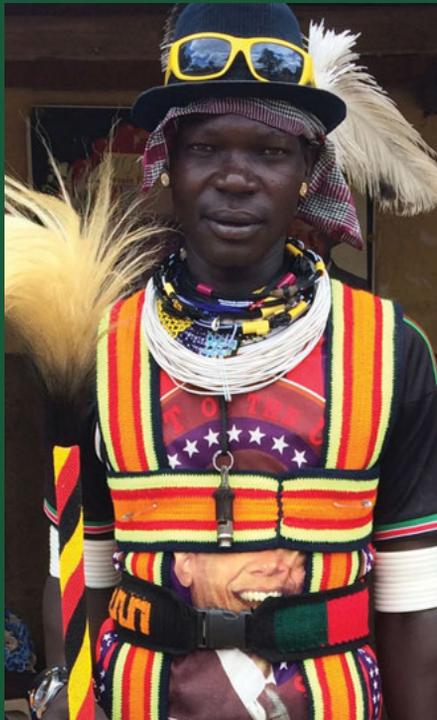




Feinstein International Center

Strengthening the humanity and dignity of people in crisis through knowledge and practice



“We Now Have Relative Peace”; Changing Conflict Dynamics in Northern Karamoja, Uganda

*Kimberly Howe, Elizabeth Stites, and Darlington Akabwai,
with Mercy Corps*



GERALD J. AND DOROTHY R.
Friedman School of
Nutrition Science and Policy



©2015 Feinstein International Center. All Rights Reserved.

Fair use of this copyrighted material includes its use for non-commercial educational purposes, such as teaching, scholarship, research, criticism, commentary, and news reporting. Unless otherwise noted, those who wish to reproduce text and image files from this publication for such uses may do so without the Feinstein International Center's express permission. However, all commercial use of this material and/or reproduction that alters its meaning or intent, without the express permission of the Feinstein International Center, is prohibited.

Feinstein International Center

Tufts University

114 Curtis Street

Somerville, MA 02144

USA

tel: +1 617.627.3423

fax: +1 617.627.3428

fic.tufts.edu

Acknowledgements

The authors of this report would like to thank Mercy Corps and USAID/Food for Peace for their generous support for this research. The Mercy Corps Growth, Health and Governance teams in Kampala, Kotido, and Kaabong were essential to the success of this study in regard to design, logistics, insights, and facilitation. Mercy Corps staff in the field and at headquarters provided comments and helped us to refine earlier drafts of the report. The findings in this report were developed through collaboration with Allison Kean, Kate McMahon, and Jon Kurtz of Mercy Corps. Joyce Ilukori, Benjamin Egira, and Ahamednur Lomwar provided critical assistance in the field. Administrative support at Tufts University was provided by Beth Gelzinis, Rosa Pendenza, and Liz Layton, among others. Liz Vincent, Bridget Snow, Anne Radday, and Roxanne Krystalli assisted with the final production of this report. Finally, we want to thank each and every individual who shared their perceptions and experiences with us as part of this study.

Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	3	
SUMMARY	5	
1. INTRODUCTION	6	
1a. Karamoja Context	6	
1b. Mercy Corps in Karamoja	6	
1c. Objectives of Study and Research Questions	6	
2. DESIGN	8	
3. FINDINGS	9	
3a. Trends in Violence, Insecurity, and Conflict	9	
3b. Contemporary Sources of Conflict in Karamoja	10	
3c. Conflict Mitigation and Improved Security	15	
3d. Relationships	16	
4. IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	19	
4a. New and Continuous Points of Contention	19	
4b. Implications for Programming and Policy Making	20	
REFERENCES	22	
ANNEX 1: KEY INFORMANTS INTERVIEWED AND LOCATIONS OF FGDs	24	

SUMMARY

This report reflects research from early 2015 conducted by the Feinstein International Center at the Friedman School of Tufts University and Mercy Corps in northern Karamoja, Uganda. The research examined changing conflict dynamics and related conflict mitigation and peacebuilding initiatives. The objective of the study was to provide a nuanced understanding of the current threats to security at the household, community, district and regional levels, and to examine how these dynamics have changed in recent years. The study examined conflict mitigation initiatives, including access to and efficacy of these systems. Intra-clan and inter-ethnic relationships are explored, as well as the relationships between residents and various conflict mitigation actors. Below are three of the most important findings from the study. Additional findings and recommendations can be found in the report.

1. Overall security in northern Karamoja has improved due to the decline in large-scale cattle raids. The decrease in raiding is attributed primarily to the widespread forced disarmament process that started in 2006. Respondents also credit the recent Moruitit Resolution with improvements in security, whereby the perpetrator of theft is required to return double the number of stolen animals plus one additional animal. Communities that protect or host perpetrators are also held responsible. The enforcers of this type of security have largely been Peace Committees and the Ugandan military. Improved security has increased mobility and freedom of movement for both men and women, contributing to increased food security and access to a broader range of livelihood activities. As a result of improved security, the region is ripe for approaches that promote sustainable, resilient livelihoods. At the same time, initiatives will be necessary to capitalize upon and maintain the gains that have been made in stability. This is particularly important as we assume that the military will not serve indefinitely as a policing body in northern Karamoja. More sustainable systems for maintaining law and order need to be facilitated and supported.

2. The major threats to security are currently within households and villages. These include theft of household and agricultural assets committed by lonetia (“thugs”), sexual and gender based violence in the form of domestic violence, and forced marriage of girls. Theft by young male lonetia is a serious problem. Poor households have difficulty in recovering stolen housewares, with negative impacts on food security. Domestic violence was reported at extremely high levels with injuries resulting in death and permanent disability. This has serious implications for the pursuit of livelihood activities, and affects the well-being of children, women and families. Victims of both types of insecurity have limited options for assistance, whether from the village leaders or local Peace Committees. Women are often accused of instigating domestic violence and are underrepresented in conflict mitigation structures. Conflict mitigation authorities report that forced marriage—including of under-age girls—is an on-going problem resulting in a number of suicides. Programs should take into account the changing patterns of violence and insecurity, and conflict mitigation efforts should continue to meaningfully include women in activities.

3. Inter-ethnic relationships in northern Karamoja have improved, particularly between the Jie and Dodoth groups. Both groups reported increased social, economic and resource interactions with the other, including inter-marriage, trade, and hiring labor for agricultural work. More contact with other groups tends to strengthen inter-ethnic relations by increasing trust and decreasing stigma. Livelihoods improve due to better resource sharing and improved security. However, the Dodoth and Jie report tensions with other groups such as the Turkana (Kenya), and the Didinga and Toposa (South Sudan), all of whom remain armed.

1. INTRODUCTION

1a. Karamoja Context

The Karamoja region of northeastern Uganda is home to approximately 1.2 million people and covers a land area of 10,550 square miles—about the size of Belgium. Karamoja is a semi-arid environment with average annual precipitation of 500–1,000 millimeters. This is more rainfall than received in surrounding areas of Kenya, Sudan, and Ethiopia, but wide fluctuations and high variability in precipitation make agriculture a precarious subsistence livelihood (Ellis and Swift, 1988; Markakis, 2004; Otim, 2002).

