

**The Conflict Early Warning and Response mechanism
(CEWARN)**

in the

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

CEWARN Country Updates: May - August 2009

For the Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

Report to Ethiopian CEWERU
October 1, 2009

CEWARN, Addis Abeba, Ethiopia

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

CEWARN Country Update

Update Period:

May – August 2009

Area of Reporting:

Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

National Research Institute:

Inter Africa Group (IAG)

Country Coordinator:

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October 1, 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 May through August 2009 set in the context of all reports submitted from January 2004 through August 2009. 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 May through August 2009, 5 human deaths and 15,323 livestock losses were reported on the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja cluster. These losses were reported in a total of 9 incident reports involving the Dassenech, Nyangatom, Turkana, Hamar and Gabra communities from Ethiopia and Kenya

Communal relations in the Karamoja cluster have been deteriorating during this update period, with several incidents in the July-August period leading to the breakdown of relationships between the Dassenech-Turkana, Nyangatom Turkana, Gabra-Dassenech and Dassenech-Hamar. One reason for the increase in violent raids is a result of the breakdown of communication between local level actors, include security personnel and government representative. Reports from the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja cluster indicates that this is due to the non compliance of local Kenyan officials, who have not been conducive to attending meetings addressing these conflicts. In addition to this the cessation of the activities by CEWARN peace committee and other CSOs in May 2009 due to rising tensions has also decreased CPMR efforts in the region. Also peace committees that had been established by EPARDA among the Dassenech are non operational. The cessation of these activities has had a direct impact on peace relations in the region, because there is no longer a forum in which local actors can interact.

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

The relationship between the Turkana and the Nyangatom reached a critical point following a large scale raid on August 12th 2009 which resulted in the theft of over 13,000 livestock from the Nyangatom. Livestock retrieval efforts have been unsuccessful. Similarly the relationship between the Dassenech and Turkana deteriorated following the raid of 2000 livestock from the Dassenech in July. This followed a cross border planning meeting for the Karamoja cluster, which was a discussion forum in which actors from Ethiopia, Kenya and Sudan deliberated on a future all encompassing cross border meeting. The occurrence of the incident directly after the meeting indicates that there are no channels of dissemination following peace meetings, otherwise raiders would be dissuaded from carrying out attacks.

The Hamar and Dassenech relationship has been vacillating, with conditions of peaceful communal coexistence followed by periods of violent confrontation. Although local officials have successfully carried out livestock retrieval efforts on one occasion, peaceful coexistence has not been maintained. In addition to this, the Gabra- Dassenech relationship has been marred by raids from both sides. The high incident of raids have been occurring in the backdrop of severe drought that have strained the available food sources in the region. Relief efforts have been insufficient in addressing the shortages.

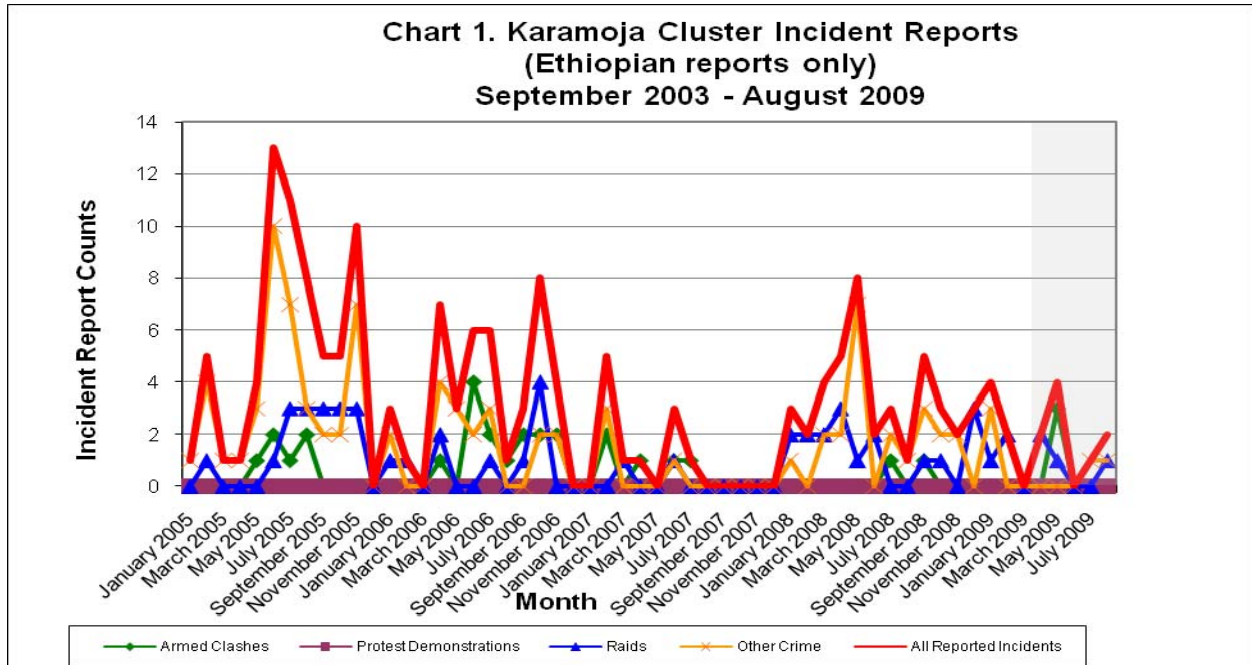
The Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) of The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, has coordinated the field reporting and editing of these reports. The Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) have contributed funds towards this effort. CEWARN in collaboration with Virtual Research Associates (VRA) developed the early warning methodology and reporting tool. Suggestions and comments on this initial baseline are welcome. Please contact CEWARN (cewarn@ethionet.et) at the CEWARN office in Addis Ababa with any questions, comments or suggestions. The next CEWARN Country Update Sept-Dec 2009 for the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja cluster is scheduled for posting in January 2010. 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.

