

The Conflict Early Warning and Response mechanism (CEWARN)

in the

Inter Governmental Authority On Development (IGAD)
Region

CEWARN Country Updates: Sept-Dec 2008

For the Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

January 24, 2009

CEWARN, Addis Abeba, Ethiopia

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CEWARN Country Update

Update Period:

September through December, 2008

Area of Reporting:

Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

National Research Institute:

Inter Africa Group (IAG)

Country Coordinator:

Coordinator: Bizusew Mersha

Assistant: Téemt Bekele

January 24, 2009

Executive Summary

The purpose of this Country Update is to establish the incidence and outcomes of pastoral conflict on the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja cluster from September through December 2008, set in the context of all reports submitted from January 2004 through December 2008. The reporting locations on the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja cluster are 3 in number for the reporting period: Kibsih in Nyangatom Wereda; Bubua and Nebremus in Dassenech Wereda of the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State. This Update presents both positive and negative precursors to the pastoral conflict situations as a means to illuminate trends that can help signal imminent outbreaks or escalations or mitigate ongoing conflicts in the cluster.

For the reporting period September through December 2008, 20 human deaths and 2137 livestock losses were reported on the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja cluster. These losses were reported in a total of 11 incident reports involving the Dassenech, Nyangatom, Turkana and Topossa communities from Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan.

The reporting period saw escalation of conflict between Turkana of Kenya and Dassenech of Ethiopia as well as some sporadic incidents between Turkana and Nyangatom, and Nyangatom and Dassenech of Ethiopia. The period also witnessed rising tension between Turkana and Topossa of Sudan which added another twist to the already strained relation between Turkana and Nyangatom as the former regarded the Nyangatom as accomplice to the number of raids the Topossa conducted against them.

The deteriorating relations between Turkana and Dassenech was a worrisome trend because the two communities had experienced very few violent incidents in the last two years due to a peace initiative that had been initiated by government and civil society institutions. In this regard, field reports highlighted that the failure to sustain the activities of cross-border peace committees in the Turkana-Dassenech corridor due to budget constraints was one of the main contributing factors for the conflict escalation.

Other factors such as environmental pressure induced by long dry spell and then later by overflowing of the Omo River as well as the outbreak of livestock diseases also contributed to tension and conflict in the whole Ethiopian-side of the Karamoja cluster.

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On the other hand, in response to these events there were numerous peace initiatives ranging from creation of peace structures at the village level in Nyangatom Wereda by the Ethiopian CEWERU to organizing peace meetings between the Dassenech and Nyangatom communities. The local administration officials were also actively trying to contain the conflict by initiating talks with their counterparts across the border and advising the communities to refrain from retaliation; and also by ensuring uninterrupted provision of existing social services such as safety net program, education and health. But the fact that the communal conflicts did not significantly de-escalate demonstrated the limited capacity at local levels and lack of well-maintained peace structures for close follow up and sustenance of peace agreements and initiatives entered into previously by these communities.

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.

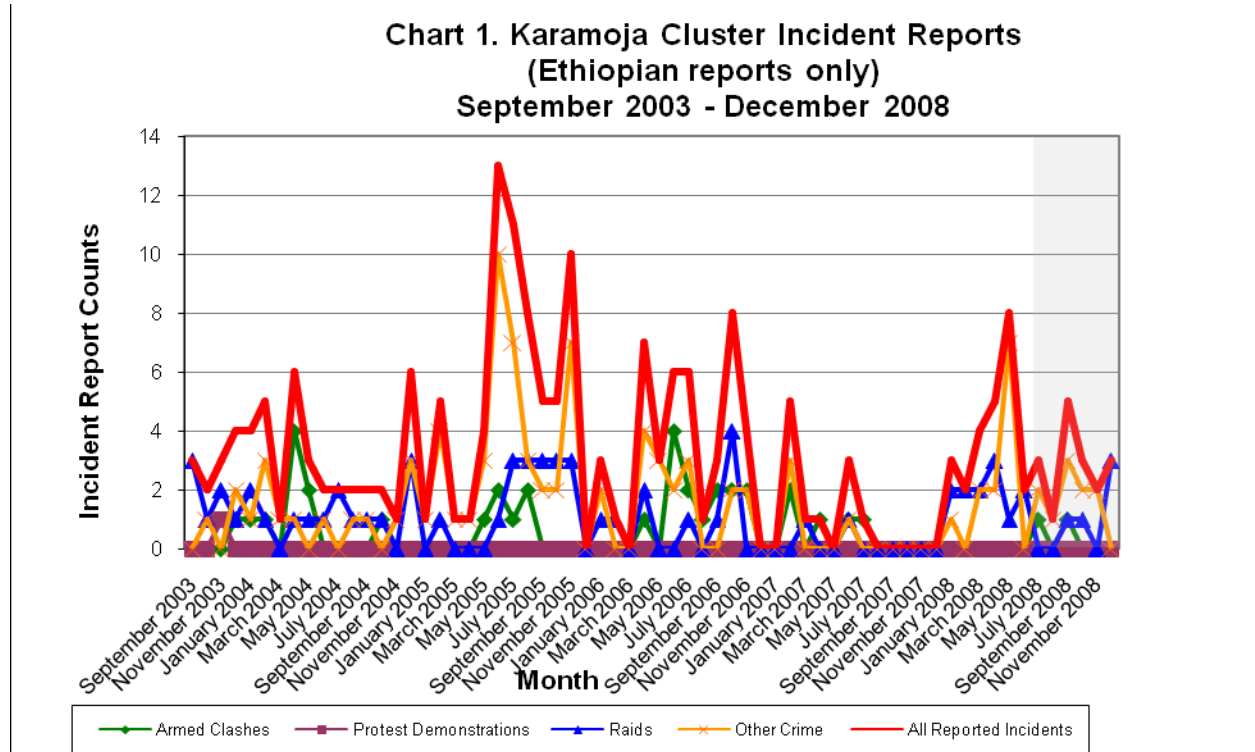
Suggestions and comments on this initial Country Update are welcome. Please contact CEWARN (cewarn@ethionet.et) at the CEWARN office in Addis Ababa with any questions, comments or suggestions. The next CEWARN Country Update Jan-April 2009 for the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja Cluster is scheduled for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

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Current Baseline Analysis

NOTE: The y-axes are dynamically scaled on all of the charts presented below. Therefore, the reader should pay special attention to the upper and lower values presented for each chart. The range of values for all “scores” is from 0 to 100.)

