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Youth's Experiences with and Responses to the Livelihood Shocks of Covid-19 and Insecurity in Karamoja, Uganda in 2020

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Executive Summary

This briefing paper presents findings on how various shocks, particularly Covid-19 and rising insecurity, affected youth in Karamoja in 2020, how these shocks compounded one another, and how youth experienced and reacted to these shocks. Some of the responses by the young people in the study population may be effective short-term coping strategies, while others may be indicative of longer-term adaptations to youth livelihoods.

This analysis is part of the United States Agency for International Development/Bureau for Humanitarian Assistance (USAID/BHA)-funded Apolou Activity, a consortium led by Mercy Corps. The findings build on three years of qualitative, longitudinal research carried out by the Feinstein International Center (FIC), Friedman School of Nutrition Science and Policy at Tufts University. The findings discussed in this report shed light on youth's experiences in a sub-region that has seen rapid change in the past decade. The findings draw on the third year of data collection, which took place between November 2020 and January 2021. Of the original 96 youth participants interviewed in 2018, we located and interviewed 83 in this third round of data collection (43 female and 40 male).

Main Findings

The data reveal three interconnected shocks experienced by many of the youth respondents, often with complex and compounding impacts on their lives and their livelihoods, namely the Covid-19 pandemic, rising insecurity in the sub-region, and experiences of inadequate harvest.

Covid-19 pandemic

Although the health impacts of Covid-19 in the Karamoja sub-region were relatively minor at the time of the data collection, youth still felt the negative impacts of the pandemic upon their lives and livelihoods. These impacts fell into the following broad categories.

Closure of markets

Youth respondents repeatedly identified that the closure of markets had the greatest impact on their livelihoods due to effects on prices and the availability of goods. These affected both those selling at the markets and those who used the markets to buy essential items, including food. Fifty of the 83 respondents recounted difficulties in either selling their products or buying needed items.

Travel restrictions

Travel restrictions impacted traders coming into the Karamoja sub-region. Youth reported that these restrictions resulted in a scarcity of items, increased prices for imported goods, and a collapse in prices for the sale of animals and local crops. Animal sales were particularly impacted, as many livestock traders come from outside the region. Those respondents who relied on the sale of animals as either a livelihood or a short-term coping mechanism thus experienced negative effects on household well-being.

Reduced savings

Given the negative impact Covid-19 had on income and livelihoods, many respondents reported that their savings had reduced since the pandemic began. Numerous informal savings groups closed due to lack of funds. The shuttering of savings groups also had social impacts, with some youth respondents describing that they missed the supportive benefits of participating in these groups. Whether these groups will resume activities remains unclear.

Reduced social life

Many youth respondents reported that they stopped meeting and conversing with their peers at places such as markets, which were closed during the pandemic. Limited social interactions negatively impacted youth's community participation, social and cultural lives, and personal relationships.

School closures

A number of respondents reported that the school closures and economic impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic led them to give up altogether on their

educational aspirations. Those who decided to continue feared that they would not be able to regain the time lost in the classroom. School closures often disproportionately impact women and girls, as they face larger barriers to re-entering the classroom than their male counterparts.

Rise in insecurity

Despite over a decade of relative peace in the sub-region, incidents of insecurity increased over the past year in many of the study sites. Forty-two youth respondents discussed experiencing a variety of forms of insecurity over the past year. Incidents of insecurity included cattle raids, theft of personal items, targeted robberies of traders, and violent personal attacks, including killings. For many youth in the sample, such experiences with insecurity are a relatively new experience and may undermine advances in livelihood and development that have been achieved in the past decade of relative peace.

Insecurity had severe consequences on youth livelihoods, including decreased crop cultivation, loss of household wealth in terms of cattle, and increased risk when pursuing alternative economic activities. For example, respondents reported that mining sites had grown more insecure. Young women in the sample also reported a persistent fear of sexual violence when conducting household chores and livelihood activities such as collecting and selling bush products. Combined with gender restrictions on what is considered appropriate work, female youth may be particularly constrained in their ability to respond to such insecurity by seeking out alternative livelihoods.

Inadequate harvest and food shortages

Some respondents within our sample complained of an inadequate harvest and food shortages in 2020, despite regional monitoring data reporting the contrary. The majority of youth who reported a poor yield attributed it to floods, destruction by wild animals, dry spells, pests and diseases, insecurity, lack of adequate capital, lack of funds, and/or the Covid-19 lockdown and restrictions. Given the negative consequences on youth's lives and livelihoods brought on by the Covid-19 pandemic and rising insecurity, the inadequate harvest and food

shortages exacerbated and compounded the barriers youth faced in the study.

Recommendations and implications

Young people in the study population responded to the broad and specific challenges of the past year in a number of ways. While some were able to adapt to these new challenges either by learning new technology for remote learning or by relying on credit systems, not all respondents were able to adapt as effectively. We present a series of recommendations and implications for programming based on the findings from this report. These recommendations include:

- The consequences of the Covid-19 pandemic, rising insecurity, and inadequate harvest and food shortages are multiple and intersecting. Programmers' must address the ensuing short- and long-term impacts and recognize the compounding and intersecting nature of the shocks;
- Given that many shocks are idiosyncratic or localized and not reflected in sub-regional data, promotion of livelihoods by Apolou should take into account the diversity and specificity of individuals and households;
- School closures and other economic restrictions because of the Covid-19 pandemic are likely to continue to varying degrees, as are inconsistent harvests and fluctuations in security. As shocks become persistent or repeated, youth are more likely to make longer-term livelihood adaptations. Programming should take adaptations such as migration and the rise of alternative livelihoods into account;
- A number of young people will likely not return to school when institutions reopen. As shown in data from other locations, this situation is more pronounced for girls and young women. Programmers must make concerted efforts to reach out and engage youth who have ceased their education due to Covid-19, particularly young women who are married, pregnant, or have children.

Introduction and Overview

This briefing paper focuses on various shocks, including Covid-19, which affected youth in Karamoja, how these shocks exacerbated each other, and how youth experienced, managed, and counteracted their impacts. It specifically explores the ways in which young people mitigate vulnerability following poor harvests, Covid-19, and general insecurity through flexible and multiple livelihood activities. While some of these efforts represent short-term coping strategies, others are adaptations with longer-term implications for youth livelihoods in the region. Understanding these coping strategies and adaptations during a relatively challenging period will assist Mercy Corps, and other national and international stakeholders, to develop effective and useful programs that may counter negative developments and assist youth to build resilience and effective and sustainable livelihoods.