A system of semi-nomadic animal husbandry emerged as the livelihood system best suited to the environmental conditions in the region. Pastoralism was once the predominant livelihood activity, but few people in Karamoja today practice a strictly pastoral way of life; many engage in opportunistic cultivation and are better described as agro-pastoral (Gray et al., 2002). A high degree of livelihood variation does exist from one area to the next, and a growing number of people have turned almost entirely to agriculture, particularly in the more fertile western and southern sections of the region. That said, cattle ownership is an important determinant of both social and economic status (Broch-Due, 1999; Markakis, 2004), and livestock remain central to the identity of the inhabitants of Karamoja, even for those who have diversified their livelihood activities away from exclusive animal husbandry.

Cattle raids have long been a part of pastoral livelihoods systems in eastern Africa. Raids played an important redistributive aspect, and raiding allowed young men to achieve status (Mkutu, 2008). A variety of factors contributed to increasingly violent raids throughout the 1980s and 1990s, including the ready

availability of small arms, a growth in the exchange of cattle for cash, the erosion of authority by the male elders over young men, and the absence of state authority or control. In response, the Ugandan government implemented forced disarmament programs in Karamoja in 2001 and again in 2006. Although insecurity initially increased following the start of the 2006 disarmament program and abuse of rights violations were widespread (Human Rights Watch, 2007), today large-scale raids are rare and communities throughout Karamoja generally report improved overall levels of security.

1b. Mercy Corps in Karamoja

Mercy Corps has been working in northern Uganda since 2006, with activities focused on food security, agribusiness, infrastructure for rural markets, health and nutrition, and women's empowerment. In late 2012, Mercy Corps began the five-year Growth, Health and Governance (GHG) program in northern Karamoja with funding from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). This program aims to strengthen livelihoods and to improve nutrition and health. It includes a peacebuilding component based on conflict management and mitigation (CMM).

1c. Objectives of Study and Research Questions

The Feinstein International Center (FIC) at the Friedman School at Tufts University is one of the partners in the GHG program and conducts primary research to inform the programming of Mercy Corps and other national and international stakeholders working in Karamoja. Research topics vary each year.¹ In 2015, Mercy Corps and FIC worked together on a quantitative and qualitative study that looked specifically at patterns of insecurity,

¹ See E. Stites et al., 2014, “‘It’s Better to Sweat than to Die:’ Rural-to-Urban Migration, Northern Karamoja, Uganda”; J. Burns et al., 2013, “Livelihood Dynamics in Northern Karamoja”; K. Howe “A Gender Assessment of Northern Karamoja: Livelihoods, Health and Governance,” 2013. All can be accessed at <http://fic.tufts.edu/publications/>.

impacts on livelihoods, and approaches to conflict mitigation. This joint study sought to answer four research questions:

1. What are the main recent changes in conflict dynamics in northern Karamoja around evolving issues such as land conflicts and natural resource disputes, artisanal mining, cattle raiding, and sexual and gender-based violence?
2. To what extent are the GHG-supported conflict and governance activities contributing to peacebuilding outcomes such as: improved relationships between communities; increased interaction between communities and government; reductions in disputes; and effective, early detection and response to conflict and crime?
3. To what extent are changes to levels of peace and security affecting households' livelihoods and their resilience in the face of shocks and stressors?
4. What factors enable households and communities to adapt and respond to shocks in a way that protects their livelihoods and wellbeing?

Findings are presented in this report and a sister report entitled “Conflict and Resilience in Northern Karamoja.” The first two research questions are examined in depth here. This report provides a nuanced conflict analysis of the threats, actors, incidence, and repercussions of conflict from within the household and village, to areas beyond, including agricultural and pastoral areas, transport routes, urban space, and borderlands. Insecurity and conflict are understood from the perspective of both male

and female residents of northern Karamoja, and from those informally and formally involved in conflict mitigation and management initiatives. The complementary report, “Conflict and Resilience in Northern Karamoja” (referred to as “Conflict and Resilience” hereafter), focuses primarily on questions 3 and 4—the complex relationships between violence, livelihoods, and resilience capacities in the face of various shocks and stressors.

2. DESIGN

Methods: Findings are based predominantly on qualitative research methods, and are buttressed by quantitative findings from Kaabong covered in the “Conflict and Resilience” report.² For this study, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with representatives of various organizations and institutions concerned with conflict mitigation, and focus group discussions (FGDs) were held with male and female youth and adults in villages in Kaabong and Kotido Districts.

Interviews aimed to understand contemporary conflict dynamics in northern Karamoja in households and villages, in agricultural and pastoral areas, along transport routes, and within urban spaces. Topics focused on the threat, trends, and impacts of conflict on household livelihoods, resources, and resilience from a geospatial perspective. Help-seeking behavior and the perceptions of various conflict mitigation and management initiatives were explored from the point of view of both conflict mitigation actors and local populations. Geospatial dimensions are included in the study by researching areas with documented past and predicted conflict dynamics including border zones (district and international) and areas with natural resource wealth.

Sample: Key informant interviews were conducted with 19 CMM actors at the village, sub-county, district, and regional levels and included Local Council members (LC), village elders, Peace Committee members, the Uganda People’s Defence Force (UPDF), police, and district and regional officials. FGDs were conducted separately with men and women in 13 villages in 11 sub-counties across Kotido and Kaabong Districts. Locations were purposively selected to represent areas with historical, contemporary, and possible future conflict. The sample included areas known to have high potential for inter-group contact, either because

of urban markets (Kotido Town Council) or because of proximity to district or international borders. Villages on both sides of the Kotido/Kaabong border were selected, as well as villages close to Abim District, as were locations that share borders with South Sudan and Kenya. This allowed for a deeper understanding of the current inter-group relations between Jie, Dodoth, Labwor, Turkana, Didinga, and Toposa ethnic groups.³ Areas in proximity to, or rich with, natural resources were selected, including grazing areas, water points, a gold mine, and areas bordering the Kidepo National Park. See Annex 1 for a list of sample sites.

Process: Interviews were conducted in Kotido and Kaabong Districts over 13 days in January and February 2015. The team included two senior researchers from FIC (one male Ugandan and one female expatriate), assisted by two local research assistants (one female and one male) who provided translation and assistance with site selection. Interview transcripts were uploaded to Dedoose qualitative analysis software, coded, and analyzed by theme.

² The “Conflict and Resilience” portion of the study relied on a comparative survey of approximately 500 households in Kaabong District in 2013 and 2015.

³ The Jie ethnic group is concentrated in Kotido District, the Dodoth in Kaabong District, the Labwor in Abim District, the Turkana in Kenya, and the Didinga and Toposa in South Sudan.

3. FINDINGS

3a. Trends in Violence, Insecurity, and Conflict

Security is improving and conflict is decreasing in northern Karamoja.

Improved security was the general perception among study participants—both residents of villages and urban spaces and conflict mitigation actors from the village to the regional level. Study participants normally self-defined “security” to refer to large-scale cattle raids, ambushes on roads, and other types of inter-group violence involving arms. These large-scale violent incidents have reportedly reduced significantly. Study participants were asked *when* security improved. Respondents in Kotido District described a longer period of improved security than those in Kaabong—one to two years in Kotido versus two to six months in Kaabong.⁴

While livestock raids have not completely disappeared, both CMM actors and male and female study participants described that the scale of the problem has diminished considerably. Respondents in this and earlier studies often make a distinction between “raids” and “thefts.” Previously raids were carried out by groups of armed men stealing tens, if not hundreds, of animals. The theft of today is usually carried out by a few (two to five) young men referred to as “lonetia”⁵ (thugs) and involves less than 10 animals. In contrast to the raids that were common in the past, theft is often described as opportunistic and for personal—as opposed to communal—gain. *Lonetia* steal moveable productive and essential assets as well, including bedding, clothing, cooking utensils, and food. Both theft of animals and larger raids do periodically occur cross-border, involving Turkana, Toposa, or Didinga from Kenya and South Sudan. However, the scale and rate of

incidence has decreased since FIC conducted research in northern Karamoja in 2012, when cattle raids led by “armed warriors” were still occurring with some regularity (Howe, 2013). These findings were confirmed by the “Conflict and Resilience” study, where the percentage of respondents who were aware of raids in the previous six months’ decreased from 57.5% to 27.7% between 2013 and 2015.