Chart 1 (below) presents the frequency of violent incident counts for the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja Cluster for the reporting period.



From September through December 2008 a total of 11 violent incidents were reported on the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja Cluster. Violent incident reports were highest in September and lowest in November. Out of the total 11 incidents 9 (81%) of them were cross border in that they involved communities from Ethiopia Kenya and Sudan.

An unusual high number of violent incidents (4 out of the total 11) had been observed between Dassenech and Turkana of Kenya during this period.¹ These two communities have been at peace since they reached an agreement in 2006 within the South Omo- Turkana Integrated Development Project initiated by Riam Riam of Kenya and EPARDA of Ethiopia to bring peace between the cross border communities of Kenya and Ethiopia in the karamoja cluster. The rise in violent incidents was partly the result of the reduction of the cross border peace activities of the peace committees who have been formed on both sides to serve as a bridge for discussing and resolving disputes. Reports from the field indicated that the budget constraints faced by the main sponsors of these peace committees was the major factor for the reduction of their peace work.²

¹ In addition to these there were other incidents between these two on Kenyan side but because they happened outside the Ethiopian side AORs they were not included in the incident reports

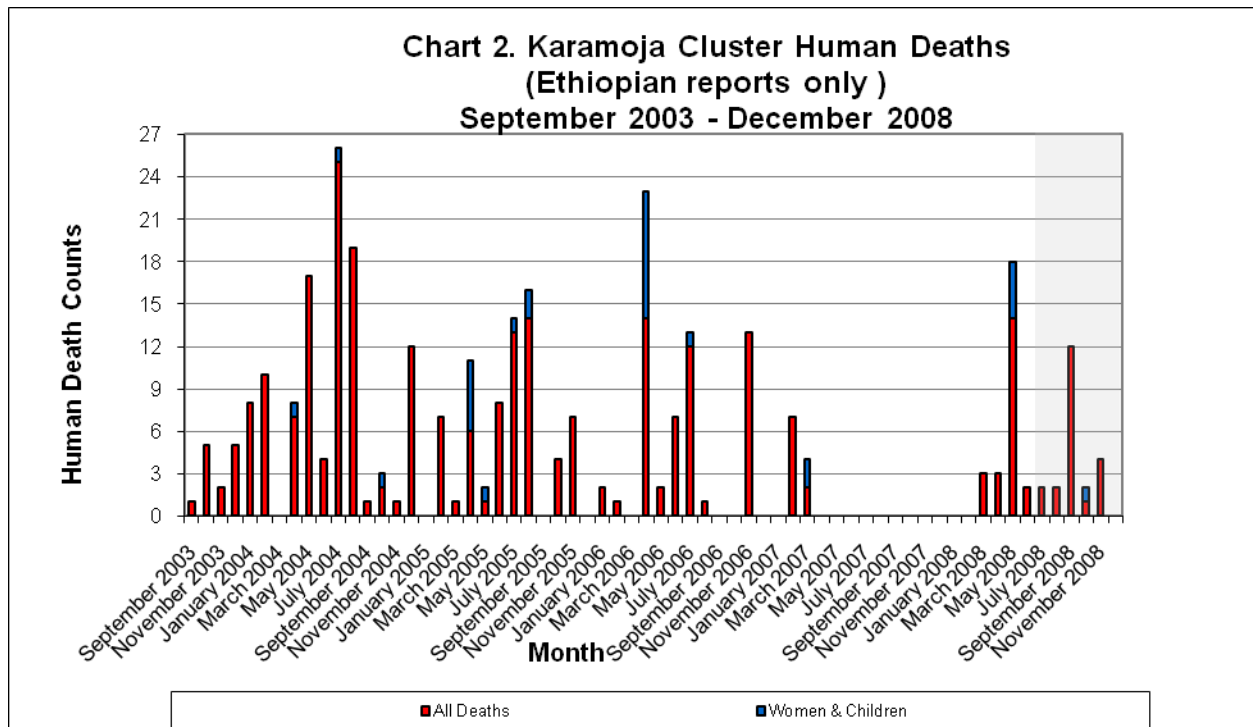
² On the other hand reports from the Kenya side suggest another factor - that the Somali Kenya traders are to blame for deliberately inciting conflict between Turkana and Dassenech to profit from the fish trade on Lake Turkana.

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Beside the Dassenech- Turkana conflict, there were other sporadic violent incidents between Turkana and Nyangatom as well as between Dassenech and Nyangatom. On the other hand, the migration of most of the Nyangatom from Kibish to Omo Park and Surma/Mursia areas have reduced the conflict between Nyngatom and Turkana (as compared to the previous two consecutive reporting periods of May-August and January-April 2008) as it minimized contact between the two communities. Other significant factor that compounded the already tense situation of the Cluster was the involvement of Topossa of Sudan. In one such incident in the 2nd week of September 9, 2008 the Toposa of Sudan going through Nyangatom territory raided around 2000 goats from common grazing areas of Dassenech and Turkana. This incident threatened to ignite widespread retaliatory attacks by Turkana as the latter have viewed the Nyangatom accomplice to this attack. But during the reporting period only a limited revenge attacks (a total of 4) were undertaken by the Turkana so far..

