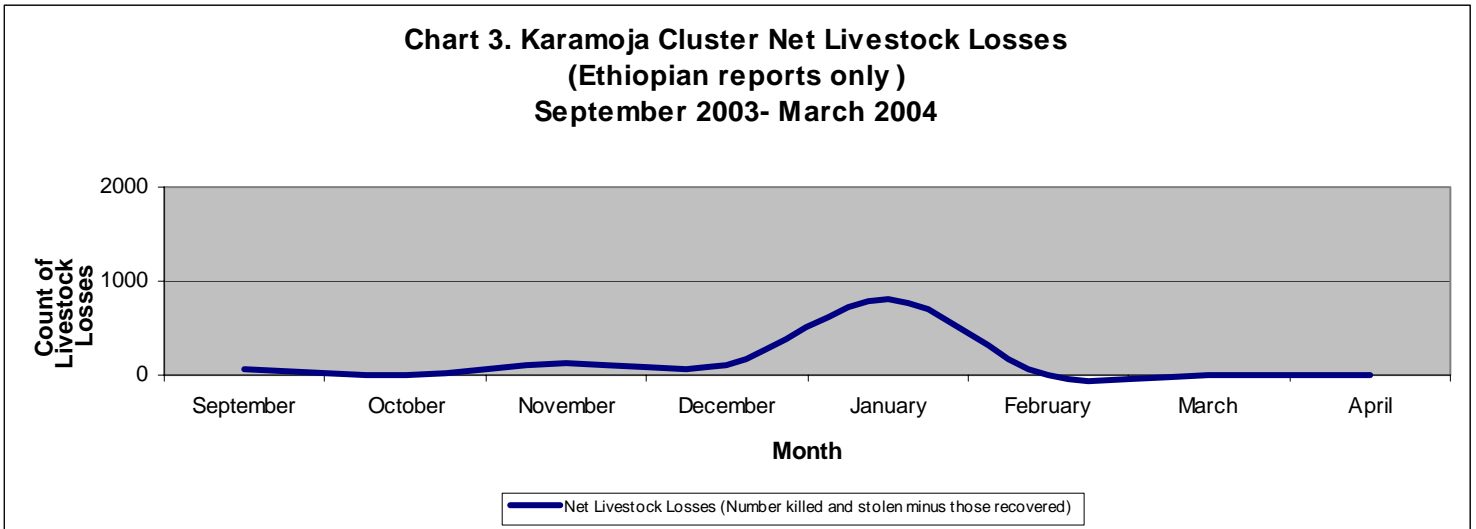
The reporting protocol has not changed. The abrupt decline in all violent incidents in March was apparently due to heavy rains that could signal the end of the protracted drought. With the advent of the rains, the population of Kuraz and surrounding areas would be preoccupied with caring for and rehabilitating their own herds, and taking advantage of the rains to plant subsistence crops. They were therefore been too busy for raiding, which is the usual trigger for violent incidents. It was also a poor time for raiding, as with heavy rains the rivers can fill quickly and make the rapid movement of livestock herds, problematic.