In Kaabong District, cattle theft was reported in Kalapata, Loyoro, Lolelia, and Karenga Sub-Counties just prior to fieldwork. In Kotido District, livestock theft was reported in Kacheri and Nakipelimoru Sub-Counties, as well as in the Kotido Town Council within the last year. Rather than blame the thieving on a specific ethnic group, study participants in Kotido District blamed “lonetia” for the disappearance of their animals.

Reductions in violent, large-scale, and unpredictable attacks have brought a number of positive livelihood impacts for local residents. One of the most important has been improved mobility, which contributes to improved economic and food security. Female study participants described that they are now able to travel safely outside their village, allowing improved access to cultivation areas, firewood, and wild foods. Men reported improved security when taking their animals to grazing and watering points. Both genders described better security when traveling to markets, which facilitates the sale and purchase of goods.⁶ These findings are markedly different from those of FIC’s study in 2012, when women in Kotido and Kaabong Districts reported extreme insecurity outside their villages. The threat of sexual and physical assault by “outsiders” limited their ability to collect wood, work in the fields, or gather wild fruits. Male participants in the 2012 study reported robbery en route to market and

⁴ There were no significant gender differences found in this finding.

⁵ “Lonetia” refers to both the occurrence of theft and the thieves.

⁶ No significant differences were found between men and women’s reported freedom of movement in this study. However, in “Conflict and Resilience,” men were found to rate security and freedom of movement more positively than women, which indicates a gendered dimension to insecurity in Karamoja.

physical assault (Howe, 2013). Improvements in freedom of movement since 2013 was also documented in the “Conflict and Resilience” study.

3b. Contemporary Sources of Conflict in Karamoja

While security has markedly improved for the residents of northern Karamoja and freedom of movement has expanded significantly, a variety of sources of insecurity and conflict remain within homes, villages, and neighborhoods, as well as shared spaces. The main sources of insecurity include domestic violence, theft by *lonetia*, land disputes, and periodic raids in some border areas. Study participants reported managing these insecurities in varied ways, from not seeking help at all, to soliciting village-level support of the LC1 (elected local council leader) and council of elders,⁷ to engaging the police, UPDF, and Peace Committees. Each type of insecurity is described below, and includes a description of accompanying CMM support. Perspectives of conflict mitigation actors and male and female residents are provided, and information is disaggregated by sex and geography.

Theft

“The raids have reduced to thefts. But even with these thefts we recover quickly because of the Peace Committees. The sources of intelligence are at the parish and village level with the Peace Committees, and we all work together as a common mission. There has been a big improvement in communications and this has helped a lot.”
District Security Officer, Kaabong

A top security concern for residents in northern Karamoja is lonetia, who steal from homes or agricultural surroundings.

Non-livestock theft committed by *lonetia* was reported in nearly all villages—with higher frequency in the urban areas of Kotido Town Council. Interviews with residents of urban areas revealed that the incidence of *lonetia* was reported

to be increasing in severity and frequency. In and around Kotido Town Council, *lonetia* are described as male youth from within the urban space (sometimes the same neighborhood) who are either school drop-outs or “street kids.” This contrasts with how *lonetia* are understood in rural space where they are perceived to be external to the village, and are described as unarmed males, ex-warriors, or “redundant shepherds.” In villages, many participants explained that *lonetia* may be from the same clan or ethnic group as those they target, demonstrating that there is not necessarily an inter-group dimension to the thievery.

Lonetia are seen as mostly organized in small groups but may also operate alone. They are often without guns, but frequently carry sticks or knives as weapons, and generally attack at night. They are reported to steal animals (less than 10), ox ploughs, hoes, chickens, and household items such as mattresses, clothing, and saucepans. Some instances of *lonetia* theft were reported on roads—particularly against men returning from markets who may be carrying cash from their sales. Similar patterns have been documented in southern Karamoja (Stites and Marshak, under review; Stites et al., 2014). Theft by *lonetia* was most often ranked as the number one threat to security by both male and female study participants. The household items stolen were seen as essential to the livelihoods of residents and difficult if not impossible to replace.

There is little recourse for victims of *lonetia*, particularly if food or household items have been stolen. Residents say that they report incidents to their LC1s, but, without proof, no further steps are taken. In the case of animal theft, the LC1 will contact members the local and Sub-County Peace Committees, who in turn contact the police or UPDF for assistance with tracking the stolen animals.

Land Disputes

Disputes over land and natural resources are a common source of conflict and involve families, residents of villages, national authorities, and private investors.

⁷ A Council of Elders is a group of adult males who preside over the decision making and customary authority and judicial functions in a given area.

Land disputes were defined and described differently depending on the location and the type of study participant. The District Security Officer (DSO) of Kaabong described a general process of moving from communal land rights to private landholdings. In his view, improvements to security in the region make land more valuable in the eyes of investors and members of extended families who are located outside Karamoja. Interested parties are increasingly arriving in the region and claiming land illegally, thus creating conflict between rightful owners and outsiders. Similarly, the executive director of the Kaabong Peace and Development Agency (KAPDA) described that “land grabbing” by private investors is becoming more common in Kaabong District. He reported that investors occupy large swaths of land, fence off the area, and that the UPDF provides the new “landowners” with private security.

In another form of land disputes, CMM actors and male and female study participants described extreme discord between authorities of the Ugandan Wildlife Authority (UWA) at Kidepo National Park and neighboring communities. Participants described that such disputes are becoming more severe, and arise for two reasons. First, animals from the park regularly leave the park bounds and destroy and consume crops in villages. As well, just prior to fieldwork, a man was allegedly killed by Kidepo elephants in Kotido District. Male and female participants described that wildlife destruction of crops impacts their household’s food security, and that authorities to date have refused to support them in this problem. Park authorities report that community members periodically poach animals as retaliation for crop destruction. Second, the park is trying to expand its territory, and to establish an “animal corridor” extending the park to create more space for migrating animals. Village land within the “animal corridor” would no longer be authorized for agricultural production. Male and female participants residing in this zone described that they would not be compensated for this loss of land. Village representatives, together with the Karenga Peace Committee, are attempting to negotiate with national authorities about this land usage, but

this dispute is unlikely to be resolved in the near future.

Male study participants in Kotido and Kaabong Districts described “land wrangles” as disputes arising for a number of reasons but centering on competing land claims. These were most often between neighbors and extended families. These disputes are handled by the LC1 and the council of elders, with more serious disputes referred to the LC3 level.

Conflict over natural resources was reported by male and female study participants and CMM actors. In the urban area of Kotido Town Council (KTC), residents described frequent conflict over access to water at boreholes. CMM actors and male participants also reported increased pressure on grazing land and watering holes. Jie and Dodoth study participants described that they peacefully share pasture and watering holes with each other. However, Labwor visiting Kotido and Turkana visiting Kaabong allegedly often loot and raid upon return to their home areas. These dynamics are detailed in Section 3d.

