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ANIMAL RESOURCES

## **Livestock for Livelihoods: Strengthening Climate Change Adaptation Strategies through Improved Management at the Livestock-Wildlife-Environment Interface**

**Developing and strengthening of mechanisms for solving conflicts on shared natural resources in the Karamajong ecosystem in East Africa**



**Picture 1: A Jie elder explaining the origins of the Karimojong conflict in Panyanyara, Kotido district, Uganda**

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## ACRONYMS

ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
AU-IBAR	African Union-Inter African Bureau for Animal Resources
CAHWS	Community Animal Health Workers
CBO	Community Based Organisations
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CR	Cattle Rustling
EAPCCO	East African Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation
EMC	Environmental Management Committees
ET	Ethiopia
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GPS	Global Positioning System
INGO	International Non Governmental Organisation
ISS	Institute of Security Studies
KE	Kenya
KIDPP	Karamoja Disarmament and Development Programme
LC	Local Council
NCKK	National Council of Churches Kenya
NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
OVC	Orphans and Vulnerable Children
RELOKA	Restoration of Law and Order in Karamoja
SS	Southern Sudan
UG	Uganda
UPDF	Uganda People's Defence Force

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This Study was conducted between February and March 2010 in Kenya, Uganda and Southern Sudan. The objectives of the Study were to:

- Identify Conflict hotspots and Conflict Resolution mechanisms.
- Identify CBOs involved in conflict management and resolution in the three countries.
- Assess the status of pastoral livelihoods.

The methodology used included literature review, interviews with government officials, communities, NGOs, CBOs, Faith based organizations amongst others. In observation and photography of grazed and unutilised grazing areas and reference points for mapping using GPS were taken.

## MAIN FINDINGS

### 1. Natural Resource Conflict

The Karimojong Cluster is characterized by endemic insecurity, whereby, on one hand the conflicts and risks are caused by recurrent natural disasters, particularly long droughts. On the other hand, they arise from conflicts between different migrating groups, who are competing for the use of key resources, mainly water and pasture. The close relationship between these key resources and the survival of the communities means that the pastoralists will usually employ any means available to them, including violence, to seek and/or claim control of the resources. There are several factors that contribute to the natural resource -based conflicts.

- a. Mis-conceived pastoralist development planning - For nearly 20 years beginning in the early 1970s livestock development projects in most of dryland Africa, stressed on conventional range management practices adopted from the West such as sedentarised ranching; communal land ownership with title deeds as collateral for loan acquisition; permanent livestock water development; rest rotation grazing systems; maintenance of proper stocking rates; livestock management structures (ranch boundary and paddock fences, cattle dips, corrals etc); herd structure that encompasses a breeding programme and an established off take; institutionalized livestock marketing systems and formalized loan acquisition and repayment procedures.

Traditional livestock herding practices on the other hand entails: maintaining big herds as a representation of wealth and protection against risk e.g. drought; migration in search of water and pasture; herd loaning among relatives and friends both as security or to help poor people; communal ownership of grazing land; customary laws to regulate grazing conflicts and a marketing system based on need. These traditional management techniques are largely in conflict with the conventional range management approaches adopted in the region.

- b. Discriminatory land tenure and use - Traditionally, the majority of pastoralist land resources were held under a controlled access system but there was always skepticism in the ability of the pastoralists to manage their natural resources. The skepticism was based on the mistaken belief that the prevailing pastoralist production modes were responsible for the wide-scale degradation and desertification in the pastoralist areas. This led the colonial and post-colonial governments in the region constituting and implementing various land acts on top of surviving customary tenure which created great confusion in land tenancy. In addition to the confusion wrought by the application of conflicting tenure systems, pastoralists continue to lose their grazing land either to the

ever expanding sedentary agriculturists or to state backed ventures like national parks and reserves, commercial ranching, agriculture, mining, training grounds for the armed forces etc.

Access, competition and politicization of natural resources: The Karimojong Cluster is characterized by harsh and unreliable climatic conditions and pastoralists have therefore adopted coping mechanisms such as migration over wide areas in search of water and pasture. While this was traditionally possible in the past, various developments such as population increases, land encroachment and appropriation to other uses such as game parks and reserves and urban settlements have limited such movements. In addition the politics of patronage has led to disproportionate and indiscriminate exploitation of natural resources in large areas of the region. For example, large tracts of lands have been acquired by rich and politically well connected individuals for ranching or horticultural purposes. This not only denies the pastoralists grazing pastures and migratory routes but also disproportionately uses and diverts scarce resources like water away from the pastoralists to the ranches and horticulture farms.

c. Management of natural resources

To ensure survival in the face of a challenging habitat and difficult livelihoods, pastoralist communities in the cluster have had to develop and adopt various coping mechanisms in response mechanisms which include supervised watering schedules and marked seasonal migratory routes. While there are rules that govern the management of these coping mechanisms, often, external factors dictate and/or lead to lack of adherence with the obvious consequence being conflicts. In addition when tribal boundaries are violated in times of hardship, there is conflict and raiding of stock from neighboring tribes.

d. Ownership of natural resources

In pastoralist communities there was no individual land ownership. However, the pastoralist areas have largely been demarcated and allocated to titled individual owners. In addition, land grabbing and appropriation by the state and other powerful functionaries have irreversibly changed the land use patterns in the pastoralist areas where majority of pastoralists have been marginalized and/or left out of these changing environments without compensation. This has also led to conflict between pastoralists and the “outsiders” who now own pastoralist land.

## **2. Identification of Conflict Hotspots**

### ***a. Intra-Country conflict***

In Kenya conflict in the Karamoja cluster was documented between the Pokot and Turkana ethnic communities and Pokot and Trans Nzoia district communities. The conflict areas that were mostly affected were along the inter-district borders e.g. Turkwell Gorge (Pokot-Turkana) and Kanyarkwat (Pokot-Trans Nzoia border). The conflict between the Turkana and Pokot is also about an ethnic boundary dispute between the two ethnic groups that is usually fuelled by politicians especially during election time. Hence, the heightened conflict along the Turkwell Gorge which is along the administrative border.

The conflict recorded was mostly cattle rustling of indigenous livestock breeds especially between the Turkana and the Pokot. Across Trans-Nzoia Cross bred dairy animals were being stolen for sale on the Ugandan side. The cattle rustling especially of the indigenous livestock were for cultural reasons (i.e. initiation ceremonies (male and female circumcision, marriage) or for commercial purposes. In the latter the livestock was sold in markets such as Nairobi.

Cattle rustling also occurs during the dry season when there is limited pasture and water hence increased competition for the same. The theft ranges from stealing of 2 to 3 animals

to several hundred. Revenge attacks are always planned for from each side thus the cycle continues.

In Uganda conflict manifested as cattle rustling is mostly for cultural and commercial purposes between the Tepeth and Matheniko, Jie and Dodoth, Bokora, Matheniko and Tepeth, Pian and Pokot ethnic groups. The border areas where the different ethnic groups reside are affected the most. The affected areas have unutilized grazing areas and are:

- Kaabong district: Most parts of Loyoro, parts of Lolelia, parts of Kapedo, whole of Karenga, most parts of Sidok counties.
- Kotido district: Nakorumwa arengak and Loongor dam.
- Moroto district : Nakicumet, Northern parts of Rupa bordering Panyangara and Loyoro, some parts of Loputuk especially after Nadiket.
- Nakapiripirit district: Areas near Amudat, but near Achorchor (Pokot territory); Nabilatuk parts bordering Bokora County.

In Southern Sudan the conflict is between the Toposa against Didinga, Buya, Jie and Nyangatom. Other conflicting communities include Murule and Jie,

Areas that are mostly affected due to conflict include: the Buya-Toposa corridor, Lauro corridor, Buya-Pibor corridor and Kidepo Valley.

b. Inter-Country conflict

Trans-boundary conflict is between the Pokot (KE) and Pian (UG), Turkana (KE) and Toposa (SS), Dodoth (UG) and Lango (SS), Merille (ET) and Toposa (SS), Turkana (KE) and Merille (ET). Out of all these corridors the Toposa-Turkana conflict is the worst and little is being done by government or other non-governmental institutions to address it.

Generally most of the grazing areas along the international borders are not utilized. And if utilized the communities do so when fully armed.

**3. Identification of CBOs and other peace structures involved in conflict management**

A total of 36 institutions were met. The ones met were considered the main ones involved in peace building and conflict management. In Kenya the government has established formal peace committees from the national to community level. Thus every district has a District Peace Committee that is linked to divisional and village peace committees. Local community members are members of these Peace committees. Currently the District Peace Committees are housed in the District Commissioner's office in every district.

In Uganda and Southern Sudan formal government peace committees are absent. However NGOs, CBOs and Faith based organizations have formed peace committees with communities. The approaches used are outlined under conflict mitigation, conflict resolution, peace building and transformation activities. They usually target Government authorities, Communities (elders, women and youth) Opinion leaders, government line ministries, Members of Parliament and other stakeholders.

Conflict Mitigation/Prevention: It encompasses all activities attempting to prevent the outbreak of violent conflict. Because of the cyclical nature of conflict, peace building attempts after a conflict will often overlap with conflict prevention activities.

Peace actors use the following approaches during this stage:

- ✓ Diffuse tensions among communities through dialogue and negotiations

- ✓ Tracking, recovering and hand over of stolen property/livestock
- ✓ Conflict Analysis
- ✓ Collection of Early Warning data
- ✓ Early Warning Response
- ✓ Advocacy for peace
- ✓ Formation of civil society cross border liaison committees
- ✓ Hold consultations with cross border actors
- ✓ Hold consultations over sharing natural resources and formalize social communities' contracts/agreements e.g. grazing agreements and peace agreements.
- ✓ Establish civil society cross border networks

Conflict Transformation: Refers to the difficult and long-term process of building appropriate attitudes, behaviors and structures within a society so that inevitable conflicts are not dealt with by the use of deadly force but are channeled into peaceful processes of social change. The following are the approaches used:

- ✓ Reforming former warriors through evangelism and training on other life skills.
- ✓ Establishment of peace clubs in schools.
- ✓ Sports for peace e.g. Tecla Lorupe Race, Cross-border football matches

Peace building: Includes the negative peace aspect of preventing direct violence and the positive peace aspect of eliminating structural violence by addressing underlying causes of war. It is a dynamic, participatory process that aims to transform existing or potential destructive conflict into sustainable peace, build upon justice and equity, trust and tolerance. The following are the approaches used:

- ✓ Establishment of socio-economic infrastructure, roads, health, water, social amenities, e.t.c.
- ✓ Advocacy for peace in various forums,
- ✓ Equitable sharing of social amenities and natural resources amongst warring communities,
- ✓ Establishment and capacity building of institutions that can be used in development activities (women, elders, youth),
- ✓ Building cross border markets to enhance e.g. Matheniko (UG) and Turkana (KE) market at Lokiriama,
- ✓ Livelihood enhancement and diversification i.e. income generating activities, micro-enterprise development, revolving funds e.t.c.
- ✓ Facilitating exchange visits between women, youth and elders from conflicting ethnic groups,
- ✓ Establishing cross border linkages and networking.

### **3. Pastoralist livelihoods**

#### **Livelihood Assets**

There are five livelihood assets namely, social, natural, physical, human and financial.

Social Capital: Is taken to mean the social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives. These are developed through networks, membership of more formalised groups which often entails adherence to mutually-agreed or commonly accepted rules, norms and sanctions; and relationships of trust, reciprocity and exchanges that facilitate co-operation, reduce transaction costs and may provide the basis for informal safety nets amongst the poor.

In the Karamoja Cluster it was found that cultural social networks amongst the different ethnic groups are still strong in some communities but have been seriously eroded in other communities by formal structures such as government and non-governmental structures. For example in Pokot the cultural structures are still very strong and cattle raiding continues to

be blessed by the elders and spiritual leaders. However amongst the Jie and Matheniko of Uganda, elders and spiritual leaders are no longer revered as the formal government systems are recognized.

In addition amongst all communities there has been a proliferation of organized groups such as women, youth, men all having different activities such as micro-enterprise, peace building, water management, community animal health, environmental management e.t.c In this way these groups can be assisted in development by government, CBOs and NGOs.

Natural Capital: Is the term used for the natural resource stocks from which resource flows and services (e.g. nutrient cycling, erosion protection) useful for livelihoods is derived. There is a wide variation in the resources that make up natural capital, from intangible public goods such as the atmosphere and biodiversity to divisible assets used directly for production (trees, land, etc.).

With respect to natural capital, pasture, water, land, crop production and livestock are what the Karimojong communities rely on. Currently their natural assets have been severely eroded due to the effect of climate change which has brought about persistent drought. The effects have been the loss of livestock, and livelihoods. Thus the Karimojong have turned to other livelihood practices such as charcoal burning which has eroded their natural capital further.

Financial Capital: This denotes the financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives e.g. savings and livestock and regular inflows of money. For the Karimojong, livestock still remains their main financial asset hence the non ending cattle raiding episodes. However governments and civil society have stepped in to introduce alternative income generating activities such as crop production (Uganda), micro-enterprise development for women groups and youth e.g. petty trade, carpentry, livestock trading, brick making, cash for work programmes. These alternatives are meant to assist the communities have other sources of income so that they reduce their reliance on livestock which is lost either through drought or conflict.

Human Capital: This represents the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives. Education of children is being enforced/implemented by governments and civil society in all communities in the cluster. It is through education that the youth will not have time to raid as their attitudes on cultural raiding will be changed. In addition through the teaching of life skills in schools especially at secondary level, it is highly unlikely that once the youth leave school they will take to raiding. However when idle, a lot of the educated youth engage in criminal activities.

#### Physical Capital

It comprises of the basic infrastructure and producer goods needed to support livelihoods. It includes: affordable transport, secure shelter and buildings, adequate water supply and sanitation, clean, affordable energy; and access to information (communications).

Apart from Southern Sudan, Kenya and Uganda have increased the road networks in the Karamoja clusters. There are also roads being developed to link ethnic communities across various border points especially between Kenya and Uganda.

The governments and civil society are increasing water accessibility and availability in all three countries for both humans and livestock through construction of water pans, dams, drilling boreholes e.t.c. However more needs to be done as water is still high on the list of priorities for the Karimojong.

Provision of adequate energy by government continues to be problem in the cluster and as such communities utilize firewood and charcoal thereby causing massive destruction of indigenous vegetation leading to soil erosion and land degradation.

With respect to communication, the establishment of the mobile telephone networks has contributed to easier communication in the cluster. While it is a positive aspect of development, cattle raiding is also now organised and planned over the phone. This makes it difficult for law enforcers who were used to monitoring where planning meetings were taking place in order to apprehend the culprits before the raids took place.

### **Policies, Processes and Institutions**

With respect to policies, processes and government institutions, policies governing the various countries are different and so are the governance systems. Kenya has a centralized system, Uganda a devolved system, Ethiopia and Southern Sudan, federal systems. Thus when addressing conflict across international borders, these different systems prove to be impediments as the policies and structures that deal with conflict are different. For example the military is involved in Ethiopia, Uganda and Southern Sudan when it comes to livestock recovery. But in Kenya it is the Police and not the military that are involved.

In addition disarmament processes are not taking place in all the countries at the same time or are being implemented in different approaches. Even within countries some communities have been disarmed more than others thus bringing about more animosity between communities. In Uganda due to the failure of the equitable disarmament of communities cattle rustling is on the increase again and communities are rearming themselves.

These differences amongst countries result in the lack of a harmonized approach in addressing natural resource based conflict across the region which in turn does not assist the conflicting communities gain adequate access to natural resources such as water and pasture.

Development programmes by the three governments in the Karamoja cluster are geared towards provision/enhancement of basic services such as water and food. In Uganda the Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Programme and in Kenya the Arid lands Resource Management Programme have been specifically designed to address development issues in areas that fall within the cluster.

### **Vulnerability Context**

This frames the external environment in which people exist. People's livelihoods and the wider availability of assets are fundamentally affected by critical trends as well as by shocks and seasonality – over which they have limited or no control. The external shocks that pastoralists in the Karamoja cluster are grappling with and which have raised their vulnerability levels are drought and conflict. These two have eroded their assets and increased the poverty levels. Livestock is decimated by drought and conflict and social networks are destroyed as communities disintegrate in order to survive. Survival strategies include moving to urban areas to look for casual labour where they become exposed to other shocks such as HIV/AIDs. Generally pastoralists are more vulnerable now than they were in the past.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

From the above conflict management approaches shown it is clear that different countries and development agencies (INGOS and CBOS) are blending the formal and traditional

approaches in addressing natural resource based conflict as one cannot work without the other. The following approaches are recommended:

General recommendations for the programme are as follows:

- *Inclusion of Ethiopia.* Ethiopia should be included in the AU-IBAR programme as the Merille people in southwestern Ethiopia are part of the conflict experienced in the Karimojong Cluster and interventions have to address the situation holistically.
- *Peace Education:* Peace building should start at the family level and stakeholders should mainstream this in their daily sensitization and awareness raising work. Peace should form an important part of the school curricular to inculcate the love for peace in the next generation. Governments should promote the formal integration of research studies in peace and conflict into the syllabus at all levels of the education system.
- *Addressing root causes through livelihood improvement:* This will come with more education being encouraged and pastoralist children having an alternative way of livelihood with newly acquired skills. In addition ensuring peace dividends such as provision of basic necessities such as schools, roads, human and livestock health services and opportunities for cross border trade in the Karimojong Cluster will enhance incomes and livelihoods in addition to peace education.
- *Enhancement of inter-linkages among livestock producers and pastoralists<sup>1</sup>* can be used to develop domestic and international markets for meat and milk. This can be done by control of trans-boundary animal diseases (e.g. Foot-and-Mouth disease, Rift-Valley fever, Peste des Petits ruminants, etc.) as a prerequisite for tapping into global markets. For instance, stringent sanitary standards for international trade in animals and animal products have limited the export of livestock products to profitable international markets (e.g. from countries of the Horn of Africa to Saudi Arabia).
- *Public awareness:* Civil society organizations should be persistent and consistent on the sensitization of citizens about their rights, the laws that govern them, the dangers of manipulation and exploitation by selfish people as a safeguard against the re-occurrence of conflict. Communities at all levels also need to develop a deeper understanding of peace and justice as a basis for development because peace and justice are part and parcel of development.
- *Punishment of crime:* Cattle rustlers should not be allowed to get away with crime through traditional or formal conflict resolution approaches.
- *Blending of traditional and modern approaches:* Develop and empower the traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution. The best aspects of traditional and modern approaches should be intertwined in mediation, negotiation, arbitration and reconciliation for better results.
- *Gender Mainstreaming:* Approaches should involve all genders as all are involved in one way or another in cattle rustling. For example women urge their men and sons to go for raiding so that they can bring wealth back.
- *Enhancement of access to natural resources:* Equitable access to land, water resources and secure land-use systems, including protection of pastures from encroachment and

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<sup>1</sup> IFAD (2009). Livestock and Pastoralists. Communities of Practice for pro-poor livestock and fisheries/aquaculture development. 12-13 January 2009, Rome, IFAD Headquarters

strengthening of local and/or customary systems so that they are better able to negotiate dry-season access to key resources for pastoralists.