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

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.



There were 6 incidents reported for this update period. May had the highest number of incidents during the reporting period from May-August 2009. Most of the attacks occurred between the Turkana and Dassenech community. However, in terms of fatality and the most severe property damage occurred during an attack in August. The majority of the attacks in May were attempted attacks that did not result in fatalities or livestock raids.

On Wednesday May 27, 2009 the Turkana raiders launched a raid against the Dassenech of Lebemuket and Selegn Kebeles who were looking after their cattle in the grazing areas. The Dassenech were able to fend off the attack after fighting broke out between the two. The following day around 5 Turkana were spotted at night in the Lebemuket Kebele attempting to steal cattle but the Dassenech managed to ward them off. On May 30, 2009 fighting broke out when a group of Turkana launched an attack on Dassenech in Seyes Kebele who were looking after their cattle. The fighting ensued for two days and the Dassenech were forced to return their cattle to the delta area. No one died or was injured. There was incident in May, which occurred in the Kibish area of reporting. On May 10th 2009, Turkana raiders came to lokoralm Keble and made away with 7 donkeys. No human casualties were reported

On July 2nd 2009 approximately 150 Turkana men went into the the Dassenech grazing land area in Gnemermeri kebele, and stole 2000 cattle. They killed one person and injured three in the process. Dassenech elders and worda administratives consequently contacted counterparts in Kenya and peace talks have been initiated for the recovery of the cattle. However, nothing concrete has come out from series of peace meetings. This raid occurred right before a Karamoja cross border peace planning meeting organised by CEWARN and

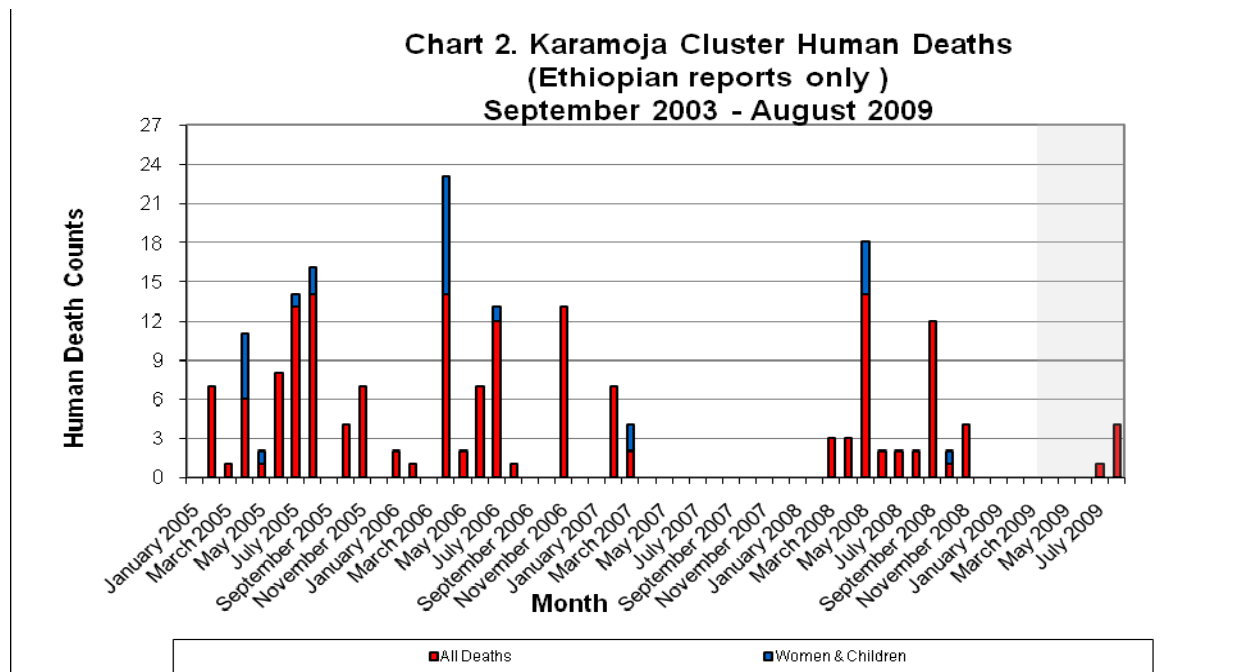
IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

CEWERUs of Kenya, Ethiopian and Sudan. This raid can be seen as the first large scale raid, which served as a precursor for the cyclical type of violent encounters that followed between the Dassenech and Turkana

On August 12th 2009 Turkana took the entire cattle of one Nyangatom clan from three kebeles (Chunkura, Naptokoit and Nakeriyamang). the raid started around 1 pm and lasts until 8pm the same day. The Nyangatom tried to ward off the raid but in the end they run out of bullets. This was a very organized raid and the cattle have been taken from the grazing areas in between Dassenech and Nyangatom. Sources say that the Turkana launched the raid from Todenyang. On August 23rd 2009 Gabras from Kenya attacked and killed a mentally disabled Dassenech boy in Bubuo Kebele. The Dassenech carried out a revenge attack the same day, taking 600 goats and 250 cattle from the Gabra. In addition to this, there have been altercations between the Hamer and Dassenech, which had led to the raid of a few donkeys. The donkeys were promptly returned through the mobilization of woreda officials in August 2009.