This analysis is part of the Apolou Activity, a consortium led by Mercy Corps and funded by the United States Agency of International Development/ Bureau of Humanitarian Assistance (USAID/BHA). The Feinstein International Center, Friedman School of Nutrition Science and Policy at Tufts University is the research and learning partner on Apolou. Feinstein's mixed methods longitudinal research seeks to understand the ways in which market expansion, including increased commoditization and monetization, have (or have not) provided opportunities for the population of Karamoja. The qualitative component focuses specifically on youth and seeks to shed light on their experiences, aspirations, and interactions with economic, financial, and aid systems in a sub-region that has seen rapid change in the past decade. Qualitative data collected in late 2020 show that, while it has been a difficult year due to the Covid-19 pandemic and related market contractions, the increasing insecurity, desert locust invasion, and a poorer-than-

average harvest in some areas, we see evidence of resilience and adaptability among the youth participants in our cohort.

It specifically explores the ways in which young people mitigate vulnerability following poor harvests, Covid-19, and general insecurity through flexible and multiple livelihood activities.

Methodology

This briefing paper investigates some of the findings from the qualitative portion of the study. In the first round of the cohort study in 2018, the research team worked across 24 villages receiving or scheduled to receive Apolou programs. From October to December 2018, we purposively selected 48 female youth and 48 male youth (for a total of 96) in these villages, with approximate ages from their late teens to mid-20s. We started with focus group discussions to gather background and contextual information, and then proceeded with semi-structured open-ended qualitative interviews with individual respondents. In the following year, the qualitative approach again involved in-depth interactions with the same respondents. Of the 96 youth participants interviewed in 2018, the research team was successful in locating and interviewing 86 youth, 45 female and 41 male, in late 2019. In 2020 the qualitative approach repeated these interactions with the same youth cohort. Out of the 86 youth participants interviewed in 2019, in 2020 the team was successful in locating and interviewing 83 youth—43 female and 40 male—between November 2020 and January 2021.

Key Findings

The third round of interviews with the male and female youth that took place in late 2020 and early 2021 revealed three concentric layers of shocks experienced by the local population, with overlapping impacts on young people and their livelihoods.

First, the **Covid-19 pandemic** and its impacts, such as closures of schools, markets, and borders, was an unexpected shock with far-reaching impacts. Neither the local population nor the governance and institutional mechanisms had experience in managing or mitigating an external shock of this nature. Although the health impacts of the novel coronavirus in the Karamoja sub-region have (at the time of writing) been relatively minimal, its impact on livelihoods has had broad ripple effects.

Second, after more than a decade of relative peace following the government-led disarmament campaign, **incidents of insecurity** have increased over the past year in many of the study sites. While insecurity was pervasive in Karamoja for many years, it is a relatively new experience in the lives of young people who have come of age in the post-disarmament period. This shock is less widespread and more variable than prior upticks, but still highly destabilizing and unnerving for the youth. It has the potential to reverse substantial livelihood and development gains.

Third, some respondents within our sample complained of an **inadequate harvest and food shortages** in 2020. This contrasts with the Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWS NET) data, which indicate that the seasonal harvest and below-average prices of staple foods in markets in late 2020 were actually preventing most households from slipping into Integrated Food Security Phase Classification (IPC) Phase 3 (crisis) outcomes (FEWS NET 2021). The fact that the narrative

of a number of respondents runs counter to the regional monitoring data and analysis indicates the highly variable and idiosyncratic nature of shocks.¹ Household food security—and perceptions thereof—are affected by a number of factors, including household demographics and livelihood systems. The ways in which young people in the study population have experienced and reacted to the different overlapping shocks are discussed in detail below.

Covid-19 as a multifaceted barrier for youth livelihoods

Covid-19 is a highly specific but far-reaching shock, which is likely to continue to affect people in sub-Saharan Africa for many years to come. Market closures sharply impacted the informal sector, and hence the economic impacts are likely to be most pronounced for the most marginalized, who depend on a dynamic informal sector to secure daily needs through petty trade, casual labor, small-scale agricultural production, or natural resource exploitation (Al Jazeera 2020; Ayanlade and Radeny 2020; Schwettmann 2020; UNICEF 2021). Despite its specificity and discrete nature, an examination of the ways in which Covid-19 as a covariate shock has affected the livelihoods of young people in Karamoja allows us to better understand coping mechanisms and resilience at the individual, household, and community level (Carreras, Saha, and Thompson 2020).

Closure of markets

In discussing direct impacts of Covid-19, youth respondents highlighted that the **closure of markets** had the greatest impact on their livelihoods because of the repercussions for prices and availability. According to one young man in Rengen Sub-county in Kotido, it was the closure of markets that signaled

¹ In addition, the nature of data collection by a non-governmental organization (NGO)-associated research team may also skew the responses in a negative direction, as people may (understandably) emphasize their continued vulnerability in hopes of being eligible for assistance.

the severity of the situation and brought close to home an issue that had previously seemed to be far away. He explained:

Once the markets were closed is when we realized the gravity of the problem—before we only heard people were dying in Kampala and Moroto. I could no longer make any income or commission from the sales of goats once the markets were closed. Basic goods became very expensive and were hard to get. For example, salt increased from a small packet of 500 Ugandan shillings (UGX) [about 0.14 United States dollars (USD)] to 1,000 UGX, and yet we had no source of income to afford these changes in prices. Even livestock, the prices fell significantly because there were no traders coming to the community, so we made losses on sales that were made about that time. Traders from Amuria and Soroti were no longer coming to the community markets.

Fifty of the 83 respondents recounted difficulties in either selling their products or buying needed items. They also reported fluctuating prices. Many of the youth in the cohort are heavily reliant on markets to trade for both food and non-food productive inputs, such as seeds, animal drugs, and clothing. A young woman in Amudat Town council explained: “The markets are no longer busy with many traders like they used to be, therefore I no longer have money because it is difficult to sell anything to get money these days.” In addition to not having enough cash to purchase food in the market, the supply of food from outside the region dwindled. These combined factors could have potentially negative impacts on food security at the household level, as alluded to by a female respondent in Rengen Sub-county, Kotido District: “During lockdown, markets were closed, vehicles could not bring any food to the market, and the only food we used was the little we had in the granary.” A young woman in Karita Sub-county, Amudat District additionally reported: “Vehicles that used to transport essential goods were restricted. Then people had to stay at home, and getting food was difficult.” A woman in Loroo Sub-county, Amudat echoed this experience: “With the lockdown, the vegetables from Sebei also stopped, they were unable to transport them to here.