### **Specific Recommendations for various issues<sup>2</sup>**

Once the causes of natural resource based conflicts are clustered, it is possible to develop generic interventions to tackle them. Such interventions would include the following:

#### Management and use of water

- Water management committees responsible for scheduling watering timetable should be established at all the important range water points.
- The water management committees should prepare water management schedules and rota to accommodate herders from neighboring communities.
- Migrant herders should report to the area water management committees for inclusion in the water use schedules.
- Herders who fail to respect the established watering schedules should be penalized without favoritism. The penalty should be commensurate with the degree of the offence.
- Appropriate water sources should be identified and developed.

#### Management of Grazing areas

- Environmental Management Committees (EMCs) should be established and be charged with the responsibility of elaborating wet and dry season grazing management plans in their areas
- Local leaders and EMCs to inform and report movements of their livestock to their counterparts should there be any intention to move into the neighbor's grazing areas
- Each group of fora herd moving to a neighbor's territory should have a leader known to the entire group
- Representatives of the fora herds and resident Environmental Management Committees including their local leaders should jointly work out procedures of maintaining peace in the shared grazing areas.
- Fora herds should honor and respect area specific grazing management by-laws of the host communities with should spell out the roles and responsibilities of host and visiting community, the judicial system and penalties to be administered should the by-laws be broken, how to address sick livestock, code of conduct of hosts and visiting community, e.t.c. The grazing agreements need to be signed by all parties as a sign of commitment.

#### Reducing exploitation of natural resources (trees and wild animals)

- Local leaders and elders should enforce the EMC by-laws on conservation of trees and other natural resources.
- The EMCs and leaders should be sensitive to the community on the importance of conservation.
- Leaders and the EMCs should encourage the herders to use alternative materials for building their shelters e.g. using stones where such materials exist.
- Those violating area specific rules and regulations of conserving useful tree species should be penalized in accordance with the extent of destruction caused.
- The herders should be responsible for putting out fires immediately they start in the grazing areas.
- Local leaders and EMC should sensitize fora herders on the dangers and damages of uncontrolled fires, should investigate cause of fires and depending on the extent of the destruction caused and impose penalties on those found starting the fires intentionally.

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<sup>2</sup> Kimani, M, J, (2008): 'Natural Resources Conflicts in Africa: Is Water Really the New Oil?' Conference UNECA, Addis Ababa-Ethiopia, Nov.13-14, 2008.

- The relevant wildlife authorities should train the EMCs on the importance of conserving wildlife. The rules should be clear on the process and amount of compensation one is entitled to in the event of damage suffered or caused by wild animals.
- Local leaders and the EMCs should be involved in the prosecution of poachers.

#### Accessing range resources in neighboring territories

- Local leaders and the EMCs should promote sustainable utilization of grazing resources in their areas.
- Local leaders and elders should urge their people to honor and respect their neighbor's grazing territories
- Communities leaders should officially communicate to their counterparts movements of their for a herds and livestock into their territory
- Migrant herders should bring letters of introduction from their leaders and to report to the local leaders and the EMCs of the area they move into
- Fora herds from other districts, provinces or countries should return home once the weather conditions in their own areas improve.

#### Reducing banditry, raids and murders

- Peace or dialogue committees should be established at the lowest administrative levels possible. They should be charged with the responsibilities of punishing those who hide criminals.
- Peace committees should report crimes committed in their areas to the relevant authorities e.g. the police.
- People involved in robbery with violence and murder should be arrested by the Peace committees and handed over to the authorities.
- Neighboring Peace Committees to maintain contacts with each other and should report on strangers or suspicious looking people passing through their areas.
- Leaders and Peace Committees of the areas where the trails of raided/stolen livestock ended should direct the security personnel to where the raided animals are hidden failure to which livestock from their herds should be confiscated until the raided livestock is recovered. If the stolen livestock is not found within three days the confiscated livestock should be handed to the relevant authorities until all the stolen animals are recovered
- Penalties should be decided, agreed upon and imposed on those found with stolen livestock. A simple criteria should be developed of how much one should pay if found with stolen stock.
- Local leaders and peace committees to discourage their people from maintaining bad customary practices that encourage thefts and murder

#### Improving dialogue between different ethnic groups

- Frequent meetings between leaders, elders, Peace Committees and Environment Management Committees from different ethnic groups and neighboring areas should be promoted in order to foster peaceful coexistence.
- Local leaders should be dedicated and encouraged to live within their communities rather than moving into the trading centers.
- Local leaders and elders should cooperate in solving problems immediately they arise and not wait for them to break into violent confrontations.
- Leaders and peace committees should investigate rumors thoroughly and take action against those spreading them.
- Peace committees should put in place measures for dealing with emergencies and natural calamities e.g. prolonged drought/famine.
- Local leaders should appreciate the roles of elders and delegate responsibilities to them.

#### Disciplining among herders and vigilantes

- Local leaders and elders should urge the youth, warriors and herders to abide by peace agreements reached at in order to maintain peace and harmony between the communities.
- The youth, warriors and herders should have leaders in-charge of the fora herds.
- Local leaders should encourage elders to solve small petty problems in their areas according to their customary laws.
- The security agencies should provide adequate training on handling of firearms to the vigilante groups.
- The vigilante groups should appoint leaders who are known to the community and the relevant authorities.
- Peace Committees and elders should be involved in the identification and selection of vigilante group members.
- The vigilante groups should be issued with official uniform and identification documents.
- Peace Committees and elders should ensure that the welfare of the vigilante group members is taken care off.
- Any member of a vigilante group who misuses a firearm should be asked to hand it over and should be reported to the relevant authorities.

In conclusion, a number of factors can affect the failures and successes of all the approaches. The approaches have to be holistic and integrate both modern and traditional methods to achieve comprehensive peace for the betterment of the enhancement of human security in the region.

### **Recommendations on Strengthening CBOs and District Peace Structures**

Regarding the strengthening of CBOs and local peace structures in the Karimojong Cluster the following are the recommendations:

- a. A criterion for choosing the CBOs to be assist needs to developed based on their activities and complementarity with the AU-IBAR programme.
- b. Capacity assessments will then have to be undertaken for the chosen CBOs.
- c. A capacity building plan will then be developed and implemented in the course of the programme.
- d. The CBOs that are found to be weak but relevant to the programme need to be mentored/supported through bigger organizations in the area such as national NGOs or INGOS.

An exit strategy will need to be developed by the programme in order enhance sustainability and reduce dependency by the CBOs gradually the implementation period.

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

The Karimojong Cluster is a semi-arid area consisting of the remote, mainly low-lying border areas of North West Kenya, Northeast Uganda, Southeast Sudan, and Southwest Ethiopia. Transhumant pastoralism is widely practiced in the Cluster. In much of the Cluster rainfall averages only 300mm per year, although it is significantly higher, averaging between 500-700mm, in the Karamoja region, where it is common for part of the extended family unit to remain settled at a farming location (known as *Ere*) for most or all of the year. The pastoralist and agro-pastoralist communities living in the Cluster have developed many practical approaches to this climatic uncertainty, particularly herd mobility, split herd management, herd maximization and risk spreading through livestock loans, gifts and other reciprocal stock arrangements (AU-IBAR, 2005b).

The Karimojong Cluster derives its name from the Karimojong tribe of Uganda, but is widely taken to include fourteen other tribes linked by linguistic and cultural ties<sup>3</sup>. The total population of the Cluster is estimated at between 1.2 and 1.5 million people (MSI 2002), although accurate recent data is not readily available.

The Cluster is highly conflict prone, with most of the conflict taking the form of cattle raiding between associated groups and associated killings. However it is also important to note that there are other conflict related phenomena in the area, including indiscriminate killing of members of other ethnic groups, theft, rape, confrontation with security forces, the destruction of property and conflict over contested land claims (AU-IBAR, 2005b).

### 1.2 Project Objectives

The main objective of the “Developing and Strengthening of Mechanisms for Solving Conflicts on Shared Natural Resources in the Karamajong Ecosystem in East Africa” project is to address the TPN3 theme area of the rational use of rangelands and development of fodder crops to combat desertification and with specific interest in livestock and environment in the Greater Karamoja ecosystem. The specific objectives will be:

1. Rationalization of rangelands use through positive changes in land tenure and land use policy.
2. Intervention of conflict transformation and pastoral community peace building.
3. Analysis of livestock and environment interactions.
4. Promotion of the rational use of rangelands and pastoral livelihoods through application of appropriate range management techniques.

The outputs expected from the project are:

1. Community based organisation of rational use of shared grazing resources that currently are the root cause of cross border conflicts.
2. Establishment of inter ethnic community peace building structures that will resolve conflicts as they arise in the use of shared and scarce natural resource.
3. Establish a linkage between conflicts and the ecological trends of grazing resources due to altered livestock movements
4. Strengthening of the pastoral livelihoods through introduction of appropriate range management practices.

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<sup>3</sup> There is no precise agreement on which ethnic communities belong to the ‘Karimojong Cluster’. Boundaries may be drawn according to language, culture, degree of pastoralism or other criteria such as place of residence. AU-IBAR includes 13 separate groups, 11 of which have historically spoken the Karimojong language and shared its nilotic culture as well as two others which have assimilated aspects of that culture (AU-IBAR, 2005b).

### 1.3 Methodology

The main objective of this assignment was to identify the conflict areas and the concerned communities, identify ongoing peace building initiatives and the shared natural resources (unexploited and exploited areas). Specifically there were three objectives:

#### A. Identification of Conflict hotspots and Conflict Resolution mechanisms.

- The consultant was to identify sample areas in each country where AU-IBAR has historically worked in the region.
- Identify areas within the Karamoja system that are seriously affected by interethnic and cross border conflicts. This will include grazing areas, water points and boundaries that are the sources of conflict. The part of the document on Conflicts over natural resources use is not well developed compare to that on cattle rustling. Try former one is the more important for us as in the framework of our NRM strategy, actions to reduce such conflicts should be our priority.
- Hold discussions with communities and various administrative stakeholders to identify these areas by holding meetings/workshops, key interviews and focus group discussions per country with government authorities, NGOs and Community based organizations.
- Undertake field observations and mapping areas of conflict and areas where there is no grazing due to conflict using GPS or other means.

#### B. Identification of CBOs

- Identify community based organizations that are involved in conflict management and resolution in the three countries.
- List their activities and contacts
- Document their operational areas in the region.
- Document their conflict management /peace building mechanisms.

#### C. An assessment on the status of pastoral livelihoods

- Document pastoralist livelihoods in the three countries with respect to:
  1. Livelihood Assets: Social, Political, Natural, Financial, Human and Physical.
  2. Policies, Processes and Institutions.
  3. Vulnerability Context.

The following methodologies were used to collect information:

#### 1.3.1 Literature Review

This was conducted by the consultant in order to collect information on: overview of the region, ongoing initiatives addressing conflict and natural resources in the region by government and non-governmental actors, methods and approaches they use, grazing patterns, conflict patterns and livelihoods of the different Karimojong communities in the ecosystem. See references in Section 5.0.

#### 1.3.2 Field Work

The consultant conducted fieldwork in following areas:

- a) Kenya: Pokot (East, North and Central districts), Turkana (South, North, Loima, Central districts).
- b) Uganda: Moroto, Nakapiripirit, Kotido and Kaabong districts

c) South Sudan – Eastern Equatoria (Narus and Kapoeta Counties)

The field mission was a total of 21 days and took place from 7<sup>th</sup> February to 20<sup>th</sup> February, 28<sup>th</sup> February to 7<sup>th</sup> March.

Field data was collected from focus group discussions, key informants, field observation and mapping of non grazed areas using GPS.

Focus group discussions using semi-structured questions were conducted with mixed community groups and community based organizations (CBO) staff. These discussions provided insight into the level of conflict in the area, conflicting groups, conflict approaches amongst others (See pictures 2 and 3 below).

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Picture 2a & b: Focus group discussions in Alale, Pokot North, Kenya and Panyagara, Kotido (Jie) district Uganda.



Picture 3a & b: Focus group discussion with the Toposa in Narus (Southern Sudan) and the Turkana in Nanam

Key informants interviews were conducted with district officials and some NGO/CBO representatives in the areas visited. These informants gave an overview of the conflict in their areas of jurisdiction, ongoing efforts in conflict management and future plans on the same.

Three field assistants were hired in Kenya (2) and Uganda (1) were hired to organise the itinerary and collect preliminary information on CBOs. Each of the field assistants wrote field notes which were then forwarded to the consultant for incorporation into this report See full itinerary in Annex 2.

## 2.0 MAIN FINDINGS

### 2.1 Background

Nomadic pastoralism in the Karimojong Cluster is largely dependent on a sparse natural resource base in ecologically marginal areas. These areas are manifested by relentless harsh weather, scarce rainfall and poor soils. The system involves a more or less predictable seasonal pattern of movement or migration in search of water and pasture. In the wet season, grazing is concentrated in hilly areas where the livestock can survive with the moisture present in the vegetation. At the onset of the dry season the pastoralists move to natural catchment areas particularly those along seasonal rivers. With the progression of the dry season, the pastoralists migrate to areas with natural springs, human made catchments, hand-dug wells, boreholes etc.

Livestock depend on natural pastures for their diets, and rainfall is the most important factor determining the quantity and quality of pastures and water. Herds are mainly composed of indigenous livestock breeds. Livestock represent more than just economic assets - they are also social, cultural and spiritual assets, and define social identity. Natural resources are managed through common property regimes where access to pastures and water is negotiated and dependent on flexible and reciprocal arrangements.

Better veterinary services in the pastoralist areas has meant that livestock numbers have grown steadily but at the same time, land available for grazing has continued to shrink due to encroachment. The inevitable result has been overstocking and overgrazing leading to ecological degradation. In addition, violent conflicts result in pastoralists abandoning traditional grazing areas and fleeing to areas of relative safety. The abandonment of grazing areas has a negative ecological impact as the un-grazed lands causes an immediate loss of production as well as the emergence of bushy, un-palatable vegetation that gradually replaces grass. Pastoralist communities who have lost their livestock through conflicts turn to other income generating ventures like producing charcoal and small-scale farming which have negative environmental and ecological impacts (refer to Section 3.0 for pastoralist livelihoods).

### 2.2 Natural Resource-based conflicts and their manifestations<sup>4</sup>

The Karimojong Cluster is characterized by endemic insecurity, whereby, on one hand the conflicts and risks are caused by recurrent natural disasters, particularly long droughts. On the other hand, they arise from conflicts between different migrating groups, who are competing for the use of key resources, mainly water and pasture. The close relationship between these key resources and the survival of the communities means that the pastoralists will usually employ any means available to them, including violence, to seek and/or claim control of the resources. There are several factors that contribute to the natural resource -based conflicts.

e. Mis-conceived pastoralist development planning - For nearly 20 years beginning in the early 1970s livestock development projects in most of dryland Africa, stressed on conventional range management practices adopted from North America and Australia. Some of the attributes of this approach include sedentarised ranching; communal land ownership with title deeds as collateral for loan acquisition; permanent livestock water development; rest rotation grazing systems; maintenance of proper stocking rates; livestock management structures (ranch boundary and paddock fences, cattle dips, corrals etc); herd structure that encompasses a breeding programme and an established off take; institutionalized livestock marketing systems and formalized loan acquisition and repayment procedures.

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<sup>4</sup> Kimani, M, J, (2008): 'Natural Resources Conflicts in Africa: Is Water Really the New Oil?' Conference UNECA, Addis Ababa-Ethiopia, Nov.13-14, 2008.

Traditional livestock herding practices on the other hand entails: maintaining big herds as a representation of wealth and protection against risk e.g. drought; migration in search of water and pasture; herd loaning among relatives and friends both as security or to help poor people; communal ownership of grazing land; customary laws to regulate grazing conflicts and a marketing system based on need. These traditional management techniques are largely in conflict with the conventional range management approaches adopted in the region. This is because, traditionally, the majority of pastoralist land resources were held under a controlled access system, which was communal in form meaning that the tribe or clan or a group (that is linked by descent or cultural affiliation) had access to the land. Tenure was thus a social institution: a relationship between individuals and groups or tribes consisting of a series of rights and duties with respect to the use of land and its resources.

- f. Discriminatory land tenure and use - Traditionally, the majority of pastoralist land resources were held under a controlled access system but there was always skepticism in the ability of the pastoralists to manage their natural resources. The skepticism was based on the mistaken belief that the prevailing pastoralist production modes were responsible for the wide-scale degradation and desertification in the pastoralist areas. This led the colonial and post-colonial governments in the region constituting and implementing various land acts on top of surviving customary tenure which created great confusion in land tenancy. In addition to the confusion wrought by the application of conflicting tenure systems, pastoralists continue to lose their grazing land either to the ever expanding sedentary agriculturists or to state backed ventures like national parks and reserves, commercial ranching, mining, training grounds for the armed forces etc.

Expanding commercial agriculture, in particular irrigated agriculture, encroaches and takes up large areas of pastoralist land. The dawn of independence did not herald the review of the hitherto disproportionate colonial boundaries that had discriminated the pastoralists. Indeed, the few elite who came to power and who bought out large portions of the departing colonial settler farmers greedily embarked on enlarging their holdings pushing the pastoralists further to the margins inevitably leading to conflicts.

- g. Competition and politicization of natural resources - It is now generally accepted from a political economic point of view that chaos and insecurity open new opportunities and enable new, otherwise impossible, access to resources and power to the protagonists. This is one of the reasons why those in power fight to keep it while those not in power fight to attain it. Indeed, 'insecurity itself may be understood as an additional resource which, as with any other resource, some individuals are in a better position than others to exploit'. Politics of patronage have led to disproportionate and indiscriminate exploitation of natural resources in large areas of the region. For example, large tracts of lands have been turned into national parks or nature reserves<sup>5</sup> or through extortion, acquired by rich and politically well connected individuals for ranching or horticultural purposes. This not only denies the pastoralists grazing pastures and migratory routes but also disproportionately uses and diverts scarce resources like water away from the pastoralists to the ranches and horticulture farms.

