

Formalisation of Village Peace Committees in the Karamoja Cluster

A Consultancy Report for

**The Organization of African Unity
Interafrican Bureau for Animal Resources
Community-based Animal Health and Participatory Epidemiology Unit
(CAPE)**

Pastoral Community Harmonisation (PCH) Initiative



Patrick Irungu

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“We are tired of seeing our sons die, our daughters raped, our old people maimed and our cattle stolen... We are tired of war... Peace is more important than food...” -- Lokoprimoe Billa

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADOL	Action for Development of Local Communities
CAPE	Community Based Animal Health Participatory and Epidemiology
CDTF	Community Development Trust Fund
CMEWS	Conflict Management Early Warning System
DC	District Commissioner
DFID	Department for International Development of the United Kingdom
DO	District Officer
IBAR	Inter-African Bureau for Animal Resources
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
KDA	Karamoja Development Agency
KISP	Karamoja Initiative for Sustainable Peace
KPIU	Karamoja Pastoralist Implementation Unit
KRPC	Karamoja Resource and Policy Centre
LC	Local Councillor
LEP	Livestock Extension Programme
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NURP	Northern Uganda Rehabilitation Programme
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PACE	Programme for the Pan African Control of Epizootics
PCH	Pastoral Community Harmonisation project
POKATUSA	Pokot Karamoja Turkana Sabeiny
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
REDSO	Regional Economic Development Services Office
RDC	Resident District Commissioner
TOR	Terms of Reference
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WPDC	Wajir Peace and Development Committee

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Executive Summary

Nomadic livestock production is the backbone of the economy of pastoral communities in the Karamoja cluster. However, widespread and uncontrolled livestock raiding is currently threatening the success of this enterprise. In fact, raiding has been named as the single most important impediment to the development of the cluster generally and particularly in the delivery of animal health services. Efforts are being made by national and international agencies to remedy the situation. One of these agencies is the CAPE Unit of OAU-IBAR's PACE Programme whose mandate in the area includes the control animal diseases through community-based initiatives. Following the realisation of the negative impact of livestock raiding on animal health service delivery, the PACE with the assistance of the donor community, particularly REDSO, DFID and CDTF, initiated a Pastoral Community Harmonisation (PCH) project to find solutions to this problem in order to enable it fulfil its mandate. One of the steps taken in this direction has been to facilitate dialogue between cross-border neighbours in what has come to be referred to as "border harmonisation meetings". However, commitments made at these peace meetings lacked agents at the grassroots to follow them up and oversee their implementation. In this regard, this study was commissioned by the CAPE Unit to document the process of linking village peace committees in the cluster to local government machinery. Due to time constraints, this exercise was confined along the Kenya-Uganda border involving the Turkana, Karimojong and Pokot.

One of the findings of this study is that village committees already exist in the cluster in form of traditional councils of elders, which, among other things, resolve conflicts at the grassroot level. However, these committees are poorly integrated into the formal conflict resolution structures. This study also found that the criteria for selection of members of the village committees, as well as their tasks, are well known by the villagers. In addition, there are traditionally institutionalised incentives for the village committees. The few traders in the area pledged their support for the village committees. The district administration in the area also pledged to support the committees morally but regretted that they cannot offer any meaningful financial support because limited funding from the government.

From the observations made in this study, the following recommendations are made:

In the short term,

- (i) An immediate follow up of the village committees should be conducted as soon as possible to activate them.
- (ii) A similar village committee formalisation exercise needs to be urgently carried out along the Uganda-Sudan, Kenya-Sudan, Ethiopia-Sudan and Kenya-Ethiopia borders in order for enable them start on an equal footing.
- (iii) A trader sensitisation/advocacy exercise should be conducted in order to solicit for their support for the village committees.

In the intermediate term,

- (iv) There is need to provide the village committees with communication equipment to facilitate the dispersal of information across the common border. Due to the sensitivity of this issue, more discussion with the relevant government organs is advised.
- (v) There is need to establish a rapid response team comprising elders, the youth and government security personnel to complement the efforts of the village elders in diffusing local conflicts. The formation of such a team could benefit from the experience of the Wajir Peace and Development Committee.

In the long term,

- (vi) Taking advantage of the existing trust of CAPE Unit by the cluster governments, the Unit could persuade them to speed up the construction of roads from their side of the borders. This will help to tone down the tension and suspicion that is rife between cross-border neighbours.
- (vii) In the same token, using the goodwill of the OAU and other regional bodies such as IGAD and EAC, the CAPE Unit could persuade the cluster governments to speed up the disarmament programme. Until this is done, the delicate balance of power existing between the youth and the elders today will continue to frustrate any efforts aimed at bringing peace, reconciliation and development in the Karamoja cluster.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Livestock raiding is a common practice among the pastoral communities of Africa and has been identified as the single most important impediment to development in the Karamoja cluster. Traditionally, there were three types of livestock raids: raids carried out by youth who were coming of age; raids carried out for purposes of restocking after a devastating drought or epizootic, and raiding arising from small incidents of competition over grazing and water resources that spiralled into major skirmishes. In all these cases, elders from the warring sides played a key role to control the raids and to restore peace. Today, however, raiding has become totally uncontrollable as the youth no longer respect the authority of elders. At the same time, externally induced political and entrepreneurial factors have interfered with the social organisation of the members of the cluster. This has been reinforced by the proliferation of illegal firearms as a result of conflicts in the Greater Horn of Africa. For instance, it has been estimated that there are over 160,000 guns in civilian hands in Karamoja alone¹. The acquisition of sophisticated modern weapons, particularly the AK-47, has increased the amount of livestock raiding with many communities now finding it easier to prey and pillage on others. While there has been no assessment of the impact of livestock raiding in the cluster, its effects can be seen in terms of loss of human lives and destruction of community assets, displacement of families, destitution, pervasive poverty and the general backwardness of the region. On close examination of naked chests of men in the entire cluster one does not fail to notice the eerie body scarifications that bear testimony that the wearer has killed a human being. The effects of livestock raids have been exacerbated by the political and economic marginalisation of the members of the cluster.

1.2 The Karamoja Cluster

The Karamoja cluster consists of the seven distinct ethnic groups; the Karimojong, Dodoth, Nyakwai, Toposa, Nyangatom, Teso and Turkana, with an estimated population of about 1.2 million people. The term “cluster” as used here also enjoins the Merille of Ethiopia, the Pokot of Kenya and the Didinga and Boya of the Sudan. It also breaks the Karimojong into their sub-groups of the Pian, the Upe (Pokot of Uganda), the Bokora, the Tepes, the Matheniko, the Jie, and the Dodoth. These communities are predominantly nomadic pastoralists and are culturally and linguistically related, albeit with minor variations. They occupy the harsh and remote semi-arid area of north eastern Uganda, south eastern Sudan, north western Kenya and south western Ethiopia (see Appendix 1).

The cluster members are poorly integrated into mainstream socio-economic and political agenda of their countries. As a result there is minimal government presence in the area as is evidenced by lack of infrastructure (roads, schools, water and health facilities) and abject poverty in some cases. At the same time, some traditions of the cluster dwellers (e.g., cattle-culture complex, disregard for formal education and livestock raiding) hinder the penetration of outsiders who would introduce change in the cluster.

¹ADOL (2001)

1.3 Pastoral Community Harmonisation Project

Several national and international agencies, among them the OAU-IBAR, have been working in the Karamoja cluster in an attempt to fill in the gap of development left by the different governments. OAU-IBAR's mandate in the region has been to control animal diseases, particularly rinderpest, through community-based initiatives. However, these initiatives have been greatly hampered by, among other things, rampant insecurity and uncontrolled livestock raiding across the borders. It is worthy noting that while livestock play a major role in the livelihoods of members of the Karamoja cluster, they also form the bone of contention and a major source of conflict in the region, causing fear, hatred, and animosity and often resulting in wanton destruction of life and property. Owing to the respect and trust gained by the OAU-IBAR, the pastoralists in the region approached it to help them to bring about peace and reconciliation and find ways out of the conflict that was destroying their animals and people. It is for this reason that the PACE Programme of the OAU-IBAR initiated the pastoral community harmonisation project in the cluster. The rationale was to use the contested cow as an entry point for appealing to people's conscience for peace among the warring communities. This was implemented through the border harmonisation meetings of the paired members that share borders. These meetings have provided an important platform for elders, youth and women from the warring communities to discuss issues that fuel conflicts along their common border.

Since 1999, several peace negotiations have been carried out in the cluster under the auspices of the OAU-IBAR. These have brought together community members from both sides of the border on a face-to-face dialogue for peace, in what has come to be called "border harmonisation meetings". Two international peace meetings have also been held, one in Lodwar (Kenya) in 1999 and the other one in Mbale (Uganda) in June 2001. The results of these negotiations have been very successful (see the Lodwar and Mbale reports). What have often been lacking are local agents at the village level to oversee the follow-up and implementation of commitments reached at these meetings. It is for this reason that this study was commissioned by the CAPE Unit of OAU-IBAR's PACE Programme to document the process of establishing of village peace committees and linking them up with the local administration.

In most traditional communities such as those found in the Karamoja cluster, the elders know the root causes, nature and development of conflicts within their communities¹. Sometimes, some of the elders (particularly seers, healers and witchdoctors) do actually instigate livestock raiding. At the same time, traditional institutions bestow the elders with the authority to apprehend the perpetrators of raids, be they warriors or other elders. While these grassroots institutions have become increasingly eroded as a result of possession of guns among the youth and the politicisation and commercialisation of livestock raiding, they have a big potential as conflict mitigating alternatives². The pastoral community harmonisation project seeks to empower the village elders in order to enhance the synergies between the local administration and traditional conflict prevention initiatives.