The process of urbanization has generated disputes related to land. Two urban neighborhoods of the KTC reported that they had been displaced from rural areas due to the destruction of their homes for public infrastructure projects. Residents of one village on the outskirts of the KTC described that their village had been forcibly relocated due to the expansion of the urban zone. Participants in all three locations had been promised compensation that had never materialized.

Female study participants—particularly widows and women in polygamous marriages—described land conflict as a primary source of conflict. Women in polygamous marriages reported losing possession of their land—often plots they had tilled for many years—when a subsequent wife was taken. Widows said that their husbands’ extended family forcibly repossessed their land after his death and that little recourse was available to resolve these disputes.

Domestic Violence

FIC: “How often are husbands violent towards their wives in this village?”

Female FGD: “It is daily, it is like taking breakfast.”

Kacheri Sub-County, Kotido

Domestic violence in northern Karamoja is pervasive and has serious livelihood impacts.

Domestic violence was reported in all but one sampled location. The majority of cases involve male-against-female intimate partner physical violence. On average, more than half of women interviewed in FGDs reported being victims of physical abuse. Injuries were often severe and included blindness, broken bones, bruises, burns, bites, and deep cuts. Abuse could be torturous in nature and included kicking pregnant women in the abdomen, burning genitalia, cutting of the throat, and eye gouging. Several female participants were permanently disabled. Others reported being unable to function for several days, weeks, or years as a result of abuse. In the month of January 2015, *five women* had been killed by their husbands in a single sub-county (Kathilde Sub-County, Kaabong District).⁸ There were no significant differences between villages in terms of the prevalence or severity of injuries. Various CMM actors confirmed that domestic violence was a frequent and serious occurrence.

Male study participants were open about using violence against their wives. Men reported that violence was justified when a woman had not prepared or had burned food, was “lazy,” came home late, did not “take care of the children” (as evidenced by children crying or misbehaving), challenged authority or acted disrespectfully, drank to excess, or committed adultery. In contrast, very few women reported that violence by a husband was ever justified.⁹ Most female victims of domestic violence said that their partner was most often intoxicated at the time of abuse. The relationship between alcohol and domestic violence was also established by previous research conducted by FIC (Howe, 2013).

In most villages, men reported that wives were also abusive towards their husbands. However, no physical injuries were reported, and most often the abuse was described in terms of women provoking men or generally “misbehaving.” The attitudes toward women and their role in domestic conflicts was expressed by several male members of the Kalapata Peace Committee, and was reflected in many interviews conducted with men: “*Domestic violence is big. It is caused by alcohol, drunkenness, and poverty. Ladies quarrel with men, and men hit them. Polygamy is another problem. If a man has three children from three women and all three are sick, one woman gets jealous and causes chaos. She starts the violence, she abuses. She curses...If she was just out working, everything would be fine.*”

Many CMM actors also believe that alcohol abuse has increased the incidence of domestic violence. Commercially produced grain alcohol is seen as particularly problematic. According to the Brigade Commander of Kaabong District, a ban against the importation, sale, and consumption of this type of alcohol, known as “*Kick*,” “*Warigi*,” or “*Guru*,” has been instituted in Kaabong District. The Commander explained that enforcement of this ban has not been successful given the relative weakness of the police forces. The Karenga Peace Committee, however, said that they have been able to enforce the ban and described a decreased incidence of domestic violence and fighting in the sub-county as a result.

Female participants described refusing to have sex with their husbands as the most frequent “cause” of domestic violence. Marital rape—or a husband forcing his wife to have sex when she refuses—was reported in all villages by both female and male participants. Women reported that being forced to have sex was a major cause of unwanted pregnancies. In all villages men reported that their wives—whether involved in courtships, unofficially married and officially married—are the property of the husbands, and thus husbands are justified in doing with wives what they want.

⁸ Interview with District Security Officer of Kaabong.

⁹ Older women were among the only participants who felt it was periodically justified.

All women reported that they had no right to refuse sex. In fact, the husband has the right to approach the LC1 and council of elders if the wife is refusing to have sex. Women reported that such women are “punished”—by public shaming or caning—for their behavior. Based on interviews with CMM actors in Kotido and Kaabong Districts, marital rape is not considered an offense.

There are conflicting perspectives on whether or not the incidence of domestic violence is increasing or decreasing. In villages where men and women perceive an upward trend in domestic violence, this was explained as the result of the increased availability of commercial grain alcohol. In villages where domestic violence was perceived to be on the decline, women attributed this change to increased freedom of movement. They explained that previously they were required to stay in the *manyatta* (semi-permanent homestead) due to insecurity, but now they are able to leave the area (day or night) when their husband becomes violent.

In the case of physical violence, women explained that if the injuries are severe, the LC1 will facilitate the transfer of the victim to a medical facility and will ensure that the husband pays the bills, and will also refer the victim to the police. In practice, women reported that LC1s at times require bribes to perform this function. All female participants who sought the help of the police (for domestic violence or other reasons) reported extortion for services. Many were turned away for not being able to pay the bribes required. Members of Nakipelimoru Sub-County Peace Committee confirmed that most residents do not rely on the police because they are required to pay bribes for services.

“We can’t go to the police because they ask for money. It is 5,000 UGX¹⁰ for everyone working at the reception desk. There is no receipt for this, it is corruption. Sometimes you pay and come back the next day and there are different people working there

and you have to pay all over again.”
Female FGD, Kotido Town Council

Both male and female participants reported that when domestic violence cases are brought before the council of elders and the LC1, the husband and wife are counseled, and both parties are publically caned. Sub-county peace committees are generally not concerned with Sexual or Gender-Based Violence (SGBV). Informal interviews with INGO and NGO staff revealed that they believed domestic violence was a culturally acceptable practice.

The Police Departments of Kotido and Kaabong Districts each have a “Child and Family Unit” tasked with managing cases—from legal and protection standpoints—of child abuse and neglect, and SGBV. Both units are severely under-resourced and have limited capacities for outreach. Medical professionals and police systems are in theory supposed to refer cases between institutions, but it is unclear if this practice is customary.

Male and female participants were asked if it was justified to beat children. There was consensus among men and women in both districts that it is justified to beat children to “teach them a lesson,” particularly when they are disrespectful to community members, stubborn, make mistakes, come home late while fetching water (girls), or lose animals while grazing or watering them (boys). Most reported that beatings should not be excessive; in other words, children should not be injured, but rather beatings should be a form of “teaching.”¹¹

Forced Marriage

FIC: “Why does forced marriage happen?”

Female FGD: “Because of hunger. We need animals and supplies.”

FIC: “Is there help available for this?”

Female FGD: “No, if you go to the police they send you back to the manyatta and you are tied up and beaten.”

Rengen Sub-County, Kotido District

¹⁰ 5000 Ugandan Shillings was equal to 2 USD at the time of this research. This is a large sum of money in a region where the majority of residents survive on less than a dollar per day.

¹¹ It is unclear if children suffer injury from physical beating. No cases of injury were reported to the FIC research team.

Forced marriage of women, including minors, continues to be a practice condoned by men at the village level.

“Forced marriage” was defined by study participants as a situation whereby parents force their daughter to marry a man of the parents’ choice. Most often, as confirmed by young female study participants, the man is older, already has several wives, and is wealthy in terms of livestock holdings. The rationale follows that parents wed their daughter in order to obtain cattle or other forms of bride-wealth to support their households. While technically illegal, forced marriage was reported by various CMM actors as a continuing problem, including by the Brigade Commander and District Security Officer of Kaabong, the District Police Officer of Kotido, and the Child and Family Police Units of both districts.