- h. Access to natural resources

The Karimojong Cluster is characterized by harsh and unreliable climatic conditions and pastoralists have therefore adopted coping mechanisms such as migration over wide areas in search of water and pasture. While this was traditionally possible in the past, various developments such as population increases, land encroachment and

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<sup>5</sup> In Uganda more than 70% of the Karamoja Region is gazetted as a hunting ground or as a National Park according to J.B. Lokii a former project officer in Oxfam Kotido.

appropriation have limited such movements. But, as much as the natural resource base has continued to diminish, there are still pockets where they are abundant. In other words, scarcity is usually a localized and not necessarily a national phenomenon. Even in times of severe stress, pockets, sometimes adjacent to the pastoralists, may have sufficient resources. Such areas may include national parks and game reserves, forest reserves, private ranches, military installations etc. which the pastoralists cannot access. Conflict therefore regularly occur when the pastoralists take matters into their own hands and break the fences and 'invade' protected and/or 'private' property. In times of very severe stresses and given the choice of either massive death of livestock and/or inevitable violent confrontations with the pastoralists, governments have often allowed limited access to these areas.

i. Management of natural resources

To ensure survival in the face of a challenging habitat and difficult livelihoods, pastoralist communities in the cluster have had to develop and adopt various coping mechanisms in response mechanisms which include supervised watering schedules and marked seasonal migratory routes. While there are rules that govern the management of these coping mechanisms, often, external factors dictate and/or lead to lack of adherence with the obvious consequence being conflicts. Survival of the clan and tribe depends on accessibility to large land areas, obtained by a combination of territorial rights and alliances with neighboring tribes. Boundaries between tribal areas are based on topography and ecology and do not follow modern administrative boundaries. Competition and co-operation are a normal part of pastoralist livelihood strategies. When these break down, in times of hardship, there is conflict and raiding of stock from neighboring tribes.

i. Ownership of natural resources

It has been pointed out that there are conflicting perceptions and interpretation of the question of ownership of natural resources in the pastoralist areas. For example, land was traditionally communally held and used by the communities. There was no individual ownership. However, the pastoralist areas have largely been demarcated and allocated to titled individual owners. In addition, land grab and appropriation by the state and other powerful functionaries have irreversibly changed the land use patterns in the pastoralist areas where majority of pastoralists have been marginalized and/or left out of these changing environments without compensation.

## **2.3 Causes of Natural Resource Use Conflicts**

The following are the causes of conflicts over natural resources in the Karimojong Cluster:

a. Use and management of Water

- Disputed ownership and user rights of traditional shallow wells.
- Poor management of water sources leading to quarrels and fights.
- Lack of respect for existing by-laws by the herders
- Using water outside normal watering schedules e.g. at night.
- Water shortages during the dry season.
- Concentration of livestock around water points.

b. Common pasture and other natural resources (trees and wildlife)

- Movement of livestock into neighboring areas during the drought without prior agreements.
- Uncontrolled outbreaks of livestock diseases especially from migrating herds.

- Disputed claims over ownership of grazing lands and poor grazing management plans.
  - Poor rainfall distribution patterns.
  - Livestock thefts that lead to retaliatory raids.
  - Rampant alarmist reports of banditry attacks between conflicting communities.
  - Indiscriminate cutting of trees for charcoal, livestock fodder, building posts etc.
  - Indiscriminate killing of wild animals by the home-guards, bandits, and herders with access to guns.
  - Inadequate awareness on the importance of trees and wildlife protection and conservation.
- c. Boundaries between neighboring communities
- Claim over ownership of resources and lack of information on political or administrative boundary changes e.g. between the Turkana (KE) and the Pokot (KE).
  - Uncontrolled movements of livestock with little territorial respect particularly where land ownership is in dispute.
  - Local politics that question the contention that pastoralists can access land anywhere they wished. This usually happens especially in an election year.
  - Indiscriminate exploitation of resources e.g. illegal fishing activities in neighboring territories – between Turkana of Kenya and Merille of Ethiopia on L. Turkana.
- d. Co-operation between local leaders from neighbouring areas
- Lack of respect and trust among local leaders.
  - Poor communication between local leaders and elders from different areas resulting in poor leadership and governance.
  - Lack of adequate dialogue which leads to mistrust of local leaders who are perceived to be partisan.
  - Incitement and involvement of the leaders in banditry attacks.
  - Intolerance and bias over important issues by the leaders.
  - Weakened traditional authorities and governing structures.
  - Herders from neighboring areas not respecting hosting community leaders.
- e. Banditry, raids and murders
- Livestock raids and robbery with violence resulting in cold blooded murders
  - Revenge and use of force to sort out disputes giving no room for dialogue
  - Stealing of livestock and small items like guards, bells, small goods from livestock camps
  - Out-of-date customs e.g. heroism and fame which encourage livestock raids and murders
  - Collusion with raiders and giving false reports on attacks and harboring or allowing passage of bandits especially from the same ethnic groupings
  - Eminent threats of attack from neighbors that may lead to preemptive attacks
  - Poor law enforcement and inadequate support from the government security personnel
  - Easy availability of small arms that lead to misuse of firearms
- f. Discipline among herders, warriors and vigilante groups
- Conflicting customs between communities where one group may not be under the control of the elders while the other is general 'don't care attitude' among the youth and warriors.
  - Poor cooperation and dialogue between the elders from the different communities
  - Hatred, hostility and suspicion based on past experiences

- Vigilantes not being under the control of elders especially where they are armed on their own accord
- Poor training of the vigilantes in responsible handling of firearms.
- Partisan attitudes and bias towards own communities
- Low morale and poor leadership among vigilantes exacerbated by the lack of incentives or welfare plans for them.
- Collaboration between the vigilantes and bandits which is made worse by the inability of differentiating between them.

## 2.4 Intra-Country Conflict Areas

### KENYA

Many arid and semi arid lands (ASALs) have been ignored in development planning and distribution of national resources. These areas constitute over 70% of the country and are mostly inhabited by pastoralists who engage in cattle rustling (CR) which is an outcome of diminishing natural resource as seen in the previous section. The ASALs lack basic services such as personal security, education, health, shelter, water, and means of transport and communication. Contrary to the provisions of the Sessional Paper to support human resource development in those areas, successive administrations have not adequately invested in education or health.

According to a Memorandum on cattle rustling by the National Council of Churches (NCCCK), CR is an old practice among cattle rearing communities in Kenya. However, in post-modern Kenya, cattle rustling has transformed from being a customary means of livestock restocking where traditional weapons such as bows and arrows and spears were used to a commercial practice where sophisticated weaponry is used.

In this new setting, there is a strong link between cattle rustling and political patronage. Politicians encourage cattle rustling for their political interests, as they make money through the practice. Because of political ramifications, these politicians are neither apprehended nor are they charged in courts of law for these crimes.

On their part, the raiders are paid to deliver specified number of heads of cattle and other livestock to specific places for slaughter and sale as meat. They also use the opportunities and protection provided by the politicians to acquire livestock for their communities, thereby earning support from the same. It is thus politically incorrect in some communities for politicians to condemn the practice.

At the heart of the menace of cattle-rustling is the rampant culture of impunity in Kenya. The failure by the government to stamp out the practice or deal firmly with the persons behind it has perpetuated and aggravated the menace<sup>6</sup>.

### Causes of Conflict<sup>7</sup>

#### *a. Traditional cattle rustling*

Traditionally, cattle-rustling took place on a seasonal basis and was mainly associated with rites of passage into adulthood. After circumcision, the newly initiated men took part in cattle raids to demonstrate their prowess and valour. Such raids were blessed by elders and also organized to raise the dowry paid to a bride's parents. Further, the raids served to restock a community's livestock especially after a dry spell. The raiders were mainly interested in cattle and sometimes women, who were taken as wives. The raided communities would in

<sup>6</sup> NCCCK 2009: Memorandum on Cattle Rustling.

<sup>7</sup> ISS 2009: Capacity and Training Needs Assessment Report on the Implementation of the EAPCCO Protocol for Kenya.

turn organize counter-raids to recover the stolen livestock. The main weaponry used in these raids was traditional spears, bows and poisoned arrows. Such raids did not fundamentally disrupt the lives and livelihoods of the communities affected since they were not as frequent or fatal as the current ones.

In some cultures e.g. the Pokot, they have a saying “*Anyin tany Kimalta tukwin lapay*”, meaning ‘the cow is sweeter than everything’ hence people’s lives gravitate around it. Women encourage their sons or husbands to go for cattle raiding. They sing songs of praises and ululate in celebration when the men arrive with the spoils of raids and deride those who have failed<sup>8</sup>. Among the Turkana the raiders are decorated by having various cuts on their bodies as a sign of heroism and depicting the number of men they have killed during the raid.

#### *b. Modern cattle rustling and commercialisation*

Whereas the traditional weaponry such as spears and shields, bows and arrows were used to undertake cattle rustling in the past, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the region has complicated the vice. Thousands of small arms and light weapons are currently in the hands of cattle rustlers. This makes them behave like marauding armies with little or no government control. On its part, the government has a programme that arms<sup>9</sup> certain communities that are believed to be prone to attack by their neighbours. This has worsened rather than solved the proliferation of arms in these regions.

Raids are well planned and executed with military precision characterized by the use of modern and destructive weapons. Cattle raiders are known to use small arms and light weapons such as MK4, G3, AK47, HK11, grenades, and mortars. This has virtually transformed cattle rustling from a traditional practice to a highly organized crime. The primary element in these raids is that the cattle stolen are taken to urban centres where they are slaughtered and sold as beef. Some unscrupulous businessmen hire young men among the communities where cattle raids are rampant to steal cattle for them. They then transport the same for sale in urban centers and make astronomical profits<sup>10</sup>.

#### *c. Porous and unprotected international borders*

The proliferation of small arms and light weapons in Kenya is driven by two factors: one, the borders are porous and inadequately protected; and two, of the four neighbouring countries, it is only Tanzania which does not experience armed conflict. Somalia has not had an effective government for over two decades. For these two reasons, the flow of small arms across the borders has been easy due to inadequate policing and inadequate capacities of the security agencies.

Apart from facilitating transportation of weapons, the porous borders have made it easy for cattle raids to be undertaken by raiders from other countries. Animals stolen are sometimes taken across the border and disposed off in the neighbouring country. In most cases, communities straddle over one or two borders and easily crisscross over them with arms and cattle. In addition other underlying causes include:

- The diminishing role of traditional governance systems, competition over control and access to natural resources such as pasture and water, increasing levels of poverty and idleness amongst the youth<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> ISS Regional Stakeholder’s Feedback Workshop on Study of Identification and Traceability systems, March 2009.

<sup>9</sup> The government arms community members known as home guards. They are meant to enhance security for the villages they reside.

<sup>10</sup> NCKK 2009: Memorandum on Cattle Rustling

<sup>11</sup> *ibid*

- Lack of cooperation between countries<sup>12</sup> e.g. Along the Kenya-Uganda border, Kenyan authorities can have 100% retrieval of livestock and return to them to their Ugandan counterparts with additional livestock as a fine. However this is may not be reciprocated leading to revenge attacks.
- There are different laws regarding cattle theft and punishment being applied across countries. This means that it is almost impossible to curb cross border CR.
- Relaxation from peace actors in engaging communities to embrace peace.
- Limited financial base for peace committees to support and sustain cross border peace initiatives.

*d. Ethnic groups and geographical areas affected by conflict*

Conflict in the Karamoja cluster was documented between the Pokot and Turkana ethnic communities and Pokot and Trans Nzoia district communities. The conflict areas that were mostly affected were along the inter-district borders e.g. Turkwell Gorge (Pokot-Turkana) and Kanyarkwat (Pokot-Trans Nzoia border). The conflict between the Turkana and Pokot is also about an ethnic boundary dispute between the two ethnic groups that is usually fuelled by politicians especially during election time. Hence, the heightened conflict along the Turkwell Gorge which is along the administrative border. It should be noted that these areas are rarely grazed by any the conflicting groups. Hence there is a lot of unutilised pasture and water in some cases in these areas. These areas are shown in Map 1 while the extent of the conflicting ethnic groups is shown in Map 2<sup>13</sup>.

The conflict recorded was mostly cattle rustling of indigenous livestock breeds especially between the Turkana and the Pokot. Across Trans-Nzoia Cross bred dairy animals were being stolen for sale on the Ugandan side. The cattle rustling especially of the indigenous livestock were for cultural reasons (i.e. initiation ceremonies (male and female circumcision, marriage) or for commercial purposes. In the latter the livestock was sold in markets such as Nairobi.

Cattle rustling usually occurs during the dry season when there is limited pasture and water hence increased competition for the same. The theft ranges from stealing of 2 to 3 animals to several hundred. Revenge attacks are always planned for from each side thus the cycle continues.

The political elite in Kenya e.g. Members of Parliament from the affected districts have also been accused of financing some of the raids so that they can benefit during elections. In addition there are allegations that the elite are sponsoring young men from different ethnic groups who collaborate to steal livestock from their own communities for sale and the funds remitted to their financiers.

## **UGANDA**

The Karamoja conflict in North East Uganda has been raging for a long time and whose roots lie in the colonial era. The colonial policy regime denying pastoral communities from accessing areas used for grazing their animals by designating these as forest reserves (1940s) and game reserves (1950s) coupled with forced de-stocking of pastoral herds and attempted resettlement of the pastoral communities set the stage for this conflict.

This continuation of this policy regime continues to impact negatively on the nomadic lifestyle of the Karimojong and fuels conflict. The Karamoja have to move westwards and southwards to neighbouring districts in search of water and pasture seasonally and they feel marginalized, thinking that the government cares more for the welfare of wild animals since most of the land that was traditionally used for their migrations has since been – and

<sup>12</sup> Riam Riam 2009: Conflict Early Warning Alert, Turkana District, Turkana Dassenach Corridor March 2009.

<sup>13</sup> The Maps are separate documents

remains – gazetted as either game or forest reserves. This gazettement of lands has not only affected the Karimojong, but also communities living around the Mt. Elgon area in eastern Uganda who survived on hunting and also accessed the forests to access medicinal plants and herbs.

Recent studies conducted reveal that from the 1970s, there has been a marked escalation of insecurity – both in scale and frequency – due to cattle raids. This situation was further aggravated by illegal acquisition of guns in 1979, when the Idi Amin regime was toppled. The result has been intensified cattle rustling within and outside Karamoja, paving way for tribal hatred, social prejudice, inter-ethnic conflicts, and social stereotyping of the Karimojong by their neighbours. There has also been increased competition for natural resources especially in the areas contested for between the Karimojong and their neighbours fuelling conflicts which have resulted in loss of lives and property, ongoing lawlessness and cross-border cattle raids.

In Karamoja, there is a feeling that outsiders are benefiting the most from the resources of the region – a fact which fuels tensions between the locals and outsiders. However, a slight change of attitude can be detected in the fact that land is now being sold to outsiders by some Karimojong on willing buyer-willing seller basis<sup>14</sup>.

The conflict problem has become widespread and has sucked in many actors including politicians, business men and the youth. The problem has continued to rise due to the ease with which the weapons are accessed within the region. This has led to general lawlessness and breakdown of law and order in North Eastern Uganda.

#### Causes of Conflict<sup>15</sup>

The local communities call cattle rustling “*Aryem*” which literally means “attack”. Attack has a connotation of violence that is collaborated in rustling. Some communities call rustling “*Raparapa*” i.e. collecting everything on the way<sup>16</sup>. The raids are executed by 200-300 warriors who have received blessings from the elders.

The main causes of CR according to Odhiambo (2003) are:

- Culture and cultural practices i.e. the cattle complex, warrior phenomenon and high bride price;
- Poverty, livelihood insecurity and underdevelopment,
- Absence of effective government in Karamoja,
- Ineffectiveness of modern institution of governance in maintaining security and enforcing law and order,
- Absence of a clear, consistent and enforced government policy on the conflict and insecurity in Karamoja,
- Proliferation of guns,
- Collapse of traditional governance institutions,
- Failure of political leadership at the local level,
- Failure of the social and economic elite to impact positively on the situation in Karamoja,
- Social, political and cultural isolation of Karamoja by successive governments of Uganda,
- Cross-border insecurity.

In addition there are other factors such as:

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<sup>14</sup> Towards a Common Agenda: Resource Based Conflicts in East and Southern Africa – Politics, Policy and Law. Conference Report and Outcomes. 1st SID Conference on Resource Based Conflicts in Eastern & Southern Africa Nairobi, May 24-27, 2004

<sup>15</sup> ISS 2009: Capacity and Training Needs Assessment Report on the Implementation of the EAPCCO Protocol for Uganda.

<sup>16</sup> ISS (2009). Regional Stakeholder's Feedback Workshop on Study of Identification and Traceability Systems, March 2009.

- Replenishment of stock after severe deaths (disease, drought) and rustling,
- Counter raids (revenge, punishment),
- Ready market/buyers ( commercialisation of raids),
- Availability of vulnerable neighbours (Teso, Acholi, Lango and Mt Elgon areas),
- Elite who generate electoral advantage and economic benefits<sup>17</sup>.

d. Ethnic groups and geographical areas affected by conflict

Conflict arising out of cattle rustling is between the Tepeth and Matheniko, Jie and Dodoth, Bokora, Matheniko and Tepeth, Pian and Pokot ethnic groups.

Again the rustling is for cultural and commercial purposes. The border areas where the different ethnic groups reside are affected the most. The affected areas where conflict is rife and hence have unutilized grazing areas are namely:

- Kaabong district: Most parts of Loyoro, parts of Lolelia, parts of Kapedo, whole of Karenga, most parts of Sidok counties. See Picture 4 below.



**Picture 4a &b: Un-utilised grazing area in parts of Loyoro district, Uganda due to conflict compared to over grazed areas in the same area away from the inter-district border.**

- Kotido district: Nakorumwa arengak and Loongor dam.
- Moroto district: Nakicumet, Northern parts of Rupa bordering Panyangara and Loyoro, some parts of Loputuk especially after Nadiket.

Nakapiripirit district: Areas near Amudat, but near Achorchor (Pokot territory); Nabilatuk parts bordering Bokora County. Refer to Map 1 on unutilized grazing areas.

In Uganda there was an additional twist to the conflict where there are allegations of the Uganda UPDF being involved in benefitting from the raids between communities. For example during a recovery operation not all cattle stolen is returned to the owners.

The local governments in the various districts have also been accused of benefitting from the raids in order to gain political mileage.

## **SOUTHERN SUDAN**

Pastoralism is prevalent in Sudan; the country estimates the number of cattle to be over 30 million. The livestock sub sector contributes 10% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of

<sup>17</sup> ISS (2009). Regional Stakeholder's Feedback Workshop on Study of Identification and Traceability Systems, March 2009.

South Sudan and 22.5% of the whole GDP. Land tenure is a critical problem both for agriculture expansion and grazing of livestock.

Cattle rustling is an old phenomenon and a major challenge and threat to human security in Southern Sudan. It has been overlooked by governments and the assumption is that it is a tradition and restricted to specific areas. However there has been an increase in incidences recently with the nature of cattle rustling changing e.g. there has been an apparent sharp rise in attacks on women and children, as well as the targeting of homesteads. In one year there were over 5,000 reported cases of cattle rustling with the Upper Nile region leading in the statistics.