¹ Yusuf Hassen (1998)

² Ciru Mwaura (1999)

The specific tasks given to the consultant were set out in the Terms of Reference (see Appendix 2).

2. Methodology

2.1 Study area

This study was carried out four districts: Turkana in Kenya and Moroto, Kotido and Nakapiriprit in Uganda in August 2001. The initial intention was to include all the communities in the Karamoja cluster, but this was shelved due to time and financial constraints. The study was therefore confined along the Kenya-Uganda border an area inhabited by the Karimojong (Dodoth, Tepes, Jie, Matheniko and Bokora), the Turkana (Lukumong, Ngimonia, Woyakwara and Ngikamatak) and the Pokot of Uganda who are commonly known as Upe (see Appendix 3).

The area has wide variation in terms of altitude, climate and resource endowment. For instance, the Pokot and Tepes areas are generally mountainous; the others consist of flat or undulating plains with scattered hills. However, the whole region is generally semi-arid. The rainfall varies both spatially and temporally rarely exceeding 600mm annually, except on the mountains. The mean annual temperature goes beyond 30⁰C resulting in low relative humidity and high desiccation for most of the cluster. The soils are generally shallow, sandy and clayey, with rock-outcrops on the numerous hills. Alluvial soils are found along the many riverbeds in the area. The natural vegetation is dominated by thorny plants, particularly the *Acacia* species. During the course of the survey, there was very little grass on the Turkana side as a result of current drought while the Ugandan side had a lot of pasture from recent rains.

As mentioned elsewhere, the area has poor infrastructure (few access roads, no electricity, water and telephones, and few schools and health centres) except in the major town centres of Lodwar, Kakuma, Lokichoggio, Moroto and Kotido.

2.2 Data collection methods

A menu of participatory rural appraisal (PRA) methods was used in data collection. This included key informant interviews (with local administration – chiefs, district commissioners and local councillors), group discussions with village elders, youth and women and visual observation. Interviews took an average of one hour to complete and were conducted in Swahili and English for the Kenyan and Ugandan sides respectively through an interpreter. A checklist of questions prepared before hand was used to ensure consistency in the information gathered (Appendix 4). These questions were based on four major themes derived from the TOR, i.e., the criteria for selection of potential members of village committees, the kind of tasks they would be expected to perform, the kind of resources they would need in their operations and the source of those resources.

A thorough search for literature on previous similar work was done before and after the fieldwork. This involved searching over the Internet, library visits and perusing grey and published literature from the CAPE Unit (see Appendix 5).

2.3 Problems encountered during data collection

Use of an interpreter sometimes made it difficult to probe the informants further for more information. This was however often resolved by the project veterinarian who understands both Turkana and Karamoja languages well. In addition, driving through the rough terrain in Turkana without roads took some time off the data collection exercise.

3. Findings

3.1 General

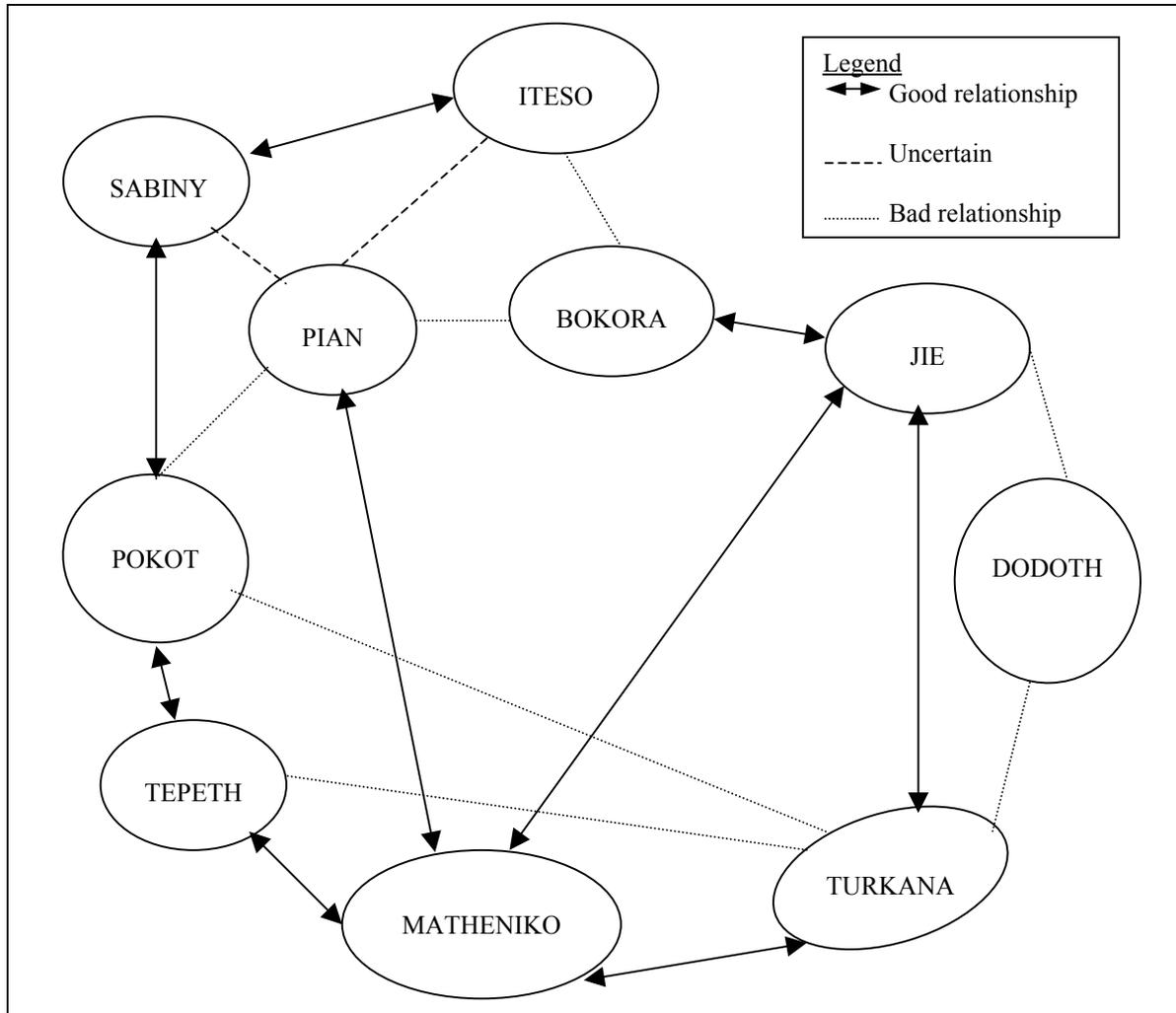
A total of 23 group meetings were held with 385 elders, 271 youth and 56 women along the Kenya-Ugandan border (Table 1). The distinction between an elder and a youth was derived from their sitting pattern. Traditionally, elders sit on low stools (called *ekichorong*) inside a semi-circle while the warriors (youth) sit at the periphery in such a way that the first age-sets of warriors sit next to the last set of the elders. Women and children sit on the floor further away. Additional meetings were held with key informants (district commissioners, chiefs, security officers and local councillors). The village meetings were generally peaceful except in Kawalakol. The villagers were angered by cattle theft carried out by some Turkana youth just after the OAU-IBAR-mediated women peace crusade in that village in July 2001. They allegedly lost three kraals of cattle to the youth.

Table 1. Villages visited during the survey and number of people who attended the group discussions in each village

Village	Division/County	Respondents in group discussions			Neighbouring community across the border
		Elders	Youth	Women	
Matakul	Kakuma division	28		7	Dodoth
Kalobeyei	Oropoi division	18		8	Dodoth
Ng'amorkirionok	Oropoi division	9		2	Dodoth
Loro'oo kraal	Kakuma division	1	1	3	Dodoth, Jie, Matheniko
Nalikonyen	Loima division	27	11		Dodoth, Jie, Tepes and Matheniko
Lokiriana	Lokiriana division	7	3	2	Tepes, Matheniko and Jie
Lorengkipi	Loima division	31	4		Tepes, Matheniko and Pokot
Kalapata	Dodoth county	6	31	2	Turkana, Didinga
Loyoro	Dodoth county	20	14		Turkana
Kopoth	Dodoth county	50	79	5	Turkana
Kawalakol/Kapedo	Dodoth county	38	43	19	Turkana, Didinga
Kaabong	Dodoth county	2			Turkana, Didinga
Kathile	Dodoth county	2			Turkana, Didinga
Kacheri	Jie county	18	12	11	Turkana
Panyang'ara	Jie county	31	8	6	Turkana
Nakapelmoru	Jie county	4	5		Turkana
Rupa	Matheniko county	31	16		Turkana
Nadung'et	Matheniko county	20	7	1	Turkana
Katikekile	Matheniko county	3	7	2	Turkana
Loroo	Pokot county	12	3	2	Turkana
Amudat	Pokot county	4	6		Turkana
Karita	Pokot county	23	21	10	Turkana
TOTAL		385	271	56	

In all the villages visited, there were counter accusations whereby the villagers blamed the perpetual livestock theft in the area on their neighbours. However, most of them talked positively about peace and reconciliation and expressed their commitment to peace, albeit against all odds. Observations from the border harmonisation meetings and the women’s crusades support this view. But, although this is the case, the survey area is still a hot bed of raids as illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Current warring corridor between some members of the Karamoja cluster



It should be noted that although Figure 1 shows an appreciable level of “good relationship” between different communities, such relationship might be temporal rather than permanent; predatory raiding does take place even between communities with long standing peace pacts, provided the need justifies it, as demonstrated by the following observation¹:

¹Lochiam Miligan Rose (1999) quoted by Michael Ochieng Odhiambo (2000).