Graph 2. - Karamoja Cluster Ethiopia: Human Deaths



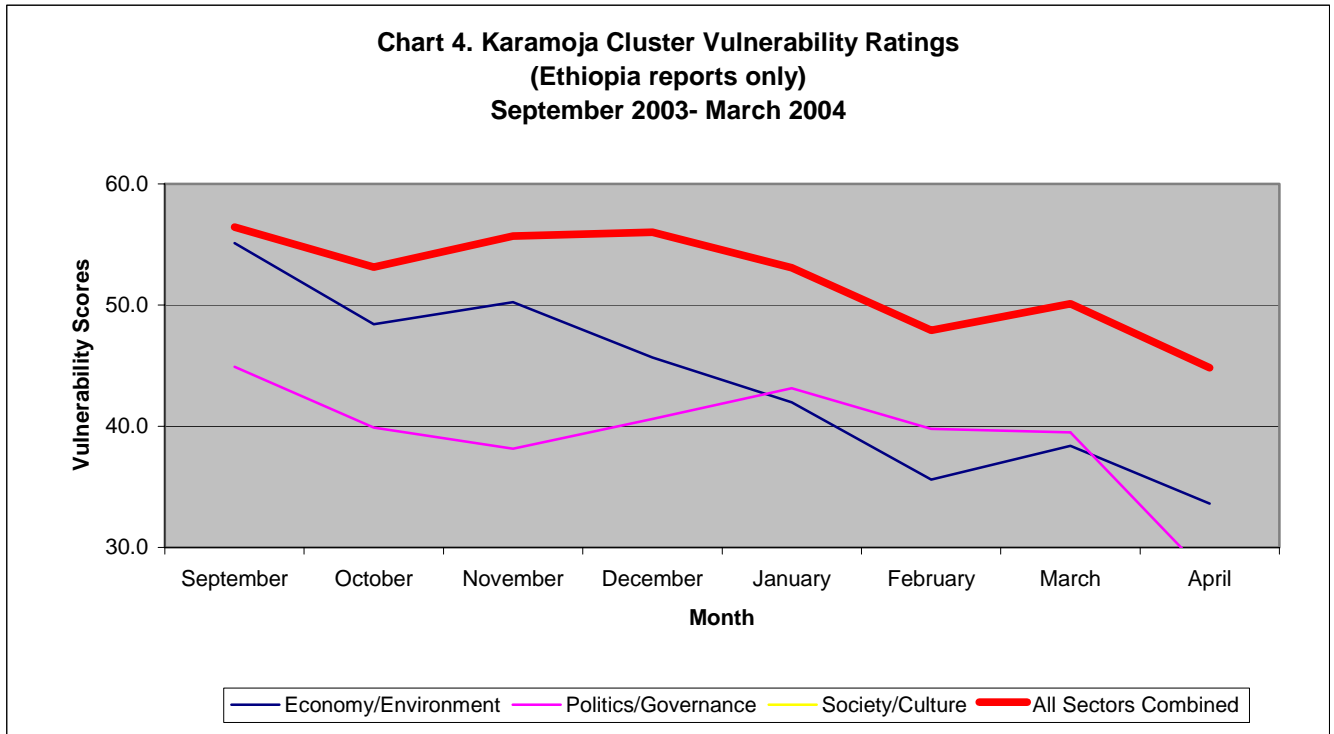
The relatively low incidence of human deaths was largely due to the low incidence of livestock raids, especially large-scale raids during most of the report period. This was particularly the case in March 2004.

Graph 3. - Karamoja Cluster Ethiopia: Livestock Net Loss Reports



The figures given in Graph Set 4, indicate that there were significant livestock losses to sporadic raids in September, 2003 (55), November, 2003 (124), and December, 2003 (100), prior to the 17 January, 2004 raid in which the raiders took 798 heads of cattle from the Nyangatom. In February, only seven heads were lost to raiders, probably because the rains were expected. Due to heavy rains, March and April were largely unsuitable for raiding, and the pastoralists were preoccupied with caring for their livestock and planting subsistence crops.

Graph 5. - Karamoja Cluster Ethiopia: Vulnerability Ratings



The apparent downward trend in vulnerability during February-April is understandable in the context of the high level of alertness following the 17 January raid, which led to a drop in raiding. During March, the advent of the rains gave raiding a minimal priority for the youth and focused attention on rehabilitation and taking advantage of the rains. Overall, the rains were the main factor in declining vulnerability from February onward.

V. Analysis and Vulnerability Assessment

The major proximate influences on conflict vulnerability in Kuraz Woreda include the economic/livelihood stress experienced by pastoral groups in Kuraz and neighboring areas, and the intensified competition among them for the meager available resources.

Accelerators

Resource competition and livelihood pressures

- The major proximate influences leading to vulnerability to conflict in Kuraz Woreda, are linked to resource competition and livelihood pressures, linked to drought, inadequate availability of grazing, food insecurity and shortages, exacerbated by lack of access to relief food. In times of severe drought and livelihood pressures, as at present, this often leads to livestock raiding, which can evolve into wider conflict.

The current protracted drought situation in the region has led to extreme pressures on pastoral livelihoods. The Dassenech, Nyangatom, and Turkana, among others, are increasingly desperate. Their crops have largely failed over the past three consecutive years due to lack of rain. Their livestock are also endangered by lack of grazing and water, and by outbreaks of livestock diseases, often a consequence of concentration of large numbers of livestock to confined areas, where disease spreads more easily.

These pressures have led to rising tension among the various pastoral groups. This is manifested in increased livestock rustling, incursions into the grazing lands of other groups, commandeering of boats and stealing of fishing nets. The local residents identify their main problem as 'hunger.' So far it appears that no provisions are in place to provide relief assistance.