Even some basic goods like sugar, salt, soap, etc. increased in prices.”

The decrease in market access affected not only consumers but also those selling goods at the market, as well as the livelihoods and income of those engaged in services such as catering. A young woman in Kaabong West Sub-county in Kaabong said, “I also used to sell maize mixed with beans at Komuria market but the Covid situation spoilt everything with the restrictions. So I had to stop.”

Travel restrictions

The travel restrictions during the Covid-19 lockdown further hindered traders from coming to the Karamoja sub-region, either to buy or to sell products and animals. As a result, the youth reported that there was a scarcity of items, which **drove up prices of imported goods and drove down prices for animals and local crops**. A young man who sold charcoal in Rengen Sub-County, Kotido explained the situation with low prices for local goods:

This year, life has been very hard, no market activity has been stable ever since the deadly disease from Europe struck the planet. Even charcoal buyers have disappeared. There was a man who used to come from Lira to buy our charcoal, but he wasn't allowed to move for a long time. Our charcoal stayed for four months without selling, and we had to give to someone in Kotido at a very low price of 15,000 shillings for a bag. It is really a very bad year, and I will never forget it.

Animal sales were particularly hard hit, as many of traders come from outside the region to purchase animals on Karamoja's livestock markets. In general, pastoralists are not price responsive when considering the sale of livestock, meaning that their primary consideration is the amount of money required for the given need, as opposed to the market price (Rockemann et al. 2016). Most people who needed to sell during the pandemic would accept reduced rates for their animals, even if this rate translated to a loss, with effects on both livestock owners and the middlemen who make

a small profit from each sale. A young man in Nadunget Sub-County in Moroto explained:

My business was affected by Covid 19. I made losses. For example, animals were sold cheaply: cows that had cost 800,000-1,000,000 UGX were cheaply sold at 450,000-500,000 UGX and goats of 120,000-200,000 UGX were sold at 45,000-60,000 UGX. I had nothing to do but to sell them cheaply so that I could support my family. Buyers were not coming, people were not allowed to move from place to place.

These limitations on markets and gatherings affected the brewing business, which is an important economic activity, especially for young women. Customers normally use communal cups when buying local beer (*ebutia*) at the informal drinking spots. This custom was a particular challenge during Covid-19, as described by a young woman in Loroo in Amudat: “The brewing business has become hard because you cannot share a jug or cup. If [the police] get you, they pour out your *ebutia*.”

Compounding shocks

One young man in Rengen in Kotido who had developed a business selling animals within Karamoja and beyond outlined how Covid-19 compounded other external shocks, such as livestock disease:

I used to buy and sell cows at the market but when the markets were closed because of corona, many animals also died because of diseases, and we could not sell because there were no buyers. I lost like 15 bulls that I wanted to take to Lira market because the roads and vehicle [movement] were closed for about 5 months.

The inability to regularly access services, such as animal treatment and pesticides that would have mitigated other concurrent shocks, further exacerbated respondents’ difficulties. As Covid-19 prevented respondents from properly responding to these shocks, **losses of crops and animals due to pests and diseases** layered upon the primary impacts of Covid-19 (e.g., market closures). One

male youth in Kotido explained how compounding shocks had impacted his business in cereal trade:

My cereal business made losses because it was hard to get the produce to the market and the pests damaged everything stored—like maize and sorghum. I had bought these products locally from the community, so I made losses because there was no way to take it to the market in South Sudan.

Reduced savings

Unsurprisingly, the majority of the youth reported that they had been **unable to save or had reduced saving amounts** as a result of loss of livelihoods and limited income during the Covid-19 lockdown. A young man in Lodiko in Kaabong explained how he had shifted from participating in a group savings group to saving money in a box in his home during Covid-19, a common experience due to decreased income: “People gave up on saving since they said when they stay at home then the means of getting money was difficult, so most people were not able to save [in savings groups].” The savings group of this young man and others became dormant due to decreased contributions and restrictions of meetings. When not saving in groups, people are unable to take loans, which are important for both investments and subsistence among respondents. The cessation of loans had ripple effects on the lives of young people in the study population. One male youth in Nadunget, Moroto, lamented, “I wanted to get another loan but due to coronavirus which paused businesses, shops were closed and only food items were being sold, I feared to make a loss. Therefore, I did not get another loan.”

The shuttering of savings groups had social as well as financial impacts upon youth respondents, and some described missing the supportive benefits of participating in the savings group meetings. One respondent explained: “[Savings groups] can also expose you to other people you had never associated with. You can make good friends here, who can trust you in times of need.” Another echoed this feeling: “This group is very good to me because most of the members are my friends who understand me and even give me advice I need.”

Reduced social life

The **social impacts of the coronavirus had broad effects**, and many youth revealed that they stopped meeting and conversing with their colleagues and friends at communal locations. Marketplaces are particularly important social gathering sites for young people in the study, as they are where youth share with friends about their daily challenges, get exposure to new ideas, and receive guidance on decision making. A young man in Lotim Sub-county in Kaabong explained the isolation felt within his community:

Everything in the community was closed, especially social events; churches, schools, markets, and other social gatherings were all closed. We couldn't go under the shade and gather in big numbers with fellow men because we feared each other.

Youth respondents also revealed that the absence of social gatherings had negative impacts on their community participation, social and cultural lives, and personal relationships. For example, a young woman in Lodiko Sub-county in Kaabong explained that her wedding was postponed because of the prohibition on social gatherings. One young woman in Nadunget, Moroto said the social restrictions and lack of local activities pushed young women to marry, in part to escape the boredom of village life. She said:

Many of my friends took advantage of the lockdown and got married. There were a lot of girls within the village this time round. Some of them went to town to stay with friends and also to look for work there. The village is very boring, and people don't have anything to do.

School closures

Some of our youth respondents were enrolled in school or technical programs prior to the start of the coronavirus lockdown and registered their sharp **disappointment at the closure of schools** as part of the national efforts to contain the virus. Young people who have managed to stay in school until their late teens or early 20s have often made a number of sacrifices. Several felt that being suddenly unable to attend as planned had derailed their livelihood plans. For many youth, the cost associated

with secondary school was already hard to bear. They worried that school closure had reduced their chance of completing secondary school (Parkes et al. 2020). A young woman in Lodiko in Kaabong explained: "I was supposed to go back to school for a course in agriculture this year, but Covid spoilt everything for me, so I wasn't able to go to school since they were all closed. Covid has really affected my life in that I haven't been able to go back to school."