Clashes between rival ethnic groups in South Sudan erupt frequently often sparked by cattle rustling and disputes over natural resources, while others are in retaliation for previous attacks. It is currently predominant in 6 states out of 10 namely Jonglei, the Equatorias, Upper Nile and the Lake states. Historic hotspots have also been identified as: Darfur, Jonglei, Eastern Equatoria, Bahr-el-Ghazal (Warab), Upper Nile, Unity, Rumbek (it involves the Toposa, Didinga, Lango, Latigo, Murle ethnic groups) within Southern Sudan<sup>18</sup>.

#### *Causes of Conflict<sup>19</sup>*

Conflicts between sedentary and nomadic peoples have historically been generated by the competition over grazing areas and land use. The migratory movements of nomads during the rainy season cause crop damage and eventually lead to open conflicts between farmers and herders. The intensity of these conflicts depends – among other things – on the extent of the damage inflicted on crops. Where homicide is not involved, such conflicts can be contained and normally they do not lead to large-scale confrontations between nomads and settled people. The expansion of mechanized farming schemes in Southern Kordofan, Eastern Sudan and the Nuba Mountains blocked traditional migratory routes used by nomadic groups during their movements between the northern and southern pastures. Furthermore, the tendency amongst nomads to aggregate their stocking rates puts pressure on the normal pasture resources and in these circumstances herds that are not well tended can easily damage crops.

Access to water resources during the dry season is also one factor behind conflicts. Land ownership or allocation is another factor central to conflicts. Various land use policies have had implications on both resource competition and conflicts. Customary laws were set aside by legislation in 1970, under which all land was made into government land, accessible to people only through lease arrangements. Local customary rights were acknowledged in principle, but the way in which the system was operated soon produced negative consequences. The lease system was undermined by corrupt political practices through which the political, military, bureaucratic, and business elite got access to land resources and schemes, and could operate without applying existing regulations such as rotation etc.

In Darfur, for example, there exists a system of freehold ownership known as the *hakura* (lit. enclosure), which is a piece of land granted by Fur sultans to their followers for which the title holder got a Sultanic deed written and stamped, indicating permanent ownership<sup>5</sup>. Ownership of a *hakura* implies that the owner has an exclusive right over a certain piece of land, whether he/she uses it or not. This condition also implies that the owner can deny

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<sup>18</sup> Odhiambo (2008). Situational Analysis to inform the implementation of the EAPCCO Protocol for the Prevention, Combating and Eradication of Cattle Rustling in Eastern Africa. ISS Report.

<sup>19</sup> Towards a Common Agenda: Resource Based Conflicts in East and Southern Africa – Politics, Policy and Law. Conference Report and Outcomes. 1st SID Conference on Resource Based Conflicts in Eastern & Southern Africa Nairobi, May 24-27, 2004

access to anybody should he/she chooses to do so. There is thus a contradiction between the system of land ownership and the needs of the different users.

Furthermore, assigning a tribe or an ethnic group specific *dars* (homelands) also contradicts nomadic patterns of land use. It should be noted that the distribution of ethnic groups is not controlled by objective and fixed natural areas but by the distribution of the specific ecological niches which the group, with its particular economic and political organization, is able to exploit. Theoretically, each ethnic group or tribe in the Sudan has its own homeland or *dar*, but practically ethnic groups do not correspond to fixed points on the map. An example of how fixing a group to a specific place provides an instant recipe for conflict is to be found with nomadic groups. This practical disentanglement between ethnic groups and land stands as a significant factor in conflict, since landowners would see nomads as intruders and trespassers.

But conflicts between nomads and sedentary people are not predicated on land ownership and use only, and therefore conflicts cannot simply be dismissed as instances of competition over grazing and land resources. In present day Sudan, conflicts between nomads and sedentary peoples are codified in ethnic terms and they have wider repercussions that are difficult to control. Some of the conflicts we see today in Western Sudan are political in nature and are instigated by factors external to the local environment. Due to these externalities, a limited conflict between a farmer and a nomad over crop damage can easily spill over to include entire tribes and ethnic groups.

In looking at the relationship between pastoralism and agriculture, note should be taken that there are sets of exchange linkages other than overt conflicts. Presently, the traditional association of ethnic identity, with a specific mode of livelihood or subsistence pattern is far from clear. It has been shown that among the cattle rearing groups, not more than 10-15 percent of members are pure nomads; most combine animal husbandry with cultivation where environmental conditions allow. Droughts over the last thirty years resulted in the loss of livestock and the conversion of many nomads into settled cultivators.

While conflicts are caused by a multiplicity of factors, drought in the Sudan since the 1970s and beyond resulted in the depletion of natural resources, especially in western Sudan where we currently see one of the most devastating conflicts in the recent history of the country. As a result of recurrent drought, vegetation cover was hard hit, and the desert is encroaching rapidly in areas that were traditionally utilized by pastoralists. Consequently whole tribes or communities were forced to move southward in search for water, arable land and pasture. But this large-scale population movement and displacement, caused by drought, created competition over resources and ignited conflicts in areas where large influxes of people occurred.

Drought cycles and violent conflicts forced entire communities in western Sudan to move and settle in areas that belonged to other communities. This intensified competition over resources and precipitated more violent conflicts. Large influxes of displaced persons became a source of suspicion for settled people. This raised consciousness about tribal territorial rights, leading to an involution of conflicts and the emergence of destructive identity politics that are bound to tear the country apart. The Darfur conflict in western Sudan is a case in point.

The rise in incidences mostly occurs during the dry season when there is scarcity of natural resources. In summary the main reasons given for cattle rustling<sup>20</sup> are:

- The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) addressed land issues by stating that that land belonged to the people. This new concept of land belonging to the people caused a

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<sup>20</sup> ISS Regional Stakeholder's Feedback Workshop on Study of Identification and Traceability systems, March 2009.

wave of conflict throughout the South with ethnic groups seeking to displace others from their land.

- Didinga communities believe that, attacks on them by Toposa pastoralists are motivated by the presence of precious minerals such as gold and good grazing land.
- Competition over geographical areas and control over the resources therein.
- Proliferation of small arms and the declining price of these weapons have exacerbated the problem.
- Social and economic inequality among different ethnic groups.
- Unemployment, demographic bulges and rapid urbanization with lack of developmental programmes in the South.
- Stealing of cattle for prestige among the Toposa, Nuer and Murle pastoralists to acquire bride wealth for marriage purposes. The Sudanese in Jonglei and Upper Nile states frequently have several wives and hence require a lot of material wealth to pay the bride price. This has encouraged cattle raiding not only within Sudan, but also across the border in Ethiopia.
- For social occasions, for rituals, and for being considered as heroes. Related to this is also child abduction and trafficking of girls.
- “Cattle laundering” where gangs from different states exchange stolen cattle from other states<sup>21</sup>.
- Desperate groups who neither belong to the urban or rural setting also resort to cattle rustling in order to begin businesses with monies from stolen cattle.
- Due to the prolonged war the cultural norms and values have been eroded and the social fabric is unable to control destructive modes of CR<sup>22</sup>.

Conflict is between the Toposa, Didinga and Buya, Jie and Nyangatom. Other conflicting communities include Murule and Jie,

Areas that are mostly affected due to conflict include: the Buya-Toposa corridor, Lauro corridor, Buya-Pibor corridor and Kidepo Valley.

## **2.5 Trans-Boundary Conflict areas**

Trans-boundary conflict was documented between:

- a) Pokot (KE) and Pian (UG),
- b) Turkana (KE) and Toposa (SS),
- c) Dodoth (UG) and Lango (SS),
- d) Merille (ET) and Toposa (SS),
- e) Turkana (KE) and Merille/Nyangatom/Dasenach (ET).
- f) Karimojong with Toposa and Didinga from Southern Sudan<sup>23</sup>.

Out of all these corridors the Toposa-Turkana conflict is the worst and little is being done by government or other non-governmental institutions to address it. Refer to Map 1.

Trans-boundary conflict occurred for many reasons ranging from boundary disputes, natural resource use, revenge attacks, cultural and commercial reasons. As a result most of the grazing areas along the international borders are not utilized. And if utilized the communities do so when fully armed.

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<sup>21</sup> ISS Regional Stakeholder’s Feedback Workshop on Study of Identification and Traceability systems, March 2009.

<sup>22</sup> ISS 2009: Capacity and Training Needs Assessment Report on the Implementation of the EAPCCO Protocol for Southern Sudan.

<sup>23</sup> M.O.O.(2003). The Karamoja Conflict. Origins, Impact and Solutions. An Oxfam Publication. Pp 51-58.

## 2.6 Conflict Actors and Approaches

There are many actors and different approaches used in resolving conflict in the Karimojong Cluster. Actors range from regional bodies, national institutions, international and national NGOs, Faith based organizations and CBOs. Approaches being used include legal, military, developmental, traditional amongst other approaches by all these actors. The section below details the various approaches being used regional, national, civil society and community actors per country.

### 2.6.1 Regional Level Interventions

With conflict arising from cattle rustling affecting the whole region, various efforts which include the enactment of legal instruments, joint approaches by government agencies, civil society in interventions in specific countries and across borders are being implemented.

It is thus not surprising that cattle rustling should feature within the ongoing efforts of law enforcement officials in Eastern Africa to stem the proliferation of small arms and light weapons in the region. The link between the transformation and escalation of cattle rustling and the spread of small arms and light weapons in the region make the phenomenon a key concern of law enforcement. There is in a sense a synergic relationship between the proliferation of small arms and light weapons and the escalation of cattle rustling, with the one feeding the other. Cattle rustling is common with other forms of conflict and provides a market for small arms and light weapons, while the ready availability of these weapons contributes to the escalation of cattle rustling<sup>24</sup>. Moreover, law enforcement agencies in the region are concerned that insecurity that arises from cattle rustling could provide cover for other serious crimes and that hardened and disgruntled 'rustlers' could be recruited into gangs, militias or terrorist cells<sup>25</sup>.

a. *Use of Regional Legal instruments:* The regional framework for stemming the proliferation of small arms and light weapons is the Nairobi Protocol<sup>26</sup>, Article 4 of which commits the States Parties to strengthen regional cooperation among law enforcement agencies "*in combating illicit circulation and trafficking in small arms and light weapons and suppressing criminal activities relating to the use of these weapons*"<sup>27</sup>. Cattle rustling ranks among the main criminal activities that are directly related to the spread of illicit arms<sup>28</sup> and the East African Police Chiefs Cooperation Organisation (EAPCCO) Protocol on Prevention, Combating and Eradication of Cattle Rustling in Eastern Africa seeks to address the issue holistically. When ratified in the member states the Protocol shall provide a framework for Parties who are signatories to the Protocol to work together in developing and implementing appropriate mechanisms to address the problem of cattle rustling.

The Protocol has four objectives (see Box 1). Its other substantive provisions are in Articles 4 to 12, the remainder being procedural provisions common to all regional instruments of this nature. The objectives of the Protocol are to be realised through the design and enforcement of legislative measures (Article 5), the establishment of agreed systems of branding and marking of livestock (Article 6), improvement of capacities of key law enforcement agencies (Article 7), organization of cross-border operations against cattle rustlers (Article 8), the promotion of public education and awareness to mobilise citizens against the practice of cattle rustling (Article 9), the promotion of

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<sup>24</sup> See generally Abdurahman Ame, op cit (note 4)

<sup>25</sup> See 'Message from Mr. Awad Dahia, Head of Interpol Sub Regional Bureau, Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Co-operation Organization' Mifugo Project Launch, *Daily Nation*, Thursday May 15, 2008, p. 36

<sup>26</sup> The Nairobi Protocol for the Prevention, Control and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region, the Horn of Africa and Bordering States, signed in Nairobi on 21<sup>st</sup> April 2004.

<sup>27</sup> Article 4(a)

<sup>28</sup> In the forward to the Kenya National Action Plan for Arms Control and Management, the Minister for Internal Security within the Eastern Africa region, small arms and light weapons "are the weapons of choice for **cattle rustlers**, carjackers, terrorists, pirates and insurgents focused on undermining legitimate governments" (Forward, p. iv; emphasis added)

development and alternative livelihoods opportunities in pastoral areas (Article 10), and institution of measures to promote mutual legal assistance and cooperation between law enforcement agencies (Articles 11 and 12).

<p><b>Box 1: Article 3: Objectives</b></p> <p>The objectives of this Protocol are to:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>Prevent, combat and eradicate cattle rustling and related criminal activities in the Eastern Africa region;</li><li>Systematically and comprehensively address cattle rustling in the region in order to ensure that its negative social and economic consequences are eradicated and that peoples' livelihoods are secured;</li><li>Enhance regional cooperation, joint operations, capacity-building and exchange of information;</li><li>Promote peace, human security and development in the region</li></ol>
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The aforementioned substantive provisions of the Protocol have informed the design of the Mifugo Project which a regional project is being implemented by the Institute of Security Studies (ISS) based in Nairobi<sup>29</sup>.

- Use of regional conflict management systems:* The use of the Conflict Early Warning (CEWARN)/ Inter Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) mechanisms to intervene with governments so that governments enable conflict mitigation activities by civil society.
- Enhanced cooperation between security chiefs.* For example the Kenyan and Ugandan security agencies (police and military) along the border usually liaise and collaborate for the return of animals. In addition due to this cooperation pastoralists from Ethiopia are now given letters from their security organs so that they are allowed to graze in Kenya without harassment from the Kenyan authorities<sup>30</sup>. Pastoralists from Kenya have also been given permission to graze in Uganda.

## 2.6.2 National Level Interventions

### **Kenya**

In Kenya the following approaches are being practiced to contain conflict arising from cattle rustling.

- Disarmament:* This has proved to be unsuccessful twice in the past due to various reasons. Despite the past failures the government is currently embarking on a nationwide disarmament again.
- Dialogue amongst leaders:* Facilitating peace dialogue among local leaders, district administrators, kraal leaders, local security chiefs, civil society and community meetings to discuss causes and effects of CR. When all the leaders are not involved, this can bring problems and can cause conflict. The government administration in Pokot Central is also now planning to involve the spiritual leaders (Laibons) who bless the raids. The objective is to convince them to stop sanctioning raids, as this may lead to a reduction in conflict.

<sup>29</sup> Odhiambo (2008). Situational Analysis to inform the implementation of the EAPCCO Protocol for the Prevention, Combating and Eradication of Cattle Rustling in Eastern Africa. ISS Report.

<sup>30</sup> ISS 2009: Capacity and Training Needs Assessment Report on the Implementation of the EAPCCO Protocol for Uganda.

- c. *Formulation of Grazing agreements:* Traditionally, grazing agreements between warring communities have been used as a way to bring out peaceful coexistence during the height of the annual dry season without the assistance of outsiders. These grazing agreements spell out the sharing mechanisms of water and pasture until the onset of the rains. Punishment mechanisms for errant members of the two communities were also spelt out by the elders and negotiators during these meetings with the establishment of traditional judicial systems in order to enforce peaceful co-existence<sup>31</sup>. More recently the government officials (District Commissioners bordering Uganda) have been negotiating with their Ugandan counterparts for grazing land for the Turkana who cross over the border with their livestock. Agreements and a Code of Conduct are drawn up by the authorities, Chiefs, Kraal leaders amongst others. This has led to peaceful grazing by the Turkana in Uganda<sup>32</sup>.
- d. *Dissemination of proceedings and resolutions* of peace dialogues to warring communities to cool down tempers of revenge and resort to problem solving rather than using violence to answer the wrongs that one group has committed against the other.
- e. *Education* of communities on modern government judicial system of practicing restorative justice other than resorting to extra judicial killing advocated by communities as a way of punishing wrong doers and rustlers who kill innocent people. For example the Turkana and the Dasanech justice system demands that when a person who has killed is caught, he too should be killed on the spot to satisfy the anxiety of the bereaved side. This does not conform to government laws and procedures of prosecuting a criminal where a person is presumed innocent until proved guilty by the court of law.
- f. *Peace Committees:* Currently a system of peace committees has been established from the national level to the grass root level under the National Steering Committee under the National Peace Building and Conflict Management Policy (2009). The peace committees are multi-stakeholder and include law enforcement agencies, provincial administration, traditional leaders, Members of Parliament (MPs) and civil society representatives.

## Uganda

- a. *Targeted Government Programmes:* The approaches that are being used by government are contained in the Karamoja Disarmament and Development Programme (KIDPP)<sup>33</sup> which uses a combination of forceful and non-forceful means. See Box 2. below.

### Box 2: KIDPP

The overall goal of the revised KIDPP is to contribute to human security and promote conditions for recovery and development in Karamoja. The programme aims implement a comprehensive and coordinated disarmament programme that will enhance peace building and development in Karamoja. Weapon collection activities are undertaken within the context of peace-building programmes, where efforts to remove weapons from society are linked with initiatives to address the root causes of conflict, including targeted development interventions that will reduce the incidence of poverty.

Under KIDPP there are a number of procedures to facilitate joint activities between Government, Development Partners and Civil Society in undertaking weapons collection. The programme involves, among others, the following:

<sup>31</sup> AU-IBAR (2005). Learning from Kaabong. A study conducted for Acacia Consultant by the author under the Sudan Peace Fund Programme.

<sup>32</sup> District Commissioner Loima district, Turkana.

<sup>33</sup> OFFICE OF THE PRIME MINISTER (2007). KARAMOJA INTEGRATED DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (2007). "Creating Conditions for Promoting Human Security and Recovery in Karamoja, 2007/2008-2009/2010".

- Measures to secure the international borders in order to contain the international trafficking in small arms and light weapons across the vast international borders. Once the international border is secured through effective strategic deployment of well equipped armed forces, and coordinated cross-border peace building initiatives, a series of multi-level holistic interventions will be undertaken primarily to enhance internal security of the people of Karamoja and their property (especially livestock), which will make the continued possession of illegal guns completely irrelevant, hence laying a lasting foundation for sustainable voluntary and peaceful disarmament. This will also be achieved by undertaking several other interventions, including the following:
  - (i) Piloting the establishment of a community-based security system in a few communities to draw lessons for the most appropriate and cost-effective mechanisms of containing internal raids;
  - (ii) Strengthening the capacity of the state to establish its authority and ensure law and order in Karamoja, in order to deal with criminal elements in Karamoja who use possession of illegal guns to terrorise unarmed populations in and outside Karamoja.
- Undertaking weapons collection initiatives coupled with efforts to tackle the root causes of conflicts, through, among others, support to the development of viable alternative sources of livelihoods, and physical social infrastructural development activities;
- Promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as building a foundation for peaceful conflict resolution and management;
- Soliciting the support of the wider public for weapons collection together with measures to control access to small arms and light weapons on the part of civilians as important preconditions for sustainable disarmament and development in Karamoja;
- Ensuring an appropriate balance between sanctions for non-compliance to voluntary disarmament and the provision of incentives to encourage voluntary surrender of illegal weapons, and lastly;
- Creating procedures for dealing with collected, seized or surrendered weapons to prevent their re-circulation into society.
- Devising measures to control and stop the proliferation and inflow of small arms, light weapons and ammunition into Karamoja both from within the country and from neighbouring countries in the region.
- Strengthening institutions for effective administration of justice and promoting good governance in the whole of Karamoja.