The description of the incidents showcases the continued escalation of violent confrontation between the communities of the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja cluster. The lack of incidents in June was due to a temporary lull in confrontations, not based on the resolution of conflict situations. The failure of livestock retrieval efforts can be seen as one of the root causes of continued conflict, since this incited revenge attacks.

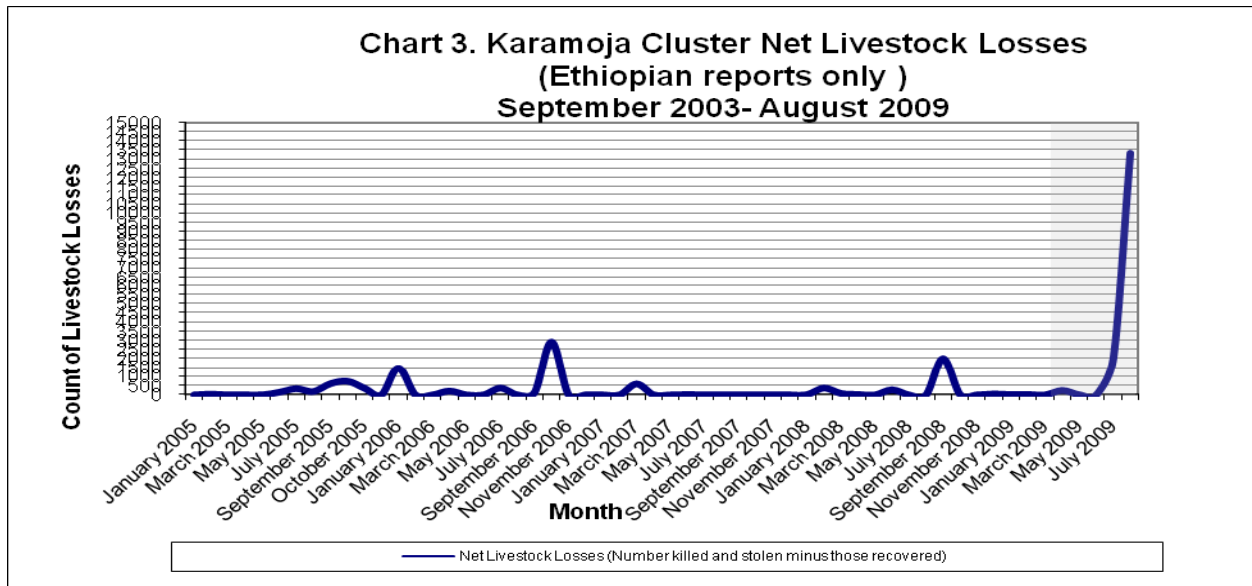
Human deaths for the reporting period are presented in **Chart 2** (below);



Human deaths were highest in the latter half of the reporting period from May-August 2009, with one death reported in July and four deaths reported in August. One man was killed and three were injured during a confrontation between the Dassenech and Turkana on July 2nd 2009. Three people were killed during the raid by the Turkana on the Nyangatom on August 12th 2009. The number of human deaths appeared to keep increasing throughout the reporting period. This shows that the intensity of the confrontations was increasing.

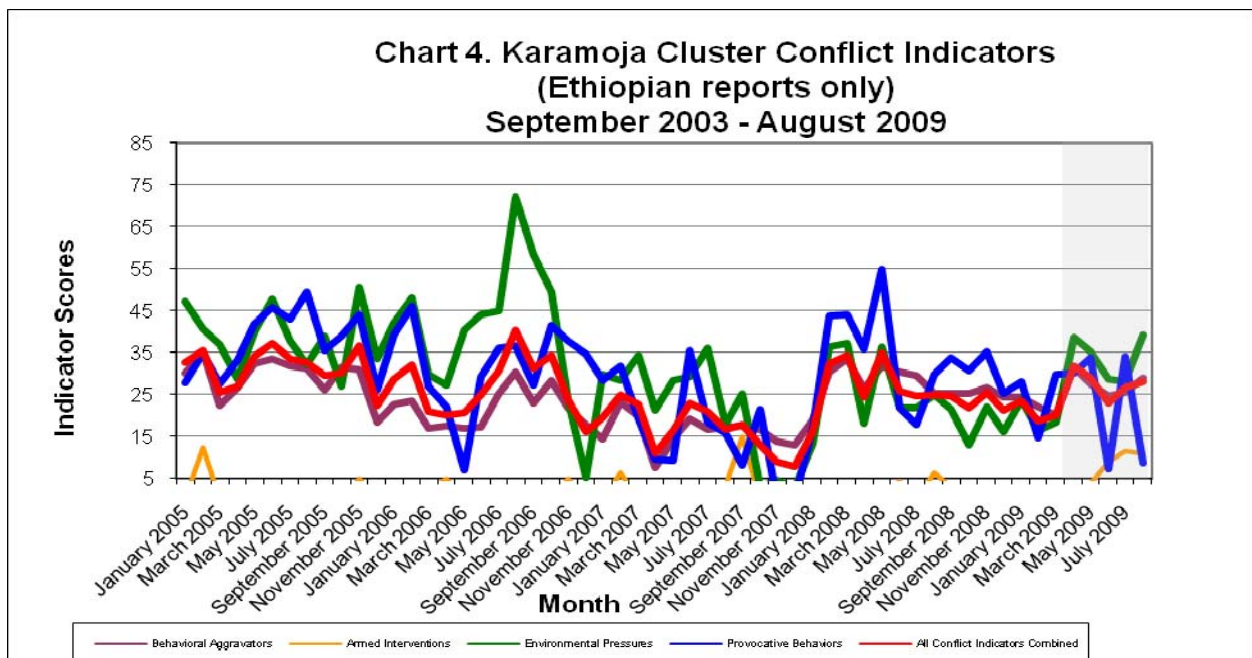
IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