Despite the spread and outbreak of incidents in formerly peaceful border areas, the formation of peace committees at local level and the restructuring of Local Peace Committees at Wereda level in Nyangatom Wereda Committees have given a glimmer of hope for future peace in the area as the structures for peace are currently in place in both Nyangatom and Dassenech weredas. However, these peace committees and local level structures still require support such as training and communication equipments if they are to be effective and functioning.³

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

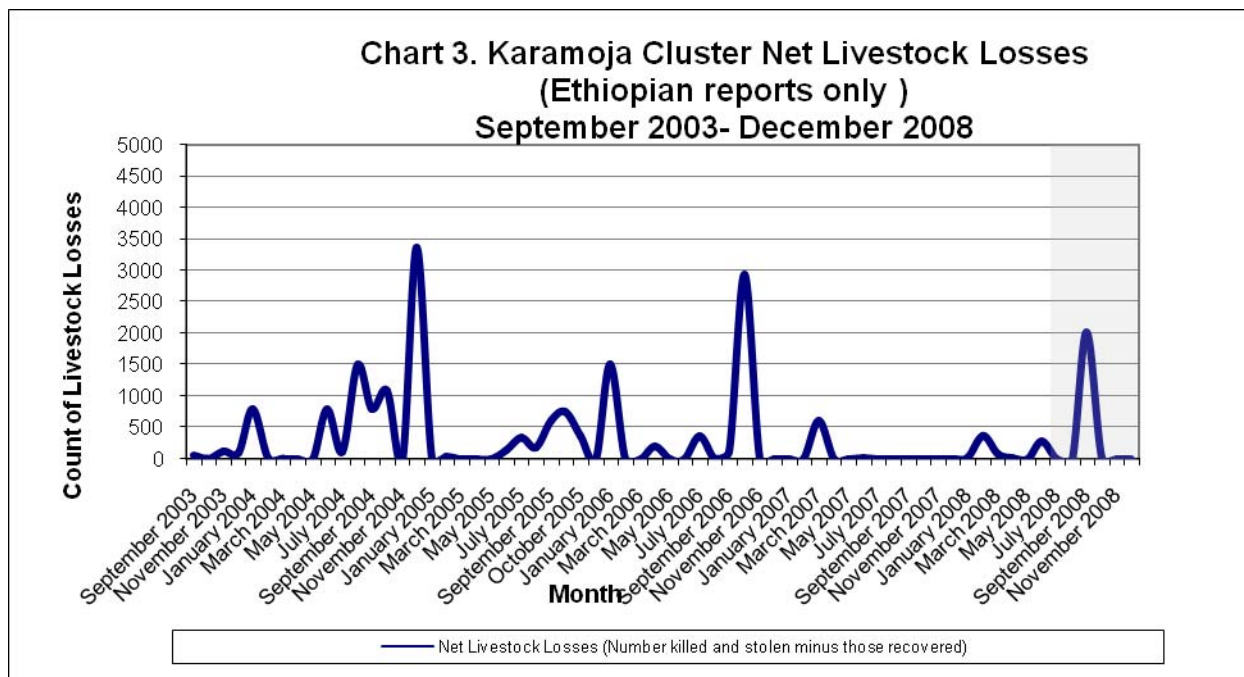


A total of 20 human deaths were reported from September to December. The number of deaths range from 12 in September to 0 in December. Out of the 20 dead, 11 were Turkana, 4 Nyangatom, 3 Dassenech and 2 Topossa. The largest number of death occurred during the Topossa raid against the Turkana and Dassenech on the 9th of September where they killed 7 Turkana and lost 2 . Out of the 20 human deaths only 1 was woman.

³ Refer to Monthly report for November for summary of the committees formed

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



A total of 2103 livestock were raided in the period. These were reported in the total of 5 incidents. The highest number lost was on September 9, 2008 where approximately 2000 goats belonging to Turkana and Dassenech were raided by the Toposa of Sudan which highlighted the importance of Toposa in the equation of conflict analysis and conflict resolution in the area. Other raids included the Turkana raid on December 25th where they took 54 donkeys from Dassenech from Nebremus kebele. Raid attempts had also occurred during this period but they were thwarted by the target group for example Nynagtom herders fend off a raid attempt by Turkana on December 16th of 2008.

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

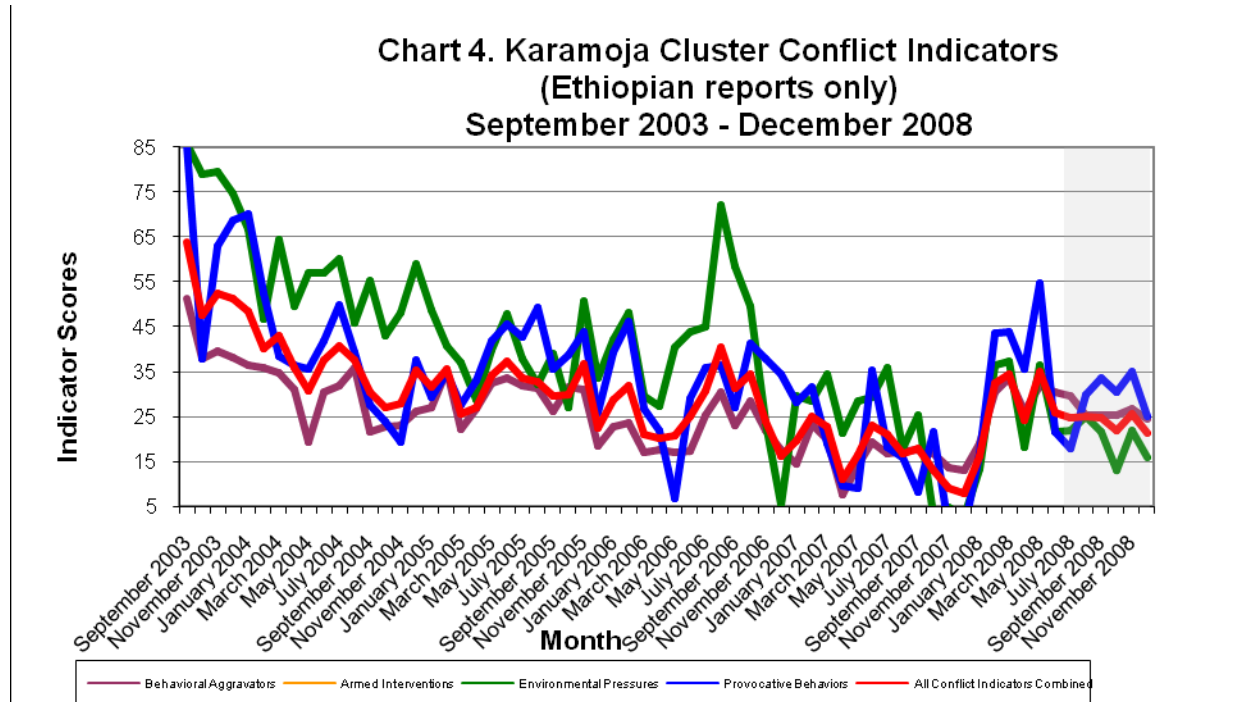


Chart 4 highlights Aggravating Behaviors, Provocative Behaviors, Armed Interventions, Environmental Pressures, and the Combined Conflict Indicators.⁴