A young man in Nadunget in Moroto explained how the delay in school had caused him to miss out on a job:

Coronavirus has disappointed me. I expected to have completed my course in 2021, and there was a job waiting for me at Nadunget Sub-county immediately after school. Now it's all gone. I am just at home waiting for when schools will open again. Even while at home, learning has changed; teachers want us to use internet, and I even don't have a laptop to connect for online classes. I just don't know how to get started, am deep here in the village where internet is very unstable and money to acquire internet data bundles is difficult to find.

As documented in analyses of the impacts of Covid-19 elsewhere in Africa, other young people may find it difficult to return to school upon reopening (Human Rights Watch 2020). The literature shows that it is particularly difficult for girls and young women to return to school (Baker 2020; Edwards and Szabo 2020; Fry and Lei 2020)

The decision to not return to school—whether taken by young persons or by their family members—may be for economic reasons or because individuals have prioritized other aspects of their lives. One female respondent in Kalapata Sub-county in Kaabong described the situation of her younger brother:

My young brother dropped out of school when the lockdown was enforced and schools were suspended. He has been telling me that he has lost the heart for school and he wants to stay in the kraal and take care of livestock. Most of them have resorted to driving *boda bodas*.

Others expressed concern about falling behind in school due to the time off and the impossibility of remote learning. These concerns are particularly grave given that students in Karamoja generally perform much lower on national tests than students in the rest of Uganda, and therefore struggle to qualify for higher education and positions. The education system in Karamoja region suffers from low quality of education, teacher absenteeism, and low enrollment and completion rates compared to the overall population (Brown, Kelly, and Mabugu 2017). A young man in Panyangara Sub-county in Kotido described his fears of falling farther behind:

There is already a big gap in years. After sitting for this examination, I was supposed to be already in first year, but now, everything has been wasted. Am very idle and am constantly being tempted to do certain things. The lockdown has been very long and when I go back to school, I will be very slow in learning.

A female respondent in Amudat Town Council described the idleness that had befallen youth after the schools closed:

Because of Covid-19 all the children are not in school and keep loitering in the village. Some have become pregnant, and others are working in businesses doing *lejaleja* (casual labor). Some may not even go back to school when they open.

Early and forced marriage, early pregnancy, and sexual violence

A number of respondents discussed a rise in early and/or forced marriage for girls, early pregnancy, and incidents of rape. They also discussed an increase in sex work as an economic strategy. One young woman summarized the risks in her interview:

During the lockdown, a lot was happening like men were raping girls, a lot of forced marriages and kidnapping. There were so many attempts of men wanting to marry me. I would run to a friend of mine who always advised me to focus on education. My mother advised me not to accept it and focus on my education. The other girls that accepted are now miserable and living sad lives.

Similar patterns are apparent in other research findings and media reports on Covid-19 and earlier epidemics, such as ebola in West Africa (Bandiera et al. 2018; Dlamini 2021; Edwards and Szabo 2020; Hutchinson and Rafaeli 2020).

Some parents used the lockdown to attempt to force the marriages of their daughters. One 17-year-old respondent in Katabok Sub-county in Amudat explained that after her school closed her father and brother decided she should marry an older man who already had two wives. The brother wanted cattle for his own bridewealth and hence encouraged the father to force the girl into marriage. The girl ran away to avoid the marriage and was hiding from her family at the time of our interview. She explained:

My brother-in-law told me that my father had taken [the potential husband] for introduction, and he agreed to pay 25 cows and 10 goats. [My father] got pressure from my brother to give me out in marriage, and he was convinced that corona will never end for the next 10 years so he decided to give me out in marriage.

Such gendered risks were related to Covid-19 school closures. Being in school on a regular basis provided an element of protection for young people as well as providing purpose on a daily basis. One young man in Rengen in Kotido described how some girls were rumored to be engaged in sex work, and boys are occasionally turning to crime and risky behaviors:

School is a very safe place for all children, and now that schools are not on because of the deadly disease, girls have become spoilt. Most of them have gone to Kotido town to stay with friends. Am told they even rent houses and bring men to sleep with them. I wish they would open school soon. Many pupils have now resorted to gambling and stealing to make ends meet.

While it is impossible to know from our data if there is truth behind these rumors, three respondents in the study population described becoming pregnant or knowing others who had gotten pregnant when out of school due to pandemic closures. Given informal social norms and in line with findings from elsewhere, it is highly unlikely that girls will be able to return to school after they have given birth (Baker 2020);

Fry and Lei 2020). An 18-year-old in Lobalangit in Karenga (formerly Kaabong) described her situation:

I was in school but conceived during the lockdown. Two of my other friends also conceived during the lockdown. I have not heard what their parents say but I meet them once in a while, and they tell me that their parents want them to go back to school. We are all are now 7 months pregnant.

Rising insecurity

This year's data indicate **increased insecurity** in the Karamoja sub-region. Youth mentioned the destabilizing impacts of insecurity upon their livelihoods, aspirations, daily life, social interactions, and personal relationships. Karamoja experienced decades of insecurity prior to the disarmament that began in 2006, and households and communities had incorporated various mechanisms to mitigate the threat to their livelihoods (including settlement design, herding patterns, carrying of weapons, and alarms). However, youth in their teens and early 20s have come of age in a time of relative peace and have minimal experience with insecurity. Hence we were particularly interested in understanding the impacts of increased incidents of insecurity, how the youth manage such shocks, and how this shock intersects with Covid-19 and affects youth livelihoods.

Forty-two youth respondents discussed experiencing a variety of forms of insecurity over the past year. These included cattle raids, theft within homesteads or of personal items, targeted robberies of traders, and violent personal attacks, including killings. Both male and female respondents reported being the victims of the often-violent insecurity, and many more were aware of incidents experienced by other members of their community. Importantly, these reports were widespread among the respondents, whereas in previous years of data collection the accounts of insecurity were fewer in number and usually occurred only in specific border areas, though women appear more likely to report insecurity than men, regardless of the year.