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



The net livestock loss for the reporting period May-August 2009 was 15,323. The largest livestock theft occurred on August 13th 2009 in the Kibish, where 13,316 cattle were taken. The other stolen livestock can be accounted for in incidents between the Dassenech and Turkana, particularly on July 2nd 2009 where 2000 livestock were raided by the Turkana. Following an attack by the Gabra on the Dassenech on August 23rd 2009, there was a retaliatory attack by Dassenech groups, who took 850 cattle from Gabra groups in Kenya. The extremely high level of livestock raids indicates that communal tensions in the area is worsening, and the higher the number of livestock raided the harder it is to retrieve livestock.

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

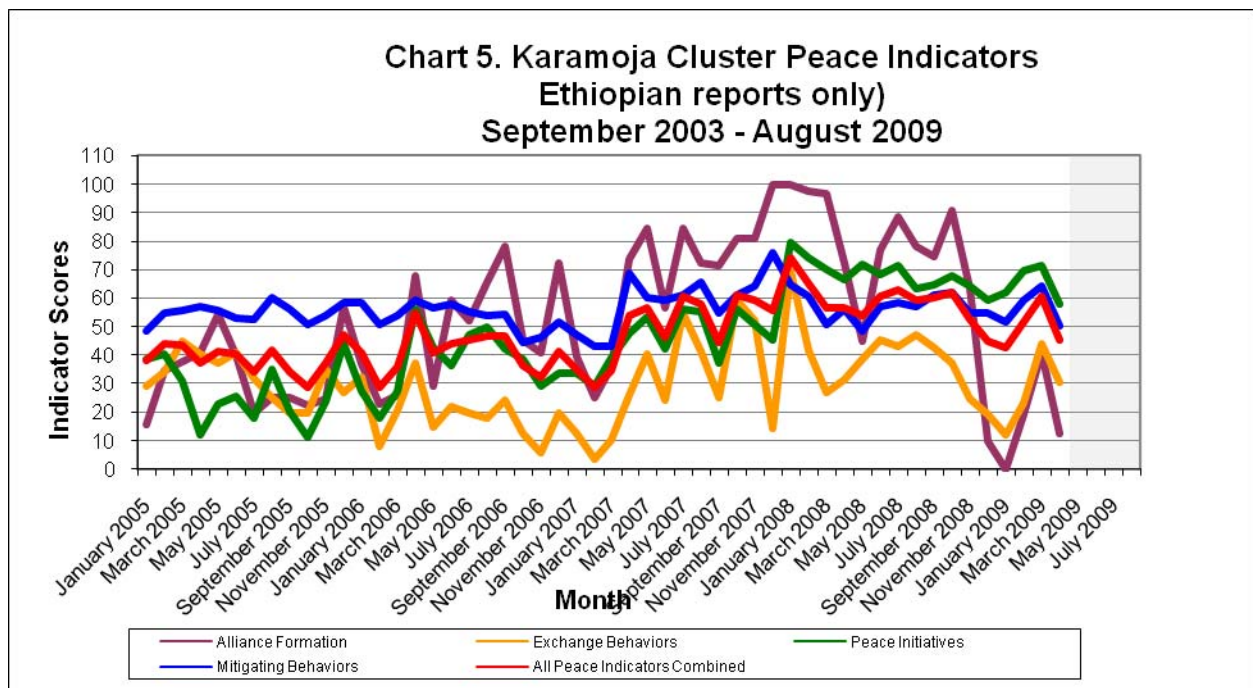


IGAD-CEWARN Country Update – Ethiopian Side of the Karamoja Cluster

The highest level for the combined incidents score occurred in May 2009 for the reporting period May-August 2009. This can be attributed to fairly high level of all indicators during that month, particularly provocative behavior. This can be linked to the high level of conflict inciting migratory movement by Dassenech, Turkana and Nyangatom groups during that month. The high number of incidents in the month of May shows that these migratory movements had an effect on conflict dynamics in the area.

Environmental pressure and aggravating behavior on the other hand both peaked in the month of August 2009. Environmental pressures were high due to the onset of drought in the areas of reporting as well as reports of rampant livestock disease. The high level of aggravating behavior can be linked to the interruption of pastoralist patterns of movements and the disruption of some social services. The interruption of pastoralist movements can be linked to the disruptive movement of raiders in all areas of reporting, for example the movement of Turkana groups in the Lobemuket kebele, who were believed to have been scouting the area for future attacks. In addition, Dassenech and Gabra confrontations were heightened during the month of August, which led to the disruption of pastoralist movements. The drought also affected the progression of the pastoralist movements because routes had to be reconsidered due to the strain over resources, for example areas that normally had watering points are drying up therefore pastoralists have had to look for other alternatives.