From September through December Provocative Behaviors increased except for a slight decline in December. Provocative Behaviors in September indicated that there was a warning by traditional local seers and as well as a movement of male groups in Nyangatom areas before the Toposa raided the livestock of Dassenech and Turkana on September 9. .⁵ After this incident there were constant signs of Turkana male movements in kibish and prediction by the local seers that the Turkana would mount a retaliatory attack in October. Indeed the Turkana launched retaliatory attacks on September 29 and October 23 although not of significant magnitude as was previously feared. Male movement in groups and local seers prediction were rampant in Kibish Ethiopia making the area very tense throughout the month of October. Events that increased Provocative Behaviors continued in the month of November. These included predictions that Turkana would continue to attack Nyngatom as well as a conflict would emerge between Dasseench and Nyangatom ; in addition movement of male groups from Toposa in Nyangatom area were observed in Kibish Ethiopia heightening the suspicion that the latter were prepared to launch another round of raid on Turkana.

December also recorded events that contributed to the increase in Provocative Behaviors but the frequency was lesser than earlier months. These included traditional forecasting by

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

⁵ The signs before the September raid were picked by the Nyangatom Wereda administration but due to poor communication infrastructure by the time the information was passed to the Dassenech Wereda it was too late and the raid was mounted by Toposa . Please read the CEWARN alert in September 2008 in the Appendix.

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Dassenech traditional seers about the likely escalation of conflict between Turkana and Dassenech as well as blessing by Nyngatom elders in Kibish to attack the Turkana and Dassenech.

Environmental Pressures were highest in November and lowest in October. September was a month the whole side of the Ethiopian-side of the Karamoja Cluster had been afflicted by drought conditions. This situation led to the shortage of grazing areas and watering points which forced the pastoral communities to migrate to other areas ; for instance, the Nyngatom took their cattle into Nayita, South Sudan . In somehow related issue, outbreak of livestock diseases known as PPR was reported in many areas in Nebremus and Bubua areas of reporting. Towards the second half of October the short rains started and eased some of the environmental pressures; however, the livestock disease affecting Bubua and Nebremus persisted despite a concerted effort to control it by the Dassenech Wereda administration. As a result large numbers of livestock perished.

In addition, overflowing destroyed most of the crops sown along the banks of Omo River in Nyngatom and Dassenech areas putting pressure on the livelihood of the communities. Livestock diseases spread to Nyngatom areas claiming the lives of large herds of livestock and forcing others to migrate to Sudan . In Nebremus area of reporting, due to the conflict with Turkana Dassenech have abandoned common grazing areas and this led to concentration and at times competition among the pastoralists for secure grazing lands. All these factors may have contributed to the slight increase in environmental pressures in November. In December the livestock diseases seemed to have come under control but not before claiming large numbers of livestock. However, the conflict between Dassenech, Turkana and Nyngatom resulted in many grazing areas to be abandoned particularly in the Kibish area of reporting thus contributing to the concentration of the Nyngatom community to few secure grazing areas near Kakuta and Omo Park.

Aggravating Behaviors remained moderate and constant from September through December. A number of factors contributed to this. In September pastoral migration pattern were interrupted particularly in Kibish Area of Reporting; Turkana and Nyngatom briefly curtailed their joint activities such as cross border trade all related to a rise of tension between the two communities particularly during and after the Toposa raid against Turkana on the 9th of September. Because of the tension between the two communities bullets were frequently used as exchangeable commodity as both sides prepared for what they perceived as possible revenge and counter revenge attacks. In October due to the outbreak of livestock disease the pastoralist in Nebremus and Bubua areas of reporting were forced to sell their livestock at lower prices. In addition, pastoralist movements were interrupted particularly in Kibish area of reporting as bullets were highly interchanged in the market which indicated the area was volatile. In this connection, the continued tension between Turkana and Nyngatom had disrupted pastoral movement, disrupted class attendance in some of the hot spot kebeles in Kibish area of reporting and curtailed joint communal activities. The overflowing of the Omo River interrupted self help activities such as farming along the banks of Omo River. The continued livestock disease had forced the pastoralists to engage in stressed selling at lower prices. In December, the escalating tension between Turkana, Dassenech, Nyngatom curtailed their joint activities such as cross-border trade particularly between Turkana and Dassenech and disrupted normal pastoral movements and grazing patterns.