Cattle raids

Cattle raids appear to have increased in scale and frequency. Cross-border raids did not cease entirely

following disarmament but, as explained by a young man from Lodiko Sub-county, Kaabong, now appear to be more frequent, less opportunistic, and involving larger numbers of men:

There are a lot of raids lately, especially the Turkana come here and raid our animals. Just on [this past] Sunday, they raided one of the kraals around here...and a nearby village and took everything which was there. LDUs [local defense units] followed them together with the village youth. They failed to recover the animals because the Turkana was a big group, yet the LDUs were only four men... They [Turkana] come to raid because they are armed, yet here people were disarmed and guns available are few to protect the village.

A more pronounced shift is the **return of internal cattle raids** among different territorial or ethnic groups within the sub-region. While ubiquitous prior to 2006, these internal attacks were almost nonexistent for the past decade, and many respondents described peaceful coexistence with neighboring groups. While our data are not representative and we cannot make generalizations, respondents in 2020–2021 from different groups independently cited a return of intra-region cattle raiding. For instance, a young man from the Tepeth group in Tapac Sub-County of Moroto said, "The security situation in this village is much worse, there are constant raids and killings by the Matheniko, and it's making me uncomfortable to stay around." A Dodoth man in Kaabong West, Kaabong said, "Our animals were raided last month. It so happened that one night the Jie came to the kraal and took all the animals. Fifteen of the cows were ours." And a Jie man in Rengen, Kotido, additionally reported:

The Dodoth have gotten out of hand, maybe because we are close to them. They have no shame of even attacking in the daytime. They have driven [away] large herds of cattle countless times, and government is just looking on. Even just yesterday, they attacked without any warning. We were outnumbered, but we managed to neutralize two of them. They are still there in the bush even if you want to see their corpses.

A Pokot respondent in Loroo Sub-county, Amudat also described inter-ethnic raids that led to violence and death:

The place is not secure, there are a lot of raids in the community. Warriors from Pian in Nabilatuk attack and raid the place constantly. One time, they even tried to raid the barracks. They attacked the barracks to steal some guns but luckily, there were two soldiers left at the barracks and they shot, killed, and wounded some of them. The most recent raid was three kilometers away from here in December 2020. They took 17 cattle which were never recovered. Someone was even killed on the road from Nabilatuk. The insecurity is overwhelming, and I feel that, soon, the raiders will come for us.

Given that Covid-19 closed markets and borders and thus made selling or moving stolen livestock more difficult, the relationship between Covid-19 and the uptick in cattle raiding requires further investigation. However, some respondents connected the raids to an increase in hunger due to their experiences of a poor harvest. One young female respondent stated: "I think raids have been so rampant lately because of the little harvests that people got this year, and so there is a lot of hunger. Raiding helps one to have an animal that they can sell for survival." Another echoed this belief: "The insecurity is worse this year because of hunger, and most of these people now come to attack us to get some animals to sell and buy food." For the latter respondent, it is unclear if the hunger is attributed to a poor harvest or the economic consequences of Covid-19.

Increased state response to raids

There was also an increased mention by respondents of **the involvement of the national military** (Uganda People's Defence Forces or UPDF) **and local defense units** (LDU, nominally trained by the UPDF) in responding to raids. People acknowledged the role of the LDU in helping to track and recover stolen animals, although at times the militiamen are outnumbered. A man from Kaabong West described what happened in his community after a raid by Jie:

The LDUs and the boys at the kraal followed the animals and managed to recover some

animals. But among our fifteen cows that were raided, we only got one back. The Jie managed to take all the rest because they were so many that they overpowered the soldiers who were only five [in number].

While assistance by security forces in recovering stolen animals was appreciated, some of the actions were felt to have inadvertent negative impacts on livelihood activities, especially those that involved moving or selling animals. For instance, a male respondent in Kalapata Sub-county in Kaabong explained:

There is a very heavy security deployment everywhere because of the Turkana raids. This has scared away people who want to sell their livestock because LDUs may think the livestock is stolen. There is a blue helicopter that flies over Kaabong every time, and traders fear that it is tracking the movement of their livestock, so they now fear to trade.

In a pattern not seen since the initial years of the disarmament campaign, there was also a concerning number of allegations of **abuses committed by soldiers or militiamen on civilians**. A female respondent in Kalapata reported:

The army is also very ruthless, and they don't know how to handle cases of livestock theft. When they find lost livestock, they take it for themselves and when the boys go to demand [their animals back], they open live fire on them and state that they were provoked. This is so sad.

A male respondent in Tapach Sub-County in Moroto said, "There are extrajudicial killings by the UPDF of the cattle thieves even without interrogation." He went on to explain that such actions were undermining any efforts by the security forces to build the trust required to solve the larger problem, stating that this situation "is killing all the intelligence gathering that would end this violence that is destabilizing the region."

Livelihood impacts of increased insecurity

The **dire impact of the increased insecurity upon local livelihoods** was evident in the data. A young

woman in Nadunget Sub-county in Moroto explained how the loss of animals affected pastoral production in her family:

This very month, the warriors raided our kraal and took all the animals. My parents had about 13 cows in Nakoli kraal. Our family is not happy about this because that's what we depend on for milk, for ox ploughing, and also sometimes we sell an animal in case of hunger. We have nothing left now apart from a few goats.

The loss of cattle in raids has **resulted in decreased crop cultivation**. A young man reported that the "loss of animals has caused more poverty because we cultivate using animals; now we don't have animals to plough the land and thus cannot produce enough crops."

The rise in general insecurity not directly related to cattle raiding is a particularly concerning development, one with broad livelihood impacts. Insecurity hinders people's ability to farm, as explained by a male respondent in Kaabong West: "The place is much too insecure. Even cultivation is difficult because they kill people. Hence most people fail to go out for cultivation."

Nontraditional livelihoods are also feeling the impacts, such as the motorcycle taxi (*boda boda*) business as reported by drivers in both Moroto and Kotido Districts. A young man from Panyangara in Kotido reported that, in addition to worrying about being caught in the crossfire from cattle raids, random attacks were also a problem: "Just weeks ago, a young boy was stabbed to death by his passengers, and they took off with his motorcycle. This has created fear among us the drivers." A young man from Nadunget in Moroto described the situation, the impacts on his income, and what he felt were his limited alternative options:

I am very careful, and I don't carry unknown people. This has killed my business. Everyday due to these [precautions], I just make close to 15,000 UGX, which is too low in such a sprawling metropolis like Moroto. Just a day before, my best friend and a colleague were killed by thugs who lured them to transport them to Napak. His body was recovered in the woods and the bike taken. I am still very

shocked, and I feel like leaving this business. But [I need it] for my household financial support. I enjoy driving a *boda-boda* though it's risky.