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



Combined peace indicators were highest in the month of June 2009, for the reporting period May-August 2009. This correlates with the reduction of incidents during that month and high level of peace initiatives and exchange behavior. However, this does not indicate that exchange behavior or peace initiative were equivalent of other update periods, rather considering the rise in conflict during this reporting period the month of June was relatively calmer. The Kibish Nyangatom and the Turkana had celebrated the Epiyo cultural festivity in the Lobero and Natikar kebelles, while in the Dassenech Buboia area the Dem cultural celebrations were underway during the month of June. This can explain the prevalence of exchange behavior

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

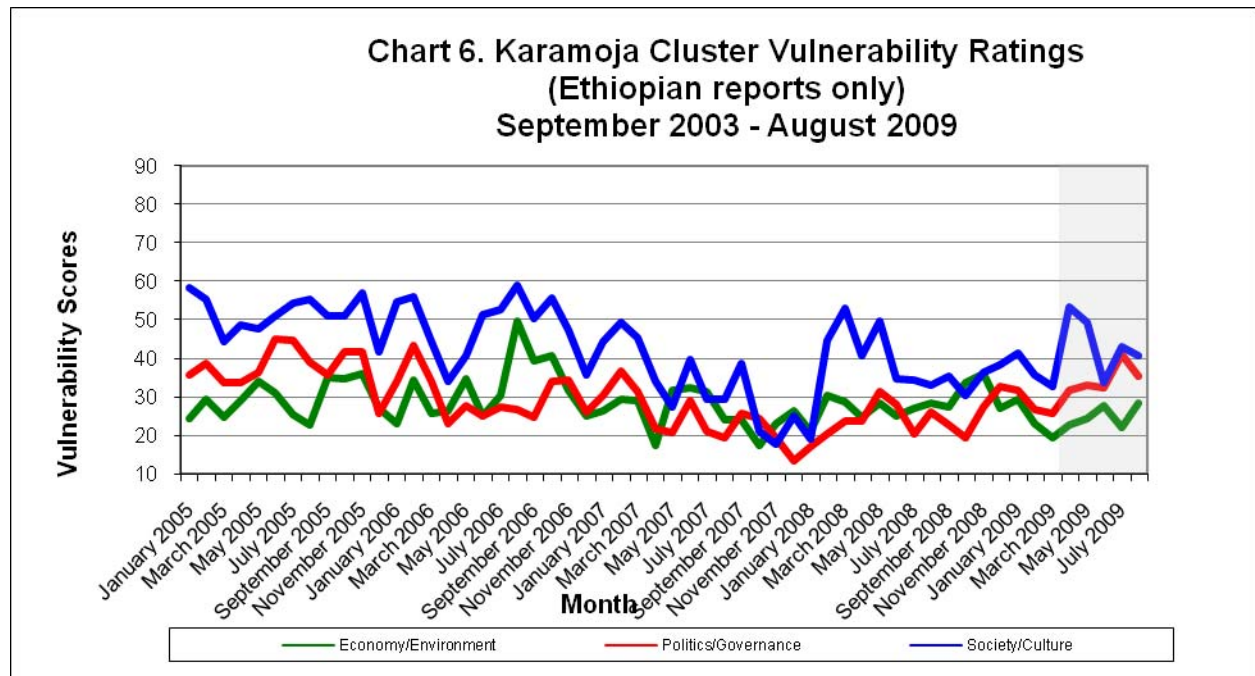
during that month. The increase of peace initiatives during the same month can be explained by the active engagement of CSO's in the Dassenech area.

However, the more definitive peace initiatives was evident in May 2009. There was an experience sharing initiative carried out by AEPDA (Atwoyksi Eksil Pastoral Development Association) that brought together peace committees in the south Omo zone, in Dus, which is a Karo village.

Alliance formation was highest in the month of August 2009, although this was the most conflict ridden month for this update period. This can be attributed to linkages that were established between the Kibish police force and the Dassenech police force in August 2009. This was in attempt to expand the policing efforts of the woreda. In addition to this, there were commendable efforts by the Dassenech and Hamer woreda administrators, who were able to retrieve 18 raided livestock to the Dassenech. Also, there was a peace meeting between the Gabra, Dassenech and Hamer in Buluk. The meeting led to the temporary normalization of relations. This ended with the August 23rd killing of a Dassenech man by Gabra groups.

Mitigating behavior was highest in the month of May 2009 for this update period. This can be related to the availability of social services during that month, i.e. health care services, educational services and relief efforts.

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



Vulnerability ratings were heightened across various points of this reporting period. The society/culture indicator reached the highest point among all the other indicators in May 2009 before decreasing significantly in June 2009. The increase in society/cultural vulnerabilities in May is at odds with the increase in communal confrontation in June and July 2009. However, May 2009 had the most incidents during this update period. There were less singular incidents in June and July 2009, however the casualties were significantly higher. The incidents in May 2009 were mostly exhibited in the Dassenech woreda, and involved confrontations with Turkana

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

groups. These incidents can be seen as harbingers of the increased violence that was exhibited in later months.