“...In the past the Karimojong and the Tepeth were a single alliance that would fight the Pokot/Upe. In recent years however, the nature of alliances have changed, such that the Bokora are allied to the Jie and the Nyakwae, the Matheniko are allied to the Turkana and the Pian, while the Tepeth are allied to the Pokot. These alliances fight each other on and off in a never-ending series of raids and counter raids...”

3.2. Criteria for selecting members of village committees

To fulfil this task, interviews were held with chiefs, local councillors and village elders at various places as shown in Table 1. The following criteria were given (Box 1).

Box 1. Criteria for selecting members of village committees

A member of the village committee must be:

- Respectable person – respected by both the adults as well as the youth
- A wise, visionary and focussed elder
- A person who commands the attention of other villagers (he talks and others listen)
- A frank, effective and fearless person e.g. when he decides to call out an errant youth for whipping, he will do so without fear. One who is action-oriented
- Vocal, eloquent and good orator
- One who does what is right and not a perpetuator of atrocities
- A pastoralist and not a town-dweller. This is because cattle-keepers are the one who feel the pinch when the animals are stolen
- Somebody who loves peace and knows his peace-making counterparts on the other side of the border. He should also be somebody who has been involved in previous peace meetings
- One who is ready to challenge or pose questions to the enemy
- Retired traditional soldier who understands the pinch of war
- Good and strong hearted, not easily provoked by enemies to retaliate; brave
- A good community teacher – who does not easily forget discussions at peace meetings/seminars; he will always give out all the messages discussed in those meetings to the community without keeping any information to themselves
- Trustworthy and truthful, e.g., somebody who is willing to reveal the raiders (even if they are his children) to the chief
- A non-drunkard

3.3. Tasks to be performed by the village committees

The tasks to be carried out by members of the village committees are summarised in Box 2.

Box 2. Tasks to be performed by the village committees

- To confine the youth within the villages/kraals through warning, caution and curses in such a way that they would fear to go to raid. Traditionally, before a raid is carried out, young men set out singly or in small groups to spy the actual placement of the enemy's herds. The village committees will ensure that this does not happen, by nipping the plan before it materialises.
- To prevent them from raiding through counselling and punishing the offenders. Traditionally, elders have a duty to counsel and admonish the youth. They are also traditionally empowered to punish offenders. The main forms of punishment include, whipping, fining, confiscating animals or forcing an offender to slaughter a loved bull. Whipping is usually done by the warriors who have the physical strength to cane. Traditionally, killing a loved bull is tantamount to killing oneself. In extreme cases, perpetual offenders are summarily executed.
- To promote peace within their villages e.g. by preaching (*alokita*) about peace during village meetings.
- To identify and report the criminals to the chief who will then hand them over to the police. The elders will act as the eyes and ears of the chief at the village level. They will also assist the chief to reduce and eventually eliminate the molestation of visitors by the youth.
- To forestall raids e.g. by cursing the raiders. People generally fear curses. Curses are customarily instituted by elders. The cursed person feels sluggish and scared and therefore retreats.
- To recover and return stolen animals in collaboration with the local administration and elders of the raided community.
- Act as an early warning system to report an impending raid. Village elders at each *epiding* (mountain passage) will report when the youth cross over to raid neighbouring communities. They (elders) will inform their counterparts across the border as quickly as possible that they have spotted raiders crossing over through their *epidings*. This will prepare the neighbours to counter the raid. At the same time, they will inform the government security machinery within their locality of the impending raid.
- The committee should be involved in the planning and co-ordination of grazing and watering areas for each community in the Karamoja cluster. By so doing, stolen animals will easily be traced and returned back to their owners.
- The committee will assist in forming and co-ordinating village vigilantes who will be responsible for diffusing groups of raiders
- Apart from agitating for peace and reconciliation, the committees will also act an entry point for development activities in the village. Such activities include the delivery of human and animal health services, installation and maintenance of water facilities. and community mobilisation for sustainable development in the area.

3.4. Resources for maintaining members of village committees

In order for the peace committees to effectively operate in their villages, they will require both financial and physical resources on a daily basis. The following set of resources was identified as necessary for the operation of village committees (Box 3).

Box 3. Resources required for the operation of the village committees

- **Means of transport**

This will be used to facilitate local movement. Bicycles and cars were suggested. Asked who would provide these items, the villagers said that both government and non-governmental organisations operating in the Karamoja cluster should provide them.

- **Food (meat)**

This will be in form of either a bull, goat or sheep. The villagers indicated that traditionally, the food (meat) is obtained from community volunteers and also from fines charged on the offenders.

- **Money**

This will enable the elders to buy tobacco and local brew during village peace meetings. Both Turkana and Karamoja elders enjoy chewing tobacco and drinking the local sorghum beer called *kwete*. These items revitalise them and enable them to concentrate and to be focused. It was suggested that local traders and NGOs operating in the area provide the money for purchasing the items.

- **Communication equipment**

This will facilitate in passing out messages along the common border. This could be provided by NGOs in conjunction with the two governments. However, the issue of allocating radio frequencies along the border is politically sensitive and will need further discussion with relevant government organs.

- **Subsistence allowance**

A subsistence allowance, the equivalent of Kshs 250 per elder per month was suggested as a motivation to the elders. This was hotly contested at Rupa sub-county. It is not until the consultant explained the scope of the resources that would be required if payment was made at each village and the fact that we are not in any way trying to buy peace that the elders agreed to continue relying on the traditional mechanisms of compensation. The people noted that traditionally the elders are given a sitting allowance in form of local brew or a goat or a bull donated by some elders. They also consume the fines charged on criminals as part of their sitting allowance.

Box 3. Resources required by the village committees (cont'd)

- **Identification**

Some form of identification such as uniform and light gumboots was also suggested. This will distinguish the village peace committee members from regular villagers.

- **Access roads**

Good access roads will help while pursuing criminals across the border. They will also encourage trade across the common border. This will ultimately promote good neighbourliness and diffuse ethnic tension. The roads can be provided by the government in partnership with NGOs. The Kenya government already has graded the Lodwar-Lorengkippi road and plans are underway to grade Oropoi-Kalapata road. The Uganda government is currently looking for funds to grade cross-border roads on the Ugandan side.

3.4.1 Linking the village committees with local traders

Currently, there is very little private sector activity in the areas surveyed. On the Turkana side, much of the private sector activity is concentrated in towns as such as Lodwar, Kakuma and Lokichoggio. There are virtually no traders in the hinterland probably because of the migratory nature of the Turkana pastoralists. On the Uganda side, where the pastoralists are somewhat more settled compared to the Turkana, there is considerable commerce in the villages. However, this trade is restricted to general merchandising with household goods such as salt, tobacco and local brew. Trade in livestock is minimal and is often characterised by bartering for cereals, ornaments and local brew. Only in rare occasions are livestock exchanged for cash. One reason accounting for the low livestock trade in the area is insecurity. It has been observed that cattle are often stolen either from the kraals or ambushed when enroute to markets. Other reasons include the low purchasing power of the people, probably due to poverty; poor infrastructure (lack of rural access roads and market facilities), and lack of a livestock production objective that is market-oriented. This conservative attitude is reflected in the following observation¹:

“...Traditionally, if you sell an animal it is considered that you are depleting or emptying the herd. Again, if you marry or sell outside, you are taking wealth outside...”

While this view underscores the underlying nature of cultural conservatism with respect to trade in livestock, it does not mean that members of the Karamoja cluster do not sell their livestock. Rather, villagers do sell their animals to finance such occasions as wedding, burial or to obtain cash to buy clothes, food or medical care. However, there are no established front-line cattle traders at the village level who would finance the

¹Lodungokol (1999)

operations of the village committees. One elder intimated that livestock traders are only found in big towns; they fear to venture into Karamoja because of insecurity. In spite of this observation, we did not interview livestock traders in the said 'big towns' due to time and financial constraints, as well as the fact that this activity was not prescribed in the TOR. In addition, we do not think that such traders will generally be willing to support the village committees. This is because they are far removed from Karamoja and the fact that they may not be well informed of the affairs of the cluster dwellers that require their support. May be the next step would be for CAPE to attempt to get these traders interested in the affairs of the Karamoja cluster and to seek their opinion about supporting the village committees. One way to do this would be to invite them in the next round of international peace meetings.

The few local kiosk operators in the area indicated that they make too little profit to afford to support the village committees. However, some of these operators expressed their willingness to support the village committees with whatever means they can, mainly in kind (Box 4). Our considered opinion is that these pledges may not be sustained over a long time. Indeed, Mr Lokidi Nalibe, the Vice Chairman of KISP, confirmed this when he said:

“...such an initiative had been started at Kaabong. But the traders contributed once or twice and then got tired...”

Failure to secure sustained financial support for the village committees may seriously undermine their effectiveness, viability and long term sustainability. One way to mitigate this problem would be to convince the few traders in the area to support the village committees, considering the benefits that are likely to accrue from the peace dividend. This may be done through sensitisation and advocacy throughout the cluster. The other way would be to solicit for the involvement of other stakeholders in the area, particularly NGOs. However, care should be taken not to give the impression that we are “buying peace” rather than helping the communities to actualise it from within. Yet, a third way of sustaining the village committees would be to promote cross-border trade in the region. Opening up of markets will encourage trade between agents within and without the cluster and may be one way of toning down the ethnic suspicion prevalent among the cluster members. This may be achieved through the construction of cross-border roads, as is already happening on the Turkana side.

On the basis of the above-mentioned constraints, namely, the presence of few and low-grade traders in the survey area, it was not possible to adequately link the village committees with the local traders.