Kuraz is marked by extreme underdevelopment, lack of investment and of basic infrastructure. There is little development of the private sector or presence of the formal economy or sources of formal employment, due, at least in part, to the lack of transport and communication facilities, and market access. This is manifested in, among others, a lack of alternative means of livelihood. The situation is further exacerbated by chronic insecurity, which discourages mobility and trade. This is reflected in limited access to local markets, and to potential market opportunities elsewhere in the region.

The lack of security and consequent interruption of pastoral movements also impacted on trade and animal sales that in other circumstances could provide resources for purchase of food. This convergence of problems put the Dassenech and Nyangatom pastoralists under severe pressures that could lead, among others, to increased livestock raiding. It also impacted on normal cross-border movements. For instance, Dassenech pastoralists had to cease crossing to the Kenya side of the border to seek medical attention, and Dassenech students studying on the Kenya side, have had to leave school.

The poor security situation in the area of the Karamoja cluster and political instability in some parts of the region has increased the availability of illegal arms. The arms flow in the region over the past two decades has put huge quantities of sophisticated weaponry on the market and led to an arms race in the pastoral areas.⁸ In many areas modern weapons have become part of the essential equipment for sustainable existence in the pastoral sector.

⁸ 'Illicit firearms proliferation and the implications for security and peace in the Sudan, Kenya and Uganda border region: report of the research carried out on the Sudan side of the common border', *AFRICANEWS*, Vol.68, November 2001.

The continuing cross-border flow of arms along borders with Sudan is contributing to the intensification of resource conflict and exacerbating its nature.⁹ The Toposa of Sudan's Equatoria province, who have large quantities, are the longtime suppliers of the Nyangatom, their neighbors and close allies.

Decelerators

Decentralization: Ethiopia's new policy of decentralization to the woreda level will help to ensure adequate local input into governance and a more locally based administration. This is expected to have important implications for the improvement of governance in Kuraz and neighboring woredas. It will also help to ensure the presence in Kuraz of an administration familiar with pastoral issues, culture, livelihood requirements and development needs. An important aspect of this is that the Woreda will have its own budget and prepare its own development plan. This will enable the formulation and addressing of local priorities at the local level. However, it may take some time for the full impact of the policies to take full effect, as capacity needs are being addressed.

In the past there has been a general lack of understanding of pastoralist issues, one result of which has been the absence of an effective policy on pastoralism. This has led to flawed development approaches, or the absence of development approaches and to the marginalization of pastoralist groups. This has been reflected in limited access to social services and development, and ultimately in marginalization of the pastoral populations. This appears to underlie many of the prevailing problems of insecurity and underdevelopment.

This problem is now beginning to be addressed, and efforts are underway within the new Ministry of Federal Affairs towards development of a suitable pastoralist policy. Of particular importance is the recent training programme on pastoralism organized for senior Ministry of Federal Affairs officials, by the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) Sussex University in the United Kingdom. This is expected to make a significant contribution to enhancement of the capacities of key policymakers with respect to the making of adequate pastoral policies.

This is consonant with the current implementation of administrative decentralization down to the district level aimed at improvement of governance and development activities at the local level, and strengthening of minority rights. In this respect, there is a particular need for acceleration of capacity building for pastoral woredas particularly in areas where there is little availability of local capacity.

⁹ Nene Mburu (Dr.), Delimitation of the Elastic Ilemi Triangle: Pastoral; Conflicts and Official Indifference in the Horn of Africa, African Studies Quarterly. The online Journal for African Studies, Spring 2003, 12 www.africa.ufl.edu

The strengthening of the local administration is expected to play an important role in increasing its capacity to undertake development activities and provide a secure environment for them. This, in turn, will contribute to easing local tensions and seeking food security and development solutions.

The Governments of the region, and their collaboration, are key factors of prevention of cross-border conflicts such as those engaging the Turkana and the Dassenech. CEWARN is expected to make an important contribution to providing Governments with the information required for conflict prevention and control.

Inter-governmental collaboration will also be essential to effectively address some of the structural problems of development and pastoral livelihoods that underlie tensions and conflicts between pastoral groups in the region.

Interventions

The Kenya-Ethiopia Joint Border Commission has carried out the essential task of coordination of government efforts on the Ethiopian and Kenyan sides of the Karamoja cluster to prevent livestock raids, require the return of looted livestock, wherever possible, and promote peace-making between the hostile pastoral groups.