The political/governance vulnerability indicator was highest in the month of July 2009. This could be related to the breakdown of communication between actors at the local cross border level as well as the cessation of activities by civil society in the Dassenech woreda. The economy/environment indicator was highest in the month of August, correlating with the increased severity of drought in the region as well as the onset of a severe livestock disease during the month.

Comparative analysis

Types	Jan-Apr 09	May-Aug 09
Incidents	9	6
Human Deaths	6	5
Livestock losses	243	15,323

Comparative analysis shows that the level of livestock losses has increased exponentially. This may be related to the continuing drought particularly in the Turkana region which increases the impetus for carrying out raids. Also, evidence of commercialized raiding exercises shows that there are larger dynamics behind the attacks. .

Analysis of Structural Conflict Aggravating Factors

The Ethiopian side of the Karamoja cluster has consistently exhibited evidence of drought during different times of the year. Cyclical drought is especially worrisome due to the lack of consistent relief efforts. In addition, the cyclical drought appears to be related to climatic changes that will have everlasting effects in the area. Examples of this include continual reduction in rainfall, the reduced quality of river banks for farming purposes, and the resultant loss of certain crops due to these events. This indicates that pastoralist livelihoods will have to seriously contend with environmental pressures that will abound. This may necessitate changes in agricultural practices, or the implementation of sustainable development efforts. The relationship between environmental pressures and violent conflict is well documented. Reports have shown that drought conditions often dissuade conflict because raiders need sustenance during long treks for the purpose of raids. However, considering the increasing number of livestock taken during raids, drought conditions may make it difficult to implement peace because the combination of both factors affects basic sustenance. This lessens the community's incentive to join peace efforts.

Some of the traditional constructs that are evident among pastoralist groups in the Ethiopian side of the Karamoja cluster are detrimental to the progression of peace. Specifically, the attachment of warrior hood to the successful completion of violent attacks can serve as an incentive to carry out attacks. This ideal needs to be addressed via the incorporation of youth groups in peace dialogues and addressing their perceptions warriorhood.

Analysis of Proximate Conflict Aggravating Factors

The escalation in the amount of livestock taken during raids has dire consequences for peace in the region, for example with the case of 13,316 livestock being taken from the Nyangatom. This is because livestock retrieval efforts will be difficult with the rising number of cattle, shoats...etc taken. In addition, the raid of a large number of livestock increases the incentive for revenge attacks since the victimized community will feel that their ability for sustenance has been severely targeted.

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

Another issue that has seriously curtailed the ability to mitigate attacks is the lack of communication between local administrative actors on both the Kenyan and Ethiopian sides of the border. This disabled the quick transmission of alerts on impending attacks which disables any preventative measures from being put in place.

Analysis of Proximate Conflict Mitigating Factors

CEWARN's efforts to mitigate peace in the region has had some impact. Creating a forum for the different actors in this region to interact is of primary importance. The tentative cross border peace meeting for the Karamoja cluster would be an important event for addressing the concerns of the different sectors of the Karamoja cluster.

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

RESPONSE RECOMMENDATIONS

ACTORS	SHORT TERM	MEDIUM TERM
CEWERU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthen CEWARN peace committees in the area via capacity building. • Set up forums/peace dialogues that can serve as precursors to the Turmi 2 meeting scheduled for the end of 2009. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue strengthening the CEWERU structure at both the national and local level. • Increase the areas of reporting to include areas in the Benchmajji zone.
LOCAL COMMUNITIES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restart communication with local partners on the Kenyan side to promote the transmission of information. • Contain and exclude members of the community that participate in raid activities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create an identification process through which the correct participants can be identified for the upcoming Turmi 2 meeting.
CIVIL SOCIETY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Should restart CPMR activities in the region, in consideration of recent reports that CSO's have curtailed activities in the area. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create programs that promote the holistic approaches to conflict resolution, in order to target as many sectors of the community as possible.
INTERNATIONAL NGOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continued relief efforts in the region, especially considering the current drought. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Find ways to tie in development efforts with CPMR efforts.

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

Appendix 1: Definitions of the Incident Categories

- Armed Clashes
 - *Military Battle* (Armed hostilities or engagements between an official military unit of a government and an armed party. Includes both civil war and inter-state war battles).
 - *Other Armed Clashes* (All other armed hostilities or engagements. Includes all communal and inter-communal battles).

- Raids
 - *Raids with Abductions* (Raids focused around abductions of people or the taking of hostages. May include injuries or death to humans, and/or damage, destruction or theft of other property).
 - *Organized Raids* (Other organized raids. May include injuries or deaths to humans, and/or damage, destruction or theft of other property).
 - *Livestock Theft* (Raids focused around the theft of livestock. May include injuries or death to humans, and/or damage, destruction or theft of other property).

- Protest Demonstrations
 - *Peaceful Protests* (peaceful protest demonstrations or assemblies. May include isolated or low-level violence).
 - *Violent Turmoil or Riots* (Assemblies or crowds that get out of control. Marked by violence, disorder, damage and/or destruction).

- Other Crime
 - *Assaults* (Physical attacks and abuse involving the actual use of physical force against individuals, and/or groups. Does not include abductions).
 - *Banditry* (Commandeering of vehicles, highway robbery, and other similar criminal activities).