Forced marriage was described as “rampant” by the head of the Child and Family Unit in Kotido, and such marriages often involve girls under the age of 18. Both male and female residents, however, reported a decrease in forced marriage due to the high risk of suicide. The Brigade Commander of Kaabong said that at least three girls had committed suicide in the district to avoid forced marriage in the first five weeks of 2015. The DSO and the head of the Child and Family Unit in Kaabong said that many girls who are forcibly married run away, crossing the border to Kenya. CMM actors said that the vast majority of cases are not reported to authorities because the victim is required to file a complaint against her father.

“If the husband of the girl has enough cows, we [adult male relatives] can force her to marry, and we can even go ahead and beat her thoroughly so as to accept and marry that man with cows.”

Male FGD, Rural Kotido Town Council

There was a difference in the attitudes of male and female study participants about whether or not the practice of forced marriage was justified. All *male* participants said that it was justified to

force a daughter to marry someone in order to procure cows. All *female* participants reported that this was no longer justified.

Rape

Although data are lacking, CMM actors and male and female focus group participants perceive the incidence of rape to be declining.

Related to forced marriage is the locally defined “courtship rape.” This long-standing practice normally occurs when a young woman is forced to have sex against her will and is then required to marry the perpetrator. According to several CMM actors, parents at times condone courtship rape if they wish to marry their daughter to a particular man.¹² CMM actors also pointed to regular occurrences of gang rape as related to courtship squabbles among men wishing to marry the same woman (although the method through which gang rape might resolve such disputes is unclear). The Child and Family Protection Officer in Kotido reported that two recent incidents of gang rape led to suicide attempts by the victims.

Rape—whether marital, courtship, date, or stranger—is difficult to quantify in Karamoja. The only accessible records were provided by the Child and Family Protection Officer of the Kaabong Police Department. In the last quarter of 2014, 17 cases of rape were reported to her office, and 14 of the cases involved girls under the age of 15. The Officer explained, however, that these cases represented only those that directly presented to the Child and Family Unit, not those reported to the main station or outposts. As in other contexts, reports of rape are likely vastly underreported.

Both male and female participants described that the incidence of rape is generally decreasing. In “Conflict and Resilience,” survey respondents also reported a decrease in their “awareness of incidents of sexual violence,” from 35% to 15% between 2013 and 2015. However, sexual violence committed by strangers hasn’t entirely

¹² A gender advisor for Mercy Corps noted that this long-standing culturally sanctioned practice has changed, and currently courtship rape is being practiced before a family has agreed on the terms of marriage. While this was not confirmed in the study, this reported shift could reflect the fact that bridewealth and marriage negotiations are now prolonged as a result of decreased cattle wealth in the region.

disappeared. Four villages (30% of sampled locations) reported recent cases of stranger rape against women traveling along roadsides and footpaths.

3c. Conflict Mitigation and Improved Security

Study participants offered a variety of explanations as to the overall improvements in security. These explanations included inter-related social, military, and political dynamics, which are discussed here.

Disarmament

Disarmament is widely seen as contributing to improved peace and security, but the continued presence of weapons in neighboring areas is a concern for residents.

The most recent and continuing forced disarmament process, initiated by the government and led by the UPDF, began in 2006. As documented elsewhere, this campaign was initially beset by human rights abuses, and many communities experienced *decreased* levels of security for the first several years.¹³ Data from this study (and supported by other recent work throughout the region), however, indicate a shift in both security and in views on disarmament. The majority of respondents report that the disarmament campaign was successful in removing “most” guns, and that “*those with guns are too afraid to show them*,”¹⁴ for fear of arrest. Local residents and CMM actors widely heralded the disarmament process for successfully improving security in northern Karamoja.

Regardless, weapons-related security concerns remain. One of the main concerns across the region is that the Turkana in Kenya remain armed while the residents of Karamoja have been

largely disarmed. This perceived imbalance is thought to encourage Turkana to raid with impunity in Karamoja. Cross-border initiatives are underway to address this issue. For instance, the Brigade Commander of the UPDF in Kotido discussed a recent agreement with Kenyan officials to arrest or shoot cattle raiders on either side of the border (i.e., Jie raiding Turkana or Turkana raiding Jie). UPDF study participants believe that this initiative will help reduce incidences of raiding. The Brigade Commander of Kaabong also described that the UPDF and Ugandan Peace Committees are working with Turkana elders and *kraal* leaders to encourage peaceful cross-border relations. Future meetings are envisioned in Loyoro Sub-County (Kaabong) between Turkana, Jie, and Dodoth about joint grazing. As has long been the case in these border zones, the “solution” considered most effective for improving relations is increased sharing of resources—whether at *kraals* (mobile cattle camps), water points, grazing lands, or through trade.¹⁵

Imbalanced disarmament is also an issue on the border with South Sudan. A group of Dodoth reportedly moved to South Sudan to avoid disarmament and is alleged to have raided cattle in Kaabong and Kotido. Through a recent cooperative agreement, the UPDF and the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA) are working to locate these raiders and disarm them. The Government of Uganda (GoU) is offering reintegration packages to facilitate their return to Karamoja. At the time of data collection, approximately 60 men had surrendered and entered the reintegration process. Members of Peace Committees and CMM actors involved in regional and national institutions expressed their support for this process and believed it had improved security in the region and would continue to do so.

¹³ Human Rights Watch, 2007, “‘Get the Gun!’ Human Rights Violations by Uganda’s National Army in Law Enforcement Operations in Karamoja Region,” New York: Human Rights Watch; J. Bevan, 2008, “Crisis in Karamoja: Armed Violence and the Failure of Disarmament in Uganda’s Most Deprived Region,” Geneva: Small Arms Survey; E. Stites, and D. Akabwai, 2010, “‘We Are Now Reduced to Women’: Impacts of Forced Disarmament in Karamoja, Uganda,” *Nomadic Peoples* 14(2): 24–43; E. Stites, and D. Akabwai, 2009, “Changing Roles, Shifting Risks: Livelihood Impacts of Disarmament in Karamoja, Uganda,” Medford: Feinstein International Center, Tufts University.

¹⁴ This was voiced in two female FGDs in separate villages in Kaabong District.

¹⁵ There were no gender differences related to this finding.

Discouraging Cattle Raiding and Theft

Local resolutions to prevent theft are seen as essential contributions to the decline in animal losses and improvements in security.

Male and female residents and CMM actors at all levels (from the village to the region) attributed improved security to the “Moruitit Resolution”—locally known as the “two for one resolution.” The Moruitit Resolution was adopted by leaders in northern Karamoja, following the relative success of a similar measure (called the Nabilatuk Resolution) in southern Karamoja.¹⁶ Interviewees described this resolution as a mechanism to punish and deter the theft of animals at the individual and community levels. Once discovered, the perpetrator of the theft is required to return double the number of stolen animals plus one additional animal. The resolution stipulates that communities are required to cooperate with Peace Committees and the UPDF in the tracking process, and will be held responsible for aiding and abetting thieves. As noted by the DSO of Kaabong, “*If footprints enter a village and then disappear, then we impound all the animals in the village.*” In other words, if a community does not (or cannot) turn over the alleged perpetrator in their midst, the community must pay the fine from their combined herds. According to the Brigade Commander of Kaabong, this process is enforced through Peace Committees and prosecuted through the legal system. He described that initially the resolution was enforced through customary mechanisms, but the legal system was brought in to limit revenge behavior and to protect perpetrators. Several high-level CMM actors described that, while the resolution had been an effective deterrent for animal theft, it was also harsh and shifted the punishment to the communities. As described by the Brigade Commander of Kaabong, “*When you have to pay back what you don’t have, you need to go to your relatives. And if the relatives don’t have, then it is the community that must pay...*”

Male participants described that when animals are stolen, the livestock owners contact the LC1s and council of elders in the location where the

theft took place. These individuals then engage the local UPDF detachment and the Sub-County Peace Committee. Several study participants—CMM actors and residents—reported successful recovery of stolen animals with the help of this network.