Box 4. Pledges from traders to support the village committees

- Mr Lokong' Anthony in Loyoro: He is a general trader. He is willing to support the elders with whatever he can get to help them carry on with the peace meetings.
- Mr Peter Lopio also from Loyoro. He no longer trades in livestock because of raids. He is ready to chip in something to promote peace. He indicated that the Ugandan government and NGOs should contribute to maintain the village committees.
- Kamile Adia from Kacheri subcounty. He sells salt. He has been contributing local brew, chairs for seating on during elders' meeting, salt for eating meat, jugs for drinking the local brew, goats for the elders.
- Komol Lomechokou (sells local brew) and Akwal Philip (is a retail of general merchandize), both from Kacheri subcounty are also willing to contribute materials to support the elders.

3.4.2 Proposed support of the village committees

In order to operationalise the village committee, initial external support is required at two levels:

- (a) Facilitation of the village committees to sit and deliberate on matters of peace at the village level for the first year of the project, and,
- (b) Funding of a sensitisation exercise to bring together members of village committees and the local administration to define their collective roles and expectations. This exercise could be tied with that of convincing the local traders on the need for more support to the village committees.

It is important to note that the formalisation of the village peace committees is not an end in itself; rather continuous support (both morally and financially) and follow up is necessary to keep them active. Accordingly, two types of budget are proposed.

(a) Proposed budget for elders' village meetings

The lunch will come from local volunteers and supplemented by fines that are charged on offenders following traditionally established mechanisms. The other part, namely, tobacco and local brew, *may* be expected from the local traders after successful sensitisation/advocacy. If such support is not forthcoming from the local traders, then local NGOs may be consulted to chip in. A village committee sitting once a month would require Kshs 35,000 for its operations (Appendix 6), which translates to Kshs 420,000 for the first year.

(b) Proposed budget for sensitisation exercise

Two sensitisation meetings are proposed for the first year (Appendix 7). Each meeting is envisaged to bring together 100 elders (50 from each of the two countries), to a common venue for some kind of training on peace matters, how to handle conflicts at the village level and to inform them of their duties and expectations. It will also act as the forum to formally introduce the village committees to the local administration.

3.5. Existence of village committees in other members of Karamoja cluster

As is common with other pastoral communities in Africa, governance amongst members of the Karamoja cluster is traditional and patriarchal in nature. The traditional government consists of a council of elders who deal with all aspects of social life, ranging from marriage, arbitration for debt and divorce, to blessing or cursing of raiders and extracting compensation for a death or injury under customary law. However, recent developments in the Karamoja cluster, particularly the possession of guns among the youth, have seriously undermined the traditional institutions for peace and reparation. Commenting in the *East African*, Curtis Abraham is quoted by Michael Ochieng Odhiambo as having noted that¹

“The gun has caused a dramatic shift in the political and economic authority of Karamoja’s elders, the decision makers, and their sons, the warriors, who traditionally executed the decisions made by their fathers... in the not so distant past, custom dictated that when planning a cattle raid, warriors had first to consult with a diviner or receive the blessings of some of the very important elders. In contemporary Karimojong society however, the gun has made the warriors both the decision makers as well as the executors”.

Unfortunately, the erosion of traditional institutions has occurred in the absence of strong formal institutions of governance to fill the gap left by the collapsing traditional authority. Other factors eroding the traditional institutions include the politicisation and commercialisation of livestock raiding especially by players outside the cluster. However, all is not lost. Traditional mechanisms of crime detection and punishment still exist in amongst the cluster members². This observation is reinforced by the fact that in most areas that we visited there were strong indications that the elders still command the respect of the youth. For instance, except for Kawalakol and Kalapata sub-counties where the youth were rather excited, generally they [youth] did not argue with the elders and especially the kraal leaders. This suggests that there exists a delicate balance of power between the two age-sets, a balance which can be manipulated to promote either peace or war.

Contrary an increasingly popular belief amongst outsiders to the Karamoja cluster, interviews with the villagers revealed that elders such as seers, soothsayers, healers and witchdoctors, still wield immense spiritual power, although it was difficult to establish how much power they still retain relative to the years past. The elders’ capacity to impose sanctions on the offenders resides in their status as intermediaries with the divinity³. There are a few renegade youth that do not fit into this observation.

“The young obey [the elders] because they see their fathers as experts in relationships with God...In order to obtain blessings, they [the young] willingly sacrifice their livestock...the curse of the elders is considered the worst

¹The East African, March 17-23, 1997. Part 2, page 11.

² See Michael Ochieng Odhiambo (2000), page 24.

³Bruno Novelli (1988)

misfortune that can befall someone. Cases of suicide of persons who have been cursed by elders are not uncommon.”

Against this background, one can confidently say that “village committees” exist amongst members of the Karamoja cluster, but these are modelled along the traditional form of governance. These groups of elders have been found to be the most effective in detection and punishment of crime because they operate within a value system that is clearly understood and approved by the communities¹. In the course of this survey, a total of 295 elders (Table 2) were suggested as potential members of village committees (see full list in Appendix 8). These are respectable members of the community some of whom have been involved in previous peace meetings.

Table 2. Number of elders suggested for village committees in each district

District	Number of elders
Turkana	99
Kotido	121
Moroto	39
Nakapiripirit	36
TOTAL	295

Interestingly, some “prominent” elders whom, with time, the community has unwittingly discovered to be averse to the peace process were not suggested as potential members of village committees. Even though this is the case, such elders should not be ignored because they have the potential of frustrating the peace effort. Therefore, a way should be found to bring them on board, even if it means creating a parallel forum that specifically targets them.

The process of allowing the community to take charge of their own affairs is one of the positive aspects of participatory techniques used in this study and is one way of empowering the local community. The elders were chosen after much deliberation and consensus. Most of them attended our meetings where they were formally linked up with the local administration (chiefs and councillors), who in most cases also acted as our intermediary with the community.

¹Michael Ochieng Odhiambo (2000)

3.6. Requirement for establishing village committees where they do not exist

As is argued in the foregoing section, traditionally, village committees do exist among members of the Karamoja cluster. All what is required is to formalise them through organised meetings with the local administration. This can be done following the steps listed in Box 5. However, before embarking on this process, it is important to bear in mind the importance of dialogue amongst members of the Karamoja cluster. Many development and “religious” projects initiated in the area in the past failed because they ignored this essential aspect of the community¹. Dialogue forms the basis of everyday living in Karamoja. For a people with little or no alternative sources of livelihood and who have to eke a living from a hostile and precarious environment such as the cluster, the only way to be sure is to thoroughly discuss all the pros and cons of any new change through exhaustive dialogue.

Box 5. Steps for formalising village committees

- A visit is made to the village through the local administration
- A meeting of village elders is convened where the team leader explains the purpose of the visit giving the criteria for selection
- Once the criteria are understood, the elders are given ample time to discuss and come out with the names
- The names are noted down and then read out to the elders for confirmation
- If five or more of the suggested elders are present at the meeting, these are called aside for further discussion. A copy of the names is made and given to the local administration.

¹See Bruno Novelli (1988) for more details.

3.7. Raising awareness of the district administration

One of the key stakeholders in the peace process is the state. The provision and promotion of public security are some of the basic responsibilities of any government. In addition, without governmental participation externally sponsored banditry will not be easily contained. Therefore, the state must be brought on board in any debate concerning public security because in the long run it offers the best forum for mediation and enforcement of any settlements reached in peace negotiations. In other words, the village committees need to be integrated into mainstream conflict resolution structures within the local administration. Such integration will also serve to strengthen them and promote their recognition and support by government organs in order to bring out the synergies between traditional and local administrative conflict resolution strategies.

In this survey, meetings were held with the following district administrative officers to raise their awareness on the village committee programme and to solicit their support (financial or otherwise) for the same (Box 6).

Box 6. Meeting with district administrative officers in the survey area

- **Meeting with the Turkana District Commissioner, Mr Peter Mooke:**
He emphasised the need to have village committees which will act as an early warning system of impending raids at each *epiding*. He pledged every support necessary from his office to ensure that the village committees are empowered and strengthened.
- **Meeting with the Kakuma Division Officer, Mr Solomon Abwaku:**
He also pledged to support the village committees and remarked that they are the most sustainable way of tackling the problem of cattle rustling at the grassroots.
- **Meeting with the Kotido Resident District Commissioner, Mr Drani Dradriga:**
He indicated that the formation of village committees is one way that will help to ease tension between the pastoral communities in north eastern Uganda and the Turkana people of Kenya especially when they will be brought together in the near future to discuss peace. He pledged moral support from his office.
- **Meeting with the Kotido District Local Councillor V Chairman, Mr Lotyang Gabriel Robert:**
He was concerned that raiding of the Dodoth by the Turkana still continues to date despite the various peace negotiation efforts between the two groups. He pledged to support the village committees morally and hoped that they will end the long standing row between the two communities. He also suggested that there is need to harmonise the activities of the different actors (Churches, NGOs and government organs) working for peace in the Karamoja cluster. This will help to avoid duplication of activities and wastage of resources and promote the exchange of information based on each other's experiences.

Box 6. Meeting with district administrative officers in the survey area (cont'd)

- **Radio communication with Member of Parliament for Turkana North constituency, Mr John Munyes:**
He recognised the need to have village committees as a way of diffusing raids before they happen. He also pledged his full support for any peace initiative amongst his Turkana people.

- **Meeting with Moroto District Local Councillor V Chairman, Mr. Achia Terence:**
He said that his office is very committed to peace initiatives. However, due to low funding from the central government, the office will not be able to support the village committees financially at the moment. But if the situation improves then he will be more than willing to support the committees. He pledged his moral support for the same and to assist in mobilisation. He also reiterated the sentiments of Kotido LCV Chairman regarding the harmonisation of peace initiatives in the Karamoja cluster.