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

Appendix 2: Description of Indicators (from the Situation Reports)

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

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

Month & Year	Protest Demonstration	Other Crime	Organized Raids	Armed Clash	all incident	Month & Year	Outcomes	Deaths -	percents
							- Human Deaths Low Estimates	Women & Children Low Estimates	
January 2005	0	1	0	0	1	January 2005	0	0	N/A
February 2005	0	4	1	0	5	February 2005	7	0	0.0
March 2005	0	1	0	0	1	March 2005	1	0	0.0
April 2005	0	1	0	0	1	April 2005	6	5	83.3
May 2005	0	3	0	1	4	May 2005	1	1	100.0
June 2005	0	10	1	2	13	June 2005	8	0	0.0
July 2005	0	7	3	1	11	July 2005	13	1	7.7
August 2005	0	3	3	2	8	August 2005	14	2	14.3
September 2005	0	2	3	0	5	September 2005	0	0	N/A
October 2005	0	2	3	0	5	October 2005	4	0	0.0
November 2005	0	7	3	0	10	November 2005	7	0	0.0
December 2005	0	0	0	0	0	December 2005	0	0	N/A
January 2006	0	2	1	0	3	January 2006	2	0	0.0
February 2006	0	0	1	0	1	February 2006	1	0	0.0
March 2006	0	0	0	0	0	March 2006	0	0	N/A
April 2006	0	4	2	1	7	April 2006	14	9	64.3
May 2006	0	3	0	0	3	May 2006	2	0	0.0
June 2006	0	2	0	4	6	June 2006	7	0	0.0
July 2006	0	3	1	2	6	July 2006	12	1	8.3
August 2006	0	0	0	1	1	August 2006	1	0	0.0
September 2006	0	0	1	2	3	September 2006	0	0	N/A
October 2006	0	2	4	2	8	October 2006	0	0	N/A
November 2006	0	2	0	2	4	November 2006	13	0	0.0
December 2006	0	0	0	0	0	December 2006	0	0	N/A
January 2007	0	0	0	0	0	January 2007	0	0	N/A
February 2007	0	3	0	2	5	February 2007	7	0	0.0
March 2007	0	0	1	0	1	March 2007	2	2	100.0
April 2007	0	0	0	1	1	April 2007	0	0	N/A
May 2007	0	0	0	0	0	May 2007	0	0	N/A
June 2007	0	1	1	1	3	June 2007	0	0	N/A
July 2007	0	0	0	1	1	July 2007	0	0	N/A
August 2007	0	0	0	0	0	August 2007	0	0	N/A
September 2007	0	0	0	0	0	September 2007	0	0	N/A
October 2007	0	0	0	0	0	October 2007	0	0	N/A
November 2007	0	0	0	0	0	November 2007	0	0	N/A
December 2007	0	0	0	0	0	December 2007	0	0	N/A
January 2008	0	1	2	0	3	January 2008	0	0	N/A
February 2008	0	0	2	0	2	February 2008	0	0	N/A
March 2008	0	2	2	0	4	March 2008	3	0	0.0
April 2008	0	2	3	0	5	April 2008	3	0	0.0
May 2008	0	7	1	0	8	May 2008	14	4	28.6
June 2008	0	0	2	0	2	June 2008	2	0	0.0
July 2008	0	2	0	1	3	July 2008	2	0	0.0
August 2008	0	1	0	0	1	August 2008	2	0	0.0
September 2008	0	3	1	1	5	September 2008	12	0	0.0
October 2008	0	2	1	0	3	October 2008	1	1	100.0
November 2008	0	2	0	0	2	November 2008	4	0	0.0
December 2008	0	0	3	0	3	December 2008	0	0	N/A
January 2009	0	3	1	0	4	January 2009	0	0	N/A
February 2009	0	0	2	0	2	February 2009	0	0	N/A
March 2009	0	0	0	0	0	March 2009	0	0	N/A
April 2009	0	0	2	0	2	April 2009	0	0	N/A
May 2009	0	0	1	3	4	May 2009	0	0	N/A
June 2009	0	0	0	0	0	June 2009	0	0	N/A
July 2009	0	1	0	0	1	July 2009	1	0	0.0
August 2009	0	1	1	0	2	August 2009	4	0	0.0
totals	1	106	74	40	221	totals	289	29	10.0

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

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	54
January 2009	16
February 2009	22
March 2009	0
April 2009	243
May 2009	7
June 2009	0
July 2009	2000
August 2009	13316
Totals	35394

Month & Year	Armed Intervention	Provocative Behavior	Environmental Pressure	Aggravating Behavior	Combined
January 2005	0	27.8	47.2	30.2	32.8
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					
January 2009	0	28	23.7	24.4	23.7
February 2009	2.1	14.6	16.3	22.1	18.7
March 2009	0	29.7	18.3	20.1	20.1
April 2009	0	30	38.6	31.7	31.8
May 2009	3.8	33.7	35.4	27.5	29.1
June 2009	8.8	7.2	28.6	24.8	22.9
July 2009	11.5	33.9	28.2	25.6	26.6
August 2009	11.1	8.6	39.2	29.1	28.1