Culture Shift

A general societal shift that prioritizes peace over violence was widely cited by study participants as a positive factor in improvements in security.

Momentum in this societal shift was described as emerging from both bottom-up and top-down processes. CMM actors and male and female participants reported that parents of would-be raiders and elders are currently discouraging young men from a “warrior lifestyle,” in part because of the likelihood of getting caught or killed, but also because communities are being held responsible for the behavior of individual residents through the Moruitit Resolution. This was confirmed in other FIC research; elders were seen as increasingly likely to penalize young men thought to engage in raiding (Stites et al., 2014). Respondents ascribed this revitalization of the elders’ authority to their efforts to limit community-wide loss of animals as part of the Moruitit Resolution.

3d. Relationships

“Even if there is peace, Dodoth can still walk away with your animals.”

Male FGD member, Kotido Town Council

Horizontal Relationships

Inter-ethnic relationships have improved, particularly between the Jie and Dodoth, who previously clashed on a regular basis.

The majority of male and female Jie study participants report that they have increased social, economic, and resource-sharing interactions with Dodoth, including inter-marriage, trade, and hiring labor for agricultural work. There are a few exceptions, however, to this generally positive picture. Jie men described that they are still hesitant to ask Dodoth to mind

¹⁶ David Gatare, Mercy Corps Program Manager, email communication, October 1, 2015.

their cattle, and Jie participants of both genders expressed some reluctance to travel to Kaabong District.

The majority of male and female Dodoth study participants described mostly positive relations with Jie, except for the Jie “*lonetia*” who periodically steal animals. One exception was in Usake Sub-County along the South Sudan border, where male Dodoth participants reported that they do not share resources or engage socially or economically with Jie because they are feared. Due to the great geographic distance between the groups in this area, contact is limited and may partially explain this negative perception. In addition, the Karenga Sub-County Peace Committee described that they are actively pursuing free movement and trade between the Dodoth of Karenga and the Toposa and Didinga of South Sudan. However, male Dodoth residents of that area described that they fear Didinga groups. Interestingly, Jie and Dodoth study participants spontaneously described that increased opportunities for meeting and sharing resources—such as water, grazing land, *kraals*, or engaging in trade—helped to build trust between ethnic groups and decrease violence and insecurity. As mentioned above, when asked what would improve relations with neighboring groups, the most common response was to increase opportunities for inter-group contact and sharing.¹⁷

“The Turkana come as friends when their cattle need grass or water. But when they leave, they leave as enemies.”

Female FGD, Loyoro Sub-County

Conflict management actors in Kotido District identified that the main source of inter-group tensions relate to natural resources. In line with long-standing patterns of transhumance, Labwor (Abim District) and Turkana groups bring their

cattle to Kotido District because of increased availability of water and pasture. CMM actors and residents located in these border zones described that different groups enter the grazing and watering areas on friendly terms, but raid and loot while exiting the region after the season. Dodoth located along the Kenyan border also described a similar situation. In two villages in Loyoro Sub-County, Dodoth reported several recent killings, looting, and animal thefts committed by Turkana. These patterns of ebbs and flows of sharing and looting are common throughout the region, and these complaints were echoed by Acholi, Teso, and Lango communities in previous work regarding the behavior of herders from Karamoja. As mentioned above, Peace Committees and representatives of the GoU have been in communication with community representatives, including elders, in Kenya and South Sudan, to work on initiatives to reduce these tensions.

Horizontal relationships at the institutional level—as reported by CMM actors—were positive. Peace Committees—which in essence have formalized relationships between village, sub-county, district, and regional representatives—were described as playing a pivotal role in improving security. This is particularly the case for large-scale cattle raids (locally and cross-border), as well as smaller theft by *lonetia*. The development of Peace Committees is seen as a multi-institutional cooperation that has built bridges between CMM actors who previously had little contact. In particular, the UPDF and police describe their increased ability to call on local representatives to assist in the tracking of stolen animals. Village and sub-county representatives describe having improved access to UPDF to demand assistance in searching for thieves and raiders.

¹⁷ Note that this finding—that increased contact between ethnic groups increases trust—may appear to contradict findings presented in “Conflict and Resilience,” where quantitative modeling showed a negative relationship between “bridging” (defined as financial and in-kind assistance help-seeking with other ethnic groups in the face of economic, environmental, or conflict/crime shocks) and resilience (defined as food security and the utilization of positive coping strategies). We argue that this finding is essentially different, as study participants described the benefits of sharing resources and engagement in common economic activities with other economic groups as an avenue for increasing trust and improving cross-ethnic relations.

Vertical Relationships

Both male and female participants describe improved relations with the UPDF. Women were less aware of and less connected to local conflict mitigation initiatives than men.

Male and female residents of Kotido and Kaabong were asked about their awareness of local conflict mitigation initiatives. Male participants often referred to village Peace Committees and the council of elders, and their roles related to recovery of stolen animals and land disputes. Female participants were either unaware of conflict mitigation initiatives (including the presence of Peace Committees), or, if they were aware, were not clear on the role of such initiatives. That is, women were much less likely to be cognizant of, rely on, or engage with local CMM initiatives.¹⁸ When women needed help to resolve disputes, they either did not seek assistance, or contacted the LC1 and council of elders. Women described that these local systems were less effective at resolving their needs than the needs of men, a finding that FIC research had previously uncovered (Carlson et al. 2012). As mentioned above, Peace Committees are generally not concerned with family issues—including SGBV. Such issues are generally brought before the LC1 and council of elders, who are known to punish both the perpetrator and the victims by public caning.¹⁹

Both male and female participants in Kaabong and Kotido Districts described the UPDF in positive terms, and described this as a change from recent years. Men felt positively about the UPDF because of their involvement in tracking stolen cattle in cooperation with Peace Committees, LCs, and village elders. Women described that the UPDF often shares food

and health resources with the local population. This perspective is heavily contrasted with perceptions of the police, who are seen as either absent or unwilling to assist residents without a bribe.

In terms of representation, the research team attempted to contact female participants of sub-county or village Peace Committees. The team was unable to interview a female Peace Committee member at the sub-county level, and it is unclear the degree to which they are involved with or respected by their male counterparts.

“In the next five years I don’t want to see manyattas. They were constructed out of fear when everyone was armed. All of Karamoja is fertile. Teach them farming.”

District Police Officer, Kotido

Interviews with district and regional officials such as the UPDF, police, and district security officers revealed a similar tone when describing insecurity in Karamoja. (Note that none of these representatives are from the region). They described insecurity as a product of underdevelopment and of a lack of livelihood alternatives for former raiders. They also linked continued insecurity to the “cow” and “*manyatta*.” Each, in his own way, advocated for the dismantling of the *manyattas*, encouraging people to spread out and to abandon a pastoral lifestyle for farming. It is unclear if these perspectives are a reflection of the larger national campaign to sedentarize the local population and other traditionally pastoral groups, and how these attitudes will affect how institutions interface with local populations.