This Programme harmonises and integrates the Uganda People's Defence Force (UPDF) strategy and action plans, both from the previous and current disarmament exercises in order to clarify and establish crucial roles of the UPDF in the comprehensive programme for disarmament. The programme also provides a basis for undertaking disarmament that enhances sustainable peace building in Karamoja. The revision of the KIDDP involved Government officials, development partners (especially bi-lateral and multi-lateral donors); International development NGOs and national NGOs, as well as local civil society organisations operating in Karamoja. All the District Councils of Karamoja were consulted, in addition to selected Karamoja community leaders.

*b. Increasing security personnel:* The KIDPP programme complements the Restoration of Law and Order in Karamoja (RELOKA) programme being undertaken under the Police Anti-Stock Theft Unit. The RELOKA uses the community policing approach. Community policing focuses attention on police partnership with the communities it serves. Its intention is to produce a cooperate process of identifying police priorities and to provide a more efficient method of achieving results by a joint effort of the police and the communities it serves. The community should however, be at the center of this process. Recently the Uganda Police Force deployed 200 police officers under the RELOKA programme to boost security in Karamoja.

- c. *Identification and Branding*: Currently the Karimojong livestock are being marked with a brand which specifies the Country, District, County and Sub County<sup>34</sup>.
- d. *Livelihood Improvement*: Water provision for livestock is being improved by government and donors. Short maturing and high performing crops in wet season are being promoted in order to encourage changes in lifestyle from pastoralism to agriculture. Pilot farms are being supported by research institutions. The Ministry of Education has designed mobile schools for the Karimojong and the Veterinary department has trained Community Animal Health Workers (CAHWs) who move with pastoralists. Affirmative action is being taken in order to increase the numbers of Karimojong in higher education institutions, sports sector and formal employment.
- e. *Administrative units*: There are also efforts that are geared towards creating convenient administrative units for the Karimojong. These are based on different ethnic groups so that the different groups can be allocated social services that are specific to their needs thereby increasing the rate of development from the grass-root levels.
- f. *Public Awareness*: MPs who originate from Karamoja are also involved in public awareness campaigns with their constituents convincing them to change their lifestyles.

### **Southern Sudan**

The conflict management approaches include:

- a. *Dialogue*: In Southern Sudan, peace and reconciliation dialogues are usually sponsored by NGOs, faith based organisations and other development partners. These dialogues are often used to quell the violence.
- b. *Restitution*: Restitution of cattle is also addressed, however in some cases when one party is not compensated, they retaliate and the cycle of violence exacerbates.
- c. *Disarmament* by the Government of Southern Sudan was attempted in 2008 as a government directive. However it did not succeed as most armed citizens did not take it seriously and kept their arms<sup>35</sup>.
- d. *Traditional conflict resolution* by elders is also a common method used between warring factions.
- e. *Cross border committees*: More recently a technical cross border committee to address cattle rustling has been established between Kenyan and Southern Sudanese Authorities.

### **Ethiopia**

Ethiopia was not part of this study but has been included here because some Ethiopian communities mentioned earlier under section 2.1.2 are in conflict with communities of the Karimojong cluster over grazing areas.

In Ethiopia the following approaches<sup>36</sup> are used:

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<sup>34</sup> Ekuam D., (2009). Livestock Identification, Traceability and Tracking. Its role in Enhancing human Security, Disease Control and Livestock Marketing in IGAD Region.

<sup>35</sup> O'Brien A. (2009). Shots in the Dark: The 2008 South Sudan Civilian Disarmament Campaign.

<sup>36</sup> Michael et.al (2005). Addressing Pastoralist conflict in Ethiopia: The case of the Kuraz and Hamer sub-districts of South Omo Zone.

- a. *Encouraging a peaceful culture* in dealing with issues around territorial fluidity and reciprocity. Due to the risks and uncertainties inherent to pastoralism, reciprocal use of resources across different territories is a foundation of the pastoral system and ensures the survival of pastoralist groups. Whereas this sharing often causes conflicts, peaceful methods of sharing could significantly reduce conflicts.
- b. *Avoiding potential conflict areas*: Prior to migrating with their livestock in search of pasture and water, most pastoralist groups secretly send out some youth to assess the security situation in different areas. This means that the groups can choose to move to an area where conflict is less likely, if such an area exists.
- c. *Peace as an asset*: The traditional pastoralist system considered peace as a prerequisite and therefore peace-making groups exist in each ethnic group, for example the Ikumma sub-ethnic groups of the Bume, the Narch of the Dasenech and the Ris sub-groups of the Arbore are meant to facilitate peace negotiations among conflicting groups.
- d. *Culture of tolerance*: Under the traditional pastoralist system tolerance is an asset so that all conflicts do not necessarily have to lead to violence. The lead elder and the peace-making groups spend some time investigating the causes of conflicts to understand their origin, e.g. are they accidental, intentional, individual or group-motivated, and then make suggestions for peaceful resolution of these conflicts.
- e. *Intermarriage*: Conflicting ethnic groups widely practice intermarriage as a means to facilitate social harmony and cement peaceful relationships. For example, the Murle sub-ethnic groups of the Bume have intermarried with the Dasenech and are not involved in any conflicts with them. Intermarriage is also more frequent during periods of smooth trading between different groups. For example, during the harvesting season many Turkana women go to purchase sorghum from the Dasenech and eventually marry Dasenech men.
- f. *Mixed settlements*: In the past, there have been examples of different groups exchanging areas to settle in as a peace-building measure. For example, around 1985 a group of Dasenech settled in the Bume area of Kibesh. Although an unfortunate attack occurred against them, the Bume blamed the Toposa from Sudan, and the Dasenech remained peacefully among the Bume.
- g. *Trade*: During times of peace, exchange of commodities among neighbouring ethnic groups serves as a trust-building mechanism. For example, in the past, the Dasenech or Bume and the Turkana have exchanged crops, livestock and industrial products.
- h. *Education*: Some of the conflicting ethnic groups send their children to boarding schools such as in Turmi (Hamer) or in Kenya (particularly the Dasenech and Bume). This trend facilitates harmonisation among conflicting ethnic groups.
- i. *Compensation/restitution*: This is a common method however it has not proved to be successful e.g. A conflict between the Dasenech and Borena (Kenya) was resolved through the involvement of the Ethiopian Government. Some livestock were paid to the Borena by the government as compensation but conflicts recurred after some time.
- j. *Establishment of local militia*: The government's support for establishing and strengthening local militia to keep the peace is generally seen as a positive development by most pastoralist communities. However, there needs to be careful consideration of who controls these groups to make sure that they do not become actors in fomenting conflicts rather than solving them.

- k. *Community Policing* especially in trans-border activities: This assists the law enforcement agencies endear themselves to the people, so that they are able to derive information of any impending CR incidences and therefore institute preventative measures.
- l. *Intergovernmental Cooperation*<sup>37</sup>: This is one best practice example on inter-governmental conflict management and resolution that is implemented by the Oromia and Somali regional states. The Oromia – Somali Regions Bilateral Development Programme (BDP) is a five-year programme that is financed by the government, local communities and donors.

It is being implemented in 21 woredas of the Oromia region and 18 in Somali. It focuses on bilateral development programs of infrastructure and service delivery, capacity building, and governance, inter-community relations, cooperation and coordination.

The basic philosophy behind the programme is the reduction of poverty in the boundary areas shared by the regions “through effective and efficient coordination of economic, social and infrastructural development”.

### 2.6.3 Peace Building Approaches in the Cluster

For civil society the main approaches used fall under conflict mitigation, conflict resolution and peace-building and transformation activities. They usually target Government authorities, Communities (elders, women and youth) Opinion leaders, government line ministries, Members of Parliament and other stakeholders. Activities under each category are outlined below:

#### a. *Conflict Mitigation/Prevention*

Conflict mitigation encompasses all activities attempting to prevent the outbreak of violent conflict. Because of the cyclical nature of conflict, peace building attempts after a conflict will often overlap with conflict prevention activities.

Peace actors use the following approaches during this stage:

- ✓ Diffuse tensions among communities through dialogue and negotiations
- ✓ Tracking, recovering and hand over of stolen property/livestock
- ✓ Conflict Analysis
- ✓ Collection of Early Warning data
- ✓ Early Warning Response
- ✓ Advocacy for peace
- ✓ Formation of civil society cross border liaison committees
- ✓ Hold consultations with cross border actors
- ✓ Hold consultations over sharing natural resources and formalize social communities' contracts/agreements e.g. grazing agreements and peace agreements.
- ✓ Establish civil society cross border networks

#### b. *Conflict Transformation*

Refers to the difficult and long-term process of building appropriate attitudes, behaviors and structures within a society so that inevitable conflicts are not dealt with by the use of deadly force but are channeled into peaceful processes of social change. The following are the approaches used:

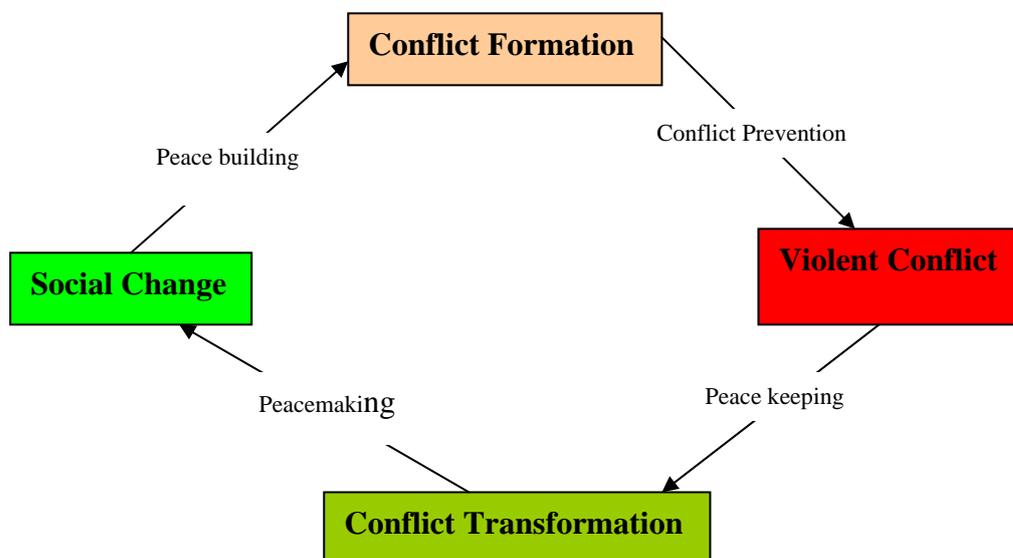
- ✓ Reforming former warriors through evangelism and training on other life skills.
- ✓ Establishment of peace clubs in schools.

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<sup>37</sup> Berhane N. (2009): Regions call for more federal support in interregional conflicts. News article in the “The Reporter”. Saturday 15 2009.

- ✓ Sports for peace e.g. Tecla Lorupe Race, Cross-border football matches
- c. *Peace building*: Includes the negative peace aspect of preventing direct violence and the positive peace aspect of eliminating structural violence by addressing underlying causes of war. It is a dynamic, participatory process that aims to transform existing or potential destructive conflict into sustainable peace, build upon justice and equity, trust and tolerance. The following are the approaches used:
- ✓ Establishment of socio-economic infrastructure, roads, health, water, social amenities, e.t.c.
  - ✓ Advocacy for peace in various forums,
  - ✓ Equitable sharing of social amenities and natural resources amongst warring communities,
  - ✓ Establishment and capacity building of institutions that can be used in development activities (women, elders, youth),
  - ✓ Building cross border markets to enhance e.g. Matheniko (UG) and Turkana (KE) market at Lokiriama,
  - ✓ Livelihood enhancement and diversification i.e. income generating activities, micro-enterprise development, revolving funds e.t.c.
  - ✓ Facilitating exchange visits between women, youth and elders from conflicting ethnic groups,
  - ✓ Establishing cross border linkages and networking.

The conflict cycle in Figure 1 below shows how the different stages are connected.



#### 2.6.4 Peace Building Actors in the Cluster

As a result of the increasing conflict in this area there have been concerted efforts by development actors in conflict resolution where the traditional efforts have failed or require strengthening. Thirty six organizations comprising of NGOs, CBOs, Faith based organizations, networks and quasi-government institutions addressing conflict were met during the field visit. They use various methods and approaches and they are detailed hereafter. The table below summarises the activities and areas of operation of those that were met and others who could not be reached but address conflict e.g. those in Nakapiripirit

Uganda. It should be noted that there are many more peace actors especially international NGOs in the cluster however this study was mainly focusing on local CBOs and NGOs. The CBO network was found to be well established in Kenya and Uganda but was weak in Southern Sudan.

## **KENYA**

<b>Institution</b>	<b>Status</b>	<b>Area of Operation</b>	<b>Activities</b>
1. SIKOM	Umbrella local NGO for 9 CBOs	North, Central and West Pokot	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peace building and conflict mitigation</li> <li>• Enhancement of pastoralist livelihoods</li> <li>• Education for Peace</li> <li>• Climate change and drought mitigation</li> <li>• Livelihood diversity and food security</li> <li>• Lobbying and advocacy</li> <li>• Civic education and awareness creation</li> <li>• Cross cutting issues-HIV-AIDs, gender</li> </ul>
2. KAMANAT	CBO	North, Central and West Pokot	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stop cattle rustling through discouraging early marriages / female genital mutilation (FGM).</li> <li>• Create awareness on the effects of FGM, early marriages</li> <li>• To stop more local training of warriors by advocating for education for both boys and girls.</li> <li>• HIV/AIDs advocate for behavioral change</li> </ul>
3. Pastoralist Area Development Organisation (PADO)	Local NGO	North, Central and West Pokot	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Formation of youth groups</li> <li>• Formation of peace village across border committee.</li> <li>• Opening markets in all conflicting tribes</li> <li>• Livestock health &amp; marketing information.</li> <li>• Training of CAHWs introduced to all conflicting villages.</li> <li>• Bee keeping enhanced</li> </ul>
4. POTU (Pokot-Turkana Welfare Association)	Local CBO	North, Central Pokot and Turkana South	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peace rallies/crusades/workshops</li> <li>• Gospel &amp; evangelization</li> <li>• Restocking of livestock for affected warriors</li> <li>• Strengthening traditional conflict mechanisms</li> <li>• Use women for Peace building</li> <li>• Networking &amp; collaboration</li> </ul>

			<p>with other stakeholders, provincial administration and local leaders, opinion leaders</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Micro-finance schemes through revolving funds</li> </ul>
5. District Peace Committee	Government institution	Pokot West	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Restocking for vulnerable groups</li> <li>• Support individual &amp; needy groups to avoid stealing.</li> <li>• Training of CAHWs</li> <li>• Cross border peace meetings</li> <li>• Voluntary surrenders of arms through dialogues</li> <li>• Establishment of cross border water and pasture committees.</li> </ul>
6. District Peace Committee	Government institution	Pokot North	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Similar to Pokot West</li> </ul>
7. Catholic Justice and Peace Commission (CJPC)	Faith based organization	Turkana, Pokot, Marakwet, Sebei, Trans-Nzoia districts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community mobilization through elders and youths.</li> <li>• Networking with different organisations and work with provincial administration</li> <li>• Involve politicians of both countries Kenya and Uganda.</li> <li>• Organize games and sports awards</li> <li>• Provide transport and lunches.</li> <li>• Assist in voluntary disarmament</li> <li>• Training in life skills</li> </ul>
8. National Council of Churches in Kenya (NCKK)	Faith based organization	Turkana, Pokot, Samburu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fostering of grazing agreements</li> <li>• Conflict Mitigation and Prevention</li> <li>• Formation of Pasture committees</li> </ul>
9. Action Aid	International NGO	Pokot North	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Education</li> <li>• Human Security</li> <li>• Resettlement of displaced persons</li> <li>• Women Rights and FGM</li> </ul>
10. Riam Riam Turkana Peace Network	Umbrella NGO	Larger district Turkana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improvement of community's safety and promotion of peace enhancing activities among conflicting communities</li> <li>• Ensure peace accords are entered to guarantee accessibility of communities to key natural resources for people and livestock</li> <li>• Promote the interaction of communities for cross border exchange of goods and services.</li> <li>• Facilitate jointly with</li> </ul>

			<p>government organ cross border intergovernmental meetings for understanding and promotion of relations</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Provision of communication gadgets for early warning and relay of information</li> <li>• Support to infrastructure development and essential amenities for conflict affected areas</li> <li>• Capacity building and enhancement of peace actors' capabilities</li> <li>• Mount and spear head a rights and advocacy campaign for good governance and service delivery pastoralists' safety.</li> </ul>
11. The Agency for Pastoralist Development (APAD)	Local CBO	Loima District, Turkana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peace Building and conflict transformation.</li> <li>• Market access and pastoral livelihoods enhancement.</li> <li>• Social cultural and Environmental Education.</li> <li>• Research and documentation/communication and information.</li> <li>• Other Cross cutting issues- Advocacy and governance</li> </ul>
12. Akosi	Local CBO	Turkana East and North	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improvement of communities access to medical services</li> <li>• Improvement of Animal health services</li> <li>• Peace-building and conflict management</li> </ul>
13. Turkana Rural Integrated Development programme	Local CBO	Turkana South	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Food security and Drought mitigation:</li> <li>• Natural resource management(Alternative livelihoods)</li> <li>• Health and Sanitation</li> <li>• Accessibility to safe portable water resources(water development)</li> <li>• Education</li> <li>• Conflict Mitigation</li> </ul>
14. Kapedo Educational and Development Association (KEDA)	Local CBO	Turkana East	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Education</li> <li>• Health care</li> <li>• Human Rights and Social justice</li> <li>• Conflict prevention and peace building</li> </ul>