Respondents in Kaabong discussed the impacts of criminality and insecurity on artisanal small-scale mining, a sector that has grown substantially in parts of Karamoja in recent years (Iyer and Mosebo 2017). A young woman from Kalapata said simply, "The gold mines are not safe...It's a far place with a lot of attacks and robbery." A young man, also from Kalapata, explained in more detail the multiple and overlapping sources of insecurity that were discouraging youth from pursuing this often-lucrative economic activity:

There is a lot of insecurity at the gold mine. Even the soldiers who are around there—once they see [that] we made some money, they take some money from us forcefully for their own use. The Turkana are also a problem. They attack us at the mine, and the *lonetia* [thieves] who waylay people are also there.

Female respondents felt extremely insecure while pursuing many of the gender-specific daily livelihoods performed by women. For instance, a young woman in Kacheri Sub-county, Kotido described a recent experience:

The bush is very unsafe, especially when we go to burn charcoal. Last Thursday, I had gone with my friends to check if the charcoal was ready. We met two men—one with a gun and the other with a stick. They ran after us, they caught one lady and beat her. The people who came [along this same route] after us found her lying on the road and brought her to the hospital where she is still getting treatment for the wounds. We came back home and reported the issue to the LDUs who went there but did not find them. I think our charcoal has now burnt into ashes since we did not go back. Maybe after a week then we can go back again and cut more.

A female respondent in Kaabong West discussed the **persistent fear of sexual violence** when encountering thieves in the bush. She said, "I used to sell charcoal, but I stopped because the security

situation is getting worse. The warriors beat people in the bush, and some do use you as their wives." Attacks, including sexual violence, upon women collecting resources in the bush were a common occurrence during previous periods of insecurity. A male respondent in Panyangara Sub-county, Kotido confirmed the reemergence of this threat and, importantly, acknowledged the inherent message from one group of men to another contained within acts of sexual violence: "Young girls go to cut grass and poles to beautify their houses. They are often raped and abducted and punished by warriors to bring their men into submission." Women are also at times specifically targeted by raiders for their presumed knowledge regarding the whereabouts of the men and livestock herds, which also echoes pre-disarmament patterns of insecurity. A female respondent in Lodiko Sub-county, Kaabong explained that the Jie raiders "do capture women; and these women are used as a weapon to take the lead and show them where the animals are kept." She went on to say that, once the herds were located, the raiders often released the women but killed the men and took the livestock.

Boys and young men face specific and gendered threats to their lives and livelihoods in these security incidents as well, as they are the ones most often with the animals. As a respondent from Tapac in Moroto lamented, "Just last week, young boys were killed in the grazing field and their animals taken." They are killed when protecting their animals. They are also the ones engaged in thefts and raiding when these take place. A young man from Nadunget explained: "We used to share responsibility with my other brothers but four of them were killed in animal raids. Three were killed when going to raid, and one was killed by cattle rustlers when herding."

Attacks on livestock traders

There was also a **rise in attacks on livestock traders** moving their animals to and from markets, especially when crossing the territory of a different ethnic or territorial group. A number of youth respondents described the broader effects of these events on markets and their livelihoods. A young man from Nadunget in Moroto (a Matheniko area) described

the security situation and his ensuing reluctance to travel to Bokora or Pian areas:

I am frequently on the move to different locations to trade on livestock within Moroto but avoid travelling to Napak and Nakapiripirit because of targeted attacks on traders from Moroto by the Bokora. One of my friends was waylaid recently, and his animals that he had gone to buy were taken. His life was spared as a warning to the rest of the Matheniko for "trespassing."

A Tepeth man in Tapac Sub-county of Moroto alluded to the decrease in livestock trade between his group and their normally close allies, the Pokot in Amudat. He explained:

There is very poor security in Tapac, which is characterized by constant raids by the Matheniko and the Pian. This situation has made exchange of livestock very difficult now. Even those coming from Amudat can no longer come to Tapac markets to buy and sell because they fear that they will be raided on their way back.

A female respondent in Kalapata, Kaabong reported, "My husband deals in livestock trade. He often goes to Turkana to buy and sell but, nowadays, the security along the border is worse. Traders often fall prey to attack, and many of our friends have remained rotting in the bush." Insecurity of this nature discourages people from engaging in market activity, causing prices to drop and further undermining economic development in the region. As a young man from Nadunget explained, "If you drive your goat for sale, you are followed by any boys [thieves] who want you to share with them this small money. It's really meaningless even to trade now. Everyone is broke. It's better to eat your goat and just be satisfied."

General insecurity and attack on livestock traders combined with the impacts of Covid-19 created a complex situation in which respondents had to balance providing for their basic needs while avoiding activities that may expose them to violence. For example, livestock traders had to travel longer distances to find an open market, placing them at a heightened risk for raiding. A respondent described

that market closures forced people “to travel 50 kms to Moroto town to buy, which is very far.” However, the security situation was very poor. “Highway robbers have increased, and raiders are always on the run with LDUs. You might be unlucky and be caught in a crossfire, and you die for nothing.” The respondent concluded that it was “better to just stay home.” However, staying home meant not buying much-needed goods. Another respondent saw a clear connection between Covid-19 and the general insecurity:

Cattle thieves have taken advantage of the lockdown to mount surprise attacks on livestock traders who travel from far kraals to look for market for their cattle. Even LDUs sometimes mount roadblocks to block traders from Lira who usually buy our livestock and nowadays, they have feared to come up to Moroto because of all these.

Further, many women referenced resorting to charcoal burning or firewood sale to supplement their brewing income, which they had lost to market closures. This diversification, while a coping mechanism, could expose them to increased violence compared to the relative safety of the marketplace.

Idiosyncratic experiences of limited harvests

A number of respondents in the study population discussed having **an inadequate harvest** in the months prior to data collection. As mentioned earlier, this discussion of an inadequate harvest contrasts with the data collected by FEWS NET, which indicate that the 2020 harvest in Karamoja was adequate and that market prices for foodstuffs were below average. This study, however, seeks to document, understand, and analyze the perspectives and experiences of youth themselves, even if these perceptions run counter to a broader narrative. With this goal in mind, we understand the experiences of youth who discussed poor or inadequate harvests to be idiosyncratic shocks or stressors. These stressors must be considered within the context of the larger overlapping shocks of Covid-19 and increased insecurity in the Karamoja region.