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

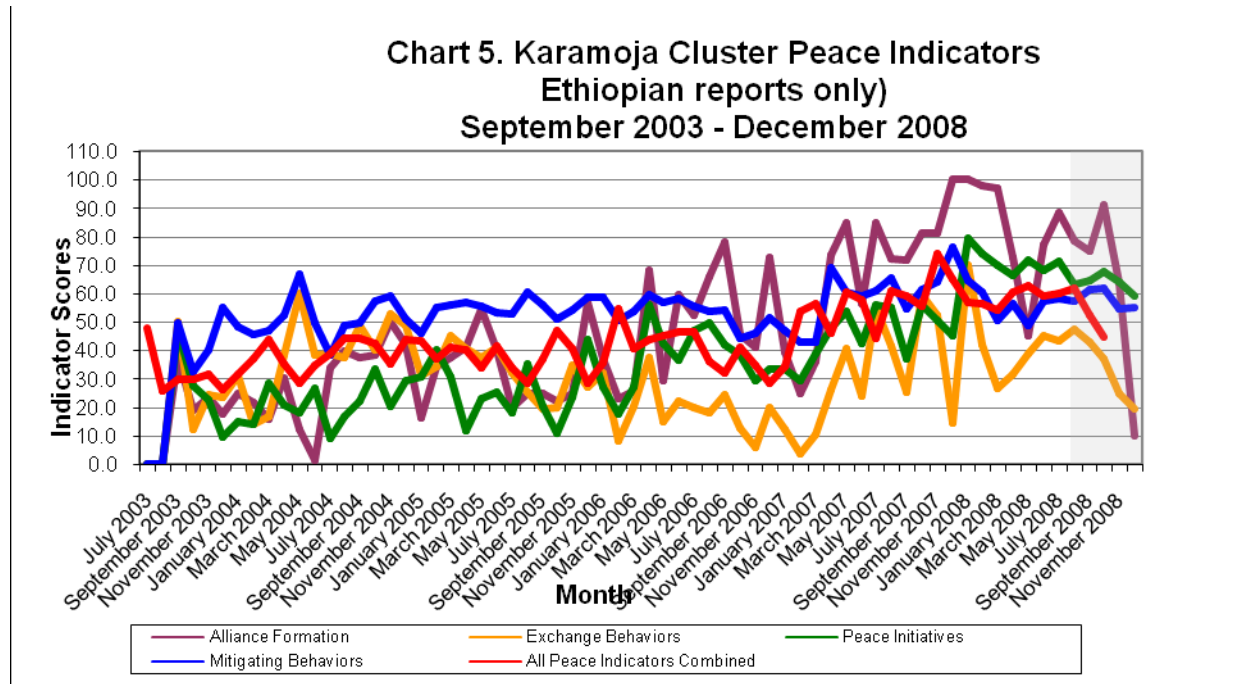


Chart 5 (above) highlights Alliance Formation, Exchange Behaviors, Mitigating Behaviors, Peace Initiatives, and All Peace Indicators Combined.⁶

Peace Initiatives remained slightly high in the reporting period with a very slight decline in December. In parallel to the continuing conflict and incidents in the area of reporting, various peace initiatives were initiated to reduce tensions and violence. In September, PACT Ethiopia facilitated a peace meeting between the Dassenech and Nyangatom elders and was held in the presence of Wereda officials and zonal representatives. Compensation for livestock earlier raided by both sides and recovery of weapons were discussed and agreed upon. As per this agreement, the Dassenech handed over raided livestock to Nyangatom wereda representatives in October. In spite of these interventions, the Dassenech- Nyangatom conflict did not completely abate in this period; there were a couple of incidents reported between these two communities and tension still remained high.

In November CEWARN facilitated the creation of village level peace structures and restructuring of Local Peace committees at the Wereda level in Nyangatom wereda. The creation and restructuring was considered to be a milestone in creating peace structures in the Nyangatom Wereda for effectiveness of future peace agreements and for paving the way for the involvement of traditional structures in conflict prevention.⁷ On the contrary, however, there has been a relaxation of peace committee activities in Dassenech Wereda as a result of budget constraints faced by their main funder, EPARDA. Partly attributed to this, a resumption of cross-border violent incidents between Turkana and Dassenech occurred in the reporting period.

⁶ Please refer to the Appendix for a description of the peace indicators

⁷ Kindly refer to the Monthly situation reports for November for more details.

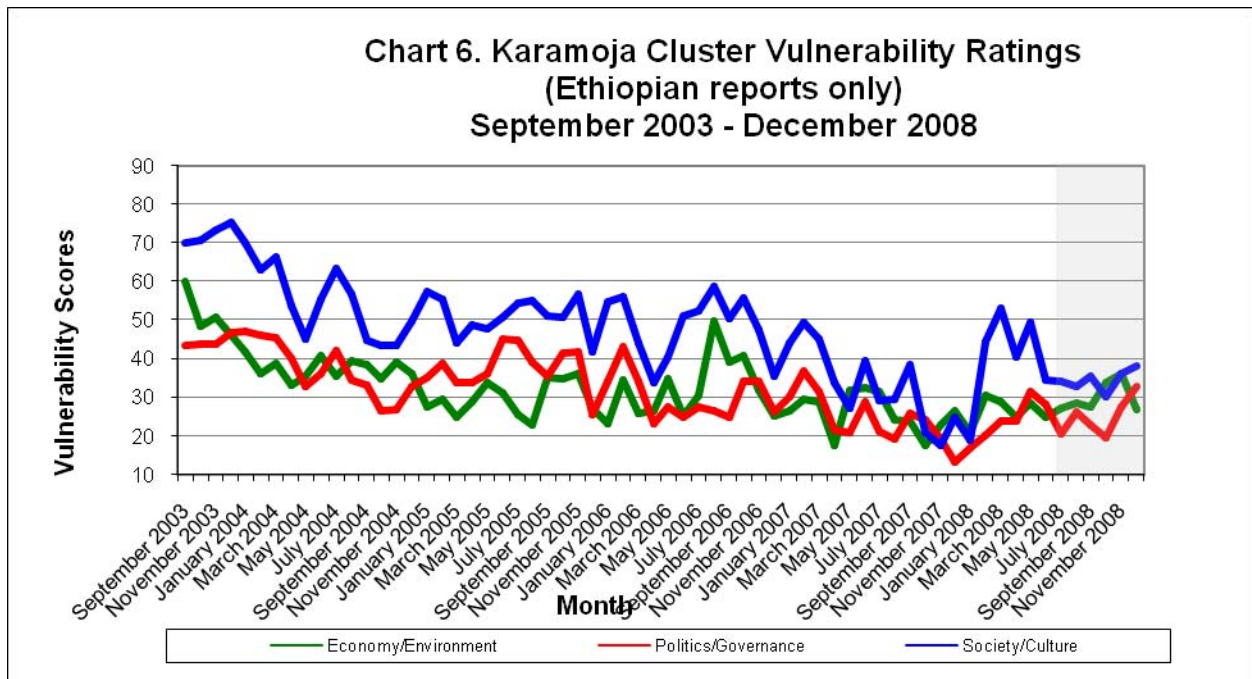
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Exchange Behaviors declined in the reporting period reaching their lowest level in December. This is due to the fact that most of the exchange indicators responsible for the graph used to occur in the Nebremus and Bubua. But cross-border trade and inter-group sharing declined in these areas as communal relations between the Turkana of Kenya and Dassenech deteriorated and conflict resurfaced in the area.

Alliance Formation showed a similar trend as Exchange Behaviours above. Alliance Formation declined as the months progressed reaching its lowest level in December. The previous alliance formed between Dassenech and Turkana collapsed as their relationship deteriorated reaching at its lowest level in December. Meanwhile, October recorded the highest in Alliance formation; and one factor that may have contributed to this was the negotiated new alliance formed between Nyangatom and Surma on joint utilization of resources and joint monitoring of movement of peace spoilers in the Cluster such as Toposa from South Sudan.