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Environmental management and conservation</li> <li>• Micro-finance/enterprise development</li> <li>• Water, Hygiene and sanitation</li> </ul>
15. Turkana Pastoralist Development Organization (TUPADO).	Local NGO	Turkana South, North and West Districts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peace building and conflict mitigation</li> <li>• Animal Health</li> <li>• Livestock marketing</li> <li>• Micro credit scheme</li> <li>• Water and sanitation</li> </ul>
16. Adakar Peace and Development Initiatives (APEDI)	Local NGO	Turkana North District	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conflict prevention management and Response</li> <li>• Conflict early warning and Early Response</li> <li>• Primary Health services</li> <li>• Infrastructure Development</li> <li>• Support to education sector in Lokichoggio</li> <li>• IGA promotion for youth and women.</li> </ul>
17. Lokichoggio, Oropoi and Kakuma Development Organisation (LOKADO)	Local NGO	Turkana North District	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peace and conflict reduction</li> <li>• Appropriate basic education for Nomads – ABEN</li> <li>• HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns</li> <li>• Water resource development and sanitation</li> <li>• Micro enterprises development schemes</li> <li>• Livestock production and management</li> <li>• Environmental protection and management</li> <li>• Food security</li> <li>• Outreach primary health care</li> <li>• Sports for peace programme</li> </ul>
18. Lokichoggio Peace Organisation (LOPEO)	Local CBO		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peace building</li> <li>• Conflict Prevention</li> <li>• Rapid assessments</li> <li>• Development and humanitarian projects</li> </ul>
19. Lokori Micro - Enterprise LOMEDS	Local CBO	Turkana East	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Micro-enterprise development</li> <li>• Civic Education</li> <li>• Lobbying and Advocacy</li> <li>• Business Development Services</li> <li>• Peace Building and Reconciliation</li> </ul>
20. Elemi Conflict Resolution & Development Project (ECOREDEP)	Local CBO	Turkana North	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peace Building</li> <li>• Civic Education and awareness creation on development,</li> </ul>

			HIV/AIDs, <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Diversification on alternative livelihoods and issues concerning human rights.</li> <li>• Trainings and sensitization on good governance</li> </ul>
21. PRACTICAL ACTION	International NGO	Turkana West,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Livestock Development</li> <li>• Water Accessibility and Availability</li> <li>• Natural Resource Management</li> <li>• Peace Building and Micro Financing</li> </ul>

## UGANDA

Institution	Status	Area of Operation	Activities
1. Karamoja Agro-Pastoral Development programme (KADP)	Local NGO	Nakapiripirit and Moroto districts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Livelihoods Security</li> <li>• Sustainable Management of common Property Resources</li> <li>• Good Governance and Conflict Transformation</li> <li>• Policy Recognition and Support to Agro-Pastoralism</li> </ul>
2. Karamoja Women Umbrella Organization	Women Network	Larger Karamoja Region	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Capacity Building of women in conflict resolution, gender based violence, human rights</li> <li>• Income generating activities</li> <li>• Lobbying and advocacy</li> <li>• Networking</li> <li>• Peace building and conflict transformation</li> <li>• HIV/AIDs</li> <li>• Other cross-cutting issues</li> </ul>
3. Karamoja Initiative for Sustainable Peace (KISP)	Local CBO	Nakapiripirit and Moroto districts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peace building</li> <li>• Alternative livelihoods</li> <li>• Rapid Response</li> <li>• Early Warning and Response</li> </ul>
4. Riam Riam Civil Society Network	Network	Larger Karamoja region	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Networking and coordination</li> <li>• Policy lobbying and advocacy</li> <li>• Research and information management</li> <li>• Institutional strengthening and capacity building.</li> </ul>
5. Action for poverty reduction and livestock modernization in Karamoja (ARELIMOK)	Local NGO	Moroto district	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community dialogue between the Matheniko and the neighbours</li> <li>• Training peace committees in each of the sub counties of Matheniko.</li> <li>• Food Basket monitoring</li> <li>• Mobilization and sensitization of both negative and positive mothers for PMTCT services at the health centers.</li> <li>• Training of community resources persons, peer educators and GBV sub county focal persons and community sensitization</li> </ul>

			<p>workshops on HIV/AIDS prevention, care and support.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic empowerment of people living with HIV/AIDS through poultry keeping.</li> <li>• Piloting an Access to Justice Project</li> </ul>
6. Karamoja Peace and Environmental Protection Service (KAPEPS)	Local CBO	Larger Karamoja	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peace, Human Rights and Education</li> <li>• Environmental Protection and Management</li> <li>• Hygiene and Sanitation</li> <li>• Child Care and Development</li> <li>• Agricultural Development</li> <li>• Traditional Justice and Reconciliation</li> <li>• HIV/AIDS Awareness</li> </ul>
7. Dodoth AgroPastoral Development Organisation	Local CBO	Kaabong district	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community Animal health</li> <li>• Supporting income generating and Cereal banking activities for women and youth groups</li> <li>• Capacity building/training of women and Youth Groups</li> <li>• Peace building, Conflict transformation and mitigation</li> <li>• Human Rights education/awareness,</li> <li>• Gender and HIV/AIDS education</li> <li>• Lobby and advocacy for Pastoralist's rights</li> <li>• Democracy and Good Governance</li> <li>• Distribution of Relief Emergency Food</li> <li>• Food Basket Monitoring</li> </ul>
8. Kotido Peace Initiative	Local CBO	Kaabong and Kotido districts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peace building</li> <li>• Conflict Mitigation and Prevention</li> <li>• Development and humanitarian programmes</li> </ul>
9. Karamoja Diocese Development Services	Faith based organisation	Kotido district	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Health and Nutrition</li> <li>• Adult Literacy</li> <li>• HIV/AIDS</li> <li>• Human rights, women and child rights</li> <li>• Water and sanitation</li> <li>• Family Planning</li> <li>• Mainstream peace building in all activities</li> </ul>
10. Friends of Christ Revival Ministries (FOC-REVM)	Faith based organisation	Nakapiripirit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Support to OVCs</li> <li>• Income Generating Activities</li> <li>• Child protection</li> <li>• Support to OVCs</li> <li>• Peace and conflict mitigation programme</li> </ul>
11. Kadam Farmers Rural Organization (KAFARO)	CBO	Nakapiripirit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• FGM elimination.</li> <li>• Peace dialogue.</li> <li>• Improved agriculture both livestock and crops.</li> <li>• HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention.</li> <li>• Liaise with LCs' on BDR data collection.</li> <li>• Intervention of forced marriages and child abuse.</li> </ul>

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participating as volunteers during child immunization days.</li> </ul>
12. Community Action for Rural Development Options (CARDO).	CBO	Nakapiripirit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• OVC activities.</li> <li>• Hygiene promotion</li> <li>• Support to Resettlement sites</li> <li>• Supporting to girl child education and provision of scholastic materials.</li> <li>• Peace and conflict resolution.</li> <li>• HIV/AIDS awareness.</li> <li>• Child protection and management.</li> </ul>
13. Mandela Women group.	CBO	Nakapiripirit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention.</li> <li>• Environmental protection.</li> <li>• Education through informal.</li> <li>• Food security through NAADS prog.</li> <li>• Peace dialogue.</li> <li>• T.B. implementation and assistants.</li> </ul>
14. Nakapeliiese Community Integrated Development Organization (NACIDO)	CBO	Nakapiripirit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community mobilization on peace co-existence.</li> <li>• CRCM in community and neighbours.</li> <li>• Human rights awareness.</li> <li>• Improved crop farming methods and livestock keeping.</li> <li>• HIV/AIDS awareness.</li> <li>• Environmental protection and conservation.</li> <li>• Advocate for school going age.</li> <li>• FGM intervention.</li> </ul>
15. Karamoja Christian Ethno Programme (KACHEP).	FBO	Nakapiripirit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Agricultural productivity.</li> <li>• Environmental protection and conservation.</li> <li>• Peace and conflict resolution.</li> <li>• Evangelism.</li> <li>• Livestock and health development.</li> <li>• Poultry, Piggery and Rabbit keeping.</li> </ul>
16. WAR Against Poverty Illiteracy Ignorance in Karamoja (WAPIIK).	CBO	Nakapiripirit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• HIV/AIDs prevention.</li> <li>• Youth vocational skilled training.</li> <li>• Peace.</li> <li>• Agriculture.</li> <li>• Democracy and Good governance.</li> </ul>
17. Nakapiripirit Youth Alliance		Nakapiripirit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Capacity building for the youth.</li> <li>• HIV/AIDS awareness</li> <li>• Human rights for children, women and youth awareness to the community</li> <li>• Peace and conflict resolution.</li> </ul>
18. Pokot Zonal Integrated Development Programme (POZIDEP).	NGO	Nakapiripirit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Community education programme.</li> <li>• Animal health.</li> <li>• Hygiene and sanitation in rural areas.</li> <li>• HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention, PMTCT,</li> <li>• F.G.M. elimination</li> </ul>

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Supporting youth peace groups</li> </ul>
19. Youth Alliance in Karamoja	CBO	Nakapiripirit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Capacity building for the youth.</li> <li>• HIV/AIDS awareness</li> <li>• Human rights for children, women and youth awareness to the community</li> <li>• Supporting youth peace groups</li> </ul>

## **SOUTHERN SUDAN**

<b>Institution</b>	<b>Status</b>	<b>Area of Operation</b>	<b>Activities</b>
1. Toposa Development Association (TDA)	Local CBO	Kapoeta East County	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Livestock Development</li> <li>• Water</li> <li>• Hygiene and Sanitation</li> <li>• HIV/AIDs</li> <li>• Income generating activities</li> <li>• Peace building and conflict resolution</li> </ul>
2. Kapoeta Development Initiative (KDI)	Local CBO	Kapoeta South, North and East Counties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peace building and Conflict resolution</li> <li>• Hygiene and Sanitation</li> <li>• HIV/AIDs</li> <li>• Income generating activities</li> <li>• Education Recovery</li> </ul>
3. Losulia Rehabilitation and Development Association (LRDA)	Local CBO	Kapoeta South and East Counties	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Peace building and Conflict resolution</li> <li>• Livelihood enhancement</li> </ul>

### **2.6.5 Peace Committees**

In Kenya the government has established formal peace committees from the national to village levels. Thus every district has a District Peace Committee that is linked to divisional and village level peace committees. Local community members are members of these Peace committees. Currently the district peace committees are housed in the District Commissioner's office in every district. In Uganda and Southern Sudan formal government peace committees are absent. However NGOs, CBOs and Faith based organizations have formed peace committees with communities.

## **2.7 Mitigating NRM-based Conflicts**

### **2.7.1 Conventional Approaches**

#### ***a. Government***

By its very nature and general perception governments in the region have tended to adopt hard line approaches to the solution of pastoralist conflicts without necessarily bothering to address the root cause of such conflicts. Many of the conflicts are rooted in either one of the three aspects of access, management and ownership of natural resources. The violence that accompanies NRM-based conflicts has often led governments to embrace reactive and adhoc solutions to the perceived problems/root causes e.g. forceful disarmament. In doing so governments have been addressing the symptoms as opposed to the root causes.

Governments in the region fail to appreciate that it is partly the outcome of modern economic intrusion impinging on the socio-cultural setting of the pastoralists. Based on this interpretation, governments have criminalized cattle rustling among the pastoralist

communities but, they are unable to eradicate it. Out of frustration and inability to control what they consider as acts of lawlessness among the pastoralists, governments adopt draconian methods executed by indifferent security forces. As governments are prone to bias and favoritism towards one of the competing communities some methods have not endeared the governments to pastoralists and have led to indiscriminate and unprecedented violent cattle rustling and killings of communities perceived to be favored by the governments. The governments' reaction is the use of more force which subsequently attracts heavier reprisal by the communities and the cycle never ends.

Governments in the region and in collaboration with their development partners have increasingly promoted infrastructural development in the pastoralist areas. Such interventions include the making of access roads, building of livestock crushes and marketing outlets, provision of veterinary services, drought resistance seeds as well as social services like schools, hospitals etc. These interventions make valuable contributions that mitigate conflicts. With regard to natural resources, improved water catchment and retention techniques and range managements techniques have also been introduced to increase water and pasture resources. More expensive interventions like the sinking of boreholes are also undertaken.

During times of stress, relief foods, water tankering water and animal fodder is also provided. While these interventions are noble and indeed save many lives they are ad hoc and unsustainable. Some of the interventions have been a source of serious albeit inadvertent inter-community conflicts. For example, the location of boreholes can sometimes result in congregation of people and livestock in one place or the mushrooming of settlements within the vicinity of the borehole. This development results in tensions over the resource – land, water, pasture, trees etc – ownership between the local inhabitants and those who are lured by the availability of water and who migrate and settle.

In addition, congregating large numbers of livestock in one area can also lead to environmental degradation, itself a source of conflict. One of the solutions to the above problem is the deliberate involvement and inclusion of the relevant stakeholders in the conflict sensitive search for solutions.

### 2.7.2 Community-based Approaches

Naturally, conflicts are inevitable and range from minor disagreements, for example, over watering schedules to more serious issues like rape or murder, all of which are or can, in most cases, be successfully resolved between the contending parties. Various institutions and approaches, both conventional and traditional, e.g. local administration (government), faith leaders, elders etc. are employed to address the conflicts.

As nomadic pastoralism is a highly regulated system, the harsh and unpredictable nature of the environment has dictated the development of strong social obligations for use in times of drought, disease and conflict. Traditionally, migration, herd sharing and splitting, the redistribution of surplus livestock within social networks, and the formation of alliances with neighboring groups are strategies embraced to protect the communities against destitution in times of severe stress hence reducing violent confrontation<sup>38</sup>.

These intervention strategies are facing serious challenges and are largely ineffective. Although various ethnic pastoralist communities across the region differ in the details of their social organizational structures, cross-cultural comparison suggests that there exist common themes to the pattern of decision-making authority - approaches and practices - over natural resource management. Indeed, natural resource management units are usually clustered

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<sup>38</sup> Berger, (2003:246), *op. cit.*

around common resources regardless of the ethnic identity of the communities or conventional administrative boundaries. There has been growing emphasis placed on understanding traditional environmental management practices. This is in recognition of the fact that community-based multiple resource use rules have been in existence based on priority of user groups that include 'primary users' who are accorded the highest priority within their home territory, 'secondary users' who are granted seasonal access and 'tertiary users' who enjoy infrequent access to the resources in times of severe stress<sup>39</sup>. This is a reciprocal interdependence commitment amongst pastoralist communities.

Community-based mitigation approaches to natural resource-based conflicts across the pastoralist areas are generally hinged on the following premises:

- a. Recognition of the fact that the main cause of land degradation in the range areas is insecurity resulting from banditry and violent cattle rustling;
- b. Knowledge of the fact that inter-ethnic hostilities mean that prime grazing/reserve areas particularly, along border areas remains inaccessible. This results in a majority of the nomadic groups settling permanently in secure areas like the administrative centers;
- c. Understanding that degradation of the natural resource base can be used as a neutral entry point for the implementation of conflict resolution and peace-building activities;
- d. Acceptance that the majority of the fighting communities are conflict-fatigued from endemic violence. The communities are usually willing to discuss their problems and are confident that they can devise acceptable solutions;
- e. Realization that against the backdrop of diminishing natural resources and competition, intra- and inter-tribal conflicts over resources are bound to escalate if remedies are not found;
- f. Awareness of the fact that any community-based strategies developed should primarily complement the conventional efforts and that they should not attempt to replace the role of government, e.g. constituting issue-based fora e.g. resource user-groups or associations that focus on specific issues like water or pasture.

#### Objectives and Characteristics of community based approaches

The local mechanisms aim to resolve conflicts without resorting to state-run judicial systems, police, or other external structures. Their characteristics include:

- Local negotiations which can lead to ad hoc practical agreements which keep broader inter-communal relations positive, creating environments where nomads can graze together, urban people can live together, and merchants can trade together.
- Local mediation typically incorporates consensus-building based on open discussions to exchange information and clarification of issues. Conflicting parties are more likely to accept guidance from these mediators than from other sources because an elder's decision does not entail any loss of face and is backed by social pressure. The end result is, ideally, a sense of unity, shared involvement and responsibility, and dialogue among groups otherwise in conflict.
- Local mechanisms intervene to resolve community disputes before they escalate to large-scale violence or to prevent a resumption of violence after a period of calm.

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<sup>39</sup> Niamir-Fuller (1994) cited in Ben, Cousins (1996), 'Conflict Management for Multiple Resource Users in Pastoralist and Agropastoralist Contexts' (<http://66.249.93.104/u/undpsearch?q=cache:7rxVg4bcuwgJ:www.undp.org/seed/unso/text/pubhtm/pastoral-eng-cousins.htm+ben+cousins&hl=en&ie=UTF-8>) (Accessed January 2006).

- Generally one or both parties to a dispute request intervention by an elder, the elder council, or other community member. Occasionally, elders unite and take the initiative in forming a local council to represent the community's interests.
- Community members involved in the conflict participate in the dispute resolution process. These community members can include traditional authorities, elders, chiefs, women's organizations and local institutions.
- Poetry is a celebrated art form in many societies. Poets are highly respected in the community and have been traditionally involved in peacemaking. In many cultures, poetry is widely understood and enjoyed, and has the power to influence opinion. In inter-clan peace conferences, distinguished poets recite poems advocating peace.
- In many traditional societies in the Horn of Africa, religious men are somewhat dissociated from society at large. They are considered separate from warriors and are the repository of traditional wisdom and sometimes the vehicle of religious judicial systems, such as *Shari'a* law. This special place in society makes them an ideal link between feuding groups who might otherwise have been unable to establish a dialogue.

### The Process

- The elders function as a court with broad and flexible powers to interpret evidence, impose judgement, and manage the process of reconciliation.
- The mediator leads and channels discussion of the problem. Parties typically do not address each other, eliminating direct confrontation. Interruptions are not allowed while parties state their case. Statements are followed by open deliberation which may integrate listening to and cross-examining witnesses, the free expression of grievances, caucusing with both groups, reliance on circumstantial evidence, visiting dispute scenes, seeking opinions and views of neighbours, reviewing past cases, holding private consultations, and considering solutions.
- The process may be time-consuming and encourages a broad discussion of aspects that may seem unrelated to the central problem, as the mediator tries to situate the conflict in the disputants' frame of reference and decide on an appropriate style and format of intervention.
- The elders or other traditional mediators use their judgment and position of moral ascendancy to find an accepted solution. Decisions may be based on consensus within the elders' or chiefs' council and may be rendered on the spot. Resolution may involve forgiveness and mutual formal release of the problem, and, if necessary, the arrangement of restitution.
- Indigenous mediation of disputes can occur at any stages of a conflict, from on-the-spot mediation to prevent a violent outbreak to efforts to mitigate the more violent aspects of the conflict to efforts toward reconciliation after the dispute has escalated to violent conflict. These processes can take place before formal peace structures have been established.