- **Meeting with Moroto Resident District Commissioner (acting), Mr Keem Napaja, Moroto District Intelligence Security Officer, Mr Womoga Steven and Moroto District Senior Mobiliser, Mr Bukenya Abbey:**
The RDC noted that the formalisation of the village committees was long overdue. He reiterated that limited funding from the central government is a great impediment for the financial support of the village committees. However, he pledged his moral support. On his part, the DISO observed that the village committees will help to strengthen the surveillance of security at the grassroots. He pledged to work closely with them.

4. Discussion

Livestock raiding among the pastoral communities in Africa is as old as the pastoral production system itself. While there are many motivations for livestock raiding, only three seem to be most relevant in the Karamoja context: traditional, commercial and political reasons. Although it sounds revolting to the outsider, most communities that practice livestock raiding do not attach any negative moral connotation to it, even where lives are lost. In fact, some workers have justified livestock raiding by claiming that it serves to redistribute the stock thereby sustaining a general balance of wealth and livelihood in pastoral economies when they are devastated by famine or epidemic. Livestock raiding thus functions as a continuously operating system of exchange, which supports a whole network of social and ideological relations¹.

Although widely recognised as a major impediment to the development of pastoral economies in Africa, livestock raiding has received little attention especially as it pertains to conflict mitigation strategies at the grassroots level. Workers in this field have overly concentrated on regional conflict management strategies and totally ignored local traditional initiatives². This is in spite of the fact such initiatives have inbuilt mechanisms to detect, resolve and prevent conflicts at the local level. The present study serves to fill this gap. It is an attempt to promote the recognition of local initiatives because they seem to offer a more sustainable option for conflict resolution compared to the mainly reactive modern approaches.

In order to realise an effective operation of the village committees, a number of issues need to be borne in mind. One, communities in the Karamoja cluster, like all others in the region, are changing. As a result, new power relations have emerged pitting the youth against the elders. Traditionally, the elders approved all raids before they took place. Today, however, owing to the acquisition of the gun and presence of unscrupulous businessmen, the youth have somehow become more independent such that they plan and execute raids without the knowledge of the elders. This ideally means that the problem of the gun needs to be seriously and expeditiously addressed. Governments in the cluster must find ways of disarming their citizens in order to, among other things, re-establish the authority of traditional institutions. At the same time, the global dimension of the gun problem needs to be thoroughly examined bearing in mind that there are no gun factories in the diaspora. The CAPE Unit could facilitate the speeding up of the disarmament programme using the goodwill of the political wing of the OAU.

The apparent antagonistic power relation between the youth and the elders somehow diminishes the latter's role as peacemakers. However, with the "right support" (especially from local and national government agents), their role in peace making can be revitalised. "Right support" is emphasised here because any support perceived by the youth as excessively increasing the elders' authority over them is likely to exacerbate the power imbalance between the two antagonistic age sets and fuel further the conflict. It is worthy noting that some revered community elders – kraal leaders, soothsayers, seers, and witchdoctors - still retain the power to curse and admonish the youth. These could be

¹Fleisher (1998)

²Ciru Mwaura (1999)

used as entry points to rekindle the eroded traditional authority of village elders. Most of the village committee members identified in this study were kraal leaders whose authority is widely recognised by all members of the community.

Second, it is important to bear in mind the underlying psychology of livestock raiding. To the cluster dwellers, raiding is a necessary social engagement with no negative moral connotations as illustrated below:

“In traditional raiding, all members of the raiding communities participated in one form or another. The elders legitimised raids by giving the necessary permission. The seers recommended the most appropriate targets and predicted the most opportune time for the raids. The medicine men anointed the raiders with potions that protected them from harm. The mothers blessed their sons before raids while the young women encouraged and cheered on the raiders. The young men executed the raid. After successful raids, the whole community feasted and celebrated the victory”¹.

In terms of military psyche, the acts of ferocity committed during the raids are justified as part of a defensive logic, even when directed to the defenceless, such as women, children and the elderly. The logic of the merciless annihilation of the enemy is this:

“...It is better to eliminate a child today than to endanger one’s life tomorrow at the hands of the warrior that this child will become. It is better to kill a woman today than to have one’s own mother, wife, sister or daughter killed tomorrow by the warrior to whom that woman will give birth, feed and prepare for war. An old man less is one less councillor for the enemy... An old woman less will be one person less to prepare food for the enemy and medicine to cure them”².

Understanding this logic may help in refining the instruments for peace negotiation and to avoid conflict resolution approaches with a high probability of failure. It may also help to psychologically prepare the peace maker/facilitator in cases of failure.

There is need to help the communities to make a distinction between a raid (*arem*) and theft, in order to know how to react in each case. Raids can be considered to be massive assemblies of warriors (e.g., over 50) with the motive of stealing livestock (in the Karamoja context) mainly for commercial purposes. Theft, on the other hand, is more of a survival strategy, or a way of life with minimal, if at all, commercial inclination. Theft takes place even in big cities in both developed and developing world, and a victim usually does not attach any ethnic connotations to it. The distinction between the two terms may not only help the villagers to remain committed to peace pacts between them but also guide them in their decision to retaliate.

Third, there is need to understand the role of different actors in the conflict. The various players in the Karamoja cluster include, government (both local and national), religious

¹Daudi Waithaka (2001)

²Bruno Novelli (1988)

organisations, NGOs ((LWF, KPIU, OXFAM, LEP, KISP, POKATUSA, etc), CBOs, communities, elders, warriors, women, youth, the armed forces (especially the army and the police), politicians (both local and national) and local political and economic elite¹. With such a diversity of actors, there is no reason to believe that they all have the same interests, especially of promoting peace in the region. In fact, owing to the varied interests, these actors have been shown to fuel conflict through their activities² – whether these are deliberate or innocent. The challenge for the CAPE Unit is how it will manage to bring all these players on board without antagonising their interests. However, if the success of the last two international meetings is anything to go by, the CAPE Unit has effectively demonstrated its capacity to tackle this challenge.

On the other hand, there is need to harmonise the activities of different actors in the peace arena. As it stands now everybody seems to be doing their own thing in their own way. While we appreciate the fact that different actors fill specific niches in the peace making agenda, there is an urgent need to establish an umbrella body to oversee and co-ordinate the activities of the different actors. This will help in not only avoiding unnecessary overlap and duplication of activities, but also in ensuring better utilisation of resources. Also, it will avail a unique avenue to learn from each other's experiences. In addition, it will be a good platform for gauging the impact of the actors and to disseminate information. Already there are positive indications of the willingness of these actors to come together (see Box 6).

Fourth, one of the tasks of the village committees will be to act as conflict management early warning systems (CMEWS) at the grassroot level. During the course of this survey, these committees were formalised, albeit in a minimal way, through organised meetings with the local administration. What remains is to activate and then integrate them with the formal conflict management structures. The need for CMEWS has emerged as a priority area for a number of regional organisations³. For instance, following the 1993 Cairo Declaration, the OAU established a programme for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. One of the key activities of this programme was to establish a regional early warning system using information collected from various focal points within member states. IGAD has also identified the need for the creation of a Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism as one of its priority areas. The village committees will act as grassroots conflict detection and resolution structures to be supervised by the local administration (Chiefs and local councillors), who, in turn, will report to the district administration (DCs and district security personnel). The information collected at the grassroot level will be channelled upward up to national, regional and international conflict management structures (see Appendix 9 for an illustration). In addition, through these channels information from the regional bodies will reach the grassroot communities.

Alongside the village committees, it may be important to establish a rapid response team or facility, equipped with the necessary facilities to move quickly to assist in diffusing

¹Michael Ochieng Odhiambo (2000)

²Saverio Kratli and Jeremy Swift

³Ciru Mwaura (1999)

conflicts once such information is received. The response team could be made up of a group of volunteers from the community, consisting of a number of community members (elders, youth and women) and government security personnel. The Wajir Peace and Development Committee (WPDC) is a good example: Started in 1994, WPDC is a multi-ethnic network of governmental and NGOs consisting of businessmen, elders and religious leaders. Its mandate is to mediate, prevent and resolve conflicts using both traditional and modern approaches. It has a rapid response team for conflict resolution run by elders, religious leaders, women and government security officials.

Fifth, a potential danger looms after “mainstreaming” the village committees. Bearing in mind the wide and varied interests of stakeholders in the Karamoja cluster, there is certainly a danger of the village committees being hijacked by politicians or other groups to serve their interests. This danger is even more apparent when one considers the level of deprivation experienced by members of the cluster. In this regard, while the elders have been rightly chosen on the basis of perceived personal integrity, such integrity will certainly diminish once a corrupt politician “dangles a carrot” in front of their deprived eyes. At the same time, some stakeholders have been noted to be insincere in their participation, in most cases committing their communities to peace in peace meetings and then inciting the same communities to war when they go back home. Political rivalry and patronage due to political pluralism, especially on the Kenyan side, is yet another source of danger that the CAPE Unit needs to be aware of. One of the ways to minimise the magnitude of these dangers could be to get a clear agreement on the roles of different stakeholders at the outset. Another way could be to establish an accountability mechanism that is duly agreed upon and endorsed by the cluster governments. Again, the CAPE Unit could facilitate this process using the goodwill of the OAU.