Mitigating Behaviors remained slightly constant in the reporting period. The steady provision of existing social services such as education and healthcare was one factor that may explain this constant level. On the other hand the active involvement of local security structures in law enforcement could have been another contributing factor. Yet as the conflict and tension in the area demonstrated their capacity in bringing peace in the area is limited despite the will and commitment of the officials.

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



Society/Culture Vulnerability ratings were medium and constant in the reporting period. This was expected given that the relation between the pastoral communities in the area gradually deteriorated. Towards December it slightly increased as all the pastoralist communities in the area were in conflict with one another: i.e. the Dassenech were against Turkana and Nyangatom, the Nyangatom were against the Dassenech and Turkana. Thus, relations at societal/communal levels including inter-group sharing, cross-border trade etc. were severely affected.

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Economic/Environment vulnerability ratings gradually increased but showed a modest decline in December. The outbreak of livestock diseases and the drought in the reporting period partly explains the slight increase in vulnerability ratings in November. These factors forced the communities to engage in unwanted stress selling of their livestock at lower prices and at the same time killed many of their livestock reducing their coping mechanisms in the future. The easing of drought conditions with the advent of the rains as well as the fact that the spread of the livestock disease was put in check may explain the slight decrease of Economic/Environment vulnerability ratings in December.

Similarly Politics/Governance vulnerability ratings had a slight increase in November and December. This situation may be attributed to the fact that the emergence of conflicts in different fronts in the area of reporting on one hand implied that the limited capacity of local law enforcement organs in containing the conflict. One could predict the situation could have worsened far more than witnessed had it not been for the active engagement of local peace actors including the government organs in creating peace structures (such as local peace committees) as well as in taking direct conflict reduction measures such as facilitating communal peace meetings as explained in Chart 5 above.

Comparative Analysis

<u>Type</u>	<u>May-August 08</u>	<u>Sep-Dec 08</u>
Incidents	12	11
Human Deaths	20	20
Livestock Losses	477	2107

In the reporting period the outcomes of violent conflict equalled and at other times even surpassed the conflict situation of the last reporting period of May-August 2008 in the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja Cluster. The reporting period showed that little has changed in the area despite a number of encouraging progress made in initiating peace-building initiatives and establishing local peace structures. While the conflict between Dassenech and Turkana which had dominated the last updated was observed gain in this period, the most notable conflict in this period was the conflict between Turkana and Dassenech that re-surfaced again . Towards the end of the reporting period, it seemed this conflict had escalated rather than being contained or reduced. The importance of the Toposa in any conflict analysis/reduction was once again demonstrated with their audacious attack against the Turkana and Dassenech in September threatening a widespread escalation of communal conflicts in the area of reporting. The situation in the area thus requires a comprehensive and all inclusive sub-cluster peace process to be initiated to address existing and any emerging communal conflicts. And there is no other institution better placed than CEWARN and its stakeholders (both governmental and civil society) initiating this process by mobilizing cross border resources, institutions, and their commitments.

Analysis of Structural Conflict Aggravating Factors

Environmental pressure remained the main structural conflict aggravating behavior in the area of reporting. Resource scarcity induced by the recurrent long dry spells was the main factor behind most of the conflict through influencing the development of conflict behavior that led to communal conflicts. On the other hand resource scarcity instigated by fear of revenge or counter revenge attacks directly created a conducive condition for the prevalence of conflicts in the area by limiting access to scarce and fragile resources (water and pastures for livestock) and hence igniting competition. This problem was compounded further by the absence of viable traditional/formal resource sharing mechanisms among the groups which made it difficult to

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access relatively better resource locations in other areas without risking generating conflict in the process. Traditional cultural beliefs such as sanctioning raid by elders through pre-raid blessing or traditional forecasting that incite conflicts were also the other structural aggravating factors observed in this period.

Analysis of Proximate Conflict Aggravating Factors

Livestock diseases that broke out in the area in the reporting period led to the decimation of large number of livestock particularly the small ruminants such as goats and sheep. Field reports pointed out that this could be one major source of conflict in the future as it would contribute to raids for re-stocking of herds by the affected communities..

Limited capacity of local security and administrative institutions in enforcing law and order and peace agreements were one of the conflict generating factors in the reporting period. despite the committed engagement by security and administrative institutions' to reduce conflict in the area, their limited capacity affected their goal of achieving peace in the area and as a result this led to conflict escalation as they lacked the capacity and means to contain violent dynamics. The issue of limited resources was another factor as witnessed in the peace committee operations in the Dassenech wereda whereby inadequate or lack of resources created gaps in the activities of the peace committees which led to conflicts going out of hand and others to resurface in the area.

The interrelated nature of the conflict in the area was another factor that aggravated the conflict. This was demonstrated by the Topossa raid which ignited revenge attacks between Turkana and Nyangatom.

Analysis of Proximate Conflict Mitigating Factors

Interventions by various civil society groups as well as the local Wereda officials in mitigating the conflict ensured it did not spiral out of control. Communal access to social services and the intervention by the wereda administration in controlling livestock disease outbreak somehow put in check the situation on the ground from deteriorating to worse than it was.

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RESPONSE OPTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

ACTORS	SHORT TERM	MEDIUM TERM
CEWERU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen the CEWARN local peace committees recently established in the Nyangatom area of reporting • Continue supporting the recent CEWARN communal initiatives/peace process • Assess and fill the gaps created by the relaxation of the Dassenech Peace Committees created by EPARDA • Broaden the CEWARN peace process by bringing on board other relevant communities such as the Toposa that were not present at the April Turmi meeting? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhance the institutional and operational capacity of the Ethiopian CEWERU through expansion and review for broader membership and inclusion of relevant institutions for peace-building • Develop cross-border modalities to strengthen the coordination and linkage between cross-border CEWERUs and peace initiatives • Formulate strategies and arrangements for the just utilization of resources to support peace initiatives i.e. RRF and CEWARN Response Framework
LOCAL COMMUNITIES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Broaden the peace initiatives to include all stakeholders • Develop and maintain a strong communication and dialogue with counterparts on the other side of the border (Kenya and Sudan sides) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sustain peace activities by mobilizing local resources, creating local support/base for the peace process and through the involvements of various groups that are critical in implementing peace agreements and initiatives (i.e. youth, women, and elders)
CIVIL SOCIETY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Avoid duplication of peace efforts and support and participate in peace initiatives conducted by CEWARN Mechanism and its stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus on addressing structural and developmental issues that will enhance/strengthen the communal peace initiatives at the local and cross-border levels.
INTERNATIONAL NGOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support the CEWARN peace process by providing funds and capacity building 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide resources and expertise for development programs in the area of coverage.