¹⁸ Data collected for this study showed limited female participation in and awareness of CMM structures or activities. Representatives from Mercy Corps Uganda were surprised by this finding because of their extensive efforts to increase female participation in Peace Committees. One reason for this discrepancy may be that data for this study were collected in both Kotido and Kaabong districts, and Mercy Corps partners have worked with Peace Committees only in Kaabong. Hence, such outreach may simply not have taken place in the relatively few selected sites in Kaabong. Additionally, it may be that the quality of female involvement in these groups is so low that respondents do not consider this to be a form of active female engagement.

¹⁹ Note that the FIC research team entered a village and witnessed public caning of an adult man and a young female (approximately age 15). The community caught the man having sex with the girl (known as “defilement” in local terms), and both were caned.

4. IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4a. New and Continuous Points of Contention

This report has provided an analysis of current patterns of conflict in northern Karamoja. The combination of data from this study and previous research on trends in conflict and violence allows for the prediction of new and continuing points of contention.

Lonetia and SGBV

Theft by *lonetia* was named as the number one security concern for male and female residents of northern Karamoja. While *lonetia* periodically steal animals, the theft of agricultural inputs and housewares was described as the most frequent problem. These lost domestic and productive assets are difficult to replace, and theft of this nature does not generally result in assistance from the Peace Committees. In the absence of cash to replace these items, however, this form of asset loss often has significant negative implications for household livelihoods and food security.

While cattle raiding and armed skirmishes have declined significantly in recent years, sexual and gender-based violence—including domestic violence and forced marriage of girls—are pervasive and have serious negative consequences for women, children, and families. The absence of reliable data makes it unclear if the incidence is increasing or decreasing, but male-against-female domestic violence was reported at very high levels. Injuries resulted in death or severe and permanent disability, and have serious implications for the ability of women to pursue livelihood activities. The abuse of alcohol appears to correlate with the incidence of domestic violence. While some local initiatives are in place to “sensitize” men and women to their rights in relation to domestic violence, traditional structures (LC1s and councils of elders) often tend to view women as the instigators of violence and deserving of physical punishment. Peace Committees are, at best, peripherally engaged in SGBV prevention and

resolution. The Child and Family Protection Units of the police department—charged with responding to both SGBV and forced marriage—are severely under-resourced and inefficient in providing protection to victims.

Disarmament and Uncertain Alliances

While populations in Karamoja are largely disarmed, other groups surrounding the region—the Turkana, Didinga, and Toposa—remain armed. Overlapping patterns of resource use mean that these groups frequently seek to access grazing land and water in Karamoja. Herding parties entering Karamoja with their weapons have a comparative advantage over local residents who must rely on local institutions (such as the police or UPDF) for protection. While long-standing formal and informal mechanisms work to improve relations with the Turkana and South Sudanese, peaceful interactions are heavily dependent on the political will of the local leaders. Some CMM actors expressed concern that the long-standing cross-border alliances among specific groups (such as between the Toposa and Dodoth) may threaten the current stability of the region, particularly if such external groups were to funnel arms to those inside Karamoja.

An example of these cross-border alliances is found in the harboring of armed Dodoth by Toposa in South Sudan. Despite what has been heralded as (the beginning of) a successful disarmament and repatriation program, it is still too early to gauge the extent to which these raiders will reintegrate. Repatriated raiders may face discrimination or revenge-related violence, or continue with illegal behavior in the absence of another viable livelihood. In addition, there are reports that Dodoth who have yet to be repatriated continue to raid. Their return to Uganda is dependent on the volition and capabilities of the SPLA and the Government of South Sudan (GoSS)—institutions that are caught up in a civil conflict and may not be prioritizing this issue.

Pressure on Natural Resources

Land and resource use remain potential points of contention in northern Karamoja. This is due to several intersecting dynamics. First, interest in the region on the part of outsiders has increased as a result of the improved peace and stability. National and international investors can easily take advantage of an unregulated land tenure system, and federal and district government officials have shown little interest in protecting the rights of local residents over private sector investors (Human Rights Watch, 2014). Second, if successful over the longer term, government efforts to encourage settled agriculture in Karamoja will likely lead to conflict with pastoral and agro-pastoral groups over water and grazing access. The best (although still suboptimal) areas for farming often overlap with the preferred locations for dry season pasture and water points. There have been few efforts to proactively manage this shared use. Third, the combined elements of population growth and climate change will likely increase pressures on the natural resources currently shared among pastoral and agro-pastoral groups both within the region and from neighboring states and districts. Evidence is mixed as to the impacts of resource scarcity on pastoral conflict,²⁰ but policy makers and programs should continue to pay close attention to this dynamic. Lastly, at the local level, the data for this study make clear that women (especially widows and those in polygamous marriages) are most at risk for loss of land or land access. CMM actors may be able to work with communities to facilitate more gender-equitable inheritance and access systems.

4b. Implications for Programming and Policy Making

1. **The environment is ripe for opportunities to engage in longer-term development approaches that promote sustainable, resilient livelihoods.** Large-scale cattle raids have decreased over recent years, due both to external policies and to local efforts to encourage peace. These changes have led to improvements in mobility, with pronounced

benefits for animal-based livelihoods as well as for access to agricultural areas, trade, and access to the region by outside actors. Simultaneously, a number of donors are encouraging programs that take into account the value of livestock-based production systems as a form of climate-smart and resilient livelihood strategy. Development and national initiatives should focus on those interventions that are market-based, appropriate for an ecologically unpredictable environment, and take into account the skills and human capital available in the region.

2. **Programs should take into account the changing patterns of violence and insecurity.** The nature of insecurity in Karamoja has shifted to take place primarily within the household, either in the form of domestic violence or attacks on homes by *lonetia*. Violence-mitigation programs that wish to address the prevailing forms of conflict in the region will need to aim their activities at these sources of insecurity. Development programs should take into account the targeting of smaller-scale resources (including food aid and household assets) in their conflict mitigation approaches. Programs that introduce assets should recognize that assets may be stolen at the household level. Protection activities—such as training and facilitation of police—will need to be developed to take the nature of this threat into account.

Women in Karamoja provide for their households largely through the production or sale of natural resources. Female respondents in this study reported being unable to work for days, weeks, or months following domestic violence. The pervasiveness and extent to which SGBV leaves women unable to participate in activities must be considered in the design of programs ranging from livelihood trainings to health interventions to conflict mitigation activities. Programmers should assume that at least a portion of female participants are

²⁰ A common argument is that resource scarcity and environmental stress increases conflict in pastoral areas (see Gray, 2000). More recent work, however, challenges the link between resource scarcity and conflict in pastoral communities and argues that these shocks lead to greater cooperation and resources sharing (see Lind, 2013).

experiencing regular and pronounced domestic abuse, with implications for participation, involvement, and program outcomes.