Sixth, peace is a “public good”. In neo-classical economics, a public good/service is one whose use is non-rivalry and non-excludable. All consumers have equal access to the good even though each of them pays a different price to acquire it. Consequently, the financing for such a good experiences the problem of “free-riders” who enjoy the good (or service) without paying for it. Payment for the maintenance of peace should be the responsibility of the whole community and not the prerogative of only a section of it. In most cases, public goods are usually provided by the government. However, as is common with other developing countries, both Kenya and Uganda are currently experiencing hard economic times. Under this scenario, and given the historical marginalisation of pastoralists by the cluster governments, it is doubtful that the problem of livestock raiding in the cluster will elicit the amount of attention that it deserves. However, the situation is better in Uganda compared to that in Kenya. The Ugandan government has created several institutions for specifically dealing with Karamoja issues. Notable among these is the Ministry of State in charge of Karamoja development, Karamoja Development Agency (KDA), the Karamoja Projects Implementation Unit (KPIU) and the Northern Uganda Rehabilitation Programme (NURP). Although the performance of these institutions has been wanting in many respects, their creation has been useful in focusing national and international attention on the problems of the region¹. The CAPE Unit could consider soliciting the support of these institutions for the

¹Michael Ochieng Odhiambo (2000)

village committees. The Kenyan side needs to emulate the Ugandan example for the sake of development of its people. In addition, CAPE could try to convince livestock traders in big towns (Kampala, Mbale, Lodwar, Nairobi, etc) to support the village committees. While the few petty traders in the cluster expressed their willingness to support the village committees, they do not have the capacity to sustainably do so, either in the short run or in the long run.

Seven, the viability and sustainability of the village committees still remain some of the most critical challenges to the effectiveness of these committees. This study has established that the few traders in the area cannot sustainably support the village committees although it is in their interest to do so. Interviews with the government officials have given a similar result. This means that someone somewhere will have to bring in some funds to support the initiative, at least in the short run. We suggest that the CAPE Unit, in collaboration with other stakeholders (NGOs, CBOs, churches, etc) in the area, offer this help, at least in the first one year. This call makes the need for the collaboration of different stakeholders even more urgent. Another way could be to strengthen the existing institutionalised motivational instruments such as asking for more volunteers from the community to come out and support the village committees because at the end of the day the peace dividend will accrue to them all.

Finally, at the end of it all, the CAPE Unit will need to gauge the impact of the village committees as it pertains to the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in their communities. The identification of impact indicators, preferably at the beginning of the project, could be done with the communities in a participatory manner, using PRA techniques. This could take the form of asking the village committee members and, the community in general, to give ways in which their impact could be assessed, both qualitatively and quantitatively. Another way could be to ask the kraal leaders to put a pebble into a kind of a sealed “peace box”¹ every time the committee under his jurisdiction meets to deliberate on peace. The impact assessor could then tell the level of activity of the village committees by counting the number of pebbles in the “peace box”. Since the outcome of every peace meeting will not be easily assessed in this case, there will be need to back the contents of the “peace box” with formal and informal interviews. This or any other appropriate participatory methodology is advised owing to the high levels of illiteracy amongst the cluster dwellers. The impact thus assessed is not only vital when reporting to the donors and other stakeholders, but it also provides a good opportunity to learn from past experience and allows to make changes in the approach as and when the need arises.

¹The “peace box” could be a disused snuff box, that the cluster members are so familiar with. It should be made from locally available materials.

5. Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusions

The role of traditional elders in mitigating conflicts in pastoral areas cannot be overemphasised. Organising them into committees is one of the ways of strengthening their capacity to manage conflicts at the grassroots level. Linking these committees with the formal administrative structures is likely to enhance the synergies between the two and guarantee the institutionalisation of grassroots early warning systems. This approach is increasingly recognised by regional organisations such as OAU, EAC and IGAD as having the potential of resolving conflicts in pastoral areas of Africa. However, the approach is still in its nascent stage and is thus not well documented. This study has served to provide more information to bridge this gap. In this regard, the success of the Pastoral Community Harmonisation Project could become a good case study to inform other actors in the peace arena, at both local and international levels. Yet, such success will be contingent upon a number of pertinent issues like: How adequately and sustainably will be the flow of incentives going to the elders? Who will pay for these incentives given the high levels of poverty and tight budgets of cluster governments? How far can the delicate balance of power between the youth and the elders be pushed? And, how efficiently will the wide and sometimes conflicting interests of different stakeholders to the peace process be addressed? Bearing these questions in mind might bring us closer to finding a long-term solution to the problem of livestock raiding in Karamoja and the diaspora.

5.2 Recommendations

From the observations made in this study, the following recommendations are made.

In the short term:

- (i) An immediate follow up of the village committees should be conducted as soon as possible to activate them. This will involve some form of training of members of the village committees as well as prescribing their duties and expectations.
- (ii) A similar village committee formalisation exercise, like the one reported here for the Kenya-Uganda border, needs to be urgently carried out along the borders of the other cluster members, namely, Uganda-Sudan, Kenya-Sudan, Ethiopia-Sudan and Kenya-Ethiopia. This will enable them to start on an equal footing.
- (iii) A trader sensitisation/advocacy exercise should be conducted in order to solicit for their support for the village committees. This activity may be tied up with the follow up in (i) above.

In the intermediate term:

- (iv) There is need to provide the village committees with communication equipment to facilitate the dispersal of information across the common border. In cognisance of the sensitivity of this issue, more discussion with the relevant government organs is advised. To begin with, the CAPE Unit, in conjunction with other stakeholders, could sponsor radio programmes using local dialects, on the radio frequencies that already exist in the area. One item in such programmes could be the dangers of *arem*, but carefully couched in an animal health care broadcast to which the cluster members would be willing to listen. To actualise this will need

- the provision of radio receivers, of the type that does not use dry cells, to the cluster members. The government, NGOs or churches could provide the radios.
- (v) There is need to establish a rapid response team comprising elders, the youth and government security personnel to complement the efforts of the village elders in diffusing local conflicts. The formation of such as team could benefit from the experience of the Wajir Peace and Development Committee.

In the long term:

- (vi) Taking advantage of the existing trust of CAPE Unit by the cluster governments, the Unit could persuade them to speed up the construction of roads, especially cross-border roads, from their side of the borders. This will not only facilitate cross-border trade but also could eventually tone down the tension and suspicion that is rife between cross-border neighbours. In addition, it will also help to ease the movement of elders and the rapid response team.
- (vii) In the same token, using the goodwill of the OAU and other regional bodies such as IGAD and EAC, the CAPE Unit could persuade the cluster governments to speed up the disarmament programme. Until this is done, the delicate balance of power existing between the youth and the elders today will continue to frustrate any efforts aimed at bringing peace, reconciliation and development in the Karamoja cluster.

6. Appendices

Appendix 1. Map of the Karamoja cluster

Appendix 2. Terms of Reference

- Task 1: In collaboration with the project veterinarian meet with traditional chiefs, local councillors on either side of the border to determine the criteria for selecting the members of the village committees.
- Task 2: In collaboration with the project veterinarian facilitate these local leaders to define the tasks that will be carried out by the village committees.
- Task 3: In collaboration with the project veterinarian find with them the resources for maintaining the members of the village committees that is by enabling them carry on their tasks. These will involve meeting with the local traders, local administrators and the potential members of the committees.
- Task 4: In collaboration with the project veterinarian find out if such village committees already exists among the neighbouring members of the Karamoja cluster. If so formalise them through organised meetings
- Task 5. Advise on what efforts might be required to establish such committees where they do not exist.
- Task 6: In collaboration with the project veterinarian raise awareness of the district administration to obtain offers of recognition and support to the village committees

Appendix 3. Map of surveyed areas

Appendix 4. Checklist of questions used during the interviews

1. What qualities should a village committee member have?
2. What tasks do expect the village committees to perform?
3. What kind of resources do you think will be needed to enable the village committees operate?
4. Who is going to pay for these resources?
5. Do you have any formal peace committee in this village?
6. (To local administration), what kind of support can your office offer to the village committees?
7. (To local traders), in what way are you going to support the village committees?

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Appendix 6. Proposed monthly budget for elders' village meetings

Item	Estimated cost (Kshs)
Tobacco for 100 elders – 10kg @Kshs 150	15,000
Lunch for 100 elders @Kshs 100	10,000
Local brew for 100 elders @Kshs 100	10,000
TOTAL	35,000

Appendix 7. Proposed budget for sensitisation exercise in two meetings held in the first year

Item	Estimated cost (Kshs)
Meals for 100 elders @Kshs 300 per day for 3days	90,000
Transport to bring the elders to a common venue: 4 hired pick-ups (2 for Kenya and Uganda) @Kshs 5000 per day for 10 days	200,000
Diesel for 4 hired pick-ups and 2 project vehicles @400L @Kshs 55	132,000
Accommodation: Hiring room for 50US\$ per day for 3 days at Kshs 80 per US\$	12,000
Allowances for 20 Chiefs (10 from each side) @Kshs 500 per day for 3 days	30,000
Allowances for 27 Administrative personnel	243,000
Uganda: 10 local councillors, (i.e., LC1-5), 2 RDCs, 2 DISOs, 2 Community mobilisers from Kotido and Moroto districts	
Kenya: 1 DC, 5 DOs and 5 Security Officers @Kshs 3000 per day ^a for 3 days	
3 Facilitators @Kshs 1800 per day for 3 days	16,200
3 DVOs (Kotido, Moroto, Turkana) @Kshs 1800 per day for 3 days	16,200
Linkages with other peace actors – NGOs and Church organisations (email, postage charges, telephone and documentation)	100,000
Miscellaneous (Tobacco, Medicine, etc)	30,000
Subtotal	869,400
TOTAL (for 2 meetings held within first year)	1,738,800

N.B. ^aThis is a uniform rate for all categories of officers and is meant for planning purposes only. Actual allowances for each category should be made.