In addition, whether at the household or community level, the experience of drought and seasonal food insecurity in Karamoja is regular and expected given the high variability in rainfall that characterizes the arid and semi-arid regions of Eastern Africa. Livelihood systems that balance mobile livestock production with opportunistic cultivation are well suited to handle these annual fluctuations. However, a growing number of households in Karamoja have moved away from animal-based livelihoods due to poverty, inequality in herd ownership, and the lack of a pro-pastoral institutional environment. Many of these households have invested more heavily in cultivation. Such households are left with few alternatives when a harvest fails or is inadequate to meet consumption or income needs. While a balanced household is able to sell an animal or two to purchase cereals, in the absence of this fallback mechanism many households who face food shortages may turn to coping strategies such as migration, reducing consumption, or relying on credit or aid.

The majority of youth who complained about a poor harvest attributed it to floods, destruction by wild animals, dry spells, the desert locust infestation, other pests and diseases, insecurity, lack of adequate capital, lack of funds, and/or the Covid-19 lockdown and restrictions. One young man in Lokido in Karenga explained the continuing danger posed by wild animals to successful production:

This year, the gardens were okay, but then the wild animals destroyed the gardens and crops, affecting the harvest. We have a food deficit this year in our household. We shall have to buy food because of the destruction of our crops by animals.

A young woman in Amudat Town Council described the problem she experienced with **flooding**: “Last season I cultivated maize on an acre of land but unfortunately, water washed away part of the garden. I only managed to get two bags of maize, and this is what we are using for home consumption.” A young woman in Nadunget, Moroto described the impact of overlapping shocks upon her household’s food security:

My husband did not do well financially due to the lockdown...During the lockdown, we

used the little food [we had left] from last year's harvest, so I could not do any [brewing] business because I had to minimize [use of] food and also was scared that the lockdown would last a long time. This year's harvest is very poor due to several calamities—the year is just cursed. The first thing was the dry spell with lots of wind, then the locusts that threatened our little crops, then corona and cholera.

These and other experiences of young people in 2020 illustrate the ways in which shocks can be felt in overlapping and exacerbating ways. The impacts on youth livelihood were thus multilayered and created a dynamic situation where respondents had to navigate numerous barriers and challenges to their livelihoods, with varying success. Their agency in this regard is invariably constrained by gender norms and expectations, and by the parameters determined by their status as youth.

Coping and adaptations by youth in response to multilayered shocks

Young people in the study population responded to the broad and specific challenges of the past year in a number of ways. As discussed earlier, the closures associated with Covid-19 curtailed some respondents' livelihood and educational aspirations. However, a number of youth were able to adapt to this new environment. Some revealed relocating their business, such as a young woman in Panyangara in Kotido who shifted from selling brew in the town to selling it in her village after the lockdown closed the markets. She also found that she could sell cooked beans in the village and that people were willing to buy them because they were not going to markets. Others took advantage of different opportunities, including getting formal jobs and diversifying their sources of income to spread risk. One man in Kacheri, Kotido decided that being in the LDU might be a more reliable source of income and applied for a position. Many added additional livelihood activities to increase their incomes to manage the various shocks. A young man in Kalapata, Kaabong used his earnings from the gold mine to buy goats and cattle. Another, in Lodiko, Kaabong, was planning to start work laying bricks, and a woman in Katikekile,

Moroto explained that many people were turning to *lejeleje* (casual labor) to make ends meet.

Other respondents explained that they were turning to savings and credit to meet their families' needs. Some were able to continue to turn profits, as explained by a young woman in Rengen, Kotido:

For me, saving in a group is okay because when I don't have food, I can borrow some money for use then later refund it. Last month I borrowed 50,000 UGX to buy sorghum for brewing, and I made a profit of 35,000 UGX. This money helped me buy food in this hunger time.

Some youth described using credit to acquire livelihood inputs, such as a young man in Nadunget, Moroto who said, "I usually rent a bicycle to buy and sell local brew and pay the owner 2,000 UGX at the end of the day. The profit is used to buy goods and goes into savings." Despite the challenges, youth thus expressed agency and resilience in how they coped with the multiple and intertwined shocks to their livelihoods.

The Covid-related closures and lockdowns had some positive side effects. For instance, a couple of male youth explained that they had improved their use and understanding of technology to be able to continue learning from home despite closure of schools and lack of phones. A young man from Nadunget, Moroto explained, "I borrowed a smart phone from a friend and am now trying to download study apps and connect on WhatsApp to make sure I am up to date with other students. I am also trying to join IT trainings at [a company] in Moroto town to keep me busy and get to know what the world is moving onto." Other youth explained that the closing of institutions and slowdown in other activities had given them time to reflect upon their futures. A young woman revealed that, after reflecting on her goals, she decided to pursue teaching instead of nursing because she realized that the school in her village had very few qualified teachers. A young man in Moroto explained that he had been doing poorly in school, but that the pause brought about by Covid allowed him to rethink his priorities:

I would have even failed to go to any course after O level. But thanks to Covid 19 that brought about the lockdown and the closure of

all learning institutions, it has given me a lot of time to think of how to start again.

However, not all respondents were able to adapt as effectively as those detailed above. A woman in Kaabong West described the cessation of many livelihood activities: “One cannot go easily to collect firewood because there are so many killings; people even fear to buy animals because they will be raided. People have not been able to take up other livelihood activities because of fear.” Many other youth reported fear of moving in the bush, to the field, or to the markets. For many, this fear means that the past year has seen less involvement in economic activities and lower earnings. As a young woman from Katikekile in Moroto said simply, “Sometimes we go hungry for a day or two.” Such youth’s ability to cope in the long-term deserves specific attention.

These various obstacles to the traditional livelihoods of pastoralism and cultivation experienced in the past year has pushed some young men to take up maladaptive strategies. A young man in Rengen, Kotido explained: “Hunger has forced youth to steal because they cannot just watch others live while they starve to death. They steal small household items such as chickens and ducks just to roast and eat or sell in other villages.” Such survival strategies further undermine local livelihoods, as well as the trust that has been slowly rebuilt in the past decade of relative peace in the region.