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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	Pastoral migration	Bullets as commodities
Development aid problems	Harmful migration policy	Protest
Media controls interrupted	Harmful livestock policy	Student attendance
Migrant laborers	Influx of IDPs	Separation of groups
New Markets	Security escorts	Livestock prices dropped
Negative media coverage	Small arms availability	Post-raid blessing
		Livestock sales increase
<u>Environmental Pressure</u>		
Natural disaster areas grazing areas abandoned	Land competition Livestock disease	More livestock in secure
<u>Exchange Behavior</u>		
Celebration	Inter-group marriage	Gift offering
Inter-group sharing	Cross-border trade	
<u>Mitigating Behavior</u>		
Access to health care	Relief distributions	Law enforcement
Small arms disclosure	Markets remain open	Bride price stable
Access to education	Positive media coverage	Negotiations taking place
<u>Peace Initiatives</u>		
Women peace messengers	Weapons reduction program	Local peace initiatives
Religious peace building	NGO peace initiatives	
<u>Provocative Behavior</u>		
All-male migration	Pre-raid blessing	Traditional forecasting

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Month & Year	Protest Demonstration	Other Crime	Organized Raids	Armed Clash	all incident
January 2005	0	1	0	0	1
February 2005	0	4	1	0	5
March 2005	0	1	0	0	1
April 2005	0	1	0	0	1
May 2005	0	3	0	1	4
June 2005	0	10	1	2	13
July 2005	0	7	3	1	11
August 2005	0	3	3	2	8
September 2005	0	2	3	0	5
October 2005	0	2	3	0	5
November 2005	0	7	3	0	10
December 2005	0	0	0	0	0
January 2006	0	2	1	0	3
February 2006	0	0	1	0	1
March 2006	0	0	0	0	0
April 2006	0	4	2	1	7
May 2006	0	3	0	0	3
June 2006	0	2	0	4	6
July 2006	0	3	1	2	6
August 2006	0	0	0	1	1
September 2006	0	0	1	2	3
October 2006	0	2	4	2	8
November 2006	0	2	0	2	4
December 2006	0	0	0	0	0
January 2007	0	0	0	0	0
February 2007	0	3	0	2	5
March 2007	0	0	1	0	1
April 2007	0	0	0	1	1
May 2007	0	0	0	0	0
June 2007	0	1	1	1	3
July 2007	0	0	0	1	1
August 2007	0	0	0	0	0
September 2007	0	0	0	0	0
October 2007	0	0	0	0	0
November 2007	0	0	0	0	0
December 2007	0	0	0	0	0
January 2008	0	1	2	0	3
February 2008	0	0	2	0	2
March 2008	0	2	2	0	4
April 2008	0	2	3	0	5
May 2008	0	7	1	0	8
June 2008	0	0	2	0	2
July 2008	0	2	0	1	3
August 2008	0	1	0	0	1
September 2008	0	3	1	1	5
October 2008	0	2	1	0	3
November 2008	0	2	0	0	2
December 2008	0	0	3	0	3
totals	1	101	67	37	206

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

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Month & Year	Livestock Losses, net
January 2005	0
February 2005	43
March 2005	0
April 2005	0
May 2005	0
June 2005	140
July 2005	341
August 2005	182
September 2005	609
November 2005	750
October 2005	366
December 2005	0
January 2006	1500
February 2006	0
March 2006	0
April 2006	209
May 2006	0
June 2006	0
July 2006	369
August 2006	0
September 2006	127
October 2006	2934
November 2006	0
December 2006	0
January 2007	0
February 2007	0
March 2007	600
April 2007	0
May 2007	0
June 2007	18
July 2007	0
August 2007	0
September 2007	0
October 2007	0
November 2007	0
December 2007	0
January 2008	13
February 2008	372
March 2008	79
April 2008	23
May 2008	0
June 2008	280
July 2008	0
August 2008	0
September 2008	2022
October 2008	15
November 2008	0
December 2008	0
Totals	19736

Month & Year	Armed Intervention	Provocative Behavior	Environmental Pressure	Aggravating Behavior	Combined
January 2005	0	29.4	48.8	26.9	31.6
February 2005	12.5	34.7	40.8	35.3	35.6
March 2005	0	27.5	36.9	22.3	25.7
April 2005	0	33.1	28.7	26.8	27
May 2005	3.8	41.8	39.8	32.3	34.2
June 2005	0	45.7	47.9	33.6	37.4
July 2005	3.3	42.7	37.8	31.9	33.6
August 2005	0	49.3	32.1	31.4	32.7
September 2005	0	35.5	39.1	26.1	29.5
October 2005	0	38.8	27	31.6	30
November 2005	5	44	50.8	30.9	36.6
December 2005	0	26	33.5	18.5	22.5
January 2006	0	39.2	42.1	22.6	28.8
February 2006	3.1	46	48.1	23.6	32
March 2006	2.3	26.7	29.7	17.1	21
April 2006	5	22	27.3	17.6	20.1
May 2006	0	6.8	40.3	17.1	20.8
June 2006	0	29.1	44	17.3	24.9
July 2006	0	36	45.1	25.4	30.8
August 2006	0	36.5	72.1	30.3	40.4
September 2006	0	27	58.4	22.9	31.4
October 2006	0	41.4	49.5	28.4	34.3
November 2006	5	37.8	23.7	21.9	23.8
December 2006	0	34.5	5.4	17.7	16.1
January 2007	0	28.2	29.7	14.4	19.6
February 2007	6.3	31.7	28.5	23.3	25.1
March 2007	0	19.1	34.4	19.9	22.6
April 2007	2.3	9.5	21.4	7.5	11
May 2007	0	9.1	28.5	14.3	16.5
June 2007	0	35.3	29.2	19.2	23.1
July 2007	0	18.2	36	16.7	21.1
August 2007	3.1	15.8	17.8	17.3	16.6
September 2007	15	8.1	25.3	17.5	18
October 2007	0	21.5	2.9	16.7	13.1
November 2007	0	0	4.8	13.7	8.9
December 2007	0	0	2.7	12.9	7.9
January 2008	0	16.7	13.2	18.9	16.3
February 2008	0	43.7	36.5	30.3	32.4
March 2008	1.4	44	37.2	33.5	34.4
April 2008	0	35.6	18.1	26.3	24.3
May 2008	1.3	54.8	36.4	31.9	34.9
June 2008	4.2	21.7	21.7	30.4	25.8
July 2008	0	17.8	21.8	29.5	24.6
August 2008	6.3	29.8	25.1	25.2	25
September 2008	2.9	33.7	21.5	25.4	24.6
October 2008	0	30.4	13	25.3	21.8
November 2008	2.5	35.1	22	26.8	25.7
December 2008					
2008	1	25	16	24.4	21.3