### *Challenges to community-based mitigation approaches*

According to Kimani (2008), there are many challenges that hinder effective community-based mitigation approaches. These include for example, the questions of participation and representation, equity, gender, insecurity, recognition, sustainability etc. Many of these challenges can be adequately covered by adopting sensitive approaches and dispositions in the development of interventions. It must also be accepted that there exists traditional community-based approaches which need to be taken into account when considering

mitigating interventions. The main challenges to community-based mitigation approaches include:

- a) *Insecurity* - The question of insecurity remains a fundamental and cross-cutting challenge. By simply improving the security in pastoralist areas, the direct and spin-off benefits would have tremendous positive impact on the socio-political, -cultural and – economic wellbeing of the communities;
- b) *Climatic setbacks* – Frequent and prolonged drought in the pastoralist areas scuttles and seriously destabilizes the communities. Natural resource-based conflicts especially over water and pasture during the dry periods easily escalate and become violent. The limited available ‘development’ resources in the areas are redirected towards the management of the violent conflict in order to save lives. Insecurity also means that the available resources - pasture and water - located in hostile areas are not used while resources located in relatively secure areas are over-utilized;
- c) *Inadequate participation* – In the search for solutions to conflicts, the primary users or managers of the environment like the youth - warriors and herdsmen – are often not involved in important decision making processes. They are ignored in favour of elders and leaders who are thought to be the decision makers. Unfortunately, the elders may not necessarily be involved in the day-to-day management of the resources for example, in far away camps where the livestock has migrated. Here, the youth are solely responsible for the everyday decision making to guarantee the survival of their stock;
- d) *Untenable practices* - Reduced livestock movement within traditional home ranges because of increasing establishment of new settlements and changed land-use patterns has increasingly meant that traditional coping mechanisms are impracticable thus threatening pastoralist livelihoods;
- e) *Socio-transformation* - Rapid changes in socio-cultural, political and economic attributes that are themselves influenced by modern thinking and, not least, by the authority of the state machinery have left the pastoralist communities in limbo as they are not able to cope with the rapid changing environments and/or are not facilitated to do so;
- f) *Conflict transformation* - Fluidity and transformation of conflicts in the pastoralist areas that pose unprecedented problems, such as violence by and against women, children and the elderly is new amongst pastoralist communities and they are not able or do not have the capacity to address them;
- g) *Incompatibility* - Non-recognition of the community-based mitigation approaches in the conventional law. The incompatibility of the two approaches – traditional and conventional - and which render superiority to the conventional law means that the communities find it extremely difficult to enforce their own by-laws and/or those dissatisfied with decisions reached through traditional approaches turn to the conventional system. This frustrates and negates the entire traditional processes of conflict resolution of which the communities are more adept to.

*b. Development actors*

These include external players such as humanitarian and development organisations, United Nations (UN) officials, peacekeepers and official delegations.

The objective of development actors involving themselves in conflict management is to contribute to peace initiatives that can result in improved livelihoods for the target

communities. Approaches used, attempt to build on traditional structures for peace and conflict resolution and include:

- Creating opportunities for the interaction of conflict resolvers and mediators with other communities.
- Assisting local partners to evaluate some of the traditions and approaches to peacemaking that worked in the past, and thinking through how they can be helpful today.
- Sponsoring forums to develop comprehensive strategies for conflict mitigation activities in the region.
- Conducting workshops that focus on processes by which local groups can be empowered to help themselves in managing conflict.
- Using a lot of mass media (both electronic and print) as opposed to poetry.
- Facilitating processes of mitigation and mediation across warring parties – e.g. interethnic grazing and peace agreements. A good example of this was found in Turkana district where Practical Action and AU-IBAR had facilitated the commemoration of the “*burying of the hatchet*” between the Turkana of Kenya and Matheniko of Uganda. This peace accord has been in place since 1973 and is commemorated by both ethnic groups, government officials and other stakeholders every year. This accord has led to lasting peace on that corridor.
- Assisting in linking peace committees at the grassroots with government administration.
- *Inclusion of women:* External agencies have recognized the importance of the role of women in peace building and promote the inclusion of women in negotiations through measures such as:
  - a) Holding regional workshops to promote dialogue among women.
  - b) Holding peace crusades and exchange visits.
  - c) Sponsoring training to develop women’s conflict resolution skills.
  - d) Assisting women’s groups interested in developing peace education and civic education materials for use in schools and the media.
- Facilitating the evolution of regional women’s organizations as mechanisms for information-sharing and coordination in order to maximize participation of women in reconciliation and development processes.

### Challenges Facing CBOs

Despite the number of institutions involved in conflict resolution conflict continues unabated in the Cluster. CBOs have played a very big part in the past especially in integrating the traditional and conventional methods of conflict resolution but they continue to face challenges. The challenges listed below whilst focusing on CBOs also face some INGOS. They include:

- *Financial constraints:* This is one of the biggest impediments to CBO work. They are heavily if not entirely reliant on donor funding from International NGOs.
- *Lack of harmonised approaches in addressing conflict.* They deal with conflict on an adhoc basis, depending on whether they have funding or not and even use different

approaches depending on their funders. In Kenya and Uganda, rivalry amongst CBOs is also evident as they compete for the same funds from the same donors.

- *Lack of sustainability:* Due to their weak financial status they can only sustain peace building interventions as long as they have funding. When the projects end and there is no funding, they are unable to sustain any action and this leads to an escalation of conflict among their target groups. However faith based organizations are able to continue with peace interventions as part of their evangelical mission with or without donor funding. This has led to successes in transforming warriors e.g. in Pokot, the work of the CJPC has been commendable in this.
- *Lack of Transport and poor infrastructure:* The Karimojong Cluster is characterised by poor infrastructure such as roads, markets, health and education facilities. When there is a conflict incident it is important that the CBOs access the area as quickly as possible for rapid assessments and dialogue. This becomes a challenge as most of these CBOs do not own any transport and have to rely on the goodwill of the government and other institutions to avail transport, fuel and other necessities required for the mission. In addition the state of the roads is not good in most areas and it takes a long time to reach the conflict area.
- *Non delivery of peace dividends:* This is another area where CBOs have challenges due to their weak capacities. Peace building has to deliver peace dividends i.e. development interventions in livestock, water, pasture e.t.c. However due to their weak financial base and at times weak implementation capacities they are unable to deliver peace dividends. This is mainly the turf of international and established national NGOs.

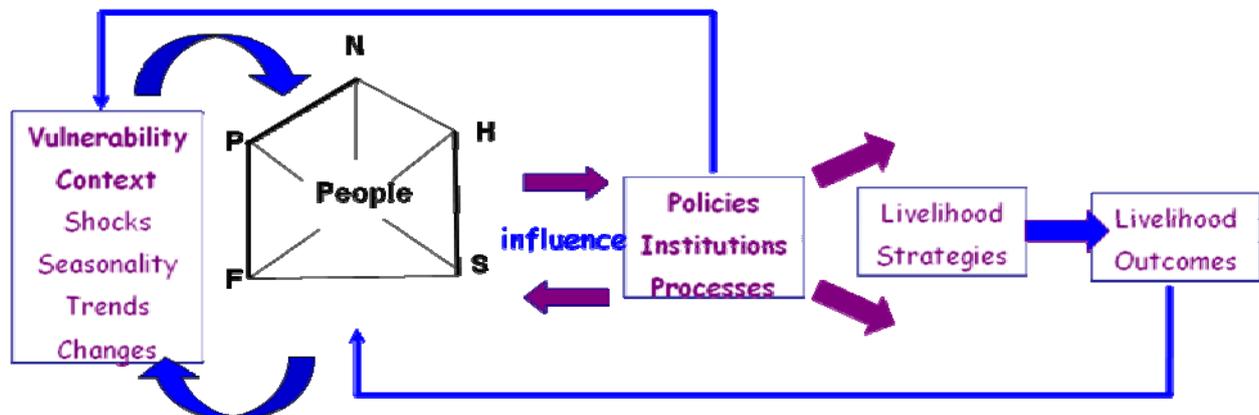
### 3.0 LIVELIHOODS

In the Karimojong Cluster, changes in land use, human and livestock populations, environmental destruction, prolonged drought and conflict have increased the pastoralists' vulnerabilities and abilities to cope leading to a large number opting for alternative livelihoods where possible. Those who have suffered the most are the ones who have found themselves destitute living lives that are alien to them in relief camps or slums. Traditional institutions have also changed with their effectiveness being weakened and in some areas totally disregarded as shocks and threats render pastoralists helpless thereby creating more individualistic societies.

Gender relations within pastoralist communities have also undergone changes due to persistent shocks and threats with women playing a more active role in bread winning and as the pastoralist man loses his occupation of herding livestock especially in the semi-sedentary, sedentary and destitute communities. The role of children has also changed with them being exposed to education for a better future as opposed to herding.

Due to increasing levels of poverty among the pastoralists as a result of their increased vulnerabilities, interventions by government and civil society have played big roles in assisting pastoralists make the transition from nomadism to embracing alternative livelihoods for their survival. Civil society comprising both INGOs and CBOs in particular has filled a vacuum left by the government in the provision of basic and essential services such as health, water, nutrition, education, animal health services, facilitating peace building and conflict resolution and providing humanitarian services during emergencies brought about by drought or conflict.

This section will address the different livelihood systems found in the Karimojong Cluster using the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework<sup>40</sup> which is depicted below. The definition of each component is detailed under each section.



#### 3.1 Livelihood Assets

There are five livelihood assets namely, social, natural, physical, human and financial. The sections below will define each asset and describe the status of the assets in the communities in the Karimojong Cluster.

<sup>40</sup> Adapted from DFID Sustainable Livelihoods Guidance Sheets

### 3.1.1. Social Capital (S)

Is taken to mean the social resources upon which people draw in pursuit of their livelihood objectives. These are developed through networks, membership of more formalised groups which often entails adherence to mutually-agreed or commonly accepted rules, norms and sanctions; and relationships of trust, reciprocity and exchanges that facilitate co-operation, reduce transaction costs and may provide the basis for informal safety nets amongst the poor.

In the Karimojong Cluster it was found that cultural social networks amongst the different ethnic groups are still strong in some communities but have been seriously eroded in other communities by formal structures such as government and non-governmental structures. For example in Pokot the cultural structures are still very strong and cattle raiding is still blessed by the elders and spiritual leaders. However amongst the Jie and Matheniko of Uganda, elders and spiritual leaders are no longer revered as the formal government systems are recognized.

In addition amongst all communities there has been a proliferation of organized groups such as women, youth, men all having different activities such as micro-enterprise, peace building, water management, community animal health, environmental management e.t.c In this way these groups can be assisted in development by government, CBOs and NGOs groups.

### 3.1.2 Natural Capital (N)

Is the term used for the natural resource stocks from which resource flows and services (e.g. nutrient cycling, erosion protection) useful for livelihoods is derived. There is a wide variation in the resources that make up natural capital, from intangible public goods such as the atmosphere and biodiversity to divisible assets used directly for production (trees, land, etc.).

With respect to natural capital, pasture, water, land, crop production and livestock are what the Karimojong communities rely on. Currently their natural assets have been severely eroded due to the effect of climate change which has brought about persistent drought. The effects have been the loss of livestock, and livelihoods. Thus the Karimojong have turned to other livelihood practices such as charcoal burning which has eroded their natural capital further.

### 3.1.3 Financial Capital

Denotes the financial resources that people use to achieve their livelihood objectives e.g. savings and livestock and regular inflows of money.

For the Karimojong, livestock still remains their main financial asset hence the non ending cattle raiding episodes. However governments and civil society have stepped in to introduce alternative income generating activities such as crop production (Uganda), micro-enterprise development for women groups and youth e.g. petty trade, carpentry, livestock trading, brick making, cash for work programmes. These alternatives are meant to assist the communities have other sources of income so that they reduce their reliance on livestock which is lost either lost through drought or conflict.

### 3.1.4 Human Capital (H)

Represents the skills, knowledge, ability to labour and good health that together enable people to pursue different livelihood strategies and achieve their livelihood objectives.

Education of children is being enforced/implemented by governments and civil society in all communities in the cluster. It is through education that the youth will not have time to raid as their attitudes on cultural raiding will be changed. In addition through the teaching of life skills

in schools especially at secondary level, it is highly unlikely that once the youth leave school they will take to raiding. However, when idle a lot of the educated youth engage in criminal activities.

### 3.1.5 Physical Capital (P)

It comprises of the basic infrastructure and producer goods needed to support livelihoods. It includes: affordable transport, secure shelter and buildings, adequate water supply and sanitation, clean, affordable energy; and access to information (communications).

Apart from Southern Sudan, Kenya and Uganda have increased the road networks in the Karamoja clusters. There are also roads being developed to link ethnic communities across various border points especially between Kenya and Uganda.

The governments and civil society are increasing water accessibility and availability in all three countries for both humans and livestock through construction of water pans, dams, drilling boreholes e.t.c. However more needs to be done as water is still the high on the list of priorities for the Karimojong.

Provision of adequate energy by government continues to be problem in the cluster and as such communities utilize firewood and charcoal thereby causing massive destruction of indigenous vegetation leading to soil erosion and land degradation.

With respect to communication, the establishment of the mobile telephone networks has contributed to easier communication in the cluster. While it is a positive aspect of development, cattle raiding is also now organised and planned over the phone! This makes it difficult for law enforcers who were used to monitoring where planning meetings were taking place in order to apprehend the culprits before the raids took place.

### **3.2 Policies, Processes and Institutions**

With respect to policies, processes and government institutions, policies governing the various countries are different and so are the governance systems. Kenya has a centralized system, Uganda a devolved system, Ethiopia and Southern Sudan, federal systems. Thus when addressing conflict across international borders, these different systems prove to be impediments as the policies and structures that deal with conflict are different. For example the military is involved in Ethiopia, Uganda and Southern Sudan when it comes to livestock recovery. But in Kenya it is the Police and not the military that are involved. In Uganda the military until recently used to protect the cattle of the Karimojong in protected kraals during the disarmament process but in the other countries this was not the same.

In addition disarmament processes are not taking place in all the countries at the same time or are being implemented in different approaches. Even within countries some communities have been disarmed more than others thus bringing about more animosity between communities. In Uganda due to the failure of the equitable disarmament of communities, cattle rustling in on the increase again and communities are rearming themselves.

Development programmes by the three governments in the Karamoja cluster are geared towards provision/enhancement of basic services such as water and food. In Uganda the Karamoja Integrated Disarmament and Development Programme and in Kenya the Arid lands Resource Management Programme have been specifically designed to address development issues in areas that fall within the cluster.

### 3.3 Vulnerability Context

This frames the external environment in which people exist. People's livelihoods and the wider availability of assets are fundamentally affected by critical trends as well as by shocks and seasonality – over which they have limited or no control.

The external shocks that pastoralists in the Karamoja cluster are grappling with and which have raised their vulnerability levels are drought and conflict. These two have eroded their assets and increased the poverty levels. Livestock is decimated by drought and conflict and social networks are destroyed as communities disintegrate in order to survive. Survival strategies include moving to urban areas to look for casual labour where they become exposed to other shocks such as HIV/AIDs. Generally pastoralists are more vulnerable now than they were in the past due to the factors discussed in the various sections.

### 3.4 Different Livelihood Strategies in the Karimojong Cluster

There are three emerging livelihoods based on the information collected in this study, nomadism, agro-pastoralism and destitutes. The characteristics are defined below depending on the different livelihood strategies being practiced by different groups, with the sustainable livelihoods framework in mind.

#### A. Nomadism

- Nomadic pastoralism is still prevalent especially in parts of Pokot, Turkana and Southern Sudan since most of the land is semi-arid and arid with scarce water sources and the potential for non pastoral development is low.
- The driving force of the nomads remains and will continue to remain the search of water and pasture for their livestock, leaving them exposed to drought and conflict.
- Access to basic services, roads, schools, hospitals, communication (physical capital) is improving but minimally.
- The most important livelihood capital is the natural capital in terms of land, water, pasture and most importantly livestock which also serves as financial capital when the need arises. However the least developed is the financial as they are a mostly cash less society.
- The social capital where kinship and traditional institutions fall remains strong with the nomads and is expected to remain so as long as nomadism survives as this is what mostly dictates their migration patterns.
- Policies and processes that affect their lives will continue to evade them as their means of survival which is governed by mobility will continue to utilise most of their time and energy.
- The human capital in terms of skills and knowledge to sustain nomadism as a livelihood strategy will prevail as other options may not be available to them. Their human capital is expected to improve as more of them are seeing the value of education which can lead to an alternative way of life.
- Access to markets for their livestock will continue to be a problem unless the government invests in marketing infrastructure. There are efforts on this front especially along the Kenya- Uganda border. However insecurity caused by cattle raiding threatens these markets.
- However the continuous exposure to shocks and threats such as drought, conflict, and population pressure with the continuous erosion of coping strategies will result in an increased number of nomadic pastoralist drop-outs, who will be forced into alternative

livelihood strategies or will become squatters.

- Poverty levels of nomadic pastoralists are also expected to rise in future due to them being pushed into drier areas where their animals are unlikely to survive the intensifying drought periods coupled with conflict.
- The total population of purely nomadic pastoralists is expected to decrease as more and more of them turn to alternative livelihoods that do not involve livestock keeping.

#### **B. Pastoralists with Alternative Livelihoods**

- These pastoralists live a semi sedentary or sedentary lifestyle and this form of livelihood was found in all areas visited in varying degrees. It was prevalent close to urban areas. They were found in the three countries. More than 80% of the Karimojong in Uganda fall in this category.
- Their main purpose is to survive with or without livestock and as such many have embraced formal employment, agriculture, petty trade, charcoal burning, brick making, mining precious minerals and livestock trade which is now seen as a commercial enterprise as opposed to the nomads who also view it as a form of prestige.
- These pastoralists value education as they see it as another means to survival. As more pastoralists drop out of nomadism the population of pastoralist children attending school is expected to rise in future increasing their human capital.
- Due to their sedentarisation their access to basic services is high and therefore their physical capital is expected to grow.
- Their natural capital is also increasing as in addition to land, water and pasture the agro-pastoralist have crops from which to earn a livelihood.
- Their access to financial capital is also growing as they acquire more assets that they can be turned into financial capital as opposed to only owning livestock. Most acquire land and other property as they engage in business enterprises.
- The social capital in this category is decreasing as seen in Karamoja Uganda due to decreasing values attached to traditional institutions and social kinship as exhibited among the younger educated generation. In addition, and due to sedentarisation individualism is increasing.
- Their exposure to policies and processes that affect them is increasing as they increasingly become educated and interact with other communities.
- They are still vulnerable to shocks such as drought and conflict over water and land. Their vulnerability is expected to increase due to the occurrence of new shocks such as HIV/AIDs, population pressure and the emergence of new diseases due to sedentarisation e.g. waterborne diseases as a result of changed water and sanitation conditions.
- As a whole the population of this category is expected to rise significantly as more nomads drop out. As a result the transition into a sedentary or a semi sedentary life will be a challenge for them and they will be walking on a tight rope in order to succeed in their new livelihood strategies as opposed to being squatters with both lifestyles being foreign to them.
- As regards poverty incidence in this group, the pastoralists succeeding in this alternative lifestyle increase their wealth while the ones who do not will continue eking out a living on the brink of poverty. The wealth or poverty status is determined by how well the nomadic pastoralist adjusts to the new lifestyle.