Conclusion and Implications

Diverse and multiple factors affect the lives and livelihoods of young people in the study population, with different impacts and experiences according to gender and livelihood specialization. Likewise, the impacts of the shocks that young people experience vary according to these diverse yet specific characteristics. Programs that aim to mitigate vulnerability, bolster resilience, or promote livelihoods must take into account both the diversity (across the population) and specificity (for individuals). While programs can of course not be tailored to the individual level, it is important to keep in mind that most shocks are idiosyncratic—or localized—as opposed to widespread. In the case of Karamoja, there are underlying and often pervasive shocks—such as droughts and cattle raiding—to which many people are vulnerable. However, it is more often the specific shocks felt at the local level and the way in which individuals, households, and communities respond that have the most bearing on livelihood outcomes. In the narratives of the young people from the past year, for instance, we see the breadth of the impacts from Covid-19 and rising insecurity. However, it is the ways that individuals and households manage within these contexts and cope with their own specific circumstances that may have the greatest influence on outcomes. These varied individual and household responses are apparent, for instance, in decisions about resuming education, choosing to marry (or forcing a marriage), or diversifying livelihoods. Taking these different levels of shock and response into account, programmatic and policy interventions should seek to foster resilience to the broader shocks while also promoting adequate access to capital (especially human and financial), services, and governance policies that allow maximum success at the individual and household level.

The data from the past year illustrate some of the costs and benefits of ongoing livelihood shifts within the Karamoja sub-region. As discussed, the 2020 harvest was deemed adequate in line with tracked measures, but a number of respondents within the study population spoke of “poor harvests” and

continuing food insecurity. Many of these individuals were from households that have moved away from livestock-based livelihoods in recent years, at times by choice but often due to pressures caused by a lack of pro-pastoral policies, growing inequity in animal ownership, and growing trends of urbanization and sedentarization. While some households and individuals are able to successfully balance the loss of livestock-based sustenance with income from manual labor or service sector employment, many others have shifted to rely more heavily on crop cultivation. Although cultivation has long been a part of the economic and subsistence mosaic in Karamoja, the high variability of rainfall that characterizes the semi-arid region means that this activity is most successful when balanced with animal husbandry. When such balance exists, households are able to rely more heavily on their herds when crop yields are inadequate for consumption or cash needs. We posit that the localized but commonly heard refrain of poor harvests and food insecurity is a symptom of this shift to over-reliance on agriculture in a region generally not suited (with some exceptions in greenbelt areas) for this livelihood specialization.

The repercussions and reach of the Covid-19 pandemic are still evolving in Uganda and elsewhere, but school closures and other economic restrictions are likely to continue to varying degrees. Although the rural areas of Karamoja had relatively few confirmed cases of Covid-19 in 2020, young people in the study population described numerous effects on their lives. One of the most critical was the halting of education for a population already struggling with enrollment, completion, and access to quality education opportunities. A number of young people will likely not return to school when institutions reopen. They will have aged out, or will have found other work, or simply will have moved on with their lives. As shown in data from other locations, this situation is more pronounced for girls and young women, which was evident in our study population in the reported pregnancies and marriages that took place. A handful of these marriages were among respondents under the age of 18 or represented

efforts at forced marriage, with the latter driven primarily by the desire of the girl's family for the associated economic benefits. Programmers and policy makers need to recognize the likely impacts of this educational setback and work proactively to encourage reenrollment, to engage in vocational trainings, to improve the quality of existing education programs, and to specifically target young women who may have abandoned school due to pregnancy or marriage but still have a desire to advance their education and career opportunities.

The increased insecurity across the study sites is a major cause for concern from a policy and programmatic perspective. Although Karamoja has long had an association with lawlessness, the young people in the study population came of age in a time of relative peace and have been able to engage in a range of livelihood activities that would have been nearly impossible a generation earlier. This peace among the different groups in the sub-region has allowed for freedom of movement, access to resources without fear, widespread growth of market activity and access, and a revival in inter-ethnic interaction and shared governance. The recent rise in internal raiding and violence seeks to undermine the trust and exchange that has gradually returned to the region over the past ten to fifteen years. Respondents described not only cattle raiding but also targeted attacks against people moving to and from markets, boda boda operators, and women collecting resources in the bush. They also alluded to involvement by LDUs in raiding, thefts, and violence. These trends echo the widespread opportunistic insecurity that plagued the region prior to disarmament and in the early years of the disarmament campaign that started in 2006. There is only a short jump from these forms of violence to the road ambushes and targeted attacks on political, civic, and development actors that existed in this time period. If allowed to continue, the potential impacts of this form of insecurity on local livelihoods, market systems, and human development indicators should not be underestimated.

Implications for programmers include:

- The consequences of the various shocks are multiple and intersecting. As a result, approaches that target general insecurity, poor

harvests, or impacts of Covid-19 as stand-alone issues will be less effective. Programmers must take a multipronged approach to programming;

- Monitor the ability of youth to adapt long term to the various shocks that have occurred in the last year, such as through longitudinal data collection of a small but diverse group of male and female youth that includes tracking youth's savings, livelihood activities, and household food security;
- The specific connection between Covid-19, hunger, and insecurity deserves attention to better understand how these intersecting and overlapping shocks and their repercussions impact the adaptations (and maladaptations) within youth livelihoods;
- Continue to provide financial (startup) capital, to promote financial inclusion through sustainable home-grown systems, and to seek to expand opportunities for saving, borrowing, and banking, through linking savings groups (village savings and loan associations (VSLAs) and savings and internal lending communities (SILCs)) and other Apolou structures with financial institutions;
- Focus on human capital development in the form of improved educational access, vocational skills training (only after thorough market assessments and with mechanisms to supply startup capital), and adult education in the form of literacy, numeracy, and business skills;
- Design and implement Covid-19 recovery plans that target informal sector actors and those who are at risk of not resuming their education. Create incentive schemes for re-enrolling in school and finishing courses or certificates;
- Target young women who are married, pregnant, or have children to return to school or engage in other specialized programs. Social norms mean that many young women stop their education upon marriage or pregnancy. Stopping education goes against many of their own wishes and certainly against the interests of the women and their families. Thus, programmers should increase integrated awareness messages, including about reproductive health, within the Apolou structures, including the on-going development of adolescent safe spaces;

- Promote balanced livelihoods and pro-pastoral strategies, including through advocacy with district and local governments and other development partners to encourage freedom of movement of both herds and people. Ensure that sustainable, accessible, and appropriate veterinary care through the Apolou structures is available. Coordinate delivery and cost mechanisms across agencies and actors;
- Promotion of livelihoods by Apolou should take into account the diversity and specificity of individuals and households given that most shocks are localized as opposed to widespread. Hence rethinking is needed on targeting for some interventions that allow maximum success at the individual and household level.

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