Appendix 8. Names of potential members of village committees

TURKANA DISTRICT, KENYA

Village	Suggested Names
Matakul	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Edoe (Senior elder) 2. Apa Mulele (Senior elder) 3. Long'ole Murung'ore 4. Pelekec Komolnyang 5. Lokiding Loapula 6. Ebur Egiron 7. Losikiria Etiir 8. Lochoro Aseyo 9. Kamaka Keem 10. Ekai Losikiria 11. Lologoi Loong'or 12. Lokaabuk Lokuyam 13. Aliletau Nakiyeyia 14. Etoot Aloth 15. Lobuun Long'olea 16. Emooja Kauruon 17. Lonyangakamar Egogoiyo 18. Lobokoleiyia Lokaale 19. Emenit Lojore
Lopetarega (Kalobeyei)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Abong Arukon 2. Lopiyanuna Kuiya 3. Loinong Loteede (Assistant) 4. Meri Lochoriang 5. Lochuro Aseyo 6. Eyomo Lomeyana 7. Lukas Erus 8. Nakaritang Lopotio (Leader) 9. Esther Yolle (Woman) 10. Akung Inok (Woman) 11. Nagulle Ekeno
Ng'amorkirionok	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Akadae Lodia (Leader, Senior elder) 2. Lotamakaruo Kuya (Assistant) 3. Lokawua Kimat 4. Lodwar Adome 5. Ewoton Ekaren 6. Lokuyiam Idoko 7. Erogo Ekunyuk 8. Lomuruse Adoonyang' 9. Lomilia Lokaleeso

	10. Napokor Nariwoton
Loroo kraal	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lokopirmoe Billa (Leader, Senior elder) 2. Dapal Eewoi (Assistant) 3. Adirr Areman 4. Akoel Munyes 5. Lokwakal Lomong'in 6. Lomokasia Emooja 7. Lochuch Achellei 8. Eewat Lotonia 9. Lokoroma Epeet 10. Apalotom Ing'olan 11. Nakoi Kaatir (Woman) 12. Nakadio Lomeer (Woman) 13. Achilla Aemun (Woman)
Nalikonyen/Namorupus	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ateyo Ebei (Leader; Senior elder) 2. Ekaran Esiyen (Assistant) 3. Ekaru Long'olol 4. Lokitolo Limang'ole 5. Kicheno Lokadabong' 6. Long'echel Esekon 7. Natubar Ekusi 8. Maraka Lowoto 9. Naitaki Naapitare 10. Lodwat Lotum 11. Ekeno Tioko 12. Kodet Imana 13. Achemee Lokuom 14. Lomorokomoe Lonyaman 15. Lomong Lomillo (woman) 16. Akiru Lokaale (woman) 17. Napeiyok Ekal (woman) 18. Sagal Tioko (woman)
Lokiriama	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Edome Kialae (Leader) 2. Natuba Ekusi (assistant) 3. Long'echel Esekon 4. Chegem Eng'oomo 5. Lokwakaal Ebei 6. Ekorie Esekon <p><u>From the kraal (eteere)</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ekeno Lolupkong'u 2. Kodet Emana

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Aritong Lochominmoe 4. Lokirr Eewoi 5. Nakorkau Lokwawi 6. Long'oli Lomaala <p><u>Women from the village (Lokiriama)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cecilia Nakwawi 2. Tioko Akimat 3. Nakut Ekorie <p><u>Women from the eteere (Lokiriama)</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Sagal Lolupkong'u 2. Kajikioi Lomaala 3. Aregae Lemkou
<p>Lorengkippi</p>	<p><u>Lorengkippi sublocation</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Esekpn Lotiono (Leader) 2. Lokuuma Long'atunymoe <p><u>Lodwat sublocation</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Aporon Lomulen 2. Eedung Ichol <p><u>Loyaa sublocation</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Long'ole Lotiramoe 2. Lomong'in Emong' <p><u>Kaemaanik sublocation</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lokidor Eteng'teng' 2. Akobo Eteng'teng' <p><u>Nakurio sublocation</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ekal Eripon 2. Long'orokomoe Lanyaman

DODOTH COUNTY, KOTIDO DISTRICT, UGANDA

Subcounty	Suggested Names
Kalapata	<p><u>Moroto Parish</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Keiyo Esiya (Leader) 2. Komol Lokunyuko 3. Paulina Nakiru (woman)

	<p><u>Morukori Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lokong' Limatum 2. Koriang' Abulio 3. Kokoi Apo (woman) <p><u>Kalapata Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ilikwal Long'olemoe 2. Lokeya Lomutu 3. Nakamio Loko (woman) <p><u>Kamion Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Long'oli Ng'orok 2. Long'eleya Locham Paulino 3. Hemma Nakiru (woman) <p><u>Lokwakaramie Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lojore Philip 2. Manamue Hillary 3. Napeyok Emma (woman) <p><u>Lotim Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ethera Lokure 2. Aputh Nyang'amoe 3. Namnge Lochola (woman)
Loyoro	<p><u>Toroi Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Long'ole Joseph 2. Lootan Gino 3. Simit Lopakah (W) <p><u>Lomerima Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Kerisa William 2. Long'ima Simon 3. Lolem Moding (W) <p><u>Lokanayona Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lokoro Eliya 2. Nang'iro Joseph 3. Chokon Anna (W) <p><u>Lodiko Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Komol Loriwo 2. Long'oli Lotong'okol 3. Nacham Cecilia (W)

Kopoth	<p><u>Long'aro Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lotuk Loitareng 2. Jacob Lokodo 3. Nateng Tubo (W) <p><u>Locherep Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lowesit Paulo 2. Ng'iro Kubal 3. Long'ole Lootom (W) <p><u>Kashmeri Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Narukeny Lotipua 2. Loyaa Gabriel 3. Janet Lochini (W) <p><u>Kakamar Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lopila Thera 2. Lojikan Marusas 3. Lokaala Iiko (W) <p><u>Kitee Lore (new) Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Muge Lowan 2. Poot Lolem 3. Meron Lomuge (W)
Kapedo	<p><u>Kawalakol Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Julamoe J. Chokei 2. Paulo Adupa Achupong'imoe 3. Lochirii Merri (W) <p><u>Kapedo Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Loge Hillary Nakok 2. Loyang'an Simon Lokapel 3. Rosa Lopeyok (W) <p><u>Lokial Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Teban Lowany 2. Lomodol Dedeng 3. Napeyok Maria (W) <p><u>Kocholo Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lokol Erupe 2. Lokalany Adupa 3. Nadukae Lokol (W)

	<p><u>Sangaar Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Loyaka Angelo 2. NakonoreLodrum 3. Ichom Lokure (W)
Kaabong	<p><u>Lobong'ia Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Samuel Loduk 2. Kali Apakori 3. Mariam Lolem (W) <p><u>Lomeris Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lotaba Nyang'a 2. Lorika Lodia <p><u>Losogolo Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Franco Loreng'a 2. Naang'or Samuel Lobuo 3. Mrs Long'ole Kapeta (W) <p><u>Lokolia Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Kolong' Amodoi 2. Meri Locheen Zakaria <p><u>Nang'ole Kuruk (new) Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Logiel Looru 2. Long'ole Apamunyen 3. Elizabeth Napayan Kaateleng (W)
Kathile	<p><u>Kathile Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ilikwal Lomukungyo 2. Lopakinmoe 3. Ikong'ae Lorukude (W) <p><u>Nariamaooi Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lokoruoputh 2. Namakio Lokou 3. Naatan Leng'onye (W) <p><u>Nareng'epak Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lotiakori Koriang 2. Alawa Lokili Loroborob 3. Mrs Lokokeete (W) <p><u>Kamachar Kwal Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. John Lokoumalero 2. Long'eleris c/o Yarapiding

	<p>3. Nang'oli Obonyo (W)</p> <p><u>Lotim Parish</u></p> <p>1. Ethere Lokure 2. Loulo Eparikuruk 3. Lokidia Lobaang'iro (W)</p>
Kacheri	<p><u>Kacheri Parish</u></p> <p>1. Lolwa Paulo 2. Wari Apalopus 3. Nalem Lorwa Kileng 4. Adia Maria (W)</p> <p><u>Lokidoko Parish</u></p> <p>1. Komol Lomechakou Lopiran 2. Lopong'a Turkan 3. Ekalees Apalopama 4. Napak Maria (W)</p> <p><u>Lokiding Parish</u></p> <p>1. Long'ok Samuel 2. Logono Aitang'imoe 3. Chilla Anna (W)</p>
Panyang'ara	<p><u>Loletio Parish</u></p> <p>1. Apachoria Loitha 2. Athia Apananyang'an 3. Bebeng Amaria (W)</p> <p><u>Rikitae Parish</u></p> <p>1. Ajuh Apalokono 2. Anyik Loppijore 3. Nayere Elizabeth (W)</p> <p><u>Loposa Parish</u></p> <p>1. Lotebor Kachinga 2. Long'oli Lomeriswa 3. Loong'ok Nabul (W)</p> <p><u>Kamor Parish</u></p> <p>1. Butan Loiki 2. Long'er Naang'or 3. Nachung'ae Franka (W)</p>
Nakapelmoru	<p><u>Boong'or Parish</u></p> <p>1. Nachalan Lochum 2. Lopor Lochelemoe</p>

	<p>3. Adong Rose (W)</p> <p><u>Watakau Parish</u></p> <p>1. Kapel Lochirkimat (Kraal leader)</p> <p>2. Arik Kapolon</p> <p>3. Koima Lokong'</p> <p>4. Aditt Kidon (W)</p> <p><u>Lookorok Parish</u></p> <p>1. Lotudo Achia</p> <p>2. Loethe Lotoh</p> <p>3. Nakunyan Maria (W)</p>
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MATHENIKO COUNTY, MOROTO DISTRICT, UGANDA