Decentralization: Ethiopia's new policies of decentralization to the woreda level have important implications for the improvement of governance in South Omo and similar areas. In particular it will strengthen state institutions at the woreda level, and the capacity of those institutions to identify and address local problems, from a local perspective. Increased local input into governance will enhance the capacity of local administrations to take timely action to address tensions and prevent conflict and activities such as livestock rustling, likely to serve as triggers for conflict.

The establishment, under the decentralization policy of woreda governments with their own budgets, development plans and block grants to support them, will enable locally based initiatives to address problems of lack of development that contribute to tensions and conflict in the Karamoja Cluster. This will empower the woreda government to deal with issues of limited access to social services and development that contribute to the marginalization and alienation of the pastoral population.

This problem is now beginning to be addressed at the policy level and efforts are underway within the new Ministry of Federal Affairs towards development of a suitable pastoralist policy.

The principal social services available in the woreda consisted of four health posts and four schools run by government or NGO s.

Civil society/NGO activities

There is little presence of organized civil society groups or NGOs in Kuraz Woreda. At present there are only two NGOs operational in the woreda. Both are essentially missionary groups that have thus far achieved limited impact.

The Society of International Missionaries (SIM) is reportedly working in the water sector. The other, Mekane Yesus is an Ethiopian evangelical NGO and a recent entrant in the area. It has built health posts in different parts of Kuruz Woreda where it provides primary health services and women's health education programmes.

VI. Diagnoses and Response Options

Needs, relevant actors, specific action objectives, recommended responses

Needs

- To address drought-related food insecurity: an immediate need to reduce some of the tensions that contribute to livestock raiding and indirectly to intensification of conflict.
- Enhance pastoralist input into local governance.
- Mechanisms to engage pastoralists in regular consultations to examine problems, issues, seek solutions, and diminish and de-legitimize raiding
- A framework for regular joint consultations involving woreda/district officials, pastoralist elders, and security officials
- Establishment of accountability, and eventually, (potentially) a framework for compensation for raids, rustling and other violent activities, as a disincentive.
- Enhanced public security

Relevant Actors

- Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission
- Regional Government
- Woreda Government
- Pastoralist elders and communities
- Security forces

Specific Action Objectives

To establish regular consultation between the elders of the pastoral groups, the local government and the security forces aimed at:

- Engaging the elders to obtain their input into efforts to address pastoral issues, including drought-related food insecurity, and potential longer term solutions, including the Woreda's considerable potential for irrigation;
- Engaging the elders in regular, organized efforts to diminish tensions between pastoral groups;
- Involving them in, and providing 'legitimacy' to efforts to prevent or diminish cattle raids and other conflicts among them;
- Increased intervention of the security forces

Recommended Response Mechanisms

- Establishment of a framework for regular consultation between the elders of the contending pastoral ethnic groups, woreda government, and security forces.
- In view of the cross-border nature of most of the conflict, this needs to be done in the context of a framework that would lead to regular joint consultations eventually involving woreda/district officials, pastoralist elders, and if possible security officials from both sides of the border. One aspect of this would be to work towards the establishment of accountability, and eventually, (potentially) a framework for compensation for raids, rustling and other violent activities.
- Improved communications (possibly radio) between kebeles and security forces, and between security forces on both sides of the border to enable faster response to cattle raiding incidents.
- Identify, encourage, and seek support for civil society and other potential 'change agents' capable of making a contribution to food security and development in Kuraz Woreda.

VII. Scenarios and Implications

1. Status quo:

- If no effective action is taken to address the current situation, as impacts of drought and other pastoral pressures increase, more raids will take place, escalating the current situation, which will then become more difficult to resolve.

2. Recommended change scenario

- The authorities on both sides of the border arrange relief assistance for the worst affected pastoralists, thereby reducing the pressures that stimulate raiding and diminishing the immediate risk of further raiding.
- Measures to ensure a stronger official presence in Kuraz, with more input of local elders, into governance, lead to improved food security during drought episodes; to pastoral development and food security programmes, and to stimulation of development initiatives, such as irrigation and the possibility of cash income-generating activities.
- Establishment of a mechanism for regular consultation between the Dassenech, Nyangatom and Turkana elders and the administrations/security forces on both sides of the border, helps to significantly diminish inter-group tensions, diminish the incidence of cattle raiding and related violence, and bring pastoralists into an expanding peace and development dialogue.

3. Worst case scenario

- Increased livelihood pressures and food insecurity lead to an escalated cycle of raids and revenge raids, fed by loss of lives and livestock on all sides, and social and livelihood pressures to respond in kind.

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