### C. Pastoralists with minimal assets or Destitutes

- This group of people is found in the three countries
- These are the pastoralists referred to as squatter pastoralists or in modern terms Internally Displaced People (IDPs). These pastoralists are the worst hit by drought or conflict and are usually found around urban centres and are almost permanently on relief as they have lost all livestock, in some areas land and have found themselves without any significant material or financial assets.
- They have almost no natural capital to speak of, be it land or livestock, and unless there are interventions assisting them to acquire these resources they eke out a living in absolute poverty.
- Given a chance if they do not stay in the relief centres for a long time and are able to acquire livestock they are likely to return to nomadic pastoralism.
- Their financial capital is weak as they have no assets that they can turn into money except offer casual labour to the residents of the urban centre, or engage in petty trade, illicit liquor or prostitution. In some places crime rates increase with the increased population of destitutes due to desperation.
- Their human capital tends to be limited as the skills that they possess are for surviving a nomadic life and not a sedentary one.
- Their physical capital increases when they move to the urban centres where they try and eke out a living. However accessibility to these facilities may be limited as they have limited financial capital.
- The social capital in the form of traditional institutions and social ties will be non-existent as they are usually displaced from different places and the family unit/ethnic units have disintegrated. They usually turn to government institutions/ relief agencies/NGOs/CBOs for leadership and guidance.
- Poverty levels are highest in this group due negligible natural and financial capitals and weak social capital.
- This group of pastoralists is usually not conversant with policies and processes that affect them due to disorientation.
- They are vulnerable to shocks such as HIV/AIDs, disease outbreaks and malnutrition as opposed to drought and conflict.
- Pastoralists in the Karimojong cluster who are unable to manage their transition into an alternative livelihood appropriately will enter this category.

### 3.5 Implications for the different livelihoods scenarios in the Karimojong Cluster

The links between the nomads and agro-agro-pastoralists is evident: nomads pay for the services provided by the settled pastoralists. The latter provide the essential linkages with the outside or modern world. They are also in the best position to explore different options for diversification of the pastoral production system. The interaction and mobility between the destitute and the other two groups is fairly limited as there are relatively few people who succeed to acquire enough livestock again and move back to nomadism.

Even though it might be relatively difficult to reach the nomads directly, it has been observed that support to the agro-pastoralists is an appropriate strategy to strengthen the pastoralist production system indirectly. This will also improve the linkages between both categories. Seen in the same way, also pastoralist friendly health and education services, balancing settled and mobile services, are extremely relevant.

Target group differentiation is a good tool to identify and assess current and future activities and programmes. Proper targeting should thus ensure the relevance of programmes and activities being implemented to address constraints identified. Each target group requires different approaches, interventions, organisations and skills to achieve lasting and effective results<sup>41</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup> Oxfam et.al (2005). Pastoralists Special Initiatives Research Project

## 4.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 4.1 General Recommendations

From the above approaches shown in different countries it is clear that different countries are blending the formal and traditional approaches in addressing natural resource based conflict as one cannot work without the other. The following approaches are recommended:

- *Inclusion of Ethiopia.* Ethiopia should be included in the AU-IBAR programme as the Merille ethnic group in southwestern Ethiopia are part of the conflict experienced in the Karimojong Cluster and interventions have to address the situation holistically.
- *Peace Education:* Peace building should start at the family level and stakeholders should mainstream this in their daily sensitization and awareness raising work. Peace should form an important part of the school curricular to inculcate the love for peace in the next generation. Governments should promote the formal integration of research studies in peace and conflict into the syllabus at all levels of the education system.
- *Addressing root causes through livelihood improvement:* This will come with more education being encouraged and pastoralist children having an alternative way of livelihood with newly acquired skills. In addition ensuring peace dividends such as provision of basic necessities such as schools, roads, human and livestock health services and opportunities for cross border trade in the Karimojong Cluster will enhance incomes and livelihoods in addition to peace education.
- *Enhancement of inter-linkages among livestock producers and pastoralists<sup>42</sup>* can be used to develop domestic and international markets for meat and milk. This can be done by control of trans-boundary animal diseases (e.g. Foot-and-Mouth disease, Rift-Valley fever, Peste des Petits ruminants, etc.) as a prerequisite for tapping into global markets. For instance, stringent sanitary standards for international trade in animals and animal products have limited the export of livestock products to profitable international markets (e.g. from countries of the Horn of Africa to Saudi Arabia).
- *Public awareness:* Civil society organizations should be persistent and consistent on the sensitization of citizens about their rights, the laws that govern them, the dangers of manipulation and exploitation by selfish people as a safeguard against the re-occurrence of conflict. Communities at all levels also need to develop a deeper understanding of peace and justice as a basis for development because peace and justice are part and parcel of development.
- *Punishment of crime:* Cattle rustlers should not be allowed to get away with crime through traditional or formal conflict resolution approaches.
- *Blending of traditional and modern approaches:* Develop and empower the traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution. The best aspects of traditional and modern approaches should be intertwined in mediation, negotiation, arbitration and reconciliation for better results.
- *Gender Mainstreaming:* Approaches should involve all genders as all are involved in one way or another in cattle rustling. For example women urge their men and sons to go for raiding so that they can bring wealth back.

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<sup>42</sup> IFAD (2009). Livestock and Pastoralists. Communities of Practice for pro-poor livestock and fisheries/aquaculture development. 12-13 January 2009, Rome, IFAD Headquarters

- *Enhancement of access to natural resources*: Equitable access to land, water resources and secure land-use systems, including protection of pastures from encroachment and strengthening of local and/or customary systems so that they are better able to negotiate dry-season access to key resources for pastoralists.

## 4.2 Specific Recommendations for various issues<sup>43</sup>

Once the causes of natural resource based conflicts are clustered, it is possible to develop generic interventions to tackle them. Such interventions would include the following:

### 4.2.1 Management and use of water

- Water management committees responsible for scheduling watering timetable should be established at all the important range water points.
- The water management committees should prepare water management schedules and rota to accommodate herders from neighboring communities.
- Migrant herders should report to the area water management committees for inclusion in the water use schedules.
- Herders who fail to respect the established watering schedules should be penalized without favoritism. The penalty should be commensurate with the degree of the offence.
- Appropriate water sources should be identified and developed.

### 4.2.2 Management of Grazing areas

- Environmental Management Committees (EMCs) should be established and be charged with the responsibility of elaborating wet and dry season grazing management plans in their areas
- Local leaders and EMCs to inform and report movements of their livestock to their counterparts should there be any intention to move into the neighbor's grazing areas
- Each group of fora herd moving to a neighbor's territory should have a leader known to the entire group
- Representatives of the fora herds and resident Environmental Management Committees including their local leaders should jointly work out procedures of maintaining peace in the shared grazing areas.
- Fora herds should honor and respect area specific grazing management by-laws of the host communities Thus if grazing agreements are to be formulated the following is required<sup>44</sup>:
  - a) They should be reviewed annually and on a seasonal basis before the community in need migrates to another ethnic groups' traditional grazing area. The agreements should spell out grazing allocations, punishments systems, code of conduct, compensation mechanisms, who is responsible for what e.t.c.
  - b) During agreement formulation, 'interethnic courts' made up of elders and community leaders from both of the communities grazing together should be established for the punishment of offenders.
  - c) Implementation and monitoring mechanisms should be spelt out in the agreements with clear roles and responsibilities on all sides. External actors e.g. local administrators, law enforcement agencies and development actors, can also be useful in the monitoring process and their roles should also be spelt out in the agreement.
  - d) If there are different sub-groups with different alliances, their rights should also be spelt out.

<sup>43</sup> Kimani, M, J, (2008): 'Natural Resources Conflicts in Africa: Is Water Really the New Oil?' Conference UNECA, Addis Ababa-Ethiopia, Nov.13–14, 2008.

<sup>44</sup> AU-IBAR (2005). Learning from Kaabong. Sudan Peace Fund Programme.

- e) The agreement should be documented and signed by all stakeholders.
  - f) Facilitators of the negotiations must be familiar with the complex structures of the ethnic groups, their sub groups, alliances and their full implications during agreement formulation. The full implications of the alliances may not have been fully appreciated by the various actors who were facilitating the agreements.
  - g) Elders of the ethnic group migrating should inform authorities on both sides well in advance about the numbers of people that will be crossing the border, numbers of livestock etc after they have been granted grazing permission by their hosts.
  - h) The roles of the peace committees of both sides should be spelt out clearly in the grazing agreement.
  - i) Minor incidences of theft, looting, misconduct, etc should be addressed expeditiously, so that they do not lead to major raids.
  - j) Grazing agreements used to function in the past and there is no reason why they should not function presently if all the right ingredients are put into them. However peace actors will have to endeavour to find out what will make a grazing agreement stay honoured as the context of the past has changed with the coming of the gun and the encroachment into dry season grazing areas. A lot more effort needs to be put into their implementation, monitoring and punishment systems by all stakeholders.
- Penalties should be decided, agreed upon and imposed on those violating the laid down by-laws and requirements.
  - Sick animals should be isolated and excluded from the migrating stocks until they are treated and certified to be disease free. Disease outbreaks should be reported immediately to the relevant authorities.
  - Those who disregard the disease control measures should be punished accordingly.
  - Fora herders led by their representatives should thank and bid their hosts farewell before moving back to their respective areas

#### 4.2.3. Reducing exploitation of natural resources (trees and wild animals)

- Local leaders and elders should enforce the EMC by-laws on conservation of trees and other natural resources.
- The EMCs and leaders should be sensitive to the community on the importance of conservation.
- Leaders and the EMCs should encourage the herders to use alternative materials for building their shelters e.g. using stones where such materials exist.
- Those violating area specific rules and regulations of conserving useful tree species should be penalized in accordance with the extent of destruction caused.
- The herders should be responsible for putting out fires immediately they start in the grazing areas.
- Local leaders and EMC should sensitize fora herders on the dangers and damages of uncontrolled fires.
- The EMCs and elders should investigate cause of fires and depending on the extent of the destruction caused, impose penalties on those found starting the fires intentionally.
- The relevant wildlife authorities should train the EMCs on the importance of conserving wildlife.
- The rules should be clear on the process and amount of compensation one is entitled to in the event of damage suffered or caused by wild animals.
- Local leaders and the EMCs should be involved in the prosecution of poachers.

#### 4.2.4 Accessing range resources in neighboring territories

- Local leaders and the EMCs should promote sustainable utilization of grazing resources in their areas.
- Local leaders and elders should urge their people to honor and respect their neighbor's grazing territories
- Communities leaders should officially communicate to their counterparts movements of their for a herds and livestock into their territory
- Migrant herders should bring letters of introduction from their leaders and to report to the local leaders and the EMCs of the area they move into
- Fora herds from other districts, provinces or countries should return home once the weather conditions in their own areas improve.

#### 4.2.5 Reducing banditry, raids and murders

- Peace or dialogue committees should be established at the lowest administrative levels possible. They should be charged with the responsibilities of punishing those who hide criminals.
- Peace committees should report crimes committed in their areas to the relevant authorities e.g. the police.
- People involved in robbery with violence and murder should be arrested by the Peace committees and handed over to the authorities.
- Neighboring Peace Committees to maintain contacts with each other and should report on strangers or suspicious looking people passing through their areas.
- Leaders and Peace Committees of the areas where the trails of raided/stolen livestock ended should direct the security personnel to where the raided animals are hidden failure to which livestock from their herds should be confiscated until the raided livestock is recovered. If the stolen livestock is not found within three days the confiscated livestock should be handed to the relevant authorities until all the stolen animals are recovered
- Penalties should be decided, agreed upon and imposed on those found with stolen livestock. A simple criteria like the one below should be adopted:
  - For every 1 goat stolen the fine could be 5 goats
  - For 1 head of cattle stolen a fine of 3 heads of cattle
  - For every 1 camel stolen a fine of 3 camels
  - For every 1 donkey stolen a fine of 3 donkeys
  - For any tools and equipment stolen a fine of 2 goats
- Local leaders and peace committees to discourage their people from maintaining bad customary practices that encourage thefts and murder

#### 4.2.6 Improving dialogue between different ethnic groups

- Frequent meetings between leaders, elders, Peace Committees and Environment Management Committees from different ethnic groups and neighboring areas to be promoted in order to foster peaceful coexistence
- Local leaders to be dedicated and to be encouraged to live within their communities rather than moving into the trading centers
- Local leaders and elders to cooperate in solving problems immediately they arise and not wait for them to fester and break into violent confrontations
- Leaders and peace committees to investigate rumors thoroughly and take action against those spreading them
- Peace committees to put in place measures for dealing with emergencies and natural calamities e.g. prolonged drought/famine
- Local leaders to appreciate the roles of elders and delegate responsibilities to them

#### 4.2.7 Disciplining among herders and vigilantes

- Local leaders and elders should urge the youth, warriors and herders to abide by peace agreements reached at in order to maintain peace and harmony between the communities,
- The youth, warriors and herders should have leaders in-charge of the fora herds.
- Local leaders should encourage elders to solve small petty problems in their areas according to their customary laws.
- The security agencies should provide adequate training on handling of firearms to the vigilante groups.
- The vigilante groups should appoint leaders who are known to the community and the relevant authorities.
- Peace Committees and elders should be involved in the identification and selection of vigilante group members.
- The vigilante groups should be issued with official uniform and identification documents.
- Peace Committees and elders should ensure that the welfare of the vigilante group members is taken care off.
- Any member of a vigilante group who misuses a firearm should be asked to hand it over and should be reported to the relevant authorities.

In conclusion, a number of factors can affect the failures and successes of all the approaches. The approaches have to be holistic and integrate both modern and traditional methods to achieve comprehensive peace for the betterment of the enhancement of human security in the region.

#### **4.3 Recommendations on Strengthening CBOs and District Peace Structures**

Regarding the strengthening of CBOs and local peace structures in the Karimojong Cluster the following are the recommendations:

- e. A criterion for choosing the CBOs to be assist needs to developed based on their activities and complementarity with the AU-IBAR programme.
- f. Capacity assessments will then have to be undertaken for the chosen CBOs.
- g. A capacity building plan will then be developed and implemented in the course of the programme.
- h. The CBOs that are found to be weak but relevant to the programme need to be mentored/supported through bigger organizations in the area such as national NGOs or INGOS.
- i. An exit strategy will need to be developed by the programme from supporting the CBOs in order to enhance sustainability and reduce dependency.

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## ANNEX 1: ITINERARY

DATE	PLACE	ACTIVITY
7/02/2010	Nairobi-Kitale	Travel
8/02/2010	Kapenguria, Pokot West	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Visited SIKOM and talked to MR. AKAULE</li> <li>• Visited KAMANAT CBO and talked to Leah Psiya &amp; Grace Kaimasach</li> <li>• Made courtesy call at the DC West Pokot Mr Nyamberi (DO1)</li> <li>• Talked to DPC West Pokot Chairlady-Mary Mariech</li> <li>• Met NCKK-Mr, William Loupa</li> <li>• Talked to CJPC-Mr, Krop</li> <li>• Visited PADO in Chepareria and talked to Geoffrey Sangwatei</li> </ul>
9/02/2010	Pokot North	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Met DPC Chairman North Pokot, Mr. Simon Aleu</li> <li>• Visited Kanyerus and talked to the Community</li> <li>• Visited Action Aid Kongelei DI.</li> </ul>
10/02/2010	Pokot North	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Travelled to Kanyarkwat and Katikomor and talked to community.</li> <li>• Took GPS readings of grazing areas</li> <li>• Travelled to Kasei and talked to community</li> </ul>
11/02/2010	Pokot Central	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Travelled to Alale</li> <li>• Courtesy call at the DC-North Pokot</li> <li>• Held community meeting in Alale.</li> <li>• Travelled back to Makutano through Amudat</li> </ul>
12/02/2010	Pokot Central to Turkana Central	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Travelled to Sigor</li> <li>• Courtesy call at the DC-Central Pokot met with DO 1.</li> <li>• Travelled to Turkwel, met with POTU.</li> <li>• Took GPS reading in Turkwell</li> <li>• Travelled to Lodwar.</li> <li>• Arrival and booking at Lodwar</li> </ul>
13/02/2010	Turkana Central	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Met with Practical Action (NGO)</li> <li>• Met with APAD (CBO)</li> </ul>
14/02/2010	Turkana Central	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Held discussions with Field Assistant</li> </ul>
15/02/2010		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Met with DO 1 Office – Turkana Central</li> <li>• RIAM RIAM- Turkana</li> <li>• DC's Office – Loima District</li> <li>• Visited community in Lokiriama</li> </ul>
16/02/2010	Moroto, Uganda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Travel</li> </ul>
17/02/2010	Moroto, Kotido, Kaabong	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Met with UNOCHA</li> <li>• Met with Assistant Accounting Officer Moroto district</li> <li>• Travelled to Kotido, met with UNOCHA</li> <li>• Met with KOPEIN</li> <li>• Travelled to Kaabong</li> </ul>
18/02/2010	Kaabong, Kotido	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Met with DADO</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Travelled to Kotido met with</li> <li>• KDDS, KAPEPS and KOPEIN</li> </ul>
19/02/2010	Kotido, Moroto	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Met with Jie community in Panyanyara</li> <li>• Travelled to Moroto</li> <li>• Met with ARELIMOK, KADP, KAWUO, KISP, Riam Riam</li> <li>• Met with Civil Military Officer Moroto</li> </ul>
20/02/2010	Moroto, Turkana North	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Met with Matheniko Community Rupa</li> <li>• Travelled to Lokichoggio</li> <li>• Travelled to Nairobi</li> </ul>
28/02/2010	Lokichoggio Turkana North	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Travelled to Loki</li> <li>• Met with APEDI</li> </ul>
01/03/2010	Lokichoggio Turkana North	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Met with DO 1</li> <li>• Met with LOPEO</li> </ul>
02/03/2010	Narus, Kapoeta South Sudan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Travelled to Narus</li> <li>• Visited TDA</li> <li>• Met with Executive Director Naurs</li> <li>• Travelled to Kapotea</li> <li>• Met with KDI and LRDA</li> <li>• Met with Executive Director Kapoeta</li> <li>• Travelled back to Narus</li> </ul>
03/03/2010	Narus, Lokichoggio	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Held community meeting in Narus</li> <li>• Travelled to Lokichoggio</li> <li>• Met with community in Nanam</li> </ul>
04/03/2010	Turkana North, Turkana Central	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Met with community in Oropoi</li> <li>• Travelled to Lodwar</li> </ul>
05/03/2010	Lodwar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Held workshop for Turkana CBOs</li> </ul>
06/03/2010	Lodwar -Kitale	Travel
07/02/2010	Kitale -Nairobi	Travel