Subcounty	Suggested Names
Rupa	<p><u>Rupa Parish</u></p> <p>1. Iiko Zakaria</p> <p>2. Otiang' Lokitikori</p> <p>3. Nadome Lucia (W)</p> <p><u>Pupu Parish</u></p> <p>1. Tioko Lodong'a Lopeille</p> <p>2. Cegem Iwou</p> <p>3. Nakutt Mary (W)</p> <p><u>Mogos Parish</u></p> <p>1. Lowakabong Tapem</p> <p>2. Ng'orok Lokolimoe</p> <p>3. Lokidor Chuman Mariam (W)</p> <p><u>Nakadeli Parish</u></p> <p>1. Loter Yarrakoit</p> <p>2. Moru Samuel Lobocel</p> <p>3. Otiang Lokadang'ole (W)</p>
Nadung'et	<p><u>Naitakwae Parish</u></p> <p>1. Tioko Ekorie</p> <p>2. Lokong Korinyang</p> <p>3. Tioko Anna (W)</p> <p><u>Nadung'et Parish</u></p> <p>1. Kodett Ekapelbok</p> <p>2. Enokiele Koriang</p>

	<p>3. Long'ole Naiyepi (W)</p> <p><u>Lotirir Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Chalei Lokaalei 2. Looru Lokorimoe 3. Achilla Lopusreng (W) <p><u>Loputuk Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Loterack Lopido 2. Kiyong'a Lotorong'ole 3. Louco Christine (W) <p><u>Komaret Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Loitakori Paul 2. Lochopire Loruu 3. Lokomol Lochoro (W) 4. Jackson Ang'ella (Secretary)
Katiquekile	<p><u>Lia Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Nakwang' 2. Alipojoh John Lotee 3. Natee (W) <p><u>Natumkale Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Giran Petieng 2. Lopelenyang' Lokirabwa 3. Jojoh Lochaon (W) <p><u>Kalking'ol Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Eng'oriat Lolem 2. Etodong'ole <p><u>Loyarabos Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Long'ecel Lomuge 2. Itumoe Lomugur 3. Iluk Nang'akuo (W) <p><u>Tapac Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lomiot Kuruon 2. Apanakamar Losuron 3. Nakaala Nang'iro (W)

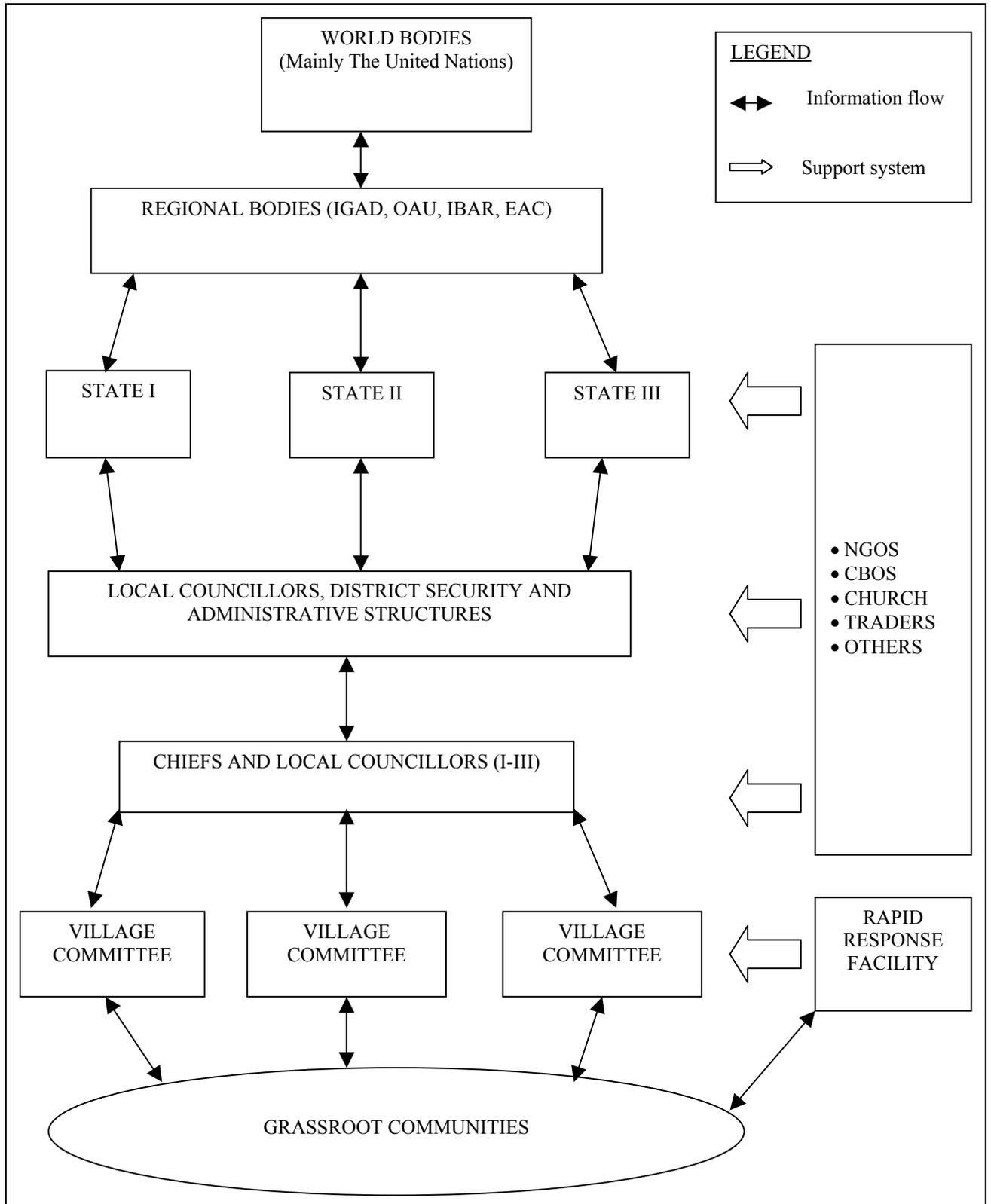
POKOT COUNTY, NAKAPIRIPIRIT DISTRICT, UGANDA

Subcounty	Suggested Names
Loroo	<p><u>Loroo Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lokwapale Riteluk 2. Limangiro Loput 3. Naleyō Nakwaleya (Y) 4. Chepokurunya Kamar (W) <p><u>Abiliep Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Loduk Rutale 2. Lomerikwang Lokolong 3. Longolengiro Lotuk (Y) 4. Chepotumegho Lokinei (W) <p><u>Achorchor Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Aramtori Gwapale 2. Aperiokori Logwot 3. Logwotale Eletet (Y) 4. Chepolukumong' Logwole (W)
Amudat	<p><u>Loburin Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yarang'ole David 2. Loukotum Domoluk 3. Lopira Loitaluk (Y) 4. Chepokateko Lonyakwang (W) <p><u>Katabok Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Yerer Loru 2. Loesekori Losiamu 3. Lolemle Acherō (Y) 4. Chepkateko Anyeulle (W) <p><u>Amudat Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Lolemtum Lokwang 2. Komole Loitang'ura 3. Yarakari Long'uriale (Y) 4. Cheptilak Kanyeluk (W)
Karita	<p><u>Karita Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Long'orialima Kudukan 2. Abong'otum Etukko 3. Lomuatum Lotyolle (Y) 4. Chepseniak Loremmo (W)

	<p><u>Lokalees Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Amaadi Riongriong (Commander)2. Lorupemoe Lochom3. Korimaran Acholia (Y)4. Cheptilak Lomung'a (W) <p><u>Losidok Parish</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Adomo Lokeikei (Commander)2. Nyang'areng Apang'orok3. Limma Long'olekit (Y)4. Chepsait Lokinya (W)
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N.B. W=Woman, Y=Youth

Appendix 9. A conceptual model of a conflict management early warning system



Appendix 10. Itinerary of activities

Date	Activity
10 th Aug 2001	Signing of the contract in Nairobi
11 th -12 th	Travelling to Lodwar
13 th	Literature review in Lodwar - Meeting with Mr Peter Mooke (DC, Turkana district)
14 th	Interviews at Matakul village
15 th	Interviews at Ng'amorkirionok village
16 th	Interviews at Letia village and Lo'roo cattle kraal
17 th	At Lokichoggio, Meeting with Mr Kamau
18 th	Interviews at Nalikonyen village
19 th	Interviews at Lokirama and Lorengkipi villages
20 th	Interviews at Kalapata sub-county
21 st	Interviews at Loyoro and Kopos sub-counties in Kotido district
22 nd	Interviews at Kapedo and Kaabong subcounties in Kotido district
23 rd	Interviews at Kacheri subcounty, Kotido district
24 th	Interviews at Panyang'ara and Nakapelmoru subcounties, Kotido district
25 th	Interviews at Rupa subcounty, Moroto district
26 th	Literature Review
27 th	Interviews at Nadunget subcounty, Moroto district - Meeting with Mr Achia Terence (LCV Chairman) and Mr Mulekezi Chris (Deputy DISO), Moroto district
28 th	Interviews at Katikekile subcounty, Moroto district - Meeting with Mr Keem Napaja Andrew (Acting RDC), Mr Womoga Steven (DISO) and Mr Bukenya Abbey (Senior Movement mobiliser), Moroto district
29 th	Interviews at Loroo, Amudat and Karita subcounties, Nakapiripirit district
30 th	Debriefing the Turkana DC, Mr Peter Mooke
31 st	Arrival in Nairobi
1-9 th Sept 2001	-Debriefing CAPE UNIT authorities -Report writing