3. **Initiatives will be necessary to capitalize upon and maintain the gains that have been made in stability.** Local respondents credit disarmament and the Moruitit Resolution as the most effective interventions in the improved security in the region. Both of these are heavily dependent on the UPDF. Presumably, however, the national military will not be the enforcers of law and order in the region indefinitely. Ideally these forces will be phased out, moved to border protection, or supplanted entirely by a police force. What will replace the mechanisms and enforcement policies that have been put in place by the UPDF? Communities cite the revitalization of customary systems²¹ in promoting peace, which is positive, but this may not be sufficient to hold security gains or protect the rights of all community members. If national and international actors wish to consolidate the gains made over the past decade in reductions in violence, they will need to take proactive steps to facilitate alternative but effective mechanisms to maintain peace and security in the absence of large military presence.
4. **Efforts should continue to meaningfully include women in CMM activities.** This study found that many female residents were unaware of local CMM initiatives and were sparsely represented in CMM structures. Women have played meaningful and important roles in promoting peace in pastoral areas, including in the Karamoja Cluster;²² lessons learned from past experiences should be integrated into current programs. Successful initiatives in the region have shown that programs should understand women's roles in conflict, and use a gender

lens for analysis and design. As well, engaging "any" woman is not sufficient to ensure meaningful participation, but rather key individuals who hold strategic positions or wield influence within the conflict context should be targeted. Such strategies acknowledge that women are part of different networks than men, and women have influence over conflict patterns and peacebuilding processes.²³ Thus, programs should continue to cultivate meaningful female participation, leadership, and roles in decision making, and initiatives should work with broader communities in order to encourage acceptance of involvement by women.

5. **More contact appears to improve inter-ethnic relations.** Members of Jie and Dodoth ethnic groups described that increased contact with the other groups has decreased stigma and increased trust. Continued improvements in mobility, with positive implications for trade, exchange, and shared use of natural resources will hopefully continue this positive trend. Infrastructure improvements and initiatives that encourage market integration, transport links, and exchanges between Kotido and Kaabong should contribute positively in this regard.

²¹ It should be noted, however, that many of these customary mechanisms prioritize men's rights over women's and include measures such as forced public beatings of a youth perpetrator of crime by his peers.

²² In particular, the *Women Peace Crusades* in the early 2000s on the Sudan-Kenya-Uganda border supported by the AU-IBAR's CAPE unit and the *Wajir Women for Peace* in the early 1990s in northeastern Kenya (Gaertner, 2009).

²³ Gaertner, 2009.

REFERENCES

- Bevan J. 2008. "Crisis in Karamoja: Armed Violence and the Failure of Disarmament in Uganda's Most Deprived Region." Geneva: Small Arms Survey.
- Broch-Due, V. 1999. "Remembered Cattle, Forgotten People: The Morality of Exchange and Exclusion of the Turkana Poor." In *The Poor Are Not Us: Poverty and Pastoralism in Eastern Africa*, edited by V. Broch-Due and D. M. Anderson. Oxford: James Currey.
- Burns, J., Bekele, G., and Akabwai, D. 2013. "Livelihood Dynamics in Northern Karamoja." Medford: The Feinstein International Center, Tufts University.
- Carlson, K., Proctor, K., Stites, E., and Akabwai, D. 2012. "Tradition in Transition: Customary Authority in Karamoja, Uganda." Medford: The Feinstein International Center, Tufts University.
- Ellis, J. E., and Swift, D. M. 1988. "Stability of African Pastoral Ecosystems: Alternate Paradigms and Implications for Development." *Journal of Range Management* 41 (6): 450–459.
- Gaertner, H. S. 2009. "'We Raid Because Our Mothers Send Us to Raid;' The Role of Pastoral Women in Peace and Conflict in the Horn of Africa." Medford: Fletcher MALD thesis, Tufts University, unpublished.
- Gray, S. J. 2000. "A Memory of Loss: Ecological Politics, Local History, and the Evolution of Karimojong Violence." *Human Organization* 59 (4): 401–418.
- Gray, S., Leslie, P., and Akol, H. A. 2002. "Uncertain Disaster: Environmental Instability, Colonial Policy, and Resilience of East African Pastoral Systems." In *Human Biology of Pastoral Populations*, edited by W. R. Leonard and M. H. Crawford. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lind, J. 2013. "Manufacturing Peace in 'No Man's Land:' Livestock and Access to Resources in the Karimojong Cluster of Kenya and Uganda." In *Livelihoods, Natural Resources, and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding*, edited by H. Young and L. Goldman. London: Routledge.
- Howe, K. 2013. "A Gender Assessment of Northern Karamoja: Livelihoods, Health and Peace for the SUSTAIN Project."
- Human Rights Watch. 2007. "'Get the Gun!' Human Rights Violations by Uganda's National Army in Law Enforcement Operations in Karamoja Region." New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Human Rights Watch. 2014. "'How Can We Survive Here?' The Impact of Mining on Human Rights in Karamoja, Uganda." New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Markakis, J. 2004. "Pastoralism on the Margin." London: Minority Rights Group International.
- Mkutu, K. A. 2008. *Guns and Governance in the Rift Valley: Pastoralist Conflict and Small Arms, African Issues*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Otim, P. O. 2002. "Scarcity and Conflict in Pastoral Areas: A Look at the Other Side of the Coin." In *Regional Workshops on East African Drylands*. Khartoum and Addis Ababa: Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA).

Stites, E., and Akabwai, D. 2009. “Changing Roles, Shifting Risks: Livelihood Impacts of Disarmament in Karamoja, Uganda.” Medford: Feinstein International Center, Tufts University.

Stites, E., and Akabwai, D. 2010. “‘We Are Now Reduced to Women’: Impacts of Forced Disarmament in Karamoja, Uganda.” *Nomadic Peoples* 14 (2): 24–43.

Stites, E., Akabwai, D. Marshak, A., Nohner, E., and Richards, S. 2014. “Engaging Male Youth, Uganda.” Medford: The Feinstein International Center, Tufts University.

Stites, E., Burns, J., and Akabwai, D. 2014. “‘It’s Better to Sweat than to Die:’ Rural-to-Urban Migration, Northern Karamoja, Uganda.” Medford: The Feinstein International Center, Tufts University.

Stites, E., and Marshak, A. “Who are the Lonetia? Findings from Southern Karamoja, Uganda.” *Journal of Modern African Studies*, under review.

ANNEX 1: KEY INFORMANTS INTERVIEWED AND LOCATIONS OF FGDs

Key Informants Interviewed

Kotido District

Child and Family Protection Unit of the District Police
District Police Officer
UPDF Brigade Commander
Regional Security Officer
KART-Nakapelimoru Peace Committee
JieCODI-Rengen Peace Committee

Kaabong District

Child and Family Protection Unit of the District Police
Brigade Commander UPDF
District Security Officer
Kalapata Peace Committee
KAPDA (MC Partner for Strategic Objective 3)
Karenga Peace Committee
Park Ranger, Kidepo National Park
UPDF Detachment Morongole
Loyoro Sub-County Peace Committee
Loyoro Police Outpost
Lorengachora Peace Committee
UPDF Detachment Lopedo
Africa Wildlife Foundation

Village Locations for Male and Female FGDs

Kotido District

Kotido Town Council (KTC) Narikapet—urban
KTC Entebbe—urban
KTC Rural (near airport)
Natale/Nakipelimoru—border Turkana/Kaabong
Lopuyo/Rengen—border Kaabong
Lobanya/Kacheri—border Abim/Kaabong
Lochumbi/Kacheri—border Kaabong

Kaabong District

Lopedo/Loyoro—gold mine/Turkana border
Lorengachora/Lolelia—Kotido border
Toroi/Loyoro—Turkana/Kaabong borders
Kangole/Karenga—UWA Kidepo Park/Sudan border
Moruitit—located on Kaabong/Kotido border
Morongole/Usake—Kenya/S. Sudan borders



Feinstein
InternationalCenter

Feinstein International Center

Tufts University

114 Curtis Street

Somerville, MA 02144

USA

tel: +1 617.627.3423

fax: +1 617.627.3428

fic.tufts.edu