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

Month & Year	Peace Initiatives	Mitigating Behavior	Exchange Behavior	Alliance Formation	Combined	Month & Year	Economy/ Environment	Politics/ Governance	Society/ Culture
January 2005	38.6	48.4	29.5	15.9	38.2	January 2005	24.6	35.8	58.4
February 2005	40.4	55	34.3	34.5	44	February 2005	29.5	38.8	55.4
March 2005	30.7	55.9	45.2	37.7	43.6	March 2005	24.9	33.8	44.2
April 2005	12	57.1	40.8	41.1	37.3	April 2005	29	33.8	48.7
May 2005	23	55.6	37.4	54.5	41	May 2005	34	36.3	47.7
June 2005	25.3	53.1	41.1	40.3	40.2	June 2005	31.2	45.1	50.9
July 2005	18	52.7	31.9	20	33.8	July 2005	25.5	44.7	54.3
August 2005	35.1	60.4	25.4	25	41.5	August 2005	22.8	39.1	55.2
September 2005	20.2	56.2	19.7	25	33.8	September 2005	35	35.6	51
October 2005	11.1	50.9	20	22.4	28.6	October 2005	34.8	41.6	50.8
November 2005	23.7	54	35	24.8	37.3	November 2005	36.1	41.7	56.8
December 2005	43.9	58.5	27.3	57.1	47.2	December 2005	27.1	25.6	41.7
January 2006	27.1	58.6	32.3	36.9	40.7	January 2006	23.1	34.1	54.7
February 2006	17.9	50.7	8.1	22.9	28.5	February 2006	34.4	43.3	56
March 2006	27.2	53.9	20.6	26	35.6	March 2006	25.9	34.1	44.1
April 2006	55.9	59.6	37.5	68.2	54.7	April 2006	26.4	23.2	33.9
May 2006	42.6	56.7	15	29.3	40.9	May 2006	34.8	27.6	40.5
June 2006	36.4	58.2	22	59.5	43.8	June 2006	25.3	25	51.2
July 2006	46.9	55.4	19.8	52.3	45.1	July 2006	30.6	27.4	52.5
August 2006	49.6	53.9	18.2	65.9	46.4	August 2006	49.7	26.6	58.9
September 2006	42.2	54.4	24.4	78.2	46.5	September 2006	39.3	24.7	50.3
October 2006	38.4	44.3	12.6	45.5	36	October 2006	40.7	34.2	55.6
November 2006	29.3	46.3	5.8	41.1	32	November 2006	31.8	34.3	47.4
December 2006	33.4	51.7	19.8	72.7	41.2	December 2006	25.1	26.1	35.5
January 2007	33.6	46.9	12.5	39.5	34.8	January 2007	26.6	30.3	44.3
February 2007	29.2	43	3.7	25	28.7	February 2007	29.4	36.7	49.4
March 2007	39	43.1	10.6	36	34.5	March 2007	29	31.5	45.1
April 2007	47.7	69	26.3	73.8	53.7	April 2007	17.5	21.7	33.8
May 2007	53.6	60.3	40.5	84.9	56.5	May 2007	31.9	20.9	27.2
June 2007	42.3	59.3	24.2	56.6	46.3	June 2007	32.5	29	39.6
July 2007	56.1	61.1	55.2	84.8	60.5	July 2007	31.6	21.1	29.3
August 2007	55.3	65.7	41.4	72.4	58	August 2007	24.2	19.3	29.4
September 2007	37.2	54.6	25.2	71.8	44.5	September 2007	24	25.7	38.6
October 2007	55.9	61.2	59.5	81.3	61	October 2007	17.5	24.3	21
November 2007	50.8	64.3	52.2	81.3	59	November 2007	23	19.3	17.6
December 2007	45.1	76.2	14.7	100	55.7	December 2007	26.6	13.4	24.9
January 2008	79.5	64.8	69.9	100	74.1	January 2008	21	17	18.9
February 2008	74.2	60.7	42.1	97.9	65	February 2008	30.5	20.3	44.6
March 2008	69.9	50.6	26.9	97	56.7	March 2008	28.7	23.8	53
April 2008	66.5	56.4	31.6	72.5	56.3	April 2008	24.7	23.9	40.6
May 2008	71.8	48.6	38.9	45.2	54	May 2008	28.4	31.5	49.6
June 2008	68.4	57.3	45.4	77.1	60.5	June 2008	25	28.1	34.5
July 2008	71.3	58.4	43.4	88.6	62.6	July 2008	27.1	20.5	34.1
August 2008	63.4	57.2	47.4	78.4	59.3	August 2008	28.5	26.2	33
September 2008	64.5	61.4	43.1	75	60.1	September 2008	27.6	22.9	35.4
October 2008	67.9	62	37.3	91.1	61.8	October 2008	33.8	19.4	30.1
November 2008	64	54.6	25	63.6	52.6	November 2008	36.1	27.5	36.2
December 2008	59.1	54.9	19.6	9.8	44.8	December 2008	27	32.9	38.3
January 2009	62.1	51.8	12.3	0	42.3	January 2009	29.6	31.7	41.4
February 2009	69.5	59.4	23.4	19.3	51.6	February 2009	23.3	26.7	35.7
March 2009	71.3	64.4	44.1	40.9	60.4	March 2009	19.5	25.8	32.5
April 2009	58	50.4	30.8	12.5	45.3	April 2009	22.9	31.8	53.4
May 2009	60.6	58.8	28.1	22.5	47.8	May 2009	24.5	33.1	49.4
June 2009	66	57.5	37.2	20	50.2	June 2009	27.9	32.5	33.6
July 2009	49.5	44.4	31.3	17.9	39.3	July 2009	22.3	41.1	42.8
August 2009	59.9	50.2	13.6	23.5	40.9	August 2009	28.6	35.3	40.5

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