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Month & Year	Peace Initiatives	Mitigating Behavior	Exchange Behavior	Alliance Formation	Combined
January 2005	30.8	46	31.1	16.4	35.1
February 2005	40.4	55	34.3	34.5	44
March 2005	30.7	55.9	45.2	37.7	43.6
April 2005	12	57.1	40.8	41.1	37.3
May 2005	23	55.6	37.4	54.5	41
June 2005	25.3	53.1	41.1	40.3	40.2
July 2005	18	52.7	31.9	20	33.8
August 2005	35.1	60.4	25.4	25	41.5
September 2005	20.2	56.2	19.7	25	33.8
October 2005	11.1	50.9	20	22.4	28.6
November 2005	23.7	54	35	24.8	37.3
December 2005	43.9	58.5	27.3	57.1	47.2
January 2006	27.1	58.6	32.3	36.9	40.7
February 2006	17.9	50.7	8.1	22.9	28.5
March 2006	27.2	53.9	20.6	26	35.6
April 2006	55.9	59.6	37.5	68.2	54.7
May 2006	42.6	56.7	15	29.3	40.9
June 2006	36.4	58.2	22	59.5	43.8
July 2006	46.9	55.4	19.8	52.3	45.1
August 2006	49.6	53.9	18.2	65.9	46.4
September 2006	42.2	54.4	24.4	78.2	46.5
October 2006	38.4	44.3	12.6	45.5	36
November 2006	29.3	46.3	5.8	41.1	32
December 2006	33.4	51.7	19.8	72.7	41.2
January 2007	33.6	46.9	12.5	39.5	34.8
February 2007	29.2	43	3.7	25	28.7
March 2007	39	43.1	10.6	36	34.5
April 2007	47.7	69	26.3	73.8	53.7
May 2007	53.6	60.3	40.5	84.9	56.5
June 2007	42.3	59.3	24.2	56.6	46.3
July 2007	56.1	61.1	55.2	84.8	60.5
August 2007	55.3	65.7	41.4	72.4	58
September 2007	37.2	54.6	25.2	71.8	44.5
October 2007	55.9	61.2	59.5	81.3	61
November 2007	50.8	64.3	52.2	81.3	59
December 2007	45.1	76.2	14.7	100	55.7
January 2008	79.5	64.8	69.9	100	74.1
February 2008	74.2	60.7	42.1	97.9	65
March 2008	69.9	50.6	26.9	97	56.7
April 2008	66.5	56.4	31.6	72.5	56.3
May 2008	71.8	48.6	38.9	45.2	54
June 2008	68.4	57.3	45.4	77.1	60.5
July 2008	71.3	58.4	43.4	88.6	62.6
August 2008	63.4	57.2	47.4	78.4	59.3
September 2008	64.5	61.4	43.1	75	60.1
October 2008	67.9	62	37.3	91.1	61.8
November 2008	64	54.6	25	63.6	52.6
December 2008	59.1	54.9	19.6	9.8	44.8

Month & Year	Economy/ Environment	Politics/ Governance	Society/ Culture
January 2005	27.4	35.1	57.3
February 2005	29.5	38.8	55.4
March 2005	24.9	33.8	44.2
April 2005	29	33.8	48.7
May 2005	34	36.3	47.7
June 2005	31.2	45.1	50.9
July 2005	25.5	44.7	54.3
August 2005	22.8	39.1	55.2
September 2005	35	35.6	51
October 2005	34.8	41.6	50.8
November 2005	36.1	41.7	56.8
December 2005	27.1	25.6	41.7
January 2006	23.1	34.1	54.7
February 2006	34.4	43.3	56
March 2006	25.9	34.1	44.1
April 2006	26.4	23.2	33.9
May 2006	34.8	27.6	40.5
June 2006	25.3	25	51.2
July 2006	30.6	27.4	52.5
August 2006	49.7	26.6	58.9
September 2006	39.3	24.7	50.3
October 2006	40.7	34.2	55.6
November 2006	31.8	34.3	47.4
December 2006	25.1	26.1	35.5
January 2007	26.6	30.3	44.3
February 2007	29.4	36.7	49.4
March 2007	29	31.5	45.1
April 2007	17.5	21.7	33.8
May 2007	31.9	20.9	27.2
June 2007	32.5	29	39.6
July 2007	31.6	21.1	29.3
August 2007	24.2	19.3	29.4
September 2007	24	25.7	38.6
October 2007	17.5	24.3	21
November 2007	23	19.3	17.6
December 2007	26.6	13.4	24.9
January 2008	21	17	18.9
February 2008	30.5	20.3	44.6
March 2008	28.7	23.8	53
April 2008	24.7	23.9	40.6
May 2008	28.4	31.5	49.6
June 2008	25	28.1	34.5
July 2008	27.1	20.5	34.1
August 2008	28.5	26.2	33
September 2008	27.6	22.9	35.4
October 2008	33.8	19.4	30.1
November 2008	36.1	27.5	36.2
December 2008	27	32.9	38.3

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